

## HISTORY

### LEGENDARY PERIOD

A land covered with one mighty and all-embracing forest,—the great Dandakāranya ; nestling here and there on the bank of a sacred stream, the *āsrāma* or hermitage of some *ṛishi* or holy sage, with his mind intent upon penance or absorbed in austerities of overwhelming potency ; hidden in forest clearings or perched on isolated rocky eminences, the retreats and strongholds of lawless predatory chiefs or still more formidable *asuras* and *rākshasas*, whence they issued for raid and foray or bent on deeds of violence :—such is the picture of the south of India presented to our view in the earliest records of the Hindu race. In the continual conflict between *devas* or gods and Brahmans on the one side, and *asuras* or giants and *rākshasas* or demons on the other, is doubtless depicted a period when the Aryans in their southward progress were brought into collision with aboriginal races or the descendants of primeval immigrants.

The course of events seems to have been somewhat on this wise. A few solitary vedic rishis made their way as hermits to the south, in search of suitable retreats in the depths of the forest, where the acquisition of merit, by an uninterrupted round of austerities and rites, might gratify the spiritual pretensions which were contested among the haunts of men as at variance with the established system of society. But here too they found not unpeopled solitudes ; and as intruders of a different race, provoked the hostility of previous settlers, which took the form of interference with the sacrifices and molestation of the rites—the proclaimed sources of supernatural power,—whose efficacy depended on exact and complete performance. The superior attainments, however, of the Aryan Brahmans enabled them in various ways to defeat the opposition of the tribes with whom they were thus brought into contact, and to introduce the elements of civilization among the ruder races of the south.

Impelled by internal strife or by ideas of adventure and conquest, warriors of the Kshatriya class gradually followed these Brahman pioneers across the Vindhyas, and came into collision with the rulers of indigenous tribes. The Brahmans, having already gained a footing

among these, would be led to assert sacerdotal claims with increased and uncompromising vehemence, whence violent struggles ensued, not alone between hostile races, but between rival sects and factions, marked by all the asperity and implacable rancour of such contests. The power of the Kshatriyas is represented as having been virtually extinguished, and only resuscitated with the aid of the Brahmans and the admission of their ascendancy. But the rival system of Buddhism, which was of Kshatriya origin, became in course of time predominant ; and so continued for some centuries, until the gradual revival of Brahmanical influence ended in the banishment of the former from the land of its birth to the congenial soils where it still holds sway over the greater proportion of the human race.

But the records which have come down to us of these revolutions and mutations require to be used with discrimination. For the Brahmans, being last in the ascendant, have, apparently, by interpolations in old works, by the argument of more recent compositions and by the systematic destruction of Buddhist and Jain literature and remains of the intermediate period, persistently striven, not only to ascribe almost every public calamity to the neglect of their injunctions, but have even assigned a Brahmanical origin to the royal lines. Notwithstanding, therefore, evident anachronisms, and the prolongation of the lives of sages for several centuries, implied in their appearance at widely distant periods, the ancient literature, with steady uniformity, represents Brahmans and their blessings as the most potent source of honour and power, their imprecation as ensuring the most inevitable doom ; while, until the brilliant discoveries of Prinsep, the history of the Buddhist period was almost a blank. Modern research has done, and is still doing, an immense deal to dispel the obscurity which rests upon the early history, and to throw light on the real progress of events and development of principles which have resulted in the formation of the India of to-day.

*Agastya.*—Of the rishis who in the earliest times penetrated to the south, Agastya is one of the most conspicuous. The tradition that he caused the Vindhya mountains to bow down and yield him a passage, no less than the universal popular belief, seem to point him out as the forerunner of the last Aryan migration into the peninsula.<sup>1</sup> The ascendancy he gained over the enemies of the Brahmans had, according to the Ramayana, rendered the southern regions safe and accessible at the time when Rama crossed the Vindhya range. The scene of the

<sup>1</sup> To him the Tamil race attribute their first knowledge of letters. After civilizing the Dravidians or Tamil people, he retired to a hill in the Western Ghats still named after him, and was subsequently identified with the star Canopus.

following grotesque and monstrous story of the exercise of his power is laid at Stambhodadhi (Kammasandra), on the banks of the Arkavati, near Nelamangala. There Agastya is related to have had an ásrāma, and thither came the rākshasa brothers Vátāpi and Ilvala, who, having obtained the boon that they should be invulnerable to gods and giants and might assume any form at will, had applied themselves to the work of destroying the rishis. Their *modus operandi* was as follows :—Ilvala, the elder, assuming the form of a Brahman, would enter the ásrāma and invite the rishi to some ceremony requiring the sacrifice of a sheep. At this Vátāpi, taking the form of the sheep, was sacrificed and eaten. The repast over, Ilvala would exclaim “Vátāpi, come forth,” when the latter, resuming his natural form, would burst out from the rishi, rending him asunder, and the two brothers eat him up. This plan they tried on Agastya, but he was forewarned. When, therefore, after the sacrificial meal, Ilvala as usual summoned Vátāpi to come forth, Agastya replied that he was digested and gone to the world of Yama. Ilvala, rushing to fall upon him, was reduced to ashes by a glance.<sup>1</sup>

Of other rishis, tradition has it that Gautama performed penance on the island of Seringapatam in the Kávéri, Kanva<sup>2</sup> on the stream at Maḷur near Channapatna, Vibhāṇḍaka on the Tunga at Sringeri, Márkanda on the Bhadra at Kandeya, Dattatreya on the Baba Budans, besides many others in different places.

*Asuras and Rākshasas.*—“The (asuras and) rākshasas who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify,” says Lassen, “merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear, in addition to these, are the monkeys, which ally themselves to Rama and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Aryan Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions to the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes.”

Of the *asuras*, traditions are preserved that Guhásura had his capital at Harihara on the Tungabhadra, Hiḍimbásura was established at Chitaldroog, Bakásura near Rahman Ghar, Mahishásura, from whom Mysore derives its name, at Chamundi, and so on. The asuras, it is said, being defeated by the devas, built three castles in the three worlds, one of iron on the earth, one of silver in the air, and one of gold in the sky. These the devas smote, and conquered the three worlds; the

<sup>1</sup> For the original story see Muir, *Sans. Texts*, ii. 415. Weber considers it indicates the existence of cannibals in the Dekhan. Of Ilvala, perhaps we have a trace in the village of Ilavála, known to Europeans as Yelwal, near Mysore. Vátāpi-pura is the same as Bádāmi, near Dharwar.

<sup>2</sup> Kanva is to the Telugu race nearly what Agastya is to the Tamil.

muster of the forces for the assault on the triple city, or Tripura,<sup>1</sup> having taken place, according to tradition, at the hill of Kuruḍu male, properly Kúḍu male, near Mulbagal.

The *rākshasas* appear to have been a powerful race dominant in the south, whose capital was at Lanka in the island of Ceylon. The kingdom of the *vānara* or monkey race was in the north and west of the Mysore, their chief city being Kishkindha near the village of Hampe on the Tungabhadra. The ancient Jain Rāmāyana, composed in Haḷa Kannaḍa, gives a genealogy of the kings of either race down to the time of Rama's expedition, which will be made use of farther on, so far as it relates to Mysore. In it we are also introduced to the *vidyādharas*, whose empire was apparently more to the north, and whose principal seat was at Rathanūpura-Chakravālapura.<sup>2</sup>

**Haihayas.**—In order, however, to obtain something like a connected narrative of events more or less historical of these remote times, we may begin with an account of the Haihayas. Wilson imagines them to be a foreign tribe, and inclines, with Tod, to the opinion that they may have been of Scythian origin and perhaps connected with a race of similar name who first gave monarchs to China.<sup>3</sup> They overran the Dekhan, driving out from Mahishmati, on the upper Narmada (Nerbudda), a king named Báhu, seventeenth in descent from Purukutsa of the solar line, the restorer of the dominion of the Nāgas. He fled with his wives to the forest, where one of them gave birth to Sagara, who became a great conqueror and paramount ruler in India.<sup>4</sup> He nearly exterminated the Haihayas and associated races—the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Páradas, and Pahlavas—but, at the intercession of his priest Vasishṭha, forbore from further slaughter, and contented himself with imposing on them certain modes of shaving the head and wearing the hair, to mark their degradation to the condition of out-castes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reference to a city named Tripura will be found in connection with the Kadamba kings, farther on. The legend perhaps means that the indigenous tribes in the west retired above the Ghats before Aryan invaders, and were finally subdued by their assailants penetrating to the table-land from the east, and taking the lofty hill forts.

<sup>2</sup> The Silaharas of Karahāṭa (Karhad), near Kolapur, are called Vidyadharas.—Dr. Buhler, *Vik. Dev. Char.* Int. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Vish. Pur.* Bk. IV, ch. xi, last note. Tod, *An. Raj.* I, 36. Haihaya was also the name of a great-grandson of Yadu, the progenitor of the Yádavas.

<sup>4</sup> Sagara is the king most commonly named at the end of inscriptions as an example of liberality in granting endowments of land.

<sup>5</sup> For the bearing of these regulations on certain practices at the present day, see Dr. Caldwell's article on the *kudumi* (Kan. *juttu*), reprinted from the *Madras Mail* in *Ind. Ant.* IV, 166.

Eventually the Haihayas established their capital at Ratanpur (in the Central



**Parasu Rama.**—At a later period, Arjuna, the son of Kritavírya, and hence called Kártavíryárjuna (which distinguishes him from Arjuna, one of the Pándu princes), was ruling over the Haihayas. On him the muni Dattátreya had conferred a thousand arms and other powers, with which he oppressed both men and gods. He is even said to have seized and tied up Rávana. About the same time a sage named Jamadagni, nephew of Visvamitra, the uncompromising opponent of Vasishtha, having obtained in marriage Renuka, daughter of king Prasenajit, they had five sons, the last of whom was Ráma, called Parasu Ráma, or Ráma with the axe, to distinguish him from the hero of the Ramayana. He is represented as the sixth avatar of Vishnu: his axe, however, was given him by Siva.

Jamadagni was entrusted by Indra with the care of Surabhi, the celestial cow of plenty; and on one occasion being visited by Kártavírya, who was on a hunting expedition, regaled the Raja and his followers in so magnificent a manner as to excite his astonishment, until he learned the secret of the inestimable animal possessed by his host. Impelled by avarice, he demanded the cow;<sup>1</sup> and on refusal attempted, but in vain, to seize it by force, casting down the tall trees surrounding the hermitage.<sup>2</sup> On being informed of what had happened, Parasu Ráma was filled with indignation; and attacking Kártavíryárjuna, cut off his thousand arms and slew him. His sons in return killed Jamadagni, in the absence of Parasu Ráma. Whereupon Renuka became a Sati, by burning herself on her husband's funeral pyre. With her dying breath she imprecated curses on the head of her husband's murderer, and Parasu Ráma vowed, after performing his father's funeral obsequies, to destroy the whole Kshatriya race.

Having twenty-one times cleared the Earth of Kshatriyas, he gave her at the conclusion of an asvamedha, a rite whose performance was a sign of the consummation of victory, as a sacrificial fee to Kasyapa, the officiating priest; who, in order that the remaining Kshatriyas might be spared, immediately signalled him off with the sacrificial ladle, saying, "Go, great muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not

Provinces), and continued in power until deposed by the Mahrattas in 1741 A.D. Inscriptions have been found proving the dominion of the Haihayas over the upper Narmada Valley as far back as the second century A.D.—*C. P. Gaz. Int. I.*

<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that the so-called cow was a fertile tract of country, such as Sorab (literally Surabhi), where the scene of this transaction is laid, is well known to be.

<sup>2</sup> The story is differently related in the Mahabharata, but with too unnatural and improbable circumstances, and too manifest a design to inculcate certain Brahmanical notions. The sequel is the same.

dwell in my territory.”<sup>1</sup> Parasu Rāma then applies to Sāgara,<sup>2</sup> the ocean, for some land, and compels it to retire,<sup>3</sup> creating the seven Konkanas,<sup>4</sup> or the maritime regions of the western coast, whither he withdraws to the Mahendra mountain. The Earth, who finds it very inconvenient to do without the Kshatriyas as rulers and kings, appeals to Kasyapa, who discovers some scions of royal houses that have escaped the general massacre of their race, and instals them.

This prodigious legend, in which the mythical type of Brahmanism is clearly enough revealed as arrayed in opposition to the military caste, is by tradition connected with many parts of Mysore. Sorab taluq is the Surabhi which was Jamadagni's possession. The temple of Renuka, existing to this day at Chandragutti, is said to mark the spot where she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, and that of Kolāhā-lamma at Kolar is said to have been erected in her honour from Kārtaviryārjuna having there been slain. The colloquy with Sāgara is said to have been near Tirthahalli. At Hiremugalur (Kadur District) is a singular memorial in the temple of Parasu, the axe of the hero, and its ancient name of Bhārgavapuri connects the town with him as being a descendant of Bhṛigu.

**Rama.**—Our history has next to do with Rama,—called, by way of distinction, Ramachandra,—the hero of the Ramayana and the seventh avatār of Vishnu. On his way home after winning Sita by breaking the bow of Siva, he is, strangely enough, said to have been encountered by Parasu Rama, who required him to break a bow of Vishnu which he produced. This Rama did, and at the same time destroyed Parasu Rama's celestial abode. The story of Rama,—a Kshatriya, but obedient to the Brahmins; of the solar line, the son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya (Oudh)—and of the abduction, during their wanderings in the Dandāka forest, of his wife the fair Sita, by Rāvaṇa, the rākshasa king of Lanka in Ceylon, is too well known to need repetition here. To this day not an incident therein has abated in interest to the millions of India, and few parts of the land but claim to be the scene of one or other of its adventures. Without stopping to dwell on the

<sup>1</sup> The audacity of the conception is sublime. The explanation given is that Parasu Rama being guilty of homicide could not be allowed to reside in Brahman territory.

<sup>2</sup> Sāgara, the ocean, was so named from Sagara (previously mentioned) through Bhagiratha. The tradition will be found in the Vishnu Purana, &c. The taluq adjoining Sorab is also called Sāgar.

<sup>3</sup> According to some accounts he stood on the promontory of Dilli, and shot his arrows to the south, over the site of Kerala. It seems likely that we have proof of the local legend being at least as old as the Christian era, as the Mons Pyrrhus of Ptolemy is, probably, the mountain of Parasu or Parasu Rama.—Wilson, *Vish. Pur.* Bk. iv, ch. 7.

<sup>4</sup> These were Karāṭa, Virāṭa, Mahārāṭa, Konkana, Haiga, Tulava and Kerala.

romantic episode, which will be found in the history of the Kadur District, of Rishya Sringa, to whom indirectly the birth of the hero is ascribed, it is evident that Rama's route from Panchavati or Nasik, at the source of the Godavari, to Ramesvara, on the south-eastern coast opposite Ceylon, would naturally lead him across the table-land of Mysore.<sup>1</sup>

All accounts agree in stating that the first news Rama received that Ravana had carried off his wife to Ceylon, was conveyed to him while at the court of Sugriva, the king of Kishkindha; and that with the forces here obtained he accomplished his expedition and the recovery of Sita. He first met with Sugriva, then dispossessed of his kingdom, at the sources of the Pampa or Tungabhadra, and assisted him in recovering his throne. The former region therefore would be in the Western Ghats, in Kadur District; and the situation of Kishkindha is generally acknowledged to be on the Tungabhadra, north of the Mysore,<sup>2</sup> near the village of Hampe, where in modern times arose the cities of Anegundi and Vijayanagar. The Brahmanical version of the Ramayana, as contained in Valmiki's famous poem, describes the races of this region as *vānaras* and *kāpis*, or monkeys. But the Jain Ramayana, previously referred to, calls Kishkindha the *vānara dhvaja* kingdom, or kingdom of the monkey flag. This simple device on the national standard, therefore, may have led to the forces being called the monkey army,<sup>3</sup> and thence easily sprung all the other embellishments of the story as popularly received.<sup>4</sup> We shall follow the Jain version in giving the previous history of the kings of Kishkindha.<sup>5</sup>

**Kishkindha.**—By the conquests of Sagara, here made a descendant of Puru,<sup>6</sup> a prince named Tōyada Vāhana (the same as Megha Vāhana, or Jimūta Vāhana), who had thought to marry a princess whom Sagara

<sup>1</sup> The papers concerning Mysore (in the Mackenzie collection) seem to agree in stating that Rama went by way of the Mysore country to Lanka.—Taylor, *Cat. Rais. Or. MSS.* III, 693.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *Utt. Ram. Char.* Act I, Sc. 2; Monier Williams, *Ind. Ep. Po.* 76; Talboys Wheeler, *Hist. Ind.* II, 318.

<sup>3</sup> This is nothing but what we often do in speaking of the military array of the British lion, the Russian bear, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Kapi-dhvaja (monkey flag) was one of the names of Arjuna, the most popular of the Pandu brothers. The monkey ensign was also one of the insignia of the Kadamba kings of Banavasi and Hanagal, and is still a cherished emblem of the Balagai or right-hand castes (*see above*, p. 224).

<sup>5</sup> An attempt has been made in Valmiki's Ramayana to supply some of these particulars in the Uttara Kānda or supplementary chapter, but the accounts are meagre and much altered.

<sup>6</sup> The progenitor of one branch of the lunar line, and, from the similarity of names, sometimes conjectured to be the Porus who was defeated by Alexander the Great.

appropriates, is driven to take refuge with Bhima rákshasa of Lanka ; and the latter, being without heirs, leaves to him that kingdom, as well as Pátála Lanka. After many generations, Dhavala Kirtti arises in that line, whose wife's brother, Srikanṭha Kumára, being desirous of establishing a principality for himself, sets out for the *vánara dvīpa*, or monkey island, where the accounts he receives of the Kishkindha hill induce him to select it as the site of his capital. He accordingly founds there the city of Kishkindha, and is the progenitor of the line of kings of the monkey flag.

The successors of Srikanṭha Kumára, in regular descent, were Vajrakantṭha, Indráyudha, Amara Prabhu (who marries a princess of Lanka), and Kapi Kétu. After several more kings, whose names are not mentioned, the line is continued by Mahódadhi, and his son Pratibindu. The latter has two sons, Kishkindha and Andhraka. A *svayamvara* being proclaimed for Mandara Máli, princess of Aditya-nagara on the Vijayártha parvata, these two princes attend, as well as Vijaya Simha, son of Asanivega the Vidyádharma chakravarti, and Sukesha, the young king of Lanka. The lady's choice falling on Kishkindha, Vijaya Simha is indignant and attacks him, but is killed by Andhraka. Asanivega, to revenge his son's death, marches against Kishkindha and Sukesha, and takes both their kingdoms. They retire to Pátála Lanka. After a time, Kishkindha founds a city on Madhu parvata, and has there two sons, Rikshaja and Súrýaja. Sukesha, in Pátála Lanka, has three sons—Máli, Sumáli, and Mályavant,—who, on attaining to manhood, recover possession of Lanka. Meanwhile, in the Vidyádharma kingdom, Asanivega has been succeeded by Sahasrára, and he by Indra.<sup>1</sup> The Lanka princes, with the aid of Rikshaja and Súrýaja, attack the latter, but are defeated and again lose their kingdoms, all retiring to Pátála Lanka as before. In the course of time, to Ratnásrava, son of Sumali, is born Rávaṇa, the predestined champion of the rákshasa race. He regains Lanka and Kishkindha, and restores the latter to Rikshaja and Súrýaja. Vali and Sugriva, the sons of the last, succeed to the throne. Rávaṇa now demands their sister in marriage ; but Vali, being opposed to it, abdicates, and thus leaves Sugriva alone in the government.

On one occasion, Sugriva, owing to some dispute with his wife Sutáre, stays away from his capital ; and during his absence, a double

<sup>1</sup> The Silaháras of Karaháta (Karhád), near Kolapur, claim to be not only Vidyádharas (as above stated, p. 273), but also to be connected with the royal race of Ceylon. A Chálukya inscription of A.D. 1008 says, "The Silára family of the Simhala kings are descended from Jimúta-váhana, son of Jimúta-ketu, the lord of the Vidyádharas." (See *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* No. V, p. 221.)

of himself, who most closely resembles him, usurps his place and imposes upon all the ministers. The real Sugriva, being in a fix, resorts to his friend Hanumán, son of Pavanjaya, king of Hanuvara or Hanuruha dvípa. Then, hearing about Rama, he visits him at Pátála Lanka, and undertakes to discover Sita's place of confinement in return for Rama's assistance in regaining his throne. Kishkindha is accordingly attacked, the false or Máya Sugriva is killed, and Sugriva restored. News having been received from a neighbouring chief that he saw Rávana bearing Sita to Lanka,<sup>1</sup> a council is now held, at which it is resolved to send to Hanuvara dvípa for Hanumán, as being of rákshasa descent. The latter arrives, and undertakes to go to Lanka as a spy and discover the truth of the report. He sets out by way of Mahendra parvata<sup>2</sup> and Dadhi-mukha parvata and brings back tokens from Sita. Forces are at once mustered for the expedition to Lanka for her recovery. The march of the army to the southern sea leads them to Velándha-pura, ruled over by Samudra; to Suveláchala, ruled over by Suvela; and lastly to Hamsa dvípa, whose king was Dvípa-radana.

The identity of the places mentioned in the foregoing account it is perhaps difficult to establish. But it seems not unlikely that Pátála Lanka, evidently, from the name, a city below the Ghats, and belonging to the rákshasa kingdom of Ceylon, was some place in Canara; for the dominions of Rávana are said to have extended to Trichinopoly on the east, and to Gokarna on the west of the peninsula. Honuvara or Honuruha dvípa again is no doubt one of the islands in the large lake of Honavar or Honore<sup>3</sup> in the Gersoppa district, near the mouth of the Sharavati, which forms the Gersoppa Falls. The principal island in the outer bay was fortified by Sivappa Nayak of Ikkéri, and is now called Basava Rája durga. The north-west of Mysore seems thus pretty clearly connected with an important part of Rama's expedition. Local traditions, less credible in character, will be found noticed under the several places where they are current.

**Pandavas.**—We will therefore proceed to the history of the Pánḍus,

<sup>1</sup> An inscription on the Jaṅga-Rames'vara hill in Molakalmuru taluq, dated S'aka 883, states that the linga there was set up when Rávana had seized Sita and when Jaṭáyu fought and fell there in her behalf.

<sup>2</sup> Mahendra is a name applied to some parts of the Eastern Ghats, and also to a mountain near Cape Comorin.

<sup>3</sup> The lake is of great extent and contains many islands, some of which are cultivated. It reaches almost to the Ghats, and in the dry season is quite salt; but it receives many more streams, which during the rainy monsoon become torrents and render the whole fresh. By the natives it is commonly called a river, but lake is a more proper term.—Buchanan, *Jour.* II, 279.

and briefly notice some of the more important events related in the Maha Bharata which tradition connects with Mysore. Arjuna, the third and most attractive of the five brothers, who by his skill in archery won Draupadi, the princess of Panchála, at her *svayamvara*, after a time went into exile for twelve years, in order to fulfil a vow. During his wanderings at this period, it is related that he came to the Mahendra mountains, and had an interview with Parasu Rama, who gave him many powerful weapons. Journeying thence he came to Manipura, where the king's daughter, Chitrángada, fell in love with him, and he married her and lived there three years, and had by her a son, Babhru-váhana. The locality of this incident is assigned to the neighbourhood of Chamrajnagar in the Mysore District, where the site of Manipura, to which we shall have again to refer, is still pointed out.<sup>1</sup>

When Yudhishthira resolved to perform the royal sacrifice called the Rájasúya, by which he proclaimed himself paramount sovereign, it was first necessary to subdue the kings who would not acknowledge him. Accordingly four expeditions were despatched, one towards each of the cardinal points. The one to the south was commanded by Sahadeva. After various conquests he crosses the Tungabhadra and encamps on the Kishkindha hill, where Sushena and Vrishasena, the chiefs of the monkey race, make friendship with him. Thence he goes to the Kávéri, and passing over to Mahishmati (Mahishur, Mysore), attacks Nila its king, whom he conquers and plunders of great wealth.<sup>2</sup> After this he goes to the Sahyádrí or Western Ghats,

<sup>1</sup> Manipur in Eastern Bengal, it appears, also lays claim to the story, but evidently on scanty grounds.—Wheeler, *Hist. Ind.* I, 149, 425, notes.

<sup>2</sup> The Maha Bharata in this place (Sabha Parva) makes some singular statements regarding the women of Mahishmati. The king Nila Rája, it is said, had a most lovely daughter, of whom the god Agni (Fire) became enamoured. He contrived to pay her many secret visits in the disguise of a Brahman. One day he was discovered and seized by the guards, who brought him before the king. When about to be condemned to punishment, he blazed forth and revealed himself as the god Agni. The Council hastened to appease him, and he granted the boon that the women of Mahishmati should thenceforth be free from the bonds of marriage in order that no adultery might exist in the land, and that he would befriend the king in time of danger. This description of "free love" would apply to the Nairs and Namburi Brahmans of Malabar, but seems misplaced in reference to Mysore. It may, however, indicate that a chief of Malabar origin had at that time established himself in power in the south-west; and possibly refer to some stratagem attempted against him by Jamad-agni, which ended in an alliance. Sahadeva was forced to conciliate Agni before he could take Mahishmati.

It may here be stated that, according to traditions of the Haihayas in the Central Provinces, Nila Dhvaja, a descendant of Sudhyumna, got the throne of Mahishmati (Mandla); Hamsa Dhvaja, another son, became monarch of Chandrapur (supposed to be Chanda); and a third received the kingdom of Ratanpur. The two former kingdoms, after the lapse of some generations, were overthrown by the Gonds, and

subdues many hill chiefs, and, descending to the coast, overruns Konkana, Gaula and Kerala.

The fate of the great gambling match which followed the Rájasúya, and the exile of the Pándavas for thirteen years, during the last of which they were to live *incognito*, need not be related here, as they are generally well known. But an inscription at Belagami in Shikarpur taluq expressly says that the Pándavas came there after the performance of the Rájasúya. In the course of their farther wanderings, the brothers are related to have lived in the Kamyaka forest, and this is claimed to be the wild tract surrounding Kavale-durga in the Shimoga District. The erection of the massive fortifications on that hill is ascribed to the Pandus, as well as the Bhimankatte thrown across the Tunga above Tirthahalli. The thirteenth year of exile was spent at the court of the king of Viráta, in various disguises,—Bhima as a cook, Arjuna as a eunuch, Draupadi as a waiting-maid, &c. The varied incidents of this year are fully given in the published abstracts of the poem. It is only necessary here to state that Viráta-nagara is more than once mentioned in the Chálukya inscriptions, and is by tradition identified with Hánagal, a few miles north of the Sorab frontier.<sup>1</sup>

We pass on to the great *asvamedha*, or horse sacrifice, undertaken by Yudhishthira, which forms the subject of one of the most admired Kannaḍa poems, the Jaimini Bharata. Among the conditions of this regal ceremony, it was required that the horse appointed for sacrifice should be loosed and allowed to wander free for the period of one year. Wheresoever it went it was followed by an army, and if the king into whose territories it chanced to wander seized and refused to let it go, war was at once declared and his submission enforced. In accordance with these rules, Arjuna was appointed to command the escort which guarded the horse. Among the places to which it strayed, three are by tradition connected with Mysore.

the Ratanpur kingdom alone survived till the advent of the Mahrattas.—*C. P. Gaz.* 159.

Sudhanva, a son of Hamsa Dhvaja, is also said in the traditions of Mysore to have been the founder of Champaka-nagara, now represented by the village of Sampige, near Kaḍaba, in Gubbi taluq.

The only actual record hitherto found of a Nila Rája in the south is in the Samudra Gupta inscription at Allahabad, in which he is assigned to an unknown country called Avamukta (signifying freed or liberated, a curious coincidence with the story above given), and is mentioned between Vishnugópa of Kánci and Hartivarman of Vengi. His period, according to this, would be the fourth century. (See Fleet's *Early Gupta Kings*, p. 13.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Elliot says, "The remains of enormous fortifications, enclosing a great extent, are still visible. I have got a plan distinctly showing the circuit of seven walls and ditches on the side not covered by the river."—*Mad. J.* 18, 216. Also see *Int. Ant.* V, 177.

The first of these is Manipur, near Chamrajnagar, previously mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Babhruváhana, the son here born to Arjuna, had now grown up and succeeded to the throne. His kingdom was also in a state of the highest prosperity. It was pre-eminently "a land of beauty, valour, virtue, truth:" its wealth was fabulous,<sup>2</sup> and its happiness that of paradise: it was filled with people, and not a single measure of land was unoccupied or waste. When the horse came near this enchanting spot the Raja was informed of it; and, on his return from the chase in the evening, he commanded it to be brought before him. The scene is thus described:—

"Now the whole ground where the Raja held his council was covered with gold; and at the entrance to the council chamber were a hundred pillars of gold, each forty or fifty cubits high; and the top of each pillar was made of fine gold and inlaid with jewels; and on the summits of the pillars and on the walls were many thousand artificial birds, made so exact that all who saw them thought them to be alive; and there were precious stones that shone like lamps, so that there was no need of any other light in the assembly; and there also were placed the figures of fishes inlaid with rubies and cornelians, which appeared to be alive and in motion. All round the council hall were sticks of sandal, wound round with fine cloth which had been steeped in sweet-scented oils; and these were burnt to give light to the place instead of lamps, so that the whole company were perfumed with the odour. And before each one of the principal persons in the assembly was placed a vessel, ornamented with jewels, containing various perfumes; and on every side and corner of the hall were beautiful damsels, who sprinkled rose-water and other odoriferous liquors. And when the horse was brought

<sup>1</sup> There appear to be several reasons for accepting this as the locality in preference to Manipur in Eastern Bengal. In the version given by Wheeler, Vol. I. it is stated (396) that the horse when loosed went towards the south, and that its return was in a northerly direction (414); these directions would not lead it to and from E. Bengal, but to and from S. Mysore they would. It is also said (406) that sticks of sandal-wood were burnt in the council hall of Manipur, and also (408) that elephants were very excellent in that country. Now Mysore is the well-known home of the sandal-tree, and the region I have assigned as the site of Manipur is peculiarly the resort of elephants: within ten miles of that very site were made the remarkably successful captures of elephants described on p. 179. The sequence of places visited by the horse after Manipur is also, as shown in the text, consistent with the identification here proposed. From the notes (149, 425) it appears that the application of the story to Manipur in Bengal is of very recent date.

<sup>2</sup> Of Solomon in all his glory it is stated that "he made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones." So here "many thousands of chariots, elephants and horses were employed in bringing the revenue, in gold and silver, to a thousand treasuries; and the officers sat day and night to receive it; but so great was the treasure that the people who brought it had to wait ten or twelve years before their turn came to account for the money, obtain their acquittal and return home!" One Raja confessed that he sent a thousand cart-loads of gold and silver every year merely for leave to remain quietly in his own kingdom.



into the assembly, all present were astonished at its beauty and excellence ; and they saw round its neck a necklace of excellent jewels, and a golden plate hanging upon its forehead. Then Raja Babhruváhana bade his minister read the writing on the plate ; and the minister rose up and read aloud, that Raja Yudhishthira had let loose the horse and appointed Arjuna to be its guardian."

It was resolved that Babhruváhana, being Arjuna's son, should go forth to meet him in a splendid procession and restore the horse ; but Arjuna, under some evil influence, refused to acknowledge the Raja as his son : he even kicked him, and taunted him with inventing a story because he was afraid to fight. Babhruváhana was then forced to change his demeanour, which he did with great dignity. A desperate battle ensued, in which Arjuna was killed, and all his chieftains were either slain or taken prisoners. Congratulations were showered upon the victor, but his mother, Chitrángada, swooned and declared her intention of burning herself on Arjuna's funeral pile. In this dilemma, Ulúpi, a daughter of Vásuki, the Nága or serpent raja, whom Arjuna had formerly married, and who had afterwards entered the service of Chitrángada, resolved to get from her father a jewel which was in the possession of the serpents, and which would restore Arjuna to life. She accordingly sent a kinsman to her father with the request. His council, however, being afraid of losing the jewel, refused to give it up. On learning this, Babhruváhana made war upon the serpents and compelled them to give it up. Arjuna was by its means restored to life and reconciled to his son.

The horse then entered the territory of Ratnapura, a city of which name, it will be seen, was situated near Lakvalli in Kadur District. The animal was here seized, but rescued by Arjuna. It next wandered into Kuntala, the country of Chandrahása, whose capital we shall find was at Kubattur in Shimoga District. Here also the king was compelled to release it.

The story of Chandrahása is a pleasing and favourite romance. He was the son of a king of Kerala, and was born with six toes. While an infant, his father was killed in battle, and his mother perished on her husband's funeral pile. His nurse then fled with him to Kuntala, and when she died, he was left destitute and forced to subsist by begging. While doing so one day at the house of the minister, who is appropriately named Dushta buddhi, or evil counsel, some astrologers noted that the boy had signs of greatness upon him, indicating that he would one day become ruler of the country. The minister, hearing of it, took secret measures to have him murdered in a forest ; but the assassins relented, and contented themselves with cutting off his sixth toe, which they produced as the evidence of having carried out

their instructions. Meanwhile, Kulinda, an officer of the court, hunting in that direction, heard the boy's cry; and, pleased with his appearance, having no son of his own, took him home to Chandanávatī and adopted him.

He grew up to be very useful and, by defeating some rebellious chieftains, obtained great praise and wealth for his adopted father, which excited the jealousy of the minister. The latter, resolved to see for himself, paid a visit to Kulinda, when, to his astonishment, he learnt that all this prosperity was due to an adopted son, Chandrahása, who had been picked up in the forest years ago bleeding from the loss of a sixth toe. The truth at once broke upon him that it was the boy he had thought to murder. Resolved more than ever to get rid of him, he dissimulates and proposes to send him on an errand to court, which was gladly enough undertaken. A letter was accordingly sent by him to Madana, the minister's son, who was holding office during his father's absence, directing that poison (*visha*) should be at once given to the bearer as he valued his own advancement. For the minister had secretly resolved, as there was no male heir to the throne, to marry Madana to the king's daughter and thus secure the kingdom to his own family. Chandrahása, bearing the letter, arrived near the city, where he saw a charming garden. Being weary, he tied his horse to a tree and lay down to rest, when he fell asleep.

Now it so happened that this garden belonged to the minister, and that morning his daughter Vishaya (to whom, before leaving, he had jestingly promised to send a husband), had come there with the daughter of the Raja and all their maids and companions to take their pleasure; and they all sported about in the garden and did not fail to jest each other about being married. Presently Vishaya wandered away from the others and came to the tank, where she saw the handsome young Chandrahása lying asleep on the bank, and at once fell in love with him. She now noticed a letter half falling from his bosom, and, to her great surprise, saw it was in the handwriting of her father, and addressed to her brother. Remembering what had been said about sending her a husband, she gently drew out the letter and, opening it, read it. One slight alteration she saw would accomplish her wishes; she accordingly changed the word *vishava*, poison, into *vishaya*, her own name, resealed it with a copy of her father's seal which she had with her, and replaced it in the young man's bosom.

When Madana received the letter he was greatly surprised, but as the message was urgent, at once proceeded with arrangements for marrying his beautiful sister to the handsome stranger. The ceremony had just been concluded with all manner of pomp and rejoicing, when the minister returned. Seeing what had happened, he was struck dumb with amazement. The production of the letter further convinced him that through fate the mistake must have been his own. Suffice it to say that he makes another attempt to get rid of Chandrahása, but it so chances that his own son Madana is killed instead; and Chandrahása, taking the fancy of the king, is adopted as heir to the throne and married to the princess. Whereon the minister, driven to desperation, kills himself.

**Janamejaya.**—Before quitting the legendary period, there is yet one tradition demanding notice. During the first twelve years' exile of Arjuna, before visiting Manipur, he had married Subhadra, the sister of Krishna. By her he had a son named Abhimanyu. When, at the conclusion of the thirteenth year of the second period of exile, the Pāṇḍavas threw off their incognito at the court of Virāṭa, the raja offered his daughter Uttara to Arjuna. But the latter declining her for himself, on the ground that he had acted as her music and dancing-master, and she had trusted him as a father, accepted her for his son Abhimanyu, from which union sprung Parikshit,<sup>1</sup> whose son was Janaméjaya. This is the monarch to whom the Maha Bharata is recited. There is a professed grant by him at Bhimankatte maṭha,<sup>2</sup> now Tirthahalli, dated in the year 89 of the Yudhishṭhira era, which would be 3012 B.C., but, if for no other reason, it is quite discredited by the signature being in comparatively modern Kannaḍa characters. The grant itself is in Sanskrit, and in Nagari characters. Janaméjaya is represented in it as ruling in Kishkindha, and making a gift, in the presence of the god Harihara, of the place on the Tungabhadra in which his great-grandfather Yudhishṭhira had rested.

Parikshit, according to a curse, died from the bite of a serpent;<sup>3</sup> in revenge for which it was that Janaméjaya performed his celebrated *sarpa yāga* or serpent sacrifice. This ceremony, according to tradition, took place at Hiremugalur in the Kadur District, and three agraḥāras in the Shimoga District,—Gauj, Kuppagadde and Begur—possess inscriptions on copper plates, also written in Sanskrit, and in Nāgari characters, professing to be grants made by Janaméjaya to the officiating Brahmans on the occasion of the *sarpa yāga*. The genuineness of the first of these, which is the one best known,<sup>4</sup> has been a subject of much controversy: but all three are almost identical in the historical portion. They describe the donor as the son of the emperor Parikshit; of the *Soma vams'a* and *Pāṇḍava kula*; having a golden boar on his flag, and ruling in Hastinapura. The grants are made during an expedition to the south, in the presence of the god Harihara, at the confluence of the Tungabhadra and Haridra. The inscriptions are no doubt of some antiquity, but to accept them as dating from the commonly-received

<sup>1</sup> He was a posthumous son and still-born, but Krishna pronounced some words over the body which instilled life into it.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mys. Ins.* 251.

<sup>3</sup> The Bhāgavata Purāṇa was recited to him between the bite and his death! The supposed meaning of the legend is, that Parikshit met his death at the hands of a Nāga tribe, and that his son exterminated the Nāgas in revenge.

<sup>4</sup> See Colebrooke; *As. Res.* IX, 446.

period for the commencement of the Kali yuga,<sup>1</sup> when Janaméjaya is said to have reigned, would be absurd.

A well-known native astronomer<sup>2</sup> worked out the calculations for me, and maintained that they accord with no other year but 36 of the Kali yuga, or B.C. 3066. He also stated that there is an interval of twelve days between the first date and the other two; and that the former marks the beginning, and the latter the conclusion, of the sacrifice. On the other hand, the eclipse mentioned in the Gauj agrahára inscription, is stated,<sup>3</sup> on the authority of Sir G. Airy, to have happened in A.D. 1521, but this seems based on a mistake. I have elsewhere<sup>4</sup> published what professes to be a Chalukya inscription, dated Saka 366 (A.D. 444), which is in the same characters, and corresponds closely in many of the particulars, and in the peculiar terms of these grants. I have also made a minute comparison between them all, and given reasons for assigning them to about A.D. 1194. More recent discoveries lead to a suspicion that these and some other unaccountable inscriptions were in some way connected with Henjeru, a Nolamba city, now called Hemavati, situated on the Sira border, and perhaps with Harihara on the Tungabhadra.

Regarding the chronology of the events which have been mentioned in the foregoing account of the legendary period, it can only be stated generally, that the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasu Rama is said to have taken place between the Treta and Dvápára ages; and that an era of Parasu Rama used in Malabar dates from 1176 B.C. Rama's expedition against Lanka, assigned to the close of the Treta age, is supposed to have taken place about the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>5</sup> and the war of the Maha Bharata about fourteen centuries B.C.<sup>6</sup> The earliest version of the two epics must have been composed before 500 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is reckoned to have begun on the 18th of February, 3102 B.C., at midnight on the meridian of Ujjayini.

<sup>2</sup> The late Siddhánti Subrahmanya S'ástri.

<sup>3</sup> *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S. X*, 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant. VIII*, 89; *Mys. Ins.* lxx.

<sup>5</sup> Griffith, *Ram. Int.* xv.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, *Vish. Pur. pref.* ci. A Chalukya inscription of the sixth century makes the era of the war of the Maha Bharata 3146 B.C.—*Ind. Ant. V*, 68; *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S. IX*.

<sup>7</sup> The Kali Yuga or fourth age of the world was supposed to commence at the birth of Krishna. Hence the events of the Mahá Bhárata must have taken place during the third or Dvápára age, and those of the Rámáyana at the end of the second or Treta age.—Monier Williams, *Ind. Wis.* 333, 315 ff.

## HISTORICAL PERIOD

**Mauryas.**—The authentic history of India begins with the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great in 327 B.C., and when the Sandrakottos<sup>1</sup> of the Greek writers was identified with Chandra Gupta, a secure basis was established on which to found the chronology of events in India itself. From the little we know of Chandra Gupta, he first appears as an adventurer in the camp of Alexander, from which, owing to some quarrel, he had to flee. Collecting bands of followers, he contrived to overthrow the dynasty of the Nandas<sup>2</sup> in Magadha, or Behar, and made himself supreme sovereign throughout northern India, with his capital at Pátaliputra (Palimbothra in the Greek version), the modern Patna, on the Ganges. On the other hand, after the death of Alexander in 323, Bactria and (the Greek provinces in) India had fallen to the share of Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian monarchy. But it was not till he had recovered Babylon in 312 that the latter was at leisure to turn his attention to India. He then found himself unable to cope with Chandra Gupta, and therefore entered into alliance with him, ceding the Greek settlements in the Punjab and the Kabul valley in return for a present of 500 elephants, and giving him his daughter in marriage. He also appointed to the court at Pataliputra an ambassador named Megasthenes, from whose accounts the Greeks obtained much of their information about India. The reign of Chandra Gupta lasted for twenty-four years, from about 316 to 292 B.C., and the line of kings originating with him are known as the Mauryas.

The earliest event in the annals of Mysore that may be regarded as historical is connected with Chandra Gupta. According to the accounts of the Jains, Bhadrabáhu, the last of the *s'rutakevalis*, or hearers of the first masters, foretold the occurrence in Ujjayini of a dreadful famine which would last for twelve years. On its approach the main body of the Jains there forsook the northern regions and migrated to the south under his guidance. When they had journeyed as far as S'ravana Belgola, Bhadrabáhu, feeling that his end was drawing nigh, sent on the rest of the pilgrims, under the leadership of Vis'ákha, to the Chóla and Pándya countries, and remained behind at the smaller hill (called Kaṭavapra in Sanskrit and Kalbappira or Kalbappu in

<sup>1</sup> Athenæus writes the name Sandrakoptus.—Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, II, 132.

<sup>2</sup> In the play called *Mudrá-rákshasa* he is represented as having effected this with the aid of Chánakya (the Indian Machiavelli), who is also called Vishnu Gupta and Kauṭilya.

Kannaḍa), to die, attended by only a single disciple. That disciple, it is alleged, was no other than the Maurya emperor Chandra Gupta.

In accordance with the obligations of the Jaina faith he had abdicated towards the close of life, and renounced the world in order to prepare for death by acts of penance performed under the direction of a spiritual guide. For this purpose he had attached himself to Bhadrabāhu, the most distinguished professor of the faith at that time living, and had accompanied him to the south. He continued to minister to the wants of this his guru to the last, and was the only witness of his death. According to tradition, Chandra Gupta survived for twelve years, which he spent in ascetic rites at the same place and died there, after welcoming the emigrants on their return journey from the south when the great famine was over which had driven them from their homes.

In testimony of these events not only is Bhadrabāhu's cave, in which he expired, pointed out on the hill at S'ravana Belgola, but the hill itself is called Chandra-giri after Chandra Gupta; while on its summit, surrounded with temples, is the Chandra Gupta basti, the oldest there, having its façade minutely sculptured with ninety scenes from the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandra Gupta, though these may be more modern. Additional evidence is contained in the ancient rock inscriptions on the hill. The oldest of them relates the migration of the Jains and the other events above mentioned, while a second associates Bhadrabāhu with Chandra Gupta as the two great munis who gave the hill its distinction.<sup>1</sup> Similar testimony is borne by two inscriptions of about 900 A.D. found near Seringapatam.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, stone inscriptions at S'ravana Belgola dated in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries confirm the same traditions.<sup>1</sup> That Chandra Gupta was a Jain by creed may be inferred from the statements of Megasthenes, who, writing of the Sarmanes (or S'ravanas) distinguishing them both from the Brachmanes (or Brahmans) and from the followers of Boutta (or the Buddhists), says:—"They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity."<sup>3</sup> That Bhadrabāhu was contemporary with Chandra Gupta is not denied.

According to the Greek accounts Chandra Gupta was succeeded by Amitrachades (probably Amitraghāta, one of the king's titles), and Deimachos was the ambassador appointed to his court. But the Vishnu Purāṇa gives the following list of the Maurya kings:—

<sup>1</sup> See my *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*, Nos. 1, 17, 108, 54, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. I, Sr. 147, 148.

<sup>3</sup> See McCrindle's *Indika of Megasthenes*, *Ind. Ant.* VI, 244; also Thomas, *The Early Faith of Asoka*, 23; Colebrooke, *Essays*, II, 203; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II, 700, 710.

Chandra Gupta.  
Bindusára.  
As'oka-vardhana.  
Suyas'as.  
Das'aratha.

Sangata.  
S'ális'úka.  
Somas'arman.  
S'as'adharman.  
Brihadratha.

Bindusára reigned for twenty-eight years, say 292 to 264 B.C., but in Mysore the next record we have carries us to the reign of As'oka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta. The discovery by me (in 1892) of three of his inscriptions in the Molkalmuru taluq, dating perhaps from 258 B.C., has put it beyond doubt that the Mysore country, or at any rate the northern part of it, was included in his dominions. All that was previously known of his connection with Mysore was contained in the statement in the Mahawanso that after the third convocation (244 B.C.) he despatched missionaries to foreign parts to establish the religion of Buddha; among whom "he deputed the thera Majjhantika to Kasmíra-Gandhára, and the thera Mahadeva to Mahisa-mandala (Mysore). He deputed the thera Rakkhita to Vanavási" (Banavasi on the Sorab frontier), &c. These places would seem therefore to have been just beyond the limits of his territories. An inscription of the twelfth century<sup>1</sup> describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This, roughly speaking, would be the country between the rivers Bhima and Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats, including Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and the Nizam's Dominions.

The remarkable Edicts of As'oka, engraved on rocks and pillars, are, as is well known, the earliest specimens of writing that have been found in India. With the exception of those at Mansahra and Shahbazgarhi in the Yusufzai country, in the extreme north-west of the Punjab, which are in the Baktrian-Pali characters,<sup>2</sup> written from right to left; all the others are in the Indo-Pali characters,<sup>3</sup> written from left to right. But a singular circumstance about the Edicts found in Mysore is that although, as was to be expected, they are in the Indo-Pali characters, the scribe who wrote them has introduced the Baktrian-Pali at the end in describing his profession.<sup>4</sup> This character appears in no other inscriptions throughout India, except those in Yusufzai first mentioned. The inference is that the scribe may have been an official transferred from the extreme north to the extreme south of the empire, which implies a freer inter-communication than has been generally supposed to exist at that period.

As'oka was governor of Ujjain, under his father, before he came to the

<sup>1</sup> At Bandanikke, Shikarpur taluq.

<sup>3</sup> Properly the Brahmi lipi.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Arian-Pali and Kharoshti.

<sup>4</sup> As discovered by Dr Bühler.

throne. He reigned for forty-one years, about 264 to 223 B.C., or thirty-seven if counted from his coronation-anointing. During those previous four years he was engaged in struggles with his brothers. That he was at first a Jain has been deduced<sup>1</sup> from his Edicts, and also from the statement by Akbar's minister, Abul Fazl, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that As'oka introduced Jainism into Kashmir, which is confirmed by the *Rāja-tarangini* or Brahmanical history of Kashmir, recording that As'oka "brought in the Jina s'āsana." Others, however, consider that he followed the Brahman creed. At any rate, he eventually embraced Buddhism, and made it the State religion, doing for that faith what the emperor Constantine at a later period did for Christianity. In the 13th Rock Edict he informs us that his conversion was due to the remorse he felt on account of the slaughter and devastation which attended his conquest of Kalinga, in the ninth year after his coronation. Henceforward he resolved to maintain peace and devote himself to religion. He thus gradually came to appoint officials (*mahāmātras* and others) to watch over morality, and by teaching and persuasion alone to extend the knowledge of *dhamma* or moral duties. The slaughter of animals was to a great extent stopped; he had wells dug and avenues of trees planted along the roads; made arrangements for dispensing medical aid in all parts of the empire; and taught that the attainment of future happiness was open to all classes, and dependent, not on the ministrations of priests, but on personal right conduct and humanity.

The Edicts in Mysore<sup>2</sup> are issued in the name of Devānam Piye (the beloved of the gods), a royal title of the Maurya kings, and are addressed by the Prince (ayaputa) and mahāmātras in Tachchannugiri and S'ivannugiri<sup>3</sup> to the mahāmātras in Isila, places which have not been identified. The contents run as follows :—

The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands :—For more than two years and a half, when I was an *upāsaka* (or lay-disciple), I did not take much trouble. For one year<sup>4</sup> (I took) immense trouble; the year that I went to the *sangha* (or assembly of clerics) I put forth great exertion. And in this time the men who were (considered) true in Jambudvīpa (were shown to be) false, together with the gods.<sup>5</sup> This, indeed, is the result of exertion. But this can not be attained only by the great. For in any case, even to the lowly

<sup>1</sup> By Ed. Thomas, *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka*. His grandson Samprati was certainly a Jain.

<sup>2</sup> Translations have been published by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 140; and by M. Senart, in French, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1892.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of these names is not quite clear: Dr. Bühler proposes Suvannagiri for both.

<sup>4</sup> Or, according to another version, "for one period of six years."

<sup>5</sup> This difficult passage also reads in other versions as "The men who were really equal to gods in Jambudvīpa (were proved to be) falsely (so regarded)."



by effort high heaven (*svarga*) is possible, and may be attained. To this end has this exhortation been delivered :—Both humble and great should so exert themselves : and the neighbouring countries should know this ; and this exertion should be of long continuance. Then will this matter increase ; it will increase greatly ; it will increase to at least as much again. And this exhortation has been delivered by the *vyútha* 256.<sup>1</sup>

Thus says the Beloved of the gods :—Obedience should be rendered to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures should be made firm. Truth should be spoken. These and the like virtues of the *dhamma* should be practised. So also the disciple should honour his teacher. And due respect should be paid to kindred. This is the ancient natural way. This also tends to long life, and this should thus be done. Written by Paḍa the scribe.

The above will suffice to show the earnestness and high moral tone of these singular and interesting inscriptions, so unlike any others met with in the country. The sentence about the men who were regarded as gods in Jambudvīpa or India is considered to refer to the Brahmins, and to their being now deprived of the almost divine prestige they had arrogated. At the same time, the duty of reverence to them and the bestowal of alms both upon Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is more than once inculcated. Toleration was denied only to their false claims.

Asoka's son Mahīdāra and his daughter Sanghamittā entered the holy order and introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. It may be noted here that Asoka never calls himself by that name in his inscriptions, but always Piyadāsī or Devānam Piya. Of his grandson Dasaratha (in Prakṛit called Daśalatha) some inscriptions have been found at the Nāgārjunī hill caves.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Purāṇas the Maurya dynasty continued in power for 137 years, and Brihadratha, the last king, was murdered by his general Pushyamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty. Agnimitra is mentioned as the son of Pushyamitra in the play called *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and as reigning at Vidisa, identified with Bhilsa in Central India. An inscription of the time of the Śungas was found by General Cunningham in the Stupa at Bharhut in Central India.<sup>3</sup> They are said to have ruled for 112 years, but for the latter part of that period were superseded by the Kanva family, who were supreme for 45 years. These may have been at first subordinates, as they are called in one place Śungabhṛityas. Susārman, the last Kanva king, was overthrown by Simuka, described as a servant of the race of A'ndhras,<sup>4</sup> and he was the

<sup>1</sup> The signification of this term and of the numerals is much disputed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XX, 364.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, XIV, 138.

<sup>4</sup> The A'ndhras are described by Ptolemy as a powerful nation, under the name of *Andara*. They are also mentioned in Pliny.

founder of the line of kings thence called in the Puranas the A'ndhrabhṛityas.<sup>1</sup>

**Satavahanas.**—But from inscriptions it seems more correct to call them the S'átaváhana dynasty, a name corrupted in Prakrit to S'áliváhana. Their chief capital appears to have been at Dhanakataka, in the east (Dhāranikotta on the Krishna, in Guntur taluq), but their chief city in the west was Paithan on the Godavari. Inscriptions found at Nasik and Nanaghat<sup>2</sup> provide us with the following names (in their Prakrit form) and succession. The peculiarity that the name of his mother always appears with that of the king may be also remarked in the Sunga inscription, and is a Rajput custom due to polygamy. Thus we have Gotamiputra Satakani, Vasithiputra Pulumáyi, and so forth.<sup>3</sup>

Simuka.			A.D.
Kanha (Krishna)		reigned at least	
S'átakaṇi, son of Gotami	...	24 years	— 137?
Pulumáyi, son of Vasithi	...	24	„
Sirisena, son of Mádhari	...	8	„
Chaturapana S'átakaṇi, son of Vasithi	...	13	„ — 182?
Siriyana S'átakaṇi, <sup>4</sup> son of Gotami	...	27	„

Khāravēla's inscription in Kalinga tells us of a Satakani in the 2nd century B.C., but these kings are assigned to the 2nd century A.D. on the dates of the contemporary Kshatrapas or Satraps of Surāshṭra in Kathiawar, and other coincidences. Thus, the first Satakani was victorious over Nahapána, and destroyed the dynasty of the Khaharatas or Khakharatas. Rudradáman, grandson of Chashtana, was the conqueror of a Satakani, perhaps Chaturapana.<sup>5</sup> Again, Ptolemy, who wrote his Geography soon after 150 A.D., describes Ozene (Ujjayini) as the royal seat of Tiastenes, Baithan (Paithan) as that of Siri Polemaios, and Hippokoura, in the south of Ariake (Mahārāshtra), as that of Baleokouros.<sup>6</sup> In these names it is not difficult to recognize Chashtana, Siri Pulumáyi, and Viliváyakura, who are known to us from inscriptions and coins. Chashtana was the founder of the dynasty of Kshatrapa Senas,<sup>7</sup> which succeeded that of the Kshaharatas, ending with Nahapána. Siri Pulumáyi was the S'átaváhana king, the son of Vasithi, given in the list above. Viliváyakura was the viceroy of the Sátavahanas, governing the southern provinces.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, *Early Hist. of the Dekhan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, iv, v.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Bühler's explanation in Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 129. These do not give us the actual names of the mothers, but the latter, as in the case of Rájas too, are called after the *gotra* of their family priest.

<sup>4</sup> In Sanskrit, S'ri Yajña Satakani.

<sup>5</sup> Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 206.

<sup>6</sup> McCrindle, *Ptolemy's Geog.*, *ib.*, XIII, 359, 366.

<sup>7</sup> The following are the early names:—Chashtana, Jayadáman, Rudradáman, Rudrasimha, Rudrasena.

