

CHAPTER XII.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WOḌEYAR, 1673-1704—(*contd.*)

Chikkadevaraja's Rule: General features—The Council of Ministers: (*a*) 1673-1686—(*b*) 1686-1704—Dalavais, 1673-1704—Officers, officials, etc.—Administrative measures 1673-1686—1. Strengthening of the army and the fort of Seringapatam—2. Coinage and Currency—3. Reorganization and administration of the local units: The *gadi*, unit of administration—General administration of the *gadi*: i. The executive staff; ii. The postal system; iii. The subordinate staff; iv. The *Kandachar* service; v. Administration of demesne lands; vi. Criteria and emoluments of appointments; vii. Law and order: *a*. The conveying of criminal intelligence; *b*. The Police system—4. Fiscal reforms: i. The village as the fiscal unit; The *Barabaluti* system—ii. The land-tax: Its organization and administration—iii. Tax on fruit trees, etc.—iv. Revenue collections—5. Weights and Measures—6. Industries, trade and commerce—7. Miscellaneous measures—The working of the fiscal reforms; Revision of taxes—Administrative measures, 1686-1704—Organization of the eighteen departments—Reflections.

SIDE by side with the course of political events we have thus far sketched, two distinct landmarks are noticeable in the form of civil government evolved by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, the first covering the period of the ministry of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit (1673-1686) and the second that of Tirumalaiyangār (1686-1704). Throughout the period 1673-1704, the influence of Chikkadēvarāja's personality made itself felt on every aspect of the administration, to an extent so far unprecedented in the history of the country. Inscriptions

Chikkadēvarāja's
Rule: General
features.

and literary sources invariably point to his rule over Mysore seated on the "jewelled throne of Karnāṭa" in Seringapatam.¹ His was an absolute government conducted as usual along traditional lines, with due regard to the *dharma* (*dharmatō dharāṭalam praśāsati; rājadharmā tappadante; mahā-rājadharmānum*),² the changing conditions of the time and the happiness and well-being of his subjects. In the actual work of government he was assisted by ministers (*sachivar, mantribhiḥ*), the Daḷavāi and officers (such as *karaṇika, kārya-karta*, etc.). His ministers, according to a contemporary work,³ were adepts in all matters of policy (*sarvatantrañjarāda mantriḡaḷum*) and his financiers proficient in mathematics, *śāstras* and *āgamas* (*sakala gaṇita-śāstrāgama kōvidarappa karaṇikarum*). There was as yet no clear differentiation of functions, the king being regarded as the fountain-head of all power and authority, civil and military, political and religious.

Chikkadēvarāja's early training and education enabled him to discern the importance of a strong executive to manage the affairs of a growing kingdom under the troubled conditions of his time.

The Council of Ministers:

(a) 1673-1686.

Accordingly, immediately on his accession, he formed a Council of Ministers (*mantrālōchana-sabhe*)—a sort of cabinet—and chose suitable persons to it. These were Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, Tirumalaiyangār, Shaḍaksharaiya,

1. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 23-24; III (1) Sr. 14, l. 74; 94, ll. 6-7, and 151, p. 119 (Text); *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, l. 20; *Hadi. Dhar.*, I. p. 2, v. 11; *Mbh. Śānti.*, ff. 3 (col. to ch. I); *A. V. C.*, I. p. 2 (prose passage), p. 7, v. 25; *C. Bi.*, p. 3, etc. Among the actual expressions used are: *Śrīrangapaṭṭanaḍol ratna-simhāsanārūḍhanāgi; ratna-simhāsanasthītē; Paśchimaranga-nagarī ratna-simhāsanārōhana*, etc.; cf. *Wilks* in Ch. XI, f.n. 178.
2. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 118; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 26; *Paśch. Mahāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 48; *Hadi. Dhar.*, l.c., also IX, 60; *A. V. C.*, III, 151 (p. 103), IV, 23, etc. For particulars about these and other works (of Chikkadēvarāja's period of reign) cited in this Ch., vide Ch. XIV.
3. *Śrī. Mahāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I. ff. 2 (prose passage).

Chikkupādhyāya and Karaṇika Lingaṇṇaiya. Viśālāksha-
Paṇḍit was the Prime Minister leading the cabinet. He
was, we learn,⁴ a Jaina Brāhman of Yeḷandūr, son of
Bommarasa-Paṇḍit and Summāmbikā. Early in his life
he had developed precocious habits, and mastered the
Jinastuti, studying the *śāstras*, penetrating into the
fundamentals of all faiths and acquiring an unrivalled
knowledge of the Jaina religion and philosophy.⁵ As the
minister-in-chief (*mahāmātya*) of Chikkadēvarāja, he
wielded considerable influence at the latter's court and
was reputed as much for his intelligence and efficiency
as for his learning.⁶ Tradition says he was a
playmate of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and kept company
with him during his stay at Hangaḷa. Among his
services, during his period of ministership, to the
cause of Jainism in Mysore were⁷ the erection of a
chaityālaya to the last Tirthankara in Seringapatam ;

4. *Bel. Go. Cha.* (c. 1780) of Ananta-Kavi (Ms. No. A. 202—P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*),
VI, 7:

Yaladūra Bommarasana sati Summāmbikeya garbhadoḷu |
Sommina suta Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita-nemba yimmai-sirivantanoḡedā ||
see also *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 387, XII. 474.

5. *Ibid.*, 8-9:

Kalitanu Jina-stutiyamu todalnudiyole chalisida sammārgavididū |
Ōḍida sakala śāstrava-nōrmodalole bhēdisi sakala matavanū |
Āḍiya-Śri-Jinamateḡeyillendu vō[bō]ḍisidanu lōkavanū ||

6. *Ibid.*, 10-18:

. . . ā pura (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa)-pati Chikkadēvarājendra . . .
arasige mantriyaḍanu lōkasantāpahara Viśālākshā |
. . . silanu duṣṭaṇgraha śiṣṭapratipāla lālita budha-jana-jāla |
. . . mantri-kulāgrāṇi āṇi samhita mitavāṇi |
jāninim jagava sōḷipa sadguna mahimāni mahāmātya nṛpage ||
also *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 474), where Dēvachandra refers to Viśālāksha-
Paṇḍit as an accomplished man of letters (*Viśālāksham sāhityabhārati*
yenisidam).

7. *Ibid.*, 19-26:

Śrīrangapuradoḷu kadeya Tīrthēṣage rārājipu chaityagṛhavā |
vōrante māḍisi . . . ||
Tannarasina rājyadoḷuḷḷa Jinagṛha-vannuḍḍharisi svāstyavanū |
sannutamāgi biḍisi . . . ||
Belagūla-tīrthadoḷarhad-vaibhava-moḷedōri yeḷeya bēkendū |
vilasita rathavanu māḍisi . . . |
Arhan-matake kaṇṭakarāgirutirda nere pāshanḍi-vargavanū |
doreyinda negottī . . . ||

the conservation of Jaina monuments in the kingdom by making grants of rent-free lands thereto; the effective curbing of all opposition to the religion of Arhat; the endowment of a glittering car (*ratha*) to God Gōmatēśvara at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa and the grand performance, with the approval of his master, of the head-anointing ceremony (*Mastaka-pūje*) in honour of that shrine, on March 5, 1677. From a lithic record dated in 1685,⁸ we further learn that he was familiarly known as “*Doḍḍa-Paṇḍita of Yeḷandūr.*” Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya), councillor next in importance to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman of Kauśika-gōtra and Āpastambha-sūtra, the eldest son of Paurāṇika Aḷasingarārya (Singaraiyangār II or Nṛsimha-sūri) by Singamma.⁹ Born in 1645 (*Pārthiva*), about the same time as Chikkadēvarāja, he was, as depicted in his own works,¹⁰ brought up, and was intimately connected, with the latter as his co-student and colleague from his boyhood (*oḍane . . . naḍe-nuḍiyam kalu . . . oḍanōḍi . . . oḍanāḍi; dharma-sachiva, karma-sachiva, narma-sachiva*). He was also a leading scholar at the court of Chikkadēvarāja, enjoying his favour.¹¹ Although, curiously enough, the extant literary productions of Tirumalaiyangār nowhere

Dēva-Dōrbaligabhishēkava mālpalli bhāvadoḷankuradōri |
. . . bhāvaranappaṇeyinda ||
. . . Mastaka-pūje chandaḍindādu-dēnembe ||
Sale śaka sāviradarunūrāgirda Naḷa-samvatsara Phālgunadā |
beḷupakshadēkāśi-yōḷagabhishēka . . . ||

The śaka date (1600) does not tally with *Naḷa, Phālguna śu.* 11, which actually corresponds to s. 1598, *i.e.*, March 5, 1677, Monday (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 156). Accordingly the data of the cyclic year are preferred here as the correct data.

8. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 41, ll. 8-9; see also under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.
9. *Vide* Table in Appendix II—(4).
10. *C. Yam.*, 163-166, 170-172; *C. Vi.*, IV, 19, 87-88, V, 97-104.
11. *Vide* colophons to ch. in the *C. Vi.*: *Śrī-Chikkadēva-mahārāja kṛpā-paripālita Śrī-Tirumaleyārya*; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

directly refer to his actual position as minister under Chikkadēvarāja, there is enough data in them pointing to his political, diplomatic and administrative knowledge,¹² while in the *Chāmarājanagar Plate* (1675)¹³ he specifically refers to himself as having been "like Brihaspati in the council of Chikkadēvarāja." Shaḍaksharaiya (Shaḍaksharadēva or Shaḍakshara-svāmi) was, we note,¹⁴ a Vīra-Śaiva (Ārādhyā) Brāhman of Rēṇukāchārya-gōtra and disciple of Chikka-Vīra-Dēśika, head of the Vīra-Śaiva *maṭh* at Dhanagūr, Maḷavalli taluk, where he is said to have been born. Descended from a family well-versed in all branches of Śaiva lore, he was at first preceptor to the family of Mudda-Bhūpa (Muddarāja Urs) of Yeḷandūr (*Bālēndupura*).¹⁵ Shaḍakshari's connection with Chikkadēvarāja, however, began, as indicated already, during the latter's stay at Hangāḷa (c. 1668-1673). He was, further, a celebrated poet.¹⁶ Of him it is said¹⁷ that, during the greater part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, he was residing in Yeḷandūr as head of the *maṭh* built for him by Mudda-Bhūpa, where he ultimately attained deification. At any rate, Shaḍakshari's service as a councillor of Chikkadēvarāja seems to have been generally more of a literary and religious character than political or administrative. Chikkupādhyāya, the next minister of Chikkadēvarāja, was another Śrī-Vaiṣṇava

12. See, for instance, *C. Vi.*, VI. p. 164 (prose passage hinting at Tirumaliyāngār's dealings with ambassadors from foreign courts), and references to political events in *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.*, cited in f.n. to Chs. V, VI, VIII, X and XI; also f.n. 71 *infra*.

13. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 105-107: . . . *Gururiva . . . Chikka-dēvarāja-nṛpatē sabhā sūdharmā-mivādhyastē . . . Tirumalayāryō.*

14. See *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*, col. on p. 66 (with Preface) quoted in f.n. 15 *infra*; also *Vrshabhendra-Vijaya*, ff. 153, v. 90; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 442.

15. *Ibid.*: . . . *nikkhīta nigamāgama-purāṇādi pratipādīta vimala Vīra-Śaiva-Brāhmaṇa-kula-sambhūta Śrīmad-Rēṇukāchārya-gōtrāmṛtārṇava . . . Śrī-Bālēndupuravarādhiśa Mudda-Bhūmipa-kulaguru Śrī-Shaḍakshara-Svāmi.* Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 474, and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

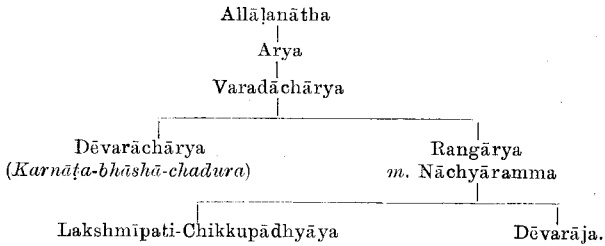
16. See under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

17. *Vide* Preface to *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

Brāhman, of Purukutsa-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajus-śākhā.¹⁸ He belonged, as he tells us,¹⁹ to the Paṭṭūr family of learned Vēdic scholars and poets, tracing descent from Allālanātha, whose tutelary deity was God Varadarāja of Kānchīpuram. The elder of the twin sons of Nāchyāramma by Rangāchārya (Ranga-Paṇḍita) of Terakaṇāmbi (great grandson of Allālanātha), Chikkupādhyāya was a disciple of Kaḍāmbi Singarāchārya. He had mastered the sacred lore and was, besides, a poet, philosopher and expert mathematician (*gaṇita-śāstra-viśāradaṇāgi*).²⁰ In his earlier years, he seems to have practised the profession of teaching.²¹ Indeed, in keeping with this is the tradition that he was a teacher of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself during the latter's boyhood.²² His actual name, however, was Lakshmīpati or Lakshmīśa,²³ and he styles himself in some of his writings²⁴ as *Lakshmīpati-Chikkupādhyāya*, the suffix *Chikkupādhyāya* obviously indicating his earlier position

18. See *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 41-42; also references *infra*.

19. *Ibid.*, 43-50; also *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 77; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 104; *Yād. Māhāt.*, I, 18, II, 3, 8; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, col.; *Śu. Sap.*, I, 21; *Div. Sā. Cha.*, I, 92; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 467-468, 490. The genealogy of Chikkupādhyāya's family, according to *Śrī. Māhāt.* (l.c.), was as follows:—



20. *Ibid.*, 51-52; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

21. *Ibid.*, 50: *Chikkupādhyāyam poreyal buddhigalanusurdu lokada janamam.*

22. *Annals*, I, 105.

23. See *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 50; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 78; *Śēsha-Dharma*, ff. 1, col., etc. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 1) to the *Div. Sā. Cha.* but see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 468.

24. *Yād. Māhāt.* (verse at the end of col. to each ch.); *Paśch. Māhāt.*, l.c.; *Nīti-Sātaka-Sāngatya*, ff. 99; *Kāmand. Nī.*, col., etc.

as a junior teacher of Chikkadēvarāja, which probably accounts for his subsequent rise to eminence as one of the latter's most trusted and influential councillors.²⁵ As a minister of Chikkadēvarāja, he was reputed for his thorough knowledge of politics and diplomacy, and finance and accounts.²⁶ Karaṇika Lingannaia was a Smārtha Brāhman. As the councillor in charge of the public accounts of the country (*sīme-karaṇikatana*),²⁷ he appears to have wielded considerable influence over the administration of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

The Council, thus composed, was a powerful advisory body actively assisting Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in all his administrative measures. Its position and status seem to have been hardly affected by the assassination of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit in 1686.

During the next period (1686-1704), Tirumalaiyangār, as Prime Minister in succession to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, rose high in the favour of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.²⁸

In 1695, it is said,²⁹ he obtained Chikkadēvarāja's

25. *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 51; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, col.; also col. to *Śu. Sap.*, *Hasti. Māhāt.*, *Div. Sū. Cha.*, *Sāngatyas* and *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*; *Hasti. Māhāt.*, I, 103; *Yād. Māhāt.*, I, 18, etc.; cf. *Editorial Introduction* (l.c.) to *Div. Sū. Cha.* Among the expressions used in the texts are: *Chikadēvarājēndradatta-sakalatantra-svatantranāgi*; *Chikadēvarāja-mukhyāmātya*; *Mantri-sikhāmani*; *Sachiva-nichaya-tilaka*; *Chikadēva-mahārāya-prasādaikāśraya*; *Olapu vetta*; *Kṛpālabāha*, *Kṛpāparipalitā*; *Chikadēvarāyāntaranga Chikupādhyāya*; *Paramāptam sat-pradhānam*; *Chikadēva-mahārāja-samasta-kārya-durandhara-mantri-vidhyā*; *Patikāryēka-pradhānōttamam*, etc.

26. *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 40, 51-52; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 19; *Hasti. Māhāt.*, l.c.; *Sakala-tantrañjanāda*; *Sakalam-nīti-viśaradam*; *Chaturōpāya-samartham*; *Karaṇikāgrēsaranāgi*.

27. *Annals*, I, 105.

28. See *A. V. C.*, I, 13:

Tanna siri tanna sēvan |
tannoḷ geḷe tanna bhāgyamī Chikadēvē ||
ndrannēnavittā-nendola |
vinniravisi Tirumalārya-nunnativettam ||;

also *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 13: *atyunntar*.

