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HISTORY OF MYSORE

(1399-1799 A.D.)

INCORPORATING THE LATEST EPIGRAPHICAL, LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

BY

C. HAYAVADANA RAO

CORRESPONDING MEMBER,
INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION,
NEW DELHI



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" It is of the first importance to the nation and to the world that every citizen should study history and study it intelligently" —Sir John Fortesque, LL.D., D.Lit., in *The Writing of History*, 43.

"The really new element in the thought of to-day as compared with that of three centuries ago is the rise of history"—*Human Nature and Human History* by R. G. Collingwood, F.B.A.

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GENERAL PLAN

- VOL. I. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1399—1704)
- „ II. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1704—1766)
- „ III. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1766—1799)

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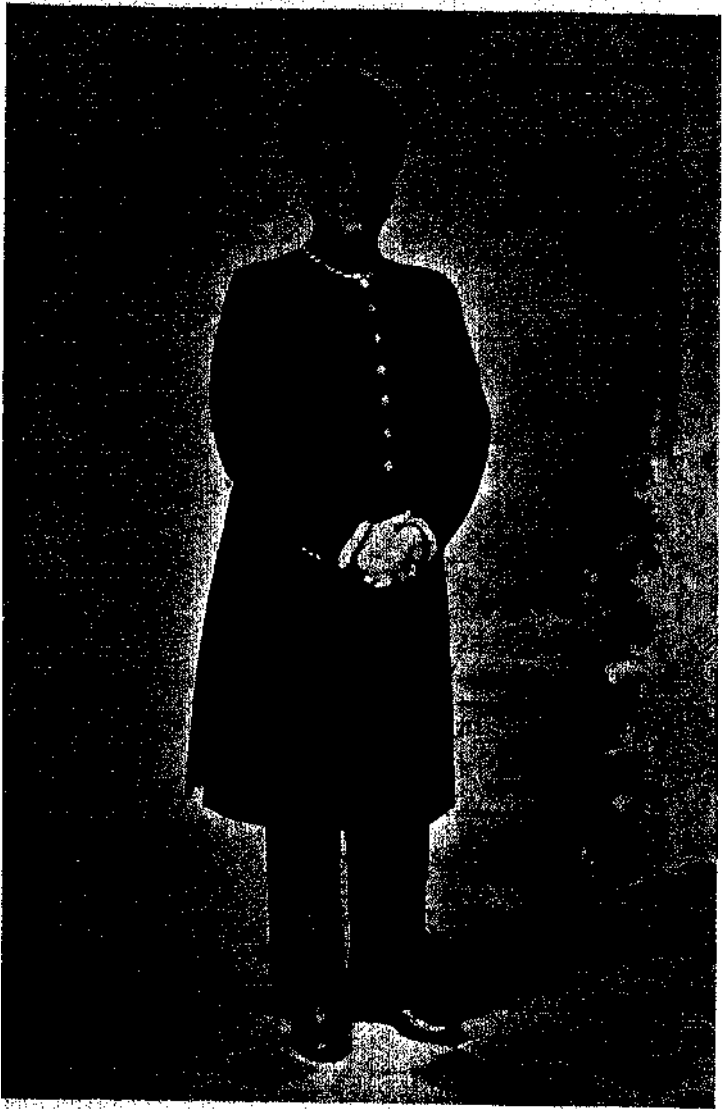
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His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.L,
Maharaja of Mysore.

This authentic work on the History of Mysore, devoted to the Wadiyar Dynasty of Kings, through the centuries, inspired by His Highness SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR IV of revered memory, and based on original materials garnered during many years, is

UteMcafctr

BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION TO

HIS HIGHNESS

SRI JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR

Maharaja of Mysore

*Ruler, Scholar, and Patron of the Arts and Sciences and
Supporter of every good cause aiming at the moral
and material progress of the people*

**In token of His Highness*
deep and abiding interest in
the scientific study of History
and the pursuit of Historical
Research along modern lines**

By his humble and loyal subject

THE AUTHOR

VOLUME I

(13*)'-1704)

PREFACE

THIS *History of Mysore*, based on the latest epigraphical, literary and historical researches, owes its inspiration to His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur of revered memory, whose interest in promoting true historical research in the State is well known. His Highness instinctively believed that research flourishes most when it is left unhampered, but properly provided for. The extensive scientific researches carried out in the State, in its different Departments, during his long reign and the advantages secured by them in adding to the material wealth of the country and to the resources of its people are the best evidence of this bent of his supremely cultivated mind. Likewise it was in the case of Literary, Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical researches.

The writing of a history of the kind now presented has been long a desideratum. The ideal author would be one who is both a great literary scholar and a historian. Such a person not being available, it was inevitable that somebody should make the experiment. It is an accident that it fell to my lot to attempt it. Though my disqualifications are many, I have two defences to offer: I was attracted to the task and I have laboured at it for nearly forty-two years. My first attempts go back indeed to 1901, when I first published papers on it in the public journals of the day. The literature of the successive periods dealt with has been read and carefully examined with a view to its utilization in reconstructing history,

The need for a work like this one, bringing together the results of the critical studies extending over a century and a quarter since Lieut-Col. Wilks wrote his

Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to trace the History of Mysore, from the Origin of the Hindoo Government of that State to the extinction of the Mohammedan Dynasty in 1799, to set down the complete descriptive title of the work as given by him, will perhaps be conceded as a necessity, especially in view of the very vast archaeological and literary researches that have been carried out in Mysore itself, not to mention beyond it in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and in the rest of British India and the Indian States. The setting up of the *Indian Historical Records Commission* at New Delhi, has, within the past twenty years, given a great impetus to the study of History in its larger sense, while active research in the domain of History has been receiving increased attention. The documents relied on in this work, whether epigraphical or other, come accordingly from not only places now forming part of Mysore State but also from others which originally formed part of it before the cessions of 1792 and 1799. Some, indeed, come from places far beyond the present territorial limits of the State, from neighbouring States over which Mysore had extended or had attempted to extend its sway. Exact references to all these documents will be found given in the work in the proper places. The work of publication of the records of the Governments of India, Madras and Bombay and the India Office has placed at the disposal of research students a vast amount of material in a form capable of being dealt with in a most convenient manner. These have been indented upon, as will be seen even by a casual reader of these Volumes. Besides, careful personal researches have been carried out in the different Record Offices, for instance at Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, as well as at the Historical Museum at Satara, and the results of the researches incorporated in the work. The Oriental Libraries at Madras and Mysore have been

carefully searched for literary MSS: bearing on the history of the period to which the present work relates, with considerable advantage. Indeed, it might be said that almost every available source has been indented upon to present as complete and as authentic an account of the history of the present Ruling Family of Mysore as was possible. All these have helped materially in the working up of the narrative, which, it is hoped, will afford some glimpses of the more important episodes of the centuries covered by us. Of the greater figures that appear, some realistic accounts have been given, particularly of Rāja Woḍeyar, Kanṭhīrāva-Narasarāja, Chikka-devaraja, Nanjaraja, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. Occasion has also been taken to correct errors which have long persisted. Take, for instance, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and his alleged strained relations with a class of influential priests of his time and the stories told of him in that connection. That the evidence available does not support them is to confess the bare truth. But so crusted old were the beliefs held in regard to them that something more has had to be said and this has been done in the proper context. It ought to suffice here if we quote a parallel case to show how hard it is sometimes to root out wrong beliefs, however once formed. Gibbon records, in one of his more celebrated chapters, the "secret persecution" of Christians by the Roman Emperors Maximian and Galerius "within their camp and palaces," a persecution "for which the imprudent zeal of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences." But the "veracious historian" he is, while he quotes his authority for this statement (Eusebius, lib. 8, c. 4. c. 17), he is ready to acknowledge that Eusebius limits the number of military martyrs! What is more to the point is that he mentions in this connection the story that the Theban legion, consisting of six thousand Christians, suffered martyrdom by the

order of Maximian, in the valley of the Pennine Alps and says that "notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, etc., it has been long believed." Such is the force of wrong tradition. "The story was first published," according to Gibbon, "about the middle of the fifth century, by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac, Bishop of Geneva, who is said to have received it from Theodore, Bishop of Octodurum". That seems the way that tradition sometimes is built up. (See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*) Chap. XVI.) The picture of Haidar Ali given here would seem incredible but for the authentication that the documents quoted in support of it provide. The occasion has been utilized for affording a vivid picture of the whole colourful background of the period which called forth the energies of titans like Stringer Lawrence, Eyre Coote, Clive, Haidar Ali and others who dominate the mid years of the 18th century in South India and make it of enduring interest. The whole dramatic story of Haidar's life is told in a manner that will, it is hoped, prove of value not only to the student of history but also to the lay reader.

A serious attempt too has been made to treat objectively the period of history relating to Haidar. We know little of the *acts* of Haidar, little of what he *did* to achieve his aims. His wars we know, but what did he *do* to put on the field his vast armies, which struck terror into the hearts of his enemies and raised wonder in the minds of his foreign observers and critics? How did he contrive to clothe them, feed them, discipline them and march them to the field to die for him and the country they served? A constructive effort was needed to do all that and to that constructive work of Haidar some space has been found in these pages. Haidar was not only a destroyer as a warrior generally is but also a reformer,

who tried to build up a new army and a new discipline modelled to an assimilable extent on European lines. It would not be wrong if we said that he tried to build a new State along new lines and that it did not endure because he failed to appreciate the fact that the essence of human endeavour is grounded in morality. Nor did he care to frame his mind to be pliant and obedient to occasion. His continual habit of dissimulation proved but a weak and sluggish cunning, not greatly politic. It practically undid even what he did achieve. All that he did seemed but a web of his wit; it worked nothing lasting. His life proved verily a tragedy, not only because it ended with his death outside the country he was in and worked for but also because nothing survived to show that such a giant of a man had ever dived.

No historical work relating to Mysore can pretend not to owe its deep acknowledgments to Wilks' great, indeed, classical work. Though he finished the first volume of his work as early as 1810 and the other two volumes of his original edition in 1817—two years after Waterloo and within twenty years of the last siege of Seringapatam—he covered the early and later periods of history in an admirable fashion. He not only had the aid of those who took part in the campaigns of which he wrote, but also he had the material aid of Dewān Purnaiya, with whose support he set up a historical commission, as it were, which proved of considerable help to him in dealing with the earlier reigns of the Mysore Kings. If he told occasionally legendary stories about them, it is because, as Mr. H. G. Wells has aptly observed, history cannot be understood without them. While his historical instinct was sound, his judgment was generally in the right, though towards certain of his contemporaries it might have been marred slightly, as has been suspected in certain quarters. But Wilks' work cannot be superseded in any sense of the

term, though he may have to be used with Caution for the earlier and even parts of the later periods in view of the advance made by modern research, archaeological and other. It is as much a classic as Orme's *Indostan* or Duff's *Mahrattas*, whatever their shortcomings from any point of view. At any rate, the present work does not attempt that altogether impossible feat and fully acknowledges its own indebtedness to Wilks' great labours as a pioneer in the field of *Mysore History* and seeks but to supplement its rich stores in a small way.

But there is need to remember one limitation to Wilks' great work, a work that filled with admiration the leading men and women of his times and helped to earn for him a Fellowship of the Royal Society. What might be said of Orme's work may be said of Wilks' as well. Both have, for instance, written of Haidar. But the histories of Orme and Wilks belong to periods too close to Haidar All to be either full or free from doubt. They reflect the views of the English, while those of the French writers of the period—De La Tour and the rest of them—reflect those of the nation they belonged to. What Haidar and Tipū have said of themselves or what their own historians said of them we have some accounts of in the writings of the annalists of the period. Among these are the anonymous author of the *Haidar-Ndmdh*, Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani, Mirza Iqbal and others. While the histories of Orme and Wilks contain very little else—as Col. Miles acutely remarked writing as long back as 1842—than the wars the English waged in both the portions of the Karnātic in furious fashion, the annalists devote only a very small part of their space to these wars of the English. They help us to realize Haidar the man and the Usurper and Tipū the youth and the tyrant. There are other advantages as well to be derived from a study of these annalists, even in the purely historical portions. Kirmani's version, for instance, is generally

consistent with Orme's account up to 1760, except with regard to Trichinopoly, which is worthy of note. It is Trichinopoly that brought Mysore in the first instance into prominence in South India during what may be called the Anglo-French period and it was the injustice done to Mysore in regard to Trichinopoly that fired Haidar's imagination with the conquest of the South. The subsequent attempt to drive the Europeans—not merely the English—out of India is directly traceable to that cause. The annalists, therefore, have a place, however small or insignificant, in the study of the period dominated by Haidar and Tipū, quite apart from the help they give us to understand them as men who lived their lives to attain the objectives they aimed at.

Of the French writer De La Tour, who had served under Haidar All and whose work *Ayder Ali* was published as early as 1784, within two years of the death of Haidar All, though written while he was still alive, a special word would seem to be necessary in view of the adverse opinion passed on him. Wilks, indeed, goes so far as to castigate him in a foot-note in the body of his work. "The Frenchman calling himself Commander of artillery and General of ten thousand in the army of the Moghul, who has published the history of Hyder Ali Khan and was present in the service (in the fight at Tiruvannāmalai), states," he writes, "the single trophy of the English to have been *one iron three-pounder*; this is a specimen of what he may be presumed to have seen. What he relates on the authority of others, resembles the information of a dramatic quidnunc, who hears everything, and seizes the wrong end of all that he hears" (Wilks, *Mysoor*, I. 587, f.n.). De La Tour considered Haidar a *mon ami* of his, "my friend," and perhaps wrote much of what he did write out of friendship for Haidar. We may even concede that he wrote as a frank partisan; but there, seems no justification for the

charge that he was deliberately falsifying history to suit his own ends. He says he was Commander-in-chief of Artillery in Haidar's army and of a body of European troops in it and that he has adhered to the strictest impartiality in relating Haidar's exploits. It must, however, be admitted he had strong national and political prejudices and these prejudices influenced his narrative. Hardly less serious defects than his political and national bias are his omissions, his want of the sense of proportion and his easy gullibility. Though he calls himself a "historian" and styles his book a "history," and asserts that "the true dignity and importance of history is placed in truth," and though he does not spare his own countrymen who had, in his view, "behaved unworthily" any more than Englishmen, while doing justice to Generals like Coote, Smith and Goddard, he is lacking in the sense of discrimination, and allows himself to be carried away by mere gossip in the most serious matters affecting a person's reputation. He disarms criticism by pleading that "if any of his recitals should be contrary to the ideas of certain persons acquainted with the same events, he begs they will please make a distinction between the facts he himself has been witness to, and those he could only learn from the information of others." The most that could be said about him is that as a witness he is at once honest and well informed in the few matters he writes of. For some aspects of Haidar's character, he is, at any rate, an indisputable witness. De La Tour gives us a summary of what he saw rather than a good and striking picture of the man Haidar. Not one of the 18th century writers, indeed, gives such a picture, as they only saw aspects of the man's work and character. There can be no question that great care and caution are needed in using him, but there can be no doubt that he is of some value for reconstructing the history of Haidar's period.

This work of De La Tour has had such vogue that it went through many editions in France in his own time in French, the language in which it was written, and in England in the translation in which it appeared first in 1784. A copy of the first edition of this translation, published in London in 1784, is to be found in the Conneraara Library, Madras, and another is now in the Mysore University Library, Mysore. Later, in 1855, Prince Gholam Mohammed, the only surviving son of Tipū Sultān, revised and corrected it, and re-issued it, by Messrs. W. Thacker & Co., in London. A reprint of the London edition of 1784, however, issued in 1848 at Calcutta is well known. This was published by Messrs. Sanders, Cones & Co., No. 7, Mission Eow of that city. This demand for De La Tour's book shows its appeal, whatever its merits. Some of its statements were hotly contested by English writers, one of the earliest to do so being Captain Francis Robson in his "Life of Hyder Ally", who published his work in 1786. He had lived "20 years in India" and had "been present in most of the actions fought between the English and Hyder Ally." Robson, who states he wrote his account of the war with Haidar, to correct the errors of De La Tour, and on whose narrative Wilks' own is primarily based in part, stands corrected in the light of contemporary records since published. But Robson cannot on that account be held to have not written the truth or written what he believed not to be the truth! Wilks' criticism of De La Tour has been referred to above, but neither Robson nor Wilks can be held to wholly invalidate De La Tour as the only source for some authoritative information about Haidar and his doings. Hence his importance, though he has to be used with due care and caution.

No apology is therefore needed for presenting Haidar in this work, in the character in which he has been seen

by posterity. . Great as he was as a soldier, a commander, an organiser of armies, and as a practical administrator, we have reason to remember that he was also fired by human ambitions and was guilty of acts of which many a historical character has been adjudged guilty. That he secretly canvassed the death of some of his royal masters while professing loyal allegiance to them outwardly as the Regent of Mysore has now to be admitted, and that the eighteenth century picture of his having been a kindlier man than his son Tipū cannot well be substantiated to some extent at least. For the rest, the facts set out in these Volumes ought to speak for themselves. Similarly, the portrait of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar drawn here is of the 17th century original and not the 19th century reproduction. Sivaji, again, is seen to be dominated by the ambitions of not only a kingdom but an empire as well. It was the greatness of the vanishing Vijayanagar Empire that to some extent kindled, we now realize, the political ambitions of that great military genius. The operations of the Mughals in the Deccan in the 17th century, although they broke to pieces the Consistency of both the Muslim and Hindu principalities, substituted no paramount authority in their place, and thus furnished an opportunity for the rise, not of military adventurers, as some past historians have remarked, but of the Mahratta Empire, and of the Empire dreamt of by Chikkadevaraja and later by Nanjaraja, the Dalavai, and last but not least by Haidar, backed by all the resources of Mysore and the country that was once Keladi. It was not so much a scramble for power, annihilating all right except that of the sword, but a fight for keeping out, each in his turn and in his own way, the other from dominating a territory that was not legitimately his. No doubt the disorder, and even the anarchy, that resulted opened the way for the

contentions of the English and the French, and the ultimate establishment of a British Empire in India. The attempt of Chikkadēvarāja and Nanjarāja, the Daḷavāi, is better appreciated when we remember the connection of Mysore with the Vijayanagar Empire and the Empire that Haidar dreamt of was but an inverted picture of the Hindu attempt at continuity of existence in the South of India, which in his son's hands became a veritable attempt at the establishment, if possible, of a Muslim Sultanate with all the paraphernalia of a foreign hierarchy of officials, which offended the practical good sense of even the Persian annalists of the period. From the large documentary evidence tendered in these Volumes, it will be seen how hard the representatives of Mysore fought for the possession of the South and how just their cause was and how they were foiled of it. The struggle for the possession of the South before the Anglo-French struggle, so familiar to students of history, was preceded by a struggle between the Mahrattas and Mysore and between Mysore and Nawab Muhammad Ali, the alleged Mughal representative, whose credentials for the pretensions he set forth were forged *firman*s of which Orme makes no secret in his writings. If History is, indeed, a record of something more than struggles in space, it is only when we reduce the apparent struggle between certain apparent forces into the real struggles which vary from age to age, between competing races and civilizations, that the story gains point as well as dimension. The history of 18th century Mysore shows that it put forth its wealth of men and money to retain the South to those it justly belonged and it seems but right that this attempt at local freedom should be recorded in a manner worthy of the theme.

The process of sifting of facts that go to make up history is subject to the ordinary laws of historical

evidence. One cannot shape history as he chooses. He **has** to base it on certain ascertained facts. "Critical" history like "critical" biography, since the time of Fronde, demands inquiry and appreciation of facts, of evidence, of direct documentary or other tangible proof. The search for material is attended with difficulty, the more so as you recede into earlier periods. But almost every source has to be worked up—public acts, spoken words, monuments, inscriptions, visits to places connected with the events of the period and the persons figuring in it; travels over the scene of the campaigns fought; narratives of contemporary writers and annalists, etc. Nearly all these sources have been made use of in these Volumes. A study such as this is bound to help not only towards understanding the prominent men of the period but also enabling us to trace the workings of their minds. To understand a man is to know his mind and its intricate workings. Without such knowledge, you cannot understand either his genius or how he manages to dominate a period. Such is the case with the greater men and women who figure in these pages. Human action is as much governed by mental as by physical laws and the history of a nation in its truest sense is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind and not of the events which are discovered by senses. It is, in a word, the illumination of the mind that directly contributes to the making of the events which, in the common sense, make up history.

A word or two may, perhaps, be added about other important matters relating to this work. The problem of illustrations, always a difficult one, has been specially hard. In regard to it, care has been taken to make them representative. The maps are not by any means hypothetical but are intended to bring out the historical position of the time they belong to. They

must be deemed part of the text, the most vital and decorative part-

I beg to acknowledge my heartfelt indebtedness to the Government of Mysore for the facilities they have provided for printing this work at the Government Press, Bangalore. To Pradhana Siromani Mr. N Madhava Rau, B.A., B.L., C.I.E., the present Dewan of Mysore, I owe much in this connection, and for the warm personal interest taken by him in the work. Amatya Siromaani Mr. T. Thumboo Chetty, B.A., O.B.E., Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja, has shown unabated interest in the work, while the unwearied help he has rendered in the matter of illustrating it and bringing it out cannot but be referred to with the utmost gratitude.

To the authorities of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, the Mysore University Library and the Public Libraries at Mysore and Bangalore, thanks are 'due for providing help in the matter of consulting certain books in their possession.

Mr. N. Subba Rao, M.A., my Assistant, has helped me whole-heartedly in the preparation of these Volumes. Besides studying the original sources with me and working up the varied material used in the writing up of these Volumes, he has not spared himself in checking up, at every stage, the authorities and verifying the data on which almost every statement made in them has been based. In him, I have had the good fortune to find not only a student anxious to learn and do the work allotted to him but also a collaborator. He has done everything possible to make his part of the work both useful and exact. His suggestions as to readings and interpretation have proved particularly valuable. To say that he has laboured hard, would be but a poor compliment to him ; he has not only done that but has also been diligent and industrious to a degree. He has

practical knowledge of the fundamentals of historical research and has shown rare capacity in the handling of conflicting data* Cordial thanks are due to him for the valuable help he has given in the production of these Volumes and for the warm personal interest he has taken in the work as a whole.

Mr. B. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., the former Superintendent, Government Printing in Mysore, and Mr. B. Krishnaswamy Chetty, B.E., his successor, have rendered valued assistance in the printing of the work. To Mr. B. Gopala Aiyangar, the Sub-Assistant Superintendent, who has been in direct personal charge of this work, thanks are due for his unvarying courtesy in meeting the many requirements.

The Volumes forming this work, being intended expressly for rapid reference, it has been sought, by an ever-increasing insertion of marginal notes and other references, to make them indices unto themselves. It is hoped that these notes would prove a convenience to the general reader as well.

This work, it will be seen, stops at 1799, with the installation of Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. The story of his memorable reign is proposed to be told, circumstances permitting, in a volume by itself, while in another volume, it is hoped to cover the reigns of 6r1 ChSmaraja Wodeyar IX and Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV, thus ending the series with the coming to the throne of Sri Jayachamaraja Wodeyar Bahadur, the present Ruler of Mysore.

BANGALORE,)
24th March 1948.)

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPTS.

1. TRADITION RECORDED IN LATER WRITINGS

Among the Mss. which are helpful in the elucidation of the early history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore and the reconstruction of its genealogy are :—

Mysūru-Dhoregāla-Purvdbhyudaya-Vivara (c. 1714). Ms. No. 18-15-37, a *Kaḍaṭam* of the *MacKenzie Collection* in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library.

Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara (c. 1740). Ms. No. 18-15-18, P.; Mad. Or. Lib.

Mysūru-Dhoregāla-Vamiāvāli (c. 1800). Ms. No. 62, P. L.; and No. B. 336, P.; Mys. Or. Lib.

Mysūru-Rdjara-Charitre (c. 1800) by Venkaṭaramapa-
iya. Mss. Nos. 19-1-12 and 19-3-44, P.; Mad. Or. Lib.
(A paper Ms. of this work bearing No. A. 273 under the
title *Myṣuru-Dhoregāla-Purvdbhyudaya-Vivara* by
Thimmappaiya and others is available in the Mysore
Oriental Library).

Bettadakōṭe-Kaifiyat (c. 1800). Ms. No. 18-15-20, P.;
Mad. Or. Lib.

Kalale-Arasugala-Vamsavali (or *Vempura-Kshatri-
gala-Vamsavali*) (c. 1830). Ms. No. B. 424, P.; Mys.
Or. Lib.

* This Bibliography relates to the entire period 1899-1799. For a discussion and estimate of the sources of the History of Mysore for the period down to 1761 *vide* Cb. I of this Volume; for the period 1761-1799, *vide* Vol. II. Appendix IV—(2), pp. 786-791. All the authorities—including the numerous literary and other works of general interest—will be found specifically referred to or noticed in the proper places in the course of the work. The Genealogical Tables have been given at the end of Vol III.

Rajavali-Kathe (1838) by Devachandra. Ms. No. A. 65, P.; Mys. Or. Lib.

Among the Mss. in the Local Records of the *Mackenzie Collection* in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library recording traditions relating to Haidar's period of office in Mysore (from 1761 onwards) are the *Haidarana-Kaifiyat* (c. 1800) and the *Nagarada-Kaifiyat* (c. 1800). Mss. Vols. 24 and 43, P.

2. CONTEMPORARY LITERARY WORKS (enshrining tradition, etc.)

Among the literary Mss. bearing incidentally on the genealogy and history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore, etc., in the 17th and 18th centuries are:—

Devaraja-Sangatya (c. 1670) by Chamaiya. Ms. No. 19-3-44, P.; Mad. Or. Lib.

Chaupadada-Pustaka (c. 1670). Ms. No. 18-11-7, P.L.; Mad. Or. Lib.

The *Mdhdimyds* (like the *Hastigiri-Mdhdtmya*, *Kamalachala-Mdhatmya*, *Sriranga-Mahatmya*, etc., of Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi and Mallikārjuna) (c. 1680). See Vol. I, pp. 417-420, 423, 424, with f. n., for details of these paper and palm leaf Mss. in the Mysore and Madras Oriental Libraries.

SachchiLdrdchdra-Nirnaya (c. 1690) by Chikkadēvaraja (Colophon). Ms. No. A. 431, P.; Mys, Or. Lib.

Munivamidbhyudaya (c. 1700) by Chidānanda. Ms. No. A. 198, P.; Mys. Or. Lib.

Anāngavijaya-Bhdnah, (c. 1710) by Givarāmakrishpa-Kavi. Ms. No. 12, 431, Des. Cat. Sans. Mss.; Mad. Or. Lib.

Sringarardjatilaka-Bhdtiah (c. 1733) by Avinaslsvara. Ms. No. 12, 708, Ditto.

Nanjardja-Vanivilasa Tiku (c. 1734-1751), a series of literary works by Karāchūri Nanjarāja. See Vol. I I, pp. 606-609, with f. n., for details of these paper and palm leaf Mss. in the Mysore and Madras Oriental Libraries.

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Nanjardjayasassamoladsa-Champuh (c. 1750) by Nilakanṭha-Kavi. Ms. No. B. 999, P.; Mys. Or. Lib.

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Despatches to England, Vols. V, VI, XVI-XVIII.

Military Consultations, Vols. XIII-XV, XXII-XXVIII, XXX, XXXIX, XL, XLIV, XLVI, XLVIII, LI, LIV, LVII, LXXX-LXXXV, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XCI, OXIX, CXXVII, CXXXIV, CLXVI, CLXVII, CLXXXII, CCXXI and CCXXIX.

Military Sundries, Vols. XXXII, XLV, LXXII, XCI, CI, CXI.

Secret Consultations, Vols. IV-VI.

Tellicherry Factory Records (Diaries and Letters Received), Vols. XXVIII, XXIX; and Vols. for 1765-1768.

Among other Mss. consulted are the *Macartney Papers* of the Parasnis Collection, preserved in the *Satara Historical Museum*—see sections IV-6 (a) and (b) and V (6) of the General Catalogue in the Museum. These consist of Lord Macartney's correspondence in seven volumes of copy books, called the *Phillipps Mss.*, and the papers proper in 22 bundles of loose sheets—mostly autographs—roughly arranged in eleven sections. They cover a wide field ranging from 1775 to 1792, and the documents relating to India, besides containing occasional references

to Mysore, reflect, in the main, the course of Indian affairs during 1781-1785, the period of Lord Macartney's Governorship of Madras.

The Marathi *Bumds* in the Museum are mostly collections of news-letters in *Moḍi* characters—see sections I and II of the General Catalogue. They are contained in the *Manavli Daftar* of Nānā Fadnis in the Parasnis collection. They bear on the Mysore-Mahratta affairs during the period c. 1780-1798, and require close attention.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND DIACRITICALS



The following abbreviations are used in citing references :—

<i>Annals</i>	...	The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.
<i>A. V.C.</i>	...	Apratima-Vīra-Charitam.
<i>Bel. Go. Cha.</i>	...	Beḷgoḷada-Gommaṭeṣ̣vara-Charitre.
<i>G. H. I.</i>	...	Cambridge History of India.
<i>C. Vam.</i>	..	Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali.
<i>C. Vi.</i>	...	Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam.
<i>Gal. Mad. Rec.</i>	..	Calendar of Madras Records.
<i>Gal. Pers. Corres.</i>	...	Calendar of Persian Correspondence.
<i>Count. Corres.</i>	...	Country Correspondence.
<i>Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.</i>	...	Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection.
<i>Desp. Eng.</i>	...	Despatches to England.
<i>Di.A.P.</i>	...	The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.
<i>Di. Cons. Bk.</i>	...	Diary and Consultation Book.
<i>E. G.</i>	...	Epigraphia Carnatica.
<i>H. I. S. I.</i>	...	Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
<i>H. F. J.</i>	...	Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University.
<i>Haid. Nām.</i>	...	Haidar-Nāmah.

<i>I. H. Qrly.</i>	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>I. M. C.</i>	...	Inscriptions of the Mackenzie Collection.
<i>I. M. P.</i>	...	Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.
<i>Ind. Eph.</i>	...	Indian Ephemeris.
<i>Indostan</i>	...	Orme's Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan.
<i>J. I. H.</i>	...	Journal of Indian History.
<i>K. A. V.</i>	...	Kalale-Arasugala-Vamsavali.
<i>K. N. V.</i>	...	Kaṅṭhīṭava-Narasaraḷa- Vijayam.
<i>Kar. Ka. Cha.</i>	...	Karṇāṭaka-Kavi-Charite.
<i>Ke. N. V.</i>	...	Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam.
<i>List of Villages</i>	...	List of Villages in the Mysore State.
<i>M. A. B.</i>	...	Mysore Archaeological Report.
<i>M. E. B.</i>	...	Madras Epigraphist's Report.
<i>M. B.</i>	...	Modern Review.
<i>Madras Army</i>	...	Wilson's History of the Madras Army.
<i>Mad. Des.</i>	...	Madras Despatches.
<i>Mad. Or. Lib.</i>	...	Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.
<i>Mahrattas</i>	...	Grant Duffs History of the Mahrattas.
<i>Mahat.</i>	...	Māhātmya.
<i>Memoirs</i>	...	Memoirs of the Late War in Asia.
<i>Mily. Cons.</i>	...	Military Consultations.
<i>Mily. Sund.</i>	...	Military Sundries.
<i>Moens' Memo.</i>	...	Adrian Moens' Memorandum on Hyder Ali Khan.
<i>Munivam.</i>	...	Munivain [^] ābhyudaya.

<i>Mys. Dho. Pur.</i>	...	Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvā-bhyudaya-Vivara.
<i>Mys. Dho. Vam.</i>	...	Mysuru-Dhoregala-Vamsavali.
<i>Mys. Gaz.</i>	...	Mysore Gazetteer (New Edition).
<i>Mys. Nag. Pūr.</i>	...	Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōṭtara.
<i>Mys. Or. Lib.</i>	...	Mysore Oriental Library.
<i>Mys. Rāj. Cha.</i>	..	Mysūru-Eājara-Charitre.
<i>Mysoor</i>	...	Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India.
<i>Nanjaraja. Yasas.</i>	...	Nanjaraja-Yasāssamollasā-Champūh.
<i>Nanjaraja- Yaso</i>	...	Nanjaraja- Yasobhushanam.
<i>Narrative</i>	...	Innes Munro's Narrative of Operations on the Coromandel Coast.
<i>Neshauni Hyduri</i>	...	Kīrmāṇi's History of Hydur Naik (Col. Miles' Translation.)
<i>O. H. Mss.</i>	...	Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts.
<i>P.</i>	...	Paper Manuscript.
<i>P.L.</i>	...	Palm Leaf Manuscript.
<i>Poona Res. Corres.</i>	...	Poona Residency Correspondence.
<i>Press List</i>	...	Press List of Ancient Records at Fort St. George.
<i>Proc. I. H. R. G.</i>	...	Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
<i>Q. J. M. S.</i>	...	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
<i>Rāj. Kath.</i>	...	Rajavali-Kathe.
<i>Sachchii.</i>	...	Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya.

<i>Saund-Kav.</i>	... Saundara-Kāvya.
<i>See, Cons.</i>	... Secret Consultations.
<i>Select Letters</i>	... Col. W. Kirkpatrick's Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan.
<i>Selections</i>	... Selections from Letters in the Foreign Department of the Government of India.
<i>Sel. Pesh. Daft.</i>	... Selections from the Peshwa Daftar.
<i>Sketch</i>	... Lt. Mackenzie's Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan.
<i>Telli. Fact Bee.</i>	... Tellicherry Factory Records.
<i>Tuzah.</i>	... Burhan's Tuzak-i-Wālājāhi.
<i>Vestiges</i>	... Col. Love's Vestiges of Old Madras.
<i>View</i>	... Col. Fullarton's A View of English Interests in India.

Diacritical marks are used in the case of Indian names and terms to denote Vowel-lengths (as in the over-head strokes " —", " | ") and to distinguish *D* from *D*, *L* from *L*, *N* from *N*, *S* from *S* and *T* from *T*, both capital and small letters.

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HISTORY OF MYSORE

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES OF MYSORE HISTORY.

Introductory—Principal sources—*Primary sources* : Inscriptions—Literary works—Coins—Travels and tracts—Contemporary chronicles and memoirs—The Records of Fort St. George—The Diary of Ananda Kanga Pillai; Selections from the Peshwa Daftar—*Secondary sources*: Quasi-historical works.

THE earliest attempt at writing a history of Mysore was made by Lt. Col. Mark Wilks (1760-1831), British Resident at the Court of Mysore (1803-1808). His work, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, was first published in 1810¹ and has remained an authority on the subject since then. Wilks, however, carefully avoided giving his book the title of "History." Writing as he did in the early years of the nineteenth century when archaeological and historical research in India was yet in its infancy and when he had to depend mostly on the uncritical summaries and translations of admittedly a few of the local sources (such as memoirs and chronicles of a later date) available to him, Wilks's treatment of the

1. London edition, in three vols.: Vol. I published in 1810, Vols. II and III, in 1817; reprinted in Madras, 1869 (in two vols.); revised and edited by Sir Murray Hammiok, in two vols., Mysore, 1980. This last mentioned edition is referred to in the course of this work.

early history of Mysore, from the origin and founding of the Ruling House down to the usurpation of Haidar Ali (1399-1761), is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory judging from the critical demands of modern scholarship.²

The principal sources³ for the history of this period, now available, are, however, of a two-fold character—primary and secondary. Among the primary sources are : inscriptions, literary works, coins, travels and tracts, contemporary chronicles and memoirs, *The Records of Fort St. George*, *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* and *The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*. The secondary sources comprise later compilations.

Inscriptions⁴—lithic as well as copper-plate—of the rulers of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore, come, for the most part, from the present districts of Mysore, Hassan, Bangalore and Tumkur, and from parts of Salem and Coimbatore districts of the Madras Presidency. They are found scattered over the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (including the supplemental volumes for Mysore and Bangalore districts), the *Mysore Archaeological Report*, the *Madras Epigraphist's Report*, the *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* and the *Mackenzie Collection* (in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library). They range from the middle of the sixteenth century to about the close of the eighteenth. Being mostly dated records in Kannaḍa or Sanskrit, they generally relate to gifts, donations and grants of the rulers to institutions

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2. Wilks has been invariably followed by all subsequent writers, notably by B. L. Bice in the *Mys. Gaz.* (I. 361-381), and by S. K. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*. The latter, in his brief but "imperfect sketch" (pp. 272-313), goes a step further in trying to utilise a few of the inscriptions, literary works and the *Palace History*, available to him.
 8. For details about the sources indicated and discussed here, vide General Bibliography and text of Chapters (with f.n.) and the Appendices thereto.
 4. Include *nirupas* (Orders) also.

(such as temples and *maths*) and private individuals. A few of these, however, incidentally throw light on the pedigree of the ruler of the time and echo the event or events connected with his rule or his predecessor's. Though by no means an adequate source of information, these documents, used with care, are of great value in identifying and locating the rulers and in reconstructing their genealogy and the political and social history of their times.

Most of the literary works extant—in Kannada and Sanskrit—owe their origin to royal patronage in Mysore during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only a few of these have been so far published, while the rest are preserved still in the form of manuscripts—palm-leaf and paper—in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Libraries at Mysore and Madras. Exceptions apart, these works are generally undated and the probable chronological limits of their composition are determinable only from their internal data and, in certain cases, from inscriptions referring to or quoting from them.⁶ Written in poetical or prose form, they relate, in the main, to religion, philosophy, poetics, morals, etc., and refer only incidentally to the reigning king of the time, his pedigree and achievements. Only a few of the productions, however, profess to deal with the traditional history of the Euling House (down to 1610) and the genealogy and exploits of the author's patron—as, for instance, the *Ḳaṅthirava-Narasardja-Vijayam* (1648) of Grovinda-Vaidya, the *Chikkadevardya-Vamsavali* (c. 1678-1680), the *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) and the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700) of Tirumalārya, and the *Saundara-Kāvya* (c. 1740) of Nūronḍa. And even these works are more literary in character than regular histories. Nevertheless the value

5. See, for instance, section on *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV below.

of literary works—as a supplemental source of information—in historical reconstruction, is not inconsiderable, provided, in using them, due allowance is made for the literary flourishes, fulsome eulogies, etc., characteristic of them.

Although the available coin-types of the Wodeyars of Mysore are few, they are of unique importance as witnesses to contemporary history. Especially the coins issued by Kaṅṭhlarava-Narasaraḷa Wodeyar I (1638-1659) and Chikkadēvarāḷa Wodeyar (1673-1704), throw valuable light on the political evolution of the kingdom of Mysore and the religion of the Ruling House in the seventeenth century.

The travels and tracts include the letters of Father J. Bertrand (S. J.) included in the *La Mission Du Madure* (1659-1686), John Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits* (1701), Dr. John Fryer's *Travels in India* (c. 1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's *Storio Do Mogor* (1653-1708) and the gleanings and extracts from documents published in Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments*, William Foster's *English Factories in India* and the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Uecords Commission*. These records generally contain the observations of the Jesuit missionaries and foreign travellers and settlers, on the political events, customs and manners in South India in general, and Mysore in particular. Their chief merit consists in that they supplement the local sources by throwing a flood of light on the foreign relations of Mysore, which, but for them, would have been lost for ever. Foreign observers are, however, not always accurate in their accounts, are sometimes found to be misinformed and are not infrequently known to exaggerate. While, therefore, their writings are indispensable authorities for the history of the period (c. 1630-1705), they are to be used with caution.

Of the contemporary chronicles and memoirs, the *Muhammad-Namah*, recently brought to light by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the columns of the *Modern Review*, is an undated manuscript official history in Persian, of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijāpur (1627-1656), by Zahur bin Zahuri. It deals, among others, with the campaigns of the Bijāpur generals in the Karnāṭak and Mysore between c. 1638-1654, a period practically covered by the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I (1638-1659) in Mysore. Its chief peculiarity, however, is that while it corroborates and supplements other sources of information, it contradicts them also. It requires, therefore, to be handled with care, as an authority for the history of Kaṇṭhīrava's reign. The *Tuzak-i-Waldjdhi* (1781) of Burhan Ibn Hasan of Trichinopoly, recently translated from Persian and published in part under the auspices of the University of Madras, deals with the history of the Nawābs of Arcot (c. 1700-1761). Written from the point of view of the contemporary Indian chronicler, it embodies a wealth of detail relating to the history of South India during the eighteenth century that is worthy of note. Its chief value for us, however, consists in enabling us to understand and estimate the foreign politics of the kingdom of Mysore (c. 1740-1761), from the larger perspective of South Indian affairs of the period. The *Haidar-Namah* (1784), an old paper manuscript (*Bakhar*) from H. H. the Mahārāja's Palace Library, Mysore, is a memoir in Kannaḍa, of the life and times of Haidar Ali (1717-1782).⁶ It is an anonymous work, the writing of which, according to internal evidence,⁷ was finished in June 1784, i.e., an year and a half

6. See also and compare *M.A.R.*, 1980, pp. 79-106, noticing a copy of this Ms. from a private source (*i.e.* from Nallappa's family).

after the death of Haidar. The manuscript bears throughout the stamp of freshness of outlook and independence and vigour of judgment on the part of the author. While the work is a source of first-hand information for the history of the period of Haidar's usurpation in Mysore (1761-1782), it is an equally reliable authority for the reign of Krishnarāja Wodeyar II (1734-1766), particularly in regard to Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya's struggle for Trichinopoly, the early career and rise of Haidar All and the course of events leading to his usurpation (1751-1761). Though not exhaustive, it supplies, on these topics, the genuine contemporary point of view of the local historian, while the chronology of events recorded in it, stands the test of comparison with the other sources for the period. The *Haidar-Namādh* even records, with a fair degree of accuracy, certain details connected with the general history of South India (c. 1740-1761).

The Records of Fort St. George,⁸ bearing on Mysore thus far published, comprise, the *Diary and Consultation Book*⁹ (1679, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1733-1734, 1739, 1752-1756), *Country Correspondence* (1740, 1751, 1753-1755, 1757-1758), *Selections from Public Consultations, Letters, etc.*, (1740-1741), *Fort St. David Consultations* (1740), *Letters to Fort St George* (1682, 1712, 1738-1741), *Letters from Fort St. George* (1698, 1736, 1739-1740, 1743-1744), *Despatches to England* (1701-1702 to 1710-1711, 1711-1714, 1727-1733, 1741-1742, 1743-1746), *French Correspondence* (1752), *Letters from Tellicherry* (1732-1733, 1733-1734, 1734-1736), *Tellicherry Consultations* (1732-1733, 1734-1735, 1737-1738,

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8. For a guide to these Records, see *Press List of Ancient Records in Fort St. George* (1670-1796); also Dodwell's *Hand-book of Madras Records*.
 9. *The Diary and Consultation Book and Country Correspondence* contain documents of Military and Public Departments of the Government of Port St. George, Madras. They are the same as the *Military Consultations* and the *Militaryflountry Correspondence* in the unpublished form.

1745-1751) and the extracts from documents published in Dodwell's *Calendar of the Madras Records* (1740-1744) and *The Madras Despatches* (1744-1755, 1754-1765) and in Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (History of Madras) and *Early Records of British India*. These records, including the unpublished volumes of *Military Consultations* and *Military Country Correspondence* (for 1760-1761), contain information of a varied character. They generally relate to the administration of the affairs of the English East India Company on the Coromandel and West coasts and to the colonial and commercial rivalry between the English and the French in India, particularly during 1746-1761. They refer only incidentally to the course of political events in South India in general and Mysore in particular, in so far as they affected the Company's commercial interests in the country and brought them into contact with the Indian powers of the time. While the *Tellicherry Letters* and *Consultations* yield some light on the early relations of Mysore with Malabar (1733-1746), the remaining series of records, to a considerable extent, supplement the other sources of information on the foreign and political affairs of the kingdom of Mysore, roughly during c. 1679-1761. So valuable, indeed, are these records (especially the *Diary and Consultation Book*, *Country Correspondence* and the unpublished volumes for 1760-1761), that they become an indispensable authority for the period 1751-1761. *The Records of Fort St. George*, as is usually the case with foreign sources, are not, however, always accurate in their references to the internal affairs of Mysore and are, in such cases, to be used with caution.

The Private Diary of Ananda Banga Pillai (1747-1761) and the news-letters contained in the recently published volumes of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* (1746-1761), likewise constitute a

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai;
Selections from the Peshwa Daftar.

supplemental source of information of considerable value, on the affairs of Mysore during 1746-1761, from the **French** and the Mahratta points of view. They, however, **are, as** of necessity to be used with great care, especially as they often record from hearsay and are, sometimes, **not** well-informed.

Among the secondary sources, unpublished and published, are, the *Mysiiru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvdbhyudaya-Vivara*¹⁰ (c. 1710-1714), *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*¹¹ (c. 1734-1740), *Mysuru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamidvali*, (c. 1800), *Mysiiru-Rdjara-Charitre* (c. 1800) by Venkaṭaramaṇaiya, the *Kaifiyats* (c. 1800-1804), the *Kelaḍi-Nripa-Vijayarn*¹² (c. 1800), a *Ḥala-Kannaḍa Champu* by Lingaṇṇa-Kavi, the *Kalale-Arasugaḷa-VamSdvali*, (c. 1830), the *Rdjvali-Kathd* (1838) of Dēvachandra and the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*¹³ (first compiled in the Mysore Palace, in 1864-1865). Although these sources, in Kannaḍa, are, as indicated, compilations of a later date, they are by no

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10. This is one of the few later compilations relied upon by Wilks. For a detailed account of the Ms., vide Ch. XV and Appendix VII—(2).
 11. This paper Ms. from the *Mad. Or. Lib.* (No. 18-15-18, pp. 24-80), is the same as the one referred to as having been in the possession of Mr. Muddarāja Urs, a former Bakshi of the Khās Samukha Department of the Mysore Palace (*Annals*, II. 86-88). The *Annals* (II. 86), however, speaks of it as having been written in 1785 (cf. 1707). But the Ms. from Madras, examined by us, is undated and stops with the beginning of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II's reign (1784-1766). It appears to have been compiled, in all probability, between c. 1784-1740, though it is not impossible that a copy of it was made in 1785. Wilks, as we shall see, makes use of this Ms. also, in his work.
 12. The *Editorial Introduction* (p. vii) to this published work, fixes it between c. 1768-1804. For convenience of reference, the medium date, c. 1800, is adopted here.
 13. This Kannada work, otherwise known as *Palace History*, was first published, during the reign of H. H. Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar (1881-1894), as *Vamtaratndkara*. It has been revised, enlarged and republished in two parts (Part I in 1916 and Part II in 1922), under the title *Vamidvali*, by Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, late Palace Controller, Mysore. Part I deals with the period 1899-1868, and Part II contains a detailed account of the reign of H. H. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar I I I (1799-1868).

means to be ignored. Based as they generally are on earlier writings, they are chronicles of a quasi-historical character. Often they reflect genuine local tradition and sometime enshrine valuable material and sometimes throw sidelights which enable the modern historian to invest his characters with flesh and blood and give a complete picture of their lives and times. Especially where other sources fail, he has to rely, to a certain extent, on these sources. Their reliability, however, is one of degree. Sometimes their statements are loose and their chronology defective and confused, while some of them interpolate and are actually gossipy in character. Extreme caution and great discrimination are, therefore, necessary in utilising them. For it is a critical and comparative study of these writings alone which must precede any serious attempt at historical reconstruction.

CHAPTER II.

PRE-WODEYARD DYNASTIES IN MYSORE.

Beginnings of history—Features of Vijayanagar provincial administration—*First Phase* : 1336-1530—Political geography of Southern Karnataka, 14th century—Administration of Southern Karnataka—*Second Phase*: 1530-1565—*Third Phase*: 1565-1610.

FROM time immemorial the area now covered by the State of Mysore has had an individuality and importance of its own. Traces of paleolithic and neolithic settlements in different parts of the country point to its pre-history. During the Vedic and Epic periods it would appear to have formed part and parcel of the non-Aryan belt of territory in the south and the scene of contact between Aryan and non-Aryan races in it. The Mauryas ruled over a portion of the country during the last centuries before Christ leaving their memorial edicts. Recent excavations—at Chandravalli in the present Chitaldrug district—go to show that the Satavahanas held their sway over it in the early centuries of the Christian era, with a fairly advanced civilisation. The Kadambas, the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar Emperors, among others, successively governed the country or parts of it leaving vestiges of their rule. Geographically the country during these epochs formed, as it does now, part of the Karnatak (*Kar-nddu*, *Karnata*, *Kannada*), being apparently a division of, or coterminous with, the extensive tract variously referred to in inscriptions and other sources as *Kuntala-desa*, *Erumai-nddu*, *Mahishamcṇḍala*, etc.

The rise of Vijayanagar (1336-1530) following closely on the decadence of the empire of the Hoysaḷas, was an important landmark in the political and cultural evolution of the Karnāṭak, particularly the central and southern parts of what at present constitutes the district of Mysore. Indeed Vijayanagar was the heir and successor of the Hoysaḷas. The Hoysaḷas gradually disappeared from the arena of history but left lasting relics of their government in the tracts over which they had exercised their control. The division of administrative units into *ndḍu* and *sime* and the system of provincial administration under members of the ruling family as imperial representatives, were among the most significant legacies of their rule transmitted to their illustrious successors. Consequently the feudatories in various parts of the Hoysaḷa dominions had to transfer their allegiance from their erstwhile supreme but declining masters to the progressive and steadily advancing sovereigns of Vijayanagar. The imperial policy of the latter towards them was generally centripetal, the objective being the maintenance of the *statics quo* on the one hand and stemming the ever-growing tide of Muhammadan advance on the south on the other. The task of welding together the heterogeneous elements of the body-politic scattered over the remote corners of the empire, from the Tungabhadra in the north up to the Tamraparni and Ramesvaram in the far south, proved, therefore, of more than ordinary importance to the energetic and far-sighted monarchs of the period. The dynasties of old feudatories, while reconciling themselves to the new situation, evinced their loyalty to their new masters, exceptions apart. In certain cases, the tracts formerly under the Hoysaḷas, had to be reconquered at the point of the sword and a new line or lines of chiefs, loyal to the imperial cause, set over them as local rulers.

Features of Vijayanagar provincial administration.

First phase: 1336-1680.

The more remote the local administrative unit was from the imperial capital, the more frequent was the need for the adoption of a policy of this type. Another method of exercising effective sway over such territories was, it would seem, the extending of encouragement to enterprising members of ruling dynasties of repute who sought imperial patronage and protection, to settle there under imperial authority and to carry on the administration as feudatories, generally subordinate to the empire through their immediate superior, a Viceroy (*Mahamandalesvara*).

During the period of which we are writing (1336-1530), the political geography of Southern Karnataka—which occasioned the rise of the town of Mysore, from which the kingdom and the State derive their name—was as follows: On the north, it was bounded by parts of the modern Bangalore and Tumkur districts then going by the name of *Morasa-naḍu*, ruled over by the Kannaḍa speaking chieftains of the Morasu-Vokkaliga community; to the south lay the territory of the Tamilians (*Kongunḍu*, *Chola-mandala*, *Pandya-desā*); in the east and the north-east was the kingdom of the Telugu chieftains with Muḷbāgal (*Muḷuvoy*) as the seat of their authority; and in the west and the north-west flourished the Changālyas and the *Male-rd̥jya* (kingdom of the hilly tract)—all these territories and powers being under the control of the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The Southern Karnāṭak itself, comprising mostly parts of central and southern taluks of the present district of Mysore (*i.e.*, Nāgamangala, Seringapatam, Mysore, Nanjangūḍ, Heggaddēvankōṭe, Guṇḍlupet, Chāmarājyanagar, T.-Narasipur and Maḷavalli), generally appears to have been known by the name of *Hosana-nadu*—after the Hoysalas—with such divisions as Kuruvanka-nāḍu, Uḍuvanka-nāḍu, Muḍuvanka-nāḍu, etc., the portion of the country immediately surrounding Seringapatam and

the units (*sime*) in its neighbourhood, in particular, forming part of the Kuruvanka-nāḍu. The whole of this area was divided into a congeries of principalities ruled over by feudal chieftains, of varying degrees of status, under the designation of *Woḍeyar*,¹ a colloquial word meaning generally "lord," "master."

Terakanambi, Seringapatam (*Srirangapattana*), Ummattūr and Sivasamudram were among the places which loom large in the history of the period under the Vijayanagar rulers. Inscriptions reveal, to some extent, the connection of these places with the imperial dynasty. Chikka-Kampanṇa Woḍeyar, a son of Bukka I (1356-1376), was the governor of the Terakaṇāmbi province. Under Harihara II (1376-1404), Achaṇṇa Woḍeyar was in charge of the Hoysaḷa country. Chikka-Dēvappa, under Deva-Raya I (1406-1422), was governing the Ummattur territory. Harihara-Raya III, a son of Dēva-Raya I, was also the governor of the Terakaṇāmbi kingdom. Under Bukka III (1422-1424), Vīra-Pārvati-Raya Woḍeyar, a son of his, was ruling the same province as a *Mahamandalesvara*. Nanja-Raja Woḍeyar and Depaṇṇa Woḍeyar, two of the sons of Mallikārjuna (1446-1487), ruled over different parts of the same tract, also under the designation of *Mahdmaṇḍalēti-vara*, while Timmanna-Dannayaka, a general of note, appears to have held the charge of the Seringapatam province. Narasa Nāyaka, under Śaḷuva-Narasimha I (1486-1497), was connected with the administration of the southern part of Seringapatam as his *Mahapradhana* (chief minister). He even claims to have conquered the latter place. During the same period Parvatāiya, another son of Mallikārjuna, was in charge of the Terakaṇāmbi country. Narasa Nāyaka himself, on his accession as the Vijayanagar ruler (1497-1503), put a stop to the

1. For the derivation, etc, of this word, *vide* Appendix I—(1).

inroads of Nanjarāja Wodeyar, chief of Ummattūr, and reduced that place to order (1499). Under Vīra-Narasimha II (1504-1509), Mallarāja, son of the *Mahāmaṅgati&vara* of Ummattūr, appears as bearing the royal title *Chikka-Bdya* (Crown-prince or Yuvaraāja). *Mahā-mcṃḍaUivara* Goṣanna Wodeyar, a governor in the south, showed a spirit of defiance of imperial authority. Vīra-Narasimha seems to have been unequal to the task of putting these local rulers down. The first act of Krishṇadēva-Raya (1509-1530), after his coronation, was, therefore, intimately connected with curbing the local chiefs and governors ill-disposed towards the Empire. Early in his reign (c. 1510-1512), he proceeded by way of Seringapatam and reduced Chikka-Kāya (? Ganga-Raya) who probably fell during the investment of his stronghold of Sivasamudram. The latter's son, Virappa Wodeyar, was evidently allowed by Krishṇadeva-Raya to rule over the Seringapatam country as the chief of Seringapatam. Domingos Paes, writing in 1520, refers to him as "Cumarvirya" (Kumara-Viraiya), father-in-law of Krishṇadeva-Raya, and as the king of Seringapatam and all the territory bordering on Malabar. He also refers to him as having been held in high esteem by Krishṇadeva-Raya. The province of Terakanāmbi taken from the Ummattūr chiefs, was placed under Saluva-Govinda-Raya, brother of Saluva-Timma, the distinguished minister of Krishṇadeva-Raya.²

During the latter part of the heyday of the Vijayanagar Empire (1530-1565), the connection of the rulers with the southern part of their vast dominions, became more and more pronounced. According to the *Achyutaradybhyudayam*, Achyuta (1530-1542) is said to have paid a visit

Second Phase:
1680-1665.

2. See *Mys. Gas.*, II. iii. 1482, 1523-1639-1653-1565.1668, 1612-1644-1698, 1719-17464764.1761-1772-1789-1790, 1966-1967-1994.1997, 2107-2108; also Paes's *Narrative in Sewell's A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 286-290, at page 269.

to Seringapatam on his way back from Srirangam. Here he received the local governors who made, it is said, large presents of money. From the description that Nuniz gives of the administration of Achyuta, we cannot but draw the broad inference that, though there was some discontent on the part of the feudatories, there was no serious falling off in its efficiency. The Government continued as before in the hands of the king assisted by his minister and the provinces were under local governors, while the feudatories ruled the tracts under them, maintaining their quota of troops and paying the annual tribute to their overlord. Under Sadasiva (1542-1570), the government was carried on by Āliya Rāma-Raja with the aid of Tirumala as prime minister and Venkaṭadri as commander-in-chief. Of these two younger brothers of Rāma-Raja, Tirumala appears to have wielded, according to inscriptions, considerable independent powers. He was known as *Mahamandalesvara* Rāma-Raja-Tirumala, Yara-Timma (Hiriya-Timma, Timma, the elder), Timmayadeva-Maha-Arasu, etc.

At this point, we may pause and take stock of the general conditions of provincial administration of Vijayanagar after the memorable battle of *Baksas-Tagḍi*, near Tālḱōṭa (1565). The general political effects of that battle were of a far-reaching character. These may be thus summed up : It broke up the Hindu power in the south, though the Empire held fast for nearly another century under the next (The *Iravidu*) dynasty of kings. Slowly and surely, it eventually opened the way for Muhammadan incursions into almost every part of the country followed by Mahratta inroads. Later, with the disappearance of an organised central government, centrifugal tendencies began gradually to manifest themselves and Southern India came to be dotted over

Third Phase:
1566-1610.

with chieftainships exercising more or less local authority. The power of resistance against a formidable aggressor was thus gone for ever. Disunion spread in the land, with the result that South India became the happy hunting ground for ambitious rival Nawābs, aided by groups of foreign merchant-settlers and military adventurers like Muhammad Yusuf and Haidar All.

Imperial power was, however, for the time being, still secure in the south. The writ of the Emperor still ran throughout the land. The whole country was divided between Tirumala and his brother and nephews. Tirumala—afterwards Tirumala I—brother of Aḷiya Rāma-Rāja, practically managed to hold together the greater part of the south under the nominal suzerainty of Sadāśiva. One of his objects in fixing upon Penukoṇḍa was possibly to save as much of the Empire in the south as possible and in this objective he appears to have been generally successful. From the social point of view, it is significant that within the half century that followed Rama-Raja's death, Sri-Vaishnavism had become the prevailing creed in the south of India among most classes.

Sadasiva was at Penukonda, the new capital, probably from about 1567. There is epigraphical evidence to show that, despite the great reverse the Empire had sustained in 1565, he was still respected by his southern feudatories, and that the Empire did not wholly break-up as the result of the defeat at *Raksas-Tagdi*. Sadasiva's later records come from, among other places, Seringapatam and Maṇḍya.

The assassination of Sadasiva in or about 1570 was followed by the accession to the throne of Tirumala I (1570-1574), the first *de jure* sovereign of the fourth or the Aravḷḍiu dynasty of Vijayanagar: Tirumala, it would appear, continued the time-honoured custom of appointing princes of the Royal House as Viceroys of the provinces. Of his four sons, according to inscriptions and literary

sources, Sri-Ranga—afterwards Sri-Ranga II—became the Viceroy of the Telugu or home province of Penukoṇḍa; Venkaṭa—afterwards Venkaṭa I—governed from Chandra-giri the Tamil country comprising the Tuṅḍīra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, corresponding, respectively, to Gingee, Tanjore and Madura; and Rāma or Rānia-Rājaiya-dēva (Rāma III) was Viceroy of the Karnāṭa or the Seringapatam country. The *Vasucharitramu* mentions that Rāma's rule extended over the territory between the Cauvery and the Arabian Sea, with his capital at Seringapatam. Several records of his attest to his rule at Seringapatam, the earliest available being dated in 1569, in which he is styled *MaḥamaṇḍalēSvara*. His records in the Seringapatam country, during Tirumala's rule, range from 1569 to 1573, and from 1576 to 1581, under Sri-Ranga II (1574-1586).³

Rāma-Rājaiya appears to have associated with himself one DaḷaviH Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭaiya, in the administration of the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. He predeceased his brothers, Sri-Ranga II and Venkata I, leaving behind him two sons, Tirumala II and Ranga III. These were brought up at Penukoṇḍa under their uncle, Venkaṭa I. During their minority, the administration of the Viceroyalty, according to the *Chikkādevardya-VamMvaḷi* (c. 1678-1680), was conducted by Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭaiya as agent of Tirumala II, the heir-designate of Rama-Rājaiya, down to 1584.

In or about 1585 Tirumala II succeeded to the charge of the Viceroyalty and ruled it till 1610, partly during the reign of Sri-Ranga II and throughout a considerable part of the reign of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614). Tirumala's records extend from 1585 to 1610, the latest available being dated in 1626. He appears to have been associated with himself in the administration of the Viceroyalty, one

8. *Mys. Gas.*, II. iii. 2067-2068, 2101-2108, 2107-2109, 2112-2116, 2124-2126, 2127, 2148-2146; also *C. Vam.*, 1-2.

Ramanujaiya, Pradhani and Dalavai, the successor, probably, of Bēmaṭi-Venkaṣaiya. Tirumala's records further indicate that he ruled more or less independently in his province, though holding only a subordinate position (as a *Mahdmanḍaleṣvara*) under his uncle, Venkaṭa I.

The *Ghikkadevardya-Vamidvali*, presents an overwrought picture of Tirumala's government in Seringapatam, by way of indicating that it was loose, corrupt and weak. Other sources, however, seem to convey a different impression. Father Coutinho, one of the Jesuit missionaries of the time, writing of Tirumala in 1600, states that he was "liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains than his brother Banga." The extent of Tirumala's jurisdiction as Viceroy is, perhaps, indicated by the circumstance that he could command levies from the chieftains of Hadināḍ, Yeḷandūr, Piriyaṭṭa, Talakāḍ, Kereyūr, Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), Bēlūr, Nuggēhalli, Kōlāla, Baḷḷāpur, Punganūr, Bangalore, Māgaḍi, Ammachavāḍi, Heggaddēvankōṭe, ChiknSyakanahalli, Bāṇāvār, Basavāṭṭa and Sīrya, etc.,—places situated in different parts of the Karnāṭaka country. Tirumala's own inscriptional records show that his rule was accepted without demur from Manjarābād to Mysore. There is thus enough data at hand to hold that he was popular in his province and that his administration was attended with a fair measure of success, although it was not free from defects at one period or another during his long regime of twenty-five years.

There is a regular succession in Tirumala's records between 1585-1592 indicating his actual rule in the Viceroyalty during that period. There is a gap in them between 1592-1595; they continue after 1596, leaving a gap again between 1607-1610.

It was probably during the period covered by the first gap (1592-1595) that Tirumala, according to the

Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali, proceeded with his uncle, Venkaṭa I, against Vlrappa Nāyaka of Madura (1572-1595)—who appears to have shown signs of disloyalty—accepted a bribe from the latter and retired to Seringapatam. This attitude on the part of Tirumala was, it would seem, due to Venkaṭa's early predilection for Banga, younger brother of Tirumala, as the heir intended to succeed him, and Tirumala's disappointment at his being superseded by Venkaṭa. At any rate, Tirumala, by his treacherous conduct at Madura, we are told, incurred the displeasure of his uncle. From this time onward a change is naturally perceptible in the attitude adopted by Venkaṭa I towards Tirumala—an attitude of indifference, if not open hostility. Almost simultaneously Tirumala, as we shall see, began to feel the rising power of the Ruling House of Mysore. Towards the latter part of his rule, covered by the second gap in his records (1607-1610), Tirumala even experienced a serious falling off from allegiance on the part of some of his feudatories. All these, as we shall relate, contributed to the overthrow of his power and his retreat from Seringapatam (in 1610), ushering in a new landmark in the history of Mysore.⁴

4. For the general references on Tirumala's rule, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2196-2197, 2200-2209; *O. Vam.*, 2-6, 14; *K.N.V.*, III, 29-80; also see and compare Rev. H. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I. 342-843. 412-414, etc. For farther details about Tirumala, *vide* Ch. V of this work.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF THE WODEYAR DYNASTY.

Early references to " Mysore "—Traditional accounts of origin: In nineteenth century manuscripts—In eighteenth century manuscripts and inscriptions—In seventeenth century literary works and inscriptions- Examination of the different accounts—Probable date of the founding of the Dynasty c. 1399-1420.

DURING the greater part of the period we have thus far sketched in general, very little is known from authentic sources about the place called Mysore¹ and the ruling family there. Among the earliest available documents, a lithic record,² dated in 1128 (4. 1050), belonging to the reign of the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana (1111-1141), refers incidentally to the Mahābalāchala hill (the present Chāmuṇḍi Hills, near Mysore), situated in Maisu-nāḍu. The next one,³ dated in 1175 (4. 1097), belonging to the reign of Vīra-Ballāla II (1173-1220), refers to a Hoysala-gauḍa of Mysore. Coming to later times, another lithic record,⁴ dated in 1494 (4. 1416), claims our attention. It registers a grant of the village of Bommanahalli—assigned to God Triyambaka—to provide for the feeding of the great Haradanahalli Wodeyars. The grant was made by Parvatāya, a son of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar (1446-1487). The record incidentally

1. For the derivation of " Mysore," vide Appendix I—(2).

2. E. C, III (1) My. 16,11. 9-10: *Maisu-nḍdu svasti Srt-Mdrbalada tlrthakke.*

3. *Ibid*, My. 8,1. 10: *Mayisura Hoysala-gaunda.*

4. *Ibid*, IV (2) Gu. 2, 11. 28-29: *Mahisilra-devara nidana. Niddna* here is a colloquial for *nidhana*, treasure. Bice renders the passage as " treasury of the lord of Mysore," taking *divara* apparently to mean the ruler of the place. But, according to the context, *divara* would suggest a local god.

refers to the setting up of a stone charter both at Triyambakapura and at the treasury of the God of Mysore. The God of Mysore referred to here, was probably God Somesvara, now situated in the Mysore fort, which claims⁵ to have been set up in the time of the Chōlas.

These records, however, do not help us much regarding the early history of the place and its rulers, beyond indicating that in the twelfth century Mysore formed part of, or was situated in, *Maisa-nāḍu* (the buffalo country) and was known as *Mayisuṛ* (lit. buffalo town), and that towards the close of the fifteenth it was known by the still earlier form *Mahisur*,⁶ the place itself being directly under the control of the Vijayanagar governor at Terakāñambi (*Triyambakapura*).

The founding of the Ruling House of Mysore has to be dated in 1399, according to tradition preserved in the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*⁷ (1864-1865). Yadu-Raya and Krishṇa, two brothers, princes of the lunar race and of Yādava descent, of Ātreya-sa-gotra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, having left the region of Dvāraka, proceeded, it is said, by way of the Vindhya to Vijayanagar. From there they went to Metkote (Yadugiri), where they paid their obeisance to their family god Nārāyaṇa. Crossing the Cauvery, they next paid a visit to the Goddess Chāmundesvari of the Mahābalāchala hill and were taking rest in the temple of Kōḍi-Bhairava situated near the tank behind the temple of Triṇesvara in Mysore. About this time, however, the chief of that place, Chamarāja, had died, leaving behind him the dowager queen (Devajammanni) and a daughter (also named Devajammanni). Mārā Nayaka, the general of the late chief, had usurped all power and was causing much distress to the queen. The two princes, informed

5. *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, p. 26; *vide* also Ch. IV.

6. See also Appendix I—(2), for details.

7. I. 4-18,

of this state of affairs, entered the town of Mysore, assisted by a loyal Jangama preceptor (*Wodeyar*). Despatching Māra Nāyaka's men who obstructed them at the gate, they took up their abode in the palace. Later Yadu-Rāya slew Māra Nāyaka in a mortal combat. The queen, in deep gratitude, bestowed her daughter on Yadu-Rāya. Yadu eventually succeeded to the principality of Mysore and became the progenitor of the *Mysore Royal Family*, the title *Wodeyar* being subsequently affixed to the name of each ruler, in recognition, it is said, of the valuable assistance rendered by the Jangama preceptor to Yadu-Rāya during his chivalrous exploit.

Jaina tradition, as narrated in the *Rājavalī-Kathā* (1838) of Dēvachandra,⁸ is as follows: There was a twelve-year famine in Vijayanagar between 1414-1426 (A. 1336-1348). Thereupon, runs the account, the Arasus and Setṭis of the place went over to the Karnāṭak and other parts of the Empire. Among them three Arasus, of Yādava descent, established themselves in Nuggēhalli. The youngest of them by name Vijaya-Rāja, however, settled in Kumbara-Koppal (*Kumbhakara-Koppal*, lit. Potters' settlement), near Mysore (*Mahistir*), devoting himself to agricultural pursuits. He married a maiden of the potter community in the locality and leased out for himself five villages near by. After some time Vijaya-Rāja died, leaving behind him his wife and a daughter. The Toreyas, taking advantage of the situation, were forcing Vijaya-Rāja's widow to marry away her daughter against her wishes. At this juncture, two of the descendants of Viṣṇuvaradhana of the Yadu dynasty, namely, Deva-Raja and Santa-Raja, then going about the country in search of a kingdom for themselves, happened to pass thither and were halting for the while on the tank bund at Mysore. Having ascertained the state of affairs in the locality, they entered Mysore and became masters

8. XII. 446-449; also X. 285-288, etc.

of the situation by despatching the ring-leaders of the trouble and forcing others to take to their heels. Dēva-Rāja and Santa-Rāja became the lords of Mysore. Deva-Rāja acquired some villages and made two Jain Brāhmans (Sāntaiya and Padmanṇaiya) of Maleyūr, his chief officers. In due course 6ānta-Rāja, owing to differences with his elder brother, settled himself in Kārugahaḷli and became master of some adjoining villages. Later Dēva-Rāja was slain by one Māra Nāyaka, a powerful member of the Toreya community, who usurped all power in Mysore. Māra Nāyaka was, however, eventually put to death by Rāja Woḍeyar, a posthumous son of Dēva-Rāja, the main line of rulers in Mysore being restored with the help of his Jain adherents.

The *Mysūru-Rdjara-Gharitre* (c. 1800) of Venkaṭa-rojmaṇaiya,⁹ has it that from the closing years of the incarnation of Lord Kriṣṇa the kings of the Yādava dynasty had been settled in Mysore (*Mahishapura*) favoured by the Goddess Chamundeevarl of the Mahabalāchala hill, that among them one by name Yadu paid a visit to Melkote (*Narayanagiri*) and worshipped God Tirunārāyaṇa there, and that his descendants continued to rule from Mysore.

The *Mysuru-Dhoregala-Vamsavali*¹⁰ (c. 1800) merely refers to the kings of Yādava descent who were settled and were ruling in Mysore.

A manuscript entitled *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*¹¹ (c. 1734-1740), relied upon by Wilks,¹² contains the following account: From

In eighteenth century manuscripts and inscriptions.

Dvāraka two brothers by name Vijaya-Rāja Woḍeyar and Kriṣṇa-Rāja Woḍeyar, it is said, proceeded to Vijayanagar and were staying with the king (*Bāya*) there. The latter proposed to give them a territory (*sīme*) to administer. The brothers accepted the offer, expressing their desire to choose one in the south

HAVING obtained the king's permission, they went about the Seringapatam country and devoted themselves to the service of the Goddess Chamuṇḍesvari to the south of the Cauvery. They proceeded as far as the fort named Haḍadaṇa in the vicinity of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills. About this time the chief of Hadadana, one Santa Wodeyar, having for some reason or other renounced the world, had left the place (*vairagya hutti . . . horatu hodaru*), leaving behind him a daughter, who was being looked after by a certain Wodeyar. The Toreya chief of Kārugahalli, profiting by the absence of the ruler in Haḍadaṇa, became puffed up with pride and arrogance and plotted to marry the chief's daughter himself. The two brothers, who were stationed near the tank of Haḍadaṇa, came to know of all this and were also told that preparations were afoot for the coming marriage. Vijaya and Krishṇa offered their willing help in the cause of the distressed maiden and, accompanied by the Wodeyar, proceeded to the fort where temporary structures had been erected for the marriage. They quietly won over the local militia (*halepaika* men and the *raṇuves*), led the leading members of the Kārugahalli party one by one to the marriage pavilion and made short work of all the mischief-mongers. Vijaya then married the princess; Haḍadaṇa, and subsequently Mysore (*Mahistr*)—then a sort of irregular fort (*hudevu*)—came into his possession.

A still earlier manuscript entitled *Mysuru-Dhoregala-Purvabhyudaya-Vivara* (c. 1710-1714), is silent regarding the origin and founding of the dynasty.

Inscriptions¹³ of the eighteenth century, ranging from 1716 to 1761, record, that certain princes of the race of Yadu, having left the region of Dvāraka (or Dvārāvati-pura), proceeded to the Karnāṭaka country, either led by fancy (*ichchaya*) or to visit their family god Nārāyaṇa (*ikshitum Rama-ramanam*), and being attracted by the

13. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 1 to Table II.

beauty and fruitfulness of the land, took up their abode in the city of Mysore (*Mahisūr*), from where they ruled.

The available literary works and inscriptions of the seventeenth century,¹⁴ unanimously echo the same tradition, the earliest among the former being the *Ḳaṅṭhirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam* (1648) and among the latter, the *Hdlagere copper-plate grant* (1663).

Tirumalārya, however, in his *Chikkādevarḍya-Vamsdvali* (c. 1678-1680), elaborates thus¹⁵: In the lunar race Yadu sprang up. Among his descendants, Bala and Krishṇa, with a view to worship their family god, proceeded to Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe). There they worshipped God Niirāyaṇa, presented him with the sacred jewelled crown (*Vaira-mudi*) and returned to Dvāraka, leaving one of their descendants for the protection of the place (Mēlkōṭe) and carrying on the services to the god. The latter resided at Yadugiri for some time, but later, under the advice of the Sri-Vaishnavas, went over to Mysore, from where he began to govern. In the *Yddavagiri-Mdhdtmya* (of Timma-Kavi)¹⁶ also, among others, we have a similar account.

Only one record of the seventeenth century, namely, the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated in 1639,¹⁷ however, echoes the following tradition, in a direct and more significant manner: "The glorious kings of the banks of the Gōḍāvarī, formerly sent forth with honour by the rulers (before the Vijayanagar king, Venkaṭa II), again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it; sprung from the *Ātṛeya-anvaya*, of the

14. Vide f.n. 1 to Tables II and III.

15. Pp. 11-12.

16. I, 70-77.

17. E. C., III (1) Nj. 198, 11. 29-38:

*Purvam Godavaritira bhupala bhuri tejasah I
Stat pilrvair maṅḍalindraiḥ, sddaram prtritah, punah. *
Pdtum Karnata bhūbhḍgam prḍptdh, prathita tijasah. (
2trēyḍnvaya sambhūtd Āffvaldyana-sūtrvṅqḥ, I
Jtg-Vidino mahdbhḍgd Mahishḍpur-nivḍsinah ||

Asvalayana-sutra, followers of the *Rg-Veda*, dwelling in Mahishāpura."

It will be seen from the above gleanings from the available sources that the tradition relating to the Yādava descent of the present Ruling House of Mysore has had a continuous course of development during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An examination of the nineteenth century tradition preserved in the *Annals*, in the light of the earlier sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, would show that it has been based, in the main, upon the latter. The traditional date 1399, assigned in the *Annals* to the founding of the dynasty, remains, however, uncorroborated, there being, so far, hardly any reference to the Ruling House in Mysore, in the inscriptional and other records prior to c. 1550. The Jaina tradition in the *Rajavali-Katha*, while it confirms the Yādava descent of the Ruling House, differs totally from other accounts in regard to the details about the founding of the dynasty. The sequence of events narrated appears also to be loose and vague. The twelve-years' famine referred to, stands uncorroborated, while the names¹⁸ of the progenitors of the dynasty form a distinct departure from the position taken in other sources. In the absence of confirmatory evidence, the Jaina tradition would only seem to indicate a later attempt to connect the Ruling House of Mysore with the Hoysalas and trace the Jaina connection with it from the time of its foundation—a position perhaps best borne out by a further examination of the *Rajavali-Katha* itself.¹⁹ The information contained in the *Mysiiru-Bdjara-*

18. Vide Table VIII, compared with Nos. V and IX.

19. See, for instance, XII. 460-476, where Dēvachandra, while closely following the text of Tirumalarya's *Chikkadevardya-Vamtdvaft*, freely makes his own interpolations. One of these (*Bdjvali-Kathd*, 464-456), in keeping with Dēvachandra's earlier position (XII. 446-449 and X. 286-288, etc.), clearly connects the progenitors of the Mysore Ruling House with a collateral branch of the Hoysalas.

Charitre, is clearly an improvement on the earlier tradition. The tradition referred to in the *Mysiiru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamiāvali*, is in keeping with the one preserved in the literary and epigraphical records of the seventeenth century, while the *ṢṢysuru-Dhoregaḷa-Purvdbhyudaya-Vivara* only attempts to fix the succession, etc., of some of the early kings of the dynasty, on a chronological basis.

There seems, however, to be an air of reality in the account narrated in the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*, though it lacks chronological data and fuller genealogical details. The archaic nature of its language—which seems to correspond to the type of colloquial Kannaḍa prose prevailing in the earlier part of the sixteenth century—would appear to reflect the genuine historical tradition handed down from time immemorial. The place *Haḍḍanaḡ* referred to in the manuscript as the fort at which the two princes Vijaya and Krishṇa are said to have arrived in the course of their sojourn, is to be seen even to-day as a village south of the Chāmundi Hills, Mysore, though in a corrupt form as *Hḍadana* or *HaḍḍanaṢṢ* in the Kadakolaḡ hobli of the Mysore taluk. Wilks, while first using this source, spelt *Hadadana* as *Hadana*,²¹ which has been identified by later scholars with the distant place *Hadindru*,²² or *Adindru*²³ in the Nanjangud taluk. The information recorded in this manuscript, is also, in general outline, in keeping with the trend of &ri-Vaishṇava tradition echoed in the earlier sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in respect of the extraneous origin of the dynasty.

The tradition preserved in the seventeenth century sources (inscriptions and literary works), is of a general

20. Vide Mysore Government *List of Villages*, 83. The identification of *Haḍḍanaḡ* with *Hadqdana* was first made in the *Annals* (II. 87), on the authority of a copy of the *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, in the possession of Mr. Muddarāja Urs, noticed in f.n. 11 to Ch. I.

21. I. 89.

22. By Rice in *Mys. Gas.*, I. 861.

23. By B. Narasimhachar in *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 38.

character, there being in them very little data which would enable us to determine the exact chronological limits within which the founding of the dynasty in Mysore can be fixed. There is also a tendency in these sources, as in the case of the works of Tirumalārya and Timma-Kavi among others, to elaborate and improve upon the Vaishṇava tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty.

The *Gajjiganahalli*, copper-plate grant (1639), is, however, of some interest. The statements in it that " the glorious kings of the banks of the Gōḍāvarī, formerly sent forth with honour by the rulers (before Venkaṭa II), again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it " and that they dwelt in Mysore, are significant. The record belongs to the reign of Kaṇṭhīraṅga-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I of Mysore (1638-1659), who acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar. If we are to identify " the glorious kings of the banks of the Gōḍāvarī " with a branch of the line of Yadu princes—from the circumstance that the Yaḍavas of Deṽagiri formerly ruled in that region (c. 1200-1312)—than this record should be taken to suggest that they (*i.e.*, the line of Yadu princes) having been for long out of power, obtained the permission of the Vijayanagar rulers—predecessors of Venkaṭa II—to proceed to the south and establish their sway in Mysore. Hence the expression " again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it " (*punaḥ pātern Karnāṭa bhūbhḍgam praptāh*). Thus this record would, in the main, corroborate the tradition contained in the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottāra*, noticed above.

Pushing our inquiries further backwards, we have already seen that the earliest available reference to Mysore in the fifteenth century, is in a record dated in 1494. It contains no reference to the ruler of the time in Mysore, nor, as indicated, is there any decisive evidence to fix the date of the founding of the

Probable date of
the founding of the
Dynasty : c. 1399-
1420.

Kuling Dynasty. The earliest ruler of the dynasty who can, however, be fairly well located, is Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (1518-1553), who is found invariably referred to, in the seventeenth century inscriptions and literary works,²⁴ as one of the immediate descendants in the line of Yadu princes in Mysore. Apart from differences in point of detail, the manuscripts are agreed that Vijaya or Yadu-Kāya was the founder of the dynasty. If, in the light of the seventeenth century records, we are to allow a period of about one hundred to one hundred and fifteen years for the ancestors²⁵ of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III, the founding of the dynasty itself will have to be fixed not later than c. 1420 and not earlier than c. 1399. The circumstance that there is no reference to the early members of the House, in the records up to about 1550, is, perhaps, due to their having been purely local rulers within the jurisdiction of the Terakaṇambi or the Seringapatam province of the Vijayanagar Empire. The dynasty, it would seem, emerged from small beginnings into an important local power about the early years of the sixteenth century. This position would find some support from the traditional history of the contemporary dynasty of Kalale, the founding of which is dated in 1500, in a family manuscript entitled *Kalale-Arasugala-Vamstvali* (c. 1830). From this work we find²⁶ that matrimonial relations between the Kalale and Mysore families began only subsequent to 1500, during the reign of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III of Mysore, who is referred to in the manuscript as *Vijaya-Chdmarasa Wodeyar of Mysuru-Nagara*, *Vijaya* probably indicating that he was named after Vijaya, the progenitor of the Mysore Euling House according to the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*. At the same time it is to be noted that the

24. *Vide* Tables. II and III and references cited in f.n. 1 thereto.

26. *Vide* Tables IV-IX,

26. ff. 2-8; see also Ch. X and Table XIII.

tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty, noticeable *in* the records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ill conspicuous by its absence in the extant records of the rulers of the sixteenth century. In particular, one Ethic record,²⁷ dated in 1598 (S. 1520), refers only to the *Ztriyasagōtra*, *Jival&yana-sūtra* and *Rk-£dkha* of the Mysore Boyal House.

It would thus appear from an examination of all the available sources that the founding of the Mysore Ruling House—of Yadava descent, Atreyasa-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rk-sakha—took place towards the close of the fourteenth century or the earlier part of the fifteenth (c. 1399-1420), more probably under the circumstances narrated in the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara* and in keeping with the main trend of tradition preserved in the *Annals*.²⁸ The development of tradition relating to the Yadava origin of the dynasty, by about 1639 and rnone markedly throughout the rest of the seventeenth century, seems to have kept pace with the parallel rise of the dynasty from small beginnings to a prominent position commanding a powerful kingdom, and the gradual growth of 6rI-Vaishi*avism in the country.

²⁷ B. G., Mys. Diet. Suppl. Vol., Br. 106 (M. A. E., 1911-1912, p. 59).
²⁸ Cf. B. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 275-276.



Yadu-Rāya (Vijaya), 1399-1428.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY RULERS.

The Early Rulers, down to 1578—Yadu-Kāya (Vijaya) 1399-1423—Hiriya-Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar I, 1423-1459—Timmaraja Wodeyar I, 1459-1478—Hiriya-Chamarajarsa Wodeyar II, 1478-1513—Hiriya-Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar III, 1513-1553—Glimpses of Mysore—Political position—Domestic life—Partition of territories—Gifts and charities—Death—Timmaraja Wodeyar II, 1553-1572—Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar IV, 1572-1576—His achievements—Political advance, c. 1573-1574—Domestic life—Gifts—Death—Bettada (Devaraja) Wodeyar, 1576-1578.

OF THE early rulers of the dynasty down to Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III ((1513-1553), very little is known from authentic sources. Some accounts of them, particularly of their genealogical succession and domestic life, are given in later writings.¹ Certain differences, genealogical and other, are noticeable amongst them. The *Annals*, however, seems to push back and fix up the succession of the rulers, mostly in the light of the manuscript sources. As indicated, the dates for the early rulers (down to 1513), as given in the *Annals*, remain uncorroborated. Till more authentic evidence is forthcoming, these have to be treated as traditional dates. From 1572 onwards a certain measure of chronological agreement is noticeable as between the *Annals* and the *Mysuru-Dhoregala-Piirvdbhyudaya-Vivara* (c. 1710-1714), the earliest available manuscript recording the succession, etc., of the Rulers of Mysore.

1. *Vide* sources, on which Tables IV-IX are based.

Yadu-Bāya, the traditional progenitor of the Mysore Royal Family according to the *Annals*, is assigned in it² a period of 'twenty-four years' rule (1399-1423). He is identical with Vijaya³ of the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvōt-tara*. He is said to have married Dēvājammaṇṇi, daughter of Chāmarāja of Mysore, and had by her two sons, Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I and Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.⁴ Yadu-Bāya, it is also said,⁵ proceeded against, and slew, Santarajaiya, a kinsman of his father-in-law and chief of Kārugahaḷḷi, bestowing that place on his brother Krishṇarāja. According to the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*,⁶ however, Vijaya had subdued the chief of Kārugahaḷḷi before he became the lord of Haḍadaṇa and Mysore.

Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I, eldest son of Yadu-Bāya, is next assigned a period of thirty-six years' rule (1423-1459),⁷ He is mentioned first in the order of succession as given in the *Mysuru-Dhoregala-Purv-d-bhyudaya-Vivara*⁸ His younger brother, Chamaraja Woḍeyar, is credited with the founding of the Kenchalgūḍ branch of the Mysore Royal Family.⁹ Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja is said to have married Gōpājamma of Beetṭadakōṭe and had by her a son named Timmarāja Woḍeyar.¹⁰

The next ruler, Timmarāja Woḍeyar I, is allotted a period of nineteen years' rule (1459-1478)¹¹ He is identical with Appanna-Timmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, mentioned as second in the order of succession, in the

T i m m a r ā j a
Woḍeyar I, 1459-1478.

2. I. 4,11-12; also Table IX. 8. *Vide* Table V. 4. *Annals*, I. 12-13.

5. *Ibid*, 12. 6. P. 26; *vide* also Ch. III. 7. *Annals*, 1.13.

8. 11.68; also Table IV.

9. *Annals*, I. 12; also see and compare *Baj. Kath.*, XII. 449; *Mys. Baj. Oha.*, 15; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ft. 8; and Tables VI-IX.

10. *Ibid*, 1.13; *Baj Kath.*, 1. c.; *Mys. Baj. Oha.*, 16-16, etc

11. *Annals*, 1. c.



Hiriya-Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar I, 1423-1459.



Timmaraja Wodeyar I, 1459-1478.

Mysuru-Dhoregala-Purvabhyudaya-Vivara,¹² Timnia[^] raja Woḍeyar I is said to have married Kāntājamma of Kaḷale and had a son by name Hiriya-Chāmarājarasa Woḍeyar I I.¹³ From the *Kalale-Arasugala-Vamsavali*, however, it would appear, as indicated already, that there were matrimonial relations between the Mysore and Kaḷale families, only subsequent to 1500, after the founding of the latter.

Hiriya-Chāmarājarasa Woḍeyar II is next assigned a period of thirty-five years' rule (1478-1513).¹⁴ He is identical with Chāmarasa or Hiriya-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar, the *Arberal*, (lit. six-fingered), mentioned in the manuscripts.¹⁵ He is said to have married Padmājamma of Bilikere and had a son named Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III.¹⁶

Perhaps the most acceptable date of the *Annals*, as already indicated, seems, however, to be the one assigned to Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I I I (1513-1558).¹⁷ He is said to have been born on September 29, 1492,¹⁸ and is the first ruler known to us within the limits of authentic history.¹⁹

Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I I I is identical with 'Dodda-Chamaraja Woḍeyar,' 'Bettendra,' 'Bettarajendra,' 'Betta-Chamarat,' 'Betta-Chamendra,' 'Sama,' 'Bettada-Chama,' etc., mentioned in the inscriptions and literary works of the seventeenth century,²⁰ as one of

12. I. 1; II. 58 and Table IV; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, 1. c, and Table VII; of also *WUks*, I. 41 and Table I.

18. *Mys. Raj. Oha.*, 16; *Raj. Kath.*, 1. c; *Annals*, I.e.; and Tables VI, VIII and IX.

14. *Annals*, I. 14.

15. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 1; *Mys. Nag. Par.*, p. 26; *Raj. Kath.*, I.e.; also Tables IV-VI and VIII; of. *Wilks*, I. o., and Table I.

16. *Annals*, *Raj. Kath.* and *Mys. Raj. Oha.*, 1. o.; also Tables VI, VII and IX.

17. I.14-16; of. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 3; see also Tables VII and IX.

18. *Annals*, 1.14; *Paridhavi*, *Asija su.* 8.

19. *Vide* Tables II and III and references cited in f.n. 1 thereto.

20. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 1 to Tables II and III.

the immediae descendants of the Yadu princes in Mysore. He is identical also with 'Hiriya-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar,' 'Beftada-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar,' 'Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar,' 'Vijaya-Chamarasa Wodeyar' and 'GhSmarasa Woḍeyar' of the manuscript sources.²¹ According to the *Mysuru-Dhoregala-Purvabhyudaya-Vivara*,²² he was actually known as Timmaraja Wodeyar. This appears borne out by a lithic record, dated in May 10, 1551, mentioning 'Timmaraja Wodeyar of Mayisur' (Mysore).²³ The probabilities are that while 'Timmarāja' was his real name—after his grandfather's—'Chāmarāja or Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja' was only a later appellation in keeping with the traditions of the family.

Chāmarāja III seems to have been an important ruler. Inscriptions speak of him as "a mill for grinding the corn, his enemies, victorious in war and delighting in the spoils of victory," "destroyer of enemies, famous among kings as the moon from the milky ocean," etc.²⁴ He is also said²⁵ to have acquired the title *Antembara-ganda*,²⁶ under the following circumstances: Certain chiefs

21. *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, I. c.; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 1. o.; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 2; *K. A. V.*, ff. 43; *Bdj. Kath.*, 1. o.; see also Tables V-VIII and XIII.

22. I. 72; also Table IV.

23. *E. C.*, III (1) My. 60. Rice doubtfully fixes this record in 1611 (?). But *VivGdhikrit, Jyefha toi.* 5, the actual date of the document, corresponds to May 10, 1661.

24. *Ibid.*, Sr. 64; T. N. 63; IV (2) Yd. 17, etc.

25. *C. Vam.*, 18; also see *C. Vi.*, II, 4-6; *E.G., Mys. Diet. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116, 11. 20-21, (*M. A. B.* 1912, para 127); III (1) Sr. 64, 11. 24-26, etc. Cf. the literary works of Chikkupadhyaya and Timma-Kavi; *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14 (1686); *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 16; *Raj. Kath.*, XII 460 and *Annals*, I. 16, ascribing the acquisition of this title to Timmarāja Wodeyar II (1663-1672), son of Chāmarāja III, under similar circumstances. *E. C.* XII, Kg. 37 (1663) ascribes it to Timmarāja I, father of Chāmarāja III (?) [*vide* also Table II, f.n. 2]; and the *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, (ff. 5), to Bola-Chamaraja IV. Cf. also *Wilks*, I. 42 and S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 277-278. The version in the *O. Vam.* (c. 1678-1680) is preferred as the earlier and more specific one. The right to this title, as we shall see, seems to have been securely established under Timmarāja Wodeyar.

26. Short for *Birud-antembara-ganda*, champion over those who say they have such and such titles. Cf. *Bhashege-tappuva-rayara-ganda*, champion over kings who break their word—of the Vijayanagar inscriptions.



Hiriya-Chamarajarasa Wodeyar II, 1-176-1613.

had once, during his reign, assembled at Najāngūḍ; on the occasion of the car festival of the local god. Nanja Setti of Kalale, a faithful adherent of Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja,²⁷ was also on the spot. The chiefs recited the various titles which they claimed to belong to themselves. Not tolerating this, Nanja Setti challenged them as to the lawful Ownership of the title *Birud-antembara-gandā*. Whereupon a scuffle ensued and all the chiefs attempted to put an end to him. Nanja Setti was, however, able to hold his own against his opponents and proclaim the title of his master, which became thenceforward the distinctive appellation of the Rulers of Mysore.

We have some glimpses of Mysore in the time of Chāmarāja III. Till his period of rule, **Glimpses of Mysore** (Mahisur), it is said,²⁸ was only a sort of irregular fort (*hudevu*),²⁹ with an outskirt named *Purageri*³⁰ (lit. main street of the town) containing a *Tammaṭageri* (drummers' lane). To the north-east lay the temple of God Somesvara, set up, according to local tradition, by a certain Chōḷa king. Near by the temple was a tank named *Chōḷa-kere*³¹ (after the Chōḷas) and near its outlet, the temple of Bhairava.³² There was also the temple of Lakshmi-narāyaṇasvami³³ likewise set up in the time of the Chōḷas. In 1524 Chāmarāja, it is further said,³⁴

27. Eferred to as *Muttayya* of Raja Wodeyar, which literally means 'great-grandfather,' but from the context 'grandfather' is obviously meant. The allusion here is to Hiriya-Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar III, grandfather of Raja Wodeyar.

28. *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, p. 26.

29. For an explanation of this word, *vide* Appendix I—(3).

30. *Vide* Appendix I—(4), for an explanatory and critical note on this word.

31. Probably identical with, or the nucleus of, the extant *Dodda-kere* to the east of the Mysore fort.

32. *Vide* Appendix I—(5).

33. Identical with the extant Lakshmiramanasvami temple to the west of the Mysore fort.

34. *My a. Nag. Pur.*, I c. The event is dated in *i.* 1444 *Tarana*. The Saka date, however, does not tally with the cyclic year mentioned. Taking the cyclic year as the correct date, *Tarana* corresponds to 8. 1446 which is equivalent to 1624.

laid the foundations of the fort of Mysore by putting up the inner enclosure-wall (*vaḷasuttinakoṭe*) and named the place *Mahisuru-nagara*³⁵ (the town of Mysore).

Hiriya-Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar III was a contemporary of Krishṇadēva-Bāya (1509-1530), Achyūta (1530-1542) and Sadāsiva (1542-1570) of Vijayanagar, of whom he appears to have been a loyal feudatory. He was also, we note,³⁶ a contemporary of Kanta Wodeyar I (1505-1527) and Timmarāja Wodeyar I (1527-1546) of Kaḷale and of the chiefs of Hura, Muḡūr, Tagadūr, Ummattūr, Heggaddevankote, etc. His authority seems, however, to have been confined to the territory comprising the town of Mysore and a few villages in its neighbourhood.

Of his domestic life, we have some particulars. He was, it is said,³⁷ married to Alagajamma (otherwise known as Goparasamma) and had by her, three sons, Timmaraja Wodeyar, Krishnaraja Wodeyar and Chamaraja Wodeyar (surnamed Bōla or the bald), who are invariably referred to in inscriptions and literary sources.³⁸ He had also three daughters,³⁹ Dodda-Deviramma, Chikka-Deviramma and Nanjamma, the eldest of whom was given in marriage to Kanta Wodeyar of the Kaḷale family, and the second to Mallaraja Wodeyar, the latter's nephew.⁴⁰

Chamarāja, we note,⁴¹ made also, during his life-time, a partition among his sons. To Timmarāja Wodeyar, the eldest, he gave Hemmanahalli,⁴² to Krishnaraja

36. See also Appendix I—(4), for a critical notice of Wilks's position,

86. *K. A. V.*, ff. 2-10; also Table XIII.

37. *Annals*, I. 14; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 16; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 449; see also and compare Tables VI-IX.

38. *Vide* Tables II and III, with f.n. thereto. 39. *Annals*, I. o.

40. *K. A. F.*, ff. 2, 9 and 10; also Ch. X and Table XIII.

41. See *Annals*, I. 14-15; *Raj. Kath.*, I.e.

49. The *Annals* (I. 15) speaks of Betta Wogeyar, son of Timmaraja Wodeyar,



Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III, 1513-1563.

Wodeyar, the second, Kembal, and to Bōḷa-Chāniarāja Wodeyar, the third, Mysore. It is said,⁴³ he so arranged the succession that Timmarāja should be installed first and that the latter should be followed by Bōḷa-Chāmarāja.

Timmarāja Wodeyar—afterwards Timmarāja I I — appears to have been living in Mysore during his father's rule/ Krishnarāja Wodeyar is referred to⁴⁴ as 'Krishna-Nripa,' 'Krishna-Bhupati' and 'Krishna Wodeyar of Mysore,' and spoken of as possessed of "distinguished valour," etc. He was reputed also for the beauty of his person.⁴⁵ During his father's reign, it would appear,⁴⁶ he was victorious over the chiefs of Haravu and other places and acquired the title &ringā,ra-hdra (ornament of beauty). He seems to have spent the rest of his lifetime in the village assigned to him.⁴⁷ Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Wodeyar—afterwards Chāmarāja IV—the third son of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja, appears to have stayed with his father in Mysore.

It has been pointed out above, that Chāmarāja I I I was actually known as Timmarāja Wodeyar. Wilks⁴⁸

as having been given Hemmanahalli ; but the *Raj. Kath.* (1. c.) clearly refers to the partition among the three sons of Chamarāja I I I, and Wilks also adopts the same position (I. 41). Moreover Betta Wodeyar or Bettada (Devaraja) Wodeyar was the son of Krishnaraja Wodeyar and not of Timmarāja (*vide* Tables IV, V and VII).

43. *Annals*, 1. c; see also f. n. 47 *infra*.

44. *vide* references cited in f. n. 1 to Tables II and I I I.

45. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 16.

46. *Annals*, 1. c.; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 1. c. (compared).

47. The *Mys. Raj. Cha.* (1. c.) and the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 3) speak of Krishnarāja's rule, the former fixing his accession after Timmarāja, and the latter after Chamarāja I I I himself (*vide* also Tables VI and VII). The earlier manuscript, *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, is silent on this point (*vide* Table IV). The C, Vi. (II, 10-11) speaks of Krishnaraja's rule in succession to Timmarāja, apparently by way of a literary flourish. The probabilities are, however, that Krishnaraja never actually ruled, having predeceased his father and brothers, which seems to account for why his younger brother, Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar, was intended by his father to succeed Timmaraja Wodeyar and why his (Krishnaraja's) son, Bettada (Devaraja) Wodeyar, was, as we shall see, chosen to rule in succession to. Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar (in 1576), in preference to the latter's own eldest son, Raja Wodeyar. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 278-280.

48. I. 42 ; see also f. n. 51 *infra*,

speaks of an extant grant from Timmarāja, dated in 1548, which has not come down to us. We have, however, as already referred to,⁴⁹ a lithic record dated in May 10, 1551, in which Channa Woḍeyar and Mallarāja Woḍeyar of Hura make a transfer of the villages of Nannigahalli and Miṇṇanahalli to Timmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore. The villages, we are told, were transferred with all the usual rights, and the transfer arrangement between the parties was to last for a period of eleven years, 1541-1552 (*Plava~Paridhavi*). The document, it is significant, was drawn up ten years after it came actually into force.

Hiriya~Bettada-Chamaraja Woḍeyar, it is said,⁵⁰ got constructed, behind the temple of Chāmuṇḍēśvari on the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, a tank named *Hiri-kere*, probably so named after himself. In November 1548 (*Kilaka, Margasira*), we note,⁵¹ he purchased the village of Tippūr for the temple of Chaluvārāya-svāmi of Mēlkōte. He is said to have passed away on February 7, 1553.⁶²

Hiriya-Bettada-Chānīarāja Woḍeyar III was succeeded by his eldest son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar II, who is assigned a period of nineteen years' rule (1553-1572)⁵³ Timmaraja Woḍeyar is referred to in inscriptions and literary works⁵⁴ as 'Timmāvanipa,' 'Timmarājēndra,' etc., and spoken of as "always engaged in destroying the hostile kings at the point of the sword" and as having been distinguished for his "dignity, depth and bravery."

49. See f. n. 28 *supra*.

50. *Annals*, 1.14.

51. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 72. This village was probably given away as a grant to the Mēlkōte temple, in which case the grant would correspond to the one alluded to by Wilks as above.

52. *Annals*, 1.15 : *Paridhavi, Magha ba. 9.*

58, *Annals*, I. 15-16 ; also Table IX.

54. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 1 to Tables II and III.

He is said to have been an expert in political policy (*niti vidam nipunarereyari*) and was noted for his pious rule.⁵⁵ It seems not impossible that the right to the title *Antembara-gaṇḍa*, which was evidently a matter of dispute during the reign of his father, was securely established under Timmarāja Woḍeyar.

Timmarāja Woḍeyar appears to have been a loyal feudatory of Sadasiva (1542-1570) and Tirumala I (1570-1574) of Vijayanagar. He is mentioned⁵⁶ as having protected his local contemporaries, the chiefs of Sindhuvaḷḷi, Huṇṣanaḷḷu, etc., places and been victorious over the chief of Ummattūr, becoming famous as *Monegaṛa* (a daring hero).

He was married, it is said,⁵⁷ to Kempamma of Toravaḷḷi and appears to have had no issue.⁵⁸

Timmarāja Woḍeyar was succeeded by his younger brother, Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar IV (Chāmarāja, the bald),⁵⁹ under the arrangement said to have been effected by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III, already referred to. Bōḷa-Chāmarāja is identical with 'Mysūru-Chamarasa Wodeyar,' 'Chamaraja,' 'Chama-nripa,' 'Chāmarājendra,' 'Immaḍi-Chāmarāja,' etc., mentioned in inscriptions and literary works.⁶⁰ He is said to have been born on July 25, 1507,⁶¹ and was so named because

55. C. Vi., II, 9; *Yad.-Mahat.*, II, 29, etc.

56. *Annals*, I, c; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 450; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, I, c.

57. *Annals*, 1.15.

58. The *Annals* (I, c.) speaks of his having had a son by name Bet(a) Wodeyar (see also Table IX). But Betta Wodeyar or Bettada (Dēvarāja) Wodeyar was a son of Krishṇarāja Wodeyar, according to the earlier sources, i.e., *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, and *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (vide also f.n. 42 *supra*).
59. *Annals*, 1.16; see also and compare Tables IV-IX; also f.n. 47 *supra*.

60. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 1 to Tables II and III. The reference to Bola-Chamaraja as *Immaḍi-Chamaraja*, is in keeping with the position of these earlier sources (i.e., inscriptions and literary works), according to which Hiriya-Bettada-Chamaraja was known to have been the first ruler. Cf. *Mys. Dho. Par.* (I. 1-9, 60, 72; II. 58), which loosely makes Bola-Chamaraja identical with Hiriya or Dōdda-Chama (*vide* also Table IV), a position uncritically followed by Wilks (I. 42-44).

61. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I, 2; *Prabhava, Sravana ba.* 2; cf. *Annals*, I, c.

tradition⁶² has it that once, while on a visit to the Chamundi Hills, during his boyhood, he had a narrow escape from a stroke of lightning which, however, only burnt away the hair on his scalp leaving it bald. Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, we note,⁶³ ruled for four years (1572-1576).

The *Dalavai-Agraharam Plates I*⁶⁴ (1623) speak of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja as an expert in His achievements. archery and in the handling of weapons of war, and as possessed of great courage and prowess. The *Gajjiganahalli Plates*⁶⁵ (1639) and the *Hūlagere Plates*⁶⁶ (1663) also echo his valour. The *Kanthirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam* (1648) points to him as a pious ruler.⁶⁷

Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was a contemporary of Tirumala I (1570-1574) and Sri-Ranga II (1574-1586) of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagar.⁶⁸ Of Rāma-Rājaiya⁶⁹ (Rāma III)—son of Tirumala I—the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatam, he was, we note,⁷⁰ a local contemporary. The extant records of Rāma-Rājaiya in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, as indicated already, range from 1569 to 1581. But it does not appear that he was actually present in Seringapatam in 1572-1573, *i.e.*, early during the reign of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Indeed one record⁷¹ seems to suggest that he was in Penukoṇḍa in 1573, when Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, probably taking advan-

62. See and compare Introd. Ch. in the *Divya-Suri-Charitre* (1678) and other works of Chikkupadhyaya and Timma-Kavi, noticed in Ch. XIV; also *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II. 68; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 5; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 17; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 460; and *Annals*, 1.17.

68. See *Mys. Dho. Par.* (I. 8, 9) and *Annals* (1.16-17); cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 8, 7; see also Tables IV, VII and IX.

64. E. C., III (1) TN. 63, 11.18-17 :

Suraha yudhi vikhyata dhanurvidya visaradah Mahipala rnahatejaschamarajoti kirtiman II

65. *Ibid.*, Nj. 198, 1. 84 : *aprathita vikramah.*

66. E. C., XII Kg. 87, 1. 26 : *Surassamabhavat. Chamaraja mahipatih.*

67. III, 8.

68. *Vide* Table XIV.

69. *Ibid.*

70. C. *Vam.*, 28.

71. See *Mys. Gas.*, II. iii. 3127.

tage of the absence of a strong local government in the viceroyalty, appears⁷² to have showed signs of aggression against the neighbouring chiefs of Kārugahaḷḷi, Kannambāḍi, Talakāḍ and Ammaehavāḍi. In or about 1574 Rama-Rajaiya, we glean,⁷³ proceeded against him at the head of these chiefs and laid siege to Mysore for a period of three months. Chāmarāja intercepted the supplies and reduced to considerable straits the advancing forces commanded by Remati-Venkataiya, the general of Rama-Rajaiya. The latter was obliged to raise the siege and the former put to rout by Chāmarāja, who made prize of his (Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭa's) insignia *Sugunā-Gambhira*) horses, elephants, palankeens and war-drums. The enemy was hotly pursued by Chāmarāja's men who cut off the noses⁷⁴ of those who persisted in opposing them. It was a complete victory for Mysore, and, for a time, there was no security in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. At length Rama-Rajaiya concluded a truce with Chāmarāja by the cession of *Kulve-Kottagala*⁷⁵ to Mysore.

Evidently this event seems to have considerably enhanced the prestige of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja in the eyes of his contemporaries. Indeed an inscription (dated in 1635)⁷⁶ speaks of his "fame pervading all quarters." Already by 1576, we note,⁷⁷ he had become an overlord of thirty-three villages⁷⁸ commanding a force of 800 men and surrounded by hostile neighbours.

72. See *G. Vain.*, 23; also 7,8 and 10, mentioning the chiefs referred to on p. 23.

73. *G. Vam.*, 23-24; *C. Pi.*, II, 20-22; *E. G.* III(1) Sr. 14, II. 13-14; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, II. 24-26: *ajau ajayat Ramaraja senanyam*. Also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 6, 10; *Annals*, I. 17, etc.

74. This is the earliest recorded instance, in the history of Mysore, when "nose-cutting" was freely resorted to during war.

75. Probably identical with the extant *Kottagala*, in the T.-Narasipur taluk (see *List of Villages*, 90). There is no village of this name, either in the Mysore or the Seringapatam taluk (*Ibid*).

76. *M. A. B.*, 1924, p. 23, No. 6.

77. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 6 and 7.

78. For the names, etc., of these villages, *vide* Appendix I -(6).

Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar, it is said,⁷⁹ had two consorts, Kempamma (Hiriyamma) of Domestic life. Bīlikere and Dēvājamma (Kiriyyamma) of Kōṭe (Heggaḍḍēvankōṭe). He had four solis, two by the former, Raja Wodeyar (b. 1552) and Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (b. 1554); and two by the latter, Dēvarāja Wodeyar (b. 1553)—afterwards known as Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar—and Channarāja Wodeyar (b. 1555).⁸⁰ He is also said to have had three daughters,⁸¹ one of whom, Chikka-Dēpamma, was, we are told,⁸² married to Timmarāja Wodeyar I of Kaḷale (1527-1546).

Bōḷa-Chāmarāja is credited⁸³ with having drained the Chōḷagere (near the Sōmēśvara and Kōḷi-Bhairava temples in Mysore) and erected a temple⁸⁴ to Triṅṅēśvara—the image of which is said to have been, for long, lying immersed in the tank—and arranged for the conduct of worship in it, offerings, etc. He died on November 9, 1576.⁸⁵

Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Wodeyar was, we note,⁸⁶ succeeded by⁸⁷ Beṭṭada (Dēvarāja) Wodeyar,⁸⁸ a nephew of his and grandson of Hiriyā-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III. His selection in preference to Rāja Wodeyar, the eldest son of

79. *Mys. Dlio. Pur.*, I. 2, 60; cf. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 6-6; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 450; and *Annals*, I. 16; see also Tables IV, VI-IX.

80. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 2-3, 32; also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, *Annals*, I.e., and Tables I-IX.

81. *Annals*, I. c.

82. *K. A. V.*, ff. 10; also Ch. X and Table XIII.

83. *Mys. Nag. Puṛ.*, p. 27; also *Annals*, II. 88, quoting from the Muddarāja Urs Ms.

84. Extant in the fort of Mysore, opposite the Palace.

86. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 9: *Dhatil, Kārtika ba.3'*, cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 7; *Annals* I. 17.

86. *Mys. Dho. Puṛ.*, I. 10; *Mys. Nag. Puṛ.*, I.e. Cf. *Wilks* (I. 44-49), referring to the succession, rule, etc., of Bettada Wodeyar but making him identical with *Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar*, mentioned by him as the elder brother of Raja Wodeyar; *Annals* (I. 17-18), speaking of the rule of Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, also mentioned as the elder brother of Raja Wodeyar; and S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (pp. 279-280),



Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar IV, 1572-1576.

Bōḷa-Chāmarāja, is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the circumstance that he was the only surviving⁸⁰ member of the family, directly in the line of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III. Bettada (Dēyarāja) Wodeyar is recorded⁹⁰ to have ruled for about two years (1576-1578), during which period, it is said,⁹¹ the affairs of the State were so ill-managed that the arrears of tribute due to the Seringapatam Viceroy (Rāma-Rājaiya) accumulated to 5,000 *varahas*. Thereupon the elders approached Rāja Wodeyar and entreated him to assume the reins of government. Rāja Wodeyar at first seemed averse to the proposal in view of the unsatisfactory state of the finances of the kingdom but Dēvājamma, the dowager queen, saved the situation by offering 3,000 *varahas* while the *halēpaika* officials made good the balance. The arrears of tribute were promptly cleared. On November 26, 1578, Bettada (Dēvarāja) Wodeyar was deposed and made to retire to Ankanahalli, and Rāja Wodeyar succeeded to the kingdom of Mysore.

mainly following Wilks. But see and compare Tables I-IX, for the identity and exact relationship of Bettada Wodeyar and Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar, two distinct persons.

87. Vide Tables IV, V and VII.

88. Vide Tables IV and VII. Of. I, V and IX.

89. Vide Tables IV, V and VII compared with IX. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1. c. ; see also f.n. 47 *supra*.

90. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 9-10, 12, speaking of his accession on November 22, 1576 (*Dhatu, Margasira su. 2*), and the termination of his rule on November 26, 1678 (*Bahudhanya, Kartika ba. 12*).

91. *Ibid.* 10-13; also *Mys. Wag. Pur.*, 1. c. Cf. Wilks, I. 44-46; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1. c.

CHAPTER V.

RAJA WODEYAR, 1578-1617.

Principal authorities for the reign—Birth, accession and early life—His full name—His political position in 1578—The Rise of the Kingdom of Mysore: *First Phase* : 1578-1585—First signs of aggression—*Second Phase*: 1585-1610—Raja Wodeyar and Tirumala—Raja Wodeyar's further aggressions—His designs on Seringapatam—His proposed visit to Tirumala—Attempted assassination of Raja Wodeyar—The siege of Kesare, August 1596—Subsequent relations between Raja Wodeyar and Tirumala—Fresh attempt on Raja Wodeyar's life—Tirumala seeks Imperial aid—Tirumala's weakened political position, 1609-1610—Tirumala's departure from Seringapatam, c. January 1610—Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam, February 8, 1610—The acquisition, a conquest—Effects of the conquest—Seringapatam, the new capital of the kingdom—*Third Phase*: 1610-1617—Relations with Vijayanagar—Formal confirmation of his conquest by Venkata I—The significance of the Imperial confirmation—Further territorial acquisition: Siryur, Hadinad, Terakanambi and Ummattur, 1610-1616—Conquest of Hura, Haradanahalli, Talakad, Hullahalli, Kalale, etc., 1615-1617—Position of Raja Wodeyar in 1617—The extent of his kingdom, 1617—Raja Wodeyar's Rule—His administrative measures—Organisation of the Mahanavami (*Navaratri*) *Durbar*, 1610—Institution of the office of *Dalavai*, c. 1614—Religion, gifts, grants, etc.—Statues of Raja Wodeyar—His piety—Literary activity during his reign—Domestic life—His last days—His death, June 20, 1617—Raja Wodeyar in history and tradition—An estimate of Raja Wodeyar,

THE principal authorities for the reign of Rāja Wodeyar are chronicles (18th-19th cent.), literary works and inscriptions (17th cent.). Among the chronicles, the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara*, the earliest, deals mainly with the political aspect of Rāja

Principal authorities for the reign.



Raja Wodeyar, 1578-1617.

Wodeyar's reign; others, like the *Mysuru-Nagarada-Purvottara*, *Mysuru-Rajalar-Charitre*, *Mysuru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamsavali* and the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, contain traditional accounts of him. Among the literary works, the *Kaṅṭhirava-Narasardja-Vijaycm* (1648) of Govinda-Vaidya and the *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali* (c. 1678-1680) and *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalārya, though more or less contemporary, embody an account of Raja Wodeyar drawn up in the poetical language. The available inscriptions of Raja Wodeyar himself illumine, to some extent, his political position and other particulars. Other literary works and inscriptions—of the reigns of the successors of Raja Wodeyar—seem to echo, in a significant manner, certain facts relating to his rule.

Raja Wodeyar was born on June 2, 1552,¹ and was twenty-six years of age² at the time of his accession on November 26, 1578³. Of his early life very little is known, except that in his boyhood he had studied the sciences and practised at arms (*elaveyol sastra sastrabhyasadol*).⁴

Raja Wodeyar appears to have been actually known as Timmarāja Wodeyar,⁵ having been probably so named after his grandfather, Chāmarāja I I I, whose real name also was, as we

Birth, accession and early life.