<sup>8</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*

To revert to the kingdoms which arose out of Alexander's empire. We know that Egypt under the Ptolemies and Syria under the Seleukidæ were eventually conquered by Rome. But the Greek kingdom of Baktria was overthrown by a people from the north, called the Tochari (whence its name of Tocharistan), who next advanced westward against the kingdom of Parthia, founded in 250 B.C. by Arsakes, who had revolted against the Seleukidæ. Artabanus, king of Parthia, fell fighting against the Tochari, but his son Mithridates II. (124 B.C.) drove them back towards Kabul and India. Meanwhile, Saka or Turushka tribes from Central Asia had poured into Baktria, and by about 24 B.C. had firmly established themselves in the north-west of India.

From coins and other sources we obtain various names of kings, such as Heraüs, Gondophares and others, but the best known are the Saka kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, or, as they are called on their coins, Kanerki, Oerki, and Bazodeo. They belonged to the Kushána family, and Kashmir was the chief seat of their power. But Kanishka's empire extended from Yarkand and Khokand in the north to Agra and Sindh in the south. The last great Buddhist council was held in his reign. The best authorities are of opinion with Dr. Oldenberg that the Saka era, reckoned from 78 A.D., dates from his coronation. But the word Saka after some centuries came to be misunderstood as itself meaning "era," and therefore, to distinguish it, was at length, more than a thousand years after its origin, called the S'aliváhana S'aka, a reminiscence of the fact that it had been adopted by the Sátaváhanas. This is the era still in common use throughout the south of India, as well as in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

We may now return to the S'átaváhanas. Their rule in the northern parts of Mysore is proved both by inscriptions and coins. There was a find of Buddhist leaden coins a few years ago<sup>2</sup> at the site of an ancient city whose name, according to tradition, was Chandrávali, situated immediately to the west of Chitaldroog, and among these was one bearing the name of Pulomayi. Again, an inscription of Sátakaṇṇi, son of Háríti, was found some time ago<sup>3</sup> at Banavasi on the Sorab frontier. And recently I have found one also of Sátakaṇṇi, son of Háríti, at Malavalli in Shikarpur taluq. Both the Sátakarnis above mentioned are described as "joy of the Vinhukaḍḍavuṭu family," but the

<sup>1</sup> The era of Vikramáditya, reckoned from 56 B.C., seems to be equally a misnomer. No instance of its use with such a name has been found for 500 years after that date. But Dr. Fleet identifies it with the Málava era.—*Ins. of the Early Gupta Kings*.

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. Mervyn Smith, a mining engineer, prospecting for gold.

<sup>3</sup> By Dr. Burgess: for Dr. Bühler's translation see *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 331.

Banavasi inscription is in characters which appear to be of a somewhat earlier type than those of Malavalli, and corresponding with the alphabet of Siriyāna Śātakarṇi's inscription at Nasik. On this ground, and also on account of the dates, though they are both in the same Pali or Prakṛit language, it is possible that they may belong to the time of different kings of the same name. Their relationship to the Ś'ātavāhanas before mentioned does not appear, but they probably represent a branch of the dynasty.<sup>1</sup> At Malavalli, Śātakarṇi is called king of Vaijayanti, or Banavasi, and the inscription at the latter place implies the same.

The Banavasi inscription is dated in the twelfth year, the first day of the seventh winter fortnight, and records a gift by the king's daughter, the Mahābhōji Sivakhada-Nāgasiri. The Malavalli inscription begins with ascriptions of victory to the holy Maṭṭapaṭṭi deva, evidently the god of Malavalli. At the present time this is a most ordinary linga, called Kalles'vara, in a most insignificant village temple, nor are there any indications about the place of former grandeur except the inscription. It is dated in the first year, and the first day of the second summer fortnight. In it the king Śātakarṇi issues an order to the Mahāvalabham Ś'ungakani. If the reading of this last name be correct, it looks like an interesting link with the Ś'ungas, previously mentioned. The grant consists of certain villages for the Maṭṭapaṭṭi god. There is a second inscription on the same stone pillar, in similar characters and language. It is dated in the fourth year, on the second day of the first autumn fortnight, and records a fresh grant for the same god by a Kadamba king, name defaced, and was engraved by Vis'vakamma. A fine Kadamba inscription at Talgunda also names Śātakarṇi as one of the great kings who had visited the temple there.

The Śātakarṇis were undoubtedly succeeded by the Kadambas in the north-west of Mysore. From this time, the third century, we enter upon a period more amply elucidated by authentic records.

While the north-west was, as stated, in the possession of the Kadambas, part of the north was under the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas, or Raṭṭas. The east was held by the Mahāvalis and the Pallavas, and the centre and south came to be occupied by the Gangas, who partially subdued the Mahāvalis. In the fifth century the Chalukyas from the north reduced the Raṭṭas and the Kadambas to the condition of feudatories and prevailed against the Pallavas, who were also attacked by the Gangas. Early in the ninth century the Raṭṭas regained power

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in the Jaggayyapeta stupa was found an inscription of another branch, of the time of Purisadatta, son of Mādharī, in which he is said to be of the Ikshvāku family.—*Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, No. 3, p. 56.

over the Chalukyas, and for a short time took possession of the Ganga kingdom, but restored it and formed an alliance with the Gangas, with whom also were allied the Nolambas, a branch of the Pallavas, established in the north-east of Mysore. In the tenth century the Raṭṭas with the Gangas gained great success over the Cholas, but the close of that century saw the Chalukyas once more in the ascendant, bringing the rule of the Raṭṭas to a final end, while the Nolambas were uprooted by the Gangas. The eleventh century began with a powerful invasion of the Cholas from the south, in which the Gangas and the Pallavas were overthrown; but from the ruins of the Ganga empire arose the Hoysalas, who drove out the Cholas from Mysore and established a firm dominion. In the twelfth century the Chalukya power was subverted by the Kalachuryas, in whom the Haihayas reappear; and they, in their turn, were shortly dispossessed on the north by the Yadavas and in the south by the Hoysalas, who also before long subdued the Cholas. But both Yadavas and Hoysalas were overthrown in the middle of the fourteenth century by the Musalmans. The Vijayanagar empire, however, then arose, which held sway over the whole of South India till the latter half of the sixteenth century, when it was subverted by a confederacy of Musalman powers. Of these, Bijapur secured a great part of Mysore, but was overcome in the seventeenth century by the Mughals, who took possession of the north and east of the country. Meanwhile the Mysore Rajas gained power in the south, during the contests which raged between the Mahrattas and the Mughals, and between rival claimants on the death of Aurangzeb. Haidar Ali extended the Mysore dominion over the Mughal provinces in the east and north, and over Bednur in the west, usurping supreme power in 1761. On the capture of Seringapatam by the British and the downfall of Tipu Sultan in 1799, the country included within the present limits was granted to the representative of the Hindu Rájas. In 1832 it was placed under British Commissioners, but restored to native rule in 1881. Such is an outline of the changes of seventeen centuries, the details of which we may now proceed to fill in.

**Kadambas.**—The dominions of the Kadambas embraced all the west of Mysore, together with Haiga (N. Kanara) and Tulava (S. Kanara). Their original capital was Banavasi (Jayantipura or Vaijayantipura), situated on the river Varada on the western frontier of the Sorab taluq. It is mentioned by Ptolemy. Also in the Mahawanso, which names it as one of the places to which a *thero* was sent in the time of Asoka.

The origin of the Kadambas is thus related. Some years after Parasu Rama had recovered Haiga and Tulava from the sea, Siva and

Parvati came to the Sahyádrí mountains, the Western Ghats, in order to look at this new country ; and in consequence of their pastimes a boy was born under a *kadamba* tree, whence the name of the dynasty. According to another version, he was born from the drops of sweat which flowed from Siva's forehead to the root of the kadamba tree in consequence of his exertion in conquering the asura Tripura. A more realistic account, given in an inscription, is that a kadamba tree grew in front of the family residence, and that by cultivation of it they acquired its name and qualities.<sup>1</sup> In any case they appear to have been an indigenous race.

The people of the country, being at the time without a monarch, had recourse to the State elephant, which, being turned loose carrying a wreath, presented it to the youth whose birth was so miraculous, and he was consequently proclaimed king. He is variously styled Jayanta, Trilochana Kadamba, and Trinetra Kadamba. The royal line thus founded, in about the second century, continued independent till the sixth century, and during this period they claim to have performed many as'vamedhas or horse sacrifices, indications of supreme authority. Their family deity was Madhukes'vara of Banavasi.

After Trinetra the kings in regular succession ascribed to this line were Madhukesvara, Mallinatha and Chandravarma. The last had two sons, named Chandravarma or Chandavarma and Purandara, the elder of whom was the father of Mayúravarma. Of these early kings it is not improbable that the first Chandravarma may be the Chandrahása whose romantic story has already been given above (p. 282). The second Chandravarma, again, may be the prince of that name who was the progenitor of the Kodaga or Coorg race. Of him it is related that he rescued from a forest fire a serpent named Manjista, which, entering his mouth, took up its abode in his stomach. He was forced to wander about, with his wife Pushpavati, in search of a cure, which was eventually effected at Valabhi by a woman<sup>2</sup> whom he was obliged in return to marry, and desert his wife, then with child. The truth probably is that his kingdom was usurped by some Nága chief, such as we know were

<sup>1</sup> The tree itself is said to have been produced by a drop of nectar which fell upon the earth from the churning stick, the Mandara mountain, at the churning of the ocean. The tall and handsome trees bearing this name are species of *nauclea*, of the natural order *cinchoniacæ*, and grow in many parts of India. A spirit is said to be distilled from the flowers. (See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, Bk. v, ch. xxv.) In Watt's Dictionary the tree is described as an *anthocephalus*, belonging to the *rubiacæ*, and the flowers are said to be sacred to Siva. According to the *Pharmacographia Indica* it is the *arbor generationis* of the Mahratta Kunbis, and a branch of it is brought into the house at the time of their marriage ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> She was the attendant at the *chatram* in which he lodged, and advised him to

special enemies of the Kadambas.<sup>1</sup> According to the Kávéri Purána, Chandravarma was a son of Siddhártha, king of Matsya (Viráta's capital, Hángal in Dharwar, one of the Kadamba chief cities). He left his country, it is said, and went on a pilgrimage to all the holy bathing-places, until Parvati appeared and offered him a boon, in consequence of which he received a kingdom at the source of the Kaveri, and a Sudra wife, from whom he, as a Kshatriya, should beget a valiant race called Ugras. For the eleven sons he had by her the hundred daughters of the king of Vidarbha (Berar) by Sudra mothers were obtained as wives. Each of these bore more than a hundred sons, who, to provide accommodation for their growing numbers, levelled the hill slopes and settled over a district five yojanas in extent at the sources of the Kaveri river in Coorg.

Mayúravarma seems to have restored the authority of the Kadambas, and is sometimes represented as the founder of the line. He was the son of whom Chandravarma's wife was delivered at Valabhi after she had been deserted. The following is the legend of the manner in which he acquired the throne:—One night some robbers got into the house of a Brahman at Valabhi, and at the same time a peacock in the yard screamed. They then overheard the Brahman laughing and telling his wife the story of the peacock. He said that a Brahman of Banavasi once performed various penances with the view of becoming a king, but a voice from heaven informed him that he was destined to be born again as a peacock, and whoever should eat the head of the peacock would be king. On this he went to Benares to die, and was re-born as the peacock now in the yard. Hearing this the robbers made off with the peacock, but immediately fell disputing as to who should have the head. To decide the matter they resolved to ask the woman staying in the chatram to cook the bird for them, and see to whom she gave the head. But while she was getting the meal ready, her little son suddenly snatched up the head and ate it. Being thus clearly indicated as heir to the throne, the robbers conveyed him and his mother to Banavasi, and had just arrived at the outskirts of the town when they met the State elephant carrying a wreath, which it at

worship the goddess Kálíka and the effigy of a serpent carved on a stone at the back of her temple. On his doing so another serpent appeared out of an ant-hill, and tried to persuade Manjiṣṭa to come forth, but without success. The woman, overhearing the dispute between the two, speedily possessed herself of certain plants they had threatened to use against each other,—*vishamardī* and *sarṣaparī*, growing at the foot of an ant-hill, and *ahindra hari*, a creeper spreading over the *asvattha* tree. Manjiṣṭa was expelled and died by virtue of the juice of the former, and the other serpent was got rid of by that of the latter.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 13.

once presented to the boy. His origin being revealed, he was forthwith recognized as king of Banavasi, under the name of Mayúravarma, from *mayúra*, peacock. He there obtained "the sword of sharpness, the shoes of swiftness, and the garment of invisibility." He is said to have rescued Sasiprabhe, the wife of Raja Vallabha, prince of Kalyána, from a Yaksha named Kandarpa Bhúshana, living in Gomanta-guhe, who had carried her off. He received in consequence a large accession of territory, together with the Kalyána princess S'as'ánkamudre in marriage.

He is also stated to have introduced Brahman colonists from Ahichchatra (in Rohilkand), and distributed the country below the Ghats into sixty-four portions, which he bestowed upon them. In the reign of his son Kshetravarma, Chandrángada or Trinetra, these Brahmans attempted to leave the province, but they were brought back; and in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt were compelled to leave unshorn a lock of hair on the forehead as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the Haiga or Havika Brahmans of the north-west of Mysore. They would appear on this occasion to have been settled by Mukanna, that is, Trinetra, above the Ghats, at Sthána-gundúr (Tálgunda in Shikarpur taluq). During his reign, a kinsman named Chandrasena ruled the south of Tulava, and the Brahmans were spread into those parts. Lokáditya or Lokádipya, the son of Chandrasena, married Kanakávati, the sister of Trinetra, and had by her a daughter, whom Hubásiga, the king of the mountain Chandálas, sought as a wife for his son. In pretended compliance, he was invited to Tripura and there treacherously murdered. The authority of the Kadambas was extended in consequence above those Ghats, and the Brahmans followed this accession of territory. Lokádipya is said to have reigned fifty years.

These traditions no doubt include much that is entitled to credit. But a fine stone inscription at Talgunda gives a different version, which seems to refer to the same period, or to a time when the Pallavas were supreme from west to east. In it we are informed that a Brahman named Mayúras'arma of the Kadamba family, who are described as very devout Brahmans, went with his guru Viras'arma to the Pallava capital (Kanchi) to study. While there a sharp quarrel arose between him and the Pallavas, and he became so enraged that he resolved, although a Brahman, to become a Kshatriya in order to revenge himself. Arming himself and overcoming the Pallava guards at the frontier, he escaped to the inaccessible forests at Sripurvata (in Karnul district, near the junction of the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers), and there attained such power that he levied tribute from the great Bána and other surrounding kings. The Pallavas thereupon led an army against him, but



he swooped down upon them like a hawk and completely defeated them. They therefore resolved to make peace with him, and invested him with a territory extending from the Amara ocean to the borders of the Premára country.<sup>1</sup> His son was Kangavarma, whose son was Bhagiratha, sole ruler of the Kadamba territories. His son was Raghupárhiva, whose brother was Kákustha or Kákusthavarma. The latter was a powerful ruler, and his daughters were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. His son was S'ántivarma.

The two last names occur in other inscriptions, but the rest are new. Several more early Kadamba inscriptions are available, but unfortunately they are dated only in the year of the reign, or by the ancient system of the seasons, and the succession of the kings cannot on this account be definitely determined. One series gives us Krishnavarma; his son Vishnuvarma, by the daughter of Kaikeya; his son Simhavarma; and his son Krishnavarma.<sup>2</sup> Another gives us Krishnavarma and his son Devavarma.<sup>3</sup> We have also Mándhátivarma, whose grant was composed by Dámodara-datta,<sup>4</sup> and there is a separate rock inscription by Dámodara.<sup>5</sup> We have also the series Kákustha or Kákusthavarma, his son S'ántivarma; his son Mriges'avarma; his three sons Ravivarma, Bhánuvarma, and Sivaratha; and the son of the first of these, Harivarma.<sup>6</sup>

All these records, relating to at least sixteen generations, undoubtedly belong to some time between the third and sixth centuries. One stone inscription in Prákrit, immediately following a grant by Sátakarni, and another in Sanskrit, are engraved in small Cave characters. The remainder, all in Sanskrit, are engraved in bold characters called box-headed, which in certain specimens present a very elegant appearance. Many of the grants are to Jains, but a few are to Brahmans, one to an Atharvani Brahman.

The historical facts deduced from them are that the Kadambas claim to be lords of Vaijayanti or Banavasi, though certain grants are issued from Tripurvata, from Palásika (Halsi in Belgaum district), and from Uchchásringi. Like the Sátakarni who preceded them at Banavasi, they are stated to be of the Mánavya gotra and sons of Háríti. Their crest was a lion, and they bore the monkey flag. They seem to have had enemies in a Nága race, represented later probably by the Sindas of Erambarige (Yelburga in the Nizam's Dominions),<sup>7</sup> and Krishna-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Pramára kingdom of Malwa in Central India is meant. Amarárnava, the other limit, is difficult to determine, unless it means the Western Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> Grant at Halebid, Behur taluq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Grant at Kudagere, Shikarpur taluq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 93. <sup>6</sup> *ib.*, VI, 22ff.

<sup>7</sup> These deduce their genealogy from Sinda, king of the Sindhu country, who was born in Ahichchhatra, and married a Kadamba princess. Fleet, *Kan. Dyn.*, 97. See also *Ep. Ind.*, III, 231.

varma, father of Devavarma, claims to be in possession of a heritage not to be attained by the Nágas. But their great rivals were the Pallavas. We have seen evidence of this in the Talgunda inscription above, and from an independent stone inscription of Krishnavarma it appears that in one severe battle with the Pallavas his army was so completely destroyed that he gave up his life to save his honour. The sister of a Kadamba king, Krishnavarma, was (according to Ganga grants) married to the Ganga king Madhava II. Mriges'avarma claims to have uprooted the lofty Ganga family and to be a fire of destruction to the Pallavas. Ravivarma, again, slew Vishnuvarma, probably a Pallava, and uprooted Chandadanda, lord of Kanchi, and thence a Pallava, thereby establishing himself at Palasika.

The Kadambas lost their independence on being conquered by the Chalukyas under Kirtivarma, whose reign began in 566. But they continued to act as viceroys and governors under the Chalukya and other dynasties, and the name does not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagar in 1336. Among the later inscriptions, one at Kargudari (Hangal taluq)<sup>1</sup>, dating in 1108, gives the following traditional list of the kings, each being the son of his predecessor. After seventy-seven ancestors, of whom we know no more, there came Mayúravarma, Krishna (add varma to each), Nága, Vishnu, Mriga, Satya, Vijaya, Jaya, Nága, S'ánti, Kírtti, A'ditya, Chattaya, Jaya. The last had five sons, Taila and S'ántivarma being the most important. The latter's son was Taila, whose son was Tailama, whose sons were Kírtti and Káma. But though this includes some of the genuine names, and allowing for kings often having more than one name, the list as a whole is of doubtful credit, except in the last stages. There is no question, however, that the Kadambas became more prominent at the end of the eleventh century, when their alliance seems to have been sought by the Chalukya Vikrama in his plans against his brother, and on his success they were advanced in honour. A separate branch had its capital at Gopaka or Goa, but all the Kadambas were absorbed into the conquests of the founders of the Vijayanagar empire.

**Mahavalis.**—The Mahávali kings were of great antiquity, and, according to their inscriptions, ruled over a seven and a half lakh country, containing 12,000 villages, situated in the west of the Andhra or Telugu country. They were in possession of the east of Mysore, where several of their inscriptions are found, especially in Mulbagal taluq, and their kingdom was evidently to the east and north of the Palar river. They claim to be descended from Bali or Mahá Bali, and his son Báṇa, whence they are also styled the Báṇa kings. According

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, X, 249.





to Hindu mythology Bali was an Asura emperor, who through his devotion and penance defeated Indra, humbled the gods and extended his authority over the three worlds. In order to restrain him, Vishnu, who was appealed to by the gods for protection, assumed his fifth incarnation, the form of the Brahman dwarf, the *udmana avatāra*, and appearing before Bali, asked for only three paces of ground as a boon, which was granted. As the water conveying the gift fell into his hand, the dwarf's form expanded till it filled the world; and Vishnu, now manifesting himself, deprived Bali in two strides of heaven and earth, but on account of the virtues the latter possessed, left Pátāla or the infernal regions still in his dominion.

The ancient ruined city of Mahābalipura or Māmallapura, generally known as the Seven Pagodas, situated on the east coast, thirty miles south of Madras, was perhaps their original capital. According to legend<sup>1</sup> it was founded by Bali. His son was Bānāsura, who is represented as a giant with a thousand hands; Aniruddha, the son (or grandson) of Krishna, came to Bāna's court in disguise and seduced his daughter; which produced a war, in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner and brought to Mahābalipur: upon which Krishna came in person from his capital Dváraka and laid siege to the place. Siva guarded the gates and fought for Bānāsura, who worshipped him with his thousand hands, but Krishna found means to overthrow Siva, and having taken the city, cut off Bānāsura's hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage. He continued in subjection to Krishna till his death, after which a long period ensued in which no mention is anywhere made of this place. It seems to have been subsequently destroyed by an inundation of the sea. The inscriptions now found there appear to be all Pallava, of about the seventh century, or Chola, of later date than that.<sup>2</sup>

The oldest Mahāvali inscription bearing a date is one professing to be of 339 A.D., found by me at Mudiyanur (Mulbagal taluq).<sup>3</sup> But from the one which contains the fullest genealogy of the line, published by the Rev. T. Foulkes,<sup>4</sup> there were several generations before that. As aids towards fixing the period of the kings we have the statements that the early Kadamba outlaw of S'ripurvata levied tribute from the great Bāna; that the first Ganga king, assigned to the second century, conquered the Bāna country; that the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I., ruling in the seventh century, subdued Rājamalla of the Mahāmalla family; that the Chola king, Vira Nārāyana,

<sup>1</sup> See Captain Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, 13; *Asiatic Researches*, I, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch, *So. Ind. Ins.*, I, 1ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XV, 172.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.*, XIII, 6; *Ep. Ind.*, III, 74.

uprooted the Bánas about the end of the ninth century ; but that they were replaced soon after by the Gangas in the person of Hastimalla.<sup>1</sup>

The genealogy as derived from inscriptions is as follows :—

Bali, Mahábali ; his son  
Bána, in whose line was born  
Bánádhirája.

After he and many other Bána kings had passed away, there were :—

Nandivarma, Jayanandivarma.  
Vijayáditya I.  
Malladeva Nandivarma, Jagadekamalla, Vadhúvallabha.  
Bána Vidyádhara.  
Prabhumeru.  
Vikramáditya I.  
Vijayáditya II.  
Vikramáditya II, Vijayabáhu.

Each of these eight kings was the son of his predecessor. The Mudiyanur inscription is of the twenty-third year of No. 3. Stone inscriptions exist in Mysore of Nos. 4 and 5. There are also inscriptions of a Bejeyitta Bānarasa, one dating in 899. He may be identified with Vijayáditya II. Vikramáditya II. is said to have been the friend of Krishna Raja, no doubt the Rashtrakuta king, ruling in about 940 to 956. Then an inscription dating in 971 presents to us Sambayya, who, though invested with all the Mahávali titles, was ruling as a governor subordinate to the Pallavas. The line must therefore have lost its independence in the latter half of the tenth century. Extracts are given by Mr. Foulkes<sup>2</sup> from literature indicating a recognition of the power of the Bána kings in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, at the end of this latter period, inscriptions at Srivilliputtur in Tinnivelly district show that two kings named Sundara Tol and Muṭṭarasa Tirumala, calling themselves Mahávali Bānādhirája even obtained possession of the Pandya throne. Except these and the Salem inscriptions, which are in Grantha and Tamil characters, all the other inscriptions of this line are in the ancient Kannaḍa characters and in the Sanskrit and Kannaḍa languages. Some of their later inscriptions indicate Paduvipuri as their capital, which may possibly be identified with Padavidu in North Arcot district, south of Vellore, where there are extensive ruins, the ancient city having been destroyed apparently by a volcanic eruption. Their crest was the recumbent bull Nandi, and they had a black flag.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 6, 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

**Vaidumbas.** Inscriptions of these kings are met with in Chintamani taluq. The Kalinga Ganga king Vajrahastu V. married a Vaidumba princess; and the Chola king Parántaka subdued a Vaidumba king.

**Pallavas.**—The Pallavas were a powerful dynasty who succeeded to the dominions of the Andhrabhritya or S'átaváhana family throughout the region in which the Telugu language prevails. They seem at first to have had a chief city at Vátápi (Bádámi in Bijapur district), from which they were expelled by the Chalukyas in the fifth century, and also at Vengi, between the Krishna and the Godavari, which was taken from them by the Chalukyas in the seventh century. But from an early part of their history their capital was Kánci (Conjeveram, near Madras). Their grants are also issued from Palakkada and Dasanapura, the latter name being perhaps a translation of the former. This place has not been identified, but may be the Palakka of the Samudra Gupta inscription at Allahabad. Trichinopoly seems to be the southernmost point in which Pallava inscriptions have been found. Stone inscriptions in the Kolar, Chitaldroog, Tumkur and Bangalore Districts bear evidence that the Pallavas in the ninth and tenth centuries exercised dominion throughout the north and east of Mysore. Here they frequently had the cognomen Nolamba, and their territory came to be known as Nolambaváḍi or Noṇambaváḍi, a Thirty-two Thousand province, the subjects of which are represented by the Noṇabas of the present day.

The origin of the Pallavas is uncertain, though they profess in some grants to be of the Bháradvája gotra. They are mentioned in the Puranas along with the Haihayas, S'akas, Yavanas, &c., as Pahlavas, which would imply a Persian source. But Professor Weber says<sup>1</sup>:—"As the name of a people this word Pahlav became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted: in the Pahlav texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period when it passed over to the Indians, therefore, would have to be fixed for about the second to the fourth century A.D., and we should have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Párasikas rather, but specially Arsacidan Parthians.<sup>2</sup> Pallava may possibly be derived from Párthava (Parthian).

According to tradition, from S'áliváhana, that is S'átaváhana, who ruled at Pratishthána (now Paithan, on the Godavari), were descended Mádhavavarma, Kulaketana, Nilakantha, and Mukunti Pallava. The last appears as the founder of the Pallava line, and is said to have been

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, 188.

<sup>2</sup> The Parthians revolted from the Seleucidæ about B.C. 150, under a chief named Arsakes (Askh), who founded an independent monarchy. The Parthians subsequently overran the provinces east of the Euphrates, and about B.C. 130 overthrew the kingdom of Bactria, so that their empire extended from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean to the Paropamisus, or even to the Oxus. The

a son of Mahadeva (Siva) by a girl of the mountain tribe called Chensuars (Chensabara).<sup>1</sup> He is also stated to have introduced Brahmans into his country in the third century.

Trilochana, Trinetra, or Trinayana Pallava, was ruling in the fourth century when Jayasimha, surnamed Vijayāditya, of the Cāhlukya family, invaded his territories. But the latter lost his life in the attempt, and his queen, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brahman named Vishnu Somayāji, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Rājasimha. On attaining to man's estate the latter renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, and eventually married a princess of that race.<sup>2</sup>

Resorting to inscriptions, one at Nasik says that Satakarni, son of Gotami, destroyed the Pahlavas, with the Sakas and Yavanas;<sup>3</sup> and one at Junágadh that a Pallava named Suvisákha, son of Kulaipa, was minister to the Kshatrapa Rudradāman.<sup>4</sup> But in the east we obtain the names of several series of Pallava kings, whose period seems sufficiently certain, although their exact dates are for the most part not known, nor in several cases their relationship and order :—

Chandavarma, ? Chandanda	300	Narasimhavarma, Narasimhapotavarma II.	c. 675
Nandivarma			
Skandavarma	to	Parames'varavarma II.	
Buddhavarma		Nandivarma	
S'ivaskandavarma	400	Pallavamalla Nandivarma, Nandi-	
Skandavarma	400	potavarma	c. 733
Viravarma		(Skandavarma)	
Skandavarma	to	(Simhavarma) Hemasitala	788
Simhavarma		(Skandavarma) Dantiga	804
Vishnugopavarma	500	Nandivarma	c. 810
Simhavishnu		Nolambádhirāja, Mangala	
Ugradanda, Lokaditya		Simhapota	
Rājasimha, ? Jayasimha, Simha-		Cháru Ponnera, Pallavádhirāja	
vishnu, Narasimhavishnu,		Polalchora Nolamba, Nolambádhir-	
Atyantakāma, ? Atirajachanda	c. 550	rāja	881
Mahendravarma I.		Mahendra, Bira Mahendra	
Narasimhavarma, Narasimhapota-		Ayyapa, Nanniga	919
varma I.	c. 620	Anniga, Bira Nolamba, Annayya	
Mahendravarma II.		Dilipayya, Iriya Nolamba,	
Parames'varavarma I, Is'varapota-		Nolapayya	943-974
rāja	c. 670	Nanni Nolamba	975-977

memorable wars between the Parthians and the Romans eventually weakened the former, and gave the Persians the opportunity of throwing off the Parthian yoke. Led by Artaxerxes (Ardashir), they put an end to the Parthian kingdom of the Arsacidæ, after it had lasted 476 years, and established the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ, A.D. 226.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *McK. Coll.*, I, cxx, cxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Elliot, *Mad. J.*, IV, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VII., 257.



The grants of the first five,<sup>1</sup> made to Brahmans, are in Prakrit, and issued from Vengi, except the last, which is from Kánci. Chanda-varma might be the Chanḍadanda who was defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarma. Nandivarma was his son. They claim to be of the Sálankáyana family. The next two were father and son, and are expressly called Pallavas, but in what relation they stood to the foregoing is not known. Sivaskandavarma, again, refers to his *bappa*, or father, without naming him: it is uncertain therefore who he was. The next series of six<sup>2</sup> appear in grants in Sanskrit, also to Brahmans, issued from Palakkad and Dasanapura. Simhavarma and Vishnugopa were probably brothers, otherwise the succession was from father to son. In the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad, assigned to the fourth century,<sup>3</sup> we have mention among the southern kings of Vishnugopa of Kánci, Hastivarma of Vengi and Ugrasena of Palakka, as well as a Chandravarma in the north. It seems very probable that these may have been some of the above.

With Ugradanda we come to a period of somewhat greater certainty, and the list of kings<sup>4</sup> admits of arrangement based on their points of contact with the Chalukya and other contemporary kings whose dates are known.<sup>5</sup> Several of the names are alternately Saiva and Vaishnava, while the designation Pota seems to be Buddhist. The remarkable buildings and sculptures at Mámallapura, or Seven Pagodas, also relate to these three faiths. Numerous Pallava inscriptions furnish us with details of the history of this period. Those at Mámallapura, Sáluvan-kuppa, and Kánci are in Sanskrit, and inscribed in four different alphabets, one of which is of an extremely florid character.<sup>6</sup>

Ugradanda claims to have destroyed the town and army of Ranasika, that is, the Chalukya king Ranarága. Rájasimha married Rangapatáka, and built the Rájasimhes'vara temple at Kánci, now known as the Kailásanátha. The Ganga king Durvináta, reigning at about this time, is said to have taken Káduvetṭi (Karveti-nagara, North Arcot) from the king of Kánci called Jayasimha, and placed the son of his own daughter upon the throne. A series of wars, attended with varying fortune, took place in succeeding reigns between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, who describe the former as being by nature hostile, as if there were some radical cause of animosity between the two. Narasimhavarma I. is said to have repeatedly defeated Vallabharája, that is, the Chalukya king Pulikesi II., and destroyed Vátápi, while on

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, V, 176; IX, 100: *Ep. Ind.*, I, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, V, 50, 154.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet's *Ins. of the Early Gupta Kings*, No. I.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 273.

<sup>5</sup> See Hultzsch, *So. Ind. Ins.*, I, 11, 145: I have made a few alterations in the arrangement, which seem to me required.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, I.; *Sev. Pag.*, pl. 14, 15, 18.

the other hand Pulikesi claims to have made the leader of the Pallavas hide his prowess behind the ramparts of Kánc̥hi. It is pleasant to turn aside from these scenes of violence to the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Kánc̥hipura (Kin-chi-pu-lo) in 640. He says it was about thirty li, or five miles, round. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated. The climate was hot ; the character of the people courageous. They were deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteemed learning. There were 10,000 Buddhist priests, some eighty Brahman temples, and many Nirgranthas (or Jains).<sup>1</sup>

Paramesvaravarma I. is said to have put to flight Pulikesi's son Vikramáditya I., who, on the other hand, says that he conquered Is'varapotarāja and took Kánc̥hi. The Chalukyas admit that the Pallavas had been until this unconquered, for the important Vokkaleri inscription<sup>2</sup> says that the king of Kánc̥hi, "who had never bowed to any man," was forced to kiss the feet of the conqueror with his crown. Vinayáditya, the next Chalukya, is also said to have captured the army of the Pallava king, here called Trairāja. Narasimhapotavarma II. was killed in a battle at Velandā with the Ganga king Bhúvikrama, being trampled under the elephants. Two grandsons of his were apparently brought up by the Gangas. But the greatest disaster of all was that which befell Nandipotavarma. The Chalukya king Vikramáditya II., soon after his coronation in 733, by a rapid movement penetrated to the Tunḷāka province (Tonḷa-maṇḍala),<sup>3</sup> and in a pitched battle completely routed the Pallavas, capturing as trophies their war-trumpet, their big drum called "roar of the sea," their great Siva banner, many elephants, and heaps of splendid rubies. The victor marched to Kánc̥hi, which was at his mercy, and, refraining from destroying it, made donations of gold to the Rājasimhes'vara and other temples, a statement which is confirmed by an inscription at the former. His queen Loka-mahádevi afterwards caused a temple to be erected at Pattadkal (Bijapur district) to celebrate the victory.<sup>4</sup> This eventful defeat seems to have broken the power of the Pallavas, and the king, unable to face another Chalukya force, under the crown prince Kirtivarma, fled for refuge to a hill fort. The Ganga king S'ripurusha now retook Káḍuveṭṭi, which the Pallavas had recovered, and seized the Pallava umbrella, assuming at the same time the title of Permanaḍi, which he took from the lord of Kánc̥hi.

The location of the next four names<sup>5</sup> is somewhat doubtful, but the Ráshṭrakāṭa kings about this time gained the ascendancy over the Chalukyas, and overcame the Gangas and Pallavas. We accordingly

<sup>1</sup> Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *So. Ind. Ins.*, I, 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 85.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* VIII, 167 ; *Ep. Ind.*, III, 142.

find Nirupama claiming to have conquered the Pallavas in about 760. In 804, again, we find Govinda levying tribute from the ruler of Kánci, called Dantiga. Also a Pallavádhirája acting as governor under the same, over the Nolambalige 1,000, the Nírgunda 300, &c. A Pallava king Nandivarma was moreover associated with Govinda in replacing on his throne the Ganga king Sivamára, in about 810. It was during this period, too, or in 788 according to Wilson, that the great religious discussion between the Buddhists and the Jains took place at Kánci before the king Hemasitala, who was a Buddhist. The Jains were victorious, and the Buddhists, in lieu of being ground in oil-mills according to the conditions of the contest, were banished to Kandy in Ceylon, the king embracing the Jaina faith.

With Nolambádhirája, whose relation to the preceding is not known, begin the series of Pallava kings who more directly ruled in Mysore, and they are indiscriminately called Pallavádhirája and Nolambádhirája. Their chief city above the Ghats seems to have been Penjeru or Henjeru, now Hemavati, on the Sira border. There was also a Nolamba-paṭṭara, of which only the name remains, to the east of Chitaldroog, near Aymangala, properly Ayyapamangala. There is indeed a grant by Vira Nōnamba, made from Henjeru,<sup>1</sup> but as it professes to date from 444, and he is described as a Chalukya, in these respects it must be a forgery. The real genealogy of the Nolamba kings is given on a fine stone at Hemavati, confirmed by many other inscriptions in various parts.

They claim descent from the Is'vara-vams'a (Siva), through Trinayana, and Pallava the master of Kánci. In his line was born Nolambádhirája, named Mangala, praised by the Karnātas, victor in war over the Kirāta king, and worshipper of Chandiká. His son was Simhapota, whose son was Cháru Ponnera, the Pallavádhirája whose daughter was married to the Ganga king Ráchamalla. Polal Chora Nolamba was her elder brother, the Nolambádhirája who married Jáyabbe, the younger sister of the Ganga king Nítimárga. Their son was Bira Mahendra, who was contemporary with the Ganga king Ereyappa. Mahendra's queen was Divabbarasi or Divámbika, of the Kadamba family. Their son was Ayyapa Deva or Nanniga-nripa, who had two wives, Nágiyabbe and Heleyabbe. Two sons were born to him, perhaps one by each of these mothers,—Anniga or Bira Nolamba, and Dilipayya or Iriya Nolamba, who reigned in turn. The latter ruled till 974, and had a son Nanni Nolamba, whose inscriptions date from 975 to 977. But the Ganga king Márasimha (963-974) is specially styled Nolambakulántaka, or death to the Nolamba race, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 94; *Mys. Ins.*, 296.

it seems probable that they now lost their independence and were finally absorbed in the great wave of Chola conquest which overspread the east of the peninsula at the close of the tenth century.

Notices of Pallavas and Nolambas in a subordinate capacity as governors under the Cholas and Chálukyas continue to be met with long after: and the Chálukya king Someśvara or A'havamalla (1040-1069) must have had a Pallava wife, as his younger son Jayasimha professes to be of both Chálukya and Pallava descent, and, among other titles, calls himself Víra Nolamba Pallava.

**Gangas.**—The Gangas were a line of kings who ruled over the greater part of the Mysore country, and of the Kávéri river basin (excepting the delta of Tanjore), from early in the Christian era till about 1004. They may be described as the principal Jaina dynasty of the South. The name Ganga is not an ordinary one, and how it came to be their designation, whence their kingdom was called Gangaváḍi and its subjects Gangaváḍikáras, is not accounted for. It is impossible to avoid noticing that the only other occurrence of such a name in history is in the Greek accounts of Chandra Gupta, who is described as ruling over the Prasii and the Gangaridæ.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy locates the Gangaridai in all the country about the mouths of the Ganges, with their capital at Gangé (not identified). They are also mentioned by Virgil, Valerius Flaccus and Curtius. Pliny, on the other hand, calls them Gangaridæ Calingæ.<sup>2</sup> That there was an important line of Ganga kings in Kalinga in the seventh and eighth centuries we know from inscriptions, and there was another of the same name in that region at a later period. The connection of the Kalinga Gangas with the Mysore Gangas, who were earlier, is admitted, but there is nothing to show that the name originated with the Gangaridæ Calingæ. The Hindu traditions, as might be expected, also refer the appellation to the sacred river Gangá or Ganges, but in stories (see below) which are apparently only invented from the name.

Of the origin of the Gangas the following account is extracted from inscriptions (of the eleventh century) at Purale, Humcha and Kallur Gudda. In the Ikshváku-vams'a arose Dhananjaya, who slew the king of Kanyákubja. His wife was Gándhári-devi, by whom he had a son Haris'chandra, born in Ayodhyá-pura. His wife was Rohini-devi, and their son was Bharata, whose wife, Vijaya-mahádevi, having bathed in

<sup>1</sup> The Bandaníkke record of the rule of Nanda, Gupta and Maurya kings over Kuntala has already been referred to (p. 289). Another inscription of the same period, at Kupatur, close by, says that Nágakhandaka (of which Bandaníkke was the chief city) was protected by the wise Chandra Gupta, an abode of the good usages of eminent Kshatriyas. <sup>2</sup> See *Ptolemy's Geog.* by McCrindle, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 365.

the Gangá at the time of conception, the son she bore was called Gangádatta (the gift of Gangá), and his posterity were the Gangas.<sup>1</sup> From him was descended Vishnu Gupta, who ruled in Ahichchhatrapura,<sup>2</sup> to whom Indra, pleased with his performance of the Aindra-dhvaja-pújá, presented him with an elephant. Vishnu Gupta, by his wife Prithuvimati, had two sons, Bhagadatta and S'ridatta. On Bhagadatta was bestowed the government of Kalinga, whence he became known as Kalinga Ganga : while to S'ridatta was given the ancestral kingdom, together with the elephant, which thenceforward became the crest of the Gangas. Subsequently a king named Priyabandhuvarma was born in that line, to whom Indra appeared and presented him with five royal tokens or ornaments, at the same time uttering a warning that if any king of the line should prove an apostate they would vanish. Giving to Vijayapura<sup>3</sup> the name of Ahichchhatra, Indra departed.

The Ganga line continuing to prosper, there was born in it Kampa, whose son was Padmanábha. Being in great distress on account of his childless condition, he supplicated the s'ásana devati of Padmaprabha and obtained two sons, whom he named Ráma and Lakshmana. Mahipála, the ruler of Ujjeni, now made a demand for the delivery to him of the five royal tokens presented by Indra. Padmanábha indignantly replied that they could not be given up, and would be of no use to another : also that if the demand were persisted in, it would be met by force. At the same time he held a consultation with his ministers, and as the result, resolved to quit the country. Taking his two sons, whose names he changed to Daḍiga and Mádhava, and accompanied by his daughter, his younger sister, and forty-eight chosen followers of Brahman descent, he set out for the south. On arriving at Perur, Daḍiga and Mádhava there met with the great muni Simhanandi, of the Kánúrgaṇa, and explained to him their circumstances. He took up their cause, gave them instruction, and obtained for them a boon from the goddess Padmávatī, confirmed by the gift of a sword and the promise of a kingdom. Mádhava, with a shout, at once laid hold of the sword and struck with all his might at a stone pillar, when the pillar fell in two.<sup>5</sup> The muni recognized this as a good omen,

<sup>1</sup> The account given in the Kalinga Ganga inscriptions is that Turvasu, the son of Yayāti, being without sons, practised self-restraint and propitiated the river Gangá, the bestower of boons, by which means he obtained a son, the unconquerable Gángeya, whose descendants were victorious in the world as the Ganga line.—*Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 275.

<sup>2</sup> Either in Rohilkand or in Málwa.—*ib.* 361.

<sup>3</sup> Vijayapura appears as the place from which a Chalukya grant of the 5th century was issued, and was probably in Gujarat (*see Ind. Ant.*, VII, 241).

<sup>4</sup> Or Kránur.

<sup>5</sup> What this pillar (*s'íla stambha*) was it is difficult to understand, but in one place it is described as the chief obstacle in the way of his securing the throne.

made a crown from the petals of the karnikāra blossom, and placed it on the heads of the brothers, giving them his peacock fan as a banner, and in due course, providing them with an army, invested them with all kingly powers. He also impressed upon them the following counsel:—If you fail in what you promise, if you dissent from the Jina s'āsana, if you take the wives of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle ;—your race will go to ruin.

Thus, with Nandagiri as their fort, Kuvalāla as their city, the Ninety-six Thousand country as their kingdom, Victory as their companion in the battle-field, Jinendra as their god, the Jina mata as their faith,—Daḍiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth. The north, touching Madarkale; the east, Tonḍa-nāḍ : the west, the ocean in the direction of Chera; the south, Kongu ;—within these limits of the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand did the Gangas undertake the subjection of all enemies.

Most of this is no doubt legendary, but some truth may perhaps underlie the narrative, and with the arrival of Daḍiga and Mādhava at Perur we seem to be on solid ground. For Perur must be the place in Kadapa district still distinguished as Ganga-Perur; Simhanandi is known from literature,<sup>1</sup> and is expressly stated in various inscriptions to have helped to found the Ganga kingdom; moreover, the succession of kings as given from this point is in general accordance with numerous records found in all parts of Mysore. Several inscriptions, however, carry the foundation of the line back to Kanva, and the Gangas are described as of the Kānvāyana gotra. A dynasty of Kanvas, we have already seen (p. 291), preceded the S'ātavāhanas. Of the places mentioned in connection with the Ganga possessions, Nandagiri can only be Nandi-durga, Kuvalāla is Kolar: but though the Gangas are called lords of Kuvalāla-pura, we know that from an early period their capital was at Talavana-pura (Talakāḍ on the Kávéri). The place given as the northern limit of Gangavādi I have been unable to identify,<sup>2</sup> but the other limits are well-known places. Tonḍa-nāḍ, a Forty-eight Thousand province, is Tonḍa-maṇḍala, the Madras country to the east of Mysore; the ocean for the western boundary seems to be a stretch of the imagination, as Gangavādi, so far as we know, did not extend below the Western Ghats; Chera corresponds with Cochin and Travancore; Kongu, with Salem and Coimbatore.

The following is a table of the Ganga kings of Mysore; the dates before the seventh century, though taken from inscriptions, are not certain :—

<sup>1</sup> Named by Indrabhūti in his *Samayabhūṣhana* (see *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 20).

<sup>2</sup> One or two names something like it are found in the north of the Kolar District.

Konguṇi-varma (Mádhava)	103	S'ripurusha, Muttarasa,	726-777
Kiriya Mádhava		Permanāḍi, Prithuvi Kongaṇi	
Harivarma	247, 266	S'ivamára (II), Saigoṭṭa	c. 780-814
Vishnu-gopa		Vijayāditya	c. 814-869
Taḍlangála Mádhava	350	Ráchamalla (I), Satyavákya	869-893
Aviníta, Kongaṇi	425-478	Nitimárga (I), ? Marula,	
Durviníta, Kongaṇi	478-513	Nanniya Ganga	893-915
Mushkara, Mokkaṛa		Ereyappa, Mahendrántaka	921
S'rivikrama		Bútuga, Ganga Gángeya	930-963
Bhúvikrama, S'rivallabha	679	Márasimha, Nolambakulántaka	963-974
S'ivamára (I), Nava Káma,		Ráchamalla (II).	974-984
Prithuvi Kongaṇi	679-713	Rakkasa Ganga, Govindara	984
Prithuvipati, Prithuyas'as	726	Ganga Rája	996-1004

Konguṇi-varma was the first king, and this is a special title of all the Ganga kings to the end.<sup>1</sup> To him is invariably ascribed the feat of cutting through the stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword: he is therefore the Mádhava of the narrative before given, and in one place is described as but a boy at that time. The succession of kings, on the other hand, was through Daḍiga, of whom it is said that with the Kaurava army he stopped the army of the Matsya king. Supposing the founders of the Ganga dynasty to have come from Central India, and matured their plans at Perur, in Kadapa district, for the acquisition of Kolar and the midland and southern parts of Mysore, they would soon encounter the opposition of the Mahávali or Báṇa kings, whose western boundary was probably the Pálár, which is close to Kolar on the east. We accordingly find Konguṇi-varma described as consecrated to conquer the Báṇa maṇḍala, and as a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest called Báṇa. From the east the Ganga princes marched to the west, and are represented as engaged in leading an expedition to the Konkan or western coast, when they came to Maṇḍali, near Shimoga, where, by the advice of Simhanandi, they established a chaityálaya. Probably there was a considerable Jain element in the population of Mysore at the time, over whom Simhanandi exerted his influence to gain their acceptance of the Ganga rule.

Daḍiga's son, Kiriya Mádhava, or the younger Mádhava, succeeded to the throne.<sup>2</sup> He is described as inclined to learning and skilled in polity. He wrote a commentary on the *dattaka sūtra* or law of adoption. His son was Harivarma, who made use of elephants in war, and established the capital at Talakáḍ. Previous to this, according to an old chronicle, the capital was at Skandapura, which Lassen locates at

<sup>1</sup> Konguṇi is also written Kongaṇi, Konguḷi, and Kongiṇi. For the date assigned to him see my *Ep. Carn.*, Mysore I, Nj. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Daḍiga's brother would therefore be properly distinguished as Hiriya Mádhava.

Gajalhatti, near Satyamangalam, on the old ghat road from Mysore to Trichinopoly. But no reference to such a place is contained in the inscriptions. Two grants of the time of Harivarma have been found, both open to doubt. One<sup>1</sup> records a gift at Orekod, in the Maisur-náḍ Seventy, to a Brahman for overcoming in discussion a Bauddha who had affixed a challenge to the gate of the palace at Talakaḍ, boasting of his learning, and maintaining the doctrine that annihilation was the highest happiness. The other<sup>2</sup> is a grant in some neighbouring part for an act of bravery in the battle of Henjeru. Harivarma's son Vishnugopa is described as devoted to the worship of gurus, cows and Brahmans. His change of faith caused the five royal tokens given by Indra to vanish, as foretold in the original warning. He must have lived to a great age, as he is said to have retained his mental energy unimpaired to the end of life. His son was Taḍangála Mádhava, whose arms were grown stout and hard with athletic exercises. He married a sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarma, and is described as the reviver of donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brahman endowments. A grant of his in an extraordinary jumble of alphabets<sup>3</sup> also records a gift for bravery at Henjeru. This, and the similar grant above, point to encounters with the Pallavas.

Taḍangála Mádhava's son, by the Kadamba princess, was Aviníta, who was crowned while an infant in his mother's lap. He married the daughter of Skandavarma, Rája of Punnáḍ, who chose him, though betrothed by her father to another from her birth on the advice of his guru. Of him it is related that on coming to the Kávéri he heard a voice say *s'ata-jívi* (a prediction that he would live for a hundred years), on which, to the consternation of his attendants, he plunged into the river and crossed over in safety, though it was in full flood, thus acquiring the name of Churchuváyda Ganga. Both he and his son are said to have been like Manu in maintaining the castes and religious orders of the south. Two grants of his reign have been found, one of the twenty-ninth year,<sup>4</sup> making a grant to a Brahman, and one<sup>5</sup> recording a gift to Jainas in the Punnáḍ Ten Thousand, by the minister of Akálavarsha (a Ráshṭrakáṭa king). The Punnáḍ Ten Thousand formed the southern portion of Mysore, and seems to correspond with the Padi-náḍ or Ten náḍ country of later inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> Also with the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Mysore I, Nj. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 172.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* V, 136.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* I, 363; *Coorg Ins.* No. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A grant of the Punnáḍ Rájas, the date of which cannot be determined, has been found, from which their capital seems to have been Kitthipura. It gives the following succession of kings:—Ráshṭravarma; his son Nágadatta; his son Bhujaga, who married the daughter of Singavarma; their son Skandavarma; his son the Punnáṭa Rája Ravidatta.—*Ind. Ant.*, XII, 13; XVIII, 366.



Pounnuta of Ptolemy, where beryl was found.<sup>1</sup> Aviníta's son was Durviníta. He had for his preceptor the author of the S'abdavatára, that is, the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pújyapáda. He thus acquired a literary taste which led him to write a commentary on part of the Kirátárjuníya, a well-known poem by Bhárávi. He is probably, as the name is a very uncommon one, the Durviníta named by Nripatunga among the early Kannaḍa authors. He seems to have extended the Ganga dominion to the south and east, for he is said to have waged sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, A'lattúr (perhaps the one in Coimbatore district), Porulare, Pennagara (in Salem district), and other places, and is described as ruler over the whole of Pánnáḍ and Punnáḍ, as if he had annexed them. He is also said to have wrested Káḍuvetti (Karveti-nagara, North Arcot district) from Jayasimha, the king of Kánci, and made the son of his own daughter the governor. Two grants of his reign have been found, one of the third year<sup>2</sup> and the other of the thirty-fifth,<sup>3</sup> both recording gifts to Brahmans.

His son was Mushkara or Mokka, who married the daughter of the Sindhu Rája. His son was S'rávikrama, who had two sons, Bhúvikrama and S'ivamára. Bhúvikrama, in a great battle at Vilanda, defeated the Pallava king Narasimhapotavarma II., trodden to death in the charge of elephants, and subdued the whole of the Pallava dominions, acquiring the title of S'rávallabha. According to the old chronicle he and his brother made their residence at Mukunda, apparently the present Mankunda, near Channapatna. The younger brother, S'ivamára or Nava Káma, had under his guardianship the two grandsons of the Pallava king, no doubt the one above mentioned. Their father, therefore, may have been taken prisoner and died in captivity. In a grant made in his thirty-fourth year,<sup>4</sup> this king signs himself *s'ishṭa-priyah*, beloved of the good.

Most of the Ganga grants omit mention of his son and pass on to his grandson. From the only grant that gives an account of him,<sup>5</sup> the reason appears to be that the son was engaged in distant expeditions in which he was unfortunate and lost his life, or there may have been a split in the family. He is called Prithuvipati and Prithuyas'as, but these can hardly be his names. He gave protection to certain chiefs, one of whom was a refugee from Amoghavarsha. He cut a piece of bone out of his body from a wound received in the battle of Vaimbalguli and sent it to the waters of the Ganges. He defeated the

<sup>1</sup> Col. Yule's Map of Ancient India (Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geog.*). Padiyur in Coimbatore district produced beryl (see *Ind. Ant.*, V, 237).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 174.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* V, 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Mysore I, Md. 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Salem Manual*, II, 369.

Pándya king Varaguna in a battle at S'rí Purambiyam, or Tiru Purambiyam (near Kumbhakonam), but lost his life in saving a friend. He appears to have had a son Márasimha, of whom we hear no more.

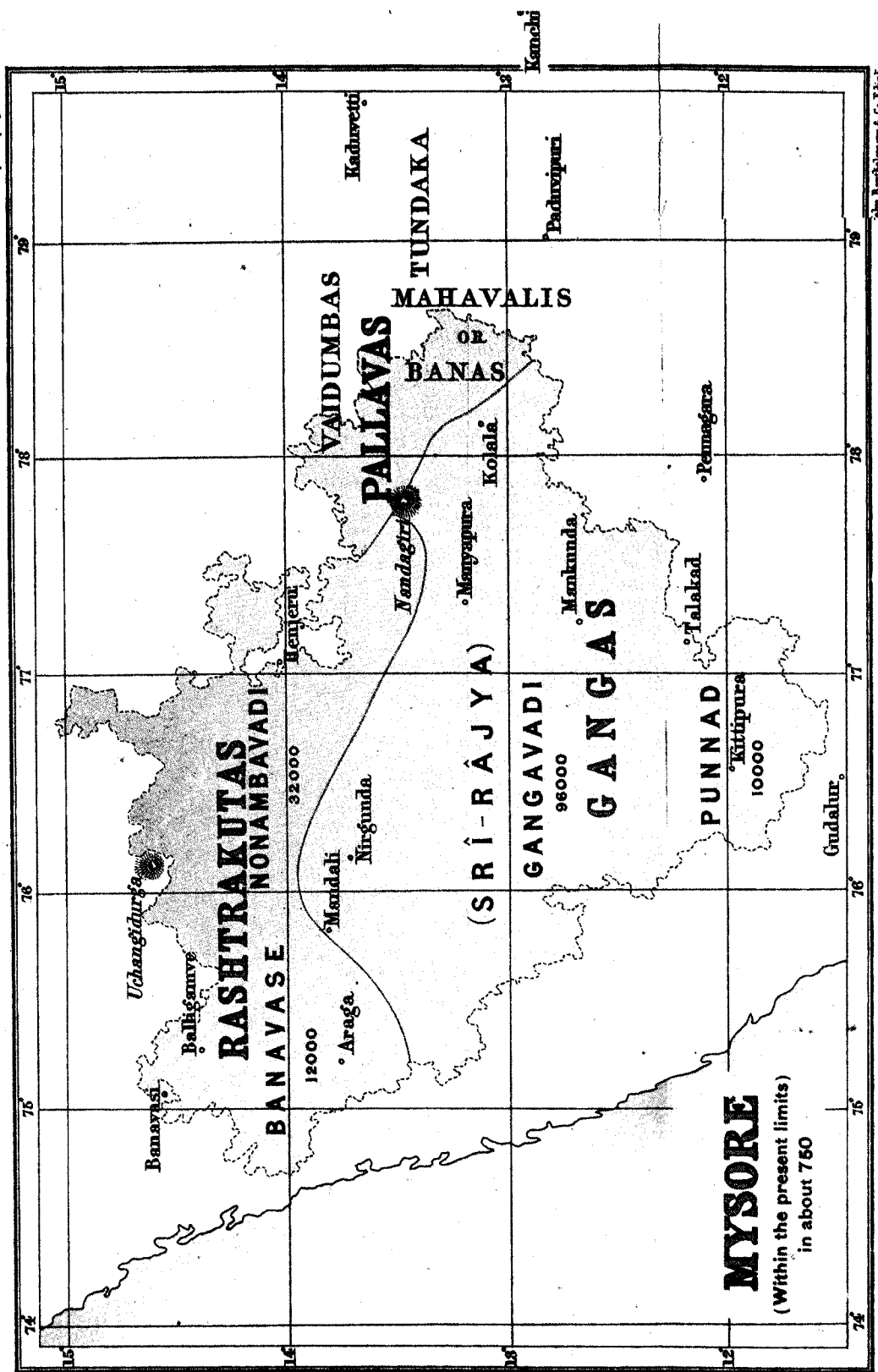
S'rípurusha, whose name was Muttarasa, was the grandson (or perhaps great grandson) of Sívamára, and had a long and prosperous reign. His kingdom was called the S'rí-rájya. Numerous grants of his time have been found, both on stone slabs and on copper plates, ranging from the first to the fiftieth year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> He seems at some time to have made Mányapura (Manne in Nelamangala taluq) the royal residence. He is stated to have again conquered Káduvetti, which had been recovered by the Pallavas, at the same time capturing the Pallava umbrella and assuming the title of Permanadi, which he took away from the king of Kánci. This title is used of all subsequent Ganga kings, sometimes alone, without any distinguishing name. He also reinstated the Bána kingdom by placing Hastimalla on the throne. He is said, moreover, to have written a work on elephants called Gajasástra. His sons Sivamára and Duggamára appear as governors under him, also one named Lokáditya, apparently the youngest.