29. See *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 2-3) to the *C. Fam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.* Tirumalaiyangār's visit to Madura is echoed in the *Śrisailārya-dinacharya* of the *Y. N. Stavaḷ*, etc., noticed in Ch. XIV of this work.

permission and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Śrīrangam and other places. He paid a visit to Madura also, whose ruler Mangammāl (1689-1706) made him a grant of villages and lands, desiring him to stay at her court as her minister. Apprised of this, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, it is added,³⁰ sent him a *nirūpa*, directing him to return. Accordingly, in 1698, Tirumalaiyangār came back to Seringapatam and resumed his office of Prime Minister. During 1686-1704 he was on the whole not only at the height of his power as the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja,³¹ but also attained considerable celebrity as an author and Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher, profoundly influencing the religious and philosophical outlook of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.³² Of the remaining members of council during the period little is known, except the rise to prominence of Karaṇika Lingannaia after his return from the embassy to the court of Aurangzīb (1700).

Among the Daḷavāis of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar we have referred to,³³ Kumāraiya of Daḷavāis, 1673-1704. Kalale was his father-in-law. He continued in office during the first nine years of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (1673-1682), retiring voluntarily on the ground of old age in May 1682. He was succeeded temporarily, for a period of fifteen days, by Dēvaiya (May-June 1682) and later by his nephew Doḍḍaiya (June 1682-June 1690). Doḍḍaiya was followed in succession by Timmappaiya of Kōlāla

30. *Ibid.*

31. See *Mitra. Gō.*, p. 2 (prose passage, third line from the bottom): *Śrī-Chikkadēva-mārāyana nirige-vaḍeda kaḷu-nēhakke nelevaneyum*; also *Gī. Gō.*, p. 50 (prose passage, first two lines from the top): . . . *olmegam . . . neravigam nēhakkam nalmegam nambugegam nelevēdenisi*—referring to Tirumalāya.

32. *Vide* sections on *Religion, social life and literary activity*, in Chs. XIII and XIV.

33. *Ante*, Ch. XI: see also *Annals*, I. 115-116; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 68-70. For details about the Kalale Family, *vide* section on *Domestic life* in Ch. XVI.

(June 1690-February 1696), Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (February 1696-August 1698), Vīrarājaiya of Nilasōge (August 1698-December 1702) and Dāsarājaiya of Dēvarāya-durga (December 1702-1704). The *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre*³⁴ speaks of Daḷavāis Kumārāiya and Doḍḍaiya of Kaḷale as having been sincere establishers of the Mysore Royal House (*Mysūru dhoregaḷige . . . vamsōddhārakarāda*), a claim perhaps fully justified by the meritorious services rendered by them in extending the kingdom of Mysore in all directions, particularly in withstanding the Mahratta incursions and recovering the lost ground for Mysore during the earlier part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (*i.e.*, 1673-1690). Daḷavāi Timmappaiya and his successors were also of considerable assistance to Chikkadēvarāja in extending the sphere of influence of Mysore in the direction of Ikkēri, Coorg and Malabar and in crushing all local combinations against his authority during the latter part of the reign (*i.e.* 1690-1704).³⁵ Some of the inscriptions of the period³⁶ point also to the active interest the Daḷavāis evinced in the civil government of the kingdom.

As the main-stay of day-to-day administration, the mint and the treasury received due
 Officers, officials, attention at the hands of Chikkadēva-
 etc. rāja Wodeyar. At first these seem to
 have been under the management of Chikkupādhyāya (as *kōśādhikāri*) and his colleagues, one of whom was familiarly known as Bokkasada Narasaiya.³⁷ At a subsequent date, probably after 1686, we note,³⁸ Anṇaiya, son of Javana Seṭṭi, a Jain, succeeded to the charge of the mint and connected offices (*ṭenkasāle muntādādhīpatya*). In administering the treasures of the State, he discharged

34. P. 28.

35. *Ante*, Ch. XI.36. See under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.37. See *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamamma* (cited in Ch. XI, f.n. 184), ff. 130.38. *Beḷ. Go. Cha.*, VI, 27-30.

his duties so assiduously that he rose in the favour and estimation of Chikkadēvarāja and eventually got constructed in the latter's name, at great cost and labour, a pond in Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa (*Śrī-Chikkadēvēndra-mahāsvāmīyavara kalyāṇi*), which is still in existence.³⁹

The administration of important places in the interior of the country, of newly acquired or conquered tracts and of frontier posts was, as usual, in the hands of not only agents (*kārya-karta*) but also civil and military officials of varying degrees of status (such as *Gurikārs*, *Pārupatyagārs*, etc.), directly responsible to the central government. Thus, Siddarājaiya of Talakāḍ was an agent of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar at Kuṇigal; Koṭṭūraiya was another at Talakāḍ; and Hampaiya was an officer in charge of the revenue establishment (*aṭhavane*) at Arkalgūḍ. At Śankhagiri, Tiruchchengōḍu taluk, Muddaiya represented Nanjanāthaiya for Chikkadēvarāja; at Tārāmangalam, Vāmalūr (Ōmalūr) taluk, Kempaiya, son of Chāmaiya (Śāmaiya), was another agent of his; and at Avanāśi, Mallaiya was his *Gurikār* (lit. a headman of armed peons). Dāsarājaiya, son of Biḷuguli Kemparājaiya, was in charge of the Nijagal-durga-sīme, Nelamangala taluk; [Daḷavāi] Dāsarājaiya-Timmapparājaiya, son of Krishṇaiya and grandson of Biḷuguli Timmarājaiya, was administering the Dēvarāyadurga-sīme; and Doḍḍaiya, son of Sangaiya and grandson of Channa-Vīraiya, was looking after the Maddagiri-sīme. Dāσαιya was the agent for affairs (*pārupatyagāra*) in charge of Nāgamangala, and Dēvaiya was entrusted with the management of Hangala-sīme in Dēvanagara hōbḷi. Among other officials of Chikkadēvarāja, Appūrāya-Hebbāruva was an agent for the collection of customs dues (*sunkada-kartarāda*); Chāmaiya was a supervisor

39. *Ibid.*, 31-37 [According to this poem (*Ibid.*, 38-64), the construction of the pond was actually completed after Chikkadēvarāja's death]; *E. C.*, II SB. 365; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 390, XII. 480-481.

of *Maṇēgārs* and *Kōlukārs*; Lingaiya was another official in charge of customs, being familiarly known as Sunkada-Linga, while Abhāṇi Venkaṭāchārya of Kauśika-gōtra and Bhānōji-Paṇḍita were among diplomatic agents (*niyōgi*) stationed abroad.⁴⁰

In the early part of his reign (1673-1686), particularly during 1673-1678 and 1682-1686, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, as we have seen,⁴¹ found himself engaged in wars with Madura and Ikkēri, Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, the local country powers and the Mahrattas. The administration of the country during these periods of war interspersed by short intervals of peace was, ordinarily, conducted by the Council of Ministers under his general supervision. The years 1679-1681 and 1686 were, however, generally years of peace and security in Mysore. It was during and, at different intervals, after this period that Chikkadēvarāja, at the height of his power, appears to have found sufficient time and leisure to personally attend to the solution of problems of administration necessitated by the conditions of the times.⁴²

Defence was naturally the most important item demanding the serious attention of Chikkadēvarāja in the early years of his reign—particularly in and after 1675. Although he was on the whole able to hold his own against the contending factors during 1673-1674, the experience of these years seems to have brought home to him the importance of a larger and well-equipped army as an effective instrument in working out his ambitious scheme of conquests and annexations. Accordingly, having acquainted himself with the state of his finances, he increased the numerical strength of his army by an addition of 12,000 horse and 100,000 foot, with the rest of the equipment that war necessitates.

40. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.

41. *Ante*, Ch. XI.