His full name.

1. *My a. Dho. Pur.*, I. 3: *Paridhavi, Jyestha su.* 10; cf. *Annals*, I. 18: *Paridhavi, Jyestha su.* 7 (May 30, 1552). The date, as given in the earlier Ms., is preferred here.
2. The *C. Vam.* (12) seems to convey a general picture of Raja Wodeyar as a person of a sufficiently advanced age at the time of his accession (see f.n. 180 *infra*, for further details). In the absence of confirmatory evidence on this point, the authority of the chronicles is preferred here.
3. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 12: *Bahudhanya, Kartika ha.* 12; cf. *Annals* (l.c.), fixing the accession in *Bahudhanya, Vaisakha su.* 15 (April 20, 1578). The date of the former Ms. seems more acceptable, if we are to make a due allowance for the two years' reign of Bettada (Devaraja) Wodeyar (1576-1678).
4. *C. Vam.*, 12.
5. *Vide* colophon to the *Chamarajokti-Vilasa* of Chamaraja V (1617-1637): *Timmaraja tanubhava Narasaraja garbha dugdha rindhu sudhkara Chamaraja Odeyaravararu*. Here Chamaraja V, son of Narasaraja, is referred to as the grandson of *Timmaraja* who is, obviously, identical with Raja Wodeyar [*vide* also Table II]. For a fuller notice of the work, see Ch. VI.

have seen, Timmaraja Wodeyar. In his own documents he appears mentioned as 'Raja Wodeyar,' 'Raja Wadeyaraiya' and 'Raja Wader of Mayisur' (Mysore).⁶ Other sources refer to him as 'Rajendra, 'Raja-Nripa' and 'Raja-Mahipati.'⁷

At the time of his accession to the kingdom of Mysore, Raja Wodeyar was an overlord of thirty-three villages (of the revenue value of 3,000 *varahas*) and commanding 300 men.⁸ He was a feudatory of Sri-Ranga II of Vijayanagar (1574-1586) through Rama-Rajaiya (Rama III), the Viceroy at Seringapatam; Among his local contemporaries were,⁹ Rama-Raja-Nayaka of Hadinad and the chiefs of Kalale, Hullahalli, Hura, Miigur, Bilikere, Karugahalli, Kannambadi, Ammachavadi and Talakad. Rama-Pedda-Jagadeva-Rayya, the imperial representative of Vijayanagar and chief of the territory of Channapaṭṇa and Nāgamangala (up to Seringapatam), was another important contemporary of Rāja Wodeyar in the north of Mysore.¹⁰ Further north was Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Magaḍi (1569-1658). In the far south was Vrappa Nayaka of Madura (1572-1595). In the distant north-west flourished Rama-Raja Nayaka of Ikkeri (1570-1582).

During the early part of his reign (1578-1585), Raja Wodeyar appears to have been a loyal feudatory of Sri-Ranga II and Rama-Rajaiya of Vijayanagar. He appears also to have maintained friendly relations with Dalavai Remati-Venkataiya who was in charge of the Seringapatam Viceroyalty during the minority of Tirumala II, eldest

The Rise of the Kingdom of Mysore;

First Phase: 1578-1585.

First signs of aggression.

6. E. C., III (1) Sr, 150 and 157; TN, 116, etc.

7. K.N. V., III, 10, 48; C. Vam., 2, 6, etc.

8. Mys. Dho. Vam., ff. 6-7; see also and compare C. Vam., 13, referring to 28 as the number of the villages; 33, however, seems to be the correct figure, in keeping with the general political conditions of the times.

9. K. N. V., III, 28, 26; C. Vi., II, 28-29; C. Vam., 7, 8, 10.

10. C. Vam., 8.

son of Rama-Rajaiya.¹¹ In 1584, however, apparently profiting by the absence of a strong hand in the Viceroyalty, Rāja Wodeyar, it would seem, showed the first sign of aggression. In March of that year, he acquired Akki-hebbāḷu from Narasimha Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur.¹²

The next period of Rāja Wodeyar's reign in Mysore is synchronised with the rule of Venkaṭa I of Vijayanagar (1586-1614) and the period of Tirumala's office as Viceroy at Seringapatam. Tirumala's records, as indicated already, bear unmistakable evidence of his having held the charge of the Viceroyalty, as early as 1585-1590, assisted by Dajavāi Rāmānujaiya, the probable successor of Rēmatī-Venkaṭaiya. In or about 1585, the first year of Tirumala's rule, Rāja Wodeyar, it would appear,¹³ paid his first visit to Tirumala at Seringapatam and, when asked for the tribute, is said to have replied that it could not be paid owing to the alleged destruction of crops caused by wild cattle. Rāja Wodeyar also seems

11. *Ibid.*, 2.

12. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 78; *Annals*, I. 48. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 52-54. His list of Raja Wodeyar's conquests (*Ibid.*, 58-54) is found, on examination, to have been based mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.*

13. See *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 3. This work loosely assigns this event to the reign of Bola-Chamaraja Wodeyar (1572-1576), making Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy, a contemporary of both Bola-Chamaraja and Raja Wodeyar. The Ms. (I. 5-7) even speaks of a subsequent attempt on Bōja-Chāmarāja's life, in Seringapatam, by Tirumala's Dajavāi, Rāmānujaiya. *Wilks* seems closely to follow this position (I. 44, 46-47). Tirumala was, however, as we have seen above, *only* a contemporary of Raja Wodeyar, while Rama-Rajaiya was a contemporary of Bōja-Chāmarāja Wodeyar. The overlapping and confusion in the Ms. are, however, reconcilable, if only the sequence of events is shifted on to the reign of Raja Wodeyar both from the points of view of contemporaneity and the probabilities of the case. The relations of Bōja-Chāmarāja Wodeyar with his contemporary, Rāma-Rājaiya of Seringapatam, during the last two years (1574-1576) of his reign, could not but have been friendly, especially after Rama-Rajaiya's unsuccessful siege of Mysore and his truce about 1574 (*vide* Ch. IV). So that we would not be far wrong if we allow a fair interval of about nine years, from Bōja-Chāmarāja's death (1576), for the occurrence of an event of the type narrated in the Ms. This position, as we shall see, seems to find some measure of support from the earlier work, *C. Vam.*, also.

to have sought Tirumala's permission to erect in Mysore a fort-wall of a man's height, to enable him to raise the crops and pay up punctually the annual tribute. No sooner was the permission accorded than the fort-wall was raised and the tax collectors of Seringapatam (*Pattanada sunkada kolukararu*) expelled from Mysore.¹⁴ Possibly Raja Wodeyar, who seems to have had a thorough knowledge of the conditions in the southern Viceroyalty, early found Tirumala unequal to the task of administering it. Accordingly we find him, in February 1586, acquiring Rangasamudra (with the adjoining twelve villages) from Tirumala.¹⁵ By 1590, Rāja Wodeyar's position' as the ruler of Mysore had become secure, though he appears to have continued diplomatic relations with the court of Seringapatam. In that year, he is stated to have paid a visit—a second one—to Tirumala.¹⁶ An interesting incident is recorded to have taken place on this occasion, which gives us an insight into the conditions of the times. Raja Wodeyar, says the manuscript,¹⁷ proceeded to the court accompanied by music. On his way he met Deparaḷa Wodeyar of Kembal, likewise accompanied. At this Rāja Wodeyar was much incensed and visited Tirumala unattended by music. Asked by the latter why he had stopped the music, Rāja Wodeyar replied that he had to do so because he could not tolerate Deparaḷa of Kembal—who was much inferior to him in status—being also accorded the same honour. Further, he represented that the right of either of them being attended by music should be determined in an open contest. This being agreed to, Raja Wodeyar proceeded against Deparaḷa and took possession of Kembal in the course of the same year. Whatever the truth in the story may be, there can be no question that Rāja Wodeyar was a man both proud and

14. *Ibid.*, I. 34.

15. *Ibid.*, I. 78-74; also see and compare *Annals* l.c.

16. *Ibid.*, 1.18.

17. *Ibid.*, 1.18-15; see also and compare *Wilks*, 1.46-47,

courageous and bent on maintaining his status as the ruler of an expanding kingdom. Next year (1591), he acquired Mullūr.¹⁸

Between 1592-1595, Rāja Wodeyar's aggression went on apace. Tirumala's absence from the Viceroyalty in this period, as suggested by the absence of his records for these years, would indicate that he was engaged in the war against Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura. Tirumala, it is said,¹⁹ sought Rāja Wodeyar's help on the occasion, but the latter refused it. However, the absence of Tirumala from Seringapatam seemed a favourable opportunity for Rāja Wodeyar to advance further. In 1592, he built a new fort at Rangasamudra²⁰; in 1593, he acquired Hārohaḷḷi,²¹ and in July 1595, he took Narunelli from Mallarājaiya.²² In October 1595,²³ assisted by his younger brother (Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar) and 300 select followers, Rāja Wodeyar curbed²⁴ the power of his cousin, Vīrarājaiya,²⁵ chief of Kārugahaḷḷi, who had incurred his hostility by encroaching upon the boundaries of Mysore up to the Chamuṇḍi Hills (*Chdmuṇḍiya giriya piridelle gattigoskara vairava berasi*),²⁶ and had also, it is said,²⁷ plotted in vain against Rāja Wodeyar's life. An action is recorded to have taken place near an elevated place known as *Kṛdubasavana-tittu*,²⁸ in which Rāja

18. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10.

19. See *Annals*, I. 21-22. This work, however, loosely refers to the Viceroy of Seringapatam as Sri-Ranga-Rāya (for Tirumala) and to the Nāyaka of Madura as Venkatappa Nayaka (for Virappa Nayaka).

20. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 74; of *Annals*, I. 48.

21. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10. There is no evidence for a siege of Mysore by Bijapur in 1598—referred to by Ferishta and accepted by scholars. *Vide* Appendix II—(1), for a discussion of the subject.

22. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I.e.; see also and compare *Annals*, I.e.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, I. 16-24; cf. *Wilks*, I. 46.

25. Identical with Vira Wodeyar of Karaganaha))i, mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 64, para 118—a lithic record of c. 1600.

26. *K. N. V.*, I 11, 16; also see and compare *C. Vam.*, 7.

27. *Annah*, I. 19-20; *vide* also section on *Raja Wodeyar's piety*, for further details.

28. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I.e.; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 9.

Wodeyar fought²⁹ a hand to hand fight on horse-back, horse-whipped (*kasabhihatiyim*) Virarajaiya and removed his nose by a sledge-hammer (*chammatigeyim . . . mūgu paridu; muḡam bēṛuliyadantaridu*). The fort of Kārugahaḷli was felled down, the township razed to the ground and the land sown with castor seeds.³⁰

In or about 1596, shortly after Tirumala's return from Madura to Seringapatam, the local chiefs, disheartened by the aggressions of Rāja Wodeyar (*agglikege kangettu*),³¹ it would appear,³² proceeded to the court of Seringapatam with tribute and presents, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Tirumala by accepting the insignia of office from him (*kappa-kankegalanoppisi-yavana mudreyam vahisi*). From hence, favoured by him and being settled in the sovereignty of their respective territories (*avanolavam paḍedu tamtamma neladodeṭanamam nelegoliṣi*); they all, it is said,³³ began to pursue an attitude of hostility towards Rāja Wodeyar (*anibarum ondagi . . . viachcharamam manangoliṣi ; muliṣabalidu*). At the same time Rāja Wodeyar had sent his agents to Seringapatam to study the political situation (*saptngadirava-ndrayvenendu gudhachdraram pranidhigahimam kalupuvinam*),³⁴ while Tirumala himself, having heard from the *Niyōgi* (*i.e.*, diplomatic representative) of Mysore³⁵ a favourable account about Rāja Wodeyar, wished to make friends

29. *G. Vi.*, II, 28; *C. Vam.*, 7-8; also see and compare *Div. Su. Cha.*, I, 7072; *Kamand. Ni.*, I, 52; *Bhag. Gi. Ti.*, I, 35; *Munivam.*, II, 17; *E. C.*, III (1)Sr. 14, 11. 16-17; *Mys. Dist.'Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, 11. 29-29; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 9; *Annals*, I. 20, etc., referring to and echoing this exploit.

30. *G. Vam.*, 8; also *K. N. V.*, III, 17.

31. *K. N. V.*, III, 18.

33. *Ibid.*, 6, 7-11; *K. N. V.*, I.e.

32. See *C. Vam.*, 6.

34. *Ibid.*, 2.

36. From *Niyogah*, employment, commission, appointment; any business committed to one's share; from it is derived *Niyogin*, appointed, employed, authorized; an officer, minister or functionary. The *Niyogis* were, during the times we are writing of, Brahmans by caste, who specialized in this sort of public duty. They are to-day known as *Niyogi Brahmans*. They are found widely distributed over Southern India, though only in scattered numbers,

with him.³⁶ With this end in view, says the *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali*,³⁷ he duly honoured the *Niyogi*, desiring him to communicate whether it would be possible for Rāja Wodeyar to pay him a visit in Seringapatam or whether he (Tirumala) himself should go to the latter. Subsequently, however, we are told,³⁸ Tirumala, considering the presence of a neighbour like Rāja Wodeyar a source of anxiety, decided, in consultation with his councillors, to capture his person if he proceeded to Seringapatam agreeably to fair words, failing which, to plan an expedition against Mysore. Accordingly, he had palm-leaf letters addressed forthwith (*olegalam kadu tavakadolaṭṭi*), to the chiefs of different parts of his dominions,³⁹ requiring them to bring in their forces to the capital on the pretext of the *Mahanavami* festival (*Manomiyosageya nevadim*)⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Rāja Wodeyar had been well posted by his agents about the course of affairs in Seringapatam.⁴¹ Agreeing with his half-brother, Dēvarāja, continues the *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali*,⁴² he thought it expedient to renew and establish cordial relations with Tirumala, having regard to the circumstance that the neighbouring chiefs, and not Tirumala, were hostile to Mysore (*emmol kenama prabhugalgallade a rayangilla*). Accordingly a letter was sent to the court of Seringapatam through the *Niyōgi*, communicating Rāja Wodeyar's proposed visit to Tirumala.

Shortly after, Rāja Wodeyar, accompanied by Dēvarāja, proceeded thither, prepared to pay a visit to the temple of Ranganātha also. Meantime Tirumala, on receipt of the letter, had crossed the southern branch of the Cauvery

36. *Ibid.*, 11-13.38. C. *Vam.*, I.c.40. C. *Vam.*, I.c.

37. P. 13.

39. *K. N. V.*, 111, 22.41. *Ibid.*, 3-6, 11-14.

42. Pp. 15-18.

and proceeded as far as the Paṣehimavāhini river (*tenkaṇa poleyam dāṅṅi paḍuvange pariva kiruvoleya taḍivaregurmeydi*), sure of success in his project. Here he met Raja Wodeyar. As they went further, towards the camp intended for the latter, a friendly talk followed, in the course of which they agreed, on mutual oaths and promises (*bāse nambugēgalanittu*), to enter into a firm alliance between themselves. Presently, however, as Tirumala was about to leave Raja Wodeyar's camp, one of the latter's attendants recited his titles including *Birud-antembara-ganda*, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore. This last-mentioned one gave so much offence to Tirumala that he desired one of his ministers to communicate to Rāja Wodeyar not to have it recited in his (Tirumala's) presence, as it belonged to his family also by long usage. Thereupon Devarāja (brother of Rāja Wodeyar) retorted, pointing out that the title *Antembara-ganda* belonged as a matter of right to the kings of Mysore⁴³ from the time of his grandfather, Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar.⁴⁴ This having been communicated to Tirumala, he at once gave up all thoughts of an alliance with Raja Wodeyar and deliberated with the assembled chiefs on a plot to seize his person while he was engaged in performing his devotions at the temple of Ranganatha.⁴⁵ The plot was, however, promptly disclosed to Rāja Wodeyar by a faithful adherent of his (Sōmayāji).⁴⁶ Whereupon, cautioning Devarāja, Raja Wodeyar quietly effected his escape to Mysore by the *Brahmapuri* gate of Seringapatam.⁴⁷ At this news

48. *Vide* Ch. IV, for details about the acquisition of this title.

44. *C. Vam.*, 18-19, 23.

45. *Ibid.*, 18-23.

46. *Ibid.*, 23; also f.n. 47 *infra*.

47. *Ibid.*; *vide* also *Mys. Dho. Puṣ.*, I. 6-9, etc. This Ms., however, as indicated already (*vide* f.n. 18 *supra*), loosely assigns this event to the reign of Bōja-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1672-1576), and Wilks also has adopted this view (I. 44). As pointed out above, it has been shifted on to the reign of Raja Wodeyar. *Brahmapuri* is an extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages* 93),

Tirumala, in utter disappointment, proposed to lay siege to Mysore.⁴⁸ The chiefs, however, having brought home to him the futility of an attack on Mysore in the light of their past experience during the regime of his father, Rāma-Bājaiya,⁴⁹ it was decided that the fort of Kesare⁵⁰ commanding Mysore should be "first blockaded."⁶¹

On August 18, 1596 (*Durmukhi, Bhadrapada su. 5*), the siege of Kesare came off.⁵² The siege lasted but a few days.⁵³ The investing forces consisted of about a lakh of foot, seven to twelve thousand horse and one to two hundred elephants, levied from chieftains in various parts of the Karnāṭaka country.⁵⁴ A major portion⁵⁵ of Tirumala's army encircled Kesare, while a section of it, headed among others by the chiefs of Ummattūr and Mūgūr, halted in the neighbourhood of Kerehaṭṭi,⁵⁶ ostensibly with a view to deliver an eventual attack on Mysore. While Tirumala was directing preliminary operations before Kesare, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Channarāja Wodeyar, younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar, were preparing for the emergency both in Mysore and Kesare. Grasping the reality of the situation, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja hit upon

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Vide* Ch. IV, for details.

60. An extant village in the Mysore taluk to the south-west of Seringapatam and north-west of Mysore [*Ibid.*, I.e.).

51. *C. Vam.*, 23-4.

52. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 24. Wilks (I. 47), on the authority of this Ms., speaks of the siege of Kesare, without, however, noticing the date of the event. The date 1596 appears corroborated by the internal evidence of the *G. Vam.* also, according to which there is a clear gap of twenty years between the siege of Kesare and the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's rule (*vide* 12, 81; also see f.n. 180 *infra*). We know from other sources that the year 1616-1617 was the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's reign, his death taking place in June 1617. Deducting 20 from 1616 we arrive at 1596, the date of the siege of Kesare.

53. *Ibid.*, I. 24-27; see also *K. N. V.*, III; *C. Vam.*, 24-27; *C. Vi.*, II. For a critical estimate of these poetical works, in their chronological bearing on the siege of Kesare and other political events of Rāja Wodeyar's reign, *vide* Appendix II—(2).

54. For the composition of Tirumala's army, etc., *vide* Appendix II—(2).

55. *K. N. V.*, III, 44-46, 63-60; also *C. Vam.*, 15, 24; *C. Vi.*, II, 41-48.

56. An extant village in the Nanjangud taluk (see *List of Villages*, 110),

causing a diversion. Having left Raja Wodeyar in charge of Mysore, he marched at once southwards and turned against the chief of Heggaddeṅvankōṭe (Kōṭe). Crossing the Kapini—near Nanjangūd (*Garḷapura*)—at dead of night, he put to rout the forces of the enemy at Kerehatti, plundering their camp (*palayam*) near Satyagala. Then, fording the Cauvery at Sōsale, he surprised the foe at Kirangur (*Kiravangur*)⁵⁷ and marched back to Mysore. At this news, Tirumala hastened the siege of Kesare. The fort of Kesare was in a decadent state.⁵⁸ It was commanded by only 30 *olekars* with 12 matchlocks (*kovi*).⁵⁹ Nevertheless the inhabitants held out bravely against the besiegers, repulsing them and breaking up and plundering their ranks.⁶⁰ At this juncture, Jakka,⁶¹ one of the chiefs in Tirumala's army, began to lay his hands on the village named Hancheya,⁶² belonging to Mysore. Thereupon Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, with Channarāja, proceeded thither at the head of his forces, while Raja Wodeyar, accompanied by Dēvarāja, marched on with a contingent towards Kesare. Jakka was seized and put to death, his troops being slaughtered largely, many losing their noses. At the same time, Rāja Wodeyar made headway in relieving the fort of Kesare and obliging most of the chiefs to retreat. He was soon joined by Bettada-Chāmarāja and Channarāja who, marching by way of the fort of Sātagahalli,⁶³ captured,⁶⁴ among others, an elephant, a horse and a transport ox belonging to Tirumala. Rāja Wodeyar, however, we are told,⁶⁵ sent back the elephant, significantly observing, "It is easy to satisfy 40 *olekars* rather than maintain one elephant."

57. Ditto in the Seringapatam taluk (*Ibid*, 98).

58. *C. Vam.*, 24; *C. Vi.*, II, 44.

59. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I, 24.

60. *Ibid*; also *K. N. V.*, I11, 60-61; *O. Vam.*, I.e.; *C. Vi.*, II, 47.

61. *K. N. V.*, I11, 62-74; also *C. Vam.*, 24-25; *C. Fi.*, II, 44-48.

62. An extant village in the Mysore taluk (see *List of Villages*, 82).

63. Ditto.

64. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I, 26-26.

66. *Ibid.*, I, 26; of. *Wilks*, I, 47.

Then Raja Wodeyar held⁶⁶ a review of his troops near the elevated ground in the neighbourhood of Bellavatta,⁶⁷ and ordered a general attack on the chiefs (*Palegars*) who had encamped to the east of Kesare. Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar and Channaraja Wodeyar, at the head of the *halepaika* warriors, put them to rout, pursuing them as far as Brahmapuri.⁶⁸ Proceeding north, they met Raja Wodeyar; and the united forces of the brothers began to pursue Tirumala. Tirumala, however, in utter discomfiture, quietly retreated to Seringapatam, leaving his insignias on the field, which fell into the hands of his pursuers who returned with them in triumph to Mysore.⁶⁹

In 1597 (*Hēvilambi*) Raja Wodeyar acquired Hariharapura.⁷⁰ Early in 1598, we find him paying a visit to the court of Tirumala and obtaining from him a grant of lands (yielding 100 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy) in Beḷaḡuḷa.⁷¹ On October 24 (1598), demanded to pay the tribute due, Raja Wodeyar is stated to have pleaded his inability to pay owing, it is said, to the alleged damage and destruction, caused by the officials of Tirumala, to his garden land. Whereupon, in lieu of the garden land, Tirumala granted him the village of Rangasamudra.⁷² Between 1598-1607 Raja Wodeyar, it would appear, systematically defied the authority of Tirumala, encroaching upon the latter's territorial limits

66. *Ibid.*

67. Another extant village in the Mysore taluk (see *List of Villages, I.c.*)

68. *K. N. V.*, I11, 75-94; also *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 126-27; *O. Vam.*, 25; *C. VI*, II, 49-51. For the derivation, etc., of *halepaika*, see Appendix IX.

69. *C. Vam.*, 25; *C. Vi.*, II, 62-58; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 27; see also *Hasti. Mahat.*, (I, 51), *Munivam.*, (II, 17), *Annals* (I. 22), etc., echoing, and referring to, Raja Wodeyar's victory at Kesare. For details of Mysorean warfare, *vide Appendix Ibid.*

70. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10.

71. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 27-29; cf. *Wilks*, I. 47. It is, possibly, this grant of Tirumala, which is referred to as a *rakta-kodige* in a lithic record dated in March 1598—see *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198 (*M. A. R.*, 1911-1912, pp. 52, para 112).

72. *Ibid.*, I. 29; of. *Wilks, I.c.*

in the north and the east. In March 1600, he took Arakere from Adhāṭa-Bāya, a general of Jagadeva-Bāya;⁷³ in August 1606, he acquired Sōsale,⁷⁴ and in January 1507, he took Bannūr,⁷⁵ from Nanjarāja of Talakāḍ.

These activities of Raja Wodeyar considerably alarmed Tirumala who, about the middle of 1607 (*Plavanga*), made a fresh attempt on Raja Wodeyar's life.⁷⁶ On this occasion, it is said, one Singappa Woḍeyar of Beḷaguḷa was secretly entrusted with the execution of the plot in Mysore. Accordingly Singappa Woḍeyar, while paying an informal visit to Raja Woḍeyar, drew out his dagger and was about to thrust it into Raja Woḍeyar. Luckily, however, Dēparāja Woḍeyar of Yeleyūr, a nephew of Raja Woḍeyar, who was lying concealed behind a pillar in the apartment of the palace, flung himself from behind and made short work of the assassin, thus promptly averting the dark deed. In January 1608, Raja Woḍeyar took possession of Kannambāḍi—with its dependency of Būkankere—from Dodḍa-Hebbāruva.⁷⁷

During 1608, Tirumala, finding his position in the Viceroyalty more and more delicate, consequent on the steady encroachments of Raja Woḍeyar, is said to have made overtures for a peace with his uncle Venkaṭa I, the reigning Vijayanagar sovereign, probably seeking his help also against Raja Woḍeyar.⁷⁸ About this time, it is said,⁷⁹ a confederacy of Paḷegārs, headed among

73. *Ibid.*, I. 75 and *Annals*, I. 43 ; see also *C. Vam.*, 8 and 9.

74. *Ibid.* ; also *C. Vam.*, 9-10.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 89-42; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10-11, fixing this event in 1599 (*Vikdri*). The earlier Ms. is preferred here. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 47-48.

77. *Ibid.*, I. 76; *Annals*, I. 44 ; also *G. Vam.*, 8.

78. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 19.

79. *Ibid.*, 18-19; also see and compare *Annals*, I, 22 and 44. According to the former source (19), Venkata I's attitude of indifference towards Tirumala, since 1596, was the chief cause of this combination. The *K. N. V.* (III, 51) only refers to the curbing of the chiefs of Belur and Hoje-Narasipur by Raja Wodeyar and Beftada-Chamaraja Wodeyar.

others by Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Belūr, Vīrarājaiya of Grāma, Bālāḷōchana Nāyaka of Mūgūr, Immaḍi-Bāmarāja Nāyaka of Yeḷandūr and Mallarājaiya of Ummattūr, assembled near Kunjgal, contemplating the acquisition of Seringapatam itself. On receipt of this news, Raja Woḍeyar, alarmed for the safety of Mysore, proceeded against them, and put them to rout, acquiring Bēlūr, Grāma and other places. Meanwhile, Tirumala's overtures having been rejected by Venkaṭa, he was, in 1609, returning in state to Seringapatam by way of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Narasinihapura), with (Daḷavāi?) Bhadrāiyya and other officers, when he was captured by Lakshmappa Nāyaka, the local chief.⁸⁰ Tirumala, hard pressed, earnestly sought Raja Woḍeyar's help, to save the situation. Raja Woḍeyar marched thither, attacked Lakshmappa Nāyaka and put him to flight, and, cutting off his nose, took possession of Hoḷe-Narasipur, releasing Bhadrāiyya and others. By this achievement, Raja Woḍeyar rose high in the favour of Venkaṭa. Indeed Venkaṭa is even said to have assigned to him (Raja Woḍeyar) in recognition of his services, as rent-free (*umbali*), the villages of Āladūr and Navilūr (in the Tāyūr-nāḍu of the Ummattūr-sīme) and Koṣṇagahāḷḷi, and other villages (belonging to Bannūr), communicating the same to Nanjarājaiya of Ummattūr.⁸¹

Tirumala's political position in Seringapatam, in and after 1609, was by no means secure. As indicated, he went down in the estimation of Venkaṭa I by the most humiliating circumstance that he had to be rescued by the very person (*i.e.*, Raja Woḍeyar) against whom he had had to seek Venkaṭa's help. Venkaṭa himself, it would

80. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 22-23 and 44; and *K. N. V.*, l.c.

81. *Annals*, I. 23; see also the *Dalavai-Agraharam Plates 1(1623)* [*E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62], 11.67-68, 72, referring to Āladūr and Navilūr in the possession of the Mysore Rulers.

seem, was, with complacency, forestalling Tirumala's overthrow and downfall. Venkaṭa, it is said,⁸² had even sent him an order, promising him assurance of protection (*abhayahastada nirupā*) and probably admonishing him also to retire from his charge of the Viceroyalty. Tirumala had been dissociated from his feudatories. Although Raja Woḍeyar had stood by him (Tirumala), at a critical moment, his aggressions were going on apace.⁸³ Supplies to the capital were being cut off; stores were running short; Tirumala's officials were being harassed; there was considerable difficulty in meeting the cost of feeding elephants and horses and the allowances of the military; the ditches and moats of the fort were being wrecked; only Tirumala's palace had been spared by the Mysoreans; and, for his bare existence, he had to depend on the inhabitants of Brahmāpuri, a suburb of Seringapatam. Tirumala's authority was, thus, fast dwindling away. Yet, we are told,⁸⁴ he was ruling all these years (*i.e.*, since the siege of Kesare) with considerable rigour (*kattarasugeyyuttire*), which seems nothing more than a mere poetical expression.

About the end of January 1610,⁸⁵ some of the local chiefs (of Talakāḍ, Ammachavāḍi and other places), who had retreated with considerable loss during the siege of Kesare, hoping to stand by Tirumala to the last, prevailed upon him to join them against Raja Woḍeyar. To relieve Tirumala from his difficulties, they encamped to the north of Seringapatam with necessary supplies, arms and ammunition. This was an opportune moment for Raja Woḍeyar to strike. It was now that he resolved upon to drive out Tirumala from the Viceregal

Tirumala's departure from Seringapatam, c. January 1610.

82. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 54-55; cf. *Wilks*, I. 61-62; also Appendix II—(3).

83. *C. Vam.*, 28.

84. *C. Vi*, II, 64. The poet is, obviously, to be understood to be referring here to an hiatus between the siege of Kesare and Tirumala's final retreat from Seringapatam (1696-1610).

85. *C. 7am.*, 27-28,

seat.⁸⁶ Forthwith,⁸⁷ he despatched some forces under his eldest son, Narasarāja. A swift and decisive action followed, in which Narasarāja put the chiefs to rout, obliging them to retreat with considerable loss as far as Kodyala (*Kodala*)⁸⁸ about ten miles further north of Seringapatam.

On the morrow of this reverse, Tirumala, alone and helpless, having lost all hope of succour from his allies and being obsessed by the fear of an impending siege of Seringapatam by Narasārāja (*paṭṭaṇamam vēḍhaipanendalki*), quietly retreated towards Mālangi (near Talakāḍ), leaving his family behind.⁸⁹ Immediately after receipt of this news, Raja Wodeyar proceeded towards Seringapatam accompanied by his younger brother, Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar.⁹⁰ It was his first concern to⁹¹ arrange to send Queen Rangamma,⁹² the wife of Tirumala, to Mālangi under a proper escort. That done,⁹³ he entered and formally took possession of the city of Seringapatam on February 8, 1610 (*Saumya*,

86. See *C. Vi.*, I I, 65: *Piṭṭhḍiyoam . . . polalindareyattuvevendum*; also *C. Vam.*, 2 : *Ipṭṭhḍiyani-paṭṭaṇḍim poramad.ṣav&|kum* (of the sequence of events as described in both these works). The passages literally refer to Tirumala as a traitor to his uncle, Venkata I. But Tirumala, in contemplating an action against Rāja Wodeyar who had recently saved him, appears to have evidently proved ungrateful to the latter also—a position perhaps best reflected in the *K. N. V.* (III, 60-52).

87. *C. Vam.* 28-29.

88. An extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 98).

89. *O. Vam.*, 29; see also and compare *K. N. V.*, I I I, 96; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 19; *Annals*, I. 29-30; *Wilks*, I. 51-52; and Appendix II—(8).

90. *Ibid.*, I.e.; *K. N. V.*, I I I, 96.

91. *Ibid.*, 29-90.

92. Cf. *Annals* (1.30-32), which speaks of two wives of Tirumala (mentioned as *dri-Ranga-Bāya*, *Alamēlamma* and *Bangamma*, accompanying him to Mālangi, the first of whom is said to have plunged herself into the swirl of the Oauvery (at Mālangi) when she was, subsequently, compelled by Rāja Wodeyar's officials to return the jewels of the temple of Banganātha, said to have been in her possession, etc. In the earlier sources, however, there is neither any reference to the two wives of Tirumala nor to this incident. Cf. 8. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 284-285.

93. *C. Vam.*, 80; also *K. N. V.*, I I I, 96.

Magha ba. 10).⁹⁴ Thus passed into Mysore hands the old town of Seringapatam and the territory subordinate to it, which had been a Vijayanagar possession and subject to its direct rule for nearly a century and a half.

The acquisition of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar was thus an act of conquest. This fact is unanimously echoed and re-echoed, and finds the most significant expression, in the literary works and inscriptions of the seventeenth century.⁹⁵ It was the culmination of a long' course of affairs in the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam during a period of twenty-five years (1585-1610) and, more particularly, during a period of fourteen years from the siege of Kesare (1596-1610). It was, obviously, the outcome of an antagonism between the Viceroy Tirumala and his uncle, Venkaṭa I, on the one hand and of alternate rivalry and friendship as between Tirumala and Raja

94. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 75; also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 19; *Annals*, I. 29 and 45.

95. Among writers other than Gōvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalārya, Chikku-pādhyāya, in his *Dīva-Suṛi-Charitre* (I, 72), speaks of Rāja Wodeyar tactfully conquering Tirumala and expelling him from Seringapatam, and taking possession of the place (*Tirumala-Rajendranati-kusalopayadinde geldelchi Srirangapattanama-niradlldam*). Other works of his, namely, *Kamandaka-Niti* (I, 54), *Paichimaranga-Mahatmya* (I, 34), *Haṣṭigiri-Mahstmya* (I, 52), *Venkatagiri-Mahatmya* (I, 39) and *Bhagavadgitd-Tkw* (I, 36), likewise refer to Rāja Wodeyar taking Seringapatam by wonderful tactics (*atichitra-rachaneyim Srirangapattanama-noppiṣikondu, matsaradindelbisi*), etc. Timma-Kavi, in his *Yadavagiri-Mahatmya* (I, 88), speaks of Raja Wodeyar subduing Tirumala by his prowess (*sauryadim geldu*). Chidananda, in his *Munivamsabhyudaya* (II, 17), writes of Raja Wodeyar attempting the acquisition of Seringapatam after curbing Tirumala's pride (. . . *Tirumala-nripāna hamma muridu Srirangapurava sadhiridam*), referring, obviously, to the "acquisition" following long after the siege of Kesare. Inscriptions of 1680, 1686, 0.1686-1690, among others, refer to Raja Wodeyar's conquest of Tirumala and his acquisition of Seringapatam from him (*jitva Tirumala-Rajam hritva Srirangapattanam*). (See *E.C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, 11. 9-10; III (1) Sr. 14, 11. 17-18; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, 11. 29-30. For particulars about these sources, see Chs. XIII and XIV. In the light of these data, the versions in later writings, relating to Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam as an act of "conditional transfer," "gift," "bequest," etc., are not entitled to credence. For a detailed examination of these versions, *vide Appendix II-(3)*.

Wodeyar on the other, a position which was quite in keeping with the general political conditions in the Karnāṭaka during the half century following the battle of *Baksas-Tagdi*, (1565).

The year 1610 has thus to be reckoned an important landmark in the history of Mysore. With the conquest of Seringapatam, Raja Wodeyar evidently took formal possession of the Viceregal throne that had been long established there. This throne has been referred to⁹⁶ as "the throne of Broja" (*Bhoja-simhdsana*), and was generally known⁹⁷ as "the throne of the south" (*dakshinā-simhasana*) and "the jewelled throne" (*ratna-simhasana*). Raja Wodeyar is said⁹⁸ to have actually inaugurated his rule in Seringapatam on March 21, 1610 (*Sadharana*, *Chaitra su. 7*), nearly a month and a half after his occupation of the place. He seated⁹⁹ himself on the throne (*simhasanamadhitisthan*), holding¹⁰⁰ his first *darbar* at Seringapatam at an auspicious moment (*joyisaganitta nalvoltinol olagamirdu*). This may be taken to definitely mark the assertion of independence on the part of Mysore rulers from Vijayanagar overlordship, though they formally acknowledge it in some of their grants for some years yet. Evidently diplomacy required such recognition. It is only on this footing that we can understand the acknowledgment of

36. See *E. C. Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md., 155 (1623), 1. 5.

97. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 54 (1669), 1. 10. See also inscriptions and literary works noticed and cited in Chs. VIII-XIV. One of these records, dated in 1680 (*Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, ll. 16-17), in particular, speaks of the throne as "the jewelled throne of Śrīranga-Raya" (*Sri-Ranga-Raya manisobhita pitha*), from which it seems possible that it was transferred for safety to Seringapatam during the troublous years of Sri-Ranga II's rule in Penukonda (1574-1586). For a critical notice of Wilks's position regarding the "Mysore Throne," *vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 178.

98. *Annals*, I. 30.

99. *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14, 1. 18; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 30-31, etc.

100. *C. Vam.*, 30.

Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668.¹⁰¹

Seringapatam became henceforward the capital of the kingdom of Mysore. The political centre of gravity shifted thither from the old town of Mysore. Narasarāja, the eldest son of Raja Wodeyar, was designated *Yuvaraja* (Crown-prince).¹⁰² Raja Wodeyar continued to rule the kingdom assisted by his younger brothers, one of whom, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, appears to have held direct charge of the patrimony of Mysore.¹⁰³ Narasarāja, however, died on September 7, 1610 (*Sadharana, Bhadrapada ba. 30*),¹⁰⁴ and, it would seem, Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar became the *Yuvaraja* thereafter.¹⁰⁵

Raja Wodeyar's political position after his acquisition of Seringapatam is, perhaps, best reflected in a record,¹⁰⁶ dated in 1612, referring to him as *Sriman-Mahadhi-Vijayanagar. raja*, which points to him as a prominent feudatory of Venkaṭa I of Vijayanagar (1586-1614). Indeed, Venkaṭa seemed to regard Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Seringapatam as the stepping in of a

101. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 65. Kauthirava-Narasaraja I of Mysore is said to be the right-hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1648—*Ibid.*, Yd. 5. At the same time the Mysore kings make numerous grants on their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being of the date 1612—*Ibid.*, Ch. 200; also see *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 160 (1617) and 117 (1625), TN. 13 (1633), etc. For further particulars, *vide* Chs. VI, VIII-X.

102. *Annals*, I.c. 103. See *K. N. V.*, III, 100105.

104. *Annals*, I. 32; see also *C. Vam.*, 31, referring to Narasaraja as having predeceased Raja Wodeyar.

105. The *K. N. V.* (IV, 2) and the *Munivam.* (II, 18) speak of the joint rule of Raja Wodeyar and Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar (*Bettada-Chamendra samasta bhutalava nagaraja saha nalidu; agrajanujar dharaniyanu taleḍu*). The latter (II, 14) perhaps significantly refers to Raja Wodeyar as *Adhiraja* and to Bettada-Chamaraja as *Yuvaraja*, (*Rajodeyari-gadhiraja padavi, Yuvaraja padavi Chamaraja tejo-nidhige*).

106. *E. C.*, IV (2), Ch, 200, 1. 2.

powerful and loyal feudatory in place of Tirumala who, by his treacherous conduct at Madura—and later, possibly, by his refractory attitude—had alienated his sympathy from him, and whose ultimate retirement, as we have seen, he (Venkaṭa) appears to have systematically planned. Venkata I, as the *Chikkadevārḍya-Vamsavali*¹⁰⁷ puts it, was even pleased with Raja Wodeyar for having expelled his nephew from Seringapatam and taken possession of the place. Considering this, probably, as loyal service rendered to the cause of the Empire, he also, about the end of March 1612,¹⁰⁸ it is said,¹⁰⁹ sent through his minister, Gambhira-Raya-Virupanna, rutting elephants, horses, jewels and robes, by way of honouring Raja Wodeyar. Raja Wodeyar accepted these presents and duly honoured Virupanna, sending in return presents to Venkaṭa I.

It was, further, on this occasion, that Raja Wodeyar, according to the *Dalavai-Agraharam Plates I* (1623),¹¹⁰ received from Venkaṭa I, by means of an order of assurance (*abhaya hasta nirupa purvakavagi*), the grant of Ummattūr and Seringapatam as an hereditary possession (*kananchiyagi*). In keeping with this, the *Melkote copper-plate grant*¹¹¹ of Raja Wodeyar himself, dated in 1614, refers to Seringapatam as a rent-free estate assigned to him by Venkata I (*namage Venkatapatirayarinda*

107. Pp. 30-31: *Venkatapati-Rayam tannam Madhureya puyilol pagevar goppisi-yeral-bagedu bittu pagi pintenisade berangondu binkadol tanagam tannanolagipa dorealgam basamagade padibarisi bal-meyolirpa. Tirumala-Rajana desakosangalam kondavananelbidudarke perkalisi sorkanegal-anurku-guduregala-nollude-t odavugalam pavudamam kottu mantrigalol kattlenisida Gambhira-Raya-Virupannaṅanam kaḷupe; avaney-tandu tanduvanoppise-yavam kondavanam mannisi, Rayange padipavudamam kattisi kalupi santasadolirdam.*

108. See *E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62 (1623), II. 36-44, referring to a grant of Venkata I to Raja Wodeyar on March 27, 1612 (*Paridhavi, Chaitrasu. 5*).

109. *C. Vam.*, 31; also text *supra*.

110. *E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62, I.c.

111. *Ibid.*, Sr. 167, II. 8-9.

umbaliyagi banda Srirangapattana). A lithic record,¹¹² dated in 1615, refers to Bannūr also as a rent-free grant to Raja Wodeyar (*umbaliyagi banda Banñura sthāla*). Bannūr and Seringapatam, referred to in these records, were clearly conquests of Raja "Wodeyar made in 1607 and 1610. Raja Wodeyar evidently obtained formal confirmation of these conquests as rent-free grants at the hands of Venkaṭa I. In all these records we find him referring to the latter as his overlord, a sure sign of his loyalty to the Imperial house,¹¹³ though he had in fact wrested the Viceroyalty from its own scion.

Rāja Wodeyar was thus, in theory, a feudatory of the ruling Vijayanagar Emperor. His actual political position in the eyes of the latter seems to have been that of a representative or an agent for the seat of imperial power the south (*dakshina-simhasana Srirangapattanake kartarada*), as is significantly echoed in one¹¹⁴ of the later records. Seringapatam, though a distinct gain to the kingdom of Mysore from Raja Wodeyar's point of view, was, as we shall see, not completely lost to the Empire at least for another half a century or so. In actual practice, however, Raja Wodeyar was more or less

112. *Ibid.*, TN. 116, 1. 17.

113. The earliest available record of the reign of Rāja Wodeyar, mentioning the suzerainty of Venkata I, is, however, a lithic one dated in March 1598 (*E. C. Mys. Diet. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198, 11. 3-4). The exceptions are *E. C.*, III (1) My. 4 (1594) and Sr. 150 (1617), referring only to Rāja Wodeyar's services in local temples. There is, thus, enough data pointing to Rāja Wodeyar's loyalty to the Empire both before and after his acquisition of Seringapatam.

114. See, for instance, *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 54 (1669), 11. 10-11. The expressions, *dakshina-simhasana Srirangapattana*, literally mean southern throne of Seringapatam. Since Seringapatam had been a Viceroyalty under the Vijayanagar Empire, these expressions also seem to convey that it continued, in theory, as a seat of Imperial power in the south long after its conquest by Rāja Wodeyar (in 1610). In keeping with this position is the "well-known tradition that the rulers of Mysore from Rāja Wodeyar onwards were generally known as *Kartar*,

independent as a ruler of Mysore, steadily expanding his kingdom at the expense of the Pāḷegārs in different parts of the Viceroyalty.

In April 1610, Rāja Wodeyar acquired Siriyūr from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭṭa.¹¹⁵ In July 1612, he took Saragur from Srikanṭha Wodeyar.¹¹⁶ Early in 1614, Rāja Wodeyar apparently found in Nanjarāja Wodeyar of Hadināḍ Twenty Thousand country a serious competitor for the sovereignty of the Seringapatam province. At the head of a large army, levied from the chiefs of Ālambāḍi, Koḷeya, Yeḷandūr, Satyāgāla and Madura (*tanage Madhureyavariva kappada panadol kattida kalalgal*), Nanjarāja¹¹⁷ began the offensive against Rāja Wodeyar by walking away with the latter's horse (named *Mēghapushpa*) stationed in Yeḍadore, a frontier fort of Mysore (*Edadoreyemba gadi-gonte*). Raja Wodeyar decided upon hostilities and laid siege to Tāyūr. Nanjarāja was proceeding thither, with convoys, by way of Ammachavāḍi. Rāja Wodeyar surprised him in the neighbourhood of the hill overlooking Vāṭahāḷu and Gaṇaganūr,¹¹⁸ and began to obstruct his passage. A fierce fight ensued, in which Nanjarāja was, with considerable loss, slain, and his camp plundered. In February 1614,¹¹⁹ Terakaṇāmbi and Ummattūr—with their dependencies¹²⁰—which had belonged to Nanjarāja, were annexed to Mysore. The Hadināḍ-sīme was, however, left in charge of Chandrasekhara Wodeyar, younger brother of Nanjarāja.¹²¹

115. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 76; *Annals*, I. 44.

116. *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

117. *C. Vam.*, 31; *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 78; see also and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 19-20.

118. Extant villages in the T.-Narasipur and Yejaṇḍūr taluks (see *List of Villages*, 90, for Vāṭāju).

119. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 76-77; *Annals*, I. 44.

120. Tayur, Tagagur, Hegatale, Hemmaragala, Nilusoge, etc., (see *C. Vi.*, II, 29).

121. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 77-78.

In December 1614, Rāja Woḍeyar acquired Hura,¹²² and in February 1615, Haradanahalli,¹²³ from Srikantha Wodeyar and Nanjaraja Woḍeyar (sons of Lingapā daiya) respectively. In February 1615, he also acquired, and exacted tribute from, Talakāḍ (from Somarajaiya), Hullahalli (from Srikantha Wodeyar), Kaḷale (from Karikāla-Mallarājaiya), Heggāḍḍēvankōṭe (from Channarājaiya), Maḷalavāḍi (from Gōpālārājaiya), Bilikere (from Santarajaiya), Kottagala and Ammachavāḍi.¹²⁴ In March, Mūgūr from Basavarāja Woḍeyar,¹²⁵ and in November, Kikkēri and Hosahoḷalu from Jagadēva-Rāya,¹²⁶ were taken. In February 1616, on the death of Chandrasekhara Wodeyar (in January), Ramasamudra, in Hadināḍ, was annexed.¹²⁷ In March 1617, Māvattūr was acquired from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭaṇa.¹²⁸

By about the middle of 1617, Rāja Woḍeyar had effectively established his sway over a greater portion of the present district of Mysore. He was evidently at the height of his power (*mandaladhipatyadolire*), as the *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayam*¹²⁹ seems to indicate. The long series of Rāja Woḍeyar's conquests, between 1584-1617, had resulted in the acquisition by him of a number of insignias,¹³⁰ such, for instance, as *Dharanivardha* (boar crest), *Garuda* (eagle), *Makara* (crocodile), *Sankha* (conch), *Sitatapatra* (whiteumbrella) and *Chakra* (discus). These conquests were, again, important from the domestic point of view. Raja Wodeyar, as we shall see, entered

122. *Ibid.*, 1.79; *Annals*, I. 44.

123. *Ibid* ; *Ibid*.

124. *Annals*, I. 44-45; also *G. Vi.*, I.e.

125. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 80-81; of. *Annals*, I. 45.

126. *Ibid.*, I. 81-82; *Annals*, I.e.

127. *Ibid.*, I. 77, 79; *Ibid*.

128. *Ibid.*, I. 82; of. *Annals*, I. 44.

129. II, 29.

180. See *Sriranga-Mahatmya* (of Chikkunadhyaya), I, 24: *Dhore dhoregala-niridiridottarisute dharanivaraha namamananta birudugalantam garuda makara sankha sitatapatra chakradigalam*]

into matrimonial relations with some of the more important local chiefs subdued by him.

The kingdom of Mysore, in 1617, extended from Seringapatam in the north to Ummattūr and Terakaṇṇāmbi in the south, and from Bannūr in the east to Maṁvattūr, Akkihebbāḷu and Hoḷe-Narasipur in the west and the north-west. Western Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe, Rangasamudra, Vijayāpura, Naḷūr, Arakere, Yeleyūr and Mangala, were among the important places within its sphere of influence.¹³¹ The kingdom, thus built up by Rāja Woḍeyar, was coterminous with the Channapaṭṭa Viceroyalty (under Jagadēva-Rāya) in the north and the territory of the Nāyaks of Madura¹³² in the south.

Rāja Woḍeyar was a pious ruler. His government was conducted in accordance with the ancient ideal of *dharma* (*dharmadim dhareyam palīsi*), i.e., with due regard to the happiness and well-being of his subjects.¹³³ The words, *dharmadim dhareyam palīsi*, mean that he ruled the kingdom agreeably to the *dharma*. Here the word *dharma* has a wider, in fact a special, significance and indicates something more than mere conduct or religion. Indeed, according to Sōmadēva-Sūri, the author of *Nītivakyaṁrita*, who is better known by his *Yasastilaka* which he wrote in 959, *dharma* is a technical term in Hindu Politics and has a definite connotation attached to it. He defines it as that which promotes

131. C. Vam., 32. The places mentioned are villages in the T.-Narasipur, Gunglupet, Chamarajanagar, Seringapatam and Mandya taluks (see *List of Villages*, 87, 89, 92, 93 and 106).

132. R. Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of Taylor, speaks of a probable invasion of the Dindigal province by one "Mukilan," a general of Raja Woḍeyar (*Nayaks of Madura*, p. 105), for which there is no evidence. The reference here is, possibly, to a general of Nanjaraja of Hadinad, who, according to the C. Vam. (31), had levied tribute from Madura.

133. C. Vam., 13, 31; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 20; *Annals*, I. 46, 48; cf. *Wilks*, I, 52-53.

the greatest good of society. *Rajadharma* would thus be something in keeping with the good of the greatest number of the governed. This theory; whether it anticipated Bentham's great principle or not, made happiness of the governed the end of kingly rule and the test of royal virtue. A king's actions were right in proportion as they tended to promote happiness and wrong as they tended to promote the reverse. Judged from this high and exacting standard, Raja Wodeyar, who was uniformly kind to the cultivator and strict towards the feudatory, must be said to have been not only a great success but also one who governed according to the *dharmā*. The rigour of his rule no doubt told heavily on the subordinate local chiefs (*Palegars*) but it must be held to have been in keeping with the requirements of the times.

In the conquered tracts, Raja Wodeyar, it is said,¹³⁴ continued the land revenue settlement of the *Pālegār* regime. To facilitate the collection and transmission of revenue dues, however, shrewd officials, closely acquainted with the details of the local administration of the units (*gaḍi*), were newly appointed, and under them were placed accountants (*karaṇika*) to maintain regular accounts. For the prevention of crimes and the maintenance of public peace in the local parts, officials like *Thanadars*, *Hoblidars* and *Olekars* were posted in suitable numbers.

Raja Wodeyar is reputed to have organised the Mahanavami (*Navaratri*) *Durbar* in Seringapatam, in continuation of the Viṣayanagar traditions. We have an elaborate traditional account of how he first celebrated the *Navaratri* in 1610 (September 8-17),¹³⁶ His eldest

134. *Annals*, I.c.; see also and compare *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 467.

135. *Annals*, I. 33-40. For a contemporary reference to the Mahanavami festival, vide Ch, IX,

son, Narasarāja, having died in that year (September 7), Raja Wodeyar, in consultation with experts, is also said to have laid down the rule that, in future, the death even of the closest relatives of the Royal House should not interfere with the celebration of ceremonies connected with this feast.¹³⁶

In or about 1614 Raja Wodeyar, we note,¹³⁷ keenly felt the need for a *Dalavai* (Commander-in-Chief), which appointment had been discontinued ever since the usurpation of Māra Nāyaka (1399). He had but an insufficient force with him, either to make fresh territorial acquisitions or to cope with opponents like Nanjarāja of Hadinād. Accordingly, having deliberated with his councillors, Raja Wodeyar sought the assistance of his nephew, Karikāla-Mallarājaiya (son of Timmarāja Wodeyar I of Kaḷale Forty Thousand country);¹³⁸ and concluded with him a solemn deed of promise (*bhashapatra*), to the effect that, while Rāja Wodeyar's descendants were to rule Seringapatam, Mysore, Kaḷale and other places annexed from time to time, the descendants of Mallarājaiya were to hold the office of *Sarvadhikari* (office of Chief Minister) and *Dalavai* (Commander-in-Chief) in Mysore. In pursuance of this agreement, Karikāla-Mallarājaiya was appointed the first *Dalavai*. Mallarājaiya, having accepted the office, went over to Kaḷale, but later sent in his resignation through

136. *Ibid.*, I. 32-33.

137. *Ibid.*, I. 46-47; *Mys. Dho. Vam. Kai.*, ff. 7-8 (compared). The word *Dalavai* literally means mouthpiece of the army (*dala* + *vayi* or *bayi*) and denotes a military officer of the rank of Commander-in-Chief. It is a colloquialism for Danda-nayaka or Danuayaka of the Vijayanagar inscriptions, and occurs for the first time in the seventeenth century records of the Wodeyars of Mysore, the earliest being *E.C.*, III (I) Sr. 36 (1620). (*Vide* also f.n. 6 to Ch. VI). The word is generally spelt as *Dalavayi*, *Dalavoy*, *Dalavay* and *Dalavai*, the last being conveniently followed in this work. Wilks's spelling, *Dulvoy* or *Dulvoy*, is obsolete.

188. *Vide* Table XIII. For further particulars about Karikāla-Mallarājaiya, see Ch. X.

his grandson, Nandinathaiya. Thereupon Bettada-Arasu, a natural son of Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (younger brother of Raja Wodeyar), was appointed Dalavai in January 1617.¹³⁹ The latter, it is said,¹⁴⁰ was of considerable assistance to Raja Wodeyar in the acquisition of Mavattur from Nanjunda-Arasu of Piriapatna (March 1617),

Raja Wodeyar, as depicted to us,¹⁴¹ was a devout Vaishṇava, adoring God Lakshmlkānta of Mysore, the tutelary deity of his family (*tanna manedevarenipa*), Naraṇa of Yadugiri, the deity of his race (*tanna kula-devarenipa*), and Ranganatha of Seringapatam. He was noted for the catholicity of his religious outlook. Numerous¹⁴² were his gifts and grants, alike to individuals and to Saiva and Vaishṇava temples in the kingdom. Repairs and services to the temples of Ranganatha and Nārāyaṇa in Seringapatam and Mēlkōte, respectively, claimed his constant share of attention.¹⁴³ In particular, he is said¹⁴⁴ to have endowed the latter shrine with a jewelled crown known as *Rāja-muḍi* (named after himself), and the former with lands yielding 50 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy

139. *Annals*, 1.47; see also *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 66; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 286.

140. *Ibid.*, I. 47-48.

141. *Vide* on this point *C. Vam.*, 10, 19-28. See also In *trod. Ch.* in the works of Chikkupadhyaya, Timma-Kavi, etc.; of *Wilks*, I. 52. There is no evidence in support of Wilks's statement that the cult of Viṣṇu was adopted by the Mysore Rulers only after Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). For the Vaishṇava predilections of Raja Wodeyar before 1610, *vide* references *infra*.

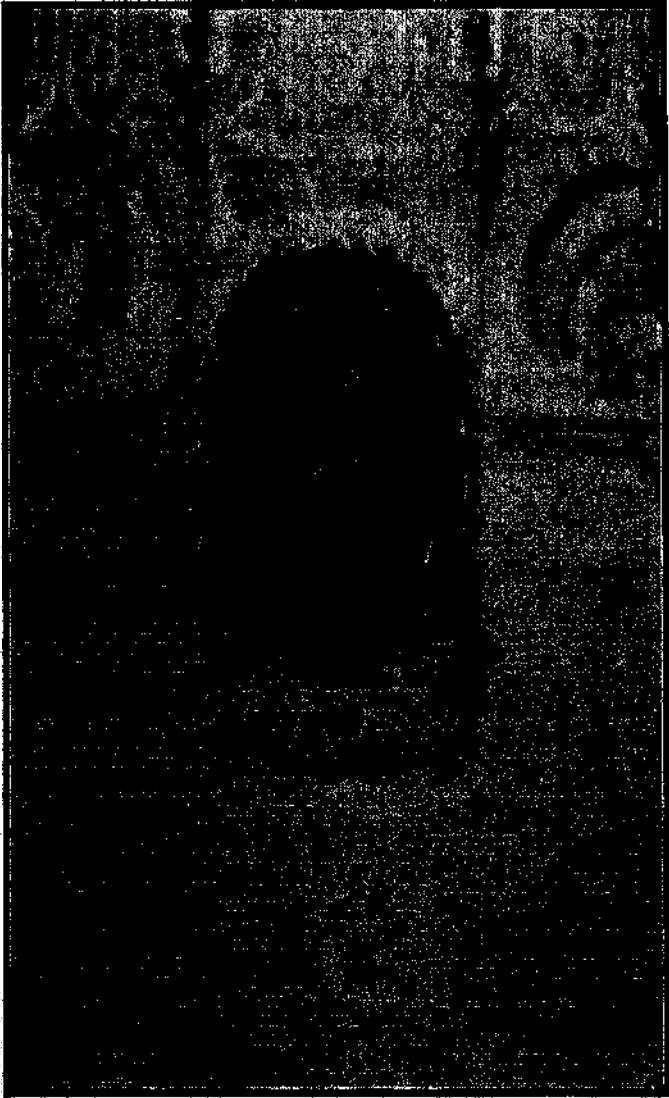
142. See *Mys. Raj. Ch.*, 20; *Annals*, I. 40-42, referring to Raja Wodeyar's grants of *agraharas* to Brahmans, and his services in the temples at Chamundi Hills, Mysore, Seringapatam, Melkote, T.-Narasipur, Yedatore, Ramanathapur, etc. Devachandra (*Raj. Kath.*, XII. 465) even speaks of Raja Wodeyar as having made rent-free grants to the *Adisvara-Basti* at Seringapatam and to individual Jains, and got built a *prakara* to the *Basti* at Kanakagiri (Maleyur).

143. See, for instance, *I. M. C.*, No. 18-16-20, pp. 28-24, 26-27, referring to Raja Wodeyar's services to the temple of Ranganatha during 1600-1616; also *C. Vom.*, 9, 15.

144. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, I.e.; *Annals* I. 41; also *C. Vam.*, 9.



Bhakta-vigraha of Raja Wodeyar, now in the Lakshmi-Narayana
(Lakshmīkāntasvāmi) Temple, Fort, Mysore.



Bhakta-vighraha of Raja Wodeyar in the Narayanasvami Temple, Melkoje.

under the tank of Kaṣṭavāḍi enlarged by him.¹⁴⁵ He is also said¹⁴⁶ to have built the tower over the outer gate (*mahd-dvdra*) of the Lakshmlkāntāsvāmi temple at Mysore, setting it with a golden pinnacle (*suvarṇa kalasa*). Among the extant-records of his reign, a lithic one, dated March 13, 1594,¹⁴⁷ refers to the construction of a *Sankrdnti-mantapa* to God Lakshmlkānta of Mysore. Another, dated March 31, 1598,¹⁴⁸ records a grant of lands for *Ramdanuja-kuta* and a feeding house (*chatra*)⁷ in the precincts of the temple of Janārdanasvāmi at Beḷa-ḡuḷa. The *Mēlkōṭe copper-plate grant*, dated April 14, 1614.¹⁴⁹ registers a gift by Rāja Wodeyar of the village of Muttigere (*Nrisimhapura*) divided into 50 shares, of which 49 were distributed among 28 Brāhmins and one was set apart to provide for the offering of the Garuḍa-vāhana in the temple of Chaluvārāyasvāmi (Nārāyaṇa) at Mēlkōṭe. Another record, a lithic one, dated April 3, 1615.¹⁵⁰ refers to a grant by him of the village of Bēvina-haḷḷi to God Bāmachandra of Vahnipura. A third, also lithic, dated February 5, 1617,¹⁵¹ mentions a service of Raja Wodeyar in the Srinivasasvami temple at Karlghatta.

A *Bhakta-vigraha* of Raja Wodeyar, a bas-relief statue, one and a half feet high, standing with
 Statues of Rāja Wodeyar. folded hands, with his name inscribed on the base, is found carved on one of the pillars of the *navaranga* of the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Melkote.¹⁵² A similar statue of his, about two feet high, is also to be seen to the right in the *prakara* of the Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi temple at Mysore.¹⁶³

145. I. M. C. Ditto, p. 27 (1618).

146. See E. C. Mya. *Diat. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 96 (1851), 11. 2-3 (Af. A. B., 1920, p. 3, para 10).

147. M. 0., I 11 (1) My. 4: rf. 1616, *Jaya, Chaitra su. 1.*

148. *Ibid.*, Mya. *Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198: 4. 1520, *Vilambi, Chaitra su. 5.*

149. *Ibid.*, I 11 (1) Sr. 157: i. 1586, *Inanda, Vaisakha su. 15.*

160. *Ibid.*, TN. 116: s. 1587, *Rakshasa, Chaitra su. 15.* The week-day, Thursday, mentioned in the record, is apparently an error for Monday.

151. *Ibid.*, Sr. 150: *Nala, Magha su. 10.*

152. See M. A. B., pp. 21 and 58, para 44 and 142.

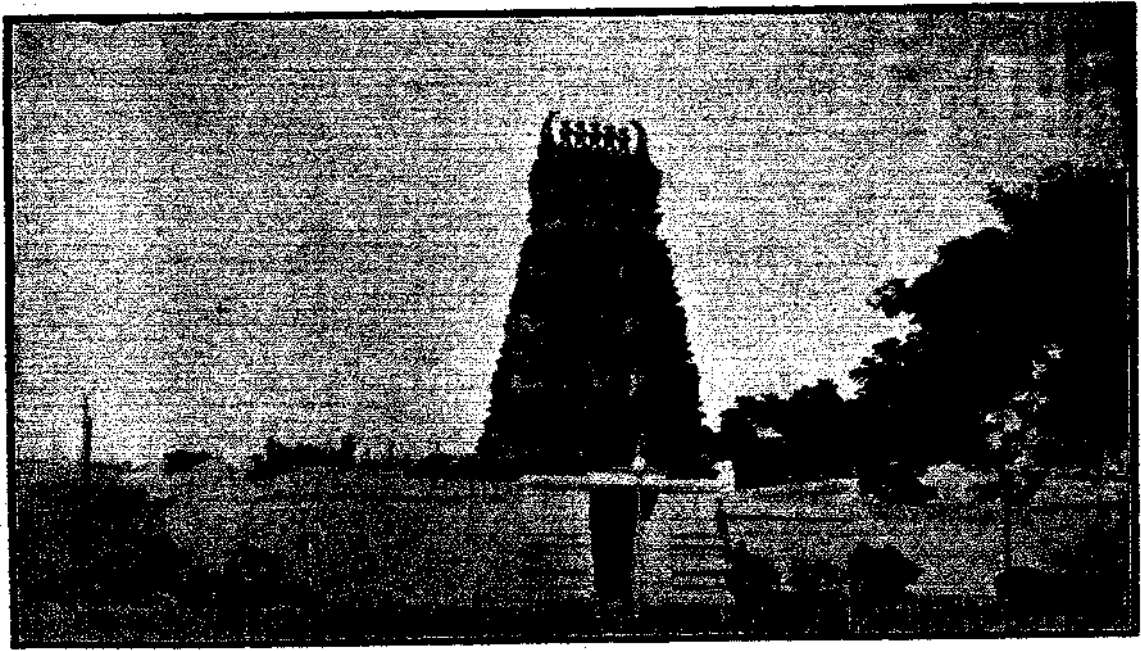
153. *Ibid.*, 1920, p. 8, para 10.

Two miracles, said to have occurred during the reign of Raja Wodeyar, give us some insight into his piety. As already mentioned, early in his reign, Vīrarājaiya of Kārugahaḷli, a cousin of Raja Wodeyar, plotted against his life, it is said,¹⁵⁴ by administering poison into the holy water of God LakshmiKanta (*Lakshmiramaṇasvāmi*) at Mysore. Raja Wodeyar partook of the holy water from the priest of the temple, when the sediment of poison, contained therein, only remained, and became distinctly perceptible, on the palm of his own hand. Again, in February-March 1599 (*Viḷambi, Phalḡuṇa*), a blind man (a Brahman by name Venkatesaiya) from Tirupati is stated¹⁵⁵ to have got back his eye-sight at the temple of LakshmiKāntasvāmi in Mysore, under the influence of Raja Wodeyar's faith in that God.

The influence exerted by Sri-Vaishnavism during this reign is, perhaps, best illustrated by two Kannada works extant, assignable to the period of Raja Wodeyar. The earliest of these is the *Sriranga-Mahatmya*¹⁵⁶ (c. 1600) by Singarāchārya who refers to himself¹⁵⁷ as a teacher

Literary activity during his reign.

164. *Annals*, I. 19-20. See also *E. C. Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 96 (1861), I. 2, echoing this tradition.
166. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 29-32; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 20-21; *G. Vam.*, 10; and *Introd. Ch.* in the works of Chikkupādhyāya, etc. Some of the literary works (including, the *C. Vam.*) speak of the recipient of the eye-sight as a woman from Tirupati. The authority of the *My8. Dho. Par.*, however, is preferred here as the more specific one.
166. Ms. No. 19-14-3—*P.L.*, *Mad. Or. Lib.*; of *Ear. Ka. Cha.* (III. 138-134), assigning this work, on grounds of style, to c. 1770, and identifying Bettada-Chamaraja Wodeyar, mentioned in the Ms., with Chamaraja VII (1771-1776). There is no evidence in support of this position. On the other hand, a detailed examination of the Ms. goes to show that a copy of it was made by a scribe, named Tirunārāyaṇa, for Dēvāmbā, queen of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (1673-1704)—vide ff. 21. See also and compare Ms. No. K. A. 194—*P.*, *Mys. Or. Lib.*
167. *Vide* colophon to Chs: *Srimad-rajadhiraja raja-paramesvara praudha-pratapa Yadukula payah paravara . . . Sri-narapati-Betta[d!a"]*» *Chama-mahardyana Mahapadhyaya Singaracharya virachitamappa . . .* The ascription of the titles, probably by way of literary flourish, is in keeping with the position of Bettada-Chamaraja as a ruler jointly with his elder brother, Raja Wodeyar. See also f.n. 106 and 173.



Sri-Lakshmi-Narayana (Lakshmikautasvami) Temple, Fort, Mysore.

of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, younger brother of Râja Wodeyar, and is possibly identical¹⁵⁸ with Singarayangâr I of Seringapatam, of Kauâika-gôtra, Âpastambhasûtra and Yajus-sâkhâ. The work begins with invocations to God Ranganâtha, Ranganâyaki and Râmânuja, and deals with the legendary history of Srîrangam in Kannada prose (in 10 chapters). The other work, *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe*¹⁵⁹ (c. 1615), dealing with the episode of Karṇa in the *Mahâbhârata*, is an incomplète poetical production (in 12 chapters), written in the popular *Sângatya* mètre. The author's name is nowhere mentioned in the text, but there are indications¹⁶⁰ in it that he was a êri-Vaishṇava Brâhman of Seringapatam living with his parents and a brother. The authorship, however, is attributed to one Tirumalârya, said to have been at first a preceptor, and afterwards *Pradhâni* (minister), of Râja Wodeyar.¹⁶¹ If this Tirumalârya is presumed to have written the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe*, then he is, perhaps, identical¹⁶² with Tirumalayangâr I, eldest son of Singarayangâr I of Seringapatam. The *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe* begins with an invocation to God Paâchima Ranganâtha (the God at Seringapatam) and is pervaded by an essentially êri-Vaishṇava background.

Virâmbâ (Virâjamma), sister of Channarâja of Bommanahalli, was the principal consort of Râja Wodeyar.¹⁶³ Among other consorts of his were,¹⁶⁴ Deçdamnia of Bilikere, Kempamma of Hura, Timmâjamma of Bilugali and Muddamma of Tippûr. He had four sons,¹⁶⁵ three by

168. Vide Table in Appendix II—(4).

159. Pub. *Karnataka-Kâvya-Kalanidhi* Séries (No. ?), Mysore 1917. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 326.

160. See I, 1-4, 28.

161. Vide Appendix II—(4), for a discussion of the évidence, etc.

162. Vide Table in Ditto.

163. *K. N. V.*, III, 12; see also and compare *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 60; *Annals*, I. 18.

164. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. o.; cf. *Annals*, I. c.

166. *Ibid.*, I. 83; see also *G. Vam.*, 81-82; cf. *Annals*, I. 19; and Tables IV and IX.

Viràmbà and the fourth and last by Timmâjamma-Narasarâja, the eldest, was born in July 1579 ; Nanjarâja, the second, in September 1581 ; Beṭṭa Woḍeyar (Beṭṭada-iyā), in 1583; and Immadi-Râja Wodeyar, the youngest, in May 1612. Narasarâja, as we have seen, was of active assistance to Râja Wodeyar, during the conquest of Seringapatam (1610). The *Mâkubaḷli copper-plate grant* (February 1635) echoes his prowess.¹⁶⁶ Râja Wodeyar, as noted already,¹⁶⁷ had a younger brother, Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar (b. 1554), and two half-brothers, also younger, Dēvarâja Wodeyar (b. 1553)—afterwards known as Muppina-Dēvarâja Wodeyar—and Channarâja Wodeyar (b. 1555). Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar had two wives,¹⁶⁸ Guruvàmbâ (Guruvâjamma), daughter of Timmarâja of Hura, and Lingâjamma of Bâgaḷi. Dēvarâja Wodeyar also had two,¹⁶⁹ Dēvâjamma and Kempamma (Kempamâmbâ). Channarâja Wodeyar, it would appear,¹⁷⁰ predeceased Râja Wodeyar after the siège of Kesare (1596). Râja Wodeyar, as depicted to us,¹⁷¹ had the full co-operation of ail his brothers, alike in times of war and peace. We have seen how faithfully they served him during the siège of Kesare. Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, in particular, was of considerable assistance to Râja Wodeyar during 1595-1596. Inscriptions and literary works point to him as a gallant warrior.¹⁷² Indeed, there are indications¹⁷³ of his having ruled Mysore jointly with Râja Wodeyar, both before and after the acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). We find him prominently

166. *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 28, No. 6.

167. *Vide* Ch. IV, f.n. 80 and text thereto.

168. *K. N. V.*, III, 13; *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I, 61 ; also See and compare *Ànnaig*, 1.17, 65.

169. *Mya. Dho. Pur.*, I, 62-53, 61 ; *Annula*, I, 95 ; also Table II (compare).

170. *C. Vam.*, 31. 171. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

172. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 (1647) ; III (1) Sr. 14 (1686) ; *K. N. V.*, Ch. III ; *C. Vom.*, 24-25.

173. *Vide* *K. N. F.*, Chs. III-IV ; see also f.n. 105 and 157.

mentioned in two lithic records, dated in March 1594 and 1598.¹⁷⁴ In 1604 (*Krôdhi*), however, it would appear, some différences arose between Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Woḍeyar and Râja Woḍeyar, in connection with the acquisition of a village named Majjigepura.¹⁷⁵ Whereupon Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Woḍeyar, we learn,¹⁷⁶ proceeded to Seringapatam and sought the friendship of Râmânujaiya, Daḷavâi of Tirumala. In vain did Râja Woḍeyar persuade him to return to Mysore. Beṭṭada-Châmarâja refused to move thither until he had taken Majjigepura. Râja Woḍeyar, in turn, sent word to him that he would be captured if he persisted in his rêsolve. Heedless of this warning, Beṭṭada-Châmarâja, at the head of some forces, marched on from Seringapatam towards Majjigepura. On hearing this news, Râja Woḍeyar despatched a contingent under his sons, Narasarâja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar (Beṭṭadaiya). Beṭṭada-Châmarâja had almost succeeded in taking Majjigepura when Narasarâja and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar made a surprise attack from an ambuscade and captured him. Beṭṭada-Châma was taken to Mysore, where Râja Woḍeyar, in brotherly affection, extended him a hearty embrace. Beṭṭada-Châmarâja, however, in great wrath, pushed him aside, only to find himself kept in honourable confinement in Mysore. Meanwhile, Narasarâja, ostensibly to win Râja Woḍeyar's approbation, engagea a hireling to put out the eyes of his uncle. The plot was, however, promptly communicated to Râja Woḍeyar by an adhèrent of his (Ranganâtha-Dîkshita). Râja Woḍeyar was on his way to Tippùr. Cancelling his programme, he forthwith

174. *Vide f. n.* 147-148 *supra*.

175. An Inâm village in the Beḷaguja hôbji, Seringapatam taluk (see *Liât of Villages*, 94). According to E. C. *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198 (1698), 11. 18-16, Majjigepura was otherwise known as Sankarapura, and had been acquired by the Mysore Ruling House, by a deed of sale, from the inhabitants of the place. The village does not, however, appear to hâve been actually occupied by the rulers till 1604,

176. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 34-89; of. *Wilks*, I. 48-49.

sent for Narasarāja and desired him to remove the eyes of his own younger brother, Nanjarāja. "What fault has my brother, Nanjarāja, committed that I should be asked to blind him with?" submitted Narasarāja. "And what fault has *my* brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, committed that *you* should thus plot to take off his eyes?" retorted Rāja Woḍeyar. Narasarāja blushed; Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja was at once released and advised to réside in Eangasamudra.

The last days of Rāja Woḍeyar were rather clouded by sorrow. As already referred to, his
His last days. youngest brother, Channarāja, had predeceased him after the siège of Kesare (1596), while his eldest son, Narasarāja, had died in September 1610. And this was followed by the deaths of two other sons (Nanjarāja and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar) of his.¹⁷⁷ Rāja Woḍeyar was considerably weighed down with this domestic affliction. Yet, so attached to him were the surviving younger brothers (of Rāja Woḍeyar), Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, that their company was in itself, it would seem, a solace to him.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, the question of succession to the kingdom continued to engage his attention. His last son, Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, was yet in his infancy, while Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja and Dēvarāja were already sufficiently well advanced in âge. The only immédiate lineal descendant for the throne was his own grandson Chāmarāja (*b.* 1603), son of Narasarāja. Accordingly, in the last year of his reign, Rāja Woḍeyar, in consultation with his brothers, nominated Chāmarāja as his successor, and made a provision for the members of the Royal family, assigning western Daṇḍayakânkôte to Inimadi-Rāja Woḍeyar; Eangasamudra, Naḷur and Vijayâpura to the sons of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar; and Arakere, Yeleyûr and Mangala to those of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.¹⁷⁰

177. See C. *Vam.*, 31.

178. *Ibid.*, 31-32.

179. *Ibid.*, 32;

Râja Wodeyar passed away on June 20, 1617, in his sixty-sixth year.¹⁸⁰ At the time of his death, a weird spectacle is said¹⁸¹ to have been observed in the Nârâyana-svânii temple at Mèlkôṭe, where Eâja Wodeyar, having entered the *garbha-griha*, was known to have become one with the deity.

His death, June 20, 1617.

An historical character like Râja Wodeyar, with an eventful record extending well nigh to four décades in the history of the Karnâṭaka country in gênerai and of Mysore in particular, could not but have exercised a profound influence over his contemporaries, although it is not possible to détermine the extent of that influence from the scanty records of his own period, available to us to-day. So fresh and so deep, indeed, appear to have been the memories of his rule and achievements to his own contemporaries and to those who foliowed them, that they left a lasting impression on the succeeding génération of writers in Mysore. The result was, as is often the case with historical celebrities, that s}owly,

Râja Wodeyar in history and tradition.

180. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 48: *Paingala, Jyēstha ba.* 13; see also *Annals*, I. 49.

The *G. Vam.* (81-82) conveys to us a picture of Râja Wodeyar as an extremely old person (*kaḍu-muppdgi*) at the time of his death, and speaks of his having ruled for eighty years [*enbattum barisam . . . dhareyam pâlisi*]. Again, according to this work (12), Râja Wodeyar had ruled for sixty years [*aruvattum barisamutn beḷḡodeya ne\alo\irdu-darinda*] already about the time of the siēge of Kesare (1596), so that there is, as already indioated (*vide f.n. 62 supra*), a clear gap of twenty years between that event and the last year of Râja Wodeyar's reign (1616-1617). Dêvachandra (See *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 467), relying on the *G. Vam.*, speaks of Râja Wcxjeyar's death in his eightieth year, on December 8, 1616 (*Nala, Margasira eu.* 10), evidently interpreting the passage from the *C. Vam.* as the life-period of Râja Wodeyar (*Paramâyuzhyamâgi embhattu varusham kaliye*). If the *C. Vam.* is to be literally interpreted, Râja Wodeyar's accession itself will have to be pushed back to 1586 and his date of birth perhaps even much earlier. If, on the other hand, Dêvachandra's interprétation be accepted, Râja Wo^eyar's date of birth would have to be fixed in 1586. In the absence, however, of confrmatory évidence, the authority of the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* and the *Annals* is preferred hère as the more spécifie one and in keeping with the probabilities of historical fact.

181. *C. Vam.*, 32; also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 21; *Annals*, I. 49, etc.

within half a century from his death, Râja Woḍeyar came to be looked upon as a deified warrior-king of Mysore with all the halo and glamour attaching to an epic personage, the only difference being that, in his case, the background is unmistakably historical. Thus, the *Mâkuballî*, copper-plate grant (February 1635), already referred to, speaks of him "as the sun in dispelling the darkness, the host of hostile kings, whose courage was widely known and who was ever ready to do good deeds." To Gôvinda-Vaidya, the author of the *Ķaṇṭhîrava-Narasarâja-Vijayant* (1648), Kâja Woḍeyar appears prominently as a warrior, building up the kingdom of Mysore assisted by his younger brother, Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Woḍeyar. To Tirumalârya, the author of the *Chikkadêvarâya-Vamêdoali* (c. 1678-1680) and *Chikkadêvarâja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686), he is the establisher of the ruling dynasty of Mysore on a sound footing and is the first systematic builder of the Mysore kingdom by policy and prowess. In working out these aspects to their logical conclusion, Tirumalârya draws freely on the exuberance of his poetical imagination, adjusting the facts of history to the atmosphere of tradition. To the other writers, who were contemporaries of Tirumalârya, Râja Woḍeyar is essentially the conqueror of Tirumala, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkaṭa I. Inscriptions, dated in 1680, 1686-1690, etc., significantly echo his prowess and fame.¹⁸² The chronicles fix up, with a tolerable degree of certainty, the life-period of Râja Woḍeyar and the events of his reign, not, however, unmixed with tradition.

Nevertheless, these materials enable us to form some estimate of Râja Woḍeyar. In appearance he was evidently of an imposing stature, well-built and possessed of exceptional strength and vigour. Trained early in life in

182. *Vide f.n. 95 supra*; see also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), II. 80-34; IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18 (1761), II. 18-22, and 6-11, among the 18th century inscriptions, referring to Râja Woḍeyar's rule.

the rigorous methods of warfare common to the times in which he was born, he was reputed to have been a successful warrior, fighting hard against heavy odds, with limited resources at his command, making dexterous use of his weapons. Of military tactics and diplomacy, he was, from all accounts, a past master. These, coupled with his own personal prowess, the spirit of co-operation and devotion he inspired in his followers and the good character and amiable disposition of his brothers, should have contributed in no small measure to his success as a military leader of the first rank.¹⁸³ His rule appears to have been unquestionably popular, based as it was on the fundamental principle of the *Dharma*, a code of practical ethics which, as he is said to have defined,¹⁸⁴ was to be observed by a ruler both in times of war and peace. It was an important feature of his rule that the revenues received from his subjects and the tribute collected from his feudatories were expended by him upon numerous daily gifts, charities and benefactions, only a portion of it being set apart for his own personal use, while the spoils in war were devoted exclusively to the service of Gods and their devotees, the Brâhmins.¹⁸⁵ In his daily life, he adhered to a strict programme of morning ablutions, prayers and worship, and listening to the Purânâs and the epics.¹⁸⁶ A devout yet tolerant Vaishnavâ, a chivalrous warrior, a kindly brother, a humane and magnanimous ruler, Raja Wodeyar must be reckoned a typical character of his age. His policy of political expansion of the kingdom of Mysore was in accord with his own environment and the conditions of his times. From this point of view, his conquest of Seringapatam (1610) was fully justified. Though it might have appeared at first sight a serious blow and a loss to

183. See C. *Vam.*, 8, 9 and 12.

184. *Ibid.*, 32: *Puyila-nesaguvalliyum podaviyam porevalliyum . . . dhar-mama-narayadu nadevudendu buddhi veldu . . .*

185. *Ibid.*, 13.

186. *Ibid.*, 12.

the Vijayanagar Empire and though Venkaṭa I seemèd originally to regard it more as a temporary occupation than as a permanent acquisition by Rāja Woḍeyar, yet his confirmation of the conquest shows that he had faith in Rāja Woḍeyar and preferred him, a strong and trusty ruler, to his own nephew, who had proved himself treacherous at the siège of Madura and whom he cordially detested.¹⁸⁷ Rāja Woḍeyar's loyalty to the Empire, both before and after the mémorable occupation of Seringapatam, was undoubted. Viewed thus, Rāja Woḍeyar has an abiding claim to greatness as the first "Maker of Mysore."

187. See *Mys, Gaz.*, II. iii. 2207.



Chamaraja Wodeyar v, 1617-1637.

CHAPTER VI.

CHÀMARÂJA WODEYAR V, 1617-1637.

Birth, accession and identity—Political Development : *First Phase* : 1617-1621—General political situation—First aggression in the north, 1618—First aggression in the south, 1618-1619—Local acquisitions, 1619-1620—Fall of Dalavai Bettada Arasu, 1620-1621—*Second Phase*: 1621-1626—Local campaigns, 1621-1626—*Third Phase*: 1626-1630—Local campaigns, 1626—Further local campaigns, 1627-1630—*Fourth Phase* : 1630-1637—Relations with Ikkeri, down to 1630—Hostilities continued, 1630—Renewed aggressions in the north and the north-west, 1630-1631—More aggressions, 1631-1634—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1635—Ohamaraja's Royal titles—Political position of Mysore, 1637—Ghamaraja's Rule: 1617-1620—Minister, Dalavais and officers, 1620-1637—Administrative and other measures : (a) Settlement of conquered tracts ; (b) Organisation of elephant-hunting ; (c) Institution of the armoury—Religious toleration—Gifts, grants, etc.—Court life : Chamaraja's avocations—Religious disputations—Literary activity—Progress of Kannada literature—Domestic life—Death, May 2, 1637—Chamaraja Wodeyar in history and tradition—An estimate of Chamaraja Wodeyar.

ON JULY 3, 1617, twelve days after the death of Râja Wodeyar, Chàmarâja Wodeyar V succeeded to the throne of Mysore.¹ He was the grand-son of Râja Wodeyar and son of Narasarâja by Honnamâmbâ (Honnâjamma).² Chàmarâja Wodeyar was born on April 21, 1603, and was in his fifteenth year at the time of his

1. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 44 : PaÂnga\|a, lahddha eu. 10 ; also *Annala*, I. 49.

2. *E. C., Mys. Dist Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 165. The *Honncdagere copper-plate grant* (January 1638) ll. 8-4 :

*Maiaûra Mjabhûpdla sûnôr Naraaardjatah
Sanjdtô Honnamâmbdydm Chamarâdjindra bhûpatih ||*
See also *Ibid.*, U. 26-97 ; and *Annals*, I. 66.

accession.³ The earliest available lithic records of his reign refer to him as "Châmarâja Wodeyar, son of Narasarâja Wodeyar" and "Châmarâja Wodeyar of Mayisûr (Mysore) ruling in Seringapatam."⁴

The years 1617-1620 marked the period of Châmarâja's minority. During this period,⁵ arrangements had been made for his éducation and training in the palace at Seringapatam while the affairs of the kingdom were being actually administered by Beṭṭada-Arasu (Châmappa),⁶ Daḷavài of Mysore since February 1617.

Châmarâja Wodeyar was a contemporary of Vîra-Râma-Dêva IV (1614-1630 ? 1633) of Vijayanagar. During the period covered by Châmarâja's minority, Vîra-Râma-Dêva had been securely established on the throne at Penukoṇḍa. The Empire was slowly recovering from the disastrous effects of the civil war of 1616-1617. The menace of the Muhammadans of Bijâpur on the south was becoming more and more pronounced. Disruptive tendencies were slowly at work among the feudatories. Though there were signs of settled government, there was very little effective central control, particularly over the remote parts in the south. The gênerai political situation in the country was eminently suited for the steady and systematic expansion of a kingdom like

8. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 43 : èòbhakrit, Vaiêakha ba. 6 ; cf. *AnnaU%*, I. 49 : *Parâbhava, Âshddha ba.* 6 (July 15, 1606). The authority of the earlier Ms. is preferred here. Wilks (I. 64), following this Ms., states that Châmarâja was "a youth of fifteen" at the time of his accession in 1617.
4. *E. C.*, III (1) My. 17 (June 1620), ll. 6-7: *Narasardja Wodeyara putrardda Chamardja Wodeṛavaru* ; IV (2) Hg. 21 (1624), l. 3 : *Érirangapattana-nanûj/uvu Mayisûra Chcimaraja Wade[arur]*. These two records are private grants.
5. *Armais*, I. 64-56.
6. See *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 36 (November 29, 1620), ll. 5-6, referring to Châmappa as the Daivavài of Châmarâja Wodeyar (. . . *CJidmaridjodeyaravara Da\avayi Chamappanavaru*). Châmappa of this lithic record is identical with Beṭṭada-Arasu, the latter name being only a shortened form of Beṭṭada-Châmappa or Beṭṭada-Châme Urs. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I. 66) refers to this name in its still shorter form, Beṭṭappa,

Mysore. It was but natural that Daḷavâi Beṭṭada-Arasu had first to direct his attention towards this objective. As indicated already, Mysore was, as it were, hemmed in by the dominions of Jagadēva-Rāya of Channapaṭṇa in the north, by the kingdom of Madura (under Muttu-Vīrappa Nāyaka I, 1609-c. 1623) in the south, and by the principalities of local chieftains in the east and the west.

In 1618 (*Kālayuhti*) Jagadēva-Bāya despatched an embassy to Seringapatam, with presents (consisting of an éléphant named *Bāmalinga* and 3,000 *varahas*), seeking Châmarâja Wodeyar's assistance in connection with the acquisition of Chiknâyakanahalli.⁷ Châmarâja, however, desired Beṭṭada-Arasu to send back the presents and attempt the acquisition for Mysore of Nâgamangala, an important dependency of Jagadēva-Rāya himself. Beṭṭada-Arasu marched on thither, at the head of his forces. At a village named Honne-madu,⁸ he was obstructed by Doddaiya, elder brother of Channâiya of Nâgamangala, an adherent of Jagadēva-Rāya. A scuffle ensued, in which Doddaiya was slain. Proceeding further, Beṭṭada-Arasu laid siége to Nâgamangala. Thereupon Ankuéa-Raya,⁹ brother, and Prime minister, of Jagadēva-Rāya,

7. *Mys. Dho. Vam., tt. 11-22; Armais, I. 52-58; see also G. Vam., 84; and G. Vi., II, 73-75.* Jagadēva-Rāya is identical with "Jugdeo Row" and "Jugdeo Raj" of Wilks (I. 53-55). His actual name in its Telugu form was Jagadēva-Rāyalu. Inscriptions and literary works (like the *G. Vam.*) spell the name in its Kannacja form, Jagadēva-Rāya. He was colloquially known as Jagadē-Rāya, by which name he is referred to in the *Mys. Dho. Pvr., Mys. Bâj. Gha. and Armais.* The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* spells it in both the forms.

8. An extant village in the Manflya taluk (see *List of Villages, 92*). The chronicles speak of Honne-madu as situated in the Hirisāve région (Hassan district), which is not identifiable. The former identification seems more probable, since the place commands the passage to Nâgamangala.

9. *Jagadēva-Bdyana od-avutfidandanktiéa-Ildya* (*G. Vam., 84*); *Anguéa-Rajam . . . Raya-vajiranemba piridum birudantidiramparilla-vevba . . .* (*G. Fi., II, 78-74*). In the light of the latter passage and the context (*Ibid., II, 74-75*), the word *vajira* is to be taken in its two-fold sense, viz., minister and cavalier. Evidently, as the Prime minister of Jagadēva-Rāya, Ankusa-Rāya seems to have been a reputed cavalier.

put up a stout opposition and raised the siège. Beṭṭada-Arasu was obliged to retrace his steps to Seringapatam. But, on his way back, he found himself attacked by Gôpâlarâjaiya of Kannambâḍi, a récalcitrant chieftain. Halting at Honne-maḍu, Beṭṭada-Arasu requisitioned for reinforcements from the capital and, on their arrivai, laid siège to Hosakôṭe,¹⁰ a fort belonging to Jagadêva-Bâya. He gave battle to Ankuéa-Râya and Gôpâlarâjaiya, and put both of them to rout. Hosakôṭe was taken and among the spoils acquired were two éléphants (named *Bhôjarâja* and *Chokkaliḷa*) and several insignias. Thèse were sent to Seringapatam and Beṭṭada-Arasu was about to re-attempt the acquisition of Nâgamangala.

At this juncture, affairs in the south seemed to call for Beṭṭada-Arasu's immédiate attention. News reached him that some différence had arisen as between the Pâḷegâr of Ḍaṇâyakankôṭe (below the ghâṭs) and the chiefs of the surrounding places.¹¹ Western Ḍaṇâyakankôṭe was, as we hâve seen, the southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, almost coterminous with the dominions of the Nâyak of Madura; and it had been assigned by Râja Woḍeyar to Immaḍi-Râja Woḍeyar as a rent-free estate (*umbali*). Any trouble, therefore, arising in the south-east of this limit, would naturally hâve its repercussion on, and threaten the safety of, the kingdom of Mysore. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things for Mysore to advance further and take possession of Ḍaṇâyakankôṭe and other places in its neighbourhood, below the ghâṭs. Accordingly, Beṭṭada-Arasu sent thither a contingent at the head of Mallarâjaiya, a relation of his :¹² Danâyakankôṭe was besieged. Mean-

10. An estant village in the Nâgamangala taluk (see *List of Villages*, 101). In the poetical language of the *C. Vam.* (l.o.) and *C. Vi.* (l.c), this event is made to appear as if it took place towards the latter part of Ch&marâ ja's reign. But, as narrated above, it was connected with the affairs of 1618.

11. *Annals*, I. 58,

12. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 22 ; *Annals*, I. 53.54.

time the Pâlegâr of the place had sought the assistance of the Nâyak of Madura (Muttu-Vîrappa Nâyaka I) who, through the médiation of his agent, Chikkappa-Setti, eventually concluded a trace with Mallarâjaiya, fixing on the Pâlegâr of Ðaṅṅayakankôṭe-an annual tribute of 12,000 *varahas* to Mysore. Whereupon the siège was raised; Chikkappa-Setti went back to Madura; and Mallarâjaiya returned to Seringapatam with the stipulated amount of tribute.

Thereafter, Beṭṭada-Arasu, having temporarily relinquished his attempts at the acquisition of Nâgamangala, turned towards the other dependencies of Jagadêva-Râya. **Local acquisitions, 1619-1620.** In November 1619, he took possession of Maddûr from Beṅṅe-Honni-Viṭhaṅṅa who had, it is said, formerly received it as a rent-free gift from Nanjarâjaiya of Talakâḍ.¹³ This was followed by the acquisition by him from the same person of Keregôdu, in 1620 (*Raudri*).¹⁴ Thèse activities resulted in the extension of the sphère of influence of Mysore in the direction of Channapaṭṭa, the seat of Jagadêva-Râya, in the north.

The power and influence of Beṭṭada-Arasu and his adherents in the court of Seringapatam, **Fall of Dalavâi Bettada-Arasu, 1620-1621.** during 1617-1620, appear to hâve been not inconsiderable, for, about this time, according to the *Chikkadêvarâya-Vamêâvali*,¹⁵ Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Woḍeyar and Muppina-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Râja Woḍeyar and elderly members of the Royal House, had been away from Seringapatam on a pilgrimage to Mêlkôṭe, Tirupati, Kânchi, Kumbakôṅam, êrîrangam, Râmêévaram and other sacred places. In April 1620, however, Châmarâja attained his majority. This was, it would seem, a serious

13. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II. 2; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 28; cf. *Annals*, I. 60-51.

14. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.o.; see also and compare *Mys. Dho.*, *Pâr.*, II. 1-2; and *Annals*, I. 51.

16. P. 38.

blow to the prominence of Bettada-Arasu, while it proved a source of strength to the powerful court party. By way of counteracting their seductive influence, Bettada-Arasu ordered the removal of the personal servants of Châmarâja Wodeyar, including the latter's teacher (Ranganàtha-Dīkshita) and physician (Bommarasa-Pañḍita), appointing in their places men of his own choice :¹⁶ so influential, indeed, was the old court party, that the new servants were soon thrown out and Châmarâja was, as usual, being attended upon by his former attendants. To Bettada-Arasu, this state of affairs was the most humiliating, and he resented the flouting of his authority. At this turn of affairs, his younger brother, Dodḍa-Châmappa, and the latter's son, Chikka-Châmappa, to ensure their own prédominance and the continuity of office of Bettada-Arasu, conspired against Châmarâja's life, anticipating the sure installation in his place of Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar, the youngest son of Râja Wodeyar. Their délibérations were, however, overheard by a chambermaid and promptly communicated to Châmarâja. An inquiry was instituted; Dodḍa-Châmappa and Chikka-Châmappa were found guilty of treason and capital punishment was inflicted on both of them. Bettada-Arasu, in view of his own safety, was about to leave Seringapatam. Early in 1621, however, he was sent for, lest he should join the insurgent Pàlegârs and foment trouble against Mysore; his eyes were put out and he was kept in confinement for the rest of his life.¹⁷ In March 1621, Linganna of Bannûr was appointed Dajavâi of Mysore in succession to Bettada-Arasu, and Châmarâja began his independent rule.^{18*}

16. *Annals.*, I. 64-55; also *Mys. Dho. Vam., l.c.*

17. The latest available record referring to Bettada-Arasu (Châmappa) is, as already pointed out (*vide f.n. 6 supra*), dated in November 1620. Since, as we shall see, Linganna of Bannûr was appointed Dajavâi of Châmarâja in March 1621, it is possible that Bettada-Arasu was deprived of his office between these dates. Probably we would not be far wrong if we fix this event early in 1621.

18. *Annale*, I. 65; see also *Mya. Dho. Pur.*, I. 66 and *Mys. Dho. Vam., Ibid.*

The first act of Châmarâja Wodeyar, shortly after the fall of Daḷavâi Beṭṭada-Arasu, was to inaugurate a séries of campaigns with a view to expand the kingdom of Mysore in ail the eight directions (*digjayangeyyalujjugisi*).¹⁹ In October 1621, Daḷavâi Linganna, under the direction of Châmarâja, marched towards the east, taking possession of Talakâḍ from Sômarâjaiya.²⁰ In May 1623, he took Maḷavalli after a tough siége,²¹ putting to rout the army of Jagadêva-Râya (which had proceeded to the relief of the place) and promising assurance of protection to the inhabitants (*ûrugarge kaval-nambugeyanittu*).²² In December, Arikuthâra was taken from Bâlôji Nâyaka, son of Channarâja Nâyaka;²³ and in May, Bûkankere and Sindhughatta were acquired from Jagadêva-Râya.²⁴ In May 1625, Śatyâgâla—formerly belonging to Nanjarâja of Hadinâḍ—was taken;²⁵ and in July, Heggaddêvankôte was acquired from Channarâja Wodeyar.²⁶ Early in January 1626, Daḷavâi Linganna laid siége to Channapatna and, in the struggle which followed, was slain by Channaiya of Nâgamangala.²⁷

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19. *C. Vam.*, 33-34 ; *C. Vi.*, II, 64-82. In the poetical language of these works, the campaigns are mixed up and made to appear as having taken place in regular succession within a short space of time during the life-period of Châmarâja Wodeyar. But they actually took place at considérable intervals during différent years of his reign. The gleanings from, and références to, these texts are, accordingly, to be understood in their chronological setting, with référence to the more spécifie authority of the chronicles compared with one another. See also and compare Wilks's *List of Oonquests of Châmarâja* (I. 55-66), which is based primarily on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* Dêvachandra (*Raj. Kath.*, XIII 468-469), in the main, olosely follows the *G. Yam.*, in detailing Châmarâja's conquests,
20. *Mys. Dho. Pât.*, II, 3; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, I.e; *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vi.*, II, 64-66.
21. *Annals*, I, 61 ; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24.
22. *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vi.*, II, 65.
23. *Mys. Dho. Pât.*, I.o. ; *Annate*, I.c.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 8-4 ; *Annals*, I.o. 25. *Ibid.*, II, 4.
26. *Ibid.*, ; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 54-55.
27. *Annals* I. 57; also compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24.

On the fall of Lingappa, Basavalingappa was appointed to the office of Dalavai.²⁸ In March 1626, proceeding in the south, Basavalingappa took Honganur and Ammachavadi which formerly belonged to ianjaraja of Hadinad.²⁹ In July, turning westwards, he acquired Hadya from Nanjunda-Arasu of Piriypattana (Piriypattana) and Katte-Malalavadi from Prabhuhannaraja Wodeyar.³⁰ Marching towards Piriypattana, he next broke up, it is said, a combination of Channaraja Wodeyar and Gopalarajaiya, chiefs of Katte-Malalavadi and Kannambadi, sending the former a captive to Seringapatam.³¹ Then he laid siege to Piriypattana which was defended by Bommarasaiya (a minister of Tanjunda-Arasu)³² assisted by Singala-Baya of Ikkeri Keladi).³³ Basavalingappa requisitioned for fresh reinforcements from Seringapatam under Niyogi Bommasaiya; and with these pressed on the siege, putting his opponents to rout, cutting off the nose of Singala-Kaya and capturing an elephant (named *Bolamalla*) among the spoils. Bommarasaiya of Piriypattana was ultimately obliged to sue for peace with the Niyogi of Mysore, agreeing to send annually to Seringapatam an elephant and a cash contribution of 3,000 *varaha\$*.³⁴ Dalavai Basavalingappa followed up this victory by the acquisition of Hanasoge and Saligrama (dependencies of Piriypattana);³⁵ and returned to Seringapatam where, it is said,³⁸ he made Channaraja Wodeyar (of Katte-Malalavadi)

8. *Ibid*; see also *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 66.

9. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, II. 5; *Annalfl.* 61.

10. *Ibid.*, II. 6-6; *Ibid.*, Le.

81. *Annale*, I. 67.

12. *Ibid*; also see and compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 36.

S. See *C. Vam.*, 88; *C. Vi.*, II, 68; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26.

[According to the *Keladi-Nripa-Vijayam* (o. 1800), Keladi was the capital of the Ruling Chiefs (*Ndyaks*) of Ikkeri, between 1600-1612; Ikkeri, between 1512-1688; and Bednur (Bidarur or Venupura), between 1689-1768. See also Ch. VIII of this work. To avoid confusion, the kingdom is referred to throughout by the general name, Ikkeri.]

14. *Armais*, Le. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25-26; *O. Vam.*, Le.; *O. Vi.*, II, 68-69.

15. *Annale*, Le.

86. *Ibid*, L 58.

confess his fault and obtained for him the king's pardon. In July 1626, Tagaḍûr and Kottâgâla were acquired from Prabhudêva and Lingarâjaiya, respectively;³⁷ and in December, Jâdale was taken from Channarâjaiya of Heggadḍêvankôte.³⁸

In or about 1627, Basavalinganna proceeded against Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr (*Ghaṭṭa-Madanâri*), a récalcitrant chieftain in the south-east (*âgnâyadol*) of Mysore, below the ghâṭs. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr was forced to submit and sue for peace with the Daḷavâi, tendering 3,000 *varahas* with an éléphant (named *Chengoḍeya*) and an ivory palankeen.³⁹ Following closely on Basavalinganna's return, Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr, it is said,⁴⁰ again proved troublesome to Mysore. About the end of 1627, Basavalinganna was sent against him a second time. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr was thoroughly humbled and an annual tribute of 3,000 *varahas* settled on him. During the next three years the Daḷavâi stayed in Seringapatam and died in February 1630, just at a time when he was about to re-attempt the acquisition of Nâgamangala.⁴¹

In March 1630, Vikrama-Eâya, a brother of Beṭṭada-Arasu, was appointed Daḷavâi in succession to Basavalinganna.⁴² Between April and October (1630), the attention of Châmarâja Wodeyar and Daḷavâi Vikrama-Bâya seems to have been directed towards Ikkëri, in the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore. We have seen how Singaḷa-Bâya of Ikkëri assisted the chief of Piriyaṭaṭṭa (Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu) during the siège of that place by Daḷavâi Basavalinganna in July 1626 and

37. *Mya. Dho. Pur.*, I I . 6 ; *Annota*, I. 51. 38. *Ibid.*, I I . 7 ; *Ibid.*

39. *Mya. Dho. Vom.*, ff. 24; *Annota*, I. 69; *C. Vom.*, 33. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr is colloquially spelt as Qhaṭṭi-Modaliâr, in the Ohronicles.

40. *Annala*, Le. 41. *Ibid.*, of *Mya. Dho. Vmn.*, ff. 26.

42. *Ibid* ; *Ibid* ; see also *Mya. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 66. Dajavâi Vikrama-Râya is found referred to in a lithic record of c. 1630 [*E. G. I I I (1) Md. 4*].

how he (Singaḷa-Bâya) sustained defeat and discomfiture at the hands of the latter. Singaḷa-Eâya appears to have been a gênerai of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëi (1582-1629), whose object in proceeding thither was, ostensibly, the extension of the sphere of his influence in the direction of the kingdoms of the Changāḷyas and Mysore. In any case, the chastisement of Singaḷa-Bâya by Mysore, in 1626, seems to have formed the starting-point of hostility between her and Ikkëri. Already about the close of the reign of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nâyaka, a civil war had broken out between the two sons of Hiriya-Hanumappa Nâyaka of Tarikere on the question of partition of the latter's estate, and Mysore, along with the chiefs of Bêlûr, Chintanakal, Sira (Sîrya) and other places, had, it is said,⁴³ espoused the cause of the younger son of Hiriya-Hanumappa Nâyaka against the elder who was backed up by Venkaṭappa Nâyaka himself. The civil war, however, terminated in favour of the elder brother and all the adherents of the younger retired when Venkaṭappa Nâyaka appeared in person at the head of his army.

The hostility of Mysore towards Ikkëri, however, continued unabated during the reign of
 Hostilities continued, 1630. CON- Vîrabhadra Nâyaka (1629-1645), successor of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nâyaka I, against whom there was a gênerai combination of the chiefs of the south, Mysore not excepted. A Jesuit letter from Canara,⁴⁴ dated in 1630, speaks of "the kings who are at war with this king in the upper ghats and also send help to the people of the lower ghats," and says, "The king of Bamguel has rebelled against the said king Virabadar Naique, and the king of Palpare and the king

43. *Ke. N. K. V.* 83-84.

44. Cited in Rev. H. Heras's article, *The Expansion Wars of Venkaṭappa Nâyaka of Ikkëri*, in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XI, p. 112.

of Mayzur⁴⁶ (Mysore) are lending him aid. The following hâve also rebelled against the said king: the queen of Olala and the queen of Carnate . . . so that, from the Canhoroto to Batecalla everything is in revolt and the king Virabhadar Naique is no longer master of anything below the ghats and is in such straits that he will no more be able to recover his losses . . . , " Evidently by about the close of 1630, it would appear, the crushing of Ikkêri had become a serious problem to Mysore.

Almost simultaneously, the conquest of the possessions of Jagadêva-Eâya continued to engage the attention of Châmarâja Wodeyar. In October 1630, he directed the siêge of Channapatna.⁴⁶ The place was taken by Daḷavâi Vikrama-Râya after a strenuous fight, and this was followed by the annexation of Kânkânhalḷi (Kâṇi-kâranahalḷi) and the siêge and acquisition of Nâgamangala (in December).⁴⁷ In March 1631, Beḷḷûr, another dependency of Jagadêva-Râya—then in the possession of Parania-râvuta Guruvanṇa, a gênerai of the chief of Chiknâyakanahalḷi—was taken after a hard fight, in which Guruvanṇa was slain and his army put to rout.⁴⁸ This victory was followed by a truce concluded with Mysore by the chief of Chiknâyakanahalḷi, who, in token of his submission, sent to Châmarâja présents

45. Cf. Kev. H. Heras (*Ibid.*, p. 122) who writes: " * This seems to be the Râja of Mysore. Probably Venkatappa had encroached upon the Mysore territory, though no record of this fact is hitherto known." But, as we hâve seen above, there were relations between Mysore and Ikkêri as early as July 1626.

46. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, II. 7; *Annate*, I. 61; also *C. Vam.*, 34.

47. *Ibid.*, II. 7-8; *Mya. Dho. Vain.*, ff. 25-26; *Annals*, 1.51,69; see also *C. Vam.*, l.c.; and *C. Vi.*, II, 77.

48. *Ibid.*, II. 8; *Mya. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26; *C. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, II, 78-82. Guruvanna was evidently a distinguished cavalier. All the authorities invariably mention him by his title (*Parama-ravuta*). Only the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* refers to both his title and actual name. Wilks (I. 56) spells the name as "Peram Ra wata."

consisting of robes and jewels and an éléphant (named *Râmalinga*),⁴⁹

Between 1631-1634, Châmarâja Woḍeyar appears to have been engaged in a séries of
 More aggressions, 1681-1684. aggressions in the north-west of Mysore.

About the close of 1631, marching against the chief of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Lakshmappa Nâyaka), he inflicted a crushing defeat on him, accepting from him présents of gold and jewels and an éléphant (named *Kanaka-Vasanta*)⁵⁰ Proceeding further, Châmarâja directed his campaign against the chief of Bêlûr (Venkaṭappa or Venkaṭadri? Nâyaka), who had incurred his ill-will by his encroachments on the boundaries of Mysore. Châmarâja successively defeated the army of Bêlûr in three pitched battles at Chôlênahaḷli (*Chôleyanapalli*), Ânekere and Yeleyûr,⁶¹ amidst great loss, putting to rout Bhaira Nâyaka, Sala Nâyaka and Pùvala-Hanumappa Nâyaka who had espoused the chief's cause. In February 1634, Châmarâja laid siége to and took possession of Kolatûr—otherwise known as Channarâyapatna—from Venkaṭappa Nâyaka of Bêlûr.⁵² The place, it is said,⁶³ had been formerly annexed from one Putṭagiri-Hebbârûva by Lakshmappa Nâyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur, who had given it away as a rent-free village (*umbali*) to his son, Channa-râya. Channa-râya having built a fort there, the place became known as Channarâyapatna which had been later acquired by Venkaṭappa Nâyaka. The acquisition of Channarâyapatna by Châmarâja, in 1634,

49. C. Vam., l.c.

50. *Ibid.*, C. Vi., II, 70-71; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 21; also see and compare *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 468. The acquisition of Nigamangala in 1630 seems to have opened the way to the further advance of Mysore in the north-west. Hence these activities between 1681-1684.

51. Extant villages in the Channarâyapatna taluk (see *List of Vfa loges*, 126).

62. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, II. 9-10; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.o.; *Annals*, I. 51-52; also C. Vam., l.c.; C. Vi, II, 71.

58, *Mys. Dho. Pur. and Annals*, l.c.

marked the culminating point of his advance in the north-west of Mysore.⁵⁴

During the early years of his reign we find Châmarâja Wodeyar openly acknowledging the suzerainty of Vîra-Eâma Dêva IV of Vijayanagar, down to 1635. Vijayanagar.⁵⁶ Literary works and inscriptions for the period c. 1625-1634 seem to point to Châmarâja as an almost independent local ruler, probably in keeping with the séries of his conquests.⁵⁶ The last years of Châmarâja's reign synchronised with the early part of the reign of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar (1633 ?-1642), of whom he appears to have been a loyal feudatory. Indeed, Mysore, under Châmarâja Wodeyar, figured prominently among the local powers represented at the court of Venkaṭa (at Penukoṇḍa), on the occasion of his installation on January 13, 1635 (*Bhava, Mâgha eu.* 5),⁶⁷

54. Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of a *Mackenzie Manuscript*, refers to an invasion of Madura by Mysore under Harasura (Karâchûri?) Nandi-Râja, and a counter-invasion of Mysore by Madura before 1638, during the early years of the reign of Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura (c. 1623-1669) and the latter part of the reign of Châmarâja Wodeyar (*Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 119-120). There is no evidence in support of this position, since Châmarâja during 1630-1634 was, as we have seen above, engaged in a séries of local conquests in the north and north-west of Mysore; nor had he a gênerai by name Harasura (or Karâchûri?) Nandi-Râja. On the contrary, a further examination of the manuscript itself (Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.*, I I, 169) would go to show that the events, referred to, took place "when Dêva-Râyer-Udiyâr was reigning in Mysore." The "Dêva-Râyer-Udiyâr" mentioned is, of course, identical with Dêvarâja Wodeyar of Mysore (1669-1673). It seems, therefore, open to question whether these events could not have happened during that reign. *Vide f.n.* 60 to Ch. X, for a further notice of this référence.

65. See E. C. I I I (1) My. 17 (1620); Sr. 36 (1620); and Md. 17 (1628); *Mys. Dwt. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 17 (revised) and 156 (1623).

56. *Vide* references cited in the section on *Chdmardja's titles*.

57. *Vide* Venkafaiya's *Immadi-Tamma-Rdya-Kempa-Raya-Padagalu* (1635) a P. L., Ms. (No. 18-8-1) in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, Chs. I-II, ff. 1-41. According to this contemporary Kannada poem, Immadi-Kempe-Gauga of Mâgaṣi (1669-1668) was the right-hand man of Venkaṭa II (*ṁṇḍalapati Venkaṭa-Râyara bhujadaṇḍa*) whom he securely established on the throne of Vijayanagar (*narapatiya simhûsanava nilisi*; *sthiradi Rayara simhasanava nilisi*) by subjugating the récalcitrant chiefs of Dodballâpur, Kandikere, Slrya, Hantfe, Bijjavara, Kôlâla, Dhûligote, Kundurupe and other places in the Karnâtak, and exacting tribute from them (*kappagala terisi*). Among the loyalists, said to have been assembled by

offering him présents which consistée! of a rutting éléphant (named *Âṇimuttu*), jewels (including a necklace set with precious stones) and robes.⁵⁸ Again, we also find Châmarâja Woḍeyar referring to the overlordship of Venkaṭa, in the *Mâkuballi copper-plate grant* dated February 21, 1635 (*Bhâva, Phdgunâ eu.* 15).⁵⁹

The political position of Châmarâja Woḍeyar as the ruler of Mysore is, perhaps, best evidenced by the extant literary works and inscriptions of his reign referring to him as having been adorned by the following, among other, titles and insignias i⁶⁰ - *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa* (champion over those who say they hâve such and such titles), *Srîmad-râjâdhiraja-râja-paramëëvara* (emperor of kings), *Apratima-vîra* (unparalleled hero), *Kathâriya-sâlva* (a daggered hawk to his enemies), *Vairi-gaja-gaṇḍa-bhërunḍa* (a double-headed eagle to the éléphants, hostile kings), *Gaja-bëṅtekâra* (hunter of éléphants),

Châmarâja*s Royal titles.

Immaçli-Kempe-Gauḍa on the occasion of Venkata's installation (at Penukonda) in January 1635, were the rulers of Kereyûr, Hosakôte, Dëvanahalli, Chikballâpur, Mâsti, Bâgalûr and Mysore. For his meritorious services in the cause of the Empire, Immadi-Kempe-Gauda is said to hâve been duly honoured by Venkata with robes and jewels (such as pendants, medallions, etc.) and two rutting éléphants named *Nilakantha* and *Sômalinga* (II, ff. 23-41, vv. 14-39). The earlier part of the poem throws a good deal of light on the gênerai political conditions in the Karnâtak dnring the years which followed the death of Vîra-Râma-Dëva IV of Vijayanagar (1614-1680? 1633) (I, ff. 1-16; II, ff. 16-23). The value of the work for the history of the times of Immadi-Kempe-Gauda of Mâgadi, is not inconsiderable. The poet Venkataiya refers to himself as the son of Poramâva-Timmappaiya and dedicates the work to Chikka-Kuppakka (a consort of Immadi-Kempe-Gauda), on July 22, 1685 (*Yuva, Sravana ba.* 3) (II, ff. 41). He not infrequently eulogises Immadi-Kempe-Gauḍa, of whom he was evidently a protégé. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 298) which mentions this poem as an anonymous work, fixing it in c. 1650.

58. *Ibid.*, II, fi. 28, v. 22; . . . *Maisfiravara karasi Bdyarige santôshadinndnimuttenipa madagajava kantimattâda urutara kanthamâle sara muntada bhûshañambarava kodisi.*

59. *M. A. B.*, 1924, pp. 22-28, No. 6.