He was succeeded by his son Sívamára, surnamed Saigotta, and the latter had a son, Márasimha, who made a grant in 797 as yuva-rája, but is not again heard of. Sívamára is said to have been the author of Gajáshtaka, a treatise on elephants, in which he improved upon his father's system. Serious reverses befell the Ganga kingdom in this reign. The Ráshtrakútas had gained a great accession of power, and Nirupama or Dháravarsha is said to have defeated and imprisoned the impetuous Ganga, who had never been conquered before. The next king, Govinda or Prabhútarsha, on coming to the throne in about 784, released Ganga from his long and painful captivity, but had to confine him again on account of his hostility.<sup>2</sup> As he is represented as having defeated the combined royal army, commanded by Ráshtrakúta, Chalukya and Haihaya chiefs, at Murugundur (perhaps Mudugundur in Mandya taluq), this attack may have led to his being again seized. During the interregnum the Ráshtrakútas appointed their own viceroys to govern the Ganga territories. In 802 Dháravarsha's son Kambha or Ranávaloka was the viceroy, and there are three inscriptions of his time.<sup>3</sup> In 813 we find Cháki Rája in that office.<sup>4</sup> Eventually Sívamára either made his peace with Govinda or, as seems more likely, the latter was in need of allies, for that monarch, assisted by the Pallava king Nandivarman, replaced him on the throne, the two binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands. A long war now took place between the

<sup>1</sup> *Mys. Ins. and Ep. Carn.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 69; XI, 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Ins. at Sr. Bel.*, No. 24: the others unpublished. <sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 18.





Eastern Chalukyas and the allied Gangas and Raṭṭas, in which 108 battles were fought in twelve years. Śivamāra's successor on the throne was apparently his brother Vijayāditya.

With the accession of Rāchamalla Satyavākya the Gangas seem to have taken a fresh start in power, and these names form titles of all the subsequent kings. He is said to have recovered from the Rāshtrakūṭas the whole of the territory which they had seized and held too long. His yuva-rāja in 870 was Būtarasa, and he had a son Rana Vikramayya, who may be the same. But the son that was his successor is called Nitimārga, who had a prosperous reign, and there are numerous inscriptions of his time. His sister was married to Nolambādhirāja, who was ruling under him. His son Ereyappa was apparently associated with him in the government towards the close of his life. An interesting sculptured bas-relief of his death-bed scene has been discovered.<sup>1</sup> Ereyappa is called Mahendrāntaka, or death to Mahendra, the Nolamba king.

With Būtuga considerable changes occurred in the Ganga dominions. Ereyappa's eldest son Rāchamalla was the proper heir to the throne. But Būtuga, another son, perhaps by a different mother, resolved to possess himself of the crown, and defeated and slew Rāchamalla. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Baddega or Amoghavarsha gave him his daughter in marriage, and he appears to have secured the kingdom for his brother-in-law Krishna or Kannara, though on Baddega's death it had been seized by Lalliya. Kannara was soon after engaged in a war with the Chola king Rājāditya, when Būtuga by some treachery killed the latter at a place called Takṇola, following it up by laying siege to the Chola capital Tanjāpuri (Tanjore) and burning Nālkote. For this important service Kannara made over to him the Banavase Twelve Thousand (Shimoga and North Kanara districts), in addition to his wife's dowry, the Belvola Three Hundred, the Purigere Three Hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāginād Seventy (all in Dharwar and neighbouring districts).<sup>2</sup> Būtuga also subdued the Seven Málavas, and putting up boundary stones, gave the country the name of Ganga Málava. His elder sister Pāmbabbe, widow of Dorapayya, died in 971, after leading an ascetic life for thirty years. His son Marula Deva is said to have married a daughter of Kannara. But his successor on the throne was his son Mārasimha, called Nolambakulāntaka, from his having slain all the Nolambas. By direction of Kannara he made an expedition against Gurjjara or Gujarat, and is said to have been a terror to the Chalukya prince Rājāditya. From several in-

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Mysore I, TN. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III, Ind. 41: *Ep. Ind.*, III, 175.

scriptions towards the end of this reign it appears that the Gangas had then become feudatories of the Ráshtrakútas.

But the latter were now finally overcome by the Chálukyas, and Márasimha's son Ráchamalla, who succeeded, was independent. This king's minister and general was Chámunda Ráya, who caused the colossal image of Gomata to be erected at S'ravana Belgola. The king's younger brother Rakkasa was a governor in Coorg, and finally succeeded to the throne. With Ganga Rája we come to the end of the independent Ganga rule. The Cholas, advancing in overwhelming force, invaded the Ganga territories, under the command of Rajendra Chola, son of the reigning king Rájarája, and in about 1004 captured Talakáḍ and overran all the south and east of Mysore. The Gangas, driven from their kingdom, took refuge with the Chálukyas and with the Hoysalas, who were destined to succeed to their dominion in Mysore, attaining to positions of the highest honour under both.

But the principal revival of their power as independent rulers was in Orissa, or rather in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, in alliance with the Cholas. We have already had occasion to mention the Kalinga Gangas. Several of their earlier inscriptions have been found,<sup>1</sup> mostly issued from Kalinga-nagara (Ganjam district), and dated in the years of the Ganga family (*Gáṅgeya-vams'a-samvatsara*), an era not yet determined. The kings profess to be worshippers of the god Gokarna-svámi on the Mahendra mountain (in Ganjam district), and rulers over the whole of Kalinga. Arranging the grants conjecturally, guided by the years and relationships given, we obtain the following list:—

Anantavarma		Anantavarma	
Devendravarma	51	Devendravarma	254
Satyavarma	51	Rájendravarma	
Indravarma	91, 128, 146	Anantavarma	304
Rájendravarma		Vajrahasta	
Devendravarma			

On the other hand a very full and circumstantial genealogy of Kalinga Gangas is given in a later grant<sup>2</sup> of 1118, in which quite different names appear (except Vajrahasta), but of course it is possible they may be the same kings under other titles. The line is here traced from the god Vishnu through Yayáti and Turvasu, who is said to have obtained from the Gangá the son Gáṅgeya who was the progenitor of the Ganga kings (*see above*, p. 309). A list of sixteen kings follows, whose names seem purely mythical, down to Koláhala, who is said to

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, XIV, XVIII; *Ep. Ind.*, III, 17, 220. The grant of Devendra, son of Rájendra, is in my possession, not yet published. The year 128 has been supposed to be about 658 A.D.; 254 about 774 (*J. A.*, XIII, 274). <sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 165.

have built the city of Koláhala (Kolar) in the great Gangaváḍi country. After his son Virochana and eighty more kings, not named and probably imaginary, had held Koláhala, there arose in that line Vírasimha, who had five sons, Kámárṇava, Dánárṇava, Guṇárṇava, Márasimha, and Vajrahasta. The first of these, giving the kingdom to his maternal uncle, set out with his brothers to conquer the earth, and coming to the Mahendra mountain, worshipped Gokarnasvámi, and obtained the crest of a bull and the symbols of sovereignty. He and his brothers subdued Baláditya, who had grown sick of war, and took possession of the (three) Kalingas. Giving Ambaváḍi to the third brother, Sódá or Sedá to the fourth, and Kanṭaka to the fifth, Kámárṇava, with his capital at Jantavura, ruled over the Kalingas, nominating his brother Dánárṇava as his successor. After these two, fifteen kings ruled, ending with Vajrahasta V, who married Vinaya-mahádevi of the Vaidumba family. His son was Rájarája, who is said to have defeated the Dramilas, wedded Rájasundari, daughter of the Chola king Rájendra Chola, and saved the aged Vijayáditya from falling into the power of the Cholas, by upholding his authority in the west. Rájarája's son Anantavarma or Chola-Ganga was anointed king of Trikalanga in 1078, and re-instated the fallen lord of Utkala (Orissa) in the east, and the sinking lord of Vengi in the west. Grants of his have been found dating in 1081, 1118, and 1135.<sup>1</sup>

The total of the years assigned to the reigns of these kings comes to about 350, which, deducted from 1078, the date of Chola-Ganga's accession, brings us to 728, and this is near about the period estimated for the later of the early kings previously mentioned. It is also the period in the annals of the Mysore Gangas where we find a break in the list, filled up by an alleged Prithuvipati, a word merely meaning king, who had a son Márasimha, of whom nothing more is heard. Putting these coincidences together, we are tempted to suppose that Kámárṇava, with his brother Márasimha and the others, who gave up their kingdom in Mysore to a relative and went forth from Kolar to found another in Kalinga, where a branch of the family had already been ruling for centuries, may possibly have been sons of the missing king who died in battle.

Two inscriptions in Chiknáyakanhalli taluq refer to Chola-Ganga as the Oḍu-ráyindra, or great king of Orissa, and state that he was born in the Hejjáji Twelve of the Kádanur Seventy (both in Dod Ballapur taluq). The Ganga kings of Orissa or Kalinga, also called Gajapatis or elephant lords, beginning with Chola-Ganga, held the sovereignty of that country down to 1534, soon after which it fell a prey to the Muhammadans. Of these kings Ananga Bhima Deva (1175-1202) was a great

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

ruler, and made a survey of his whole kingdom, measuring it with reeds. He also built the present temple of Jagannáth. Another king of interest was Purushottama Deva (1479-1504). He sought in marriage the daughter of the king of Kánci, famed for her beauty. But on the ground of his performing the office of sweeper to Jagannáth his suit was rejected. He therefore attacked Kánci, and was at first repulsed. At length he captured it, and took the princess prisoner, whom he vowed in revenge should be married to a sweeper. The minister charged with the execution of this order kept the girl in concealment until the festival of Jagannáth, at which the king was accustomed to sweep the ground before the god; and while he was engaged in that act placed her beside him, and they were married. The reign of Pratápa Rudra (1504-1532) is remarkable for the reformation of the Vaishnava religion by the preaching of Chaitanya, whose views the king finally adopted; and Buddhism, to which he had previously inclined, was banished the country. Pratápa Rudra is said to have extended his conquests southwards as far as Cape Comorin, and his name occurs in many local traditions in the east of Mysore. We also find that his son Vírabhadra was invested with the government of Male Bannur (Davangere taluq) by Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar.

Certain other references to kings of the same connection may here be pointed out. The existence of constant intercourse between Kalinga and Ceylon from the earliest times is well known, and we find a Chola-Ganga from Kalinga ruling in Ceylon in 1196.<sup>1</sup> There was also a line of Chola-Gangas in the east of Mysore in the thirteenth century. But it is not a little singular that we find a Karnátaka dynasty set up in distant Nepal, apparently in 1097, which may have been of Ganga origin. The founder, Nánya Deva (perhaps Nanniya Deva), came from the south. He was succeeded by Ganga Deva and four others, the last of whom removed the capital to Kátmádu, where the line came to an end.<sup>2</sup>

Not yet, however, have we done with the Gangas, for at about the time that their Orissa sovereignty came to an end, or the first part of the sixteenth century, a Ganga Rája returned to the scene of their former dominion, and established a principality at S'ivasamudram, the island at the Falls of the Kávéri, not far from Talakáḍ. Ganga Rája, after a prosperous reign, was succeeded by his son Nandi Rája, who, to atone for some ceremonial offence, leaped into the cataract at Gagana Chukki on horseback with his wife. His son, Ganga Rája II, enlarged the city greatly, and lived with much splendour. His two daughters were married, one to the chief of Kilimale, near Satyagála, the other to the chief of Nagarakere, near Maddur. These marriages were very

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Numismata Orientalia*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ins. from Nepal*, by Dr. G. Bühler.



unhappy, for the pride of the ladies gave their husbands constant disgust, and they were continually upbraided for not living in equal splendour with their father-in-law. They therefore united to attack Sivasamudra and humble Ganga Rája. The siege had lasted twelve years without their having been able to penetrate to the island, when they found means to corrupt the Dalaváyi, or minister, of Ganga Rája. This traitor removed the guards from the only ford, and thus permitted the enemy to surprise the place, while he endeavoured to engage his master's attention at a game of chess. The shouts of the soldiery at length reaching their ears, the prince started up from the game. The Dalaváyi, who wished him to fall alive into the hands of his sons-in-law, endeavoured to persuade him that the noise arose merely from children at play, but the Rája, having drawn his sword, first killed all his women and children, and then, rushing into the midst of his enemies, fought until he procured an honourable death. The sons-in-law, on seeing this, were struck with horror, and immediately threw themselves into the cataract at Gagana Chukki; and their example was followed by their wives, whose arrogance had been the cause of such disasters.

Jagadeva Ráyal of Channapatna, and S'ríraṅga Rája of Talakád, the two most powerful of the neighbouring Pálégars, then came and removed all the people and wealth of the place.

**Chalukyas.**—This powerful line of kings was in the ascendant throughout the north-west of Mysore, and the Bombay and Haidarabad districts beyond, from the fifth to the eighth century, and from the latter part of the tenth to that of the twelfth. Their first appearance south of the Nerbudda was in the fourth century, previous to which they are said to have had fifty-nine predecessors on the throne of Ayodhyá, but of these nothing is known. On their entering the Dekhan they overcame the Ráshtrakúṭas, but the Pallavas effectually opposed them and the invader was slain, as previously related. His successor, however, defeated the Pallavas and then formed an alliance with them, confirmed by his marriage with a Pallava princess. In the sixth century, Pulikes'i, whose chief city was apparently Indukánta (supposed to be Ajantá or some neighbouring place), wrested Vátápi (the modern Baṇṇi in Bijapur district) from the Pallavas and made it his capital. His son Kírtivarma subdued the Mauryas (descendants of the ancient Mauryas of Pátaliputra), ruling in the Konkan, and the Kadambas of Banavasi. Another son, Mangales'a, conquered the Kalachuryas. The A'lupas or A'lugas, who ruled in Tulava or South Kanara, were also at some time overcome,<sup>1</sup> and the next king, Pulikes'i II, came into contact with the Gangas, possibly in the time of Mush-

<sup>1</sup> There are inscriptions of theirs at Kig in the Western Ghats in Koppa taluq, and at Mangalore.

kara, as there appears to have been a Jain temple erected in his name at Puligere (Lakshmes'vara in Dharwar district). In about 617 the Chalukyas separated into two branches, of which the Eastern Chalukyas made Vengi (near Ellore in the Godáviri district), taken from the Pallavas, and subsequently Rájamahendri, their capital, while the Western Chalukyas, with whom Mysore is chiefly concerned, continued to rule from Vátápi and eventually from Kalyána (in the Nizam's Dominions, about 100 miles west by north of Haidarabad).

The Chalukyas were of the Soma-vams'a or lunar line, and the Mánavya-gotra. They claim to be sons of Háriui, nourished by the seven mothers. The boar was the principal emblem on their signet, obtained from Bhagaván Náráyana (Vishnu), but their insignia included a peacock fan, an *ankus'a* or elephant goad, a golden sceptre, and other symbols. The Western Chalukyas are styled the *Satyás'raya kula*, from the name of the first king of this branch. The titles on their inscriptions, which are very numerous in Mysore, especially in the north-west, are nearly invariably as follows—*Samastabhuván's'raya*, *Sri-prithvi-vallabha*, *Mahárájádhirāja*, *Parames'vara*, *Parama-bhattá-raka*, *Satyás'raya-kula-tilaka*, *Chálukyábharaṇa*.

Although the above details are very circumstantial, the account of the origin of the Chalukyas is evidently puránic,<sup>1</sup> and the real source from which they sprang is far from clear. The name Chalukya bears a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name Seleukeia, and if the Pallavas were really of Parthian connection, as their name would imply, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred which inscriptions admit to have existed between the two, and their prolonged struggles may have been but a sequel of the contests between Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The succession of the Early and Western Chalukya kings, during the period of their first ascendancy, is as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

Jayasimha, ? Vijayáditya	Chandráditya,	655
Rájasimha, Raṇarága, ? Vishnuvardhana	Vikramáditya I, Raṇarasika	655-680
Pulikes'i I, Satyás'raya, Raṇavikrama	Vinayáditya, Rájás'raya	680-696
550	Vijayáditya, Samastabhuván's'raya	
Kirtivarma I, Raṇaparákrama		696-733
566-597		
Mangales'a, Raṇavikránta	Vikramáditya II	733-746
597-608		
Pulikes'i II, Satyás'raya	Kirtivarma II, Nripasimha	746-757
609-642		
A'dityavarma		

Jayasimha is said to have defeated and destroyed Indra, the son of Krishna, the Ráshtrakúṭa or Raṭṭa king. He himself, however, was

<sup>1</sup> They are stated to have miraculously sprung from moisture or water in the hollowed palm (*chuluka*, *chulaka*) of Háriui's hand. According to another account from the libation to the gods poured from his goblet (*chulka*, *chuluka*, *chaluka*), Háriui. These stories seem evidently invented from the name.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, III, 2.

slain in an encounter with Trilochana Pallava. His queen, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brahman called Vishnu Somayāji, in whose house she gave birth to Rājāsīmha. On growing up to man's estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was successful, and married a princess of that race. Pulikes'ī was the most powerful of the early kings and performed the horse sacrifice. His eldest son, Kīrtivarma I, subdued the Nalas, of whom we know no more, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. Mangales'a, his younger brother, conquered the island called Revati-dvīpa, and the Mātangas : also the Kalachurya king Buddha, son of Sankaragana, the spoils taken from whom he gave to the temple of Makutes'vara, near Bādāmi. He attempted to establish his own son in the succession, but Satyās'raya or Pulikes'ī II, the elder son of Kīrtivarma, obtained the throne.

Pulikes'ī's younger brother Vishnuvardhana, surnamed Kubja, on the capture of Vengi from the Pallavas, there founded the separate line of Eastern Chalukyas, who remained in power in the Vengi and Rājamahendri country till the eleventh century, when they were absorbed into the Chola family.<sup>1</sup>

Satyās'raya or Pulikes'ī II, the first of the Western Chalukya line, was a great conqueror and subdued all the neighbouring nations. His most notable victory was over Harshavardhana or S'īlāditya, king of Kanyakubja or Kanoj, the most powerful monarch in northern India. By this conquest he obtained the title of Parames'vara or supreme lord,

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of further reference the list of Eastern Chalukyas is here inserted, as given by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, 283), who has gone very fully into details in the preceding articles :—

Kubja Vishnuvardhana I	Ganaka Vijayāditya III	Vuddhamalla	-934
615-633	-888	Chálukya Bhíma III,	
Jayasimha -663	Chálukya Bhíma I -918	Vishnuvardhana VII,	
Indra Bhattáraka (seven	Kollabhoganda Vi-	Gundā Mahendra,	
days) 663	jayāditya IV (six	m. Lokamahádevi -945	
Vishnuvardhana II -672	months) m. Me-	Amma II, Vijayá-	
Mangi Yuvarāja -696	lāmbá 918	ditya VI, Rāja	
Jayasimha II 709	Amma I, Vishnu-	Mahendra -970	
Kokkili (six months) 709	vardhana VI, Rāja	Dánárnavā -973	
Vishnuvardhana III -746	Mahendra -925		
Vijayāditya Bhattáraka	Beta Vijayāditya V	(Interregnum of thirty	
-764	(fifteen days) 925	years.)	
Vishnuvardhana IV -799	Tádapa (one month) 925	Saktivarma 1003-1015	
Vijayāditya II, Nar-	Vikramáditya II	Vimaláditya, m. Kun-	
endramrigarāja -843	(eleven months) -926	dava-mahádevi of	
Kali Vishnuvardhana V	Bhíma II (eight months)	the Chola family -1022	
-844	-927		

ever after borne by the Chalukyas. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang has given interesting accounts of both Harshavardhana and Pulikes'i, and of their times. Of Pulikes'i's kingdom he says:—"The disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with spears. When one turns to flee the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man who is down (or submits). If a general loses a battle they do not inflict punishment but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth they beat drums before them. Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then, rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshattriya caste and his name is Pulakes'i (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time S'íláditya Mahárāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue this people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning<sup>1</sup>." . . .

The city he calls Konkanapura, which he visited, may probably be Kopana (now Kopal) in the extreme south-west of the Nizam's dominions, or Kokanur close to it. Of its people he says:—"They love learning, and esteem virtue and talent." Arab annals, moreover, as pointed out by Dr. Fergusson,<sup>2</sup> state that Pulikes'i exchanged presents and letters with Khosru II of Persia, and the Persian

<sup>1</sup> Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 256.

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, XI, 155.

embassy is supposed to be represented in one of the paintings in the Ajanta caves. The exact date of the end of his reign is not known, and the history is not very clear until the accession of Vikramáditya. Before him there were his brothers A'dityavarma and Chandráditya. One inscription of the former is known,<sup>1</sup> but the latter is represented only by grants made by his queen, Vijaya-mahádevi or Vijaya-bhaṭṭáriká.<sup>2</sup> She may therefore have been a widow at the time and regent for a son who did not survive. I have also found a grant in Goribidnur taluq by Ambera, a son or daughter of Satyás'raya.<sup>3</sup> It seems certain that after the death of Pulikes'í II. the Pallavas attacked and inflicted severe losses on the Chalukyas, driving them out of some of their recently acquired possessions in the south.

Vikramáditya restored the power of the Chalukyas. Riding to battle on his splendid charger Chitrakantha, he was victorious over Pándya, Chóla, Kerala, and Kalabhra (perhaps the Kalabhuryas or Kalachuryas), all of whom may have aided the Pallavas in their late hostilities. But his greatest achievement was the capture of Kánci and forcing the Pallava king, "who had never bowed to any other man," to kiss his feet with his crown. Vinayáditya, his son, captured and destroyed the army of Trairájya Pallava, the king of Kánci, was served by the Pallava, Kalabhra, Kerala, Haihaya, Vila, Málava, Chola and Pándya kings, as well as by the A'lvas and Gangas; and levying tribute from the rulers of Kavera, Párasika, Simhala (Ceylon) and other islands, churned the king of all the north and seized the Páli dhvaja.<sup>4</sup> His son Vijayáditya completed the conquests of the two preceding reigns, both in the south and the north, and in addition to the Páli dhvaja gained the Gangá and Yamuná dhvajās, which had been possessions of the Guptas. His son Vikramáditya II gained an important victory in the Tundáka province (Tonda-mandala) over the Pallava king Nandipotavarma, whom he put to flight and, capturing all the royal insignia, made a triumphal entry into Kánci, which he refrained from plundering, but presented gifts of gold to the Rájasimhes'vara and other temples. He then, after withering up Pándya, Chóla, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings, set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His queen, Lokamahádevi, of the Haihaya family, caused a temple at Pattadkal to be erected in commemoration of his having three times defeated the Pallavas. His son Kírtivarma II, while yet yuva-rája under his father, obtained permission to make another expedition against the Pallava king, whom he

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XI, 66.    <sup>2</sup> *ib.* VII, 163; VIII, 273.    <sup>3</sup> *ib.* VIII, 89; IX, 304.

<sup>4</sup> An arrangement of flags which seems to have been a recognized Jaina symbol of supreme sovereignty (*see Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 104).

drove to take refuge in a hill fort, and dispersing his army, plundered his treasures.

While the Western Chalukyas had thus been engaged at a distance, in the direction of Kánci, in destroying the power of the Pallavas, their other old enemies, the Ráshtrakútas, nearer home, had been watching for the opportunity to free themselves. In this they were successful, under the kings Dantidurga and Krishna. The Western Chalukyas for about two centuries from this time disappear from view. Kings of their line named Kírtivarma, Tailapa, Bhíma and Ayyana, who is said to have married a daughter of the Ráshtrakúta king Krishna, are named as ruling in succession, but the accounts are doubtful.

**Rashtrakutas.**—Meanwhile our attention must be directed to the power which superseded them and which played an important part in Mysore during their eclipse, as testified by inscriptions throughout the northern and midland parts.<sup>1</sup> This was the Ráshtrakútas or Raṭṭas, connected perhaps with the Rájput Ráthors, and supposed to be represented by the modern Reddis. They may have existed in the Dekhan from very early times. Their territory at the period of which we are writing is often referred to as Raṭṭaváḍi, and their capital, at first Mayúrakhandi (Morkhand in Nasik district) was, early in the ninth century, at Mányakheta (Málkhed in the Nizam's Dominions, about ninety miles west by south of Haidarabad). The earliest decided mention of them describes Indra, the son of Krishna, as overcome by the early Chalukya king, Jayasimha, and coins supposed to belong to this Krishna have been found on the Bombay side. Then we have a Govinda repulsed by Pulikes'i I. But the connected list of kings is as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

Dantivarma I		Krishna II, Kannara,	
Indra I		Akálavarsha, S'ubhatunga	884-913
Govinda I		Jagattunga, Prabhútavarsha,	
Karka or Kakka I		Pratápávaloka	
Indra II		Indra III, Nityavarsha,	
Dantidurga, Dantivarma I,		m. Vijámbá	915-917
Khadgávaloka	754	Govinda V, Prabhútavarsha,	
Krishna I, Kannara, Akálavarsha,		Suvarnavarsha	918-933
S'ubhatunga		Baddiga, Amoghavarsha,	
Dhruva, Nirupama, Dháravarsha		m. Kundakadevi	
Govinda III, Prabhútavarsha,		Krishna III, Kannara,	
Jagattunga, Atis'aya-dhavalá,		Akálavarsha	939-968
m. Gámundabbe	782-814	Khottiga, Nityavarsha	968-971
S'arva, Nripatunga, Amoghavarsha		Kakka II, Kakkala	
	815-877	Amoghavarsha, Nripatunga	972-973

<sup>1</sup> Their inscriptions are often on cruciform stones, very artistic in appearance, and quite different from any others. The upper arm is deeply bevelled, and a large plough engraved from one end to the other of the cross tree. <sup>2</sup> *cf. Ep. Ind.*, III, 54.

These kings very commonly had the title Vallabha, taken from the Chalukyas. In its Prákrit form of Ballaha, which is often used alone in their inscriptions in Mysore, without any name, it furnishes the key by which to identify the powerful dynasty called Balharás by Arab travellers of the tenth century, and described by them as ruling from Mánkir (Mányakheta).

Indra II is said to have married a Chalukya princess, but Dantidurga, who died without issue, and Krishna I, his maternal uncle, who therefore came to the throne after him, were successful in overcoming the Chalukyas and establishing the supremacy of the Ráshtrakútas. The beautiful Kailása temple of Elura was probably erected by Krishna. Dhruva, Dhora, Dháravarsha or Nirupama, though the younger son, superseded his brother Govinda and was a brave and warlike prince. He humbled the Pallava king of Kánci and took from him a tribute of elephants. He also defeated and imprisoned the impetuous Ganga, who had never been conquered before. In the north he drove the king of the Vatsas into the desert of Márváḍ. Govinda or Prabhútavarsha, his son, was one of the most powerful kings of his line. He conquered the Keralas, Málavas, S'auṭas, Gurjaras and the kings of Chitrakúṭa (in Bandalkhand) and took away from his enemies (the Chalukyas) the emblems of the Gangá and Yamuná. He released Ganga from his long and painful captivity, but had to imprison him again on account of his hostility, and took tribute from Dantiga, the ruler of Kánci. On this latter expedition, in 804, he halted at the *tirtha* of Rámes'vara, on an island in the Tungabhadra (Kuruva, about five miles south of Honnáli), and had some sport with wild boars there. The kings of Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Málava and Vengi did homage to him, and the latter, probably the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayáditya Narendramrigarāja, was compelled to build the walls of his fortress, apparently at Mányakheta. The newly acquired province of Lāṭa (in Gujarat) he gave to his younger brother Indra. Eventually Govinda once more released the Ganga king (Sivamára), and in conjunction with the Pallava king Nandivarma, replaced him on his throne.

During the time the Ganga king was a prisoner, Mysore was governed by viceroys appointed by the Ráshtrakútas. The first of whom we have any record is Kambharasa, Kambhaiya, or S'auṭha Kambha, surnamed Ranávaloka, who was apparently the son of Dháravarsha and brother of Govinda. Of his time there are three inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> one dated in 802. At a later date, 813, we have Cháki Rāja as viceroy,<sup>2</sup> whose sister was married to a Chalukya prince named Yas'ovarma.

<sup>1</sup> At Mattakere (Heggadadevankote taluq), Manne (Nelamangala taluq), and S'ravana Belgola (No. 24).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 18.

Nripatunga or Amoghavarsha, his son, succeeded to the throne. He defeated the Chalukyas, who made peace with him at Vinguvalli. He presented the Konkan to Kapardi of the Siláhára family, and after a prolonged reign of over sixty years, voluntarily retired from the throne. The celebrated Jinasenáchárya, author of the A'di Purána, was his preceptor. Nripatunga evidently took a great interest in the Kannaḍa country and literature, for to him we owe the Kavirájamárga, the earliest known work on metrical composition in that language. It is written in Kannaḍa verse, and in it he gives a glowing account of the country and of the culture of the people, as the following quotations will show:—"The region which extends from the Kávéri to the Godávári is the country in which Kannaḍa is spoken, the most beautiful land in the circle of the earth. . . . Apt are the people of that land in speaking as if accustomed to verse, and in understanding it when spoken: clever in truth are they, for they are ripely skilled in the usages of poetry without giving themselves up to its study. Not only students but others are all skilful in their speech, and know how to teach wisdom to young children and words to the deaf."

Krishna or Kannara II, Akálavarsha, married a Haihaya princess belonging to the Kalachuri family, daughter of the king of Chedi. He seems to have been engaged in constant wars with the Eastern Chalukyas. Of his son Jagattunga Prabhútavarsha, there is an inscription in Chellakere taluq, undated, in which a Pallavádhiraja is represented as governor under him. Of the succeeding kings, Govinda had an elder brother, Amoghavarsha, from whom he seems to have usurped the crown. Govinda was so liberal with his donations that he was called Suvarnavarsha (raining gold). Owing to failure of heirs he was succeeded by his uncle Baddiga, and he by his son Krishna III Kannara or Akálavarsha. It was the latter who was assisted by the Ganga king Bútuga, his brother-in-law, in securing the throne, as previously related. He, too, by the aid of Bútuga, was victorious over the Cholas, and in return for this service made over the north-western parts of Mysore and districts beyond to the Ganga king.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear that some of these had not been occupied by the Gangas before, and several formed the dowry assigned to his bride. The dominions of the Ráshtrakúṭas were in this reign at their utmost extension, the Chola territories in the south and Gujarat in the north being in their power. Krishna Rája's daughter was married to a son of Bútuga. But the relations between the Raṭṭas and Gangas must have changed in the time of Nityavarsha, the brother who next came to the throne, as there are inscriptions of the Ganga king Márasimha Nólamba-

<sup>1</sup> See A'takur Inscription, Mandya taluq No. 41, *Ep. Carn.*, Mysore I.



kulántaka in which he appears as a feudatory of Nityavarsha. But the Raṭṭa supremacy was now drawing to a close. In 973 Kakka or Kakkala was defeated, and probably slain, by Taila of the Western Chalukya family, and the Ráshtrakúṭa empire came to an end. Taila married Kakkala's daughter, but the last representative of the Ráshtrakúṭas was Indra, a grandson of Krishna III, who died at S'ravana Belgola in 982.<sup>1</sup>

**Chalukyas** (*continued*).—We left the Chalukyas, on their being superseded by the Ráshtrakúṭas, in order to follow the history of the latter dynasty. Its downfall, however, restored the supremacy of the Chalukyas, and we may resume the annals relating to this line of kings. It was in the time of Kírtivarma II that the Chalukyas lost their power. He may have been succeeded by another Kírtivarma, but this is doubtful. The names of the subsequent kings of the intervening period are more reliable, namely, Taila, Vikramáditya, Bhíma, Ayyana (who married a daughter of the Ráshtrakúṭa king Krishna), and Vikramáditya IV (who married Bonthá-devi, daughter of Lakshmana, of the Chedi or Kalachurya family). One Chalukya, named Jayasimha, fled to Anhalvara in Gujarat, the court of Bhója Rája, the last of the Sauras. Here his son Múla Rája married the daughter of Bhója Rája, and in 931 succeeded the latter on the throne, the Salic law being set aside in his favour. He ruled at Anhalvara for fifty-eight years, and his descendants occupied the throne of that country with great glory till 1145.

Meanwhile Tailapa, the son of Vikramáditya above mentioned, defeated the Ráshtrakúṭas in the person of the king Kakkala, and retrieved the Chalukya fortunes. He succeeded to the throne in 973, and transmitted to his posterity a kingdom which increased in splendour and prosperity under each succeeding reign for nearly 200 years. The following is a list of the kings for this period<sup>2</sup>:—

Tailapa, Núrmaḍi Taila II,		Vikramáditya VI, Tribhuvana-	
A'havamalla	973-997	malla, Permáḍi	1076-1126
Satyás'raya, Irvabedenga	997-1009	Somes'vara III, Bhúlóka-	
Vikramáditya V, Tribhuvana-		malla	1126-1138
malla	1009-1018	Jagadekamalla, Perma	1138-1150
Jayasimha II, Jagadekamalla	1018-1042	Tailapa, Núrmaḍi Taila III,	
Somes'vara I, Trailokyamalla,		Trailokyanalla	1150-1182
A'havamalla	1042-1068	Somes'vara IV, Tribhuvana-	
Somes'vara II, Bhuvanaika-		malla	1182-1189
malla	1068-1076		

The former kings of the Western Chalukya line had been largely occupied in the south in wars against the Pallavas, whose power they

<sup>1</sup> *Ins. at Sr. Bel.* No. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *cf. Ep. Ind.*, III, 230.

ultimately broke. The kings of the present period we shall find were equally engaged in that quarter in struggles with the Cholas. The thirty years' period of 973 to 1003, during which the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi was without a ruler, seems to have been a time when the Cholas had overrun the country, having first acquired the territories of the Pallavas, including the city of Kánci. We accordingly find Tailapa described as full of desire to fight with the Chola Rájá, and as being a destroying fire to the Cholas. He married Jakabbe, the daughter of Kakkala, the Ráshtrakúta king whom he had subverted, and their son was Satyás'raya, who succeeded him, and against whom the Chola king Rájarája fought. Satyás'raya, by his wife Ambikádevi, had two sons, Vikrama and Das'avarma. He also, it is said, had a daughter, who was married to the Pallava king Iriva Nolambádhirája. Vikrama came to the throne after his father's death, but, dying without issue, was succeeded by Jayasimha, the son of Das'avarma and Bhágala-devi. He is described as a lion to Rajendra Chola, who was the son and successor of Rájarája, during whose reign he had overthrown the Ganga kingdom, in about 1004, and established the authority of the Cholas throughout the south and east of Mysore. Jayasimha, or Jagadekamalla, in 1019, is said to have driven Chola into the sea. On the other hand, in 1021, he is said in Chola inscriptions to have turned his back at Mus'angi (possibly Uchchangi, in the south-west of the Bellary district<sup>1</sup>), and by 1026 Rájendra Chola is said to have taken the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lakh country of Irattapáḍi (Raṭṭaváḍi) from Jayasimha. By 1039 the Cholas, under Rájádhirája, are said to have burnt the palace of the Chalukyas at Kampili (on the Tungabhadra, in Bellary district). Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Somes'vara, Trailokyamalla, or A'havamalla, who was exposed to a formidable invasion by the Cholas, in which they burnt Pulikara-nagara (Lakshmes'vara in Dhawrar district), and destroyed its famous Jain temples erected by Permádi Ganga. But he seems to have defeated them at Kakkaragond on the Tungabhadra, and driven them southwards, though they claim a victory over him at Koppa on the Perár (possibly Kuppam on the Pálár, in Kangundi, North Arcot<sup>2</sup>), and the plundering of his camp. This must have stopped his pursuit of them, on return from which he halted at Puliyár-pattana (perhaps Huliyár, Chiknayakanhalli taluq). It was he who first made Kalyána the capital. His chief queen was Mailala-devi, a Ganga princess, by whom he had two sons, who succeeded him, and who assume all the Ganga titles of Kongunivarma Satyavákya Permádi. He must also have had a Pallava wife, his son by whom, Jayasimha, takes the

<sup>1</sup> See *So. Ind. Ins.*, II, 94.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* I, 134.

Pallava and Nolamba titles. He also had a wife of the Hoysala family, though no issue of this marriage is recorded. But he had another son, Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, who is styled the lord of Vengi, and whose mother must have been of the Eastern Chalukya family. This is the prince described as about to sink into the ocean of the Cholas, whom Rájarája and Chola-Ganga of the Kalinga Gangas maintained in power and caused to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region. We accordingly find him in 1064 and 1066 ruling over the Nolambavádi Thirty-two Thousand country (the Bellary and Chitaldroog districts), with the seat of his government at Kampili (before mentioned). When the Cholas were driven out of the north of Mysore, therefore, this province formed a barrier against their future encroachments. A'havamalla died in 1068 at Kuruvatti (on the Tungabhadra, in Bellary district, not far from Harpanhalli), and was succeeded by his son Someśvara II or Bhuvanaikamalla. He was apparently a weak prince and did not long retain possession of the crown. But he had a powerful minister and general in Udayāditya of the Ganga family, who is said before 1071 to have defeated a secret conspiracy against the throne and against the guru.

Vikrama in 1076 expelled his brother, seized the throne and became one of the most powerful of the Chalukya monarchs. He set aside<sup>1</sup> the S'aka era, and from his accession established the Chalukya Vikrama era, which continued in use as long as the Chalukyas were in power. Many interesting particulars regarding him are contained in Bilhana's poem on his history.<sup>2</sup> Previous to his accession to the throne he had gained so many important victories, chiefly against the Cholas and other powers south of the Tungabhadra, that his brother, moved by jealousy, sent forces into the Banavasi country (the Shimoga district) to seize him, but Vikrama destroyed them. He seems, however, to have taken the precaution of strengthening himself by alliances, for he married his daughter to Jayakes'i, king of the Kadambas, whose capital was then at Goa; and formed a friendship with his former enemy, the Chola Rája, receiving a Chola princess in marriage. The Chola king died soon after and his kingdom was thrown into a state of anarchy. On hearing this, Vikrama, who was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra, at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother on the throne. He entered Kánci and put down the rebels there; then did the same at Gangakunda (Gangai-konḍas'olapuram in the north-east of Trichinopoly district) and re-established the Chola power. But not long after his return he

<sup>1</sup> Literally *rubbed it out*, as schoolboys rub out the figures they write in the sand.

<sup>2</sup> *Vikramanka-deva Charita*, published by Dr. G. Bühler in Bombay.

learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Rájiga, the lord of Vengi, had taken possession of the throne of Kánci. Vikrama at once prepared to march himself against the usurper; but the latter opened negotiations with Someśvara, who, thinking a favourable opportunity had offered itself for the destruction of his hated brother, eagerly entered into the alliance. He followed so closely on Vikrama's march to the south, that when the latter came up with Rájiga's army, Someśvara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. A terrible battle ensued, in which victory declared for Vikrama; Rájiga fled and Someśvara was taken prisoner. Vikrama placed his younger brother, Jayasimha, in the government of Banavase and repaired to Kalyána. He there heard that a *svayamvara* was proclaimed for Chandralekha or Chandala-devi, daughter of the Siláhára prince of Karabáṭa, and possessed of marvellous beauty. He also ascertained that the lady, on hearing of his valiant exploits, had fallen in love with him, and therefore hastened to the festival, where he was chosen as the bridegroom from among the assembled princes of Ayodhya, Chedi, Kanyákubja, Kálinjara, Málava, Gurjara, &c., who, though filled with anger at the result, were restrained from violence through fear of the great Chalukya.<sup>1</sup> Next year his brother Jayasimha rebelled, and collecting a large army advanced to the Krishna. Vikrama, being forced in self-defence to take the field against him, a battle was fought, in which Jayasimha was defeated and taken prisoner. The remainder of Vikrama's reign seems to have been peaceful, with the exception of an expedition in 1081 against Kánci and the Pallavas, and one north of the Narmada in 1083. But towards the close he was invaded by the Hoysala king, who was driven back by his general, Achyugi Deva. In his celebrated law book, the *Mítákshara*, Vijnánesvara, who lived at Kalyána at this period, says, "There has not been, there is not, and there will not be, on the surface of the earth, a city like Kalyána; and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramárka seen or heard of."<sup>2</sup>

Soma, called Bhúlokamalla, Vikrama's son, succeeded in 1126 to a kingdom powerful and prosperous on every hand. To him all kings applied the name Sarvajna (all-wise), and he appears to have been of literary tastes, as he was the author of *Mánasollása*, on the policy and recreations of kings, in Sanskrit. Jagadekamalla, whose real name does not appear, is described as having taken possession of the Pallava territories. He also repulsed an invasion by the Hoysalas.

Under Núrmadi Taila or Trailokyamalla, the Chalukya dynasty,

<sup>1</sup> The names of five other wives of his occur in inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekhan*.

which had reached its zenith with the last Vikramāditya, began rapidly to decline. A powerful noble named Bijjala, of the Kalachurya race, had been appointed general of the Chalukya armies, and the influence which he thereby obtained he turned against his sovereign and expelled him from the throne. This event occurred in 1157. The Chalukya king retired south and maintained himself in the Banavase country. The religious feuds which raged at Kalyána in connection with the establishment of the Lingáyit creed kept the hands of the Kalachuryas fully occupied. The Chalukya influence, therefore, was not extinguished, and Someśvara, the last of his race, succeeded to the fallen fortunes of his house in 1182. He seems to have had his residence at Annigeri in Dhárwád, and later at Kūrgod, to the north of Bellary. What ultimately became of him does not appear, but the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra from the south, and the Yádavas of Devagiri from the north, soon closed in upon the disputed dominions; and the great and powerful Chalukya name disappears from history as that of a dominant power, though certain descendants of the line appear to have ruled in some parts of the Konkan till the middle of the thirteenth century.

**Kalachuris.**—The Kalachuris, or Kalabhuris, were one of the royal houses subjected by the Chalukyas on their first arrival in the south. They were apparently connected with the Haihayas in descent. The founder of the line was named Krishna, and is said to have been born of a Brahmani girl by Siva. Professing to be a barber, “he slew in Kálanjara an evil spirit of a king who was a cannibal, and taking possession of his kingdom, reduced the Nine-lakh country of Dahala (Chedi or Bandelkhand) to obedience and ruled in peace.” A Chedi or Kalachuri era, dating from 249 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> is used in their inscriptions in the north, and is evidence of the antiquity of the family. Among the titles in their inscriptions in Mysore, of which there are many in the north of the country, are the following:—Lord of the city of Kálanjara (the well-known fortress in Bandelkhand), having the flag of a golden bull, S’ánivára-siddhi, Giridurgámalla.

Our history is concerned with the Kalachuris from the time of Bijjala, who supplanted the Chalukyas in 1151, to 1182, when the line became extinct. The period, though short, is of considerable importance and interest from having seen the birth of the Lingáyit religion, which so largely prevails throughout the Kannada-speaking countries.

The following is the list of these kings:—

Bijjala, Bijjana, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla	1156–1167	Sankama, Nissankamalla	1176–1181
Ráyamurári Sóvi, Someśvara, Bhuvanaikamalla	1167–1176	A’havamalla, Apratimalla	1181–1183
		Singhana	1183

<sup>1</sup> As determined by Professor Kielhorn (*see Ep. Ind.*, II, 299).

Bijjala was a Jain. As has been related, he took advantage of his position as general of the Chalukya armies to usurp the throne. But for several years he did not assume the royal titles. It was not till the sixth year of his usurpation, or 1162 that he marched to the south, whither the Chalukya prince had retired, and then proclaimed himself supreme. During his reign, Basava, the son of an A'rádhyā, came to settle in Kalyána, where he became the son-in-law of the chief minister. He had a very beautiful sister named Padmávati, whom Bijjala having seen, became enamoured of and married. Basava thus in course of time was appointed chief minister and general. The Raja gave himself up to the charms of his beautiful bride and left all power in the hands of Basava, who employed the opportunity thus afforded him to strengthen his own influence, displacing the old officers of state and putting in adherents of his own, while at the same time he sedulously cultivated the favour of the prince. By these means, and the promulgation of a new faith, as will be elsewhere described, he increased rapidly in power. At length Bijjala's fears were roused, and he made an attempt to seize Basava; but the latter escaped, and afterwards dispersed the party sent in pursuit. His adherents flocked to him, and Bijjala, advancing in person to quell the insurrection, was defeated and compelled to reinstate the minister in all his dignities. Basava not only resumed his former power and authority, but formed a plot against the life of the king, probably in the hope of becoming supreme in the state as regent during the minority of his nephew, the son of Bijjala and Padmávati. Accounts differ as to the mode in which the king was killed. According to the Jain account, in the *Bijjalanka Kāvya*, he was poisoned on the banks of the Bhíma when returning from a successful expedition against the Silahara chief of Kolhapur: while the *Basava Purána* of the Lingáyits states that he was assassinated by three of Basava's followers.

Ráyamurári Sóvi, the son of Bijjala, resolved to revenge his father's death, and Basava fled to Ulive or Vrishabhapura on the Malabar coast. Thither the king pursued him and laid siege to the place. It was reduced to extremity, and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and was drowned. But according to the Lingáyits he disappeared into the linga at Sangames'vara, at the junction of the Malprabhá and Krishna. The other three kings were brothers of Sóvi, and during this period the last Chalukya regained a certain portion of his kingdom, but the territories of both towards the south were absorbed into the dominions of the Hoysalas, who had by this time risen to power in Mysore.

**Cholas.**—The Cholas<sup>1</sup> were one of the most ancient dynasties known in the south, being mentioned along with the Pándyas in the edicts of As'oka. They were of the Súrya-vams'a or Solar line. In the second century their capital was at Uraiyúr (Warriore near Trichinopoly), but from the tenth century it was at Tanjore. They appear first to have come into contact with Mysore at about that time, and, strange to say, there are hardly any earlier annals of the line. The following list contains nearly all that is known of the kings who reigned at the time of their greatest power. They have a great number of titles, but as these apply to more than one king it is difficult to assign each to the right one.

Parántaka		Rájendra, Rájádhirája	1016 1064
Rájáditya	- 950	Kulottunga I (1064)	1071 1112
.....	950-	Vikrama	1112 1127
Rájarája	984-1016	Kulottunga II	1127-

Parántaka, who was perhaps preceded by Vijayálaya and A'dityavarma, had the titles Madiraikonḍa (capturer of Madura) and Kóparakesari-varma, and is said to have married the daughter of the king of Kerala. He conquered the Bána, Vaidumba, Lanka and Pándya kings, the latter being named Rájasimha. Rájáditya it appears was Parántaka's son. As before related (p. 315) he was killed at Takkola by the Ganga king Bútuga, the brother-in-law of the Ráshtrakúṭa king Kannara, who had marched into the Mysore country to repel this invasion by the Cholas. Kannara thus victorious, assumes in some Tamíl inscriptions the titles Kachchiyun-Tanjaiyun-konḍa<sup>2</sup> (the capturer of Kánci and Tanjore), and seems to have established his power for a time over these territories. The Chola succession for the period following Rájáditya's death is not clear until Rájarája, in whose time the Cholas successfully invaded all the south, up to Kalinga on the east and the Tungabhadra on the west. The Vengi territory was without a ruler, probably as the consequence of their incursions, from 973 to 1003. In the end, the Chola king's daughter Kundavá was married to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaláditya and the Vengi territory virtually annexed. Meanwhile, the king's son Rájendra Chola captured Talakád in about 1004 and overthrew the Ganga dynasty, taking in consequence the name of Gangaikonḍa-Chola. The whole of Mysore, south of the Kaveri from Coorg, and east of a line from about Seringapatam to Nandidroog, was overrun and annexed. The policy of the Cholas seems to have been to impose their names upon all their conquests. The south of Ganga-váḍi, or that part of the Mysore district, thus acquired the name of

<sup>1</sup> In its Tamíl form the name is more properly S'ora ; in the Telugu country, Choḍa.

<sup>2</sup> See paper by Venkayya, *Chr. Coll. Mag.*, April 1892.

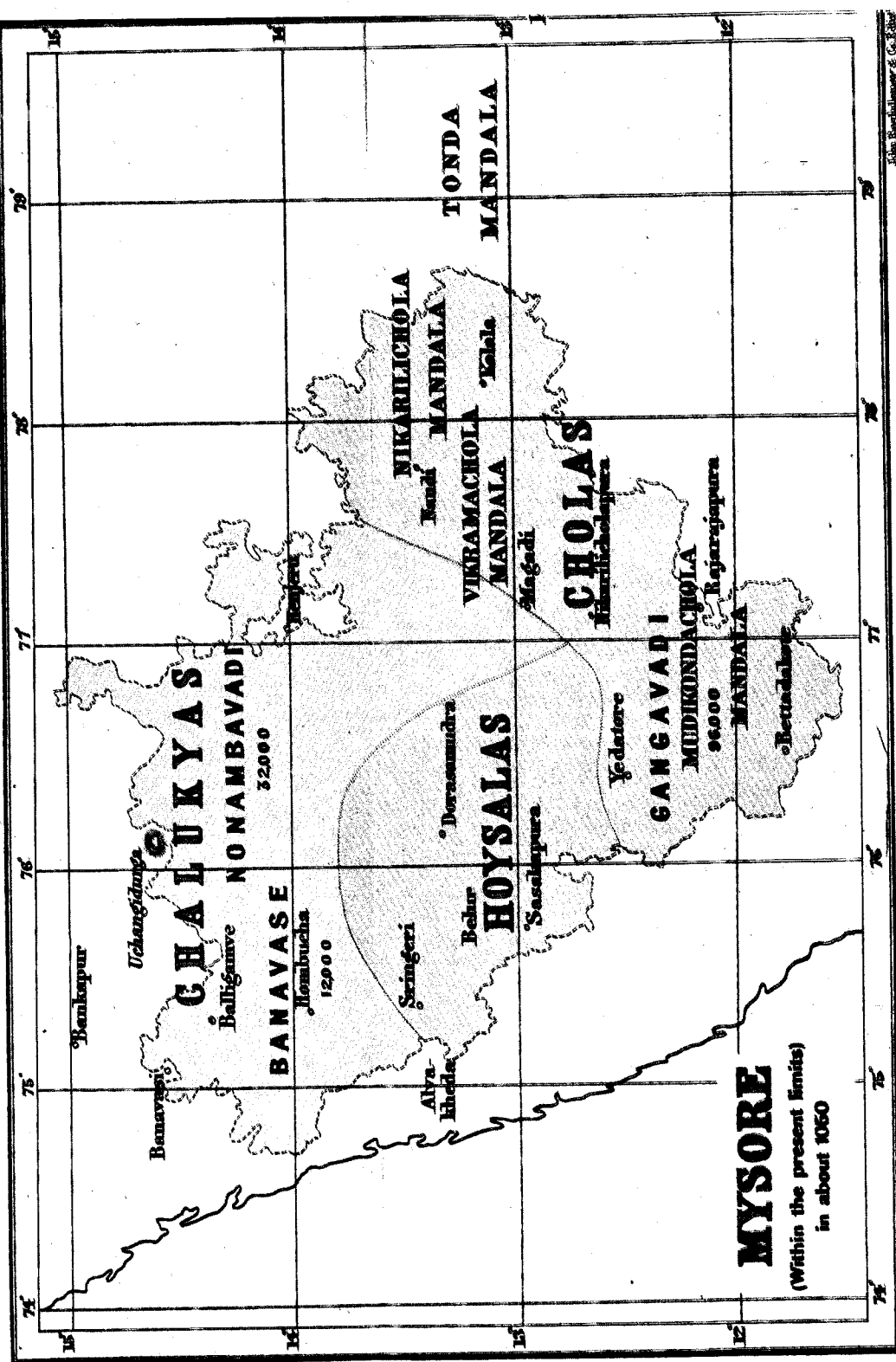
Muḍikonḍachola-maṇḍala; the north-west of the Bangalore district was the Vikramachola-maṇḍala; the Kolar district was the Nikarilichola-maṇḍala; more to the north, and extending beyond Mysore, was the Irattapádikonḍachola-maṇḍala. The subdivisions of these larger provinces were called valanāḍ, that is, oḷanāḍ, or included district. Thus the southern portion of the first above named was the Gangaikonḍachola-valanāḍ, while that of the third was the Jayankonḍachola-valanāḍ. Towns were treated in the same way, so that Talakāḍ became Rájarájapura; Manalúr (Malúrpātna near Channapatna) became Nikarilicholapura, but Kolar seems to have retained its original name of Kuvalála. The list of Rájarája's conquests, that is, those made in his reign, as given in his inscriptions, are Gangavāḍi, Raṭṭavāḍi, Malenāḍ, Nolambavāḍi, Āndhra, Kongu, Kalinga, and Pándya, as well as Vengai, Taḍikaipāḍi, Kollam (Quilon) and Ilá (Ceylon). But of course only portions of some of these were subdued. This king had the title Kóvirájakesarivarma.