42. Cf. Wilks and Dēvachandra in Ch. XV below.

Thus the fort of Seringapatam was strengthened by the mounting of 44 additional cannons on the bastions and the inner and outer fort-walls.⁴³

About the same time, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar also struck a new type of gold coins (2. Coinage and Currency. *varaha*) known as *Tāṇḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēvarāya*.⁴⁴ Though only an administrative event, this was a landmark of considerable significance, particularly from the political and religious points of view. Politically it was, as already indicated, an index of his achievement over Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura in 1673. Indeed the *Toṇḍanūr copper-plate grant* (1722)⁴⁵ does seem to echo this position when it speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having “emulated the sports of Krishna in conquering the lord of Madhura” (Madura). And this was, perhaps, the reason why the actual designation of the coin itself associates his name with Krishna represented in the dancing posture on its obverse.⁴⁶ From the religious point of view, the striking of this type of coin, as we shall see,⁴⁷ testifies to Śrī-Vaishṇavism as the personal religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

The next series of administrative measures was, as already indicated, introduced by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during and after 1679-1681. These measures relate, respectively, to the reorganization and administration of local units. (3. Reorganization and administration of local units. The total number of administrative units or divisions (*gaḍi*) up to the time of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, it

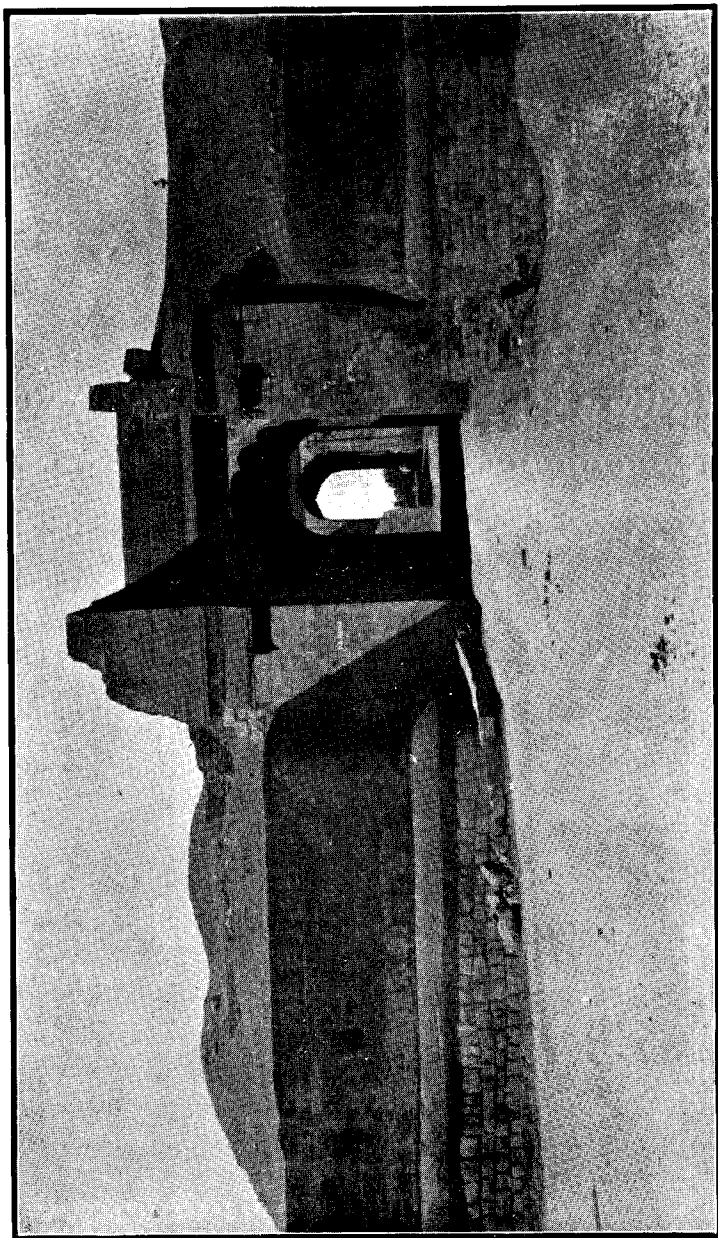
43. *Annals*, I. 111-112; see also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 31-32. For details of weapons of warfare, etc., of the period, *vide* Appendix IX.

44. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 54-55: *Tāṇḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēvarāya nāyaganu hākisi*.

45. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 61-62: *Madhurēsana geldu puravrajangalam selededeyāḍugum khalara śikshipa Krishṇana lileyante vōl*.

46. *Vide* Appendix VI—(2). Specimens of the coin are still known.

47. *Vide* under *Religion*, in Ch. XIII.



The Eastern Gate of the Seringapatam Fort.

would seem,⁴⁸ 72. Fresh acquisitions had, however, been made by him since 1673. The first important step, therefore, taken by Chikkadēvarāja was the amalgamation of all the conquests and annexations of the rulers of Mysore since Rāja Wodeyar's time and the splitting up of the same into 84 fresh units (*gaḍi*) after granting rent-free lands (*umbali*) to some Pāḷegārs and settling the contributions (*khandane*) due by others. Each unit was subdivided into *hōbḷis*, the groups of minor villages thereunder (ranging from 8 to 16) being absorbed in major ones and the *hōbḷi* itself being named after a major village.⁴⁹

At the head of the administration of each unit was placed a *Subādār*. Under him were posted an assistant (*chikka-pārupatya-gāra*), three scroll-writers (*aṭhavanegēprati*), six accountants (*gumāsteyaru*) and one scribe (*rāyasadavanu*). A net-work of postal system was established, a news-carrier (*anche-harikāra*) being stationed over each division. It was his duty to look after the transmission of letters from place to place and to report on matters coming within his direct knowledge. Among the subordinate staff of each unit, whose number varied in proportion to its size and status, were the head-peon (*dafēdāra*), menials (*kālūḷigadavaru*), treasury attenders (*hastāntri, golla*), two watchmen (*chāvaḍi-kāvalugāraru*) and a torch-bearer (*dīvaṭigeya-jana*). Besides, the local militia (*kandāchāra*) in each unit was placed on a sound footing, a *Thānādār*, a *Gurikār*,

48. The *Śrī. Māhāt.* of Mallikārjuna (1678) speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having been served by 72 functionaries or agents in his court (II, 65): *eppatteraḍu niyōgam dappadesēvipudarinda-mōlage-mesegum*. These functionaries perhaps represented 72 *gaḍis* or administrative units about 1678. Cf. Capt. Read in *Bārāmahal Records* (1792), I. 139, para 9, referring to the number of units as 73.

49. *Annals*, I. 116-117; see also *Bārāmahal Records*, l.c.

three *Śirastēdārs*, three *Gumāstas*, *Hōbḷidārs*, *Dafēdārs*, *Ōlekārs*, the bugler and the drummer (*kombinavanu*, *tamaṭeyavanu*) being suitably posted. The number of *Ōlekārs* varied from 100 to 400 according to the size of the unit. Over six *Ōlekārs* was placed a *Dafēdār* and over 50 *Dafēdārs* a *Hōbḷidār*. Ordinarily it was the duty of the staff of the militia to patrol the unit and safeguard the local treasury (*hastāntrada kāvalu-kattāḷe*). In times of war they were required to be ready with arms and ammunition.⁵⁰ The militia seems thus to have occupied an important place in the civil and military governance of the country, useful alike in times of war and peace and analogous to what we correspondingly find in the Mughal and Mahratta systems of administration of the period.

A special *Subādār* was appointed to be in charge of demesne lands situated in different units. It was his duty to see to the increase of yield from those lands and to supervise the raising of crops therefrom. Under him was posted a civil establishment (consisting of *Śirastēdār*, accountants and scribes) to maintain regular accounts of receipts in cash and in kind, and a military establishment (*i.e.*, *Kandāchār*, headed by the *Killēdār*, *Thāṇādār* and others) to keep watch and ward.

Intelligence, honesty and efficiency were the criteria of all appointments, particular care being taken to see that bribery and corruption were not fostered and that economy prevailed among the officials. The salary of the superior executive staff (like the *Subādār*, *Śirastēdār*, *Killēdār* and others) was fixed in proportion to the relative

50. *Ibid.*, 117. Cf. *Wilks* (I. 106), referring to the establishment of the post and the secret service (intelligence department), and commenting on it as the "new and terrible instrument of despotism." There was nothing peculiar in this institution. It was necessitated by the conditions of the times. The contemporary Mughal Empire had an active news service (see J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 97-101). See also f.n. 51 *infra*.

responsibilities of the appointments, half the amount being usually paid in cash and the other half in kind. The pay of the *Ālekārs* of the *Kandāchār* service was fixed at rates varying from half *varaha* to one *varaha*, half the amount being paid in cash and the other half in kind, which was met out of the produce of lands granted to them. To make the *Kandāchār* service attractive, all the *Ālekārs* were exempted from forced labour (*hittu-bittu*) and from payment of dues such as presents, benevolences and house-tax (*kāṇṇike*, *kaddāya*, *maneterige*).⁵¹

Special attention was bestowed on the maintenance of law and order in the country. A regular service for conveying criminal intelligence was established. The *Ālekārs* were required to report on the character and conduct of people in several parts of the kingdom and promptly communicate to the central government all occurrences in the interior of the country and on the road-side.

(a) The conveying of criminal intelligence.

(b) The Police system.

In important places and at the head-quarters of the units, a special staff, consisting of *Kotwāl*, *Śānabhōgs* (their number varying from 1 to 3 according to the size of the locality), *Pēte-Setṭi*, *Yajamān*, local accountant (*dēsada-śānabhōg*), the criers (*chalavādi* . . . *daṇḍiyavanu*), the bugler, the drummer, detectives (*kallā-baṇṭaru*) and menials (*ūligadavaru*), was entrusted with important duties.