60. *Vide* copious to *Asvasatra, Chamarajôkti-Vilasa* and *Brahmôtara-Khanda*; also see *E. C.*, II SB. 250 and 362 (1684); *M. A. R.*, 1924, Le. (1685). For détails about the literary works, see under *Literary activity.*

Sakha (conch); *Chakra* (discus), *Makara* (crocodile), *Matsya* (fish), *Sarabha* (unicorn), *Salva* (hawk), *Gandabhêrunda* (double-headed eagle), *Dharaṇi-Varâha* (boar), *Hanuma* (monkey), *Garuḍa* (eagle), *Ankusâ* (hook), *Kuthâra* (axe) and *Simha* (lion). These titles and insignias were, as indicated above, significant from the local point of view. Among the titles, *Birud-antembara-ganda* was, as we have seen, the distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore from the time of Hiriya-Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar III (1513-1553). Others, like *Mahâ-râjâdhirâja-râja-paramêvara*, *Apratima-vira*, *Ganda-bhêrunda*, *Gaja-bêntekâra* and *Dharaṇi-Varâha*, were distinct borrowals, mostly from Vijayanagar, and seem to convey ideas of universal conquest and imperialism. Most of the insignias had been, as already referred to, acquired by Râja Wodeyar during different years of his reign (1578-1617).

By 1637, the last year of Châmarâja's reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: On the north, it had been extended as far as Channa-
 Political position of Mysore, 1637. paṭṭa and Nâgamangala; in the west and north-west, up to Piriyaṭṭa and Channarâyaṭṭa; and in the east and south-east, as far as Maḷavalli and Daṇâyakankôṭe. Indeed the *Chikkadêvarâya-Vaniédvali* does seem correctly to echo this position when it depicts that, towards the close of his reign, Châmarâja had finished his campaigns in all the directions, extended his favour to the rulers of Ikkëri, Bâṇâvâr, Basavâpaṭṭa and other places—who had latterly acted in a friendly fashion towards him—and brought the entire Kannaḍa country under his control (*Kannaḍa-nâdellamam basakke tandu*).⁶¹ The référence to the friendly disposition of Ikkëri (*mitrabhâvadol pattidirkëri . . .*), in particular, towards Mysore, is further significant. We have seen how there prevailed hostile relations between the two

kingdoms during 1626-1630 and how during 1630-1634 Châmarâja had extended his kingdom as far as parts of Bangalore and Hassan districts by the acquisition of places belonging to Jagadêva-Bàya and the chiefs of Chiknâyakanahalli, Bêlur and Hoḷe-Narasipur. During 1634-1637, Vīrabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkëri, in view, apparently, of this stronger political position of Mysore, had probably found it expédient to move on friendly terms with Châmarâja Woḍeyar.

Although the earliest available record of the reign of Châmarâja Woḍeyar is dated in June 1620,⁶² the administration of Mysore, during the period of his minority (1617-1620), was actually in the hands of his first Daḷavâi, Beṭṭada-Arasu. To the latter, indeed, as we have seen, belongs the crédit of maintaining the political integrity of the kingdom of Mysore and making a definite beginning in the policy of expansion in the north and the south. Beṭṭada-Arasu appears to have continued in office for more than six months after Châmarâja attained his majority (in May 1620), as is borne out by a lithic record dated November 29, 1620, in which he makes a grant of the village of Ànevâḷa for God Mahâbalêvara of the " Mysore hill " (Châmuṇḍi Hills), on the occasion of a lunar éclipse, for the merit of Châmarâja Woḍeyar.⁶³ On the fall of Beṭṭada-Arasu early in 1621, Châmarâja Woḍeyar was securely established in his personal rule.

The rule of Châmarâja Woḍeyar during 1620-1637 thoroughly bore the impress of his personality, The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (1623)⁶⁴ speaks of him as having been ruling Mysore seated on the famous throne

62. Vide f. n. 4 *supra*.

63. E. C., III (1) Sr. 36, ll. 7-9: . . . *Sriman-mahadêva-devôttama Maisûra-beffada Sri-Mahabalêsvara-dêvarige* . . . Vide also f. n. 6 and 16 *supra*.

64. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., Md. 156, l. 6: *Srirangapattana-khyata-Bhôja-simhasandhipah*.

of Bhôja in Seringapatam, and mentions⁶⁵ also a minister of his, Râmâ[nu?]jaiya-Virùpâkshaiya-Gôvindaiya, son of Appâji-Paṇḍita and grandson of Hiriyanna-Paṇḍita (of Akajâpura), of Kâśyapa-gôtra, Âéalâyana-sùtra and Bik-éâkhâ. Other records of Châmarâja Wodeyar point to his sovereignty of both Mysore and Seringapatam.⁶⁶ In his conquests, Châmarâja Wodeyar was, as we have seen, considerably helped by Linganna of Bannûr (March 1621-January 1626), Basavalinganna (January 1626-February 1630) and Vikrama-Kâya (March 1630-1637)—Daḷavâis in succession to Beṭṭada-Arasu.⁶⁷ In the actual administration of the local parts, Châmarâja Wodeyar, it would seem, was assisted by agents (*kârya-karta*). Thus, we note, Basavalinganna, son of Kempa Wodeyar, administered the affairs of Châmarâja at Talakâd,⁶⁸ while Râjaiya was looking after the same in the Yeḍatore région.⁶⁹

Châmarâja Wodeyar is credited with having carefully brought in his acquisitions under the respective hôblis of the administrative units *igaḍi*) and maintained intact the regulations of itâja Wodeyar.⁷⁰ He is also, in 1626, reputed to have made elaborate arrangements with Channarâja Wodeyar, chief of Katṭe-Maḷalayâḍi, for the catching, and purchase, of

Administrative and other measures :

(a) Settlement of conquered tracts.

(b) Organisation of elephant-hunting.

(c) Institution of the armoury.

65. *Ibid.*, II. 13-16, 72 (*Gôvindayâkhya-mantrinê*) ; also *Ibid.*, Md. 17 (revised) (January 1623), U. 6-9, etc. Cf. *WUks* in Appendix III.

66. See *E.O.*, II SB. 260 and 352(1634) : *Maisûru-Patfanadhlêvara*; *Maisûru-Pattevna-puravarddhêvara*. The référence here is to Mysore and Seringapatam, *Patfana* being a shortened form of Ôrirangapattana. The expressions are in keeping with the local position of Châmarâja Wodeyar at the height of his power after a series of conquests. See also sections on *Chamaraja's relations with Vijayanagar and his titles*.

67. For a critical notice of Wilka's position regarding the early Daḷavâis of Mysore, etc., *vide* Appendix III.

68. See *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 13 (1683). Basavalinganna of this lithic record appears to have been distinct from Dajavâi Basavalinganna who died in February 1680 (*Annals*, I. 69).

69. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 15 (1633).

70. *Annals*, I. 61; See also *Wilks*, I. 55.

éléphants required for his army;⁷¹ and, in or about 1635, so have erected in Mysore an armoury (*alagina-châvadi* ; *alaguvanè*), a substantial structure of three floors (*imûneleya jagali*), for the préservation of various kinds of weapons (taken from the Pâlegârs) and for the manufacture of new patterns.⁷²

Châmarâja Wodeyar was, we note,⁷³ an ardent Vaishnava, adoring his family God Lakshmîkânta of Mysore and devoutly serving Trinayanévara (of Mysore), Goddess Châmunḍéevârî of the Mahâbalâchala hill and Visṣṇvîea. Toleration was the cardinal feature of his religion, éaivism and Vaishnavism seemed to claim his equal share of attention, while he was solicitous towards Jainism also.⁷⁴ Of the Jains, in particular, we find he

71. *lâid*, I. 58-59; see also *Mijs. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 27-28. The catching of éléphants by ensnaring them into large-sized pits (*kappu*), seems to have been a very ancient practice in the southern and western parts of the présent district of Mysore. The price of éléphants thus captured—and subsequently trained—was, it is interesting to note, regulated by Châmarâja Wodeyar as under : For an éléphant with tusks measuring one full cubit (*moḷa*), 100 *var alias*; one span (*giṇu*), 40 *varahas* ; three-fourths of a span (*chôfu-kombu*), 30 *varahas*; for one, with tusks just sprouting up (*muguḷu-kombu*), 25 *varahas*; for a female éléphant measuring 5 cubits in length, 60 *varahas*; 4 cubits, 40 *varahas* and 3 oubits, 30 *varahas* ; for a youngling (*mari*), 15 *varahas* (See *Annals*, I.c). Evidently the title *Gaja-bêntekdra* (hunter of éléphants), ascribed to Ohâmarâja Wodeyar in the colophon to the *Ghdmardjôkti-VUda* already referred to (*vide* section on *Châmarâja's titles* and f.n. 60 *supra*), seems very significant.

72. *Annals*, I. 61; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 21-22; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26-27; also *G. Vam.*, 33-34 and *G. Vi.*, I I, 71-72, depicting the armoury as an index of Châmarâja's prowess and military glory.

73. *Vide* colophon to the *Chamarajôkti-Vilasa* : *Éri-Lakshmikânta-pddd-ravinda-dvandva nishyandd*mana^makaranda-bmdU'Sandôhdsvdana-nirmaliktndtahqarana, Trinayanévara sadbhaktiyukta Mahdbald-chaldvda Éri-Chdmunḍikdmbd sadbhakti maṇḍitardda Éri'Chdmardja-Oḍeyaravaru*; also see *E. G., Mys. Dis t. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155 (1623), II. 2-3 : . . . *Viṣṇvîea pûjâh satata éubha samjâe'OJidniardjendra-bhôjah* ; *vide* also *C. Vam.* (88-34) and *G. Vi.* (II, 64-82), depicting Châmarâja against an essentially Vaishnava background.

74. *Vide* références *infra*. Among the secondary sources, the *Aimais* (I. 56*57, 61-62) and the *Mys. Raj. Cha.* (22) speak of the services of Châmarâja Wodeyar and his Daḷavâis (Linganna of Bannûr and Vikramâ-Râya), in the éaiva and Vaishnava temples at T.-Narasipur, Qargéevârî, Nanjangud, Seringapatam and Mêlkôfe. The *Annals* (1.60), in particular,

was a gôod friend, being referred to⁷⁵ by them as *Shad-darécma-dharn̄ta-sthâpanâchârya* (lit. establisser of the *dharma* of the six *daréanas* or schools of philosophy) and *Shad-dharma-Chakrêêvara* (lit. emperor promoting six kinds of *dharma* or religion). An interesting account is preserved⁷⁶ of how once, about the middle of 1631, Châmarâja Wodeyar, while on a tour in the State, paid a visit to éravana-Belâgoļa, and how, on being grieved to learn that the Jain *guru* of the place—Chârukîrti-Paṇḍita-Yôgindra of the Dakshinâchârya family—had left it for Bhallâtakî-pura in conséquence of obstacles (to the worship of Jina) caused during the régime of Jagadêva-Bâya, he (Châmarâja Wodeyar) at once arrangea for the recall of the *guru* from the latter place, and later accorded him a fitting réception in Seringapatam, allowing him every facility for the exercise of his religious avocations in the Pontificate at éravana-Belâgoļa.

Among the extant records of Châmarâja Wodeyar's reign, the *Honnalagere copper-plate Gifts, grānts, etc. grant*, dated January 31, 1623,⁷⁷ registers the gift by him of three villages to his minister, Gôvindaiya, on the occasion of

refers to a grant of the Aghajaya (*Ohdmarâja-samudra*) *agrahdra* of 32 houses (in the Bâchahalli-hôbli of the Nâgamangala-sthala), said to have been made by Châmarâja Wodeyar to the three sects of Brâhmanas (*Smarthas, Madhvas* and *Sri-Vaishnavas*), in October 1681, on the occasion of a lunar éclipse. Dêvachandra (*Raj. Kath.*, XII. 469) writes of Châmarâja Wodeyar as having granted lands rent-free (*umbaļi*), to five Jain Pandits. See also sections on *Court Life* and *Literary Activity*.

75. See *E. C.*, II SB. 250 and 852 (1684).

76. In the *Munivamiabhyudaya* (c. 1700) of Chidânanda (noticed in détail in Ch. XIV), II, 90-65. This work (II, 20) speaks of Châmarâja's visit to Sraavana-Belagoļa, just at a time when he had finis h ed most of his campaigns against the surrounding chiefs. The *Annals* (I. 60) refers to this visit as having taken place at the instanoe of Bommarasaiya. Niyôgi of Châmarâja Wodeyar ; and seems to place it shortly after Châmarâja's acquisition of Nagamangala and Bellûr (1680-1681). Since Bellûr was, as we have seen, taken by Châmarâja Wodeyar in March 1681 and since, according to the *Annals* (l.c), Châmarâja was in Seringapatam by October 1681, he appears to have visited éravana-Belâgoļa about the middle of that year (April-June).

77. *E. C. Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 156 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 28, para 76) : é. 1544, *Dundubhi, Magha su.* 10. The grant bears the king's signature as, 'Sri-Châmaraju' (see 1,70).

ardhodaya, for the merit of his parents. A lithic record (of the same date)⁷⁸ refers to a rent-free grant by Châmarâja to the same donee, of additional villages situated in the Maddûr-sthaļa of the Keļale-nâḍu in the Seriijgapatara country. The *Dalavâi+Agrahâram plates* I, dated March 6, 1623,⁷⁹ record the formation of an *agrahâra* named *Châmarâja-samudra* (consisting of the villages of Àladûr and Navilûr in the Tâyûr-nâḍu of Mûgûr-sthaļa) and the grant of the same—divided into 41 shares,⁴⁰ being distributed among Brâhmans and one set apart for God Gunjâ-Nṛsimha—by Châmarâja Woḍeyar, for the attainment of perpétuai bliss by his father, Narasarâja Woḍeyar. A lithic record of c. 1630⁸⁰ refers to a grant in perpetuity to Àne-linga in the Narasimhasvâmi temple at Maddûr, by Vikrama-Râya, Dalavâi of Châmarâja Woḍeyar. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated February 21, 1632,⁸¹ speaks of Châmarâja Woḍeyar as having restored the channels of the Cauvery in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam and of his having got constructed a bridge across the river (up to the junction of its branches), naming the area brought into cultivation thereunder as *Hosa-bayalu* (lit. new plain land). Another lithic record, dated May 22, 1633,⁸² refers to the grant of the village of êântapura, to the êivabhakta Basavalingadêva, by Râjaiya, an agent of Châmarâja Woḍeyar. Yet another, dated June 20, 1633,⁸³ records the setting up of the image of Panchalinga to the west of God Vaidyêâvara of Gajâranya-kshêtra and the grant of lands at Talakâḍ and Pûrigâli to provide for the

78. *Ibid.*, Md. 17 (revised): *Ibid.* See also and compare B. C, III (1) Md. 17 (original impression).

79. E. C., III (1) TN. 62 : rf. 1544, *DundubU*, *Phlguna eu.* 15.

80. *Ibid.*, Md. 4.

81. Ms. No. 18-16-20, p. 80 : é. 1658, *Prajotpatti*, *Phalguna eu.* 11.

82. E.C., IV (2) Yd. 16: .s. 1740, *êrmukha*, *Vaiédka ba.* 10. The Èaha date, mentioned in this record, does not tally with the cyclic year *ârimukha* which corresponds to 1688 ; it is apparently a scribal error for s. 1665.

83. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 13; à. 1555, *ârimukha*, *Jyestha ba.* 10, Thursday,

offerings of the God—by Basavalingappa, another agent of Châmarâja. Two records (lithic and copper-plate), dated June 28, 1634,⁸⁶ speak of Châmarâja Wodeyar as having instituted an inquiry into the management of the endowments at êravaṇa-Belaḡola and of his having caused grants to be made in the présence of God Gommaṭṣvara and Guru Chârukîrti-Paṇḍita-Dêva, releasing the temple lands (of Śravaṇa-Belaḡola) from nineteen mortgagees by discharging the long-standing mortgage debts and conferring on the *Sthânikas* perpétuai use of the property for carrying on the worship of the God. The *Mâkuballi copper-plate grant*, dated February 21; 1635,⁸⁵ records the gift by Châmarâja—free of ail taxes, on the occasion of a lunar éclipse—of the village of Mâkuballi surnamed *Chânta-sâgara* (or *Châma-samudra*), to Bâniachandra-Yajva, for the merit of his (Châmarâja's) parents.

The court of Châmarâja Wodeyar was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the tastes and culture of the times.

Court life :
Châmarâja's avocations. Châmarâja appears himself to have been an accomplished person, being referred to⁸⁶ as an expert in the arts (*chausasti-kalâ-praviṇṇa*). He is depicted⁸⁷ to have been systematically devoting himself to the practice of elephant-riding and horse-riding (*âne-kudureḡalanêri vaiyâiya vilâsa*), athletics (*gartt! ,i-geytada-kai?ne*), marksmanship (*bilgaṇe-gonḡu guriyisuva kauéala*) and music—particularly the lute (*viṇe-daledti banna-vâdtcgalam bâjipôje*); to the appréciation of literature—including poetry, drama and rhetoric (*kâvya-nâtakâlanakâra-sâra--sarvasva-rasâsvâdana*); and the listening to the sacred lore (*Purânê-tihâsâdi-puîiṇṇa-kathâ-êraṇânurâga*).

84. *Ibid.*, II SB. 250 and 362: s. 1666, *Bhâva*, *Âshadha su.* 13, Saturday.

85. M. A. R., 1924, pp. 22-28, No. 6: i. 1665 expired, *Bhava*, *Ptolguna eu.* 15. This record also bears the king's signature as, *Srî-Qhâmarâja S*

86. *Vide* colophon to the *Chamarajôkti-Vilasa*.

87. *C. tam.*, 84.

His court formed also the meeting-ground for Brâhmanical, Vîraéaiva and Jaina Religions. Religious disputations* there were fréquent disputations, in which Châmarâja Wodeyar appears to have taken a keen Personal interest.⁸⁸ In particular, we learn,⁸⁹ Chennârya, son of Vîrañârâdhya, was able to defeat Râma-Dîkshita in the course of one such debate in the *durbâr* of Châmarâja. Another disputation (*mantravâda-prasanga*), it would seem,⁹⁰ was conducted by the Jains in Châmârâja's court shortly after his visit to éravaṇa-Belagoḷa (1631) and, it is added,⁹¹ Chârükîrti-Pañḍita-Yôgîndra of the éravaṇa-Belagoḷa-math, himself a celebrated disputant (*bandhura mantravâda-prasiddha-purusha*), was invited to participate in it. If Dêvachandra is to be relied upon, it was probably on this occasion that Châmarâja Wodeyar had the Jain works, *Bharatêivara-Charite* (of Ratnâkara-Varni), *Hari-Vam&a*, *Sanat-kumâra-Shatpadi* (of Bommarâsa) and *Chandraprabha-Charite* (of Doddaiya of Piriyaṭaṇṇa), recited in his court, eulogising Jainism, it is said, as a great religion (*Jaina matam doḍḍadendu pratsamsegaidaru*).^m

88. See *Chikkadêvarâja'Dharanirâmandbhîttayah* (c. 1700) (noticed in Ch. XIV), III, 16:

. . . antar-bahirmata-vivâda-viddm mukhêna
tatvam, param kitnapi chêtasi niêchitdya . . .

(referring to Châmarâja Wodeyar V).

89. See Car. Ka_x Cha. (II. 877), quoting from Śânta-Vîra-IDêika's (c. 1660) *Éwaga^a-Ohârîtra* :

Chamarâjêndrana sabheyolu, tarkisuva |
Rdma-Dîkshitana bhanjisida |
Srimad-Virandrâdhya tanuja guna |
Dhama Chennarya.

The poet, Śânta-Vîra-Dêika, was the grandson of Vîrañârâdhya and son of Chennârya (*Ibid.* 877, 879).

90. *Munivam.*, I I, 48.

91. *Ibid.*, I I, 49-50.

92. See *Baj. Kath.*, XI. 878, 876. Dêvachandra also speaks of Châmarâja Wodeyar as having got rendered from Sanskrit *iktû* Kanna^a, the following five Jaina works : *Hari>Vamêa* | *Pra.bhxvnjâna-Kathe* % *têrlpâla-Chartâr Jayakuméra* *ParwardhinhShaf^ddi.khâ* *Samyaktva-Kaumudî-Shatpadi* (*Ibid.* 875).

Châmarâja Wodeyar was a libéral patron of letters.

The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (1623) speaks of his treasury as hâving been intended for the relief of poets and scholars (*kavi-budhârtim yasya kôéasya pûrtih*)⁹³ He is said to hâve also afforded shelter in his court to learned men from various quarters and reared up the tree of learning.⁹⁴ Himself a person of taste, he was, we note,⁹⁵ a connoisseur of literary merit, skilled in the appréciation of poetry.

Kannaḍa literature flourished under Châniarâja's patronage. Eâmachandra, a protégé of his (*Châmarâja-bhûvara-prôtsâhita-nâda*), wrote the *Aéva-êâstra*⁹⁶ (c. 1625), a rendering, in colloquial Kannaḍa, of èâlihôtra's treatise on horses. The work begins with invocation to Gaṇḗéa, Krishṇa and Nârâyaṇa. It is written in 18 chapters dealing with the physical constitution and the âge of horses, method of worshipping them during the Mahânavami festival and the treatment of their diseases. Another protégé of Châmarâja Wodeyar, Padmaṇṇa Paṇḍita, son of Dêparasa, a Jain Âyurvêdic scholar (*Âyurvêda-budha*), wrote the *Hayasâra-Samuchchaya*^m (1627), a compendium of the science of horses. It is a

93. E. C. Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., Md. 156, 11. 1-2.

94. Chikkadévarâja-Dharanîramandḥyudayah, I I I, 15 :

*Digbhyô budhṇupagatânadhigatya sadyô
lidjâ cha samsadi nijâsana-mâsasâda *

Vidyâlata nâiu vivrḍdhimupaitu . . . ||

95. *Ibid.*, I I I, 17:

*Éabḍḍrtha bhḍvarachandgurîja vṛtti riti
Vyangyddi vaibhava bhinna rasêpi Jcdvyê *
*Sdrasvatdmrtarasam rasikah, kavltulm
Sangrahya samsadi rarḍja sa rḍjahamsah \ ;*

also *Kamalâchala-Mdhḍtmya* (c. 1680), I, 97: *Sarasakâlânîpunâte vettu.*

96. Mss. Nos. B. 227 and 997—P; *Mys. Or. Lib.* ; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, I I - 367-368.

97. Ms. No. K. 424—P L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.* ; in *Grantha* characters. See also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, I I. 368-369.

poetical work, in 20 chapters, written in the Kannada *kanda* mètre (*Karnâta kanda padyagalindam*). It begins with invocation to Jina and treats, among others, of the shape and sex of horses and the treatment of their diseases. Ascribed to Châmarâja Wodeyar himself, are two works extant, namely, *Brahmôtvara-Khanda*⁹⁸ (c. 1630) and *C'hâmarâjôkti-Vilasa*TM (c. 1635). The *Brahmôtvara-Khanda*—also known as *Maniprakâsa-Vachana*¹⁰⁰—is a prose work, in colloquial Kannaḍa, in 22 chapters. It commences with invocation to êambhu and deals with the philosophy and ritualism of Saivism—as expounded in the *Skanda-Purâna*—in the form of illustrative stories of a didactic character. The other work, *Châmarâjôkti' Vilâsa*—after Châmarâja Wodeyar—is a popular Hosagannada prose version, in 7 parts, of Valimki's *Râmayanam*, and begins with invocation to Vishvaksëna and Gaṇëṣa. From a manuscript of this work, it would appear, Châmarâja Wodeyar got it written in his name by a scholar, named Virûpâksha, for the enduring benefit of mankind.¹⁰¹

Among other contemporaries of Châmarâja Wodeyar we find mention made of Bommaṇṇa-kavi of êravaṇa, Beḷagoḷa, in a lithic record,¹⁰² although no works of his have so far come down to us. Nanjanâtha was a scholar of Châmarâja's court, under whose direction Nṛsimha, a pupil of his and son of Gajâranya-Nṛsimha-Paurânika,

98. Pub. V. B. Subbairya & Sons, Baugalore, 1897 ; see also M s. No. 291—P. L. *Mya. Or. Lib.* ; and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 861.

99. Pub. Rudrappa & Sons, Bangalore, 1894, 1895. See also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 360-361. A Ms. of this work (No. 65—P. L. ; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), dealing with the Sundarakânda, is dated October 12, 1643 (*Svabhānu, Kartika su.* 10—see ff. 33), from which it would seem, either the writing of the work was extended over a number of years after Châmarâja's death or a copy of a portion of it was made in 1643.

100. Ms. No. 18. 3-10—P. L. ; *Mad. Or. Lib.* ; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, I. o.

101. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 360, f.n. 1 :

Vdm.iki-rmunind-prôktaàriTnad-Iidmdyanaṣya cha |
 Karuḍa-bhd8hayâ tikâm kdrayishyan nṛpôtamah||
 Lôkndmupakdrâya Virûpâkshëna dhîmaid |
 Vidushd krtavân samyak pratijnâm Chamabhupatih||

102. E. C, II SB. 250 (1634).

composed the *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (January 1623),¹⁰⁸ in Kannaḍa and Sanskrit. What other works hé wrote is not known,

Châmarâja Wodeyar had five queens, Muddâjamma of Yeḷandùr, Djyviramma of Bilugali, Domestic life. Siddâjamma of Mûgûr, Channâjamma of Mûḍaṇa-kôṭe and Doḍḍâjamma of Sindhuvalḷi.¹⁰⁴ He is said¹⁰⁵ to hâve had issues which, however, seem to hâve died in their infancy. At the instance of his principal queen, Muddâjamma, Châmarâja Wodeyar, in 1633, is stated¹⁰⁶ to hâve got constructed in her name a bathing-ghât in the pond at Mēlkôṭe, for the convenience of pilgrims during the Vaira-muḍi and Brahmôtsavam festivals.

Among other members of the Royal Family, Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarâja Wodeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Râja Wodeyar, seem to hâve been living in peace and quiet, with their sons, in Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇâmbi and Yeleyûr, respectively, during the greater part of Châmarâja's reign, especially after their pilgrimage to sacred places.¹⁰⁷ A lithic record, dated July 31, 1625,¹⁰⁸ refers to the érection

103. *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 156 (Af. A. B., 1908, p. 23, para 75), ll. 68-69 :

Gaj&raṇya'Nr&imhâkhya-Paurânikâ-autô likhit |
Nanjind tha-budhachchâ trô
Nrsimha-stâmrasâdsanam

Nanjinâtha (Nanjanâthaiya), mentioned in the record, seem s to hâve belonged to the Royal Family.

104. *Annahy* I. 60; see also *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 61.

105. See *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 469) which speaks of Châmarâja as having had sons, one of whom was named Dēvarâja (*Dēvardjam modaldda kumdraram padedu*). The *Armais* and the *Mys. Dho, Pur.* are silent on this point.

106. *Annals*, I. 60.

107. *Ante* Ch. V; *vide* also *Annals*, I. 50, 55-56 and 65. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 288.

108. *E. C. III* (1) Sr. 117 : é. 1547, *Krôdhana, Sravana su. 7*. Dēvarâja is referred to in this record as the son of Châmarâja Wodeyar ôf Mysore, the latter being, of course, identical with Bôja-Châmarâja Wodeyar (1572-1576).

of a maṅṭapa in Arakere by [Muppina] Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

Châmarâj Wodeyar died on May 2, 1637,¹⁰⁹ in his thirty-fifth year, his queens, it is said,¹¹⁰ committing *sati*.
 Death, May 2, 1637.

It is, indeed, to the crédit of Chamarâja Wodeyar that he appears more prominently in the records of his own period of rule than does his predecessor, Râja Wodeyar.

Châmarâja Wodeyar in history and tradition.

Cut off in the middle of a most promising career, his influence on the génération of writers immediately following his death, while not considérable, was not altogether negligible. Although unfortunately there is no référence to Châmarâja in the *Kaṇṭhṛava-Narasarâja-Vijayam* (1648), the memories of his court and rule are preserved in ail their freshness in the other literary works of the seventeenth century. In particular, to Tirumalârya, in the *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali* and the *Chikkadēvarâja-Vijayam*, Châmarâja appears essentially as an epic hero with a record of uninterrupted course of military campaigns to his crédit. So impressed were Tirumalârya and his contemporaries (like Chikkupâdhyâya, Chidânanda, etc.) with Châmarâja's achievements and the dazzling splendour and culture of his court, that we find a strong contemporary flavour in their works while depicting them. Châmarâja Wodeyar's rule is further echoed in some of the inscriptional records

109. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 44 and 55: *Isvara, Vaisakha ba. 3*. See also *Annals*, I. 62. Bhaskara (c. 1650), in his *Behara-ganita*, mentions the death of Châmarâja Wodeyar in s. 1559 (1637) (see *Kar, Ka. Cha.*, II. 375). Cf. *Mya. Raj. Cha.* (22) which places Châmarâja's death in *lêvara, Vaiédkha eu.* 15 (April 28, 1637). Wilks (I. 55) also dates the death in 1687. Of Dêvaohandra (*Raj. Kath.*, XII. 467-470), fixing Châmarâja's death in December 1683 and the period of his raie between 1616-1688, which it is hard to accept; nor is there any evidence for his statement (*Ibid.* 875) that there were hostile incursions, famines and other public calamities during the reign.

110. *Annals*. I. o.

of the eighteenth century,¹¹¹ while the chroniclers (of the 18th and 19th centuries) corroborate and supplement the earlier sources in regard to various aspects of his reign.

A study of these materials enables us to form some estimate of Châmarâja Wodeyar as an historical character. Young and energetic, with a fairly well developed constitution, Châmarâja Wodeyar thoroughly impressed his contemporaries as a warrior and as a ruler. Though he generally conducted his campaigns with the assistance of his Daļavâi, there were also occasions when he appears to have personally led the army on the field. His conquests were, as a rule, guided by the policy, of aggression—a policy which was a sheer necessity in the case of a kingdom like Mysore, in view of the unsettled political conditions of the times and the existence of hostile neighbours by whom Mysore was then surrounded. His loyalty to the Vijayanâgar Empire was unshaken, although his local contemporaries seemed to regard the assumption of independence by him as eminently justified from a purely local point of view. Already, by the close of his reign, the kingdom of Mysore, so strenuously extended by him, was on the point of becoming a bulwark in the south against the powers hostile to the Vijayanâgar Empire. Slowly and steadily, the political centre of gravity in the Karnâtak was being shifted from Penukonda to Seringapatam. So that Seringapatam, though seemingly lost to the Empire in 1610, was fast becoming, though indirectly, a gain to the latter in her crisis. The conquests and annexations of Châmarâja Wodeyar, as Wilks observes,¹¹² naturally meant distress

111. *E. C.*, III (1) T.N. 63 (1748) II. 36-87; IV (2) yd. 17 (1761), II, 22-28. Most of the inscriptions of the latter part of the 17th century and the earlier part of the 18th [*Like E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 of 1686 and 64 of 1722] pay a good deal of attention to the tracing of the descent of ChikkadêvarSja Wodeyar from the Une of Muppina-Dêvarâja Wodeyar. Hence they are conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the rulers who followed in the wake of Râja Wodeyar. We have noted the exceptions here.

112. I.

55.

and loss of independence to the neighbouring Pâlegârs, but at the same time they appear to have heralded a change for the better to the subjects who, freed from their vexatious régime, were brought under the more settled and orderly government of the Viceroy-king of Seringapatam and his agents.

The drastic punishment inflicted by Châmarâja Wodeyar on Bettada-Arasu, his first Dalavâi, despite the latter's services to the cause of the kingdom during his (Châmarâja's) minority, may not, perhaps, be viewed with favour by posterity. But it is to be remembered that Châmarâja Wodeyar was not oblivious of the Dalavâi's services and that in awarding the punishment he seems to have been guided more by the larger political interests of the hour than personal spite or hatred.

The pious and tolérant ruler he was, Châmarâja Wodeyar adhered strictly to the standards of Râja Wodeyar. The différent religions (Brâhmanical, Jaina and Viraéaiva) flourished under him. As an accomplished scholar of his âge, he liberally encouraged learning and the arts. Particularly Kannaða literature received a remarkable impetus from the keen personal interest he seems to have evinced in its development. Regarded alike from the political and cultural points of view, Châmarâja Wodeyar is entitled to a unique place in history as a " Maker of Mysore."



Immađı-Râja Wođeyar, 1637-1638.

CHAPTER VII.

IMMAḌI RÂJA WODEYAR, 1637-1638.

Birth, accession and identity—Siège of Arkalgud, c. 1638—
 Immadi Raja Wodey Rule—Religion and domestic life—
 Death, October 8, -16.8—Political position of Mysore,
 1638.

ON MAY 14, 1637, the thirteenth day after the death of Châmarâja Woḍeyar, Immaḍi-Râja Woḍeyar (Râja Woḍeyar II), the youngest and last son of Râja Woḍeyar, succeeded to the throne of Mysore.¹ He was born on May 26, 1612, and was in his twenty-fifth year at the time of his accession.³ He is referred to in literary

Birth, accession
and identity.

1. See *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I. 44 ; II. 66), referring to *îvara, Vaisakha ba. 80* as the date of Immadi-Râja Wodeyar's accession. Cf. *Mys. Raj. Cha.* (22), placing the accession on the very day of Châmarâja's death ; *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 470), fixing it in December 1688; *AnnaU* (1.62-68), according to which Immadi-Râja Wodeyar had been installed on the throne, by Châmarâja Wodeyar, on *Isvara, Vaisakha su. 15* (April 28, 1637, i.e. three days before Châmarâja's death). Wilks (I. 56) merely dates the accession of "Immaḍee Raj" in 1687. The authority of the earliest Ms. (i.e. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*) is to be preferred here as the more specific in regard to the date of accession, although it seems not impossible that Immadi-Râja Woḍeyar had been formally desired, a few days before Châmarâja's death, to succeed the latter.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 83, 44 (compare) : *Parldhvi, Jyêspha eu. 7*, Tuesday. See also *C. Vam.* (81-82), according to which Immadi-Râja Wodeyar, the fourth and last son (*kiriyanager*) of Râja Wodeyar, was in his boyhood at the time of the latter's death (1617). The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 28) merely refers to Immaḍli-Râja Wodeyar as the son of Râja Wodeyar and uncle of Châmarâja Wodeyar ; the *Mys. Raj. Cha.* (22) mentions him as the son of Râja Woḍeyar by his youngest wife ; and the *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 470), as the son of Râja Wodeyar. Cf. Wilks (I. 66), referring to Immaḍli-Râja Wodeyar as "the posthumous son of Râja Wodeyar," who "ascended the Musnud in his 20th year on the death of his nephew Cham Baj." The *AnnaU* (I. 49-50, 68) also speaks of Immadi-Râja Wodeyar as the posthumous son of Râja Wodeyar, fixing his birth on December 7, 1617 (*Paingala, Margatira ba. 6*), i.e., about six months after Râja Woḍeyar's death. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, the authority of the earliest available sources (i.e. *Mys. Dho. Pur.* and *C. Vam.*) is preferred here.

works and inscriptions (17th-18th centuries) as 'Immaḍi-Bajarasa,' 'Immaḍi-Bâjodeyar,' 'Immaḍi-Râja' and 'Immaḍi-Râjarâṭ'.³

Daḷavâi Vikrama-Râya continued in office under Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar. Perhaps the only political event of importance during the reign was the siége of Arkalgûḍ in or about 1638. The siége, it is said, was successfully conducted by Vikrama-Râya who exacted tribute from Krishṇappa Nâyaka, the chief of the place, and returned to Seringapatam with the spoils of war.⁴

Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar appears to have been a promising ruler. His prowess is echoed in literary works and inscriptions.⁵ The short period of his rule was remarkable for its popularity and vigour, and for the continued maintenance of the traditions of his predecessors.⁶ As a centre of culture, his court was reputed for its magnificence.⁷

Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar, as we find him depicted,⁸ was an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu, ever engaged in listening to and enjoying the devotional literature of the Vaishṇava faith. He had two queens, Venkatâjamma of Heggadḍêvankôṭe (Kôṭe) and Nanjamma of Maddûr, by whom he is said to have had no issue.⁹

Religion and domestic life.

3. See C. Vam., 32, 36, C. Vi., II, 86-86, referring to Immaḍi-Râja as 'Irmadi-Râja'; Kamald. Mahât., I, 98; Munivam., II, 68; Rajoḍeyara kiriyamugardfanmadirRâjodeyar; B.C., III (1) TN. 63 (1749), 1. 38; IV (2) Yd. 17 (1761), 1. 24, etc. See also Tables II and III.

4. Armais, I. 63; Baj. Kath., XII. 470; Mys. Raj. Cha., 22; cf. Mys. Dho. Vam., ff. 28.

B. Vidé f.n. 3 supra.

6. C. Vam., 36; also Mys. Dho, Vam., ff. 28; Mys. Raj. Cha., 22-28; Annota, 1.68-64.

7. Mys. Raj. Cha. and Annals, I.c.

8. C. Vam., I.c.: *Paramapurushana charanaravinda-dvandva-sandarsana-sravana-kirtanâdirbh^ktrirasa-paripdka-bhêc^ttnam nichchanigegeydu,*

9. AmdU, I. 63; see also Mys. Dho. Pûr., I, 62.

Immadi-Raja Wodeyar died on October 8, 1638,¹⁰ in his twenty-seventh year, after a reign of nearly an year and a half, his queens, it is said,¹¹ observing *sati*. His death is said¹² to have been brought about by a poisonous mixture (*visha-chûrṇa*) administered to him—during his indisposition—by the court physician, under the influence of Daḷavâi Vikrama-Bâya. There seems little doubt that the Daḷavâi was led into the perpétration of this treacherous deed, perhaps by motives of usurpation or assertion of independence against his young, and probably too energetic, master.¹³

Though Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar was thus victimised by the Daḷavâi's intrigue in the very prime of his life, it is to his crédit that he was able to leave behind him a powerful and compact kingdom—a rich political héritage to the next génération of rulers of Mysore.

Political position
of Mysore, 1638.

10. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 44, 66 : *Bahudhanya*, *Asvija su.* 11. See also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 29; of *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 28 : *Bahudhanya*, *Âévîja su.* 15 (October 12, 1088); *Annals*, I. 64 : *Ibid*; *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 470), placing the death in May 1685 I

11. *Annals*, i. c

12. *Annals*, I. 68; *Raj. Kath.*, 1 e; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 46-47; see also *Wilks*, I. 56. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 28) merely refers to Immaḍi-Raja Wodeyar's death as due to Dalavai Vikrama-Bâya's treachery (*Dalavaya Vikrama-Rayana kutiloyadinda*).

13. See also and compare *Wilks*, 1.67.

CHAPTER VIII.

KĀNTHIRĀVA-NĀRĀSĀRĀJĀ WODEYAR I, 1638-1659.

Lineal descent—Birth and early life—Accession—Political situation—General course of affairs—Political Development: *First Phase*: 1639-1641—Relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1639 : the siège of Seringapatam, January 1639 ; gēnerai causes—The demand for tribute and after—Composition of the Bijapur and Mysore armies—Position of the besieging army—The siège, January 18-20, 1639—The truce, January 21, 1639—Ranadulla Khan's return, February 1639—Importance of the event—Retrospect of affairs, 1640—Acquisition of Ramagiri-durga, etc., c. July-August 1640—Renewed attempts of Bijapur on Seringapatam, December 1640-March 1641—*Second Phase*: 1641-1647—Mysore and the south : the siège of Maratahalli, March 1641—The retaliation, 1642—Acquisition of Samballi, etc., 1641-1642—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1643—Relations with local powers : gēnerai political position, down to 1644—Annexation of Hampapura, April 1644—Siège of Palupare, January 1645—Siège of Piriapatna, c. January-October 1645—Annexation of Piriapatna, etc., 1645-1646—Renewed relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1646—Action at Turuvekere c. December 1646-January 1647 : death of Dalavai Nanjarajaiya, January 1647—Acquisition of Basavapatna, May 1647—Ikkeri and Mysore : Sivappa Nayaka I's embassy to Mysore, September 1647—*Third Phase*: 1647-1650—General course of political affairs, a retrospect—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1650—Acquisition of Hebbur, April 1650—*Fourth Phase* : 1650-1654—Further relations with Vijayanagar : Emperor Sri-Ranga in Mysore, c. 1650-1653—Kanthirava's local position, minor acquisitions, etc., 1650-1652—Further relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1652-1653—Bijapur and Madura vs. Mysore, 1654—*Fifth Phase* : 1654-1659—



Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I, 1638-1659.

General course of affairs—Relations with Madura, 1655. 1659; Mysorean invasion of Madura, o. 1655-1657—Counter-invasion by Madura, c. 1657-1659—Oriticism of Proenza—Relations with Ikkeri, 1657-1659—Political position of Mysore, 1659.

ON THE death of Imma<jii-Bâja Wodeyar without issue, direct descent in the line of Râja Wodeyar came to an end. Reference has been made, in the preceding chapters, to Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dêvarâja Wodeyar, two of the surviving sons of Bôla-Châmarâja Wodeyar (1572-1576). Bettada-Châmarâjâ Wodeyar was, as we have seen,¹ a younger brother of Râja Wodeyar; and Muppina-Dêvarâja Wodeyar was a half-brother (*bhinnôdara sahôdara*) of his. Bettada-Châmarâja is said to have had two sons, Timmarâja Wodeyar, by Lingâjamma of Bâgali, and Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, by Guruvâjamma (Guruvâmbâ) of Hura²; Muppina-Dêvarâja had five, Yeleyûr Dêparâja Wodeyar, by his first wife Dêvâjamma, and Doddadêvarâja Wodeyar, Chikkadêvarâja-Wodeyar, Kempadêvarâja Wodeyar and Maridêvarâja Wodeyar, by the second, Kempamma (Kempamâmbâ).³ Bettada-Châmarâja and Muppina-Dêvarâja being in their old âge, as already indicated,⁴ it was but in the natural order of things that the heirs of the former should first succeed to the throne of Mysore. Timmarâja Wodeyar, the first son of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, had, however, it would seem, predeceased his father, so that the next immédiate claimant in the line of Bettada-Châmarâja was his second son, Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar.

1. *Ante*, Chs. IV and V ; *Vide also* Tables II-IV.

2. *Annals*, I.17-18.

3. *Vide Appendix IV--(1) and Tables II-IV (compare)..*

4. *Ante*, Chs. V and VI.

Kanṭhīrava-Narasaorâja Wodeyâr was born on May 2, 1615, on the Nṛsimha-Jayanti day, under the constellation *Svâti*.⁵ In his birth and early life, he was, we learn,⁶ brought up along with Nanjarâjaiya (Nanjendra) and Lingarâjaiya (Lingendra), sons of his maternal uncle, Kemparâjaiya (Kempa-Bhûpa) of Hura, and was trained with them in horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery (*turaga dērâta, gajârdhana . . . dhanurvêda*) and the use of various kinds of weapons, such as the spear, lance, dagger, club, sword and discus (*sânga bhalleya baku hingade kathâri . . . chakrâyudha*). Kanṭhīrava is said to have passed his youth in Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇâmbi with his father, Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar.⁷ During this period, he is reputed to have had a thrilling adventure. A pious Brôhman, while on his return journey from a pilgrimage to Râmêévaram, it is said,⁸ casually mentioned to him that there was a champion at the court of the chief of Trichinopoly, who, over-confident of his strength, had proclaimed a gênerai challenge against ail his antagonists. Kanṭhīrava, with ail the ardour of a young man, at once secretly proceeded thither, accompanied by the Brâhman. Disguised as a professional wrestler, he effected his entrance into the fort of Trichinopoly, whose chief welcomed him to an open combat with his champion. In the feat which followed, Kanṭhīrava so adroitly conducted his movements that he was soon, without the knowledge of his spectators, able to outmanœuvre his opponent and pierce his neck through with

5. *Mys.Dho. Pûr.*, 1.45: *Rakshasa, Vaisakha su.* 14; *Annals*, l. 65, 90; *E, C, III* (1) Nj. 198 (1639) l. 41: *Mahâjayantam*; Sr. 103 (1647), 11. 86-37 *Nrsimhah-punarapi-divase* ; V (2) Ag. 64 (1647), p. 768 (Text) : *Mase Madhavanamakê éubhatarê Svatyam site pakshakê*; K. N. V., (1648), IV, 62, 65-67. The inscriptional and literary références point to the strong influence of Vaishṇava tradition on the Mysore Royal Family during the seventeenth century.

6. K. N. F., IV, 76-79, 84-66.

7. See *Annula*, I, 66.

8. *Ibid.*, I, 66-67 ; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 57-58.

his broad-sword Coamed *Vijaya-Nàrasimha*) which he had secreted in his waist. Meantime the entire court was watching with bated breath the issue of the contest; but were taken aback when they saw the head of the local champion roll down on its being merely touched by Kaṅṭhīrava at the point of his staff. The chief of Trichinopoly was about to reward the victor of the day but Kaṅṭhīrava, disdainful of honours, quietly left the place for Terakaṅṅāmbi the very same night, leaving a placard on the fort-wall to the effect that the feat of arms had been performed by some one from Mysore. On his return journey, Kaṅṭhīrava is said to have come across a pillar of slate-stone and so dexterously cut it asunder that the sharpness of the blade of his broadsword was by no means lost in the attempt.⁹ These exploits, apart from their traditional glamour, are quite in keeping with the early training of Kaṅṭhīrava, and serve to give us some insight into his character and attainments on the eve of his accession.

Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on November 22, 1638, in his twenty-fourth year, a month and a half after the death of Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar.¹⁰ During the intervening period Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya is said to have actually usurped the State.¹¹ There is a tradition that Kaṅṭhīrava assumed the reins of office after the assassination of Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya.¹²

9. *Ibid.*, I. 67; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 29.

10. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 51 : *Bahudhanya, Kārtika* ba. 12, Thursday (November 22, 1638); see also Appendix IV—(2). Cf. *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 470), fixing Kanthirava's accession in May 1635!; *Annals*, I. 65: *Bahudhanya, Kārtika* su. 2 (October 28, 1638). The *Annals* (l.c.) speaks also of the adoption of Kaṅṭhīrava by Timmājamma, the junior dowager queen of Rāja Wodeyar, and his installation at Seringapatam, on one and the same day. Cf. also S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (p. 289), adopting this view. The authority of the earlier Ms. is, as usual, preferred here.

11. *Ibid.*, I. 45-61; see also Appendix *Ibid.*, for details.

12. *Ibid.*; see also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 30; *Raj. Kath.*, l.o. The *Mys. Raj. Cha.* is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to this tradition. Wilks closely follows the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* and he is accepted in the main by S. K. Aiyangar (see Appendix *Ibid.*).

According to another tradition, Kanthirava, shortly after his accession, deprived Dalavâi Vikrama-Râya of his office (for having brought about the death by poison, of Immadi-Râja Wodeyar) and inflicted capital punishment on him and his accomplices.¹³ Neither of these traditions has, however, so far been corroborated. On the other hand, from a lithic record on a pedestal in front of the monolithic bull (*Doḍḍa-Bāsava*) in the Nanjuṇḍēvara temple at Nanjangūḍ, we find that on January 11, 1644, Dalavâi Vikrama-Râya, a son of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar of Mysore, set up the pedestal thereto as a devotional offering.¹⁴ It seems obvious from this record, that Dalavâi Vikrama-Râya was actually alive as late as 1644. If, according to the traditionary accounts, he was slain or capital punishment had been inflicted on him in] 638, it becomes inconceivable how he could live on till 1644 to perform the service in the temple at Nanjangūḍ according to the indubitable evidence of the lithic inscription. It appears, therefore, probable that Vikrama-Râya was dismissed from service on the accession of

13. *Annals*, I. 67-68.

14. *B.C.*, III (1) Nj. 9: Text in the original, p. 315:

1. *Subhamastu svasti sri-vijayabhyu*
2. *daya-Sâlivâhana-saka-varusa 1565 san*
3. *da vartamanavada Svabhanu sam*
4. *vatsarada Maga-suda 12 Guruvadaralu Mai*
6. *sûra-Chamaraja-Wodeyaravara kumâra Da*
6. *lavayi.Vikrama-Rayana sève ||*

S. 1566, *Svabhanu, Magha su.* 12 corresponds to January 11, 1644. Perhaps by a slip, Rice, in transliterating and translating this inscription, refers to Dajavâi Vikrama-Râya as the son of 'Maisur-Râja-Vageyar' [*Ibid.*, p. 184 (transliteration); p. 96 (translation)], and this seems tacitly accepted by S. K. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*, p. 288, f.n. 1. From the original text of the inscription, however, it is clear that Dajavâi Vikrama-Râya was the son of Châmarâja Wodeyar of Mysore, identical with Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, younger brother of Râja Wodeyar. This would corroborate the *Annals* that Vikrama-Râya was a naturel son (*gandharva-putra*) of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar (see Appendix III). The *Annals* (I. 61) also speaks of the setting up of the bull with an inscription on its pedestal by Vikrama-Râya, in January 1635, during the reign of Châmarâja Wodeyar V (1617-1637). But from the above document we note that the pedestal was actually put up by him in January 1644.

Kaṅṭhīrava in November 1638 and allowed to réside in some part of Mysore during the rest of his life, although it is not impossible that he continued to call himself by his former désignation of Daḷavâi. In succession to Vikrama-Râya, Timmarâjaiya was appointed Daḷavâi on November 26, 1638,¹⁵ and Kaṅṭhīrava began his rule in Seringapatam, the earliest record referring to him as king being the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant* (April 1639),¹⁶

Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was a contemporary of Venkaṭa II (1633 ?-1642) and éri-olitical situation. Ranga VI (1642-1664?-1681) of Vijayanagar, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijâpur (1627-1656), Vīrabhadra Nâyaka (1629-1645) and Śivappa Nâyaka I (1645-1660) of Ikkêri, Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Mâgaḍi (1569-1655) and Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura (c. 1623-1659), among others. It was a critical period in the history of India in gênerai and of Karnâṭaka in particular, when Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar succeeded to the throne of Mysore. The Mughal Empire, gradually encroaching upon the south ever since the reign of Akbar, had already secured a foothold in that région by the consolidation of the conquered provinces into a viceroyalty under the désignation of "Deccan." Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍa, the two Shâhi kingdoms of the south,

15. *Annals*, I. 68; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 66. The former mentions the name of the Daḷavâi as Timmappa Nâyaka while the latter as Timmapparâjaiya. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 38), however, refers to the name as Timmarâjaiya, which reading is preferably followed here. Cf. *K. N. F.*, IV, 100-106. In the poetical language of this contemporary work (1648), Nanjarâjaiya of Hura is made to appear as having been appointed Daḷavâi by Kanthīrava soon after his (Kanthīrava's) installation. The poem itself being, as we shall see, written at the instance of Dajavâi Nanjarâjaiya (1640-1647), the poet, Gôvinda-Vaidya, is to be understood to convey here Nanjarâjaiya's succession to office in 1640 and not the appointment of the first Daḷavâi of Kanthīrava. The poet also describes and eulogises Nanjarâjaiya's exploits early in the reign of Kanthīrava, i.e., 1639-1640, when he was not actually the Dajavâi. Obviously, while Timmarâjaiya was the first Daḷavâi of Kanthīrava in succession to Vikrama-Râya, Nanjarâjaiya of Hura also seems to have played an active part in the events of the period, as the king's relation and right-hand man, till his own appointment as Dajavâi in 1640,

16. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 198.

remained, however, unconquered. Between the Mughal Empire and these powers the Deccan formed, as it were, a debatable ground. In May-June 1636, Shah Jahân had concluded a partition treaty with Adil Shah and Qutb Shah, defining the boundaries of the respective powers. As a result of this, the advance of the Shâhi kingdoms further northwards was arrested, leaving them, however, unrestricted scope for expansion in the south and the east for a period extending nearly to two décades (1637-1656). Almost simultaneously, the European nations in India were progressing slowly but steadily in their commercial enterprise while the Empire of Vijayanagar, under Venkaṭa I I, was already in the throes of dissolution due to the slackening of central control and the domestic and other difficulties of the ruling dynasty. Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura was asserting his independence; Vīrabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkēri was encroaching on the territories of the neighbouring Pālegârs of Sôde, Bijigi and Tarikere; and Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Mâgaḍi, steadfast as ever in his loyalty to the Empire, was administering his principality, keeping' at bay the insurgent chiefs in his neighbourhood. The situation was eminently suited for the ambitious schemes of Bijâpur and Gôlkonda, the central and southern Karnâtak being the most promising field to the former and the eastern and south-eastern portions to the latter.¹⁷

Between December 1637-January 1638, encouragea

General course of
affaire.

by the petty differences between Vīrabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkēri and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nâyaka (Kenge Nâyak) of Basavâpaṭiḷa and incited by the latter's intrigues, the Bijâpur army, under Raṇadullâ Khân (Rustam-i-Zâmân), laid siêge to and destroyed Ikkēri. Vīrabhadra Nâyaka sought refuge in Kaule-durga (Bhuvanagiri-durga) and

17. *Mys. Gaz.*, I I . iii. 2869-2870; J. Sarkar's article, *Shahji Bhônslé in Mysorey in the M.R.*, July 1929, pp. 7-12; *Ke. N. F.*, VI. 96, 96, etc.

ultimately concluded a truce with Raṇadullâ Khaṛii: Having Hanumappa Nâyaka in the forefront and reinforced by the levies of local chieftains in the country, Raṇadullâ Khân next proceeded with his army on a regular and well-organised campaign in the Kamatak. Sîra was taken by Afzal Khân and its chief, Kaṣṭûri-Ranga, put to death during an interview. Turuvêkere and Tumkûr were ravaged, the chief of the latter place taking to flight panic-stricken. The advancing army next entered the Morasa-nâḍu, encamping near êivaganga. The fort of Bangalore was taken from Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa who retreated to Mâgaḍi leaving his son a hostage in the hands of Raṇadullâ Khân. Placing Shâhji—a brother of êivâji—a second in command, in charge of Bangalore, Raṇadullâ Khân proceeded further south. Reinforced by the levies of the Morasa chief tains, he next took Râmagiri-durga where he held a review of his forces. About the end of 1638, he advanced towards Channapaṭṇa with eventual designs on Seringapatam.¹⁸

The first event of importance early in the reign of Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, hardly two months after his accession, was an invasion of Mysore and the siège of Seringapatam by the Bijâpur forces under Raṇadullâ Khân. About the middle of January 1639, Raṇadullâ Khân encamped near Seringapatam.¹⁹ Although exaction of tribute from Mysore or annexation of Seringapatam to Bijâpur was, according to the gênerai programme, the

Political Develop-
ment:

First Phase : 1639-
1641.

Relations between
Mysore and Bijâpur,
1639: the siège of
Seringapatam, Janu-
ary 1639; gênerai
causes.

18. For the gênerai références on this section, see *K. N. V.*, XI, 1-80; *C. Vam.*, 85; *C. Vi.*, II, 90-100; *Ke. N. V.*, VI, 96-98; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 38-36; *Annals*, I, 72; cf. *Baj. Kath.*, XII, 470. See also and compare *Muhammad-Ndmh* used by Sarkar in *Ibid.*, p. 9.

19. *The Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I, 52) places the event in January-February 1689: *Bahudhanya, Pushya-Mggha ba.* The *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, (ff. 85-86) seems speciûcally to date the siège itself between *Bahudhanya, Pushya ba.* 8 (Friday) and *Pushya ba.* 11 (Monday). The *tithis* actually correspond to , January 1649, 1689 (Wednesday to Saturday), (*Ind. Eph.*, VI, 80.) The

objective of the Khân's advance thither,⁹⁰ the attention of Bijâpur towards Mysore had been, in the main, directed by the intrigues of Channaiya of Nâgamangala, a turbulent feudatory, who had, it is said, taken up service under Muhatnæad Adil Shah as a Mansabdâr of 200 horse and accompanied Raṇadullâ Khân to the south.²¹

Before commencing opérations, however, Raṇadullâ Khân sent word to Kaṇṭhîrava-Narasaraṇja Woḍeyar, demanding payment of tribute to Bijâpur.²² Kaṇṭhîrava stoutly refused to accède to the demand, sent back the Khân's messengers and hastened the préparations for the defence of the capital. On this, Raṇadullâ Khân resolved upon the siège of Seringapatam.²³ In vain did Kenge-Hanumappa Nâyaka remonstrate with him to give up his project and make peace.²⁴ Heedless of the advice, Raṇadullâ Khân persisted, and directed the commencement of the assault,²⁶ While Kaṇṭhîrava ordered a gênerai mobilisation of his forces and endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the enemy.²⁶

The investing army consisted of a miscellaneous rabble ranging from 40 to 50 thousand horse, 3 to 4 lakhs foot and between 500 to 1,000 éléphants.²⁷ It was made up of

Composition of the Bijâpur and Mysore armies.

week-days mentioned, however, correspond to January 18-21, 1639 (*Ibid*), which is preferred here as the more probable date. As is well known, local chronicles and mémoire hardly err in regard to week-days, though they are sometimes not exact in respect of *tithis*. The *Annal*» (I. 73-75) follow the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* The *Muhammad-Namah* places the event, roughly, in 1639 [*vide* Appendix IV—(3)]. *Wilks* (I. 59) merely dates it in the Ôrst year of Kaṇṭhîrava's accession. Although the siège itself took place between the 18th and 31st of January 1689, it was, as we shall see, preceded by certain preliminaries, for which an interval of 8-4 daya has to be allowed and the arrival itself of Raṇadullâ Khân at Seringapatam fixed about the middle of January,

30. See *K. N. V.*, XI, 6770; XII, 93-93.

31. *Armaid*, I, 78; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 85.

23. *K. N. F.*, XII, 89-99; see also XI, 111-180, referring to the preliminary arrangements for the defence of Seringapatam.

24. *Ibid*, XIII, 12-14. 25. *Ibid*, 44; *C. Vam.*, 35; *C. Vi.*, I I, 101.

25. *Ibid*, 45-47; *C. Vam.*, Le.; *C. Fi.*, I I, 101-103. 36. *Ibid*, 48-50.

27. See *K. N. V.*, XI, 11, 107; XII, 12, 69; XVI, 5; *C. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, I I,

28 (compare); see also and compare *Annals*, I, 78; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 30.

two divisions : the original Bijâpur army, under the direct command of Ranadullâ Khan himself, and the levies of Karnâjak chieftains led by Kenge-Hanumappa Nâyaka (of Basavâpatṇa).²⁸ The Mysore army was mostly composed of the levies of the tributary chiefs of Hura, Channapatna, Maddûr, Satyâgâla, Heggaddêvankôte, Channarâyapatṇa, Kikkëri, Bûkankere, Piriypatṇa, Talakâḍ, Maḷavaḷli and Nâgamangala, besides the forces raised by the officers in charge of Seringapatam and Mysore.²⁹

The major portion of the Karnâtak forces halted on the southern bank of the Cauvery, with Hanumappa Nâyaka at their head ; the Morasas and the chief of Bêlûr, in particular, took up a convenient position on the northern

Position of the besieging army.

28. *Ibid.*, Chs. XI and XII : Among the générais, said to have commanded the different divisions of the main army under the Muslim generalissimo, were, Parât Khân, Kairiti Khân, Balavant Khân, Mustafâ Khân, Abdullâ (Afzal) Khân, Akalâs Khân, Ambar Khân, Siddirahima, Vêdôji, Kâghava-Pangita, Ankuéa Khân, Siddi-Malliok Khân of Shôlâpur, Adam Khân, Jilahr Khân, Muhammad Khân and Futteh Khân [XI, 88-97 ; XII, 48-66 (compare)J. Among the Karnâtak chiefs—under Hanumappa Nâyaka—who are said to have contributed their quota, were those of Harapanahalli, Sondûr, Guçligôtê, Râyadurga, Hatti (under Yellappa Nâyaka), Kundurupe, Doddêri, Hiriypûr (under Baira Nâyaka), Turuvêkere, Bêlûr, Pâlupare, N ara simhapura (Hoje-Narasipur), Chikbajjâpur, Bijjavara, Kôlâla, Ho)avanaha)li, Bâvalûr, Hosûr, Hosakôfc, Sûrabâle, Kaggondi (Kangondi), Mâsti, Dêvanahalli and Sidlaghatta (XI, 63-65, 99-106 ; XII, 67-68)—these levies alone, it is said, oomputed at a lakh (XII, 13). There were also, we are told, Mullukas, Gujarâtis, Kanaujis, Khorassânis, Pathâns, etc., (XI, 97-98 ; XII, 66)—the entire army of Bijâpur, with its equipment of civil and military stores and ail the paraphernalia, presenting the spectacle of a moving camp as it were. The contemporary poet, Gôvinda-Vaidya, in dealing with the siège of Seringapatam and other évents, writes partly from direct knowledge and partly from the information he had gathered from those who took part in those éventa. As a poet, however, he delineates the heroic and other sentiments and his accounts are not altogether free from exaggeration. The K. N. V. (1648) is made use of in this section, subject to these limitations. For a detailed account and estimate of the work, see under *Literary activity* in Ch. IX.

29. *Ibid.*, XII, 77-88 ; XIII, 56-61. In one place (XI, 82) the chief of Turuvêkere (Turugere) is also mentioned as having takeft up the side of Kanthirava, but in another place (XI, 102) the poet speaks of the camp of Turuvêkere in the army of Banadullâ Khân. This seems obviously a contradiction. It appears probable that Turuvêkere was represented in the Khân's army, having joined him during the latter's march towarda Bangalore (XI, 16).

bank of the river; while the main army of Ranadullâ Khân encampèd in the other directions.³⁰

On January 18, 1639, Raçadullâ Khân laid siège to Seringapatam.³¹ The siège lasted only three days,³² during which period Ranadullâ Khân pushed on the blockade with vigour, although his deputies (Khâns and Viziers) had, in the very beginning, complained to him of the reverses they had sustained.³³ At the same time, Kaçthîrava, personally leading his troops, directed the defence opérations and the commencement of hostilities. A section of his (Kaçthîrava's) army delivered a surprise night-attack on the Bijâpuris encamped at Arakere; another fell upon those who had halted at Hosaholalu; a third obstructed the passage of the enemy near Mëlkôte (Yâdavâdri); and a fourth one surprised the vast array of the investing forces in the neighbourhood of the Châmunḍi Hills, Mysore—putting them to rout amidst great slaughter and cutting off the noses of several of their opponents. Despite the calamity which had thus attended his army, and the steady opposition his men met with from the besieged, Ranadullâ Khân persisted in his rêsolve to take the fort. By successive attacks he had effected a breach and almost scaled the walls, when Kanthîrava brought together ail the scattered éléments of his army and offered stout rêsistance. A severe

80. *Ibid.* XII, 9-14. 81. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 86-86; see also f.n. 19 *supra*.

82. *Ibid.*; see also *infra*.

88. *K.N. V.*, XIII, 18-80; XIV and XV, XVI, 11-20; also *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 19S (April 1689), II. 41-48; Sr. 108 (1647), II. 38-89; 48-49—ochoing Kaçthîrava's victory over the Muhammadans of Bijâpur; *C. Fom.*, 86-36; *C. Vi.*, II, 102-127—depicting the siège of Seringapatam by Eanadullâ Khân and his repulse and defeat; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 28; *M y s. Dho. Vam.*, S. 86; *Armaid** I. 72-76, speaking of the siège of Seringapatam and the dëfat and repulse, etc., of Ranadullâ Khân. The *Raj. kath.* (XII. 470-472), in detailing the siège and Kanthîrava's conquests, etc., closely follows the *G. Vam.* Wilks (I. 69) refers to the siège of Seringapatam by "Rend Dhoola Khan" (Ranadullâ Khân) and his repulse "with great slaughter," etc. Cf. also S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 292-298.

struggle followed, in which the besiegers were thoroughly beaten and repulsed with considérable loss (in killed and wounded) in their ranks. Raṇadullâ Khân was obligea to beat a hasty retreat from Seringapatam and Kanṭhîrava's troops returned to the capital with immense spoils.

On the fourth day (January 21), Eaṇadullâ Khân found it expédient to sue for peace.⁸⁴

The truce, January 21, 1639. He had already received an express message from Bijâpur urging his return, and any attempt at prolonging the siège of Seringapatam seemed futile. Following the advice of Kenge-Hanumappa Nâyaka, he arranged for a truce with Kanṭhîrava through two of the latter's agents (named Kâvêri-Hebbâruva and Minchu-Hebbâruva), stipulating that the territory to the south of the Cauvery was to remain in the undisturbed possession of the king of Mysore while the right to the revenues of the territory north of the river was to belong exclusively to the Adil Shah of Bijâpur, the saine being made available to the latter after deducting the necessary expenses incidental to its management. The truce was agreed to by Kanṭhîrava in view of its ensuring him the territorial integrity of Mysore and of its relieving him from the necessity of withstanding another possible siège and keeping his army engagea in the open field.

Accordingly, about the middle of Pebruary, Eaṇadullâ Raṇadullâ Khân's return, February 1689. Khân raised the siège of Seringapatam and retraced his steps to Bijâpur,⁸⁵ placing some of his forces under Hanumappa Nâyaka for the protection of his intéréts under the truce.⁸⁶

84. *Annals*, I. 75-76; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.

85. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 52; and f.n. 19 *supra*; also see and compare *Muhammad-Namah*, in Appendix IV—(3).

86. *Annals*, I. 76; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; also compare *Muhammad-Namah*, in Appendix *Ibid*.

The siège of Seringapatain by Bijâpur was a mémorable event in the history of Mysore. There is little doubt that Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was able to win a complète victory over the invaders. Two causes appear to hâve accounted for his success : firstly, the efficiency of his army, though small in numbers, and its knowledge of local conditions—which stood it in good stead against the overwhelming odds of Bijâpur; secondly, the spécial features of the Mysorean warfare of the time, naraely, surprise night-attacks and the "cutting off noses." At the news of this victory, Betṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, father of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, is said to hâve sent him from Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇâmbi his (Kan^hîrava's) broad-sword, *Vijaya-Nârasimha*, as a mark of appréciation of his prowess.³⁷ The prestige of Kanthîrava was enhanced locally.³⁸ And the net result of the event of 1639 was that, while it left the kingdom of Mysore practically unsubdued by Bijâpur, it exposed her to the latter's recurring invasions from the north and prepared the way for the further advance of Mysore in that direction.

Early in 1640 affairs in the Karnâṭak detanded the immédiate attention of Bijâpur. Vîrabhadra Nâyaka, on the siège and destruction of Ikkëri by the latter (1637-1638), had established his capital at Ḥednûr (Bidarûr or Vêpupura) about 1639 and, with a view to revenging himself against Hanumappa Nâyaka of

81 Mys Dho. *Vam.*, ff. 80-81.

88. Bêe 'Cf. *Vam.*, 86. *Itanum a yavana padeyam jayisi, Kannada-nâdol négalte vetu*; C. Vi., I I, 127; also E. C, I I I (1) Nj. 198 (April 1639), l.c. :

*Atmôdbhavô Naraharir-Ncurcusa-kshitindrah-
Sakêhddya ěsa yavanânvaya daitya bhêdi ||*;

and Sr. 108 (April 1647), l.o. :

*Mlenchanâm kanantidbhujaprabalatô . . .
Mlêchchaste parimurchitasamabhavan yasydji-ra^hffdnkané*

Basavâpatna, was negotiating with the Adil Shah.³⁹ By the approach of the rainy season of 1639, Ranadullâ Khân had returned from his Karnâṭak campaign.⁴⁰ Méanwhile, the revenues of Bijâpur territories in Mysore for the year 1639-1640 (*Pramâthi*), under the truce with Kanṭhîrava, fell into arrears.⁴¹ Muhammad Adil Shah, agreeably with the representatives (*Niyôgis*) from the court of Ikkêri, it is said,⁴² sent four of his officers to Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, renewing his demand for dues. Kanṭhîrava having refused to comply, Ranadullâ Khân was desired to collect the amount and re-attempt the acquisition of Seringapatam. Before proceeding further, Ranadullâ Khân sent Channaiya of Nâgamangala to Hanumappa Nâyaka of Basavâpatna demanding of him satisfaction of the terms of the truce of 1639, Hanumappa Nâyaka not only refused to accède but also, foreseeing his own future, fell upon Channaiya and slew him in a skirmish. By about the middle of 1640, Hanumappa Nâyaka had thus rebelléd and there was a gênerai rising of the chieftains in the Karnâṭak against Bijâpur.⁴³ Whereupon Ranadullâ Khân, at the head of a well-equipped army, proceeded on a campaign against Hanumappa Nâyaka, accompanied by Vîrabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkêri.⁴⁴ Crossing the river (Bhadrâ) at

39. *Ke. N. V.*, VI. 98. According to this work, Niyôgi Râmakrishnaiya was entrusted with the diplomatie mission. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 84, 86) and the *Armais* (I. 83) mention two representatives, Hûvaiya and Purushôttamaiya. See also f.n. 38 to Ch. VI, for a note on the transition of the capitals of Ikkêri.

40. *Muhanimad-Ndmdh*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, p. 9.

41. *Anvala*, I. 88-84.

42. *Ibid.*; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 86-37. Thèse worksspeak of the dismissal of Ranadullâ Khân and of the appointment of his successor, Khân Khân, who is referred to as having taken part in the éventa pf 1640. This is apparently an error for Ranadullâ Khân who, according to the *K. N. V.*, *Ke. N. V.* and *Muhammod'Ndmdh*, actually played a conspicuous part in those events. We accordingly follow the authority of the chronicles subject to slight correction.

43. *Muhammad-Namah*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, l.c.; see also *Ibid.*, November 1929, p. 602.

44. *Ibid.*; *X. N. V.*, XVI, 22-28; *Ke. N. V.*, VI, 98-99,

Hebbe, he stood before the walls of Basavâpaṭṭa⁴⁵ and laid siêge to it assisted by Afzal Khân, Shâhji, Mâdâji and other gênerais.⁴⁶ Hanumappa Nâyaka, having in the meanwhile collected his forces (70,000 foot musketeers), gallantly defended the place. Ranadullâ **Khan**, however, eventually carried the siêge to success, slaying " 37,000 of the enemy ; " Hanumappa Nâyaka submitted, " giving up the fort and 40 lakhs of *hun* " (*hana*)⁴⁷ Hanumappa himself, according to some accounts,⁴⁸ was slain at Dudda and, according to others,⁴⁹ he and his brothers were captured, Ranadullâ Khân finally posting guards over Basavâpatna. Ranadullâ **Khan**, accompanied by the levies of Ikkêri under êivappa Nâyaka (uncle of Vîrabhadra Nâyaka) and Niyogi Ramakrishnaiya, proceeded in the direction of Mysore,⁵⁰ while a contingent of the Bijâpur army, sent in advance under Afzal Khân, succeeded in taking Chiknâyakanahalli, Bêlûr (from Venkaṭâdri Nâyaka), Tumkûr, Doḍballâpur and Kuṇigal.⁵¹

About July-August 1640 (during Ranadullâ Khân's stay in Bangalore) Kaṇṭhîrâva-Narasarâja Woḍeyar, alarmed by the activities of Bijâpur arms in the Karnâtak, despatched his forces to Râmâgiri-durga, then in the possession of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Mâgaḍi, a place commanding the route of the Bijâpur army to Mysore. The fort was taken after hard fighting. At Huliyûr-durga, Afzal Khân opposed the Mysore army but was obligea to retreat. Bâgûr was next taken by Kanumâirava from Vêdôji-Pant, another

46. K. N. F., XVI, 24.

46. *Muhammad-Namah*, l.c. ; see also *Annals*, I. 85 ; and *Mya. Dho, Vam.*, ff. 87. Thèse works speak of the siêge of Tenje (Kenge ?) which, in the light of other sources, is identical with Basavâpatna itself.

47. *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

48. *My. Dho, Vam*, l.c. ; also see and compare *Annals*, l.c.

49. *Ke. N. F.*, VI. 99 ; *K. N. F.*, XVI, 36-29.

50. *Ibid*. 51. *K. N. F.*, XVI, 62-53; also *Muhammad-Namah*, l.o.

Bijapur gênerai, after a strenuous fight ; and this was allowed by the acquisition of Turuvêkere (Turugere), the Bijâpur troops being ultimately beaten off at Nonavinkere where they had encamped.⁵² These acquisitions practically meant the répudiation by Mysore of the trace of 639. Bijâpur was prevented from having a permanent oehold in the immédiate northern limits of the Cauvery. Outside this fringe of debatable area lay her phere of influence, comprising Bangalore, Doḍbâllâpur, Tumkûr, Kunigal, Chiknâyakanahalli and other places, Directly included in the *subâh* of Bijâpur under the management of Shâhji.

In December 1640, Mustafâ Khân, who succeeded Ranadullâ Khân in the Bijâpur gênerai-ship, marched at the head of his forces, with fresh instructions to re-attempt the acquisition of Seringapatam from Kanthîrava. Dalavâi Timmarâjaiya was sent by the atter to arrest his advance on the capital. Mustafâ Khân halted near Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellûr. He sent word to Timmarâjaiya through Niyôgi Hûvaiya demanding payment of the dues under the truce of 1639 and, in default, threatened Seringapatam with a siége. Timmarâjaiya proved intractable, merely communicating to Kanthîrava, it is said, Mustafâ Khân's ultimatum. On the 24th, he (Timmarâjaiya) was removed from office and Nanjarâjaiya (of Hura) appointed Dalavâi.⁵³ Accompanied by the latter, Kanthîrava marched forthwith and gave battle to the Bijâpur army, inflicting a crushing defeat on it and acquiring rich spoils.

52. *Ibid.*, XVI, 32-91. According to this work, Kanthîrava, in the acquisition of these places, was assisted by Nanjarâjaiya and Lingarâjaiya of Hura, afterwards Dalavâis of his. See also *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 38), referring to the acquisition of Bâmagiri-durga.

58. *Annals*, I. 86-86 ; *Mys. Dho. Pfir.*, I. 66 ; *Mya. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 87-38. The *AnnaU* refers to the name of the village as Chandammanaha)li ; the *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, an earlier Ms., mentions it as Chandanahalli, which reading is preferred here. Moreover Chandanahalli is an extant village in the Nâgamangala taluk (see *List of Villages*, 102).

Mustafâ Khân returned to Bijâpur, having practically effected nothing.⁵⁴ In Bijâpur, the réduction of Seringapatam became a problem of problème to Muhammad Âdil Shah, Vêdôji-Pant was next sent thither with a contingent under Afzal Khân. Early in March 1641, Vêdoji, having first paid a visit to the shrines at Tirumakûdlu and Nanjangûd., raided Tippûr, Hampâpura, Kannambâdi, Akkihebbâlu, G-anni, Nallûr, Mâdâpura, Kattarighatâ, Hosaholalu and other places in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. He soon found hi inself opposed by Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya who, in a skirmish, completely put him to rout and returned to the capital With considérable spoils, losing, however, one éléphant which died on the way (at Sindhughatâ) from a bullet-shot. Vêdôji returned to Bijâpur by way of Turuvêkere, putting to death the chief of the latter place and placing Afzal Khân in charge of it.⁵⁵ Excepting this re-occttpation of Turuvêkere by Bijâpur, her câmpaigns (of 1640-1641) against Seringapatam thus ended in failure.

Meantime, affairs in the south of Mysore were moving in a différent manner. Daṇâyakankôṭe, as we hâve seen, had been the southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, already by the close of the reign of Châmarâja Wodeyar. In its neighbourhood lay the principality (*Pâlayam*) of Sâmballi bordering on the kingdom of Madura in the south. Any aggression from the southern chiefs in the direction of Daṇâyakankôṭe would, naturally, be deemed a blow aimed at Mysore. While the safeguarding of this frontier oommanding the passes was thus an important problem to Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, Tirumâla Nâyaka of

Second Phase:
1641-1647.

Mysore and the south: the siège of Maratathalli, March 1641.

54. *Ibid.*, I. 86; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 87.

56. *Ibid.*, I. 86-87; *Ibid.*, ff. 38-39 (compare). Vêdôji-Pant's name is spelt in these sources as 'Vêmaji-Pant,' 'Vemôji-Pant' and 'Vêdhôji-Pant'. Cf. 8. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient Inâia* (p. 394), referring to the name as "Hêmaji Pandit,"

Madura, apparently taking advantage of Kanthirava's difficulties with the Muhammadans of Bijapur, began the offensive by inciting Paṭṭadaiya, the eldest son of Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr, the Kongu chief of Sâmballi, to encroach on the boundaries of Mysore.⁶⁶ That chief, it is also said,⁶⁷ had become inordinately proud by putting down the neighbouring *pâlegârs* and acquiring the title *Vanangâ-rrmtpi* (the unbendable chief or the unconquerable hero). About the middle of March 1641, Kanthirava directed a campaign against him.⁵⁸ Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya began operations by laying siège to Mâraṭahalli, a dependency of Sâmballi.⁸⁰ The chief held himself out at the head of his vast army (consisting, it is said, of a lakh of forces, including those of Madura). Nanjarâjaiya, however, was able to put him to flight and take possession of Mâraṭahalli and Sâmballi, returning to Seringapatam with éléphants and horses captured during the siège.

Early in 1642, the chief of Sâmballi retaliated. Assembling his scattered forces, he seized Âlambâḍi, belonging to Mysore, and encamped there.⁶⁰ Nanjarâjaiya marched against him and, in a swift and décisive action,

The retaliation,
1642.

56. K. N. V., XVII, 2, 8: *Madhureyavana baluhinda nammolage kadanava gantikki konda Modalariya suta . . . Paṭṭadayya piridu garvisi yelle-gattige Maisûra doreyolu dhuravcmesagida . . . ; Modaldriya hiriya tanuja Paṭṭadayya . . .*

67. C. Vi, II, 132: *Ghatta-Madandri nere doregalam tulida garbadi nurbi Kongarol Vanangdmudi yemba birudam padeda kadupindiârche*. The référence to Ghatta-Madanâri in this passage is, obviously, to the eldest son of Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr in the light of the K. N. V. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 294.

68. K. N. V., XVII, 8-10; see also f.n. 61 *infra*.

59. *Ibid*, 11-21; *Mya. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 88-40; also f.n. 61 *infra*.

60. *Ibid*, 22-82; *Mya. Dho. Vam.*,]o.; *Mya. Raj. Cha.*, 28; see also C. *Vam.*, (86-87) and C. *Vi*. (II, 181-188), referring to Kanthirava's victory over Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura and Ghaṭṭa-MudaliSr, the acquisition of Sâmballi, etc. Tirumalârya, in these works (C. *Vam.*, I.c., C. *Vi*. II, 127-189), depicts the campaigns of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar in ail the eight directions (*desegalam gelalvjugisi; desegella velasi*). As indicated in the preceding chapters, the poetical order followed by him is to be understood in its ohronological setting, with référence to the more spécifie authority of the chronicles compared with one another.

forced him to retreat with considérable loss, capturing, among others, Ponnulalai-Gauda, Puli-Gauda, Chinna-Venkataramana and èrînivâsa—chieftains who had espoused his cause. This success was followed up by the acquisition by Nanjarâjâiyya of Singânallùr and Daṅṭahaḷḷi (March 1642). He finally halted at Tôleya. Meanwhile, the chief of Sâmbaḷḷi, having sought the aid of Tirumala Nâyaka of Madtira, proceeded to the defence of Sâmbaḷḷi, with a large army (consisting, it is said, of 4 to 5 thousand horse, a lakh of foot and hundreds of éléphants). In the engagement which followed, Nanjarâjâiyya was able to cause confusion and panic in the ranks of the enemy, repulsing them with considérable loss (in killed and wounded). Sâmbaḷḷi was retaken by Nanjarâjâiyya, who returned to Seringapatam after posting guards over the place. Stunned was Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura, at the news of this victory for Mysore. Forthwith he proceeded himself, at the head of his main forces, for the recovery of Sâmbaḷḷi. Whereupon Nanjarâjâiyya, making rapid marches, set out for its relief. Nanjarâjâiyya put up a stodt opposition against Tirumala Nâyaka and fought so dexteçously that he was soon able to overcome and repulse his opponents, capturing the insignias of the Nâyaka and plundering his camp. The siège was raised and Nanjarâjâiyya returned to Seringapatam after carrying his victorious arms up to Tiruvaṅṅamalai, Tiruchangûḍ and Trichinopoly (Tiruchanâpuri) in the far south.

The *Raj. Kath.* (XII, 471-472), as already noted, closely follows the *C. Vam.* On the Madura aide, there is, so far, no référence to these affairs.

Âlambadi :—In the présent Kollegâl taluk, Coimbatore district, 42 miles east of Kollegal, on the right bank of the Cauvery ; an important place in the 17th century, garrisoned by British troops in 1768, but relinquished on advance of Haidar's army; contains a ruined éiva temple, well-sculptured but wrecked by Muhammadans. There is an old fort here. In the bed of the Cauvery here is the smoking rock. The place gives its name to a well-known breed of cattle. Âlambâdi seems to have been absorbed in the kingdom of Mysore after the fall of Nanjarâjâof Hadinâg (1614). His chief was originally a feudatory of Hadind *Vide* text of f.n, 117 to Ch, V,

These activities practically resulted in the acquisition of for the kingdoni of Mysore of Sâmballi; Sâmballi, etc., 1641-1642. Daṅṭahaḷli, Singânallûr, Kâvëripuram, Tôleya, Changappâḍi and Mâraṭahaḷli in the south and the south-east between March 1641 and July 1642,⁶¹ while there were already indications of Mysore having an eye on Trichinopoly as the farthest limit of any projected scheme of her expansion southwards.

Though the political development of Mysore thus far had been rendered possible by the aggressions of Bijâpur in the north and Madura in the south, Kaṅṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, we find, remained loyal to the Vijayanagar Empire under Venkaṭa II. In the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated in April 1639, he acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkaṭa "seated on the throne of Ghanaéaîla" (Penukonḍa).⁶² Further, it is interesting to note, he calls himself, in this record, a *Mahâmandalêvara* (Viceroy), in keeping with the old position of Tirumala II; and makes the grant, "having informed his lord, Venkaṭa, of the same."⁶³ In a lithic record, dated in December 1640, he styles himself as "the great ruler of Mysore" (*èrimart-mahà-Maisûra-adhipa*), indicating his prominent position in Mysore, and refers to Terakanâmbi as a grant made to him in perpetuity by Venkaṭa II (*namma doretanakke Bâyarinda namage pâlisida Terakanâmbi*), whose overlordship he thus clearly acknowledges.⁶⁴ In another record, also lithic; dated in March 1642, Kaṅṭhîrava merely refers to himself as "Kaṅṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar of

61. *Mys. Dho Pur.*, II. 11-13; *Annals*, I. 68-69; also *C. Vam.*, and *C. Vi.*, cited in f.n. 60 *supra*. Cf. Wilks's *List of conquests* (I. 64-67), based on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.*

62. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 198, 11. 26-29.

63. *Ibid.*, 11. 85-87:

*Sriman, maha-mandalêso~ Narasa-kshiti-chandramah |
Vijnapya svaminê Vira-Venkafâkshmdbhujê tatah ||*

64. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Gu. 10, 11. 2-6, 8.

Mâyisùr" (Mysore).⁶⁵ In 1642, Venkata II died and was succeeded on the throne of Penukomja by Sri-Ranga VI, of whom Kanṭhīrava, it would appear, continued to be a loyal feudatory. The earliest record pointing to Kanthīrava's loyalty to Srī-Ranga is a lithic one, dated in March 1643, in which he acknowledges the latter's suzerainty.⁶⁶ This document is of particular importance from the point of view of Kanṭhīrava's own political position in relation to the Vijayanagar Empire. For, in it he refers to himself as *taddakshana-bhujadanda-nâda*,⁶⁷ which literally means that he was the prop or support of Srī-Ranga in the south and conveys that he was "the righthand man of Srī-Ranga." These expressions are not, however, mere literary flourishes. Considered with référence to Kanṭhīrava's achievements, they must be termed significant. During 1689-1642, Kanṭhīrava, as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, had, as we have seen, actually saved the south of Vijayanagar by successfully stemming the tide of Muhammadan advance in that direction and stood as an effective barrier to the aggressions of Madura and other powers in the south. By 1643, Kanṭhīrava had not only succeeded in maintaining the integrity of Mysore as a kingdom but also, in a wider sensé, rendered a signal service to the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire. Indeed he had "enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperor and reciprocated wholeheartedly the trust laid in him."⁶⁸ Hence the expressions.

Yet the gênerai political position in the country—particularly in the north and the north-west of Mysore—during 1642-1644, was insecure. In May 1642, shortly after his return from the southern campaign, Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya had marched against

Relations with local powers: gênerai political position, down to 1644.

65. *Ibid*, V (1) and (3) On. 168.

66. *Ibid*, IV (2) Yd. 5, 1. 6.

67. *Ibid*, 1. 6. Here read *dakshina* for *dakshana*.

68. See *Mys. Gaz.*, I I, iii. 2884, noticing this document.

Turuvēkere and retaken it with Āne-Bâgūr from Afzal Khân, among the spoils acquired being 40 horses and an éléphant by name *Bokkalika*.⁶⁰ This success tended to restrict the sphère of influence of Bijâpur to the east, west and north of Turuvēkere which, however, remained a bone of contention between Mysore and Bijâpur. On the ottier side, in Ikkêri, Vīrabhadra Nâyaka, though well disposed towards Mysore about the close of the reign of Châroarâja Wodeyar, was by no means friendly during the reign of Kanthīrava, allied as he was with Bijâpur. Ever since the siège of Seringapatam (1639), Ikkêri, it would appear, had been so thoroughly impressed with the methods of Mysorean warfare and the development of the kingdom of Mysore, that she had begun to call the latter's army by the epithet *Mâyâvis*, *Mâyâvadis*⁷⁰ (i.e., deluders, diplomatists), political jealousy probably accounting, in a large measure, for such a description. Eeference has also been made in the earlier pages to Vīrabhadra Nâyaka sending a contingent of his army in the direction of Mysore during Barīadullâ Khân's march on Bangalore in 1640. On this occasion, it is said,⁷¹ Vīrabhadra Nâyaka conducted the entire course of Bijâpur affairs in Mysore through êivappa Nâyaka and Niyōgi Bâmakrishnaiya, although the actual détails of the diplomacy hâve not come down to us. It seems, however, possible that Ikkêri, after the subjugation and death of Hanumappa Nâyaka of Basavâpaṭṇa, attempted without success to press the Bijâpur demands on Mysore. There was thus evidently a combination between Bijâpur and Ikkêri. The town of Ikkêri itself, since 1638, was, it would seem, in the possession of Bijâpur, being guarded by a contingent of the latter.⁷² Any disturbance in the political equilibrium in the country, in such a state of affairs,

68. *Annals*, I. 69, 88 ; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff, 88-40; also *Mys. Raj, Cha.*, 28; *C. Vam.*, 37 ; (7. Vi., I I., 188. The places referred to were in the possession of Bijâpur since 1641.

70. See *Ke. N. V.*, VI-IX. 99,109,118,119, 126,136, etc.

71. *Ibid.*, VI. 99.

72. *Muhammad-Narndh*, I.c.

would have meant a threat to the safety of the kingdom of Mysore.

In 1644, Narasimha Nâyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur, who had been subdued towards the close of Châmarâja Woḍeyar's reign, failed to pay the tribute to Mysore, being backed up by the local Bijâpur forces. He insulted the messengers of Kanthîrava, sent to demand the dues. Kanthîrava despatched a force against him under Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya, with instructions to reduce the place. In April (1644), Nanjarâjaiya stormed Hoḷe-Narasipur and opened a tremendous fire against it, blowing up the bastions of the fort. The Bijâpur contingent—consisting of 4 to 8 thousand horse—proceeded to the relief of the town, only to retreat panic-stricken. Narasimha Nâyaka submitted, and paid up the tribute. Nanjarâjaiya returned to Seringapatam after annexing Hampâpura belonging to him.⁷³

No sooner was one trouble overcome than another presented itself. Nanjunḍa-Bâja (Nanjunḍa-Arasu), the Changâlva chief of Piriypatna, who had agreed during the reign of Châmarâja Woḍeyar to pay an annual tribute of 3,000 *varahas* to Mysore, was in arrears for some years past. Early in January 1645 Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar sent Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya demanding payment of the dues. Nanjunda-Râja not only refused to comply but also, in alliance with Bijâpur, proved refractory. Whereupon Kanthîrava directed Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya to proceed against him. Nanjarâjaiya began operations by laying siège to Pâlupare, a fort commanding the Changâlva kingdom. The place was reduced without much effort and guards stationed over it.⁷⁴

73.K.N.V.XVIII.1-18 ; *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 18-14 ; *Annals*, I. 69 ; of *Wilks*, 1.64.

74. *Ibid*, 20-52 ; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I I. 14 ; *Annals*, I. 69, 71 ; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 40-43. Nanjunda-Raja of Piriypatna appears to have been otherwise known as Mallarâja, by which name he is mentioned in the *C. Vam.* (37). Cf. Rice [E. C, IV (2) *Introduction*, pp. 17-18], making Virarajaiya of Piriypatna (1619-1688) a contemporary of Kanthîrava, for which there is no evidence.

Proceeding further, Nanjarâjajaiya stood before the walls of Piriya^{patna} itself, the capital of Nanjunda-Râja. It was an impregnable fort, well-equipped in every particular. Nanjarâjajaiya made elaborate préparations for its siêge and assault. In the north and north-east of the fort, he and his brother, Lingarâjajaiya, raised huge piles from which to commence the attack ; in the other directions rose the structures put up by the chiefs of Channarâya-patna, Turuvêkere, Haradanahalli and other places, who had accompanied Nanjarâjajaiya. The fort was bombarded from ail sides, while the garrison within opened fire putting up a stout defence. Nanjun^{da}-Râja was actively supported by a Bijâpur contingent from Ikkëri (consisting, it is said, of 8,000 horse and 15,000 foot). Among the gênerals who took part in the relief of Piriya^{patna} were Vêdôji, Ambar Khân, Malik Rahim (Muluka Eahima) and Ankué Khân (Ankusa Khân). Thèse encamped at Bettadapura. The siêge was tough and trying to a degree. A fierce fight followed between the Bijâpur and Mysore forces, the former, divided into five to six detachments, having been posted in ail the directions. Nanjarâjajaiya closed in upon them, splitting up his own ranks into six or seven convenient divisions, and fought dexterously against his opponents, the *halepaika* Nâyaks tander him, in particular, playing a very prominent part. There was heavy slaughter on both sides and utter confusion prevailed among the enemy, several of whom lost their noses at the hands of the warriors of Mysore. The Bijâpur forces were ultimately forced to give way and retreat with great loss, hotly pursued by the Mysore army to a distance of nearly five miles. Meanwhile, Nanjun^a-Râja's army in the town of Piriya^{patna} held itself out against the besieging forces ; his sons and relatives lost their lives during the defence, and, overwhelmed with grief and anxiety, he was almost at his

wit's end. In vain did his consort counsel him to yield up the fort and submit to Kaṅṭhīrava. Deaf to ail talk of peace, Nanjuṇḍa-Râja stubbornly prolongea the defence, wfaile Nanjarâjaiya pressed on the siège with vigour. At length the latter encircled the fort and began to batter thè walls, blowing down the bastions and effecting a breach amidst considérable slaughter. Forthwith was the onter fort taken and this was followed by the onrush of éléphants (decked with weapons) and the forcible entrance of the invading forces into the interior of the fort. Vîra-Râja, one of the sons of Nanjunda-Râja, brandishing his sword, desperately opposed the advancing aifms, piercing through their ranks to the right and the left and repulsing them ; and, eventually, being himself wounded, fell dead on the scène. Nanjarâjaiya took possession of the fort, capturing Nanjuṇḍa-Râja and the members of his family. At the news of this victory, Kaṅṭhīrava himself paid a visit to Piriyaṭaṭṇa and returned to Seringapatam, after arranging for the safeguarding of the place.⁷⁵

On October 7, 1645, Piriyaṭaṭṇa, after a long siège of

nearly nine months, was annexed to
 Annexation of Piriyaṭaṭṇa, etc., 1646-1646. Mysore.⁷⁶ In the meanwhile, howëver,

Nanjuṇḍa-Râja having made good his
 eescape to Beftadapura, Kaçṭhīrava proceeded in person
 against him and took that place on the 24th. Hotly
 pursued by Kaçṭhīrava, Nanjuṇḍa-Râja passed through

76. *R. N.* 7., XVIII, 62-182; *C. Vam.*, 87; *C. Vi.* II, 135-186; also see and compare *Mya. Dho. Vam.*, Le.; *Mya. Raj. Cha.*, 28; *Wilks, l.c.*; *Annals*, I. 71. Among those who took part in the siège on the Mysore side were, Doddaiya (Doddendra), chief of Channarâyapatna, Doddaiya (also named Doddendra) of Haradanahalji (Haradapura), Hampaiya (Hampendra) of Turuvékere, Linge-Gauda and Timmarâjaiya (Timmarâjendra) (*K. N. F.*, XVIII, 71-72). The chief of Turuvékere, referred to, seems obviously, to be the suooessor of the one who was slain in 1641.

76. *Mya. Dho. Pur.*, II. 14: *Porthiva, Asvîja ba.* 13 (October 7, 1646); cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l. c.; *Wilks*, l. o.; *An fiais*, I. 69, 71; cf. also Rice [*E. C.*, IV (2) *Ibid.*, p. 18], placing the event in 1641, for which there is no évidence.

Rudrapatna, Kannâgâla and Kittûr which were successively annexed to Mysore during November-December. At length Nanjunda-Râja retired to Nanjarâyapaṭṭa (in Coorg) seeking refuge of the Koḍagas; Early in December, Kaçṭhîrava marched on Nanjarâyapatna and fought strenuously for seven days. Nanjuçda-Râja was eventually slain on the field and Nanjarâyapaṭṭa was taken possession of (December 13). Having accomplished this, Kaçṭhîrava returned to Seringapatam with the spoils of war.⁷⁷ The fall of Nanjuçda-Râja thus marks an important stage in the expansion of the kingdom of Mysore in the west, in the direction of Coorg. Thèse activities were followed up by the annexation by Kaçṭhîrava of Kallûr (in April 1646) and Kaḍaba and Mâyasamudra (in April and June 1646), places belonging to Pratâpa Nâyaka and Bhairappa Nâyaka, from whom they had been taken by the Muhammadans of Bijâpur.⁷⁸

Meanwhile êivappa Nâyaka I (uncle of Virabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkëri) had wrested the fort of Ikkëri "from its careless, indolent, pleasure-loving Adil-Shahi commandant."⁷⁹ In 1644, Khân Muhammad, the Bijâpur gênerai, recovered it from him together with Sâgar, and by October-November 1645 he had won a séries of victories in the uplands of the Karnâṭak.⁸⁰ In November 1645, êivappa Nâyaka I, having treacherously removed Virabhadra Nâyaka, had succeeded to the kingdom of Ikkëri, With his capital at Bednûr.⁸¹ At the same time,

77. *Annal.* I. 71-72; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 41-42; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I I. 15; of S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 294-296.

78. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, 11.16-17; *Annot.*, I. 69; *Mya. Raj. Cha.*, 28-24; also *K. N. V.*, XXV, 38-34; *C. Vam.*, 87; *C. Vi.*, I I, 138; cf. *Wilks*, I. 64.

79. *Muharmnad-Ndmhdh*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, p. 9.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 106; *Parthiva, Margaêira su.* 12; *C. Vam.*, 190; *Sivappa Nayakam tannalldanappa Virabhadra Nayakanol drôhamaneniiai, avanam kavadiñol, madûpi.* Of this alleged treachery there is not even a whisper, either in the *Ke.N. V.*, (c. 1800) or in the *âvatattvatatndkawa*, (1709). There seems, however, no doubt about its actual

Muhammad Adil Shah had been closely watching the trend of affairs in the Karnâṭak ever since the reverses successively sustained by the Bijâpur arms in Mysore and her neighborhood (1639-1642). In particular, Kanṭhîrava's occupation of Piriyâpaṭṇa in 1645 is said to have roused his attention towards the growing kingdom of Mysore and made the Adil Shah resolve to bring her down,⁸² Mustafâ Khân having once again offered his services to achieve this end.⁸³ In June 1646, Mustafâ Khân was despatched from Bijâpur, with instructions to subdue the Karnâtâka country.⁸⁴ He proceeded by way of Gadag and Lakshmêévar to Honnâḷi and thence to Sakrepaṭṇa, his army being reinforced by the contingent of éivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri, Dodḍa Nâyaka of Harapanahalli and Bâlâji Haibat Rao, among others (October).⁸⁵ Before directing his marches to the rich plains of the east—which were the common objective of both Bijâpur and Gôlkoṛiḍa—Mustafâ Khân seems to have turned his attention to the recovery of Turuvêkere, the northern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, which had been lost to Bijâpur in May 1642. Towards the close of 1646, he encamped with his forces in the enclosure of a tank about five to six miles from Turuvêkere.⁸⁶

perpétration, since the *G. Vam.*, a still earlier work (c. 1678-1680), records what was after all a fact fresh in the memories of Śivappa Nâyaka's contemporaries. Of course, from the chronological point of view, the author of the *Ō. Vont.*, while alluding to this topic, is to be understood to be referring to the times of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar I, whose reign was contemporaneous with the reigns of Virabhadra Nâyaka (1629-1646) and Sivappa Nâyaka I (1615-1660) of Ikkëri. Moreover, a close reading of the text would show that the poet implies a fairly long interval of time between the rejection of éivappa Nâyaka's offer of alliance with Mysore and his expédition to Seringapatam. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 816, f.n.; *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 134, f.n. 60 and p. 172—where the text of the *C. Vam.* is thoroughly misunderstood and the contemporaneity of the rulers of Mysore and Ikkëri quite confused.

32. K. N. V., XIX, 1-9.

33.

Ibid, 10-16.

M. Muhammad-tiamdh, in *Ibid*, p. 10; K. N. F., XIX, 14.

86.

Ibid.

86. S. N. V., XIX, 16-18.

· On receipt of this news, Kanthirava-Nārasarāja Wodeyar sent Dalavāi Nanjarājaiya to grapple with the situation, while Mustafā Khân prepared to meet the Mysoreans, posting his cavalry in ail the four directions (the numbers varying from two to eight thousand) and splitting up the infantry into four to five divisions. On the other side, Nanjarājaiya, dividing his forces into nine convenient squadrons, proceeded against his opponents. The onslaught began : the Mysoreans opened up fire and, in the tumult that ensued, rushed against the enemy, making dexterous use of spears and arrows and causing great havoc in their camp. A swift and décisive action followed. Nanjarājaiya so manœuvred as to bring together the entire Mysore cavalry (numbering 10,000) in one spot and completely surprise and encircle the Bijâpuris. At this, Mustafā Khân performed a *volteface*. But, before he could effectively direct the counter-attack, he was so thoroughly overpowered by Nanjarājaiya's men that he was soon repulsed with considérable slaughter in his ranks and obligea to retrace his steps from Turuvékere. It was a complète victory for Mysore but her loss was equally great, for, in the confusion which followed the attack, Dalavāi Nanjarājaiya, fighting desperately against heavy odds, was himself slain on the field of battle (early in January 1647).⁸⁷

In January 1647, Lingarājaiya of Hura, younger brother of Nanjarājaiya, was appointed Dalavāi in succession to the latter.⁸⁸

Acquisition of Basavapatça, May 1647,

In May 1647, Kanthirava acquired

87. *Ibid.*, 18-94. The *Muhammad-Nāmah* (l.c.) maintains a disoreet silence on this affair. Since, however, it speaks of the successive marches of Mustafā Khân in the Karnāfck between October 1646 and January 1647, we may approximately fix the action at Turuvékere in c. December 1646-January 1647. Cf. *Annah* (I. 88), referring to the removal from service of Da)avāi Nanjarājaiya by Kanthirava in January 1647, on a charge of neglect of duty, -etc. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I. 66) only assigns a period of six years of office to Dalavāi Nanjarājaiya.

88. "See it mok, l.c ; also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 67 ; K. N. V XIX 95-100.

from Krishçappa Nâyaka (of Arkalgùd), Basavâpaṭṭa, a former dependency of Nanjuṇḍa-Râja of Piriyaṭafoia.⁸⁸

By September 1647, Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was at the height of his power, securely established on the throne of Mysore.⁹⁰ It was during the *Mahânnavami* cêlébrations of this year that éivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri—seeking probably a friendly alliance with Mysore—sent an embassy to the court of Kaçṭhîrava, with présents of robes and cash. Kanthîrava, in view of the accession by treachery of éivappa Nâyaka, it is said, rejected the offer, sending back the envoy.⁹¹

Meanwhile, political affairs in Southern India, ever since êri-Ranga VI's accession to the Vijayanagar Empire, had been tending towards a crisis. The dominions of êri-Ranga were hemmed in, as it were, by the invading forces of Bijâpur and Gôlkoçça in the east and the west. Already in 1644, êri-Ranga had successfully beaten off an invasion from Gôlkoṛiḍa and was ruling from Penukoṇḍa (his recognised capital till about 1649). In the far south, Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura had been asserting his independence, showing signs of disaffection towards the Empire; the Nâyakas of Gingee and Tanjore were likewise displaying the same tendency, while éivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri was, by force of circumstances, in alliance with Bijâpur. Successively foiled in her attempts to maintain a foothold in the northern limits of Mysore, Bijâpur was obliged to restrict the sphère of her influence to parts of Bangalore

89. *Mys.Dho. Pur.*, II. 17; *Annals*, I. 69; of. *Wilks*, I. 64.

90. See *K. N. F.*, XX-XXV; see also under *Social life—Mahânnavami festival*, in **Ch. IX**.

91. *C. Vam.*, 190: *tanutn pâvudamam kankegalam kalupuvinam, avana tappuffëymegalunenishi n\\karisi banda gurivndisnatn bandante kalupalvdam*. See also f.n. 81 *supra*. Ikkëri was among the distant power» représentée! at the court of Kanthîrava during the *Mahânnavami* festivities of 1047 in Seringapatam—*vide* section on *Mahânnavami festival (1647)*, in **Ditto**;

and Tumkûr districts (including Sira) and further north and westwards. The attention of Bijâpur was, therefore, directed to the eastern dominions of êrî-Ranga. After the action at Turuvêkere (December-January 1646-1647), Mustafâ Khân resumed his march in this direction, passing through Sivaganga. At this stage, hard pressed by necessity, Srî-Ranga began negotiations with Mustafâ through his (Srî-Ranga's) envoy, Venkaiya-Sômayâji (*Somaji* of the Persian text), with a view to dissuade him (Mustafâ) from invading "the Royal's country." Almost simultaneôusly, Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura and the chiefs of G-ingee and Tanjore had sent in their envoys to Mustafâ Khân tendering their submission to the Bijâpur government, and êrî-Ranga had set out with his army (consisting, it is said, of "12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry") against these feudatories who persisted in their rebellious attitude. After a tortuous diplomacy (in which Venkaiya-Sômayâji is said to have at first undertaken to induce êrî-Ranga to withdraw from the field but subsequently advised him to prepare for war), Mustafâ Khân entered êrî-Ranga's territory, taking Krishnagiri, Vira-bhadrana-durga and Dêva-durga, finally reaching Vellore in February 1647. Meantime, the Gôlkonda forces under Mîr Jumla also proceeded thither. Between Bijâpur and Gôlkonda it had been agreed that "Sri Ranga Royal's territory and treasures were to be conquered and divided in the proportion of two to one, two-thirds of them falling to Adil Shah and one-third to Qutb Shah." In February, Vellore was besieged and taken from Srî-Ranga—after a décisive battle—by the combined forces of Bijâpur and Gôlkonda. In March, Mustafâ Khân left Vellore, taking possession of Âmbûr, Tirupattûr, Kàvëripattanami, Hassan, Râyadurga, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri, Mëlgiri, Arjunkôse and Dhùlikôttè—belonging to Srî-Ranga. He returned to Bijâpur, leaving Asad Khân, Shâhji and other officers in charge of the conquered country. In November 1648,

Mustafâ Khân died and in December 1649 Khân Muhammad (Khân-i-Khanan), his successor in office, captured the impregnable fort of Gingee from Sri-Ranga. The siége was a protracted one and was accompanied by the mutual rivalries of Gôlkoṇḍa and Bijâpur (over the division of the spoils) and the intrigues of Shâhji, for which the latter was arrested and confined at Bijâpur but subsequently released. The capture of Gingee was followed by the submission of the Nâyakas of Madura and Tanjore to the Muhammadans. During these systematic conquests of Bijâpur and Gôlkonda, êri-Ranga, depending on the shifting alliance of his southern feudatories (*i.e.* the Nâyakas of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore), had taken refuge with them and spent more than a year "in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures." Rejected again by the Nâyakas and abandoned by his courtiers, êri-Ranga "established his court in the forests of Thieves (*Kallans*), lying to the north of Tanjore, where he spent four months, a prey to ail discomfords," till about 1650.⁹³

We have seen how Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, as early as 1643, had been a loyal feudatory of êri-Ranga. His records, during subsequent years, are, however, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain.⁸³ They generally point to Kanthirava as a prominent local ruler. Kanthirava seems evidently to have continued to be loyal to Sri-Ranga, although he

Relations with
Vijayanagar, down to
1650.

92. For the general references on this section, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2351; *Muhammad-Namah*, in the M. R., for July 1929, pp. 10-12; *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 264-266; *La Mission Du Maduré*—Proenza to Nikel Trichinopoly, 1669. Though this letter is dated in 1659, it reflects the general course of events in Southern India during c. 1647-1659 and, used with caution, is an invaluable authority, particularly for the latter part (C. 1660-1659) of the reign of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar.

93. See K. C., V (1) and (2) On. 168, 160, 165; Ag. 64; I I I (1) Sr. 108; IV (2) Ch. 42; IX Op. 28; M. 4. R., 1914-1915, p. 68, para 107, etc., (1647-1650). There are, so far, no epigraphical records of Kanthirava, for the years 1644-1646.

was aiming at independence from a local point of view. He remained aloof from the gênerai coalition of the southern feudatories against Śrī-Banga (1647), while the tendency towards independence on his part had manifested itself in the issue of coins, named after himself, in April 1645.⁹⁴ Kaiçṭhīrava's local prestige was, as we have seen, enhanced by the events of 1645-1646, and in and after 1647 (down to 1650) he was at the zénith of his power. In the impérial crisis of 1647-1650, he appears to have remained neutral, having much to do in maintaining the political integrity of Mysore and safeguarding her frontiers against further attacks by Bijapur. In particular, certain lithic records refer incidentally to the building of a stone fort (*kallu hôṭe*) and bastion for cannons (*pirangi-mata*) at Channarâyapatṇa by Doḍḍaiya, a feudatory of Kaṅṭhīrava, in 1647-1648,⁹⁵ probably in préparation for a war with Bijapur,⁹⁶ whose arms were active in this tract during the period (1647-1650).

The only event of some importance for Mysore during c. 1648-1650 was the siège of Mâgaḍi and the acquisition by Kaṅṭhīrava, in April 1650, of Hebbûr from Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa, after inflicting a severe defeat on his son, Chikka-Kempe-Gauḍa (Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa),

Acquisition of Hebbûr, April 1660.

94. Vide section on *Coinage and Currency*, in Ch. IX.

95. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) On. 168, 159, 160 and 165 (1647-1648).

96. The expressions, *Turuka-rdjaktlyadaM, Vijayapurada Patsahanavara rajakaryadalli*, in Cn. 160 and 166 *supra*, would merely mean "Politics of Bijapur" and, with référence to the context, imply défensive measures by way of arresting the advance of Bijapur arms on Mysore. Cf. Bioe who literally renders these expressions as, "in the service of the Turukardja," "in the royal business of the Padshah of Bijapur." He also writes, "the building of this fort at Channarâyapatṇa in 1648 must have been in accordance with some agreement or treaty with Bijapur, though I am not aware that *raja-karya* has this meaning. It more properly signifies that the fort was built for the Bijapur Pâdshah, but the Mysore Râja was evidently in possession of the place. Hence some mutual understanding must be assumed, (to have been) entered into for the greater security of both dominions." [*B.C.*, V (1) *Introduction* p. XXXV]. There is, however, no évidence in support of this position, since, as we shall see, hostilities between Mysore and Bijapur continued unabated till 1654. Cf. also *H.I.S.I.*, p. 279,

in an action in the Yelahanka-nàdu, and exacting his submission.⁹⁷ This further marked the tendency on the part of Mysore to advance northwards in the direction of the Bijapur-belt of territory in the Karnâtak. Ali through the period (1647-1650) Kanthirava was being successively served by Lingarâjajaiya of Hura (1647-1648), Kempaiya (1648-1649) and Linge-Gauḍa (1649-1650), Dajavâis in succession to Nahjarâjajaiya.⁹⁸

About the middle of 1650, the Emperor Sri-Ranga, foiled in his attempts, to regain his possessions, left the territory of the Kallans and "was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore."¹⁰⁰ Sri-Ranga, according to Proenza,¹⁰⁰ received from Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar "invitation to choose for his stay, a province more

Fourth Phase:
16604664.

Further relations with Vijayanagar: Emperor Sri-Ranga in Mysore, c. 1660-1658.

97. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 18; *Annals*, I. 69; *G. Vam.*, 87; see also and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 23; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 471; *Wilks*, I. 64, 66-67-*Kempe-Gauda* of Kunigal, referred to in the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* and *Annals* (l.c.), is to be identified with Immadi-Kempe-Gauda II of Mâgadi (1669-1668). The hostile relations between Mysore and Mâgadi, about 1648-1660, are perhaps best reflected in the *Virabhadra-Vijaya-Champûh* (c. 1720) by Ēkâmbra-Dîkshita, son of Mukttôvara-Dîkshita, a protégé and court-poet of Mummaçli-Kempe-Virappa-Gauḍa (Kempe-Gauda IV, 1705-1728) (Ms. No. A. 610-P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*):

Yôsau Maisûri Kanthirava-Narasa-mahlpdla durvara nana |
sënd jimûta, janjhanila kuliagatirvûrutô bhvddharinydm||
(IV, 41).

With reference to the context, this passage is to be understood to echo an action between Kanthirava and Mummadi-Kempe (or Chikka-Kempe-Gauda), son of Immadi-Kempe-Gauda, during the reign of the latter (i.e., Immadi-Kempe). For the identities, etc., of the Macadi chiefs and the relations between Kanthirava and Immadi-Kempe-Gauda in 1647, *vidé f*, n. 178 *infra* and text thereto. For the genealogy of the Kempe-Gauḍa family, see Table XVII.

98. *Annals*, I. 88-89; *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 66-67; see also under *Ministers, Dalavais*, etc. Dalavâi Lingarâjajaiya of Hura, who, according to the *K. N. V.* (IV, 76), was the second son of Kempa-Bhûpa of Hura and who, according to the *Annals* (I. 88), died in July 1648, appears to have been quite distinct from Dalavâi Lingarâjajaiya, son of Madhava Nayaka of Hura, referred to in a lithic record dated in March 1665 [*E.C.*, IV (2) Hg. 49]. Could the latter be identical with Linge-Gatujja who, according to the *K. N. F.* (XXV, 66), was at first Mayor of Seringapatam and who, according to the *Annals* (I. 88-89), twice held the office of Dalavâi (1649-1660, 1659-1666) under Kanthirava?

99. Proenza's letter, in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 286.

100. *Ibid.*

agreeable to him and assurance of a brilliant trsatnjent worthy of his rank ; eagerly accepted the offer so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpasséd the promises made to his ambassadors," The *Hague Transcripts*¹⁰¹ speak of Srī-Ranga having " taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore " (Kaṅṭhīrava), while the *Mysûru-Râjara-Charitre*,¹⁰² on the Mysore side, tells us that Kaṅṭhīrava promised assurance of safety to êrī-Ranga who had appeared before him (*Srī-Ranga-Râyanu kânisikkollalâgi atanige abhayavittu*). It is not, however, known in what part of the kingdom of Mysore Srī-Ranga stayed. The probabilities are in favour of his having taken up his résidence either in Seringapatam or in its neighbourhood, most of the other tracts, including Bêlûr in the north-west, having been, as we hâve seen, in the possession of Bijâpur since 1639-1640.¹⁰³ In any case, between 1650-1652, Srī-Ranga, " encouraged by the good réception of the king of Mysore," took advantage of the absence of Khân Muhammad in the Karnâtak, " to recover his kingdom."¹⁰⁴ " Accordingly," says Proenza,¹⁰⁵ " with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him." In 1652, however, Bijâpur and Golkonda continued the war in the Karnâtak as strenuously as before.¹⁰⁶ Khân Muhammad laid siège to Penukonda mastering it finally in March 1653. He also sought the permission

101. Referred to by William Foster in *The English Factories in Itidia* (1661-1664), *Introduction*, p. XXV.

102. P. 24; see also *Raj. Kath.*, l.c.; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, in *Ndyaka of Mojlura*, p. 133, f.n. 60.

103. Cf. *Mys. Gaz.*, I I. iii. 2372-2374, 2886.

104. *Proenza's letter*, in *Ibid.*, p. 267.

106. *Ibid.*

105. See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in tu. 101 *supra*, pp. XXV, XXXIII. Robert Orme places the war between 1662-1666 (*Historical Fragments*, p. 62). J. Sarkar, using the *Muhammad-Namah*, writes of the Bijâpur campaigns about 1660 (see M. R., July 1929, p. 12; November 1929, p. 602). In the light of other sources cited below, however, we are in a position to assign the events narrated in the *Muhammad-Namah*, to the period 1662-1654.