He was succeeded by his son Rájendra Chola, who had been his father's principal general, aided by a brother, perhaps Rájadhirája, unless this was a name assumed by himself in the latter part of his reign. The conquests he claims to have made are: Yeḍatore, Vanavási, Kollipáki, and Manne (Nelamangala taluq). He also seized the crown of the king and queen of Ilá, together with a celebrated crown and necklace which the Pándya king had given up to them, and also took possession of a crown and necklace which were heirlooms worn by the Kerala kings, and another crown of pure gold which Paras'uráma had placed in one of the islands of the western coast. He boasts of having put to flight the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha at Mus'angi, as previously related. His daughter Ammangá was married to the Eastern Chalukya king Rájarája,<sup>1</sup> who was the son of his sister. Later on, another daughter, Rájasundari, was married to the Kalinga Ganga king Rájarája,<sup>1</sup> but this was not accompanied with submission to the Chola power, though their son was called Chola-Ganga. Rájendra Chola had, among others, the title Kóparakesarivarma and Madhurántaka.

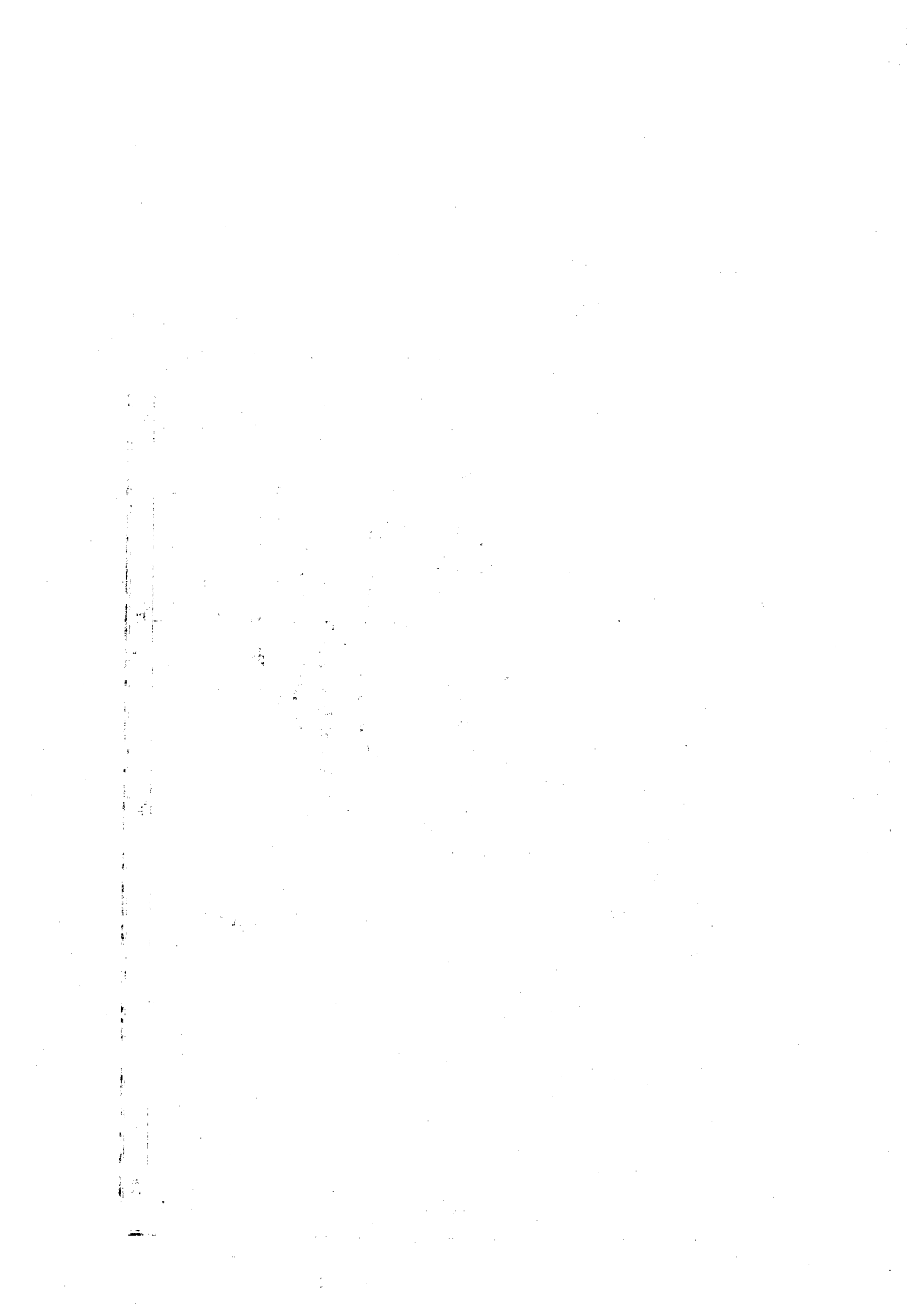
The next king was Kulottunga Chola. He was the son of the Eastern Chalukya king Rájarája and Ammangá, and was called Rájendra Chola<sup>2</sup> before coming to the throne. He ruled at Vengi at first, and did not take possession of the Chola throne till 1071. He may possibly be the Rájiga whose name is prominent in connection with the expeditions of the Western Chalukya prince Vikramáditya, as

<sup>1</sup> Great confusion has arisen from the repetition of these same names in different families.





Scale: 1 inch = 10 miles



having attempted to establish himself at Kánci. If so, other claimants to the Chola throne must have existed, who eventually were removed and the way opened for his peaceful coronation. He married Madhurántaki, daughter of the Chola king Rájendra. Most of his inscriptions in Mysore begin thus :—"The goddess Fame shining upon him, the goddess Victory desiring him, the goddess Earth abiding with him, the goddess Fortune wedded to him ; the wearer of the diamond crown, having destroyed the Villavas (the Cheras), swaying his sceptre, having made a victorious coronation, seated on his throne together with his queen consort," expressions betokening a firmly established and peaceful sovereignty, which in this reign reached its zenith.

His eldest son Vikrama Chola next came to the throne, but the younger sons had, in imitation of his own beginning, been appointed viceroys of Vengi. The second son Rájarája thus ruled there in succession to Vijayáditya for only one year, 1077 to 1078, as he did not like it and returned to the south. The third son Vira Chola was then appointed and remained there till at least 1100. It was during the time of Vikrama Chola, or before 1117, that the Hoysalas recovered Talakád, driving out the Cholas from the Mysore country. Kulottunga Chola II, son of Vikrama, came to the throne in 1127, but we are no further concerned with this line, whose power, indeed, now greatly declined and was never again what it had been.

**Hoysalas.**—This dynasty, like that of the Kadambas, was essentially Mysorean, and ruled this country with great glory from the 11th to the 14th century. Their native place was Sosevúr, or Sasakapura, which I have identified with Angaḍi in the Western Ghats, in the Manjarahad country (now in the south of Mudgere taluq). The earlier kings were Jains. They claim to be Yádavas, and therefore of the Lunar line. The founder of the family was Sala, and the exploit which raised him to a throne is related in numerous inscriptions. Going one day to worship Vasantiká, his family goddess, whose temple was in the forest near Sasakapura, his devotions were interrupted by a tiger, which bounded out of the jungle glaring with rage. The yati or priest of the temple, snatching up a *saldki* (a slender iron rod), gave it to the chief, saying in the Karnáṭaka language *hoy Sala* (strike, Sala !), on which the latter discharged the weapon with such force at the tiger as to kill him on the spot. From this circumstance he adopted the name Hoysala,<sup>1</sup> formed from the words of the yati's exclamation, and the dynasty so called, descended from him, had a tiger (*sárdúla*) as the device on their flag. The following is the list of the kings, with their dates, as determined by me from inscriptions :—

The older form is Poysala, which is the same word.

Sala, Poysala, Hoysala	1007	Ballála II	1172-1219
Vinayáditya, Tribhuvana-		Nárasimha II	1220-1235
malla	1047-1100	Somes'vara	1233-1254
Ballála I	1101-1104	Nárasimha III	1254-1291
Bitti Deva, Vishnuvardhana,		Ballála III	1291-1342
Vira Ganga, Tribhuvana-		Ballála IV, Virúpáksha	
malla	1104-1141	Ballála	1343
Nárasimha I	1136-1171		

Of the reign of Sala we have no very reliable records, except that Hoysala-mahádevi, probably a daughter of his, was in 1047 the queen of the Chalukya king Trailokyamalla. We also know that the Hoysalas were at first feudatories of the Chalukyas. But a narrative in the Mackenzie MSS. states that the tiger Sala killed had committed such ravages in the neighbourhood that the people were afraid to assemble for the annual festival of Vasantiká. Being now freed from the scourge by the valour of Sala, they gladly agreed, at the instance of the yati, to pay a contribution to their deliverer of one fanam (4 as. 8 p.) a year for each family. This seemed so trifling a reward for the important service rendered, that the second year it was doubled, the third year trebled, and so on for five years. Hoysala had faithfully placed what he received each year at the yati's feet, and in the second year had been ordered to use the money in raising a small force. This having been increased by the end of the fifth year to a respectable number, Hoysala was directed to rebuild the ruined city of Devarapuri (? Dvárápuri), and was informed that he would discover a large treasure for the purpose among the ruins, to be applied to fortifying it. This may have been the Dvárásamudra, Dorasamudra, or Dvárávati (now Halebid, Belur taluq), which became the Hoysala capital.

Vinayáditya, Hoysala's son, succeeded to the throne, and having conquered the Malapas, ruled over a territory bounded by Konkana, A'lvakheḍa, Bayalnád, Talakád and Sávimala.<sup>1</sup> The title Malaparaj-gaṇḍa is assumed by all the Hoysalas and used alone on some of their coins. These Malapas or hill-chiefs may have been the Danáyaks of tradition, who, after the overthrow of the Ganga power, sought to establish a kingdom of their own in the south and west of Mysore. There were nine brothers, the Nava Danáyak, and their stronghold was Beṭṭadakóte on the Gopálswámi hill. Bhíma Danáyak, one of four of the brothers, the chief of whom was named Perumál Danáyak, and who

<sup>1</sup> The original is *Konkaṇaddlvakheḍadabayalnḍa*, &c. If, as is natural to suppose, four boundaries are meant, two, those of the east and west, must be found in these words. They may be—east, Konkana and the A'lvá tableland, *i.e.*, the tableland of South Kanara; west, the plain country, *i.e.*, of Mysore. The hill Sávimala, which continued for a long time to be the Hoysala boundary on the north, has not been identified. Possibly it had some connection with Sávánúr.

had quarrelled with the other five, gained possession of Nagrapura (Nanjangud) and Ratnapuri (Hedatole) and set up a separate government. After a time they returned to attack Beṭṭadakōṭe, which, after a siege of three years, was taken by stratagem. Mancha Danáyak, who conducted the defence, seeing the citadel taken, leaped from the hill on horseback and was killed.<sup>1</sup> The four victorious Danáyaks, placing a junior member of the family in the government of Beṭṭadakōṭe, set forth on expeditions of conquest, in the course of which it is said that they penetrated as far as Goa on the north; to Davasi-beṭṭa (the southern limit of Coorg) on the south; to the Bisale Ghat (in the north-west of Coorg) on the west; and to the pass of Satyamangala (north-east of the Nilagiris) on the east. Vinayáditya is said to have taken pleasure in constructing tanks and buildings, and in forming populous towns. The temples he built were on so large a scale that the pits dug for making bricks became tanks, mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, the paths by which the mortar carts went to and fro became ravines. This calls to mind the splendidly carved temples of Halebid, the principal one still remaining being the Hoysales'vara, a memorial of the founder of the family. Vinayáditya's wife was Keleyabbe or Keleyalá Devi, and they had a son, Ereyanga.

The latter was appointed Yuvarāja in 1062, but seems to have held that position for thirty-three years and never to have come to the throne, as his father outlived him. Ereyanga is described as a right hand to the Chalukya king, and must have been a principal commander in the Chalukya army, for he is said to have burnt Dhárá, the city of the Málava king; struck terror into Chola, who was eager for war; laid waste Chakragoṭṭa, and broken the king of Kalinga. Ereyanga's wife was Echala Devi, by whom he had three sons, Ballála, Biṭṭi Deva, and Udayáditya. Ballála succeeded his grandfather Vinayáditya, but did not live long, and Udayáditya died in 1123. Ereyanga's second son, Biṭṭi Deva, came to the throne in 1104 on the death of his elder brother, and proved to be one of the most powerful rulers of his time.

His capacity had been early discerned by the valiant Chalukya prince Vikramáditya, who is said to have remarked to his attendants, "Know the Hoysala alone to be invincible among all the princes." He soon set out on an extensive range of conquests over all the neighbouring countries. His general Ganga Raja, having captured Talakád, the former capital of the Gangas, he drove out the Cholas and took possession of the Ganga kingdom, assuming the title of Vira Ganga. Southwards, he subdued Kongu (Salem), Koyatúr (Coimbatore), and Niládri (the Nilagiris); westwards, the Male and Tulu

<sup>1</sup> The site of this leap is still pointed out.

countries (Malabar and South Kanara); eastwards, Kolálapura, Nangali and Káncipura; northwards, Vengiri, Uchchangi, Viráta, Polalu, Bankapura, and Banavase. In short, he is described as burning to emulate the Sauvíra kings, as having "trodden the earth to dust with the squadrons of his Kámboja horse," and "overwhelmed his enemies as if the great deep had been broken up, the coursers of the sun being borne away in the deluge, and all the points of the compass filled with the sounds of their neighing." The boundaries of his kingdom in 1117 are thus stated,—the lower ghat of Nangali on the east; Kongu, Cheram, A'namale on the south; the Bárkanúr ghat road of Konkana on the west; and Sávimale on the north. The provinces over which he ruled, as named in numerous inscriptions, were Talakáḍ, Kongu, Nangali, Gangaváḍi, Nolambaváḍi, Másaváḍi (perhaps Morasaváḍi), Huligere, Halasige, Banavase and Hánungal. This includes the whole of Mysore, with most of Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and Dharwar. Coins of his have been found bearing on the reverse the legends *s'ri-Talakáḍu-gonḍa* and *s'ri-Nonambaváḍi-gonḍa*. He virtually made himself independent, but in the north of their territory the Hoysalas continued to acknowledge the Chalukya sovereignty in their inscriptions until the time of Ballála II.

An important event in his career was his conversion from the Jain faith to that of Vishnu by the apostle Rámánujáchárya, who had taken refuge in the Hoysala territory from the persecutions of the Chola king, an uncompromising S'aiva. This step, accompanied by a change of his name to Vishnuvardhana, by which he is principally known, was probably taken in about 1117. Different reasons are given for it. One is that he had a daughter who was possessed: the Jains being unable to effect her cure, it was undertaken by Rámánuja, who cast out the evil spirit, and further, in eighteen days of public disputation, refuted the Jains and convicted them of heresy; those who after this would not submit being ground in oil-mills. Another version is, that the king had a Vaishnava wife who, by instigation of Rámánuja, hinted to him that the Jain priests were so haughty they would not even accept food at his hands. He was indignant at the idea and resolved to put it to the proof. Now the king had lost a finger, a mutilation that would prevent the Jain priests from eating with him. When, therefore, he found himself dishonoured by a refusal of his invitation, he went over in resentment to the other side, and abandoned the Jains to persecution. Rámánuja demolished nearly all the Jain temples at the capital, said to have been 720 in number, and used the stones in embanking the large tank. The succeeding kings professed both the Vaishnava and the S'aiva creeds; but there was much religious

toleration and the Jains were often recipients of the royal favour. They were probably too numerous and influential to be ignored.

The character of the times and the government is illustrated by the following story:—Siva, it is said, appeared to a poor but holy Brahman, named Vishnus'arma, who was performing penance in the Chandradrona (Baba Budan) mountains, and presented him with a vessel containing *siddharasa* (mercury), explaining to him how it would convert iron into gold. The poor man, delighted, went to the capital with his treasure tied up in a bundle, which he placed for safety in a blacksmith's shop while preparing his meal. But the heat of the forge caused the substance to melt, and a drop or two falling out on some iron converted it at once to gold. The blacksmith and his family thereupon examined the bundle, and discovering what it contained secretly removed it and set fire to the hut. When the Brahman returned to claim his bundle he was informed that everything had been burnt. But on his making the matter known to the king, the blacksmith was ordered to be produced. He was beaten and tortured, but without effect, when the person in whose house the bundle had been concealed brought and laid it before the king, who ordered it to be at once restored to the owner. The Brahman, astonished at such generosity, made a present of it to the king, who in return gave him a valuable estate. Vishnuvardhana, deeming himself now provided with the means of obtaining wealth to any extent, sent for all the farmers and informed them that instead of the usual assessment he should require them in future to deliver up to him annually their old ploughshares, and on this condition they might cultivate to any extent. (The well, it is said, may be pointed out into which the ploughshares used to be cast !)

I cannot help considering the story to have some reference to gold-mining. Though traces of this industry exist in so many parts, as previously described under Geology, and although we know that vast sums of gold must have been obtained by the old governments, yet no mention of it is met with in the thousands of inscriptions that I have examined. It was, therefore, no doubt a royal monopoly and kept secret.

Vishnuvardhana's first wife was S'ántala Devi, a Jain, who died in 1131, apparently without any surviving male issue. He subsequently married Lakuma or Lakshmi Devi, who was the mother of Narasimha, the son who succeeded him. His death occurred at Bankapura in 1141. Narasimha, born apparently in 1136, seems to have been considered as on the throne from the time of his birth. He inherited a secure and peaceful kingdom, and except that some expedition may have been made in the direction of Devagiri, not much is said of events in his reign. On the other hand he is described as being like a god, enjoying the pleasures of the gods. His queen was Echala Devi, and they had a son Vira Ballála, who became one of the most

distinguished of the Hoysala kings, and after whom they are sometimes called the Ballála kings.

Víra Ballála came to the throne in 1172. He gained important victories to the north over the Kalachurya and Yádava forces, and carried the Hoysala kingdom up to and beyond the Peddore or Krishna, establishing his residence at Lokkigundi (Lakkundi in Dharwar). On the defeat of the Kalachuryas he assumed their titles of S'anivárasiddhi and Giridurgamalla. He also defeated Jaitugi, son of the Yádava king, at Lokkigundi, and thus acquired the sovereignty of Kuntala. He moreover gained a great victory at Soratur over Sevuna, the general of Jaitugi, and pursuing him to the banks of the Krishna, there slew him. He further reduced all the hill forts about the Tungabhadra, and subduing the Pándya who was ruling at Uchchangi, restored to him his power. Ballála's wife was Padmala Devi, by whom he had a son, Narasimha, born in 1183, who succeeded him in 1220. The events of his reign are the overthrow of Pándya, who had taken refuge with the Kádava (that is, the Pallava) army, and the subjugation of the Kádava and Makara kings, with the setting on his throne of Chola, who had been covered up under the clouds of dust raised by his enemies: also the erection of a pillar of victory at Setu (Adam's Bridge). Whatever the transactions referred to were, the Hoysalas always after this call themselves upsetters of the Pándya kingdom and setters up of the Chola kingdom. The conquests of the previous reign beyond the Tungabhadra seem to have reverted to the Yádavas. Narasimha's wife was Lokámbika, and their son was Somes'vara. He is said to have fought against Krishna-Kandhara, who was a Yádava king, and whose general claims to have acquired the territory of the turbulent Hoysalas and to have set up pillars of victory as far as the Kaveri. But Somes'vara's power was absolute to the south, where he took up his residence at Kannanur or Vikramapura in the Chola country, a place that has been identified as being close to Srirangam near Trichinopoly.<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of his kingdom in 1237 are given as Kánci in the east, Velávura (Belur) in the west, the Peddore in the north, and Chalas'eravi (probably in the south of the Malabar district) on the south. By the Peddore is generally understood the Krishna, but as the name literally means only Big River, we must suppose it to be used here ambiguously and to refer to the Tungabhadra. His chief queen was Bijjala Devi, but he had a wife named Somala Devi when he went to live at Vikramapura, and also a wife Devala-mahádevi, a Chalukya princess.<sup>2</sup>

He had two sons, between whom his territories seem to have been

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. Hultsch, *Ep. Ind.*, III, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*



divided, probably by mutual agreement subsequent to his death. Narasimha III, his son by Bijjali, continued in the ancestral kingdom with his capital at Dorasamudra, while Rámanna or Rámanátha (who ruled from 1255 to 1294), his son by Devala-mahádevi, obtained the Tamil country on the south, together with the Kolar and part of the Bangalore districts in the east of the Mysore country. His inscriptions are generally in Grantha and Tamil characters.<sup>1</sup> The reigns of the two kings seem to have been peaceful, but it was the lull before the storm. In the reign of Ballála III, son of Narasimha, the Hoysala power was brought to an end. The whole kingdom seems to have been united again under him, as he is credited with certain conquests, including Perundurai (which is in the Coimbatore district). To account for the destruction which shortly befell the Hoysalas, the following story is related :—

The king's sister, married to the S'enji raja, was now a widow. She therefore came on a visit to her brother, accompanied by her two sons, Lakkana and Virana, who were very handsome young men. One of the king's wives conceived a guilty passion for them, but her advances being alike repelled by each in turn, her love changed to hate, and she denounced them to the king as having made overtures to her. The king, justly enraged, ordered them to be at once impaled, and their bodies exposed like those of common malefactors at one of the city gates. Hearing what had happened, their unfortunate mother hastened to the palace to demand an inquiry and justice. But it was too late, the fatal order had been executed, and she was not only put out of the palace, but the inhabitants were forbidden to give her any assistance. In the agony of despair she wandered from street to street, invoking the vengeance of the Almighty on her brother, and predicting the speedy downfall of his empire. Arriving at the potters' street, worn with fatigue and sorrow, she requested and received a draught of water, in return for which act of kindness she declared that in the destruction of the capital that street should be spared. It is the only one that has survived.

In 1310 the Hoysala dominions were invaded by a Muhammadan army under Káfur, the general of Alá-ud-Din, the second king of the house of Khilji or second Pathan dynasty. A great battle was fought, in which the Hoysala king was defeated and taken prisoner. Dorasamudra was sacked, and the enemy returned to Delhi literally laden with gold.

From an inscription of 1316 it appears that Narasimha rebuilt the capital, having taken up his residence meanwhile at Belur. But in 1326, another expedition, sent by Muhammad III, of the house of Tughlak, completely demolished the city. The king then retired to

<sup>1</sup> Rámanátha's wife was Kamalá-devi, daughter of Ariya-Pillai, and she had a sister, Chikka Somala-devi. Rámanátha's own sister was Ponnambala-mahádevi. *Ep. Ind.*, III, 9.

Tondanur (Tonnur), north of Seringapatam, at the foot of the Yádava hills. In 1329, however, we find him residing at Unnámale (Tiruvannámalai, Trinomalee, South Arcot district). There is a record of a son of his, Víra Virúpáksha Ballála, said to have been crowned in 1343, but as the Vijayanagar power arose in 1336, the Hoysalas now disappear from history.

**Yadavas.**—This line of kings claim descent from Krishna, through Subáhu, a universal monarch, who divided his empire between his four sons. The second son, Driḍhaprahára, obtained the south, and his descendants ruled over the Seuna or Sevuna country, extending from Nasik to Devagiri. He was succeeded by twenty-two kings of his line, down to Bhillama,<sup>1</sup> who was contemporary with the Hoysala king Víra Ballála II., and from whose time alone the history of Mysore is concerned with the dynasty. They style themselves lords of Dvárávati (the capital of Krishna, not that of the Hoysalas), and their standard bore the device of a golden garuda. They overcame the Kalachuryas and became masters of all the western Dekhan, having their capital at Devagiri, the ancient Tagara, now known as Daulatabad. The following is the list of the kings :—

Bhillama	1187-1191	Mahadeva	1260-1271
Jaitugi, Jaitrapála	1191-1210	Rámachandra, Ráma Deva	1271-1309
Singhana	1210-1247	S'ankara	1309-1312
Kandhara, Kanhara, Krishna	1247-1260		

We have already referred to the severe struggles that took place between the Hoysala and Yádava armies for the possession of the Chalukya-Kalachurya dominions, and how Víra Ballála, by a series of victories over the forces of Bhillama and Jaitugi, carried his conquests up to and beyond the Krishna. Later the Yádavas gained the advantage, and the Hoysalas were forced to retire to the south of the Tungabhadra. The earliest of the Yádava inscriptions in Mysore are of the time of Singhana, and he probably took advantage of Víra Ballála's death to extend his power to the south. In this and the succeeding reigns a portion of the north-west of Mysore was permanently in their possession. Kandhara was Singhana's grandson.<sup>1</sup> He describes himself as thruster out of the Hoysala king and restorer of the Telunga king (Ganapati of Orangal). His general also boasts of subduing the Rattas, the Kadambas of the Konkana, the Pandyas of Gutti, and the turbulent Hoysalas, and setting up pillars of victory near the Kaveri. [Mahadeva was Kandhara's younger brother, and attempted to establish his own son on the throne after him. But Rámachandra, son of Kandhara, secured it. In his time the seat of the Yádava government in Mysore was at Betur, near Davangere.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekhan*.

His general, Sáluva Tikkama, professes to have captured Dorasamudra, and obtained a tribute from it of all manner of wealth, especially horses and elephants. That he made a victorious expedition to the south is probable, but whether it extended so far is uncertain.

It was in the time of Rámachandra that the Muhammadans first appeared in the Dekhan. Alá-ud-Din, nephew of Jalál ud-Din Khilji, the founder of the second Pathan dynasty, resolved in 1294 to attempt the conquest of the Dekhan, and in order to throw the enemy off their guard, pretended to leave his uncle in disgust. Suddenly changing his course to the west, he appeared before Devagiri. The Raja was quite unprepared, but hastily collected a small army, and after vainly trying to oppose the enemy near the city, retired to the fort, carrying in a great quantity of sacks belonging to passing traders, believed to contain grain, but really filled with salt. Alá-ud-Din plundered the town, levying heavy contributions on the merchants, and besieged the fort. He at the same time gave out that a larger army was following, and thus induced Ráma Deva to offer 50 maunds of gold to buy him off. Meanwhile, the Raja's son, S'ankara Deva, arrived with a large force, and, contrary to his father's advice, attacked the Muhammadans. Though successful at first, he was defeated. Alá-ud-Din now raised his demands, but the contest might have been prolonged had not the troops in the fort discovered to their surprise that their provision was salt and not grain. At last it was agreed that the enemy should retire on receipt of 600 maunds of pearls, 2 of jewels, 1,000 of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk, etc., besides an annual tribute to be sent to Delhi.

How the aged Jalál-ud-Din came forth to welcome his victorious nephew, and how the latter, with the basest treachery, assassinated him while making professions of attachment, are matters of history. Alá-ud-Din, seated on the throne, again sent an expedition in 1306 against Devagiri, which had withheld the promised tribute. It was commanded by Malik Káfur, surnamed Hazár Dinári,<sup>1</sup> a eunuch. He had been the slave of a merchant, and taken prisoner in the conquest of Gujarat; but having attracted the king's notice, was speedily raised to the highest offices in the state.

Káfur overran the whole country, and Ráma Deva, finding resistance hopeless, submitted, and offered to go to Delhi. He was there received with distinction and restored to his kingdom with additional honours, which kept him faithful during the rest of his life. In this expedition occurred an incident deserving to be mentioned. On the conquest of Gujarat, that raja's wife, Kaula Devi, had been taken captive, and being admitted to Alá-ud-Din's harem, by her beauty and talent gained his

<sup>1</sup> A thousand *dinars*, that being the price for which he had been bought as a slave.

favour. She had charged the commander during this expedition to recover her daughter by the Gujarat raja, who had been long sought in marriage by S'ankara, the son of Ráma Deva, but refused, as she was a Rajput. Now, however, the Gujarat raja in his exile had consented, and sent her under an escort to Devagiri. No clue could be gained as to where she was, when a party from the camp going to see the caves of Ellora, by chance fell in with the escort. They were forced to fight in self-defence, and captured the princess. But it was not till afterwards they knew the value of the prize. The girl was carried off to Delhi, where the king's son, Khizr Khan, being brought up with her, became enamoured of her and ultimately married her. Their loves are the subject of a celebrated Persian poem by Amir Khusru.

In 1309, the army under Malik Káfur passed through Devagiri on its way to the conquest of Orangal, and was hospitably entertained by Ráma Deva. But the following year S'ankara Deva came to the throne, and the army being on its way to the conquest of Dorasamudra he was less friendly. Soon after he withheld the tribute, on which Káfur a fourth time marched into the Dekhan, in 1312, seized S'ankara Deva, put him to death, and took up his own residence in Devagiri.

In 1316 Haripála, the son-in-law of Ráma Deva, in common with many of the conquered princes, raised the standard of revolt in the Dekhan and recovered their possessions, expelling the Muhammadan governors. The paroxysms of rage into which Alá-ud-Din was thrown by this intelligence brought on his death, hastened, it is said, by poison administered by Káfur. The latter attempted to place himself next on the throne, but he was assassinated, and Mubárak succeeded. In 1318 he marched into the Dekhan, took Haripála prisoner, and ordered him to be flayed alive and his head put up over the gate of his own capital. Thus ended the line of the Yádavas of Devagiri, and in 1338 Muhammad Toghlak removed the capital of his empire from Delhi to Devagiri, giving it the name of Daulatabad.

**Vijayanagar.**—The last great Hindu sovereignty of the south was founded in 1336, and brings us back, after a lapse of more than two thousand five hundred years, to the site of Kishkindha, whose annals engaged our attention near the beginning of this historical survey. Though the details vary, all accounts attribute the origin of the Vijayanagar empire to two persons named Hakka and Bukka, assisted by the celebrated scholar Mádhava, surnamed Vidyáranya, or forest of learning.<sup>1</sup> Hakka and Bukka, of whom the former assumed the name of

<sup>1</sup> The capital was apparently called Vidyánagara (city of learning) at first, in honour of the sage Vidyáranya, who was chiefly instrumental in its foundation; but by a natural transition it passed ere long into Vijayanagara (city of victory), the

Harihara, were the sons of Sangama, described as of the Yádava line and the Lunar race. The earliest of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings are found north and west of Mysore, and they were probably Mysorean by origin and feudatories of the Hoysalas. Dorasamudra and Orangal, the respective capitals of Karnataka and Telingana, had fallen a prey at about the same time to the Muhammadans. But amid the general revolts occasioned by the rash measures of Muhammad Toghlaq, the two brothers Harihara and Bukka took advantage of a period of public commotion to lay the foundation of a new State; to which they were moved by the sage Mádhava or Vidyaranya, who, besides experience and talent, may have brought pecuniary aid to the undertaking. He belonged to the school of S'ankarácharya, and was the *jagat guru* of Sringeri (Kadur district), the members of which establishment, alarmed, as Wilson remarks, by the increasing numbers of the Jangamas and Jains, and the approach of the Muhammadans, may have contributed their wealth and influence to the aggrandisement of the sons of Sangama.<sup>1</sup>

The site selected for the new capital was a remarkable one, on the banks of the Pampa or Tungabhadra, where the ancient Kishkindha had stood. In the words of an inscription, "its rampart was Hemakúṭa, its moat the auspicious Tungabhadra, its guardian the world-protector Virúpáksha, its ruler the great king of kings Harihara."<sup>2</sup> The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted the *varáha* or boar as the emblem

Bijanagar of Muhammadan historians, and the Bisnagar of the French. It is also commonly known as Anegundi, properly the name of a village on the other side of the river, said to have been the capital of the Yavanas, regarding whom so little is known. Anegundi, a Kannaḍa name meaning "elephant pit," was translated into Sanskrit as Hastinapura and Hastinavati, which is the designation in the Mahabharata of the capital of the Pándus, near Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> Mádhava succeeded to the pontifical throne of Sringeri in 1331, at the age of 36, and lived till 1386. His brother Sáyana was the most celebrated commentator on the Vedas.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanagar on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoid gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and rugged valleys, encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river, and appear like so many verdant oases in this Arabia Petraea of Southern India. Indeed some parts of the wilderness of Sinai reminded me, but on a far grander scale, of this huddled assemblage of bare granite rocks on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The formation is the same; the scantiness of vegetation, the arid aspect of the bare rocks, and the green spots marking the presence of springs few and far between in the depths of the valleys, are features common to both localities.

The peaks, tors and logging stones of Bijanagar and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient Hindu metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with

on the royal signet, and their family god was Virúpáksha, the name under which Siva was worshiped in a celebrated temple erected at the capital. Their grants are signed *Sri Virúpáksha*. Among their titles were, *ari-raya-vibháda*, *bháshege tappuva ráyara gāṇḍa*, *púrva-pa's'chima-dakshina-samudrádhipati*, *Hindú-ráya-Suratrána*.

The following is the list of the Vijayanagar kings, based upon the evidence of inscriptions, but some dates may require slight readjustment when our information is complete :—

Harihara I, Hakka, Hariyappa	1336-1350	Virúpáksha	1468-1479
Bukka Ráya I, Bukka Ráya		Narasa, Narasimha I,	1479-1487
Odēyar	1350-1379	Narasimha II, Immaḍi Narasinga	1488-1508
Harihara II, Hariyappa		Krishna Ráya	1508-1529
Odēyar	1379-1405	Achyuta Ráya	1530-1542
Deva Ráya I, Bukka II, Pratápa Deva Ráya	1406-1415	Sadás'iva Ráya (Ráma Ráya till 1565, Tirumala Ráya from 1566)	1542-1574
Vijaya Ráya I	1416-1417	S'ri Ranga Ráya I	1574-1585
Deva Ráya II, Praudha Deva Ráya, Pratápa Deva Ráya	1417-1446	Venkatapati Ráya I	1585-1614
Mallikárjuna, Vijaya Ráya II, Immaḍi Deva Ráya, Immaḍi Praudha Deva Ráya	1446-1467	Ráma Deva	1615-1625
		Venkatapati Ráya II	1626-1639
		S'ri Ranga Ráya II	1639-1664

Sangama, by his wife Kámambika,<sup>1</sup> had five sons, Harihara, Kampa, Bukka, Márappa, and Muddapa. Harihara was the first ruler of the Vijayanagar State, and was succeeded by Bukka. Kampa acquired territory in the Nellore and Kadapa districts, and was succeeded by his son Sangama, whose minister was Sáyana, the brother of Mádhava. Márappa conquered the Kadamba territories, and ruled at Chandragutti (Shimoga district). What became of Muddapa does not appear. Harihara is said to have defeated the Sultan, a reference to his driving the Muhammadans out of Orangal in conjunction with a confederacy of Hindu chiefs who collected an immense force for the purpose. Bukka Ráya in 1355 was ruling from Hosapatṭana in the Hoysana country (perhaps Hosur, Goribidnur taluq), said to be the capital of Nijagali Kataka Ráya. In 1368 he reconciled some serious disputes between the Jains and the Vaishnavas, "taking the hand of the Jains and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas."<sup>2</sup> The Jains are

blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite, which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry.—Newbold, *J. A. S. B.*, xiv.

<sup>1</sup> One inscription says he had five sons by S'aradá. This is the name under which Sarasvati is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of Sringeri.

<sup>2</sup> *Ins. at Sr. Bel.*, No. 136.

described as occupying the country lying between Anegundi, Hosapattana, Penagonda and Kalleha (Kalya, Magadi taluq), and possibly these were the boundaries at that time of his kingdom. He married Gaurámbika, and had a son Harihara, who succeeded him on the throne; but he also had a son, Chikka Kampana, governing in the south of Mysore, and one Mallinátha, governing in the east of Mysore. Harihara II. is principally praised for his liberality in gifts at various sacred places, localities which show that his territories extended from the Krishna at Karnul to Kumbhakona, or even further south. His queen was Melá Devi, of the family of Ráma Deva, probably the Yádava king. The son who succeeded him was Deva Ráya, or Pratápa Deva Ráya, who at first apparently called himself Bukka Ráya. There were also two sons, Chikka Ráya Oḍeyar, perhaps the same prince before he came to the throne, governing at A'raga (Tirthahalli taluq), the chief city of the Male-rájya or hill kingdom; and Virúpáksha, who professes to have conquered all the eastern countries down to and including Ceylon. Deva Ráya's son Vijaya Ráya, by Demámbika, was governing at Muluvágil (Mulbágal) and seems to have come next to the throne, but there is some confusion in the history here. Deva Raya also had a son Mallanna Oḍeyar, by Mallayavve, who was governing in the west, at Honavar.

During the two last reigns the greater part of Karnáta and Telin-gana, with the coast of Kanara, had come under the Vijayanagar sway. To the north, the simultaneous origin of the Bahmani kingdom prevented an extension of territory in that direction. The rivalry between the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms led to a continual succession of wars and alliances between the two, many interesting details of which are recorded by Ferishta, but perhaps with too favourable a colouring, as might be expected, to the Muhammadan side of the picture.<sup>1</sup> Among the earliest incidents that passed between them the following is characteristic :—

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference the list of Bahmani Sultans is here given :—

Hasan Gangu, Alá-ud-Din	...	1347	Firoz Shah...	...	...	1397
Muhammad Shah...	...	1358	Ahmad Shah, Khán Khanán	...	...	1422
Mujáhid Shah	...	1375	Alá-ud-Din Shah...	...	...	1435
Dáud Shah	...	1378	Humáyun Shah	...	...	1457
Mahmud Shah	...	1378	Nizam Shah	...	...	1461
Ghiyás-ud-Din Shah	...	1397	Muhammad Shah...	...	...	1463
Shams-ud-Din Shah	...	1397	Mahmud Shah	...	...	1482

Hasan, the founder of the line, was a poor Afghan, a native of Delhi, who farmed a small piece of land belonging to a Brahman named Gangu, who was in favour at court. One day, while ploughing, Hasan accidentally found some hidden treasure against which the plough-share had struck, and at once informed his landlord of it. The latter was so struck by his tenant's honesty that he cast his horoscope, and

"One evening when the spring of the garden of mirth had infused the cheek of Muhammad Shah with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Amir Khusru in praise of kings, festivity and music. The Sultan was delighted beyond measure, and commanded to give the performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Roy of Beejanuggur" (a deliberate insult). The draft was signed and despatched. But "the Roy, haughty and proud of his independence, placed the presenter of the draft on an ass, and parading him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back with every mark of contempt and derision." War naturally followed. The Raja captured the frontier fortress of Mudkal and put all the inhabitants to the sword, only one escaping to carry the tale. The Sultan swore that he would not rest till he had slain a hundred thousand of the infidels. A series of engagements took place, in which the Raja was worsted, and an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children continued until the payment of the wretched draft was enforced. The cold-blooded slaughter of hosts of helpless human beings for so paltry a provocation, led the ambassadors of the Raja to propose that in any future wars the lives of unarmed inhabitants and prisoners should always be spared. This merciful provision was agreed to and the rule long after observed.

Coming down later, to the time of Deva Raja and Firoz Shah, shortly after the latter ascended the throne an invasion of his territories was made by the Vijayanagar king on the south and by other enemies on the north. Firoz, on marching to encounter Deva Raja, found the Krishna so swollen with the rains that he could not cross in the face of the opposing army. At this juncture a *kāzi* offered to cross with a few friends and by some plot to assassinate either Deva Raja or his son, as he might find chance. He went, and joining himself to a party of dancing girls in the camp, obtained admission in the disguise of a woman to an entertainment given by the Raja's son. While performing a dance with a dagger in each hand, he seized an opportunity to plunge them into the prince's breast. His accomplices extinguished the lights, and in the confusion and darkness all made their escape. The Sultan, taking advantage of the alarm created in the Hindu camp, crossed with a select body of troops, and before sunrise was in a position to make an assault. The Hindus were panic stricken, and the Raja, filled with grief, made no resistance, but securing the body of his son, fled with all his forces. A treaty was at last concluded, fixing the common boundary of the two powers, and Deva Raja paid a sum equal to forty lakhs of rupees for the ransom of the prisoners.

foretold that he one day would be a king, requesting that when that should come to pass he might be made the minister. Hasan, in honour of his patron, took the name Gangu, and by the influence of the Brahman was advanced in various ways and appointed to a command with a jagir. He became a marked man, and when the measures of Muhammad Tughlak led to a rebellion, his talents placed him at the head of the revolt. He finally succeeded in establishing himself as ruler of the Dekhan, and fixed his capital at Kulbarga. He and his descendants styled themselves kings of the Bahmani (that is, Brahmani) dynasty, in gratitude to the Brahman who had first announced the fortune of their founder.



In 1406 another war took place, brought about as follows :—"There resided in the town of Mudkal a farmer, who was blessed with a daughter of such exquisite beauty that the Creator seemed to have united all his powers in making her perfect." Hearing of her beauty and accomplishments, Deva Raja resolved to marry her, and sent valuable presents to her and her parents by a Brahman. The parents were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune, and displaying the rich gifts before the girl, showered on her their congratulations. But the beautiful virgin, to their great astonishment, refused to receive the gifts, and observed "that whoever entered the haram of Beejanuggur, was afterwards not permitted to see her nearest relations and friends; and though they might be happy to sell her for worldly riches, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to eternal absence from them even for all the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This declaration was accompanied with affectionate tears which melted her parents; who, rather than use force, dismissed the Brahman with all his gifts, and he returned, chagrined and disappointed, to Beejanuggur."

The royal lover now became mad for the possession of the girl, and resolved to obtain her by force. On the plea of making a tour, he went towards the Tungabhadra, which suddenly crossing with a select body of troops, he hastened by forced marches to Mudkal. In the excess of his passion he had omitted to let the parents of the girl know the object of the expedition. They, therefore, in common with all the country, fled on the approach of the army to the most distant parts for shelter. Foiled in their object, the troops returned in disgust, and committed depredations in the country through which they passed. Firoz Shah resolved to be revenged for this inroad on his territories. Unable to effect anything against the Raja's capital, he laid waste all the adjacent country, and the hostile camps remained in each other's presence for several months. At last a treaty was concluded, by which the Raja was to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, with the fort of Bankapur and a large sum of money.

"Preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties. For forty days communication was open between the city and the Sultan's camp. Both sides of the road were lined with shops and booths, in which the jugglers, drolls, dancers and mimics of Karnátaka displayed their feats and skill to amuse passengers." The bridegroom sent valuable presents to Vijayanagar, from which, after the expiration of seven days, the bride was brought forth with a rich portion and offerings from the Raja, to the Sultan's camp. What followed is thus described by Ferishta :—

"Dewul Roy having expressed a strong desire to see the Sultan, Firoz Shah, with great gallantry, agreed to visit him with his bride, as his father-in-law. A day being fixed, he with the bride proceeded to Beejanuggur. On the way he was met by Dewul Roy in great pomp. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced, and then threw them to be gathered by the populace. After this

the inhabitants of the city made offerings, both men and women, according to their rank. After passing through a square directly in the centre of the city, the relations of Dewul Roy, who had lined the streets in crowds, made their obeisance and offerings, and joined the cavalcade on foot, marching before the princes. Upon their arrival at the palace gate the Sultan and Roy dismounted from their horses and ascended a splendid palanquin, set with valuable jewels, in which they were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom; when Dewul Roy took his leave, and retired to his own palace. The Sultan, after being treated with royal magnificence for three days, took his leave of the Roy, who pressed upon him richer presents than before given, and attended him four miles on his way, when he returned to the city. Sultan Firoz Shah was enraged at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzzul Oollah that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This declaration being told to Dewul Roy, he made some insolent remarks, so that, notwithstanding the connection of family, their hatred was not calmed." The girl who had been the innocent cause of the war was sent for and married to the Sultan's son.

In 1417 there was war again, in which Deva Raja inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sultan. A great slaughter of the Muhammadans followed, and the dominions of Bijapur were laid waste with all the treasured resentment of many years. These reverses killed Firoz Shah. Ahmed Shah, his successor, resolved to take revenge on the Hindus, who had now been driven back. He desolated the possessions of Vijayanagar, slaughtering women and children without mercy. Whenever the number of slain came to twenty thousand, he halted for three days and made a feast. The Hindus, in desperation, formed a plot against him, from which he escaped by a hair's-breadth. Terms were then agreed to, and he retired to his own country, the capital of which he shortly removed from Kulbarga to Bidar, a hundred miles to the north.

The further progress of events in that country need be noticed only so far as to state that the Bahmani empire was dismembered at the end of the fifteenth century, and broken up into the five states of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Berar, and Bidar. The first of these, with which our history will be principally concerned, was founded in 1489.

To return to Vijayanagar, the following extracts from the interesting account by Abdur Razzak,<sup>1</sup> who visited that capital as ambassador from Persia in 1441, during the reign of Deva Ráya, give a lofty idea of the wealth and magnificence of the empire:—

From our former relation and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed

<sup>1</sup> *Matilhu-s Sddain*, Sir H. Elliot's *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. IV.

readers will have ascertained that the writer Abdu-r-razzak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men. In the whole of Hindustan there is no *Rái* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade, extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one-half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the top of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes. . . .

The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others; in it is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace, or abode of the *Rái*. At the head of each bazar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar. . . .

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers.

Deva Ráya II is specially distinguished as Gaja-béntikára, the

elephant hunter, and an interesting account is given by Abdur Razzak of the mode of capture and the treatment of elephants at Vijayanagar at that time. One inscription describes the king as having received the throne from his elder sister. This might be the princess married into the Bahmani family.

Nothing of importance is known of the reigns of Mallikárjuna and Virúpáksha. The former had as his minister Timmanna-dannáyaka, lord of Nágamangala, who had held the same office under his father. Mallikárjuna is described as being at Penugonda, along with him, engaged in the affairs of Narasinga's kingdom. This may therefore have been a powerful chief whose possessions had escheated to the crown.

With Narasa or Narsingha the line was changed. According to some accounts, Virúpáksha, having no issue, raised one of his slaves named Sinhama to the throne, who took the title of Praudha Deva and ruled four years. His son, Vira Narasimha, succeeded and ruled but two years, when, he also being childless, gave his signet to his falconer Narasa. According to other accounts, Narasa was a powerful chief of Telingana, who possessed himself of the greater part of the Vijayanagar territory. But an inscription at Shimoga brings him from Tulava (South Kanara), and states that he was of the Yadu line, of the family of Krishna Rava, and the son of Is'vara and Bukkama. He is said to have crossed over the Kaveri when in flood, taken an unnamed enemy prisoner alive, conquered his country, and founded Seringapatam as a capital. His conquests extended over the whole of the south. By Tippákshi or Tippáji and Nágala Devi, he had two sons, Vira Narasimha and Krishna Ráya, who in turn succeeded him.

This does not agree with the traditional account, according to which Krishna Ráya was an illegitimate son, by Nágamba, a friend or attendant of the queen. He was so superior as a boy to Vira Narasimha that Tippámba, the mother of the latter, became jealous, and prevailed on the king to have him put to death. But the prime minister concealed the prince, reporting that the orders had been obeyed. In his last illness the king was much afflicted for the death of his son, on which the minister produced the prince, and Krishna Deva was declared the heir and successor to the throne. Vira Narasimha, it is added, died of vexation on his brother being acknowledged Raja. But there is evidence that Narasimha ruled for some years, and both he and his successor were distinguished for the munificence of their gifts to sacred places. Narasimha's titles were *medini-músara ganda* and *kaṭhári-sdluva*.

Krishna Ráya was one of the most powerful and distinguished

monarchs of the Vijayanagar line. About 1520 the Muhammadans sustained a severe defeat from his armies, in consequence of which a good understanding prevailed between the courts of Vijayanagar and Bijapur for a considerable period. He not only restored the kingdom to its former limits, but extended them in every direction. He kept possession of all the country up to the Krishna; eastwards he captured Orangal and ascended to Cuttack, where he married the daughter of the Raja as the bond of peace; while westwards his conquests extended up to Salsette. He was also a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. Eight distinguished poets, called the *ashta-dig-gaja*, were maintained at his court, the principal of whom was Appaya Dikshita.

The Hindu traditions represent Krishna Ráya as conducting his affairs, both in peace and war, in person. But they acknowledge that he owed much to the Brahman minister of his father, who had saved his life, and who continued to be his minister until his death, three years preceding that of the Raja. His name was Timma Raja, the Hem raj of the Muhammadan historians. At no period probably in the history of the south did any of its political divisions equal in extent and power that of Vijayanagar in the reign of Krishna Ráya. From this time for a long period we shall meet with continual anarchy and successive revolutions.

Edoardo Barbessa, who travelled in India in 1516, describes the city of Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous, and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar." The palaces of the king and his ministers, and the temples were "stately buildings of stone," but the dwellings of the common people were "hovels of straw and mud."

According to the received account, Krishna Ráya had no legitimate male issue, and Achyuta Ráya, his half-brother by Obámbika, was thus the nearest heir. The latter being absent at the time, Krishna Ráya, on his death-bed, placed an infant named Sadásiva on the throne, under the guardianship of his son-in-law Rama Raja, who was the son, as is supposed, of the deceased minister Timma Raja. But Achyuta soon returned and assumed the government, and on his death Sadásiva succeeded, under the control of Rama Raja as before arranged. Sadásiva was apparently the son of Ranga, a deceased elder brother of Achyuta by the same mother: on the other hand, he is expressly stated<sup>1</sup> to be the son of Achyuta Ráya.

As long as Rama Raja was alive, Sadásiva was only the nominal sovereign, and little more than a tool in the hands of the minister. On

<sup>1</sup> *Mys. Ins.*, S. S. 192.

one occasion it is stated that, aided by his maternal uncle and some of the nobles, he conspired against the minister, who was forced to resign, but allowed to live in the capital. Tirumala Raja, the uncle, then assumed the whole power, having, it is said, murdered the prince. If this were the case, several puppet rajas may have been successively set up under the name of Sadásiva Ráya, for grants in that name continue down to 1574. Tirumala Raja conducted himself so tyrannically that the chiefs rose against him, but he called in the assistance of the Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah and put them down. No sooner, however, had the Muhammadans retired than the nobles, with Rama Raja at their head, again rebelled, and shut up the usurper in his palace ; where, finding his fortunes desperate, he destroyed himself. Rama Raja now seized the supreme power, and being an able and powerful ruler, not only established his influence over all the kingdoms of the south, but made encroachments on the Muhammadan states which they were powerless to prevent, and on one occasion even assisted Bijapur against Ahmednagar. His arrogance, however, was the prelude to his ruin.

The four Muhammadan principalities of the Dekhan resolved to combine in an attack upon Vijayanagar, and in 1564 the allied armies of Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar and Bidar assembled at Bijapur, prepared to march south. Rama Raja thought lightly of the impending danger, but took measures for the defence of his territory by sending his brother, Tirumala Raja, with a strong force to occupy the fords of the Krishna ; another division followed under his brother Venkatádri, while he himself brought up the rear with the main body of the army. The enemy, on arriving at the river, found the defending force entrenched on the right bank, behind earthworks mounted with cannon, and in such a position as to effectually bar the passage of the river. As this was the only point where their troops could safely cross, the allies resolved by a feint to draw their opponents out of the position. They accordingly marched along the river as if to attempt a passage at a different point, and were followed on the other side by the Hindu army. But on the third night they suddenly decamped, and gaining the now undefended ford, succeeded in carrying over their whole army, and marched against Rama Raja. The latter, though surprised at their activity, was not alarmed, but summoned his brothers to join him.

The 25th of January, 1565, saw the two armies confronting each other in battle array on the since memorable field of Talikota, about ten miles south of the Krishna, near Raichor. The Musalman right was commanded by Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, the left by Ali Barid Shah of Bidar and Ibrahim Kutb Shah of Golkonda, the centre by Husen Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. Rama Raja entrusted his left to

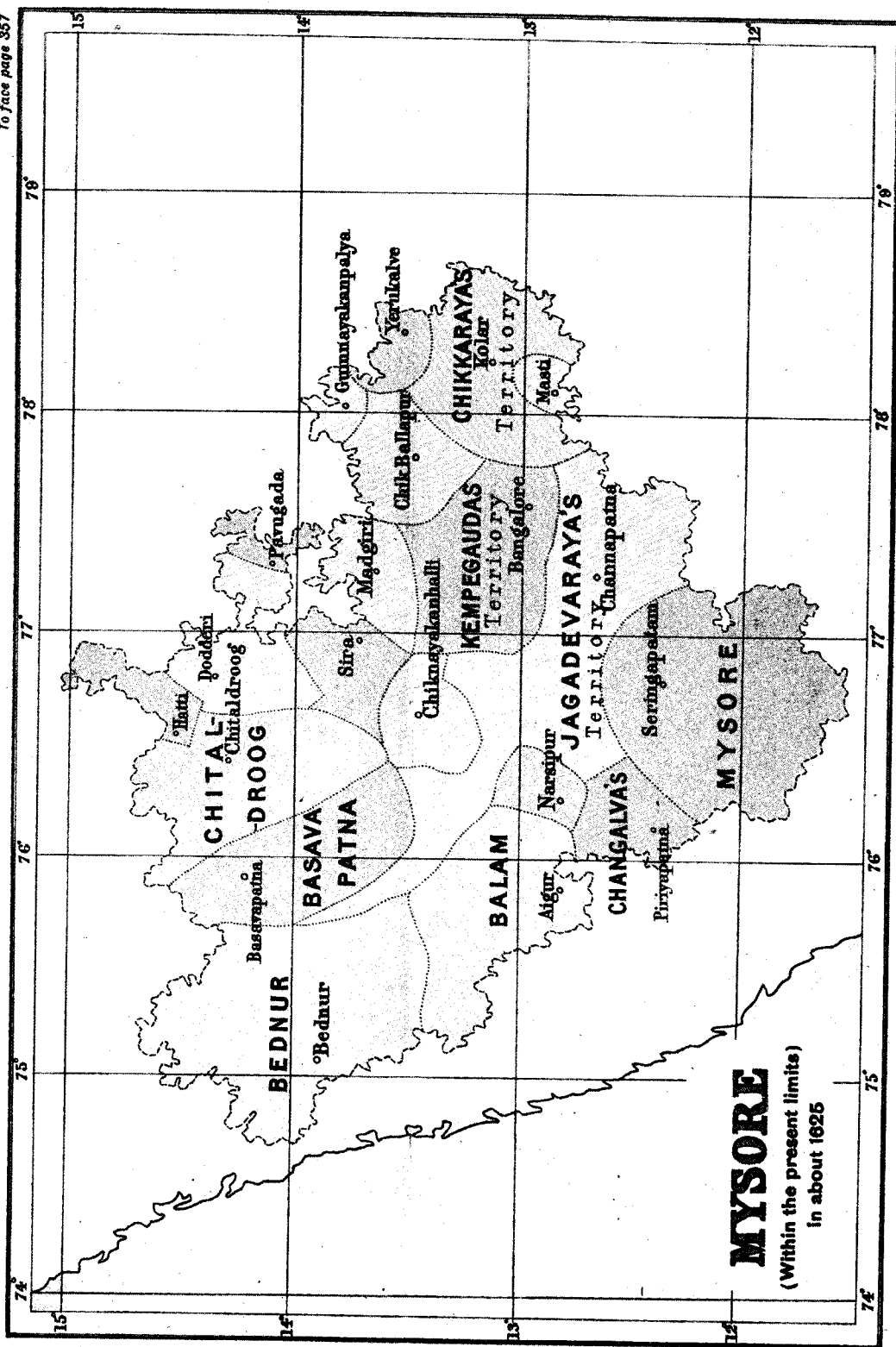
his brother Tirumala Raja, his right to his other brother Venkatádri, and himself commanded in his centre. The allies guarded their front with a line of cannon fastened together with strong chains and ropes. The Hindu front was protected by a large number of war elephants, as well as cannon. The battle opened with rapid discharges of artillery and rockets from the Hindu side. A general action ensued, accompanied with great slaughter. The Hindu right and left drove back both wings of the Musalman allies, but their centre was unbroken. At this moment a war elephant, becoming ungovernable, rushed madly about and overturned the litter of Rama Raja. Taking advantage of the confusion, some Muhammadan gunners rushed in, and before he could recover himself, seized Rama Raja and carried him off. His head was instantly struck off and paraded on the point of a lance in sight of both armies. The Hindus, on seeing their leader was slain, gave up all for lost and fled in every direction, closely pursued by the enemy. The slaughter was immense, and the booty sufficient to enrich every private of the victorious army.<sup>1</sup> The sultans marched to Aneundi, the troops entered Vijayanagar, and plundered and destroyed the capital, committing all manner of excess.