51. *Ibid.*, 117-118; also 136-137. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 218. His reference to the exemption of the soldiery from the payment of certain imposts as being intended to "neutralise" their opposition to Chikkadēvarāja's measures, is based on an unfounded assumption. Such an exemption, however, seems to have been justified both on grounds of policy and established custom (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2462). Traces of Mughal and Mahratta influence are noticeable in the organization of the *gaḍi* (*subāh*), the police system and criminal intelligence service, termed "espionage" by the older writers. Compare, for instance, Sarkar, *o.c.*, pp. 80-101, describing the duties of the *Subāhdār*, *Faujdar*, *Kotwāl*, *Thānādār* and news-reporters including the *Harkārah*, and referring to the *Subāhdār's schbandi* (*sibbandi*), troops (retainers), etc. The parallel is interesting.

These officials had to see that the different classes and sections of the local populace (such as the *Banajigas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Pānchālas*) did not transgress their caste injunctions, to prevent thefts, to see that the merchants carried on their dealings according to prescribed rules and regulations, and to bring the different classes of offenders to book. Also, during nights they had to conduct a regular patrol of the locality and prevent the commission of crimes. Further, the *Kotwāl*, *Pēṭe-Setṭi* and *Yajamān* were empowered to inquire into local cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively light and to report to the king all serious offences demanding deterrent punishment at his hands.⁵²

In the scheme of fiscal reforms introduced by Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the village as the fiscal unit received his foremost attention. In each village, the time-honoured system of rural economy was revived, and placed on a secure foundation, under the designation of *Bārābalūti*, which denotes the carrying of rural administration by the following twelve elements of the village hierarchy: the headman (*gauḍa*), accountant (*śānabhōg*)—number varying from 1 to 3—, Brāhman astrologer (*pañchāngada-brāhmaṇa*), blacksmith (*kabbiṇada-kelasavanu*), goldsmith (*akkasāle*), potter (*kumbāra*), washerman (*agasa*), barber (*kelasi*), scavenger (*tōṭi*), watchman (*taḷavāra*), regulator of tank sluices (*kere-nīruganṭi*) and carpenter (*ōjaravanu*). The fees (*rusum*) of these officials, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, varied according to their respective rights, being usually paid in kind (*solige-guḍḍe-āya*, i.e., a measure of capacity equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *balla* or $\frac{1}{2}$ a *seer*), the headman and the accountant, in particular, being entitled to an additional share

52. *Ibid.*, 125-126; see also f.n. 51 *supra*.

from the crops raised by the villagers (*śānāya-mudre*). The headman was further exempted from house-tax (*mane-terige*), forced labour (*hittu-bittu*) and presents and benevolences (*kāṇike, kaḍḍāya*). Half the pay of the village accountant was to be paid in cash and the other half in kind, he being permitted to receive from the ryots, annually, an additional fee (varying from $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 *haṇa* per head, according to the status of the ryot) for making entries of land revenue receipts in the village accounts (*kaḍatada kāṇikeya haṇa*). The carpenter, barber, potter, washerman, scavenger, blacksmith, watchman and others were allowed the right of receiving a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain from individual cultivators. The village officials other than the scavenger and the watchman were permitted to receive from each ryot a fixed quantity of grain as an annual allowance (*haḍade*), calculated on the basis of the numerical strength of the ryot's family. In addition to all these perquisites, the Brāhman astrologer, accountant, scavenger, watchman and the regulator of tank sluices were granted, for their maintenance, rent-free lands (*māṇya-bhūmi*) varying in revenue value from 1 to 6 *varahas* according to their respective status. Other officials, like those in charge of government channels (*kāluve-manēgār*) and of accounts of crops (*hasuge-manēgār, śānabhōg*), were each to receive a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain out of the landlord's half share of the agricultural produce (*vārada hutṭuvaliyalli*).⁵³

The revenue system next received a due share of attention at the hands of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Land-tax being the main-stay of finance, elaborate rules

53. *Ibid.*, 119-120. Compare the exaction of perquisites (*abwabs*) by revenue officials in contemporary Mughal India (Sarkar, *o. c.*, pp. 112-114).

and regulations were drawn up for its organization and administration. As already indicated, a distinction was made between demesne lands and public lands, separate officers being appointed to look after each of them. The principle of State landlordism was the prime feature of the reforming tendencies of the time, and every effort was made to adjust it to the changing conditions of the times and the needs of a growing kingdom. At first, it was laid down that half the share of produce (*ardha-vāra*), such as paddy sugar-cane and other staple crops, from lands irrigated by canals in the *Aṣṭagrām* and other divisions, should be credited to government. The subjects, however, represented that this measure would hardly enable them to maintain themselves after meeting the necessary expenses of cultivation (*muttuvali*). Accordingly, at the harvest, an enquiry was instituted, and it being found that the estimated income from and expenditure on production during the year were nearly balanced, the yield was divided into three portions, one portion being set off against the cost of production incurred by the ryots, another being allowed for their maintenance and the third being ordered to be taken by the government. This procedure, it was ordered, was to be followed only for a year or two, after which the ryots were to make over to the government an equal share of the gross produce (*sama-vāra*). In lands irrigated by tank water, it was ruled that paddy and other crops were to be raised during years of good rains and half the produce credited to government, while during years of drought the cultivator was to be allowed to raise only dry crops (*beddalu pairu*) and pay the government the assessment usually levied on dry lands (*beddalu kandāya*). To facilitate the discharge of water from the canals and embankments (*kālve, katṭe*) and the cultivation of crops thereunder, a *Maṇḍgār*, a *Śānabhōg*, menials and regulators

Its organization
and administration.

of sluices (their number varying from 2 to 4 according to the condition of the canal and the status of the village) were appointed. To supervise the raising of crops from demesne lands, the required officials (*hasuge-manēgār*, *hasuge-sānabhōg*, *kālūḷigada-jana*) were likewise posted. As regards waste and unserviceable lands covered with rank vegetation, revenue concessions were granted with a view to their reclamation. In the case of lands of this class yielding a gross produce of 12 *haṇas*, only one-third was to be received as the government share for a period of five years; in the case of middle class lands yielding 16 *haṇas*, one-fourth was to be collected for a similar period, after which the usual half was to be taken. In places where ryots were few and waste lands innumerable, a partial remission of land revenue (*hisse kandāya*) was allowed, to enable them to reclaim such lands. The ryots in certain parts of the country having represented their inability to pay the fixed cash assessment (*kandāya*), it was ruled that in such cases only half the produce actually raised (*vāra*) was to be taken from them and stored in the principal granary at the capital city, an order to this effect being issued also to the *Subādārs* of the units.

The land-tax, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, seems thus to have varied from $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the gross produce, collected in cash as well as in kind. It must be taken to have been a distinct improvement on what obtained in South India under the Chōlas, Vijayanagar sovereigns and rulers of Madura and Tanjore, whose maximum share of land revenue varied in actual practice from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{4}{5}$, or 50 to 80 per cent, of the gross produce, against the $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ permitted by the Hindu law-givers. The settlement effected by Chikkadēvarāja was, again, conspicuous by the absence of farming of revenues and its concomitant evils, oppression and rack-renting, of which we have evidence already in the Vijayanagar period. The heaviness of the land-tax under Chikkadēva,

compared with the lightness of the burden at present (*i.e.*, about 6 per cent. or $\frac{1}{17}$ of the gross produce), was, it has to be conceded, in keeping with the high purchasing power of the *pagōḍa* in the seventeenth century. And whatever may be said against payment in kind, it has to be set down that this system has its own advantages during periods of depression accompanied by a severe fall in prices.⁵⁴

Land-tax apart, a system of taxing fruit trees in garden lands was brought into being. Thus, it was laid down, cocoanut trees were to be assessed on the basis of yield of fruits, at rates varying from 15, 18, 25, 28 to 30 *varahas* per 1,000 trees. In certain parts of the country where garden lands were for long immune from assessment, half the gross produce of both areca and cocoanut trees was fixed as the government share of revenue, while in places where taxation of cocoanut trees was the custom, areca trees also were to be subjected to a levy according to local usage. The tax on tamarind and jack trees in dry lands was likewise based on the yield, and varied from 1 to 2 *haṇas* per tree (*maravaḷi kandāya*). As regards garden lands (situated behind tanks in the neighbourhood of canals) leased out for fresh areca and cocoanut plantations, a tax of 3 *haṇas* was at first to be levied on every 100 plantain stumps (*bāḷeya buḍa*) required for raising the plantations, and, as soon as the areca and cocoanut plants yielded a harvest, the tax on plantain trees was to be remitted, either one half (*vāra*) of the major produce or an equivalent cash assessment

54. *Vide*, on this section, *Ibid*, 118-119, 122-123. For details about *Early South Indian Finance*, see article on the subject in the *I. A.*, Vol. XL, pp. 265-289. Cf. *Wilks*, according to whom "the sixth was the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his equivalent in money" and forced the ryot to agree to "a voluntary increase of the landed assessment," etc., for which there is no evidence—*vide* Ch. XV of this work, for a detailed critical notice of Wilks's position; also f.n. 69 *infra*.