ôf Gôlkoṇḍa to pass through the districts held by the latter's troops, on his way to Gingee. Mîr Jumla, the Gôlkoṇḍa gênerai, however, alarmed at the success of the Bijâpur troops, was making overtures to êrî-Ranga. Towards the close of 1653, Khân Muhammad marched on Vellore. And Ôrî-Ranga, relying on Mîr Jumla's promises—having finally left Mysore—"returned to Vellote and raised a large army hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country." About April 1654, Khân Muhammad, after a long siêge, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with êrî-Ranga, by which "Chandragiri was left to the latter with the revenues ôf certain districts."¹⁰⁷

During 1650-1652, Kanthîrava's loyalty to Srî-Ranga as a prominent feudatory of his was undoubted. The available inscriptions¹⁰⁸ of his reign, for these years, would also indicate the same position, although they are not in conflict with the assumption of independence by him from a local point of view, as already noticed. In August 1650, Linge-Gauḍa, Daḷavâi of Kanthîrava, was succeeded by Hamparâjaiya of Kârugahalli.¹⁰⁹ Hamparâjaiya continued in office till September 1651, in which year Kanthîrava is said to have acquired from the Muhammadans, Sûlekere-durga, Nâyakavaḍi State, Yelahanka-nâḍu, Ghannagiri and Basavâpatṇa, and from the Changâlva chief, Tunga, Ganni, Mâdâpura and Kattarighatta.¹¹⁰ Daḷavâi

Kanthîrava's local position, minor acquisitions, etc., 1660-1662.

107. *Ibid.*, p. XXXIII. See also *Muhammad-Namah*, in the *M. R.*, November 1929, p. 602, referring to the siêge of Penukoṅga, etc. The *C. Vam.* (190) also speaks of the siêge of Vellore, Chandragiri, etc., by the Muhammadans.

108. *B.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 171, 186 and 202; I I I (1) Nj. 106 (1660-1662). These records merely refer to Kanthîrava as a local ruler. The absence in them of the name of his suzerain (Srî-Ranga VI) does not mean that he had thrown off his allegiance to him.

109. *Annals*, I. 88; *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, I. 67.

110. *Ibid.*, I. 70. These acquisitions are, however, not enumerated in the *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, nor does Wilks allude to them.

Hamparâjaiya was succeeded by Dâsarâjaiya of Kalale (father-in-law of Kanthirava),¹¹¹ who held the office till October 1653.¹¹²

During 1652-1653, Kanthirava was "at war with Bijâpur."¹¹³ According to the *Muham-*
mad-Nâmâh,¹¹⁴ while Khân Muhammad was proceeding with the opérations of the siège of Penukoçida, "Siddi Baihan's sons in Sera (Sira) rebelled against Adil Shah and won over to their side the Bajahs of the neighbourhood," and were instigating "the Rajah of Mysore (Kanthirava), who, was the master of four lakhs of infantry and forty thousand good éléphants," to encroach upon the Bijâpur possessions in the Karnâtak. Kanthirava, accordingly, says the memoir,¹¹⁵ "wrested ail the forts in the Jagdev country, which Mustafâ Khan had conquered with so much effort." In particular, between November 1652 and January 1653, Kanthirava acquired in rapid succession Batnagiri, Virabhadrana-durga, Kengere-kôte, Pennâgara, Denkanîkôte and Dharmapuri¹¹⁶—forts said to have been in the possession of one "Yatibala Bao,"¹¹⁷ a Bijâpur gênerai, perhaps identical with Bâlâji Haibat Baq of the *Muhammad-Nâmâh*. Almost simultaneously Mîr Jumla of Gôlkonça was animating Kanthirava against Bijâpur.¹¹⁸ Thèse activities of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar attracted the attention of Khân Muhammad. The sons of Siddi Raihan having submitted to Bijâpur by March 1653, "Khan Muhammad marched into the Jagdev country to chastise the Rajah of Mysore,"

111. *Ibid.*, I. 89; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 67.

112. *Ibid.*

118t See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in f.n. 106 *supra*; see also f.n. 116 *infra*.

114. See *M.B.*, cited in f.n. 107 *supra*.

115. *Ibid.*

116. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II. 18-21; *Armais*, I. 70; see also *Mys. Raj; Cha.*, 24; *C. Vam.*, 86; *C. Vi.*, II, 128-129; of *Wilks*, I. 64-65.

117. *Ibid.*, II. 18. Wilks (l.c.) spetts the name as "Eitebal Row." Thé *Armais* (l.c.) mentions it as "Tirumala Raya," apparently a scribal error.

118. See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in f.n. 107 *supra*.

and succeeded in recovering, after a severe fight, Krishçagiri and four other forts in his territory.¹¹⁶ About October 1653, Khân Muhammad, on his way to Vellore, was obliged to abandon the forts recently conquered by him in Mysore. Meanwhile, he received news that Kaççhîrava had sent Daçavâi Dâsarâjaiya (*Das-raj* of the Persian text) "with a numberless force to the frontier of fort Kaveripatan" (Kâvëripaṭṭanam),¹²⁰ A detachment under Siddi Masaud was despatched by Khân Muhammad against Dâsarâjaiya. A battle took place near Kâvëripaṭṭanam, in which, says the memoir,¹²¹ Dâsarâjaiya was slain (October 1658). Linge-Gauda was re-appointed Daçavâi of Mysore in succession to Dâsarâjaiya,¹³² In March 1654, Kanthîrava, alarmed by the progress of Bijâpur arms as far as Kâvëripaṭṭanam, marched towards the south acquiring from Venkaṭâdri Nâyaka, Satyamangalam and Daṇâyakankôṭe, places guarding the passes in the south of Mysore.¹²³ In April (1654), he took from Chandraëekhara Nâyaka, Hosûr in the south-east of Mysore.¹²⁴

Meanwhile Khân Muhammad, victorious at Vellore, Bijapur and demanded tribute from Tirumala Madura vs, Mysore, Nâyaka of Madura.¹²⁵ Indeed, this 1664. was an opportune moment for Tirumala Nâyaka to strike, for, by making common cause with the Nâyakas of Gingee and Tanjore and with Kanthîrava of

119. *Muhammad-Namah*, cited in *Ibid*.

130. *Ibid*. Sarkar's identification of "DeM-ra;" with "*Des-raj*" is incorrect in the light of other sources.

121. *Ibid*; of *Annals* (I. 89) referring to the removal from service of Dajavâi Dâsarâjaiya by Kanthîravain November 1663, on the ground of old age. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (II. 67), an earlier Ms., refers, however, only to the two years' period of office of Dalavâi Dâsarâjaiya. In the absence of fuller details on the Mysore side, the authority of the *Muhammad' Namah* is to be preferred here.

122. *Annals*, l.c.; *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, l.o.

123. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II. 31; *Annals*, I. 70; see also C. Vam., M; C. Vi, II, 134; of *Wilks*, I, 65-66.

124. *Ibid*, II. 33; *Annals*, l.c.; of *Wilks*, I. 66.

125. *Muhammad-Namth*, l.ç.

Mysore; he could have not only successfully chosen the common enemy (*i.e.*, Bijapur and Grôlkonda) but also have settled the affairs of Srî-Ranga and re-established the latter's suzerainty in the country. These larger interests, however, were, perhaps, overshadowed by Tirumala Nâyaka's long-standing prejudices and latterly by his misapprehension of an invasion of his dominions by Mysore, while, in fact, Kanthîrava was, as we have seen, only attempting to maintain the *status quo* in the south and the south-east against the Muhammadans. Accordingly, about the middle of 1654, Tirumala Nâyaka negotiated with Khân Muhammad, urging him "to declare war against the king of Mysore" (Kanthîrava)¹²⁶ and begging him "to expel the invading Mysore troops from his dominions."¹²⁷ By this ruinous and short-sighted policy, Tirumala only brought about an event which marked, though indirectly, the climax in the relations between Bijapur and Mysore. What followed is thus stated in the *Muhammad-Nâmâh*:¹²⁸ "The Khan marched out of Vellore . . . pillaged and burnt Mysore territory down 'to a heap of ashes' . . . Balaji Haibat Rao, who had left Adil-Shahi service for that of Mysore, was now sent by Kanti Rai against Khan Muhammad. The Khan despatched Siddi Masaud with his vanguard to meet this army. In the battle that followed, Balaji was beheaded and his army routed. At this the Rajah of Mysore in mortal terror sent his envoy to the victorious Khan Muhammad, with an offer of submission, asking pardon for his offences and praying for safety. He promised to pay 'treasure beyond calculation' as an offering to Adil Shah and regularly deliver tribute (*baj-wa-Kharaj*) every year. By order of Adil Shah, Khan Muhammad left the Mysore Rajah's devastated kingdom

126. *Prænza's letter*, in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 267.

127. *Muhammad-Namah*, l.c.

128. *Ibid.* The sources on the Mysore side maintain a discreet silence in regard to this reverse.

to him. . . . The *Peshkash* was realized by Khan Muhammad." Nor was Tirumalā Nâyaka himself immune from Bijâpur attack, for, as Proenza tells us,¹⁹⁸ Khân Muhammad "did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijâpur full of riches." About this time, Sri-Ranga, "betrayed a second time by his vassals" (Nâyakas of Madura, Tanjore and Girgee) and probably realising also the serious predicament of Mysore caused by the ravages of the Bijâpur invasion, "was obliged to seek refuge on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life."¹³⁰

The wars of Bijâpur and Gôlkoḍa in the Karnâṭak were practically over about the monsoon season of 1654, the two powers finally accomplishing the division of their conquests in 1656.¹³¹

Fifth Phase : 1654-1669.

General course of affaire.

The Bijâpur-belt of territory to the north of the kingdom of Mysore, comprising Bangalore, Hoskôṭe, Kôlâr, Dewballâpur and Sîra, went under the designation of Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât while the territory below the ghâts, almost coterminous with the south-eastern frontier of Mysore, under the designation of Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Pâyanghât, Shâhji being continued in charge of the entire tract. The Gôlkoḍa possessions lay further east of this area, in the rich eastern plains of Madras comprising Chittoor, Gooty, Gurramkoḍa, Chandragiri, Gândikôṭe, Conjeevaram and other places, with a governor (Hazrat Anâr Sâhib) under the Qutb Shah. In the very year of the division of these conquests,

129. See *Nayaks of Madura*, l.c.

130. *Ibid.* The exile of Sri-Ranga would correspond to the period c. 1654-1666, for, from the *C. Vam.* and *Ke. N. F.*, as we shall see, he appears to have been in Bednûr between c. 1666-1669. Of Satyanatha Aiyar in *Nayaka of Madura*, p. 132. His statement that Kanthirava "entertained him (Sri-Ranga) for some time and seeing that he was the source of further troubles, seems to have left him to his own fate about 1668," is not borne out by the materials on record for the years 1660-1664.

131. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 62.

Muhammad Adil Shah died. Almost simultaneously, Abdullà Qutb Shah was recalled to his capital by a Mughal invasion. Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍà during the succeeding years were so much engrossed in their death-struggle with Aurangzib (Mughal Viceroy in the Deccân) that they had little time to effectively look after their conquered tracts in the south, except depending on the local governors thereof.¹³² This, no doubt, proved to be an advantage to other powers in the Kamṛṭak. In particular, Śivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri (1645-1660) had already succeeded in acquiring Vasudhâre, Sakrepaṭṇa and other places from Bijâpur between 1647-1652.¹³³ Shortly after the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, however, he systematically carried on his aggressions, taking the forts of Ikkëri, Soraba, Uḍugaṇi, Mahadëvapura, etc., then in the possession of the European trading powers (*Tâmramukhar*) ; and successfully opposed the chief of Sôde, acquiring from him Sirase (Sirsi), Herûr, Bôlûr and other places.¹³⁴ About the same time (1656), it would appear, êivappa Nâyaka, according to the *Chikkadëvarâya-Vamsâvaliy*¹³⁵ inquired after the whereabouts of, and traced out, the fugitive Emperor Sri-Ranga V I, paid his homage to him and afforded him an asylum. Between c. 1656-1659, Sri-Banga appears to have stayed in Bednûr (capital of êivappa Nâyaka) after his long sojourn in Drâvida and Mysore.¹³⁶

132. *Mys. Gaz.*, I I. iv. 2428; I I. iii. 2852—(see also inscriptions cited).

138. *Ke. N. V.*, V I I. 108.

134. *Ibid*, 110.

135. Pp. 190-191 : *Sri-Ranga-Râya-nenisuvam . . . ettalum nelegànadire yavananarasi kandu kalgeragi-yodagondû bandu . . .*

186. *C. Vam.*, 191 ; also *Ke. N. V.*, V I I. 114.' 'From these texts, Sri-Ranga, it seems obvioua, was under the shelter of Sivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri before his (Sri-Ranga's) own establishment at Hassan and Bêlûr by the latter in 1669. In the light of these sources, we have to allow a fair interval of at least three years (c. 1666-1669) for Sri-Banga's asylum in Bednûr, and push back the period of his exile itself by another two years (c. 1664-1666), in the light of the *Hague Transcripts* and Proenza, cited above. Cf. Wilks (1.79), placing Sri-Ranga's flight to Bednûr in 1646; Rice (*Mys. Gaz.*, I. 356), in 1644 (or 1646); S. K. Aiyangar (in *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 133-134, f.n. 60), after 1666; Satyanatha Aiyar (*Ibid*, p. 132), after 1663 ; and *Mys. Gaz.* (New Edn. I I. iii. 2370-2374, 2881-2888), in 1646 and 1656—all which require révision.

Meanwhile, in Mysôre, . Hamparâjaiya '(Hampaiya) of Relations with Kârugahalli had been reappointed Madura, 1655-1659: Dalavâi by Kanthirava, in May 1655, Mysorean invasion of in succession to Linge-Gauda.¹³⁷ Madura, c. 1666-1667. Kanthirava's first act after Khân Muhammad's pillaging expedition of 1654 was, according to Proenza,¹⁸⁸ the despatch of an army to the Satyamangalam province of Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura, with a view to "punish him for his disloyal conduct, wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war," Dalavâi Hamparâjaiya was entrusted with the operations of the campaign which seems to have begun about the latter part of 1655.¹³⁹ Without encountering much opposition Hamparâjaiya advanced on Madura "where he found considerable booty." He was soon before the walls of Madura itself, causing consternation to Tirumala Nâyaka who would have taken to his heels but for the unexpected help of the Marayas. Raghunâtha-Sêtipati, the Marava chief, proceeded thither with 25,000 men. With these and his own army of 35,000 men, Tirumala Nâyaka prepared himself for the onslaught. In the meanwhile Dalavâi Hamparâjaiya, in the words of Proenza, "too weak to hazard a gênerai action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements which his king (Kanthirava) had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the

137. *Annale*, I. 89 ; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 67,

138. See *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 267 (*Proenza's letter*).

139. See *M. E. R.*, No. 170 of 1910-11, dated in 1666 (*Manmatha*)—a damaged Kannada lithio record from Êrôde, mentioning Dalavâi Hamparâjaiya (*Hampaiya*) and Madura (*Madhura*). Evidently the record seems to reflect a campaign of Mysore in the Madura country. Since only the cyclic year is mentioned in the record and since we know Hamparâjaiya succeeded to the office of Dalavâi in May 1666, we may fix the beginning of the campaign about the latter part of 1655.

Màravàs, impatient at the delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dungeon, pounced on the enemies, and eut them to pièces. The reinains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expécted reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat again began with~ such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battlefield."¹⁴⁰

Nor was this all. "The advantage," continues Proenza,¹⁴¹ "remained with the Nâyak who utilised his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the théâtre of this bloody war to their provinces. A spécial circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to eut off the nose of ail the prisoners; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executèd this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, ìnen, women and children, and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nâyak, resenting this procédure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered reprisais; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of 'hunt for noses.' The king of Mysore, the first confcriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved." This counter-invasion of Madura is referred to in certain *Mackemie Manmeripts*,¹⁴² àccording to which the Madura forcés hotly pursued the retiring Mysore army ihto its own territories, as far as Nanjangûd (*Nanjankudi*).

140. *Nayakê of Madura*, pp. 267-268 (*Ibid*).

141. *Ibid*, pp. 268-269 (*Ibid*).

142. Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mas.*, II. 182-183; see also and compare *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 186-137.

From the letter of Proenza, it would seem that the invasion and counter-invasion narrated above were completed by the close of 1658 and the beginning of 1659.¹⁴³

There is, however, no information on the Mysore side regarding these events. Proenza's account, on the other hand, however trustworthy in regard to the main trend of transactions, does seem to exaggerate the "cutting off noses in war." Indeed to a foreign observer like Proenza such a mode of fighting could not but appear as novel and grotesque. In fact, as we have seen in the preceding pages, "nose cutting*" was a habitual feature of Mysorean warfare and this was not the only occasion when the Mysore army resorted to it, as Proenza seems to imagine. Nor is it likely that Kaçthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar himself ever took part in the war and sustained loss of his own nose, as Proenza makes us believe. Hence this part of the account cannot be literally accepted as a correct statement of facts. It seems, however, possible that the gênerai or his deputy in charge of the Mysore army was one of those who lost their noses during the retaliatory game adopted by the Madura forces. No doubt Kaçthîrava had desired to mark his displeasure of Tirumala's rebellion against his sovereign (Sri-Ranga) by ordering the infliction of this punishment on certain of his leading officials, a direction which was either carried to excess in its execution or grossly misrepresented as a regular "hunt for noses." The whole life and character of Kanthîrava seem to be against the ascription of such a barbarity to him by way of a gênerai measure.¹⁴⁴ The obvious effect of these

143. Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura died in February 1669 (*Nayaks of Madura* pp. 148-149). Since Proenza speaks of the Nâyaka's death shortly after his victory in the counter-invasion (*Ibid*, p. 269), the wars between Mysore and Madura appear to have practically come to a close in December 1668 or January 1669, although hostilities in the south continued during subsequent years.

144. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2869-2890; see also and compare S. K. Aiyangar in *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 136-137, f.n. 78. For details about the "nose-cutting," vide Appendix IX.

invasions during the last years of the reign of Kânthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was that the relations between Mysore and Madura became embittered to a degree.

Almost simultaneously Sivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkêri, smarting under the rejection of the offer of his alliance by Kanthirava (in September 1647),- had begun to show signs of an aggressive attitude towards Mysore, on the plea of restoring to his suzerainty Sri-Ranga VI who was under his (Sivappa Nâyaka's) protection since c. 1656.¹⁴⁵ In 1657 (*Hëvîlambi*) he marched southwards and laid siége to Hassan and Bêlûr,¹⁴⁶ then in the possession of the Muhammadans of Bijâpur. He began a regular blockade of the latter place and soon reduced it to subtoission slaying large numbers of the enemy,¹⁴⁷ It was also on this occasion that, according to the *Keladi-*

145. *C. Vam.*, 190-191 ; *Ke. N. F.*, VII. 108-109, 114. Although, according to the *Ke. N. V.* and *Sivatattvaratnâkara* (cited *in fra*), it was sheer loyalty to the Empire which induced éivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkêri to espouse the cause of Sri-Ranga VI, his real motive, according to the earlier work, *C. Vam.*, was nothing but self-interest. Indeed, by courting on his side the support of Emperbr Sri-Ranga and by attempting to give to the ruined fortunes of the latter the advantage of his power and influence, Sivappa Nâyaka evidently hoped not only to establish Sri-Ranga in his suzerainty of the Karnâtaka country but also to retaliate, and carry on his aggression, against Mysore, at whose rejection of his embassy (in September 1647) he had been offended. Sivappa Nâyaka's offer of an asylum to Sri-Ranga VI between c. 1666-1659 cannot, therefore, be better understood except on this footing. See Ch. X, for further détails.

146. *Ke. N. F.*, VII. 109; see also *Sivatattvaratnakara* in S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*, pp. 366-367. Both these texts are, obviously, to be understood as referring to the siége of Bêlûr in the Hassan district, "*Vêlapura*"* of the latter text being only the Sanskritised form of Bêlûr and not "Vejlore" in the Madras Presidency as identified in the *Sources* (p. 347), *Nâyaks of Madura* (p. 133, f.n. 60) and the *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iii. 2372-2373). See also *B.C.*, V (1) and (2) Bl. 3, 14, 56, 68, etc., mentioning *Vêlapura* as the old name for Bêlûr. "Vellore" had been, as we have seen above, twice lost by Sri-Ranga in 1647 and 1654, while "Bêlûr" was also in the possession of Bijâpur (since 1640), so that it was but in the fitness of things for éivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkêri to recover both Bêlûr and Hassan for Ôri-Ranga in 1657, as an ostensibly loyal feudatory of his.

147. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, I.c.

Nripa-Vijâyam,¹⁴⁸ Krislmappa Nâyaka of Bêlûr and Àrkalgûd opposed êivappa Nâyaka at the head of vast forces (*bahusâmyâ sahitidirehida*). Alarmed, probably, by the latter's activities, Kanthîrava himself, it would appear,¹⁴⁹ substantially assisted his feudatory, Krishijappa Nâyaka, against the latter (*mayavadigaladhika sahayade*); Sivappa Nâyaka, however, succeeded in thoroughly defeating Krishnappa Nâyaka on the field of battle and took his son, Venkatâdri Nâyaka, prisoner. Though these activities of Ikkêri tended to restrict the sphere of influence of Mysore up to Bêlûr in the north-west, they resulted in improving the position of Srî-Ranga by 1659 (*Vikari*), in which year Sivappa Nâyaka established the latter at Hassan and Bêlûr and is said to have been duly honoured by him with titles like *Râmabàna*, *Paravàrana-Vdrana* and presents, including a costly ear-ornament of sapphire, a very costly pearl, the emblems of the conch and the discus, an umbrella called the *Jagajhampa* and the head of the enemy slain.¹⁵⁰

In 1659, the last year of the reign of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: On the north it had been extended up to Channapaṭṇa and Turuvêkere, coterminous with the Karnâtak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât, while Channarâyapatna, overlooking Hassan and Bêlûr, had become its north-western limit; in the south it ran up to Ḍaṇâyakankôṭe and Satyamangalam and in the south-east up to Kâvêripaṭṭaçam, co-extensive with the Karnâtak-Bijâpur-Pâyanghât; in the east it practically covered the whole of the territory of Jagadêva-Râya, while in the west it had been extended up to Coorg absorbing a major portion of the kingdom of the Changâlvas (including Nanjarâyapatṛia). The tendency

148. VII. 10.

149. *Ibid.*150. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 114; *C. Vatn.*, 191; *Sivatattavaratnakara*, p. 357.

on the part of Mysore to advance further in the north and the north-west while maintaining her integrity in the south and the south-east as against Madura and other powers, had already begun to manifest itself towards the close of the reign.

CHAPTER IX.

KANTHIRAVA-NARASARAJA WODEYAR I,

1638-1659—(contd.)

Kanthirava's Rule: Ministers, Officers and Dalavais—
Administrative measures: 1. Defence—2. Goinage and Currency, 1645—3. Settlement of conquered tracts—
Eudatories, c. 1647-1650—Religion—Gifts, etc.—A scheme of public utility, c. 1645-1648—Grants and other records, 1639-1657—Authentic statues of Kanthirava—Social life : c. 1638-1648—Gities and towns: 1. Seringapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkote—General culture—Daily life, amusements, etc.—Court culture : costume and personal adornment—Kanthirava's personal servants—His daily Durbar and local titles—Festivals—The *Mahanavami* in Seringapatam—Its célebration in 1647 (September 19-28)—Beginnings : the eight days' Durbar--The detailed programme—The ninth day (*Mahanavami*)—The tenth day (*Vijayadasami*)—'Gifts and présents—The social idéal : contemporary manners and morals, etc.—Kanthirava as a patron of learning—Literary activity : Sanskrit and Kannada writers—Govinda-Vaidya and his *Kanthirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam* (1648)—Domestic life: Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—Doddadevaraja Wodeyar : indications of his rule jointly with Kanthirava—Last days of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar— His death, July 31, 1659—An estimate of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar—As a warrior—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a " Maker of Mysore "—Kanthirava in tradition.

THE rule of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar bore the impress of his personality to a greater extent, perhaps, than that of his predecessors, on the administration of the country he ruled over. Inscriptions and other sources speak of him as ruling in Seringapatam seated on the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhâsana*).

Kanthirava's Rule:
Ministers, Officers
and Dalavais.

His government was conducted along traditional lines and was in keeping with the gēnerai course of political development the kingdom underwent. Timmarasa was the minister-in-chief (*mantrisa*) of Kanthirava, well versed in political counsel, accounts and the arts ;¹ Lappavarasa was his minister of finance (, . . . *sakala rājyake* . . . *lekkabvanu* . . . *baredôduva*) ;² Basavaiya was an officer in charge of the treasury (*bokkasa*) ;³ Narasimha-Upādhyāya—identical with Nṛsimhārya mentioned in the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant* (April 1639)—was the king's scribe (*rāyasadolu jāna*) ;⁴ and Linge-Gauda was the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Pattanada-adhikāri*),⁵ the capital city (till July 1649). Among other officers, Kottūraiya was an agent of Kanthirava (*Narasaraja Wādeyarāvāra kūr yakke kartarāda*) at Sāligrāma.⁶ Among the Dalavāis of the reign, already referred to,⁷ were Timmarājaiya (November 1638-December 1640), Nanjarājaiya of Hura (December 1640-January 1647), Lingarājaiya of Hura (January 1647-June 1648), Kempaiya (June 1648-July 1649), Linge-Gauda (July 1649-August 1650), Hamparājaiya (*Hampaiya*) of Kārughalli (August 1650-September 1651) and Dās-rājaiya (*Dās-rāj*) of Kalāle, father-in-law of Kanthirava (September 1651-October 1653),—Linge-Gauda and Hamparājaiya holding the office a second time between October 1653-May 1655 and May 1655-1659, respectively. The short tenure of office usually allowed by Kanthirava to each of his Dalavāis points to the active

1. *K.N. V., XXV, 84: Vara-mantrade sura-guru . . . likhyangade (lekkangade) sarasija-bhava . . . suvidyadali nēre gandu-Sarade.*

2. *Ibid, 82.*

3. *Ibid, 74.*

4. *Ibid, 86.*

5. *Ibid, 56.*

6. *E.C., V (1) and (2) Cn. 185 (1650).*

7. *Ante, section on Political history in Ch. VIII; see also Annale 1.68,85-86, 88-89; Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 66-67 and f.n. 8 infra.*

personal influence exerted by him in military as in civil administration.⁸

Defence was perhaps the foremost problem that engaged the attention of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyâr in the early years of his reign. The fort of Seringapatam having sustained serious damages during the siège of 1699, Kanthirava took a keen personal interest in the work of improving and extending it, with a view to make it more impregnable and self-sufficient. Huge flat stones were made use of in enlarging and strengthening the ramparts, bastions and ditches. And magazines and armouries were extensively laid out, together with large stores of fodder and provisions of every description. The fort of Mysore was likewise improved and strengthened, and arrangements made for storing in provisions, arms and ammunition.⁹

1. Defence.

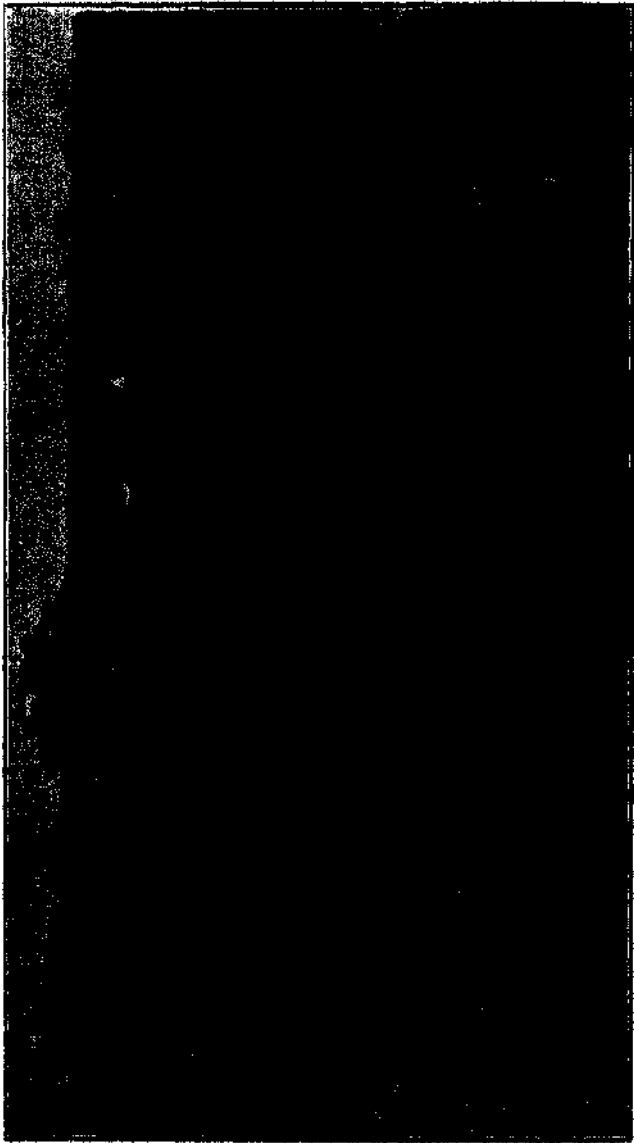
The next measure of importance was the establishment by Kanthirava, for the first time, of a mint (*tenkasâle*) in Seringapatam and the reorganization of currency and coinage. The tendencies underlying this measure were of a political, administrative and religious character : firstly, by 1645, Kapthirava was, as we have seen, sufficiently well established on the throne of Mysore (having successfully beaten off the Bijâpur invasion and counteracted the aggressions of Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura)

2. Coinage and Currency, 1645.

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8. The *Annals* (I. 88-89) refers to inefficiency, corruption, neglect of duty, assertiveness, etc., on the part of the Dalavai as the cause of his dismissal and the appointment of his successor. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (1.66-67) merely mentions the period of office of each Dalavâi. Whatever might have been the real cause for the removal from office of a Dalavâi, Kanthirava seems to have been the first ruler to realise the evils of excessive concentration of power in the Dalavai. He appears to have kept his Dalavâis thoroughly under control generally by allowing them only a short tenure of office, unless any of them proved himself aman of exceptional capacity like Nanjarâjâya of Hura. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 290-292.

9. *Anhalê*, I. 79-80, 03. For détails about arms and ammunition, vide Appendix IX,



The Seringspatastam Fort with its postern gate—A view.

and was aiming at independence from a local point of view ; secondly, the innumerable estampages on the gold coins in the country—belonging to the Pâjegâr régime—had led to confusion and it was found absolutely necessary to have a uniform seal for all gold coins ;¹⁰ thirdly, Karjihirava's prédilection "for Vaishjivism, perhaps most significantly echoed in a lithic record of his,¹¹ was also prominently at work. The first coins were, accordingly, struck in Kanthirava's namé, on the 26th of April 1645.¹² These are gold ones, variously known as *Kanthirâya-hana*,¹³ *Kanthirava-Râya*¹⁴ and *Kanthirava-Râya-ravi* ;¹⁵ and are impressed with the figure of God Lâkshmi-Narasimha on the obverse and some dots on the reverse.¹⁶ Another species of gold coins, issued probably about the same time or slightly later, was the *Kanthirâya-varaha*.¹⁷ Not only were these coins issued but their circulation all over the country was also provided for, 10 *hanams* being équivalent to one *Kanthirâya-varaha* and the weight of nine *hanams* being équivalent to the weight of one *varaha* (*Kanthirâyi*), the two dénominations being ordered to be used in connection with the account and cash transactions, respectively, of the State.¹⁸ Kanthirava appears to have

10. *Ibid.*, I. 90.

11. *E. O.*, V (2) Ag. 64 (April 1647), p. 768 (Text) ; see also under *Religion*.

12. *I. M. O.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 96-97 :

Sâibahana-saka-varpa 1667 sanâ vartamânavâda |
Pârthiva nâma samvatsarâda |
Yatâkha-su. 11 [Text gone] nakshatradallu |
Kanthirava-Narasârja Wâdyaraiyyanavaru tamma pesarinalli |
Lakshmi-Narasimha-mudre-nâgyavannu hâkisi |
i nâgyakke Kanthirava-Râyanendu pesaru kottu |
grâma-kshâtrajannu samarpitâ vivara ||

Cf. *Annals* (I. 91), placing this event in April 1643 ; *Wills* (I. 61), merely referring to the establishment of the mint and the issue of "Cantyrâi hoons and fanams" by Kanthirava ; also *M. A. R.*, 1930, p. 81, referring to the issue of the coins "some time after 1646."

13. *Annals*, l.c. ; see also Appendix IV—(4).

14. *Vids f.n.* 13 *supra*—Text.

15. See Appendix *Ibid.*, for details.

16. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 25.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Annals*, I. 90-91 ; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.

issued a *Séries* of copper coins also, known as *Ānekāsu*,¹⁹ to serve the purposes of a token currency.

In the localities annexed by him from the feudatoriès, Kanthirava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, it is said,²⁰ settled the land revenue dues according to the status and condition of each tract. The refractory Pâlegârs and turbulent ryots in the local parts were allowed just enough means to enable them to sustain themselves, a major portion of their income being confiscated to the State. To promote local peace and facilitate the transmission of revenue collections from the countryside to the central exchequer at Seringapatam, officiais like *Subēdar*, *Thânâdâr*, *Karanikas* and *Gumâstas* were also appointed.

Among the local feudatoriès of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar—at the height of his power, *i.e.y* during c. 1647-1650—were the following:²¹ Doḍḍaiya (Doḍḍendra) of Haradanahalli, Kempaiya (Kempendra) of Satyâgâla, Timmarâja (Timmendra) of Heggaddêvankôte, Doḍḍaiya of Channarâyapatpa, Hampaiya of Turuvêkere, Châmaiya of Channapatṇa, Hampaiya of Maddûr, Muddaiya of Nâgamangala, Nanjarṇa of Maḷavalli, Râjaiya of Terakaṇâmbi, Guruvaṇṇa of Kannambâdḷi, Kottûraiya of Kikkêri, Chiwa-Gauḍa of Pâlupare, Muddaiya of Kânkânhalli, Honnaṇṇa of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavâḍi, Sangaiya of Ummattûr, Channaiya of Hosahoḷalu, Dâsaiya, chief of Balloḍeyar (?), Lingarâjaiya (Lingarâjendra) of Yeḷandûr (Yeḷavandûr), and the chiefs of Hullahalli (Hullanahalli), Nilusûge, Kuḷagâṇa, Kôte-kere (Kôteya-kere), Hemmara-

19. *Vide Appendix Ibid.*

20. *Annals*, I. 89; also *Wilks*, I. 60-61.

21. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 47-55, 57-59, 61-71. Most of the feudatoriès, referred to, are stated to have been présent in Seringapatam during the festivities of 1647, noticed under *Social life*. Kottûraiya of Kikkêri, mentioned, is further to be indentified with the one referred to as an 'agent of Kanthirava at Sâligrâma (see f.n. 6 *supra* and text thereto).

gala, Bilikere, Talakâd, Sôsale and ' Rangaśamudrâ. Some of these feudatories were, as we shall see, in the Personal service of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar himself. Among the feudatories in friendly alliance with Kanthîrava were i⁸² Bangappa Nâyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Narasimhapura), Kṛishṇappa Nâyaka of Bêlûr, Doḍḍa-Kempe-Gauḍa of Kuṇigal and Chikka-Gauḍa²³ of Mâgadi, Virupaṇṇa Nâyaka of Âlambâdi and the sons of the chief of Nanjarâyapaṭṇa and Pûvala-Hanuniappa Nâyaka (of Basavâpaṭṇa and Tarikerê). Tanjore, Madura and Gingee (*Ohenje*)²⁴ were among the distant powers represented by their ministers at the court of Kanthîrava during the period.

The period of Kanthîrava's rule witnessed an important stage in the development of Religion. éri-Vaishṇavism in South India in gênerai and Mysore in particular. Already Mêlkôte had become a prominent centre of éri-Vaishṇavism²⁵ and no less important was Seringapatam, the capital city.²⁶ More significant still, perhaps, was the influence of Vaishṇava tradition that was being continually exerted on the Mysore Royal House from the early years of the seventeenth century. We have seen how Râja Wodeyar, Châmarâja Wodeyar and Immaḍi-Râja Wodeyar were staunch Vaishṇavaïtes. Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, father of Kanthîrava-

22. *Ibid.*, 93-99.

23. Dodda-Kempe-Gauda here is to be identified with Immadi-Kempe-Gauda II of Mâgadi (1569-1668) and Chikka-Gauda with Chikka-Kempe-Gauda (son of Immadi-Kempe-Gauda), afterwards Mummadi-Kempe-Gauda III (1668-1678). Perhaps during the period, of which we are writing (c. 1647-1650), both father and son were governing the Yelahanka-nâgu, the former from Kuṇigal, the latter from Mâgagi, and both were present during the festivities of 1647 in Seringapatam. For the relations between Kanthîrava and Immadi-Kempe-Gauda about 1648-1660, see f.n. 97 in Ch. VIII and text thereat. For the 'genealogy of the Yelahanka (Mâgafli) chief s, *vide* Tabje XVII. :

24. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 89-91.

26. See *C. Vam.*, 113; *C. Vi.*, III, 78; also i.n. 85 *infra*.

26. *K. N. V.*, VII, 96; V, 112, etc.

Narasarāja Woḍeyar, was himself an earnest devotee of Vishnu, adôrifig God Nrsimha.²⁷ An inscription³⁸ records of him as having none to equal him alike in respect of bathing in holy rivers, making gifts, winning victory on the field and offering worship to Vishnu. The *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali*, already referred to,²⁹ makes mention of his pilgrimage to Mêlkôṭe, Tirupati, êrîrangâm and other sacred places, accompanied by his half-brother, Muppina-Dēvarâja Woḍeyar, during the early years of the reign of Châmarâja Woḍeyar. Under Kanṭhîrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, the Vaishṇava prédilections of the Mysore Royal Family became more and more marked. Kanṭhîrava was celebrated for his ardent dévotion to Vishnu (*atiéaya Vishnu-bhakti*)³⁰ and for his scrupulous observance of the characteristic features of the creed,³¹ namely, *Vaiṣṇava-Dikshâ* (leaving the head unshaved for long periods), *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa-Prasanga* (listening to the *Bhâgavata-Purânam*), *Ekâdasi-Vratam* and *Dvâdasi-Vratam* (fasting on the eleventh day of every fortnight and breaking the fast on the twelfth), *Hari-pûje*, *Hari-dhyâna* (worship and contemplation of Vishnu), *Nitya-dâna* (daily gifts), *Kshirâmbudhi* (distribution of milk) and *Brindâvana-sêve* (offering devotional worship to *Brindâvanam*, the abode of the Lord). A lithic record³² speaks of him as having placed his burdens at the feet of God Nṛhari (Lakshmi-Nṛsimha). Indeed so profound was the impression produced by his faith in Vaishnavism that he was deified

27. *Ibid*, IV, 4-10.

28. E. C., III (I) Sr. 108 (April 1647), II. 28-29 :

*Snanîcha dâmcha jayêcha Vishnôh
Pûjâ-vidhau tatsadrô na-kaschit |*

29. *Ante*, Ch, VI. 30 K. N. F., XXVI, 3.

31. *Ibid*, 4-16; VII, 63; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 92-93.

32. E.C., V (2) Ag. 34 (April 1647), p. 767 (Text); *Sri-Nrhari padayugê nyasta sarvasva bhârô*; see alto C. Vam. (37), depicting Kanthîrava as having been engagea in the contemplation and adoration of Viehna (*Nrsimhana*).

by his subjects! Nor can there be any doubt that he aimed at perpetuating the cult of Vishṇu among his people by the issue of coins bearing the figure of God Lakshmī-Narasimha and by inducing them to worship that God and observe the rite of fasting (*Ēkādasi-Vratam*) on the eleventh day of every fortnight. Thus, the record,³³ mentioned above, says : " The king Kanthīrava was taken by the people for God Nṛsimha. Seeing that from love of money the people had forgotten Vishṇu, the wise king Kanthīrava made from that money *Nṛhari* and preserved the people . . . Inquiring into the sayings of the *Vēda* and *Smṛiti* and ascertaining the meaning of all *sāstras*, in accordance with the intentions of both, he caused all to worship Lakshmī-Nṛhari's two feet on *Ēkādasi* and also to perform that (*Ēkādasi*) *Vrata* like Ambarīsha and other kings." It was, we are told,³⁴ his sincere conviction that salvation was only to be attained by absolute devotion to Vishṇu ; and this perhaps found its lasting expression in the construction by him (between 1645-1648) of a temple to God Lakshmī-Narasimha, to the right of his Palace at Seringapatam, for the spiritual benefit of his people (*tannanti-lôgarellarum bardunkugendu*).³⁵ Toleration

33. *Ibid.*, p. 768 (Text) :

Kanṭhīrava-mahipālam Nṛsimham mēnirē janakḥ ||
Vittēchchā paripīṭitēna manasā Vishṇum sadā viṣmṛtān |
Lōkan vīkshya dayāparōṭi-chaturakḥ Kanṭhīrava-kahmāpatih |
Tadvittē Nṛharim vidhāya sahasā kurvan nṛpān pālanam |

Vēda-Smṛtyādi vākyam savachana-sādṛṣam sarva-śāstram vicārjya
Śrīman Kanṭhīrava-śrī-narapatir-nischayitvārtha-yugmann |
Ēkādasyam su-Lakshmī-Nṛhari-padayugārādhnam tad-vratancha
Vyātānāmbāri-śādyakḥīla-narapatīnām-āśēpam-śchakāra ||

34. *C. Vam.*, l.c. : *nītya-sukhama-nēśasi tattvama-nṛaydu Purushōttamāna bhakti-yogāllade mukti-yanugōḥadendu nischayisi*. See also *C. Vi.*, II, 140. According to Tirumalārya, the reference to *tattva* in the above passage is to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava doctrines of trust in God's grace and self-surrender.

35. *Ibid.* ; *C. Vi.*, II, 141 ; also *K. N. V.* (1648), VII, 76-81, 114, referring to the temple (*Śrī-Narasimha-dēvāna nilaya*) ; *Annals*, I. 88 ; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 24 (compare). For further references to this extant temple, see under *Gifts, Grants and Social life*.

was a prôminent feature of Kanthîrava's religion. He was devoted as much to Vishnu as to Siva (*Hari-Harahaktiyoliruva*),³⁶ while he worshipped his family deities *Lakshmîkânta*, *Châmundēsvari* and *Trinēsvara*³⁷ with no téss fevcour. He is also said to hâve observed the Saiva cites (*Saiva-Vrata*) as well.³⁸ In his capital there not only flourished Vaishnava and Saiva institutions (temples and maths)³⁹ but also adhérents of différent creëds and sects (such as the *Bhâgavatas*, *Vîra-Vaisnavas*, *Mathâ-dhipatis*, *Sivabhaktas*, *Jôgis* and *Jangamas*), who lived side by side in friendly rivalry.⁴⁰

Numerous were the gifts of Kaçthîrava-Narasarâja Wocïeyar to institutions and individuals, both in and outside his kingdom. Services in the temple of God Lakshmî-Narasimha at Seringapatam engaged his constant attention. That temple, it is said,⁴¹ was provided by him with a lofty enclosure-wall of stone (*êltarada kallapâgalu*), an extensive verandah (*bittarada kaisâle*), a seven-storeyed tower (*êlneleya gôpura*), *mantapas*, *navaranga*, abodes for minor gods (*parivâra-dēvatâlayangalum*) and a *garbha-grha* (*gabbavane*), besides a sacrificial pavilion (*yâga-sâle*) and a spring festival pond (*Vasanta-kola*). In the temple thus furnished, Kanthîrava, it is added,⁴³ set up the image of Nrsimha with Nâchyârs and the processional image of the God, together with minor deities and Âlvârs, according to the *Pâncharâtra* and other *âgarriyas*. He richly endowed this shrine with ornaments of precious stones—including a jewelled crown

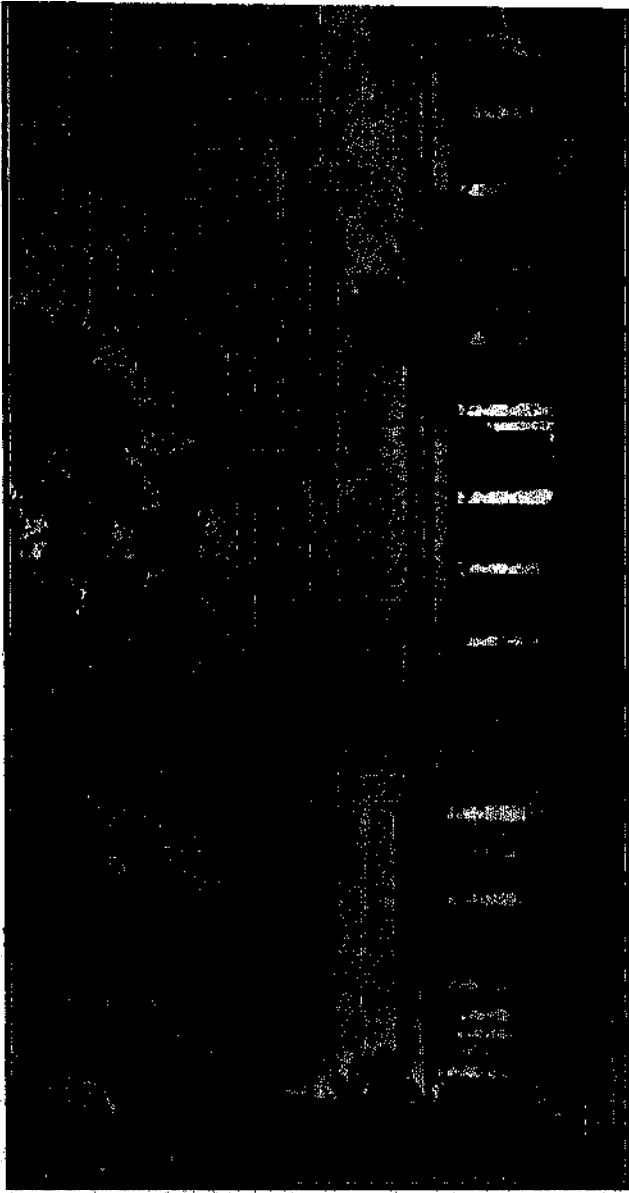
36. *K. N. F.*, VII, 68. 37. *Ibid*, IV, 96. 38. *Annals*, I, 98.

39. *K. N. V.*, VII, 78-114. For détails, *vide* section on *Social life—Cities and towns*.

40. *Ibid*, VI, 53, 62; XX, 46-47; XXI, 118, etc.

41. *C. Vam.*, 37; (7. *Vi.*, II, 141-142; *Annals*, I, 89-90; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also under *Social life*, l.c.

42. *Annals*, I, 90; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; also *C. Vam.* and *C. Vi.*, l.c.; *M, A, R.*, 1918, p. 68, para 130 [*E. C. Bangalore Dist. Suppl Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), 11.14-16].



Śrī-Narasimhasvāmi Temple, Seringapatam.

named *Kanthirava-mudi*—silken fabrics, plates, cups, utensils and *vahanams* ; and arranged for the conduct of daily, fortnightly, monthly and yearly services to the presiding deity, setting apart the revenues of fertile village? for the purpose. As part and parcel of his religion (*Vrata-dharma*), Kanthirava, we learn,⁴⁸ also established *agrahàras* at Seringapatam (Paéchimaranga), Karighafta (Karigiri), Melkôte (Yâdavâdri), éri-éailam, Benares (Kâéi), érirangam and Ramësvaram (Setu), with arrangements for the feeding of Brâhmans and the payment of annuities to deserving families and provided for the worship of God Bindu-Mâdhava and Viévanâtha at Benares and for the conduct of a *Râmanuja-kûta* (assembly of the followers of Râmânujâchârya) at Srîrangam. He also set up feeding-houses (*anna-satra*) throughout his kingdom and performed innumerable deeds of charity (such as the célébration of marriages, thread cérémonies, etc.) in aid of the poor and the needy. Among the acts of piety Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar is credited with are:⁴⁴ the formation of a lake (named *Kanthirava-sarôvara*) in the *Suka-tîrtha* at Seringapatam, for use during the function of *Gajendra-Môksha* conducted for God Ranganâtha ; the establishment of an *agrahâra* named *Kanthirava-pura* to the north of the Cauvery in Seringapatam, with *vrittis* (shares) to the three sects of Brâhmans ; the construction of an extensive tank named *Narasâmbudhi* by damming the Kaundini river, to raise crops for services to God Nanjundësvara of Nanjangud ; the extending of the towers, mantapas and outer and inner enclosure-walls of the temple of Ranganâtha and the présentation of a jewelled crown named *Vaikuntha-mudi* to that God ; the extending of the tower of the

48. B. C., III (1) Sr .103 (1647); 11. 49-53; K. N. V., XXVI, 31-39; see also f.n. 68 *infra* and text thereto.

44. *Annale*, I. 79, 83-88, 90-98; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 24-26. Dêvaohandra speaks also of granta of lands by Kanthirava to the Jain Basti at Sravana-Bejagola (Gommatapura) and rent-free gifts (umbali) to the Jain Brahmins, etc., (Raj.Kath., XII.472).

temple of Gangâdharësvara in Seringapatam and the setting up of the Panchalinga in that temple ; the execution of repairs to the temple of Venkataramaṇa at Karighaṭṭa and the erection of steps to that hill ; the renovation of the *Gautama-ratha* at the temple of Srikanthësvara at Nanjangùḍ ; the laying out a garden (named *éringâra-tôṭa*), near the waste weir of the old tank in Mysore, on the spot where his grandfather, Bôḷa-Châmarâja Woḍeyar, had been cremated; the construction of a large pond (named *éringâra-tôṭa-kola*) with bathing-ghâts, to the south of the Tri#ëvara temple ; the addition of a verandah to the latter temple, with the images of Châmuṇḍëvari, Panchalinga, Dakshinâmûrti and other gods set up therein, and the erection of a spacious *kalyâṇa-mantapa* (marriage pavilion) behind the temple of Lakshmîramaçiasvâmi at Mysore; the provision of gifts and endowments to Goddesses Châmundësvari of the Châmundi Hills and Jvâlâmukhi-Amma of Uttanahalli, and to the êaiva and Vaishṇava temples at Nanjangùḍ, Tirupati, Mèlkôte and other sacred places, according to the status of each of these temples ; the construction of a tank at Arikuthara in the name of his fatherrin-law, Dodḍê Urs, and the laying out of a new water-course—extant as *Bangâradoddi-kâlve*—near Seringapatam, and naming it after Dodḍêjamma, a favourite consort of his (*gândharva-patni*).

This last-mentioned act was, we are told,⁴⁵ the outcome of a scheme to provide traffic facilities to the public over the Cauvery when it is in floods and, ordinarily, for the supply of water to the inhabitants of the capital city. The Cauvery, flowing to the south-west and the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam, was, it is said,⁴⁶ bridged at convenient points ; then the river was dammed near Chandra-vana, to the south of Gautama-kshëtra (where it

46, *Annals*, I. 91.

46. *Ibid.*

divides itself into two branches), and the water thus stored in was led to the capital city by means of the canal running from the bridge in the south-west. Kanthirava is further said to have laid down that the crops raised under the new scheme were to be set apart for services in the temple of God Ranganâtha of Seringapatam,⁴⁷ In keeping with this account of the scheme is the contemporary référence⁴⁸ to the bridge adjoining both branches of the Cauvery and the new canal surrounding the city of Seringapatam, from which it seems obvious that these monuments of Kanthirava's rule were conspicuous in Seringapatam already between c. 1645-1648,

Among the extant records of the reign of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar, the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated April 7, 1639,⁴⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Gajjiganahalli—under the name of *Narasarâtpura* (divided into 24 shares)—to Vedic Brâhmans, for the eternal benefit of his father (Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar) and as an offering to God Nrsimha. A lithic record, dated December 7, 1640,⁵⁰ refers to the grant by Kanthirava, as rent-free, of the village of Putšanapura in the Hangala-sthala of the Terakanâmbi-sime, for the offerings to God Hanumanta (newly set up, with a mantapa in the central street of Terakanâmbi, by one Kempa-Narasimha Setti) and for the maintenance of a feeding-house for the daily distribution of food to Brâhmans (*nitya-kattaleya . . . Brâhmana-satra*). Another, dated March 15, 1642,⁵¹ speaks of the setting

47. *Ibid.*

48. K. N. V. (1648), V, 60-61 : *Ubhaya-kdvëriya bigidopputiha divya sêtu . . . ïra balasi nere pariva kaluve*; also V II, 49 : *nûtana-galve*.

49. E. C7, III (1) Nj. 198 : i. 1561, *Pramathi, Chaitra, eu.* 15. This record is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varaha-mudre*), *Vide*, on this point, f.n. 56 *infra*.

50. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Gu. 10 : A. 1662, *Vikrama, Pushyaëu.* 6, Monday. This record also bears the emblem of sovereignty of the world (*Vamana-mudre*, see I.11).

51. E. C., V (1) and (2) Cn, 168 : *Vishu Phalguna ba.* 10, Tuesday. Cf. H. I. S. I., p. 278

up of God Basavēsvara and the érection of a mantapa at Channarâyapatna by Channa Wodeyar, son of Doddaiya, Prabhu of Kânkânhaḷli, a feudatory of Kapṭhîrava. A third, dated March 10, 1643,⁵² records the grant by Kanṭhîrava, as an *agrahâra* (of 50 shares) to Purôhit Lingà-Bhaṭṭa and other Brâhmans, of the village of Mârachahaḷli—otherwise called *Narasarâja-pura*—with its eight hamlets, wet and dry lands, on the occasion of a solar éclipse. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated April 26, 1645,⁵³ registers the gift by Kanṭhîrava of lands in six tributary villages (*kaigânikeya grâmagalu*), on the occasion of the striking of the *Kanṭhîrâya-haṇams*. A lithic record, dated April 27, 1647,⁵⁴ mentions the formation by Kanṭhîrava of the *agrahâra* of Mattigôḍu (south-east of Bâmanâthapura)—named af ter himself—and the grant of the same tô selected Brâhmans, divided into 13 shares, as an offering to God Narasimha (*ârî-Narasimhâya namah*); A copper-plate inscription from Toçḍanûr, of the same date,⁵⁵ refers to the grant by Kanṭhîrava of the village of Sukadore to the north of Mëlkhôte (Yâdavêdri), together with its seven hamlets, to Sri-Vaishriava Brâhmans, as an *agrahâra* under the name of *Kanṭhîrava'Narasa-Nrpâmbôdhi*. This record, it is interesting, bears the king's signature as *Sri-Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâju* and is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varâhamudre*).⁵⁶ A lithic record, dated September 23,

52. *Ibid.*, IV (9) Yd. 5 : s. 1564, *Chitrabhânu*, *Phalguna* ba. 30, Friday.

53. No. 18-15-20, pp. 86-87 ; s. 1567, *Parthiva*, *Vaisâkha* su. 11.

54. E. C., V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 : *Sarvajit*, *Vaidikha* su. 3. This record, again, is impressed with the Boar seal [see p. 770 (Text) in V (2)] :

. . . *Râjêta Kanṭhîrava-Narasa-nrpâmbôdhi* *âsanam kâravitva*
Samyag-vârâha-mudrâm taduparicha param sthâpayitva lîkhitva ||
 See also f.n. 56 *infra*.

55. E. C., III (1) St. 103 : *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, II. 154-155 :

. . . *Râjêta Kanṭhîrava-Narasa-nrpâmbôdhi* *âsanam kâravitva*
Samyag-vârâha-mudrâm taduparicha param sthâpayitva lîkhitva ||

This record points, significantly enough, to Kanṭhîrava's local position when he was at the height of his power—particularly after the siege of

1647,⁵¹ refers to the construction of a pond and a stone *math* in Channarâyapatna by Kempanna-Gauda of Kasulagere, an agent of Doddaiya of Kânkânhalli, feudatory of Kanthîrava. Between c. September 1647 and April 1648, we have lithic records⁵⁸ referring, among other things, to the construction of a temple (of three *ankañams*) to Gadde-Bâmëévara, a pond, a well and an evening *math* (*sandhyâ-mathâ*), at Channarâyapatna, by Doddaiya himself. Another record, a lithic one, dated December 8, 1647,⁵⁹ speaks of the grant by Kanthîrava of the village of Balakuli to Brâhmans of various gôtras and sûtras. A *nirupa* of Kanthîrava, dated March 14, 1649 and addressed to Channaiya of the *Pattana-hôbli-vichâra*,⁶⁰ refers to the setting up of a stone slab (*silâpratisthebagye*) in Tirumalasâgara, and communicates an order to the effect that the boundaries of villages under *Tirumalasâgara-agrahâra* should be fixed up and that the supply of water thereto from the tank of Tonnûr (Tondanûr) should, as usual, be conducted in perfect security. The *nirûpa*, it was further ordered, was to be got copied in the *kadita* of the *Châvadikaranika* and returned. A lithic record, dated October 21, 1650,⁶¹ refers to the érection of a *navaranga-paṭṭasàle* and an enclosure-wall—for God Vepugôpàla set up in Àne-Bâgûr—and the promotion of a work of merit by Kottîraiya, Kaçthîrava's agent at Sâligrâma. This

Piriyâpaṭṭa. In the present state of our epigraphical knowledge, the use of the Boar seal, in the public documents of the Rulers of Mysore, seems to have actually begun under Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, although his predecessor, Châmarâja Wodeyar, had already claimed the title of *Dharani-Varâha* (vide Ch. VI). See also f.n. 49 and 54 *supra*.

57. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 159: 4. 1669, *Sarvajit, Âtôlja su. 5*.

58. *Ibid.*, Cn. 158, 160 and 165: *Sarvajit-Sarvadhâra, Vaisâkha su.*

59. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 23: *Sarvajit, Mârgasira ba. 7*.

60. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 2): *Virôdhi, Chaitra su. 11*. The actual expressions used are: *Tirumalasâgarada agraharakke saluva grâmagalige Toppâra keseyinda prâku koduvudu; Tirumalasâgarada grâmagalige Toppâra keseyinda prâku nerru kodisi, surakshitadalli nadî-konḍu barôdu*. This record points sufficiently to Kanthîrava's solicitude for the welfare of rural folk.

61. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 185: *Vikrîti, Kartika su. 7*.

document further records that the érection of the temple was begun by Hngaiya of Yelandûr (Yajavandûr), that the *navaranga*, enclosure-wall, pattasale and other items of work were actually carried out by Nanjaiya, son of Kôttûraiya, and that, in the entire undertaking, he was assisted by the local êânabhôgs (*Sênabhôga*), Nariyapaiya and Chikkarasaiya, as well as by the Palace êânabhôgs, Mailaraiya and Gôvindaiya, while the temple itself was finished by one Basavaiya. A much worn out lithic record, in front of the Anjanêya temple at Mâdâpura, belonging to c. 1650,⁶² mentions the grant by Kanthîrava of thirteen villages for services to God Narasimha. Another, of about the same time,⁶³ is a stone charter of Kaçthîrava granting in perpetuity the village of Honganûr —with the adjoining villages—in the Hadinâd-sîme, to provide for the continuance of his works of merit in Benares (Kâsi) through his Purôhit, Lingâ-Bhatta, the items of works, enumerated in the record, being as follows : charities, anointment of Viévêvara and other Gods, illuminations with *Sahasra-nâma* (reciting of onethousand names of the deity), offerings and rites at ail the *Parvas*, bathing-gifts during the three months of *Mâgha*, *Vai&kha* and *Kârtika* (January-February, April-May and October-November), feeding 100 Brâhmans daily, annual allowance to God Kâêinâtha and bathing in *Mâgha* at Prayâga. Another lithic record, dated February 10, 1651,⁶⁴ registers the setting up of God Sômêâvara at Anati village, during the régime of Doddaiya, feudatory of Kanthîrava, in Channarâyapatna. Another, dated May, 24, 1651,⁶⁵ refers to the setting up of Nâga-bhaktaiya and the building of a mantapa at the temple of Isvara, in the Dindagûru village, by Doddaiya himself. We hâve also

62. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 68, para 107.

63. *M. O.*, IV (3) Ch. 42; see also text of f.n. 48 *supra* and *M. A. R.*, 1981, No. 58, p. 155, referring to 'Kâsi-dharmada grâma.'

64. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 302: s. 1572, *Vikrîti*, *Mâgha* ba. 14, Monday. Cf. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 275.

65. *Ibid.*, Cn. 171: s. 1578, *Kâra*, *Jyêshtha* ba. 15, Saturday.



Statue of Narasimha-Narasimha Temple in the
Narasimhasvami Temple, Seringapatam.

a lithic record, dated Marché 19, 1655,⁶⁶ in which Daḷavâi Lingarâjaiya (Linge-Gauḍa?) is said to hâve made a grant of lands belonging to Narasîpura, attached to the Sâragûr-ethaḷa, for the décorations, festivals, offerings and illuminations of God Narasimha. Another, a damaged ôûe, dated 1655,⁶⁷ seems to refer to a service of Daḷavâi Hamparñjaiya (Hampaiya) in, the Ârdra-Kapâlêvara temple at Êrôḍe. A third one, dated March 1657,⁶⁸ speaks of Kanthîrava as having caused to be made the image of God Arkêévara for the Antarahalli *agrahàra*.

An authentic statue of Kanthîrava, a *Bhakta-vigraha*—with his name in Kannada (*Kanthirava-Narasarâja Waḍayaravaru*) inscribed on the pedestal—is to be seen in a room to the left of the *Ranga-mantapa* of the temple of Narasimhasvâmi at Seringapatam.⁶⁹ It is a magnificent figure of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, about three and a half feet high, standing on a high pedestal with folded hands. Kanthîrava is represented as wearing a long robe, girt with a sword, shield and dagger on the left side, and with large ear-rings and *Vira-pendeya* (hero's insignia) on the right foot. Altogether a beautifully carved statue, presenting in life-like fashion the majestic bearing of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar as a warrior-devotee. A similar statue of his is to be seen in a pavilion of the temple of Trinayanêsvara in the Mysore fort.

During the reign of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar—especially in the earlier part of it—the capital city of Seringapatam was an important centre of social life. It was a beautiful and flourishing city, with its well-furnished and well-guarded fort (*kôṭe*) adorned

Social life: c. 1688-1648. Cities and towns.

1. Seringapatam.

66. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 4.9: s. 1576, *Jaya*, *Phalgunâ la*. 7, Monday; see also t. u. 98 in Ch. VIII.

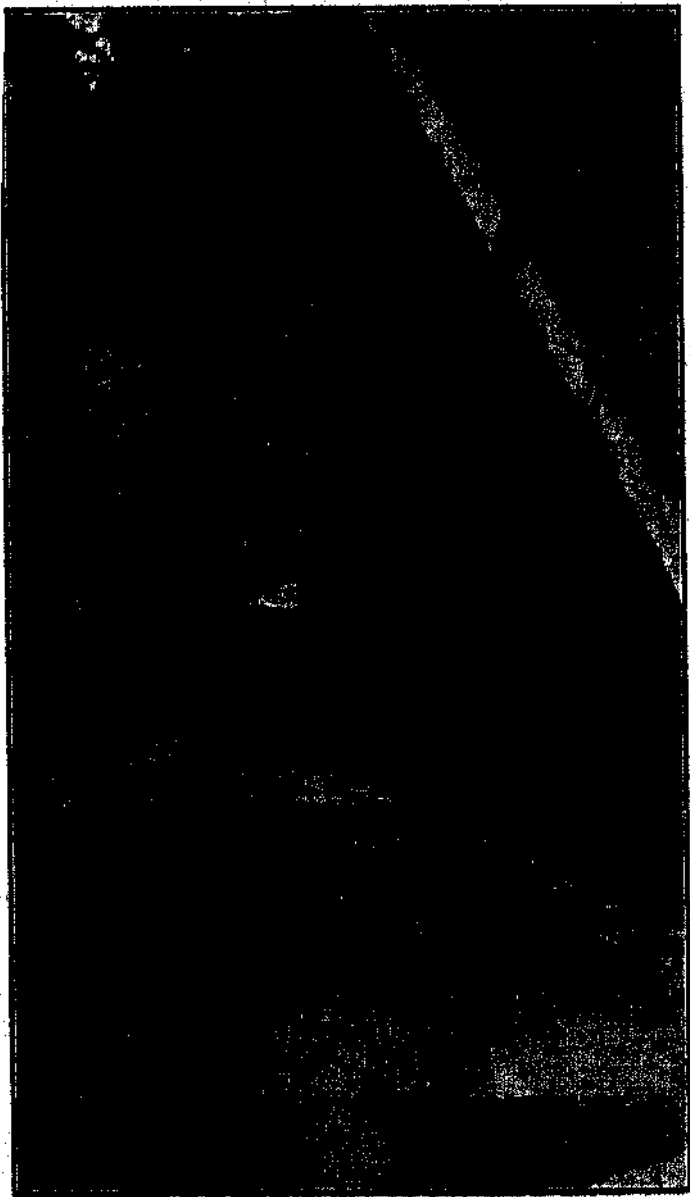
67. *Af. E. R.*, 1910-1911, No. 170 (I. M. P., I. 586, Cb. 150); *Mannatha*; see also f.n. 189 in Ditto.

68. *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 89: *Hevilambi*, *Chaitra su*.

69. *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 56, para 195; also p. 2, para 8 (*E. C. Mys. Dist. Suppl.* Vol. Sr. 176).

with lofty ramparts (*alveri*), bastions (*kottala*), spikes (*tene*), flag-staffs (*denkani*), trenches (*agalu*) and guard-rooms at the entrances (*bdgila sejje*); with its broad main streets (*visâla vidhigalu*), named after the Sun and the Moon (*Ravi-Sasi vidhi*), lined with the storeyed mansions (*harmya, upparige*) of princes, nobles and chiefs; with its minor streets (*këri*), wherein resided poets, scholars, ministers, courtiers, people following different trades and professions (including the courtiers), merchants and the military, among others; and with its principal gates (namely, the Eastern Gate, the Mysore Gate and the Bijapur Gate) lined with horse-stables (*asvagala lâya*) and elephant-stables (*gajada sâlegalu*), containing horses and éléphants captured in war (with Bijapur and Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura, etc.) and sent in as tribute by the Changâlvas and by the chiefs of Koḍagu (Coorg), Konkana, Kongu, Maleyâla and other places.⁷⁰ Conspicuous in

70. K. N. V. (1648), VI, 8-74, 91, 93, 193; VII, 1-9. Compare the general topography of Seringapatam, described here, with the topography of Vijayanagar as given by Domingo Paes (1520) (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 284-290). The two accounts are not identical but the similarity in respect of outlines of planning is rather striking from the point of view of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. See also f.n. 71 *infra*. Among the various classes of people depicted in the K. N. V. as residing in Seringapatam during the reign of Kaṅṭhira were: the nobility (*ḍora manneyaru*), poets and scholars (*kavigaḷu, vidvamsaru*), connoisseurs of arts (*kala-kōvidaru*), ministers (*mantri-gaḷu*), accountants (*karamikaru*), physicians (*vaidyaru*), songsters (*gâyakaru*), actors, buffoons and confidants (*naṭa-nḍyaka, parihsaka, vindôggaḷu*), Brâhmins, Yokkaligs, Śivabhaktas, Vira-Vaishnavas, courtiers (*sâlegeri, sâle-vaḷike, vētya-vaḷa*), dancers (*naṭuviga*), perfumers (*ganḍiga*), metal workers (*bôgara*), oil-mongers (*tilagataka*), copper-smiths (*tâma-mardakaru*), painters (*chitriga*), weavers (*alligaru*), barbers (*nḍyinda*), tailors (*chippiga*), cobblers (*mucchiga*), athletes (*malla*), conjurers (*jâlagararu*), merchants (*karadara grhagaḷu*), torch-bearers (*ḍvaṭigararu*), cattle-keepers (*kottageyaru*), mahouts (*gajârô-hakaru*), royal cavaliers (*râya-rôvutaru*), foot-soldiers skilled in handling weapons (*battisayudhagaḷa rubhagaru*), heads of the military (*vaṅṅerigara nḍyakaru*) and menials (*alligadavaru*) (VI, 35-74, 91, 93, 193; VII, 1-9, etc.). For details of arms, ammunition, etc., stored in the Seringapatam fort, see Appendix IX. The K. N. V. is mainly drawn upon throughout this section, making due allowance for the prevailing exotic sentiment (*Śringâra*) and the literary devices employed by the contemporary poet, Gōvinda-Vaidya. For a detailed account and estimate of the work, see under *Literary activity*.



mt. Merona Gate of the Sarinapatam Fort—A side view.

the city was the king's Palace (*àramane*), with its superbly sculptured masonry walls (*bhitti*), exquisitely carved storeys (*nelevâḍa*, *upparigé*) and the most artistically decorated pavillons and apartments, namely, *Hiriya-hajâra* (principal or Durbâr Hall), *Lakshmi-vilâsa*, *Saundarya-vilâsa*, *Madana-vilâsa*, *Durgâ-maṅṭapa*, *Sâradâ-mantapa*, *Bhuvanësvari*, *Indirâ-mandira*, *Bangâra-chaukiy Vijaya-bhavana*, *Chitra-sâle* (picture-gallery), *Âyudha-sâle* (armoury), *Nâtaka-sâle* (théâtre), *Majjana-sâle* (batb-room), *Nâma-tîrtha-bhavana* (*Nâma-tîrtha* pavilion), *Bhôjana-sâle* (dining-hall), *Bokkasa* . . . *bhaṅḍâra* (treasury vaults), etc.⁷¹ Conspicuous also in the city were the temples of Lakshmi-Narasimha (newly constructed, with *prâkâra*, pillars, capitals, richly ornamented canopy, tower with pinnacle, *brindâvanam*, *dîpa-mâlâ* pillar, *maṅṭapas*, *vâhanams*, *garbha-grha*, etc.) and Ranganâtha (with the *prâkâra*, *dîpa-mâlâ* pillar, *maṅṭapas*, tapestried canopy, sculptured figures of éléphants at the gâtes, *dvârapâlakas*, the images of Varadarâja, Mannâr-Narasimha, Vënuḡopâla, shrines of Ranganâtha and the goddesses, images of Emberumannâr

71. *Ibid.*, VII, 21-58; XXII, 56-60. The Palace at Seringapatam, above referred to, no longer exists. The extensive site where it was located (*i.e.*, to the right of the temple of Ranganâtha) is now marked by a commemorative *maṅṭap*—pointing to the birthplace of H. H. Sri Krishnarâja Wodeyar III—put up by H. H. Sri Krishnarâja Wodeyar IV on July 1, 1915 (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 8144). It is, however, interesting to note that the present Palace at Mysore corresponds, in respect of principal chambers and apartments, with the old Palace at Seringapatam. This is, perhaps, an indication of how the Vijayanagar idea has persisted through centuries. Seringapatam having been, for long, the seat of the southern (or Karnâṭaka) viceroyalty, there seems little doubt that the Palace there was closely modelled after the Vijayanagar one and improvements effected thereto from time to time by the rulers of Mysore. For a connected account of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore, *vide* Appendix IX.

Compare the description of the interior of the Palace at Vijayanagar as given by Paes (Sewall, *Ibid.*, I.e). Although Paes, being a foreign observer, could not be expected to mention the exact names of all the apartments in that Palace, yet the description left by him would seem to correspond, in respect of the principal items, with the account of the Palace at Seringapatam. The similarity is thus significant.

and the Ālvārs, etc):⁷³ Among other temples in différent parts of the city were those of Tiruvenkatēsvara (in the *Agarada-kēri*, i.e., *agrahāra*), Tirumalēēvara and Bēte-Rāya (in the *Akkiya-kēri*, i.e., street where rice was bought and sold), Gangādhareēvara, Virēsa, Moradiya-Tirumala-Raya, Narasimha-Mūrti and Bāgila-Venkatēsvara (situated in the *Hora-kēri*, i.e., outskirts of the city),⁷⁸ Among the *maths* in the city were *Dodda'Hampaiyana-matha*, *Mūleya-matha*, *Viraktara-matha* and *Dāsōhada-matha*⁷⁴

Another flourishing city during the reign was Mysore, with its well-equipped and equally well-guarded fort adorned with the newly constructed spirals (*nūtana tene*), ram-parts, bastions, flag-staffs and the moat ; with its main streets and minor streets—lined with storeyed mansions and houses inhabited by princes, courtiers, poets, scholars and professional people (including courtezans) ; with its éléphant and horse stables and the armoury (*jina-êāle*) ; with its Palace, containing the Durbār Hall (*ôlaga-sāle*, *kiriya-hajāra*, *hajārada-totti*), council-chamber (*mantana-gr̥ha*), picture-gallery [*chitrada-chāvaḍi*], théâtre (*nātaka-sāle*), dining-hall (*bhōjana-sāle*), bed-chamber (*sejjeya sadana*), *chandra-sāle*, *nāmatirtha pavilion* (*nāmatirtha-chauki*), front verandah (*moga-sāleya totti*) and abode of worship (*aramaneya dēgula*) ; and with its temples of Trinayana (Trinēsvara), Lakshmī-kānta, Bagila-Hanuma and Bhōgi-Bhūshana and Kāla-Bhairava (on the tank-bund, *tatakadēriyali*).⁷⁵

73. *Ibid*, VII, 73-111.

73. *Ibid*, 112-113.

74. *Ibid*, 114.

76. *Ibid*, 11,36-82, 107, 109-111; see also C. Vam., 45-46; *Annals*, I. 79-80. The planning of the town of Mysore and of the Palace there seems to have been distinctly after the Vijayanagar model at Seringapatam (see f.n. 70 and 71 *supra*). Among the various classes of people depicted in the K. N. V. as residing in Mysore during the reign of Kanthirava were: members of the Royal Family (*Rājaputrarū*), poets, scholars and disputants (*karanikaru*, *Vēda-sastra-sampannaru*, *tarkikaru*), musioians, including lutists (*gayakaru*, *nadavidaru*, *vainikaru*), danoers (*natuviga*), libertines, jesters and confidants (*vit a vidushaka nagarika pithama/rdana*), courtezans (*Sūfagēriy vēēya-vū^a*)

Among the towns, Mēlkôte was, ris already *teterred* tō, a prominent centre of Sṛi-Vaishnà-
 3. Mēlkôte. vism, with its main gâte (*perbâgîlu*),
 principal street (*Sṛi-vidhi*), *Sṛi-gôpura-*
dvâra, pond (*katyâni*), temple of Tirunârâyanaśvâmi
 (with the images of the God and the Goddess and the
 Sṛi-Vaishnava saints, the *Ranga-mantapa*, etc.) and the
 Palace (*aramane*), with the inner pavilion (*ola-chauki*)
 and the *nâmatîrtha* pavilion (*nâmatîrthada chauki*).⁷⁶

The gênerai conditions of living during the period,
 particularly in the cities of Seringa-
 General culture. patam and Mysore, are perhaps best
 reflected in the références⁷⁷ to the
 storeyed mansions (*harmya*, *upparige*, *karumâda*) of
 the richer classes ; houses—with flat roofs (*mâlîge*) and
 plastered pavements (*kuṭṭima*)—of the middle classes ;
 and the ordinary dwellings (*mane*) of the humbler folk.
 The market-place (*angadi-këri*)⁷⁸ in these cities was an
 index of the growing wealth of the times, which is
 further evidenced by the marked taste for luxuries that
 was being exhibited by the people of the higher strata of
 society—particularly in their use of silken and lace fabrics
 (*patte*, *paithani*, *dukûla*, *chînâmbara*, *pîtâmbara*,
jaratâri)⁷⁹ and ornaments of various descriptions as, for
 instance, ear, finger and nose rings (*chauli*, *ôle*, *ungura*
mûguti), bangles, wristlets, bracelets and anklets (*bale*,
kadaga, *kankana*, *nêvura* or *nûpura*) and strings,
 necklaces, medallions and tassels (*sara*, *hâra*, *padaka*,

athletes (*mallaru*) and people of different castes and creeds (*nâma-*
varna janaru) (II, 69-74, 82, 107). For details of arms, ammunition,
 etc., stored in the Mysore fort, *vide* Appendix IX. The *Annals* (I, 79)
 refers to *jîna-sâle* for *jâna-sâle*, a colloquial form. See also f.n. 70 *supra*.
 76. *C. Yam.*, 117, 121, 125-125, 126, 147, 149, 152, 156, etc.; see also f.n. 65
infra.

77. *K. N. V.*, II, 69-70, 74-75, 86-89; VI, 86-90, 93-96, 51, 54-62, etc.

78. *Ibid.*, II, 82; VI, 83-74.

79. *Ibid.*, VI, 55, 70; VIII, 82; IX, 71; X, 21; XXI, 112; XXII, 19, 59, 72;
 XXIII, 80-86; XXIV, 44; XXV, 59, 78, 83, 100-101, 124, etc.

kânṭha-mâle, kuchchu).⁸⁰ Sacred and secular lore alike flourished in their pristine purity and vigour. We have reference to Brâhmanical scholars, "experts in six *Sâstras*, four *Vêdas* and the *Purânas*," in Seringapatam and Mysore⁸¹; to Sri-Vaishnava Brîhmans, teaching, expounding and studying the *Vêdas*, the *Drâviḍa-Prabandha*, poetry (*kâvya*), logic (*tarka*), *Dharma-sâstras*, grammar (*sâbda*), *Mimâmsa*, *Vêdânta* and the *Pâncharâtrâgama*, in Mëlkôte;⁸² and to oblations to fire (*agnihôtradâjyâhuti, hômadhûma*) in these places.⁸³ Gôvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Ḳânṭhîrava-Narasarâja-Vijayam*, was himself, as he says,⁸⁴ a devoted student of the *Vêdas* and *Sâstras* (*adhyayanâdi sakalamantra-icistrava vedyavenisi*). Alâṣingarârya (Singaraiyangâr II of Kausika-gôtra, also known as Nrsimha-Sûri), a typical Sri-Vaishnava scholar of the time, was, as he is depicted to us,⁸⁵ a master of two Systems of philosophy (*Ubhaya-Vêdânta*), of the texts of *Srî-Bhâshya* and *Sruta-Prakâsike*, grammar and rhetoric (*Pada . . . Vâkya*), *Smriti*, *Itihâsa*, *Purânaṣ* (including the *Gîta*), *Vêda* and *Vêdânta* (including the *Upanishads*) and the thirty-two *Brahma-Vidyas*. He is further depicted⁸⁶ as wearing a head-dress of red-coloured silken cloth (*muḍiyol dharisida raktapattôsnisamum*) with projecting and fluttering black and yellow borders (*kâla-karbatteya sêrangugalum*), having on his forehead the characteristic Sri-Vaishnava marks (*ûrdhva-pundra* and *srî-chûrna-tilaka*), with ear-rings (*chauli*), the sacred thread (*yajnôpavîta*), strings of pearls (*muttinekkasara*) and of *tulâsi* and *tâvare* rosaries

80. *Ibid.*, II, 91-95, 96-99; VI, 66-68, 102-104; IX, 71-76; X, 20-21; XXI, 14-17; XXIII, 81; XXIV, 18-76; XXV, 78-86, 90-91, 101, etc.

81. *Ibid.*, VI, 41; II, 72. 82. *C. Fam.*, 115, 152-158; see also f.n. 85 *infra*.

83. *X. N. P.*, VI, 50; *C. Fam.*, 158. 84. *Ibid.*, I, 11.

85. *C. Fam.*, 45-49. References from this work are, chronologically, applicable to the reign of Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, of whom both Alâṣingarârya and his friend, Doḍḍadêvarâja, were contemporaries, vide Appendix V-(2); see also under *Domestic life*.

86. *Ibid.*, 47.

(*tolasidâvare-manigala sarangalum*), and as having covered his entire body with a pair of white-coloured garments of silk (*meyyol podedutta dhavala-pattâm-Suka-yugalamum*). Vêdic students at Mëlkôte are described as holding in their hands⁸⁷ the *palâsa* staff (*pidida palâsa-dandamum*), wearing white garments (*utta belvatte*), the thread of *maunji* grass thrice surrounding their waists (*mûrum balasum suddida maunjiyum*) and the sacred thread (*yajnôpavîta*), and covering their bodies with the antelope's skin (*podeda krishnâjinamum*) and the *ûrdhva-pundra* marks. Scholars reciting the *Prabandha* are referred to⁸⁸ as having a serene countenance (*éanti-rasam tumbi*) and wearing the Srî-Vaishṇava marks on their bodies and red-coloured garments and strings of *tulasi* and *tâvare* beads (*podedutta talîrgâviyudegalum dharisida tulasi- tâvare-inani-gala-malṣarangalum*). The Epics and the Purâṇas Were, we find,⁸⁹ popular with the folk. Among secular subjects, poetry, music and dancing occupied a prominent place in the fashionable society of the time.⁹⁰ Women generally appear depicted as cultured and accomplished.⁹¹

In contrast with the peace and studied quiet normally prevailing at Mëlkôte, daily life in the capital city, and to some extent in Mysore city also, appears to have been, ordinarily, full of bustle and excitement. This was due to the fact that these places were as much of military as of civil importance. We have références⁹³ to scènes of horses

87. *Ibid.*, 152.

88. *Ibid.*

89. K. At. F., V, 5-60; VIII, 86; XVIII, 143-148; XXI, 118, 122; *O. Vam.*, 160, etc.

90. *Ibid.*, II, 72-73; VI, 42, 48, 56, 176-177; VIII, 19, 83-36, 66-69; XXI, 64-88, 108-116, 118-122, etc. Références to Bharatâchirya and the technique of dancing as described in his *Natya-Sastra* are significant. Dancing, as an art, appears to have attained a high standard of technical perfection during the period.

91. *Ibid.*, VII, 44; VIII, 70-76, 81; XXIV, 4-6, 16, etc.; see also *infra*.

92. *Ibid.*, I I, 66-66; VI, 83, 68.

and éléphants passing through the streets to and from the watering-places and to royal cavaliers (*râya-râvutaru*) riding through the city. Of perhaps greater interest are scènes⁹³ of princes and sons of the nobles (*râjaputraru, arasu-makkalu*), in the public streets of the city, engagea inprancing the horses (*tējigalanu kunisuvaru*), riding the young éléphants at will (*kalabhavanu bīdivarisuva*) and taking an active interest in witnessing ram-fights (*tagara jagala*), bull-fights (*gūli-kālagagala*), cock-fights (*kukkuṭaḡala kādīpa*) and fights of wagtails and other birds (*sīpale, gaujala*, etc.) ; of the sons of chiefs (*doreḡala kuvararu*) returning from the gymnasium (*garaḡi*) with weapons in their hands ; of princesses passing through, seated in palankeens (*pallakkiyēri*) ; of fashionable people (*sogasugāraru*) walking along the prominent parts of the city ; and of watersheds (*aravattīgē*) where water was being distributed to thirsty wayfarers. Dice (*pagade*) and chess (*chadurunga*) seem to hâve formed the common items of amusements in the polite society of the period.⁹⁴

More impressive still was the court culture of the

Court culture: period : the Palace at Seringapatam, no costume and personal adornment. less at Mysore,⁹⁵ with the richly

tapestried and ornamented halls and chambers, adorned by architraves (*bōdige*)y pillars (*kamba*), roofings (*love*), canopies (*melkattugalu*) and fissures and lattices (*bhittigalu, jālāndra*), was itself a scène of great attraction. Indeed it was another index of the wealth of the capital city ; the tastes of the times found adéquate expression hère. Among the items of dress and personal adornment of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, generally, Were⁹⁶ garments overlaid with high class pearls (*kaṭṭānī-nrnttu-tettisidudige-y olālavatt u-mereda-duppaṭade*),

93. *Ibid*, II, 76-77 ; VII, 10-20; II, 54 ; VI, 75-80, 197.

94. *Ibid*, II, 76, 96-97 ; VI, 117-120, 197.

96. *Ibid*, VII, 90-43,

96. *Ibid*, XXIV, 61-74; XXII, 60.

ornamented coatee (*navaratna-khachitada . . . kalli*), filigreed turban (*misuniya rummâlu*) set with a crest of diamonds (*divya vajrada mirupa turâyi, sirpësh turâyi*), *ṭikâ* of musk on his forehead (*nosalige katturi-tilaka*), ear-rings of pearls and sapphkes (*muttina chaukuli, nilada bâvuli*), necklaces, medallions (*kṛṇṭha-mâle, padaka*) and rings of precious stones (*nava-ratna*), **wristlets and bracelets** (*kṛdaga, kankāṇa, ṭōla-bhâpuri*) set with pearls, waistbands (*kṛṭi-sūtra*), badges for the feet (*charaṇa-penḍeyagalu*), set with, it is said, precious stones from the crowns of supplicant chiefs (*êarṇâgata-râda doregaḷa mukuṭa-ratnagala*), and **ornamented sandals** (*ratnada hâvuge*). On cérémonial occasions Kanṭhîrava is depicted⁹⁷ as wearing an outer silken garment (*paṭṭeya dhôtra*), **upper cloth** (*bahirvâsa*) and a coloured head-dress (*rcmgu mâṇikada kulâyi*), with the usual *ṭikâ* of musk (*katturi-nâma*) on the forehead. Prominent courtiers like the Daḷavâi, ministers (*mantri-êaru*) and chiefs [*maṇḍalikas*) are mentioned⁹⁸ as **wearing silken garments** (*pairaṇe duppaṭa, paṭṭaṇeya dukûla*), **lace turbans** (*jaratâra rummâlu, muṇḍâsu*) and ear-rings, necklaces and medallions. The royal cavaliers (*râya-râvutaru*), military officers (*nâyakaru*), prominent warriors (*subhataru*), officials of the king's body-guard (*maigâvalûligadavaru*) and the attendants in the king's Personal service (*sammukhadûligadavaru*) are referred to⁹⁹ as wearing close-collared long coats (*dagale*), silken waistbands or sashes (*paṭṭeya dattî*), red-coloured loin cloth (*kunkuma-gâêë*), upper garment (*uttarige*), ear-rings, bracelets, wristlets, etc. The accomplished ladies of the court (*kôviâeyaru*), **including the queens** (*râṇiyaru*), appear depicted as wearing silken and lace garments (*paṭṭe, pîṭâmbara, chîṇâmbara*) of variegated colours and

97. *Ibid.*, XXII, 59, 61.

98. *Ibid.*, XXII, 82; XXIII, 79-81, 88; XXV, 79, 88, 86, 100, 102, etc.

99. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 84-89.

pàtterns (*chandragâvi*, *poppuli*, *bombeya-barahada-patte*, etc), and ornaments of various kinds.¹⁰⁰

Among the personal servants of Kaçthîrava, as already indicated, were some of the subjugated feudatories themselves. Thus, Muddaiya of Nâgamangala was the bearer of the king's pouch (*hadapa*) ; Nanjanna of Malavalli was a menial (*sanchi*) ; Râjaiya of Terakanâmbi was the bearer of the spittoon (*kâlanji*) ; Guruvanna of Kannambâdi, of the goblet (*chambu*), and Kottûraiya of Kikkëri, of the cérémonial garments (*pâvadè*)¹⁰¹ Other officials in the personal service of Kaçthîrava were¹⁰² : Basavaiya, bearer of his sword (*Narasarâjëndrana kattiya pididiha*) ; Vîranna, head of the *Avasarada-hôbli* (*uvasaradadhika Viranna*) department (a service attending to urgent calls in the Palace) ; Venkatâpati-Jeççi, personal attendant of the king (*bhûpana charaṇâbja-vididiha*) ; Dhafcvôjaiya, furnisher of ornaments (*âbharanâva tandlva*) ; Krishnâiya, lute-player (*vñeya*) ; Bhârati-Nanja, poet (*kavi*) ; and Sangaiya, jester (*hâsyada*). He had also servants to hold mirrors (*kcmnadiyavanu*), chowries (*kuncha*) and fans (*ḡbisanige*), besides the Huzûr minister (*râyara sammukhada mantri*).¹⁰³

The daily Durbâr (*nityôtsavadôlaga*) of Kaçthîrava, during the period, was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the spirit of the times. Ordinarily

His daily Durbâr and local titles.

100. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 5, 15, 18-48, etc.; see also f.n. 79 and 80 *supra* and text thereto. The ladies of the court are frequently referred to as having been well-versed in astrology, poetry, drama, music and *śāstras* (*jyôtiṣa kavya nâṭaka śāstra sangita-riti kôvidyaru*; *nânâ bage vidyadabale-yaru*; *sarva śāstra kôvidyaru*—*Ibid.*, VII, 44; VIII, 81 and XXIV, 5, etc.). See the accounts of Pæs and Nunis for similar contemporary references to the culture of court ladies (their costume, personal adornment, etc.), particularly at the court of Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274, 282, etc.; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1906-1907).

101. *Ibid.*, XXV, 54-55, 57-59.

102. *Ibid.*, 75-77, 80, 86-87, 92.

103. *Ibid.*, 78, 88.

Kanthirava used to hold the Durbâr durihg night, in the *Lakshmi-vilasa* chamber of his Palace at Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled and richly ornamented throne; "served by twice-eight fair ones, holding chowries in their hands," and honoured with the emblems in gold of the fish, crocodile, conch and discus. Among those Who used to attend his Durbâr were musicians (*gâyakarū*), poets *Qcavigaḷu*, Vēdic scholars (*Vēda-vidaru*), *Bhâratis* (reciters of the *Bhârata*), disputants (*târkikaru*), intimate ministers (*âpta-mantrigalu*), accountants (*karatîkairu*), the Commander-in-Chief (*daḷapati*), royal cavaliers (*râya-râvutaru*), feudatories and chiefs (*manneya'mcmḍalikaru*), and ambassadors from foreign courts (*dikku-dikkina doregalu râyabhârigalu*). Dancing (*nâtya*) and music of the guitar (*tumbura*) and the lutē (*viṇa*); learned disputations of scholars in *Bhârata*, *Purâṇas*, dramaturgy (*nâtaka*), politics (*nitiriâstra*), iogic (*tarkd*) and grammar (*ēabda*), recitation and expounding of the Epies (*Bh&rata-Râniâyana-puṇya-katheya sâtarade . . . ôdi*); subniison of reports by the ministers, Daḷavâi, feudatories and others; and the honouring of the Durbârīs with bétel and clothes (*vīḷeya, tidḷgoré*)—these were among the principal items of the programme of the Durbâr, at the end of which Kanthirava used to retire to his apartment in the Palace.¹⁰⁴ Among the local titles by which Kanthirava

104. E. C., V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. See text on p. 767 of V (2):

*Śrī-Rangitapurē svakīya bhavanē Lakshmi-vilāse sada
Nānā chitra vichitrīt maṇilasat sīmhāsandhigḥitāḥ |
Châroṣṭaduvaya-chāmaraṅchīta-karaiḥ kântājanaisēvitaḥ
Souvarṇair jhaṣa-sankha-chakra-makaraiḥ sat-kētubhīḥ pājitāḥ ||*

K. N. V., VIII, 1-95; see also *Ibid.*, XI, 125; XV, 119; XXV, 11, etc., referring to Kanthirava being served by chamber-maids. Cf. Pae's account referring to the king's daily routine, dancing, chamber-maids, etc., in the Palace at Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 265-279; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1907). Wilks (I. 61) speaks of Kanthirava as having been "noted as the author of a new and more respectful' etiquette at his court" [*Italics ours*])—a position confirmed and supplemented by the account given above.

was addressed during the Durbârs of the period were:¹⁰⁵ *Karnâtaḡa-Chakrêvara* (Emperor of the Karnâḡaka country); *Āndhra-bala-sangha-karikula* (herd of éléphants to the forces of the Āndhra chiefs), *Āryāndhra-nripa-garva-parvata kḡliâyudha* (thunderbolt to the mountain, the proud Āndhra kings); *Tirumala-Nâyaka-chçiturangabala-vallari-lavitra* (sickle to the bunch, the four-fold army of Tirumala Nâyaka); *Parabala-mêghânîla* (gale to the clouds in the form of armies of hostile kings); *Ripurâya-nikara-éarabha-bhêrunda* (double-headed eagle to the assemblage of enemy kings); *Samastôrvîéa-makuta-manigana-ranjita-pâda-padma* (with the assemblage of precious stones from the crowns of various chiefs, shining at his feet); *Sangara-vijaya-vadhûtîa* (lord of the goddess of victory on the field of battle); and *Kôḡe-kôlâhala* (occupier of forts amidst great uproar). These titles, literary flourishes apart, are indicative of the profound impression created by Kaçîḡhîrava's political position on his local contemporaries during c1642-1648.

By far the most characteristic expression of contemporary life is discernible in the public Festivals. These attracted not only the local populace but people from far and near. All classes of people appear freely participating in them. The birthday (*Tirunakshatram*) of èri-Kâmânujâchâryar, annually celebrated at Mêlkôḡe under the constellation of *Āridrâ* in the month of *Ghaitra* (March-April), was, according to the¹⁰⁶ *Chikkadêvarâya-Vamêâvali*, a great festival (*piriyukkevam*), attended by Srî-Vaishnava celebrities

105. K. N. V., I, 21-23, 26-27; XIII, 85, 89; XIV, 49, 111; XVIII, 174; XIX, 69; XXI, 125; XXV, 18, etc. Cf. inscriptions of Kaçîḡhîrava, only some of which mention his usual titles, namely, *Birud-antembaraganḡa*, *Râjadhîraja-paramêvara*, *Sri-Vîropratâpa* [See E. C., III (1) Sr. 103; V (1) and (2) Cn. 160, 165; IV (2) Ch. 42; Hg. 49, for the years 1647-1655.]

106. p. 113.

from différent countries (*palavum divya-dêsangalindey-tarpa dêsika-sârtha*). Doddadêvarâja Wodeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dêvarâja Wodeyar and cousin brother of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar) from Mysore, it wôuld appear,¹⁰⁷ also paid a visit to Mèlkôṭe on one such occasion (c. 1643-1644), accompanied by his friend and preceptor, Aḷasingarârya, At Seringapatam, the *Vasaneôtsava*¹⁰⁸ (spring festival) and the *Dindina-utsava*,¹⁰⁹ annually conducted for God Ranganâtha during the bright half of *Chaitra*, were evidently very popular ; and Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar himself is depicted¹¹⁰ to hâve once personally witnessed them, accompanied by his ministers, chiefs and courtiers. Next in importance and popularity were the *Gajendra-Tirunâl*¹¹¹ (*Gajendra* Mòksha*) and the car festival¹¹² (*rathôtsava*) of God Ranganâtha at Seringapatam. We hâve an elaborate account¹¹³ of thèse as conducted about February 1647., when¹¹⁴ Lingarâjaiya (Lingarâjendra) was the Daḷavâi of Karithîrava in succession to Nanjarâjaiya and when Linge-Gauḍa was the Mayor of the capital city. The *Gajendra-Tirunâl* formed part of the programme of the car festival of Ranganâtha and was preceded by the initiatory ceremony (*ankurârpana*) and the flag-hoisting ceremony (*dhvajapatârôhana*) and by such processions of the God as the *Puṣhpakôtsava*, *Sêshôtsava* and *Garudôtsava*.¹¹⁵ It was conducted on the sixth day at the Tirunâl-maritapa¹¹⁶ (in the *Suka-tîrtha* of the *Kanthirava-sarôvâra*, newly constructed during the early years of Kanthîrava's reign)

107. See *C. Vam.*, 118, 158-160; see also under *Domestic Life* and f.n. 167 *infra*.

108. *K. N. V.*, VII, 110; IX, 56; also see *Mys. Gas.*, II. iii. 1906 (citing S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*, pp. 142-143, and referring to the popularity of the *Chaitra* festival in Vijayanagar).

109. *Ibid.*, IX, 59.

110. *Ibid.*, 56, 64, 67, 98-100, etc.

111. *Ibid.*, VII, 110; XXIII, 22-23, 51-52.

112. *Ibid.*, VII, 109; see also Chs. XXIII-XXV.

113. *Ibid.*, Chs. XXIII-XXV.

114. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 21-22; XXV, 44, 56.

115. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 41-50.

116. *Ibid.*, 51-52.

and was followed by the car festival of Ranganàtha and the *Asvârôhanôtsava*, *Jalakrîdôtsava*, the *Pushpahôtsava* and other items of services.¹¹⁷ The capital city of Seringapatam was tastefully decorated on the occasion, it presenting a gay and festive appearance. And there was a huge concourse of people (including, it is said, the Telugas, Tigulas, Konkaças, Maleyâlas and the Karoâças) assembled to witness the festivities.¹¹⁸ We have not only a spectacle¹¹⁹ of KaçLhîrava himself witnessing the *Gajêridra-Tirunâl-Utsavam* but also a picturesque scèn¹²⁰ in which he is depicted as proceeding to take part in the car festival of Eanganàtha, seated on the state horse (*divyâêva*) and accompanied by his Daçavâi, ministers, feudatories, courtiers and others and ail the insignias, and as returning to the Palace after performing his dévotion to the God.

Of greater popularity and significance in the social and public life of the capital city was the *Mahânnavami* (*Navarâtri*)¹²¹ festival. It used to be celebrated with considérable grandeur by Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar in the

117. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 64-74; XXV, 106-108, etc.

118. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24-43, 75-77. 119. *Ibid.*, 55, 58.

120. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 49-57; XXIII, 78-107; XXV, 1-113.

121. The *Mahânnavami* (or *Navarâtri*), according to the *Kalika-Purâna*, is a festival celebrated during the first nine days of the bright half of *âsvîja* (September-October) of every year in honour of the manifestations of Durgâ or Chaççikâ (*Chaççikâ-Navarâtri*), the consort of Śiva. Its actual conclusion with the functions of the tenth day (*Vijayadasami*), however, endows it with the character of a ten days' festival, whence it is now familiarly known as *Dasara* (from *Dasarâ* in Mhr.). For an account of *Dasara* in its traditional and Paurânic aspects, see late Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao's article on the subject (in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301-311). In respect of the main items of the programme, *Dasara*, as observed nowadays in Mysore, differs but little from the festival as conducted in Seringapatam during historical times. The similarity is striking to a degree. Compare also the *Mahânnavami* festival in Vijayanagar as described by Paes (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 265-279). The similarity becomes more striking still—another indication of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. An important point in regard to *Dasara* as celebrated in Seringapatam is that, as we shall see, we have an accurate and exhaustive account of it by a local contemporary who adds considerably to our knowledge of the subject,

autumn (September-October) of every year, in keeping with the traditions set up by his predecessors and with his own local position and status. During the first eight days of the festival Kaçthîrava used to hold the public Durbâr (*odḍôlaga*) in his Palace. On the ninth day, he would worship the weapons (in the armoury) and horses and éléphants, and on the tenth, he would proceed in state to perform the *Sami-pujâ* outside the capital city. The *Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja-Vijayam* of Gôvinda-Vaidya contains¹²² an elaborate contemporary picture of the entire course of the Mahânnavami festival as conducted by Kaçthîrava in September 1647¹²³ when he had reached the summit of his power. The following is an account of it as gleaned from the poeni.

At the approach of autumn, Kanṭhîrava, in consultation with the astrologers, fixed up the programme of the *Mahânnavami*. Daḷavâi Lingarâjaiya was desired to look after the necessary preliminaries. Linge-Gauḍa, the Mayor of the capital city, under instructions from the Daḷavâi, attended to the beautification of Seringapatam and the Palace, including the Durbâr Hall (*Olaga-sâle*, *Asthânamantapa*), *Chandra-sâle*, armoury (*Âyudha-sâle*), stores

for which we had, hitherto, to rely solely on the account of Pæu applicable only to Vijayanagar. Wilks (I. 61) refers to Kanṭhîrava as noted for his "*having first celebrated with suitable splendour the feast of the Mahanavami or Dessara*" [Italics ours]. Although, as indicated in an earlier chapter, Râja Wodeyar is reputed to have inaugurated the festival in Mysore, Wilks's position, so far as Kaçthîrava is concerned, is more than confirmed and supplemented by the authentic account given here. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 290.

122. Chs. XX-XXII.

123. Since the writing of the *K. N. V.* was completed on May 22, 1648 (see section on *Literary activity*) and since Lingarâjaiya of Hura (Lingarâjendra) is stated to have been the Daḷavâi of Kanṭhîrava (XX, 61, 63), and Linge-Gauḍa is mentioned as the Mayor of Seringapatam (XX, 60), at the time of the *Mahânnavami* festival described in the work, we cannot but place the event in September 1647, Lingarâjaiya himself having succeeded to the office of Daḷavâi in January 1647 (vide section on *Ministers, Officers and Dalavâis*). *Isviya su.* 1-10 (the period of the *Mahânnavami* festival) in 1647 fell between 19-28th September (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 97).

(*Ulupeya-mâne, Ugrânq*), cisterhs of curds, ghee and oil (*Dadhi-ghrita-taila-vdpi*) and wardrobe (*Udugoregala-bôkkaSada-grha*). Presently the stables of horses and éléphants and the streets of Seringapatam kept up a gay appearance. Camps (*biçâra*) were laid out for the lodging of kings and chiefs from différent places (*dese-deseinda . . . baha vasumatîéara*) and of other visitors from outside (namely, scholars, reciters, athlètes, acrobats, courtezans, mûsieians, actors, conjurers, etc.), while kitchens and feeding-houses (*pâkada-grha, bhôjana-sâle, dâsôhada-grha*) were put up for the learned, Vîra-Vaishçavas, Sri-Vaishnavas, elderly *Mahantas, Mathâdhipatis, Jôgis, Jangamas, the indigent and the détectives*).¹³⁴ Kanthîrava next got addressed palm-leaf letters (*uttaragaḷanu, ôleya barisida*) to the ruling chiefs and feudatories, inviting them to the festival. The chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hole-Narasipur), Bêlûr, Kuṛiigal, Mâgaḍi, Nanjarâyapaṭna, the Bêḍa chief and the Koḍagu, Maleyâḷa, Konkaṇa and Tujuva chiefs went over to Seringapatam with présents (*kânike*), while the local feudatories of Kanthîrava proceeded thither with tribute and large supplies in addition (*balu vulupe kânike kappasahita*). Ikkêri, Tanjore (*Tanjâvûru*), Madura (*Madhure*) and Gingee (*Tenje, Tenji, Chenje*) were among the distant powers represented. Among other invitées were scholars (*sûrigalu, vidvâmsaru*), functionaries (*viniyôgigalu*), celebrities (*prasiddha-purusharu*), experts in *êâstras* (*siddhântigalu*), musicians (*gâyakaru*), reciters (*pâthakaru*) and the élite of the city (*nâgarika . . . êringâra-purusharu*). The capital city was soon overcrowded with people from various places (*nânî-dêéada jana-jâla-vaitandu Pattanake . . . kikkiridiha*),¹³⁶

124. K. N. F., XX, I-51.

125. *Ibid*, XX, 52-75 ; XXI, 58-54. For the names of chiefs, feudatories, etc., see under *Feudatorie*.

On the first day of the bright half of *Ânavijdy* the Brâhmans performed the purificatory ceremonies (*Puṇyârchane, hôma*) over the Durbâr Hall, the horse and éléphant stables and the armoury. The nine days* festival in honour of Chaṇḍikâ and her sister deities [*Ghaṇḍikâmbike (yard) navarâtriya pûje*] was inaugurated by the solemn propitiation of Goddess Beṭṭada-Châmuṇḍî, the tutelary deity (*maneya-dêvate*) of the Mysore Boyal Family. This was followed by the sumptuous feeding of Brâhmans and ail classes of people in the city. Large crowds from the city, the townships and villages and distant places (*purajana, parijana, nânâ-dêêada-jana*), men, women and children dressed and adorned according to différent tastes and fashions, witnessed the daily Durbâr of Kaṇṭhîrava during the first eight days of the festival.¹⁹⁶ Every day Kaṇṭhîrava used to hold his Durbâr (*Mahânavami oddôlagôtsava*) during morning and night. At an auspicious moment (*subha-muhûrtada vêleyali*), the images of Gods Baganâtha and Lakshmî-Narasimha used to be taken in procession to the Durbâr Hall and placed on the jewelled seats (*ratna-pitha*). Then Dalavâi Lingarâjaiyâ, dressed in state, would proceed to welcome the king to the Durbâr Hall, accompanied by the courtiers, ministers, chiefs and *karanikas* and with ail the insignias and military honours. Meanwhile, Kaṇṭhîrava, having adorned his person, would hâve left his apartment, Venkatapati-Jetti most respectfully leading him. Seated in the palankeen (*pallakkiyanëri*), he would proceed towards the Durbâr Hall under the shade of the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattigeya nelalinali*), accompanied by instrumental music, the recitations of the panegyrists and by the emblems (like the chowries and fans, the *makara* banner, *éankha, chakra*, etc.)—evidently a picturesque scène

126. *Ibid.*, XXI, 1-24.

witnessed with considérable interest by- the spectators. Àt the Durbâr Hall, Kanthirava would alight the palankeen, the Daḷavâi most cereæoniously leading him. Performing obeisance to Gods Banganàtha and Narasimha, he would next occupy the jewelled throne (*navaratnada gaddugeyali mandīṣi*). In the meantime, the Palace officials (of the *Avasarada-hôbli* départaient) would be actively engagea in assigning seats in the Durbâr Hall to the ministers, chiefs, scholars and others according to their respective ranks and status (*irisidaru . . . atitaravaritu*). There used to be regular rows (*sâlu-sâlu*) of chiefs and feudatories (*manneya-maṇḍalikara*), of royal cavaliers (*râya-râvutara*), of courtezans (*sûleyarugaḷa*) from différent places, of reciters (*pàthakara*), of experts in wonderful arts from various countries (*chappanna-ciêêada chôdyâ-vidyâdhikara*), and of spectators in gênerai (*nôtaka-jana*)—ail systematically arranged in the interior of the Durbâr Hall (*tappade sâlaridantardntara doḷa-goppavittaru*) ,¹²⁷

The daily Durbâr, during the festival, was regulated in the following manner: The chiefs, feudatories and représentatives of the powers would first pay their homage to the king, tendering their présents (consisting of éléphants, horses and gold). This would be followed by the respectful obeisance of the *mahouts*, cavaliers, warriors, military officers (*Nâyakas*) and others. Then there would be thrilling boxing feats of athlètes (*mallara hôrâta, kâḷaga*), arranged in pairs (*jôḍu-jôḍali . . . jattigalu . . . panthade nmîdaru*), exciting acrobatie performances of various types (*dombarugaḷu . . . bage-bageyâtava fôrt*), ram-fights (*tagara kalaga*) , fights of rutting éléphants (*madakarigala hôrâta*) and fights of daring men with tigers and bears let loose (*puli-karadigala bigîṇmaparidu kâduva vimra motta*).¹²⁸ At night, the splendour of the

127. *Ibid*, 25-60, 66-69, 71.

128. *Ibid*, 51-68, 69-98.

Durbâr of Kanthîrava used to be enhanced by the illuminations (*dipa-kântigalu*, *divatigegalu*), and the programme would consist of the following items: dancing (*nâtya*), including *kôlâtqm* (a play of sticks in alternate motions); display of feats by conjurers (*indrajâlava tôruva mandi*); mimicry and comic (*bairûpa-dâtagaḷa . . . hâsya-rasagalinda*); enactment of *Daêâvatâras* of Vishîm by the Bhâgavatas (*Hariya-Daêâvatârada-nâtakava tôri mereva Bâgavatara*); vocal music and music of the lute (*gânava pàduva viâvâmsarugaḷu*, *viṇeya vâdipa vidvâmsarugalu . . .*); display of skill in poetical composition (*lakshya-lakshaṇa kâvya nâtaka . . . alankâra éôbhitade balu padya krti bandhava naḍṇutajâna kavigalu*), and the musical recitation of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Bâmâyana* by the *Bhâratis* (*Bhârata-Râmdayana sangûta-sâradolage . . . ôdi vaibhavadinda . . . Bhâratiḡalu ranjisidaru*). There would also be a display of crackers and firework (*birîsu bânagalû*), such as the *chakrabâna*, *sûtragambha*, etc., adding to the beauty of the scène. Then the Durbârîs would be duly honoured with bétel and clothes (*vîleya uḍugoregala*) according to their status (*antaravaridittu*), after which Kanthîrava would bring the day's Durbâr to a close. Adoring Vishrîu and partaking of the holy water and offerings (*Harige vandisi tîrtha prasâdava konḍu*), he would finally retire to his apartment.¹⁹⁰

On the ninth day (*Mahânavami*), the *Saundarya-vilâsa* chamber of the Palace was beautified and préparations made for the worship of the weapons (which included the sword, lance, bow, cutlass, dagger, knife and the collections from the armoury) and éléphants and horses (*âyudha-gajâéva-pûje*). Thèse, after being cleaned and washed, were taken in procession to the *Âyurfha-maṇṭapa*, where

Kapṭhīrava performed their worship. This was followed by the observance by him of the *Durgâ-japamâjîd* by the elaborate propitiation by the Brâhmans of Goddess Chajjḍî and all her manifestations, while in the quadraûgle of the *ṃantapa* (*âyudha-ṃaṭitapada divyângṇado\age*) various items of services (such as music, dance, etc.) were gone through in honour of the occasion.¹³⁰

On the morning of the tenth day (*Vijayadaimi*), Kapṭhīrava, having finished the daily rites (*i.e.*, washing, bathing, *nâma-tirtham*, worship of Vishnu, gifts, acceptance of holy water and offerings, and the bënëdic-tions of the Brâhmans), got through the second worship of *Chaṇḍikâ* (*mampûjeya Chaṇḍikâmbikege mâḍiṣi*) and broke into pièces the *kûshmânḍa* (pumpkin),¹⁸¹ This was the day of the public procession of the king to conduct the *éamî-pwḷâ* which was to take place in the evening. Linge-Gauḍa (Mayor of Seringapatam) attended to the décoration of the *Samî-mantapa*, situated to the east, outside the capital city (*purada bahirbhâgada pûrva-dese-yali*). The main street of the city (*pura-vîdhi*), from the gâte of the Palace as far as the *mantapa* (*aramane-bagilim jambisâri-mantapa pariyanta*), a distance of nearly three miles (*yôjana pariyanta*), was befittingly beautified. The entire distance was crowded to the full by spectators from far and near (*chaudeseya-dêsada nôtaka-jana*), to witness the grandeur of the king's procession (*ijambî-savâri*). Then, at an auspicious moment, the shrines of Gods Banganâtha and Narasimha were taken in procession to the *Samî-mantapa*. Presently, at the striking of the drum, the army (consisting of gorgeously caparisoned éléphants, horses, chariots and foot) started on its march, and Kapṭhīrava, having suitably adorned his person (*smgaragaidu*), proceeded in state, on horse-back (*uttamâivavanëri . . . nadedanu*), amidst the

130. *Ibid.* XXII, 1-36.

131. *Ibid.*, 55-69.

resounding notes of the recitations of panegyfists and of musical instruments. He was accompanied by the Daḷavâi, ministers, *karaiṅikas*, -courtiers, chiefs and feudatories ; by all the emblems of sovereignty, including the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattige*), the *makara* banner (*makara-tekke*) and the fan (*âlavatta*) ; and by regular rows of servants (*ûligadavaru*) holding in their hands the pouch (*haḍapa*), chowries (*châmara*), tasselled fan (*kuncha*), spittoon (*kâlânji*) and cérémonial clothes (*pavade*).¹³² At the *Sami-mantapa*, a picturesque scène followed, in which Kaṅṭhîrâva, having alighted his hôte, was seen displaying his skill in archery (*singâdiya tegedu ambugalṅalayadisi*) and in riding at will the state éléphant (*pattada âneya sirake langhisi . . . bîdi varisi . . .*). The occasion was also marked by ram-fights (*tagara kâdisi*) and athletic contests (*mallara kâlaga*). Thèse amusements were followed by the king's worship of the *Sami* (the tree *Prosopis spicigera* *Lin.*) and his return to the Palace at night, seated on the state éléphant (*pattadâne*), amidst illuminations of countless torches (*lekkavillada . . . divatigegalu*) and the resounding noise of crackers and fireworks (*bânabirisu*). The functions of the tenth day having been completed by the performance of the waving of the lighted camphor (*ârati*) in the Palace, the Daḷavâi dispersed the army and returned to his abode.¹³³

Next day the Daḷavâi and the *karaiṅikas*, under the orders of Kaṅṭhîrâva, made gifts to the

Gifts and présents. needy and duly honoured the chiefs and feudatories, musicians, scholars, athlètes, jesters and others with présents of gold, jewels and cloths. Thus was brought to a conclusion the grand *Mahanavami* festival conducted by Kaṅṭhîrâva when he had been established in the sovereignty (*sthira-sâfnrâjyadolu*) ôf the kingdôm of Mysore.¹³⁴

132, *Ibid*, 70-98.

133. *Ibid*, 99-107.

134. *Ibid*, 108-110.

That the time-honoured social idéal of *Varnâsrama-*

The social idéal: *dharma* was being rigorously enforced by the king and followed by his subjects is amply evidenced by the sources.¹³⁵ But side by side with the growth of wealth and luxury, and underlying the gaiety and splendour of city life (particularly in Mysore and Seringapatam), are pictures¹³⁶—though largely idealised and even imaginative to some extent, they cannot but have been entirely divorced from the actualities—depicting prostitution as a growing vice eating slowly into the vitals of contemporary society and indirectly hinting at the idéal of modération as the *sine qua non* of social and cultural progress. In striking contrast with life in cities was the even tenor of corporate life in the rural parts, of which we have traces during the period.¹³⁷

Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was noted for his patronage of learning. He is said to have been a source of support to scholars (*sakala-vidvaganâdhâra*),¹³⁸ providing them ail with a living (*samasta vibuâhaêrṇîsamujjivanam*),¹³⁹ He appears himself to have been a person of taste, trained to the appréciation of poetry, music and literature. The titles, *Sarasa-vidyâ-viêarada*, *Sangîta-sâhitya-êâstra-viîarada*, ascribed to him¹⁴⁰ cannot be altogether devoid of foundation or significance.