This terrible and decisive defeat broke up the Vijayanagar empire, but the mutual jealousies of the allies prevented either of them enlarging his kingdom by appropriating any of the conquered territory. A year after the battle, Tirumala Raja, the brother of Rama Raja, returned to the capital. But he found the attempt to restore it hopeless, and in 1567 retired to Penugonda. Venkatádri, the other brother, established himself at Chandragiri.

Cæsar Frederike visited the city of Vijayanagar two years after the battle. He states that Ram Rai perished through the treachery of two Musalman generals in his service, who turned against him in the middle of the battle. The Musalmans spent six months in plundering the city, searching in all directions for buried money. The houses were still standing, but they were empty. The court had moved from Vijayanagar to Penugonda, which was eight days' journey to the south. The inhabitants had disappeared and gone elsewhere. The surrounding country was so infested with thieves that he was compelled to stay six months longer at Vijayanagar than he intended. When at last he set out for Goa, he was attacked every day, and had to pay a ransom on each occasion.

He thus describes the palace :—"I have seen many kings' courts, yet have never seen anything to compare with the royal palace of Bijjanugger, which

<sup>1</sup> Such is Ferishta's account. The Hindu account says that the divisions of Kutb Shah and Nizam Shah were routed, and retreated in confusion, covered by the armies of Adil Shah and Barid Shah. The Hindus, considering the engagement over and the enemy annihilated, gave themselves up to rejoicing and festivity, and were surprised in their encampment.





had the power gradually broke loose of control and declared their independence. An account of each of these Pálegar families will be found in connection with the localities which formed their respective estates. It will be sufficient, therefore, here, to simply mention the more important. Among these were:—in the north, the Náyaks of Bednur, Basavapatna and Chitaldroog; on the west, the Náyaks of Balam; in the centre, the Náyaks of Hágálvádi, and the Gauḍas of Yelahanka and Ballapur; on the east, the Gauḍa of Sugatúr; on the south, the Woḍeyars of Mysore, Kaḷale, Ummatur, Yelandur, and others.

In 1573 the Bijapur and Ahmednagar rulers came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with one another. The Bijapur line of conquest was to the south. Adoni having been captured, and the western coast regions from Goa down to Barkalur overrun, an attempt was made in 1577 on Penugonda. But it found a most gallant defender, as before stated, in Jagadeva Ráya, the king's son-in-law. Every attack was repelled, and the Bijapur army forced to raise the siege and retire. For this brilliant service Jagadeva was rewarded by a grant of a territory which extended across Mysore, from Báramahál—the previous possession of his family—on the east, to the Western Ghats on the west. He fixed his capital at Channapatna (Bangalore district). Kankanhalli and Nagamangala were two of the most important towns in his territory, which also included Periyapatna on the west and Harnhalli and Banawar on the north, while a long arm reached even to Hole Honnur.

About the same period, Timme Gauḍa of Sugatúr rendered some important military service, for which he received the title of Chikka Ráya, with a grant of territory in the southern half of the Kolar district, including Hoskote westwards and Punganur eastwards.

Meanwhile, in the south, the Rajas of Mysore, whose history will be given in detail further on, had been gradually subduing all the lesser chiefs: until in 1610 they gained Seringapatam, ousting the effete viceroy of Vijayanagar, and became the dominant power in that part of the country. In 1630 they took Channapatna, and Jagadeva Ráya's dominions were thus absorbed into the Mysore State.

This brief sketch of the principal changes which took place in the seventy years following the battle of Talikota will serve to show how matters stood, and the several divisions of the country, in 1636, when the Bijapur armies successfully invaded Mysore and established the government of that State over the Carnatic Balaghat.

**Bijapur.**—This State is more properly called Vijayapur, but as a Muhammadan kingdom, and to distinguish it from Vijayanagar, the

Muhammadan form of the name has been retained. The founder of the kingdom was Yusuf Adil Shah, after whom his descendants were called the Adil Shahi kings. He is stated to have been a son of the Ottoman Sultan Amurath or Murad, and brother of Muhammad the Great, the conqueror of Constantinople. On the accession of the latter to the Turkish throne in 1450, Yusuf, by the contrivance of his mother, escaped being put to death with the rest of his brothers, and was by her means conveyed to Persia. Being obliged to fly from Persia at the age of sixteen on account of some suspicion of his birth, he was inveigled to the Bahmani court and there sold as a slave. He gradually rose into favour, was entrusted with the command of a body of horse and a provincial government. He became the head of the foreign or Shiah party, between which and the Dakhani or Sunni party there was a continual contest for power. When the latter in the reign of Mahmud gained an ascendancy, Yusuf Adil retired to his government of Bijapur, and in 1489 took the royal title. He opposed the usurper of the Bahmani kingdom, put down the neighbouring chiefs, who like him were endeavouring to assert their independence, and was successful in meeting the attacks of the Vijayanagar raja. The Bahmani kingdom was eventually partitioned between him and the other new kings that arose about the same time in the Dekhan.

The following is the succession of the Adil Shahi kings:—

Yusuf Adil Shah	...	...	1489	Ibrahimi Adil Shah	...	1579
Ismail Adil Shah	...	...	1510	Muhammad Adil Shah	...	1626
Mallu Adil Shah	...	...	1534	Ali Adil Shah	...	1660
Ibrahim Adil Shah	...	...	1535	Sikandar Adil Shah	...	1672
Ali Adil Shah	...	...	1557			

The territory of Bijapur extended from the Nira to the Tungabhadra, and from the Bhima to the sea. South of the Tungabhadra, it owned Adoni and perhaps Nandyal. The limits of its western boundary were Bankot and cape Ramas. Between this power and Vijayanagar there were constant collisions, until in 1565 the battle of Talikota terminated the power of the latter. In 1577, as we have already seen, a raid was made into the conquered territory, but repelled by the defence of Jagadeva Rāya at Penugonda.

In 1637 a more formidable invasion took place. The Mughals had taken Daulatabad in 1634, and Aurangzeb was appointed viceroy of the Dekhan; but the contests with the Mughal power were shortly brought to a close for the time by the treaty which extinguished the State of Ahmednagar and made Bijapur tributary to Delhi. The Bijapur arms were now directed to the south, under Ran-dulha Khan; with whom Shahji, father of the famous Sivaji, was sent as second

in command, with a promise of a *jágir* in the territories to be conquered.

The course of this invasion<sup>1</sup> was by the open country of Bankapur, Harihar, Basvapatna and Tarikere, up to the woods of Bednur, the whole of which was overrun. The Bednur chief was besieged in Kavale-durga but bought off the enemy. An attempt was next made on Seringapatam. A breach was effected, but the Mysoreans repulsed the general assault with great slaughter, and the enemy was not only compelled to raise the siege but harassed in his retreat by successive attacks, in which, adds Wilks, the Raja obtained considerable booty. The invading army retired to the north of Melukote and then turned east. Kempe Gauḍa, representative of the Yelahanka family, who had by this time grown into a considerable chieftain, holding possession of Bangalore and Magadi, with the impregnable hill fortress of Savan-durga, was next attacked, and Bangalore captured from him in 1638. The possessions of the Chikka Ráya, namely, Hoskote and all the present Kolar District east of it, were then seized, in 1639, and the victorious army, passing below the Ghats, took Vellore and S'enji. Returning to the tableland, Dod Ballapur, Sira and all the south of the Chitaldroog district fell to Bijapur in 1644.

By this time the conquests were complete, and a Province under the designation of Carnatic Bijapur Balaghat was formed out of the districts of Bangalore, Hoskote, Kolar, Dod Ballapur and Sira; and bestowed as a *jágir* on Shahji, who was also governor of the conquests below the Ghats, called Carnatic Bijapur Payanghat. He resided at first at Bangalore, but subsequently, when not engaged in military expeditions, lived sometimes at Kolar and sometimes at Dod Ballapur.

The policy of the invaders was, while taking possession of the capital town, and administering the revenues of each principality, to grant the ousted chief an estate in some less productive part of his territory. This resulted in bringing under cultivation and attracting population to the more neglected tracts of the country. Thus Basavapatna and its possessions being retained, Tarikere was given to the palegar; Bangalore was taken but Magadi left to Kempe Gauḍa; similarly Hoskote was taken and Anekal granted; Kolar was taken and Punganur granted; Sira was taken and Ratnagiri granted.

Shahji was one of the most prominent characters of his day in India. A sketch of his remarkable career is given in the history of the Bangalore

<sup>1</sup> The palegar of Basvapatna or Tarikere is charged with having invited the Bijapur Sultan to invade the country, in order to revenge himself for an insult received from the palegar of Ratnagiri or Sira, arising out of an obscene jest and a coarse and filthy practical joke which will not admit of mention.

district. Under him the Mahratta element was largely introduced into the north of Mysore, as well as into the Tanjore and other districts which he conquered below the Ghats. The Mahrattas, or Maharrattas, in whom we may recognize the descendants of a people that have already appeared more than once in our historical review, after the overthrow of the Yádava kingdom of Devagiri, had been subjects first of the Bahmani and subsequently of the Ahmednagar and Bijapur kingdoms. Their influence was much increased by a remarkable change introduced, chiefly for sectarian reasons, by Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king of Bijapur, who came to the throne in 1535. Previous to his reign all the revenue and official accounts had been kept in Persian. But he recognized Mahratti or Hindvi as the official language of the revenue accountants, who were, to a great extent, Brahmans. He also employed large bodies of Mahratta cavalry called Bargeer. They differed from Silahdars in being provided with horses by the State. The rise of the Mahratta power in the person of Sivaji, the son of Shahji, and the struggles of that race for empire, have been often recorded. We shall meet with them frequently in the remaining portion of our history.

The possessions of Shahji in Mysore and Tanjore were governed after his death, which occurred in 1664, by his son Venkoji, or Ekoji. But Sivaji, the only surviving son by the first marriage, resolved to lay claim to a half share. For this purpose, in which he was encouraged by Raghunath Narayan, who from being the minister first of Shahji and then of Venkoji, had now come over to Sivaji, he made an expedition into the Carnatic in 1677. Before entering upon it, Sivaji paid his celebrated visit to the temple of Párvati at S'ris'aíla, where he spent twelve days in penance, and when about in his enthusiasm to sacrifice himself to the deity, was saved, it is said, by the interposition of the goddess Bhaváni. He then joined the army and, leaving the heavy part to besiege Vellore, pushed on with the remainder, consisting principally of cavalry, and gained possession of S'enji. He induced Venkoji, who resided at Tanjore, to meet him at Trivadi for the purpose of discussing matters, but could not persuade him to give up half the property. Sivaji thought to make him prisoner and compel him, but refrained. He returned to Vellore, which had surrendered, took Carnatic Ghur, Arni and other forts, and overran all the jágir districts, levying contributions or plundering. Affairs at Golkonda now obliged him to hasten thither, Bellary being captured on the way. Venkoji took the opportunity to attack the troops left in the Carnatic. Sivaji, on hearing of it, wrote a remarkable letter<sup>1</sup> to his brother, full of

<sup>1</sup> See Grant Duff, *Hist. Mahr.*, I, 211.

good sense and injunctions to union and peace, which won over Venkoji. He agreed to pay a large sum of money, to divide their father's jewels, and to share the revenues with his brother. On these conditions Sivaji allowed him to retain Tanjore, and restored the jágir districts. This was in 1678. In 1680 Sivaji died.

**The Mughals.**—In 1684 the Mughal arms, under Aurangzeb, now seated on the throne with the title of Alamgir, were once more directed to the Dekhan for the purpose of crushing the Mahrattas and subjugating the Pathan states of Bijapur and Golkonda. Bijapur was taken in 1687, Golkonda in 1688. Flying columns were sent out after each of these captures to secure the dependent districts south of the Tungabhadra.

A new Province was thus formed in 1687, with Sira as its capital, composed of the seven parganas of Basvapatna, Budihal, Sira, Penu-gonda, Doḍ Ballapur, Hoskote and Kolar; and having Harpanhalli, Kondarpi, Anegundi, Bednur, Chitaldroog and Mysore as tributary states. Bangalore, which had been seized, was at the same time sold to the Raja of Mysore for three lakhs of rupees, the sum for which he had just previously agreed to buy it of Venkoji; who, finding it too far from the seat of his government to be effectually protected, had offered it for sale. Khasim Khan, with the designation of Faujdar Divan, was the first governor of the Province of Sira. Its annals are elsewhere given. It continued a Mughal possession till 1757.

**Mysore Rajas.**—Our attention will now be directed to the south, to the history of the royal family of Mysore. Their origin is traced to the heroes of a chivalrous exploit, Vijaya and Krishna, two young Kshatriyas of Yádava descent, who, according to tradition, had left Dváraka, in Gujarat, with the view of establishing themselves in the south. On arriving at Hadi-náḍ, or Hada-náḍ (called Hadana by Wilks, but now known as Hadináru), a few miles south-east of the present city of Mysore, they learned that the chief of the place had wandered away in a state of mental derangement; and that the neighbouring chief of Kárugahalli, who was of inferior caste, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the family, had demanded the only daughter of the house in marriage. To this a consent had been given under compulsion, and arrangements unwillingly made for the ceremony. The two brothers espoused the cause of the distressed maiden, and having secreted themselves with some followers, fell upon the chief and his retinue while seated at the banquet, and slew them. Marching at once on Kárugahalli, they surprised it, and returned in triumph to Hadanád. The girl became the willing bride of Vijaya, who took the

title of Oḍeyar, or Woḍeyar,<sup>1</sup> and assumed the government of Hadanád and Karugáhalli; adopting at the same time the religion of the Jangamas, or Lingavantas.

The following is the succession of the Mysore Rájás, according to annals compiled in the palace, Vijaya being here called Yadu Ráya :—

Yadu Ráya, Vijaya	1399-1423	Ranadhíra Kanthírava-	
Hire Bettada Cháma-Rája		Narasa-Rája Woḍeyar	1638-1659
Woḍeyar (I)	1423-1458	Doḍḍa Deva-Rája Woḍeyar	1659-1672
Timma-Rája Woḍeyar (I)	1458-1478	Chikka Deva-Rája Woḍeyar	1672-1704
Hire Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar		Kanthírava Woḍeyar, Múka-	
(II), A'rhera <sup>2</sup>	1478-1513	rasu <sup>3</sup>	1704-1713
Bettada Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar		Doḍḍa Krishna-Rája Woḍe-	
(III)	1513-1552	yar (I)	1713-1731
Timma-Rája Woḍeyar (II),		Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar (VII)	1731-1734
Appanna	1552-1571	Krishna-Rája Woḍeyar (II)	1734-1766
Bóla Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar		Nanja-Rája Woḍeyar	1766-1770
(IV)	1571-1576	Bettada Cháma-Rája Woḍe-	
Bettada Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar		yar (VIII)	1770-1776
(V)	1576-1578	Khása Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar	
Rája Woḍeyar (I)	1578-1617	(IX)	1776-1796
Cháma-Rája Woḍeyar (VI)	1617-1637	Krishna-Rája Woḍeyar (III)	1799-1868
Immaḍi Rája Woḍeyar (II)	1637-1638	Cháma-Rájendra Woḍeyar (X)	1868-1894
		Krishna-Rája Woḍeyar (IV)	1895

Yadu Ráya, or Vijaya, is said to have been eleventh in descent from Yaduvíra, of the A'treya-gótra and As'valáyana-sútra. But of the early period no annals have been preserved until the time of Cháma-Rája III. He, during his lifetime, made a partition of his dominions between his three sons. To Timma-Rája, or Appanna, he gave Hemmanhalli, to Krishna-Rája he gave Kembala, and to Cháma-Rája IV, surnamed Ból or Bald,<sup>4</sup> he gave Mysore. No male heir surviving to either of the elder brothers, the succession was continued in the junior or Mysore branch. With Krishna-Rája I the direct descent ended. Cháma-Rája VII, a member of the Hemmanhalli family, was next elected, but eventually deposed by the *daḷaváyi*<sup>5</sup> Deva-Ráj, and the minister Nanja-Ráj. He died a prisoner at Kabbáldurga in 1734. Chikka or

<sup>1</sup> Oḍeyar, Woḍeyar, or Waḍeyar, is the plural and honorific form of Oḍeya, a Kannaḍa word meaning lord, master. Wilks states that it indicated, at the period of which we are writing, the governor of a small district, generally of thirty-three villages. But we find it applied, in the Tamil form Uḷaiyár, to the Chola kings as far back as the eleventh century, and in the Kannaḍa form, Woḍeyar, to the Vijayanagar kings from the beginning of their rule. Vaḍér, a modification of the word, is the title of respect by which Jangama priests are addressed.

<sup>2</sup> Six-fingered.

<sup>3</sup> Dumb king; he was born deaf and dumb.

<sup>4</sup> Owing, it is said, to a stroke of lightning.

<sup>5</sup> The title of the chief officer of the state, who combined the functions of a general and a minister. It is derived from *daḷa*, Kan. for army, and *váyí* or *báyí*, mouth: the mouthpiece of the army. The office was mostly hereditary.

Immaḍi Krishna-Rāja II, of Kenchengod, a younger and distant branch, was put on the throne in 1734, and died in 1766. His eldest son, Nanja-Rāja, was directed by Haidar to be installed, but finding him not sufficiently subservient, Haidar turned him out of the palace in 1767, and took all control into his own hands. Nanja-Rāja was strangled in 1770, being nominally succeeded by his brother Chāma-Rāja VIII, who died childless in 1775. Chāma-Rāja IX, son of Devaraj Arasu of Arkotār, a member of the Kārughalli family, was then selected at random by Haidar. He died in 1796, and Tipu appointed no successor. But the real rulers during this period were :—

Haidar Ali Khan ... ..	1761-1782
Tipu Sultan... ..	1782-1799

On the fall of Seringapatam and death of Tipu, the British Government restored the Hindu raj and placed on the throne Krishna-Rāja III, the son of the last-named Chāma-Rāja. Owing to misrule he was deposed in 1831, but in 1867, a year before his death, his adoption was recognized of Chāma-Rājendra X (third son of Krishna Arasu, of the Bettadakote family), who succeeded him, being placed on the throne on attaining his majority in 1881. He died at the close of 1894, and his eldest son, Krishna-Rāja IV, now a minor, has been installed as his successor.

At what period Mysore (properly Mahish-úru, buffalo town<sup>1</sup>) acquired that name is uncertain. Reasons have been given for supposing that it may have been known by that designation before the Christian era. The vulgar name of the place when Chāma-Rāja the Bald received it as his portion was Puragaḍi, but for the last four centuries Mysore (Mahishúr) has been the common name of the fort and town originally erected or repaired by Hire Chāma-Rāja the Bald.

The fatal disaster which befell the Vijayanagar empire on the field of Talikota in 1565 diminished the influence of its viceroy at Seringapatam. We accordingly find this Chāma-Rāja evading the payment of the revenue or tribute due by him, and obtaining permission to erect some works, probably barriers, on the pretext that the wild hogs destroyed the crops and disabled him from paying the tribute. The works were, however, no sooner erected than the collectors of the royal dues were expelled. The imbecile viceroy attempted shortly after to seize Chāma-Rāja while paying his devotions at the temple of Ranganátha, at Seringapatam. But he received warning of the plot and

<sup>1</sup> So called with reference to Mahishásura, the minotaur or buffalo-headed monster whose destruction is the most noted exploit of Chámunḍi, under which name the consort of Siva, the tutelary goddess of the Mysore Rajas, is worshipped on the hill near the capital.

escaped, and continued to evade all the demands of the viceroy with impunity.

Bettāda Chāma-Rāja Woḍeyar, who succeeded, was not long on the throne. Though brave, he had no capacity for government, and his younger brother, Rāja Woḍeyar, was shortly raised to the throne by the elders.<sup>1</sup> During his reign occurred one of the most important events in the annals of the Mysore house, the acquisition of Seringapatam. By what means this was effected is not known with certainty; but in 1610 the aged viceroy, Tirumala Rāja, retired to Talkad, where he shortly after died, and on his retirement Rāja Woḍeyar took possession of Seringapatam and transferred thither the seat of government. At the same time the religion of Vishnu was adopted by the court.

Rāja Woḍeyar extended the possessions of his family over all the south of the present Mysore district, and captured several places towards the north from Jagadeva Rāja. "His rule was remarkable for the rigour and severity which he exercised towards the subordinate Woḍeyars, and his indulgence towards the ryots. The Woḍeyars were generally dispossessed and kept in confinement, on a scanty allowance, at the seat of government; and it was the policy of Rāja Woḍeyar to reconcile the ryots to the change by exacting from them no larger sums than they had formerly paid."

All the sons being dead, Chāma-Rāja, a grandson, succeeded. By the capture of Channapatna, in 1630, he absorbed the territories of Jagadeva Rāja into the Mysore State, and completed what remained of conquest in the south. He pursued the same policy as his predecessor.

Immaḍi Rāja, who came next, was a posthumous son of Rāja Woḍeyar. He was shortly poisoned by the daḷavāyi, and Kanthirava Narasa Rāja placed on the throne. He was the son of the gallant and generous Bettāda Chāma-Rāja, who had been superseded by his younger brother. The daḷavāyi thought to find him as forbearing and unambitious as his father. But he had already, when living in obscurity, given an evidence of his emulous and chivalric spirit. Hearing of a celebrated champion athlete at Trichinopoly who had overcome all opponents, he went there in disguise, and defeated and slew him in the presence of the whole court. Declining all honours for the feat, he quietly slipped away at night and returned home. Soon after his installation at Mysore, where that ceremony continued to be performed, he learned of the means by which his predecessor had been removed, and had the minister assassinated.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many noble and interesting traits of the characters of the two brothers, and their mutual consideration, are recorded in Wilks.

<sup>2</sup> The two peons, or foot-soldiers, who did the deed scaled the wall of the minister's



The year after his accession, he had to defend Seringapatam against the attack of the Bijapur forces under Ran-dulha Khan; and, as already related, succeeded in effectually repelling the invader. He subsequently carried his conquests over many districts to the south, taking Danaikankote, Satyamangala and other places from the Náyak of Madura. Westwards, Arkalgud and Bettadpur were captured. Northwards, he took Hosur (now in Salem), and at Yelahanka inflicted a severe defeat on Kempe Gauḍa of Magadi, levying a large contribution on him. With the booty obtained in his various expeditions, and the heavy tribute which from motives of policy he imposed on the gauḍas or heads of villages in order to reduce their power, he improved and enlarged the fortifications of Seringapatam, and endowed the principal temples. He assumed more of royal state in his court, and was the first to establish a mint, at which were coined the Kanṭhi Rāya huṇs and fanams called after him, which continued to be the current national money until the Muhammadan usurpation.

He died without issue, and of the possible claimants to the throne the most suitable were a grandson and a great-grandson of Bóla Cháma-Rāja, both about thirty-two years of age. The former, though of a junior branch, was selected, and is known as Doḍḍa Deva Rāja; the latter, afterwards Chikka Deva Rāja, was, with his father, placed in confinement at Hangala. It was during Doḍḍa Deva Rāja's reign that Śrī Ranga Rāja, the last representative of Vijayanagar, fled for refuge to Bednur. Sivappa Náyak, who was the *de facto* ruler of that state, entered upon a considerable range of conquests southwards under pretence of establishing the royal line, and appeared before Seringapatam with a large force. He was, however, compelled to retreat, and the Mysore armies before long overran Sakkarepatna, Hassan, and other places, with the government of which Śrī Ranga Rāja had been invested by Sivappa Náyak. The Náyak of Mádura now invaded Mysore, meditating the conquest of the country; but not only was he forced to retire, but Erode and Dharapuram yielded to the Mysoreans, who levied heavy contributions on Trichinopoly and other important places. Doḍḍa Deva Rāja was a great friend of the Brahmans, and was profuse in his grants and donations to the holy order. He died at Chiknáyakanhalli, which, together with Hulyurdurga and Kunigaḷ, had been

court-yard after dark, and lay in wait until he passed across, preceded by a torch-bearer. The latter was first killed, and the torch went out. "Who are you?" said the minister. "Your enemy," replied one of the peons, and made a blow. The minister closed with him and threw him down, holding him by the throat. The other peon, in the dark, knew not which was which. "Are you top or bottom?" he asked. "Bottom," gasped the half-strangled peon, on which his companion dealt the fatal blow.

conquered not long before. The Mysore kingdom at this period extended from Sakkarepatna in the west to Salem in the east, and from Chiknáyakanhalli in the north to Dharapuram (Coimbatore District) in the south.

Chikka Deva Rája, who was passed over at the commencement of the preceding reign, now succeeded, and became one of the most distinguished of the Mysore Rájas. His early youth had been passed at Yelandur, where he had formed an intimacy with a Jain named Visháláksha Pandit. When Chikka Deva Rája and his father were confined at Hangala, this man continued his attachment and followed them into captivity; not, however, from disinterested affection, but because he had ascertained by his knowledge of the stars that Chikka Deva Rája would certainly succeed to the throne. Having obtained a promise that if such an event should come to pass he should be made prime minister, he repaired to the capital and industriously circulated in secret among influential persons the prediction of Chikka Deva Rája's destiny. When, therefore, Dodda Deva Rája died, every one was prepared to receive the successor decreed by fate. They did not acquiesce quite so readily when the pandit was made minister, but the ability of the Rája and his adviser soon silenced all murmurings.

One of the earliest measures of the new reign was the establishment, for the first time, of a regular post throughout the country. Its functions were, however, conjoined with those usually discharged by a detective police, and information of the private transactions of each district was thus regularly collected and sent to court by the postal officials. Several conquests were made between 1675 and 1678, the most important of which were those of Madgiri and Midagesi, with some of the intermediate districts; which brought the Mysore frontier, projecting in a long arm northwards, up to that of Carnatic Bijapur, now disorganized by the raids of Sivaji, consequent on the dispute previously mentioned between him and his half brother Venkoji, or Ekoji.

During the next ten years were introduced a number of financial changes, having for their object the increase of the revenue. The Rája was unwilling to incur the risk of increasing in a direct manner the established proportion of one-sixth share of the crop payable to the crown as land revenue. A number of petty taxes were therefore imposed, of a vexatious character,<sup>1</sup> in order that the ryots might be driven to seek relief and compound for their abolition in voluntarily submitting to an increase of the land assessment. Lands held by the soldiery as part payment for their services were, on grounds of policy,

<sup>1</sup> For a list see Wilks.

exempted. These measures gave rise to great discontent, which was fanned by the Jangama priests. The opposition was manifested by a determination not to till the land. The ryots deserted their villages and assembled as if to emigrate. The Rája's resolution was prompt, but sanguinary and treacherous. He invited all the Jangama priests to meet him at Nanjangud for the purpose of discussing matters. Only four hundred attended. What followed is thus described by Wilks :—

A large pit had been previously prepared in a walled inclosure, connected by a series of squares composed of tent walls with the canopy of audience, at which they were successively received one at a time, and after making their obeisance were desired to retire to a place where, according to custom, they expected to find refreshments prepared at the expense of the Rája. Expert executioners were in waiting in the square, and every individual in succession was so skilfully beheaded and tumbled into the pit as to give no alarm to those who followed, and the business of the public audience went on without interruption or suspicion. Circular orders had been sent for the destruction, on the same day, of all the Jangam *mutts* (places of residence and worship) in his dominions ; and the number reported to have been in consequence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred. This notable achievement was followed by the operations of the troops, which had also been previously combined. Wherever a mob had assembled, a detachment of troops, chiefly cavalry, was collected in the neighbourhood, and prepared to act on one and the same day. The orders were distinct and simple ; to charge without parley into the midst of the mob ; to cut down in the first selection every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jangam priests) ; and not to cease acting until the crowds had everywhere dispersed. It may be concluded that the effects of this system of terror left no material difficulties to the final establishment of the new system of revenue.

The chief odium of these massacres, as well as the innovations which had led to them, naturally fell upon the Yelandur Pandit who was at the head of the administration. An impression also got abroad that the Rája was about to abandon the doctrines of the Jangama in which he was brought up, and to revive the ascendancy of the Jain faith. The result was that the minister fell a victim to a plot against his life, and he was assassinated one night while returning from court. The Rája was much affected at the news and hastened to the death-bed of his faithful, counsellor ; who, with his dying breath, recommended a Brahman named Tirumalaiyengar as the most able and honourable man to succeed him as minister.

These transactions bring us to 1687—the period when the Mughals, having captured Bijapur, were taking possession of the Carnatic provinces dependent on it, and forming the Province of Sira. The

agreement as to the sale at this time of Bangalore by Venkoji, or Ekoji, to the Mysore Raja for three lakhs of rupees; its seizure by Khasim Khan, the Mughal general, before the entry of the Mysore troops, and the conclusion of the bargain notwithstanding,—are related in the account of that district. Bangalore had now become a possession of the Mysore Raja, who assiduously cultivated an alliance with Aurangzeb through the general Khasim Khan, while at the same time extending his territories in directions that would not interfere with the Mughal operations.

Túmkúr was taken the same year; then, turning east by way of Hoskote, the Mysore army descended the Ghats and subdued a great part of Baramahal and Salem. Between 1690 and 1694, the territories were extended westwards, and all the districts up to the Baba Budan mountains, including Hassan, Banavar, Chikmagalur, and Vastara were taken from Bednur. And by a treaty concluded in 1694 with the chief of that state, all these conquests, except Aigur and Vastara, were retained by Mysore.

The project was next formed of invading the possessions of the Náyak of Madura, and Trichinopoly was besieged in 1696. But while the strength of the army was engaged before that fortress, a Mahratta force,—marching to the relief of S'enji, where Rama, the second son of Sivaji, had been long besieged by the Mughals under Zulfikar Khan,—attracted by the hope of plunder, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam. An express was at once sent to the daḷaváyi Kumáraiya directing him to return for the protection of the capital. But as he had made a vow not to appear before his Rája before he had taken Trichinopoly, he despatched his son Doḍḍaiya in command of a force, which came up by rapid marches, and, by means of a stratagem which seems often to have been resorted to by the Mysore troops,<sup>1</sup> inflicted a total defeat upon the enemy, in which the leaders were slain and the whole of the ordnance, baggage and military stores of every description captured.

<sup>1</sup> It was the practice of the Mysore army to perform their night marches by the light of numerous torches, and this was made the foundation of a stratagem effected in the following manner :—In the evening the daḷaváyi sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack; and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his force into the capital. This detachment was supplied with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen, which were arranged at proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each, in a situation where they could not be observed by the enemy. At an appointed signal, the torches were lighted and the oxen driven in the concerted direction, so as to indicate the march of the army attempting to force its way through the besiegers by an attack on the flank of their position. So soon as it was perceived that the enemy were making a disposition to receive the army of torches, Doḍḍaiya silently approached their rear, and obtained an easy but most sanguinary victory.





Next year, Khasim Khan, the friend of the Rájá at the court of Aurangzeb, died ; and Chikka Deva-Rájá resolved to send an embassy to the emperor for the purpose of establishing a fresh interest at court, and gaining if possible a recognition of his authority over the newly-conquered territories. The embassy, which set out in 1699, found the imperial court at Ahmednagar, and returned in 1700, bringing with it, as is alleged, a new signet from the emperor, bearing the title Jug Deo Raj,<sup>1</sup> and permission to sit on an ivory throne.<sup>2</sup>

The Rájá now formed various administrative departments, eighteen in number, in imitation of what his ambassadors had observed as the system pursued at the Mughal court. The revenues were realized with great regularity. It was the fixed practice of the Rájá not to break his fast every day until he had deposited two bags (thousands) of pagodas in the treasury of reserve funds from cash received from the districts. He had thus, by economy and victories, accumulated a treasure which obtained for him the designation of Navakóṭi Náráyāṇa, the lord of nine crores (of pagodas).

Chikka Deva-Rájá died in 1704, at the advanced age of 76, after a youth spent in exile, followed by an eventful reign of more than thirty-one years ; during which, amid the convulsions and revolutions which prevailed throughout the Dekhan and Carnatic, a secure and prosperous State had been established, extending from Palni and Anemalle in the south to Midagesi in the north, and from near Carnatic Ghur of the Baramahal in the east to the borders of Coorg and Balam in the west.

Kanṭhirava Rájá, the son of Chikka Deva-Rájá, was born deaf and dumb, and thence called Múk-arasu. But, through the influence of Tirumalaiyengar, he succeeded to the throne. During his reign the *dalaváyí* Kanṭhirava attempted to reduce Chik Ballapur, but lost his life in the enterprise. His son, Basava Rájá, appears to have continued the siege, and succeeded in levying tribute.

Doḍḍa Krishna-Rájá, son of the dumb king, next came to the throne. At this time a change was made in the government of Sira, whereby the jurisdiction of Sadat-ulla Khan, who had hitherto governed the whole of Carnatic Bijapur, was confined to the Payanghát, and he was called Navab of Arcot ; while a separate officer, Amin Khan, styled Navab of Sira, was appointed to the charge of the Bálaghát, situated on the tableland of Mysore. Sadat-ulla Khan, aware of the riches accumulated at Mysore, resented the removal of that State from his control, and formed a combination with the Pathan Navabs of

<sup>1</sup> Jagat Deva Rájá, the sovereign of the world.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this throne *see* Vol. II.



Kadapa, Karnul and Savanur, and the Mahratta chief of Gutti, to seize upon it. Amin Khan resolved to be beforehand, and marched against the Mysore army. But the allies came up with him, and they ultimately agreed to joint action, of which Sadat-ulla was to be the leader. The Mysore Rájá was glad to buy off this formidable confederacy, and Sadat-ulla received a crore of rupees. He accounted, however, for only 72 lakhs, which he divided in the proportion of 12 lakhs to each of the allies, pocketing the rest. This affair led to further exactions. Two years after, the Mahrattas appeared before Seringapatam and levied a contribution. In order to replenish these drains upon the treasury, an attack was made upon Kempe Gauḍa, the chief of Magadi, who was taken prisoner; and Sávan-durga, with the accumulated plunder of two hundred years, fell to Mysore.

The following estimate of the Rájá's character will show the direction in which matters were now tending :—

“Whatever portion of vigour or of wisdom appeared in the conduct of this reign belonged exclusively to the ministers, who secured their own authority by appearing with affected humility to study in all things the inclinations and wishes of the Rájá. Weak and capricious in his temper, he committed the most cruel excesses on the persons and property of those who approached him, and as quickly restored them to his favour. While no opposition was made to an establishment of almost incredible absurdity, amounting to a lac of rupees annually, for the maintenance of an almshouse to feed beasts of prey, reptiles, and insects; he believed himself to be an unlimited despot; and, while amply supplied with the means of sensual pleasure, to which he devoted the largest portion of his time, he thought himself the greatest and happiest of monarchs, without understanding, or caring to understand, during a reign of nineteen years, the troublesome details through which he was supplied with all that is necessary for animal gratification.”

Under these circumstances all power fell into the hands of the ministers, and they sought only to perpetuate their authority by placing pageant rajas on the throne. Cháma-Rájá, of the Hemanhalli family, was selected as a fit person to succeed the last rájá; while the three chief offices in the state, those of *daḷaváyí* or head of the army, *sarvādhikári* or head of finance and revenue, and *pradhána* or privy councillor, were held by Deva-Ráj, who was *daḷaváyí*, and Nanja-Ráj, his cousin, who combined in himself the other two offices. Cháma-Rájá managed to effect a revolution and displace these two; but they were imprudently left at large, while the new administration, by ill-advised measures of economy, became so unpopular that Deva-Ráj and Nanja-Ráj found means to recover their power. The Rájá

and his wife were seized and sent prisoners to Kabbál-durga, the deadly climate of which they did not long survive.

A younger brother of the deceased Rájá, named Venkat Arasu, was passed over as having too much talent to be subservient ; and a child of five years old, of a distant branch, was placed on the throne. He is known as Chikka Krishna-Rájá. The administration continued as before, except that Venkatapati was appointed to the office of pradhána, while Nanja-Ráj, as sarvádrikári, was the head of the government. He died after six years, refunding at the approach of death eight lakhs of rupees, which he estimated as the amount he had improperly acquired. He also left a warning against employing the person who was his actual successor, Nanja-Ráj, the younger brother of Deva-Ráj, and surnamed Karachúri.<sup>1</sup>

The Navabs of Arcot continued to eye with jealousy the rights of the Navabs of Sira to receive tribute from the rich State of Mysore. The weakness of Tahir Khan, now in power at Sira, led Dost Ali Khan, the governor at Arcot, to despatch a powerful and well-appointed army to exact from Seringapatam the largest contribution that had ever been obtained from it. Deva-Ráj, though no longer young, advanced to meet this invasion. The chiefs on both sides were reconnoitring at Kailancha on the Arkavati, a few miles east of Channapatna, when the two Musalman chiefs, not heeding, came too far. Deva-Ráj skilfully cut off their retreat, and falling upon them with his party, they were both slain after a brave resistance. Deva-Ráj followed up the blow, and attacked the Musalman camp with his whole army. They were completely surprised and overthrown, fleeing in confusion below the Ghats, while the victor returned in triumph to Seringapatam.

In 1746 Nanja-Ráj commanded an expedition into the Coimbatore country against the palegar of Dharapuram ; Deva-Ráj, the *dalaváyi*, taking charge of the revenue and finances. During the absence of the army, Nasir Jang, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, now Subadar of the Dekhan, marched towards the capital by order of his father to levy a contribution. A deputation was sent forth to meet him, tendering allegiance ; and while the negotiations were going on, Nasir Jang, encamped at Tonnur, amused himself on the large tank, to which he gave the name of Moti Talab, which it still retains.

Nanja-Ráj having returned successful from the south, his daughter was married to the nominal Rájá, as the first step to other ambitious projects. But in 1749 was undertaken the siege of Devanhalli, in which obscure service an unknown volunteer horseman joined, who was destined before long to gain the supreme power of the state and to play

*Kara*, hand, *chúri*, dagger ; equivalent to the English expression "a word and a blow."



no mean part in the history of India. This was Haidar, who, in a private capacity, had accompanied his elder brother Shabaz, the commander of a small body of horse and foot in the Mysore army. The siege of Devanhalli was prolonged for nine months, after which the palegar was allowed to retire to his relation at Chik Ballapur. Haidar's coolness and courage during the hostilities attracted the notice of Nanja-Ráj, who gave him the command of fifty horse and 200 foot, with orders to recruit and augment his corps; and also appointed him to the charge of one of the gates of Devanhalli, then a frontier fortress of Mysore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Haidar was the great-grandson of Muhammad Bhelol, an emigrant from the Panjab, who had settled in a religious capacity at Aland, in Kalburga district. His sons Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Wali married at Kalburga, and then coming to Sira, obtained employment as customs peons. Before long they removed to Kolar, where the elder died; upon which the other seized all the domestic property and turned his brother's wife and son out of doors. A Náyak of peons at Kolar took them in, and when Fatte Muhammad, the son, was old enough, made him a peon. At the siege of Ganjikota, on the troops being repulsed in a general assault, the young man distinguished himself by seizing a standard and planting it once more on the breach, which rallied the assailants and thus carried the day. For this exploit the Subadar of Sira made him a Náyak, and he continued to rise. But on a change of Subadars, finding himself not in favour, he repaired to Arcot with fifty horse and 1,400 peons; and, on failing to obtain service from the Nabob on the conditions he demanded, entered the service of the Faujdar of Chittur. The latter was soon recalled to court, on which Fatte Náyak returned to Mysore and was appointed Faujdar of Kolar, with Budikote as a jágir, and the title of Fatte Muhammad Khan. At Budikote were born Shabaz and his brother Haidar, the latter in 1722. They were the sons by a third wife. For Fatte Muhammad, after three sons were born to them, had lost his first wife at Kolar, to which place she belonged, and on whose death he began the erection of the mausoleum there. His second wife was the daughter of a Nevayet who, in travelling from the Konkan to Arcot, had been robbed and murdered at Tarikere. The wife, with a son Ibrahim, and two daughters, escaping, had begged their way as far as Kolar, where Fatte Náyak proposed to marry the elder and was accepted. She, however, died without issue, and he then took to himself her younger sister, who became the mother of Haidar.

Fatte Muhammad and the eldest son by the first wife were killed in 1729, in a battle between his patron, Abdul Rasul Khan of Dod Ballapur, Subadar of Sira, and Tahir Khan, the Faujdar of Chittur, under whom he had formerly served, who now sought to gain possession of Sira as Subadar. The bodies of the slain father and son were conveyed to Kolar, and buried in the mausoleum. Meanwhile, the family of Fatte Muhammad had been confined in Dod Ballapur as hostages for his fidelity, in accordance with the usual practice of those times. Abdul Rasul had also fallen in battle, and Abbas Khuli Khan, his son, being left in possession of the Dod Ballapur jágir on resigning all claim to Sira, now proceeded to plunder the families thus placed in his power. Shabaz and Haidar, the former about nine and the latter seven years of age, were tortured for payment of a pretended balance due from their father. When suffered to depart, the mother with her children went to Bangalore, and found shelter with her brother, Ibrahim Sahib, who commanded some peons under the Killedar. Shabaz, when old enough, obtained a subordinate command, and rose to the position in which he appears before Devanhalli.

An order soon arrived from Nasir Jang as Subadar of the Dekhan for the Mysore troops to attend him in an expedition against Arcot. A force, which included Haidar and his brother, was accordingly sent under Berki Venkata Rao, and joined the main army at Madgiri. It is unnecessary to follow the fortunes of the several claimants to the Navabship of the Carnatic, with the rival struggles of the English and the French in support of one or other. Suffice it to say that when Nasir Jang was treacherously killed and his camp broken up, Haidar took advantage of the confusion and managed to secure two camel loads of gold coins, which were safely despatched to Devanhalli, as well as about 300 horses and 500 muskets, picked up at various times. The Mysore troops shortly after returned to their own country.

In 1751 Muhammad Ali, the English candidate at Trichinopoly, opposed to Chanda Sahib, the French candidate at Arcot, sent an ambassador named Seshagiri Pandit to Mysore for assistance. The *dalaváyí* Deva-Ráj was adverse to engaging in the enterprise; but his younger brother Nanja-Ráj was tempted by an extravagant promise of the cession of Trichinopoly and all its possessions down to Cape Comorin, to lend the acquired assistance, and agreed to make provision for Muhammad Ali in giving him Hardanhalli, at the head of the pass to Trichinopoly, as a *jágir*.

About the time of Clive's celebrated siege and subsequent defence of Arcot, a Mysore army, consisting of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, marched from Seringapatam under the command of Nanja-Ráj. The only regular troops in the force were a small body in the corps of Haidar Náyak, armed with the muskets before mentioned. The army had borne no part in warfare, when the desertion and murder of Chanda Sahib occurred. His head, however, was sent as a trophy to Seringapatam, and hung up over the Mysore gate. The war seemed now to be at an end, and Nanja-Ráj claimed Trichinopoly. Muhammad Ali, unable any longer to conceal from the English the illegally formed agreement, declared that he had never intended to observe the compact. At the same time he endeavoured to deceive Nanja-Ráj with fresh promises that he would deliver up the place in two months, and gave up to him the revenues of the island of Seringham and the adjacent districts. Nanja-Ráj occupied the island, intercepted the supplies from Trichinopoly, intrigued with the French, and tried to gain the fort by treachery. Though powerfully assisted by the French, all attempts on the place were frustrated by the skilful measures of Major Lawrence. Nanja-Ráj then endeavoured to enter into a treaty with the English, but this came to nothing. Meanwhile news arrived of a serious danger threatening at home, and Nanja-Ráj returned to Mysore in 1755 at the

summons of his brother, having nearly exhausted the treasury in the expenses of this unprofitable war, added to a subsidy paid during most of the time to his Mahratta ally Morari Rao, and a loan of ten lakhs of pagodas to Muhammad Ali, which was never repaid.

The danger which called for the return of the troops under Nanja-Ráj was the approach of Salabat Jang, Subadar of the Dekhan, with a powerful French force under M. Bussy, to demand arrears of tribute. Deva-Ráj had no money to meet this demand and the enemy therefore invested Seringapatam. Matters were brought to a crisis before Nanja-Ráj, though hastening with forced marches, could arrive. Deva-Ráj was therefore driven to compromise for a payment of fifty-six lakhs of rupees. To raise this sum "the whole of the plate and jewels belonging to the Hindu temples in the town were put into requisition, together with the jewels and precious metals constituting the immediate property or personal ornaments of the Rájá and his family : but the total sum which could thus be realized amounted to no more than one-third of what was stipulated. For the remainder Deva-Ráj prevailed on the *soucars*, or bankers, of the capital to give security, and to deliver as hostages their principal *gumástas* or confidential agents : but as he was never afterwards enabled to satisfy the *soucars*, they left the *gumástas* to their fate, and of the two-thirds for which security was given not one rupee was ever realized. Of the unhappy hostages, some died in prison, others escaped, and after a period the remainder were released." On hearing of this transaction, Nanja-Ráj halted, and discharged one-third of his army ; not without great difficulty in paying their arrears.

Haidar, who had continued to advance in favour during the operations before Trichinopoly, was now appointed Faujdar of Dindigal. He had enlisted a considerable body of Bedar peons and of Pindari horsemen, and with the aid of Khande Rao, a Brahman *mutsaddi*, organized a perfect system of plunder, the profits of which were divided between Haidar and the plunderers.

"Moveable property of every description was their object ; and they did not hesitate to acquire it by simple theft from friends, when that could be done without suspicion and with more convenience than from enemies. Nothing was unseasonable or unacceptable ; from convoys of grain, down to the clothes, turbans, and ear-rings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Cattle and sheep were among the most profitable heads of plunder : muskets and horses were sometimes obtained in booty, sometimes by purchase. The numbers under his command increased with his resources ; and before he left Trichinopoly, besides the usual appendages of a chief of rank, in elephants, camels, tents, and magnificent appointments, he was rated on the returns and received pay for one thousand five hundred

horses, three thousand regular infantry, two thousand peons, and four guns, with their equipments."

Haidar proceeded with a considerable force to the south to take charge of his district, while Khande Rao was left at the capital to protect his interests. By a great variety of fictitious charges, Haidar managed to accumulate a large treasure, and, with the aid of skilled artificers under French masters, began to organize a regular artillery, arsenal and laboratory.

In 1756 the young Rájá, now twenty-seven years of age, becoming impatient of his position, was led into a plot for confining the ministers and taking the power into his own hands. The plot was discovered, and Deva-Ráj counselled mild measures. But Nanja-Ráj stormed the palace, forced the Rájá to take his seat on the throne, and then cut off the noses and ears of his partisans before his face. This disgusting affair, and the contempt of his counsel, led Deva-Ráj to retire from the capital. Accompanied by his family and a large body of adherents, he descended the Gajalhatti pass in February 1757, and fixed his residence at Satyamangala. To meet his expenses he revoked the assignments made to Haidar, whom, therefore, Khande Rao advised to come to Seringapatam at once. Before he arrived, however, the Mahrattas under Balaji Rao appeared, demanding a contribution. Nanja-Ráj in vain represented his absolute inability. Seringapatam was besieged, and the operations being directed by Europeans, was soon reduced to extremity. Nanja-Ráj was forced to compromise for thirty-two lakhs of rupees, but as all the cash and jewels he could muster amounted to no more than five lakhs, a large tract of country was surrendered in pledge,<sup>1</sup> and the Mahrattas departed, leaving agents for the collection of revenue, and six thousand horse, in the pledged districts. On Haidar's arrival he expressed his regret that his troops had not been ordered up from Dindigal, advised that the revenue should be withheld from the Mahrattas, and their troops expelled at the beginning of the rains, which would prevent an invasion for that season. This was accordingly done. Haidar then waited on Deva-Ráj, and it was arranged between them that the resumed revenues should be restored to Haidar, with soucar security for three lakhs, in exchange for a military contribution of twelve lakhs to Haidar for assistance rendered to the Nair Rájá of Palghat, which Hari Singh, a brave Rajput adherent of Deva-Ráj and Haidar's rival in the Mysore army, was deputed to collect. Haidar now returned to Dindigal and planned the conquest of Madura, which did

<sup>1</sup> The districts pledged were Nagamangala, Bellur, Kikkeri, Chanraypatna, Kadur, Banavar, Harnhalli, Honvalli, Turivekere, Kandikere, Chiknáyakanhalli, Kadaba, Kallur, and Huliurdurga.

not succeed ; and he shortly returned to Seringapatam, where his presence was urgently required.

The troops, whose pay had long fallen into arrears, had mutinied and sat in *dharna* at the gate of the minister. Nanja-Ráj sold the provisions in store, but the proceeds fell far short of the demand. Haidar, hearing of the state of affairs, hastened to Satyamangala and prevailed on the old chief Deva-Ráj, then very ill, to return to the capital and unite with his brother in restoring order at this critical juncture. But Nanja-Ráj was required first to make atonement to the Rája for his former outrage. This done, he went forth with a great procession to meet Deva-Ráj and conduct him from Mysore to the capital. Here Deva-Ráj died, six days after his arrival, probably from dropsy, though suspicion naturally fell on Nanja-Ráj.

Nanja-Ráj, disgusted with the task of liquidating the arrears due to the troops, now requested Haidar and Khande Rao to undertake it. This they did after a strict scrutiny of the demands, which their consummate skill in such matters enabled them to rid of all excessive and false charges ; and the claims were finally settled by distribution of all the available state property, down to the Rája's elephants and horses. At the same time Haidar's own troops were placed as guards of the fort ; and as soon as the mutineers, having been paid and discharged, had left the capital, the most wealthy chiefs in the army were seized and all their property confiscated as ringleaders in the mutiny.

Hari Singh, who had been sent to receive the tribute due from Malabar, found himself unable to realize any of it, and on hearing of the death of his patron Deva-Ráj, was marching back, when Haidar, to get rid of his rival, under pretence of sending back troops to Dindigal, despatched a force which fell upon Hari Singh at night while encamped at Avanashi, and massacred him as a mutineer with the greater part of his followers. Haidar presented three guns and fifteen horses to the Rája, and kept the rest of the plunder. At the same time, in lieu of the soucar security which Deva-Ráj had given him, an assignment was granted on the revenues of Coimbatore, and the fort and district of Bangalore were conferred on him as a personal *jágir*.

The Mahrattas, whose troops had been expelled as before stated, now returned, early in 1759, in great force, under Gopal Hari ; and re-occupying all the pledged districts, suddenly appeared before Bangalore, which they invested, and at the same time sent a detachment which surprised Channapatna. Haidar was appointed to the chief command of the army to oppose this invasion. He stationed one detachment at Malvalli, under his maternal uncle Mir Ibrahim, and another at Maddur under Latf Ali Beg. The latter, by feigning fear of attack, drew out the

Mahrattas from Channapatna, and then surprised and took it by escalade. Haidar now concentrated his forces near Channapatna, and Gopal Hari, raising the blockade of Bangalore, marched to meet him with a superior force. After three months of various warfare, Gopal Hari, finding himself straitened by the activity of his opponent, proposed a negotiation. It was arranged that the Mahrattas should relinquish all claim to the districts formerly pledged, and that Mysore should pay thirty-two lakhs in discharge of all demands, past and present. To raise the money a *nazarána* or gift was levied from all the principal public servants and wealthy inhabitants, but Khande Rao could obtain only sixteen lakhs from this source. The Mahratta soucars, however, made themselves responsible for the rest on the personal security of Haidar, on the understanding that he should have the management of the restored districts in order to realize the amount.

The Mahrattas now withdrew to their own country, and Haidar returned in triumph to Seringapatam, where he was received by the Rájá in the most splendid durbar since the time of Chikka Deva-Rájá. He was saluted with the title of *Fatte Haidar Bahádúr*, and Nanja-Ráj on his approach rose up to receive him and embraced him.

Before long the pay of the troops again fell into arrears, and Haidar was again the medium of satisfying their demands. This he was commissioned to do by the Rájá on condition that he renounced Nanja-Ráj; and the fresh assignments made to enable him to meet the demand placed in his hands more than half the possessions of the kingdom. Khande Rao was made *pradhána*, and on Nanja-Ráj was settled a *jágir* of three lakhs of pagodas, with a stipulation that he should maintain 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot without personal service. Nanja-Ráj, who had been the virtual ruler of Mysore for nearly twenty years, yielded to necessity, and departed from the capital in June, 1759, with all his family and adherents. He lingered, however, at Mysore, under pretence of visiting the temple at Nanjangud, until it became necessary for Haidar to regularly besiege the place and force him to retire. His *jágir* was in consequence reduced to one lakh, and he was required to fix his residence at Konanur in the west. His daughter, married to the Rájá, died soon after. Haidar now received a further assignment of four districts for the expenses of this siege, though the grant was opposed even by Khande Rao.

A French emissary, styling himself the Bishop of Halicarnassus, shortly arrived with proposals to Haidar to join them in expelling the English from Arcot. The terms of a treaty for the purpose were concluded with Lally at Pondicherry on the 4th of June, 1760. Haidar was to furnish 3,000 select horse and 5,000 sepoy, with artillery, to be

paid by the French ; and on a favourable conclusion of the war Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely were to be ceded to Mysore. In order to clear the way from Seringapatam to Arcot, the district of Báramahál,<sup>1</sup> though in the possession of the Navab of Kadapa, was taken possession of by Haidar, as well as Anekal, from the palegar of that place ; while the French yielded up the fort of Tyágar as a point of communication. The Mysorean troops, commanded by Makhdum Ali, on descending the ghats, gained one easy and unexpected victory at Trivadi on the 17th of July. But the ambitious prospects which this opened up were swiftly blighted by the imminent jeopardy in which Haidar in a moment was placed.

The royal party at Seringapatam found that an exchange of Haidar for Nanja Raj had left them in the same dependent condition as before, and a plot was formed by the old dowager and Khande Rao for getting rid of one whose recent encroachments tended to a complete usurpation of the government. A favourable opportunity seemed now to offer. A large portion of Haidar's troops were absent at Arcot ; the remainder were encamped on the north of the river, which was too full to ford ; while Haidar himself with a small guard occupied an exposed position under the guns of the fort. Negotiations were opened with a Mahratta force under Visaji Pandit, which was ravaging the country between Ballapur and Devanhalli, and the services obtained of 6,000 horse to reach Seringapatam by the 12th of August. On the morning of that day the fort gates were not opened as usual, and Haidar was roused up by a tremendous cannonade upon his position at the Mahánavami mantapa—the site of the present Darya Daulat. In amazement he sent for Khande Rao, and was informed that he it was who was directing the fire. He saw at once the extent of the treachery, and sheltering his family<sup>2</sup> and followers as well as possible, promptly secured all the boats (*harigólu*) on the river. The Mahrattas, as usual, not having arrived, Khande Rao could not attack, and the day passed in negotiations. The result was that the landing-place on the northern bank was left unguarded, and Haidar escaped that night across the river with a few tried followers, bearing what money and jewels they could carry, but forced to leave behind his wife with his eldest son Tipu, nine years of age, and all his foot-guards. The family were removed to the fort and kindly treated by Khande Rao.