(*kandāya*) being ordered to be collected from the proprietors.⁵⁵

Land revenue dues from the administrative units, under the reforms of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, were to be annually collected in full in three instalments and transmitted to the central exchequer at Seringapatam. Besides, the *Subādār* of each unit was required to execute a bond (*muchchalike*) to the effect that he would increase the revenue yield from different sources (such as *pairu*, *pachche*, etc.). The annual net revenue receipts from the 84 units after deducting the necessary expenses of the civil and military establishments (*aṭhavaṇe*, *kandāchāra*) and religious endowments (*dēvadāya*, *brahmadāya*), amounted on an average to 7,20,000 *varahas* (or twenty-one lakhs and sixty-thousand rupees, taking one *varaha* at Rs. 3). And it was so ordained that every day a minimum of two bags containing 1,000 *varahas* each was to be received from the local parts and deposited in the treasury at Seringapatam at the time of the king's observance of the *Nāmatīrtham* in the Palace. So strict indeed was this ordinance that, it is said, if there was delay on any day in the remittance of the amount to the treasury, the king would devote his time that day to the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and would not break his fast until he had personally seen the bags and sent them for deposit to the treasury.⁵⁶ As for that, no modern Government can or would fail to collect its revenue at the proper time except at the risk of failing in its duty towards itself. The precision

55. *Ibid.*, 122-123.

56. *Ibid.*, 126; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 120-121; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 302-303. *Wilks's* observation (l.c.) that Chikkadēvarāja, "by a course of rigid economy and order, and by a widely extended and well-organized system of securing for himself the great mass of plunder obtained by his conquests, had accumulated a treasure," etc., hardly takes into account either the actual conditions under which Chikkadēva worked or the historical precedents or the accepted canons of public finance, as explained in the text above.

with which revenue is collected to-day in every civilized country shows that that great duty cannot be abandoned or laid aside, for that would be striking at the very root of its existence. And Chikkadēva's government was not a mere tax-gathering one; it cared for the political, social and spiritual welfare of its people. Further, according to the Hindu science of politics, a well-filled treasury is a necessity to a king and Chikkadēva, considering the times he lived in, would have committed a serious blunder if he had not made adequate arrangements for keeping his finances in order.⁵⁷ Even in Europe, the policy of forming public treasures or other reserves, in order to provide for the necessities of the State in times of emergency, is well known. The system of public treasures, indeed, can lay claim to high antiquity. Thus, the Athenians before the Peloponnesian War had accumulated a large sum. The Persian kings likewise had collected the tribute of their provinces in the shape of precious metals, large portions of which Alexander took hold of. The Romans followed the same system of hoarding. In the medieval period, the practice was continued. It was usual on the death of the king for his successor to gain possession of the treasure. Several

57. According to the *Amara-kōśa*, *Rājyānga* consists of the following seven constituents: *Svāmyamātya sulrēkōśa rāṣṭra durga balāni*, king, minister, friend, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army. The *Matsya-Purāna* (i-iv) likewise says:

*Svāmyanātyancha rāṣṭramcha durgam kōśē balam śrit |
Parasparapākāridam saptāngam rāja muchyate ||*

The *Mahābhārata* adds citizens as forming the eighth constituent. The importance of the *kōśa* (treasury) is thus stressed by one authority:

*Kōśo mahīpatēr jīvō natu prānāḥ kathanchana |
Dravyam hi rājābhūpasya na śarīramitī sthītīḥ ||
Dharmahētō sukhārthāya bhṛitīyānām bharaṇāyacha |
Āpadarthamcha samrakshyaḥ kōśaḥ kōśavatā sadā ||*

(*Yuktikalpataru*, as quoted under *kōśaḥ* in Rāja Rādhākānta Dēv's *Śabdakalpadruma*). According to this authority, the treasury is, apart from his life, the king's soul; it is the wealth of the sovereign and shows his condition, apart from his body. This wealth is for enabling him to perform his *Dharma* and for securing his happiness. It is also intended to support those dependent on him; also to preserve him from dangers; that which has all this stored in itself is *kōśa*.

instances can be quoted in support of this statement from the histories of England and France. The treasure and the kingdom, in fact, went together, each being looked on as equally a form of property. In England, Henry VIII dissipated the treasure left by his wise father. In France, Henry IV, who was guided by Sully, his celebrated minister, in this matter, was the last sovereign to maintain a treasure, though the practice fell into desuetude by the time of Adam Smith. He notes that it continued to exist in the canton of Bern and in Prussia. Frederick the Great (1740-1786) continued the system in the latter country, and the late German Empire stuck to it tenaciously to the end. "The reasons which induced so many states," as one authority puts it, "to accumulate treasure are to be found in the conditions of society existing at the time." A primitive community has no need of a store of money; provisions and weapons would be more useful in its case. With the introduction of money dealings, the convenience of having a universally desired article on hand would be too plain to be forgotten. "The efficient maintenance of an army in the field depends in a great degree on the supply of what is so often called the 'sinews of war.' Cases are not unknown where expeditions failed altogether from want of this indispensable auxiliary." Where credit was undeveloped and taxes were occasional and uncertain expedients, a State that had no treasure was in a dangerous situation, unprepared either for attack or defence. The treasure came to be looked upon, as Bastable has justly remarked, as a species of property owned by the sovereign "serving a particular purpose and completing the public economy." The change to the modern economic organization wherein the method of incurring debt (through a well-organized banking system) takes the place of the older system of storing up treasure or other disposable wealth for a time of need, is not yet universal even in Europe. The policy

of building up of reserves for meeting military necessities has been long defended in Germany, while in India the state-treasure policy has not been entirely superseded by a well-organized system of banking.⁵⁸

The next item which engaged the attention of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was the standardisation of weights and measures. The *koḷaga* was the common unit of measure used for determining the quantity of corn. Its measuring capacity, however, varied in different parts of the country, according to local custom. Thus, there were *koḷagas* measuring from 8, 12, 15 to 16 *seers* each. Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar allowed this usage to be continued all over the country, introducing a change only in respect of the seals to be used by the local officials for impressing the prevailing units of measure with. The signets (*mudreya unğura*) which were in vogue in different localities since the Pāḷegār regime were examined, and, as the estampages thereon were found to vary considerably, a new system was introduced, aiming at uniformity throughout. On the gold signet of each of the 84 administrative units, the name of the unit, together with the figures of the Sun and the Moon on either side and the monogram “*Dē*” in the middle—standing for the king’s name—was engraved, and the principal local officer of the unit (*Subādār*) ordered to be entrusted with the charge of the seal thus formed. Another type of signet made of silver, with the monogram “*Dē*” likewise engraved thereon, was, it was further laid down, to be placed in charge of the subordinate executive staff (namely, *Aṭhavaṇe-chikka-pārupatyagāra*, *Killēdārs*, *hōbli* and village officials and collectors of taxes such as *sunka*, *pommu*, *samayāchāra*, etc.), for current use by them. Further, the village officials (like the *tōṭi*, *taḷavār* and *nīruganṭi*) were to be provided with

58. See as to the maintenance of State treasure in Europe generally, Bastable, *Public Finance*, 535-540.

wooden planks, and the village forum (*chāvāḍi*) with a staff, impressed as usual with the monogram “*Dē*” in the middle and the figures of the Sun and the Moon on either side, for use by them under the direction of their chief (*grāmada pārupatyagāra*), especially while attaching the properties of delinquents and claiming the government share of produce from lands. Besides, the managers of temples (*dēvasthānada pārupatyagāra*) in the local parts were to be in charge of the seals thereof, engraved with the names of the respective shrines. Similarly, the general units of weights and measures all over the country, namely, the maund (*maṇa*), $\frac{1}{4}$ maund (*daḍeya*), $\frac{1}{8}$ maund (*panchēru*), *koḷaga* (measuring 8 *seers*), *balla* (measuring 2 *seers*), *seer*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *seer*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *seer*, $\frac{1}{8}$ *seer* and $\frac{1}{16}$ *seer*, were to be suitably impressed with the royal seal, and it was ruled that all commercial transactions were to be conducted only by means of stamped measures. At the same time, the standard weight of 3 *Kaṅṭhīrāyī-haṇams* being recognised as equivalent to that of 1 *duḍḍu*, the other corresponding denominations were regulated as under; 1 *duḍḍu*—1 *tola*; 24 *duḍḍu*—1 *kachcha seer*; 10 *seers*—1 *daḍeya* ($\frac{1}{4}$ maund); 4 *daḍeya*—1 small maund (*maṇa* of 40 *seers*); 44 to 46 *seers*—1 big maund (*maṇa*). Both in the Palace stores and in the market-places, grains, jaggery, areca, turmeric, tamarind, pepper, chillies and miscellaneous spices were to be measured by the big weight (*i.e.*, at 44 to 46 *seers* per maund) while purchasing them, and by the small weight (*i.e.*, at 40 *seers* per maund) while distributing them for consumption.⁵⁹