Sanskrit and Kannaḍa literature alike flourished during

Literary activity: the reign. While the kâvya style was still adhered to by writers in Sanskrit, *Halâgannada*, as a médium of literary expression in Kannaḍa, continued to

135. See *K. N. V.* I, 11; II, 74, 109; IV, 100, 107; V, 50, 56-57; VI, 41, 50-52; IX, 8; XXVI, 80, 82, 84, 88, 40; *C. Pam.*, 87-88, 152-153, 160-161; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 108; Nj. 198; IV (2) Yd. 5; V (1) and (2) Ag. 64, etc.

136. *Ibid.*, II, 88-107; VI, 77-198; also Chs. IX and X.

137. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10; III (1) Sr. 108; Nj. 106; V (1) and (2) Ag.

On 160, 165, 165, etc.; see also under *Grants and other records*.

138. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 18.

139. *E. C.*, V (2) Ag. 64, p. 768 (Text).

140. *K. N. V.*, I, 25; XXV, l.c.

hold its own side by aide with *Hosagannada*, and the tendericy of the latter towards displacing the former is also, to some extent, noticeable in the literary productions of the period. The poet Nṛhari, son of Narasimhârya, composed in Sanskrit the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate inscription*¹⁴¹ of Kanthirava, dated April 7, 1639. Narasimha-Sûri, son of Srînivâsa of Kauéika-gôtra, wrote the copper-plate grant¹⁴² from Tondanûr—also in Sanskrit—dated April 27, 1647. He seems to hâve also composed the Mattigôdu lithic grant¹⁴³ of Kanthirava, another record in Sanskrit of the same date, judging from the similarity in language of both the records. Among Kannada writers, Bhâskara (Bâchirâja), son of Srî-Varadêva and Lakshmîdêvi, was the author of *Bêhâra-Ganita*¹⁴¹ (*Vyavahâra-Ganita*), a mathematical work. He refers to himself as a poet (*sarasam sâtkavi-vallabham*) and appears to hâve had the titles, *Êârade-guvara*, *Ganita-vilâsa*. The *Bêhâra-Ganita* (c.1645-1650) is written in eight chapters in a mixture of old and new Kannada—poetry (of the *kanda* mètre) and prose—each *sûtra* being followed by comment and examples. Among the topics dealt with are compound interest (*chahra-baddî*), square measure (*mattada-sûtra*), chain measure (*birûdina-lekka?*), index numbers or tables (*padakada sûtra*), problems in mint mathematics (*tenkasaleyalli kattuva ichchâ varnakke sûtra*). The work, besides, contains références to Seringapatam (*Rangapura*),

141. E. C., III (1) Nj. 198, ll. 127-128:

*Padyâna-manavadyânâm ittanetra virâjatâm |
Kartâ Sri-Narasimhârya-nandanô Nṛharîsh kavîsh ||*

142. *Ibid.*, Sr., 108, ll. 163-167:

*Êrmat-Kausika-vamsa . . . Srînivâsambudhêsh |
Putrâsh Sri-Narasimha-sûri . . . Kanthirava-
Kshâmpâllina nibhâdhitâsh kṛtimimâm tachchâsanasyakartô ||*

143. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. See also f.n. 54 and 56 *supra*.

144. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 875. Cf. Ms. No. 218—P. L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*: This work, entitled *Bhâskara-Ganita*, contains reference to Râjâditya, a mathematician, and deals with arithmetic and astrology. It differs, however, from the Ms. noticed in the *Kar. Ka. Cha*.

Chamarâja and Kanthîrava-Naïasa (*Narasabhûpa*)¹⁴⁵ Timmarasa wrote the *Mârkanḍeya-Râmâyana*¹⁴⁶ (c. 1645-1650), a, *Haḷagannada* poetical work in the *Vârdhika-shaipadi* mètre, in 30 chapters and 1,000 stanzaa. The poet rëfers to himself as the son of Karaṇika Buḷla of Pâlkurike, of the Kannaḍiga-vamëa, Bhâradvâja-gôtra, Åsvalâyana-sûtra and Rig-Vëda. He arëfers also to Yadugiri (Mëlkôṭe) Nârâyana and Yadugiri Narasimha. Although thëre are no further particulars about him in the work, he seems identical with Timma-tasa, mînister-in-chief of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, who is said to hâve been well versed in the arts (*suvidya*), inclûding, përhaps, poetry also.¹⁴⁷ Bhârati-Nanja was, as already mentioned, a poet at the court of Kanthîrava. ïie is referred to¹⁴⁸ as *Sringâra-kavh*, *Bâla-kavi*, and as -having been highly proficient in rausic also (*sangîta-duttunganenipa*). He appears to hâve been very influentialia at the court, although no works of his havëso far corne down to us.¹⁴⁹

By far the most important writer during the period, however, was Gôvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Kanthîrava-Narasarâja-Vijayam*¹⁵⁰ (1648). He was the son of Srînivâsa-Paṇḍita¹⁵¹ and appears to hâve been a Sfnârtha Brâhman of Seringapatam, well read. in the *Vëdas*, *Mantra-sâstras* and literary and poetical lore.¹⁵²

145. *Ibid.*, II. 375-377.

146. Ms. No. B. 50—P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 408-409.

147. See *K. N. V.*, XXV, 84; also f.n. 1 *supra*.

148. *Ibid.*, XXV, 87; also I, 25 and XXVI (colophon on p. 496), referring to Bhârati-Nanja who seems to have been a young man of poetical talents and musical attainments.

149. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 375), which, ambiguously enough, assigns the authorship of the *K. N. V.* to Bhârati-Nanja, besides indicating that Gôvinda-Vaidya also seems to be the author of it! As we shall see, it was not Bhârati-Nanja but Gôvinda-Vaidya who actually wrote that work. *Vide* also f.n. 158 *infra*.

150. *Pub. Mys. Or. Lib. Kannaḍa Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1925.

151. *K. N. V.*, XXVI, p. 496 (colophon).

152. *Ibid.*, I, 11, 13.

He speaks¹⁵³ of his having written the poem at the instance of Dalavâi Nanjarâjaiya of Hura (1640-1647). The writing of the work seems to have been begun not earlier than 1641 and not later than 1645 and, according to the colophon¹⁵⁴ at the the end, was actually completed on May 22, 1648 (s. 1570, *Sarvadhâri*, *Jyëstha* su. 11, *Chandruvâra*—Monday). Gôvinda-Vaidya, it would appear, was a protégé of Bhârati-Nanja who had, it is said,¹⁵⁵ previously related the subject-matter of the work (namely, the exploits of Kañthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar) in the court of Kañthîrava. This was, perhaps, the reason why Gôvinda-Vaidya, as he himself says,¹⁵⁶ wrote the poem favoured by Bhârati-Nanja (*Bhârati-Nanja-nolidu*), and also why, when it was completed in May 1648, he had it read out by the tatter in the court of Kaçthîrava-Narasa according to the colophon.¹⁵⁷ In any case, Gôvinda-Vaidya seems to have been indebted to Bhârati-Nanja for the subject-matter of the poem, although there is no évidence in favour of the ascription of its authorship to the latter.¹⁵⁸ The *Kañthîrava-Narasarâja-Vijayam* is, in the main, written in the *Hosagannada*, *sângatya* mètre. Lucid and intelligible, it undoubtedly is an index of the popularity of *sângatya* as a form of poetical expression in Mysore in the middle of the seventeenth century. The thème of the work is centred

153. *Ibid.*, I, 28: *Dalavâyi Nanjarâjendra tannoḷeyana kâryaḍḷigeya*
churiteyagi . . . pēṣidannu.

154. *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 498.

155. *Ibid.*, I, 25: *Dorerâya Narasarâjendrâna chariteyanoreḍa Bhârati-Nanja.*

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ibid.*, XXVI, l.c.: *Gôvinda-Vaidyanu Kañthîrava-Narasarâja-Vijaya-vannu virachisi . . . Bhârati-Nanjana mukhadinda vâchisi rajasthânadalli vistrapaḍḷisidudu.*

158. Wilson (*Des. Cat. Mack. Ms.*, p. 331) ascribes the authorship of the *K. N. V.* to Nanja-Kavi (Bhârati-Nanja) and the *Kar. Ka. Oka.* also, apparently following him, assigns it to Bhârati-Nanja (see f. n. 149 *supra*). This seems due to a misunderstanding of the text and is not borne out by internal evidence. A detailed examination of the palm-leaf Ms. of this work (No. 110 of the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) shows that it closely agrees with the text of the poem as now published.

round the rise and fortunes of Kanthîrava-Naraisarâja Wôdeyâr,, as is clearly indicated by the poet at the end of each chapter (*sandhi*). The entire ground is covered by him in twenty-six chapters. The poem begins with invocation to Paschima-Ranga, Lakshmî-Narasimha, Lakshmîkânta, Trinayana (of Mysore), Channa-Nanjuçça, Ganësa, Sarasvati and Bettada-Châmundi, indicating the scope of the work by way of introduction (Chapter I). Then we have a descriptive account of the Karnâtaका country and of the city of Mysore (Chapter II). This is followed by an account of the pedigree and family history of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar (Chapter III), and of his birth, éducation and training (Chapter IV). Next we have the legendary history (*Mâhâtmya*) of Seringapatam (Chapter V); a descriptive account of the city of Seringapatam (including the Palace, temples and other buildings therein) under Kanthîrava (Chapters VI and VII); a picture of the daily Durbâr of Kanthîrava (Chapter VIII); and erotic scènes (Chapters IX and X). Then follows a detailed account of the advent of Rana-dullâ Khân (of Bijâpur) to the Karnâtaका, his siège of Seringapatam and his final repulse by Kanthîrava (Chapters XI-XV). The subsequent relations of Mysore with Bijâpur (Chapter XVI); Kanthîrava's siège and acquisition of Sâmbalji and Piriyaapaña (Chapters XVII and XVIII); the action against Mustafâ Khân and Daḷavâi Nanjarâjaiya's death at Turuvêkere (Chapter XIX)—these are treated next, and are succeeded by descriptive accounts of the beautification of Seringapatam on the occasion of the *Mahânnavami* festival (Chapter XX), Kanthîrava's daily Durbâr during the festival and his procession-in-state on the tenth (*Vijayadaéami*) day of the feast (Chapters XXI and XXII), and the *Gajendra-Tirunâl* festival and the car festival of Banganâtha at Seringapatam (Chapters XXIII-XXV). The poem concludes with a picture of Kanthîrava's religion

(Chapter XXVI). Throughout, Gôvinda-Vaidya writes essentially as a poet, freely employing all the literary devices (i.e., ornate descriptions, imagery, epigram, simile, allit eration, etc.) to add to the beauty of the poem, and brings out prominently the greatness of its hero, namely, Kanth irava-Narasar aja Wodeyar. He delineates to a considerable extent the heroic (*v ira*) and erotic (* ring ara*) sentiments (Chapters III, IV, XI-XIX, XXVI; II, V-X, XX-XXV), and pays particular attention to minute d etails in describing nature (i.e. seasons, rivers, gardens, hills, paddy fields, etc., as in Chapters II, V and XX). From a purely literary point of view, therefore, the *Kanth irava-Narcisar aja-Vijayam* answers to the description of an epic poem (*mah -k avya*), the pervading style being *Dr aksh -p aka*.¹⁵⁹ As a local contemporary, on the other hand, G vinda-Vaidya prominently reflects his personality in almost every chapter of the work. In regard to political events, we find him giving expression to what he has himself either actually witnessed or gathered from those who participated in those events (Chapters III, XI-XIX). In delineating the social background, in g enerai, he seems to h ave been fairly acquainted with the well-known standards of earlier writers as, for instance, V atsy ayana.¹⁶⁰ In depicting the society and culture of his times (Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV), in particular, he does show a thorough

159. See also *Editorial Introduction* to the work, p. v.

160. References to and descriptions of such items as the social order, trades and professions, costume and personal adornment, arts and sciences, festivals, amusements, Palace, court life and culture, courtesans and prostitution (in Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV) correspond, in a remarkable measure, with the general background of social life depicted by V atsy ayana (see pp. 54, 56-57, 60-63, 212-213, 223-232 and 313-320 of the *K ama-S  tra* of V atsy ayana, translated by H. S. Gambler, Third edition, Amritsar, 1932). We have, again, a direct reference to *Rati-S  tra* (VI, 197), and have also noticed the references to Bharat ach rya (*vide* f.n. 90 *supra*). All these point to the influence of ancient ideas and ideals on contemporary life and literature.

acquaintance with the realities of life; so thorough, indeed, that even when he presents, or rather attempts to present, idealised and veiled pictures (Chapters IX and X); he cannot but be understood as conveying the deeper under-currents of thought and feeling which he, as a contemporary observer, could not easily dissociate himself from. Viewed as a whole, the *Kanthirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam*, making due allowance for poetical fancy and literary flourishes, and subject to comparison with other sources wherever necessary, holds a unique place among the literary productions of the period, as a mirror of the political and social history of the earlier part of the reign of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar in Mysore (1638-1648).

Āyamma, daughter of Huchcha-Timmarājaiya of Domestic life :
 Queens. Biḷuguli, and Lakshamma, daughter of Dâsarājaiya of Kalale, were the principal queens of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar.¹⁶¹ Only by the former, the seniormost queen, Kanthirava had a son (named Châraarāja Wodeyar) who, however, it is said,¹⁶² died in his sixth year (c. 1653-1654).

Among other members of the Mysore Royal Family, Other members of the Royal Family. Beṭṭada-Châmarāja Wodeyar, father of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar, passed away at Guridlu, at the age of 85, in

161. The *Annals* (I. 65-66) mentions in all ten queens of Kanthirava, the first two, referred to above, being married by him in April 1629 and the next eight (*aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*) in the *Arka*, as distinct from the *Gandharva*, form in April 1640. These eight queens were daughters of the chiefs of Narunelli, Arikuthâra, Yeandâr, Bâgajji, Haṭṭi, Tippâr and Malagâḍ. The *Mys. Dho. Par.* (I. 62) mentions only nine. The *K. N. V.* (VII, 69-70; XX, 87; XXIV, 2-3) refers, in general, to the queens of Kanthirava (*râjaputriyaru*, *paṭṭada-satiyaru*) and idealises them. Cf. *Bâj. Kath.*, XII. 472.

162. *Annals*, I, 66. According to the *K. N. V.* (XXVI, 42), Kanthirava had an issue (*pîridu santânava paḍedu*) by 1648. The child must have predeceased him subsequent to that date. Cf. *Bâj. Kath.*, l.c.

March 1639.¹⁶³ Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the last surviving younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar and uncle of Kaçṭhīrava, is said to hâve been living with his family in Guṇḍlu during the greater part of the reign,¹⁶⁴ and appears to have died in the Palace at Hangāia (near Gundlu), in or about 1656, at the âge of 103.¹⁶⁵

163. The *Annals* (I. 78) refers to *Pramāthi, Chaitra* ba. 2 (April 9, 1639) as the date of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar's death. The *Mys. Dho. Yam.* (II. 33) refers to *Pramāthi* (1639), the portion relating to further details about the date being worn out. But from the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant* [*E. C.* III (1) Nj. 198], issued on *Pramāthi, Chaitra* su. 15 (April 7, 1639), we note that Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar had passed away before that date, and the grant itself was made for the eternal merit of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, I. 83: *Pituh sadgatimannvichchan*), probably on the day of his attainment of *Vaikunṭhu*. Accordingly we have to fix his death on or before *Pramāthi, Chaitra* su. 2 (March 26, 1639), two months after Ranadullā Khān's siege of Seringapatam and his repulse. See also f.n. 165 *infra*.

164. *Annals*, I. 98, 95.

165. See *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25, pp. 163-165. This record alludes to the dismantling—by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, under the orders of Venkaṭa II—of the Palace at Hangāia, where the Arasu had formerly lived, and to the spot in that Palace, where Rājoḍeyar attained his beatitude (II. 6-10: *Venkaṭapati-rayaravara nirupadinda . . . Dēvarāju-Voḍeru Hunguladalu arasinavaru yida aramuneyali vododali Rājoḍeru muktarāda baḷiya*). It further refers to the construction of a stone *maḥk* (*kala-naṭa*) and the setting up of a *linga* on that spot (*linga-stāpyava maḍi*), etc., by Amritamma (queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar). The reference to the "Arasu" in this record seems obviously to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar who, as we have seen, lived in Guṇḍlu and who died in March 1639. It seems not impossible that he had also a Palace at Hangāia in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍlu, which was dismantled about 1640, shortly after his death. Again, Rājoḍeyar, mentioned in the record, appears to be a shortened form of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is also said to have lived in Guṇḍlu and whose death in the Hangāia Palace, according to the context, was perhaps intended to be commemorated by his eldest son, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, and his daughter-in-law, Amritamma, in May 1656. The document thus enables us to fix the probable date of Muppina-Dēvarāja's death in or about 1656. We know that he was born in 1553 (see Chs. IV and V). He was, accordingly, 103 years of age at the time of his death, which is in keeping with *Muppina* (old) prefixed to his name. See also and compare the Editorial note in *M. A. R.*, Ditto, pp. 165-166. For further reference to this record, *vide* f.n. 169 and 169 *infra*.

Of the four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his second wife Kempamma, Doddadēvarāja Woḍeyar, the eldest (born February 18, 1622), it would seem,¹⁶⁶ was holding charge of the city of Mysore (*tanna Mahisûra-nagara*) under Kanthîrava, and for some time resided in Seringapatam also, possibly ruling jointly with the latter (*arasu-geyyuttire*) from about 1644 onwards. A lifehich record, dated December 8, 1644,¹⁶⁷ registers a grant by Doddadēvarāja of the village of Sāvantanahalli to provide for the midday offering of God Chalugarâyasvâmi of Mēlkôṭe. Another, dated May 12, 1656,¹⁶⁸ referring to the construction of a stone *math*, etc., in Hangala by Amritamma (queen of Doddadēvarāja Woḍeyar), specifically mentions him as the lord of Mysore (*Maisûrâdhipa*), distinguished by the title *Antembaraganda*. The record, it is further significant, refers¹⁶⁹ also to Emperor Srî-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar. Evidently Doddadēvarāja Woḍeyar, as a prominent member of the Mysore Royal Family, seems to have continued to rule in the city of Mysore in an almost independent capacity, during the latter part of Kanthîrava's reign, formally

166. See *C. Vam.*, 188, 160; also *C. Vi.*, III, 129, and Appendix IV—(1) and V—(2).

167. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 120: *Taraṇa, Maragutira* ba. 5. "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doddadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. All the sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as we shall see in Ch. X (f.n. 9), are generally referred to in some inscriptions as Dēvarāja, although, according to other sources, they had distinct prefixes (i.e., Doḍḍa, Chiikka, etc.), with which their actual names commenced. The present grant appears to have been made by Doddadēvarāja by way of commemorating his visit to Mēlkôṭe in c. 1648-1644 (see under *Social life—Festivals*).

168. *M. A. R.*, 1900, No. 25: s. 1578, *Durmukhi, Vaiśakha* ba. 12, Monday—see ll. 7-8. In view of what is stated in the above f.n., "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doddadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Moreover, as we shall see from other sources also, "Amritamma," mentioned in this record, was the queen of Doddadēvarāja. *Vide* also f.n. 165 *supra* and Ch. X, for further reference to this document and to Amritamma.

169. *Ibid.*, ll. 3-6.

acknowledging the suzerainty of Srī-Ranga.¹⁷⁰ Dodda-dēvarāja was also known as "Doḍḍa-Àrasinavaru" and "Doḍḍadēvaiya-Arasu."¹⁷¹ He is depicted to hâve been an idéal ruler,¹⁷² and is said to hâve established an *agrahâra* named after himself.¹⁷³

The last days of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar (particularly during the period 1653-1659) seem to hâve been rather unhappy. His domestic felicity suffered considerably by the death of his only son (c. 1653-1654), and his political position itself was seriously threatened by the calamitous invasion of his territories by Khàn Muhammad of Bijâpur, by the war with Madura and by the rise to political prominence of êivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri. The dafczling splendour of the earlier part of Kanthirava's reign appears, indeed, in striking contrast with the serious set-back in his fortunes during its latter part.

On July 31, 1659 passed away¹⁷⁴ Kanthîrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, in his forty-fifth year, bis queens, it is said,¹⁷⁵ observing *sati*.

Alike as a warrior, political builder and ruler, Ka\$thîrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar occupies an important place in the history of Mysore. In appearance he was, as depicted to us

170. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 166, where Dr. M. H. Krishna, assuming Doḍḍadēvarāja (of this record) to be identical with the successor of Kanthirava-Narasa, holds that the record was issued by the former "before he became king, though royal titles are applied to him out of courtesy." There is no evidence in support of this position. For the identification of the successor of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, vide Ch. X and Appendix V—(1) and (2).

171. See *E. C.*, III (1) My. 7 (1686), ll. 10-11, and *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, I, 57.

172. *C. Pam.*, 160-161; *Ç. Vi.*, III, 129-145, etc.; see also Appendix V—(2).

173. *E. C.*, l.c.: *namma Doḍḍa-arasinavaru maḍida Dēvarāja agrahâra* where Chikkadēvarāja refers to his father, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, as distinct from his uncle, Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

174. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, I, 56; *Vikari, Śrāvāṇa* ba. 8; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I, 93; cf. *Raj. Kath.* (XII, 470-473), which fixes Kanthirava's rule between 1686-1690 and places his death in December 1660, for which there is no evidence.

175. *Annals*, l.c.

by contemporary writers,¹⁷⁶ a stalwart figure, possessed of an exceptionally robust constitution and handsome and attractive features. Clad in a superbly wrought suit of arniour (*muttina dagale, vajrada jodu*), with the helmet of lead on his head (*siradali . . . sisakada pustanga*), the shining yellow-coloured cloth girt round his loins (*miruguva misuniya datti katiyol*) and the jewelled dagger attached thereto (*ratnada bâku*), and brandishing his sharp-edged sword (*oreyanugida khaḍgaviḍidu*) in his hand,¹⁷⁷ he appears with all the life and vigour of a true warrior on the field of battle.

As a warrior. Among the titles ascribed to him as a warrior were *Ēkânga-vira, Dhura-dhîra, Sangara-sûra*, etc.¹⁷⁸

Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was a prominent character of Southern India during the greater part of the first half of the seventeenth century. His prominence is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that he strenuously worked for and moulded the destiny of the kingdom of Mysore during a critical period in the history of the Karnâṭaka country. Despite the reverses sustained by him during the later years of his reign, he may, broadly speaking, be said to have achieved a fair measure of success in his two-fold objective of stemming the tide of advance of Bijâpur arms on Mysore and of maintaining the political integrity of the kingdom of Mysore in the southern frontier, besides effecting a series of local conquests in all the directions. The net result of his policy was that he was able to bequeath to his successor a kingdom compact and progressive and yet with the semblance of its position as an integral part of the once powerful but latterly decadent Empire of Viṣṭyanagar. It is, indeed, to the credit of Kanthîrava that, in evolving

¹⁷⁶ See, for instance; K.N. V, IX. 46, 55, 65, 98-117 ; X, 9, 17, etc.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XV, 12-13.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* I. 21 ; XII, 41.91 ; XV, 110 ; XVIII, 67, 174, etc.

this position, he showed from the beginning of his reign a rare consistency of purpose and Loyalty to the cause of the Empire (under Venkata II and Sri-Ranga VI), which appear in refreshing contrast with the disloyal, ruinous and suicidal course of conduct pursued by the rest of the rulers of South India contemporaneous with him, particularly by Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura. Expediency and self-interest, it is true, were the governing principles of the South Indian powers in the complex conditions of the period, but, in the case of Kanthîrava, these appear to have been tempered by larger considerations than the immediate political interests of the hour. There seems little doubt that, in arresting the progress of Bijâpur arms in the south and in standing as an effective barrier to the encroachments of Madura and her allies on Mysore in the early years of his reign, Kanthîrava rendered a signal service to the cause of the Empire to justify his claim to be " the right-hand man of Emperor Sri-Ranga in the south " (*taddakshîna-bhujadaṇḍa-iiāda*) in 1643. The striking of coins (*Kanthîrâya-hanams*) by him in 1645 and his neutrality during the siege of Vellore by Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍa in 1647 were due to circumstances and causes purely local and not dictated by any selfish interests ; nor does the former event, in particular, indicate " an open disavowal of impérial authority " on the part of Kanthîrava, as has been conjectured by some.¹⁷⁹ Indeed Kanthîrava, from the materials before us, appears prominently as a local ruler (particularly during 1645-1650) and as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, a position which must be given its due weight in any estimate of him as an historical character. From the beginning of his reign, there are, further, as many documents of Kanthîrava mentioning his suzerain as there are others not mentioning him as such, but the latter circumstance, far from pointing to " a sure sign of

179. See, for instance, S. K. Aiyangar in *Nayaks of Madura*, p.133.i.n. 60.

assumption of independence " as has been suggested,¹⁸⁰ serves, to a considérable extent, to enhance his prestige as thè ruler of Mysore, particularly after the siège of Piriya-patriâ in 1645, another outstanding event of his reign. This aspect of his position, again, tends to appear in greater relief when he, during the troublous years of Srî-Ranga (c. 1650-1653), afforded him shelter and hospitality, denied to him by the other feudatories of his, and helped him to recover a part of his dominions as well. There is neither truth nor justice in the statement hazarded that¹⁸¹ " there is nothing to indicate that it was loyalty to the Empire which induced Mysore . . . to receive Srî-Ranga." For it surêly ignores the available evidence as to Kanthîrava's loyalty to the Empire before 1650 and the influence exercised by him on his local contemporaries during 1639-1646. The same under-current of loyalty is discernible in the attitude of Kanthîrava towards êri-Eanga during the latter part of his reign also. Kanthîrava suffered considerably from the course of policy pursued by Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura during the period. It has been further held¹⁸² that Tirumala Nâyaka was justified in proceeding against Mysore, having himself suffered from the " repeated aggressions " of the latter, and having been " threatened by the new understanding between the Emperor and the king of Mysore," The first cause alleged is, as we shall point out, wholly untenable, while the second, though claimed to be based on a¹⁸³ " reading between the lines of the Jesuit account," is not borne out by it as our examination of the latter in the light of other sources would show. Srî-Ranga had left Mysore in or about 1653, so that the alleged " understanding " between him and Mysore to threaten Madura with an invasion (in 1655) lacks foundation. Again, the first definite advance of

180. *Nayaks of Madura, I.c.* 181. *Ibid.* p. 132.

Mysore arms on the south (as far as Trichinopoly) was, as we have seen, due to Tirumala Nâyaka himself inciting his feudatory (the chief of Sâmballi) to encroach on the southern frontier of Mysore, and even taking an active part in the movement. Tirumala had to eat the humble pie for this act of his, being promptly curbed for it by Kanthîrava. We have also seen how Madura, with Gingee and Tanjore, was represented at the court of Mysore in 1647. If this position is appreciated, we would be enabled to follow the subsequent relations of Kanthîrava with Madura. It was the desire to maintain the *status quo ante* in Mysore against Bijâpur, which had advanced as far as the Kâvëripattanam frontier by 1653, which appears to have induced Kanthîrava to proceed to the acquisition of Satyamangalam and Ðaṇâyakankõṭe, guarding the south, in 1654. This objective of Kanthîrava seems to have been thoroughly misunderstood by Tirumala Nâyaka as a direct attempt of Mysore to invade his own dominions. This, coupled with the memory of the serious reverses sustained by Tirumala in the early years of Kanthîrava's reign, was obviously responsible, in the main, for the calamitous attack of Bijâpur brought about by him (Tirumala Nâyaka) on Mysore, which eventually recoiled on Madura itself. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that Kanthîrava, as a loyal feudatory of Sri-Banga on the one hand and, on the other, with a view "to wreak just vengeance," waged the war against Tirumala Nâyaka during the last years of his reign (c. 1655-1659) when Sri-Ranga was, by force of circumstances, actually in Ikkëri (especially from c. 1656). Without sacrificing local independence, the Mysore Boyal House seems to have continued its allegiance to the Empire even during these years, for, as we have seen, we have a record of the dynasty, dated in as late as 1656, formally acknowledging the suzerainty of Sri-Ranga. If this position, again, is rightly understood, the

sweeping assertion of the contemporeary Proenza,¹⁸⁴ that " Mysore had long ago withdrawn herself from subordination to the same monarch" (Sri-Ranga), cannot be taken as a correct statement of fact. For, in this part of his account, Proenza refers only to the gênerai political situation of Southern India (during 1656-1659) and does not write from a direct knowledge of the actual position of Mysore.

As a ruler, Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar was very popular and impressed his contemporaries to the extent of idéalisation and déification by them. An inscription¹⁸⁵ speaks of him as having been renowned alike for his victory in war and liberality in times of peace. Another¹⁸⁶ refers to his rule thus: " While he ruled, the lord of the Gods sent good rains; the earth brought forth full fruit; ail points of the compass were unclouded; the respective orders were deligent in their several rites; ail the people were free from disease; the country was free from trouble; the women were devoted to their husbands; and ail the world was prosperous." A third¹⁸⁷ mentions him as having been adored by his subjects (*jana-vandyasya*). In keeping with these, the *Kanthirava-Narasarâja-Vijayam*¹⁸⁸ also points to the beneficence of his rule and the happiness and contentment of his subjects. His government was deeply rooted in the ancient idéal of *Dharma*,¹⁸⁹ in so far

184. *Ibid.*, p. 263 (*Proenza's letter*).

185. *E. G.*, III (1) Nj. 198 (1699), ll. 46-48.

186. *Ibid.*, Sr. 108 (1647), ll. 40-46.

187. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 (1647): see text on p. 767.

188. I, 17-19; IV, 86-88; VI, 72; VII, 65-87; XXVI, 1, 30-39, etc.;

189. *E. N. V.*, I, 20, 24; IV, 107; IX, 3; XX, 1; XXVI, 40; *E. G.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64: l.c. The expressions, *dharmadirava*, *sthira-dharmamrgadâlago*, *sudharmava taladu*, *dharmartham*, etc., are significant. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 62-68. His estimate of Kanthirava as "the idol of his Bramin historians," etc., appears to ignore the fundamental principles of Hindu government. No doubt, as *Wilks* writes (*Ibid.*, 60-61), Kanthirava was rather harsh in his treatment of the refractory Pêlegârs and turbulent ryots but this measure was more than

as it was conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number, and was inséparable from religion. Countless were his gifts, benefactions and deeds of charity. The staunch Vaishçava that he was, his tolérance of other faiths and creeds was of a high order. Seringapatam, the capital city, was, during his reign, bustling with life, being a centre of attraction to people from far and near both in ordinary times and on festive occasions, conspicuously during the *Mahânnavami* festival. His court, with a galaxy of ministers, officers, feudatories and others, was noted for the splendour of his daily Durbâr and had evidently touched the acme of contemporary taste and culture—a place where learning and literature flourished and were liberally encouraged. In private life, Kanthîrava was of regular and abstemious habits and his filial piety was of the noble type.

Impressive as a warrior, consistent and loyal as a political builder, popular and pious as a ruler, Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar appears to us in ail the glory of a truly great historical character and a "Maker of Mysore." The most enduring monuments of his rule extant are the Narasinihasvâmi temple at Seringapatam and the Bangâradoddi canal in its neighbourhood.

Perhaps what is of greater importance stiil is that Kanthîrava Narasarâja Wodeyar figures as prominently in tradition as he does in history. Numerous stories¹⁹⁰ hâve been current testifying to his personal prowess and

counterbalanced by what the people gained in the shape of peace, contentment and settled government—the real criterion from which we are to judge of the rule of a prince. See also under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, for further evidence as to Kanthîrava's solicitude for his subjects.

190. The *Annals* (I. 77-78), for instance, records how, shortly after Razadullâ Khân's unsuccessful siege of Seringapatam in 1689, Kanthîrava was, by the might of his arms, able, single-handed, to overcome an organised attack on his person (in the Seringapatam Palace) by twenty-five hirelings sent by the chief of Trichinopoly, and how Kanthîrava defeated the latter's plot against his life, etc.

libérality. He evidently created such a profôund impression on à génération of writers (like Tirumalârya, Chidânanda and others), during the latter half of the seventeenth century, that they see and depict him almost exactly as did his own contemporaries. Among later records, it is further interesting to note, inscriptions¹⁹¹ of the eighteenth century speak of him as a ruler belôved by âll people and specially refer to his coining of the *fanams* (*Kanṭhkrâya-hana*) and his dévotion to Nṛhari. He has, again, captured the imagination of posterity as a celebrated warrior (*raṇa-dhîra*) and his is a household name in Mysore whenever there is talk of chivalry, exploit or piety.



191. See B. C., III. (3) TM. 68 (1749); IV. (2) Yd. 17 and 18 (1751), etc.



Dēvarāja Wodeyar, 1659-1673.

CHAPTER X.

DEVARÂJA WODEYAR, 1659-1673.

Lineal descent—Birth, accession and identity—Political situation—Political Development : *First Phase* : 1659-1660—Mysore and Ikkeri—Action at Grama, c. September 1659—Siège of Seringapatam, c. October 1659-January 1660—Sivappa Nayaka's retirement, c. January 1660—His death, September 25, 1660—*Second Phase*: 1660-1664—General course of events—Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkeri: Wars and counter-wars, c. 1661-1662—War continued, 1662-1663—Advance on Ikkeri, 1664—Peace—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1664: Sri-Banga VI in Belur, 1659-1663—Devaraja's position in relation to Sri-Banga VI: his titles, etc.—*Third Phase* : 1665-1668—Local conquests, etc.—Mysore and the South, down to 1667: General course of affairs—Siège of Erode, c. January-June 1667—Acquisition of Erode, etc., June 1667-February 1668—Other events, 1667-1668—*Fourth Phase* : 1668-1673—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1673—Local position of Devaraja, 1668-1673—Political position of Mysore, 1673—Devaraja's Bule: General features—Ministers, Officers, Dalavais, etc.—Administrative measures—Beligion—Gifts, etc.—Grants and other records, 1659-1673 : (a) 1659-1663—(b) 1664-1668—(c) 1669-1673—Statue of Devaraja—Social life: General features—Court culture—Devaraja as a patron of learning and culture—Literary progress—Early European intercourse with Mysore, 1671—Domestic life: Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—The Bise of the Kalale Family, down to 1673—Death of Devaraja Wodeyar, February 11, 1673—An estimate of Devaraja Wodeyar—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a " Maker of Mysore "—Devaraja in tradition.

WITH the death of Châmarâja Wodeyar, the only infant son of Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, towards the close of the latter's reign,¹ direct descent in the line of Bettâda-Châmarâja Wodeyar ceased. The succession

Lineal descent.

1. *Ante*, Ch. IX.

accordingly devolved on the descendants of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Of the members of this branch of the Royal Family, once before referred to,³ the eldest was Yeleyûr Dēparāja Woḍeyar, son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his first wife Dēvājamma. Little is known of him subséquent to 1607. As regards the other four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja by his junior wife Kempamma, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Chikkadēvaiya), the second, had predeceased his brothers, and Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Doḍḍadēvaiya), the eldest, had by 1659 renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his next younger brother, Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvaiya), leaving under the latter's care and protection Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar (Maridēvaiya), the last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, and his own two minor sons, Chikkadēvarāja (6. 1645) and Kaṅṭhīravaiya (b. 1647).³ Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar or, as he was more familiarly known, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the *third* son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, was then the nearest heir to the throne of Mysore, and he is said to hâve been sent for from Gundlu and formally adopted by Kanthīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar on July 28, 1659 (*i.e.*, three days before Kanthīrava's death) to succeed him.⁴

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on August 19, 1659,⁵ eighteen days after the death of Kanthīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar. He was born on May 25, 1627,⁶ and was in his thirty-third year at the time of his

3. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII; *vide* also Appendix IV—(2) and Tables II-IV (compare).

8. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); see also under *Domestic life*, for further particulars about Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar; cf. *Wilks*, I. 67-68; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 295; and Appendix V—(1).

4. *Annals*, I. 98; see also and compare the authorities in Appendix V—(1).

5. *Mys. Dh. Pér.*, I. 67, II. 23 (compared): *Vikāri*, *Bhādrapada su.* 12. The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (95) places the accession in *Bhādrapada su.* 1 (August 9, 1659); the *Annals* (I. 95), in *Bhādrapada su.* 10 (August 17, 1659); and the *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 475), in *Sarvārī*, *Margaśra ba.* 1 (December 7, 1659). The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here.

6. *Ibid.*, I. 68, II. 55 (compared): *Prabhava*, *Jyēṣṭha ba.* 5, Friday; *Annals*, l.c.; see also Appendix IV—(1).

accession. He is identical with "Dēvarāja Vodeya," "Dēvarāja Wodeyar," "Dēvarāja Wodeyaraiya," "Mysuru Dēvarāja Wodeyar," "Dēva-Bhūpāla or Mahipāla" and "Dēvarāja-Kshitiēah"—referred to as the son of Dēpa or Dēvarāja Wodeyar (Muppina-Dēvarāja) and grandson of Chāmarāja Wodeyar (Bōḷa-Chāmarāja), in lithic and copper-plate inscriptions ranging successively from 1659 to 1673.⁷ Some of these documents, we find, are also issued under his own signature in Kannaḍa, as *Sri-Dēvarāju*, *Sri-Dēvarāja*, and *Sri-Dēvarāja Wodeyaraiyanavarū*,⁸ while the *Hālagere* and *Bhērya copper-plate grants* (dated in 1663 and 1666 respectively) specifically mention him as the *third* son of (Muppina) Dēvarāja Wodeyar by *Kempamāmbā* (Kempamma).⁹ Contemporary literary works (c. 1670) refer to him as "Dēvarājendra," son of Dēparāja (Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar).¹⁰ In keeping with these sources are the literary

7. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*. For the identification of the successor of Kaṅṭhira-va-Narasa I in later writings and modern works, see Appendix V—(1).

8. See, for instance, texts of *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114; XII Kg. 37; TN. 28 (1668); IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666) and 43 (1667); Hg. 119 and 120 (1670).

9. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 41-48: *Tṛitīyastṛīta-jana surabhāḷō Dēvarāja-Kshītīśah . . . rakshati dharām . . . dharātāḷam prasāsati*; IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 156 (Text):

*Śri-Dēvarājamṛpa maḷuḷa maṅḷē Kempamāmbōdarābhān
Viśhṇōramēna jātaḷ . . . Dēvarāja-Kshītīndraḷ* ||

Kg. 37 refers, in a general way, to all the four sons of [Muppina] Dēvarāja (Dēparāja) being known as Dēvarāja (Dēparāja), *vide* ll. 36-38:

*Dēpa-dharādhirāśah |
Chatvārōśya kumārāḷ . . . sarvē Śri-Dēparāja nāmanāḷ* ||

E. C., IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) also speaks of them in a similar manner, *vide* ll. 18-15:

*Asya Śri-Dēvarājasya Dēvarājendra nāmakaḷ |
Chatvārō jagmirē . . . nandanāḷ* ||

But we know their *actual names* (i.e., Doḷḷadēvarāja, Chikkadēvarāja, Kempadēvarāja and Maridēvarāja) from the *C. Fam.*, *C. Vi.*, *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14 (1666), *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, etc. See also Appendix IV—(1) and Tables II-IV.

10. See *Dēvarāja-Sāngatya*, I, 21-33; *Chaupada-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 3, 12. For particulars about these works, *vide* section on *Literary progress*.

Works and inscriptions of the period c. 1676-1722, which invariably speak of the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar) in succession to Karṭṭhira-Narasârāja Woḍeyar,¹¹ while some of the works (c. 1676-1680) of Chikkupādhyâya and Timma-Kavi, in particular, more definitely assign him a period of fourteen years' rule.¹²

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar began his reign in Seringapatam just ât a time when Bijâpur and Political situation. Gôlkonda, at the end of their southern campaigns, had been involved in their death-struggle with Aurangzib in the Deccan, leaving

11. See *Śrī. Mahāt.* (of Mallikârkjuna), II, 28; *Kamand. Nī.*, I, 64; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 47; *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 40; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 106; *Munivam.*, II, 76-77, etc. The actual expressions used are: *pinte negaḷle vetta Doḍḍadēva-mahtana tamma Dēvarāyam . . . dharitriyam paripālisidam*; *Doḍḍadēva-nṛpananujātam . . . Dēva-janapālam . . .*; *Dēvarāja-mahtyam dhareyam . . . Karṭṭhira-nantaradoḷ taḷedu*; *Doḍḍadēva-nṛpatiya sōdarana Dēvarāja-janapam . . . mēḍiniya-nāḷan*; *Doḍḍadēvarāyananujam Dēvarājēndra . . . iḷa samrambhamaṁ tāḷidam*; *Karṭṭhira-Narasa-bhūpōttamaṁ kalāntyadoḷu . . . Dēvarājoḍeyariga . . . padaviya paḷḷa . . .*, etc.

For particulars about these works, *vide* Ch. XIV. The kingly designation ascribed to Doḍḍadēvarāja in these passages is, of course, to be understood as implying his joint rule with and under Karṭṭhira I [*vide* Ch. IX and Appendix V--(2)]. Tirumalârya, in the *O. Vam.* (188-191) and *C. Vi.* (V-VI), also refers to the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother (*anujātam*) of Doḍḍadēvarāja. For a further examination and explanation of his position on this subject, see Appendix *Ibid.* Among inscriptions, *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686) and 64 (1722), *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, etc., merely repeat the lines from *E. C.*, XII Kg. 87 (1668) referring to the rule of Dēvarāja, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja. Some of the inscriptions of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704), in particular, only mention his direct descent from Muppina-Dēvarāja and Doḍḍadēvarāja [see, for instance, *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) and III (1) My. 7 (1685)], while one record [*E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), l. 17] refers to Dēvarāja, the predecessor of Chikkadēvarāja, as "Doḍḍadēvarāja" (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja), perhaps by way of distinguishing the two rulers, without, however, specifying the exact relationship between them.

12. See *Kamand. Nī.*, I, 65; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 49; *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 42. The actual expressions used are: *Dēva-janapālam . . . chaturdaśa-varṣam . . . poreda mahtyam*; *Dēva-nṛpamaṇi . . . āḷan . . . chaturdaśa-varṣa-murviyam*; *padināḷku-varṣa-miḷeyam . . . āḷan.*

their Karnâtak possessions under their deputies (particularly Shâhji in Bangalore) ; when Ikkëri, in the north-west of Mysore, had become prominent under êivappa Nâyaka I (1645-1660) ; when Emperor éri-Kanga VI of Vijayanagar (1642-1664 ?-1681) had been established by Śivappa Nâyaka at Hâssan and Bêlûr ; and when Chokkanâtha Nâyaka (1659-1682), grandson of Tirumala Nâyaka, had succeeded to the kingdom of Madura. Troubles were still brewing in the southern frontier, conséquent on the war between Mysore and Madura during the last years of the reigns of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar and Tirumala Nâyaka. Daļavâi Hamparâjaiya, whose lot it had been to take part in that disastrous enterprise, continued to hold office early in the reign of Dêvarâja, when he was called upon to face a new situation.

For, shortly after the accession of Dêvarâja Wodeyar to the throne of Mysore (August 1659), Śivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri proceeded on an expédition to Seringapatam.¹³

Political Development :

First Phase:
1659-1660.
Mysore and Ikkëri.

Ever since the rejection of the offer of his alliance by Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar I (in September 1647), referred to in an earlier chapter, Sivappa Nâyaka, it would appear, was waiting for an opportunity to proceed against, and wreak his vengeance on, Mysore.¹⁴ With this object in

view he had sought assistance from influential quarters
13. *C. Vam.*, 191. This work, as it has come down to us, stops abruptly at this point. For further particulars, we have to rely on other sources of information cited below. Śivappa Nâyaka's expedition to and siege of Seringapatam is dated in *Vikâri* (1659), in the *Ke. N. V.* (VII. 114-116). Since the event is further said to have taken place in the very year of the accession of Dêvarâja Wodeyar and during the period of office of Daļavâi Hamparâjaiya, we would not be far wrong in fixing it between c. September 1659-January 1660. Cf. *Ancient India*, p. 297 ; *Sources*, p. 21 ; and *Nâyaks of Madura*, p. 172, which fail to note the contemporaneity of the rulers of Mysore and Ikkëri and place the event in the latter part of Dêvarâja's reign or early in the reign of Chikkadêvarâja, for which there is absolutely no evidence.

14. *C. V.*, V, 18: . . . *anêka dinâdim Mahisûravarasana samayadoļ paḍibarisuvemêdase.*

(*piridumbigurtu neravanarasî*),¹⁵ and we have seen how, espousing the cause of Srî-Ranga VI, he had, on the plea of reëtoring the suzerainty of Vijayanagar (*Râyasamsthânavanuddharisalvêlkendu*), acquired Hassan and Bêlûr from Bijâpur in 1657 and how he had succeeded in establishing Srî-Ranga (*nelegolisi nilisi*) at those places in 1659. Thèse activities of Sivappa Nâyaka on the north-western frontiers of the kingdom of Mysore had been viewed with considérable alarm by Kaṣṭhîravanarasa towards the close of his reign. And the situation became more serious about the latter part of 1659. Sivappa Nâyaka, ostensibly to safeguard the interests of the Vijayanagar Empire but really in furtherance of his own scheme of aggrandizement, had reinforced his army by quotas drawn from the Pâlegârs of Sôde, Bijigi, Tarikere, Harapanahalli, Chintanakal, Maddagiri and Giduga, and by the levies raised by the chiefs of Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, Kôdagu and Maleyâla;¹⁶ and had encamped in the neighbourhood of Grâma, on his way to Seringapatam.¹⁷

Dêvarâja Woḍeyar despatched a large force under Daḷavâi Hamparâjaiya (*Haṇipa-varya*),
 Action at Grâma, with instructions to oppose Sivappa
 c. September 1669. Nâyaka. In the action which followed
 (c. September 1659), Sivappa Nâyaka is said to have won a brilliant victory, capturing Hamparâjaiya with sixteen officers (*shôdasa sankhyâ dhîra gurikâraram*) and several warriors, éléphants and horses belonging to the Mysore army. He is also said to have taken possession of Grâma.¹⁸ Accompanied by Lakshmappa Nâyaka of

15. *C. Yam.*, 190.

16. *C. Yam.*, 191; *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 114, v. 37; see also *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 476) which closely follows the *C. Yam.*

17. *Ke. N. V.*, l.c.: *Paṭṭanaḍa mukhake danḍam toraḷḍaidi Grâmada samipamam sârâḍu pâḷeyavanîḷḍirâl.* Grâma is an extant village, the head-quarters of a *hobli* of that name in the Hassan taluk (see *List of villages*, 114).

18. *Ibid.*, VII. 114, v. 38-48.

Hoḷe-Narasipur (who had turned hostile towards Mysore and who, it is said, had intrigued with êivappa Nâyaka) and other turbulent Pâlegârs, Sivappa Nâyaka next marched against Seringapatam itself.¹⁹ Bridging up the Cauvery, he crossed the river and, encamping near the fort, commenced a regular blockade of the place (c. October 1659).²⁰

The siêge went on apace. Meanwhile, the authorities in Seringapatam, helpless and unable to withstand the attack, it is said, were obliged to seek the support of a Bijâpur contingent under Bahlûl Khân.²¹ Sivappa Nâyaka was, however, by a diplomatic move (*mantramukhadinda*), able to make him retire (*pindegese*), and was about to take possession of the fort.²² At this juncture, we are told, the besieged, being disheartened, won over by bribe the officers and agents of êivappa Nâyaka and had recourse to certain counteracting rites and cérémonies,³³ in conséquence of which êivappa Nâyaka became indisposed, and, finding it inadvisable to prolong his stay in the enemy's country, raised the siêge of Seringapatam and retraced his steps to Bednûr.²⁴

19. *Annals*, I. 98; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; also *C. Vi.*, V, 18-19.

20. *Ko. N. V.*, VII. 116, v. 45-46: *paḷeyavanîḷidû patṭanada kōṭṭeyam vēḍhaisal.*

21. *Ibid.*, v. 46: *yuddha-mukhadol nittarisalammade tamma saḥayakke Vijâpuradim sainyam vorasu Balûla Khânanam teraḷchi taral.* The power of Bijâpur in the Karnâṭak being on the wane about this time, it is not unlikely her generals took part in local politics espousing the cause of one power against another.

22. *Ibid.*, l.c.

23. *Ibid.*: *kōṭṭeyam vēḍhaisida gurimânisargam mattam kelambar niyogigalgaṃ paridhânava nittantu malladâbhichara hōma muntâda dushkṛtyangaḷa noḍarchal.* Wilks (I. 69) also refers to the employment of bribery in inducing the Ikkêri army to raise the siêge. There is nothing improbable in this, seeing that the Mysore army was away and Dêvarâja had to oppose the enemy single-handed, almost immediately after his accession.

24. *Ibid.*: *dêhadolâsyasam puḷḷal, intappa kaladol satru sima sannivêḷḷadola vilirpudanuohitamendu bagedu . . . muttigo degesi . . . sainyam vorasu Vêḷupuramam ardu.*

The retirement of Sivappa Nâyaka was attended with results disastrous to himself. Dēvarāja Sivappa Nâyaka's retirement, c. January 1660. Woḍeyar, assisted by the inhabitants of Seringapatam, hotly pursued the retreating enemy and in doing so laid waste Lakshmappa Nâyaka's territory as well. Daḷavâi Hamparâjaiya, having in the meanwhile recovered his lost ground, it would seem, joined in the pursuit and continued it, cutting off the noses of several men in Sivappa Nâyaka's army and returning to Seringapatam with considérable spoils (consisting of horses, éléphants and insignias).³⁵

Sivappa Nâyaka's attempt on Seringapatam was thus foiled. He did not long survive his return home. He died on September 25, 1660,³⁶ almost at a time when the relations between Mysore and Ikkëri had become thoroughly embittered.

Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Daḷavâi Hamparâjaiya had been succeeded by Mallarâjaiya of Kaḷale (in April 1660), and he was in turn followed by Muddaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanàthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kântaiya (February 1662-April 1662) of Kaḷale, Nanjanàthaiya holding the office a second time (between April 1662-April 1667).²⁷ In Ikkëri, Sivappa Nâyaka I was succeeded by his younger brother, Venkatappa Nâyaka II. Venkatappa Nâyaka ruled till August 1661 and was followed by Bhadrappa Nâyaka (1661-1664) and Hiriya-Sômaêekhara Nâyaka I (1664-1671), the eldest and younger sons, respectively, of Sivappa Nâyaka I.³⁸

35. *Changadada-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 7; *C. Vi.*, V, 20-24; *Mys. Raj. Cha. and Annals*, l.c. See also *Wâlta*, l.c.

36. *Ks. N. V.*, VII. 116; *Sarvârî, Lévtja su.* 1.

37. *Annals*, I, 96-97; also *Mys. Dh. Pâr.*, I, 87-88. For further particulars, see under *Ministers, Daḷavâis*, etc.

38. *Ks. N. V.*, VII. 116-117, VIII. 118-124, 124-128; see also *Table XV.*

Prospects of war and counter-war between Mysore and Ikkëri, èvèr since Sivappa Nâyaka's tètreat from Seringapatam (c. Januàry 1660), continued to be imminent. Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkëri: Venkatappa Nâyaka II. (of Ikkëri); Wars and cotmter-wars, c. 1661-1662. by way of checking the encroachments of Mysore (*Pattānadavar mērevarideḍe-yāḍāḍantu*), had stationed on the frontier of his dominions (*gaḍimukhadol*) an army under the charge of êivalinga Nâyaka (Sivalingaiya), son-in-law of Sivappa Nâyaka.²⁹ True to the expectations of Venkatappa Nâyaka, towards the close of 1661, it would seem, the Mysore army resumed hostilities against Ikkëri by laying siège to thé fort of Hebbâle.³⁰ Early in 1662, Bhadrappa Nâyaka (successor of Venkatappa Nâyaka II) despatched the Ikkëri contingent under êivalinga Nâyaka, against Mysore. Sivalinga Nâyaka marched on towards Bêlûr, Hère, it is said, he met Emperor Sri-Ranga and, reinforced by the forces of the latter (*Bêlûr-gaidi Râyaram sandhisi tatsainyam verasu*), proceeded towards Hebbâle and raised its siège (*Hebbâle-kônteyam, niuttige-degesi*), Marching further, êivalinga Nâyaka laid siège to Hole-Narasipur (*Narasimhapura*) itself, then in the possession of Mysore. The Mysoreans, by way of retaliation, invested and took possession of the fort of Kopanûr (*Konanûr-kônteyam tegedukolal*). Whereupon the forces of Ikkëri marched on thither and were preparing to bombard and retake the place.³¹ At this juncture, Dēvarâja Wodeyar despatched reinforcements under his Dalavâi, Kântaiya of Kaiale.³² In or about March 1662, kântaiya, making rapid marches, encamped near the slope

29. *Ibid*, VII. 117, v. 50.

30. *Ibid*, VIII. 118, v. 2. Hebbâle is an extant *carva-mānya* village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (see *List of villages*, 131).

31. *Ibid*. Kopanûr, another extant village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (*Ibid*, 132).

32. *Ibid*, 119, v. 2-3.

overlooking Kanagala (*Kanagâlileyol paleyavaniliya*).³³ Here, we are told, an action took place between Mysore and Ikkëri, in which both sides fought desperately. At length, however, Dalavâi Kântaiya sustained reverses and was forced to retreat, while at the same time Sivalinga Nâyaka himself, struck by an arrow from the Mysore side, fell dead on the field of battle.³⁴

Nevertheless Bhadrappa Nâyaka vigorously prosecuted the war, taking possession of Honnavalli, Chiknâyakanahalli, Kandikere, Bûdivâla and other places on the outskirts of the kingdom of Mysore.³⁵ Daḷavâi Kântaiya of Kalale having been succeeded by Nanjanâthaiya in April 1662, the latter resumed opérations against Ikkëri towards the close of 1662. The power of Bijâpur and Gôlkoçda in the Karnâtak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghat was fast dwindling away since 1656, so that, when Nanjanâthaiya directed hostilities principally against Ikkëri, important places belonging to these Shâhi kingdoms fell in regular succession. Thus, in January 1663, he acquired Chêlûr, Bidare and Sampige, and in March, Chiknâyakanahalli (which had lately been taken by Ikkëri).³⁶ Proceeding further, Nanjanâthaiya strenuously pushed through the

33. *Ibid.*, v. 3. Kapagâla, a village probably identical with the extant *śarva-mûnya* Karigajale in the Arkalgûd taluk (*Ibid.*, 188). Parts of the present district of Hâssan, it is to be remembered, formed the bone of contention between Mysore and Ikkëri, early in the reign of Dêvarâja Wôçyar.

34. *Ibid.*, 119, v. 4-6.

35. *Ibid.*, v. 6.

36. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 24-26; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 97; also *Wilks*, I. 70 (*List of conquests*). *Wilks's* statement (*Ibid.*, 69), however, that the Mysoreans "appear to have received from the royal pageant (Śrî-Ranga) forced grants of conquered districts, during this (1663) and the four subsequent years," is hardly borne out by the sources. See also *O. V.*, V, 93. The references to Dêvarâja's conquests, etc., in this work, are to be understood in their chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Among other sources, the *Hastî. Mâhât.* (I, 67) and inscriptions of 1663 [*E. C.*, III (1) TN. 28, l. 10; XII Kg. 87, ll. 72-74; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 24-25] refer to and echo Dêvarâja's victory over the Turushkas (*Turushkarawa saucari; sushhashturushkas*, etc.), obviously pointing to the activities of Mysore in the Karnâtak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghat in 1662-1663.

war with Ikkêri, capturing the éléphant named *Gangadhara* and taking possession of the celebrated and impregnable fortresses of Hassan (*Hasana*) and Sakrepatpa (*Sakkarepattana*)—with their dependencies of Vastâre (*Vasudhâré*) and Honnavalli—in December (1663).*

In February JL664, Bhadrappa Nâyaka of Ikkêri wa» succeeded by Hiriya-Somasêkhara Nâyaka I, younger son of éivappa Nâyaka I.^{3 8} Shortly after his accession, Hiriya-Sômaéêkhara Nâyaka, it would seem, retaliated against Mysore, resuming possession of Bekkôḍu, Belagôḍu, Kaṇatûr, Abbiça and Bêlûr." Daḷavâi Nanjanâthaiya pushed on the opérations against Ikkêri, carrying fire and sword into the Malnâd, passing through Kaḷasa, Khâṇḍeya, Dânivâsa, Hebbe, Jâgara, Bednûr (*Bidarûr*) and Honnûr (*Ponnûr*), and thrashing Ikkêri itself (*Ikjçëriya-nokkalikkisi*).⁴⁰ Thèse activities on the Mysore side appear to hâve been continued up to about the latter part of 1664, for, from a lithic record dated October 11 (1664), we learn how Daḷavâi Nanjanâthaiya (*Nandinâthaiya*) was sent against Ikkêri and how he was able to win a victory against it.⁴¹

Thoroughly overpowered, Sômaéêkhara Nâyaka, towards the close of 1664—shortly after Daḷavâi Nanjanâthaiya's return to Mysore—seems to hâve found it expédient to sue for peace, sending his ambassador, Purushôttamaiya, to the court of Seringapatam with présents (consisting of

Peace.

37. *Ibid.*, II, 26, dating the acquisition in *Śobhakrit, Mârgatira tu.* 18 (December 2, 1663); *Annals*, l.c.; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 26; *E. O.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1663), ll. 39-41, referring to Dêvarâja's conquests from Ikkêri; Cf. *Wilks*, I, 71 (*List of conquests*); *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nâyaks of Madûra*, p. 172.

38. *Ke. N. V.*, VIII, 124. 39. *Ibid.*, 126, v. 23-30. 40. *C. Vi.*, V, 26.

41. See *E. O.*, XII Eg. 46, ll. 12-17: *Daḷavâyi Nandinâthaiyaru samarasannâhava mâḍi Yihëriyavava-mêlaṇa-kâryakke kaḷuhisuvalli . . . a kâryavru namaga digvijayacçagalâgi.*

éléphants, horses, robes and jewels) and an offer of submission to Dêvarâja Wodeyar.⁴² Hostilities ceased on the grant of a letter of assurance by Dêvarâja.⁴³ The net result of this five years' war (1659-1664) was that by 1665 the sphere of influence of Mysore was extended as far as Chiknâyakanahalli, Hâssan, Sakrepaṭṭa and Vastâre in the north and the north-west, in which région perfect security was established.⁴⁴

We have seen how in 1659 êri-Banga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was established in Bêlûr by Sivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri. However temporising the policy of the latter towards his suzerain, there seems little doubt that Srî-Ranga himself was fully confident of the powers and abilities of Sivappa Nâyaka, especially after the death of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar. The failure of êivappa Nâyaka to take Seringapatam by siège (in 1659) and the death of êivappa himself in September 1660 proved, however, serious blows to Srî-Ranga. So strident, indeed, were his hopes of impérial restoration and so thoroughly had he been won over by Sivappa's assurances, that he had even begun to view with disfavour the policy of Dêvarâja Wodeyar towards Ikkëri and had, in 1662, actively lent his support to the Ikkëri gênerai, êivalinga Nâyaka, against Mysore. What little hope from Ikkëri Sri-Ranga had—especially after the death of êivappa Nâyaka—was blasted for ever by the successes achieved by Dalavâi Nanjanâthaiya during January-March 1663. With Ikkëri, his sole supporter (since c. 1656), growing weaker and weaker, and Mysore rapidly absorbing the possessions of Sivappa Nâyaka, Srî-Ranga's position in Bêlûr in 1663 became critical to a degree: to dépend

42. *C. Vi.*, V, 27-30; see also *Hastî. Mâhât.*, I, 67, referring to Dêvarâja's victory over the Ikkëri (Keṭṭadi) chief.

43. *Ibid.*, 31: *nambugeyam pâlisi.*

44. *Ibid.*, 31: *paṭṭugadeyam paduḷam daḍisi.*

any longer on Ikkëri seemed unsafe; to turn again for help to Mysore, having lately distrusted her, would be humiliating in the extrême. Such was the predicament in which èfi-Banga found himself placed about April 1663, when he appears to have finally left Bêlûr for the south.⁴⁵

The position of Dêvarâja Wodeyar in Seringapatam, during 1659-1664, appears in significant contrast to that of Sri-Ranga. In the earliest inscriptional records of Dêvarâja's reign (belonging to the years 1659-1660),⁴⁶ we find his name mentioned without any titles. In his lithic records, dated in March 1662,⁴⁷ he is styled a *Mahamandalêsavara* ruling in Seringapatam (*Srangapattanavâlûva*), while in another record, also lithic, dated in November,⁴⁸ he refers to himself as *Srimad-râjâdhirâja Mysûra Dêvarâja Vadêraiyanavaru* (Dêvarâja Wodeyar of Mysore, Emperor of kings). In the next série of records—lithic and copper-plate—ranging from April 1663 down to March 1664,⁴⁹ Dêvarâja Wodeyar appears with a number of titles implying

45. We have inscriptions of Sri-Ranga from Bêlûr, ranging from 1659 to 1663, if not 1664 [see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386; *Nâyaks of Madura*, p. 857, No. 160; also *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 39 and Mj. 21]. In the light of the *Mys. Dh. Pûr.* (cited in f.n. 36 and 37 *supra*), Sri-Ranga appears to have finally left Bêlûr for the south not later than c. April 1663, although grants continued to be issued in his name till 1664. For particulars about Sri-Ranga after 1663, *vide* section on *Mysore and the South* (down to 1667).

46. See *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659); *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52 (1660). In the former record, mention is made of Sri-Ranga-Râya and "Dêvarâja Voçeya" (Dêvarâja Wodeyar of Mysore). It seems to have been issued by Dêvarâja during the sojourn of Sri-Ranga VI in Bêlûr and would afford the earliest indication of his acknowledgment of the latter's suzerainty in the very first year of his (Dêvarâja's) reign. For further particulars about these records and those cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*.

47. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81, ll. 3-4. 48. *E. C.*, IX Kn. 94, ll. 5-8.

49. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 27-28; XII Kg. 89, ll. 9-11; 87, ll. 92-101; *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67, ll. 10-12; III (1) TN. 23, ll. 6-18; Md. 114, ll. 6-9 (of 1663) and Sr. 13 (1664), ll. 3-6.

impérial ideas, among the most significant being *Mûrii-nuinmyara-gaṇḍa* (champion over three chiefs), *Para-râya-bhayankara* (dreaded by enemy kings), *Hindu-râya-suratrâna* (Sultan of Hindu kings), *Nânâ-varṇa-makuṭa-nwṇḍalikara-gmçfa* (champion over chiefs of many-coloured crowns), *ChatussamudrâdhUvara* or *Chattissamudra-paryanta-bhṭmaṇḍalâdhîévara* (lord of the world as far as the four océans) and *Dharaṇ-Varâha* (sovereign of the world). The use of the Boar seal is also in évidence in some of these records,⁵⁰ while there is a marked tendency on the part of Dēvarâja to claim impérial raie from the throne in Seringapatam.⁵¹ All these documents are, again, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain, *i.e.*, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Evidently, Dēvarâja Wodeyar, during this period, gradually rose to prominence from the position of a feudatory of the Vijayanagar Empire to that of a ruler of an independent Mysore, who laid claim to impérial sovereignty. His achievements against Ikkéri and his activities in the Karnâtak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât and the south of Mysore during 1659-1663 were no doubt such as to enhance his réputation and prestige. His progress in those directions was possibly facilitated also by the unsettled conditions of the times and the critical position of Srî-Ranga at Bêlûr. Srî-Ranga himself having probably left the latter place about April 1663, Dēvarâja Wodeyar appears more conspicuously—in his records (of 1663-1664)—with the impérial titles, referred to, which are distinctly reminiscent of Vijayanagar. In particular,

50. See, for instance, *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1658), l. 240; *Bhû-Varâha-mudrayâcha virâjitam*; III (1) TN. 23 (1658), ll. 78-79; *Bhû-Varâha-mudrayâ pravirâjitam*.

51. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 42-43; XII Kg. 38, l. 12; 37, ll. 98-99; *M. A. B.*, 1917, l.c.; *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 57, ll. 12-13; III (1) TN. 23, l. 16; *M.A.* 114, l. 9 (of 1658); and *Sr.* 13 (1664), l. 6. The actual expressions used are: *Mysûra-Śrîrangapattanaḍa simhâsanâ-râjharâgi*; *Śrîrangapattana simhâsanâdhîvarâgi*; *Paschimarangadâhama-nagara simhâsanâdhîvarâgi*; *Mysûra simhâsanâdhîvarâgi*, etc.

the *Palace Copper-plates* (dated April 9, 1683), While eulogising Dēvarāja's prowess and claiming for him the sovereignty of the Karnātaka country, are ever found to contain verses⁵² which seem to correspond with those from the *Sri-Sāilam Plates* (1465) of Virûpāksha III of Vijayanagar (1465-1485). Thus, apparently seceding from the decadent Vijayanagar Empire but really stepping into its shoes, Mysore, during the early years of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, had reached an important stage in the evolution of her independence as a kingdom. The arrival at about this time (April 1663) of the celebrated Tâtâchârya family of êri-Vaishṇava royal preceptors from the court of Vijayanagar, and their settlement in Seringapatam, probably contributed no little to confirm in the Rôyal House of Mysore the vanishing glories of Vijayanagar imperialism.⁵³

By January 1665, Dēvarāja Wodeyar had reached the height of his power, as is perhaps obvious from the title Emperor (*Samrât*) actually ascribed to him.⁵⁴ In July 1666, Daḷavâi Nanjanâthaiya acquired

Third Phase;
1665-1668.

Local conquests, etc.

52. See *E. C.*, *Ibid.*, ll. 18-27, 34-36 :

Nija-pratâpâdadhigatya râjyam
Samasta bhâgyaih paripûrnakamāḥ |
Khaḍgagrataḥ sarva ripân vijitya
Pramôdatê vira-vildsa-bhûmih ||
Karṇâja-Lakshmiḥ savilasamastê
Yasmin mahitê mahanîyya kirtau |
Bhûmi-stathaisapa vasundharatvam
Stihireti nâma prathamam gunâughaih ||
Pratâpa-vahnav parîfmbhamânê
Śushkâ-sturushkâ-hyabhajan digantân |
Ripu-kshittindradâcha nirasta dhairyah
Kântara-valmika kṛtâtma rakshah ||
 *Dēvarāja-kshittîcarah ||*
 *Rangadhâmnah-purôttagê |*
Pitryam simhâsanam prâpya pâlavyamavanîmîdam ||

53. Vide section on *Social life*.

54. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-11 :

Samrât samasta-nrya-mauḷî-moni-prabhâbhîr
Nirâjitê vijayate bhuvî Dēvarâjah ||

Sâratavalli from Annajaiya,⁵⁵ and in November, Hole-Narasipur from Narasimha Nâyaka,⁵⁸ In April 1667, Nanjanâthaiya was succeeded by Kumâraiya of Kaçale.⁶⁷

The hostile relations between Madura and Mysore, so much in évidence during the last years of the reigns of Tirumala Nâyaka and Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, appear to have been prolonged in some form or other during the earlier parts of the reigns of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka and Dêvarâja Wodeyar. A lithic record from Singânallûr, dated in the very first year of Dêvarâj's reign,⁶⁸ possibly points to the renewed activities of the Mysore army in the neighbourhood of the passes. Other records, dated in 1668," refer to Dêvarâja as "destroyer of the Pândy king," "skilful in cutting down the strong-armed Pândya" (*Chanda-bâhu-balôddanda Pândya-khandana-panditah*), etc. Evidently by 1663 Mysore seems to have achieved a distinct victory over Madura, advancing, it is said, as far as Dindigal.⁶⁰ The political

55. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 27; *Annals*, I. 97; cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*)

56. *Ibid.*, II. 27-28; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 94.

57. See *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, I. 68, and section on *Ministers, Daçavâis*, etc.

58. *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659).

59. *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23, li. 10-11.

60. *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II. 169, 171-175. This Ms., from the *Maackenzie Collection*, refers to an invasion of Madura by "Carasura Nandi Raja," during the reign of Dêvarâja Wodeyar of Mysore, but speaks of the details as if connected with the reign of Tirumala Nâyaka, contemporary of Kanthirava-Narasimha I (1658-1659), for which there is no evidence. It seems, however, possible that the hostilities between Mysore and Madura, begun during the latter part of the reigns of Kanthirava and Tirumala Nâyaka, continued unabated in the early part of the reigns of Dêvarâja Wodeyar and Chokkanâtha Nâyaka (i.e., c. 1659-1663), Mysore ultimately coming out successful. "Carasura Nandi Raja," referred to, is probably identical with Daçavâi Nanjarâjaiya I of Kaçale, who appears to have been entrusted with the southern campaigns of Dêvarâja (see under *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaçale Family*; also Table XIII). The Ms., being a later compilation, seems loosely to refer to him as "Carasura" (Karâçhûri), which was, however, the distinctive epithet of Daçavâi Nanjarâjaiya III of Kaçale (1739-1759). (See Vol. II of this work.) For a critical notice of the position of the author of the *Nâyaks of Madura* on the subject, see f.n. 54 in Ch. VI.

ambitions of Mysore from 1663 onwards continued to be a source of concern to the southern powers, particularly Madura. The situation assumed an important aspect by the policy and attitude of éri-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, during the period. As indicated already, Sri-Ranga appears to have finally left Bêlûr about April 1663. That he was in the south in 1663 seems obvious from a grant of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka dated in that year,⁶¹ though the latter formally refers in it to Sri-Ranga's rule at Ghanagiri (Penukoçda) ; that he was away from Bêlûr before 1664 is borne out by the resumption of Bêlûr itself—along with other places—by Hiriya-Sômaëekhara Nâyaka I of Ikkëri, early in 1664.⁶² During 1663-1667, éri-Ranga, it would appear,⁶³ resided in the dominions of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura, and continued to work out his plan of impérial restoration, directing his attention particularly against the rapidly rising kingdom of Mysore, towards which he was, as we have seen, by no means well disposed since 1659. To Chokkanâtha, however, the présence of éri-Ranga in the south seemed eminently advantageous, to further his own ends against Mysore.

About this time Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr of Sâmballi, backed up as usual by Madura, appeared to remain an obstacle to the projected expansion of Mysore in ail the directions (*dese-gelalendu*). About January 1667, Dêvarâja Wodeyar

Siege of Êrôde, c.
January-June 1667.

61. See *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 356, No. 157; *Mys. Gaz.*, II, iii. 2366-2367, No. 19, citing from Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*. *Sêbhakrit*, the date of the record, corresponds to 1668, the *saka* date 1684, mentioned, being an expired year.

62. *Vide* f.n. 39 *supra* and text thereto.

63. See *O. V.* (V, 81), where Chokkanâtha (*Chokkalinga*) is made to refer to éri-Ranga as "his éri-Ranga" (*tanna éri-Ranga-Raya*). Evidently éri-Ranga had gone over from Bêlûr to Madura in the vain hope of recovering his position by an alliance with Chokkanâtha and other southern feudatories hostile to Mysore. See also inscriptions of Chokkanâtha during 1663-1667, in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of éri-Ranga (*Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 356-358, Nos. 157, 155-166; *Mys. Gaz.*, II, iii. 2366-2367, Nos. 19, 21-24).

directed opérations against him, defeating him and putting the Kongas to flight. At this reverse, Chokkanâtha Nâyaka (*Chokkalinga* of Madura) himself marched forth towards Ērôḍe, at the head of a vast army (consisting, it is said, of a lakh of foot, a hundred éléphants and several horses) and a confederacy made up of the fugitive Emperor êri-Ranga of Vijayanagar, Vêdôji-Paṇḍita, a Vizier of Bijâpur (then in charge of Gingee), Ananta-Paṇḍita (Anantôji) of Gingee (*Chenji, Tenjî*), a Bijâpur gênerai, and Dâmarlaiyappa Nâyaka⁶⁴ (Dâmarlaiyapendra). There were also, in his ranks, the Velama-Kammes, Telugas, Baçajigas and artillery-men (*tupâkadavar*), the last under the command of Lingama Nâyaka, the artillery-officer (*tupâkada Lingama Nâyaka*). Chokkanâtha, with his main army (*tanna mûlabalamum*) and the forces of the confederates, encircled the fort of Ērôḍe and was preparing to lay siêge to it. At this news Dêvarâja Woḍeyar deliberated with his councillors in Seringapatam as to how best to meet the situation. Some of the councillors spoke of the advisability of collecting a large army and carefully proceeding against the enemy ; others touched upon the vain frivolity and laxity prevailing in the ranks of the confederate forces (despite their being numerically strong and well-equipped) and the ease with which the combination could be broken down ; others, again, stressed the need for diplomacy (*râyabhâriya'nesaguvudti Usembudum*). At this juncture, the Crown-prince, Chikkadêvarâja (nephew of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar)—now in his twenty-second year—offered, with rare courage, to lead the Mysore army against the coalition, and sought his uncle's permission to march on to Ērôḍe. Dêvarâja having apparently acquiesced in his request, letters were despatched forthwith to the commanders of various local forts, ordering a gênerai mobilisation of their troops for

64. Identical with Aiyappa of Poonamalli (brother of Dâmarla-Venkaṭâdri), founder of Chennapaṭṭana or Madras in the name of his father, Chenna. See Sources and Mys. Gaz., referred to in f.n. 63 *infra*.

the campaign. In the course of these préparations, Chokkanâtha's representative (*niyôgi-gurivânisam*) at Seringapatam—probably under the influence of Dēvarâja's own courtiers⁶⁵—hastened to send him a report (*binnavattale*), acquainting him with the weakness of his (Chokkanâtha's) position and the intended advance of Chikkadēvarâja, and hinting at the latter's might and prowess. Whereupon Chokkanâtha retired in strict privacy to Trichinopoly and was followed thither by Śrī-Ranga also. In vain did Dâmarlaiyappa Nâyaka and the artillery-men at Êrôde write to Chokkanâtha assuring him of their steadfastness and of the support of the cavalry force of Gingee. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Dēvarâja Wodeyar, on hearing of this turn in the course of affairs, found it expédient, in agreement with Chikkadēvarâja, to send his army only under the Daḷavâi, to engage the remnant of the confederacy. Accordingly, about June 1667, Daḷavâi Kumâraiya (who had lately succeeded Nanjanâthaiya) left Seringapatam. Making rapid and uninterrupted marches, he entered the camp of the enemy at Êrôde causing great havoc. A short and swift action followed, in which the Kongas were thoroughly defeated and put to rout; Dâmarlaiyappa Nâyaka was slain; Ananta-Paṇḍita put to flight; the éléphant named *Kulaéekhara* captured and the entire Tigula-nâḍu plunged in consternation (*Tigula-nâdanitum tabbibbugole*).

65. There seems some reason to suspect the accuracy of this part of the *C. Vi.*, cited in f.n. 66 *infra*. It is a question whether Chokkanâtha's agent at Seringapatam would not have been prevailed upon by Dēvarâja's courtiers to effectually detach his master from the confederacy. Some diplomacy must have been at work, in keeping with the mature deliberations at Dēvarâja's court and in view of the risk involved in entrusting young Chikkadēvarâja with the responsibility of leading the Mysore army against a formidable combination. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 297, for a similar view.

66. *C. Vi.*, V, 33-90; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1668), ll. 36-38; and *Hasti. Mahat.*, I, 67—detailing, and referring to, the siege of Êrôde and Dēvarâja's victory over the Nâyak of Madura and the Kongas. The siege of Êrôde is to be dated c. January-June 1667, in the light of the *Mys. Dh. Pâr.* and inscriptions cited *infra*. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 69-70; *Ancient India*, pp. 296-297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 26, 171-178; and *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2394-2398.

It was a distinct victôry for Mysore. In June 1667, Daḷavài Kumâraiya took possession of Êrôde; in November, Dhârâpuram; and in February 1668, Vâmalûr and thé dependencies of Kâmalûr and Sâmbalji-pura—from Ghatta-Mudaliar.⁶⁷ The Mysore army, we are told, proceeded as far as Trichinopoly, forcing Chokkanâtha to submit and accepting from him présents consisting of severel hoïrses, cash and costly jewels.⁶⁸ Thèse activities of Dēvaraja Wodeyar are confirmed in an ample measure by records referring to his grants, found in what are now parts of Salem and Coimbatore districts, ranging from 1667 onwards.⁶⁹

Among other events of importance from a local point of view were the acquisition of Huliyûrdurga in December 1667, and of Kunigal in January 1668, from Mum-madi-Kempe-Gauda of Mâgadi (1658-1678).⁷⁰

We hâve seen how Sri-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was in the dominions of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura during 1663-1667 and how he left for Trichinopoly, about the middle of 1667, during the siège of Êrôde. Sri-Ranga's last hopes of impérial restoration vanished with the break-down of the confederacy at Êrôde and the victory

Fourth Phase:
1668-1673.

Mysore and
Vijayanagar, down
to 1673.

67. See *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 28-29, specifically dating these acquisitions in *Plavanga tu. 15* (June 25, 1667), *Margatira tu. 10* (November 15, 1667) and *Phalgunâ tu. 10* (February 12, 1668); *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; *C. V.*, V, 21, and *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 28-29, referring to Dēvarāja's conquests in the south-east of Mysore. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*); *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163.

68. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; *Annals*, I. 93; *C. V.*, V, 25-26; also *Wilks*, I. 69-70; cf. *Nâyaks of Madura*, p. 162.

69. *J.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 48 (June 22, 1667), referring to Dēvarāja's conquest of Tigulânaya; *J.M.P.*, I. 551-552, Ch. 306, 308 and 309 (1669 and 1671). For further particulars about these records, see under *Grants and other records*. Cf. *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163, 171.

70. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 29; *Annals*, I. 97; see also *C. V.*, V, 26-24; *Hasti. Mahat.*, I, 67; Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71.

achieved by Mysore against them (June 1667). Successively foiled at Mysore, Ikkēri and Madura during a period extending well nigh to two décades (c. 1650-1667), Śrī-Ranga, in or about 1668, appears to have left Trichinopoly for Penukoṇḍa, from where, it would seem, he continued to rule, with his authority much reduced; till about 1681, if not 1692.⁷¹ During the period covered by his absence in the south, two scions of the Àraviçlu dynasty, Dēva-Dēva-Mahârâya and Venkaṭapati-Râya (Venkaṭa V), son and nephew, respectively, of Śrī-Ranga, appear to have held nominal sway of the Empire.⁷² In a lithic record, dated in October 1664,⁷³ Dēvarâja Wodeyar acknowledges the suzerainty of Dēva-Dēva-Mahârâya. The séries of Dēvarâja's records, ranging successively from 1665 down to 1673,⁷⁴ are generally conspicuous by the absence of the name of the Vijayanagar Emperor. In only two of these records, however, dated in April 1665 and May 1668⁷⁵ respectively, does Dēvarâja Wodeyar acknowledge the suzerainty of Vira-Venkata-patirâya-raiya (Venkata V). Most of the records, from 1664 down to 1673,⁷⁶ refer to Dēvarâja with or without

71. See *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 360, 362, Nos. 183 and 198; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2267 (Nos. 25 and 26), 2406-2407, citing documents and correcting S. K. Aiyangar and other authorities.

72. See Table XIV; also records cited *infra*.

73. *E. O.*, XII Kg. 46, ll. 6-9. For details about this and other documents cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*.

74. *Vide* references cited under *Ibid*.

75. *E. O.*, IV (2) Gu. 64, ll. 8-9; 66, ll. 6-10.

76. Among the records mentioning the imperial titles, etc., of Dēvarâja are *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-10; Ml. 147 (1669), ll. 4-5; IV (2) Gu. 64 and 65 (1665), ll. 9-11; Ha. 139 (1669), ll. 7-8; 22 (1672), ll. 8-9; Yd. 53 and 54 (1666), ll. 5-7 and pp. 156-157 (Text); 43 (1667), ll. 10-22; Hg. 119 (1670), ll. 6-7; and 57 (1672), ll. 5-7; III (1) Ml. 88 and 68 (1672), ll. 7-9 and 8-5; Nj. 191 (1672), ll. 10-18; TN. 54 (1678), ll. 9-11; IX Cp. 66 (1666), ll. 5-7; *M. A. R.*, 1981, No. 83 (1668), ll. 5-6; XII Kg. 4 (1671), ll. 7-8; and Tp. 106 (1678), ll. 4-6. Among the records not mentioning the titles of Dēvarâja are *E. O.*, XII Kg. 46 (1664), Tp. 72 (1669), 70 (1671), Kg. 6 (1671); XI Kn. 96 (1671); V (1) and (2) Cn. 216 (1665), 155 (1670), 273 (1672), etc., Hn. 8 (1666); II SB. 401 (1672); IV (2) Gu. 25 (1665), Ng. 44 (1669), Hg. 120 (1670) and 107 (1672); III (1) Md. 51 (1667); *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6 (1665); *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552 (1669, 1671), etc.

impérial titles, etc., these being generally identical with those occurring in the earlier documents (down to 1664). Among the additions, however, are *Karnâta-simhâsana-madhîévarah* (Lord of the throne of the Karnâṭaka country), *Vira-pratâpaéâli-Chakravarti* (Emperor) and *Dakshina-simhasana-Srirangapattanakke-kartarâda* (Agent or Deputy to the seat of southern power—lit. throne), mentioned in lithic documents dated in December 1667⁷⁷ and January 1673.⁷⁸ The use of the Boar seal is also, as usual, in évidence.⁷⁹ In one document, dated in November 1672,⁸⁰ the earlier désignation of Dêvarâja, i.e., *Mahâmandalêvara*, appears side by side with the impérial titles of his. Other records⁸¹ bear out, in an increasing measure, his claim to impérial rule from the throne at Seringapatam. One record⁸² even speaks of Dêvarâja as seated on a secure throne. From another,⁸³ we learn that he had been established on the jewelled

77. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 48, ll. 10-11.

78. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 54, ll. 9-11.

79. See, for instance, *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 48, ll. 166-167: *Bhû-Varaha-mudrayatoha virâjitam*.

80. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 191, ll. 10-11.

81. See *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 53, ll. 6-7; Hs. 139, l. 8; Hg. 119, l. 7; IX Cp. 56, l. 7; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Ml. 147, ll. 4-5; also IV (2) Gu. 64, ll. 9-10; 65, ll. 10-11; III (1) Ml. 88, ll. 9-10 (revised with a fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*); 68, ll. 4-5; V (1) and (2) Cn. 218, ll. 14-16—referring to the throne as *Śrîrangapattanaṇada simhâsana* and *Pâchîma-rangadhani simhâsana*, and to Dêvarâja Wodeyar as *Śrîrangapattanaṇada simhâsanâdhîvara*, *Mysûru-simhâsanâdhîvara*, *Mysûru-simhâsanâdhîpati*, *Mayisûra-simhâsanakke yogyarâda*, etc.

82. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text): *Bhadra-piṭhâdhipah*. The word *Bhadra-piṭha* generally means throne. Rice's rendering of the expression as "seated on a secure throne," is quite in keeping with the context.

83. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), ll. 16-18:

Śrî-Ranga-Râya-mâni-sôbhita-piṭha-samstha
Śrîman-vibhûr-vijayatâm Doḍa-Dêvarâyah ||
Râjad-Rangapurê surêndra-mahîtê samrâjya-simhâsanê
Sâkshad-Vishṇuriva Śrîya-Vasudhaya samôbhamaṇah prabhuh ||

The reference to Śrî-Ranga-Râya in this record is to Śrî-Ranga II (*vide* f.n. 97 in Ch. V). The record being a grant of the reign of Chikka-dêvarâja Wodeyar (1673-1704), Dêvarâja Wodeyar is referred to here as "Doḍa (Doḍḍa)-Dêva-Râya," perhaps by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor (see also f.n. 11 *supra*).

throne of Srî-Ranga Raya and was wielding the sceptre of impérial sovereignty from Seringapatam. All this points to how the Vijayanagar Empire was fast decaying and how the earlier tendency on the part of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar to step into the latter's sovereign status as its political heir—while retaining his theoretical désignation of *Karta* and *Mahâmaṇḍalêvara* of Seringapatam—continued to manifest itself in a more pronounced manner during the latter part of his reign.

Side by side with this tendency towards the open assertion of impérial power was the local position of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar himself. Already by 1665, he was, as we have seen, at the height of his power. The events of 1667-1668 added considerably to his réputation and prestige. And, during 1668-1673, he was ruling Mysore in absolute peace and security, impressing his contemporaries with his might and prowess by the trophy of a pair of sandals (*pâda-chûdam*), which he is said to have got prepared out of the precious stones received as tribute from the powers subdued by him.⁸⁴

By 1673, the last year of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar's reign, the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent, had been extended as far as Hassan and Sakrepaṭṇa in the west, Salem in the east, Chiknâyakanahalli in the north and Ērôḍe and Dhârâpuram in the south.⁸⁵

Inscriptions of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar point to his rule from the capital city of Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne. The influence of his personality thoroughly made itself felt in civil as in military matters. The

84. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; *Aimais*, I. 98-99; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 96-96; *Kamand. Ni.*, I, 66.

85. See *E. C.*, I I I (1) Sr. 14 (1686), II. 40-48, which enables us to determine the précise limits of the kingdom of Mysore in 1678.

administration was, as usual, conducted in the traditional manner, due regard being paid to the précepte of *dharmā* laid down in the *Smṛti*.⁸⁶

The ministers and officers of Kaṅṭhīrava's reign, it would seem, continued in office under Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with the possible exception of the royal scribe, to which office Lakshmipati, a Jain, appears to have succeeded.⁸⁷ Auiong the Dalavāis of Dēvarāja, already referred to, Hamparājaiya of Kârugahaḷli continued in office till April 1660, when he was, it is said, removed from service on a charge of defrauding the state revenues, He was succeeded by Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (April-July 1660), Muḍdaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanāthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kântaiya of Kaḷale (February 1662-April 1662). Nanjanāthaiya was re-appointed in April 1662 and was followed in April 1667 by Kumāraiya of Kalale, who remained in office during the rest of the reign.⁸⁸ Among the feudatories, Doḍḍaiya of Channarāyapatna, having died about 1660, had been succeeded by his son, Basavaiya, mentioned in records dated in the years 1661, 1669 and 1670.⁸⁹

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar is credited with having thoroughly studied the character and conduct of his feudatories (*Pâlegârs*) and regulated his relations with them, granting rent-free lands (*umbalī*) to some and quit-rent villages (*jôḍi*) to

Administrative
measures.

86. See *Paśāh. Mahāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 42; *Smṛtyukta-dharmadīpāṅkī.*

87. Vide prose passage at the end of the Ms. copy (1668) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa*, p. 190: *Mysāra-Chikkaya-Rāyana rayasāda Lakshmipati*. The reference to "Chikkaya-Rāya" here is to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore. See also under *Literary progress and Domestic life*, for further notice of this Ms.

88. *Annals*, I, 96-97; also *Mys. Dh. Pār.*, I, 67-68. Dalavāi Nanjanāthaiya is identical with the one mentioned in *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81 (March 14, 1662, ll. 5 and 6), and with "Dalavāi Nandināthaiya" mentioned in *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46 (October 11, 1664, l. 18). For further particulars about the Dalavāis of the Kaḷale Family, see section on *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaḷale Family*, and Table XIII.

89. Vide references cited under *Grants and other records*.

others and settling cash contributions (*khaṇḍaṇeya haṇa*) with the rest.⁹⁰

Dēvarāja was, like his predecessor, an ardent Vaishnava.⁹¹

The *Palace Copper-plates*,³² in particular, speak of his dévotion to God Ranganâtha of Seringapatam. From

other records,⁹³ we learn that he used daily to rise at dawn, contemplate and worship the lotus feet of Vishṇu repeating without omission His thousand names, then perform oblations to fire, and, having bestowed gifts of cows and money on the Brâhmans, listen to the récital of the *Purânas* and sacred stories. In keeping with this, we have the contemporary work, *Ghaupadada-Pustaka* (c. 1670) j⁹⁴ generally depicting Dēvarāja Wodeyar as getting up at dawn, taking his bath, wearing shining silken garments, putting the *tika* of musk on his forehead and performing the morning rites. Toleration was, as usual, a prominent feature of Dēvarāja's religion. He

90. *Annals*, I. 102.

91. See *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 and III (1) TN. 23 (1668), ll. 97-98 and 16-16 : *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa pāda-pañcakayugē vinyasta viśhvagbharaḥ* ; IV (2) Yd. 54 (1668), p. 156 (Text) : *Sada Hari-parayane hr̥di-niviṣṭa Nārāyaṇaḥ*.

92. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (1668), l. 82 : *Rangēta-sēva-niratō*. See also *Kāmand. Nī.* (c. 1676), I, 65 : *Ranganātha pādāravinda-bandhura sēva niratam*.

93. *Ibid*, XII Kg. 37 (1668), ll. 68-70 :

Kalyē prabudhya kamala-ramaṇaṅghri-yugmam
Dhyātōbhīpējya niyamēna sahasra-nāmnā |
Hutvā hr̥dīnumadhīkam vasugam phalāni
Prājyāni vipra-nivāhaya dadāti nityam ||

III (1) Sr. 14 (1666), ll. 43-46 :

Kalyē vasugam dvijēbhya
Datvā sanityam itihāsa kathakē śruṣōti ||

See also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26 ; *Annals*, I. 102.

94. See ff. 1 :

Mysāra-Dēvarājendra . . . dīnaya-nulayadati |
Majjanava-nanukoṭisi |
Suruchira dukulagala maṣṣyolīm-biṣṣu |
Pera mosalimōḷago kasturi-silakaviṣṭu |
Vinuta sandhyādī satkarmavānu rachisi ||

The verses in this part of the poem are not numbered in the original. For a notice of the work, see under *Literary progress*.

was a great friend and patron of Brâhmanism as known to those days. He is indeed referred to⁹⁵ as having taken a vow to govern the kingdom, to protect and establish Gods and deserving Brâhmans. The *Bhërya copper-plate grant*⁹⁶ (1666) further speaks of him as having divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brâhmans, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and reserving the fourth for his own use. He paid equal attention to Saivism and Vaishnavism and respected equally the three sects of Brâhmans, especially in the matter of making grants and bestowing on the latter, shares (*vruttis*) in the *agrahâras* formed in his own name (*Dëvarâjapura*).⁹⁷ Equally solicitous was he towards the Jains and Vira-ëaivas in the kingdom.⁹⁶ Maintenance and upkeep of temples, *maths* and *satras* (feeding-houses) for ail classes and creeds was, as we shall see, the object underlying most of his grants and other records.

Gifts, acts of piety and public utility were a normal feature of Dëvarâja's activities as a ruler. Thus, we learn," he conducted

Gifts, etc.

the *Vâjapëya* and other sacrifices to Gods (*Vâjapëya-nuikhânëka-makha-nikhila ; yajnâ dëvâëcha dharmàh*); made the sixteen great gifts (*shôdaëa mahâ-dâna*) described in Hëmâdri and other works (gifts namely, *hiranya-garbha, brahmânda,*

95. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 and XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 17-18 and 100-101: *Dëva-brâhmana vakshandya prithvi-samrajya-diksham vahan*; also Kg. 37, ll. 94-95: *Dëva-sa[d]-brâhmana-gana pratigrahana-dikshitah*.

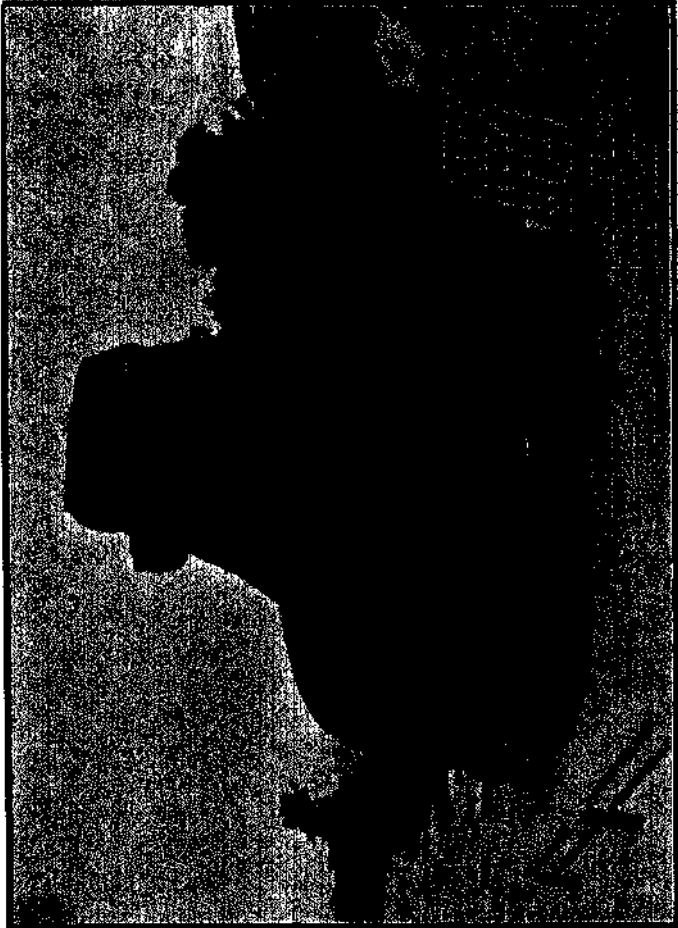
96. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 157 (Text):

*Ohaturâha vidhâjyâtmanô râjya-mânyam
Dvijëbhyô param dëvatëbhyah prayachan |
Tristiyantu dharmâya turyam svakiyam
Vidhâgavati kshamâ sada Dëvarâjah ||*

97. See under *Grants and other records*, for details.

98. *Ibid.*

99. See *Kamand. Ni.*, I, 65; *Kamald. Mâhât.*, I, 107; *Hastî. Mâhât.*, I, 68; *Yad. Mâhât.*, I, 51-52; *Sri. Mâhât.*, II, 29; *O.Vi.*, V, 96; *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 72, 74-79; IV (2) Yd. 53, ll. 15-16; 54, pp. 156-157 (Text); also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26-27; *Annals*, I, 100-101.



The bull on the Chasmuppi Hill, Mysore—Cut out of a monolith.

saptâmbudhi, tulâ-purtcscha, gô-sahasra, kalpavalli, kâmadhënu, ratna, gô-svarna-bhû-svarna-garbha, pan-cha-hala or *langala, kalpa-vriksha, kanakarathi-bhdêva* and *viêva-chakra*) ; bestowed difficult, varied and innumerable gifts (*vividhân amànushân dharmân ; amitâ yasya dharmâh*) at Srîrangam, Tirupati (*Venkâtaiaila*), Mëlkôte (*Yâdavagiri*), Kânchi (*Hastigiri*), Râmëévaram (*Sëtu*), the banks of the Gautamî (or *Gôdâvarî*), Allahâbâd (*Prayâga*), Benares (*Vâranâsi*), Gaya and Seringapatam (*Pure Rangadhâ?nnah*) ; constructed wells, ponds, tanks and temples (*vâpi-kûpa-tatâkân . . . dëva-grhân ; dëvasthânâni*) ; established groves, watersheds and feeding-houses from road to road (*mârgë-mârgë sadvanâni prapâêcha ; mârgë-mârgë prapâêcha satrânî*), furnishing each village with a feeding-house for the free distribution of food (*grâmë-grâmë bhûri-wiççâtanna-satram*) ; and arrangea for the conduct of daily festivals in the temples, bestowing villages as donations therefor (*Dëvasthânân-yutsavân-tëçu-nityam . . . tadartham datvâ grâmân*). He is further referred to as utilising the spoils of war for making gifts to Brâhmans, for rewarding his friends and for providing ornaments to his queens.¹⁰⁰ The popularity of his rule and the extent of his kingdom are indicated by a record of 1686¹⁰¹ mentioning the establishment by him of feeding-houses (*satra*) at a distance of every nine miles (*yôjana*) on every road throughout the length and breadth of his dominions, to the east from Sakrepatna (*Sakhare-pattana*), to the west from Salem (*ëëlayapura*), to the south from Chiknâyakanahalli (*Chikkanâyakapura*), and to the north from Dhârâpur (*Dhârâpura*). Among other acts of piety Dëvarâja is credited with are : the laying of a thousand steps to the Châmundi Hill at Mysore and the setting up of an exquisitely sculptured monolithic Bull midway thereto (1664) ; the construction of a tank named

100. C.Fi.,1.0.

101. E.C., I I I (1) Sr. 14,11. 41-43.

Dēvâmbudhi in Mysore (March 1666) besides provision for daily services, with gifts, to the holy shrine at Tirupati and endowments to the Goddess Châmundēsvari and to the Saiva and Vaishçava temples at Nanjangûd, Mysore, Seringapatam, Mēlkôṭe and other places; and the extension of the temple of Triṇēvara at Mysore, adding a stone *maṭṭapam* of twenty-seven *ankaṇams*, a stone pillar and a seven-storeyed tower over its *Mahâ-dvâra*, and setting up the images of twenty-five *ēaiva* deities in the pavilions of the temple.¹⁰⁸

Among the extant records of the reign of Dēvarâja Woḍeyar, a damaged lithic inscription, Grants and other records, 1659-1673 : dated in 1659,¹⁰³ seems to register a (a) 1659-1663. service to the Basavēvara temple at Singânallûr, Koḷḷēgâl taluk. A *nirûpa*, dated in 1660,¹⁰⁴ refers to his grant of lands rent-free (*umbali*) to Gange-Basave-Gauda of Hangala. A third, dated November 25, 1661,¹⁰⁵ refers to a service by Basavaiya (son of Doḍḍaiya) of ChannarâyapatçĻa, a feudatory of Dēvarâja, in the temple of Jakkēvara-svâmi in the village of Jambûr. A stone charter of Dēvarâja, dated November 15, 1662,¹⁰⁶ directs the local officials of the *gaḍis* of the Kânkânhalḷi-sîme (*i.e.*, *Gurikâr.s*, *Pârupatyagdrs*, *Sunka-manēgârs*, *Sēnabhôgas*, *Râvutas*, *Bânuyes* and *Simka-kârkûm*, etc.) to make annual cash contributions to the treasury of God Mahadēvara of Moḷagâla, for the offerings, illuminations, car festival and services to the

103. See *Annals*, I. 99-101; *Mys. Raj. Oka.* 27; also *E.O.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 82-84 (referring to the construction of the tank in Mysore); *Wilks*, I. 70 (referring to the Bull); of *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 472 (referring to the setting up of the Bull in the reign of Kaṭṭhîrava I).

106. *M.E.R.*, 1910, No. 90 (*I.M.P.*, I. 556, Cb. 845): s. 1581, *Vikrî*; see also f.n. 48 *supra*.

104. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangala-Râya-Bakke*, p. 10: *Sârvari*.

105. *E.O.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 268: s. 1584, *Plava, Mârgasîra su.* 15, Monday; s. 1584, in this record, is a slight error for s. 1583.

106. *Ibid.*, IX Kn. 94: s. 1581, *Subhakrit, Mârgasîra su.* 15, Saturday; s. 1581, in this record, is an error for s. 1584 (*Subhakrit*).

God. The *Palace Copper-plates*, dated April 9, 1663,¹⁰⁷ register a rent-free grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, for the merit of his parents, of the village of Chandakavâḍi (with six hanilets) in the Râmasamudra hôbli in the Hadinâḍ-sîme, to Mantra-mûrti Râja-Râjendra-Bhârati-Svâmi, as a *math* endowment (*matha-svâsthya*). A lithic record, dated May 6, 1663,¹⁰⁸ refers to the building of a temple to God Chandraëekhara at Channarâyapatna and the performance of the consécration service therein by Dodḍaiya. The record also refers to the érection by him of a temple to Kâḍa-Basavêâvara. We have next a number of records of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, dated July 6, 1663 (*Sôbhakrit*, *Ashâdha eu.* 12, Monday) : one of these, a copper-plate grant from the Râghavëndrasvâmi *math* at Nanjangûḍ,¹⁰⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Nallûr—surnamed *Dëuarâjapura* (of the annual revenue of 100 *dinârs*)—in the Saragûr-sthala, to Râghavëndra-tîrtha-Srîpâda-Svâmi, son of Sudhîndra-tîrtha-Srîpâda (spiritual son of Vijayîndra-tîrtha-êrîpâda), to provide for God's worship and the feeding of the Brâhmans. Others record, respectively, the establishment and grant of an *agrahâra* (named *Dëvarâjapura*) of fifty shares for Brâhmans at Malagûr and its seven hamlets in the Bâchahalli-sthala and the Nâgamangala hôbli of the Hoysala-nâḍu ;¹¹⁰ the grant, for the merit of Dēvarāja's parents and ancestors, of the village of Tûbinakere in the Amritûr-sthala, to Venkata-Varadâchârya of Yêḍûr or Ettûr—of Satamarshana-goṭra, Âpastambha-sûtra and Yajussâkhâ—son of Kôti-Kanyâdânâ Lakshmîkumâra-

107. *E. C.*, *Mya. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (*M. A. R.*, 1906, p. 26) : s. 1585, *Sôbhakrit*, (*Nîja*) *Chaitra su.* 12. There was an intercalary *Chaitra* in *Sôbhakrit* and the grant appears to have been made in *Nîja-Chaitra*, April 9, 1663, as indicated above.

108. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn, 153 : *Sôbhakrit*, *Vaishakha su.* 10, Wednesday.

109. *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143, *Sôbhakrit*, *Ashâdha su.* 11, Monday, of this record, actually corresponds to July 6, 1663, on which day there was both *Êkâdasî* and *Dvâdasî* (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 123), the former being evidently observed by the *Vaishṇava math*, the donee.

110. *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67.

Tâtôçhârya and grandson of Immadi-Tiramala-Tâtâchârya of Sri-Saila Vaméa, after making the *laksharhōma*, *svêtâéva* and other gifts ;¹¹¹ another grant to the same donee of the village of Halḷikere, in the Nâgamangala-sthala, and of the *agrahâra* of Nûlapura (named *Ikkëri*), containing sixty-four shares ;¹¹² the establishment of an *agrahâra* (named *Dêvarâjapura*) in the Manîkarnîkâ-kshëtra, north-east of Seringapatam, and the grant to the three sects of Brâhmans, i.e., *Smârthas*, *âri-Vaishṇavas* and *Tatva-vâdins* (Mâdhvas), of the village of Hâlagere (with its hamlets and two other villages)—also in the Amritn̄r-sthaja and yielding 500 *dinârs*—divided into fifty shares ;¹¹³ the gift of the village of Âgatûr, in the Saragûr-sthala, to a priest, as an offering to Lord Krishna ;¹¹⁴ and a grant to an *agrahâra* established at the village of Kauḍale (otherwise called *Dêvarâjapura*).¹¹⁵ A *nirâpa* of Dêvarâja, dated in 1663,¹¹⁶ records the grant of the villages of Horakëri-Bachahalli and Hosahalli to the newly constructed stone *math* at Hangala (*Rangala-dalli hosadâgi kaṭṭista kalmaṭakke*).

111. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 33. For further particulars about the donee, see under *Social life*.

112. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 23. See also f.n. 162 and 169 *infra*.

113. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37: the *Halagere Plates*; also 38; III (1) Sr. 14 (1666), ll. 34-36; and *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, pp. 55-56, paras 132-133. See also under *Learning and culture*. Rice pieces Kg. 37 in 1662 but *Śôbhakrit*, the actual date of the record, corresponds to 1663.

114. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 85.

115. *M. C.*, III (1) Md. 114 (revised with the fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*). See also *M. A. R.* 1933, No. 49, pp. 262-263.

116. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangala-Raya-Râkhe*, p. 13: *Śôbhakrit*. This record is almost identical with *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 24 (pp. 161-163), regarded by Dr. M. H. Krishna, on chronological grounds, to be spurious (*Ibid.*, p. 163). In the light of the earlier copy (c. 1800) from the *I. M. C.*, the latter (i.e., No. 24) must be taken to be an interpolation of a document originally dated in 1663 (*Śôbhakrit*)—*vide* also Appendix V—(1). The stone *maṭâ*, referred to in the record, is the same as the one mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25 (1666), pp. 163-166, and noticed in Ch. IX, f.n. 165. For further reference to it, see under *Domestic life* in this Ch.

A lithic record, dated October 11, 1664,¹¹⁷ refers to the grant by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Tulâ-Sankaramaipam*, of the village of Kaggere in the Kunigalsthala, for the service of Kaggere-Tôntada-Siddēsvara-Svâmi, a deified Vira-Saiva saint. The grant, it is said, was made in commémoration of the success achieved by the Mÿsore army (under Daḷavâi Nanjanàthaiya) against Ikkëri, for which they had offered prayers to the *svâmi*. A copper-plate inscription, dated January 6, 1665,¹¹⁸ registers the grant by Dēvarāja of the village of Lakkûr, in the Terakaṇāmbi-sthāḷa, to Lakkappa-Jyôtiṣha (son of Banadaṇṇiia-Jyôtiṣha, of Jâmadagni-gôtra, Àévalâyana-sûtra and Rk-Sâkhâ), at the time of performing the gift of *svarna-tulâ* (weighing oneself against gold), on the occasion of the solar éclipse. A lithic record, dated April 10, 1665,¹¹⁹ speaks of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar as having caused the *virakta-mathā* to be newly erected in the Mallana's corner (*Mallana-mûleyalli*), to the north of God Nanjundēvara at the junction of the Kapinî and Kaundinî, and made a grant of the villages of Hukunda and Dēsipura to the Virakta-svâmi Prapamappa-channavîra-Dēvaraiya Waḍër, in order that ail the Vira-Mâhēâvaras might find refuge in êiva. Another, dated December 7, 1665,¹²⁰ is a charter registering a grant of Dēvarāja to the God of Bhaktarahalli. A copper-plate inscription, dated December 29, 1665,¹²¹ records the gift of three villages (one belonging to the Srîrangapattana division and the other two to Hassan) —on the occasion of *Makara -Sankrânti*—

117. *F. C.*, XII Kg. 46: s. 1585 expired, *Krôdhî, Kârtika su. 2*; see also text of f.n. 41 *supra*.

118. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (*M. A. B.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126): s. 1586, *Krôdhî, Pushya ba. 30, Friday*; also IV (2) Gu. 25.

119. *F. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64: *Vîśuvāsu, Vaiśākha su. 5, Monday*.

120. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Gn. 218: s. 1586 expired, *Vîśuvāsu, Mārgasîra su. 10*.

121. *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6: s. 1587, *Vîśuvāsu, Pushya su. 3, Friday*. See also Nos. 9 and 10 (copies of No. 6). The donor, Dhanôjaiya, in this record, seems to be identical with Dhanôjaiya who used to furnish ornaments to Kaṇṭhirava-Narasarkja Woḍeyar I (see Ch. IX).

by Dhanvojaiya (*Dhanôjaiya*, son of Sivaiya and grandson of Nânaga, of Lambakarna-gôtra and Âsvalâyana-sûtra), an officer of Dëvarâja Wodeyar (?), for the célébration of the car festival in the temple of Subrahmanya at Kukke and for the maintenance of an *anna-satra* there. A lithic record, dated February 22, 1666,¹⁹⁸ refers to the grant of some villages by Dëvarâja Wodeyar to the *agrahara* of G arakahalli (named *Dëvarâjapura*), on the occasion of *Sivarâtri*. An epigraph, dated June 24, 1666,¹⁸⁸ records a cash grant to the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍâra*) of Âdiëvara of Seringapatam, by Pâyanna (a disciple of Chârukîrti-Panditâchârya of êravana-Belagôla), for the *Astâhnika-Dharma*. A lithic record, dated June 29, 1666,¹³⁴ registers the grant of the village of Gâvunahalli as rent-free (*sarva-mânyavâgi*), by Dëvarâja Wodeyar, for the service of the Goddess Châmunḍëëvari. Another, dated December 30, 1666,¹³⁵ is a stone charter of Dëvarâja, granting an *agrahâra* (of 92| shares) named *Dëvarâjapura*—in the Bhërya One Thousand place and its twelve hamlets belonging to Narasimhapura—to learned and deserving Brâhmans of various gôtras and sûtras, on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrdnti*. The *Bhërya copper-plate grant*, of the same date,¹⁹⁸ not only confirms this charter but also records the additional gift by Dëvarâja of a well-built and well-furnished house (in the Maçikarriikâ-kshëtra) to each of the 92 donees, on the same occasion. A lithic record, dated in

192. *E. C.*, IX Op. 56 : *Vîśodvasu*, *Mâgha* ba. 12, Thursday, *Sivarâtri*. *Sivarâtri*, however, actually took place on *Mâgha* ba. 14, Thursday (February 22, 1666)—see *Ind. Ep.*, VI. 184. The *tithi*, mentioned in the record, is apparently a slight scribal error. Cf. *Annals*, I. 99.

193. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 181 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 196) : s. 1589, *Parasôhava*, *Īshâḍha* su. 2; s. 1589, in this record, is a slight error for s. 1588.

194. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ha. 8; s. 1588, *Parasôhava*, *Īshâḍha* su. 8.

195. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 58 : *Parasôhava*, *Puṣya* (su. 14), Sunday.

196. *Ibid.*, Yd. 54 : *Ibid.* For farther details about the grant, see under *Learning and culture*.

April 1667,¹²⁷ speaks of the grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar of three additional villages to the *Devarājapura agrahara* which he had previously established at Hāluganga-kere belonging to Amritūr. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated June 22, 1667,¹²⁸ records a grant by Dēvarāja, of eleven villages in the Paritipādisthala of Vāmalūr-sīme, for services to God Ranganatha of Seringapatam, on the occasion of his conquest of Tigulājiya (*Tigulanyavannu . . . muntada rājyavannu jeyisi jayōtsavagalalli grāma kshētragalannu bitta vivara*). Another record, a copper-plate charter, dated December 30, 1667,¹²⁹ registers a gift by Dēvarāja of the village of Muṇḍūr, in the Sàligrāma-sthala (belonging to Narasimhapura), for an *agrahdra* (of 21 shares) named *Dēvarājapura*. A lithic document, dated May 30, 1668,¹³⁰ confirms the grant by hira of the villages of Hukunda and Dēēipura to the Virakta-maṭha newly built in the Mallana-mūle to the north of the Kapinī and Kaṇḍinī ri vers in Nanjangūḍ. Another, dated July 1, 1668,¹³¹ records his gift of the village of Kētahalli, in the Terakaṇāmbi-sthala, for the free distribution of food in the Lingāyat maṭh in the town of Mysore (*Maisūra ura-voḷagaṇa . . . Mahattina maṭhada cmna-ddnada dharmaké*).

Another, dated April 1, 1669,¹³³ registers a grant of Dēvarāja, in perpetuity, to a certain Wodeyar (? of Talakād), in the village of Belākavādi. A third, dated May 10,

127. *E. C.*, III (1) Mā. 51: s. 1586, *Plavanga, Vaisākha*. Rice places this record in 1664, relying on the *saka* date only (1598), which, however, does not tally with *Plavanga*. *Plavanga, Vaisākha* actually corresponds to April 1667 and this date is preferred here.

128. *I. M. O.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 43: s. 1569, *Plavanga, Āṣāḍha* sū. 11, *Prathama-Ēkādati*.

129. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43: *Plavanga, Pushya* ba. 10, Monday.

130. *Ibid.*, Gu. 65: s. 1590, *Kṛlaka, (Ādhika) Āṣāḍha* sū. 1, Saturday; vide also Gu. 64 in f.n. 119 *supra*.

131. *M. A. B.*, 1931, No. 36, pp. 129-131: *Kṛlaka, Nija-Āṣāḍha* sū. 2. For further reference to this document, see under *Domestic life*.

132. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, No. 147 (*M. A. B.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126): s. 1591, *Saumya, Chaitra* sū. 10, Thursday.

1669,¹³³ refers to the setting up of God Viävéevara in NSgamangala. A fourth, dated October 19, 1669,¹³⁴ speaks of the érection of a temple and a *bali-pūṭha* for God Chandraéekhara, the processional image of God éankaréevara of Keregôḍu (in the Channarâyapaṭṇa-sirue), by Doḍḍaiya, a feudatory of Dēvarâja. Among other records of the year 1669 are two lithic ones (one from the Mahàdēva temple, south of Bestara-pālayam on the north of the Bhavânî river, and the other from Sengalarâi; Siva-pālayam, near Satyamangalam, on the way to the same river),¹³⁵ registering the gift by Dēvarâja Wodeyar (*Udaiyar*) of the village of Bestara-pālayam, surnamed Kumàra-pura (*Comâri*), to the temple of Kumârasvâmi on the Dhavalagiri hill in the Dûrvâsa-kshêtra at the confluence of the rivers Chintâmaṇi and Bhavânî. A lithic record, dated February 23, 1670,¹³⁶ speaks of Basavaiya as having caused a *dîpa-mâlâ* pillar to be erected for God Channarâya in the fort of Channarâyapaṭṇa. Another, belonging to about 1670,¹³⁷ records a gift by Dēvarâja of the village of Bindēnahalli, for the incense, lights, offerings, décorations and festivals of God Candraéekhara of Channarâyapaṭṇa. A third, dated January 2, 1671,¹³⁸ registers his gift—on the occasion of *Makara-Sankramana*—of the village of Jânagere, in the Kottanagere-sthala of the Kunigal hôbli, for the éivarâtri service (*Sivarâtri sévege*) and for the offerings to God Agastyéevara at the tri-junction of the Cauvery, Kapilâ and the Sphatika-sarôvara (crystal lake). A fourth, dated January 17, 1671,¹³⁹ speaks of his grant of a pièce of land

133. *Ibid.*, IV (3) Ng. 44: *Saumya, Vaisakha* *ba. 5.*

134. *Ibid.*, XII Tp. 72: *Saumya, Kârtika* *tu. 5.*

135. *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 181; also *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552, Cb. 306 and 308: *s. 1591, Saumya.*

136. *E. O.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 155: *Saumya, Phalguna* *tu. 15*; *s. 1491*, in this record, is an error for *s. 1591 (Saumya).*

137. *Ibid.*, Cn. 168.

138. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 4: *s. 1592, Sâharaṇa, Mâgha* *tu. 2, Monday.*

139. *Ibid.*, Kg. 5: *Sâharaṇa, Mâgha* *ba. 2.*

in the Kunigal-sîme to Udeya Nâyaka. À fifth, dated March 20, 1671,¹⁴⁰ refers to his having given away the tank of Virupa-samudra to God Mahadëévara of Moḷagâla, in the Kânkânhalli (*Kânikâranahallî*)-*sthala*, and to its restoration and rebuilding, after a breach, by a private individual. A sixth, dated August 12, 1671,¹⁴¹ mentions the gift by a private individual of a *dipa-mâld* pillar and a *pâtâlq-mantapa* to the processional image of God Sankarëévara at Keregôdu, under the government of Basavaiya, during Dëvarâja's reign. A seventh, dated in 1671,¹⁴² records the formation of the village of Vinnappalli into an *agrahâra* of sixty-four shares, and the bestowal of the same on sixty-four Brâhmans, by Dëvarâja Wodeyar. Among the records of 1672, a lithic one, dated August 18,¹⁴³ registers his grant of the village of Toravali to God Mahâbalëévara. Twoothers, dated October 21,¹⁴⁴ relate to his grant of the village of Sasiyâlapura, to provide for the offerings, illuminations atad festivals of God Gangâdharëévara of Maḷavalli (otherwise named *Gangâdharapura*) and for the upkeep of the temple of the God. The grant, we learn, was made on a représentation by one Gangâdharaiya of the Maḷavalli-*sthala*. Another, of the same date,¹⁴⁵ records Devarâja's gift of the village of Râgi-Bommanahalli, for the maintenance of a feeding-house for Brâhmans. A fifth, dated November 7,¹⁴⁶ registers his grant of the village of Marihalli (belonging

140. *Ibid.*, IX Kn. 95: *s.* 1584, *Virodhikrit*, *Chaitra ba. 5*; *s.* 1584, in this record, is an error for *s.* 1593.

141. *Ibid.*, XII Tp. 70: *s.* 1593, *Virodhikrit*, *Śrāvāna ba. 8*, Saturday; see also Tp. 72 in f.n. 184 *supra*.

142. *I. M. P.*, I. 552, Cb. 809: *s.* 1593, *Virodhikrit*.

143. *E. C.*, IV (2) Hg. 107: *Paridhavi*, *Bhadravada su. 6*. Does doubtfully place this record in 1612 (?) but it actually belongs to Dëvarâja's reign.

144. *Ibid.*, III (1) Ml. 88 and 63: *Paridhavi*, *Kartika su. 10*; *s.* 1472 and 1595, in these records, respectively, an error for *s.* 1594. See also *M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95 (Ml. 88 revised).

145. *Ibid.*, II SB. 401: *Ibid.*. See also *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 54, para 129.

146. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 191: *s.* 1594, *Paridhavi*, *Kartika ba. 12*, Thursday.

to Ummattûr) to a local god, for the merit of his father (Muppina-Dêvarâja Wodeyar). A sixth, dated November 14,¹⁴⁷ relates to his grant of the village of Kaggundi (otherwise called *Dêvarajavpura*), for a feeding-house (*satrada dharmakke*), while a seventh, dated December 19 (*Pushya su. 10*),¹⁴⁸ records his gift of the village of Madapi, to provide for the daily distribution of food to the Jaina sanyâsis of the *Dana-sâle* of Chârukirti-Papditâchârya of Sravana-Belagola. Perhaps the last of the available records of the reign of Dêvarâja Wodeyar is a lithic one, dated January 15, 1673,¹⁴⁹ registering his grant—on the *Ratha-saptami* day—of the village of Bettahalli (also called *Dêvarâjapura*), in the Talakâsthaja, to provide for the worship and cérémonies of God Mallikârjuna (of the original Sri-Saila) on the left of God Vaidyêvara of Talakâçi (*Gajaranya-kshêtra*).

À *Bhakta-vigraha* of Dêvarâja Wodeyar—evidently an authentic likeness of his—is to be seen
 Statue of Dêvarâja. placéd side by side with that of Karithîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, in one of the pavilions of the temple of Trinayanêvara at Mysore, with the name Dodḍa-Dêvarâja Wodeyar latterly inscribed thereon, the prefix *Dodḍa*¹⁵⁰ being generally used to distinguish him from his successor, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar.

Seringapatam, the capital city, continued to be a flourishing centre of social life, with ail its attractions, under Dêvarâja. Its importance as the seat of the southern throne (*dakshîṇa-simhâsana*) increased with the fall of

147. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ha. 22: *Ibid.*, *Mârgatîra su. 5*, Thursday.

148. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (3) Cn. 278: *s. 1595*, *Parîdhâvi, Pushya su. 10*. Here, for *s. 1595*, read *s. 1594*. The *Municam*. (II, 78-79) speaks of Chikkadêvarâja, during Dêvarâja's reign, as having paid a visit to Sravasa-Belagola and got the village of Madaneya (Madani) as a gift to the *Dana-sâle* of that place. It was possibly this gift which was, later, recorded on stone in December 1672.

149. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 54: *s. 1594*, *Parîdhâvi, Mâgha su. 7*, Wednesday.

150. *Ibid.* Appendix V—(1).



Bhakta-vigrahas of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I and
Dēvarāja Wodeyar in the Trinayanēāvāra Temple, Fort, Mysore.

Penukōçḍa and the Muhammadan occupation of Vellore, the capitals of the rapidly decling Vijayanagar Empire. The systematic adoption of Vijayanagar political ideals and traditions by the Buling House of Mysore also helped in the same direction. This was made possible by the influence exerted by the celebrated Tâtâchârya family, particularly by Venkaṭa-Varadâchârya of Yēḍûr (grandson of Immadi-Tirumala-Tâtâchârya of Sri-Sailâ Vamsa and son of Kôṭi-Kanyadânam Lakshmikumâra-Tâtâchârya, already referred to) who, we learn,¹⁵¹ proceeded to the court of Seringapatam as the preceptor of Dêvarâja Wodeyar. Already during the reign, Sri-Vaishçavism had become a living religion in Mysore. Aḷasingarârya, father of Tirumalârya and companion of Doddadêvarâja Wodeyar, continued as the expounder of the Purânas (*Paurânika*)¹⁵² to Dêvarâja Wodeyar after the retirement of Doddadêvarâja to the banks of the Kaundinî iñ or about 1659. The *Vasantôtsava* of God Sri-Ranganâtha, the *Râma-navami* and the *Mahâ-navami* (*Mânômiyuk-keva*) were, we note,¹⁵³ among the popular festivals of the period. The gênerai culture of the times, especially in Seringapatam, is reflected¹⁵⁴ in the références to storeyed

151. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), l. 37: *agamana Śri-guru-nidhêr-narapatêr-Dêvarâjasya*. Cf. Rice's rendering of this passage, "who was in his assembly as Brihaspati in the assemblage of the gods" (*Ibid.*, p. 72, translation), which does not seem to be in keeping with the text. Members of the Tâtâchârya family were very influential at the court of Vijayanagar as royal preceptors (*Narapati-simhâsandachârya*). Kôṭi-Kanyadânam Lakshmikumâra-Tâtâchârya, father of Venkaṭa-Varadâchârya, was himself the preceptor of Venkaṭa I (1566-1614) and was reputed to have given away countless virgins in marriage to learned Brâhmanas, as his title seems evidently to suggest—see *Mys. Gaz.*, II, iii. 2228-2226. The migration of the family to the court of Seringapatam in the sixties of the seventeenth century seems significant, generally from the point of view of the continuous course of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore and particularly from the point of view of the growth of Śri-Vaishçavism in the country. Probably the nucleus of the present *Parakâla-Maṭh* at Mysore was laid in the reign of Dêvarâja Wodeyar.

152. See *O.Vi.*, V, 15: *Aḷasingarâryavin purânam gôḷodeçyo*, referring to Dêvarâja Wodeyar; see also under *Court culture*.

153. *Ibid.*, V, 164-168; VI, 106, 270-274; *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), l. 56.

154. *Ibid.*, VI, 60-68, 67, 99, 106, 152, 154, 200, 206, 209, 222, 226, 233, 235, etc.

mansions (*karumëda*) with pavilions (*matta-vârana*), plastered pavements (*kundanada jaguli*; *chandrôpala pattikâ* . . . *kuttimankana*) and apartments (such as *Chandra-sale*, *Bhadra-bhavana*, etc.), and¹⁵⁵ in the gay and luxurious life and tastes of fashionable society, as indexed, for instance, by the use of silken clothes and garments and the popularity of music and dancing among the arts. There is évidence of the active pursuit of the idéal of *Varnâàrama-dharma* by the respective sections of the Hindu social order.¹⁵⁶ The social evil, as is seen depicted,¹⁵⁷ shows that it had become deep-rooted in contemporary city life,

The *Palace copper-plate grani*¹⁵⁸ (1663) testifies to the wealth and grandeur of the court of Court culture. Dëvarâja Woḍeyar. From the *Chaupadada-Ptistaka* (c. 1670)¹⁶⁰ we glean a picture of him, with his half-tied *jaṭâ* or tress of hair (*ara-jate*) and the *ṭikâ* of musk on his forehead (*nosalinolage kaçturi-tilaka*), dressed in silken and lace garments (*pit&mbara*, *dukûla*), with wreaths of flowers, with ear-rings, finger-rings, medallions and necklaces (set with pearls and precious stones), with the jewelled sword in his hand (*ratnamaya-khaḍga-dharanâgi*), and seated on the throne (*simhâsandrûdhandgi*) surrounded by ministers (*mantrigalu*), functionaries (*niyôgigalu*), scholars and musicians (*éâstra-sangîta-kôvidaru*), personal attendants, mahouts and cavaliers (*pari-jana* . . . *gaja-turaga-rëvanta râvutaru*). In his court, we note,¹⁶⁰ flourished

155. *Ibid.*, V, 168; VI, 128-133, 155-160, 169, 170, 174, 196, 198, 200, 238, etc.

156. *Ibid.*, V, 170.

157. *Ibid.*, VI, 22, 64-70, 74-81, 141-151, 154-155, 237-239, 263, 274-285, etc. This canto of the poem, though principally devoted to the delineation of the erotic sentiment, indirectly hints at the deeper under-currents of contemporary life. For further details about the *C. Vi.*, see Ch. XIV.

158. *E.O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 81-93:

Aḡḡaitvarya sama-yukta-sahâṣa-bhoga durandharaḡ.

159. *ll.* 1, v, 1-3, etc.; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 8-10. 160. *C. Vi.*, V, 158-160.

poetry, music, dancing, drama and amusements of various descriptions (such as athletic contests, cock-fights, ram-fights, elephant-fights, etc.). Foremost among the court scholars of the time was Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya (of the Tātachārya family), the royal preceptor *iguru*. He was reputed for his proficiency in logic, philosophy and the *éastras* (*tarka-védānta-éāstra-sāmrajya-dhārinē*),¹⁶¹ and is referred to¹⁶² as having delivered verses of eulogy on Dēvarāja (*rāja-prabandhān uvācha*) when the latter granted him the Nūlapūra (or *Ikkēri*) *agrahara*. Another scholar at the court was Aḷasingarārya, to whose attainments we have referred in the preceding chapter. He seems to have attained considerable popularity as *Paurāṇika* to Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is said¹⁶³ to have granted him the villages of Nāṭanahalli and Bīruballi (in the Narasīpura hōbli of the Mandagere-sthala) for expounding the *Mahābhārata*, particularly the episode relating to Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation. His son Tirumalārya, the young littérateur, was, it would seem,¹⁶⁴ exercising a profound influence on his co-student and colleague, Chikkadēvarāja, the Crown-prince. Among other luminaries were Lakshmīpati (*Lakshmākhyā budhōttamam*), the royal scribe,¹⁶⁵ and Lakhappa-ēarman, an astrological scholar (*Jyōtirvida*)¹⁶⁶

Sacred and secular lore alike claimed the attention,

Dēvarāja, as a and flourished under the patronage, of patron of learning Dēvarāja. From the *Hālagere Plates*¹⁶⁷ and culture.

(1663) we learn that he got built in the *Dēvarājapura agrahāra*, in the Manikarnika-kshētra,

161. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 48-49.

162. *Ibid.*, ll. 38-40; see also f.n. 112 *supra* and text thereto.

163. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1878), ll. 18-17; IV (2) Kr. 45 (1878), ll. 14-18. The actual expressions used are: *Dēvarāja Wodeyaraiyanavarū namma kaiyya Mahābhāratava kēlī Yudhiṣṭhīrābhīshēka trayaṇa kaladallī namage dhāreya-neradu koṭṭa . . . grāmagaḷali . . .*

164. See *C.V.*, V and VI.

165. *Vide* Ms. copy (1668) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa*, p. 189.

166. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 11-12.

167. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 87, ll. 80-90.

fifty houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), with a well and backyard, and settled them with poets, religious teachers, artists and learned men (*kavi-guru-kalô-dharân'anu-vibudhâmêcha nweâyâmâsa*), giving them villages that they might dwell there and carry on their religious exercises. Again, from the *Bhërya copper-plate grant*¹⁶⁸ (1666) we note that he got built ninety-two houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), also in the Mañikarnikâ-kshêtra, and gave them away (each furnished with supplies for a year, together with jewels, clothes and a milch-cow and calf) for the maintenance of Brâhmans of good lineage, learned in *Vëdas, Sastras* and Philosophy, observers of penance and religious rites, pure, and following the right course of conduct, (*Vëda-iâatrârthataṭv ajnân japa-hôma-parâyanar | sadâchâra-ratân iuddhân jvalatô brahma-tejasâ . . .*), besides assigning 31 shares exclusively for the recitation of the *Vidas* (*tripâda-sammitâ Vëda-yrttiêcha*).

Among the authors of the period, Tirumalârya of Kauëika-gôtra, son of AJasingarârya, composed in Sanskrit the copper-plate inscription, dated July 6, 1663 (*Sôbhakrit, Ashadha eu. 12, Monday*), recording Dëvarâja's grant of Hallikere to Venka^a-Varadâchârya, the royal preceptor.¹⁶⁰ This record is as usual written in the *kavya* style, and is so far the earliest known literary production of Tirumalârya. Châmaiya wrote the *Dëvarâja-Sângatya*¹⁷⁰ (c. 1670), dealing with the achievements of Dëvarâja. The work, however, as it

168. *Ibid.*, IV (3) Yd. 54, pp. 157-158 (Text).

169. See *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 28, ll. 92-94: *Kauëikârya . . . Alasingarârya tanayak Tirumalâchârya vyatânti tâmbra-âsana sôkân*; also f.n. 112 *supra* and text thereto. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to the *C. Pam., C. Vi.*, and *A. V. C.*, erroneously assigning this record to 1664.

170. *Ms. No. 19-3-44 (P; Mad. Or. Lib.)*, I, 28: *Bhâmipa Dëvarâjendra-chariteya Châmaiya-noidu peṭṭidana*. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Châ.*, II. 585-586, fixing the poet in c. 1700, which is not borne out by the internal evidence available.

has come down, is unfortunately incomplète, coniaînîrûg as it does only two chapters (*sandhis*). It is, as its name indicates, a poem written in intelligible *Hosagannaḍa sângàtya* mètre. The poet, who seems to hâve been a protégé of Dēvarāja, directly refers¹⁷¹ to his patron as "Dēvarājendra of Mysore, of Àtrēya-gôtra," and as distinguished by the titles, *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, *Dhore* Vira* and *Karnâṭaka-Kuruvara-Chakra*. He bēgins with invocations to Gôpâla of Padmagiri (Gôpâlafcvaîmi Hill), Bâinachandra, Paéchima-Ranga and Lakshmîkânta among the Gods, and Vyâsa, Vâlmiki and Jaimini among the poets ; gives the usual poetical description of the Karnâṭaka country and the city of Mysore ; and eulogisēē Dēvarāja. Another work, also incomplète, written in the *Hosagannaḍa chaupadi* mètre under Dēvarāja's patronage, has also come down to us under the title, *Chaupadada-Pustaka*¹⁷² (c. 1670). Its authorship, however, is unknown, being anonymous. It begins with invocations to Râmachandra, Gaṇēēa, Gangâdharēēvara, Ranganâtha and Narasimha (of Seringapatam), and, besides the eulogy, contains direct références to the achievements, personality, court life, daily routine, etc., of Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Among other writers, Lakshmi-pati, the royal scribe of Dēvarāja, appears also to hâve been a poet. Though no authentic works of his hâve so far come down to us, we hâve some évidence of his poetical attainments in the verses (in the *kanda* mètre) at the end of the colophon to the maûsscript copy¹⁷⁸ (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanâtha-Purâna* (c. 1000), prepared by him for the use of the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Chikkēndra-bhûmîēangendu*). From the référence to Dēvarāja of Mysore and bis Dalavâi Kumâraiya

171. I, 28-27.

172. Ms. No. 18-11-7--P.L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*173. Ms. No. A. 58 (P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), pp. 189-190. The copying of the work was actually completed on August 25, 1663 (*s. 1585, Śôbhakrît, Bhâdrapada su. 8*), according to the colophon on p. 189. For further references to this Ms., *vide* section on *Domestic life. Cf. Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 460), which, by a slip, places *Śôbhakrît* in 1662.

in the verses at the beginning of the second chapter of a manuscript¹⁷⁴ of Immadi-Tôntadaiya's *Vajrabâhû-Gharite* (c. 1530), it appears probable that a copy of this work also was made towards the close of Dêvarâja's reign.¹⁷⁵

The reign of Dêvarâja Wôḍeyar saw the beginnings of intercourse of European nations with Mysore. "In the month of June 1671," we note,¹⁷⁶ "Flacour, the Frènc̄h agent, went from [Tellicherry] to settle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Dellon [the physician who had sailed from France in March 1668], intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents and came back : Flacour persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672 Dellon sailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat."

Dêvarâja Wôḍeyar had two queens, Muddâjamma, daughter of Channarâjaiya of Arikuthâra, and Dêvâjamma, daughter of Lingarâjaiya of Ammachavâdi.¹⁷⁷ Of these, Dêvâjamma is probably identical with "Dêvâmbâ"* and "Dêvâjamma" mentioned in two lithic records dated March 14, 1662.¹⁷⁸ She is, again, referred to in

174. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1; see also f.n. 227 *infra*, for a further notice of this Ms.

175. Cf. *Ibid.*

176. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, pp. 174-175, Note VII.v.

177. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, I. 63; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 95.

178. *E.O.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81: s. 1584, *Śubhakriti, Chaitra su.* 5. These records relate to the construction of a *mañh* in Kaḷale (attached to the Palace), and the grant of the villages of Kurahaṭṭi and Śambupura as an endowment thereto, by Dêvâmbâ (Dêvâjamma), with the permission of Dêvarâja Wôḍeyar and the consent of (Dajavâi) Nanjanâthaiya, on the death of her father (?). The expressions, *namma arasinavaru svargustarâgalâgi*, in Nj. 81, ll. 8-9, are literally rendered by Rice as, "on my king (*i.e.*, husband) going to *svarga*" (*Ibid.*, p. 166, translation). In the absence of specific reference, these expressions may as well imply the death of an elderly member (father of Dêvâmbâ?) of Dêvâjamma's family taking *namma arasinavaru* in a wider sense, in which case we have to assume the identity of Dêvâmbâ with Dêvâjamma, queen of Dêvarâja Wôḍeyar.

an inscription, dated June 22, 1667,¹⁷⁹ recording a cash grant for services (*i.e.* flower decoration and offerings) to God Banganâtha of Seringapatam. Dēvarāja had no issue by either of his queens. Yet he seems to have endeared himself to Chikkadēvarāja (the Crown-prince) and Kaṅṭhīravaiya as their uncle,¹⁸⁰ looking upon them as if they were his own sons.¹⁸¹

Among other members of the Royal Family, Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, elder brother of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—who, as already referred to,¹⁸² had renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his younger brother by 1659—devoted¹⁸³ himself to penance on the banks of the Kauṇḍinī river (near Guṇḍlu-Terakaṅṭambi), during the latter part of his life covered by the reign of Dēvarāja. The staunch Vaishṇava that he was, Doḍḍadēvarāja was, as he is depicted to us,¹⁸⁴ a saintly personage with a religious and philosophical turn of mind, ever devoutly served by his younger brothers (*yad-bhakti-yukta-chittair nityam paricharyatē nijairanujaiḥ; yad-bhakti-bhāva-vivaēair . . . anujaiḥ*). In particular,

179. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 45: *Plavanga, Aśhādha su. 11, Prathama-Ēkādaśi*.

180. See colophon to the Ms. copy (1668) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa* by Rāyasada Lakshmīpati, p. 190; *Chaupadāda-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 1, 3; *C. Vi.*, IV, 176, 178—referring to Dēvarāja as “*Chikkaya Rāya*,” “*Chikkayya*,” “*Kiru-tandē*,” respectively. All these terms mean “uncle.”

181. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, l. 30, where the reference to “*putraisho*” is applicable to the nephews of Dēvarāja in a general sense; also *C. Vi.*, V, 69, 73, where Dēvarāja is made to refer to his nephew, Chikkadēvarāja, as “*maga*” (son). We have also some records where Kaṅṭhīravaiya, the other nephew of Dēvarāja, is generally referred to as “*kumara*” (son), *vide* references cited in f.n. 200-203 *infra*.

182. *Vide* section on *Lineal descent*.

183. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*.

184. *C. Fam.*, 37-48, 89-160; *C. Vi.*, III, 7-128; *E. C.*, XII Kg. 87 (1663), ll. 88-92; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 15-17; III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 118 (Text); 14 (1686), ll. 28-29, etc. For further reference to the Vaishṇava predilections of Doḍḍadēvarāja, *vide* Ch. XIII.

Dévarâja Woḍeyar himself is stated¹⁸⁵ to hâve raled the kingdom of Mysore as a devotee at the feet of his elder brother. Obviously, as the seniormost member of the Royal Family, Doḍḍadévarâja seems to hâve continued to wield his moral influence over the affairs of the State, during the period of his retirement.¹⁸⁶ Amritâmbâ (Amritamma), daughter of Bâlê Urs of Mûgûr, was his lawful and only queen (*dharmapatni* ; *ëkapatni-vratastham*).¹⁹¹

185. See *Kâmand. Nt.*, I, 66: *Dêva-janapâlam bhûmagraja-bhaktiyyim porsâ mahiyam*; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 49: *Dêva-janapâlam . . . Doḍḍadêva-nrpananghrîya bhaktiyoḷ aḍan . . . urviyam*, etc. Cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*.

186. Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 475-476, where Dêvachandra speaks of Doḍḍadévarâja Woḍeyar as not having been allowed by his brother, Dévarâja, to re-enter Seringapatam on his return from a pilgrimage, of his (Doḍḍadévarâja's) subsequent tour in the kingdom, his sojourn in Yelandûr, the marriage of his son, Chikkadévarâja, with the Yelandûr princess (Dêvâjamma), Doḍḍadévarâja's death at Hangâla and the performance of his obsequies on the banks of the Kauḍîni by Chikkadévarâja, etc.; cf. also *Wilks* in Appendix V—(1), referring to Doḍḍadévarâja and his son, Chikkadévarâja, as having been kept as prisoners at Terakaṅbî during Dévarâja's reign. Rice (I. 365) follows *Wilks*; S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 295) is rather inclined to be critical on the point. There is absolutely no evidence in support of the position of either Dêvachandra or *Wilks*. A detailed examination of the *Raj. Kath.* goes to show that Dêvachandra, who closely follows the *C. Vam.*, only *distorts* that text in an attempt to trace the connection of Chikkadévarâja with his Jain minister, Viśâlîksha-Paṇḍit. Nor does *Wilks* seem to have been well-informed by his contemporaries on the point at issue. The truth seems to be that a legend grew up, in later times, about the renunciation of Doḍḍadévarâja and his penance and death on the banks of the Kauḍîni river. Since Chikkadévarâja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Doḍḍadévarâja, was also, as we shall see, in Hangâla from 1668 onwards, this would appear to have led to the notion that both father and son were in prison, a notion which perhaps easily crept into later writings like the *Kaṣṭhâs*, etc., uncritically relied upon by *Wilks*. We have to totally reject both Dêvachandra and *Wilks* in the light of the evidence derivable from the sources cited in f.n. 180-181, 188 and 186 *supra* and 196-199 *infra*.

187. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, I. 57; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 45; *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 21-22; III (1) Sr. 151, pp. 118-119 (Text); also see and compare *Annals*, I. 96; cf. *E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), l. 27, referring to Channamâmbâ as the mother of Chikkadévarâja, which seems evidently a surname of Amritâmbâ. All other sources are agreed that Amritâmbâ was her actual name. See also references cited in f.n. 189 *infra*. Cf. *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 474), where Dêvachandra connects Amritâmbâ with Yelandûr, for which there is no evidence.

By her he had two sons, Chikkadēvarāja (6. 1645) and Kapṭhīravaiya (Kapṭhīrava-Arasu, *b.* 1647), and two daughters, Dēpamma and Guruvājjamma.¹⁸⁸ Amritāmbā was, as she is depicted,¹⁸⁰ an idéal and pious lady, ever devoted to her husband. As already indicated, she got constructed, in 1656, a stone *math* in the Palace at Hangaḷa [where Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar (?) had died] and an independent *math* for Marala-Basavalinga-Dēvaru, granting the village of Horakēri-Bāchahalli as an endowment to the latter.¹⁹⁰ She also, we learn,¹⁹¹ got newly erected a Lingāyat *math* in the town of Mysore. Evidently she seems to have been a patron of the Vīra-Saivas. She appears to have predeceased Doddadēvarāja Wodeyar,¹⁹² and her memory is perpetuated by a votive *mantapa*, to the east of the *nāmaṭṭha* pavilion at Mēlkōṭe, with her name inscribed thereon (*Amrutammanavara sēve-mantapa*).¹⁹³ Doddadēvarāja himself, it would seem, passed away, in his forty-seventh year, not later than November 30, 1669, for we have a lithic record, dated

188. *Mys. Dho. Pōr.*, I, 57-58; Appendix V—(2) and references cited in f.n. 185 *supra* and 189 *infra*; also see and compare *Annals*, l.c.

189. *C. Vam.*, 89; *C. Vi.*, III, 24-26; *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 82-83; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, I, 26-27 *Bhag. Gī. Tē.*, I, 45-46; *Pasch. Mahāt.*, I, 98-99; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 103-104; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 46-48, etc.

190. *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 26 (1656), pp. 163-166; see also Ch. IX, f.n. 165 and 168. It was probably this grant which was confirmed and extended by Dēvarāja in 1668—*vide* f.n. 116 *supra* and text thereto.

191. *Ibid.*, 1931, No. 83 (1668), pp. 129-131, ll. 7-9; *Maisūra vīra-voḷagana Mahattige Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru nātanarāgi kaffiṭṭa Mahattina-maḷka*. Dr. M. H. Krishna renders the expressions, *Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru*, literally as Amritamma, "mother" of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, pp. 190-131). The word *Ammanavaru*, however, is only a term of respect by which Amritamma, an elderly lady and *sister-in-law* of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, is referred to here.

192. See *M. A. R.*, l. c., from which it would seem Amritamma had died some time before 1668. The *Annals* (I, 106, 193) is rather confused and contradictory on the point. In the absence of decisive evidence, we would not, in the light of inscriptions (dated in 1656 and 1668) above referred to, be far wrong in placing her death somewhere between 1656 and 1665.

193. *E. C.*, III (1) Śr. 83.

November 19, 1670,¹⁹⁴ registering a grant—on the anniversary day of his death (*naṃma pitru-divasada pṭmyakâladalli*)—by his second son, Kanṭhīravaiya (Kanthirava-Arasn). A mutilated image of God Varadarâja (formerly adorning the Paravâsudêva temple on the banks of the Kaundini but now to be seen in the Vijaya-Narâyaṇasvâmi temple at Guçidlupet), with the label *êri-DoḍḍadêvarâjarVarada* (lit. giver of boon to Doḍḍadêvarâja) inscribed thereon,¹⁸⁶ perhaps reminds us of his dévotion to that God, especially during the last years of his life. Of his two sons, Chikkadêvarâja, the elder, who had been placed as a junior prince (*Kiriyarasu*) under Dêvarâja, became the Crown-prince during the latter's reign (*Yauvarâjyadol alankarisidam*).¹⁹⁶ On February 21, 1662 (*Plava, Phâlguna su.* 14), Dêvarâja, it is said,¹⁹⁷ got him married to Dêvâjamma (Dêvâmbâ), daughter of Lingarâjaiya of Yejandûr, and Dêvamma, daughter of (Dajavâi) Kumâraiya of Kaḷale. There is évidence of Chikkadêvarâja having stayed with his uncle in Seringapatam till June 1667, for, as we hâve seen, he made a rare exhibition of his courage and prowess during Dêvarâja's délibérations on the occasion of the siège of Êrôde.¹⁹⁸ It was probably shortly after this event that he was, with his family, sent to Hangala by Dêvarâja for being educated and trained in politics and state-craft under proper arrangements.¹⁹⁹ Kanṭhīravaiya, the younger son of Daddadêvarâja, appears to hâve stayed

194. *Ibid.*, IV (3) Hg. 119: s. 1592, *Sâdharana, Margasira* ba. 8. For details, see text of f.n. 208 *infra*. We have also records in the reign of Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar, relating to his grants on the anniversary day of the death of his father, Doḍḍadêvarâja Woḍeyar (s.e., *Margasira* ba. 3)—*vide* Ch. XIII. Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*.

195. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Diss. Suppl. Vol.*, Gu. 105 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 56). For details about the Paravâsudêva temple, *vide* Ch. XIII.

196. *O.Yas.*, 190.

197. *Annales*, I. 96 and 104; cf. *Raj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*. For details about the Kaḷale Family, see under *Bice of the Kaḷale Family*.

198. *O.Y.*, V, 63-75; see also text of f.n. 66 *supra*.

199. *Annales*, I. 96; cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *supra*. For further details, *vide* under *Early life of Chikkadêvarâja* in Ch. XI.

with his uncle and possibly ruled jointly with him during the latter part of his (Dēvarāja's) reign. An inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁰ refers to his grant of the village Horeyāla (*Arasinavara-halli*), in the Turuvēkere-sthala* for services to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. A lithic record, dated October 26, 1669,²⁰¹ records the formation by him of an *agrahāra* in Tarikallu (and twenty-three adjoining hamlets), named *Kaṇthlava-samudra*, and the grant of the same—divided into 126 shares—to learned and deserving Brāhmans of various *gōtra* *Sūtras* and *ēākhas*, one share being set apart for God Lakshmīkānta-svāmi. Another, dated October 15, 1670,²⁰² refers to his grant of land of 6 *varahas* (in *Ālanahalli*?) to Biḍārada-Venkaṭaiya, on account of having sent him to Kāēi. A third, dated November 19, 1670, already mentioned,²⁰³ registers his gift of the village of Bilugumba (in Kottāgāla), also named *Kaṇthūrava-pura*, to a Brāhman by name Bettappaiya of Kātūr (of Gautama-gōtra, *Āpastambha-sūtra* and *Yajuēākha*), on the anniversary day of the death of his father, Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar. A fourth, dated December 11, 1672,²⁰⁴ records his grant of land, assessed at 10 *varahas*, to Niranjaiya, *ānabhōga* (*Sēnabōga*) of Kittūr, as an *umbali-mānya* (rent-free) for the Kambara-mātha of the Kittūr-sthala. A fifth, a much worn out record, also dated in 1672,²⁰⁵ seems to register his grant of the village of Manchanahalli, in Malavalli hōbli, for the feeding of Brāhmans. All these records are usually signed by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, at the end. Evidently the grants seem to have been made by

200. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 45: *Plavanga, Śāhāḍha sū.* 11.

201. *E. C.*, IV (2) Hs. 189: *ś.* 1591, *Saumya, Kārtika sū.* 12. The week-day mentioned, *Bhānuvāra*, is apparently a misreading, or a scribal error, for *Bhāumavāra* (Tuesday).

202. *Ibid.*, Hg. 120: *ś.* 1592, *Sādharāṇa, Kārtika sū.* 12; *ś.* 1592, in this record, is clearly an error, for *Sādharāṇa*, in the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, corresponds to *ś.* 1592.

203. *Ibid.*, Hg. 119; see also f.n. 194 *supra* and text thereto.

204. *Ibid.*, Hg. 67: *ś.* 1594, *Paridhavi, Pushya sū.* 2.

205. *Ibid.*, III (1) Ml. 89 (*M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95): *ś.* 1594, *Paridhavi*.

Kaṭhīravaiya with the consent of his uncle. Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar, youngest brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar and last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—who had also been placed under the care of Dēvarāja—seems to have stayed in Seringapatam during the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, faithfully serving him.²⁰⁶ He was familiarly known as "Chikka-Arasinavaru".** A copper-plate inscription (from the Eanganātha temple, Seringapatam), dated March 12, 1664,²⁰⁸ registers, under Dēvarāja's signature, a grant by Maridēvarāja, of the village of Allappanahalli, to six families of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, to provide for daily décoration with garlands (*tirumāle*) from head to foot of God Eanganātha and the Goddess Rānganāyaki of Seringapatam, and for small garlands to the attendant goddess and the two Nāchyārs (goddesses). The record further registers his grant of a land, assessed at 4 *varahas* (*nāḷku-varahada-bhūmi*), for God Hanumanta newly set up in the *mantapa* in the middle of the village. Another inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁹ records a similar pious service of his in the Ranganātha temple at Seringapatam.

From the domestic, no less from the political, point of view, the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, The Bise of the Kaale Family, down to 1673, it is interesting to note, witnessed an important development in the relations of the Mysore Royal House with the Kalale Family.

206. See *Ibid.*, Br. 14 (1686), ll. 29-30:

*Paricharati mudḍayam dhavya-karmānujanm
Sakhalu Mariyādēva-kshmapati . . . ;*

Yas. Mahāt., I, 41: *Dēva-nṛpālanallī Maridēvendram maha-bhaktiyam taḷedīrdam*, etc. See also *E.O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (1663), ll. 30-31 (*Bhrātṛ putraischa sakhlē mantri-mukhyaischa stvīṭah*), referring, in general, to Dēvarāja as having been served by his brother, sons and ministers. The reference to the brother here is to Maridēvarāja. For further notice of this reference, vide *f.n.* 181 *supra*.

207 *I.M.C.*, l.c., vide *f.n.* 200 *supra*.

208 *E.O.*, III (1) Sr. 18: *l.* 1585, *Śobhakṛt, Phalguṇa* *sa.* 10.

209 *I.M.C.*, vide *f.n.* 207 *supra*.

lu view of the influence the latter exercised in later times on the fortunes of the kingdom of Mysore, it seems pertinent here to trace its origin, foundation and rise from small beginnings. The founding of the Kaḷale Family dates in 1500, according to tradition preserved in the *Kalale-Arasugala-Vamêâvali*²¹⁰ (c. 1830). Two brothers, by name Kânta Woḍeyar and Krishçarâja Woḍeyar, of Yâdava descent, Bhâradvâja-gôtra and Âéalâyana-sûtra, it is said, proceeded from the région of Dvâraka towards Vijayanagar, intending to carve out a kingdom for themselves.²¹¹ At Vijayanagar they stayed for a while, deliberating with its ruler (*Raya*). Ultimately, however, Kânta Woḍeyar, owing to some différençes with the latter, left with his consort and his brother for Kaḷale in the south, taking with him the shrine of his family god Lakshmîkânta. In due course, as unanimously decided by the elders (*haḷabas*), Kânta Woḍeyar was installed as chief of Kaḷale by the Pâḷegâr of Ummattûr.²¹³ Kânta Woḍeyar I thus became the progenitor of the Kaḷale Family, and is assigned a period of twenty-two years* rule (1505-1527),²¹³ Kânta Woḍeyar I had a son and four grandsons, one of the latter, Kânta Woḍeyar, marrying (Doḍḍa) Dêvîramma, daughter of Hiriya-Bettâda-Châmarâja Woḍeyar I I I (*Vijaya-Chdma-rasa Wodeyar*) of Mysore (1513-1553).²¹⁴ Kânta

210. A paper Ms. in the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, No. B. 424. It is otherwise known as *Sri-Vênupurâda-Kshatrigaḷavara-Vamêâvali*. It embodies the traditional history and fortunes of the Kaḷale Family down to the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and from internal evidence appears to have been compiled about 1830 (see ff. 84). Our account is mainly based on this Ms., supplemented by other sources of information wherever available.

211. *K. A. V.*, ff. 1. The actual expressions used are: *digvijaya nimîtyavâgi*. Cf. the founding of the Mysore Royal Family as recorded in the *Mys. Nag. Per.* (*Vide* Ch. III of this work).

212. *Ibid.*, ff. 1 and 2. The Vijayanagar ruler of the time, according to the Ms., was Krishnadêva-Bâya (*Krishna-Baya*). But the actual ruler, in 1600, was Narasa Nâyaka (1497-1506).

213. *Ibid.*, ff. 31; see also Table XIII.

214. *Ibid.*, ff. 2; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

Wodeyar I appears to have got built a temple to Vishnu (*Lakshmikânta-svâmi*) in Kalale.²¹⁵ His rule was, however, characterized by considerable domestic embroil between the chief of Ummattûr and the members of the Kaḷale House, leading eventually to a wholesale massacre of the latter, with the exception of only one member, Mallarâja Wodeyar, a great grandson of Kânta Wodeyar I, who was rescued and brought up by a faithful adherent of the family. Great confusion prevailed in the land, and the Ummattûr chief placed Kaḷale under the nominal sway of one Kântançā, a natural son of Kânta Wodeyar.²¹⁶ Meanwhile the Kalale Family was revived under Mallarâja Wodeyar, whose son, also known as Mallarâja, married (Chikka) Dêvîamma, another daughter of Hirîya-Bettâda-Châmarâja Wodeyar I I I of Mysore.²¹⁷ The family, however, resumed its sway in Kalale only under this Mallarâja's son, Timmarâja Wodeyar I, who is assigned a period of eighteen years' rule (1527-1546).²¹⁸ He is said to have had five sons by three out of his four consorts, the last of the latter, (Chikka) Dêpamma, being a daughter of Bôla-Châmarâja Wodeyar IV of Mysore (1572-1576).²¹⁹ At his death (in April 1546), Lakshmîkânta Wodeyar, his eldest son by his first consort (Doddâjamma of Hura), was installed by the leaders of the *halepaika* community. This so much excited the jealousy of Lakshmîkânta Wodeyar's half-brothers (i.e., sons of Timmarâja Wodeyar by his second consort, ChannSjamma of Tagadûr) that they treacherously removed the former to the unbearable agony and bitter curse of his mother who is said to have committed *sati* with her husband. They sought also the life of Mallarâja (afterwards Karikâla-Mallarâja Wodeyar II) — then a child of five years of age — another half-brother of

215. *Ibid.*, ff. 5.216. *Ibid.*, ff. 3-7.217. *Ibid.*, ff. 8-9; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.218. *Ibid.*, ff. 9 and 31; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.219. *Ibid.*, ff. 9-10; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

theirs (i.e., son of Timmarâja Wodeyar I by his last consort, Dêpamma of Mysore). Luckily, however, a faithful onlooker removed him for safety to Mysore.²⁹⁰ The kingdom of Kajale thus fell to the share of the sons of Timmarâja Wodeyar I by his second consort, and, it is said, they kept under custody Dêpamma, mother of Mallarâja.²⁹¹ Of these sons of Timmarâja Wodeyar, Nandinâtha Wodeyar is assigned a rûle of eighteen years (1546-1564).²⁹² He was followed by Mudda-Mallarâja Wodeyar I (1564-1591), probably a son of his. The latter was in turn succeeded by Kânta Wodeyar II (1591-1605) and Chandraéekhara Wodeyar of Mallahalli (1605-1615), younger brothers of Nandinâtha Wodeyar.²⁹³ Meanwhile Mallarâja, who had been brought up at Mysore, was advised by his saviour to proceed against his cousins and take possession of Kajale. Mallarâja approached his maternal uncle, Râja Wodeyar (1578-1617), and sought his assistance. Râja Wodeyar; however, on grounds of policy, directed him to Hîriya-Ramarâja Nâyaka, chief of Yelandûr One Lakh country. Râmarâja Nâyaka not only promised Mallarâja the assistance he sought but also gave his daughter, Dêvîamma, in marriage to him. During the wedding cérémonies, the pavilion, owing, it is said, to a slight defect in the *lagnam* already forewarned, caught fire; and Mallarâja himself sustained a severe burn on his foot which swelled and left a scar thereon, whence he became familiarly known as Karikala-Mallarâja (lit. Mallarâja, with the black scar on his foot). Karikâla-Mallarâja, with the assistance in men and money from his father-in-law, succeeded in taking possession of Uppanahalli and Sindhuvalli and eventually Kajale itself. Chandraéekhara Wodeyar (1605-1615), the last of Earikâla-Mallarâja's halfbrothers in charge of Kajale,

^{290.} *Ibid.*, ff. 10-11; see also *Annals*, I. 46-47, referring to this account.

^{291.} *Ibid.*, ff. 11.

^{292.} *Ibid.*, ff. 82; also Table XIII.

^{293.} *Ibid.*

was obliged to flee for his life to Malabar (Maleyâlam), leaving the other members of his family at Mallahâlji where they were kept under a close guard and ultimately died. Unopposed Karikâla-Mallarâja Woḍeyar II was installed by the elders on the throne of Kalale.²²⁴ He is assigned a period of twenty-eight years' rule (1615-1644),²²⁵ He was an important member of the Kalale House and, as referred to in an earlier chapter,²²⁶ was the first Daḷavâi of Mysore under the solemn compact entered into between him and Râja Woḍeyar in or about 1614. Karikâla-Mallarâja (Karikâla-Mallarâjaiya of other sources) having, however, returned to Kaḷale and sent in his résignation through his grandson Nandinâthaiya, the compact was not actually in force for some time, possibly because Karikâla-Mallarâja and his immédiate successor had had more than they could manage in bringing order out of chaos and in securing their own position in Kaḷale before they could effectively take part in the politics of the kingdom of Mysore. Karikâla-Mallarâja Woḍeyar II was succeeded by his second son, Timmarâja Woḍeyar II ;²²⁷ and he is assigned

224. *Ibid.*, ff. 11-14. 225. *Ibid.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII. 226. *Ante*, Ch. V.

227. The *K. A. V.* is silent as to why Mallarâja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempê-Arasu, eldest son of Karikâla-Mallarâja Woḍeyar II (*vide* ff. 14 and Table XIII) did not succeed the latter to the kingdom of Kaḷale and how the second son, Timmarâja Woḍeyar, became its ruler. It seems, however, possible that the eldest son had been adopted by Lingarâjaiya, son of Tirumalarâja Nâyaka and grandson of Hîriya-Râmarâja Nâyaka of Hadinâḍ-Yeḷandûr. For we have a lithic record, dated July 12, 1647 (*Sarvajit, Ashâḍha* ca. 6), specifically referring to Mallarâja as his heir-elect—see *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Yl. 188, ll. 10-12: *tamma paṭṭada śrîtyarâda Kaṭṭeya-prabhu Mallarâja-Arasinavaru*. We further learn from this record (l. 12) that Mallarâja had also a daughter by name Mallâjamma. He had five sons (*vide* *K. A. V.*, ff. 14-15 and Table XIII) who are referred to in a Ms. copy (c. 1670) of Immaḍi-Tôṭṭadaiya's *Vajrabâhu-Oharite*, and he is himself found mentioned in it as the right-hand man of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar of Mysore in the south (*Maisûru-Dêvarâjanige dakshina-bhûja-nenisida Kaṭṭeya Mallarâja*)—see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1; also f.n. 174 *supra* and text thereto. Evidently Mallarâja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempê-Arasu, as a member of the Kaḷale Family in general and as the ruler of Yeḷandûr in particular, seems to have occupied an important position during the reign of Dêvarâja

a period of about sixteen years' rule (1644-1660).²²⁸ Timmarâja Woḍeyar was in turn followed by his nephew, Kumâra-Mallarâja Woḍeyar III (1660-1679), eldest son of Mallarâja Wodeyar *alias* Kempë-Arasu.²²⁹

The period of rule of Mallarâja I I I in Kaḷale synchronised with that of Dēvarâja Wodeyar in Mysore. By now the kingdom of Kaḷale had been securely established, and the relations between the Kaḷale and Mysore families were renewed, perhaps under the influence of Mallarâja *alias* Kempë-Arasu, father of Mallarâja Wodeyar III.²³⁰ Mallarâja I I I himself was married to Chikka-Dēpamma, a sister of Dēvarâja Woḍeyar,²³¹ and, as we have seen,²³² he held the office of Daḷavâi also under the latter for a short while (April-July 1660), while Nandinâthaiya (Nanjanâthaiya of other sources) and Kumâraiya, younger brothers of Mallarâja I I I, successively held the same office (September 1661-February 1662; April 1662-April 1667; April 1667-1673). The bond of relationship between Kaḷale and Mysore was further strengthened by the marriage of Dēvamma, a daughter of Kumâraiya, with the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar, in February 1662.²³³ Among other members of the Kaḷale Family, Nanjarâjaiya I (a nephew of Mallarâja I I I) seems to have commanded the Mysore army during Dēvarâja's southern campaigns (c. 1659-1663),²³⁴ while his son, Kântaiya, officiated as the Mysore Daḷavâi during February-April 1662.²³⁵ We have thus enough data at

Woḍeyar. This perhaps accounts, in a great measure, for the renewed friendly relations between Mysore and Kaḷale and the appointment of Mallarâja's sons and other members of the Kaḷale Family as Daḷavâis of Mysore during the reign.

228. *K. A. V.*, ff. 83; also Table XIII.

229. *Ibid.*; also Table XIII and f.n. 227 *supra*.

230. *Vide* f.n. 227 *supra*.

231. *K. A. V.*, ff. 15; also Table XIII.

232. *Vide* section on *Daḷavâis*; also Table XIII.

233. *Vide* f.n. 197 *supra* and text thereto.

234. *Vide* f.n. 60 *supra*; also Table XIII.

235. *Vide* f.n. 232 *supra*; also Table XIII.

hand pointing to the rise of the Kalale Family to an important position in the kingdom of Mysore already by 1673.

On February 11, 1673, Dēvarāja Wodeyar passed away, in his forty-sixth year, in the Palace at ChiknāyakanahaJi, while on a tour in the State.²³⁶ His body, it is said,²⁸⁷ was quickly conveyed in the course of a single day to Seringapatam and his crémation, as had been piously desired by him, took place on the banks of the Cauvery, his queens observing *sati*.

If Kaçṭhîrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I worked for and evolved the independence of the kingdom of Mysore in the critical conditions prevailing in his time while remaining loyal to the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire, Dēvarāja Wodeyar went a step further by entering into and claiming the status of the Empire itself as its political heir, without, however, completely breaking away from the original theoretical position of Mysore as a feudatory pf the latter. There is ample évidence, as indicated and explained above, that this result was, in a large measure, brought about by a combination of circumstances at once fortuitous and favourable to Mysore from the beginning of Dēvarāja's reign. The siège of Seringapatam by êivappa Nayaka I of Ikkëri, followed by his disastrous retreat and death (1659-1660) ; the attitude of préjudice,

236. *Mys. Dh. Pér.*, I. 57, II. 23; *Paridhavi, Phalgunā su 5*; see also *Annals*, I. 106; cf. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 27; *Raj. Kath.* XII. 476; and *Wilks*, I. 70. Rice (I. 865) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 298), following Wilks, place Dēvarāja's death in 1672. The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here. That the last days of Dēvarāja Wodeyar were spent at ChiknāyakanahaJi appears obvious from a lithic record, dated July 18, 1678 (*Pramādīcha, Śrāvāṇa su. 15*), registering a gift of three villages for the decorations, illuminations, offerings, etc., to the Goddess Beṭṭada-Chāmupḍésvari (*E.C.*, XII Tp. 106). Evidently, it would seem, grants continued to be made in Dēvarāja's name in those parts, even after his death on February 11, 1673.

287. *Annals*, l.c.

if not open hostility, adopted by Emperor Sri-Ranga VI himself towards Mysore after 1660, under the influence of Sivappa Nâyaka's anti-Mysore policy ; the séries of opérations of Mysore against Ikkëri during 1663-1664; the graduai slaekening of the control of Bijâpur and Gôlkoñcja over their Karnâtak possessions ; the departure of Sri-Ranga towards the south about April 1663 ; the simultaneous settlement in Mysore of the celebrated Tâtâchârya family (of Sri-Vaishnava royal preceptors) from the court of Vijayanagar ; the victory of Mysore over the southern confederacy at Êrôde (headed by Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura) in June 1667 ; and the rapid dissolution of the Empire itself thereafter—all thèse contributed not a little to steadily enhance the réputation and prestige of Dêvarâja Wodeyar as a ruler of Mysore. If this gênerai course of affairs is remembered, we would be enabled to follow and estimate Dêvarâja Wodeyar's achievements as a political builder. Though not possessed of conspicuous military talents like his illustrious predecessor, and though he does not appear to hâve commanded the array in person or taken an active part in any décisive action, there is évidence of his having exhibited rare political insight, diplomatie skill and courage which stood him in good stead, especially when he was on the point of losing in the deep game of political policy. We hâve référence in the sources to his expert knowledge of politics and diplomacy (*niti-êâstra nipu-nanum; dkhi\ra râja-dharma nidânam*).²³⁸ Indeed it is to thèse attainments of his that we hâve to ascribe his success in repulsing Sivappa Nâyaka I from Seringapatam (1659) and his victory against the confederacy at Êrôde (1667). Addéd to thèse qualities, he was assisted by able Dalavâis like Nanjanâthaiya and Eumâraiya of Kalale, in

238. *C. Yam.*, 186; *Div. Sû. Cha.*, I, 78. Cf. *Wilks*, I, 70: His statement that Dêvarâja "is less celebrated by his bramîn historians for his civil or military talents and political skill than for his excessive devotion and religious munificence," is hardly borne out by the materials quoted in this Chapter.

the work of political expansion. And he was, on the whole, able to extend, and maintain the independence and integrity of, the kingdom of Mysore in the west, north and the south, with a tendency to advance further southwards in the direction of Trichinopoly and Madura ; and leave a rich legacy to his nephew and successor, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

As a ruler of Mysore, Dēvarāja Wodeyar was very pious and popular. He was universally adored by his subjects for his numerous acts of benevolence and solicitude towards them. Though a devout and staunch Vaishṇava, his toleration towards other faiths and creeds was remarkable. The capital city of Seringapatam under him was a centre of great attraction, and his court was famous for the galaxy of learned scholars and the munificent patronage extended to sacred and secular lore alike. He was, as he is depicted to us,²³⁰ a strong and well-built person of middle âge, possessed of attractive features and a serene countenance expressive of the depth of spiritual merit acquired by him. In domestic life, he was amiable and endearing to ail the members of the Royal Family, and he was devoutly served by his queens, younger brother and nephews. His sincère dévotion to Doḍḍadēvarāja, his saintly elder brother, was a noteworthy feature of his domestic life. No less significant was thé establishment of renewed relations between the Mysore and Kaḷale families and the rise of the latter to a position of importance in the kingdom of Mysore by 1673, while there were already the beginnings of European intercourse with Mysore during the reign.

An astute political builder and a popular and pious ruler, Dēvarāja Wodeyar occupies an important place in his tory as a "Maker of Mysore." The most enduring

²³⁰. See *C. Var.*, 186, 188-190; *C. Vi.*, V, 4-10; *Dēvarāja-Sāṅgatiya*, I, 88; *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 64; *E. C.*, IV (3) Yd. 64, p. 167 (Text), etc.

monuments of his rule are the *Thousand Steps* to the Châmuçû Hill and the huge monolithic *Bull* thereon and the *Dêvâmbudhi* tank (now known as *Doḍḍakere*) in Mysore. In sum, the period of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar's reign justly claims to be regarded as an intermediate stage in the évolution of new ideas, tendencies and factors in the development of the kingdom of Mysore.

On the génération of authors whô wrote during the succeeding reign, Dêvarâja Woḍeyar has left a lasting impression. Tirumalârya testifies to the magnificence of Dêvarâja's rule and présente an idéal picture of his personality and character, besides showing an intimate acquaintance with his reign.²⁴⁰ Among other writers contemporaneous with Tirumalârya, Chikkupâdhyâya, Timma-Kavi, Mallikârjuna and Chidânanda speak of the splendour and popularity of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar's rule in unequivocal terms ;²⁴¹ also do later inscriptions (of 1686, 1716, 1722, 1748, 1761, etc.).²⁴² Under the influence, however, of the compilations of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *Annalists* and other writers, Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, as we hâve shown,²⁴³ has become well known, and been deep-rooted, in popular tradition as Doḍḍa-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, the prefix "Doḍḍa" being generally, though loosely, used either by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor, Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar, or by way of making him identical with Docjâdêvarâja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadêvarâja, or both.

240. *C. Fam.*, l.c., *C. Vi.*, V and VI.

241. *Vide* works cited in f.n. 11 and 12 *supra*.

242. See *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115; 37:206; III (1) Sr. 1 and 64; TN. 68; IV (3) Yd. 13 and 18, etc.

243. *Vide* Appendix V. (1).

CHAPTER XI.

CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYÀR, 1673-1704.

Lineal descent—Birth and early life—Accession, etc.—General political situation—Political Development and Consolidation :
First Phase: 1673-1677—Feudalism vs. Imperialism :
 Relations with Madura, 1673—Relations with Vijayanagar, 1674—Relations with Bijapur, 1675-1677 : Retrospect of affairs— Chikkadevaraja's activities, 1675—His position about the close of 1675—In 1676-1677—*Second Phase: 1677-1690: The Crisis—*Mahratta affairs, 1677-1680: Sivaji's expedition to the Karnatak, 1677—Sivaji's irruption into Mysore, c. August 1677—Its implications—South Indian politics, 1677-1680—Chikkadevaraja's movements, 1678 (a) In the south-east—(b) In the north—His position in 1679-1680—General course of affairs, 1680-1682—Mysore and the South, 1680-1686 : The fight for Supremacy : Dalavai Kumaraiya in Trichinopoly, 1680-1682—Trichinopoly, the objective of southern advance of Mysore ; its siège, c. March-May 1682—Mysore vs. Mahrattas, 1680-1682—Kumaraiya's negotiations (a) With Chokkanatha—(b) With the Mahrattas—Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam, c. April 1682—Kumaraiya's retreat from Trichinopoly, c. May 1682—Kumaraiya's retirement, May 26, 1682—Review of the events of c. April-May 1682—Mysore vs. Ikkeri, Golkonda and Sambhaji, June 1682—Sambhaji's movements in Mysore and the South, June-August 1682—c. August 1682 to c. July 1686—Political position of Chikkadevaraja, 1686—Mysore vs. Mughals: Maroh-May 1687—The acquisition of Bangalore, July 1687—General course of affairs: 1687-1690—The recovery of the lost ground by Mysore—*Third Phase : 1690-1704 : The Climax—*Ikkeri and the Mahrattas, 1690—Mysore and Ikkeri, 1690—Mahratta and Mughal affairs, 1691-1698—Chikkadevaraja and the Mughals, 1691-1694—Further relations between Mysore and Ikkeri, 1694-1696: Action at Hebbale, c. January 1695—



Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar, 1673-1704.

Acquisition of Arkalgud, Aigur, Saklespur and Kodlipet, 1695—Hostilities renewed, c. February 1696—Other events, 1696-1704—Chikkadevaraja's political position, 1698—The period of consolidation: 1698-1704—General political situation in South India—Ohikkadevaraja's embassy to Aurangzib, c. 1699—Its return to Seringapatam, 1700—Its implications—Other political activities, c. 1698-1700: Advance on Malabar and Coorg; peace between Ikkeri and Mysore, etc.—Period of peace, 1700-1704: political position of Mysore, 1704.

ON THE death of Dēvarāja Wodeyar without issue, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, his nephew and eldest son of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar by Lineal descent. Amritāmbā, became the lawful heir to the throne of Mysore, directly in the Une of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar. That he was looked upon as the heir-designate from the beginning of Dēvarāja's reign and that his eventual succession as the ruler of Mysore had, perhaps, been the cherished desire of his father (Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar), appear obvious from the works of Tirumalārya, already referred to.¹ In keeping with this position, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, on the eve of his death, is said to have enjoined on Daḷavāi Kumāraiya and other officers to arrange for the installation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as his successor to the kingdom of Mysore.²

Born on September 22, 1645,³ Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, we learn,⁴ brought up in Mysore Birth and early life. by his father Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, till the latter's renunciation and departure for the banks of the Kauṇḍinī (by 1659). Already in this period of his life, Chikkadēvarāja, as has

1. *Vide* Oh. X; also Appendix V—(2).

2. *Armais*, I. 102-106.

3. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 56; *Parthwa, Āsuija su.* 12, Monday; see also „ *Annals*, 1.104; *C. Vam.*, 166; *C. Vi.*, IV, 61, and *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 478-474 (following the *G. Vam.*).

4. *C. Vam.*, 166-188; *C. Vi.*, IV,

51-180.

been depicted by his, friend and co-student Tirumalarya,⁵ displayed traces of a promising career, being educated and trained along sound lines and acquiring proficiency in the principles of drama, rhetoric, poetry and linguistics, in dialectics, *Purânas*, *Dharma-êâstras* and politics, in music (including the lute), gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship, and in horse-riding and elephant-riding and various other manly exercises. As indicated in the preceding chapter, Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar, during the reign of his uncle Dēvarâja Wodeyar, stayed in the capital city of Seringapatam as Crown-prince (*Yuvarâja*) till 1667. In February 1662, he was married to Dēvâjamma, daughter of Lingarâjaiya of Yelandûr, and Dēvamma, daughter of (Dalavâi) Kumâraiya of Kalale. As Crown-prince, he exhibited rare courage and military spirit—during the délibérations at Seringapatam—on the occasion of the siège of Èrôde (1667).⁶ And he adorned, also, the court of Dēvarâja, taking an active interest in the study and appréciation of various subjects, sacred and secular.⁷ From about 1667 onwards, however, Chikkadēvarâja, as a young man of twenty-two, appears to hâve shown a tendency

5. See *C. Vam.*, 173-184: *Naṭakalankâra kabba palavum âstabhâshagaḷoḷam pāda-vākya-pramāna . . . vāda chaturya . . . Purāna . . . Dharma-âstra . . . Râja-nīti . . . Sangita-âstra . . . Vīna-vādya . . . garuḍi-sādha . . . bilkatti modalada palavum kaidu-gaime-yoḷam, âne-kuduregaḷerâḷadoḷam palavum kala-vidyegaḷoḷam praviṇa-nenisidam.* See also *C. Vi.*, IV, 98-149. Cf. *Râj. Kath.*, XII, 474-476, where Dēvachandra, who closely follows the *C. Vam.*, makes it appear as if Tirumalârya, Viśâlâksha-Paṇḍit and Shaḍaksharaiya were the colleagues and companions of Chikkadēvarâja in his boyhood. Wilks (I. 106) merely speaks of Chikkadēvarâja's early youth at Yelandûr and of his intimacy with Viśâlâksha-Paṇḍit there. There is, however, no evidence in support of the position of either Dēvachandra or Wilks, who seems to follow Dēvachandra here. On the other hand, from contemporary works like the *C. Vam.* (170-173) and *C. Vi.* (IV-V), we learn that only Tirumalârya, the eldest son of Aḷasingarârya, was the colleague and co-student of Chikkadēvarâja from the latter's boyhood. The connection of Chikkadēvarâja with the Jain Viśâlâksha-Paṇḍit and the Vira-Saiva Shaḍaksharaiya must have come into being, as we shall see, only during c. 1668-1673, the period of his stay in Hangeja.

6. *Aspe*, Ch. X.

7. *C. Vi.*, V, 167-180.

to fall off from his higher leanings, a tendency perhaps indirectly hinted at by Tirumalârya himself.⁸ It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that his uncle, according to one authority,⁹ resolved to keep him under some restraint at a place remote from Seringapatam. In or about 1668, Dêvarâja accordingly sent him with his family to Hangaḷa, a village in the south of Mysore in the présent Guṇḍlupet taluk. There arrangements were made for the continuance of his éducation and for affording him training befitting the character and dignity of the future ruler of the kingdom of Mysore. During his stay in Hangaḷa, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar, we note,¹⁰ came into contact with Shadâksharaiya (Shadâksharadêva), Vîra-êaiva (Ârâdhya) preceptor to the family of Mudda-Bhûpa of Yelandûr, and with Viêlâlâksha-Pandit, a learned Jaina Brâhman of Yelandûr, both of whom, together with Tirumalârya, became his friends and colleagues. All these figure prominently in the history of this period. Visâlâksha-Pandit, in particular, is further said to have developed an intimate acquaintance with Chikkadêvarâja and even predicted the latter's ultimate succession to the kingdom of Mysore, forestalling his own élévation as his Prime Minister.¹¹ Of the détails of that acquaintance very little authentic has come down to us, but it seems not improbable that the foundations of Chikkadêvarâja's greatness as the ruler of Mysore were securely laid in Hangaḷa during c. 1668-1673.

8. *Ibid.*, VI; see also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 296, f.n. 1.

9. *Annals*, I. 96; cf. Dêvachandra and Wilks in Ch. X, f.n. 186.

10. Wilks (l.c.) writes of the continued attachment of Visâlâksha-Pandit with Chikkadêvarâja at Hangaḷa. But, as noticed in f.n. 5 *supra*, Chikkadêvarâja could not have come into contact with Visâlâksha-Pandit and Shadâksharaiya earlier than c. 1668. For further particulars about the colleagues of Chikkadêvarâja, *vide* section on *Council of Ministers* in Ch. XII.

11. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 476; see also and compare *Wilks*, l.c.

On February 28, 1673,¹² sixteen days after the death of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, Chikkadēvarāja
 Accession, etc. Woḍeyar was with due pomp and ceremony installed on the throne of Mysore in Seringapatam, Daḷavāi Kumāraiya having, it is said,¹³ brought him in state with his family from Hangala to the capital city. It was thus as a young man, just in his twenty-eighth year,¹⁴ that Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar began his reign in Seringapatam; and he appears prominently mentioned in the extant records of his, dating in regular succession from 1673 onwards.¹⁵ The first act of Chikkadēvarāja, on his accession, was the formation of an executive council (*rnantrâlôchana-sabhe*)—a sort of cabinet—consisting of Viéâlāksha-Paṇḍit as Prime Minister and Tirumalaiyangâr (Tirumalârya of literary works), Shaḍaksharaiya, Chikkupâdhyâya and Karaṇika Lingaṇṇaiya as Councillors, to assist him in the governance of the kingdôm.¹⁶ Daḷavāi Kumāraiya of Kaḷale continued to hold office during the first década of the reign, wielding considérable influence as Chikkadēvarāja's father-in-law and taking an active part in the politics of the times.

12. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 81; also I. 58 and II. 56 (compared): *Partihavi*, *Phalguṇa ba.* 8, Friday. Cf. *Annals* (I. 104), fixing Chikkadēvarāja's accession in *Partihavi*, *Phalguṇa ba.* 12 (March 5, 1673), and *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 477), in *Partihavi*, *Kartika su.* 5 (October 15, 1672). Wilks (I. 104) places the accession in 1672, and is followed by Rice (I. 866) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 296). The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here. Moreover it is in keeping with the inscriptions of Chikkadēvarāja, which begin from 1673—*vide* under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.
13. *Annals*, l.c. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 105-106. His story of Viéâlāksha-Paṇḍit bringing about the accession of Chikkadēvarāja by his personal influence, is not founded on fact. Even Dēvachandra, the local traditionist, hardly refers to it; he merely speaks of the quiet accession of Chikkadēvarāja after Dēvarāja's death—see *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 477, also XI. 887.
14. *Vide* f.n. 3 *supra*, citing authorities for the exact date of Chikkadēvarāja's birth (September 29, 1646). Cf. *Wilks*, I. 105. His statement that Chikkadēvarāja "succeeded to the throne at the mature age of forty-five" [*Italics ours*], is not borne out by evidence.
15. *Vide* under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.
16. *Annals*, I. 105. For further particulars about the Councillors, see under *Council of Ministers* in Ch. XII.

The accession of Chikkadēvarāja to the throne marks a turning-point in the history of India, particularly South India. The Empire of Vijayanagar, which had continued to hold its own against adverse forces for well nigh a century after the battle of *Baksas-Tagdī* (1565), was rapidly losing its hold on the country under the nominal, but attenuated, sway of Srī-Banga VI during the latter part of his life. The Shâhi kingdoms of Bijâpur and Grôlkonḍa were being drawn into a struggle with Aurangzīb in the Deccan, while the power of Bijâpur in the Karnâṭak-Bâlaghât had been definitely on the wane since the death of Shâhji in 1664. Shâhji had been succeeded in the Karnâṭak possessions of Bijâpur by his son B̄kôji (Venkôji), and the latter was staying in Bangalore, the seat of his father's *jahgīr*, exercising the powers of a Bijâpur gēneral. The Mahratta power in the Deccan under Sivâji was steadily asserting itself against the Mughals on the one hand and the Shâhi kingdoms on the other. In Ikkêri, in the north-west (of Mysore), Hiriya-Sōmasēkhara Nâyaka I having died a victim to court intrigue, had been succeeded by his queen-dowager, Channammâji, in February 1672; and the latter was governing the kingdom with the assistance of Basappa Nâyaka—afterwards Hiriya-Basappa Nâyaka I—adopted, and appointed heir-designate, by her in July 1672. Madura, in the far south, under Chokkanâtha Nâyaka (1659-1682), was on the point of drifting into war with Tanjore on the one side and Mysore on the other. As feudal powers and offshoots of Vijayanagar, both Ikkêri and Madura were practically independent. Indeed, to them Mysore, which had likewise emerged under similar circumstances but was powerful and claimed impérial status as the political heir of Vijayanagar in the Karnâṭak, had become a source of alarm, already towards the close of Dēvarāja's reign. The result was that, when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar

ascended the throne of Mysore in February 1673, a conflict between the forces of feudalism and imperialism, as represented by these factors, was almost inevitable, while the maintenance of the *status quo* of Mysore in the south-east and the north-west seemed to be the suprême need of the hour engaging Chikkadēvarāja's immediate attention.^{1*}

The situation assumed a serious aspect when, about the time of Chikkadēvarāja's accession, Chokkanātha Nāyaka (Chokkalinga) of Madura evinced an attitude of hostility towards Mysore (*durḥrda-bhāvambettiral*).¹⁸ On march 5, 1673, *Le.*, on the fifth day after his installation (*paṭavā-daidaneyadinadol*), Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar proceeded on an expedition towards the east,¹⁹ taking in rapid succession the forts of Dhūligōte, Malāli, Mutṭañjaṭṭi, Paramatti and Salem (*Sālya*).²⁰ Marching further, Chikkadēvarāja

Political Development and Consolidation:

First Phase : 1673-1677.

Feudalism vs. Imperialism : Relations with Madura, 1673.

17. *Vide*, for general references on this section, *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2407-2408; *J. Sarkar, Aurangzib*, IV. 136-138, and *Shivaji*, pp. 252-255; *Wilks*, I. 92-94; *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 163, and *Ke. N. V.*, VIII. 126-130, IX. 131-132.

18. See *Sri. Mahāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 96. For the chronological position, etc., of this text and of those cited *infra*, see Ch. XIV. The political data contained in these works (including inscriptions in poetical style) are generally to be understood in their chronological setting with reference to the more specific authority of other sources of information—compared with each other—wherever available.

19. *Ibid.* The *Sachchā. Nir.* (I, 51) refers to the beginning of the eastern campaigns of Chikkadēvarāja on the day following his installation (*paṭṭābhishēka-dīvasādāparē-dyure prag-digvijayasya*); the *A. V. C.* (III, 58) speaks of the event as taking place immediately after the installation (*paṭṭangoḷata*); but the *Sri. Mahāt.*, being an earlier work, is more specific.

20. *Sri. Mahāt.*, l.c.; also *Kāmand. Nr.*, I, 81, 86; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 128-129; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 74; *Bhag. Gt. Tr.*, I, 53; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadēvarāya-Vam.*, p. 27; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 51-52; *C. Bi.*, p. 58; *Gt. Gō.*, pp. 88, 89. See also *E. O.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 25-26, and III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 119 (Text), referring to the earlier conquests of Chikkadēvarāja. *Paramatti* is found mentioned in these records as *Parama-tripura*, which Rice renders as "the great Tripura" and which S. K. Aiyangar identifies with "Trichinopoly" (see

encountered Chokkanâtha himself at the head of his forces (consisting, we are told,²¹ of eight thousand horse, a lakh of foot and a hundred éléphants) commanded by his Dalavâi Venkatakrisnâma Nâyaka and lying in wait at *Madhuvana* on the borders of the forest région of Sâdamangalam.²² In the action that took place, Chokkanâtha was repulsed and hotly pursued; his forces severely crushed, and several éléphants, horses and valuables in his camp plundered and captured by the Mysore army.²³ This was followed by Chikkadēvarâja's expédition to êâdamangalam whose chief, Râmachandra Nâyaka, readily submitted to him and was promised protection; the fort of Anantagiri was next taken, and the hostile chiefs of Ariyalûr, Toreyûr and Dhârâpuram, in the Kongu-nâdu, were successively reduced and forced to pay tribute.²⁴ After having securely established himself in the east—in the places commanding the south—Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar returned to the capital about the close of 1673. Thèse activities of his are perhaps

Ancient India, p. 299). From the context, however, the reference is obviously to Paramatti, a place in the Salem district. Paramatti (commonly spelt as *Parmati*) is at present a market-town in the Karûr taluk, 11 miles west of Karûr. Its name has been derived from *parama*, best, and *atti*, Tamil for *ficus racemosa* of Lin.; Sanskrit scholars, however, say that the name is a shortened form of *Paramēṣṭhî-pura*, the town of the Supreme God Subrahmanya, for whom there is a temple in the place. Sâdamangalam (or Chêdamangalam), referred to in the text of f.n. 22 and 24 *infra*, may be identified with Sendamangalam in the present Karûr taluk, about 25 miles south-west of Karûr.

21. *Tri. Tat.*, ff. 17, v. 8: *Kudure ençâsira karâlgala lakka madadane nârarin malotu mâranta Madhureyanmana pañja mardisi.*
22. *Sachchâ. Nir.*, I, 62 and ff. 121; *A.V.C.*, III, 56, 63 and 79, 88; *O. Bi. and Gt. Gô.*, l.c. The actual expressions used are: *Madhuraâhîpa-balamajayan Madhuvana-simânta-kântârê; Parva-digvijaya-yâtrâ-vittrâsita Chêdamangalôpânta-kântârôpagûḍhavyûḍha-sêndbhigupta - P â ṅ ḍ y a - sêndâhîpa saṅgarakiriṣa Venkaçakrisnâ-sibîva-sarvasva-haraṇa . . .* See also f.n. 20 *supra*.
23. *Kâmand. Ni.*, *Kamala. Mahât.* and *Hastî. Mahât.*, l.c.; also *Buk. Cha.*, ff. 7. The expressions used are: *Madhureya dhoreyam moṭṭi, dâlamollamam puḍṭigutti, chaçulâlara-vastuyukta tatkâçakamanure sâregeydu . . . gaja-vâji-gaḷam . . . koṇḍu . . .*
24. *Kamala. Mahât.*, I, 127-129; *Hastî. Mahât.*, I, 76; *Yâd. Mahât.*, II, ff. 26-29; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Sachchâ. Nir.*, I, 63; *O. Bi. and Gt. Gô.*, l.c.; see also *E.O.*, IV (2) Ch. 94 and III (1) Br. 151, l.c.

confirmed by a lithic record from Doḍḍa-Bëlûr (dated in 1673) referring to Dalavââ Kumàraiya²⁵ and are significantly reflected by the new type of coins subsequently issued by Chikkadëvarâja.²⁶

Meanwhile, the political situation in the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore had taken a serious turn. Acting ostensibly as the restorer for the last time of the fortunes of the house of Srî-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar, but really aiming at the territorial integrity of her possessions on the fringe of Mysore, Ikkëri, under Ghannammâji and Basappa Nâyaka, was on the brink of war with the latter. In this enterprise, she was assisted by the Gôlkoṇḍa and Bijâpur forces in the Karnâṭak under Husain Khân and Balbal Khân (*Balabalâ-Khâna*), and by other powerful local chieftains (*piridâda manneyar*) including those of Bëlûr and Arkalgûd.²⁷ The combination was led by Kôḍaṇḍa-Eâma I, a nephew of êri-Banga VI, according to the *Râmarâjîyamu*.²⁸ Among those who took a leading part in the movement were Kesaragôḍu (*Kâsaragôḍu*) Timmaṇṇa Nâyaka, Sabnis (*Sabbuniâsa*) Krishnappaiya, officers of Channammâji—commanding the innumerable forces of Ikkëri (*asankhyâtamâda sënâsamûhamam*)—and Mâtla Venkatapati, a feudatory of Kôḍaṇḍa-Kâma.²⁹ In 1674 (*Ānanda samvatsaradol*), Dajavâi Kumàraiya was despatched with an army against them.³⁰ He proceeded

25. *I. M. P.*, II, 1216, Sa. 107. For further particulars about this record, vide under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII.

26. Vide Ch. XII.

27. *Kâmad. Nî.*, I, 82; *Kamala. Mahât.*, I, 134-136; *Hasti. Mahât.*, I, 76, 81; *Bhag. G. Tr.*, I, 56-57; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadëvëndra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Srî. Mahât.*, II, 88; *Venkaṭa. Mahât.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 51; *Sachchî. Nir.*, I, 54-55 and ff. 122; *A. V. C.*, III, 58, 61; *C. B.*, p. 59, and *G. G.*, pp. 39, 69-70.

28. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 312, 318.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 318; also *Ks. N. V.*, IX, 183, v. 8.

30. *Ks. N. V.*, l.c.; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, in *Nayaks of Madura* (p. 184, f.n. 60), placing this event subsequent to 1675, and *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iii. 2414), in 1704—which requires revision.

forthwith, winning rapid victories over the local chieftain and the Muhammadan forces, taking Arkalgùḍ, Angaḍi, NuggēhalJi and Saklëépur from Krishçappa Nâyaka of Aigùr, and finally wresting Bëlûr from Venkaṭadri Nâyaka.³¹ At Hāssan, however, he was defeated and put to rout with great loss by the combined forces of Ikkêri and Kôdanḍa-Râma, the defeat being followed by the resumption by Ikkêri of Vastâre (*Vasudhâre*) and other places from Mysore.³² This victory, attributed in the *Râmarâjyamu* to Kôdanḍa-Râma, was, however, more apparent than real, for, as we shall see, it left Bëlûr, Hāssan and Vastâre—formerly belonging to the Empire—virtually a bone of contention between Mysore and Ikkêri during the succeeding years, the impérial claim therefor having quietly receded to the background under the rapidly changing conditions of the period. Arkalgùḍ itself became the southernmost point of attack for Ikkêri, though Mysore had temporarily come into possession of that place, together with Saklëépur, about the close of 1674.

We may now turn to Chikkadēvarāja's relations with Bijâpur. As indicated already, Madura was on the point of drifting into war with Tanjore in 1673. They actually came to conflict between 1673-1674 (after Chokkanâtha's repulse from the south-eastern frontiers of Mysore in 1673), and this resulted in the deaths of Vijayarâghava Nâyaka (of Tanjore) and his son, the acquisition of Tanjore by Madura and its rulle under AJagiri Nâyaka, foster-brother of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka, appointed as Viceroy. AJagiri, in due course, began to claim independence as ruler of Tanjore, adopting an attitude of indifférence towards Madura. While he and

31. *Vide* textu oited in f.n. 27 *supra*; also *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, II. 26-28; III (1) 8r. 161, p. 119 (Text).

32. *Sources*, pp. 312, 318; also *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 183, vv. 9-10.

Chokkanâtha were on the point of a rupture, one of the officers of Vijayarâghava Nâyaka at the court of Tanjore planned the restoration of the old dynasty in the person of Changamala Dàs, a boy of the Nâyaka family of Tanjore; and sought the help of Bijâpur. The latter sent Ēkôji, with instructions to drive AĴagiri out of Tanjore and reinstate the boy on the throne. Ēkôji proceeded thither and succeeded in taking possession of Tanjore by siêge, forcing the helpless AĴagiri to take to flight towards Mysore. He also reinstated Changamala Dàs but, subsequently, after the death of the Adil Shah in 1675, himself usurped àll sovereign authority, establishing Mahratta rule in Tanjore and Gingee. From 1675 onwards Ēkôji threw off his allegiance to Bijâpur, and Tanjore became his headquarters, though he continued to maintain a foothold on his father's *jahgir* of Bangalore in the distant north.³³

During the absence of Ēkôji from the Karnâṭak in and after 1675, the Bijâpur possessions, in parts of what at present constitutes the Tumkûr district, continued to be held by Jahângîr Khân and Husain Khân, gênerais claiming connection with Raṇadullâ Khân. The menace of Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍa (then in alliance with Ikkêri and other local powers) on Mysore seemed seriously to affect the position of Chikkadēvarâja in the north. About the middle of 1675, he was, therefore, obligea to proceed personally in that direction; and succeeded in wresting from the Muhanimadans Kêtasamudra, Kandikere, Handalâkere, Gùḷur, Tumkûr, Chiknâyakanahalji, Honnavalji, Sâratavalli and Turuvêkere (*Turugere*), situated in the Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-

33. Vide, on this section, *Nyays of Madura*, pp. 163-168, 279; cf. *Annals* (I. 109-110), containing a rather confused and gossipy account of the Mahratta conquest of Tanjore, etc.

Bâlaghât,³⁴ This was followed by an action against Narasappa Wodeyar (Narasa Nâyaka)—distinguished as *Muçṭika* (fighter with fist)—chief of the celebrated fort of Jaḍakana-durga, who opposed him assisted by the Morasas and the Kirâtas. Jaḍakana-durga itself was bombarded, its name being changed into Chikkadēvarāya-durga.⁸⁵

About the close of 1675, Chikkadēvarāja's position in Mysore had become secure. He had succeeded in checking the aggressions of Madura and in ensuring the safety of Mysore against further attacks, and shown a marked tendency to absorb the remaining possessions of Madura in the south; he had also advanced up to Bêlûr in the west (against Ikkêri), despite the reverses at Hâssan; and, profiting by the absence of Ēkôji from Bangalore, had extended the sphere of influence of Mysore up to the Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât in the north. The suzerainty of Vijayanagar in the Karnâṭaka country had become rather an idea than a reality, after the short-lived success of Kôdanda-Râma I at Hassan (1674), so that Chikkadēvarāja, in November 1675, was actually in a position to claim to rule the kingdom of Mysore from the throne of the Karnâṭa Empire (*Karnâṭa-sâmrâjya-simhâsana-rnudâradhih*), as the *Châmarâjanagar copper-plate grant* of that date testifies.³⁶ The year 1675 is thus a landmark in the political évolution of the kingdom of Mysore.

34. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 28-30, and III (1) Sr. 151, p. 119 (Text); *Kamand. Nt.*, I, 84-86; *Kamala. Mâhât.*, I, 137-138, 140, 143; *Hastî. Mâhât.*, I, 80; *Bhag. Gi. Tt.*, I, 59; *Śrî. Mâhât.*, II, 39; *Sachchû. Nir.*, I, 56 and ff. 122; *C. Bi.*, p. 59, and *Gi. Gô.*, pp. 39, 70; see also *Mys. Dho. Par.*, II, 82, and *Annals*, I, 105.

35. *Ibid.*, ll. 30-32; Sr. 151, l.c., *Kamand. Nt.*, I, 83; *Kamala. Mâhât.*, I, 141; *Hastî. Mâhât.*, I, 79; *Yad. Mâhât.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadēvarâya-Vam.*, l.c.; *Bhag. Gi. Tt.*, I, 58; *Śrî. Mâhât.*, l.c.; *Sachchû. Nir.*, I, 56 and ff. 122; *A. V. G.*, III, 44; *C. Bi.*, l.c., and *Gi. Gô.*, l.c., also p. 41, vv. 2-8, etc.

36. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 28-24.

By 1676 Ēkôji, after his conquest of Tanjore, had proceeded as far as Trichinopoly in the far south, and a war between Chokkânâtha and Ēkôji was imminent.³⁷ The situation was critical for Mysore, exposed as she was to a much-expected attack from Bijâpur (to punish Ēkôji for his usurpation) on the one hand and, on the other, to trouble from the Mahrattas under Ēkôji, who were establishing themselves on her frontiers.³⁸ Indeed, the Jesuit letter of 1676³⁹ speaks of Mysore—during 1675-1676—as fortifying "the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura," of her gathering fresh troops and "making grand préparations for war on the pretext of strengthening herself against the Muhammadans." The letter even anticipâtes in these préparations an eventual attack of Mysore on Madura.⁴⁰ In reality, however, the attention of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar in 1676 was directed towards the consolidation of the southern conquests of his predecessor⁴¹ and the further acquisition of Bijâpur possessions in the north, in which direction he had proceeded already in 1675. In January 1676, Chikkadēvarâja came into possession of Jadakana-durga from Narasappa Wodeyar, after a tough siêge which lasted a period of nearly six months; in February, he took Doddadēva-gaganagiri (a peak probably named after Doddadēvarâja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarâja) from Chikkappa-Gauda; and in April,

37. *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 169-171; also 279-280 (*Letter*).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 174; also 281 (*Letter*).

39. See in *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281: *La Mission Du Maduré*—André Freire to Paul Oliva.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

41. See *I. M. P.*, I. 527, 551, Ob. 74 and 800. These records of Chikkadēvarâja, dated in 1676, come from Kumârâpâlayam and Satyamangalam, places in the possession of Mysore since 1667 (*vide* Ch. X). They merely point to the continued sway, and consolidation of the political position, of Chikkadēvarâja in those parts rather than the pursuit "of the aggressive policy of his predecessor," as is held in the *Nâyaks of Madura* (p. 171). For further particulars about these records, *vide* under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII.

he finally atinexed Honnavalli from Jahângir Khân. Again, in January 1677, Bommasamudra (in Chikkadêvarâya-durga hôbli) was taken from Husain Khân, while in February, Toda-nâdu (land of the Todavas or Tôdas ?) in the south was acquired from Bhujangaiya, son of the Wodeyar of Ummattûr.⁴² Proceeding further, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar extended his victorious arms as far as Malabar (*Malayâchala, Kêrala*).⁴³ Indeed Dr. Fryer, writing about this time, makes mention of him (Chikkadêvarâja) as " the Raja of Saranpatam " (Seringapatam) enjoying " a vast territory on the back of the Zamerbin " (Zamorin).⁴⁴ About the middle of 1677 there was absolute security for Mysore in ail the directions excepting possibly the north-east.

For, by now the political equilibrium of the whole of Southern India was disturbed as it were by the sweeping current of Śivâji's expédition into the Karnâtak. As already indicated, êivâji had become a force to reckon with in India by 1672, when he began to assert himself as the sworn opponent of Aurangzîb in the Deccan. êivâji's coronation took place at Eaigarh on June 6, 1674 and in the monsoon season of that year he was engagea against Bahadûr Khân, the Mughal gênerai, in the Deccan. êivâji was extending his warlike activities from Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍa up to the gâtes of Àgra and Delhi, when the political situation in Tanjore attracted his attention. The government of Tanjore ever since its conquest (1675) by Êkôji, half-brother of Sivâji, had been far from satisfactory. Eaghunâth-Pant, the able confidential

42. *Mys. Dho. Pûr.*, II. 81-83; *Annals*, I. 106; see also *Mys. Râj Cha.*, 28; *Bhag. Gt. Tt.*, I, 54; *Kamala. Mahât.*, I, 193; *Hastt. Mahât.*, I, 79; *Śrî. Mahât.*, II, 37; *E. C., Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), II. 38-34; cf. *Wilks*, I. 225 (*List of conquests*).

43. *Bhag. Gt. Tt.*, I, 55; *Śrî. Mahât.*, l.c.

44. See *Travels in India*, Roe and Fryer, p. 895; also J. T. Wheeler, quoting in *Early Records*, p. 74. For Fryer's account of Mysorean warfare (17th century), vide Appendix IX.

minister of Shâhji—then in charge of Ēkôji's héritage in the Karnâtak—wrote to Sivâji about Ēkôji's maladministration in Tanjore. Ēkôji received a letter of admonition from Sivâji but it was of no avail. Raghunâth-Pant, in disgust, began to work out plans to secure the kingdom of Tanjore for Sivâji, and, having entered into an understanding with some of the Karnâtak chiefs—particularly the Bijâpur governor of Gingee—left for Satâra, to interview Sivâji and discuss with him the question of an expédition to the south. On his way, he concluded an alliance with the Sultan of Gôlkonda through the good offices of the latter's Hindu ministers, Akkana and Mâdaj[^]ia. Raghunâth-Pant convinced Sivâji of the feasibility of his plan. Towards the close of 1676, Sivâji commenced his march towards the south with an army consisting, it is said, of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot. In February 1677, Sivâji was at Bhâganagar (Hyderabad in the Deccan) to complète his préparations with the help of Gôlkonda, to whom he is said to hâve promised one half of his conquests. Resuming the march, he entered the Karnâtak in the direction of the Madras plains capturing Gingee in July. Hère his brother Sântaji, who was till then with Ēkôji, went over to him. After sending a considérable portion of his army to the siège of Vellore, Sivâji marched on to Tanjore. In July-August, an interview took place between him and Ēkôji at Tiruvadi on the Coleroon, which, despite the conflict among the authorities regarding détails, left the latter practically master of Tanjore. In August, Sivâji retraced his steps to Vellore, annexing the territories north of the Coleroon and subjugating the refractory Pâlegârs. He confirmed Sântaji in the governorship of Gingee with a contingent of troops under Raghunâth-Pant and Haraji, and took the ancestral possessions of Ârni, Hoskôte, Bangalore, Baljâpur (Dodballâpur) and Sîra in the eastern, central and northern plâteau of Mysore,

Early in November, alarmed by news of Aurangzib's campaign against him, he began his return journey, marching through Sira to Kopal, then to Gadag, Lakshmêvar and Bankapur, finally arriving at Panhala through Belgaum about April 1678, in time to résume his activities against the Mughal.⁴⁵

About the middle of August 1677, Sivâji, on his way from Gingee to his ancestral possessions in the Karnâṭak, proceeded up to Seringapatam in southern Mysore.⁴⁶

Sivâji's irruption into Mysore, c. August 1677. A letter, dated August 24, 1677,⁴⁷ speaks of Sivâji's design "to take Bridroor [Bednùr] and to join Canarato his own conquests." Further, some of Sivâji's parties are said⁴⁸ to hâve "plundered as far as Seringapatam" (in 1677) and Sivâji himself, after his march through Gingee, Tanjore and Valikoṅṅapuram, was believed⁴⁹ to hâve "robbed Seringapatam, and carried away great riches from there." We hâve also a référence⁵⁰ to the Mahrattas under Śivâji having "retired to their own country after having some bloody battles with the Naik of Mysore." The contemporary Kannaḍa works, however, invest this incident with a strong local colour. From them⁵¹ we learn that when Sivâji entered the country of

45. *Vide*, on this section, J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 241-262, 275, 282-290, 366, 408, and *Aurangzib*, IV. 188-149, 215-221; Kincaid and Parsonis, *History of the Maratha People*, I. 249-260; *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 174-178; also see and compare *Wilks*, I. 95-103.

46. See Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 400, f.n., citing Chitnis, 142. The details, however, are not given.

47. Quoted by Orme in *Historical Fragments*, Note XLVIII, p. 284: Bombay to Sârat.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

49. *Vide* letter cited in f.n. 47 *supra*.

50. *Early Records*, p. 78.

51. See *A. V. C.*, I, 80:

*Andivaninalki bhayadinde manidirpa nripabrnda manitum
bhavadolondu veredolpim |
Sandhisî Sivâjiganuvindoredu marma-manavandi-roḍagâḍi
yavanandu kavâḍindam ||
Sandaniya kaḷegadolondinisu mumbariye banderagi pavugala
gondanade Vishnu |
Sḡandanade mâḷkoyeḷe kondu koloyaḷidalaḷavinde Chika-
dâvanṛpanindu rogavâḷgum ||;*

the Kannaṅgas his attention towards Seringapatam was directed by the assemblage of local chiefs who had been subdued by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar; Sivāji, advancing at their head, surprised Chikkadēvarāja (probably in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam) offering a covert fight; Chikkadēvarāja withstood ēivāji and was able to repulse him, causing disorder and loss in his ranks. It would thus appear that Sivāji's progress was definitely arrested in southern Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Accordingly, at the end of the skirmish, Sivāji seems to have found it expedient to content himself with securing some booty from Seringapatam and, after taking his ancestral possessions in the eastern, central and northern plateau of Mysore, left Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghat.⁵²

Sivāji's irruption into Mysore was in the nature of things nothing more than a passing incident in the general course of Mahratta history, but it seems to have been regarded as an event of supreme significance from a local point of view. Indeed Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is spoken of as having assumed the title *Apratima-Vira* (unparalleled hero) after curbing the pride of the famous Sivāji who, it is said, had come swollen with the pomp

also *C. Bi.*, p. 2, v. 10; *Gr. Gā.*, p. 37, v. 57, quoting from *A. V. C. The C. Sap.* (pp. 266-268) specifically mentions Chikkadēvarāja's victory over Sivāji (*Sivājiya geddu*), and refers to his title *Kannaḍa-Rāya*. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 437, echoes Chikkadēvarāja's victory over the Mahratta leaders including Sivāji (*Sivāji-pramukha-prabala-Mahārāṣṭra-bhūpala-jāla-ripu-vijayaikantla*). See also passage from *C. Bi.* (p. 4), quoted in l.n. 53 *infra*. For further references on the subject, *vide l.n. Ibid.*

52. Wilks (I. 106) speaks of the Mughal lieutenants, the Shāhi kings of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and Sivāji, during the complicated transactions of the succeeding period (1677-1680), as having "found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chik Deo Raj." Evidently Chikkadēvarāja was the master of the situation in Southern Karnāṭak in and after 1677, and this, as we shall see, is borne out by our sources also.

of tribute (from the rulers of the countries around Āgra, Delhi and Bhāganagar).⁵³ Evidently Chikkadēvarāja appears to have held himself out as the opponent of Sivāji in the southern Karnātak, having asserted his claims to rule from the throne of the Karnāṭaka Empire as early as 1675.⁵⁴ In any case, the event seemed to add considerably to the réputation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the foremost ruler in the Karnāṭaka country, and the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* of Tirumalārya, we have referred to,⁵⁵ cannot but be regarded as conveying an éloquent indication of this position from the contemporary standpoint.

53. See *A. V. O.* (of Tirumalārya), III, 28 :

Mayanō Śambaranō Daśasya-nutanō Mārīchanō embinam |
Bhayadināgarē Dhīlī Bhāganagara prāntangaḷōl-nāḍagar ||
Jayajī-yendīdirīṭṭa kappadodavim pemperi banda-Śiva- |
jīya sorkam muridikkī-yapratima-vīrabhikkhyeyam tālāidam ||;

also *C. Bt.*, p. 1, v. 4; *Gt. Gō.*, p. 20, v. 33; and *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 71-74, quoting from *A. V. O.* The title *Apratima-Vira* occurs also in *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), l. 88; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115 (c. 1686-1690), ll. 439-440; *Mbh. Santi.*, col., and *Sachchu. Nir.*, ff. 123; and is found repeated in *C. Bt.*, p. 59; *Gt. Gō.*, pp. 39 and 70, etc. (See also under *Chikkadēvarāja's titles*, in Ch. XVI.) Curiously enough, other contemporary writers like Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi and Mallikārjuna do not refer to this event in their works, though they wrote in the early part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (i.e., c. 1676-1680). Probably they were not so well informed of it as Tirumalārya who, as an intimate friend and councillor of Chikkadēvarāja, seems to have been in a better position to visualise and give éloquent expression to it along with other important events of the reign—when he wrote his *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700). Chikkadēvarāja's own works, the *C. Bt.* and *Gt. Gō.*, cited above, quote from Tirumalārya, the *C. Bt.* (p. 4), in particular, alluding to the event in prose also thus :

Uttaradēśadolūdvṛtta-charitra-nenisī aruvattum sāśiram vāruvan-
gaḷum lakkadēnīke-yurkāḷgaḷum berasu nāḍadu Dhīlīya-nāḍānanitumam
koḷḷeyoḷam kaḷḷagāḷegadolam jaḷḷugeyādu, Vijayapuradarasam jayajī,
avara nādu-biḍugaḷam koḇḇu, Gōlakōḇḇeyanavanam baḇḇugeyādu,
avanitta kappamanoppugōḇḇu, ā sorkinim gaḷḷane Kannaḍa-nāḍam
pokka Śivājīyam ājirangadolāje geḇḇisi. Literary flourishes apart, the
passages quoted, besides reflecting Chikkadēvarāja's contact with
Sivāji, point to the profound impression the latter had created on his
contemporaries in Mysore by his achievements in Northern India—which
endows his irruption into Mysore with a significance all its own.

54. *Vide* f.n. 36 *supra* and text thereto.

55. *Vide* f.n. 53 *supra*.

The retirement of Sivâji from South India was followed by an aggressive campaign, about November 1677, conducted by Ēkôji against Sântaji who had fled from his protection and was in charge of the kingdom of Gingee. In the action which is said to have taken place at Valikondapuram, both sides put up a stout opposition and Ēkôji was obliged to retreat in great confusion to Tanjore, his plans frustrated. Meanwhile, news of Ēkôji's movements having reached êivâji on his way home, he despatched the terms of a treaty—of nineteen clauses—to Ēkôji, making provision for the administration of Tanjore on improved Unes. The treaty aimed a blow at the feudal obligations of Shâhji and his heirs to Bijâpur, and it was ratified by Ēkôji who reverted to the more humble rôle of ruler of Tanjore-
South Indian politics, 1677-1680.
 êântaji, having settled everything according to Sivâji's instructions, marched on Vellore which was ultimately captured by Baghunâth-Pant about the middle of August 1678, after an investment of fourteen months. Vellore became a Mahratta possession and was strengthened against an expected attack of Aurangzib. During these activities of the Mahrattas in the south, particularly during Ēkôji's war with Sântaji, Chokkanâtha Nâyaka led his army into Tanjore, but, before he could invest the place, Ēkôji retreated thither from Gingee. Weak and vacillating, Chokkanâtha, instead of taking prompt action, negotiated with Sântaji, promising him a large sum of money in return for the cession of Tanjore to him. Chokkanâtha's expectations were foiled by the conclusion of the treaty between Ēkôji and Sântaji about the end of 1677. He, therefore, returned in disgrâce to Trichinopoly. He was in great straits and, as may be expected, added to the miseries and discontentment of his subjects. All these led to his déposition on the ground of insanity, and the temporary accession of his younger brother Müttulinga

Nâyaka (the "Mudalagawdry Naique" of the *Fort St. George Records*) to the kingdom of Madura in 1678. The latter's administration hardly improved the prevailing state of affairs, and was followed by the usurpation, for about two years, of Bustam Khân, a Muslim adventurer and influential cavalry officer commanding 2,000 horse,⁶⁶ Already by 1678 the Mahrattas had become a force in South India and between 1678-1680 were extending the sphere of their activities from the Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât in the north up to Trichinopoly in the far south, leaving Aurangzîb to carry on his struggle with Sivâji on the one side and Bijâpur and G-ôlkonda on the other, in the Deccan.

To Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, Mahratta affairs in Southern India, since Sivâji's departure in November 1677, had become a source of great concern, especially as regards the territorial integrity of the frontiers of Mysore in the south-east and the north and his own advance in those directions. Already there were signs of the beginnings of a contest for the mastery of the south as between Mysore and the Mahrattas, conséquent on the graduai retirement of Bijâpur and Gôlkonda from the political arena of South India, while the shifting policy of Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura was a contributory factor in the situation. In January 1678, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, probably taking advantage of the state of affairs in Madura, proceeded to the east and laid siége to and took possession (from Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliâr) of the forts of Andûr and Kuntûr, situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura.⁶⁷ Then he marched on to Ērôḍe, pursuing

Chikkadēvarāja's movements, 1678.

(a) In the south-east.

56. Vide, on this section, *Nâyaka of Madura*, pp. 178-181, 281-266; also *Letteré to Fort St. George* (1682), p. 28. "Mudalagawdry Naique" is "Muddu or Muttu Alagâdri Nâyaka," another name of Muttulinga Nayaka.

67. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I, 88; *Annal*, 1.106; see also *Kamala. Mahdt.*, 1, 180-181; *Haéti. Mahat.*, I, 77; *Venkaja. Mahat.*, I, 48-49; *Sachchu. Nir.*, I, 68 A.V. C., III, 8, etc., referring to these acquisitions. Of. *Wilks*, I, 226.

and capturing its chief Akkà Reddi, but subsequently pardoning him and accepting his submission.⁶⁸ Eeferring; perhaps, to this movement of Chikkadêvarâja, the Jesuit letter of 1678⁵⁹ speaks of him as having entered tjae dominions of the Nâyak of Madura " without striking a blow " and taken " possession of the only two fortèrèsses which Madura had preserved till then in the north."⁶⁰ Again, in a letter to *Fort St. George*⁶¹ Chokkanâtha himself states that " his brother not understanding how to govern the kingdom, did act in such a manner that the Naique of Misure [Mysore] took Madura, etc., places from us and gave Vollam [Vallam] castle to Eccojee [Ëkôji]. "

After securing his foothold in the south, Chikkadêvarâja turned his attention towards the north, taking the forts of Chikka-totlagere and Koratagere (in February-March 1678) and protecting the chiefs thereof, who submitted to him.⁶¹ This was followed by the siège of Mâgaði and the settlement of contribution due by its chief Mummaði-Kempe-Gauða.⁶² Next Chikkadêvarâja proceeded to the Maddagiri-sime, then in charge of chieftains by name Timmappa Gauða and Râmappa Gauða. The impregnable and celebrated fort of Maddagiri was bombarded and taken, during May-June 1678. Then followed the siège and capitulation of Kudùr, Virannana-durga, the peak of Maddagiri (*Maddagiriya-kumbhi*) and Hosûr (in the neighbourhood of Sira), between June-July.⁶³ At Hosûr, Chikkadêvarâja

58. *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 189; *Hast. Mahat.*, l.c.; *Bhag. Gt. Tt.*, I, 58.

59. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 264: André Freire to Paul Ôliva.

60. *Letters to Fort St. George* (1682), p. 28: Letter dated March 8, 1682—Chokkanâtha Nâyaka to William Gyfford (Governor of *Fort St. George*).

61. *Mys. Dh. Pôr.*, II, 34; *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 149; see also and compare *Annals*, I, 105.

62. *Annals*, I, 110-111.

63. *Mys. Dh. Pôr.*, II, 23-26; cf. *Annals*, I, 105; see also *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 189, 142-146; *Hast. Mahat.*, I, 82-83; *Sri. Mahat.*, I, 40; *Yonkaja. Mahat.*, I, 59; *Sachcha. Nir.*, I, 56, 59; *A. V. U.*, III, 89 (gloms); *C. Bt.*,

met with opposition from the Mahratta forces of Êkôji, commanded by his Prime Minister Yaéavanta Eao (*M̄kôjiya Mahâ-pradhâna-nenisuva Yaéavanta-Râvu*) ; the Mahrattas were, however, put to rout, Yaéavanta Rao himself sustaining the loss of his nose at the hands of the Mysoreans.⁶⁴ In August, Channarâya-durga and Manne-kôlâla, and in September-October 1678, the peak of Miḍagêi (*Miḍagêi-kumbhi*), Bijjavara, Guñcumale-durga and Bhùtipura, were successively besieged and captured.⁶⁵ The acquisition of this chain of impregnable hill-forts made the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Sivâji's ancestral possession of Sira in the Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghat.⁶⁶

Evidently, during 1679-1680, Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar was at the height of his power. A copper-plate grant,⁶⁷ dated in 1679, while incidentally repeating, and referring to, his conquests from the beginning of his reign up to 1678, speaks of him as wielding the sceptre of an Empire (*sâmraṅyam pratipâdayari*). Another,⁶⁸

His position in
1679-1680.

p. 59; *Gt. Gō.*, pp. 39, 70, 37, vv. 55-56, 47, vv. 5-6, 52, vv. 1-2; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 119 (Text)—referring to Chikkadēvarâja's conquests and acquisitions during 1678. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 225-226; also 111, f.n. 1 (Editorial note), identifying "Mudgerry" of Wilks with Mūḍgere. In keeping with the context, the place Hosūr, referred to, has to be identified with the extant village of that name in the Sira taluk (see *List of Villages*, 69) and not with Hosūr in the present Salem district.

64. See *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 59, 61; *Tri. Tāt.*, ff. 16, 18; *A. V. C.*, II, 18, III. 9, 65, 101, 114 and 128 (gloss), 185, 172, IV, 2, etc.; *C. Bi.*, p. 2, vv. 6-8, p. 4; *Gt. Gō.*, p. 68, v. 12, 65, v. 13; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 69-70, and *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 90—echoing the event of 1678 in relation to Yaéavanta Rao's affair. According to these sources, Yaéavanta Rao (*Yaéavanta*) was a deputy of Êkôji at Hosūr in the Karnâṭak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghat, and Chikkadēvarâja's achievement of 1678 was a distinct success over the Adil Shah of Bijâpur in general and the Mahrattas and local Bâlegars in particular.

65. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 63 *supra*.

66. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 106. His view that the conquests of Chikkadēvarâja "present little interest or demand no particular explanation," is untenable in the light of the sources utilised here.

67. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 151, p. 119 (Text).

68. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, ll. 18-22, 23-24, 28.

the *Garani copper-plate grant*, dated in 1680, refers, among other things, to Chikkadēvarâja's victory over ail his enemies (*jita nikhila ripûn*), to his prowess on the field (*bhuja-vîryânala-mâjirangakë*) and the dust caused by the march of his forces (*yatsênâdhûli pâli ghanatara patcmâlj*) ; it does also écho Chikkadēvarâja's conquests in the north (in the Maddagiri-Bijjavara-sîme) and speaks of him as having been seated on the throne of Mysore in Seringapatam, bearing the burden of impérial sovereignty (. . . *Bangapuryâm* . . . *Mahîëûra-sinhâsanastha* . . . *sâmrâjya-êriya-mâvahari*). Other sources⁶⁹ point to his having performed the sixteen great gifts (*shôdaia-mahâdânangalam mađi*) and to his having been secure in his claim to suzerainty as " Sultan of Hindu kings " (*Hindurâya-suratâñam* or *suratrâñam*) and " Emperor of the south and of the Karnâta-ka country " (*Dakshinadik-Chakravarti, Karnâ-taka-Ghâkravarti, Dakshinadikchakrâvanimañdanam*), during c. 1676-1680. The impérial idea was a living force in the practical politics of the times and Mysore, under Chikkadēvarâja, was fast completing the procès s of giving adéquate expression to it—a process which, as we hâve seen,⁷⁰ tended first to manifest itself as far baok as 1663, if not as early as 1642.

On April 5, 1680, Sivâji died and was succeeded by his son Sambhâji (*èambhu, Sâmbâji*) to the sovereignty of the Mahratta possessions in the Deccan and the Karnatak, with Haraji, the lieutenant of Sivâji, in charge of Gingee. Sambhâji soon found himself drawn into a struggle with the Sidî of Jinjîra, Aurangzîb and the English factors at Sûrat. Èkôji continued as ruler of

69. *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 149, 152-154 ; *Bur. Cha.*, col. ; *Yad. Mahat.*, II, ff. 27 ; *Chikkadēvarâya-Vam.*, p. 26 ; *Ser. Mahat.*, II, 44-45 ; *O. Yam.*, 166 ; *O. Vt.*, IV, 51 ; *Mbh. Èsanti* and *Salya.*, col. ; *Sachchâ. Nir.*, I, 50 ; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 63-65 ; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116, ll. 83-85 and 488.

70. *Ante*, Chs. VIII and X.

Tanjore, retaining his hold on the distant *jahgirs* of Bangalore, Hoskôte, Sira and other places in the Kamâtak-Bijâpur-Bâlaghât.⁷¹ Ikkëri, alarmed by the advance of Mysore in the south-east and the north and by the latter's claim to supremacy in the Karnâtak, began her aggressions, taking Kadûr, Bânâvar, Hâssan and Bêlûr, and safeguarding her southern frontiers against further encroachments from Mysore, between 1680-1681 (*Raudri-Durmati*),⁷² These activities on the part of Ikkëri were facilitated to a considerable extent by the absence from Seringapatam of a major portion of the Mysore army under Dalavâi Kumâraiya, engaged as the latter was before Trichinopoly in the distant south during the period,

Since 1678 Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura had been smarting under the tyranny of Bustam Mysore and the South, 1680-1686: Khân, the usurper-commander. The fight for Supremacy. Muttulinga Nâyaka, brother of Chokkanâtha, having retired to the Tanjore country, Bustam Khân, we learn,⁷³ made himself so powerful that he began altogether to ignore the ruling family in Madura. Thereupon Chokkanâtha made an attempt to shake off Bustam's yoke. Disappointed in his dealings with Sântaji, he turned for help to the Maravas and Chikkadêvarâja of Mysore. He sent word to Kumâraiya, the Mysore gênerâl, about the middle of 1680.⁷⁴ This was doubtless a good opportunity for Mysore, having advanced up to Madura already by 1678. The objective of Mysore now became clear. Dalavâi Kumâraiya, marching at the head of a strong

71. J. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 429, and *Aurangzeb*, IV. 281-282, 289-299, V. 52-53; also *Nâyaks of Madura*, pp. 180-182 and 285-290.

72. *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 184-185, v. 13 and f.n. 1 and 2, at p. 184.

73. *Letters to Fort St. George* (1692), cited in f.n. 60 *supra*.

74. *Ibid.* The letter refers to Kumâraiya as "general named Comariah." Though dated March 8, 1682, it actually reflects the affairs of the period 1680-1682.

army, attacked Trichinopoly.⁷⁵ Rustam Khân, says the Jesuit letter,⁷⁶ "enticed by the enemy, made an imprudent sally, fell into an ambuscade and lost nearly all cavalry in it." Rustam's inability to conduct the defence of Trichinopoly soon led to a plot among Chokkanâtha's devoted friends, resulting in his (Rustam's) overthrow and massacre with his followers.⁷⁷ Daḷavâi Kumâraiya and the Maravas succeeded in quelling Rustam Khân's forces ;⁷⁸ Chokkanâtha*was freed from the latter's tyranny and he was grateful to Mysore for his hard-won freedom. He jubilantly announced his libération to the Governor and Council at Madras, stating (in his letter to *Fort St. George* dated March 8, 1682)⁷⁹ "Wee and the Naique of Misure [Mysore] are now good friends."

Chokkanâtha was, however, it would appear, entirely mistaken in his belief. Daḷavâi Kumâraiya would not so easily let go his hold on him as he seemed to imagine. Indeed, since 1680 Kumâraiya had been steadily pressing his demand for the arrears of contribution due by Madura to Mysore,⁸⁰ and, according to a family manuscript,⁸¹ he is stated to have made a vow not to appear before Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar until he had taken Trichinopoly. About the end of March 1682, Chokkanâtha, having

75. See *Annals*, I. 118. According to this source, the Mysore army under Daḷavâi Kumâraiya and other generals of repute was before Trichinopoly during 1660-1682, for the collection of arrears of contribution from Madura (due since 1667-1668). In the light of the *Fort St. George* letter above referred to, Chokkanâtha's requisition for help from Mysore in 1680 seemed to offer a tempting chance for the realization of Chikkadēvarâja's ambition. See also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26, referring to the Mysorean expedition to Trichinopoly. For a critical notice of the actual date of the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly, *vide* f.n. 82 *infra*.

76. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 286-287: André Freire to Paul Olive, 1682.

77. *Ibid.*; also pp. 181-182.

78. *Ibid.* f.n. 73 *supra*.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.* f.n. 75 *supra*.

81. Referred to by *Wilks*, I. 114-115. But there is no evidence in support of *Wilks*'s dating of Daḷavâi Kumâraiya's siege of Trichinopoly in 1696—*vide*, on this point, f.n. 82 *infra*; also Appendix VI—(1).

realised the gravity of the situation, turned for help to the Mahrattas and found himself surrounded by four large armies led, respectively, by Daḷavâi Kumâraiya, the Maravas, Haraji (Araéumalai), the gênerai of Sambhâji, and Ēkôji.⁸²

The southern advance of Mysore as far as Madura and Trichinopoly during 1678-1680 had become a source of considérable alarm to the Mahrattas, threatening as it did the safety of their possessions in the Karnâṭak and South India. Already between 1680-1681, a combination of the Mahrattas under Haraji, Dâdaji, Jaitaji and other gênerais had laid siêge to the fort of Dharmapuri (in the east of Mysore) for a period of eight months and, being repulsed by the Mysoreans, had raised the siêge and been forced to retire southwards, taking their stand in Samyaminipattanaṃ (southern Dharmapuri).⁸³ Early in 1682, Haraji and Ēkôji had greater cause for anxiety, Kumâraiya having stood before the walls of Trichinopoly itself. They were, therefore, obliged to proceed thither on pretence of helping Chokkanâtha, but their real motive was "to repulse the army of Mysore whose

82. *Nâyaks of Madura*, p. 267 (*Letter*); see also p. 182. Satyanatha Aiyar places the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly about 1680 (*Ibid.*, p. 181). In the light of the Jesuit letter of 1682 (*Ibid.*, pp. 287-288), read with reference to the *Letter to Fort St. George* (*vide f.n. 60 supra*), the siege seems to have taken place subsequent to March 1682. Although Kumâraiya was before Trichinopoly in 1680 (*vide f.n. 75 supra*), the interval of about two years between 1680-1682 was, as we have seen (*vide f.n. 74 supra*), occupied by diplomatic relations between Madura and Mysore. So that we may approximately place the actual date of the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly between c. March-May 1682. Cf. J. Sarkar, referring to the siege in March 1683 (*Aurangzib*, V. 58)—which requires revision. S. K. Aiyangar, in the *Sources* (p. 812, f.n.), cites Nelson's *Manual of Madura* referring, on the authority of a *Mackenzie Ms.*, to the siege of Trichinopoly by Daḷavâi Kumâraiya of Mysore along with Śivâji and Venkôji, and to Kumâraiya's defeat and forced retirement to Mysore at the hands of Śivâji. It is difficult to accept Nelson's authority being apparently a later and erroneous version. The siege, as we have shown, actually took place in 1682, i.e., about two years after Śivâji's death (1680).

83. See *A. F. C.*, III, 97 (with gloss) and *Sachchâ. Nér.*, I, 59; also see f.n. 94 *infra*, for details about the Mahratta generals.

proximity they feared, and take possession of all the dominions of Madura."⁸⁴ Trichinopoly thus became a bone of contention as between Mysore and the Mahrattas, the Maravas taking part in the struggle only "to get their share of pillage."⁸⁶

Before commencing hostilities, however, Dalavâi Kumâraiya's negotiations. Kuinâraiya, "realizing that it was impossible for him to resist such armies with troops so inferior in number," (a) With Chokkanâtha. says the Jesuit letter,⁸⁶ "offered peace to the Nâyak, promising to préserve his kingdom for him and re-establish the successors of the ancient Nâyaks of Tanjore and Gingi." Whatever might have been the ulterior motive of the Dalavâi in making these proposais, the wisest course for Chokkanâtha "would undoubtedly have been to make a league with the king of Mysore" against the Mahrattas.⁸⁷ Instead, he only joined the latter "to fight and destroy the allies whom he had called to his help."⁸⁸ Chokkanâtha, however, could neither count on the support of the Mahrattas nor was he capable himself of "a project which required courage and noble détermination."^m Indeed the situation seemed to demand prompt action on his part but "he was pleased to remain idle spectator of a struggle which must décide as to who among these competitors would be his master and the possessor of his dominions."⁹⁰

Kumâraiya's negotiations with Chokkanâtha having thus proved futile, he made in turn (b) With the Mahrattas. overtures to Haraji, the Mahratta gênerai, offering him 'Marge sums of money to corrupt his fidelity and pledge him to retire to Gingi."⁹¹ Obviously he hoped, by these negotiations, to gain time to enable Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar in Seringa-

84. *Nâyaks of Madura*, p. 267 (Letter cited in f.n. 76 *supra*).

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

patam " to send him help which he had applied for/' but his letters " fell into the hands of his rivais, who, sacrificing the interests and glory of the prince and of their country to their personal jealousy, had kept away thèse despatches to ruin the gêneral."⁹²

Meanwhile, in or about April 1682,⁹³ a section of the Mahratta cavalry led by Dâdaji, Jaitaji and Nimbâji among others, taking advantage of the absence of the Mysore army from Seringapatam and of the serious predicament of Daḷavâi Kumâraiya at Trichinopoly, moved on from the east and the north of Mysore.⁹⁴ Entering the interior of the country (*ola-nâdam pokka*), they encamped in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, on the fields of Kottatti and Honnalagere (*Kottattisimântarë, Ponnalagere-prànte*), and, by their predatory activities, plunged the countryside in abject terror and confusion, threatening the safety of the capital city itself.⁹⁵ It was a trying situation. At a moment when Daḷavâi Kumâraiya was himself in absolute need of reinforcements, an express message from Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar was receiveà at Trichinopoly, directing his officers, as a temporary measure, to dispatch a major

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Vide* Appendix VI—(1), for a detailed notice of the evidence in support of this date as against Wilks's date, 1696.