Haidar fled north-east and arrived before daylight at Anekal,

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the twelve districts, and so called after twelve hill forts, viz., Krishna-giri, Tripatur, Vaniambadi, Jagadeva-gaḍa, Kavila-gaḍa, Maharáj-gaḍa, Bhujanga-gaḍa, Katara-gaḍa, Gagana-gaḍa, Sudarshana-gaḍa, Tatukal, and Ráyakōṭa.

<sup>2</sup> In the fright his wife was prematurely delivered of a son, Karim.

commanded by his brother-in-law Ismail Ali, having ridden seventy-five miles on one horse. Ismail Ali was at once despatched to see how matters stood at Bangalore. He had scarcely arrived there before Khande Rao's orders to seize the kiledar were received. But it was too late. Kabir Beg, an old friend of Haidar's, was faithful to him. The Hindu soldiers were excluded and the fort gates shut. Haidar, on receiving the news, at once set out and reached Bangalore the same evening.

His position was indeed desperate. "He was now left, as it were, to begin the world again on the resources of his own mind. The bulk of his treasures and his train of artillery and military stores all lost: the territorial revenue at the command of Khande Rao: and the only possessions on which he could rest any hope for the restoration of his affairs were—Bangalore at the northern, and Dindigal at the southern extremity of the territories of Mysore, with Anekal and the fortresses of Báramahál. The sole foundation of a new army was the corps of Makhdum Ali; and its junction was nearly a desperate hope. He had, however, despatched from Anekal positive orders for them to commence their march without an hour's delay; withdrawing altogether the garrison of Tyagar, and every man that could be spared from the posts of Báramahál." He obtained a loan of four lakhs on his personal security from the saukars of Bangalore and was joined by a few adherents. Among others, a Muhammadan of rank, Fazal-ulla Khan, son of the late Navab of Sira, offered him his services. All hope now rested on the corps of Makhdum Ali; against whom Khande Rao had sent the Mahrattas and the best of his troops, and reduced him to great extremities.

A most unexpected turn in events saved Haidar from apparent destruction. Visaji Pandit was found ready to negotiate, and agreed to depart on the cession of Báramahál and a payment of three lakhs of rupees. The money was at once paid, and the Mahrattas marched off. Makhdum Ali, relieved from his critical blockade, proceeded to Bangalore. The explanation of the haste of the Mahratta retreat, which had excited Haidar's suspicion, now appeared. News had secretly been received of the crushing defeat of the Mahrattas by the Abdalis on the memorable field of Panipat, and all their forces were ordered to concentrate. Haidar, who had delayed giving up Báramahál, therefore retained it. He detached Makhdum Ali to secure the revenues of Coimbatore and Salem; and proceeded in person, accompanied by a French contingent, against Khande Rao, to whom place after place was yielding. He crossed the Kávéri below Sosile, and the two armies met near Nanjangud. Haidar's force being inferior in point of numbers, he endeavoured to avoid an action while waiting for reinforcements. But



Khande Rao forced on a battle, and compelling Haidar's infantry to change its front, charged it while performing that evolution. Haidar was severely defeated and retired to Hardanhalli.

"Nothing but a confidence in powers of simulation altogether unrivalled could have suggested to Haidar the step which he next pursued. With a select body of two hundred horse, including about seventy French hussars under M. Hugel, he made a circuitous march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed, and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nanja-Ráj at Konanur, and being admitted, threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nanja-Ráj, entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nanja-Ráj was completely deceived; and with his remaining household troops, which during the present troubles he had augmented to two thousand horse and about an equal number of indifferent infantry, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Haidar the advantages of his name and influence, announcing in letters despatched in every direction his determination to exercise the office of *sarvādhikāri*, which he still nominally retained, with Haidar as his *daḷavāyi*."

Khande Rao now manœuvred to prevent the junction of Haidar with his army, and had arrived at Kaṭṭe Maḷalvāḍi. The destruction of Haidar and his new friends appeared to be inevitable, when his talent for deception again released him from the danger. He fabricated letters, in the name and with the seal of Nanja-Ráj, to the principal officers of Khande Rao's army, to deliver him up in accordance with an imaginary previous compact. It was arranged that these letters should fall into the hands of Khande Rao, who, thinking himself betrayed, mounted his horse and fled in haste to Seringapatam. His forces became in consequence disorganized, when Haidar fell upon and routed them, capturing all the infantry, guns, stores and baggage. He next descended the Ghats, took all the forts that had declared for Khande Rao, and by the month of May returned to the south of Seringapatam with a large force. Here for several days he pretended to be engaged in negotiating, and every evening made a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river, and surprising Khande Rao's forces, completely routed them and encamped on the island.

He now sent a message to the trembling Rája, demanding the surrender of Khande Rao as being his servant, and the liquidation of

arrears due, which were designedly enhanced ; offering at the same time to relinquish the service when the conditions were complied with. He however expounded his real views to the officers of state, and they, working upon the fears of the helpless Rájá, prevailed upon him to resign the entire management of the country into the hands of the conqueror, reserving only districts yielding three lakhs of pagodas for himself and one lakh for Nanja-Ráj. Khande Rao was delivered up, Haidar having promised to spare his life and take care of him as a parrot, an expression used to denote kind treatment. It was however fulfilled to the letter, by confining him in an iron cage and giving him rice and milk for his food, in which condition he ended his days.

Haidar's usurpation was by this time complete ; but he entered on the government of the country, in June 1761, with a studied show of reluctance and the form of a mock submission to the wishes of the Rájá. After two months, having placed Seringapatam under the command of his brother-in-law Makhdum Ali, he proceeded to Bangalore. Basálat Jang, a brother of the Subadar of the Dekhan, and therefore one of the claimants to that dignity, was at this time in possession of Adoni and meditated establishing his own pretensions. The south was the direction in which he could with least opposition extend his territory. He accordingly, in June 1761, planned to reduce Sira, then in the hands of the Mahrattas, but found it would require too long a siege. He therefore marched to Hoskote, which also defied his efforts. Negotiations were soon opened between Haidar and Basálat Jang ; and the latter, in return for a gift of three lakhs of rupees, invested Haidar with the office of Navab of Sira, styling him in the deeds of investiture Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur.<sup>1</sup>

Haidar now united his army to that of Basálat Jang and captured Hoskote. Dod Ballapur was next taken,<sup>2</sup> and lastly Sira. Here Basálat Jang left Haidar, being called to the north by the hostile movements of his brother Nizam Ali, now Subadar of the Dekhan. Haidar returned and attacked Chik Ballapur. Morari Rao of Gutti, advancing to its relief, was defeated, and the place fell after a most obstinate defence, the palegar taking refuge on Nandi-durga. Kodikonda, Penugonda and Madaksira, possessions of Morari Rao, were next taken ; and returning to Sira, Haidar received the submission of the palegars of Raydurga and Harpanhalli, and forced that of the palegar of Chitaldroog. The latter introduced to him a pretender to

<sup>1</sup> He also offered him the title of *Jang*, but Haidar, who could not pronounce it better than *Zang*, fancied it contained some covert sneer, and so declined it in favour of Fazal-ulla, who thus became Haibat Jang.

<sup>2</sup> Abbas Khuli Khan, to whom he owed a deep revenge (*see* p. 372), abandoned his family and fled to Madras. But Haidar treated the family with great generosity.

the throne of Bednur, as related in the history of the Chitaldroog district, and the invasion of Bednur was planned. He entered the province at the end of January, 1763, and at Kumsi found the late Rája's prime minister, who had been long imprisoned at this place. From him every information was obtained as to the approaches and resources of the capital, in consequence of which Haidar, rejecting all the offers of money made to buy him off, pressed on. The Rani and her paramour fled, followed by the inhabitants *en masse*, who took shelter in the woods. Haidar, the instant of his arrival at the barrier, in March, ordered a noisy but feigned attack to be made on the posts in his front, while he himself, at the head of a select column, entered the city by a private path pointed out by the minister. The flames of the palace were extinguished and a seal placed on the doors of all but the poorest of the deserted dwellings. A booty was thus secured which has been valued at twelve millions sterling. Detachments were despatched to the coast and in pursuit of the Rani. The former took possession of the fortified island of Basavaraj-durga, as well as of Honavar and Mangalore. The latter took the Rani prisoner at Ballálráyan-durga. She, with her paramour, her adopted son, the nominal Rája, and even the pretender whose cause Haidar had ostensibly espoused, were all alike sent to a common imprisonment at Madgiri.

This important conquest was ever spoken of by Haidar Ali as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness. He designed to make Bednur his capital, and gave it the name of Haidar-nagar. His family was removed thither, and the building commenced of a splendid palace (never finished). He also established a mint and struck coins—known as Haidari and Bahaduri pagodas—in his own name. A dockyard and naval arsenal were further formed on the western coast for the construction of ships of war.

The former officials of Bednur had been, to a great extent, retained in their offices, and when Haidar Ali, having contracted the usual Malnad fever, was unable to attend to business, they formed a conspiracy for assassinating him and recovering the capital. But it was discovered. The commissioners appointed to investigate it were found to be involved, and instantly hanged in his presence. Three hundred conspirators suffered the same fate before the day ended. All opposition was thus effectually crushed.

The hill country of Sunda was subdued in December. Meanwhile Reza Ali Khan, son of Chanda Sahib, and the French candidate for the Návabship of the Carnatic, who, escaping from Pondicherry on its capture by the English in 1761, had been living since in Ceylon, landed

in Kanara and claimed protection from Haidar. He was received with distinction, and presented with a *jágir* of a lakh of rupees. By his advice many changes were introduced into the army. The infantry were for the first time dressed in a uniform manner, and classed into *arwal*, first, and *duyam*, second; the former composed of tried and veteran troops with superior pay. The etiquette and ceremonials of the court were also regulated, and a greater show of splendour assumed in retinue and personal surroundings.

Haidar now bethought himself of appeasing the Mahrattas and the Nizam, the former for the seizure of Sira, the latter for accepting the title of Navab from his brother. Embassies with gifts were accordingly sent to either court. At Haidarabad the object was attained, but the Mahrattas could not be reconciled, and Haidar resolved to anticipate an invasion. Savanur was conquered, and the Mysore frontier advanced nearly to the Krishna, when Gopal Rao, the Mahratta chief of Miraj, was ordered to check further progress, but he was defeated. Madhava Rao, the Peshva, now crossed the Krishna with an immense army, and Haidar sustained a damaging defeat at Rattihalli, with severe loss of the flower of his army. He fell back to Anavatti, where also the Mahrattas were victorious, and Haidar, with fifty cavalry, barely escaped by the fleetness of their horses. The Mahrattas retook all the recent conquests to the north; and Haidar, driven back into Bednur with the most hopeless prospects, sent off his family and treasure with all speed to Seringapatam. At length negotiations were opened, and the Mahrattas retired in February, 1765, on the restoration of all places taken from Morari Rao of Gutti and Abdul Hakim Khan of Savanur, and the payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees. Sira was left in Haidar's hands.

During this unfavourable aspect of his affairs to the west, all his recent acquisitions to the east were in a flame of rebellion. His brother-in-law, Mir Ali Reza, was sent thither, and restored his authority. The palegar of Chik Ballapur, being starved out on Nandi-durga, was forced to surrender, and sent a prisoner, with his family, first to Bangalore and then to Coimbatore.

The conquest of Malabar was next undertaken, on information derived from Ali Rája, the Mapilla ruler of Cannamore, who thought with help from Haidar to extend his own power. A force was left at Basvapatna for the security of the north, and with all disposable troops Haidar descended into Kanara early in 1766. The Nairs were subdued with difficulty, owing to the wooded nature of the country. The northern states being conquered, the Zamorin of Calicut came forward and made his submission. Haidar suspected treachery, and, while concluding an

agreement to reinstate him on payment of four lakhs of Venetian sequins, secretly sent a force to seize Calicut. The Zamorin was perplexed and delayed payment, on which he was confined to his palace and his ministers tortured. Fearing the same fate, he set fire to the building and perished with all his family. Leaving a force at Calicut, Haidar moved on to Coimbatore, receiving the submission of the Rájas of Cochin and Palghat on the way. In three months the Nairs rebelled. Haidar returned to put them down, and adopted the expedient of deporting vast numbers to the less populous parts of Mysore. But the usual consequence to which the natives of Malabar are subject followed from the change of climate, and of 15,000 who were removed not 200 survived. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and the erection commenced of a fort at Palghat as a point of communication with the country.

During these operations the pageant rája, Chikka Krishna-Rája, had died, and Haidar had sent instructions to instal his eldest son, Nanja-Ráj, then eighteen years of age, in his place. On arriving at the capital in 1767, he discovered that this youth was not likely to acquiesce in his subservient position. Haidar immediately resumed the three lakhs of pagodas allowed for the Rája, plundered the palace of every article of value except the ornaments the women actually had on their persons at the time, and placed his own guards over the place.

Intelligence meanwhile arrived that the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali had planned a joint invasion of Mysore. The Mahrattas first appeared, under Madhava Rao, and Haidar in vain endeavoured to stop their progress by cutting the embankments of the tanks, poisoning the water in the wells, burning the forage, and driving off all the villagers and cattle on their route. The Mahrattas arrived at Raydurga and marched down the bed of the Haggari to Sira. Here Mir Sahib, Haidar's brother-in-law, betrayed his trust, and gave it up in return for Guram-konda, the possession of his ancestors. Haidar now made strenuous efforts to treat with the Mahrattas, who had overrun all the east, before Nizam Ali should join them. At length, by the address of Appaji Ram, a witty and skilful negotiator, the Mahrattas agreed to retire on payment of 35 lakhs of rupees, half to be paid on the spot, and Kolar to be retained in pledge for the rest. On Nizam Ali's arrival soon after, Haidar persuaded him into an alliance with himself against the English. Meanwhile, discovering that Nanja-Ráj, the old minister, was intriguing with the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali, he induced him by a false oath of security to come to Seringapatam, on the plea that his advice was needed in the critical state of the country, and then made him prisoner, reducing his allowances to the bare necessities of life.

Nizam Ali deceived the English, with whom he was allied, up to the

last moment, but on the 25th of August, 1767, the forces of Mysore and Haidarabad descended the Ghats and attacked Colonel Smith, who, though at first taken by surprise, completely defeated them at Trinomali on the 26th September. Tipu, then seventeen, had, under guidance of Ghazi Khan, his military preceptor, penetrated with a body of horse to the very precincts of Madras, when, hearing the result of the battle of Trinomali, he retired with precipitation to join his father. Mutual recriminations ensued between Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali, and nothing was done for a month. The former then seized upon Tripatur and Vaniambadi, but signally failed in an attack on the hill fort of Ambur. In the hope of closing the campaign with a brilliant exploit, he went in person against an English detachment escorting supplies, but was repulsed, his horse being shot under him and his turban pierced by a bullet. Leaving some cavalry to watch the English, the confederates retired in disappointment above the Ghats with all their forces at the end of the year.

On the side of the English, a force operating from the Northern Sirkars soon penetrated to Orangal. The Nizam was therefore glad to conclude a treaty with them, resigning all claims to Mysore, and, separating from Haidar Ali, returned to his capital. Haidar also made overtures, but without success. Meanwhile a fleet was fitting out at Bombay for capturing the Mysorean ports on the western coast, and the chiefs of Malabar were prepared to rebel. Haidar, leaving Fazal Ulla Khan at Bangalore, marched with all haste to the west and retook Mangalore, Honavar, and Basavaraj-durga, which had fallen to the English. He then visited Bednur, and levied heavy fines on all the landholders for furnishing supplies to his enemies. He also obtained large contributions from the chiefs of Malabar in consideration of recognizing their independence, which, however, they never attained.

The English forces in the east were in two detachments. One secured all the fortified places in Salem, Erode, Coimbatore, and Dindigal; while the other, after losing much time in the capture of Krishnagiri, had ascended the Ghats, taken Mulbagal, Kolar, and Hosur, and was awaiting, burdened with the care of Muhammad Ali, the junction of the two at Hoskote. Here a corps under Morari Rao joined it, on the same day that Haidar Ali arrived at Bangalore. He made a desperate attempt to surprise the camp of Morari Rao, but failed. Then, sending off his family and treasure to Sávan-durga, he set off on one of those extraordinary diversions which seemed always to occur to him when his affairs were most critical. He passed rapidly by a circuitous route, east and then north, to Gurainkonda, with the view of inducing Mir Sahib to return to his allegiance. This unlikely object

was actually attained, and Haidar, reinforced, returned towards Kolar, and opened negotiations. But his offer of Báramahál and ten lakhs of rupees fell far short of the demands of the English and of Muhammad Ali, and came to nothing.

Haidar had meanwhile despatched Fazal Ulla Khan to Seringapatam, whence he descended the Gajalhatti pass with a field force for the recovery of the districts in the south. He himself, after some indecisive engagements, suddenly descended into the Báramahál, and, giving out that he had defeated the English, passed on to Coimbatore, gaining possession of the fortified places on the route. The garrisons of Erod and Kaveripuram held out, but, induced to surrender on a promise of safety, were marched off as prisoners to Seringapatam. Fazal Ulla Khan invaded Madura and Tinnivelly, while Haidar, levying four lakhs of rupees from the Rája of Tanjore, moved by rapid marches towards Cuddalore. Negotiations were again opened, Haidar's first condition being that he would treat only with the English and not with Muhammad Ali. But the terms could not be agreed on, and hostilities continued. Haidar, who knew that the Mahrattas were preparing for another invasion of Mysore, now secretly sent off the whole body of his army to reascend the Ghats, while he himself, with 6,000 chosen horse, marched 140 miles in three days and a half, and appeared at the gates of Madras. He had come to make peace in person with the English. A treaty was thus concluded on the 29th March, 1769, on the moderate conditions of mutual restitution of conquered districts, an exchange of prisoners, and reciprocal assistance in purely defensive war. Thus ended what is known in the annals of British India as the first Mysore war. Haidar returned leisurely to Kolar and then to Bangalore.<sup>1</sup>

He was soon again in the field, in order to acquire the means to meet the meditated Mahratta invasion. When he had allied himself with Nizam Ali, it was secretly stipulated that Kadapa, Karnul, and other places up to the Tungabhadra, should be transferred to the control of Mysore. He resolved now to enforce this agreement, and, moving north-east, levied contributions on the Pathan navabs of Kadapa and Karnul, and the pategars of the neighbourhood. He, however, feigned friendship for Morari Rao, and was repulsed in an attempt on Bellary. But, unable to meet the superior forces of the Mahrattas, now (1770) in full march on his capital, he gradually retired before them, laying waste the whole country to prevent their advance, and placing a detach-

<sup>1</sup> When Haidar appeared before Madras, so terrified was Abbas Khuli Khan of Dod Ballapur, who had taken refuge here (*see* page 381), that he embarked in a crazy vessel, and dared not land until the Mysore army had returned above the Ghats.

ment at Bednur, under Tipu, to cut off their supplies and harass them in the rear. Negotiations being opened, Madhava Rao demanded a crore of rupees; Haidar would offer only twelve lakhs. Both parties claimed help from the English, who therefore remained neutral.

The Mahrattas conquered the whole of the north and east of the country, their progress being, however, long arrested by a gallant defence of the little fort of Nijagal (Nelamangala taluq), which was at last taken by the palegar of Chitaldroog, who had joined the Mahrattas. Madhava Rao was now taken ill and returned to Poona, leaving Tryambak Mama in command. Haidar was emboldened by this change and took the field, but met with no success. At last an attempt to retreat unobserved by way of the Melukote hills being discovered, the Mysore army was attacked, disorganized, and totally routed with great slaughter, at Chinkurali, on the 5th of March, 1771. Haidar fled on horseback to Seringapatam. Tipu, who was thought to have fallen, escaped in disguise. For ten days the Mahrattas were engaged in dividing their spoils. They then sat down before Seringapatam with a large force, the remainder being employed in ravaging the whole country above and below the Ghats. Haidar could produce little effect on them, and in June, 1772, a treaty was concluded, by which he bound himself to pay thirty lakhs of rupees, one-half at once, besides five lakhs for "durbar expenses"! For the balance, Kolar, Hoskote, Dod Ballapur, Sira, Madgiri, Chanraydurga, and Guramkonda were left in their hands.

The Rája was found during these commotions to have opened an intrigue with Tryambak Rao. He was therefore strangled, and his brother, Cháma Rája, put in his place. Haidar now proceeded to extort money from all who were supposed to have any, applying the torture where necessary. Even his brave general, Fazal Ulla Khan, was not spared, nor Nanja-Ráj, his old benefactor. The latter survived only one year, the former gave up all he had and died in extreme poverty.

Madhava Rao died in November 1772, his successor Narayan Rao was killed in August 1773, and Raghunatha Rao or Ragoba became ostensible Peshva. Haidar considered the time favourable for action. He sent an embassy to Madras to form an alliance with the English. Tipu was detached to the north to recover the places ceded to the Mahrattas, while Haidar suddenly invaded Coorg, as the first step towards reconquering Malabar. The Coorgs, entirely unprepared, were surrounded by his troops, and a reward of five rupees offered for every head. About 700 had been paid for, when, struck by the fine features, Haidar relented and ordered the massacre to cease. The landholders were confirmed in their possessions on a moderately-increased rent, a fort was erected at Mercara, and Devaiya, the Rája, who had become a



fugitive, was captured and sent to Seringapatam. A force was at once despatched to Malabar, which seized Calicut and reduced the Nair chiefs to dependence in a wonderfully short time. Tipu was equally successful in the north, and thus, between September 1773 and February 1774, Haidar completely recovered all the territory he had lost. A treaty was shortly formed with Ragoba, by which Haidar engaged to support his pretensions to be the head of the Mahratta State, in consideration of the tribute payable from Mysore being reduced to six lakhs. An insurrection in Coorg was promptly put down, and Haidar returned with his army to Seringapatam early in 1775. The negotiations with the English unfortunately came to nothing, owing to the intrigues of Muhammad Ali, and Haidar therefore turned towards the French.

Cháma Rája now died, and there being no heir to the throne, Haidar, who from motives of expediency still wished it to be occupied by a pageant king, resorted to the following method of selecting one:—Assembling all the male children of the different branches of the family, he introduced them into a hall strewn with fruits, sweetmeats, and toys, telling them to help themselves. They were soon scrambling for the things, when one little fellow took up a dagger in one hand and a lime in the other. “That is the Rája!” exclaimed Haidar, “his first care is military protection, his second to realize the produce of his dominions; bring him hither and let me embrace him.” Thus did Cháma Rája IX obtain the throne, and he was accordingly installed as Rája.

About this time Haidar received a body of 1,000 men from Shiraz in Persia to serve in his army, and sent an embassy for more. But the latter was lost in the Gulf of Kach, and the first instalment did not long survive the change of climate. Brahman agents were now employed to foment dissensions in such neighbouring states as Haidar had resolved to conquer. His assistance was thus applied for by the palegar of Bellary, who, having been induced by such emissaries to declare his independence, was attacked by Basálat Jang. Haidar marched to the relief in the incredibly short space of five days, fell upon the besiegers before they knew he had left his capital, and completely routed them, the commander being killed, and Lally escaping with difficulty. But Haidar promptly took their place in the batteries, and forced the chief to surrender it to himself at discretion. Meanwhile the forces sent in pursuit of Basálat Jang were bought off with a lakh of pagodas. A demand was next made by Haidar on Morari Rao, of Gutti, and refused. A siege ensued, and after some months Gutti was taken, all its dependencies added to Mysore, and Morari Rao sent prisoner, first to Seringapatam and then to Kabbal-durga, where he shortly died.

Meanwhile Ragoba's power had met with a reverse which caused him to fly to Surat, where, on the 6th of March, 1775, a treaty was concluded with the English to aid him in recovering his authority. He also proposed to Haidar to take possession of the Mahratta territories up to the Krishna, that he might be at hand to assist. No second invitation was needed. All the tributary pategars in the north were summoned to attend with their troops, and Savanur was overrun; but the monsoon bursting with such violence as to cause great mortality in the army, Haidar, disbanding the troops, returned to Seringapatam. All the amildars were, however, summoned to the capital, the rates of revenue were investigated and increased, the peshkash payable by tributaries was also raised, and finally a general contribution under the name of *nazarāna* was levied on the whole country for the expenses of the war.

Of the claimants to Mahratta sovereignty, Ragoba being supported by Haidar, while Nizam Ali declared for the ministerial party and the reputed son of Narayan Rao, a joint invasion of Mysore by the latter was the consequence. Four chiefs were sent in advance to clear Savanur of Haidar's troops, but they were skilfully and completely defeated by his general at Saunsi, two of them being taken prisoners. The main armies of the confederates now approached. The Mahrattas, under Parasu Ram Bhao, numbered 30,000, and were to march south-east through Savanur. The army of Nizam Ali, estimated at 40,000, under Ibrahim Khan, were to move south by Raichur. Haidar took post at Gutti. Parasu Ram Bhao, on hearing of the defeat of the advance corps, fell back beyond the Krishna for reinforcements. Ibrahim Khan, informed of this movement, and secretly bribed by Haidar, thereupon also retired beyond the Krishna, after he had marched as far as Adoni. The rains set in, and put a stop to further proceedings for the present. The navab of Kadapa and the pategar of Chitaldroog, instead of assisting Haidar, had joined the enemy. He resolved now to punish them, and sat down before Chitaldroog. It was bravely defended for months, when Haidar, aware that 60,000 Mahrattas, under Hari Pant, were approaching, concluded an agreement to retire on payment of thirteen lakhs of pagodas.

Haidar thence advanced to meet the enemy, in whose forces his agent had managed, by a bribe of six lakhs of rupees, to secure the treachery of a chief of 10,000, who was to come over in the first action. The Mahrattas, after waiting in vain for the forces of Nizam Ali, crossed the Tungabhadra. The armies met at Raravi. Manaji Pankria, the chief who had been bribed, hesitated. Haidar, suspecting double treason, made dispositions which excited the suspicions of Hari Pant, who saw he was betrayed, but knew not to what extent. "In a few

moments an impenetrable cloud of dust arose both in front and rear of the Mahratta line, which neither decidedly approached nor decidedly receded; it was evidently the mass of their cavalry in full charge; but not towards Haidar. Some time had elapsed before he perceived that the corps of Manaji Pankria had been enveloped and swept off the field, and that a powerful rear-guard presented itself to cover the retreat of the whole. The armies had not sufficiently closed to render pursuit decisive, and two guns only were lost by Hari Pant in effecting his retreat behind the Tungabhadra, where a strong position secured him from insult, and afforded him leisure to investigate the extent of the disaffection which had produced his retreat. The troops of Manaji Pankria had made a tolerably gallant resistance, and attempted to move in mass towards Haidar: the greater part, however, were cut to pieces, and Manaji Pankria himself wounded, and, accompanied by no more than thirty select friends, had opened a way through the surrounding mass, and made good his escape to Haidar." But the project of invasion was thus defeated. Hari Pant retreated. Haidar rapidly followed, and drove the enemy over the Krishna in December 1777. He now reduced all the forts between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, making the Desháyis, or chiefs, tributary to himself.

He then returned to Chitaldroog, which was taken at last in March 1779, by treachery, as related in the history of the place. The Bedar population, to the number of 20,000, were deported to people the island of Seringapatam, while all the boys were converted and trained up as soldiers, forming what were called Chela battalions.<sup>1</sup> Kadapa was the next object of attack. The Pathan guards were surprised and forced to surrender; the navab retired to Sidhout, and Kadapa was taken

<sup>1</sup> A young Nair, who had been taken from Malabar and forcibly converted to Islam, with the name of Sheikh Ayaz, was appointed governor of Chitaldroog. He was a handsome youth, and Haidar had formed the most exalted opinion of his merits, frequently upbraiding his son Tipu for inferiority to him. "Modest as he was faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction as one to which he felt himself incompetent; and particularly objected that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge." "Keep a korla\* at your right hand," said Haidar, "and that will do you better service than pen and ink." Then assuming a graver countenance, "Place reliance," added he, "on your excellent understanding: act from yourself alone: fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers; but trust in me as I trust in you. Reading and writing!! how have I risen to empire without the knowledge of either?"

\* A long whip of cotton rope, about an inch and a half in diameter at the thick end where it is grasped, and tapering to a point at the other extremity; this severe instrument of personal punishment is about nine feet long; and Haidar was constantly attended by a considerable number of persons too constantly practised in its use.

without opposition. But Haidar was near losing his life by a plot of the Afghans. Admiring their courage, he had taken into his service all who could find security for their behaviour among his own followers. Eighty, who had not succeeded, were left that night with their arms near his tent. They suddenly arose at dead of night, slew the guards, and made for Haidar's tent. The noise awaking him, he guessed the danger, pushed the bolster into the bed to resemble a sleeping figure, and, slitting a hole in the tent, escaped. The assassins rushed in and cut at the bed. Paralyzed with astonishment to find their victim gone, they were instantly overpowered. Of those who survived till morning, some had their hands and feet chopped off, and the rest were dragged at the feet of elephants. Sidhout surrendered on the 27th of May, and Abdul Halim Khan, the navab, was sent prisoner to Seringapatam. His sister, whose sense of honour was only equalled by her beauty, which surpassed that of any female captive yet secured, threatened to destroy herself rather than enter the unlimited harem of the conqueror in the usual informal manner. The ceremony of *nika* was therefore performed, and this lady, under the title of Bakshi Begam, was soon after placed at the head of the seraglio.

On returning to the capital, a complete revision was made of the civil departments. Mir Sadak was made finance minister, Shamaia head of the police and post-office. Since the defection of Khande Rao, every one of Haidar's ministers, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, had died from tortures inflicted to recover real or pretended defalcations. The unscrupulous ability of Shamaia developed to the most cruel perfection the system of espionage and fabrication of such charges, to atone for which the utmost farthing was exacted under the pressure of tortures which often terminated the lives of the unfortunate victims. A system was introduced of paying the troops on half-monthly patts instead of monthly, which gradually resulted in their getting only nine or ten months' pay for the year. A double marriage was arranged in 1779 with the family of the navab of Savanur, whose eldest son was united to Haidar's daughter, and Haidar's second son, Karim, to the navab's daughter. The ceremonies were celebrated with great pomp at Seringapatam, and accompanied with the gift of the unrestored half of Savanur to the navab.

During these festivities an envoy arrived from the ministerial party at Poona, by whom Haidar was expecting an invasion. But, induced by the hopelessness of Ragoba's cause, now a second time a fugitive, and other considerations, Haidar entered into a treaty. On condition that Ragoba's grant of territories up to the Krishna was confirmed, the future tribute fixed at eleven lakhs of rupees, and all arrears cancelled,

he agreed to co-operate with the dominant Mahratta party and Nizam Ali for the expulsion of the English from India. The failure of negotiations with the latter had made him ill-disposed towards them. Two events gave ground for open hostilities. The English being then at war with the French, Pondicherry was taken in October 1778, and Mahe in March 1779. The capture of the former did not directly affect Haidar, but the latter was the port through which he received military supplies from the Mauritius. He had, therefore, declared it to be under his protection, as being situated in his territory, and had threatened to lay waste the province of Arcot if it were attacked. The other event was that an English corps, marching to relieve Adoni, proceeded through the territory of Kadapa without formal permission obtained from Haidar, to whom it now belonged, the commanding officer being merely furnished with a letter to the manager of the district.

The news of this reached Haidar at the very time that the missionary Schwartz had arrived at Seringapatam, commissioned by the Governor of Madras to assure him of the amicable designs of the English Government. "If the English offer the hand of peace and concord, I will not withdraw mine," said Haidar, but he sent letters to the Governor requiring reparation for the alleged grievances, and referring to his unfulfilled threat of revenge. Meanwhile, some English travellers who landed at Calicut were seized and conveyed to Seringapatam. Mr. Gray, member of council, was sent as an envoy to demand their release, and to bring about a good understanding. But Haidar, on finding that none of them were military, had let them go, and Mr. Gray met them on his way; but he proceeded on to the capital, where he was treated with studied disrespect, for war had been determined on.

After prayers for success, in both mosques and temples, Haidar Ali left his capital and descended the Ghats in July, 1780, with a force of 90,000 men, unequalled in strength and efficiency by any native army that had ever been assembled in the south of India. French officers of ability guided the operations, and the commissariat was under the management of Purnaiya, one of the ministers of finance. A body of horse, under his second son, Karim Sahib, was sent to plunder Porto Novo; a larger body proceeded towards Madras, burning the villages and mutilating the people who lingered near them. From Pulicat to Pondicherry a line of desolation, extending from thirty to fifty miles inland, was drawn round Madras. The black columns of smoke were visible from St. Thomas's Mount, and the bleeding victims were pouring into Madras.

The English forces were rapidly assembled under Sir Hector Munro

at Conjeveram, but a detachment under Colonel Baillie, which was on its way to join the main army, was hemmed in and cut off. Arcot also fell. Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, arrived and took the field in January. The forts in greatest danger, such as Chingleput and Wandiwash, were at once relieved. Haidar at the same time raised the sieges of Permacoil and Vellore. A French fleet now appeared off the coast, and the English force moved to cover Cuddalore, which was threatened by Haidar with the view of occupying it as a *dépôt* for the troops expected from France. But Sir Edward Hughes, being off the western coast with a British squadron, destroying Haidar's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, the French fleet made off for Mauritius; and Haidar, who had avoided every opportunity of coming to close quarters with Coote, withdrew rapidly to the interior, leaving a sufficient force to intercept all supplies. While a want of these, and a wretched equipment, prevented the English from following, he ravaged the district of Tanjore, sending off to the upper country all that was movable, including immense herds of cattle. "Weavers and their families," adds Wilks, "were collected and forcibly sent to people the island of Seringapatam. Captive boys, destined to the exterior honour of Islam, were driven to the same place with equal numbers of females, the associates of the (then) present and the mothers of a future race of military slaves."

In June Coote moved out against Chidambaram, but, being repulsed, retired to Porto Novo. Encouraged by this, Haidar marched a hundred miles in two days and a half, and placed himself between the English and Cuddalore. Sir Edward Hughes at this juncture arrived off the coast. While with a portion of the squadron he protected Cuddalore, the English force, with only four days' rice, carried on the soldiers' backs, marched against Haidar's position; and on the same day, the 1st of July, was fought the battle of Porto Novo, in which, with a force one-eighth that of the enemy, Sir Eyre Coote, after a severe engagement, completely beat the Mysorean army from the field. Haidar Ali, who was watching the operations seated on a stool on a small hill, was near being taken prisoner. He was conveyed out of danger by a faithful groom, who made bold to force the slippers on to his master's feet, saying, "We will beat them to-morrow; in the meantime mount your horse." He reluctantly left the field, pouring forth a torrent of abuse. Wandiwash, invested by Tipu, was again relieved, and he was recalled to join his father at Arcot.

Haidar, resolved to risk another battle, chose, as being fortunate to himself, the very spot on which Colonel Baillie's detachment had been overcome, and the anniversary of that event was the day fixed on. Sir

Eyre Coote, after forming a junction with troops sent by land from Bengal, had taken Tripassore, and wished for nothing so much as to bring his enemy to action. The result was the battle of Pollilore, fought on the 27th August, in which, after an engagement of eight hours, the Mysoreans were forced to abandon the field. Haidar now took up a strong position in the pass of Sholinghur, to prevent the relief of Vellore, reduced almost to extremities. At the battle of Sholinghur, fought on the 27th of September, victory again declared for the English, and Vellore was saved. The pategars of Chittor now came over to the English, and Haidar, indignant at their desertion, detached a select corps to burn their villages and lay waste their country. But Sir Eyre Coote, placing himself at the head of a light corps, after an absence of thirty-eight hours, during thirty-two of which he had never dismounted from his horse, returned to camp, having completely surprised and defeated these troops, capturing all their equipments.

The energy of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General—never more conspicuous than at this critical time, when England, at war with America, France, and Holland, was engaged in a life struggle in India with the Mahratta hosts in the west, and the Mysoreans under Haidar in the south—having triumphed over the mischievous opposition of a Council which frustrated every public measure, had succeeded in withdrawing the active opposition of Nizam Ali and of one branch of the Mahrattas, under Madoji Bhonsla. He now concluded a treaty with Sindhia, on the 13th October 1781, and the mediation of the latter was to be employed in bringing about a peace between the English and the Poona Mahrattas under Nana Farnavis, which was actually effected in May 1782. Meanwhile Haidar's wakil had ascertained that this was intended, and that the Mahrattas would unite with the English in compelling his master to make peace, unless the latter would at once give up all the territories acquired by him north of the Tungabhadra and all claims over the pategars to the south, in which case they undertook to continue the war and bring back Sindhia to the confederacy. Haidar now felt himself in a critical situation. He was beaten at all points by Sir Eyre Coote; he had received no adequate assistance from the French; the west coast was lost; Malabar, Coorg, and Balam were in rebellion. The defeat of Colonel Braithwaite's corps in Tanjore by Tipu, which occurred at this time, had no permanent effect in improving his prospects.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was about this period that Haidar, being much indisposed, was, either by accident or design, left entirely alone with his minister Poorniah; after being for some time apparently immersed in deep thought, he addressed himself to Poorniah in the following words (related to Colonel Wilks by Poorniah):—

“I have committed a great error, I have purchased a draught of *senzi* (spirits) at

He now resolved to abandon the east and to try his fortune in the west. In December he sent all the heavy guns and stores to Mysore, compelled the people below the Ghats to emigrate thither with their flocks and herds, destroyed the forts, and made arrangements for demolishing Arcot, when news suddenly arrived that a French force had actually arrived off Porto Novo. But of the troops M. Bussy had originally embarked for the prosecution of his plans in India, the first division had been captured by Admiral Kempenfelt in December 1781, and a second in April 1782. Several naval engagements also took place at this time in Indian waters, in which the English uniformly gained the advantage. Cuddalore, however, was now taken by the French; and, forming a junction with Haidar, they carried Permacoil in May, before Sir Eyre Coote could arrive for its relief. But on the 2nd of June was fought the battle of Arni, in which the English were victorious, and nothing but the want of cavalry prevented a large capture of artillery.

On the other coast, the corps sent to Malabar under Makhdum Ali was completely defeated and destroyed at Tricalore by Colonel Humberstone, the commander being killed. Nothing could be done during the monsoon to retrieve this disaster, but as soon as the weather permitted in November, Tipu, assisted as usual by Lally's corps, under pretence of striking some blow near Trichinopoly, proceeded by forced marches across the peninsula, hoping to fall upon the English, who were preparing for the siege of Palghatcheri. But in this he was disappointed, and sustained a defeat at Paniani on the 25th. While waiting for reinforcements to renew the attack, an event occurred of the utmost importance. The Mysorean army in Coromandel had cantoned sixteen miles north of Arcot for the rains, the French being at Cuddalore, and the English at Madras. The health of Haidar had been declining, and in November was developed an abscess, or cancer, in the back, known as the *rájpora*, or royal boil. The united efforts of Hindu, Muhammadan, and French physicians did no good, and on the 7th of December 1782, this remarkable man breathed his last, at the age of sixty.

War first brought him to notice, and engaged in war he died. War was his element. The brief periods of repose between one warlike expedition and another were consumed in repairing the losses of the the price of a lakh of pagodas : I shall pay dearly for my arrogance ; between me and the English there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but not sufficient cause for war, and I might have made them my friends in spite of Muhammad Ali, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea ; and I must be the first to weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting."



last, or providing the means for the next. The arts and products of peace he valued only as they furnished the sinews of war. But it is impossible to withhold homage from the great natural talents which raised an unlettered adventurer<sup>1</sup> to the supreme control of a powerful kingdom, or the indomitable energy and fertility of resource which found in the most desperate reverses but fresh opportunities of rising.

In person he is described as robust and of medium height, of dark complexion, with an aquiline nose and small eyes. Contrary to the usual custom of Musalmans, his face was clean shaven, even the eyebrows and eyelashes being removed. The most striking article of his dress was a scarlet turban, flat at the top, and of immense diameter. His uniform was flowered white satin, with yellow facings and yellow boots, and a white silk scarf round his waist. He was fond of show and parade on great occasions, and at such times was attended by a thousand spearmen, and preceded by bards who sang his exploits in the Kannaḍa language. He was an accomplished horseman, a skilful swordsman, and a dead shot. He had a large harem of six hundred women, but his strong sensual instincts were never allowed to interfere with public business. From sunrise to past noon he was occupied in public *darbar*; he then made his first meal, and retired to rest for an hour or two. In the evening he either rode out or returned to business. But frequently the night was enlivened with the performances of dancing girls or of actors of comedies. He took a second meal about midnight and retired to rest, sometimes having drunk freely.

The following extracts from accounts by the Rev. W. Schwartz, who was sent by the English in 1779 to Haidar as a peace-maker, contain a graphic description of his characteristics and modes of business:—  
“Haidar’s palace is a fine building in the Indian style. Opposite to it is an open place. On both sides are ranges of open buildings, where the military and civil servants have their offices, and constantly attend. Haidar can overlook them from his balcony. Here reigns no pomp, but the utmost regularity and despatch. Although Haidar sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people with whips stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Haidar applies the same cat to all transgressors alike, gentlemen and horsekeepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons. And when he has inflicted such a public scourging upon the

<sup>1</sup> He could neither read nor write any language, though he spoke fluently Hindustani, Kannaḍa, Mahratti, Telugu, and Tamil. The sum of his literary attainments consisted in learning to write the initial of his own name, *H*, to serve as his signature on public occasions; but either from inaptitude to learn, or for the purpose of originality, he inverted its form, and signed thus, (copied from a grant in the Inam office).

greatest gentlemen he does not dismiss them. No, they remain in the same office, and bear the marks of the stripes on their backs as public warnings, for he seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour.

"When I came to Haidar he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly and with seeming pleasure to all I had to say. In reply he spoke very openly and without reserve. . . . When I sat near Haidar I particularly observed in what a regular succession, and with what rapid despatch, his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the district and letters received. He heard it, and ordered the answer immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letter, read it, and Haidar affixed his seal. Thus, in one evening, a great many letters were expedited. Haidar can neither read nor write, but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and another to read it to him. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders his head pays for it. What religion people profess, or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself, and leaves every one to his choice."

The Nisháni Haidari<sup>1</sup> says :—"In all the cities and towns of his territory, besides news-writers, he appointed separately secret writers and spies to patrol the streets at night, and from them he received his intelligence. From morning to night he never remained a moment idle. He was a slave to the regulation of his working establishments. . . . All the operations or measures undertaken by Haidar's government, small or great, were superintended by himself in person; insomuch that even leather, the lining of bullock-bags, tent walls, and strands of rope, all passed under his inspection, and were then deposited in his stores."

The Ahvali Haidar Náik<sup>2</sup> thus describes the state of the country in Haidar's time :—"By his power mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories was the commonest thing imaginable, and the killing a man there was thought no more of than the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation to return safe to it."

The minister Purnaiya sagaciously planned that the death of Haidar should be concealed from the army until the arrival of Tipu, and

<sup>1</sup> *History of Hydr Naik*, by Kirmani, translated from the Persian by Colonel W. Miles.

<sup>2</sup> By Mirza Ikbal.—See supplement to the above.

Krishna Rao, his official colleague, acceded to the same course. It is a high testimony to the order and discipline of the army, and the influence and ability of Purnaiya, that this was successfully carried out. The body of Haidar, deposited in a large chest filled with aromatics, was sent off to Kolar under escort, as if a case of valuable plunder. All business went on as usual. The chiefs of the army were separately and quietly taken into confidence, and all inquiries were answered to the effect that Haidar was better, but weak. Only one officer, commanding 4,000 horse, conceived the project of removing the ministers, seizing the treasury, and proclaiming Abdul Karim, Haidar's second son. But the plot was discovered, and the accomplices were put into irons and sent off under guard.

A courier on a dromedary, travelling 100 miles a day, conveyed the intelligence to Tipu at Paniani by the afternoon of the 11th. Next morning he was in full march eastward. Dispensing with all ceremony calculated to excite inquiry, he went forward as rapidly as possible, and after performing the funeral ceremonies at Kolar, joined the army in a private manner between Arni and Vellore on the 2nd of January 1783. The most ample acknowledgments were made to all the public officers, and especially to Purnaiya, for their prudent management of affairs during this critical period, and Tipu Sultan took peaceable possession of an army of 88,000 men, and a treasury containing three crores of rupees in cash, besides an immense amount of jewels and valuables.

The Mysoreans and the French, awaiting with sanguine prospects the arrival of M. Bussy to decide on the plan of the campaign, were offered battle by the English near Wandiwash on the 13th of February. But this was declined, and within a week news from the west obliged Tipu and his allies to withdraw the main body of the army for the defence of his possessions in that quarter. General Matthews had landed at Kundapur, carried Haidarghar, and on the 16th February captured Bednur. Honavar and Mangalore had also fallen to the English, who were now in possession of all the intermediate country. Shekh Ayáz, the Chela, whom we have previously mentioned in connection with his appointment to the government of Chitaldroog, was at this time governor of the Bednur country. He had abundant reason for fear in the accession of Tipu, and having discovered, as he anticipated, that the latter had ordered his immediate assassination, abandoned his charge and fled to Bombay, at the same time that the Mysore army was marching for its recovery. General Matthews, having gained spoils to the value of eighty-one lakhs of pagodas, besides jewels, was waiting for reinforcements, when Tipu appeared on the 9th of April. The latter, dividing his army into two columns, with one retook

Kavale-durga and Haidarghar, and with the other Anantapur; and, cutting off all communication with the coast, invested Bednur. The garrison, being starved out, capitulated on the 30th on honourable terms. But instead of being sent to the coast as stipulated, both officers and men were marched off in irons to Seringapatam. Tipu now advanced for the recovery of Mangalore, and invested it on the 4th of May. The garrison held out in spite of great hardships. In July arrived intelligence that peace had been concluded in Europe between the English and the French; the leaders of the French forces, therefore, to the great indignation of Tipu, announced the necessity for their withdrawal. An armistice was agreed to on the 2nd of August, but the articles were not observed by Tipu. Mangalore held out till the 30th of January 1784, when the starved-out garrison, whose bravery had excited the highest admiration even from Tipu, were allowed to retire to Tellicherry.

Meanwhile, in the east, the English had concluded an agreement at Tanjore with Tirumal Rao, an emissary sent by the Mysore Rani<sup>1</sup>—and had occupied the whole of the Coimbatore country. At Seringapatam, Shamaïya, the postal and police minister, at the same time formed a plot for seizing the fortress and restoring the Hindu Rájá. It was accidentally discovered on the very eve of the date appointed for its execution, the 24th of July. Shamaïya and his brother were confined in iron cages, in which they perished. The other conspirators were dragged at the feet of elephants.

After negotiations, purposely prolonged by Tipu until the fall of Mangalore, peace was concluded on the 11th March 1785, on the condition of the mutual release of prisoners and restitution of conquests. But of the English officers the most distinguished had been previously removed by poison or assassination. Sayyid Ibrahim, the commandant of the prison, is honourably distinguished for his humanity in attempting to alleviate their condition. On the capture of the country by the English, a mausoleum was erected over his tomb at Channapatna and endowed by the East India Company.

The reversion of Mangalore to the possession of Tipu was signalized by the forcible circumcision of many thousands of native Christians and their deportation to Seringapatam. A revolt in Coorg next year led to the same treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants, the occasion being marked by Tipu's assumption of the title of Pádsháh. All Brahman endowments were at this period resumed.

<sup>1</sup> Tirumal Rao was assisted in his communications by his brother Narayan Rao. Their reward in case of success was to be ten per cent. on the revenues of the restored districts, and the office of Pradhána or minister. Tirumal Rao, after a conference with the authorities at Madras, was placed under the orders of Mr. John Sullivan, Resident at Tanjore.

On returning from Mangalore a demand had been made upon Nizam Ali for the delivery of Bijapur. He therefore formed an alliance with the Mahrattas, who not only countenanced the Desháyi of Nargund in refusing Tipu's requisitions, but sent the latter notice that three years' tribute from Mysore was in arrears. On this he despatched a force against Nargund, which the Mahrattas failed to relieve; and, after operations protracted for several months, the Desháyi, induced on a false promise to deliver himself up, was treacherously put into chains and sent off to Kabbal-durga in October 1785. Kittur was taken in a similar manner. War now ensued. The Mahrattas under Hari Pant, and the forces of Nizam Ali under Tohavar Jang, were on the banks of the Krishna early in 1786, prepared for the invasion of Mysore. They first attacked Badami, and took it on the 20th of May. Tipu, keeping close to the Bednur and Sunda woods, made a sudden dash across the country to Adoni. Two assaults had been gallantly repulsed, when the approach of the confederate armies forced him to raise the siege. But the rising of the Tungabhadra induced the allies to abandon Adoni and cross to the north of that stream, and the Sultan, hastening to glut his vengeance on the fort, found it evacuated. In August Tipu boldly crossed the stream, a movement quite unlooked-for by the allies at that season, and formed a junction with the Bednur division. The hostile armies were now encamped in each other's view near Savanur. The unfortunate navab of this place, who, as we have seen, had allied himself by marriage with Haidar's family, had been ruined by every method of exaction, and now threw himself into the hands of the allies. Tipu was successful in his operations, especially in his night attacks, and the allies retiring from Savanur, he entered it without opposition. The navab fled. A peace was at last concluded in 1787, by which Tipu agreed to pay forty-five lakhs of rupees, thirty at once and fifteen after a year; also to give up Badami, Adoni, Kittur, and Nargund.

Returning by way of Harpanhalli and Raydurga, after deceiving those palegars by repeated acknowledgments of their services, he treacherously seized and sent them off to Kabbal-durga, plundering their capitals of every article of the slightest value, and annexing their territories. On returning to the capital he ordered the destruction of the town and fort of Mysore, and commenced building Nazarábád, as related in the account of that place.

In January 1788 he descended to Calicut, and remained there several months framing various ordinances, and then marched to Coimbatore in the monsoon. He also now began to lay claim to the title of Paighambar, or apostle, on the ground of his religious successes, and symptoms of incipient madness, it is said, appeared. From Coimbatore

he visited Dindigal, and meditated, it appears, the conquest of Travancore. Laying waste with fire and sword the territories of refractory palegars, he returned to Seringapatam, and devoted four months to a classification of *sayyids* and *shekhs* in his army into distinct brigades. A rebellion occurred now in Coorg and Malabar, and the Sultan, passing through Coorg to quiet it, entered Malabar. Large parties of the Nairs were surrounded and offered the alternative of death or circumcision. The Nair Rájá of Cherkal, who had voluntarily submitted, was received and dismissed with distinction, but immediately after seized and hanged, his body being treated with every insult. Before leaving Malabar Tipu visited Cannanore, where the daughter of the Beebee was betrothed to one of his sons. He also divided the country of Malabar into districts, each of which had three officers, charged respectively with the duties of collecting the revenue, numbering the productive trees, and seizing and giving religious instruction to the Nairs.<sup>1</sup>

Nizam Ali now sent an embassy proposing a union between himself and the Sultan as being the only remaining Muhammadan powers of the Dekhan and the south. But Tipu demanded as a preliminary an intermarriage in the families, at which the pride of Nizam Ali recoiled, and the negotiations came to nothing.

Meanwhile embassies with ludicrous pretensions had been sent twice to Constantinople, and once to Paris. The visionary character of the Sultan's views may be gathered from the objects sought by the former. They were—either to deliver up Mangalore in exchange for Bassora on the Persian Gulf, or to obtain permission to erect a commercial factory at Bassora with exclusive privileges; and, lastly, permission to dig a canal for the purpose of bringing the waters of the Euphrates to the holy shrine of Nejef.

The conquest of Travancore had for obvious reasons been contemplated by Haidar, and was now resolved on by Tipu. The Rájá had, however, been specially named in former treaties as the ally of the English, and any attack upon him it had been declared would be considered ground for war. But a pretext was soon found. In 1759, when the Zamorin of Calicut had overrun the territories of the Rájá of Cochin, the latter had applied for aid to Travancore; the Rájá of which, sending an army under his general, Rama, had recovered the

<sup>1</sup> His orders were, that "every being in the district, without distinction, should be honoured with Islam; that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour should be burned; that they should be traced to their lurking-places, and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion."

entire country and driven out the Zamorin during 1760 and 1761. In return for this service certain districts were ceded by Cochin to Travancore, across which lines for the defence of its northern boundary had been erected by the latter power, which now bought from the Dutch the forts of Ayakota and Cranganur, situated at the extremity of the lines and essential to their security. Tipu, objecting to this step, set forth that the lines were erected on territory belonging to Cochin which was tributary to him, and proceeded to attack them on the 29th December, 1789. But, contrary to expectation, he was repulsed with great loss, and was himself severely injured by falling into the ditch, into which he was forced by the rush of fugitives. He was saved with difficulty, his seals, rings, and personal ornaments falling into the hands of the enemy as trophies. Beside himself with rage, he ordered the whole of his forces from Malabar and other parts, with battering guns from Seringapatam and Bangalore, to be sent for. At the same time he wrote to the Governor-General stating that the attack was an unauthorized raid of his troops. But Lord Cornwallis was not to be deceived.

Tipu carried the lines and took the town of Travancore in March. An English force destined for Mysore was therefore assembled at Trichinopoly, and General Medows took command of it on the 24th of May. The Sultan—who only ten days before had written lamenting the misrepresentations that had led to the assemblage of troops, and offering to send an envoy “to remove the dust which had obscured the upright mind of the General”—now hastened to Coimbatore, where he received the reply that “the English, equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, had always looked upon war as declared from the moment he attacked their ally the king of Travancore.”

An alliance had meanwhile been formed by the English with the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali, and treaties were signed in July, binding them to unite against Tipu, on the basis of an equal division of conquests, with the exception of any made by the English before the others joined. The plan of the campaign was—for the main division of the English, after taking all the forts of Coimbatore and Palghat, to ascend to the tableland by the Gajalhatti pass, while another division invaded Báramahál. Karur, Dhárápúram, Coimbatore, Dindigal, Erode and other places had been taken, when in September, the Sultan, leaving stores and baggage under charge of Purnaiya at the summit, descended the Gajalhatti pass and attacked Floyd's detachment at Satyamangala. But after much fighting he retired, and Floyd crossing the Bhaváni without opposition, proceeded to join the force with General Medows. While the several English detachments were forming a junction, Tipu retook Erode and Dhárápúram, but finding an attempt on Coimbatore

to be hopeless, set off with three-fourths of his army to Báramahál, which the English had invaded on the 24th of October. Colonel Maxwell had posted himself at Káveripatam, and by his skilful manœuvres foiled all the Sultan's attempts.

Being advised by Krishna Rao, the only person at this period admitted to his counsels, the Sultan now resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, in order to draw them off in pursuit of him. He accordingly made rapid marches to Trichinopoly, and threatening that place, plundered Seringham. On General Medows' approach, he went northward, burning and plundering along his route ; was repulsed in an attempt to take Tyágar, but took Trinomalee and Permacoil, and then despatched an envoy to Pondicherry. The services of a French official were there engaged as ambassador to Louis XVI., demanding the aid of 6,000 men and offering to pay all expenses. (The king of France, however, on receiving Tipu's message, declined the assistance applied for.) On the west coast, the Mysorean army was totally defeated on the 10th December. Cannanore was taken and the whole of Malabar was in possession of the English. The allies, too, at last took part in operations, the Mahrattas besieging Dharwar, and Nizam Ali's army Kopál.

Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, now himself took command of the British army, and concentrated the forces near Vellore. Tipu hastened up the pass of Changama to oppose the English advance. But Lord Cornwallis, by a feint of ascending by the pass of Ambúr, conveyed the whole army with all its stores and baggage by the Mugli pass and arrived at Hoskote without firing a shot. Tipu, dreaming of the 6,000 Frenchmen, had been outmanœuvred by the English. He was now alarmed for his harem, and with his whole army personally superintended their removal from Bangalore. The English encamped before it on the 5th of March, overcoming with ease the efforts of Tipu to capture their baggage. The Sultan deemed it prudent to draw off to Kengeri. But when on the 7th the petta was carried, he was astonished and indignant, and moved out with his whole force for its recovery. But the Mysoreans were repulsed with great slaughter from every point, and so evacuated the town. The fort of Bangalore was next besieged. "Few sieges," remarks Wilks, "have ever been conducted under parallel circumstances : a place not only not invested, but regularly relieved by fresh troops ; a besieging army not only not undisturbed by field operations, but incessantly threatened by the whole of the enemy's force. No day or night elapsed without some new project for frustrating the operations of the siege ; and during its continuance, the whole of the besieging army was accoutred, and the cavalry saddled, every night



from sunset to sunrise." A breach having been made in the curtain to the left of the projecting works of the Delhi gate and part of the adjoining tower, Lord Cornwallis resolved to give the assault on the night of the 21st.

It was bright moonlight—eleven was the hour appointed, and a whisper along the ranks was the signal appointed for advancing in profound silence ; the ladders were nearly planted, not only to ascend the *faussebray* but the projecting work on the right, before the garrison took the alarm ; and just as the serious struggle commenced on the breach, a narrow and circuitous way along a thin shattered wall had led a few men to the rampart on the left flank of its defenders, where they coolly halted to accumulate their numbers till sufficient to charge with the bayonet. The gallantry of the killedar, who was in an instant at his post, protracted the obstinacy of resistance until he fell ; but the energy of the assailants in front and flank at length prevailed. Once established on the ramparts, the flank companies proceeded as told off, by alternate companies to the right and left, where the resistance was everywhere respectable, until they met over the Mysore gate : separate columns then descended into the body of the place ; and at the expiration of an hour all opposition had ceased.

On ascending the breach, a heavy column was observed on the left, advancing from the embankment described to attack the assailants in flank and rear ; but this also had been foreseen and provided for, and they were repulsed with great slaughter by the troops reserved for that special purpose ; a similar column, lodged in the covered way on the right, had been dispersed at the commencement of the assault by a body appointed to scour it and draw off the enemy's attention from the breach ; and at the moment the flank companies had met over the Mysore gate, another column was perceived advancing along the *sortie* to enter and reinforce the garrison ; but a few shot from the guns on the ramparts announced that the place had changed masters. The carnage had been severe but unavoidable, particularly in the pressure of the fugitives at the Mysore gate, which at length was completely choked.

The Sultan had warned the garrison to expect the assault, and moving at nightfall from his camp at Jigani, had conveyed his whole army to near the Bull temple, within a mile and a half of the Mysore gate, to support the place. But so rapidly was it carried that the fugitives crowding out of the gate gave him the first intimation of its capture. Fears of an immediate advance on Seringapatam agitated the Sultan. He therefore despatched Krishna Rao, the treasurer, and Mir Sadak, the *divan*, to remove all the treasure and the harem to Chitaldroog ; but his mother dissuaded from this step as betokening fear to the troops. But the obscene caricatures of the English, painted by his orders on the walls of the houses in the main streets, were effaced with whitewash ; and the English boys, retained in violation of the treaty of

1784, who had been trained up to sing and dance, were strangled. His own people now began to fall away from him. Evidence of conspiracies came to light, and Krishna Rao, with his brothers, as well as others of the Hindu ministers, were in the next few days strangled or dragged to death by elephants. Meanwhile, in order to form a junction with the cavalry from Nizam Ali, Lord Cornwallis moved north on the 28th. Devanhalli and Chik Ballapur yielded to the English, and several palegars tendered their allegiance.

The British force now prepared to march on Seringapatam, and Tipu took up a position on the Channapatna road, supported by the hill forts of Rámgiiri and Sivangiri, with the view of opposing it. But Lord Cornwallis, unexpectedly marching by way of Kánkánhalli, arrived without opposition at Arikere, 9 miles from Seringapatam, on the 13th of May. His route had been converted into a desolate waste, all the villagers and cattle being driven into the island of Sivasamudram, and every vestige of supplies or forage destroyed. The passage of the river at Arikere being impracticable, it was resolved to move to Kannambádi, higher up; for the double purpose of fording the river there and forming a junction with General Abercromby, who, advancing through the friendly country of Coorg, had taken Periyapatna.

Tipu had always avoided a general action with the English, but goaded on to risk a battle for the capital, he took up a strong position between Karigatta and the river, to oppose the march of the English. Lord Cornwallis planned a night attack to turn his left flank and cut off his retreat, but the bursting of a tremendous storm threw the troops into confusion. A general engagement ensued the next day, the 15th, in which the English were completely victorious, and the Mysoreans, driven from every point, forced to take refuge on the island. Lord Cornwallis then moved to Kannambádi; but the incessant rain and exhausted supplies brought on so great a mortality of the cattle, and sickness in camp, as to put a stop to all operations. He resolved, therefore, to bury the battering guns and retire to Bangalore till the rains were over. Abercromby was also forced to return to the coast. At Chinkurali, the two divisions of the Mahratta army, under Hari Pant and Parasu Ram Bhao, most unexpectedly made their appearance, and the sufferings of the troops were somewhat relieved by the supplies they brought. The Mahrattas had taken Dharwar and reduced all the places north of the Tungabhadra. The army of Nizam Ali had captured Kopal, Bahádur Bandar and Ganjikota, and obtained the submission of all places in the north-east except Guramkonda.

It was now arranged that the British should take possession of the hill forts and places in the east, in order to open free communication

with Madras; that the Mahrattas, who obtained a loan from the Governor-General of 15 lakhs of rupees, should proceed to Sira under Parasu Ram Bhao and operate to the north-west, Hari Pant remaining with the English camp; and that the Nizam's force should operate to the north-east against Guramkonda. Between July and January, the English, having taken Hosur, Ráyakota and all places to the east, succeeded in capturing the hill forts of Nandidroog and Sávandroog, deemed impregnable, as well as Hutridroog, Rámgi, Sivangiri and Hulyúdroog. The Mahrattas, bent on plunder, after placing a corps in Doḍ Ballapur and one near Madgiri, and making some fruitless attempts against Chitaldroog, went off towards Bednur at the time they should, according to the plan concerted with the allies, have been marching to Seringapatam. Hole Honnur was taken by them, and near Shimoga a battle was fought, in which the Mysoreans were worsted. But the Mahratta detachment left at Madgiri was completely routed by a force under Kammar-ud-Din, on which the garrison of Doḍ Ballapur withdrew to Bangalore in alarm, leaving the way open for a relief of Guramkonda. The Mysore forces sent south to act upon the communications of the English were generally unsuccessful, but Coimbatore surrendered after a long and brave defence, the garrison being marched off as prisoners to Seringapatam in violation of the terms of capitulation.

All the arrangements for the siege of Seringapatam being now matured, communications free and supplies abundant, the English army under Lord Cornwallis marched from Hulyúdroog on the 25th of January, 1792, accompanied by the Nizam's force under one of his sons, Sikandar Jah, and a small party of the Mahrattas under Hari Pant. General Abercromby, who had returned to Malabar in November, also marched from the head of the western passes on the 22nd of January.

Lord Cornwallis encamped on the 5th of February 6 miles north of Seringapatam. The Sultan had made every effort to strengthen the defences during the past six months, and was now encamped on the north. He had persuaded himself that nothing decisive would be undertaken until the arrival of General Abercromby's army, now at Periyapatna. But Lord Cornwallis resolved to attack at once, on the night of the 6th. The English force was formed into three columns, without artillery, the centre being commanded by the Governor-General in person. Under a brilliant moonlight, the three columns marched in dead silence, at about 8 o'clock, towards the Sultan's encampment. The head of the centre column was discovered by his advanced outposts about 11, and they galloped back to give the alarm. But still perfect silence was preserved, while the pace was redoubled.

In a quarter of an hour the Mysore lines were entered. Though a damaging fire was opened on the advancing columns, they remained steady, and carried every point with the bayonet. The Mysoreans fled, panic-stricken. Victors and vanquished crossed the river and gained the island together, and would probably have entered the fort simultaneously had not the gates been closed and the bridge drawn up to exclude the foe. The petta of Shahar Ganjam was taken with ease, as were all the batteries and redoubts, except one, which was the scene of a sanguinary struggle before its capture.

The Sultan, at the commencement of this eventful night, had made his evening meal in a redoubt to the right of the spot where the centre columns had entered. On the first alarm he mounted, but before he could get news of the nature of the attack, the crowds of fugitives announced that the enemy had penetrated the camp. He fled precipitately to the ford, and barely succeeded in passing over before the advanced column of the enemy. Taking his station on an outwork of the fort which commanded the scene, he remained there till morning, issuing orders and spending one of the most anxious nights in his life. During the confusion 10,000 Coorgs, who had been forcibly converted, made their escape to their own country; and a number of French and other Europeans, who had rendered unwilling obedience to Haidar and Tipu, seized the opportunity to gain their liberty. It so happened that a large treasure was in camp that night for the purpose of paying the troops next day. But it was all safely conveyed into the fort by the skill and ability of Purnaiya, although he was severely wounded.

The whole of the next day the most vigorous attempts were made to dislodge the English from the island. The Sultan's passionate appeal "Have I no faithful servants to retrieve my honour?" was gallantly responded to by a body of 2,000 cavalry; but being foiled at every point, all the redoubts north of the river were evacuated the same night, and promptly occupied by the English.

Various efforts at negotiation had been made by Tipu since Lord Cornwallis took command of the army, but they were not calculated to succeed. He now resumed the matter, but was informed that the release of the prisoners taken at Coimbatore in violation of promises was indispensable as a preliminary. He therefore set free the officers, and sent letters containing offers of peace by them. But—at the same time he secretly despatched a body of horsemen in disguise to penetrate to the English camp and assassinate the Governor-General. The plot was discovered and frustrated.

General Abercromby crossed the river at Yedatore and joined the main army on the 16th, and the dispositions for the siege were rapidly

pushed on. Negotiations at the same time continued, and on the 22nd the envoys of Tipu brought him the ultimatum of the confederates, requiring the cession to the allies, from the countries adjacent to theirs, of one-half of the dominions which he possessed before the war; the payment of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, one-half immediately, the remainder in three instalments of four months each; the release of all prisoners from the time of Haidar Ali; and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. On the 23rd Tipu assembled all the principal officers in the mosque and sought their advice. They unanimously offered to lay down their lives in defence of the capital, but hinted with various shades of expression that the army was disheartened and unreliable. After a great mental struggle, the preliminary articles, duly signed and sealed, were returned to Lord Cornwallis the same day. The two young princes surrendered as hostages, one aged ten and the other eight, were received in the English camp with every consideration due to their rank, and by Lord Cornwallis with all the tenderness of a father.

The territories to be ceded formed a lengthened subject of discussion, and the claim of the English to Coorg so exasperated Tipu<sup>1</sup> that the peace was on the point of being broken, when he yielded. The English obtained Malabar and Coorg, Dindigal and Báramahál: the Mahratta boundary was extended to the Tungabhadra; Nizam Ali recovered his possessions to the north of that river and Kadapa to the south. Thus ended the third Mysore war.

After the departure of the confederates, the Sultan, brooding over the heavy losses he had sustained and the deep wounds that had been inflicted on his pride, shut himself up for several days in an agony of despair. His first public act was to make arrangements regarding the money due under the treaty. It was resolved that one crore and ten lakhs of the total amount should be paid from the treasury, that sixty lakhs should be contributed by the army, and one crore and sixty lakhs by the civil officers and inhabitants at large under the head of nazarána. The oppression of the population in levying the last drove great numbers to seek an asylum in Báramahál and other neighbouring districts, though there was a large balance standing in the accounts for several years afterwards.

The Sultan's caprice, fanaticism and spirit of innovation increased with his misfortunes, and were carried to the verge of insanity. "The professed and formal regulations for the conduct of affairs had commenced before his departure from Mangalore, with the aid of his great innovator Zain-ul-Abidin; and embraced, either directly or

<sup>1</sup> "To which of the English possessions," he said, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?"

incidentally, every department in the science of government. Regulations military, naval, commercial and fiscal ; police, judicature, and ethics ; were embraced by the code of this modern Minos : and his reformation of the calendar and of the system of weights and measures, was to class him with those philosophical statesmen and sovereigns of whose useful labours the secretary had obtained some obscure intelligence. It may be briefly stated regarding the whole, that the *name* of every object was changed : of cycles, years, and months ; weights, measures, coins ; forts, towns ; offices, military and civil, the official designations of all persons and things without one exception"—a singular parody of what was transpiring in France. The administration itself was named the *Sarkār Khodāddād*, or God-given Government. Persian was introduced for all words of command in the military regulations, and the same language used for the revenue accounts in preference to that of the country. The construction of a navy to vie with that of England was proposed. An improvement of the fortifications of Seringapatam was also commenced, and labourers impressed from all parts of the country for the work.

The fiscal and revenue arrangements consisted principally in the prohibition of all exports and imports, for the protection of domestic trade ; and the interdiction of the growth of poppy-seeds, with the abolition of liquor-shops to check intoxication. A board of trade was also organized, with a new code for its guidance ; and it was in contemplation to have established something like a bank, while the State itself monopolized the profits of money-changers. Lands and money allowances granted to Hindu pagodas, as well as the service inams of patels, were confiscated ; and an income was raised by dividing the houses in the fort of Seringapatam into separate wards for different classes, and putting prices upon them. The revenue regulations of Chikka Deva Raja, however, remained unaltered ; but they were republished as the ordinances of the Sultan himself. He strove, in short, to obliterate every trace of the previous rulers. For this purpose even the fine irrigation works, centuries old, of the Hindu Rajas were to be destroyed and reconstructed in his own name.

As regards selections for offices, the Sultan fancied that he could discover by mere look the capacity of a person, which naturally resulted in the most absurd blunders.<sup>1</sup> The manner in which complaints were

<sup>1</sup> All candidates for every department were ordered to be admitted and drawn up in line before him, when, looking steadfastly at them, he would as if actuated by inspiration call out in a solemn voice—"Let the third from the left be Asoph of such a district ; he with the yellow drawers understands naval affairs, let him be Mir e Yem, Lord of the Admiralty ; he with the long beard and he with the red turban are but Amils, let them be promoted" ; &c., &c.—Wilks, II, 289.

heard and disposed of may be illustrated by a single example. A number of ryots appeared on a certain occasion before their sovereign to complain of exaction. Mir Sádak, the divan, admitted the fact and said it was made on account of *nazarána*, which silenced the Sultan at once. The divan, however, holding out to the ryots a hope of future immunity, succeeded in inducing them to agree to pay thirty-seven and a half per cent. additional, and this circumstance being brought to the notice of Tipu as demonstrating the falsehood of their former complaint, the patel or head man was hung on the spot, and the increase extended to the whole of the Mysore dominions.

By 1794 the money due under the treaty was paid, and the hostages were returned to the Sultan at Devanhalli, now called Yusufabad. In 1796 Chama Raja Wodeyar, the pageant Raja, died of smallpox. The practice of annually exhibiting him on the throne at the Dasara had been kept up, but now Tipu considered the appointment of a successor unnecessary, removed the family to a mean dwelling and plundered the palace of everything.

Tipu next strained every nerve to form a coalition for the expulsion of the English from India. Embassies were despatched at various times to the Ottoman Porte and to the court of Kabul; letters were exchanged with Arabia, Persia, and Muscat; and agents employed at Delhi, Oude, Haidarabad and Poona, the object sought in the two last-named courts being twofold, namely, an alliance with the sovereigns themselves, and the seduction of their officers from them. Even the princes of Jodhpur, Jeypur and Kashmir did not escape an invitation to join this mighty coalition. The French in particular were repeatedly applied to.

At last, in the early part of 1797, stress of weather drove a French privateer to the coast of Mangalore, having on board an obscure individual by name Ripaud. This person represented himself to be the second in command at the Isle of France, and being sent to Seringapatam by Ghulam Ali, the former envoy to the court of France, was honoured with several interviews with the Sultan. In the course of these he took occasion to extol the power and magnify the resources of his countrymen, and added that a considerable force was assembled at the Isle of France waiting for the Sultan's summons. Tipu took the hint, commissioned Ripaud to proceed to the Mauritius, conveying with him two servants as ambassadors to the Government of that island, with letters. The embassy left Seringapatam in the month of April 1797, but did not embark till October.

The embassy reached the Isle of France in January 1798, and, in spite of the obvious necessity for secrecy, was openly received by

Malartic, the French Governor, with distinguished marks of respect. The *kurreetahs* were read with all solemnity in a council, and were found to contain a proposal for a coalition to expel the English. To the great disappointment of the ambassadors, there was not a single soldier available; but to make amends, the Governor sent the Directory at home a duplicate of the Sultan's *kurreetah*, and deputed two officers, by name Chapuis and Dubuc, to reside at the court of Seringapatam. At the same time he issued a public proclamation, dated the 30th January, 1798, inviting the people of the island to join the Sultan's standard. The result of these measures was that the embassy, which was intended to have conveyed an armament sufficient to have swept the English off the face of India, returned with ninety-four men, the refuse of the Isle of France, burning with a zeal for "liberty and equality."

A Jacobin club was formed in Seringapatam, a tree of liberty set up crowned with the cap of liberty, and the Sultan, who looked upon the general denunciation of kings and rulers as directed against the English alone, enrolled as *Citizen Tipu Sultan*. At the same time M. Dubuc himself was sent in July 1798 with two Muhammadan envoys to the French Directory. Buonaparte's sudden invasion of Egypt now took place, encouraging the hope of immediate French intervention; and Dubuc, who did not actually sail till the 7th of February, assured Tipu that they must have already embarked on the Red Sea for his assistance.

But Lord Mornington, then Governor-General, was fully aware of these hostile preparations; and when a copy of Malartic's proclamation reached his hands, deemed it high time to put a check on the Sultan's designs. The French force at Haidarabad was dismissed by a master-stroke of policy, and the Nizam and Peshva united in stronger bonds of alliance with the British. This being effected, the Governor-General wrote to the Sultan on the 8th November, 1798, giving expression for the first time to the feelings awakened by his late proceedings in gentle and cautious language, informing him that certain precautions had been adopted for self-defence, offering to depute Major Doveton on the part of the allies to explain the means by which a good understanding might be finally established, and desiring Tipu to state when he intended to receive him.

On the 10th of December he wrote again, calling the Sultan's attention to the above, and requesting to be favoured with a reply at Madras, whither the Earl of Mornington was about to proceed as being nearer the scene of action. On reaching Madras on the last day of the month, the Governor-General found a reply waiting for him, dated the 25th. This letter opened with the intimation of Tipu's joy



at the brilliant naval victory of the Nile over the French, of which he had been advised by the Governor-General, and a wish for greater success. He explained away the embassy to the Isle of France as being simply the trip of a merchantman that conveyed rice and brought back some forty artificers, an incident which, it was alleged, had been distorted by the French. The Sultan added also that he had never swerved from the path of friendship, and could not see more effectual measures for establishing it than those that already existed.

The Governor-General replied on the 9th of January, 1799, exposing the whole affair of the mission to the Isle of France, which had rendered the demand of further security necessary; expressing a wish still to listen to negotiations, and allowing one day's time for a reply, with a significant warning that "dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs." This letter was accompanied by a copy of the manifesto issued by the Ottoman Porte, declaring war against the French. After a lapse of more than a month, or on the 13th of February, 1799, the Sultan replied, with utter disregard, that he was proceeding on a hunting excursion, and desired that Major Doveton might be sent "slightly attended." The Governor-General, interpreting this as contempt and as an effort to gain time, ordered at once the march of the troops, informing the Sultan of the same.

Tipu first went to Maddur to oppose the Carnatic army, but subsequently changing his mind, left a detachment at that place under Purnaiya and Sayyid Sahib, and hastened in three days to Periyapatna to meet the Bombay force under General Stuart, who had already ascended into Coorg. The romantic Rájá of Coorg discerned on the morning of the 5th March, from the summit of the Siddésvara hill, the plain near Periyapatna dotted with tents, including a green one, and flew to the English with the news. But the dawn following Tipu's force was in motion. A fog and the dense jungle screened its approach till the advanced British line was attacked both in front and rear. The small band sustained the conflict for several hours, till General Stuart coming up, the Mysoreans were entirely routed.

Meantime, in the east, General Harris in command of the grand army crossed the Mysore frontier by way of Ráyakota unopposed, and selecting the Kánkánhalli road, arrived with his troops on the 27th March, 1799, at Malvalli, within forty miles of Seringapatam. Here the Mysorean army was drawn up on the heights two miles west of the town, and threatened the advance. A general action ensued, from which Tipu was forced to retreat with loss.

Anticipating that the British army would take the same route to the

capital which had been taken in 1792, Tipu had destroyed all the forage in that direction, but General Harris defeated his project by crossing the Kávéri at Sosile. When the intelligence of this skilful movement reached the ears of the Sultan, he was deeply dejected. Assembling a council of his principal officers at Bannur, "We have," he observed with great emotion, "now arrived at our last stage"—intimating that there was no hope. "What is your determination?" "To die with you," was the universal reply, and the meeting broke up bathed in tears, as if convened for the last time. In accordance with the deliberation of this assembly, the Sultan hastened to the southern point of the island, and took up his position at the village of Chandagál; but General Harris again thwarted his plans, and making a circuit to the left, safely reached the ground towards the west, occupied by General Abercromby in 1792, and sat down before the capital on the 5th April, or exactly in the space of a month from the date of his crossing the frontier.

Since the year 1792 a new line of intrenchments had been constructed on this side of the fort, from the Daulat Bagh to the Periyapatam bridge, within six or seven hundred yards from the fort, thus avoiding the fault of the redoubts in 1792, which were too distant to be supported by the guns of the fort. The Sultan's infantry was now encamped between these works and the river, and on the same evening on which the British army took up its position a portion was attacked by Colonel Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo. Although this first attempt failed, success was achieved on the following morning, and strong advanced posts were established within 1,800 yards of the fort, with their left on the river and their right at Sultanpet.

General Stuart safely effected his junction with the main army on the 14th, notwithstanding the active and well-conducted exertions of the Mysore cavalry under Kammar-ud-Din Khan to check his progress. He took up his position on the north side of the fort. The regular siege may be said to date from the 17th, and it was decided ultimately to storm at the western angle, across the river.

Tipu, in order to open communications, had written to General Harris on the 9th, affecting ignorance of the cause of hostilities; on which he was referred to the Governor-General's letters. He now on the 20th proposed a conference, and was furnished in reply with the draft of a preliminary treaty, to be executed in twenty-four hours, the principal conditions of which were—the cession of half of his remaining territories, the payment of two crores of rupees in two instalments, and the delivery of four of his sons and four of his

principal officers as hostages. But the time passed without his accepting it. A sortie on a large scale was repulsed by the besiegers, who pushed on their operations with vigour, till on the 27th the Mysoreans were driven from their last exterior line of defence.

The Sultan now again attempted negotiation, and was informed that the terms previously offered would be held open until three o'clock next day, but no longer. From this time despair seemed to brood over him. Supernatural aid was sought both by the incantations of Brahmans and the prayers of Muhammadan *mullas*, while the stars were consulted and solemn ceremonies of divination performed with the view of ascertaining what was decreed in the book of fate. But his officers were more alive to their duty at such a crisis. Meanwhile the approaches and breaching batteries of the besiegers were steadily advancing, and, on the morning of the 2nd of May, began to form the breach, which next day was reported practicable.

Before daybreak on the memorable 4th of May the assaulting party, consisting of two thousand four hundred and ninety-four Europeans, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven natives, under the command of General Baird, had taken their stand in the trenches, with scaling-ladders and other implements ready. The Sultan had persuaded himself the assault would never be made by daylight. One o'clock, however, had been decided on as the hour.

At that precise moment General Baird, eager to avenge the hardships he had suffered within the walls of Seringapatam and the secret massacre of his countrymen, stepped forward from the trenches in full view of both armies, and drawing his sword, called on the soldiers in a tone which thrilled along the trenches to "follow him and prove worthy of the British name." His men rushed at once into the bed of the river. Though immediately assailed by musketry and rockets, nothing could withstand their ardour, and in less than seven minutes the forlorn hope reached the summit of the breach, and there hoisted the British flag, which proclaimed to the world that the fate of Mysore was decided.<sup>1</sup>

For fourteen days preceding, the Sultan, who could not be convinced that the fall of his capital was so near at hand, had taken up his quarters in the inner partition of the Kalale Didḍi, a water gate through the outer rampart on the north face of the fort. The general

<sup>1</sup> The capture of Seringapatam and glorious termination of the Mysore war were celebrated with great rejoicings and a day of public thanksgiving throughout the British possessions, and the anniversary of the event was specially observed for many years after. As an indication of the progress made in communications since that time it may be noted that the news did not reach London till the 13th of September.

charge of the angle attacked had been committed to Sayyid Sahib, his father-in-law, assisted by Sayyid Gaffur, formerly an officer in the British service, who was taken prisoner with Colonel Braithwaite and was now serving Tipu. The eldest of the princes, with Purnaiya, commanded a corps intended to disturb the northern attack, and the second prince was in charge of the Mysore gate and the southern face of the fort, while Kammar-ud-din was absent watching Colonel Floyd. Sayyid Sahib had sent a message in the morning that the fatal hour of storming was drawing nigh, but the Sultan replied that it would not be by daylight. He had ordered his midday repast, but had scarcely finished it when the report was made to him of the actual assault. Hastily arming, he heard that Sayyid Gaffur had been killed. "Sayyid Gaffur was never afraid to die," he said, and ordered another officer to take his place. He then mounted the northern rampart with a few attendants and eunuchs, and when within two hundred yards of the breach fired several times with his own hands at the assailants, under cover of a traverse. But seeing that his men had either fled or lay dead, and that the assailants were advancing in great numbers, he retired along the rampart, slightly wounded, and meeting one of his favourite horses, mounted him and proceeded eastward till he came to the gateway leading into the inner fort, which he entered with a crowd of fugitives.

A deadly volley was poured into this crowded passage by a portion of the storming party. Tipu received a second and third wound, and his horse was struck, while the faithful Rája Khán, who still clung to his master's side, was also hit. Rája Khán advised him to discover himself. "Are you mad? Be silent," was the prompt reply. He then made an effort to disengage his master from the saddle, but both master and servant fell in the attempt on a heap of dead and dying. Tipu's other attendants obtained a palankeen and placed him in it, but he contrived to move out of it. While he lay with the lower part of his body buried underneath the slain, the gold buckle of his belt excited the cupidity of a soldier, who attempted to seize it. Tipu snatching up a sword made a cut at him, but the grenadier shot him through the temple, and thus terminated his earthly career. He was then in his forty-seventh year and had reigned seventeen years.

So long as the Sultan was present, a portion of his troops on the north side made efforts at resistance, and his French corps persevered in it for some time longer, but they were soon quelled. Immediately after the assault, General Baird hastened to the palace in the hope of finding the Sultan. The inmates, including two princes who were themselves ignorant of his fate, solemnly denied his presence, but the

doubts of the General were not satisfied. The princes were assured of protection and removed under military honours to the British camp, and the palace was thoroughly searched with the exception of the zenana, but all to no purpose. At last the General's threats extorted from the unwilling killedar the disclosure of the secret that the Sultan lay wounded in the gate; and here, after a search in the promiscuous and ghastly heap of slain, the body was discovered. It was removed to the palace in a palankeen and next day consigned with all military honours to its last resting-place, at the Lál Bágh by the side of Haidar Ali. The solemn day closed with one of the most dreadful storms that ever visited this part of the country.

"Haidar was born to create an empire; Tipu to lose one,"—was the proverbial opinion, based on the prediction of the former and an observation of their respective characters. It was justified by the events, and forcibly sums up the merits of the two Musalman rulers of Mysore.

Compared with his father, who often lamented his son's defects, Tipu was weak both in mind and character. In person he was neither so tall nor so robust as Haidar, and his complexion was darker. His hands and feet were small and delicate, his eyes large and full, but he had a short thick neck and was slightly inclined to corpulence. His face was clean shaven, except for a thin line on the upper lip, and, unlike his father, he retained his eyebrows and eyelashes. In dress he generally affected simplicity and made this the rule for his courtiers also. His turban, which was latterly green, was fastened in, in the Mahratta fashion, by a white handkerchief tied over the top and under the chin. He was very garrulous, and spoke in loud and sharp tones, laying down the law on every conceivable topic.

There is a popular idea that as Haidar means lion (a name of 'Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad), so Tipu means tiger, but this appears to be a mistake. He was named Tipu after a holy man whose shrine is at Arcot, near which Haidar was when he heard of the birth of his son at Devanhalli. The tiger, however, was adopted by Tipu as emblematic. His throne was in the form of a tiger, with the head life-size, in gold,<sup>1</sup> and tigers' heads formed the capitals of the eight pillars supporting the canopy. His own uniform and that of his soldiers was covered with the tiger stripe, and this was also engraved on his guns and other articles. Tigers were chained at the entrance to his palace, and he is declared to have said that he would rather live two days as a tiger than two centuries as a sheep.

<sup>1</sup> Now at Windsor Castle; also the *humd*, or bird of paradise, covered with jewels, which glittered at the top of the canopy.

He was a good horseman and active in the field: also very industrious in writing, the pen being scarcely ever out of his hand. He could speak fluently Hindustani, Kannada, and Persian, but though the range of his studies was limited, he vainly regarded himself as one of the wisest of men. And so great was his conceit that he also imagined himself to be one of the most handsome. He affected an acquaintance with every known subject, and himself wrote detailed instructions on the most diversified matters, both civil and military, to all his subordinates. His rage for innovations, which has already been illustrated in the account of his reign (see above, p. 409) unsettled everything, while his dark and cruel bigotry blinded his perceptions, threw power into unworthy hands, and alienated from him whole classes of the most important of his subjects. Though perhaps he deceived himself into a belief that his measures were for the good of the people, they were really the outcome of caprice and self-conceit, which at length gave rise to suspicions of aberration of the mind.

The town suffered plunder for a day, and at last guards having been placed over the houses of the respectable persons, and four of the plunderers executed, the soldiery was effectually restrained, and tranquillity restored. This event was followed by the surrender of Fattah Haidar, the eldest of the sons of Tipu, and of Purnaiya, Kamarud-Din Khan and other officers, on the following day. Circular orders were issued by General Harris, accompanied by communications from the Meer Soodoor, to the officers in charge of the different forts in the territories, to deliver their charges to the British authorities, and giving them general assurance of favour and protection. By these means the country submitted, the ryots returned to their peaceful occupations, and the land had rest from the incessant warfare of the past fifty years.

The disposal of the conquered territories engaged attention next. After a mature deliberation of the various interests involved in the question, the restoration of the descendant of the Rájās of Mysore to the sovereignty, under British protection, of a part of the dominions, and the division of the remainder between the allies, were the measures resolved upon.<sup>1</sup> The British share consisted of all the districts below the Gháts lying between their possessions on the eastern and western coasts, namely, Kanara, Coimbatore, &c., with such posts and fortresses as commanded the passes; and the island of Seringapatam. To the Nizam were assigned the districts of Gutti and Guramkonda, bordering on the cessions made in 1792, together with all the country north from

<sup>1</sup> By a Commission composed of General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, Lieut.-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Colonel Barry Close, the Nizam concurring.

Chitaldroog and Sira. For the Mahrattas, whose forces were not present at the siege, were reserved, on certain conditions, Harpanhalli, Sunda and Anegundi, with parts of the districts of Chitaldroog and Bednur above the Gháts ; but as they would not agree to the terms of the proposed treaty renouncing a claim to plunder, these districts were divided between the British and the Nizam.

The sons of Tipu were provided with liberal allowances, and removed from the scene of their former greatness to the fortress of Vellore.<sup>1</sup> The principal officers of the late Government were divided into three classes, according to their respective ranks, and pensioned ; the stipends varying from three thousand to two hundred and ten star pagodas per annum. To Mir Kamar-ud-Din Khan were assigned two *jágers*, one from the Company and the other from the Nizam, and he was permitted to reside at Guramkonda. Purnaiya, who had been the principal financial minister under the late Government, having given satisfactory proof of his readiness to serve the new one in the same capacity, it was deemed advisable to appoint him Divan to the young Rája.<sup>2</sup> All negotiations regarding the revival of the kingdom of Mysore were considerably postponed till the departure of the sons of the Sultan from the capital, which took place on the 18th of June, 1799.

(Subsequently, in 1800, the Nizam ceded to the British the territories acquired from Mysore in 1792 and 1799, in return for a force of British troops to be stationed at Haidarabad. And in 1803 Holalkere, Mayakonda, and Harihar districts were given to Mysore by the British Government in exchange for parts of Punganur, Wynad, Yelusavirasime, and some other places contiguous to their boundary.)

The Brahmans having fixed upon the 30th of June as the most auspicious day for placing Krishna Rája Wodeyar on the *masnad*, the ceremony was performed at Mysore at noon on that day by the Commissioners, headed by General Harris, and accompanied by Mir Alam (the representative of the Nizam), under three volleys of musketry from the troops on the spot and a royal salute from the guns of Seringapatam. The deportment of the young prince, the despatch on the subject says, was remarkably decorous. Some high Musalman officers of the late Government spontaneously attended on the occasion. The inauguration having taken place under an open pandal, the spectators were very numerous, and it would be difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Five years later, on the occurrence of the mutiny at Vellore, they were removed to Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> Tirumal Rao, previously referred to (p. 399), was also a candidate for this office, with the support of the Rani. But a letter on the subject was sent to her by Mr. Webbe, in Mahratta, signed *S'ri Veb* (in Devanagari characters), and Tirumal Rao was liberally pensioned. He lived at Madras till his death in 1815.

describe the joy which was visible in the countenances of all the Hindus present.

The rebuilding of the old palace of Mysore was at the same time commenced. Dr. Buchanan, writing in May 1800, says, "It is now so far advanced as to be a comfortable dwelling, and I found the young prince seated in it on a handsome throne. He has very much recovered his health, and though he is only between six and seven years of age, speaks and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian etiquette, he endeavours in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance; but the attentions of Colonel Close, the Resident, make him sometimes relax, and then his face is very lively and interesting."

Purnaiya was now Divan and Regent, Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close<sup>1</sup> was Resident, and Colonel Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) commanded the Division. The combined influence of such a triad was a sufficient guarantee for all that could render the State secure and prosperous. The disturbances caused by the Aigur chief in Manjarabad, and by Dhundia Wahag<sup>2</sup> in the north-west were soon quelled. Purnaiya's thorough knowledge of the resources of the country enabled him to add materially to the revenue, which was further swelled by the sale of the large stores of sandalwood which had accumulated for several years owing to Tipu's prohibition of its export from his dominions; so that although the Mysore State, according to treaty, kept a considerable body of troops in the field during the Mahratta war, the treasury continued to fill. "The

<sup>1</sup> He came out as a cadet in 1771, and was in Tellicherry during its siege by Haidar: served as Deputy-Adjutant-General with the army before Seringapatam in 1792, and as Adjutant-General at the final capture in 1799. He was then appointed Resident in Mysore. In 1801 he was transferred as Resident to Poona, where he remained till his retirement in 1811, and died in England in 1813. He was an accomplished Arabic and Persian scholar. Closepet is named after him.

<sup>2</sup> He was a Mahratta by descent, and a native of Channagiri. From 1780 he served as a horseman in Haidar's army, but during the invasion of Lord Cornwallis decamped with a few followers and as much booty as they could get hold of to Dharwar, where he lived by plundering. In 1794 he was induced to come to Seringapatam with the prospect of being received into Tipu's service with all his followers, consisting of two hundred horse. But refusing to embrace Islam, he was forcibly converted and thrust into prison. At the capture of Seringapatam he was found chained to the wall like a wild beast, and the British soldiers out of pity at once freed him. He then escaped to the Mahratta country, and collecting a large force committed many depredations in the north-west. In 1800, having assumed the title of "King of the Two Worlds," he threatened the Mysore frontier with a body of 5,000 horse. Colonel Wellesley went against him, and pursuing him for months from point to point without being able to come up with him, at last succeeded in surprising him, when this freebooter's army was entirely routed and he himself killed in a cavalry charge led in person by his distinguished opponent.



settlement of Mysore," as Major Wilks remarks, "was distinguished from all preceding measures of British policy, was quoted with applause in the remotest parts of India, and was acknowledged with unlimited gratitude by the people to be governed, by leaving every office, civil and military, to be filled by the natives themselves, with the single guard of those powers of interposition in the internal affairs of the government which were reserved by a special provision of the treaty. . The experiment was new, and with relation to its remote consequences, of momentous importance." It was, therefore, no little satisfaction to the Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, in 1804, to record it as his deliberate declaration, that during the past five years, "the affairs of the government of Mysore had been conducted with a degree of regularity, wisdom, discretion and justice unparalleled in any Native State in India."

Of the young prince himself we obtain a further glimpse in 1806, from Colonel Welsh's account of a procession from Nanjangud to Kalale. "The young Rajah," he writes, "was now twelve years old, and as promising a boy as I ever beheld; indeed, Major Wilks, who was a man of sense and refinement, declared he had never known a finer youth, European or native. His manners were far above his age, but he was then under the tutelage of the celebrated Poorniah. . During the procession, which took place on horseback, old Poorniah checked the ardour of the Rajah, and we moved at a snail's pace for the first three miles, when this fine boy, longing for a gallop, obtained his guardian's leave, exchanged his State turban for a plain one, and disengaging himself from several valuable chains and jewels which decorated his person, gave his horse the whip, and commenced a *lunge*, which he managed with grace and dexterity, while we formed a ring outside and enjoyed the exhibition. After indulging himself for a few minutes, in which we much admired his manliness, he resumed his dress, and we proceeded in state to the end of the march." <sup>1</sup>

Beyond advice from the Resident, little interference with internal affairs was called for during the administration of Purnaiya, which continued till 1811. "The knowledge of the right of interposing had proved sufficient of itself to prevent any frequent or urgent necessity for its exercise, and to secure in a respectable degree the protection of the people in the enjoyment of their most important rights." Purnaiya's system of government was no doubt absolute; and, as a financier, the accumulation of surplus revenue presented itself to him as a prime end to be attained. It may be questioned, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> *Military Reminiscences, from a Journal of Forty Years' Active Service in the East Indies.* By Colonel James Welsh.

whether he did not to some extent enrich the treasury at the expense of the State, by narrowing the resources of the people ; for by 1811 he had amassed in the public coffers upwards of two crores of rupees. He was a minister of the old school, and viewed with chagrin any attempts which the Rájá, as he came to years of discretion, made to assert his prerogatives. This provoked the resentment of the young Rájá, surrounded as he was by parasites who constantly urged him to take the government into his own hands. In 1811 he expressed to the Resident a wish to govern for himself. The Resident endeavoured to secure a share in the administration for Purnaiya, but the latter declined further office, and retired to Seringapatam, where he soon after died, on the 28th of March 1812. Old and infirm, after a life of unusual activity and care, "I am going to the land of my fathers," was the tranquil message he sent a few days before to his friend Colonel Hill, the Commandant of the fort. "Say that I am travelling the same road," was the reply returned, and he survived the minister but a short time.

Purnaiya was a Brahman of the Mádhva sect, descended from a family of the Coimbatore country. His talents were recognized by Haidar, and he was made not only minister of finance, but was also put in charge of the commissariat. He was short and stout in person, but much more active than Brahmans in general are, and Haidar rewarded him with a grant of the village of Maruhalli (south-west of Mysore). His tact and the influence he had acquired are well illustrated by the course he pursued, already related, at the death of Haidar, and the means he took to secure the succession to Tipu. His services to the latter were of the highest value, and next to Mir Sadak he enjoyed greater power under the Sultan than any other person. But he was in no small danger from the bigotry of his master. For the Sultan, it is said, once proposed to him to become a Musalman. "I am your servant," replied Purnaiya, and hastily withdrew. The Sultan's mother, who had great influence with her son, on hearing of what had occurred, strongly remonstrated with him on his folly, and he had the sense to see the danger of proceeding any further in the matter. It must have been with a sense of relief, therefore, that Purnaiya, when, after the fall of Seringapatam, he was summoned to surrender, and assured that he had no cause to be alarmed, replied, "How can I hesitate to surrender to a nation who are the protectors of my tribe from Kás'i to Rámes'varam?" The subsequent distinguished career of Purnaiya has been made plain by our history. In 1807 he was offered a jágir in recognition of his services, and chose the fertile tract of Yelandur, on the borders of Mysore and Coimbatore.

Mr. Josiah Webbe had been appointed Resident in Mysore in succession to Colonel Close, but only consented to hold the office temporarily, as he was anxious to leave India. Until his arrival Mr. J. H. Peile acted as Resident for a few months. Mr. Webbe had been for many years Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, and was intimately concerned in all the transactions of the south from the days of Haidar. He left Mysore to go as Resident to Nagpore, and from there went in June 1804, to relieve Malcolm at Gwalior, where he fell sick and died at a critical time in the spring of 1805. An obelisk erected to his memory by Purnaiya is conspicuous to the north of Seringapatam.

Major (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm<sup>1</sup> became Resident of Mysore at the beginning of 1803, but was destined to continue as an actor on a far wider stage, and was one of the foremost men of his day in India. Only the briefest outline can here be given of his illustrious career. Serving in the army before Seringapatam in 1792, he was selected by Lord Cornwallis to be Persian interpreter with the Nizam's contingent. He returned to England in 1794, and came out with General (Sir Alured) Clarke next year as Military Secretary on the secret expedition destined for India, in which the ships were driven out of their course to South America, and eventually arrived off the Cape of Good Hope at a most opportune moment, which enabled them to decide the contest with the Dutch that made the Cape a British colony. He continued as Military Secretary under General Harris at Madras, and in 1798 was appointed Assistant Resident at Haidarabad, where he nearly lost his life in carrying out the disbandment of the French forces. In 1799 he was First Secretary to the Commissioners for the settlement of Mysore (Captain Thomas Munro being the other), and immediately after was sent as Envoy to Persia by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, who had early discerned his abilities. In March 1803, he joined the army of General Wellesley, marching against the Mahrattas, at Harihar, as representative of the Governor-General, and was afterwards sent on a mission to Bombay. Thus it was not till November 1804 that he came to Mysore itself, and after the stirring events in which

<sup>1</sup> He was of a Scotch family and not thirteen when taken by his uncle before the Directors of the East India Company in 1781 for a cadetship. They were about to refuse a commission in their army to such a boy, but on one of the Directors in a disparaging manner saying to him, "Why, my little man, what would you do if you met Haidar Ali?" "I'd out with my sword and cut off his head," was the unexpected reply, on which they passed him at once. Boy Malcolm, as he was called, became very popular and developed great talents. When sent in charge of the escort for exchange of prisoners with Tipu, the officer of the opposite party, seeing such a stripling, asked where the commanding officer was. "I am the commanding officer," was the answer he was astonished to receive.

he had been engaged was turning his thoughts to a life of literary leisure and the compilation of his *History of Persia*, when, in March 1805, he was again summoned to Calcutta by the Governor-General, and was employed in negotiations with Holkar and Sindiah. In fact, "send Malcolm" had come to be the remedy proposed for every emergency. He returned to Mysore in April 1807, and was married there in July to the daughter of an officer in Madras. But in February 1808, he was a second time sent to Persia. Returning to Madras in 1809, he was ordered to Masulipatam to repress the mutiny of the European regiment, and was afterwards reappointed to Persia. In 1812 he received five years' furlough to England. On his return to India he was engaged in operations against the Pindaris and Mahrattas, and in 1819 took charge of the administration of Central India. He went home again in 1822, and was subsequently appointed Governor of Bombay. After a most distinguished career in India<sup>1</sup> he retired to England in 1831, entered Parliament, and died in London of influenza in 1833. A statue of him by Chantrey was erected in Westminster Abbey and one in Bombay.

He was very tall and strong, and of untiring activity in body and mind. Simple, manly, generous and accessible to all, he was universally beloved both by Europeans and natives. Colonel Welsh, who met him at Belgaum at the end of 1828, when he was Governor of Bombay, says, "He proved to be the same honest John Malcolm I knew twenty-five years ago, in General Wellesley's army. All the fire, strength and activity of youth, with those abilities which enable him to transact his business in less time than most other men would take to consider about it."

During the prolonged absence of the permanent Resident the duties of the office were ably discharged by Major Mark Wilks, whose *History of Mysore* is a monument of his knowledge of and interest in the country. In about 1808 he went to England and afterwards became Governor of St. Helena, an appointment which he held till the imprisonment on that island of the Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte. He was succeeded at Mysore by the Hon. Arthur H. Cole, who had been the Assistant Resident. This gentleman, a connection of the Earls of Enniskillen, held the position of Resident for many years, but I have not been able to obtain any particular information about him, except that I believe he had been in Parliament. On leaving Mysore he went to the Mauritius. In 1825 Mr. J. A. Casamaijor, of

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Wellington, writing to him in 1824, says, "I can answer for it that from the year 1796 no great transaction has taken place in the East in which you have not played a principal, most useful, conspicuous and honourable part; and you have in many services, diplomatic as well as military, been distinguished by successes, any one of which in ordinary circumstances would have been deemed sufficient for the life of a man."

the Madras Civil Service, was Resident, and continued so till 1834, when he was transferred to Travancore.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the Rájá of Mysore. Krishna Rájá Wodeyar, then about sixteen years of age, commenced his rule under the most favourable auspices, with a treasury well filled and the good wishes of the whole country. Flatterers and parasites, however, gained too ready an ear, and in 1814 the Resident was compelled to report that the Rájá had already dissipated on worthless persons the treasure accumulated by Purnaiya, while the pay of his troops was several months in arrears. Though possessed of great natural intelligence, he lacked the administrative ability which was essential for governing the country, and was yet too jealous to delegate the necessary authority to the Divan. While the Resident's advice was disregarded, a lute player named Venkat Subbaiya, and other indifferent characters, obtained an extraordinary influence over him. The disinterested counsels of the few respectable native gentlemen at his court met with no more attention than those of the Resident, and although sharply rebuked by the British Government and warned of the inevitable result of his extravagance and sensuality, the Rájá turned a deaf ear to all remonstrance. In 1817 he was foolish enough to enter into political intrigues which gave umbrage to the British, though they did not proceed from want of loyalty on his part.

Colonel Welsh, an eye-witness whom we have already quoted, writing of Bangalore so early as October 1811, says, "The Rajah of Mysore paid us a visit for the races, accompanied by the Hon. A. Cole and his staff. . . I have formerly mentioned this prince as a most promising youth; I much fear he has now broken that promise, for, so far as outward appearance goes, no two beings could be more different." Again, writing in 1830, he says:—"The after-life of this prince, I am truly sorry to state, has not fulfilled the promise of his youth. . . I must own I had never felt such a predilection for any native as for this young Rajah; and Major Wilks's accounts of the proofs he gave of good sense and honourable feeling made an impression on my mind which led me afterwards to hope, when hope was vain; for on acquiring the entire management, he threw himself into the most improper hands, and disregarded the advice of his real friends to such a degree that some of the most important stations were filled by low and insignificant wretches, and the whole country groaned under oppression. . . He has long ruled his own kingdom,

<sup>1</sup> He eventually retired to the Nilagiri Hills, where in 1842 he bought the residence and property of the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, at Kaity, and at his death in 1849 bequeathed it to the Basel Lutheran Mission.

and with able and honourable advice, which he has never wanted in Major Wilks's successors, might have acquired a name among his subjects equal to that of his virtuous minister (Poorniah); but he has miserably failed, and those who now frequent that once well-regulated country hear nothing but complaints against the Sovereign in every village."

"All remonstrances failed to check the Rája's downward course. High offices of State were sold to the highest bidder, while the people were oppressed by the system of *sharti*, which had its origin under Purnaiya's regency. *Sharti* was a contract made by the Amildar that he would realize for the Government a certain amount of revenue; that if his collections should fall short of that amount he would make good the deficiency, and that if they exceeded it the surplus should be paid to the Government. The amount which the Amildar thus engaged to realize was generally an increase on what had been obtained the year preceding. In the *muchalika* or agreement the Amildar usually bound himself not to oppress the ryots, nor impose any new taxes, nor compel the ryots to purchase the Government share of grain, but this proviso was merely formal; for any violation of the contractors in any of these points when represented to the Government was taken no notice of. The consequence was that the ryots became impoverished, the revenues more embarrassed, and the Amildars themselves frequently suffered losses. The distress arising from this state of things, and from the neglect of duties incumbent upon Government, fell heavily upon the ryots, who groaned under the oppression of every tyrannical *sharti* Faujdar and Amildar."

As another instance of maladministration which prevailed it may be mentioned that the courts of justice had no power to pass sentence, their prerogative being limited to the mere finding of guilty or not guilty. The Rája, who had retained the power of passing sentence, was too indolent to attend to business, and the result was that the jails remained for years crowded with prisoners who, if guilty at all, were only guilty of light offences.

Once, in 1825, the venerable Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, actuated by a sincere desire to avert the ruin which threatened the Rája, visited Mysore and remonstrated personally with him. In his minute upon the interview, he writes, "I concluded by saying that the disorder of the Rajah's affairs had reached such a height as would justify the Government in acting upon the Fourth Article of the Treaty; but that as a direct interference in the administration, or the assumption for a time of part of the Mysore territory, could not be undertaken without lessening the dignity of his Highness, and shaking his authority in such a manner that it would be impracticable ever to

re-establish it, I was unwilling to adopt such a course until the last extremity, and wished to give him an opportunity of restoring order himself. But if reform was not immediately begun, direct interference would be unavoidable." The effect of this advice was at best transient, and Munro unfortunately died of cholera at Gutti in July, 1827. Between this time and 1831 matters went from bad to worse. The Resident, Mr. Cassamajor, strove ineffectually to arrest the Rájá's downfall, but did not succeed in securing his confidence. His Highness seemed destined to place his trust always in unworthy advisers.

In 1830 symptoms of disaffection began to show themselves in the Nagar country. A Brahman named Rama Rao, from the Mahratta territory, who had served with credit under Haider and Tipu as a commander of cavalry, had been appointed Faujdar of Nagar in 1799, and held that office till 1805. He afterwards became Bakshi of the Sowar Cutcherry, and was one of the Rájá's most intimate counsellors, and virtually the Dewan for a few years after Purnaiya's retirement. By his influence almost every public situation of importance in Nagar down to 1828 was, with a slight interruption, filled up by his dependents or relatives. Though charged with flagrant frauds and embezzlements, their conduct was shielded from scrutiny ; while some of them even enriched themselves by giving encouragement to robbers—for whose operations the wild nature of the country offers many facilities—and partaking of the plunder. The outstanding balances of revenue having accumulated to upwards of thirteen lakhs of rupees, the Bakshi contrived that he himself should be deputed to inquire into and settle the claims. He made large remissions to the extent of seven-and-a-half lakhs, and returned to the Darbar in 1828. The Rájá being led to question the propriety of these proceedings, resolved to appoint a relative of his own, named Vira Raj Arasu, as Faujdar. The latter discovered that much fraud had been practised in the remissions, and re-imposed the claims, which naturally excited dissatisfaction in those affected. The Bakshi's party, also, fearful of the consequences to themselves if the inquiries which Vira Raj Arasu was pursuing should expose the corruption and malversation they had practised during so many years, connived at the seditious proceedings of a pretender to the throne of Nagar.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This man, whose real name was Sádár Malla, was the son of a common ryot of Kumsi. Before the age of twenty he had been concerned in several robberies and spent two years in jail. He afterwards entered the service of a Jangama who had been priest of the last Náyak of Bednur and was possessed of his seal rings. These, on the death of the priest, Sádár Malla got hold of, and assuming the name of Búdi Basavappa, wandered about the country secretly giving out that he was a descendant

In August (1830) a force in his name attempted to surprise the fort of Anantapur, but failed. At the same period the ryots in various places assembled in *kūṭa* or indignation meetings. On the ground of these commotions, Vira Raj Arasu was recalled, and the former Faujdar of the Bakshi's party restored. He made use of troops to disperse the ryots at Hole Honnur on the 7th December, and several were killed and wounded. But they rallied near Honnali and were joined by larger numbers from all parts, who openly espoused the cause of the pretender. The Faujdar again attacked them with a regiment of horse and broke up the assembly. The Palegar of Tarikere now suddenly left Mysore and joined the insurgents, seizing on Kaldroog and Kámandroog. The Faujdar of Bangalore also reported his Division to be in a general state of insurrection. Strong reinforcements of troops were sent to the disturbed districts in the Bangalore, Chitaldroog and Nagar Divisions; and the Rájá set out with a considerable force on the 13th December for Chanráypatna, where it was proclaimed that the grievances of the ryots would be inquired into. Investigations were made by the Dewan for some days; several persons were hanged, others flogged or mutilated. Meanwhile there were encounters in various parts between the insurgents and the troops.

In January the Rájá's camp was established at Hebbur, and the Dewan was despatched with troops against Kámandroog, while Annappa, an officer of cavalry, was appointed to supersede the Faujdar of Nagar. Annappa maintained an arduous conflict for several weeks with the insurgents, and was forced to take refuge in Anantapur. Here he remained till nearly starved, when addressing his troops, he said, "Rather than die in this way of starvation, let us go and fight, and die like soldiers." They responded, and sallying forth on the Shikarpur road, fought their way stoutly for fifteen miles to Masur in the Company's territory, whence they retreated to Harihar. The operations against Kámandroog failed, but Kaldroog was taken in February. British aid was now applied for, and a regiment started from Harihar. At the same time, Lieut. Rochfort, of the Resident's escort, taking command of the Mysore troops, captured Kámandroog on the 3rd of March, the palegars escaping during the assault. Hence

of the Nagar family. About 1812 he was imprisoned for some time in Canara for robbery, and on release obtained a passport bearing the seal of the Zillah court, in which was entered his name as he himself gave it, Búdi Basavappa Nagar Khávind. This document was now exhibited as a sannad from the East India Company recognizing his claims. These deceptions were effectual, and when the discontent to which we have alluded was at its height, taking advantage of it to promise a full remission of all balances and a reduction of the assessment, he was, about April 1830, formally recognized by several patels as the sovereign of Nagar.



Lieut. Rochfort marched to Shimoga, and hearing that a large body of insurgents had taken Honnali, he proceeded there and took it by assault on the 12th. He now marched west, and carrying several stockades, temporarily recovered Nagar or Bednur on the 26th, and Chandragutti on the 6th of April. Meanwhile, enriched by the plunder of district treasuries and other depredations, the rebel leaders were joined by bodies of armed men, both horse and foot. Attracted by the hope of plunder, 1,500 Candachar peons of the Bedar caste also deserted to them.