Other important measures Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is credited with, generally during c. 1673-1690, were of an economic character, and relate in the main to industries,

6. Industries, trade and commerce.

59. *Ibid.*, 120-122; see also under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII, for the reference to “*Dē*” (Chikkadēvarāja’s monogram) as found on boundary stones. On p. 121 of the *Annals*, for 3 *Kaṅṭhīrāyī-varahas*, read 3 *Kaṅṭhīrāyī-haṇams*.

trade and commerce. Manufacture and sale of iron goods seems to have been a normal feature of governmental activities during the reign. The professional classes, such as dyers (*banṇagāra*), weavers (*dēvāṅga*), tailors (*chippiga*), artisans (*śilpi*), plasterers (*gārekelasadavaru*), day-labourers (*kāmāṭi*) and basket-makers (*mēdaru*), were, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, to be enabled to ply their respective callings in accordance with their time-honoured traditions.⁶⁰ In particular, on the acquisition of Bangalore by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in July 1687, we learn,⁶¹ not only merchants but also 12,000 families of weavers were securely established there, agreements (*kaulu-karāru*) were entered into with them and facilities afforded for the passage of bales of cloth to various parts of the country and, particularly, to Seringapatam. Trade and commerce were, ordinarily, in the hands of *Settis* of the *Vaiśya* and *Banajiga* communities. Trade routes were controlled by associations of merchants of various places in different parts of the country (*dēśa-dēśada-mahā-nāḍavartakaru*) and transport of articles was being conducted by means of pack-bullocks (*gōṇi-hēru*). Articles of commerce were liable to local tolls (*sthaḷa-sunka*) and import and export duties (*oḷavāru, horavāru*) on the basis of loads, the rates varying according to the nature of the commodity. The systematic expansion of the kingdom of Mysore since 1610 appears to have naturally brought in its train problems of its own for solution at the hands of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, particularly in respect of trade and commerce. Special attention was paid to the strengthening of the forts and bastions of places acquired from the Pāḷegārs, and to the laying out, on an extensive scale, of market-places (*pēṭe*) in those localities. The merchants having, it is said,⁶² represented to Chikkadēvarāja the necessity of bringing together the

60. *Ibid.*, 120.61. *Ibid.*, 110.62. *Ibid.*, 124.

different products—grown on a large scale in various parts of the country—to a prominent trade-centre (*doḍḍa-pēṭe*) for purposes of evaluation (*karagapaḍi*), large scales (*chintālu*) were fixed up in Bangalore, Gubbi, Turuvēkere and other places, where cotton, areca-nut and other articles of trade were to be brought and weighed and later taken to local markets for sale. A sort of trade-emporium for the distribution of economic products over different areas seems thus to have been brought into being. Besides, arrangements were made not only for the export and import of grains, spices, cloth and other things to and from the market-places (*pēṭe*) of the 84 administrative units, but also for the determination of their value and the levy of tolls (*sunka*) on different commodities according to the nature of the stock. The customs department (*sunkada-chāvaḍi*) was reorganized, salaried servants, namely, a *Maṇēgār*, *Śānabhōg* (number not exceeding 3) and *Kōlukārs*, being appointed to look after the same. Similarly officials were posted in suitable numbers to the charge of toll-gates (*ukkaḍa*) on the road-side in the interior of the country. Collections from customs dues were to be accumulated in the cash-chests (*gōlaka*) of the respective administrative units, and merchants in local parts were to be required to set apart a portion of their wares, at rates varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to one *seer* per load (*hēru*), as contribution (*rusum*) to local deities and allowances to Brāhmins and others.⁶³

Among measures of a miscellaneous character, recorded to have been introduced by Chikka-dēvarāja Wodeyar during the period (1673-1686), were⁶⁴ the arrangements made for the storing and disposal of agricultural produce (from demesne lands and public lands) and other articles of every day utility in the principal granary (*doḍḍa-ugraṇa*)

7. Miscellaneous measures.

63. *Ibid*, 125, 142.

64. *Ibid*, 126-128.

and the newly established minor stores (*chikka-ugrāṇa*) at Seringapatam, and the appointment of stores officials, such as supervisors (*gurikārs*), writers (*karaṇīkaru*), clerks (*gumāstas*), accountants (*śānabhōgs*), measurers (*aḷateyavaru*, *tūkadavaru*), guards (*pahareyavaru*), etc., their pay being fixed in cash and in kind according to the nature of their respective duties; the extension of the armoury and the magazine (*jāna-śāle*, *alagina-chāvāḍi*, *maddina-manē*) in Seringapatam and the storing therein of fireworks of various descriptions (required for use during the *Navarātri* and other festive occasions), together with arrangements for the manufacture on a large scale of weapons of warfare and powder and shot, and for the maintenance of accounts relating to them by a special establishment consisting of *Gurikārs*, *Śānabhōgs* and others.

Although the administrative measures sketched thus far were on the whole attended with a fair measure of success, it appears not improbable, if we are to view things in the light of the Jesuit letter of 1686 already referred to,⁶⁵ that the working of the fiscal reforms, in particular, was hampered by the political crisis of 1682-1686, resulting in a friction between the government and the subjects, especially in the eastern parts of the kingdom of Mysore. One account⁶⁶ has it that despite the facilities afforded, and concessions granted, by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, certain well-to-do and proud ryots organised a stout opposition to the government refusing to pay the revenue dues and openly disobeying the rules and regulations. The agitation, according to this authority, was thus purely fiscal in character. The evidence available, however, seems to indicate that almost simultaneously, during 1682-1686, there was a

65. *Ante*, Ch. XI, f.n. 115-117; *vide* also Ch. XV, for details.

66. *Annals*, I. 123-124.

clash of interests, political and economic. In any case, the troubles were successfully overcome.⁶⁷ And, towards the close of 1686, the levy of house-tax and other imposts, altogether 19 in number, was

systematised.⁶⁸ These may be classified under two main heads: (1) Local and (2) Communal. Under local were included such items as *Mane-terige* (house-tax), *Hullu-haṇa* (tax on straw from fields), *Dēvarāya-vatta* (difference of exchange on defective coins—a currency discount), *Ēru-sunka* (plough-tax), *Gūḷuvina-pommu* (tax on plough-share), *Angaḍi-vasara* (tax on moveable booths in the bazaar streets), *Angaḍi-pattāḍi* (tax on workshop attached to a warehouse), *Maggada-kandāya* (loom-tax), *Pāśavāra* (tax on fishery), *Uppina-mōḷe* (tax on local manufacture of salt from saline earth), *Dana-karu-māriddakke-sunka* (tax on cattle sold), *Kuri-terige* (tax on flocks of sheep), *Giḍa-kāvalu* (tax on pasturage in forest tracts, resorted to by the ryots), *Ubbe-kāṇike* (tax on kettles used by washermen for the boiling and bleaching of cloths) and *Kaudi-terige* (tax on bullock saddles, *i.e.*, on bullocks for hire). Under communal were *Samayāchāra* (dues on conventional practices or usages observed by the folk), *Kūṭāchāra* (dues on corporate rights), *Jāti-mānya* (dues on caste privileges) and *Maduve-terige* (marriage-tax).⁶⁹

67. See Ch. XV below, for details.

68. *Annals*, I. 124. Cf. *Wilks*, according to whom the imposts were levied very early in Chikkadēvarāja's reign and became the *root cause* of the revolt of the Jangamas. Even Dēvachandra, the local traditionist, hardly supports Wilks, for, according to him, the levy of imposts, about the middle of the reign (*i.e.*, in 1686), was a *consequence* of the Jangama agitation—*vide* Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice of these authorities.