94. See *Annals*, I. 113-114; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 29; also texts cited in f.n. 95 and 99 *infra*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 114. The names of the Mahratta generals are found variously mentioned in these local sources as *Dâdaji, Dâdaji, Dâdaji-Kakaḍe, Jaitaji, Jaitaji-Kaḷaka, Jaitaji-Kakaḍe, Jaitaji-Ghaḭ, Jëje-Ghaḭ, Jayaji-Ghaḭ; Nimbâji-Ghaḭ, Nimbâji-Ghaḭ*, etc. Wilks (l.c.) mentions only two of these generals as "Jugdeo Ghautkee" and "Nimbajee Ghautkee." We, however, refer to them by their actual names, leaving aside the suffixes. Dâdaji, Jaitaji and Nimbâji were some of Shivâji's cavalry officers (*Shivaji-vâji-sênâdhipa, sênânigaḭ*), who had lately succeeded to the leadership of Sambhâji's army (*Sambhuji-mukhya-sênâni*)—see *Mbh. Sânti.*, col.; *Sachchû. Nir.*, ff. 121; *C. Bi.*, pp. 4, 58; *Gl. Gô.*, pp. 88, 69.

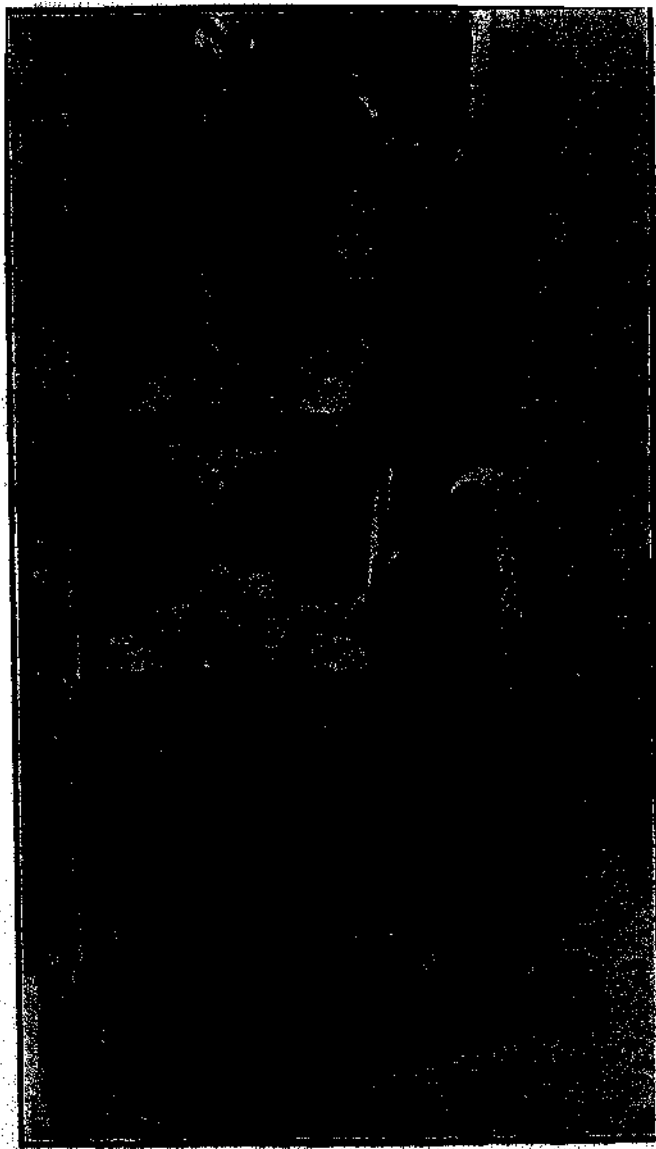
95. *A. V. C.*, IV, 8 (with gloss); *Sachchû. Nir.*, I, 59; also *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.* (c. 1714-1720), p. 8. See also and compare *Annals*, I. 114, and *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c. Kottatti and Honnalagere are two extant villages in the Mandya taluk—see *List of Villages*, 92.

portion of the Mysore army under Dodḍaiya (nephew of Kumâraiya) and other deputies to the relief of Seringapatam leaving only a handful of troops with Kumâraiya to push through the siège of Trichinopoly.⁹⁶ Forthwith a strong detachment, commanded by Dodḍaiya, left for Mysore, marching rapidly through the Kâvëripuram passes.⁹⁷ Dodḍaiya, trader spécial instructions from Chikkadëvarâja, proceeded against the Mahrattas, making a surprise night-attack on their camp and stupefying them by means of the illumination of torches carefully fastened to the horns of the oxen of the transport corps (two to three thousand in number) under him. The Mahrattas found themselves placed in an unfavourable situation and could do nothing as the animals were being scattered against them in ail the directions by their opponents who were joined by fresh parties from Seringapatam. Unable, further, to cope with the Mysoreans advancing from behind the array of the oxen, they began to take to flight in utter panic.⁹⁸ A thick fight followed. The Mahrattas were put to utter rout amidst great loss in their ranks; their camp was plundered of its ail—horses, éléphants, treasures, insignias and other belongings; Dâdaji, Jaitaji and Nimbâji were themselves captured and slain on the battle-field, their noses, ears and limbs being eut off; the head of Dâdaji was paraded in the army (*mandiyol mereyisi*) and those of Jaitaji and Nimbâji were presented as trophies before Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar and later displayed on the Mysore Gâte of the fort of Seringapatam."

96. *Annals*, l.c.; cf. *Wilks*, I. 114-115. *Wilks* (I. 115) speaks of Dodḍaiya as the "son" of Kumâraiya. The *Annals* (l.c.) loosely refers to him as *maga*, which literally means "son," but Dodḍaiya was actually a nephew of Dajavâi Kumâraiya, i.e., second son of Muppina-Kântaiya of Kajale, a cousin brother of Kumâraiya—*vide* section on *Domestic life*, in Ch. XVI; also Table XIII.

97. *Ibid*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 115. 98. *Ibid*, I. 114-115; cf. *Wilks*, I. 115-117.

99. *Ibid*, I. 115; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; also *Mbh. Sânti.*, col.; *Sachchâ. Nir.*, I, 59-61; *Trî. Tat.*, ff. 17-18; *A.F.O.*, I, 22-23, II, 11, 12, 14, 19-20, III, 5, 84, 86, 87, 89, 73, 86, 133, 180, 183-184, IV, 4, 8 (with gloss), 11, etc.; *C.Bi.*



— The Mysore Gate of the Seringapatam Fort—A. Iron. V. 1111.

Almost simultaneously the position of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya at Trichinopoly was becoming critical in the extreme. Kumāraiya's retreat from Trichinopoly, c. May 1682. With limited resources at his command and "receiving neither reinforcements nor reply to his letters," he was, we learn,¹⁰⁰ "obliged to seek safety in honourable retreat." Accordingly, says the Jesuit letter,¹⁰¹ "He ordered the cavalry corps to feign a movement to attract the attention of the enemies, to engage them as long as possible, and then flee with full speed towards Mysore; while he himself would take advantage of this diversion to escape, with his infantry, in an opposite direction and thus save his army. But the Moghuls [Here read Mahrattas] would not allow themselves to be put on the wrong scent; for a long time past their self-conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumāra Rāya [Kumāraiya], which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them. Thus, when the cavalry effected its movement, they followed it very calmly without inviting

p. 2, v. 6 and pp. 4, 58; *Gī. Gō.*, p. 63, v. 12, pp. 38, 69; *Sākala-Vaid. Sam.*, pp. 2-4; *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 65-67, 69-70; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115 (c. 1686-1690), ll. 86-88, 90-92; III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 75-76—referring to and echoing the details of the exploit. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 117. The actual expressions used in the inscriptions (l.c.) are:

*Rāmātmanā-yadajayat Khara-Dūshañādyam
Rakṣakḥ kulam tadupaklipta Marāḍa-varṣhman |
Dādōji-Jaitaji-mukham nanu Panchavaṭṭyāḥ
Prāptam nihanti saharis-Chikadēvu-mūrtiḥ ||*

*Dādōji-bhīdi-Jaitaji . . . sarvaṅga-nāsachīdi
Śri-vīrē Chikadēvarāja-nṛpatan yuddhāya baddhadarē ||.*

In the highly figurative poetical language of these texts, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's achievement over the Mahratta generals at Kottāṭṭi and Honnslagere is treated on an epic footing, being aptly compared to Rāma's exploits over Khara and Dūshañā at Panchavaṭṭi. This is evidently an index of the profound impression the event had left on Chikkadēvarāja's contemporaries.

100. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 288 (*Letter*); see also pp. 182-183. Cf. authorities cited in f.n. 82 *supra*.

101. *Ibid.*

a combat, reserving all their strength to crush the body of the army ; besides, this cavalry, demoralized by its sad position, could properly execute only the last part of the orders it had received; it did that wonderfully well, and with all the more facility, that the Moghuls [Mahrattas] did not wish to waste time in pursuit. Then, they fell on the infantry, and the combat was only a horrible butchery; they found rich booty, the result of several years' pillage, and made a large number of prisoners, among whom was Kumāra Bāya [Kumāraiya] himself. The defeat and capture of this general, till then invincible, completed the joy and pride of Arasumalai [Haraji]. Taking advantage of his glorious victory, he extended his conquests by driving the Mysoreans from all the provinces and from nearly all the citadels, which they had taken from the Nayak of Madura."

These reverses were too much for Dalāvāi Kumāraiya —then in his old age—to bear. The Jesuit letter is silent as to what happened to him after his capture at the hands of the Mahrattas. The probabilities are that he managed to obtain his release and returned to Seringapatam. For, on May 26, 1682 (*Dundubhi, Vaisakha ha*, 30), we note,¹⁰² he retired from the office of Dajavāi and was succeeded for a short while (May 27-June 9, 1682) by Dēvaiya, and later by his nephew Doddaiya (June 10, 1682-June 11, 1690).

ChikkadēvarSja's victory over the Mahrattas near Seringapatam, however, appeared to counterbalance Dalāvāi Kumāraiya's reverses at Trichinopoly. Indeed, while the latter meant a serious, though temporary, set-

Beview of the events of c. April-May 1682.

102. *Annals*, I. 116; *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, I. 68; flee also under *Dalavdis*, in Oh. XII. Very little is known of Dajavāi Kumāraiya subsequent to his retirement in May 1682. It appears probable that he died shortly after. For details about the *Kaḷale Family*, vide section on *Domestic life* in Ch. XVI.

back to the progress of Mysore in the south, the former tended to prevent the Mahrattas from having a permanent foothold in and near Mysore, and seemed not only to ensure the eventual sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar but also to add to his prestige as the ruler of Mysore.¹⁰³

No sooner was the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam overcome than another trouble appeared Mysore vs. Ikkēri, Gōlkoṇḍa and Sambhāji, June 1682. The success of Chikkadēvarāja in distant Madura (down to 1682) had induced a combination of those opposed to him. Ikkēri and Gōlkoṇḍa joined Sambhāji in contesting his aims and ambitions in the south. Accordingly Chikkadēvarāja was, early in June 1682, obliged to proceed in the north-west of Mysore to safeguard the frontiers against Ikkēri, whose activities during 1680-1681 had given him cause for alarm. At Banavar (*Banapura*) he met with a powerful combination against him, headed by Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, the Qutb Shah of Gōlkoṇḍa and Sambhāji,¹⁰⁴ the last then on his way to the south to join Ēkōji and other Mahratta generals.¹⁰⁵ In the action that followed (at

103. See *A. V. C.*, III, 136, 139 (with gloss); also *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.*, p. 4; *Karnāṭaka-dētamam Vijayalakshmi-nāṭaka-pradēsa-venisida*, referring to the Karnāṭaka country as the stage left open to the Goddess of Victory in the hands of Chikkadēvarāja at the end of the exploit against the Mahrattas; *Sangī. Ganga.*, ll. 9 and 10: *Anyāśchakra Mahtāra-rājyamakshilam Karnāṭakiyam punah*, etc., where Kāśīpati-Paṇḍita, a mid-eighteenth century commentator, interprets (Dajavāi) Doḍḍaiya's victory over the Mahrattas (under Jaitaji and others) as implying the restoration of the sovereignty of Mysore in the Karnāṭaka country.

104. *A. V. C.*, III, 21; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 67-69 and 72-74, echoing the events of 1682. For textual details, *vide* f.n. 106 *infra*.

105. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 289 (*Letter*), from which it would seem that Sambhāji was in South India by the middle of 1682. See also J. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, IV, 231, referring to Sambhāji's predatory incursions in 1682 after the unfinished siege of Jinjira. Also text in f.n. 106 *infra*.

Bāṇavar), we glean,¹⁰⁶ Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar achieved a distinct victory over his opponents.

Foiled in his attempt against Mysore from the north-west, Sambhāji proceeded towards the east and south, taking possession of all the places conquered by his general, Haraji, who still continued to chase the Mysoreans. He was soon before Trichinopoly itself, attacking Chokkanātha Nāyaka in his fortress. About June 16, 1682, Chokkanātha died in a fit of melancholy, "frustrated in all his hopes" of re-establishment by the Mahrattas, "dispossessed of his dominions and all his treasures, abandoned by his troops and deprived of all resources." In July 1682, he was succeeded by his son Muttu-Vīrappa Nāyaka III (1682-1689), then aged fifteen.¹⁰⁷ From about July-August, the general political situation in South India, caused by Sambhāji's movements, was rather unfavourable for Mysore. In the fight for supremacy in the south, the scale had turned in favour of Sambhāji for the time being. The kingdom of Madura had been considerably reduced in extent; Mysore had lost all her fortresses in the east and the south except some, including that of Madura, which she was striving to maintain with the help of the Maravas; Ēkōji

106. *A. F. O.*, l. c. : *Idirānta Sambu-Basavara | madaviṣidānāndu Bāṇapura doḷupendram*; also *E. O.*, III (1) Sr. 14, l. c. :

*Sambhustambhita-vikramah Kutuba-sāho-sau-hatāḥ haṭhā-
dikkēri-Basavopi dhikkṛti-magadēkōji-rēkōjani |*

*Vēṣantē-bāta-Sambhu-Sāha-Basava dhātā yadā lōkane
Sōyam Śrī-Chikadēvarāja-nṛpati-sakṣha-nṛsimhaktiḥ ||.*

Among other sources mentioning Chikkadēvarāja's exploit over Sambhāji are *Tri. Tat.*, ff. 13-14, vv. 2-3: *Kāḥo idirāda Basavana nīravano geḍisi; kāḥo moreḍēdda Sambhuva muridu mungeḍisi*; *O. Sep.*, pp. 167-168, vv. 2-3; *O. Bi.*, p. 1, v. 5: *Śivaji-suta Sambhuji yēḷḷeyya-nurdu-korbamam teḷḷanegaiḍa-naḍbhuta-parakramadim Chikadēva-Bāṣavaram*; p. 4: *Sambhōjiyam bhayrṇavadoḷ muḷungisi*; and p. 59; *G. G.*, p. 19, v. 82, pp. 89, 70; also *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 61-62; *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115 (c. 1686-1690), ll. 74-75, 88-90, 94-95, repeating from Sr. 14.

107. *Nayaks of Madura*, l. c.; also pp. 190-191.

was continuing his despotic rule in Tanjore ; Gingee had come under Sambhāji; Sanibhāji had become an important factor in the south of India, pursuing, as the Jesuit letter puts it, " his conquests against Mysore, not only in the kingdom of Madura, but even in the northern provinces, where he has taken several of its fortresses, all the province of Dharmapuri, and other neighbouring territories "; Gōlkoṇḍa and Ikkēri continued to be his allies, having both " united against (the king of) Mysore (who is) regarded as the common enemy."¹⁰⁸ This shows the success that Mysore had attained thus far in the Madura country (down to 1682). The advance of Sambhāji proved the signal for a combination against Chikkadēvarāja. And the fight for supremacy as between Mysore and the Mahrattas was fast becoming a live issue in the politics of Southern India. Chikkadēvarāja, on his part, put up a persistent opposition to the pretensions of Sambhāji in the south: perhaps he also found it expedient to keep himself in touch with Aurangzīb, the Mughal Emperor, with a view eventually to frustrate the combination against Mysore. Indeed, Aurangzīb, who was at Aurangābād since March 1682,¹⁰⁹ had, we learn,¹¹⁰ already been much impressed with the news of the defeat inflicted by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar on the Mahratta generals near Seringapatam (c. April 1682). Further, the Jesuit letter (of 1682) even speaks of the Mughal (Aurangzīb) as having been on the point

108. *Ibid.*, p. 290 (*Letter*). The reference here is to the triple alliance of Sambhāji, Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri and Qutb Shah against Mysore, which was defeated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar early in June 1682.

109. J. Sarkar, *Aurangzīb*, IV. 266.

110. See *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.*, p. 4: *Marāṭarol prasiddharāgirda Jeṣe Ghaṭi muntāda mahā-sūravaram kaḍiḍu . . . Karnāṭaka-ātsamam Vijaya-lakshmi-nāṭaka-pradēsa-venisida jaya-vārtayam kēḍavarangajēbu-Pādushāha muntāda bhūmitēvara-rellarum bhāpu-bhāpēndu kaiyyētti koṇḍāḍuttire*, referring to Emperor Aurangzīb and other monarchs as having showered their encomiums on Chikkadēvarāja at the news of his exploit over the celebrated Mahratta generals, i.e., Dāḍaji, Jaitsaji, Nimbāji and others. See also *Annals*, I. 115.

of "sending a formidable army against Sambogi [Sambhaji] at the request of Mysore."¹¹¹

The proffered or expected help, however, never came, involved as Aurangzib was in his struggle with Bijapur.¹¹² Aurangzib thus lost a great opportunity of actively befriending one who had proved so useful an ally in the realization of his own aims and ambitions against the Mahrattas and that without so much as asking for it. A timely pact with Chikkadevaraja would have helped him as much as it would have paved the way for a friendly adjustment between the Imperial Mughal as the ruler of the north and Chikkadevaraja as the ruler of the south. But Aurangzib's character and state-craft were such that high political achievement was as far from him as the sky in the heavens is to the man on mother Earth below. By about the end of 1682 the war between Madura and Mysore had come to an end, but in 1683 Sambhaji's presence in the south contributed to a continuance of disturbed conditions in it. The kingdom of Madura was parcelled out into five portions occupied, respectively, by the Nayak of Madura, the king of Mysore, the Maravas, Sambhaji and Ekoji.¹¹³ And Sambhaji, it would seem, was the foremost to take advantage of this state of affairs to dispute, in particular, the claim of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar for supremacy in South India. With that end in view he began to wage a systematic war of aggression against Mysore, from the east and the south. About the close of 1683, Chikkadevaraja's political position in these directions was at a low ebb. The Jesuit letter of that year thus sums up the then situation:¹¹⁴ "The power of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because, violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sambogi,

111. *Nayaks of Madura*, l.c.

112. Sarkar, *o. c.*, IV. 300-303.

113. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 291: Jean de Britto to Paul Oliva, 1683; also pp. 193-194.

114. *Ibid.*

he cannot sustain and reinforce the armies he had sent to those countries. The provinces he had conquered there shake off his yoke gradually to claim their independence, or become attached to some one of the princes who have partitioned the shreds of the kingdom, once so flourishing, among themselves." The letter shows that Chikka-dēvarāja was unable to consolidate his conquests in the south. The position of ascendancy gained in Madura—as its protector—against the Mahrattas was in great jeopardy, especially with the advent of Sambhaji. The vassals of Madura, subdued at great cost by Chikkadevarāja, were breaking away from allegiance and the gains made were slipping out of his hands. The position grew worse between 1683-1686. "In the south, the petty *rajas*, once vassals of Madura/' says a Jesuit letter,¹¹⁶ "continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, too weak to preserve her conquests; the Thieves (*i.e.*, Kalias) and the Maravas make a war of brigandage against the troops of Ekoji; Sambogi mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign." Chikkadevaraja found that while the subjugated vassals of Madura were breaking away from him, Sambhaji's invasion had caused difficulties for him nearer home. No doubt the Maravas and Kalias kept Ekoji's forces at bay, but they cared more for plunder than for keeping the enemy off their master's territories. According to the Jesuit letter above quoted, it would seem that Chikkadevaraja, "to provide for the expenses of the war,"¹¹⁶ had tried to augment his revenue and adopted steps which brought him into conflict with his subjects "in the eastern provinces of his dominions."¹¹⁷ What followed will be found treated in the sequel,¹¹⁸ and it will suffice here to state that the lack of

115. *Ibid.*, p. 292: Louis de Mello to Noyelle, 1666.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Ibid.*

X18. *Vide* Ch. XV below.

resources in men and money came in the way, for the time being, of the realization of his hopes in the south. He, however, appears to have made a supreme effort to raise the treasure required to replenish his war-chest. The measures he was advised to take were evidently such as not merely to help him to attain the objective he aimed at but also to give occasion to his Minister resorting to means for giving effect to them, which proved both unpopular and impolitic. This apart, soon there was a change in the tide of affairs. About July 1686, the mutual interests of Chikkadēvarāja and Sambhāji seem to have demanded a political adjustment. Hard pressed in their homelands by the Mughal Emperor, the Mahrattas in the south were ready to agree to any terms. Their chronic need was money and a little of that rare, but valuable, commodity was enough to induce Sambhāji to retire.¹¹⁹ The Mahrattas indeed made a virtue of their necessity. Their withdrawal, though a timely one for Chikkadevarāja, was forced on them by the pressure of Mughal arms on the Deccan. Since 1684, Aurangzib had been busy mobilising his resources to crush the Shahi states of Bijapur and Gōlkonda on the one side and the Mahrattas on the other. On September 12, 1686, he succeeded in reducing Bijapur, and the Mughal arms were preparing to penetrate the country south of the Krishna as far as the Karnnataks-Bijapur-Balaghat.¹²⁰

Meanwhile Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was rapidly recovering from the effects of the disastrous wars with Sambhāji. Those wars had, it is true, considerably

Political position of Chikkadēvarāja, 1686.

119. *O. B.*, p. 4: *Mattama Sambhājige kappavittum kaṭamam kaṭipi*. Here *kappa* cannot be literally taken to mean tribute. In keeping with the protracted political relations between Mysore and the Mahrattas during 1682-1686, some diplomacy must be understood to have been at work, which resulted in the Mahrattas being ultimately bought off by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to ensure peace and security in the country. Hence the expressions.

120. J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV. 286-299, 306-326, 340-352, V. 54, 56; also *Wills*, I. 190.

diminished his authority and prestige in the south and the east of Mysore, but they had hardly affected his claims to supremacy in the Karnāṭak ever since the defeat he had inflicted on Basappa Nayaka of Ikkeri (June 1682). Indeed, as Orme observes,¹²¹ he was, in 1684, looked upon as the "most ancient and considerable" of the several ESjas in the country of Mysore. About the close of 1686, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had become not only firm in his position as the sovereign of Mysore but also an imperial authority in the south. The *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate grant* (dated November 19, 1686)¹²³ seems to echo this fact when it gives him imperial titles and speaks of him as ruling in peace from the capital city of Seringapatam.

The Mughal, however, soon tried to take the place of the Mahratta in the south. The respite which Mysore enjoyed therefore proved only a short one. In March 1687, a detachment of the Mughal army under Khāsm Khān marched by way of Penukonḍa towards Tumkūr.¹³³ At this news, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar proceeded thither. Tumkūr was promptly prevented from falling into the hands of the Mughals and, during April-May, Chikkadēvarāja succeeded in taking from Ekoji Chiknāyakana-halli, Kanḍikere and Tyāmagonḍlu¹²⁴—places which appear to have been lost to Mysore during the warfare of 1682-1686. These acquisitions doubtless meant the dwindling of Ekoji's power in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghaṭ while they helped to strengthen the position of

121. *Historical Fragments*, p. 141.

122. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 86-90: *Birudentambaragaṇḍa lakasha-otra Śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-rajaparamēśvara prauḍhapratāpa-nāpratiṃva-otra-narapatī Śrī-Chikkadēva-Mahārāja Oḍeyarayyanavarū Śrīvāṅga-pañṇadalla ratna-sindhāsandrāḍharāgi sukhaḍim prīthvi-śmraḍyam gāyruṭṭiratu*.

123. See Barker, *o.c.*, V. 54, 56, referring to the beginnings of Mughal penetration into the Karnāṭak in 1687; also *Mys. Dho. Per.*, II. 88-87; cf. *Annals*, I. 108-107; *Wilks*, I. 298.

124. *Mys. Dho. Per.*, l.c.; see also and compare *Annals* and *Wilks*, l.c.

Mysore as a serious competitor with the Mughals for the remaining possessions of Bijāpur in that region.

With the increasing influence and power of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, Ēkōji found it exceedingly difficult, about this time, to maintain his *jahgir* of Bangalore from distant Tanjore. He accordingly proposed to sell it to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar for rupees three lakhs. A *vakil* was sent from the court of Tanjore to Seringapatam to conduct the negotiations. Chikkadēvarāja, having completed the transaction, was about to take possession of Bangalore.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, Khāsim Khān, advancing with the Mughal detachment, had occupied the place, finally hoisting the imperial flag over the fort on July 10, 1687.¹²⁶ Almost simultaneously the Mahrattas, with a detachment under Haraji (Governor of Gingee), Kēṣava-Triyambak-Pant and Santaji (Generals of Sambhaji), were also on their way thither but, on finding that they had been forestalled by Khāsim Khān, retired without opposition to the Karnāṭak.¹²⁷ At this juncture, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar stood before the walls of Bangalore. A fight took place between the forces of Mysore and the Mughal troops, in which the latter were thoroughly put to rout.¹²⁸

125. *Annals*, I. 110; see also and compare *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 482 (referring to the transaction without, however, mentioning the date), and *Wilks*, I. 109-110. Also see f.n. 181 *infra*.

126. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 38; *Prabhava, Nija-āshāḍha tu.* 11; see also *Annals*, I. c. Orme (*Historical Fragments*, pp. 155-156) places the surrender of Bangalore to Khāsim Khān, early in August 1687; *Wilks* (I. 110), about July 1687; *Sarkar* (o. c., V. 54-55, f.n.) would fix it on June 10, or July 10, 1687. The authority of the *Mys. Dho. Pār* is preferred here as the more specific. Again, in the light of other sources we have here referred to, it is rather hard to accept the meaning of the text of the Persian Ms., suggested by *Sarkar* (*Ibid.*, 55-56, f.n.), *vis.*, that in the surrender of Bangalore "the Mughal General was aided by the chief of Seringapatam, the enemy of Shivāji's house."

127. Orme, I. c.; *Wilks*, I. c.; *Sarkar*, o. c., V. 55-56 (compared).

128. *Annals*, I. 110; see also references cited in f.n. 180 *infra*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 110-111, referring to Chikkadēvarāja's final acquisition of Bangalore by purchase from Khāsim Khān, for which there is no evidence—*vide* also f.n. 181 *infra*.

and Chikkadēvarāja took possession of Bangalore on July 14.¹²⁹ Indeed we have the unanimous testimony of the contemporary texts,¹³⁰ significantly pointing to this repulse of the Mughals by Chikkadēvarāja and his wresting of Bangalore from them. The ultimate delivery of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, however, it would seem,¹³¹ effected by Khasim Khan under an amicable arrangement, by which, while Chikkadēvarāja was for all practical purposes recognised as the legitimate owner of the place, Khasim Khan himself, relieved from the necessity of maintaining a large detachment for its occupation, secured its use as a point of communication for Mughal arms in South India. On the completion of this arrangement, Khasim Khan retired to Srir, where he remained as the Mughal Governor (*Faujdar*).¹³² Thus, with the acquisition of Bangalore, the kingdom of

129. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, l.c.: *Prabhava, Nija-Āshādha* su. 15; see also *Annals*, l.c.; of. *Wilks* (I. 111), placing the delivery of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja in July 1687.

130. *A. V. C.*, III, 118, 130, 180 and 184 (with gloss): *Mogalar savari sado baḥḍu; manidar Mogalar; ṣḍida Mogalaya paḍeyam; Mogala-Maraṭarganjuva perarāyar rāyarattu, avaram jayisirpa Ohika dēvarāyame Ḥayan*; also *Saohchā. Nir.*, ff. 122; *O. Bi.*, p. 69; *Gt. Gō.*, pp. 89, 70: *Sāhaji-mukha-Maraṭanṅpa-rajadhānīkṛtā-bhaṅgura-Bongaṣar-haraṇa*—referring to Chikkadēvarāja's acquisition by force of arms of Bangalore, the capital of Shāhji (*Sāhaji*), the Mahratta. Evidently, after his purchase of Bangalore from Ekōji, Chikkadēvarāja had the full right to possess it against all possible competitors. Viewed on this footing, his occupation of Bangalore from the Mughals acquires considerable significance. Compare *Wilks* in f.n. 131 *infra*.

131. According to *Wilks* (I. 110), Chikkadēvarāja's transactions with Ekoji for the purchase of Bangalore were not complete when the place surrendered to Khasim Khan. Further, he speaks of Khasim Khan as delivering Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar after "accepting the price which the Raja was still willing to pay," and points to an "amicable arrangement" concluded by him (Khasim Khan) with the latter (I. 110-111). There is no evidence in support of Wilks's position, for, as we have seen (*vide* f.n. 125 *supra* and text thereto), Ekōji's sale of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja was an accomplished fact already about the time the place yielded to Khasim Khan. The probabilities are, therefore, more in favour of the view that Khasim Khan, at the end of a fight put up by Chikkadēvarāja's troops (*vide* f.n. 128 and 180 *supra* and text thereto), found it expedient to deliver Bangalore to its legitimate owner (i.e., Chikkadēvarāja) under an amicable arrangement for the greater security of Mughal interests in South India.

Mysore became practically coterminous with the Mughal sphere of influence in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat.

On September 21, 1687, Aurangzib succeeded in reducing Gōlkoṇḍa. His attention was next directed in an increasing measure towards subjugating the Mahrattas, then predominantly strong in the Karnatak.¹³³ At the same time the fortunes of Sambhaji in South India were being seriously jeopardised. For Ēkōji had lost all interest in the larger questions of Mahratta policy, being engrossed in the immediate preoccupations of the hour in Tanjore. On his death about 1688, he was succeeded by his son Shāhji II to the throne of Tanjore.¹³⁴ In January 1689, Sambhaji himself was captured by the Mughals, and executed on March 11.¹³⁵ In September, Haraji, Sambhaji's lieutenant in the Karnatak, died.¹³⁶ In the same year Muttu-Virappa Nayaka III of Madura also died, and was succeeded by Mangammāl (1689-1706), the dowager queen of Chokkanātha Nayaka.¹³⁷ About the same time the Mughal arms were in process of penetrating into the Karnatak.¹³⁸

All through this period Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was steadily and systematically recovering the lost ground by his lost ground from the Mahrattas. Mysore. Already by about 1687-1688, his political position had become strong and secure. Indeed referring to Chikkadēvarāja's achievements over his

133. Wilks, I. 110 (f.n. 2), 281; Sarkar, o. c., V. 108, 110.

134. Sarkar, o. c., IV. 356-382, V. 57-62.

135. Sarkar (o. c., V. 58, f.n.) refers to Ēkōji's death in January 1686 and the succession in that year of his son Shāhji II. But Orme speaks of Ēkōji as ruling Tanjore in August 1687 (see *Historical Fragments*, p. 154), and Wilks and the local sources mention him as having been alive in July 1687 (vide f.n. 125 and 126 *supra*). Again, an inscription of 1686 (see *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 361, No. 193) refers to Shāhji's conquest of the Pudukōṭa country, possibly during his father's rule. In the absence of decisive evidence, Ēkōji's death may be set down to about 1686, subsequent to his sale of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja (1687).

136. Sarkar, o. c., IV. 401-403.

137. Sarkar, o. c., V. 62.

138. *Nayaks of Madwa*, pp. 208-204.

138. Sarkar, o. c., V. 58-61.

enemies (including the Shāhi kingdoms of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and the Mahrattas) and the fall of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, contemporary Kannaḍa works¹³⁹ testify to the unassailable prowess of Chikkaḍevārāja (*ābhedyā-vikramānenal*), perhaps indicating that he was for Aurangzīb yet a power to reckon with in the south. In June 1688, Chikkaiya, agent (*Gurikar*) of Chikkadevaraja at Sankhagiri, took possession of Āvaniperur, Arasaravani and Hoskōṭe. This was followed by Chikkaḍevārāja's acquisition of Manugoṇḍe-durḡa, Mannārguḍi and Vāmalūr in November, and of Dhārmapurī in January 1689. In May, Paramatti was retaken after a bombardment; in July, Gurikār Lingarājaiya, another agent of Chikkadēvarāja at Coimbatore, took Kāvēripaṭṭanam; in September, Kuntūr-durga (*Kunnattur*) was re-acquired and, finally, in January 1690, Anantagiri under an agreement (*kaultt*) concluded by Haraji.¹⁴⁰ Among other acquisitions from the Mahrattas during the period were the forts of Kengēri, Bēvuhaḷḷi and Bairanetta.¹⁴¹ About February 1690, Chikkaḍevārāja Wodeyar had not only come into full possession of most of the places lost during Sambhājī's wars (1682-1686) but had also been in a position to reiterate his claim to supremacy as Emperor of the Karnataka country (*Kamdtaka-Chakravartī*)¹⁴²

139. See *C. Bi.*, p. 2, vv. 6-9; *Gi. Go.* p. 63, vv. 11-12, p. 65, vv. 13-14; also *A. V. C. I.*, 8, III, 67.

140. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II, 38-42; see also *Sachchā. Nir.*, ff. 121; *C. Bi.*, pp. 58-59, and *Gi. Go.*, pp. 86-89, 89 (*vide* text quoted *infra*); cf. *Annals*, I, 107-108; *Wilks*, I, 112, 226-227; also see and compare Capt. Alexander Read in *Bāramahal Records* (1792), I, 139, mentioning some of these conquests.

141. See *Sachchā. Nir.*, *C. Bi.* and *Gi. Go.*, l. c.: *Gambhīrādāhata-parigha-varaṇa-bhishāṇa-sataghni-satasankulamatta Māvāḷi-sēnāvāḷi-varmīta-Dharmapurī-prasabdhākramaṇa-śravaṇa-nirjanikṛta Kengēri Vāmalāru Bēvuhaḷḷi Bairanetta Kunnattūr mukhyadurga-varga-nirāyāsākramaṇa-nirvṛta-nijasainika-samāhanam*. See also *l.n.* 140 *supra* and text thereto.

142. See *Sachchā. Nir.*, ff. 122; *C. Bi.*, p. 59; *Gi. Go.*, pp. 89, 70; also *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 482—pointing to *Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī* as one of the distinctive titles of Chikkaḍevārāja Wodeyar about 1690.

In truth he had been securely established in the northern frontiers of Mysore at the end of his protracted struggle with the Mahrattas, as the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* seems significantly to testify.¹⁴³

Meanwhile, Ikkēri, in the north-west of Mysore, had been rising to prominence under Channammāji, under the influence of the general course of Mahratta and Mughal affairs in the Deccan. On the death of Sambhāji in March 1689, Eājārām, his younger brother, succeeded as Eegent during the minority of Sāhu (afterwards feivājī II), the six-year old son of Sambhāji. Eājārām's accession was followed by the fall of Eaigarh and other forts into the hands of the Mughals under Zulfikar Khān. Eājārām escaped from Panhala to the Karnāṭak by way of Ikkēri. Channammāji not only afforded him shelter and protection but also, about June 1689, successfully repulsed a Mughal contingent under Jan Nisar Kīran (*Jdnsara-Khaṇa*) who, on her refusal to hand over the fugitive, prepared to lay siege to Bednur, her capital. Eājārām, having left Ikkēri under a safe escort, passed through Bangalore and Vellore and ultimately arrived at the fort of Gingee in the Karnāṭak (November 1689),¹⁴⁴ Channammāji's success over the Mughals, however, seemed to add considerably to her reputation and prestige among the feudatories (*manneyarkalol parama-khyatiam padedu*), and, shortly after the event, she left Bednur on a pilgrimage to Subrahmanya.¹⁴⁵

About April 1690 Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, to justify as it were his title of *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti*, turned his attention to the recovering of the places lost by

Mysore and Ikkēri,
1690.

143. I, 8: *Kaṭṭiṇu Marāṭara paḍṣyam | poḍaviya baḷporēya-niḷipi baṇṇige-vaḍēvar ||*

144. Barkar, o. c., V. 22-23, 62; *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 161-163, 166; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 113-114.

145. *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 166-167, vv. 89-90.

him (during 1674-1681) in the direction of Ikkēri. Early in April he succeeded in wresting Bāgaḍi from the Pāḷegār of that place,¹⁴⁶ and this was followed by the acquisition of Hāranahaḷḷi and Bāṅṅavar from Ikkēri in April-May.¹⁴⁷ In June Daḷavai Doḍḍaiya was succeeded by Timmappaiya of Kōḷāla,¹⁴⁸ and the latter resumed the activities against Ikkēri, taking in rapid succession Kaḍūr, Sakrepaṭṇa and Vastāre between June and August, Chikmagalūr and Mahārājana-durga in August, and Hāssan and Grāma in September, the last two places, in particular, being acquired from Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigiir.¹⁴⁹

We may now return to the general course of Mahratta and Mughal affairs.¹⁵⁰ The government of Gingee passed into the hands of Bājārām shortly after his arrival there in November 1689. The Mahrattas began their activities under his officers, Prahlad-Niraji, Moresvar-Pingle and others. In the same year, Aurangzīb, determined to crush the Mahrattas, sent an army under Zūlfikar Khan, with instructions to reduce Gingee. On reaching the place in April 1691, Zūlfikar Khan found that his resources were too inadequate for the purpose. He, therefore, sought reinforcements from the Mughal and, pending their arrival, marched on towards the Southern Karnātak. He proceeded as far as Trichinopoly and Tanjore, levying contributions from the Zamīndars of those tracts. In 1692-1693, he

146. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II. 43; *Annals*, I. 108; cf. *Wilks*, I. 227.

147. *Ibid'*, *Ibid*.

148. *Annals*, I. 116; see also *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 69. The *AnnaU* (I.e.) refers to the successor of Dalavai Doddaiya as Timmappaiya of *Kollegal*, which is apparently a scribal error for *Koldla* in the light of the earlier Ms., i.e., *My8. Dho. Pur.* See also under *Dalavdis*, in Ch. XII.

149. *Mys. Dho. Pur.* II. 43-46; *Annals*, I. 108; see also *Tri. Tat.*, ff. 19; *O. Sap.*, pp. 189-190, and *A. V. O.*, III, 71, 79, 143 (referring to the loss of Vastāre by Ikkēri); cf. *Wilks*, I. 227, 228.

150. For the general references on this section, *vide Sarkar, o. c.*, *Vi* 62-127, 130-136; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 114, 117 (f.n. 1), 229 and 282.

renewed the siege of Gingee, with reinforcements under Asad Khān, Prince Eārn Bakhsh and Khāsīm Khān, but with little success. In 1694, he attempted a diversion of the Mughal arms for reducing Tanjore. Between 1695-1697 there was no peace in the Karnāṭak, disturbed as it was by the "roveing parties of the Moratta and Mogull armies and Polligar8."¹⁵¹ In particular, in October and November 1695, the country was raided by the Mahrattas under feāntaji-Ghōrpaḍe and the Mughal Deccan dotted over with Mahratta chieftains. The progress of Zūlfikar Khān at Gingee during the period was definitely arrested. The Mahratta incursions under feāntaji added to the Emperor's worries. And he despatched a contingent from his camp at Islāmpuri, to assist Khāsīm Khān in intercepting the raiders. Kbāsīm Khān was attacked by the Mahrattas (under Śāntaji) near Doddḍeri, a village in the Chitaldrug district, and defeated: to avoid disgrace, however, he took poison and died (December 1695). Santaji became a terror in the Karnāṭak. In December 1696, Aurangzib again sent out fresh reinforcements under Bidar Bakht (the " Didar bux " of the *Fort St. George Records*¹⁵²) to Gingee, ordering Zūlfikar Khān " to follow after Santogee in the Mizore [Mýsore] countrey."¹⁵³ Zūlfikar Khān proceeded as far as Penukoṇḍa and renewed with vigour the siege of Gingee, while pursuing his activities against Śāntaji. Luckily, in June 1697, Śāntaji was slain at the hands of an assassin. At last Zūlfikar Khān, with the help of Daud Khan and Dalpat Rao, succeeded in reducing Gingee in January 1698. Rājaram had, however, in the meanwhile, made good his escape to Satara. The reduction of Gingee, till then regarded as the " Troy of the East,"

151. *Becorch of Fort St. (rtorgei Diary and Consultation Book (1694), p. 148.*

152. *Ibid: Ibid (1696), p. 166; also Letters from Fort St. Oeorge (1698), No. 98, p. 75.*

153. *Ibid : Ibid, Lc.*

proved a landmark in the history of Mughal advance on South India. But Aurangzīb's troubles were not over. Hereafter he began personally to take the lead against the Mahrattas.

In striking contrast with this trend of Mahratta and Mughal affairs, was the policy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during 1691-1694. These years were years of peace and quiet in Mysore. It was in the interests of the kingdom of Mysore that Chikkadēvarāja, during this period, seems to have found it expedient not only to abstain from conquests in the directions where Mughal interests tended to predominate, but also to maintain friendly relations with Khāsīm Khān, the Mughal Governor at Sīra. This was, perhaps, the reason why the Mughal army under Zuḷfikar Khān hardly came into conflict with Mysore, particularly on its march to Trichinopoly and Tanjore (1691-1694). The Mughal acted as the friend of Mysore, and Mysore seems to have tacitly appreciated the friendly attitude.

At the same time, however, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was free to pursue his activities in the direction of Ikkēri—west and north-west of Mysore—outside the Mughal sphere of influence. About the close of 1694, Channammāji, on her return from Subrahmaṇya, appears to have retaliated against Mysore.¹⁵⁴ Among those leading the army of Ikkēri were Daḷavāi Channabasava Seṭṭi, Sabnis Bommarasaiya (*Bommaīya*) of Koḷiṇvaḍa, Yākūb Khān (*Kūpu Khañ*), Krishṇappa Naḃaka of Aigūr and the Bēḍa chiefs of Chintanakal (Chitaldrug) and other places.¹⁵⁶

164. *The Ke. N. V.*, as we shall see, is only to be understood to refer to a subsequent victory of Ikkēri over Mysore (c. February 1696). Naturally it maintains a discreet silence over the course of events during c. 1694-1695, evidenced by other sources of information—*vide* f.n. 155-160*infra*.

155 See *A. V. C.*, II, 21, III, 80, 140, 146, 169, IV, 5 (with gloss), etc. *j* also f.n. 166-169 *infra*.

There were also, we note,¹⁵⁶ levies of the Mahrattas and Muhammadans in the ranks of Ikkēri. These were evidently irregulars who fought in their own interests and not as units aiding Channammāji from their respective sovereigns. The combined forces marched on towards Mysore and laid siege to Arkalgūḍ which had been taken by Chikkadēvarāja in 1674 from its chief Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur. Meanwhile, the Mysore army under Daḷavāi Timmappaiya of Kōlāla proceeded thither. About January 1695, an action took place on the field overlooking the town of Hebbāḷe (*Perbdḷeyura mundana vayalol*), in the neighbourhood of Arkalgud.¹⁵⁷ Both sides, we glean,¹⁵⁸ began with a regular volley of arrows (*bāṇḍ*), the Mysore elephant *Benteraya* and the Ikkēri elephant *Ramabana* taking a leading part in the encounter. Suddenly, however, in the thick of the fight, the troops of Ikkēri began to feign a retreat, only to find themselves overpowered by the Mysoreans. Yet Channabasava Setṭi and Yakub Khan, seated on an elephant (*aneyeri barpinam*), turned against their opponents: a bullet-shot from the Mysore side, however, struck Yakūb Khan, in consequence of which he fell dead on the field of battle while Channabasava, in panic, alighted the elephant and began to take to flight (*MahiSura-bhataritta gundu taki Kupkhanam bilvina-malki Chennabasavam dummikkalelasi . . . paldyanam*), losing a tooth in the struggle (*pallam muridu*). The flight of Channabasava was followed by general disorder in his ranks. The Ikkēri army was

156. *Ibid.*, III, 192.

157. *Ibid.*, III, 48. For *Perbdḷe* read *Perbdḷe*. *Perbdḷe*, Halagannaḍa form of Hebbāḷe, is to be identified with Hebbāḷe, an extant *sarva-mānya* village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (see *List of Villages*, 181).

158. *Ibid.*, III, 33, 53, 55, 83, 84, 89, 90-93, 95-96, 104, 108-109, 111, 114, 117, 126, 128-129, 184, 140-141, 146-147, 150, 153, 157-158, 160-164, 168-171, 173-174, 177, IV, 1, 9, 19 (with gloss); also references cited in f.n. 153-157 *supra*.

broken (*Keḷadiya paḍe muridu*) and thoroughly put to rout amidst great slaughter and mutilation of noses; *Bāmabaṇṇa* and other elephants and horses in their camp were captured by the Mysoreans; Bommarasaiya of Ikkēri made good his escape from the field; and Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr lay dead on the ground, fighting against odds. It was thus a distinct victory for Mysore. Though it has been represented¹⁵⁹ that the victory was only rendered possible by the discord between Channabasava Setṭi and Sabnis Bommarasaiya and by the treachery on the part of the latter to bring about the former's destruction by making the Ikkēri army feign retreat under the effect of a trickish palm-leaf letter (*kaḷḷḍle*), there is no reason to believe that Mysore did not utilize every point of vantage to her own benefit.

The defeat and repulse of the Ikkēri forces was followed by the siege and acquisition of Arkalgūḍ by Chikkadēvarāja between January and February 1695, and of Aigūr, SaklēSpur and Kodlipet (from Krishipiappa Nāyaka of Aigūr) between March and April.¹⁶⁰ These acquisitions confirmed Chikkadēvarāja in the sovereignty of the western part of Mysore while they effectively checked the pretensions to all authority, in that direction, of Channammāji and Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri.

In or about February 1696, however, hostilities between Ikkēri and Mysore seem to have been renewed.¹⁶¹ Channammāji, we are told,¹⁶² despatched her forces

Acquisition of
Arkalgūḍ, Aigūr,
Saklēḍpur and
Kodlipet, 1695.

Hostilities re-
newed, o. February
1696.

159. *Ibid.*, III, 163 (with gloss).

160. *Mys. Dho. Par.*, II, 46-47; *Annals*, I, 106. Cf. *Wilks* (I, 112, 228) assigning these acquisitions and the peace with Ikkēri to 1694. As we shall see, Ikkēri does not seem to have concluded peace with Mysore till about 1700.

161. *Vide* f.n. 162 *infra*.

162. *Ks. N. V.*, IX, 167, vv. 91-93. Significantly enough, on the Mysore side there is no reference to this event which seems to have taken place not later than February 1696, since we know that the successor of Daḷavāi Timmasappaiya in Mysore was appointed in February 1696—*vide* f.n. 163 *infra* and text thereto.

at the head of Sabnis Bommarasaiya of Kōḷivāḍa. In the action that followed, Bommarasaiya won a distinct victory over the Mysore army. Daḷavāi Timmappaiya, the Mysore general, was slain and his son Krishjiappa taken prisoner (but later released).

In February 1696, Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (younger brother of Daḷavāi Doḍḍaiya) was appointed Daḷavāi of Mysore in succession to Timmappaiya. He held that office till August 1698 and was followed first by Vīrarājaiya of Nilasoge (August 1698-December 1702), and then by Dāsarājaiya of Dévarāya-durga (December 1702-1704).¹⁶³ During March-April 1697, Chikkadevarāja Woḍeyar completed the chain of his conquests in the eastern part of Mysore by the re-acquisition of Salem, Sadamangalam, Paramatti, Namakal and Tammambatti.¹⁶⁴

By 1698, Chikkadevarāja had succeeded in regaining his position in the eastern and western parts of Mysore and in subduing the local Pāḷegārs, most of whom, it would seem,¹⁶⁶ had by then sought his protection and friendship. Owing to the presence of Mughal arms in the Karnāṭak during the period (1691-1698), he had wisely refrained from continuing to push up his conquests in the south of Mysore, particularly in the direction of Madura and Trichinopoly, although he never seems to have ceased actively reiterating his claim to sovereignty over it (*Tenkaṇa-Rdya*),¹⁶⁶ Within the limits of the Karnāṭaka

Chikkadevarāja's political position, 1698.

163. *Annals*, I. 118; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 69-70; see also under *Daḷavāi* in Ch. XII; for details about the Kaḷale Family, vide section on *Domestic Life* in Ch. XVI and Table XIII.

164. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 48; *Annals*, I. 109. See also and compare Capt. Read in *Bavannahal Records* (1793), I. 120. Wilks's list (I. 225-226) is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the re-acquisitions in 1697. 165. See *A. V. C.*, III, 52, 55, 150-152, 154, IV, 20, etc. (with gloss).

166. See *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 90. There is no evidence in support of Wilks's dating of the siege of Trichinopoly by Mysore (under Chikkadevarāja), and the Marhatta attack on Seringapatam, in 1696 (I. 119-127). These events, as has been shown above, took place in 1692. See also Appendix VI-(1), for a detailed examination of Wilks's position, etc.

country, however, he had become well established, and he was, we learn,¹⁶⁷ looked upon with awe by the contemporary powers of Tanjore, Madura, Gingee and Sira. He seems to have succeeded also in enforcing his claim to supremacy as the sovereign of the Earnāṭak (*Karndtaka-bhumandaldhīa*),¹⁶⁸ Indeed contemporary texts, from about this time, testify to his right to enjoy the undivided sovereignty of the Empire (*akhanda-dharam-mandalapati*) as an unparalleled monarch.¹⁶⁹ In fine, at a time when Aurangzib in the north was being continually harassed in his struggle with the Mahrattas, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, alone among the South Indian powers, was at the zenith of his power in Mysore—apparently a factor of considerable alarm to the Mughal.

At the end of a long period of political struggle and

expansion extending over two decades
The period of consolidation: from his accession, Chikkadēvarāja
1698-1704.

Wodeyar had had breathing time to devote his attention in an increasing measure, not only to the consolidation of his power but also to the solution of problems of socio-economic import.¹⁷⁰ The years 1698-1704 accordingly mark an important phase in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

Almost simultaneously, the death of Channammāji of Ikkēri (July 22, 1697)¹⁷¹ had removed one great luminary from the political firmament of the Karnāṭak and helped

General political
situation in South
India.

167. See *A. V. C.*, III, 69, also IV, 18: *Anjuvarapratimanga-Tanjāvūr-Madhura Chenji Śrēya āregaḷ*.

168. See *Sachchā. Nir.*, ff. 120; *O. Bi.*, p. 58, and *Gl. Gō.*, pp. 88, 89, referring to *Karndtaka-bhūmanḍaldhīa* as a distinctive claim of Chikkadēvarāja already about 1690. Evidently, by his subsequent achievements he seems to have succeeded in enforcing that claim by 1698.

169. See *A. V. C.*, III, 112, also p. 2 (prose passage), III, 151 (at p. 306), 184, IV, 17, 28 (with gloss, etc., and *O. Bi.*, p. 3. Among other textual expressions in these sources are: *Sāmrajyam-gēyūstīre*; *sāmrajya-vāḷḡum*; *sāmrajya-dīkshēyam tāḷadu*.

170. *Vide* Ch. XII, for a detailed exposition.

171. *K. N. V.*, IX, 169: *Īsvara, Śrāvāṇa tu. 14.*

to add not a little to the reputation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the sovereign of the Karnāṭaka country. Channammaji had been succeeded by her adopted son Basappa Nāyaka as Hiriya-Basappa Nāyaka I, and he persisted in his hostility towards Mysore.¹⁷² Mangamm&I continued as the ruler of Madura in the distant south ; the Mahratta power in Mysore was no longer active; and Mughal influence continued to prevail from the *subdh* of Srā. The death of Khāsm Khān, the first *Faujddr* of Srā, in 1695, seemed seriously to affect the position of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in relation to the Mughal Empire, particularly in and after 1698, for, so long as Khāsm Khān was alive, Chikkadēvarāja could, under the amicable arrangement above referred to, probably count on his support for a favourable representation of his cause and interests at the court of the Mughal.¹⁷⁸ The only cause for alarm for Chikkadevaraja from 1698 onwards was, therefore, the possibility of an invasion of his dominions by Aurangzib. Indeed, a letter from *Fort St George*, dated June 16, 1698,¹⁷⁴ speaks of Aurangzib ordering "Dulpatrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adonee and the Nabob to assist Didar bux [Bidar Bakht] coming against Misore [Mysore]." A Mughal invasion of Mysore, following the reduction of Gingee in the Karnatak, appears thus to have been in the air as the crowning achievement of their advance south of the Krishna. Moreover, the recent victories and annexations of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, far from quieting down the Palegars, had, it is said,¹⁷⁵ been exciting in them feelings of jealousy and hatred against him. Ostensibly to

172. *Ibid.*, X. 170-177; see also *f.n.* 179 *infra* and text thereto.

173. See also *Wilks*, I. 111, for a similar reference to this position.

174. *Letters from Fort St. George* (1696), No. 98, p. 78: Nathaniel Higginson and others to William Hatsell (Governor of *Fort St. George*). The reference to the Nawāb in the letter is to Zulfikar Khān, first Nawāb of the Karnāṭak Pāyāngḥāt, c. 1690-1700—*vide* Table XVIII.

175. *Annals*, I. 142; cf. *Wilks*, I. 117-118.

safeguard the kingdom against the much-expected Mughal invasion but really to further overawe the turbulent local chieftains and thereby increase his own * reputation and status, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, it would seem, found it expedient, in or about 1699, to despatch an embassy to Aurangzīb, who was then holding court at Ahmadnagar.

The embassy, we are told,¹⁷⁶ was led by Karaṇika Lingannaiya, one of the councillors of Chikkadēvarāja, appointed *Vakil* to represent Mysore at the court of the Mughal. Lingannaiya presented the Pādshah with rich *hillats*, and met with a favourable reception at his hands. Aurangzīb, in turn, while theoretically seeking to press a claim to suzerainty over Seringapatam, became so thoroughly impressed with the amicable disposition of Chikkadēvarāja and the valuable services lately rendered by him in putting down the Mahrattas (under Jaitaji, Nimbaji and others), that he conferred on him the great title "*Raja-Jagadev*" ("King of the World"), a seal engraved in Persian characters, with the words "*Raja-Chikkadevaraj-Muhammad-Shayi,**" and numerous insignias (such as the red ensign, the *Hanuma*, *Garuda*, *Makara*, *Gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa*, *Dharani-Vardha* and other emblems of sovereignty), and sent him costly presents with a friendly letter recognizing Chikkadēvarāja* s right to hold *Durbār* seated on the "*celebrated throne of the Pndavas*." Karaṇika Lingannaiya was also duly honoured by the Grand Mughal with suitable gifts.

The embassy returned to Seringapatam in 1700 (*Vikrama*) and, it is added,¹⁷⁷ was accorded a reception befitting the *hillats* and insignias from the imperial

Its return to Serin-
gapatam, 1700.

176. *Annals*, I. 142-145; see also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 29-30. Cf. *Wilks* I.118.

For » further notice of Wilks's position in regard to the details of the embassy, *vide* f.n. 178 *infra*.

177. *Ibid*, I. 145-146.

court, these being taken in solemn procession in the public streets of the capital city.

Although we have so far no independent evidence confirmatory of this account, there seems nothing inherently improbable in it, if we are to judge it with reference to the actual political position of Chikkadēvarāja at the time. We ought also to remember that already, as far back as 1682, there were indications of the establishment of friendly relations between Mysore and Aurangzib, as the Jesuit letter of that year would seem to signify. Whatever might have been Aurangzib's attitude towards the embassy, its successful termination, according to the local narrative, had its own obvious implications so far as Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was concerned. It meant the triumph of Chikkadēvarāja's statesmanship, just at a time when a bold stroke of diplomacy was needed to benefit by the existing situation; secondly, it meant no commitment on his side: it neither signified submission nor an offensive and defensive alliance, being more in the nature of a partnership in which each partner was enabled to pursue his own ends without making the other lose the benefits of his own endeavours; thirdly, it served to enhance the power and prestige of Chikkadēvarāja from a local point of view, particularly in his dealings with the turbulent local Paḷegars who saw Chikkadēvarāja triumph while the Mahrattas—not so long ago victorious and vigilant everywhere—had to flee the country; fourthly, it seemed to mark the culmination of a long process in the political evolution of Mysore as a power at once independent of and friendly with the Imperial Mughal and secure from any troubles, internal or external; and fifthly and lastly, it tended to confirm, though tacitly, and bring into bold relief, Chikkadēvarāja's claim to be regarded as Emperor of the Karnāṭaka, a claim which he, as we have seen, consistently and

strenuously enforced and fought for from the early years of his reign.¹⁷⁸

Among other political activities during c. 1698-1700 were the retaking of Arkalgūd from Mysore by Ikkēri and its eventual restoration, with Aigur and Saklespur, to the sons of Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr; the advance of Mysore arms as far as Coorg and Malabar and their encounter with Garajina-Basavappa-Devaru of Ikkēri; the restitution of Vastare to Ikkēri and the ultimate conclusion of an advantageous peace with Mysore by Hiriya-Basappa Nayaka (of Ikkēri) through Niyogi Saraja-Nagappaiya, by means of a deed of assurance (*bhasha-patrike*),¹⁷⁹ About the close of 1700, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar is

Other political activities, c. 1698-1700:

Advance on Malabar and Coorg.

Peace between Ikkēri and Mysore, etc.

178. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 118-119. Referring to the embassy, Wilks speaks of its splendour as having not "made much impression at the imperial court," of its scant reception and of the public assumption by Chikkadevarāja of the high honours said to have been conferred on him by the Mughal, among them "the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the emperor of being seated on an ivory throne." Wilks hardly specifies his authority for his statements. Indeed, it is open to question whether he has correctly interpreted the local sources of information (to which he might have had access), especially on points of detail. Whatever might have been Aurangzib's attitude towards the embassy, it is difficult to accept Wilks's position in regard to the "throne," which implies there was no throne at all in Mysore before 1699-1700. That Chikkadevarāja and his predecessors—from the time of Rāja Wodeyar's conquest of Seringapatam in 1610—were ruling in Seringapatam seated on the "jewelled throne" (*ratna-simhasana*), is amply borne out by the epigraphical and literary records we have frequently cited (*vide* Chs. V, VI, IX and X). The object of Chikkadevarāja's embassy to Aurangzib was not so much to obtain the Mughal's sanction to sit on his throne as to make him get reconciled to the position attained and asserted by Chikkadevarāja as the Emperor of the South. The authorities available thus lead us to a conclusion which is opposite to the one adumbrated by Wilks. [Wilks's position is adopted by Rice in *Mys. Oaz.*, I. 369, and by S. K. Aiyangar in *Ndyaks of Madura*, p. 198, f.n. 24. Messrs. M. A. Srinivasaohar (in his *Note* in the *C. Vam.*, pp. 9-10) and B. Pūttaiya (in his article, 'A note on the Mysore Throne,' in the *Q. J. M. S.*, VbL XI, pp. 261-266) attempt an examination of Wilks's position regarding the Mysore Throne.]

179. *Affinals*, I. 111; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 47 (compared); *Ee. N. V.*, X. 174, w. 7, 10.

said¹⁸⁰ to have succeeded in overawing the chiefs of Coorg and Malabar, obtaining rich spoils from their camps (consisting of elephants, horses and valuables) and arranging for the regular payment of annual tributes by them. In keeping with this, the *Apratima-Vira-Chwitam*,¹⁸¹ referring to Chikkadevaraja's universal conquests about this time (*ēndesegeldu*), testifies to his generals guarding the frontier-forts in the west, east and south, to his victory over the army of the chiefs of the respective coastal regions, and to his exaction of tribute from them; the *Chikkādevāraja-Binnapam*^m refers to his (Chikkadēvarāja's) signal victory over the chiefs of Coorg, Malabar, Morasa, Tigula and Malnāḍ countries, who, it is said, had proceeded against him depending on the Mahratta alliance; the *Munivamsabhyudaya*¹⁸³ speaks of Chikkadēvarāja having accepted the submission of Kongu, Coorg and Malabar kingdoms and become distinguished as *Sringara-Karnata-Chakri* (Emperor adorning the beautiful Karnāṭa country); while another contemporary work,¹⁸⁴ dated in 1703 (*Svabhdnu*), mentions Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar as securely protecting the chiefs of Pālghāt after crushing the warriors of Calicut. Obviously, during 1698-1700, a combination of local

180. *Annals*, l.c.

181. I, 9; also 7:

Paḍuvāṇa mūḍaṇa tenkaṇa |
Goḍi-gōṇṇeya kāpugōṇḍa paḍovaḷara yā |
Kaḍeya kaḷaḷaḍi-ḍoregaḷa |
Paḍeyam gelaḍārpiniṇḍe kappam-gombar ||

182. P. 4: *Mattama-Maraṇa-rāṭṭopamam nambi mumaridu eḍabala-
 doḷininiṇṇisum poṇarḍa Morasa-Tigula-Koḍaga-Maleyāḷa-nāḍa manne-
 yavam banmam-baḍisi, iteradōḷmḍeseyam gēḍu.*

183. II, 85:

Kongu-Koḍagu-Malaya [i]ḍi rāṅṅangaḷa-nangiḷarisi-yāḷitirū |
Śringara-Karnāṭa-Chakri yemba beḍāngina vesarāṇṇe nṇpaḷi ||

184. *Chikkadēva-Kempadēvaṇṇanavara-mēḷaṇa-hāḍugaḷu* (a collection of contemporary songs on Chikkadēvarāja and his queen Kēmpadēva-
 mma), ff. 130:

Paḷaḷaḍarasugaḷa paḍuḷaḍim kāyḍu
Kōḷu-kōṇṇeya-bhaṇara tōḷugaḷadu . . .

powers, headed by the chiefs of Morasa, Tigulā, Koḍaga (Coorg), Maleyala (Malabar) and Malnad (Ikkeri) territories, seems to have been actively at work, contesting the claims to supremacy of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, backed up by the slender resources of the Mahrattas in the Karnāṭak at the time. The slackening of the Mahratta power in Mysore since 1687, no less their activity against Aurangzib in their home province (Deccan) since 1698, appears to have eventually enabled Chikkadēvarāja to effectively subdue all opposition against his authority. This paved the way in no small measure to the despatch of the embassy to the Grand Mughal and the profound impression it seems to have created on him (c. 1699-1700).

The years 1700-1704 were, on the whole, years of peaceful and settled government in Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.

Period of peace, 1700-1704:

Political position of Mysore, 1704. In 1704, the last year of his reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: in the north, it had been extended up to Bangalore and parts of Tumkūr districts, coterminous with Srīra, the head-quarters of the Mughal Deccan; in the west and the north-west, up to Hassan and Kaḍūr districts, as far as Chikmagalur and Sakrēpaṭṇa, coterminous with the kingdom of Ikkeri; and in the east and the south, up to and inclusive of parts of Salem-Bāramahal and Coimbatore districts, with a distinct tendency to advance further in the direction, of Trichinopoly in the far south and Coorg and Malabar in the west and the south-west respectively. A vigorous offshoot, and a living representative, of the ancient but decadent Empire of Vijayanagar, Mysore had become a secure and independent kingdom south of the Krishṇa, attracting the attention of contemporaries, almost at a time when the fortunes of Aurangzib in the north were at a low ebb. No wonder, with the disappearance of

Bijāpur and Gōjkoṇḍa and of the Nāyaks of Madura Tanjore and Gingee and the momentary eclipse of the Mahrattas in the south, Chikkadēvarāja shone forth as the " Emperor of the South " as the inscriptions and literary works portray him to us, a status too which Aurangzib was forced formally to recognize as much in his own personal interests as in the political interests of an Empire which was fast slipping away from him.

CHAPTER XII,

CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

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

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

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and literary sources invariably point to his rule over Mysore seated on the "jewelled throne of Karnāṭa" in Seringapatam.¹ His was an absolute government conducted as usual along traditional lines, with due regard to the *dharma* (*dharmato dharatalam prasasati; rajadharmata tappadante; maha-rajadharmanum*),² the changing conditions of the time and the happiness and well-being of his subjects. In the actual work of government he was assisted by ministers (*sachivar, mantribhih*), the Dalāvaṅ and officers (such as *kaṇṇika, karya-karta*, etc.). His ministers, according to a contemporary work,³ were adepts in all matters of policy (*sarvatantrajnaradda mantrigalum*) and his financiers proficient in mathematics, *idstras* and *agamas* (*sakala ganita-idstragama kovidarappa karanikarum*). There was as yet no clear differentiation of functions, the king being regarded as the fountain-head of all power and authority, civil and military, political and religious.

Chikkadēvarāja's early training and education enabled him to discern the importance of a

The Council of Ministers:

(a) 1678-1686.

strong executive to manage the affairs of a growing kingdom under the troubled conditions of his time. Accordingly, immediately on his accession, he formed a Council of Ministers (*mantraloohana-sabhe*)—a sort of cabinet—and chose suitable persons to it. These were Visalaksha-Pandit, Tirumalaiyengar, Shadaksharaiya,

1. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 23-24; III (1) Sr. 14, l. 74; 94, ll. 6-7, and 151, p. 119 (Text); *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, l. 20; *Hadi. Dhar.*, I, p. 2, v. 11; *Mbh. Śānti.*, ff. 3 (col. to ch. I); *A. V. C.*, I, p. 2 (prose passage), p. 7, v. 25; *C. Bi.*, p. 3, etc. Among the actual expressions used are: *Śrīrangapaṭṭanaḍol ratna-simhāsana-rāḍhanagi; ratna-simhāsana-sthītē; Paścīmaranga-nagari ratna-simhāsana-rāḍhana*, etc.; cf. *Wilks* in Ch. XI, f.n. 178.

2. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 118; *Kāmaṇḍ. Nī.*, I, 26; *Paśc. Mahat.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 48; *Hadi. Dhar.*, l.c., also IX, 60; *A. V. C.*, III, 151 (p. 100), IV, 23, etc. For particulars about these and other works (of Chikkadēvarāja's period of reign) cited in this Ch., vide Ch. XIV.

3. *Śrī. Mahat.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, ff. 2 (prose passage).

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

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

Yaḷadūra Bommarasana sati Summāmbikōya garbhadoṣā |
Sommīna suta Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍita-nemba yimmai-sirivantaṁgoḍā ||
 see also *Rāj. Kath.*, XI, 387, XII, 474.

5. *Ibid.*, 8-9:

Kalitanu Jina-stutiyanu todalnuḍiyoḷo chaliṇida sanmārgaviḍiḍā |
Ōḍiṭa sakala śāstravā-nōrmodaloḷo dhēḍiṣi sakala matavanū |
Āḍiya-Śrī-Jinamatakeṣeyillendu vō[bō]ḍiṇidānu lōkavanū ||

6. *Ibid.*, 10-18:

. . . ā pura (Srirangapaṭṭaṇa)-pati Chikkadēvarājendra . . .
arasige mantriyaḍānu lōkasantāpahara Viśālākṣhā |
. . . sṭlanu duṣṭānigraha śiṣṭāpratipala lalita budha-jana-jala |
. . . mantri-kulāgrāṇi aṇi samhīta mītavāṇi |
jaṇinim jagava sōlīpa sadguṇa mahimāni mahamātya nṛpago || ;

also *Bāj. Kath.* (XII, 474), where Dēvachandra refers to Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit as an accomplished man of letters (*Viśālākṣham sahitīyabhāratī yonīḍam*).

7. *Ibid.*, 19-26:

Srirangapuradoḷu kaḷōya Tirthēṣṭage varājīpa chaitiyagrhaḥ |
vōrānto māḍiṣi . . . ||
Tannarasīna rājyaḍoḷu||ā Jinagrha-vannuḍāharisi vōḍetyavānā |
sannutamāgi biḍiṣi . . . ||
Belagūḷa-tirthadoḷarhad-vaiḍhava-moḷōḍōri yeḷōya ḍēkēnḍā |
vilasīta rathavanu māḍiṣi . . . |
Arhan-matake kaṇṇakarāgirutirḍa nōro paṣhaṇḍi-vargavanā |
ḍorōyīnḍa negottī . . . ||

the conservation of Jaina monuments in the kingdom by making grants of rent-free lands thereto; the effective curbing of all opposition to the religion of Arhat; the endowment of a glittering car (*ratha*) to God Gōmatēṭi-vara at Sravaij.a-Belagola and the grand performance, with the approval of his master, of the head-anointing ceremony (*Mastaka-pitje*) in honour of that shrine, on March 5, 1677. From a lithic record dated in 1685,⁸ We further learn that he was familiarly known as "Dodda-Pandita of Yelandur." Tirumalaiyāgar (Tirūnialārya), councillor next in importance to yīgalaksha-Pandit, was a Sri-Vaiṣṇava Brahman of Kausika-gotra and Āpastambha-sutra, the eldest son of Paurāṭika Aḷasingarārya (Singarayāngār II or Nṛsimha-sūjri) by Singamma.⁹ Born in 1645 (*Parthiva*), about the same time as Chikkadēvarāja, he was, as depicted in his own works,¹⁰ brought up, and was intimately connected, with the latter as his co-student and colleague from his boyhood (*oḍane . . . ṇade-ṇḍiyam kalu . . . oḍanddi . . . oḍanddi; dharma-sachiva, karma-sachiva, narma-sachiva*). He was also a leading scholar at the court of Chikkadēvarāja, enjoying his favour.¹¹ Although, curiously enough, the extant literary productions of Tirumalaiyāgar nowhere

Dēva-Dōrbaligabhishēkava mūlpalli bhāvadoḷankuradōri |
. . . bhāvaranappaneyindē ||
. . . Mastaka-piṇṇe chanḍadindādu-dēnembe ||
Sala saka sāviraḍarunūragirda Naḷa-samvatsara Phalguṇada |
beḷupakshadēkadasi-yoḷagabhishēka . . . ||

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

8. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 41, ll. 8-9; see also under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.
9. *Vide* Table in Appendix II—(4).
10. *C. Fam.*, 163-166, 170-172; *C. Vi.*, IV, 19, 97-99, V, 97-101.
11. *Vide* colophons to ch. in the *C. Vi.*: *Śri-Chikkadēva-mahārāja kṛpā-paripalīta Śri-Tirumalārya*; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

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

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

13. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 106-107: . . . Gururiva . . . Chikkadēvarāja-nṛpatē sabhā sudharma-mivādhyastē . . . Tirumalayāryō.

14. See *Bhaktādḥikya-Ratnavaḷi*, col. on p. 66 (with Preface) quoted in f.n. 16 *infra*; also *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya*, ff. 168, v. 90; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 442.

15. *Ibid*: . . . nikhila nigamāgama-purāṇādi pratipādita vimala-Vīra-Śaiva-Brahmaṇa-kula-sambhūta Śrīmad-Renukachārya-gōtrāmṛtārṇava . . . Śrī-Balēndupuravarādhisā Muddu-Bhāmipa-kulaguru Śrī-Shaḍakshara-Svāmi. Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 474, and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

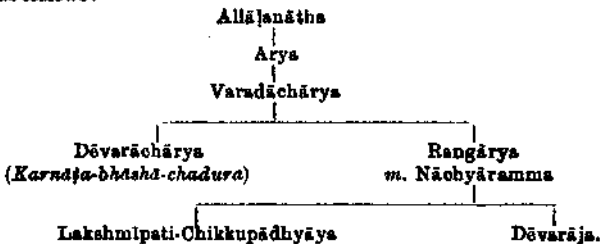
16. See under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

17. *Vide* Preface to *Bhaktādḥikya-Ratnavaḷi*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

Brahman, of Purukutsa-gotra, Āpastambha-sutra and Yajus-sakha.¹⁸ He belonged, as he tells us,¹⁹ to the Pattur family of learned Vedic scholars and poets, tracing descent from Allāṅanātha, whose tutelary deity was God* Varadarāja of Kāñchīpuram. The elder of the twin sons of Naçhyāramma by Rangāchārya (Ranga-Paṇḍita) of Terakaṇāmbi (great grandson of Allāṅanātha), Chikkupādhyāya was a disciple of Kaḍāmbi Singarāchārya. He had mastered the sacred lore and was, besides, a poet, philosopher and expert mathematician (*ganita-sastra-visaradangi*) ** In his earlier years, he seems to have practised the profession of teaching.²¹ Indeed, in keeping with this is the tradition that he was a teacher of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar himself during the latter's boyhood.²² His actual name, however, was Lakshmīpati or LakshmiKa,²³ and he styles himself in some of his writings²⁴ as *Lakshmipati-Chikkupddhyāya*, the suffix *Chikkupddhyāya* obviously indicating his earlier position

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

19. *Ibid.*, 43-50; also *Kamala. Mahāt.*, III, 77; *Hasti. Mahāt.*, I, 104; *Yād. Mahāt.*, I, 10, II, 3, 9; *Pañch. Mahāt.*, col.; *Śū. Sap.*, I, 21; *Div. Śā. Cha.*, I, 92; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 467-468, 490. The genealogy of Chikkupādhyāya's family, according to *Śrī. Mahāt.* (l.c.), was as follows:—



20. *Ibid.*, 51-59; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

21. *Ibid.*, 50: *Chikkupādhyāyam poreyal buddhigalaṅanusurāḍu lokāda jana-mam.*

22. *Annals*, I, 105.

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

24. *Yād. Mahāt.* (verses at the end of col. to each ch.); *Pañch. Mahāt.*, l.c.; *Nīti-Sātaḥa-Sāṅgatyā*, ff. 99; *Kāmanā. Nī.*, col., etc.

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

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

During the next period (1686-1704), Tirumalaiyangār, as Prime Minister in succession to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, rose high in the favour of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.²⁸ In 1695, it is said,²⁹ he obtained Chikkadevaraja's

25. *Sri. Mahāt.*, I, 51; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, col.; also col. to *Su. Sap.*, *Hasti. Mahāt.*, *Div. Śā. Cha.*, *Sāṅgatyas* and *Bhag. Gt. Tī.*; *Hasti. Mahāt.*, I, 103; *Yād. Mahāt.*, I, 18, etc; cf. *Editorial Introduction* (l.c.) to *Div. Śā. Cha.* Among the expressions used in the texts are: *Chikkadēvarājendra-datta-sakalatantra-svatantranāgi*; *Chikkadēvarāja-mukhyāmātya*; *Mantri-tikhamaṇi*; *Sachiva-nichaya-tilaka*; *Chikkadēva-mahārāja-prasādaikaśraya*; *Olapu vetta*; *Kṛpālabdha*, *Kṛpāparipālita*; *Chikkadēvarāyāntaranga Chikupādhyāya*; *Parunāptam sut-pradhānam*; *Chikkadēva-mahārāja-samasta-kārya-durandhara-mantri-vidhēya*; *Paṭi-kāryeka-pradhānottamam*, etc.

26. *Sri. Mahāt.*, I, 40, 51-52; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 19; *Hasti. Mahāt.*, l.c.; *Sakala-tantrājanānda*; *Sakalam-niti-viśaradam*; *Chatuṛūpāya-samartham*; *Karaṇikagrēśaranāgi*.

27. *Annals*, I, 105.

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

Tanna siri tanna sēvan |
tannaḷ geḷe tanna bhāgyami Chikkadēvē ||
nḍranṇēvavitta-nēndola |
vinniravisi Tirumalārya-nunnativettam ||;

also *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 18: *atyunnatar*.

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

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

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

30. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

34. P. 28.

36. *Ante*, Ch. XI.37. See under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.38. See *Songs on Chikkadevaraja and Kempadevaramma* (cited in Ch. XI, f.n. 184), ff. 130.38. *Bel. Go. Cha.*, VI, 27-30.

his duties so assiduously that he rose in the favour and estimation of Chikkadēvarāja and eventually got constructed in the latter's name, at great cost and labour, a pond in Gravana-Belagola (*Sri-Chikkadevendramahasvamiyavara kalyani*), which is still in existence.³⁹

The administration of important places in the interior of the country, of newly acquired or conquered tracts and of frontier posts was, as usual, in the hands of not only agents (*karya-karta*) but also civil and military officials of varying degrees of status (such as *Gurikars*, *Parupatyagdrs*, etc.), directly responsible to the central government. Thus, Siddarājaiya of Talakāḍ was an agent of Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar at Kunigal; Kottīiraiya was another at Talakāḍ; and Hampaiya was an officer in charge of the revenue establishment (*athavane*) at Arkalgūḍ. At Sankhagiri, Tiruchchengōḍu taluk, Muddaiya represented Nanjanathaiya for Chikkadevarāja; at Taramangalam, Vamalur (Omalur) taluk, Kempaiya, son of Chamaiya (Samaiya), was another agent of his; and at Avanas, Mallaiya was his *Gurikar* (lit. a headman of armed peons). Dasarajaiya, son of Biluguli Kemparajaiya, was in charge of the Nijagal-durga-sime, Nelamangala taluk; [Dalavai] Dasarajaiya-Timmapparajaiya, son of Krishnaiya and grandson of Biluguli Timmarajaiya, was administering the Devaraya-durga-sime; and Doddaiya, son of Sangaiya and grandson of Channa-Viraiya, was looking after the Maddagiri-sime. Dasaiya was the agent for affairs (*parupatyagara*) in charge of Nagamangala, and Devaiya was entrusted with the management of Hangala-sime in Devanagara hobli. Among other officials of Chikkadevarāja, Appurayā-Hēbbaruva was an agent for the collection of customs dues (*sunkada-kartarada*); Chamaiya was a supervisor

89. *Ibid.*, 81-87 [According to this poem (*Ibid.*, 88-64), the construction of the pond was actually completed after Ghikkadēvarāja's death]; *E. O.*, II SB. 865; see also and compare *Raj. Kath.*, XI. 390, XII. 480-481.

of *Manegars* and *Kolukars*; Lingaiya was another official in charge of customs, being familiarly known as Sunkada-Linga, while Abhani Venkatacharya of Kausika-gotra and Bhānōji-Paṇḍita were among diplomatic agents (*niyōgi*) stationed abroad.⁴⁰

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

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

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

41. *Ante*, Ch. XI.

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

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

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

The next series of administrative measures was, as already indicated, introduced by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar during and after 1679-1681. These measures relate, respectively, to the reorganization and administration of local units and the inauguration of fiscal reforms.

The total number of administrative units or divisions (*gaḍi*) up to the time of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was, it

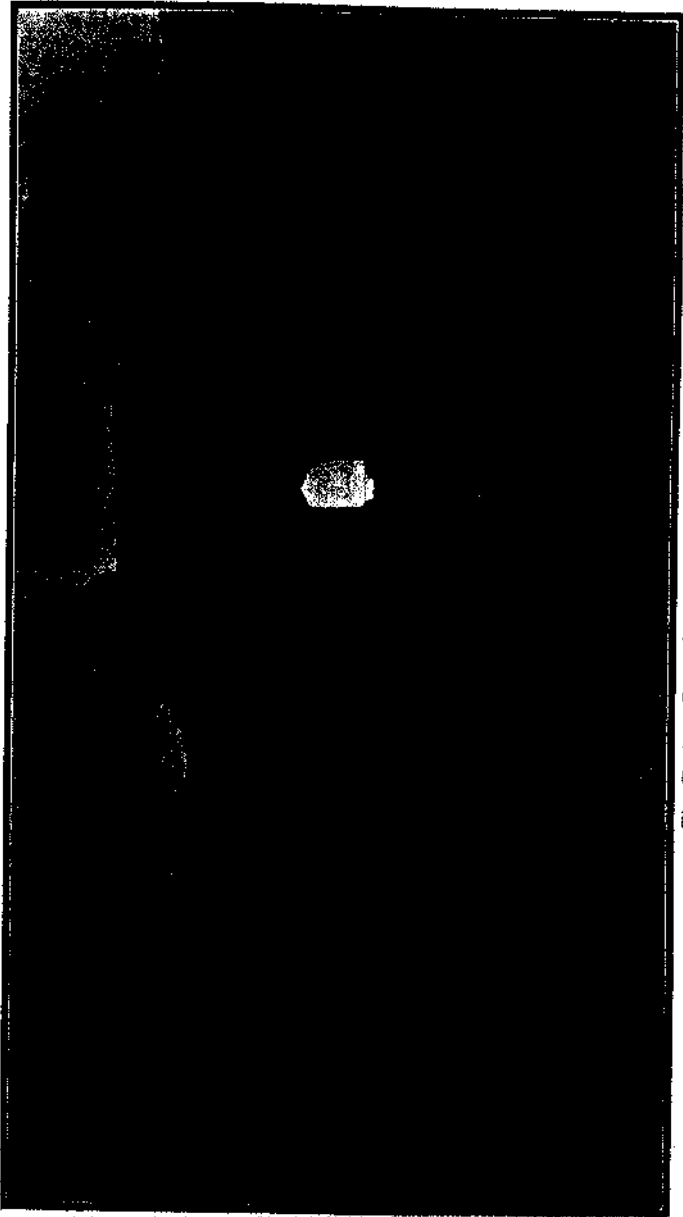
43. *Annals*, I. 111-112; see also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 31-32. For details of weapons of warfare, etc., of the period, vide Appendix IX.

44. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-16-20, pp. 54-55: *Tandava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Devāraya nāyavāṇnu kākiri*.

45. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 81-82: *Madhurettana gelidu puravrajangaḷam sśēdēyādugum khaḷara śikshipa Krishṇana ilēyante vōl*.

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

47. Vide under Religion, in Ch. XIII.



The Eastern Gate of the Seringapatam Fort.

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

At the head of the administration of each unit was placed a *Subdddr*. Under him were posted an assistant (*chikka-parupatyagdra*), three scroll-writers (*athavaṇegeprati*), six accountants (*gumasteyaru*) and one scribe (*rayasadavanu*). A net-work of postal system was established, a news-carrier (*anche-harikara*) being stationed over each division. It was his duty to look after the transmission of letters from place to place and to report on matters coming within his direct knowledge. Among the subordinate staff of each unit, whose number varied in proportion to its size and status, were the head-peon (*dafeddra*), menials (*kaluligadavaru*), treasury attenders (*hastntri, golla*), two watchmen (*chavadi-kavalugdraru*) and a torch-bearer (*divatigeya-jana*). Besides, the Ideal militia (*kandachara*) in each unit was placed on a sound footing, a *Thanadar*, a *Gurikar*,

48. The *Sri. Mahat.* of Mallikārjuna (1678) speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having been served by 72 functionaries or agents in his court (II, 65): *eyyasteraḍu niyḡgam dappadosevipudarinda-mōlage-mesegum*. These functionaries perhaps represented 72 *gadis* or administrative units about 1678. Cf. Capt. Read in *Bāramahal Records* (1792), I, 189, para 9, referring to the number of units as 78.

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

three *Sirastedars*, three *Gumastas*, *Hobliddrs*, *Dafedars*, *Olekars*, the bugler and the drummer (*kombinavanu*, *tamateyavanu*) being suitably posted. The number of *Olekdrs* varied from 100 to 400 according to the size of the unit. Over six *Olekdrs* was placed a *Dafeddr* and over 50 *Dafeddrs* a *Hoblidar*. Ordinarily it was the duty of the staff of the militia to patrol the unit and safeguard the local treasury (*hastantrada kavalu-kattale*). In times of war they were required to be ready with arms and ammunition.⁵⁰ The militia seems thus to have occupied an important place in the civil and military governance of the country, useful alike in times of war and peace and analogous to what we correspondingly find in the Mughal and Mahratta systems of administration of the period.

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

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

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

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

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

vii. Law and order:

(a) The conveying of criminal intelligence.

(6) The Police System.

In important places and at the head-quarters of the units, a spécial staff, consisting of *Kotwâl, ânabhôgs* (their number varying from 1 to 3 according to the size of the locality), *Pête-Setti, Yajamân*, local accountant (*dêêada-êânabhôg*), the criers (*chalavâdi . . . daṇḍiyavanu*), the bugler, the drummer, détectives (*kaḷla-baṅṅaru*) and menials (*ûḷigadavaru*), was entrusted with important duties.

51. *Ibid.*, 117-118; also 186-187. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 218. His reference to the exemption of the soldiery from the payment of certain imposts as being intended to "neutralise" their opposition to Chikkadêvarâja's measures, is based on an unfounded assumption. Such an exemption, however, seems to have been justified both on grounds of policy and established custom (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2462). Traces of Mughal and Mahratta influence are noticeable in the organization of the *gaḍi (subâh)*, the police system and criminal intelligence service, termed "espionage" by the older writers. Compare, for instance, Sarkar, *o.c.*, pp. 80-101, describing the duties of the *Subâhdâr, Faujdâr, Kotwâl, Thâqadâr* and news-reporters including the *Harkarah*, and referring to the *Subâhdâr's schbandî (siḍbandî)*, troops (retainers), etc. The parallel is interesting.

Thèse officiais had to see that the différent classes and sections of the local populace (such as the *Banajigas*, *Vaiéyas* and *Pànchâlas*) did not transgress their caste injunctions, to prevent thefts, to see that the merchants carried on their dealings according to prescribed rules and régulations, and to bring the différent classes of offenders to book. Also, during nights they had to conduct a regular patrol of the locality and prevent the commission of crimes. Further, the *Kotwâl*, *Pête-Settj*, and *Yajamân* were empowered to inquire into local cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively light and to report to the king ail serious offences demanding déterrent punishment at his hands.⁵²

In the scheme of fiscal reforms introduced by Chikka-dëvarâja Wodeyar, the village as the fiscal unit received his foremost attention. In each village, the time-honoured system of rural economy was revived, and placed on a secure foundation, under the désignation of *Bârâbalûti*, which denotes the carrying of rural administration by the following twelve éléments of the village hierarchy: the headman (*gauda*), accountant (*êânabhôg*)—number varying from 1 to 3—, Brâhman astrologer (*panchângada-brâhmaņa*), blacksmith (*kabbinada-kelasadavanu*), goldsmith (*akkasâlê*), potter (*Kumbâra*), washerman (*agasa*), barber (*kelasî*), scavenger (*tôti*), watchman (*talavâra*), regulator of tank sluices (*kere-niruganti*) and carpenter (*ôjaravanû*). The fées (*rusum*) of thèse officiais, under the régulations of Chikkadëvarâja, varied according to their respective rights, being usually paid in kind (*solige-gudde-âya*, i.e., a measure of capacity equal to ¼ of a *balla* or \ a *seer*), the headman and the accountant, in particular, being entitled to an additional share

52. *Ibid*, 126-126; see »Iso f.n. 51 *supra*.

from the crops raised by the villagers (*sânaya-rnudre*) The héadman was further exempted from house-tax (*mane-terigë*), forced labour (*hiṭṭu-bitṭu*) and présents and benevôlences (*kânike, kaddâya*). Half the pay of the village accountant was to be paid in cash and the other half in kind, he being permitted to receive from the ryots, annually, an additional fee (varying from £, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 *hana* per head, according to the status of the ryot) for making entries of land revenue receipts in the village accounts (*ḷadatada kdṇi-keya hana*). The carpenter, barber, potter, washerman, scavenger, blacksmith, watchman and others were allowed the right of receiving a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain from individual cultivators. The village officials other than the scavenger and the watchman were permitted to receive from each ryot a fixed quantity of grain as an annual allowance (*haḷade*), calculated on the basis of the numerical strength of the ryot's family. In addition to ail these perquisites, the Brâhman astrologer, accountant, scavenger, watchman and the regulator of tank sluices were granted, for their maintenance, rent-free lands (*mânya-bhûmi*) varying in revenue value from 1 to 6 *varahas* according to their respective status. Other officials, like those in charge of gôvernment channels (*kâluve-manêgâr*) and of accounts of crops (*hasuge-manêgâr, êânabhôg*), were each to receive a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain out of the landlord's half share of the agricultural produce (*vârada ḷuttuḷiyalli*) ^

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

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

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

Its organization
and administration.

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

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

compared with the lightness of the burden at présent (*i.e.*, about 6 per cent, or $\frac{1}{17}$ of the gross produce), was, it has to be conceded, in keeping with the high purchasing power of the *pagôda* in the seventeenth century. And whatever may be said against payment in kind, it has to be set down that this System has its own advantages during periods of dépression accompanied by a severe fall in priées.⁶⁴

Land-tak apart, a System of taxing fruit trees in garden lands was brought into being.

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

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

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

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

56. *Ibid.*, 1122-128.

66. *Ibid.*, 126; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 120-121; S. K. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 802-303. . Wilks's observation (l.o.) that Chikkadēvarāja, "by a course of rigid economy and order, and by a widely extended and well-organized system of securing for himself the great mass of plunder obtained by his conquests, had accumulated a treasure," etc. hardly takes into account either the actual conditions under which Chikkadēva worked or the historical precedents or the accepted canons of public finance, as explained in the text above.

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

57. According to the *Amara-kōṣa*, *Rājyāngu* consists of the following seven constituents: *Svāmīyamātya suhṛtkōṣa rāṣṭra durgu bālani*, king, minister, friend, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* (i-iv) likewise says:

Svāmīyamātyancha rāṣṭramcha durgam kōṣē balam srit |
Parasparōpakāriṇām sapṭāngam rāja muchyate ||

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

Kōṣō mahīpatēr jīvō natu prāṇāḥ kathanchana |
Dravyam hi rājābhīpasya na sarīramiti sthītiḥ ||
Dharmahetō sukhārthāya bhṛityānam bharaṇāyacha |
Apādarthamcha samrakṣhyāḥ kōṣāḥ kōṣavatā sadā ||

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

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

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

The next item which engaged the attention of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was the standardisation of weights and measures. The

6. **Weights and Measures.** *koḷaga* was the common unit of measure used for determining the quantity of corn. Its measuring capacity, however, varied in different parts of the country, according to local custom. Thus, there were *koḷagas* measuring from 8, 12, 15 to 16 *seers* each. Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar allowed this usage to be continued all over the country, introducing a change only in respect of the seals to be used by the local officials for impressing the prevailing units of measure with. The signets (*mudreya ungurci*) which were in vogue in different localities since the Pâlegâr régime were examined, and, as the estampages thereon were found to vary considerably, a new system was introduced, aiming at uniformity throughout. On the gold signet of each of the 84 administrative units, the name of the unit, together with the figures of the Sun and the Moon on either side and the monogram "De-" in the middle—standing for the king's name—was engraved, and the principal local officer of the unit (*Subâdâr*) ordered to be entrusted with the charge of the seal thus formed. Another type of signet made of silver, with the monogram "De" likewise engraved thereon, was, it was further laid down, to be placed in charge of the subordinate executive staff (namely, *Athavane-chikka-pârupatyagâra*, *Killêdârs*, *hōbli* and village officials and collectors of taxes such as *sunka*, *pommu*, *samaydchâra*, etc.), for current use by them. Further, the village officials (like the *tôti*, *talavâr* and *niruganti*) were to be provided with

68. See as to the maintenance of State treasure in Europe generally, Bastable, *Public Finance*, 586-640.

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

Other important measures Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar is credited with, generally during c. 1673-

6. Industries, trade and commerce.

1690, were of an économie character, arid relate in the main to industries,

59. *Ibid*, 120-122; see also under *Orants and other records* in Ch. XIII, for the referenoe to "De" (Chikkadêvarâja's monogram) as found on boundary stones. On p. 121 of the *AnnaU%* for 3 *Ḷanthîrâyivarahas*, réad 8 *Ḷanfolarayi-haḷama*,

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

60. ~~Ibid.~~ 120. 61. ~~Ibid.~~ 110. 62. ~~Ibid.~~ 124.

différent products—grown on a large scale. in various parts of the country—to a prominent trade-centre (*dodda-pête*) for purposes of évaluation (*karagapadi*), large scales (*chintâlu*) were fixed up in Bangalore, Gubbi, Turuvêkere and other places, where cotton, areca-nuto and other articles of trade were to be brought and weighed and later taken to local raarkets for sale. A sort of trade-emporium for the distribution of économie products over différent areas seems thus to hâve been brought into being. Besides, arrangements were made not only for the expoçt and import of grains, spices, cloth and other things to and from the market-placeâ (*pëi.e*) of the 84 administrative units, but also for the détermination of their value and the levy of tolls (*sunka*) on différent commodities according to the nature of the stock. The customs department (*sunkada-chdvađi*) was reorganized, salaried servants, namely, a *Manëgâr*, *Sânabhôg* (number not exceeding 3) and *Kôlukârs*, being appointed to look after the same. Similarly officiais were posted in suitable numbers to the charge of toll-gates (*ukkada*) on the road-side in the interior of the country. Collections from customs dues were to be accumulated in the cash-chests (*gôlaka*) of the respective administrative units, and merchants in local parts were to be required to set apart a portion of their wares, at rates varying from J to one *seer* per load (*hëru*), as contribution (*rusum*) to local deities and allowances to Brâhmans and others.⁶³

, Among measures of a miscell&neous character, recorded to hâve been introduced by, Chikka-dëvarâja Wodeyar during the period (1673-1686), were⁶⁴ the arrangements made for the storing and disposai of agricultural produce (from demesne lands and public lands) and other articles of every day utility in the principal granary (*dodda-ugrâna*)

63. *Ibid*, 126,142.

64. *Ibid*, 126-128.

and the newly established minor stores (*chikka-ugrâṇa*) at Seringapatam, and the appointment of stores officials, such as supervisors (*gurikârs*), writers (*kaṣṇanikaru*), clerks (*gumâstas*), accountants (*êânabhôgs*), measurers (*aḷateyavaru*, *tîkadavaru*), guards (*pahareyavaru*), etc., their pay being fixed in cash and in kind according to the nature of their respective duties; the extension of the armoury and the magazine (*jâna-sâle*, *alagina-châvaḍi*, *maddina-manë*) in Seringapatam and the storing therein of fireworks of various descriptions. (required for use during the *Navarâtri* and other festive occasions), together with arrangements for the manufacture on a large scale of weapons of warfare and powder and shot, and for the maintenance of accounts relating to them by a spécial establishment consisting of *Gurikârs*, *êânabhôgs* and others.

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

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

66. *Annals*, 1.123-124.

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

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

67. See Oh. XV below, for details.

58. *Annale*, I. 124. Cf. *Wilks*, according to whom the imposts were levied very early in Chikkadēvarāja's reign and became the *root cause* of the revolt of the Jangamas. Even Dēvachandra, the local traditionist, hardly supports Wilks, for, according to him, the levy of imposts, about the middle of the reign (i.e., in 1686), was a *conséquence* of the Jangama agitation—vide Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice of these authorities, B9, *Ibid*; see also and compare Wilks's list (I. 219-219, f.n.) and Rice's list (I. 592, f.n.). Most of the imposts, referred to, were common in the Karnāṭaka country in ancient times (see Ch. XV) and in contemporary Mughal India (see Sarkar, *o. c.*, pp. 119-128), though forms seem to have differed. Chikkadēvarāja's revival of them as effective weapons for keeping at bay the turbulent éléments, appears to have been justified from the conditions of the times. Wilks's statement (I. 217) that Chikkadēvarāja "had recourse to the law of the *Saster s*, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes," is neither well-founded nor does it sufficiently take into account the actual conditions under which Chikkadēvarāja ruled—vide Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice.

Officials were appointed for the administration and collection of these imposts, a *Maṅgâr*, a *Ēcṁabhôg* and a *Kôlulçâr* being generally held responsible for each item* Usually all these items of revenue were leased out (*guttigege koṭṭu*), the annual realisations therefrom being ordered to be added on to the aggregate annual land revenue receipts of the respective villages. These imposts, again, were subject to enhancement according to the condition and status of the individual ryot, and it was ordained that the revenue from this source was to be remitted to the central exchequer at Seringapatam along with the local land revenue collections (*sime-kandâya*).¹⁰

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

70. *Ibid.*

71. *A. V. C.*, III, 148 (with gloss): *Kannada-naḍoḥ beṣarugaḥenitu perchiḍoḍam prajegaḥ perçhuvar, Chikkadēva-maharâyam satyavandhanâdudârim mun mitigeḍa kandâyamanallade peratondu kasu-visamanollanu . . .*; see also *C. Bi.*, p. 4 (prose passage, para 2), testifying to peace in the country, happiness and well-being of the subjects, and blessings of Providence in respect of good rains and crops in the State, during the latter part of Chikkadēvarâja's reign (*ṅadesoya pajeḡaḥaḅangidudârim prajegaḡe raḥikabhayamilladeyumu, dēvatâprasâdâdim maḡe-beḡegaḡunâdudârim dâvikaḡbhayamilladeyumu-mirpuḡdarim, prajegaḡanibarum ihadoḡ soḡavâdapar*).

ihan the standardisée! Share of land revenue 'dues.' Sô carefully were the resources of the kingdom managed under the régulations of Chikkadēvarāja that, towards the close of his reign, it is said,⁷² he was able to leave in his treasury a crédit balance of nine crores in the shape of cash and effects, whence he came to be familiarly known as *Navakôṭi-Nârâyana*, (Lord of nine crores).

The period 1686-1704 was thus marked by the successful working of the earlier administrative measures of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Though there were no additions or alterations as regards these measures during this period, he is credited with having introduced certain developments in the administrative machinery in and after 1700, shortly after the return of his embassy to the court of Aurangzīb.⁷³ These developments, it is added, had their origin in the Mughal System of the time, and relate to the organization of the following eighteen departments (*châvadi*):⁷⁴ (1) *Nirûpada-châvctdi*: department dealing with the recording of petitions from the officials to the king and with the disposal of the same in the form of orders (*nirûpa*) duly authenticated by the latter; (2) *Âyakattina-châvadi*: department dealing with accounts—civil and military—of the 84 administrative units (*gadigala simēya âdâya-vyayada lekka, sainyaḍḍâ lekka*), of the central exchequer (*Tôshikhâne lekka*) and the king's household (*Kartara khâsâ âdâya-vyayada lekka*); (3) *Mysûru-hôbali-vichârada-châvadi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units south of the Cauvery; (4) *Pattanada-hôbali-vichârada-châvadi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units north of the Cauvery; (5) *Simēya-kandâchârada-çhâvadi*:

72. *Annals*, I. 151; *of Willes* I. 120; see also f.n. 56 *supra*.

73. *ibid*, 146.

74. *Ibid*, 146-150; cf. Capt. Bead in *Bardmahal Records* (1792), 1. 189 para 10; also *Wilks*, 1. 119-122, f.n. (including Sir Murray Hammiok's list from the *India Office*, on. p. 122, f.n.), and Bice, I. 590-691.

department dealing with accounts of civil and military establishments in the administrative units and of arms, ammunition and stores required for the equipment of the respective units ; (6) *Bâgila-kandâchârada-ehâvadi* : department dealing with accounts relating to the military and civil officials on the Huzûr establishment and the Pâlegârs; (7) *Sunkada-châvadi* : customs department for the maintenance of Consolidated accounts of road-tolls on goods, collected ail over the country under the régulations of Chikkadêvarâja, and of import and export duties; (8) *Pommina-ehâvadi*: a spécial department intended exclusively for the collection at one-half the scheduled rates, of duties on commodities purchased or disposed of by certain classes of people such as beneficiaries, Brâhmans and officials ; (9) *Todâ*yadâ-châvadi* : a similar department intended for the collection of duties at half the scheduled rates [from certain classes of people] in Seringapatam only; (10) *PaHanada-hôbali-açtagrâmada-châvadi* : department having jurisdiction over the eight *hôblis* newly formed under the *GhiJckadêvarâja-sâgara* channel ; (11) *Mysûru-hÔbali-açtagrâmada-châvadi* : department having jurisdiction over the eight *hôblis* newly formed under the *Dêva-nâlâ* (channel)—these two departments being required to attend to the repairs of dams and canals under the Cauvery and the Hêmavatî and to maintain regular accounts of half the government share of produce from lands irrigated thereunder ; (12) *Bemeya-châvadi* : department dealing with the management of Palace cattle, daily collection and disposal of dairy products and the maintenance of accounts relating thereto; (13) *Pattanada-châvadi* ; department entrusted with the upkeep of the Palace, fort, bastions, stores and magazine, and the maintenance of law and order, in the capital city of Seringapatam; (14) *Bêhina-châvadi*: department of intelligence—dealing with the speedy

transmission by couriers (*anche-harikâra*) of reports of events from the administrative units to the capital, and with the communication of royal orders (*nirûpa*) thereon to the local parts ; (15) *Sawmukhada-châvadi* : department dealing with the maintenance of accounts relating to the members of the Royal Family and the subordinate staff on the various establishments of the king's household—a department which was to be administered by Gurikârs Sômarâjaiya and Appâjaiya under the direct supervision of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar ; (16) *Dêva&thâ*nada-châvadi* : department pertaining to the management of temples ail over the kingdom and to the supervision of their budgets ; (17) *Kabbînada-châvadi* ; department dealing with the purchase of raw iron and manufacture and sale of goods therefrom ; and (18) *Hogesoppina-châvadi* : department concerned with the purchase and sale of tobacco in Seringapatam.

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

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

CHAPTER XIII.

CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Religion: Sri-Vaishnavism; General tendencies—Sri-Vaishnavism, personal faith of Chikkadevaraja—Principal stages in its development—*First stage*: 1673-1680—*Second stage*: 1680-1696—*Third stage*: 1696-1704—Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Religious toleration—Gifts, etc.—An irrigation scheme, c. 1700-1701; contemporary Jesuit testimony—Grants and other records: (a) 1673-1680—(b) 1681-1695—(c) 1698-1704—Statue of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Social life: General features—Cities and towns: 1. Seringapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkoté, etc.—The social order: General culture—Court culture: 1. The Durbar Hall; 2. The King; 3. The courtiers—4. The programme of the Durbar: (a) Music and dancing—(b) Other items—Feasts, festivals, etc.—Position of women—Social legislation; (a) Relating to *Sudras*: The *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya*—Its aims and objects—(6) Relating to *Arasu* families—The other side of the shield.

THE period of Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar's rule (1673-1704) witnessed an important development in the évolution of êri-Vaishnavism, generally as the prevailing creed in the south of India and more particularly as the professed faith of the Mysore Royal Family. Indeed, as we have seen in the earlier chapters, the rapid strides êri-Vaishnavism made in Southern India since the mémorable battle of *Baksas-Tagdi* (1565) were coeval with its steady progress as the religion of the Ruling House of Mysore and the development of Vaishnava tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty. Further, we have indications that the êri-Vaishnava influence—ever activé in the viceroyalty of

Seringapatam—began to make itself felt on the court life of Mysore, especially on the acquisition of Seringapatam by Bâja Wodeyar in 1610. That influence, however, became more and more pronounced during the subsequent years, consequent on the gradual decline of the Vijaya-cagâr Empire and the rise to prominence of Sri-Vaishnava families of repute, accompanied by the migration of some of their members from the court of the Âravïdu Emperors to that of the Wodeyars of Mysore. Mëlkôte and Seringapatam, among others, became the strongholds of rejuvenated êri-Vaishnavism in Mysore. Singaraiyangâr I was closely connected with the Mysore Eoyal Family as the teacher of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar (younger brother of Bâja Wodeyar and father of Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar) ; Alasingarârya (Singaraiyangâr II) , grandson of Singaraiyangâr I and father of Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangâr), became celebrated as the Paurânika, friend, philosopher and guide of Doddadëvarâja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar; and Alasingarârya and his son Tirumalârya were also important êri-Vaishçava celebrities at the court of Dëvarâja Wodeyar (uncle of Chikkadëvarâja). Again, Venkat-a-Varadâchârya of Ettûr, son of Kôtikanyâdânâma-Lakshmikumâra-Tâtâchârya of êriëaila-vamëa, from the court of yijayanagar, became the preceptor of Dëvarâja Wodeyar himself. So widespread, indeed, was the êti-Vaishçava influence at the court of Mysore that within half a century from the conquest of Seringapatam, *i.e.* about the close of the reign of Dëvarâja Wodeyar (1659-1673), it showed a tendency to become the chief religion in the State.

At a very early period in his life—particularly during his term of office as Yuvarâja under Sri-Vaishnavism, his personal faith of Dëvarâja Wodeyar, down to about Chikkadëvarâja. 1668—Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar showed a prédilection for Sri-Vaishnavism as his personal

faitlu¹ The influence of éducation and the training he had received at the hands of his teachers; the strong àri-Yaishṇava leanings of his own grandfather (Muppina-Dēvaràjâ Woḍeyar) and father (Doḍḍadēvaràja Woḍeyar), the latter under the teaching and inspiration of Aḷasingaràrya ; lastly, the living example of Tirumalàrya, companion and colleague of Chikkadēvaràja—thèse were perhaps factors contributing to that result.³ The foundations of éri-Vaishṇavism as the personal creed of Chikkadēva had thus been laid long before his accession to the throne of Mysore in 1673. So that, during the period of his actual rule, he was, as he is depicted to us,³ an ardent devotee at the feet of deities like Apratima-Râjagôpâla of Haradanahalli (*Haradanapuri*), Paravâsudēva of Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kauçḍinî, Gôpâla of Kanjagiri (Gôpâlasvâmi hill), Eangêea of Paéchimaranga (Seringapatam) and Nârâyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mêlkôṭe), among others. Equally devoted was he to êri-Krishṇa, as is borne out by the striking by him of gold coins in the latter's name about 1675, as already mentioned. Further, the *Châmarâjanagar Plate* (November 1675)* speaks of him as having brought from éri-Mushṇa the image of êvêta-Varàhasvâmi (which had been, it is said, lost during the Yavana invasion) and worshipped it with dévotion in

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1. See, for instance, *C. Vi.*, V, 118-152, depicting Chikkadēvaràja's devotion to God Paravâsudēva, adoption of the Śri-Vaishṇava marks (*Ôrdhva-puṇḍra*), daily worship of Vishṇu, performance of gifts, acceptance of holy water, etc., during Dēvaràja's reign. Cf. Wilks and other authorities as set out in Ch. XV.
 2. See *C. Vam.*, 104-160, 168-184; *C. Vi.*, III and IV; also Ch. X of this work, under *Domestic life*.
 3. See *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 96, vv. 2-4, p. 100, v. 8; col. to *Kamala. Mahat.*, *Pañch. Mahat.*, *Yad. Mahat.*, *Śri. Mahat.*, *Su. Sap.*, *Mbh. Santi* and *Śalya Parva* and *C. Vi.*; also *Sachchâ. Nir.*, I, 63; *E. O.*, III (1) Br. 14, ll. 74-75, etc. The *Kamala. Mahat.* (III, 80-83) contains also an elaborate account of Chikkadēvaràja's visit to Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kauçḍinî (c. 1677-1678), and of his devotion to God Paravâsudēva there.
 4. *E. O.*, IV (3) Ch. 92, ll. 82-84; see also and compare *Annals*, I, 139.

Seringapatam. Another record⁵ mentions him as the *êri-Vadshṇava-matarpratisthâpaka* (establisher of the religion of the *êri-Vaishjjas*). Others⁶ likewise point to his adoption of *êri-Vaishṇavism* as his personal faith. In keeping with this, we have a picture of the daily routine of his religious avocations (*nitya-vihita-karmâ*), which, we are told,⁷ used to consist of the following items : rising at dawn ; contemplation of Vishṇu ; ablutions ; wearing cérémonial clothes and besmearing the body with sandal paste ; observance of the *Nâmatîrtham*, i.e., putting the *Ûrdhvapundram* and the *Tikâ* (*êri-Vaishṇava* marks) on the forehead ; performance of the *sandhyâ* and *japam* (morning rites) ; worship of Vishṇu, reciting His thousand names ; acceptance of the holy water and offerings (*îrtha-prasâdam*) ; offering of oblations (*hōma, âjyâ-huti*) to fire and bestowal of gifts (of cows, cash,, etc.) on pious and deserving Brâhmans. At the end of this round of religious duties, he would receive the bénédictions of Brâhmans and seat himself on the throne (*hari* pūtha*) and listen to the exposition by learned scholars of topics of religious merit (like the *Gîtâ*, the *Epies*, etc.), after which he would attend to the day's business of state.⁸ Chikkadêvarâja, we learn,⁹ also paid particular attention to the observance of the fast day (*Êkâdaêi*) and the bestowing of gifts on Brâhmans on the day following, when the breaking of the fast (*Dvâdaêi*) came

5. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 482-488, also l. 149.

6. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 ; III (1) Sr. 161, My. 7, etc. ; see also under *Grants and other records* cited below.

7. *Kâmand. Nt.*, I, 86, 91, *Śu. Sap.*, I, 12-18 ; *Div. Sâ. Oha.*, I, 84-85 ; *Ruk. Oha.*, I, 80-89 ; *Bhag. Gt. Tt.*, I, 68-68 ; *Hastî. Mahât.*, I, 92-97 ; *Kamala. Mahât.*, III, 8-15 ; *Venkaṭa. Mahât.*, I, 52-55 ; *Paśc. Mahât.*, I, 48-49 ; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 63-64, 67-68 ; *Śrî. Mahât.*, II, 48, 118-119 ; *Sachchya. Nir.*, I, 47-49 ; also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 69-69 ; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 79-88 ; III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 87-90 (repeating Sr. 14), etc.

8. *Ibid.* ; cf. Wilks and Dêvachandra as set out in Ch. XV.

9. See *Ruk. Oha.*, I, 86-89, 96 ; *Yad. Mahât.*, ff. 102 ; *Div. Sâ. Oha.*, I, 90 ; *H. O.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 110-112 ; also *Annales*, I, 151 ; vide also under *Gifts*, etc., below.

off; visited important places of pilgrimage and bathing-ghâts (*sapta-kshêtrâçja-tîrhangala darêanam gaidu*) ; was fond of listening to Śrî-Vaishṇava sacred lore ; and gave prominence to the *Vajra-mahûti* (*Vaira-muḍil* festival and the *Gajêndrôtsavam* of Śrî-Nârâyana, the famous deity presiding over Mēlkôṭe.

The religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, thus described, was evolved during the period of his rule (1673-1704), side by side with the systematic, though mutual and complementary, development of Śrî-Vaishṇavism in gênerai in Mysore.

Three distinct stages are, accordingly, noticeable in this connection. The first stage (1673-1680) may be conveniently regarded as the stage of initiation and préparation ; the second (1680-1696) as the stage of expansion ; and the third as the stage of culmination. It would be of interest to trace the course of development during each of these stages.

Despite the indications of a promising future for êrî-Vaishṇavism in Mysore by about 1673 and the early leanings of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar towards it, there seems little doubt that other religions like Jainism and Vîra-êaivism were equally active at the court of Mysore during the first part of his reign. The extent of influence of these religions—particularly of Jainism—on Chikkadēvarāja is found much exaggerated in later writings.¹⁰ The truth, however, appears to be, as we shall see, that while Chikkadēva seemed to encourage and even openly tolerate, as became an impartial ruler, other forms of religion that prevailed at his court, Śrî-Vaishṇavism held its own and kept up a steady and vigorous propaganda against its rivals, systematically initiating him into its

10. See, for instance, the accounts of Dêvachandra and Wilks as set out in Ch. XV of this work.

religions and philosophical subtleties and preparing the ground for its further development. Perhaps one strong point in support of this position is the remarkable output of êrî-Vaishṇava literature, produced under the direct patronage of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself during this period.¹¹ Another was the influence that was being continually exerted on him and his court by learned Śrî-Vaishṇava leaders like Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and, more markedly, by Chikkupādhyāya.¹² Thus, not only was the religious outlook of Chikkadēvarāja definitely moulded in favour of êrî-Vaishṇavism from 1673 onwards but he had also become a êrî-Vaishṇava both by faith and profession by about 1680.