Owing to the increasing strength of the insurgents, the employment of the entire subsidiary force became imperative. One regiment had to retire from a fortified barrier at Fattepet, but the British forces being concentrated at Shimoga, moved on the 31st of May by a circuitous route to Nagar, which was finally taken on the 12th of June, and a death-blow given to the insurrection. By the next month the majority of the ryots had returned to their villages under the protection of letters of cowl. But the rebel leaders continued at large with marauding bands, committing outrages and raising disturbances for many months.

The state of Mysore had been for some time attracting the notice of the Government of India, and as it was considered that the insurrection was of so serious a character as to call for special inquiry, the Governor-General ordered the formation of a Committee<sup>1</sup> to investigate the "origin, progress and suppression of the recent disturbances in Mysore." Their report showed that the misgovernment of the Rájá had produced grave and widely-spread discontent, that the revenues were rapidly failing, and that mal-administration was rampant in all departments of the State. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, therefore determined upon acting on the fourth and fifth articles of the subsidiary treaty. In a letter addressed to the Rájá, after recounting at some length and in forcible terms the circumstances under which the Rájá had been placed on the throne, the objects of the subsidiary treaty, and the mismanagement, tyranny, and oppression of the Rájá's government, Lord William Bentinck went on to say, "I have in consequence felt it to be indispensable, as well with reference to the stipulations of the treaty above quoted, as from a regard to the obligation of the protective character which the British Government holds towards the State of Mysore, to interfere for its preservation, and to save the various interests at stake from further ruin. It has seemed to me that in order to do this effectually, it will be necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country into the hands of British officers; and I have accordingly determined to

<sup>1</sup> The members were Major-General Hawker, Colonel W. Morison, Mr. J. M. Macleod, and Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Sir Mark) Cubbon.

nominate two Commissioners for the purpose, who will proceed immediately to Mysore.

"I now therefore give to your Highness this formal and final notice, and I request your Highness to consider this letter in that light; that is, as the notice required by the treaty to be given to your Highness of the measure determined upon for the assumption and management of the Mysore territory in the case stipulated. I beg of your Highness, therefore, to issue the requisite orders and proclamations to the officers and authorities of Mysore, within ten days from the date when this letter may be delivered to your Highness, for giving effect to the transfer of the territory, and investing the British Commissioners with full authority in all departments, so as to enable them to proceed to take charge and carry on affairs as they have been ordered, or may be hereafter instructed." To the Rájá, in accordance with the treaty, the sum of one lakh of star pagodas per annum was allotted for his private expenses.

The Rájá, who received this mandate at the time of the Dasara (19th Oct. 1831), peaceably surrendered the reins of government, and continued to reside in his palace at Mysore. The Governor-General vested the government in the hands of two Commissioners, the senior of whom was appointed by himself, and the junior by the Madras Government. The senior Commissioner, who possessed what was termed a casting-vote, and was therefore enabled to overrule his colleague on every point, was aided in financial matters by the Divan, which latter post was not abolished until 1834. Up to June 1832 the Commissioners were under the Government of Madras, but in that month they were made immediately subordinate to the Government of India. It was soon found that a Board of two Commissioners, who naturally constantly differed in opinion, was an agency ill-adapted for the organization of a proper system of government.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, in April 1834, one Commissioner, Colonel Morison, was appointed for the whole Province, and on his transfer to Calcutta, Colonel (afterwards Sir Mark) Cubbon took charge in June. But the office of Resident was still maintained, and thus a dual and divided interest continued to exist. Colonel J. S. Fraser, who had just carried out the deposition of the Rájá of Coorg and the annexation of that country, was in June 1834 appointed Resident in Mysore and Commissioner

<sup>1</sup> The following is a list of these Commissioners, with their dates of office :—

<i>Senior</i>		<i>Junior</i>	
Colonel J. Briggs	4 Oct. 1831	Mr. C. M. Lushington	4 Oct. 1831
		„ C. D. Drury	18 Feb. 1832
		„ J. M. Macleod	16 June 1832
„ W. Morison	6 Feb. 1833	Colonel Mark Cubbon	17 Feb. 1834

of Coorg. In 1836 he was made Resident in Travancore, and in 1838 at Haidarabad. Major R. D. Stokes succeeded him at Mysore, and remained till 1843, when the post of Resident was abolished.

A proposal, it appears, had been made by Lord William Bentinck before he left India, at the time of General Fraser's appointment, to restore the districts of Mysore, Ashtagram and Manjarabad to the Rájá, and to annex the remainder of the country as an equivalent for the subsidy. But the reply of the Court of Directors, which arrived in the time of Sir (afterwards Lord) Charles Metcalfe, and was made known to the Rájá by Lord Auckland, the new Governor-General, refused to sanction either the partition of a State whose integrity had been guaranteed by treaty, or the subjection of the inhabitants of any portion, however small, to the misrule from which they had been rescued.

The instructions of the Governor-General to the Madras Government on the first assumption of the Province had been to the effect that "the agency under the Commissioners should be exclusively native; indeed, that the existing native institutions should be carefully maintained." These views were subsequently confirmed by the Court of Directors in their letter dated 25th September 1835, in which they stated that they were "desirous of adhering as far as can be done to the native usage, and not to introduce a system which cannot be worked hereafter by native agency." The above instructions were, as far as possible, adhered to in the early days of the Commission. But in process of time it became known that the machinery of government was rotten to the core. Moreover, the opposing influence of the Rájá and his adherents throughout the country hampered the carrying out of all new measures and added to the difficulties of the situation. The powers of the various descriptions of courts were ill-defined, and involved endless appeals. The evils involved by this state of things lay too deep to be remedied by one Commissioner aided by the existing native agency, and it was therefore determined to substitute four European Superintendents for the Native Faujdars. Later on European Assistants were also appointed. The Huzúr Adálat, composed of Native Judges, was allowed to remain the highest judicial authority in the Province, but its sentences were made subject to the confirmation of the Commissioner.

Lord Dalhousie, who visited Mysore in 1855, recorded his opinion that the administration had been highly honourable to the British name and reflected the utmost credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers by whom such great results had been accomplished. Several changes were soon after introduced, arising out of the renewal of the Company's charter in 1854. A Judicial

Commissioner was appointed, and departments were formed for Public Works and Public Instruction.

The abolition of the post of Resident was at first felt by the Rájá as a great blow, but it brought him into closer relations with the Commissioner, and from 1847 they continued on the most friendly terms. Before this, however, in 1844, in a letter to Lord Hardinge, then Governor-General, the Rájá urged his claim to the restoration of his kingdom, to which the Directors replied in 1847, that "the real hindrance is the hazard which would be incurred to the prosperity and good government which the country now enjoys by replacing it under a ruler known by experience to be thoroughly incompetent." No indication, indeed, had been given that his rule would be any better than before. Though receiving on an average eleven lakhs a year, his extravagance had accumulated private debts for the settlement of which the appointment of a special officer, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. P. Grant, was necessary, and nearly thirty-five lakhs were paid. The public debts due from the time of his deposition were not extinguished till 1857. Lord Dalhousie, in view of the Rájá's age (then 62), his having no heir, and his expressed disinclination to adopt, anticipated that Mysore, at his decease, would lapse to the British Government, and that the good work which had been so well begun in it would be completed.

Such was the form of administration under Sir Mark Cubbon. The history of the Province under his rule is that of a people made happy by release from serfdom, and of a ruined State restored to financial prosperity. There was a gradual rise of the revenue notwithstanding that no less than seven hundred and sixty-nine petty items of taxation were swept away.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the abuses in the working of the land revenue, which had crept in since the time of Purnaiya, were removed; the payment of the assessment was made as easy as possible to the ryot by dividing it into five instalments, payable with reference to the periods of harvest; the system of *batáyi* or payment of assessment in kind, which exposed the ryot to numberless exactions, was in great measure abolished, and the land assessment in many cases was lowered.

At the beginning of 1860 the intention was formed of transferring the superintendence of Mysore affairs from the Governor-General to the Government of Madras, then under Sir Charles Trevelyan, thus reversing what had been done in 1832; but the step was so distasteful

<sup>1</sup> Among these were such whimsical taxes as taxes on marriage, on incontinency, on a child being born, on its being given a name, and on its head being shaved. In one village the inhabitants had to pay a tax because their ancestors had failed to find the stray horse of a palegar, and any one passing a particular spot in Nagar without keeping his hands close to his side had to pay a tax. All these taxes were formally entered in the government records as part of the resources of the state.

to the Rájá, no less than to Sir Mark Cubbon, who tendered his resignation, that it was withdrawn. Early the following year Sir Mark was attacked with serious illness, which compelled him to resign, and he died at Suez on his way to England in April 1861, at an advanced age, having spent the whole of the century in India. He left Mysore full of honours as full of years, and his memory is cherished with affection by the people over whom he ruled so long.

He was the son of a Manx clergyman, and came out to India in 1801, at the age of 16. On arrival he joined his uncle, Major Wilks, at the Mysore Residency, and there gained an early acquaintance with native habits. Before long he was appointed to the Commissariat Department at Hunsur, and became the head of it when Colonel Morison was made Resident of Travancore. This officer returned to Mysore as Senior Commissioner in 1833, and was next year appointed to the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta,<sup>1</sup> on which Colonel Cubbon, then lately made Junior Commissioner, succeeded him and became the sole Commissioner.<sup>2</sup>

He was a statesman of the old school, and, says General Dobbs, was particularly in his element when engaged in disentangling webs of native intrigue. In this he fought the natives with their own weapons, with one noble exception—he abhorred and never resorted to espionage, and often spoke of the failure of Europeans who descended to such tactics. He was intensely conservative, but his strong reluctance to change was corrected by his wide reading of the public journals, then few in number. To his deputies, in all matters in which he considered they possessed practical knowledge, he allowed great liberty in exercising their own judgment, and was generous and kind-hearted in support of them. He was passionately fond of horses, and kept up to fifty or more, chiefly Arabs, in his stables as pets. To encourage the production of high-bred

<sup>1</sup> A complimentary Order issued in Nov. 1839, on his departure to England, says, "His Lordship in Council would particularly draw the attention of the young officers of the Madras Army to the career of Colonel Morison." He was transferred from the line to the artillery solely on account of his talents, and made Instructor. He afterwards became Surveyor-General, and when the Commissariat department was formed, Commissary-General. His subsequent appointments have been stated above. He was the first Madras officer, since the days of Lord Clive, selected for a seat in the Supreme Council.

<sup>2</sup> I regret that more information could not be obtained regarding an officer who filled so prominent a position for so long a period with such distinguished success. My efforts to get further particulars from the Isle of Man or from surviving friends were not successful, and I am assured, on the best authority, that before leaving India, Sir Mark, in spite of the remonstrances of friends, deliberately destroyed all his papers. The sketch above given is taken from *Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa, and Burmah*, by Major-General R. S. Dobbs, a well-known officer of the Mysore Commission throughout the whole period referred to.

animals he had a number trained for the races, but did not run them, preferring to pay the fines. Though he did not go to church, he was particular in enforcing the observance of Sunday as a day of rest in all courts and offices, and would not receive native visitors on that day. His favourite retreat was Nandidroog, where he spent several months in the year.

We obtain a delightful picture of him in 1858, at the time of Lady Canning's visit. Her companion, the Hon. Mrs. Stuart, writes:—"At seven in the morning (22nd March) drove up, through the lines of the 60th Rifles, to General Cubbon's charming bungalow at Bangalore. We found the whole house prepared for us, the chivalrous old man of 74 having put himself into a tent. He is a very handsome, keen-eyed, intelligent man, and the quantity of anecdote of the deepest interest that he has told us has been more entertaining than I can describe." Lady Canning, writing from Nandidroog, says:—"I am visiting a charming old General, Sir Mark Cubbon, 1,500 feet above the tableland of Bangalore, and with a view over about 150 miles of country on all sides. It is cool fresh air and a very pleasant spot, and the old gentleman is very delightful. He has been all this century in India, but seems to know all that has gone on all over the world, and is the most *grand seigneur* old man I almost ever saw."<sup>1</sup>

His remains were conveyed by Dr. Campbell, the Durbar Surgeon, who had accompanied him on the voyage, to the Isle of Man, where he was met by Colonels Macqueen and Haines, old officers of the Mysore Commission, and the body was laid to rest in the family vault in a public funeral in which the whole island took part. As the mourners left the tomb, "There lies," said the archdeacon, "the greatest man this island has produced for centuries back." An equestrian statue, by Baron Marochetti, was erected to his memory at Bangalore by public subscription, and stands in front of the Public Offices.

The control of India had now passed from the Company to the Crown, so, on the departure of Sir Mark Cubbon, the Rája, encouraged by the friendly terms in which Lord Canning had in the previous year acknowledged his steadfastness during the mutiny, and had supported his objection to be transferred to the control of Madras, as well as by his proclaimed goodwill to the native princes of India, thought the opportunity favourable for again bringing forward his claims to the restoration of his country. He accordingly addressed Lord Canning on the subject in February 1861. That nobleman, in

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of Two Noble Lives*, by A. J. C. Hare.

a reply dated in March 1862, the day before he left for England, took exception to the terms of the petition as ill-advised, and rejected it, stating that "whilst the British Government had been careful to satisfy the right which it originally conceded to your Highness . . . it is equally alive to its obligations to the people of Mysore and to the responsibility for their prosperity and welfare of which it cannot divest itself." The Rájá, however, renewed his appeal through the new Viceroy, Lord Elgin. The decision of the Home Government, rejecting the appeal, on the ground that "the reinstatement of your Highness in the administration of the country is incompatible with the true interests of the people of Mysore," was made known to him at the end of 1863, on which the Rájá announced his intention of adopting a son. His debts had now again accumulated, since the last clearance of them, to fifty-five-and-a-half lakhs, and two officers were appointed for their liquidation.

Sir Mark Cubbon handed over charge to Mr. C. B. Saunders, the Judicial Commissioner, who conducted the administration till the arrival in Feb. 1862 of the new Commissioner, Mr. L. B. Bowring,<sup>1</sup> and the latter, with the interval of a year's leave in 1866-7, during which Mr. Saunders again officiated, held office until 1870. During this period many radical changes were effected. Mysore had hitherto been a non-regulation province. In 1862 the administration was re-organized on the model of the Punjab system, and other reforms were set on foot all tending towards the introduction of the regulation system. The Province was now formed into three Divisions, subdivided into eight Districts, each Division being placed under a Superintendent with enlarged powers, and each District in charge of a Deputy Superintendent, aided by Assistant Superintendents. The department of finance underwent at the same time a sweeping reform, and in place of the large discretion previously allowed to officers of all grades in regard to the disbursement of moneys, the Indian budget system of audit and accounts was introduced.

In 1863 was commenced a much-needed revenue survey and settlement, for the purposes of obtaining an accurate land measurement, of regulating the customary land tax, and of preserving all proprietary and other rights connected with the soil. In conjunction with this, the field assessment was fixed for thirty years, thus securing to the cultivator the full advantages of a lease for that period without burdening him with any

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bowring, of the Bengal Civil Service, had been Assistant-Resident at Lahore in 1847, and subsequently in the Punjab Commission. From 1858 to 1862 he was Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Canning. Created C.S.I. in 1867, and retired to England in 1870. The Bowring Institute in Bangalore was erected, partly by subscriptions, as a memorial to him.

condition beyond that of discharging the assessment for the single year to which his engagements extend. Soon after, it was found necessary to form an inam commission, to inquire into the validity of titles to lands held by individuals or religious institutions as real or pretended endowments from the sovereigns of the country, considerable alienations of whole villages having been made during the administration of the Rája. The conservation of the numerous irrigation channels and of the valuable forests of the country received attention ; and as judicial work grew heavier, judicial assistants were appointed, one for each District, for the disposal of civil suits. Education was greatly extended. Municipalities were established. In short, there was scarcely a branch of the administration but came under the scrutiny and reforming hand of the untiring and energetic head of the Government.

Meanwhile affairs had taken a turn of the utmost importance to the fortunes of the Mysore royal family. In June 1865 the Rája adopted a scion, then two years old, of one of the leading families of his house,<sup>1</sup> who on his adoption received the name of Cháma Rájendra. Whether this adoption would be recognized by the British Government was for some time doubtful, and questions asked in the House of Commons elicited no positive or final answer. In 1866 a deputation, headed by Sir H. Rawlinson, waited on the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cranborne (now Marquess of Salisbury), to urge upon him a reconsideration of the whole case of Mysore, more particularly as modified by the adoption ; and later on, a petition, to which several old Indian officers had added their signatures, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. John Stuart Mill, praying that " your Honourable House will take such steps as may seem in your wisdom most efficacious for ensuring, with the least possible delay, the re-establishment of a Native Government in the tributary State of Mysore, with every possible security for British interests and for the prosperity and happiness of the people of the country."

In April 1867 Viscount Cranborne stated to the House of Commons the decision to which the Government (of which Mr. Disraeli was Prime Minister) had come, influenced by the belief that the existence of well-governed native States is a benefit to the stability of British rule ; and on the 16th Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India, penned the despatch to the Governor-General which decided the future fate of Mysore. After stating that no hope could be held

<sup>1</sup> He was the third son of Chikka Krishna Arasu of the Bettadakote family ; a descendant, by adoption, of Katti Gopálráj Arasu, father of Krishna Rája II.'s wife Lakshammanni, who signed the treaty of Seringapatam in 1799.



out that the previous decision regarding the reinstatement of the Maharaja himself would be reversed, he went on to say :—

“Without entering upon any minute examination of the terms of the Treaties of 1799, Her Majesty’s Government recognize in the policy which dictated that settlement, a desire to provide for the maintenance of an Indian dynasty on the throne of Mysore, upon terms which should at once afford a guarantee for the good government of the people, and for the security of British rights and interests. Her Majesty is animated by the same desire, and shares the views to which I have referred. It is her earnest wish that those portions of India which are not at present under her immediate dominion may continue to flourish under native Indian rulers, co-operating with her representatives in the promotion of the general prosperity of the country; and, in the present case more especially, having regard to the antiquity of the Maharaja’s family, its long connection with Mysore, and the personal loyalty and attachment to the British Government which his Highness has so conspicuously manifested, Her Majesty desires to maintain that family on the throne in the person of his Highness’s adopted son, upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered circumstances of the present time will allow.

“In considering the stipulations which will be necessary to give effect to this arrangement, I have, in the first place, to observe, that Her Majesty’s Government cannot but feel a peculiar interest in the welfare of those who have now for so long a period been subject to their direct administration, and that they will feel it their duty, before replacing them under the rule of a native sovereign, to take all the pains they can with the education of that sovereign, and also to enter into a distinct agreement with him as to the principles upon which he shall administer the country, and to take sufficient securities for the observance of the agreement.

“It is, therefore, the intention of Her Majesty that the young prince should have the advantage of an education suitable to his rank and position, and calculated to prepare him for the duties of administration; and I have to desire you to propose to the Maharaja that he should receive his education under the superintendence of your Government. I have to request that you will communicate with me as to the mode in which this can best be effected without separating the young prince more than is necessary from those over whom he may hereafter be called on to rule.”

The despatch went on to direct that if at the demise of his Highness the young prince should not have attained the age fixed for his majority, “the territory shall continue to be governed in his name upon the same principles and under the same regulations as at the present time.” Before confiding to him the administration of the whole, or any portion, of the State, arrangements would be made “for the purpose of adequately

providing for the maintenance of a system of government well adapted to the wants and interests of the people," and, in regard to the rights and interests of the British Government, for some addition to the subsidy.

The Rája, though this gave the final blow to his own pretensions, was much gratified with the remainder of the decision, and with the friendly tone of the despatch. He was as alive as the British Government to the fact that defective training had been to a great extent at the bottom of his misfortunes. He accordingly selected Colonel G. Haines, formerly in the Mysore Commission, as guardian of the young prince, to superintend his education and training. Next year he died, on the 27th of March 1868, having reached the ripe age of seventy-four years. Though deprived of political power, the assignment to him of a fifth of the revenue for his personal expenditure had enabled him to give reins to the princely liberality which formed one of the main elements of his character, and he possessed many amiable personal qualities much appreciated by those with whom he was intimate. Immediately on the occurrence of this event the following proclamation was issued:—

"His Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor-General<sup>1</sup> in Council announces to the Chiefs and people of Mysore, the death of his Highness the Maharaja Krishna Rája Wodiar Bahadoor, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. This event is regarded with sorrow by the Government of India, with which the late Maharaja had preserved relations of friendship for more than half a century.

"His Highness Chamarajendra Wodiar Bahadoor, at present a minor, the adopted son of the late Maharaja, is acknowledged by the Government of India as his successor and as Maharaja of the Mysore territories.

"During the minority of his Highness the said territories will be administered in his Highness's name by the British Government, and will be governed on the same principles and under the same regulations as heretofore.

"When his Highness shall attain to the period of majority, that is, the age of eighteen years, and if his Highness shall then be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the government of the country will be entrusted to him, subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time."

The young Maharaja was installed at Mysore at noon on the 23rd of September, at the time of the Dasara, by the Commissioner, Mr. Bowring, who reported that "during the whole of the fatiguing cere-

<sup>1</sup> Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence.

monies attendant on his installation the young prince showed great self-control and composure, and it was not a little remarkable to see a child of his tender years behave with so much dignity."

Mr. Bowring, who from 1869 was styled Chief Commissioner, resigned office at the beginning of 1870. His Indian experience and well-known acquaintance with the oriental classical languages enabled him to sympathize readily with native institutions and interests. The assimilation of the system of government, therefore, to that of the British Provinces, although it had necessitated the introduction of a larger European element than before, was conjoined with the recognition of native merit and talent. Two out of the eight Districts were placed under the administration of native Deputy-Superintendents, appointments which ranked among the highest anywhere held at that period by their countrymen. Many important judicial and other offices were filled in a similar manner, and the way was left open for a more extensive employment of native agency.

Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Meade<sup>1</sup> assumed charge in February 1870, and was unexpectedly called away five years later by Lord Northbrook, to the control of the Baroda State, where he had also previously for several months (October 1873 to March 1874) been a member of the Commission for the trial of the Gaikwar. His able administration of Mysore was therefore subject to unlooked-for interruptions of a harassing nature. Among the more important measures of this period a great impetus was given to public works, in raising all works of irrigation to a complete standard of repair and efficiency, in opening out communications in the remotest and most difficult parts of the country, in surveys for railway extension, and in the erection of public buildings, and carrying out of local improvements in towns. Education continued to flourish. A topographical survey, the planting of village topes, improvements in agriculture, and other useful works were set on foot. In 1871, Sub-Divisions, composed of groups of taluqs, were constituted, and an Assistant-Superintendent was placed in charge of each, the object being to bring Government officers into closer

<sup>1</sup> This distinguished officer had made a name when only a Captain in connection with the surrender of the fort of Gwalior, in the Mutiny. He subsequently commanded the column which captured the rebel leader Tantia Topee. Was Political Agent at Gwalior in 1860, and for Central India, at Indore, in 1861. Arrested and deported the Gaikwar Malhar Rao in 1875, selected and installed his successor, and reorganized the administration of Baroda. When on his way back to Mysore at the end of that year, he was appointed Resident at Haidarabad, from which he retired to England in 1881, and died in the south of France in 1894. To him Bangalore owes the Cubbon Park, at first called Meade Park, the name being changed in accordance with his wishes.

communication with the people and to give the Assistant-Superintendents a greater interest in their work.

In 1873 the designation of Commissioner was substituted for Superintendent through all the grades; and in the same year, an important measure for the establishment of Munsiffs' courts, with purely civil jurisdiction, was brought into operation. The *amildars* were thus relieved of jurisdiction in civil cases, and the judicial powers of other officers were greatly modified. The re-organization of the police was commenced, one of the principal features of the scheme being the recognition of the village police, and its utilization after being placed on a reasonable footing of efficiency. The local military force, somewhat reduced, was greatly improved by proper selection of men and horses, and by the enforcement of a regular course of drill. Native agency was systematically introduced into every department. Special training was provided for preparing native officers for the Public Works, Survey and Forest departments, and young men of good family were appointed as *Attachés*, with the view of enabling them to gain experience in civil and revenue matters before being entrusted with responsible charges.

Mr. R. A. Dalrymple, of the Madras Civil Service and Member of the Viceroy's Council, officiated for a year from April 1875, when Mr. C. B. Saunders, who for some years had been Resident at Haidarabad, was re-transferred to Mysore.<sup>1</sup> During the two years that he was Chief Commissioner occurred the great famine which swept off more than a million of the population, and for a time beclouded all the prosperity of the State.

The young Rāja (to whom, on the resignation of Colonel Haines in 1869, Colonel G. B. Malleson<sup>2</sup> had been appointed guardian) attended, with Mr. Saunders, the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st of January 1877, when the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India. Soon after their return gloomy prospects began rapidly to thicken.

The late rains of 1875 and the rains throughout 1876 had generally failed. The harvests of two successive years were lost, and the surplus stores of grain were consumed. Relief works had been started in several parts; remissions of assessment had been granted; the State forests were thrown open to grazing; house-to-house visitation had

<sup>1</sup> He had served in the Punjab in 1849, and was Political Agent and Commissioner with the army before Delhi at its final siege and capture in the Mutiny in 1857. Created C.B. in 1864. Retired to England in 1878, and died there some years after.

<sup>2</sup> Previously Controllor-General in the Military Finance Department. Author of several standard works on Indian historical subjects. Created C.S.I. in 1872.

been instituted and other palliative measures adopted. When, therefore, spring showers fell in 1877, hope revived ; but only to be quenched. The regular rains failed for the third year in succession. The surrounding Madras and Bombay districts were in the same plight. Panic and mortality now spread among the people, and famine became sore in the land. From November, the only railway, the one from Madras to Bangalore, had been pouring in 400 to 500 tons of grain a day, the latter sufficient to support 900,000 people ; yet, in May, there were 100,000 starving paupers being fed in relief kitchens, and in August the numbers rose to 227,000 ; besides 60,000 employed on relief works, paid in grain, and 20,000 on the railway to Mysore. Sir Richard Temple had been deputed as Special Commissioner, to advise the Government, but it became evident that the utmost exertions of the local officers were unequal to cope with the growing distress. The Viceroy, Lord Lytton, then came himself. A larger European agency was seen to be absolutely necessary. A number of officers, therefore, of regiments in Upper India, as well as civilians, were induced to volunteer for famine duty. Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Elliott was appointed Famine Commissioner, and Major (afterwards Sir Colin) Scott-Moncrieff, chief engineer.

Relief works were now concentrated, and gratuitous relief was confined as far as possible to those whose condition was too low to expect any work from them at all. Bountiful rains in September and October caused the cloud to lift, and the pressure of famine began to abate, but mortality from attendant sickness continued and relief works were not all closed till November 1878. Private hoards of gold and silver coins, and articles of jewellery, had been generally parted with, often at ruinous rates. The Mansion House fund, subscribed for the famine by English charity, thus afforded the means of reinstating numbers of agriculturists who had been left destitute, while missionary and other bodies, aided by Government contributions, took charge of orphans, to be brought up and respectably settled.

The financial effects were indeed disastrous, especially in view of the approaching Rendition. The invested surplus of 63 lakhs had disappeared and a debt of 80 lakhs had been incurred. The revenue collections, which in the year before the famine stood at over 109 lakhs, fell in 1876-7 to 82 lakhs and in 1877-8 to 69 lakhs. A Committee was convened to report on the measures practicable for reducing expenditure to meet the deficit, and the proposed reductions were generally carried out in 1878 and 1879, involving the abolition of many appointments and the removal of European officers, with the substitution of natives on lower pay.

Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Gordon, who had been Judicial

Commissioner since 1868,<sup>1</sup> was made Guardian to the Maharaja at the end of 1877. This appointment had been in abeyance since vacated by Colonel Malleson in 1876. Captain F. A. Wilson<sup>2</sup> then acted as tutor to the Maharaja till 1878, when Mr. W. A. Porter<sup>3</sup> was appointed tutor. The method adopted in his education had been to teach him along with other boys of good family and suitable age, away from his residence, in a select school, where all were treated alike, and he took his place with them in lessons and games. For the benefit of change of scene and association he was taken on trips to Calcutta and Bangalore, and spent the hot weather on the hills at Ootacamund.

In April 1878 Mr. Gordon was made Chief Commissioner in addition to his office as Guardian. On him, therefore, devolved the responsibility of the final steps needed to fit both the young prince for his kingdom, and the kingdom for the prince. On the latter, who proved to be of a most tractable disposition, the good effects of his influence were soon manifest, while, as the result of favourable seasons, the country was at the same time rapidly recovering its prosperity, though crippled by the results of the famine. To the young Maharaja (whose marriage had now been celebrated with an accomplished princess of the Kalale family, educated in a similar manner), the system and principles of the administration continued to be the subject of careful instruction on the part of Mr. Gordon, and in 1880 he accompanied Mr. Gordon on a tour throughout the State as the best means of impressing the lessons on his mind, and making him acquainted with the country he was so soon to rule.

The Rendition took place on the 25th of March 1881, when, at seven o'clock in the morning, amidst universal good wishes and every demonstration of joy on the part of the people, the Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wodeyar was placed on the throne at Mysore. The ceremony was performed in an impressive manner by the Governor of Madras, the Right Honourable W. P. Adam, and during the inauguration a gentle shower of rain descended, a welcome omen, seeming to betoken a blessing from the skies on this great act of State. Mr. Gordon now became Resident, and was knighted shortly after. The terms on which the Government was entrusted to the Maharaja are contained in the Instrument of Transfer, printed at the end of this chapter.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From 1863 to 1868 was Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Lawrence.

<sup>2</sup> Previously tutor to the Nawab of Jowra. On leaving Mysore he became Assistant-Resident at Haidarabad.

<sup>3</sup> A distinguished graduate of Cambridge, and Principal of the Kumbhakonam College.

<sup>4</sup> The Bombay Government wanted to take advantage of this occasion to straighten their boundary, where it touches Mysore on the north-west, by annexing the Sorab taluq and part of Shikarpur, but the Home Government refused to sanction it.

In view of the financial straits of the country, the payment of the enhanced subsidy of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs was postponed for five years: the Maharaja's civil list, fixed at 13 lakhs, being also limited to 10 lakhs for the first five years. A proclamation was issued by the Maharaja on assuming the government, confirming all existing officers in their appointments, nominating as Dewan Mr. C. Rangácharlu;<sup>1</sup> and forming, under him as President, a Council of two or more members, "the said Council to submit for our consideration their opinions on all questions relating to legislation and taxation, and on all other measures connected with the good administration of our territories and the well-being of our subjects." The duties of the Council have been the subject of regulation from time to time, and in 1895 certain departments were placed under each member.

A popular institution formed soon after, of considerable interest and conceived in the liberal spirit of the times, was a Representative Assembly, the nature of which was thus stated in an order issued in August: "His Highness the Maharaja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people into immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehensions in regard to the views and action of Government, and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people. This annual meeting will be conveniently held at Mysore, immediately after the close of the Dasara festival, which occasion will offer an additional inducement to those invited to attend the meeting." The Local Fund Boards (to be formed) were to select one or two cultivating landholders from each taluq, possessed of general information and influence amongst the people, and three or four leading merchants for the District generally. As attendance at the meeting was

<sup>1</sup> A Srivaishnava Brahman of the Conjeveram country. He was a Deputy-Collector under the Madras Government, and had been engaged as an assistant on the Inám inquiry, when brought to Mysore by Mr. Bowring in 1868, on the decease of the Maharaja, to aid in arranging his affairs and settling his debts. He was subsequently made Controller of the Palace, and in 1879 Revenue Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. Created C.I.E. in 1878.

to be entirely voluntary, the wishes and convenience of the persons invited was to be consulted.

The Assembly met for the first time on the 7th October 1881, when 144 members were present, and it has met at the Dasara season every year since. The numbers rose to 279 in 1886, and have varied from year to year. The Dewan, surrounded by the chief officers of the State, reads his Annual Statement, which is translated into Kannaḍa. The delegates then, District by District, bring forward such matters as they have resolved upon, which are either summarily disposed of, or discussed and reserved to be dealt with after inquiry and consideration. The members in the earlier period were nominated by the Dewan and the District officers, but from 1885 they were selected by the Local and Municipal Boards, by this time formed. In 1887 a property qualification was imposed; in 1890 the privilege of election was conceded to the wealthier and more enlightened classes; and in 1893 membership was made tenable for three years. The property qualification for a member is the annual payment, according to locality, of land revenue of from Rs. 100 to 300, of mohatarfa (house or shop tax) of Rs. 13 to 17, or the ownership of one or more inám villages with a beriz (total land revenue) of Rs. 500. The authorized number of members for each taluq, and for the cities of Bangalore and Mysore, are elected by those entitled to vote by reason of property or education. Local Fund Boards, Municipalities, and certain Associations depute a specified number of members from among their respective bodies. Lists are maintained of those qualified as members and as voters, Government servants being excluded from both. The maximum number of members returnable is 351, and all interests in the country are thus efficiently represented.

The first measures of the new Government were directed to reductions of expenditure. With this view two Districts (Chitaldroog and Hassan) and nine taluqs<sup>1</sup> were abolished, as well as the Small Cause Court and several Subordinate Judges' Courts, while the number of jails was reduced from nine to three, the Silahdar regiments from three to two, and District and taluq boundaries were generally altered. The duties of some of the higher appointments retained were before long doubled up under fewer officers, with lower designations. These changes caused a feeling of much unrest, and tended to sever continuity with the past. But the loss of the able Dewan, Mr. Rangáchárlu, who died at Madras on the 20th January 1883, brought matters to a pause. In consideration of his services the grant of a

<sup>1</sup> Channapatna, Devanhalli, Gudibanda, Malur, Srinivasapur, Malvalli, Koratagere, Arkalgud, Kankuppa.



lakh was made to his family,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. (now Sir K.) Sheshádri Iyer<sup>2</sup> was selected to succeed him, a choice which after events have proved was guided by the good fortune that has watched over the destinies of Mysore. But Sir James Gordon, who had safely steered the State through all the recent eventful changes was now disabled by a paralytic stroke, and he retired to England, where he died some years later. His great services to Mysore are commemorated by a statue, the work of Onslow Ford, erected in front of the Public Offices at the capital.

The changes in the appointment of Resident were frequent after this, as the following list from the time of the Rendition will show<sup>3</sup> :—

Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Gordon	...	...	...	Mar. 1881 to June 1883
Mr. J. D. Sandford, acting,	May 1882 to June 1883			
Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Lyall	...	...	...	June 1883 to Mar. 1887
Col. T. G. Clarke, acting,	Dec. 1884 to May 1885			
Mr. C. E. R. Girdlestone, acting,	June 1885 to May 1886			
Sir Charles Bernard (did not join)				
Mr. (afterwards Sir Dennis) Fitzpatrick	...	...	...	Mar. 1887 to Oct. 1887
General Sir Harry Prendergast, V.C.	...	...	...	Oct. 1887 to Jan. 1889
Colonel Sir Oliver St. John	...	...	...	Jan. 1889 to June 1891
General Sir Harry Prendergast	...	...	...	June 1891 to April 1892
Colonel P. D. Henderson	...	...	...	April 1892 to Feb. 1895
Colonel H. P. Peacock, acting,	July to Oct. 1892			
Mr. W. Lee-Warner	...	...	...	Feb. 1895 to Sept. 1895
Mr. (now Sir) W. Mackworth Young	...	...	...	Sept. 1895 to Dec. 1896
Colonel Donald Robertson	...	...	...	Dec. 1896

When it was known that Sir James Gordon would not return to his appointment, in which Mr. Sandford, the Judicial Commissioner, had meanwhile been acting, Mr. Lyall, Settlement Commissioner in the Punjab, was made Resident. During most of his absence on leave, Mr. Girdlestone, Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Mysore. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> The Rangáchárlu Memorial Hall at Mysore was erected, partly by subscriptions, as a monument to him.

<sup>2</sup> A Smárta Brahman of the Palghat country, graduated in Arts and Law. He entered the Mysore service in 1868 as Judicial Sheristadar, and from 1879 was Deputy Commissioner. Had also acted as Controller of the Palace, Sessions Judge, and in other capacities. Created C.S.I. in 1887, and K.C.S.I. in 1893. In a laudatory notice which appeared at this latter time of his management of Mysore affairs, Sir W. W. Hunter described him as a statesman who had given his head to Herbert Spencer and his heart to Para Brahma.

<sup>3</sup> The changes of Assistant-Residents, as below, have been even more frequent :—

Mr. W. J. Cunningham	from Mar. 1881	Mr. E. G. Colvin	...	from Dec. 1888
Major H. Wylie	..., Nov. 1882	Mr. J. A. Crawford	..., Apl. 1889	
Mr. A. H. T. Martindale	..., Feb. 1885	Captain L. S. Newmarch	..., Oct. 1889	
Major J. H. Newill	..., Oct. 1885	Major C. W. Ravenshaw	..., Apl. 1891	
Major E. A. Fraser	..., Apl. 1886	Mr. H. V. Cobb	..., Aug. 1893	
Major D. Robertson	..., Dec. 1886	Major C. W. Ravenshaw	..., Nov. 1893	
Mr. L. W. King	..., July 1887	Mr. H. V. Cobb	..., Apl. 1895	
Major D. Robertson	..., Dec. 1887	Captain K. D. Erskine	..., June 1895	
Mr. F. E. K. Wedderburn	..., May 1888			

Lyall was eventually appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of Burma, was nominated, but being almost immediately transferred to the India Office, did not join, and Mr. Fitzpatrick, Legislative Secretary to the Government of India, received the appointment. On the transfer of the latter to Assam,<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Prendergast became Resident, and when he left for Baroda, Sir Oliver St. John<sup>2</sup> succeeded. Sir Oliver was afterwards sent to Beluchistan, and died a few days after arrival at Quetta. Sir Harry Prendergast<sup>3</sup> then again held office till the appointment of Colonel Henderson, Superintendent for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity. During the latter's absence on leave, Colonel Peacock acted, and on leaving Mysore became Consul-General at Baghdad. Colonel Henderson retired in 1895, and Mr. Lee-Warner, Political Secretary to the Bombay Government, succeeded.<sup>4</sup> But in a few months he was transferred to the India Office, and Mr. Mackworth Young, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, was appointed. At the end of 1896 he in his turn was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Colonel Donald Robertson, Resident at Gwalior, took his place in Mysore. The office has thus been filled by distinguished men of every variety of service and experience.

In the policy continued under the new Dewan measures to provide against a recurrence of famine had still the foremost place. Railways and irrigation works were recognized as the most potent agents to this end. The latter, however, are subject to the drawback that, being largely dependent on the rains, they are liable to fail in a time of drought when most needed. Railway construction was therefore pushed on, and by the end of 1884 there had been completed 140 miles of State railway (Bangalore to Mysore, and Bangalore to Gubbi), from current revenues and a local loan of twenty lakhs. This line was then hypothecated to the Southern Mahratta Railway Company on terms which allowed of its being extended to Harihar from capital borrowed in England, and this portion was opened for traffic in 1889. A line from Bangalore to Hindupur was afterwards completed in 1893 from State funds. The tracts that suffered most from the famine were thus effectually provided for, and the Mysore railways were linked with those of the Bombay and Madras districts beyond. The fear of famine was not unwarranted, for in 1884 and again in 1891 great anxiety

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Resident at Haidarabad and Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

<sup>2</sup> Had served in Persia and Abyssinia, as Principal of the Mayo Chiefs' College at Ajmere, and as Political Agent at Kandahar.

<sup>3</sup> After a distinguished military career, ending with his capture of Upper Burma, on which he was made K.C.B., was successively resident at Travancore, Baroda, Beluchistan and Mysore.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Henderson was created C.S.I. in 1876, and Mr. Lee-Warner in 1892.

arose from failure of the rains, especially in the north, and relief works had actually been devised when rain fell and the prospect changed. A short line from Mysore to Nanjangud, admitting of the transport of timber floated to that point from the southern forests, opened in December 1891, and one for the Gold-fields in 1893 were constructed in the same manner, and a line from Birur to Shimoga decided on. The fifty-eight miles of railway open at the time of the Rendition thus increased to 315 by 1895, and surveys had been made of lines from Nanjangud to Gudalur, Nanjangud to Erode, and Arsikere *via* Hassan to Mangalore. The latter may now be carried out.

Irrigation works had all along been receiving particular attention, and all available funds were devoted to the carrying out of large projects in tracts where they were most required. To 1895 the expenditure under this head amounted to 100 lakhs, making an addition of 355 square miles to the area under wet cultivation, and bringing in an additional revenue of eight and a quarter lakhs. With this addition 1,558 square miles are protected by irrigation. Another very important measure was the granting of loans for digging irrigation wells, of which 1,078 had been completed, benefiting 7,000 acres, against loans aggregating four lakhs.

The reductions in establishments previously referred to were completed in 1884, and a Chief Court of three judges was formed, the Chief Judge being a European. Next year Inspectors-General were also appointed for Police and for Forests. The revenue in the first three years after the Rendition was generally stationary, but in the fourth year it declined, owing to the drought. The payment of the enhanced subsidy was therefore again postponed by the British Government for ten years more, while the revenue administration of the Assigned Tract, forming the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, was transferred entirely to the British Government, which retains the surplus. The former measure relieved financial pressure, and allowed of the Districts and Taluqs abolished in 1881 being again formed. During the next ten years the revenue continually rose until in 1894-5 it reached 180½ lakhs. Expenditure on a large and liberal scale had also meanwhile continued on all works and purposes of public utility. The famine debt was extinguished in 1888, and a commencement was made towards paying off the railway loan. In short, in place of the net liability against the State of 30¾ lakhs in 1881 there were in 1895 net assets of over 176 lakhs in its favour. This result was not due to new taxation in any form or shape. Next to good seasons, it was the effect of natural growth, under the stimulus afforded by the opening out of the country by means of new roads and railways, the execution of important irrigation works and the general expansion of industries; also in some measure of an improved management of particular sources of income.

A Department of Agriculture and Statistics was formed in 1886, and an Agricultural Exhibition held in 1888. The Revenue Laws were codified, the time for paying assessments was postponed till after the produce could be realized, and agricultural banks were started in 1894. But the importance of promoting industrial enterprise in a country so largely dependent on agriculture was clearly seen. Coffee-planting had been much assisted by the substitution in 1881 of an acreage assessment on the land in place of the old *hālat* or duty levied on the produce, and the area under coffee has since increased by twenty-eight square miles. But the most remarkable industrial development has been that of gold-mining. The first indication of profit from this source was in 1886, and in that year a preliminary examination of auriferous tracts in the State was carried out. The liberal terms granted to encourage gold-mining on a large scale by European Companies had a good effect, but the principal returns obtained so far have been in the Kolar gold-fields. What was a desolate waste has thus become a great industrial town, employing nearly 10,000 labourers. The 16,325 ounces of gold extracted in 1886-7, valued at about 9 lakhs, rose every year, until in 1894-5 the quantity reached 234,859 ounces, valued at £844,271, or about 150 lakhs. The royalty, with premia and deposits on leases, paid annually to the Mysore Government, increased in the same period from half a lakh to more than 7½ lakhs. Cotton and woollen mills were brought into operation at various times, and the silk industry revived. In 1889 liberal concessions were granted with the view of promoting the establishment of iron works on a large scale in Malavalli, and as an aid a railway from Maddur to Sivasamudram was proposed. But as yet this scheme has not been carried out. In 1894 a Geological Department was formed to scientifically explore the mineral resources of the State.

The Medical Department was early reorganized, and medical relief extended to all parts by the appointment of local surgeons, the establishment of taluq dispensaries, and the appointment of trained midwives. Sanitation and water supply in the principal towns received particular attention, and extensive works were carried out in the cities of Mysore and Bangalore, both of which had large additions made to their area. The prospects of the Educational Department were much improved, and vernacular and primary instruction greatly extended. The higher staff was strengthened and female education made marked progress. Charges which in the time of reductions had been thrown on local funds were in 1889 again met from provincial funds: a more liberal expenditure followed, and the numbers under instruction rose accordingly. Archæology, which had already received attention,

was specially provided for, to allow of the numerous and valuable inscriptions throughout the country being copied and published. A much-needed Muzrai Department, to control the funds and management of temples, was formed. Also an Excise Department, to regulate the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors. A corps of Imperial Service Lancers was enrolled, to aid in imperial defence. An Observatory, well equipped with meteorological instruments, has been recently established at Bangalore.

An important measure was the transfer in 1889 of the Anche or ancient postal service of Mysore to the British Imperial post-office. This amalgamation, though at first opposed as being an abrogation of one of the Maharaja's privileges, has proved of great convenience to the public and economical to the country. A scheme of State Life Assurance was introduced about the same time, for the benefit principally of the subordinate classes of officials, to enable them to make provision for their families. And in order to secure well-qualified men for the higher administrative posts, a Civil Service scheme was adopted in 1891, providing a competitive examination of an advanced standard to be passed by accepted candidates, while a fixed scale of salaries was laid down. More recently an interdict on early marriages was passed.

The foregoing review, though not exhaustive, will sufficiently serve as evidence of the liberal and enlightened system of administration pursued under the Native Government established in 1881. Since then Mysore has received more than one visit from the Viceroy of the day. In 1886 the Earl of Dufferin was here, and the following extract from one of his speeches indicates the impression made upon his mind by what he saw :—"Under the benevolent rule of the Maharaja and of his dynasty, good government, enlightened progress, universal peace and the blessings of education are everywhere ascendant, and there is no State within the confines of the Indian Empire which has more fully justified the wise policy of the British Government in supplementing its own direct administration of its vast territories by the associated rule of our great feudatory Princes." The lamented Prince Albert Victor had visited Mysore in 1889 and derived great pleasure from the elephant keddahs. The Marquess of Lansdowne followed in 1892, and among other expressions of approval said :—"There is probably no State in India where the ruler and the ruled are on more satisfactory terms, or in which the great principle, that government should be for the happiness of the governed, receives a greater measure of practical recognition."

But Mysore, thus flourishing and placed in the front rank of the States of India, was doomed to suffer a bitter loss at the end of 1894. His Highness the Maharaja had gone on a tour as usual in the cold

weather to the north, accompanied by all his family. On his arrival at Calcutta at the end of December, a slight throat affection, which he had been feeling for a few days before, developed into diphtheria, and so rapid was the progress of the disease that in spite of the best medical skill he suddenly expired on the 28th. The people of Mysore were simply stunned by the shock which this sad news created, so utterly unexpected. The entire press of India, with all the leading journals in England and other countries, were unanimous in lamenting that a career so promising had been thus cut short, for the Maharaja's virtues and the interest of his country had become known far and wide.

Dignified and unassuming, his bearing was that of the English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host, while at the same time careful in observance of Hindu customs, he was popular with both Europeans and natives. His palace was purged of all former evil associations, and the Court of the Queen in England was not purer in tone than that of Mysore under the late Maharaja. He was devoted to his family, and of a cultured and refined taste which led him to take special pleasure in European music and in works of art. He was also diligent and conscientious in attending to business. The rainy season was spent partly at Mysore and partly at Bangalore; in the cold weather a tour was undertaken to some other part of India, and the hot weather was passed on the hills at Ootacamund. He had thus travelled much and been brought into intercourse with most of the leading men in India, who were impressed with his high character.

The installation of his eldest son, Mahārāja Krishna Rāja Wodeyar, then ten years old, was performed at Mysore, by the Resident, Colonel Henderson, with all the customary ceremonies, on the 1st of February 1895, at noon, at the moment of the conjunction of Mercury and Venus, which had been conspicuous objects in the evening sky for some days before. Her Highness the Mahārāni was at the same time proclaimed Regent. The education of the Maharaja, while a minor, is being conducted in a manner suited to his rank and prospects.<sup>1</sup> His intelligence and disposition augur well for his future. The present Viceroy, the Earl of Elgin, visited Mysore at the end of 1895, and his advice to the Maharaja, in view of the cares thus early in life thrust upon him, was not to hasten to be old too soon.

Here this history, so eventful and full of incident, now ends. Mysore has played no inconspicuous part in the past, and a great future

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. J. Whiteley, of Cooper's Hill Engineering College, was appointed as tutor some time before the father's death. Mr. S. M. Fraser, of the Bombay Civil Service, has since been appointed.

doubtless yet lies before it. In the century now closing it has been an example of the complete failure of purely native administration, conducted without reference to European advice, and of the conspicuous success of administration on Western lines by Europeans and natives combined. As history tends to repeat itself, these lessons should be pondered.

### Instrument of Transfer.<sup>1</sup>

WHEREAS the British Government has now been for a long period in possession of the territories of Mysore and has introduced into the said territories an improved system of administration : And whereas, on the death of the late Maharaja, the said Government, being desirous that the said territories should be administered by an Indian dynasty, under such restrictions and conditions as might be necessary for ensuring the maintenance of the system of administration so introduced, declared that if Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, the adopted son of the late Maharaja, should, on attaining the age of eighteen years, be found qualified for the position of ruler of the said territories, the government thereof should be entrusted to him, subject to such conditions and restrictions as might be thereafter determined : And whereas the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur has now attained the said age of eighteen years, and appears to the British Government qualified for the position aforesaid, and is about to be entrusted with the government of the said territories : And whereas it is expedient to grant to the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur a written instrument defining the conditions subject to which he will be so entrusted. It is hereby declared as follows :—

1. The Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur shall, on the 25th day of March 1881, be placed in possession of the territories of Mysore, and installed in the administration thereof.

2. The said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur and those who succeed him in manner hereinafter provided, shall be entitled to hold possession of, and administer the said territories as long as he and they fulfil the conditions hereinafter prescribed.

3. The succession to the administration of the said territories shall devolve upon the lineal descendants of the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, whether by blood or adoption, according to the rules and usages of his family, except in the case of disqualification through manifest unfitness to rule.

Provided that no succession shall be valid until it has been recognized by the Governor-General in Council.

In the event of a failure of lineal descendants, by blood and adoption, of the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, it shall be within the discretion of the Governor-General in Council to select as a successor any member of any collateral branch of the family whom he thinks fit.

4. The Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur and his successors

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 441.

(hereinafter called the Maharaja of Mysore) shall at all times remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, Her heirs and successors, and perform all the duties which, in virtue of such allegiance and subordination, may be demanded of them.

5. The British Government having undertaken to defend and protect the said territories against all external enemies, and to relieve the Maharaja of Mysore of the obligation to keep troops ready to serve with the British army when required, there shall, in consideration of such undertaking, be paid from the revenues of the said territories to the British Government an annual sum of Government rupees thirty-five lakhs in two half-yearly instalments, commencing from the said 25th day of March 1881.

6. From the date of the Maharaja's taking possession of the territories of Mysore, the British sovereignty in the island of Seringapatam shall cease and determine, and the said island shall become part of the said territories, and be held by the Maharaja upon the same condition as those subject to which he holds the rest of the said territories.

7. The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, build any new fortresses or strongholds, or repair the defences of any existing fortresses or strongholds in the said territories.

8. The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the permission of the Governor-General in Council, import, or permit to be imported, into the said territories, arms, ammunition, or military stores, and shall prohibit the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military stores, throughout the said territories, or at any specified place therein, whenever required by the Governor-General in Council to do so.

9. The Maharaja of Mysore shall not object to the maintenance or establishment of British cantonments in the said territories, whenever and wherever the Governor-General in Council may consider such cantonments necessary. He shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for such cantonments, and shall renounce all jurisdiction within the lands so granted. He shall carry out in the lands adjoining British cantonments in the said territories such sanitary measures as the Governor-General in Council may declare to be necessary. He shall give every facility for the provision of supplies and articles required for the troops in such cantonments; and on goods imported or purchased for that purpose no duties or taxes of any kind shall be levied without the assent of the British Government.

10. The Military force employed in the Mysore State for the maintenance of internal order and the Maharaja's personal dignity, and for any other purposes approved by the Governor-General in Council, shall not exceed the strength which the Governor-General in Council may, from time to time, fix. The directions of the Governor-General in Council in respect to the enlistment, organization, equipment and drill of troops shall at all times be complied with.

11. The Maharaja of Mysore shall abstain from interference in the



affairs of any other State or power, and shall have no communication or correspondence with any other State or power, or the agents or officers of any other State or power, except with the previous sanction, and through the medium of the Governor-General in Council.

12. The Maharaja of Mysore shall not employ in his service any person not a native of India without a previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and shall, on being so required by the Governor-General in Council, dismiss from his service any person so employed.

13. The coins of the Government of India shall be legal tender in the said territories in the cases in which payment made in such coins would, under the law for the time being in force, be a legal tender in British India ; and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived.

14. The Maharaja of Mysore shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for the construction and working of lines of telegraph in the said territories wherever the Governor-General in Council may require such land, and shall do his utmost to facilitate the construction and working of such lines. All lines of telegraph in the said territories, whether constructed and maintained at the expense of the British Government, or out of the revenues of the said territories, shall form part of the British telegraph system, and shall, save in cases to be specially excepted by agreement between the British Government and the Maharaja of Mysore, be worked by the British Telegraph Department ; and all laws and rules for the time being in force in British India in respect to telegraphs shall apply to such lines of telegraph when so worked.

15. If the British Government at any time desires to construct or work, by itself or otherwise, a railway in the said territories, the Maharaja of Mysore shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for that purpose, and shall transfer to the Governor-General in Council plenary jurisdiction within such land ; and no duty or tax whatever shall be levied on through traffic carried by such railway which may not break bulk in the said territories.

16. The Maharaja of Mysore shall cause to be arrested and surrendered to the proper officers of the British Government any person within the said territories accused of having committed an offence in British India, for whose arrest and surrender a demand may be made by the British Resident in Mysore, or some other officer authorized by him in this behalf ; and he shall afford every assistance for the trial of such persons by causing the attendance of witnesses required, and by such other means as may be necessary.

17. Plenary criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in the said territories, shall continue to be vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Maharaja of Mysore shall exercise only such jurisdiction in respect to European British subjects as may from time to time be delegated to him by the Governor-General in Council.

18. The Maharaja of Mysore shall comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of prohibiting or limiting the manufacture of salt and opium, and the cultivation of poppy, in Mysore ; also in the matter of giving effect to all such regulations as may be considered proper in respect to the export and import of salt, opium, and poppy heads.

19. All laws in force and rules having the force of law in the said territories when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur is placed in possession thereof, as shown in the Schedule hereto annexed, shall be maintained and efficiently administered, and, except with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, the Maharaja of Mysore shall not repeal or modify such laws, or pass any laws or rules inconsistent therewith.

20. No material change in the system of administration, as established when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur is placed in possession of the territories, shall be made without the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

21. All title-deeds granted, and all settlements of land revenue made during the administration of the said territories by the British Government, and in force on the said 25th day of March 1881, shall be maintained in accordance with the respective terms thereof, except in so far as they may be rescinded or modified either by a competent Court of law, or with the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

22. The Maharaja of Mysore shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of his revenues, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness' interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government.

23. In the event of breach or non-observance by the Maharaja of Mysore of any of the foregoing conditions, the Governor-General in Council may resume possession of the said territories and assume the direct administration thereof, or make such other arrangements as he may think necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore, or for the security of British rights and interests within the province.

24. This document shall supersede all other documents by which the position of the British Government with reference to the said territories has been formally recorded. And if any question arise as to whether any of the above conditions has been faithfully performed, or as to whether any person is entitled to succeed, or is fit to succeed, to the administration of the said territories, the decision thereon of the Governor-General in Council shall be final.

(Signed) RIPON,  
Viceroy and Governor-General.

FORT WILLIAM, 1st March 1881.