69. *Ibid*; see also and compare Wilks's list (I. 218-219, f.n.) and Rice's list (I. 592, f.n.). Most of the imposts, referred to, were common in the Karnātaka country in ancient times (see Ch. XV) and in contemporary Mughal India (see Sarkar, *o. c.*, pp. 119-123), though forms seem to have differed. Chikkadēvarāja's revival of them as effective weapons for keeping at bay the turbulent elements, appears to have been justified from the conditions of the times. Wilks's statement (I. 217) that Chikkadēvarāja "had recourse to the law of the *Sasters*, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes," is neither well-founded nor does it sufficiently take into account the actual conditions under which Chikkadēvarāja ruled—*vide* Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice.

Officials were appointed for the administration and collection of these imposts, a *Manēgār*, a *Śānabhōg* and a *Kōlukār* being generally held responsible for each item. Usually all these items of revenue were leased out (*guttigege kottu*), the annual realisations therefrom being ordered to be added on to the aggregate annual land revenue receipts of the respective villages. These imposts, again, were subject to enhancement according to the condition and status of the individual ryot, and it was ordained that the revenue from this source was to be remitted to the central exchequer at Seringapatam along with the local land revenue collections (*sīme-kandāya*).⁷⁰

With the exception of certain portions of the years 1687-1690, 1695-1697 and 1698-1700, the latter part of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*i.e.*, 1686-1704) might generally be described as a period of peace and settled government, accompanied by systematic consolidation of conquered tracts—especially of those recovered from the Mahrattas. The earlier administrative measures, particularly those relating to land revenue, were enforced with rigour and discipline, though with due regard to the general well-being of the people. A good harvest to the ryot was the criterion of happiness and prosperity of the subjects and we have contemporary testimony⁷¹ as to how, in keeping with that criterion, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was quite averse to taking from the ryots anything more

70. *Ibid.*

71. *A. V. C.*, III, 148 (with gloss): *Kannaḍa-nāḍol belasugaḷenitu perchidoḍam prajegaḷ perchuvar, Chikadēva-mahārāyam satyasandhanāḍudarim mun mitigeḍa kandāyamanallade peratondū kāsū-vīsamanollanu . . .*; see also *C. Bi.*, p. 4 (prose passage, para 2), testifying to peace in the country, happiness and well-being of the subjects, and blessings of Providence in respect of good rains and crops in the State, during the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (*endeseḷya pāgegaḷaḍaṅḍudarim prajegaḷge rājikabhayamilladeyūm, dēvatāprasādadim male-belegaḷuṅṅudarim daivikabhayamilladeyū-nirpudarim, prajegaḷanibarum ihadōḷ sogavāḍapar*).

than the standardised share of land revenue dues. So carefully were the resources of the kingdom managed under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja that, towards the close of his reign, it is said,⁷² he was able to leave in his treasury a credit balance of nine crores in the shape of cash and effects, whence he came to be familiarly known as *Navakōṭi-Nārāyaṇa* (Lord of nine crores).

The period 1686-1704 was thus marked by the successful working of the earlier administrative measures of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Though there were no additions or alterations as regards these measures during this period, he is credited with having introduced certain developments in the administrative machinery in and after 1700, shortly after the return of his embassy to the court of Aurangzīb.⁷³ These developments, it is added, had their origin in the Mughal system of the time, and relate to the organization of the following eighteen departments (*chāvāḍi*):⁷⁴ (1) *Nirūpada-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with the recording of petitions from the officials to the king and with the disposal of the same in the form of orders (*nirūpa*) duly authenticated by the latter; (2) *Āyakattina-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with accounts—civil and military—of the 84 administrative units (*gaḍigaḷa sīmeya āḍāya-vyayada lekka, sainyada lekka*), of the central exchequer (*Tōshikhāne lekka*) and the king's household (*Kartara khāsā āḍāya-vyayada lekka*); (3) *Mysūru-hōbaḷi-vichārada-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units south of the Cauvery; (4) *Pattanaḍa-hōbaḷi-vichārada-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units north of the Cauvery; (5) *Sīmeya-kandūchārada-chāvāḍi*:

72. *Annals*, I. 151; cf. *Wilks*. I. 120; see also f.n. 56 *supra*.

73. *Ibid.*, 146.

74. *Ibid.*, 146-150; cf. Capt. Read in *Bārāmahal Records* (1792), I. 139, para 10; also *Wilks*, I. 119-122, f.n. (including Sir Murray Hammick's list from the *India Office*, on. p. 122, f.n.), and Rice, I. 590-591.

department dealing with accounts of civil and military establishments in the administrative units and of arms, ammunition and stores required for the equipment of the respective units; (6) *Bāgila-kandāchārada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with accounts relating to the military and civil officials on the Huzūr establishment and the Pālegārs; (7) *Sunkada-chāvaḍi*: customs department for the maintenance of consolidated accounts of road-tolls on goods, collected all over the country under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, and of import and export duties; (8) *Pommina-chāvaḍi*: a special department intended exclusively for the collection at one-half the scheduled rates, of duties on commodities purchased or disposed of by certain classes of people such as beneficiaries, Brāhmans and officials; (9) *Toḍāyada-chāvaḍi*: a similar department intended for the collection of duties at half the scheduled rates [from certain classes of people] in Seringapatam only; (10) *Paṭṭanada-hōbaḷi-aṣṭagrāmada-chāvaḍi*: department having jurisdiction over the eight *hōbḷis* newly formed under the *Chikkadēvarāja-sāgara* channel; (11) *Mysūru-hōbaḷi-aṣṭagrāmada-chāvaḍi*: department having jurisdiction over the eight *hōbḷis* newly formed under the *Dēva-nālā* (channel)—these two departments being required to attend to the repairs of dams and canals under the Cauvery and the Hēmāvati and to maintain regular accounts of half the government share of produce from lands irrigated thereunder; (12) *Benṇeya-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the management of Palace cattle, daily collection and disposal of dairy products and the maintenance of accounts relating thereto; (13) *Paṭṭanada-chāvaḍi*: department entrusted with the upkeep of the Palace, fort, bastions, stores and magazine, and the maintenance of law and order, in the capital city of Seringapatam; (14) *Bēhina-chāvaḍi*: department of intelligence—dealing with the speedy

transmission by couriers (*anche-harikāra*) of reports of events from the administrative units to the capital, and with the communication of royal orders (*nirūpa*) thereon to the local parts; (15) *Sammukhada-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with the maintenance of accounts relating to the members of the Royal Family and the subordinate staff on the various establishments of the king's household—a department which was to be administered by Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya under the direct supervision of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar; (16) *Dēvasthānada-chāvāḍi*: department pertaining to the management of temples all over the kingdom and to the supervision of their budgets; (17) *Kabbināda-chāvāḍi*: department dealing with the purchase of raw iron and manufacture and sale of goods therefrom; and (18) *Hogesoppina-chāvāḍi*: department concerned with the purchase and sale of tobacco in Seringapatam.

Over each department thus organized, a supervisor (*gottugāra*), three record-keepers (*daftaradavaru*), accountants (*gumāsteyaru*), writers (*rāyasadavaru*), a head-peon (*dafēdāra*), menials (*ūḷigadavaru*), attender (*golla*), watchman (*kāvalugāra*) and torch-bearer (*dīvatigeyavanu*), among others, were appointed. Their pay was fixed in proportion to their relative responsibilities, one half being, as usual, ordered to be paid in cash and the other half in kind. These officials, it was further laid down, were to diligently discharge their duties, safeguarding the interests of government and reporting personally to the king every morning particulars of administration relating to their respective departments. Arrangements were also made for the prompt communication to him of important matters (such as daily occurrences, watch and ward, maintenance of discipline, etc.) pertaining to these departments, to enable him to set right any palpable defect or disorder in the working of the system.⁷⁵

75. *Ibid.*, 150-151.

The changes described thus far may be taken to reflect the mature political and administrative wisdom of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. In any case they cannot be set down as an attempt at merely imitating the standards of the Mughal-Mahratta systems of the time. The idea of eighteen departments (*Aṭhārā-cuchēri*) may have been borrowed from Mughal administrative practice and procedure but the details of the departments, as worked out by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, were essentially indigenous and adapted to local requirements. They also seem to evidence a strong tendency on his part to improve the old institutions and adjust them to the conditions of his own times along more definite and up-to-date lines. He thus systematised the governmental machinery, centralizing much of the power at headquarters while leaving to local officials as much authority as they can be expected safely to discharge. It is significant that this administrative achievement of 1700-1704, which followed closely on the political development attained in Chikkadēvarāja's reign, is yet, in its fundamental features, the basis of the government of to-day.