Alongside of this development, Jaina and Vîra-êaiva cults also continued to flourish at the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during the succeeding period (1680-1696).¹³ The tendency for Śrî-Vaishṇavism to overshadow the rival faiths became, however, more pronounced from 1686 onwards, especially after the death of Viêâlāksha-Paṇḍit, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja, and the accession in his place of Tirumalaiyangâr. Between 1686-1696 êrî-Vaishṇavism occupied a most prominent position at the court of Mysore. Its philosophical doctrines continued to engage the attention of Chikkadēva in an increasing measure ; and, already during this period, he appears to hâve had a êrî-Vaishṇava preceptor (*âchārya*) also.¹⁴ So powerful, indeed, was

11. See under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.* ; also *B&J. Kath.*, XI. 887-891, XII. 480-482.

14. See *T. N. Stavafy*, etc., pp. 1, 81, 86, 91, 96, 100, 112 (first verse in each of the *Stavahs* and in the commentary on the *Y. N. Stavah*) and 119, where VSdhûla-Śrînivāsārya, a celebrated êrî-Vaishṇava scholar of the time, is mentioned as the preceptor (*Guru, Ouruvarya*) of Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and is further referred to as hâving taken up his residence in the neighbourhood of Hêmagiri, not far from Mêlkôte. Vadhûla-Ôrlnivāsārya seems to hâve been closely connected with the court of Seringapatam also through Tirumalāya. See also *Annale*, 1.182, referring to a ârî-Vaishṇava *acharya* of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

the Sri-Vaishnava ; influence at the court of Mysore that by October 1690 it seems to have become the principal factor underlying Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's classification of the Arasu families in the State and his régulations in regard to them.¹⁵ And by 1693 Chikkadēvarāja had, indeed, come to be known as an out and out éri-Vaishriava, while the heavy proselytizing tendencies of the faith had begun to extend over the court circle and beyond.¹⁶ Thus, in June 1693, we learn,¹⁷ the purôhita and scholars of other sects attached to the court of Chikkadēvarāja were, agreeably to a représentation of Tirutnalaïyangâr, desired to wear the éri-Vaishṇava marks (*ndmam*) on their foreheads while attending at the Palace during the king's *Nâmatîrtham*. Further, the embracing of the Sri-Vaishṇava faith by çbadopting its credentials (*Pancha-samskâras*, namely, *Chakrânkanam*, *Urdhvapundra-dhâraṇam*, *Dâsanâmam*, *Mûlamantrôpâsanam* and *Nârâyana-pujâ*) and the observance of *Vaishṇava-dîkshâ* were laid down as conditions précèdent to any claims to blood-relationship with the Mysore Royal House, in the case of thirteen Arasu families recognised, under the récent classification of Chikkadēva, as of pure blood. Gurikârs Sômarâjaiya and Appâjaiya were entrusted with the communication of these injunctions to the families concerned. The latter not only acted accordingly but also, under instructions from the Gurikârs, submitted¹⁸ a solemn pétition to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in March 1694, expressing their deep sensé of gratitude to him for having rescued them from the abyss of social dégradation and impurity, and conveying their resolution to adhère to and follow éri-Vaishṇavism both by faith and by profession under the royal decree. In June 1696, however, these families,

15. See under *Social life* below.

16. *Annals*, l.o. ; see also Dêvaohandra in Ch. XV,

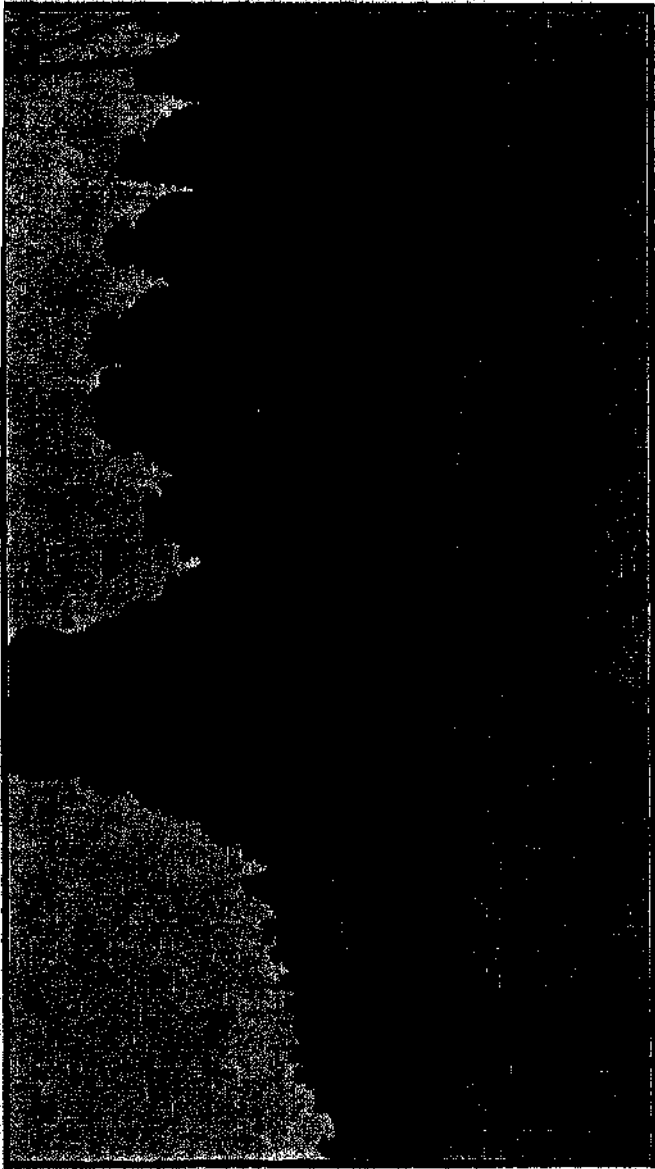
17. *Ibid.* . . . 18. ZWd, 132-184*

having experienced certain difficultés due to their having given up their family deities in favour of éri-Vaishçtava ritualism (*Nàrâyana-pujâ*), submitted¹⁹ another pétition to Chikkadëvaràja Woḍeyar, praying for permission to worship their respective family deities also while adhering to ail other êri-Vaishçiava usages and practices prescribed for them. The permission sought for was granted, Gurikârs Sômaràjaiya and Appàjaiya being, as usual, desired to communicate the order to the Arasu families.

This relaxation in favour of his relations did not mean any désertion of the chief articles of the Vaishçtava faith. There is, indeed, ample évidence for the view that êri-Vaishçnavism reached the culminating point as the religion of Chikkadëvaràja Woḍeyar in the closing years of his reign, more particularly from 1698 onwards, under the ever active influence and example of Tirumalaiyangâr. So deep-rooted had become the earlier views of Chikkadëvaràja in regard to &ri-Vaishçnavism that, during the years 1696-1704, they not only attained a remarkable state of maturity and perfection as articles of his creed but also became expressive to a degree. In fact, as a firm and steadfast devotee of Vishçnu, he had begun to realize the higher life of the spirit, seeking salvation in accordance with the doctrine of faith in God's grâce (*Nambuqe*) and absolute self-surrender (*Prapatti*), and taking a keen interest in popularising his convictions. Of the directness of appeal and the deep moral fervour, earnestness and sincerity of those convictions, his own writings,³⁰ which can be dated between c. 1700-1704, are a standing testimony. Thèse writings throughout bear the impress

19. *Ibid*, 134-186.

20. The *Ohikkadëvardja-Birinapam* and *Gîta-Gôpdlam*. For détails about thèse works, see under *Literary adivity* in Ch. XIV below,



Sri-Narayanaswami Temple, Melkote.

ôf his personality, and they cannot but be regarded as the vivid expression ôf êri-Vaishnavism as his personal faith.

Thus, of the Suprême Being and of Salvation, Chikka-
Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. dēvarāja Wodeyar, in the course of thirty humble pétitions (*Binnapa*)⁷¹ addressed to êri-Nârâyana of Yadugiri (Mêlkôte), says :

"Oh, Lord of Yadugiri ! Having settled on the famous peak adorning the Karnâṭaka country, Thou hast attained celebrity as the Protector of ail people and as the tutelary deity (*Kula-dēvate*) of the Yadu race. Thou art *Para-brahman*, the primeval cause of the world ; Thou art infinité ; Thou art manifest in the *Vēdas*, *Purâṇas* and the eighteen *Vidyas*. The *Vēdas* proclaim that the entire business of the world is Thine. As the attendants of a king praise him for the attainment of happiness by his subjects and followers, so do the *Vēdas* praise Thee for the bestowal of eternal happiness on those devotees of Thine following the prescribed course of conduct. The *Gltâ* speaks of this ; the *Smritis*, *Itihâsas*, *Purâṇas* and *Āgamas* describe it. Indeed those who hâve grasped the fundamentals of philosophy aver without contradiction that Thou art an object of wonder. Thou art an embodiment of the entire world, being "One" in diversity. Even the things perceived during dream turn out to be real if the philosophy of création is rightly understood. In my own case, the sword *Nandaka*, which I was actually favoured with by Thee in a dream, has stayed perpetually with me and has enabled me, by virtue of Thy glory, to eut down the enemies who surrounded me in ail the four directions. A pious king in this world lays down rules and régulations governing the protection and punishment of his subjects. If he acts up to them regardless of any distinction, he will be

21. O, Bi., pp. 1-59. For spécifie referenoes, see *infra*, . . .

considered as impartial ; in scrupulously adhering to them, he Will be held as absolute ; and in pardoning a delinquent, he will be regarded as kind-hearted. Even so is the case with Thee in awarding Thy rétributions to sentient beings according to their actions (*Karma*). Thou art the cause of ail création, and préserver and destroyer too. Thou art the Suprême Lord of ail individual souls, and the essence of our relationship is that of master and servant. As the Suprême Being, Thou art at the head of ail création, including animate and inanimate objects, worlds for the experiencing of fruits of past *Karma*, and océans, heavens and hells of various kinds. Fear of falling into hell vanishes by the mère recitation of Thy name ; sinners become purified by contemplating Thee.²²

" Salvation (*Môksha*) is an end most cherished by those who are free from mundane cares. All the other ends are evanescent : salvation alone is eternal and it is to be attained by right action, right knowledge and right faith. Right action purifies the mind and leads to right knowledge and is, besides, part and parcel of right faith. Right knowledge leads to and develops right faith. Right faith centres round the sincère attachment of a devotee to the Lord. A knowledge of the philosophy of the Suprême Being (*artha-panchaka-tatvajnâna, sâtvika-sastra*) is, however, absolutely necessary for the attainment of salvation. As several routes ultimately lead to the same place, so do the *Vedas*, the *Pâncharâtra*, *Yôga*, *Sânkhya* and *Pâêu-pata* schools of philosophy, in depicting Thy greatness, aim at one and the same goal. Oh, Lord of Yadugiri ! To those who have renounced the world and placed their trust in Thee, Thou art easily accessible. Renunciation of worldly désire, as is taught by the elders, is easiest to achieve and is governed by the conception of relationship between

22, *Ibid*, pp. 9-13,14-16,17-18,19-20, 21-22, 28-96, 28-29, 30-36,87-39.

master and servant. Indeed, if a servant disregarding the king, his master, acquires for his personal use and spends away, according to his own whims, ail that is due to the latter from the différent parts of the kingdom, such a servant is to be considerçd as being both avaricious and treacherous. If he, on the other hand, realising hi\$ own position, places before his master ail the things amassed or acquired in his name and serves him, receiving from him whatever he spares after his use—in the shape of food, raiments, jewels, etc.—such a servant is worthy of beirg regarded as impartial and sincère. Similarly, if a person, not knowing his, self, enjoys worldly pleasures thinking that he is himself absolute, such a person will neither achieve renunciation of désire nor be devoted to Thee. If he, however, realising that he is Thy servant, cons²cientiously serves Thee by following the presc²ribed course of conduct (*Varnâêrama dharmangal*), and expériences the pleasures extended by Thee through the *Vidas* and *éàstras*, he is to be regarded as really devoted to Thee. Mère action (*Karma*) is not a sufficient means to attain salvation : it is just like service rendered by a servant to his master, governed by considérations of time, rémunération and the ego ; it is also of a two-fold character, good and bad (*satkarma, dushkarma*), eternal and optional (*nityam, kâmyam*), and the latter (*i.e. dushkarma, kâmya-karma*) plunges one in illusion (*avidya*) and the eternal prison-house of this world (*samsâramemba serevaneyol kedapi*), from the fetters of which there is no chance of rédemption. Dévotion to Thee, trust in Thee and service and absolute surrender at Thy feet—thèse alone lead to such rédemption.²³

" Let Thy grâce, Oh, Lord of Yaduéaila, dawn upon me. I hâve approuêhed the shadow of Thy feet to rid myself of ail my troubles. Make me refreshed by satisfying my cravings. Let Thy accessibilité to Thy devoteés

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43, 44-69, 53-57.

(*bhakta-sulabhatë*) manifest itself, and may Thóu settle in the abode of my hearfr. Favour me with Thy true farm manifested in the *Védanta*, the foremost of ail the *Vidyâê* ; relieve my mental torpor and enable me to gain true knowledge and dévotion at Thy feet. Let me be considered a servant of Thine and be made fco float on the waves of the océan of Thy kindness. Let the excellent doctrine of unity in diversity (*Viêiçtâdvaita*) be established in my mind. What am I in the océan of Thy virtues ! Let me be tolerated for having attempted to describe Thy glory. Let Thou be pleased with my humble words gathered from my association with elders devoted to Thee. Let me be favoured with eternal happiness and glory. I hâve placed my absolute trust in Thee. Let the sweet radiance effulging from the corner of Thine eyes be showered on me ; let ignorance and passiop. (*rajastamôgunâ*) in me vanish and goodness (*satva-gtma*) be increased. Let me not be forgotten in Thy ever active business of the world. Bealising that my being, forra, etc., are entirely under Thy control, I hâve withdrawn myself from ail selfish pursuits. Worldly pleasures are transient. I désire only to serve Thee, which is eternal enjoyment. Let me be confirmed in this. Let my fear of hell be eradicated ; let not my sins be made much of ; let me be purged of them and protected. Let me be considered a devoted servant of Thine. I surrender myself at Thy feet and seek salvation." *

Again, holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of Vishçu, Chikkadëvarâja Woijeyar, in t,he *Gïta-Gôpâlam*,²⁵ speaks of trust in God's grâçe (*Nambuqe*) and self-surrender to Him (*Prapatti*) as means to the attainment of salvation by the people ;

24. Ibid, pp. 1041, 18-16,17-18, 20-22, 24-27, 29, 81, 36, 89, 41, 4344, 46,48-50, 62-57.

26. Bp. 1-70. For spécifie références, see *infra*.

" To the people of this world the hope of salvation lies only in the philosophy underlying the *Gîtâ*. As a physician administers medicine in the form of milk to the sick person who desires it, so does Chikkadëvarâja expound that philosophy to them.³⁶

" Oh, Lord Paéchima-Rangal Tell me whether Thou knoweth not this. It is a source of pteasure for me to know that I am Thy man. I do not recollect anybody else except Thee, nor did I hâve trust in mère action, knowledge, faith and renunciation. In boyhood there is much aberration ; in youth much vain pleasure ; in old âge there is liability of the body to diseases of various types. The fruits of *Karma* never cease. Systems of philosophy are many and among them are some disputations. The truth can never be made out by penetratiing into them. Knowledge is never a sufficient means to salvation. By subjecting the body to mortification, by controlling the passions and by rigorous concentration, renunciation can never be achieved. Without giving up the hankering after the material world there can be neither true faith nor salvation.²⁷

" Oh, Lord Krishna! I do not accept anybody except Thee. I know Thy glory. If Thou forsake me I cannot live. I cannot be carried away by mère désire nor descend to the lower plane. I do not transgress the bounds of propriety nor am I particular about other Gods and the results they confer. I cannot swerve from the standard of duty laid down (*Mudré*), even for once. I do not speak with fools nor mix with tricksters. Neither do I merely hope for without understanding the nature of things, nor tease Thee by entering the wrong path. I do not enter différent routes and wander hère and there, nor engross myself in seûsual pleasures. I do not wish to be born again in this world.²⁸

26. *Gi. GG*, pp. 2-8, w. 10-11.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

28. *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.

" I am gratified to-day. Giving up ail other things, I stand firmly rooted in my position as a servant of Thine. Prostrating at Thy feet, wearing Thy sacred *Tihâ* and *Mudrâs* and the clothes, undertaking Thy service, accepting Thy offerings and gifts, looking at Thy divine figure, playing before Thee, mixing with Thy servants, recounting Thy virtues, relying upon Thy infinité love, bënding at the feet of Thy devotees, acting according to Thy grâce and becoming the servant of Thy servants, as I hâve been, protect me, Oh, Lord ! *

" I am always listening to Thy glory and praising Thee. I am settling Thee in my heart, beautifying and devoutly worshipping at Thy beautiful feet. Thou art my Lord; My attachment and love are no burden to Thee. Happy indeed am I, having alighted ail my burdens at Thy feet.³⁰

" Oh, people of the world ! place your trust in our Lord, Yâdava Nârâyana, and be happy. Look back with scorn on your previous conduct ; behave well at présent to avoid censure in the future. From hence follow one line of truth and be good. Understand your position well Oling to an approved course of conduct. Eevile at pride, préjudice and arrogance. Enter von the path agreeable to the good. Shuffle off the hard knot (*biruganṭu*) of *Karma* and cleanse away the dust of evil from your minds. With a pure heart and mind, follow the right standards and live on well for ever.³¹

" Tear off and cast away the conceit that we can obtain release by our own conduct. Trust in the higher powers, alight your burden, hâve peace and attain bliss. Trust in the Suprême Being (*Parama Purusha*). He iremoves ail sins caused by the sensés and purges out ail défilement. He exalts you to the plane of your elders and confers prosperity on you. He forgets and forgives the sins of past birth and grants whatever is sought for. He

29. Ibid,p.49.

30.

Ibid,p.57..

31.,Ibid,p. 50.

shines in the heart of hearts, yielding infinité pleasure. He cuts at the root of *Karma* and shuts the mouth of Death. He grants purity of mind and loves and protects one and ail. He is the life-spirit of ail his devotees."⁸³

Of the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar thus evolved, Religious toleration. was, from the beginning, a prominent feature. Although, as indicated, his early éducation and training had been conducted under the essentially Srī-Vaiṣṇavq. influences of the time, it was broad-based enough to enable him to understand and appreciate the points of view of religions other than éri-Vaiṣṇavism. This particular feature of his attainments was, it would seem, fully developed during the period 1668-1673 when he came into contact with Viśai āksha-Pañdit and Shaḍaksharaiya, représentatives, respectively, of the Jaina and Vīra-éaiva religions. They, together with Tirumalārya, not only became his colleagues during his studies but their association with him appears to hāve given him ample opportunities to discuss with them the fundamentals of their respective faiths.³³ The spirit of enquiry and discussion became so strongly developed in him during the period, that it continued to dominate his character throughout his reign (1673-1704). Ordinarily, during years of peace, religious disputations and discussions formed a regular feature of the activities of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar's court.³⁴ Chidānanda, a contemporary Jaina writer, testifies³⁵ to Chikkadēvarāja's penetrating

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

83. See *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474-476, where Dēvaachandra, for instance, speaks of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar as earnestly engaging himself in listening to discussions on Srī-Vaiṣṇava, Vīra-Éaiva and Jaina systems of philosophy, conducted, respectively, by Tirumalārya, Shaḍakshari and Viśalāksha-Pañdit, each of them an expert exponent of his faith. There seems little doubt that Chikkadēvarāja, in his religious and philosophical studies, brought to bear a mind well trained in the principles of dialectics, as testified to by Tirumalārya (see text of f.n. 5 in Ch. XI).

84. See under *Social life* below.

85. *Munivam.*, I, 7; see also *Kāmanā. Nī. (of Chikkupādhyāya)*, I, 69: *Sakala-dharmachara-yuktam.*

knowledge of the secrets of all forms of faiths (*sakalamârgada marmadologa-naridu*), and refers to³⁶ his constant enquiries into and discussions on Mīmāṃsajêaiva, Vaishriava and Jaina Systems of philosophy and religion (*parama Mimâmsa Saiva vara Vaishnava Jaina samaya charcheyolirda*). The composition of his own Council—consisting of Jaina, Vira-êaiva and Brâhmanical éléments—in the early part of his reign points to the breadth of his religious outlook. As already indicated, he encouraged, and even openly professed, the doctrines of sects and creeds other than êri-Vaishnavism. His grants, as we shall relate,³⁷ were made to all the three sects of Brâhmanical Hinduism—Smârthas, êri-Vaishnavas and Mâdhvas, though the êri-Vaishnavas generally secured a greater share of them than the other two sects. Grants and concessions were likewise made, and extended, to the Jainas and Vira-êaivas,³⁸ though their comparative rarity from 1686 onwards has, perhaps, to be explained by the ascendancy of Sri-Vaishnavism in court circles during that period. Of Jainism, it is said³⁹ that it so profoundly impressed Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar in the early years of his reign that he went to the extent of observing the absolute sanctity of all animal life (*jivadayâparanâgi*), giving up certain prohibited things and ordering the servants of his own (Palace) household to bring only purified water for his use. Again, Chidânanda, speaking of certain differences caused by his own succession to the Jain pontifical seat (of Chârükirti-Pai^titarYôgîndra) at sravana-BeJagola, tells us⁴⁰ how he was securely established there with the help of Chikkadêvarâja. As regards Saivism, Chikkadêvarâja, in his own work *Gîta-Gôvâlam*, refers⁴¹ to his respect for

36. *Ibid.*, I, 151.

37. *Vide* under *Grants and other records* below.

38. *Ibid.*

39. See Dêvachandra in Ch. XV.

40. *Munivam.*, II, 89-101; see also under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.

41. P. 51, v. 2 (in the *tripadi* at the bottom of the page):

: *Sivana pavanageydu Siva-nenisidi-pada* |
Kavidu kallige jiva-kaloyitta-pada ||



Sri-Paravāṇḍēya Temple, Gopālapuṭi.

and dévotion to èiva. Another well-known contemporary source⁴² speaks of him as having been ever engaged in the worship of the Jangamas, and of his having always busied himself in the discussion of the excellent *èivàchâra* doctrine. It seems to hâve been the key-note of his policy that ail sects and cominunities in his kingdom were to be protected.⁴³ Above ail, the note of universalism pervading the *Gita-Gôpâlam* significantly points to tôleration as an article of his personal faith.

Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar is, like his predecessor, reputed for the numerous gifts he made alike to individuals and institutions in and outside the kingdom. In particular, under his active encouragement, learned and deserving Brâhmanical families were, we learn,⁴⁴ constantly settled in Mëlkôtë, êrîrangam, Anjanagiri, Kânci, Vikshavana, itâmës'varam, éankbamukha, Darbhaéayanam, Benares, Dvârâvatîpura (Dvâraka?), Jagannâtha and Prayâga. One of the earliest of his acts of piety was, it is interesting to note,⁴⁵ the temple he got built in honour of God Paravâsudëva, on the western bank of the Kaundinî, near Gundlu-Terakanâmbi (Trikadambanagari), in the Mâdala-nâdu, for the attainment of perpétuai bliss by his father Doddadëvarâja Wodeyar: it was provided with a car, pavilion, outer enclosure-wall and tower (*vimâna-mantapa prâmëu prâkâravara-gôpuraih*). In the temple thus formed, the images of God Paravâsudëva and Goddess Kamalavalli and the processional image of the God with the two Goddesses (Nàchyârs)

42. *Châtu* verses on Chikkadëvarâja, cited in the *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iv. 2462) from *Châtu-padyamanimanjari* (Ed. by V. Prabhâkara Śâstri):
Jangamârchanamu . . . nêjana sèyu . . . sajjana tûddhamagu
Śivâchâra darśanamunê sarasu derugu.

43. See, for instance, *Munivam.*, I, 155:

Sarva varṇāśrama pālana pārvaka urviya pālīpuṇḍu |
Sarvadharmōpama gambhīravādūtēne sarvara taledāgiṇtūde ||

44. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 112-116.

45. *Ibid.*, ll. 120-122.

which were, it is said, brought from êivasamudram, were set up and an annual provision of 6,000 *varahas* was made for the services to the God and for the conduct of a *Râmânûja-kûta*.⁴⁶ Further, a quadrangular *agrahâra* named *Pûrva-éataka*, otherwise called *Dêvanagara*, was specially formed to the west of the temple, and trained Brâhmanical scholars of the three sects (Sri-Vaishijavas, Mâdhvas and Smârthas) were brought in from far and near and settled there with shares (*vrittis*) bestowed on them, exclusively for carrying on the daily and periodical services in the temple.⁴⁷ A relie of this once flourishing institution is, perhaps, to be seen in a mutilated image of God Paravâsudêva, now in the Vijayanârâyanaśvâmi temple at Guṇḍlupet, with an inscription⁴⁸ on its pedestal referring to the God as *Apratima-Paravâsudêva* (*êri-Vâsudêvarâya suprasanna Srîmadapratima-Paravâsudêvah*). Among other acts of piety Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar is credited with are the setting up of a temple in Seringapatam to the processional image of God évêta-Varâhasvâmi from êri-Mushṇa, with his name inscribed on the pedestal as *Srimadapratima Chikkadêvarâja Wadêru*;⁴⁹ the construction of a temple to God Gôpâlakrishṇasvâmi (Apratima-Kâjagopâla) at Haradanahalli and Varadarâjasvâmi at Varakôçlu;⁵⁰ the setting up and consécration of God Venkatêvara in the fort of Bangalore;⁵¹ the endowment of gold ornaments to the two Nâchyârs in the Nârâyanaśvâmi temple at Mëlkoṭe;⁵² the enlargement

46. *Annals*, I. 137-138.

47. *E. C.*, *Ibid*, II. 132-143; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 138.

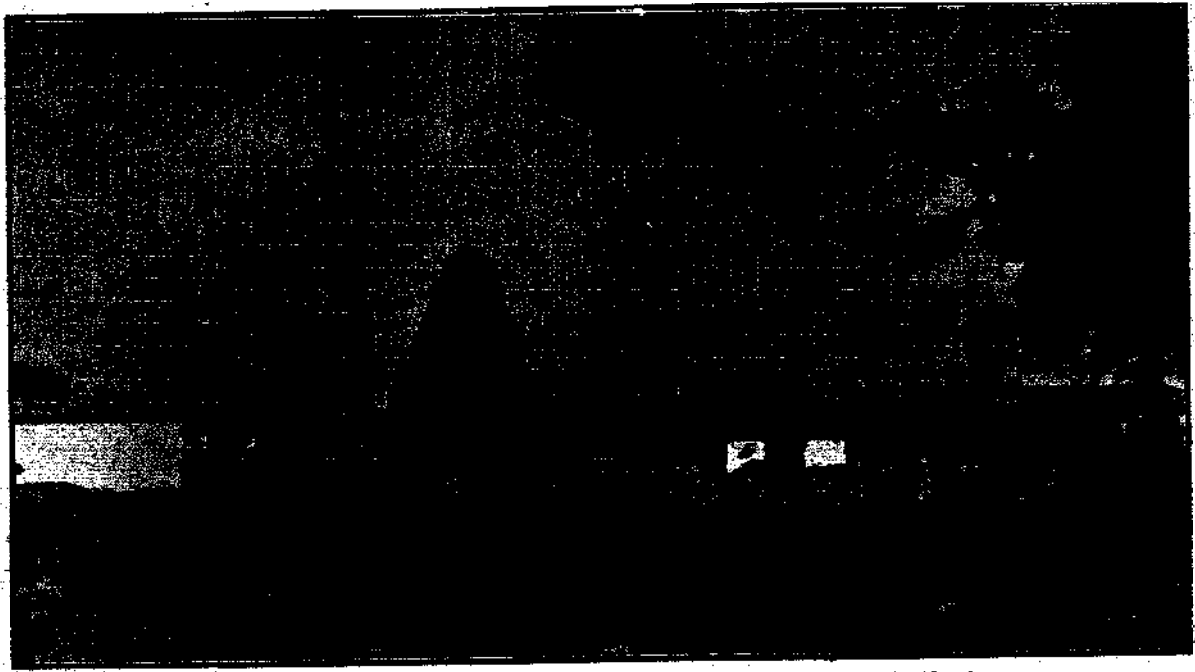
48. *Ibid*, Gu. 104-105; see also Ch. X, f.n. 195.

49. *Ibid*, My. 89 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128; 1918, p. 59, para 130); also *Annals*, I. 139.

50. *Annals*, I. 140.

51. *E. C.*, IX. Bn. 118 (1705), ll. 7-8: *Bengalûra kôṭa valage tamma appâjyasaru nûtanavôḍi pratiṣṭhe madîsîdanthâ Venkatêvara-svâmi*, where Kaṭṭhîrava II (1704-1714) refers to the consecration of the God during his father's (Chikkadêvarâja's) reign.

52. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 287 (*M. A. R.*, 1906, p. 28, para 76).



Sri-Venkatēvarasvāmi (Venkataramanasvami) Temple, Fort, Bangalore—A side view.

of the bridge, the construction of a *viañtapa* of six *ankanams* near the Manïkarçikâ-kshêtra, and the endowment of a silver spoon (*tîrtha-bêra*) to the temple of Varâhasvâmi at Seringapatam ;^m the provision for the upkeep of the éaiva and Vaishnava temples at différent sacred places (like the Châmmriði Hills, Nanjangûḍ, Mêlkôṭe, Seringapatam, Yeḍatore, Eâmanâthapur, Karïghaṭṭa, Benares, Bâmêévaram, Kànchi, ârîrangam, Kumbakôṇam, etc.), and for the livelihood of the needy, the indigent and the détectives ; and the grant of spécial endowments (*rakta-kodige*) to the families of those who had fallen on the field of battle in the service of the country and the king.⁵⁴

No less important as an act of gift as of public utility was an irrigation scheme launched out by Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar between c. 1700-1701. Damming the Cauvery to the west of Seringapatam, we are told,⁵⁵ he had canals excavated from both sides of the river, the northern canal being led on to a considérable distance by way of the Karïghaṭṭa hill and named after himself as *Chikkadëvarâja-sagara*, and the southern canal, to the south of Seringapatam, being designated as *Dëva-nâlâ*.

In a Jesuit letter dated in 1701,⁵⁶ we have an interesting contemporary account of the beginnings of this project. Dûring 1700-1701, according to this source,⁵⁷ the river (Cauvery or the Coleroon) continued to be so dry that the inhabitants of Madura and Tanjore dreaded a' gênerai famine. " Nevertheless/" continues the letter,⁵⁸ " the rains had fallen in the usual season, and the waters which rush from the mountains would hâve

53. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 54-55.

54. *Annals*, I. 140-142; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 31. 55. *Ibid.*, I. 116; *Ibid.*, l.c.

56. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 315-322; Lockman's *Travels*—Father Martin to Father De Villette.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

58. *Ibid.*; see also pp. 211-212.

entered the Goloran [Coleroon] soonèr than ordinary, **had** not the king of Maissoor [Myeore] stopped their course by a prodigious mole he raised and which extended the whole breadth of the canal. His design was to turn off the waters by the bank in order that thèse flowing into the canals dug by him might refresh his dominions. But while he thus resolved to make his own lands fruitful and thereby increase his revenues, he was going to ruin the two neighbouring kingdoms, those of Madura and Tanjaour [Tanjore]. The waters would not hâve begun to ri se there before the end of July, and the canal would hâve been dry by the middle of September. The two princes, zealous for the welfare of their respective kingdoms, were exasperated at this attempt; upon which they united against the common enemy in order to oblige him, by force of arrns, to destroy a mole which did them such vast préjudice. They were making great préparations for this purpose when the river Goloran [Coleroon] revenged (as was the phrase hère) the affront which had been put upon its waters, by captivating them in the tanner the prince in question had done. During the time the rains descended but moderately on the mountains, the mole stood and the waters flowed gently into the canals dug for that purpose; but the instant they fell abundantly, the river swelled to such a degree that it broke the mole and dragged it impetuously along. In this manner the prince of Maissoor [Mysore], after putting himself to a great expense, was frustrated, in an instant, of the immense riches which he had hoped to gain." Although the scheme of an embankment on the Cauvery, thus originated by Chikkadēvaràja Woḍeyar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, proved to be a failure owing to freaks of nature, the document we hâve quoted from amply testifies to the brilliancy of his constructive effort in a department of public works, which seems to hâve

profoundly impressed his critical contemporaries, the Jesuit Fathers. The canals, evidently offshoots of the scheme, are, however, extant as the vestiges of Chikka-dēvarāja's rule ; but there is hardly any doubt that he was the forerunner of the later developments that Mysore has witnessed in the last half a century and more,⁵⁹

Among the extant records of the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja Wodeyar (most of which—
 Grants and other especially the copper-plate grants
 records: issued by him—bear his signature in
 (a) 1673-1680. Kannada as *Srī-ChikkdēvarājaJi* and
 are impressed with the Boar seal), a lithic one on an
aṇicut at Dodḍa-Bēlūr, Salem district, dated in 1673,⁶⁰
 refers to its construction by Kumāraiya (Kumāra-Rāya),
 Daḷavāi of Chikkadēvarāja*. Another, dated April 18,
 1673,⁶¹ records the érection of a temple to Gaṛamma
 at Channarāyapatṇa by Basavaiya, son of Dodḍaiya, a
 feudatory of Chikkadēva. A copper-plate inscription
 in the possession of the Lingāyat *maṭh* at Hullambaḷḷi,
 Maḷavaḷḷi taluk, also dated in the same year,⁶² registers a
 grant by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, on the holy occasion
 of a solar éclipse, of 212 *varahas*, to Budramunidēva-
 rādhyā, lord of the Bēva^ârādhyā *maṭha* at Hullam-
 baḷḷi, situated to the north-west of Muḍakatore
 (Muḍudore), to provide for the paraphernalia and
 expenses of the Svāmi's annual pilgrimage to Śrîēaḷam.
 The paraphernalia, according to the record, consisted of
 5 *kambis* or bamboo laths for carrying burdens, a musical

59. See also *Ibid.*, p. 212, f.n. 15, S. K. Aiyangar's Editorial note, for a similar estimate.

60. *I. M. P.*, II. 1216, Sa. 107: s. 1595.

61. *E. O.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 156: *Pramādiḥa, Vaidakha su.* 11 [12?] Friday.

62. *M.A.R.*, 1920, pp. 40-41, para 96: *Pramādiḥa*. "It is stated as a reason for the grant," writes R. Narasimhaçhar, "that the *prasāda* of God Mallikārjuna of Śrîsāila presented by the Svāmi to the king enabled him to gain undisputed possession of the kingdom." "The grant," he also adds, "closes with the signature of the king, *Śrî-Kriṣṇa*." Unfortunately, however, the original of this document has not yet been made available.

band, a Nandi flag, parasols, chowries, a palankeen with bearers and a number of retainers. Among the expenses, it is further interesting to note, was included the annual fee of 18 *varahas* for a Brâhman who was to perform the Mrityunjaya-japam in the Mallikârjuna temple every morning, naming the *nakshatra* or asterism under which the king was born. A lithic record, dated January 28, 1674,⁶³ refers to the construction of a large gateway (*kallu hebbâgilu*) at Kunigal, named the Mysore Gâte (*Maisûra bâgalu*), by Siddarâjaiya of Talakâd, local agent of Chikkadëvarâja. On December 6, 1674 (*Le.*, on the day of the annual ceremony of his father Dodḍadëvarâja Woḍeyar), Chikkadëvarâja Woḍeyar, according to the *Dëvanagara copper-plate grant** having formed a second quadrangular *agrahâra* (of well-furnished houses each fifty feet square) named *Dvitiya-êataka*, in the country to the west and north of the Kaunḍinî not far from Dëvanagara, granted it exclusively to eighty éri-Vaishṇava Vëdic Brâhmans of various *gôtras*, *sûtras* and *êâkhas*, with shares (*vrittis*) in sixteen villages, in the Arikuthâra-stbala in the Hadinâd-sîme to the north of Dëvanagara, yielding annually 828 *nishkas*. Again, the *Châmarâjanagar Plate*, dated November 25, 1675,⁶⁵ records the grant by Chikkadëvarâja—also on the anniversary day of Dodḍadëvarâja's death—for the merit of his father, of two villages named Kabbiligana-pura (otherwise called *Chikkadëvarâjapura*) and Hullaça (otherwise known as *Krishṇâpura*), in the Terakaçambi country, to Krishça-Yajva of Srîvatsa-gôtra,

63. *E. G.*, XII Kg. 7: s. 1595, *Pramâñcha, Mâgha su.* 2, Wednesday.

64. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, li. 151-200 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, pp. 56-57, para 127). Though the grant was made on December 6, 1674 (s. 1596, *Ananda, Mârgasîra* ca. 3, Sunday), the record itself, for reasons stated in Ch. XIV (see under *Literary activity: Râmâyanam-Tirumalîrya*), appears to have been actually composed between 1686-1690. *Cl. Annals*, I. 188-189.

65. *Ibid.*, IV (3) Ch. 92 (*M.A.R.*, 1909, p. 26, para 100): s. 1597, *Rakhasa, Mârgasîra* ca. 3, Thursday.

Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajuéââkhâ, son of êrînivâsârya and grandson of ÔrînivSsa, as a gift for having performed through him the funeral cérémonies of Doḍḍadēvarâja Woḍeyar at Gaya. A lithic record, dated March 24, 1676,⁶⁶ relates to Chikkadēvarâja's gift ôf the village of Bommanahalli, in Uduvankanâdu-sthala, to provide for a work of merit, namely, an inn for the distribution of food to Brâhmans in Haradanahâlji (*nomma dharmavâgi Brâhmarige anna-çatra naḍeva mariyâdege dhârâ-dattavâgi*). Among other records of 1676 are two lithic ones from the Coimbatore district :⁶⁷ One of these refers to the érection of *manṭapams* and the grant of a *salagai* of paddy land by two private individuals (Ranganâtha Setti and another) to the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kumârapâlayam; another, from the Gôbichettipâlayam taluk, records the building by Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar of a temple for God Kumârasvâmi on the Dhavalagiri hill in the Dûrvâsa-kshêtra, near the confluence of the rivers Chintâmanî and Bhavânî at Satyamangalam in the Uduvankanâdu. Two duplicates of a *êâsana-nirupa*, dated May 8, 1677,⁶⁸ and addressed to Hampaiya of Arkalgûd Aṣtavane-sthaja, communicate an order of Chikkadēvarâja confirming in his office of hereditary êânbhôgi of Arkalgûd one Venkatapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbâruva, who had viodicated his claimB against the accusations of his enemy Nanjappa, son of Narasappa, an associate or deputy (*hastaka*) of Bhaira-Hebbâruva. A lithic record, dated [January 7] 1678,⁶⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadēvarâja, on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrânti*, of the village of Mundûr as an *agrahâra*. Another, from the Tiruchchengôḍû taluk, dated Febru-

66. *Ibid.*, Oh. 188 : é. 1598, *Nala, Chaitra ba. 5*.

67. *I.M.P.*, L 627, Cb. 74; 661, Cb, 300 (*M.E.R.* 1909-1910, No. 209) : é. 1598, *Nafa*.

68. *E.O.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 2 and 8 : *Paingala, Vaisakha ba, 2*. See also under *Social life* below.

69. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 42; *Pavngala [Puahya ba. 9]*, Monday.

ary 3, 1678,⁷⁰ refers to the présentation of the images ôf *Dvârapâlakas* to the temple of Channarâya-Perumâl (Channakêéava) at Eâyadurga (éankhagiri, also called Kunnattûr-durga), by Muddaiya, agent of Nanjanâthaiya, an officer of Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar. A third, dated April 7, 1679,⁷¹ records the setting up and consécration of the images of Subrahmaçya and the Aravattumûvar (the 63 êaiva saints) in the temple of Kailâsanâtha at Târâ mangalam (Vâmalûr taluk, Salem district), by Kempaiya, son of êâmaiya (Châmaiya), agent of Chikkadêvarâja. Among other records of 1679 (*Siddhârthi*), a lithic document⁷² from the Gaurî-êankara temple, Talakâḍ, refers to the establishment of God Mallêéa—otherwise known as Gaurî-êankara—in Kariṽana (Talakâḍ), by Kottûraiya, agent of Chikkadêva; a *nirûpa*⁷³ speaks of a gift by the latter (*tyâge pâlistaru*); and a copper-plate charter⁷⁴ describes a grant made by him (Chikkadêvarâja), in the présence of God Venkatêéa of Nîlâchala (Karîghaṭṭa), of payments to four êri-Vaîshṇava Brâhmans. The *Grant copper-plate charter*, dated January 21, 1680,⁷⁵ records the formation by Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Ardhodaya*, of an *agrahâra* named *Chikkadêvarâyapura* in the village of Garani and the six hamlets attached thereto (in the Bijjavara-sîme), and the grant of the same, divided into 50 shares, in the présence of God Ranganâtha, to Brâhmans of various *gôtras*, *sûtras* and

70. *M.E.R.*, 1930, p. 51, App. B. No. 512: s. 1600, *Paingaja*, *Mâgha* ba. 7. The Report places the record in 1679, taking s. 1600 as an expired year. But *Paingaja* actually corresponds to s. 1599. Taking the date of the cyclic year as the more correct date, the record is to be dated February 8, 1678.

71. *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 75, App. C. No. 316: K. Y. 4780, *Siddharthi*, *Chittirai* 10, Monday.

72. *E.O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, TN. 203 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128).

73. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 10.

74. *E.O.*, III (1) Sr. 151.

75. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (*M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 68, para 180): s. 1601, *Siddharthi*, *Pushya* ba. 30. This record is composed by Abhâni-Venkatâchârya of Kausika-gôtra (evidently a functionary of Chikkadêvarâja), and engraved by Vitapârya, son of Gurumûrti (*vide* II. 94-95):

êâkhas, 40 of them Sri-Vaishnavas, 5. Mâdhvas and 5 Smârthas. Among other records of the period are inscriptions⁷⁶ registering a provision for the daily oblations to God Nârâyana at Mëlkhôte by Dajavài Kumàraiya, and for the feeding of Brâhmans during the *Mahânavami* by Niyôgi Bhànôji-Paṇḍita, respectively.

A lithic record, dated in November 1681,⁷⁷ refers to a grant for God Nannêvara of Hinakal by Appûrâya-Hebbàruva (an agent of Chikkadëvaràja Woḍeyar for the collection of customs dues). Another, dated in September 1682,⁷⁸ records a gift by Chikkadëvaràja of the village of Mâdâpura in Bidure-sîme to God Âjanëya. A third, dated January 24, 1685,⁷⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadëva of the village of YëchiganahalJi, in the Mysore hôbli, to "Doḍḍa-Paṇḍita of Yeḷavandûr" (Viêâlâksha-Paṇḍita of Yejandûr). A fourth, dated May 8, 1685,⁸⁰ speaks of his having got constructed a "meritorious and large pond" (*Èringâra-kolâ*) in the fort at Majavalli, for the perpétuai increase of his merit and famé. A fifth, dated August 12, 1685,⁸¹ deals with the grant by him, at the time of Krishṇa-Jayanti, of certain lands in Mâṇikâpura (excluding the garden land therein, inherited by Tirumalaiyangâr), for the worship of God Gôpâlasvâmi who, it is said, had appeared to Alasingaraiyangâr (Singaraiyangâr II, father of Tirumalaiyangâr). The *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter*, dated November 19, 1686,⁸² records how Doḍḍa-Dêvaiya, a servant of Chikkadëvaràja Woḍeyar

76. *I.M.C.*, No. 18-16-20, pp. 55-56.

77. *E.C.*, III (1) My. 11: *Durmati, Kârtika su.?*

78. *Ibid.*, XII Gb. 52: s. 1584, *Dundubhi, Bhâdrapada ba.?* The *saka* date here is an error for 1604.

79. *Ibid.*, III (1) Nj. 41: s. 1586, *Raktakshi, Pushya ba. 30.* Rice places this record in 1684, but the date contained in it actually correspond to January 24, 1685. Cf. *Dëvaachandra* in Ch. XV.

80. *Ibid.*, Ml. 61: s. 1607, *Krôdhana, Vaissakha su. 15.*

81. *Ibid.*, My. 7: s. 1607, *Krôdhana, Śrâvama ba. 8.*

82. *Ibid.*, Sr. 14: s. 1608, *Akshaya, Mârgasira su. 15.*

and son of Cheluvamma, bearer of golden goblet to the wife of king [Chikka] Dēvarāja Wodeyar, set up the image of Sri-Kōdanda-Rama, with Sīta and Lakshmana in attendance, in the middle precincts on the southern side of Seringapatam, and how, with the object of providing for the God's worship and festivals, he presented the village of Avvērahalli (belonging to Balagula) with the permission of Chikkadēvarāja. A lithic record, dated November 3, 1690,⁸³ speaks of Chikkadēva as having caused to be made a *mantapa-brindāvana* at Maddagiri. A *nirūpa*, dated November 28, 1692,⁸⁴ addressed by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to Sunkada-Linga, records the remission of tolls and other dues over the property belonging to God Allālanātha of Hangaja. Another, of the same date,⁸⁵ addressed by Chamaiya (an official of Chikkadēvarāja) to the *Manēgārs* and *Kōlukārs* of the Tērakaçāmbi-sīme, is to the following effect: "Marriage-tax (*maduve-sunka*), tax on live cattle (*jiva-danada-sunka*), tax on workshops (*pattadi-sutnka*), etc.—all these taxes should not be collected from the village of Yaçlavanahalli. On the roadside in the Terakaçāmbi-sīme, no obstruction should be caused to the passage of bulls while conveying them after purchase." An inscription from Avanāsi, dated in 1695,⁸⁶ records the grant to God Avanāçīvara, by Gurikār Mallaiya (an agent of Chikkadēva), of the fées of 14 *panams* (*hana*) on some bags and 12 on some other bags of goods. Among the records of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, assignable to the period c. 1681-1695, an epitaph⁸⁷ at Bantēnahalli, Bēlūr taluk, registers a gift by him; a

83. *Ibid.*, XII Mi. 15: s. 1612, *Pramadāta*, *Kārtika* su. 12, Thursday. The week-day seems apparently an error for Monday.

84. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 82: *Āngirasa*, *Mārgatira* su. 1. The actual wording of the order are: *Sunkaovannu manni sarva-mānyevāgi naçaikeçāna daruvahāge nēmisidēve.*

85. *Ibid.*, p. 83: *Ibid.*

86. *I. M. P.*, I. 528, Ch. 85: s. 1617, *Yucca*.

87. *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 180.

number of boundary atones⁸⁸ from parts of Guṇḍlupet, Çhâmarâjanagar aad Nanjangûḍ taluks are found to contain the official monogram introduced by Chikkadêvarâja, namely, *De Maisûru, Maisûru De*; a lithic inscription⁸⁹ on a wall in the verandah of the Vimala-Tirthankara-Basti at Bellûr speaks of the érection of the *Chaityâlaya*—on the land granted by [Chikka] Dêvarâja Wodeyar—by Sakkare Setti, son of Dodda-Âdanna Setti and grand son of Hulikal Padmanna Setti, on the ad vice of his Guru Lakshmîsêna-Bhaṭṭâraka, lord of the thrones of Delhi, Kollâpur, Jina-Kanchi and Penukoṇḍa.

A lithic record⁹⁰ on the east slope of Nijagal-durga, chronicling the items of work done by (c) 1698-1704 Dâsarâjaiya, son of Biḷuguli Kempa* râjaiya, a servant of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar, during a period of twenty years from 1698, speaks of his having begun the construction of the fort of Nijagal-durga (otherwise known as Sûragiri-durga) on December 2, 1698 (*é. 1620, Bahudhânya, Mârgaéira su. 10*) after setting up the image of God Vighnêvara, in front of the principal gâte, in August. A copper-plate charter from Dêvarâya-durga, dated April 24, 1699,⁹¹ records the setting up and consécration of Goddess Kalyâçalakshmi in the présence of God Narasimha of Karigiri, and the grant, as an *archaka-svâsti*, to Alama-Singarâchârya (son of Chikka-Narasaiya and grandson of Narasaiya of *Chikkadêvaraya-durga*, of Kâéyapa-gôtra, Bôdhâyana-sûtra and Yajuâéâkhâ), of lands in Anupinahalli and Chinuvâḍanahalli (belonging to Ânebiddajaristhaja), to provide for the worship and festivals of the

88. *E. O.*, IV (2) Gu. 98-102 (*M. A. B.*, 1918, p. 59, para 180). 89. *Ibid.*, Ng. 43. 90. *Ibid.*, IX Nl. 66; cf. *M. A. B.*, 1914-1915, p. 63, para 106; also *E. O.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nl. 66 revised.

91. *Ibid.*, XII Tm. 45: *t. 1620* expired, *Pramâthi, Vaisakha su. 5*, Monday. Dâsarâjaiya, referred to here, is distinct from the one mentioned in the previous record (*vide f.n. 90 supra*). He is perhaps identical with Dâsarâjaiya, Dajavâlî of Chikkadêvarâja during 1702-1704. The grant appears obviously to have been made by him before he became the Dajavâlî.

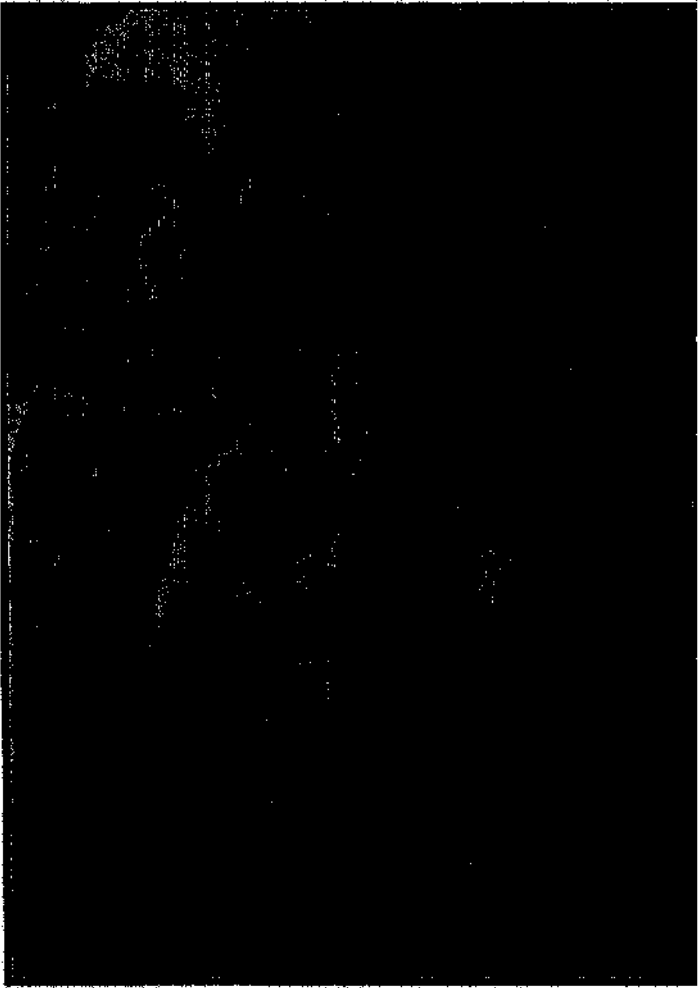
G-oddes—by [Daḷavâi] Dâsarâjaiya-Timmapparâjaiya, son of Krishṇaiya and grandson of Biluguli Timmarâjaiya. Another record, a lithic one, dated October 13, 1699,⁹² refers to the formation of the tank of Dēvarâya-samudra by Doddaiya, son of Sangaiya and grandson of Channa-vīraiya, under the orders of Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar. A *nirûpa* of Chikkadēvarâja, dated August 8, 1700,⁹³ addressed to Dâsaiya, *Pârupatyagâr* of Nâgamangala, is to the following effect: "The *Āyakanahalli agrahâra*, formed previously, is to be handed over to the charge of the Brâhmans. Manage the affairs smoothly. This *nirûpa* is to be got copied in the *kaḍita* of the Śânabhôg and left with the donees." Another, dated June 8, 1703,⁹⁴ addressed to Jois Anandâlvâr, refers to Dēvaiya as having been entrusted with the management of affairs (*pârupatya*) of Hangala-sîme in Dēvanagara hôbli, and directs that the treasûry seal (*hasântara mudre-ungura*) pertaining thereto should be handed over to him. A third, of the same date,⁹⁵ addressed to the same individual, is to the following effect: "We hâve ordered the reconstruction on a sound footing and repair of tanks and ponds in Hangaja-sthala, which hâve breached: let 500 *varahas* out of the annual revenues from this place be utilized for the purpose, with due regard to increase in the revenue resources of the government. The ryots should be allowed 200 *khaṇḍugas* of corn as half the shareof produce (*vdra*) and permitted to use 100 oxen and 150 sheep. Besides, they should be granted 250 *varahas*, out of the revenues of Hangala, for the purchase

92. *Ibid.*, Mi, 16 : s. 1621, *Pramâthi, Kârtika su. 2, Friday.*

93. *I. M. G.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 3) : *Vikrama, Bhâdrapada su. 5.*

94. *Ibid.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 29 : *Swabhânu, Ashâḍha su. 5.*

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31 : *Ibid.* This record adequately points to Chikkadēvarâja's solicitude for the welfare of the agricultural population in rural parts. Among the actual expressions used in the document are: *Hangalâda-sthalâdalli hittu-âḡpiruva kere-kâḡḡgaḡu sala balavâḡgi kâḡḡiruvahâḡe kaḡḡeyannu maḡḡisidâḡe . . . âḡraḡavâḡgi paḡru-pachchegalaḡnu âḡu-mâḡḡisi . . . sakalavâḡda baḡa-prajegaḡannolla kaḡḡâḡi na ḡḡisi kombaḡu.*



Bhakta-vigraha of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the
Paravasudeva Temple, Gundlupet.

of sheep ; and the administration is to be so conducted that ail the poor subjects are duly protected."

No authentic statue of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar has, however, sofar come to light, althoiiigh we hâve, on one of the pillars in the temple of Paravâsudêva, at Gundlupet, a bas-relief figure of his, a *Bhakta-vigraha*, with his crest sloping on one side (*vdraëikhi sahitavâgiruvante*).⁹⁶

Social ideals had been deeply rooted in the soil for ages. However cataclysmic the effects of certain of the political events of the reign, they appear to hâve touched but the fringes of social life in the country. The period was in the main, as is depicted for us by contemporary writers,⁹⁷ characterized by timely rains, good harvests, growth of wealth and increase in the gênerai happiness of the subjects, and immunity from the fear of war (*râjika bhayamilladeyum*), especially during the latter part of the reign (*i.e.*, 1696-1704). As one responsible for the maintenance of social order, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar, we are told,⁹⁸ strove to préserve and perpetuaté the ancient idéal of *Varnâêrama-dharma*, with a view to promote social harmony on the one side and domestic felicity on the other. Whatever may be said against the caste System as it obtains to-day, there can be no question that in the days we are writing of, it helped to hold the différent grades of society together and enabled the king to administer the country with due respect to law and order. The respect for *varna* and *âêrama*,

96. See *Annals*, I, 188, where the cutting of the bas-relief is attributed to Chikkadêvarâja himself.

97. See, for instance, *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 57-58; *C. Bi.*, p. 4 (prose passage in second para).

98. See *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.* (of Timma-Kavi?), p. 80 (prose passage at the end): *Varnâêrama-dharmam tappadante*; *Sachchi. Ntr.*, ff. 10-18; *Munivam.*, I, 155; *A. V. O.*, III, 149 and 151, I, 27 (with gloss): *Châturvar-nyâchârada ritivanaridêlge-gôlisuvopratiman*; *Varnâêramânugunamâgi nâdeyâda patitarâam tikshisuvudarinda*, etc.

reflected in the works of the period, means no more than that they bound society together into one whole and held it together for the benefit of its component parts. As indicated above, êri-Vaishçtavism, which was at the height of its power during the period, with its insistence on humility as a virtue and grâçe as a prerequisite for salvation, made *varṇâsramâ* lose its harsher and cruder features.

Contemporary social life continued to find the most characteristic expression in cities and towns, of which we have authentic descriptions extant. Thus, of Seringapatam, the capital city, we learn :'' Surrounded by the Cauvery, its impregnable fort presented a majestic appearance, what with its lofty ramparts, newly constructed rows of spirals, deep moat, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs and banners of various descriptions. Inhabited by the Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiâyas and êûdras, adorned by glittering temples and richly ornamented mansions (including the Palace) and storeyed buildings set with pinnacles, by the elephant-stables, horse-stables, by the grand Sun and Moon streets and by the market-street (with shops of grocers, jewellers, cloth merchants and métal merchants, among others)and the courtezans' street—it was a delightful city in the plénitude of its glory and prosperity. In keeping with this, a lithic record, dated in 1685,¹⁰⁰ speaks of Seringapatam thus: " With plttm, jack, cocoanut, plantain, lime, orange, fig and other fruit trees, with houses as high as hills, was the city filled ; and with cows and Brâhmans, with trees of plenty, with temples, with fine éléphants like Airâvata, with horses neighing like the thunder of clouds, with splendid chariots and foot-soldiers, . . . a beautiful city, baving splendid gateways, an ornament to the lady Earth, surrounded by the Cauvery."

99. See Sri. *Mahat.* (of Mallikârjuna), I I , 46-47,

100. E. C., III (1) Ml. 61. 11. 2-10,

Mysore, of which we have a similar account,¹⁰¹ was likewise a flourishing city, with its fort (conspicuous by lofty spikes, ramparts, tiger-faced gates, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs, cannons, etc.), with a garden (*upavana*) well laid out with flower and fruit trees, with the principal streets (named after the Sun and the Moon) lined with pinnacled and storeyed mansions (including the Palace in the middle) inhabited by the four-fold classes following their respective vocations, and with the market and the courtezans' streets.

Among the towns, Mèlkôte was at the zénith of its glory as the stronghold of Śrī-Vaishnavism in Mysore ;¹⁰² Maḷavaṭṭi was a flourishing place, with its fort surrounded by a deep moat;¹⁰³ and Dêvanagara, on the banks of the Kauṇḍinī, was a self-sufficient cultural unit.¹⁰⁴ Bangalore, Gubbi and Turuvêkere, among others, were, as indicated in the preceding chapter, important centres of trade and commerce.

From références in contemporary sources, we obtain a fair picture of the state of Hindu society and of gênerai culture during the period, which, in the main, is in accord with the standards laid down in the classical literature of India (e.gr., Kautilya's *Artha-Èâstra*, *Laws of Manu*, etc.). Thuâ, in the dity of Mysore, the Brâhmanas were noted as repositories of Vêdic learning and culture ; the Kshatriyas were reputed as warriors, as devotees of Vishnu and as persons of taste ; the Vaiśyas were distinguished for their wealth and liberality ; and the êûdras, ever devoted to the service of the other

101. *Śrī. Mahât.* (of Mallikârjuna), I, 108-128 ; also *Kamala. Mahât.*, I, 69-78 ; *Pañch. Mahât.*, I, 12-19 ; *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, pp. 8-11, vv. 41-66.

102. See *I.N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 80-87, vv. 28-33 (with gloss).

103. *E.C.*, III (1) Ml. 61, l. 15.

104. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116, li. 186-190.

classes, were secure and prosperous in their profession of agriculture.¹⁰⁵ The capital city of Seringapatam was filled with priests, poets, wise men and ministers,¹⁰⁶ and the town of Majavalli with men learned in the Vêdânta, êruti, Smjrti and Dharma-êâstras,¹⁰⁷ while at Dêvanagara, Brahmane of ail the three sects, lærned in Vêdas, Śâstras, the two Systems of Vêdânta, Drâviḍa-Âmnâya and êrauta and Smârtha ritualism, had been settled.¹⁰⁸ Among the items of costume and ornaments provided for these scholars were, it is interesting to note,¹⁰⁹ silken garments for the body (*kauïëya*), silken head-dress (*paṭṭôçniçam*), ear-rings (*ky,ndali*) and finger-rings (*anguliÿaka*). Alasingarjrya (Singaraïyangâr II) and his son Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangâr) were among the typical Sri-Vaishnava scholars of the period. Closely connected with the court of Mysore as *Paurârnikâ* to the Royal House from about the middle of the seventeenth century, Alasingarârya had by 1678 become familiarly known as *ârlmad-Vêdamârga-pratiçhâpanâchârya*, *Ubhaya-Vêdântâchârya*, *Vaishnava-dharma-mûrti* and *Paramârtha-vâdi*.¹¹⁰ Indeed his influence on the court of Mysore seems to have been not inconsiderable till 1685, in an inscription¹¹¹ of which

105. *Sri. Mahat.*, I, 129-132: *Vêdaghoshanôjvala chaturânyar unnata kaḷa-niḷayar gurumârgadartigaḷ . . . âvijar } Dhura-âhîrahîta bhûmipala timirâçôpa prabhâva . . . tçjônîdhigaḷ . . . sarasagrêsar Achyutômata padâsaktar kaḷa-kôvidar . . . kshatriyar || Pasarisi ponmaratigaḷa . . . perçhisi . . . udâraguḇadoḷ pogedârda parâkîrâçakar deçedotegurvipar . . . dhanômmatiyar . . . || Swara mahâtmyadoḷu dharaççûra-rutavadoḷu . . . devasâyada pempenutuki permeyindurutara dhanya-râtigaḷa-nenḇesemuffaloçar chutivogam Haripadâsambhavarkalêsevar puradoḷ-bahu-âharmadâç-geyim ||*

106. *E.C.*, MI, 61, ll. 10-11: *Guru-kavi-prâjnaish vrti mantridhish.*

107. *Ibid.*, ll. 16-18: *Vêdântagarih Śrutiparaih Smrti Dharma Vidyaih purnê.*

108. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Diet. Suppl. Vol.*, My, 115, ll. 188-186: *Vêdântâstra-viçârâdn Vêdântâstava-tatvajnân Drâviḍamâyâ paragan . . . çrauta smârtha vidhânajnân.*

109. *Ibid.*, ll. 190-191.

110. See *E.C.*, IV (3) Kr. 45, ll. 12-14; III (1) Sr. 94, ll. 12-14; *Hadî. Dhar.*, IX, 51; see also f.n. 127 *infra*.

111. *Ibid.*, III (1) My. 7, ll. 11-12; see also f.n. 81 *supra*.

year Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar refers to him as a principal dépendent of his (*namma mukhyâsrita*). He appears to have died between 1685-1698. His son Tirumalàrya (also known as Srisailàrya, the Sanskritised form of Tirumalàrya), apart from his activities as minister, poet and scholar of the court of Chikkadēvarāja, profoundly impressed his contemporaries, particularly from 1698 onwards, as a celebrated êri-Vaishçtava philosophical teacher,¹¹² respected by Chikkadēva and revered by his disciples, amongst whom was his own younger brother Singaràrya (SingaraiyangârIII).¹¹³ From the account left by the latter,¹¹⁴ it would seem that Tirumalàrya was a person of fine stature (wearing the *Urdhvapunâram*, the sacred thread and a garment leading from the navel to the ankle) with a serene countenance, a disciple of Vâdhûla-&rînivâsàrya, an ardent devotee of God Nrsimha of Yadugiri (Mêlktote) and an erudite scholar expounding to his band of disciples the right course of conduct and interpreting the abstruse thoughts of grêât teachers.

As a centre of social activities, Seringapatam, during the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, had become the cynosure of contemporary powers. His court appears to have been the very symbol of the culture and tastes of the times. Ordinarily he used to conduct his Durbâr (*oddôlaga*) in the magnificent court hall of the Palace (*âsthàna-mantapa*, *sabhâ-mantapa*, *sâtakumbha-sthambhalaya*) known as *Saundarya-vilâsa*, which was adorned

1. The Durbâr Hall.

112. *Mitra. Gô.*, I, p. 4; *Dêtika-sârvabhaumurensi*; *Y. N. Stavaç*, etc. (*Śrîtsailàrya-dinacharya*), p. 119, vv. 1-2, 127, v. 47; *Śrîtsaila-dêtika*; *Tirumala-dêtikêndra*; *Gi. Gô.*, pp. 50, 53; *Tirumalayâryadi divya-dêtikara*; see also *E.O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Ng. 109, l. 1, evidently referring to Śrîtsailàrya as a religious teacher (*Śrîtsailàrya prâraṇaya*).

113. *Ibid.*, p. 2; also *Y. N. Stavaç*, etc., pp. 119-126, vv. 1, 4-8, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.

114. *Y. N. Stavaç*, etc., pp. 119-126, vv. 1-7, 9-27, 45-55, etc.

by an exquisitely caryed and ornamented entrance (*avara*), pillars (*sthambha*), architraves (*bôdigë*), beams

(*tole*), walls (*bhitti*) and platform (*jagati*).¹¹⁵ Dressed in glittering

and well-bordered upper garment of white silk (*vidyut-prabhâmbara*, *pattâmbara-dukûla*, *anchina dvvata*, *dhautâmbara*), wearing the richly

embroidered coatee (*kanchuka*) and the crown (*sirshadol dharisi Kiritamam* ; *makutavardhana kirita manigana*),

baving the *ṭikâ* on his forehead, his person beautified with badges (*peṇdeya*), medal lions (*padaka*), necklaces

(*koralsara*, *hurwnanjyâ kaṇtha-mâle*, *hâra*), finger-rings (*anguliyaka*), ear-rings (*kaṇa-bhûshana*, *bâvali*, *chaukuli*), bracelets (*kankana*, *këyûra*, *kataka*), wrist-

lets (*kaigala pachcha*), sasbes (*kati-sûtra*) and anklets (*nûpura*, *mânjira*, *kâlpsadana*) set with pearls and

precious stones of various descriptions, his knot of hair tied up with fragrant flowers (*parimaladaralam mudidu*), with ornamented sandals adorning his feet

(*rannada hâvuge*, *kanaka pâduke*), and with the jeweled dagger (*rannada chikkathâri*) in his hand, Chikkadëva-

râja Wo[^]eyar, we learn,¹¹⁶ would proceed in state to the Durbâr Hall. Seated in the golden palankeen (*kanakândhotikârûdhanâgi*), with the five different kinds of music playing (*pancha-mahâvâdyangal*), and accom-

panied by emblems like the umbrella, chowries, fans and ensigns (*âvrtachchatra châmara vyajana siguri patâka samuhanum*) and the courtezans (*sannutângiyar*, *bêlevengal*), he would make himself conspicuous by occupying the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhâsana*, *simha-pûtha*). The Durbâr Hall (*sabhâ-bhavana*, *mantapa*) would be adorned

115. *Sri. Mahât.* (of Mallikârjuna), II, 58; also *Kamand. Nv.*, I, 91; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 68, etc.; *Chikkadëvêndra-Vam.*, p. 24 (prose passage).

116. *Kamand. Nv.*, I, 89-91; *Kamand. Mahât.*, III, 16-18, 21; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 64-66; 68; *Chikkadëvêndra-Vam.*, pp. 23-24, vv. 119-121, and prose passage; *Sri. Mahât.*, II, 57-59; *Sat. Br. Vi.*, I, 50, 52; *Panch. Mahât.*, I, 49; *Hastî. Mahât.*, I, 97; *Venkata. Mahât.*, I, 55; *Div. Sâ. Cha.*, I, 86; *Songs on Chikkadëvarâja and Kempadëvamma*, ff. 180, vv. 1-2; also references infra.

by the following classes of courtiers:¹¹⁷ the nobility, including relations blood royal (*bândhavar*,

3. The Courtiers. *bandhutati*) such as brothers and sons of the king (*bhrâtru-sutar*) and junior members of Arasu families (*kuvarar*), well-wishers (*hitarum*) and distinguished personages (*mahônñatarum*); tributary chiefs, feudatories and ministers from foreign courts (*mañiva bhûpâlakar*, *dharaiyiêar*, *sman-tar*, *digdêa mantriêvarar*); civil and military officers, such as Ministers and Councillors (*sachivar*, *pradhânar*, *amâtyar*), financiers (*karanîkar*) and the Commander-in-Chief (*dañdanâtha*, *sênâiii*); officials of the gênerai administration (*prabhutvadavar*); members of the diplomatie service (*niyôgi-varga*, *sandhi-vigraha-sanchiya-bhryajana-varga*), including functionaries (*nvyôgi*), news-carriers (*harikâra*) and interpreters (*râyasamam tilupuvavar*); learned Brâhmans (*vipra-prakara*, *budhâvâli*, *vibudha-vitâna*, *vidvajjâla*), including scholars in Vêdas, Smṛtis, êâstras, Epies, Purâņas and various Âgamas (*êruti-kôvidar*, *êruti-smrti-abhijnar*, *vêdarasajnar*, *êâstrajnar*, *êâstrigal*, *bharatajnar*, *purâñavidar*, *kathâ-kuéalar*, *nâna-âgdmajnar*); readers (*gamakigal*, *gamaki-êrêni*), grammarians (*vyâkaranajnar*), connoisseurs in

117. *Div. Sû. Cha.*, I, 87-89; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 69-76, and ff. 81-82 (prose passage); *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, pp. 24-25, vv. 128-130, p. 29 (prose passage); *Kamand. Nr.*, I, 92-93; *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 94-96; *Songs on Chikka-dêvarâja and Kempadêvamma*, ff. 130, vv. 3-4; *Hasti. Mahât.*, I, 98; *Venkaïa. Mahât.*, I, 56-59; *Patoh. Mahât.*, I, 50; *Kamalê. Mahât.*, III, 20, 22-23; *Śrî. Mahât.*, II, 61-67; *Sû. Sap.*, I, 13-14; *Sat. Br. Vi.*, I, 51. The *Armais* (I. 134) refers to Chikkadêvarâja's arrangements for the maintenance of account relating to the Palace officials, Arasas, Pâjêgârs, Brâhmans, scholars, lutists, songsters, physicians and others adorning his court; also to his insistence on the attendance of scholars and Brâhmans during the carrying out of his daily avocations at the Palace and on the daily visit to him of the other courtiers, these being strictly ordered to communicate their absence from the head-quarters* and make their representations to him—on occasions of marriage and other ceremonies in their houses—through Gurikârs Sômarâjaiya and Appâjaiya. These particulars, read in the light of oontemporary sources we have here cited, would give us an idea of the regularity and discipline with which the Durbâr of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar was conducted.

poetics (*alankâra-rasaynar*), poets (*kavinivaha, kaviê-varar, kavirasajnar*), experts in literature and various arts and sciences (*sâhitya-viêâradar, nânâ-kalâ-pravînar, akhila-sâstra-kôvidar*), and disputants and elocutionists (*vâdistôma, vâgmikar, vâkparamatar*) ; the professional class, comprising priests (*purôhîtar*), astrologers (*jôyisar*), physicians (*vaidyar*), scribes (*lipijnar*), songsters (*gâyakar, gâyaka-nikâya*), lutists (*vâjnikar*), courtezans (*ganikeyar, vârânganeyar*), dancers (*națar, nata-samudâya*), wrestlers (*mallar*), jesters or buffoons (*parihdsakar*) and panegyrists (*pâthakar, vandi-vrinda, vandi-mâgadâdhyar*) ; the warriors (*yôdhar, bhata-nikurumba, bhatâli*) and skilled éléphant-riders and cavaliers (*gajaturugârôhana-praudhar, vâhalika-vyûha*) ; and the menials (*bhrtya-varga, ûligadavar*), including doorkeepers (*pratlhâri*), mace-bearers (*vêtradhâri*), chamberlains (*kanchuki*), and bearers of tassels (*kuncha*), fans (*tâla-vrintakdy bijjanige*), bétel, perfume and wreaths of flowers (*vilya-gandha-pushpamâle*) and of the pouch (*sanchi*), the sword (*khadga*), the waving goblet (*âratiya gindi*) and the chowry (*châmara*). The beauty and grandeur of the scène, as depicted,¹¹⁸ would evidently be enhanced by the glittering ear-rings (*karna-bhûshana*), necklaces (*hâra*) and swords (*khadga*) of the feudatories and supplicant chiefs ; by the lustre of the red-coloured silken and lace upper garments (*chandragâviya melpodake*) and ornaments of gold and pearl (*ponna-gejje, fnani-bhûshana, bhûshana-châyeyim*), worn by the courtezans ; and by the radiance of scimitars (*mahâkaMkthëyaka-dyôtiyim*) held by the warriors (*virabhatâli*).

Music (*sangûta*)—vocal (*gâna*) and instrumental

4. The programme of the Durbâr :

(a) Music and dancing.

(*vâdya*)—and dancing (*nâtya, abhinaya*) occupied a prominent place in the programme of the Durbâr. The vocal

118. *Yad. Mâhat.* I I, 71, 74 ; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.* pp. 24-25, w. 125, 128 ; *Kâmand. Ni.*, I, 97-98.

musicians (*pâduva-gâyakar*) are referred to¹¹⁹ as having been experts in their art (*sangüta-kalâvidar, sangüta* sârajnar*). We have référence¹²⁰ to the symphony of the *pancha-mahâvâdya* (*mêlaisuva pancha'mahavdyangala*) consisting of instruments like the horn, tabor, conch shell, kettle-drum and gong. The lute (*viñâ*), as an item of instrumental music, seems to have been very popular. The lutists (*vainikas*) are depicted¹²¹ as having been skilled in the art of keeping time while performing on the instrument (*viñâ-vâdana tatva-laya-jñâna-kuéalarâda*). Dancing was, as usual, the forte of the courtezans (*varânganeyar, nartakiyar*), and was accompanied by the soft music (*nuncharadodane*) of the quarter tones (*éruti*), measure (*tâla*), tabor (*mrdanga*) and the guitar (*tantri*). It was, we further note,¹²² also characterized by considerable précision, ingenuity and expressiveness in respect of form, technique, movements of the body, behaviourism, sentiments and unity of effect.

Among other items of the programme were:¹²³ discourses on sacred lore including the
 (ô) other items. Vêdas (*trayî*), Purânas (*purâna Sanchaya vichâra, kathâ prâeamse,*

119. *Śrî. Mahât.* (of Chikkupâdhyâya), I, ff. 2 (prose passage); *Venkaṭa. Mahât.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 56.

120. *Śrî. Mahât.* (of Mallikârjuna), II, 58; also *Yad. Mahât.*, II, ff. 90, and *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, p. 28 (prose passage), referring to the music of instruments like the conch (*ṣankha*), drum (*bhêri*), measure (*tâla*), tabor (*jambaka, diñḍima, muraja*), double drum (*ākhakka, tambaṭa*), flute (*vênṇu*), lute (*viñâ*) and trumpet (*kahaṭa*).

121. *Śrî. Mahât.* (of Chikkupâdhyâya), l.c.

122. *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 79-80; also *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, p. 25 (prose passage), 26, v. 183:

*Jati laya tâṭa rti gamakam yatatōpu kaṭṭasadhātu mē |
 ṇati rasabhāva binṇamure binṇanadappado nētra vaktra pā (?)||
 dataṭa karangaṭṭa ruchiṛagēna sutṭāda mārgamoppuvan |
 tatiṭaturatōadin-dabhinayangaṭṭa-nūhisutaṭṭi tōridar||*

123. *Buk. Cha.*, I, 97; *Hasti. Mahât.*, I, 99-100; *Kamand. Nî.*, II, 1-3; *Su. Sap.*, I, 13-15; *Venkaṭa. Mahât.*, I, 60-61; *Pateh. Mahât.*, I, 53-54; *Kamala. Mahât.*, III, 29, 68-70; *Śrî. Mahât.*, II, 60; *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 77-78, also ff. 27-32 (prose passage); *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, p. 25, vv. 131-182, and pp. 26-30 (prose passage); *Sat. Br. Vî.*, I, 52-55, etc.

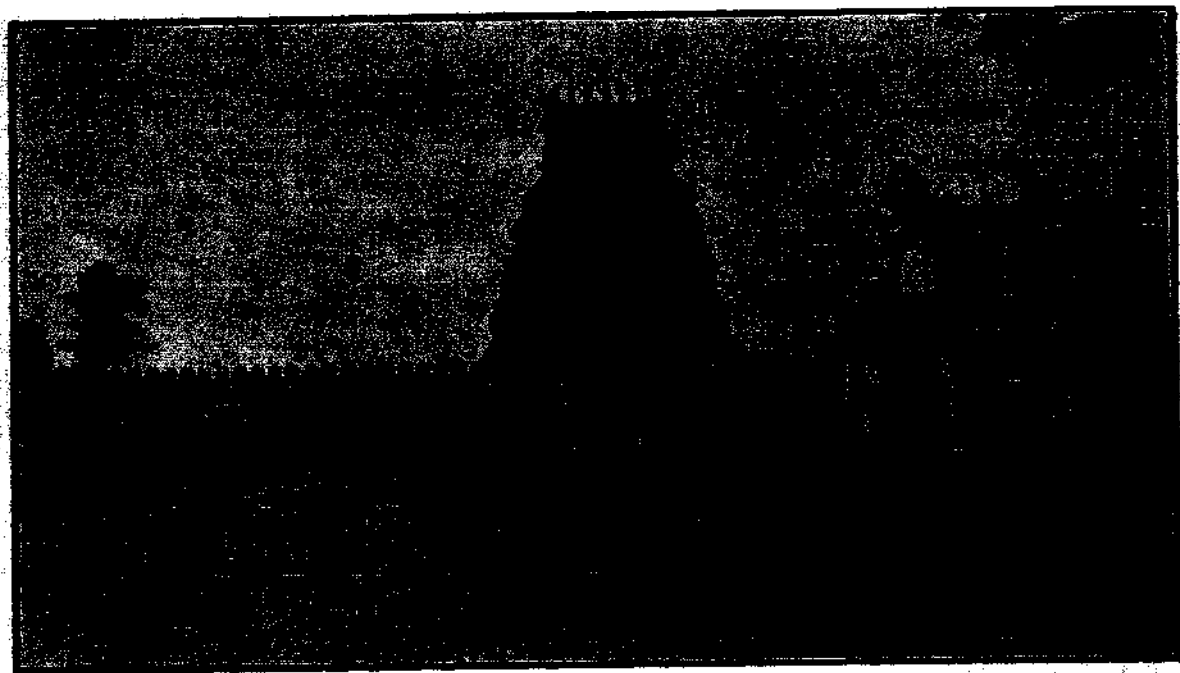
kuiala-kathâ éravaṇa, purāṇadolpanādaripudu) and the Vaishnava literature (*vaishnava kathâ*); disputations of scholars in various subjects (*bahuiāstra-vāda*) including religion and metaphysics (*ānvikshaki, vēdānta*); expounding of the classical sciences of économies and politics (*vārta, dandanīti*) and of maxims (*yuktigalu*); literary entertainments—particularly in poetry (*ghana-sāhiti-rasānurakti, sarasa-kavitva, sāhitya-prasanga, kavi-prasanga*); the tendering by supplicant chiefs (*maṇiva bhūpālakar*) of tributes and présents (*kappakāṇike*) consisting of necklaces (*hāra*), golden palankeens (*hēmada pallakki*), rutting éléphants (*mada-mātangāḷi*), silken robes (*dukūla*), horses (*vāji*) and swords (*khaḍgāḷi*); and the recitation of the king's titles and benedictory verses (*par&ku, birudāvali*) by the panegyrists. The Durbâr would come to a close on the honouring of the Durbârīs with bétel, perfume and flowers (*vītya-gandha-pushpamāle*) and the rewarding of the musicians, courtezans and panegyrists with jewels and cloths (*pasadanam kottu, pasāyanamanittu*). After this, Chikkadēvarāja Woçieyar would retire to his apartmēt in the Palace.¹³⁴

Feasts and festivals were a regular feature of social life during the period. Among the former, the *Bāmanavami* and *Krishṇajayanti* were very popular;¹²⁵ among the latter, the birthday of Srī-Rāmānujāchāryar (*Emberumāncir Tirunakshatram*) at Mēlkôte, in March-April (*Chaitra*) of every year, occupied a prominent place.¹²⁶ The *Tirunakshatram* lasted ten days during the ascendancy of the sacred birth-star (*Āridrā*) of the celebrated

124. *Yad. Mahat.*, III, 4; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 26, 30 (prose passage); *Sri. Mahat.*, II, 68.

125. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 92-104; *My.* 7 (1685), l. 26; also *Annals*, I, 151.

126. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1678), ll. 24-26; also *F. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 37, v. 83 (with gloss).



Śrī-Ranganāthasvāmi Temple, Seringapatam.

teacher. A lithic record, dated June 20, 1678,¹²⁷ relates how AJasingarārya, father of Tirumalārya, gave away in perpetuity the village of BirttbaiU, in Mandagere-sthaja, to provide for the annual holding of a car festival, distribution of food and other cérémonies at Mēlkôṭe OD the occasion of the célébration of the *Tirunakshatram*. The *Vajra-makuti* (*Vaira-mudi*) and *Gajēndra'môksham* were other important annual festivals at Mēlkôṭe.¹²⁸ The car festival (*Yâtrôtsava*) and the spring festival (*Vasantôtsava*) of God Ranganātha in Seringapatam were other important festivals which annually attracted visitors from various countries (*palanâḍugalim*),¹²⁹ The *Mahānavami* festival appears to have continued to dominate the social and public life of the capital city.¹³⁰ The prosperity of the Brâhmanical settlements (*agara*, *agrahâra*), temples (*dēgula*) and feeding-houses (*satra*), evidenced in the sources,¹³¹ is, in some measure, an index of the steady progress of cultural and social life ail over the country. Old superstitions, however, died hard. An indication of the persistence of belief in ordeals as a means of establishing one's claims in civil disputes is afforded by a record of 1677¹³² referring to Venkaṭapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbāruva, as establishing his claims to the Śanabhôgi of Arkalgûḍ against his opponent by

127. *Ibid.*, ll. 18-30: s. 1600, *Kāḷayukti*, *Āshāḍha* sū. 11; see also *E.C.*, IV (3) Kr. 45, and f.n. 163 in Ch. X. According to the record, Bīrubai|| had been formerly assigned by AJasingarārya to the treasury of the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkôṭe. At the time of the above mentioned transaction, however, the village of Singanamāranaha||, belonging to Kottāgāla, was made over to the temple in lieu of Bīrubai||. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 1) to the *G. Vam.*, C. Vi. and *A.V.C.*

128. *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 33, v. 30 (with gloss); see also f.n. 9 *supra* and text thereto.

129. *Hadī. Dhar.*, IX, 58; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 1; also *Yād. Māhat.*, III (referring to *Vasantôtsava*).

130. Though we have no account of the *Mahānavami* festival during the period, we have a reference to it in a record from the *Mackensie Collection* (*vide* f.n. 76 *supra*).

131. *Hadī. Dhar.*, IX, 59; *A.V.C.*, I, 27.

132. *E.C.*, V (1) and (3) Ag. 2; see also f.n. 68 *supra*.

circumambulating the feet of God Arkëévara and plunging his hand into ghee boiled as hot as possible (*atikathinṭaravāgi kâdu yidda tuppadaïli kaiyyanikki . . .*).

Women are found depicted as having been faithful housewives (*oluvēṇḍiru*),¹³³ In particular, Dēvâjamma (Dēvâmbâ, Dēvamma) of Yeṅandûr, the principal queen (*paṭṭadarasi, paṭṭadarâni*), of Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar, is spoken of as an idéal lady, an embodiment of ail virtues, pure and chaste (*sakala-sadgūṇa-sampanne ; akalushe*).¹³⁴ The charming ladies (*gâdikâ[r~]tīyaru*) of the court are referred to¹³⁵ as having been highly cultured and accomplished (*sarva-sarasavidyâ-siddhâiitavêdiniyar*). Among the maid-servants in the personal service of Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar, Honnamma, the bearer of his pouch (*Chikkadēvarâyana sanchiya Honnamma*), had risen high in his favour (. . . , *ḥrpâ-rasadim . . . unnatiyodagûdi . . . êlgevetti*),¹³⁶ and was noted for her literary and poetical attainments (*kâvyâḷankâra-nâtakagala pavanige yirava ballavalu . . . sarasa-sâhityada varadēvaté*),¹³⁷ sringâramma was a young poetess under the fostering care of Chikkadēvarâja (*Chikkadēva-bhûpâla santavisida saṇṇa magalu*).¹³⁸ The code of ethics relating to the duties and responsibilities of women, generally as devoted housewives, continued to be of a very high standard, the préservation and propagation of which, under the essentially sri-Vaishnava atmosphère of the times, found living expression in Honnamma's *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*.^m

133. *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 57.

134. *Ibid.*, I, 3, 11, 16 (pp. 2-4).

135. *Ibid.*, I, 6-7 (pp. 2-3).

136. *Ibid.*, I, 24-25 (p. 4) ; also colophon to each chapter.

137. *Ibid.*, I, 12, 14 (p. 3).

138. See *Ka r. Ka. Oha.*, I I . 516-517, quoting from the M B .

139. *Vide* Ch. XIV below, for détails about the work.

Perhaps a more marked influence of Srī-Vaishnavism on social life during the period is discernible in the attempt on the part of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to reform and uplift the êûdras by defining and codifying their rites and practices as members of the Hindu social order. This attempt of his finds éloquent expression in the *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnaya* (c. 1687-1690) ascribed to him.¹⁴⁰ In levelling up, as far as possible, the distinctions between castes and according to the êûdras a legitimate place in the social structure, Chikkadēvarāja perhaps sounds the key-note of his success as a benevolent yet strict ruler of the âge.

The work *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnaya*, we have referred to, is primarily an exposition of the duties of those who can call themselves *good Êûdras* (*Sat êûdras*). The term "good" as applied to a "êûdra" connotes much the same idea as it does when applied to a "Brâhmana," "Kshatriya" or "Vaiéya," that is, one who conforms to the course of conduct prescribed to his *varna*. In that sensé, *sat* would convey the idea of *nirdûsta*, i.e., *without blame, virtuous, real or respectable*. A real êûdra, in this sensé, would be one who has gone through the rites and cérémonies customary to one of his class and keeps up to the duties fixed for him in the social and légal codes applicable to him. According to *Manu*, a good êûdra has service for his duty, service to those above him. His *dharma*, according to the *Garuda-Purâna*, is serving the twice-born (i.e., Brâhmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya). This *Purâna* stresses the *dharma* by saying that as *Yajna* is the duty of the Brâhmana so is service to the twice-born the duty of the êûdra. This *Purâna*, indeed, adds that by service the êûdra attains salvation. The *Varâha-Purâna* says that the êûdra has no *mantra* other than bowing to the Brâhmana, i.e., service to the

classes above him, of which the Brâhmaṇa is mentioned as an example. The *Mahâbhârata* goes a step further and sets down the religious tie that binds the Brâhmaṇa householder to the âûdra attached to him. According to the epic, a éûdra serving in a Brâhmaṇa household is a member (*a?iga*) of that household and as such he is entitled to a *piṇḍa* (an oblation) in the name of the householder.¹⁴¹ In these and other cases, where the Brâhmaṇa is mentioned, it should be taken as illustrative of the three higher classes and not as exhaustive. If a "good" éûdra is to serve the other castes, the three other castes cannot escape their duties (*dharma*). Thus the interdependence of the four castes is made manifest. And that is the reason why, quite apart from the different duties attaching to the different castes, ancient authorities stress the duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes. According to the *Viṣṅnu-Purâna*, these are, apart from the procuring of offspring and support of one's family, the practice of kindness to man and beast, patience, humility, purity, truth, gentleness of speech and contentment, with an absence of envy and avarice, grumbling and abuse.¹⁴³ The *Mahâbhârata* similarly enumerates the following as the duties common to all the castes: the suppression of wrath, truthfulness of speech, justice, forgiveness, begetting children on one's wedded wives, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel and maintenance of dependents.¹⁴⁸ Manu also refers to a ten-fold law which every one must obey, in whatever stage of life he may be: "contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, obedience to the rules of purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom (probably of the sacredbooks), knowledge (of the Suprême soûl), truthfulness, and abstention from

141. *Mbh.*, *Aranya-Parva*, *Adhyâya* 149.

142. *Viṣṅnu-Purâna*, III, 7.

143. *Mbh.*, *Śanti-Parva*, Sec. 72; also *Padma-Purâna*, *Svarga-Khaṇḍa*, *Adhyâyas* XXV-XXVII; Discussion between Nârada and Mândhâtâ.

anger, form the ten-fold law."¹⁴⁴ Epic poets and law-givers both made it plain that the four castes had to observe a common code, besides discharging duties in their respective stages of life (*âsramas*). This insistence on the observance of a common code made the members of the four castes feel that they were not only one inseparable whole but also bound together for each other's good, and that for attaining the common good, they were all bound by the same ideals of social conduct. The *Vishnu-Purâna*, indeed, goes to the extent of saying that if a devotee of Vishnu discharges the duties pertaining to his caste and adheres to the code of social conduct common to all, he would be ever immune from Death.

Chikkadêva, it is worthy of note, supports his work from illustrations drawn from the *Vishnu-Purâna*, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* and the *Manu-Smriti*. From the first of these, he quotes a verse which holds up Vishnu as the Lord for adoration to all the *Varnâêramas*¹⁴⁵ He then quotes from the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* some notable verses, all of which emphasise the importance of performing one's own duty. Thus, he refers to a verse from the Eighteenth Discourse,¹⁴⁶ which concludes what êrî-Krishna lays down as to the duties of the four castes. Taken together, the verses which précède and follow this particular one stress the point he has in view. The first of these says that "each (man) reacheth perfection by being intent on his own duty (*karma*). Listen thou how perfection is won by him who is intent on his own duty (*karma*)." The next verse—the one quoted by him—says: "He from whom is the émanation of beings, by whom all this is pervaded, by worshipping Him in his own duty (*karma*), a man winneth perfection/ ' The next verse drives home the point he

144. *Manu*, VI, 92 (Bühler's Trans. in *S. B. E. Series*).

145. The following is the verse:

*Varnâsramachâravatê purushêna parah puman |
Vishnurâradhyate panthâ nanyastattôshakarakah |*

146. *Bhag. Gt.*, XVIII, 46.

wants: - "Betier one's own duty (*dharma*) though destitute of merits than the well-executed duty (*dharma*) of another. He who doeth* the duty (*karma*) laid down by his own nature, incurreth not sin."¹⁴⁷ An examination of these and other verses, remarks Chikkadēva, indicates that to those who do their duty in the spirit of the *iâstra*, the Suprême Lord Nârâyana grants the full fruit thereof. And what may be the fruit thereof? This is furnished to us in the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* itself, to which we have necessarily to refer. He who performs the duty (*karma*) to which he is born, though that be (deemed) tarnished (*sadôshamapî*),¹⁴⁸ provided his Reason (*buddhî*) is unattached, his self subdued, his desires annihilated, he attains by renunciation to the suprême perfection of freedom from obligation (*karma*),¹⁴⁹ And he who attains perfection, obtains the Eternal, the highest state of wisdom.¹⁵⁰ To those of the fourth (or, in fact, any) order, the attainment of the Eternal is not thus barred. Would it make any difference if they did not worship Nârâyana but other deities? Chikkadēva says that that would not matter. He quotes the verse of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, which reads: "Even the devotees of other Shining Ones, who worship full of faith, they also worship Me, O son of Kunti, though contrary to the ancient rule."¹⁶¹ Even those who worship other—even inferior—deities, if they do so in the name of the Suprême Lord Nârâyana, they only offer worship to Him; only, Chikkadēva continues, if they do this, they reap the fruit of such worship only through those deities.¹⁵⁸ But, he adds, significantly, that their actions (*karmân*)

147. *Ibid.* XVIII, 45-47; cf. *Bhag. Gt.*, III, 85, which says: "Better one's own duty (*dharma*), though destitute of merit, than the duty (*dharma*) of another, well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty (*dharma*); the duty (*dharma*) of another is full of danger."

148. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 48.

149. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 49.

150. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 80.

151. *Ibid.*, IX, 26.

152. This remark of Chikkadēva seems to be covered by *Bhag. Gt.*, IX, 24-25.

sKouH be done leaving aside-attachaient and the fruit * pertaining to it.¹⁶³

Brought up in the traditions of Bâmānuja; Chikkadēva insisted on, and even enlarged, the view of the *Bhagavad-Gītâ*, that the 'doing of one's duty' led to salvation. A good êûdra, he suggests, niây attain salvation by following out his own *âchâra*^{15*} rather than feel discontented over the duty laid on the other three divisions. In a larger sensé, Chikkadēva lays down, as the essential condition of social peace and contentment, implicit obédience tô the *dharma* of his own *varṇa* and *âêrama*, a dictum that is not wanting in votaries even to-day. Such obédience⁴ to one's own *dharma* would be, if we are to follow out Chikkadēva's suggestion, the means of one's own self-expression and salvation in terms of definite duties (*kârma*) according to the definite *dharma* assigned tô each. No wonder, we see him quoting the famous text of the *Bhagavad-Gītâ*, which announces the great message to ail classes of people, men, wotnen and sinners even: "They who take refuge with Me, O Pârtha, though of the womb of sin, women, Vaiéyas, even êûdras, they also tread the highest path."¹⁵⁵ The significance of the appeal will be mahifest when we remember that éri-Krishṇa assures salvation to êûdras as much as to anybody including Brâhmans and devoted royal saints¹⁵⁶ at one end and siriners¹⁶⁷ at the other, provided "they take refuge with Me." As éri-Krishṇa déclare in the same context: "Even if the most sinful worship Me with undivided heart, he too must be accounted righteous, for he hath rightly resolved."¹⁵⁸ And, in the next verse, He concûdes by

153. *Ibid*, XVIII, 6. This, éri-Krishṇa says, "is my certain and best belief." This is one of the more famous texts of the *Bhag. Gî.*

154. Traditional or immémorial usage (as the fonndation of law); established rule of conduot (as prescribed by immémorial usage). The word *aehdra*, however, signifies in certain oontexts the meaning conveyed by the ternis *dharma* and *karma*;

155. *Vhag. G**, IX, 82.

156. *Ibid*, IX, 88.

156. *Ibid*, IX, 32.

158. *Ibid*, IX, 80.

saying: " Speedily he (such a person) becometh dutiful and goeth to eternal peace; O Kauntÿya, know thou for certain thât My devotee perisheth never."¹⁵⁰

. What may be the reason, that induced Chikkadÿva to write this work (*Sachchûdrâchdra-Nirṇaya*) whose insistence on the *Gîtâ* idéal of essential dependence on God of all classes of the community for their happiness and aalvation, of their niutual dependence on each other for their own and for the common good, and of their ultimate equality before God, is so évident to those reading it? This we can only guess. . It is possible he desired to secure social solidarity by this means, in order that political solidarity may not be jeopardised. That he should insist on the upper three divisions discharging their duty towards the fourth and that of the fourth towards the upper three, would indicate that the need for securiûg social order and consequently of gênerai happiness was, in his view, an important end in itself. Indeed he says, in one place, that the happiness of the three superior classes relates itself to the well being of the fourth. Fearing that the three other classes may discard the happiness of the fourth while the fourth may discard its duty towards the other three classes, and desiring the happiness of the fourth, Chikkadÿva says, he wrote this work. To achieve this end, he adds, he brought together, in order to protect the good among the fourth class, their duties as found scattered in the différent authorities. This work, accordingly, fixes the duties of the Sachchûdras while it takes the opportunity, at the same time, to favour their interests by securing to them the protection due to them from the three others. He would, indeed, suggest, by the phraseology used by him in this connection, that he was spécialement favouring them in compiling this particular work in

their spécial interests.¹⁶⁰ The main authorities on which Chikkadēva bases his studies are, as we have seen, the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, *Manu* and the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*. We have seen his indebtedness to the last of these great works, and the manner in which he brings together the différent déclarations in it in regard to the essential equality of the four divisions of people and their mutual dependence for the gênerai good of the whole community, shows how deeply he had imbibed the fondamental teachings of the *Gîtâ*. His indebtedness to the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* is equally great. Its open déclaration that to ail *varṇas* and *âéramas* Vishṇu is the lord for adoration is his main text.¹⁶¹ This leads to the next suggestion that one may pray to any deity—inferior or superior—but if he prays in Vishṇu's name, his prayer is heard and he benefits from it. The teaching that the adorer or the devotee of Vishṇu attains salvation finds its counterpart in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* which proclaims that the messenger of Yama, the God of Death, has no control over those who seek the shelter of Vishṇu. And the devotee of Vishṇu, we are told, is one " who never déviâtes from the duties prescribed to his caste ; who looks with equal indifference upon friend or enemy ; who takes nothing (that is not his own), nor injures any being." Such " a

160. See *Sachchû. Nir.*, ff. 12-13 :

*Ityâdinâ mûkeshârthibhissakshâd bhagavadârâdhana rūpâni svava
varṇochitâni nitya naimittika rūpâni karmâni sakala sangata
kritvâ tyâgapûrvaka manuṣṭhâyâni nirâdhârya |*

*tatradâyanam trayâṇam varṇanâdmâchâarakramasya bahushu niban-
âkshu taistair nibanâhâbhîr nipunâtaramupapâdikatvêna
sugamatâm chatûrtha-varṇâchârasya tatratatra viprakîrṇatayû-
pasamhartumadakyatvât . . . vichârya |*

Chikkadêva mahîpâlassachchûdrânujighrikshaya |

prabandha makarôdnam Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnayam ||

Here *anujighrikshâ* means *anugraha*, showing favour to, conferring benefits on, or furthering or upholding the good of *Sachchûdras*.

161. Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, III, 75-79. This has been declared one of the finest passages in the whole of this *Purâṇa*. Considerations of space forbid its reproduction here, but it is well worth reading in the original or in the translation of Wilson.

person of unblemished mind " is to be known " to be a worshipper of Vishṇu." And Yama ordains his messenger not to "come into the sight of him in whose heart the imperishable soul resides ; for he is defended from my power by the discus of his deity ; he is designed for another world (for the heaven of Vishṇu)." ¹⁶² The main plank in the argument of Chikkadēva that Sachchūdras can attain salvation by the faithful carrying out of their *karma* is thus a reflection of the teaching of both the *Gītā* and the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*. Chikkadēva, however, in thus stressing the duties of Sachchūdras, does not forget to insist on their essential equality with the three other divisions or the mutual interdependence of the four taken as a whole. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that he goes beyond the limits set to them in the ancient teachings (*śruti*s and *Smṛiti*s) such as *Manu* and the like. Nor does he, so far as can be seen, transcend the teachings of Bâdarâyaṇa as expounded in the *Apâêûdrâdhikaraṇa*.¹⁶³ Indeed his Jain theme is that within the limits prescribed by the ancient seers, a Sachchūdra is entitled to protection for the service he renders, and that salvation is possible to him if he devotes himself to his duties and to the adoration of Vishṇu. Though Chikkadēva does not show an advance on *Manu* and the text-writers in the matter of

162. *Ibid.*

163. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* allows a Sūdra to perform rites in honour of the dead (see Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 88). As *Manu* is more rigorous in this respect, it might perhaps be inferred that the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* marks an advance on the *Manu-Smṛiti* in this regard (see *Manu*, I, 109). As to Bâdarâyaṇa's position, see the *Vêdânta-Sūtras—Apâêûdrâdhikaraṇa*, I, 3, 33-89 (Bâmânuja) ; I, 3, 84-88 (ĕankara and Ānandart̄tha). But all these ordinances are overshadowed by the declaration in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* that there are " duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes," a passage which, as shown in the text above, has its counterpart in the *Manu-Smṛiti* as well. Both sets of declarations have to be read together if we are to understand the actual conduct which governed the relations between the four different divisions of society. This is exactly what Chikkadēva does in his work, in which, he says, he has brought together scattered texts bearing on the well-being of Sachchūdras (*vidē f. n. 160 supra*).

written *déclarations*, his bringing together of the scattered texts relating to the duties of Sachchûdras, and no less the manner in which he has woven the teachings of the *Gîtâ* into their texture, shows the humane ruler he was. He tried to secure social order and political consolidation by making each unit realize how dépendent it is on the other for its own good and for the common weal. He laboured to work out in détail how those belonging to the fourth order should aim at becoming Sachchûdras and thus help not only to maintain society together but also attain to spiritual salvation.

Thus, as an example of the interaction of the tendencies and forces of the times, Chikkadêva's social experiment acquires considérable significance. Indeed, while there are indications of the widespread application and adoption of his code, the Śrî-Vaishijava background underlying it seems to have formed the suprême factor governing his législation relating to the Arasu families also in the State. Some of theë

(b) Relating to Arasu families.

families, who were directly related to the Royal House, had shown a tendency to give up the due performance of rites and cérémonies originally prescribed for thêta, and had contracted alliances with families considered as belonging to a lower status (*gauḍapattÿ sambandha*), while others had cultivated relations with families of inferior social standing (*baḍajâti sambandha*). Realising the need for preserving undefiled the social status of these families and their purity of blood, Chikkadêvarâja Woçleyar, on October 2, X690 (*Pramôdûta, Âêvîja eu.* 10), instituted a careful inquiry into the matter.¹⁶⁴ As a result of this inquiry, the doubtful families were differentiated from those who showed évidence of having maintained the purity of their blood so far; the former were absorbed in the respective

164. *Annals*, I. 129. The ordinance which Chikkadêva issued in this connection, as described above, partakes in part of the character of what may be called, in modern parlance, a Royal Marriage Act.

lineages with which they had contractée! their relations while the latter were grouped into 31 families (*manetana*), 13 among them being recognised as of an exceptionally pure stock and the remaining 18 as of a slightly lower status in conséquence of certain différences in the usages and practices observed by them.¹⁶⁵ Marital relations as amongst these families, it was further laid down,¹⁶⁶ were to be strictly endogamous in character. An exception, however, was made in the case of the members of 13 families, who were allowed to receive as wives daughters from the 18 families only in respect of second or third connections.¹⁶⁷ To look after the successful working of these arrangements, to supervise the gênerai social relations with the 31 families, and to see that they regularly observed the Vêdic rites and practices laid down for them, Sômarâjaiya of Mûgûr, father-in-law of Chikkadêvaraja, and Appâjaiya, the Palace genealogist, were appointed as spécial Huzûr officers (*Sarmukhada Gurikâr*, *Sarmukhada Karanika*), an order to this effect being communicated to the 31 families summoned to the court.¹⁶⁸

The growth of wealth and luxury in the period was as usual accompanied by the concomitant social evil, by now an established fact in fashionable society. We have

The other side of the shield.

165. *Ibid.*, 129-130. The 13 families, referred to in this source, were those of Mysore, Mûgûr, Yeandûr, Kottâgâla, Arikuthâra, Nilasôge-Hyâkanûr, Bijuguli-Naranelli (Narunelli), Kalale-Kuvasanâju, Halôbbidu-Bilikere, Hoçatala-Hemmaragâla-Toravañji, Kôçte-Mûçapakôçte-Hura-Hullahañji, Tagaçûrand Kârugahañji. The 18 families were those of Kirugunda, Bâgeli, Mullûr, Kôçte Singappa Woçayar, Malagûdu, Sindhuvañji, Marase, Hebbâj, Kikkêri, Hâdanûr, Kulagâçça, Talakâçç, Beññûr, Hosakôçte, Malalavâççi, Maddûr, Hebbalaguppe and Tippûr. See also the *C. Sep.* (pp. 192-193, v. 3), a contemporary work, which speaks of Chikkadêvarâja as having established on a proper footing and regulated the lineages of families (*kulagôçtragâça sajjugôççire . . . kulagôçtragâça pempu . . . naçateya nelegôççida balu nêmagâranige*). Chikkadêvarâja's legislation relating to the Arasu families is perhaps echoed here. Cf. the loose and gossipy account of Dêvachandra in the *Ray. Kasâ.*, XII. 477-479, also XI. 368-369.

166. *Ibid.*, 130.

167. *Ibid.*,

168. *Ibid.*, 130-131.

idealized pictures of and scènes from the 'courtezans' street (*vëëyâvâtq, sùlegëri*)—particularly in the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore—not entirely divorced from actualities, depicting their luxurious life and the ethics of their profession, and suggestively hinting at modération as an idéal to be achieved.¹⁶⁹ It is a question if the social evil was really as rampant as some of the works of the period would seem to indicate. Evidently members of the female sex had escaped, by about this time, the tyranny to which they had been long subjected from early times. The condition of women had by now been greatly softened by the refinements of social life. Education had made some progress among women. They had even taken to writing moral text-books. Culture had spread and even percolated deeper into the lower strata of society. If the women who had embraced the life of ease and pleasure enjoyed freedom from constraint and had comfort at their command, they certainly reflected a state of society which made such comfort and ease possible of realization by a larger number without the wells of social life being poisoned for them. But neither the growth of compétece nor even of luxury can wholly explain the growth of the social evil to the extent to which it had evidently attained in the time of Chikka-dêva. In the imaginary ramble through a whole night depicted for us in one work of the period,¹⁷⁰ we perceive something more than a mère description of the sights seen by the adventurous couple of night-wanderers in the happy haunts of Seringapatam. We see in it a

169. See, for instance, *Yad. Mahat.*, I I I ; *Chikkadévlndra-Vam.*, p. 10, w. 47-61 ; *art. Mahat.*, 1,140-168, I I , 68-111, etc.

170. See C. Vi. canto VI, where Tirumalarya shows with powerful insight, in the form of a burlesque, how the rigour of the old sexual laws (laid down by classical writers like Vâtsyâyana) was being more honoured in the breach than in the observance thereof in the society of his time. For further références to the gradual growth of the social evil in the 17th century, *vide* under *Social life* in Chs. IX-X of this work.

picture, besides, of the rigour ôf unequal marital unions of the time.¹⁷¹ Hindu sôciety then sanctioned more easily marri âges which were not infrequently incompatible with the true happîness of those brought together in légal wedlock. The independence that women enjoyed under the Hindu Code rendered them free of control. Adultery was not a crime then as riow and the damsels cobsecrâted for service in the temples (*Dēvaraḍiyâl*, *Dēvadâsi*) had fallen low and were able to make a profession of their knowledge of the arts of dancing, singing and even letters.¹⁷⁸ Freedom to secure wealth, légal capacity to own property and transmit it to her own heirs and the human right to be deemed a *person* and not a *thing*—as under Boman Law in Europe, until it was superseded by the Code Napoléon in later days—not only enabled every member of the female sex to act as she liked but also to make

171 « The rigour of the marital law may be inferred from the following features oharacteristic of it : (1) The time of marriage was fixed at the early âge of eight years. (2) Marriage was not a contraot between the parties but one arrangea by the parents whose approbation was, in any case, required. (3) The son was subject to the control of the parents until a légal division was effected between him and his father. (4) Dissolution of marriage was impossible uuder thé law for the upper classes and though divorce was sanctioned by usage in the case of the rest, the example of the upper classes set the standard for ail and hence usage was rarely effective in this connection. This inhérent dislike to resort to the manly prérogative of divorce was much like the odium which was evinced against its exercise among the Bomans even in just cases. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of individual Bomans who abstained from the use of this tempting privilège for above five hundred years. But the same fact shows, as Gibbon remarks, the unequal terms of a connection in which the slave was unable to relinquish her tyrant, and the tyrant was unable to relinquish her slave. When the Boman matrons beoame the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new légal conception was evolved that marriage was, like other partnerships, a contraot and can be dissolved by the abdication of one of the parties to it. We know too how this privilège of divorce has degenerated iuto mère licenae and the most saored of ties violated in a manner at once unjustifiable and immoral. Happily that stage has not yet been reached in this country and it is to be hoped that it will not be, though society may require an escape from unequal unions in just cases.

172. For, an aooount of *Dēvaraḍiyals* 'and what led to their dégradation, see *Myt. Ghs.* I I . ii. 1295-1297.

social life easy for many who could find no felicity in their own domestic circles. If marriage as a solemn sacrament made life difficult in some cases, the existence of a group of women with trained intelligence and a wider outlook rendered escape from the agonies of unequal lives possible. To this loose and voluntary compact, neither religious ceremonies were required nor did legal rights flow from them to either party. The happiness of life which such unions made possible was, however, more apparent than real, for mental adjustments were not always easy and society looked with disfavour on such commingling and it was accounted a misfortune if the existence of such misalliances came to be known in public. The dignity of marriage was refused to them and that was the one effective check that law and society possessed against its more general prevalence to the detriment of society. Changes in the law did not keep pace with the advance of society and centuries of prosperity and corruption did not help to evolve the principle of divorce for the upper classes while the rest suffered from their high example. This arrested development of law resulted in the most tender of human relations being deserted to a transient society of pleasure, which was the more deplorable because everybody knew the evil but none dared propose a remedy for it. The higher ideal prevailed but as an ideal and the generality of the people who stuck to it failed to note the injury they were doing to society at large by their supineness in a matter of primary importance affecting the general welfare of the community.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd)

Literary activity : General tendencies and features—Authors and their contributions: (a) *Sri-Vaishnava literature*—Chikkupadhyaya : The *Sangatyas*, c. 1673-1676—The *Kamandaka-Jftiti* and the *Suka-Saptati*, c. 1676-1677—The *Divya-Suri-Charité*, 1678—The *Mahatmyas*, c. 1678-1680—The *Bhagavad-Gita-Tiku* and the *Bukmangada-Charitre*, c. 1678-1681—*Other works*, c. 1680-1691—Timmera-Kavi : The *Mahatmyas*, 1677-1680—The *Chikkadevendra-Vamsavali*, c. 1680—Mallikarjuna : The *Sriranga-Mahatmya*, 1678—Mallarasa : *H:heDasavatara-Gharitre*, c. 1680—Tirumalarya : The *Copper-plates*, 1663, 1675—The *Stavahs*, c. 1673-1678—The *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali*, c. 1678-1680—The *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayant*, c. 1682-1686—The *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*, c. 1695-1700—*Other works*—Singerarya : *Gloss on the Yadugiri-Narayana-Stavah*, c. 1678-1680; the *Srisailarya-Dinacharya*, c. 1700—The *Mitravinda-Govindam*, c. 1700-1704—*Other works*—Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar : The *Bharata-Vachana* ; the *Bhagavata (Chikkadevaraja-Sukti-Vilasa)*, c. 1682-1686—The *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya*, c. 1687-1690—The *Chikkadevaraya-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigala-Tatparya*, c. 1690-1695—The *Chikkadevaraja-Binnampam* and the *Gita-Gopalam* > c. 1700-1704—Bamayanam-Tirumalarya : The *Devanagara Plate*, c. 1686-1690—*Other works*—Honnamma and Sringeramma : The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*, c. 1678-1680—The *Padmini-Kalyana*, c. 1685—(b) *Vira-Saiva literature*—Shadaksharadeva and his works—(c) *Jaina literature*—Chidananda : The *Munivamsabhuyudaya*, c. 1700—Chikkanna-Pandita : The *Vaidya-Nighantu**Sara, 1703—(d) *Miscellaneous works*—The nature of the Vaishnavite Revival.

THE reign of Chikkadēvaraja Wodeyar witnessed a literary activity which, perhaps, stands unrivalled in the history of Mysore. Learning and literature flourished under his active encouragement and patronage. Indeed, a mēre entrance to the assembly of

Literary activity :
General tendencies
and features.

scholars in his court, says a contemporary,¹ was enough to remove one's mental apathy and make him really learned and excel in ail arts. While adéquate attention was paid to the préservation and propagation of sacred lore on the one side, gre&t care was, on the other, bestowed on the fostering of Kannaða language and literature. While the Jains and Vira-êaivas, under the tolérant policy of Chikkadëvarâja, continued to make their contributions to the latter, literary output was to a considérable extent augmented by the Brâhmans (particularly the êri-Vaishnavas) and those working under their influence, including Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar himself. The growth of êri-Vaishnavism in the country and its adoption by Chikkadëvarâja as his personal creed were, beyond doubt, the main factors underlying this remarkable achievement. Most of the literary productions of the period are undated, but, broadly speaking, from the internai évidence afforded by the works themselves and from références available from other sources, they are assignable to the intervais of peace and quiet during one or the other of the three principal epochs of the reign, namely, 1673-1680, 1680-1696, 1696-1704. The works are usually found written in *Halagannada*, poetry or prose, though there are indications that *Hosagannada* was in use side by side, as can be seen from some of the productions, especially in poems of the *sângatya* mètre and in prose renderings among others. Among the subjects dealt with are the Purânas, religion and philosophy, politics and maxims traditional history, poetics and drama. Some of these productions are original writings of exceptional literary merit, while others are intelligible translations from

1. See Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 116*, ll. 77-79:

Samayati jañimānam saumanasyam prasūte
Sakala sarasa-vidyā kausalāni vyanakti |
Sakrādapi Chikadëvakshmañhrdasthana-simā
Parigata buda-gōṣṭhi-prānta-pantikā pravēśaḥ ||

Sanskrit or Tamil works, containing also original compositions of a varied character. The êri-Vaishava literature of the reign, in particular, is in a great measure créative, expressive and éducatif—créative in the sensé that it resorts to newer and popular modes of expression (such, for instance, as the increasing use of *sângatya*, *tripadi*, *chaupadi*, *saptapadi*, *kanda* and *ragale* among the poetical mètres, and the adoption of a dignified yet flowing and homely prose style) without, however, déviant from clasôical models (as, for instance, the *chcmptu*), and that it aims at variety in place of uniformity ; expressive in the sensé that it fully éitibodies, aïid reflects, the spirit of the âge ; and éducatif in the sensé that most of the productions, apart from their value to thé cultured classes, were generally intended for the édifcation of the masses. The towering personality of Chikkadëvaràja Wodeyar appears prominently throughout this literary movement as its guiding spirit, nay, as its very inspirer, if not creator (*nûtana sâhitya-brahmangà-nupama Chikkadëva-bhùpatî*),² as indeed he was looked upon by his own contemporaries.

The leading workers in the field were undoubtedly

Authors and their contributions :

(a) *Sri'Vaisnava literature.*

Chikkupâdhyâya and Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangâr), the êri-Vaishnavà ministers of Chikkadëvaràja Wodeyar. To the school of the former belong his protégés, namely, Timma-Kavi, Mallikàrjuna and Mallarasa; to that of the latter Singarârya, Chikkadëvaràja, Bàmàyaṇam-Tirumalârya, Honnamma and èringâamma, ail of whose productions are permeated by the essentially éri-Vaishriava spirit of the âge. Though Chikkupâdhyâya and his school appear to claim by far the greatest share of the literary output during the reign, the influence of the two leaders and

2. Bee HOÊH. *Mahdt.* (of Chikkupâdhyâya), 1,102.

their schools on the development of éri-Vishsavism in its theoretical and practical aspects was, it is interesting to find, mutual and complementary.

Chikkupàdhyàya, whose réâl name was Lakshipipàti and whose ancestry and attainments we have elsewhere adverted to,³ was a prominent scholar at the court of Seringapatam during a greater part of ChikkadêvarâjVs reign. He is referred⁴ to as one skilled in the art of poetical composition, a neo-Bṛhaspati in respect of literary accomplishments and an expert in the Kannaḍa language. He was the author of numerous works which have come down to us, assignable to the period c. 1673-1691.

Probably the earliest of these (c. 1673-1676) are⁵ the *The Sangatyas*, *Aksharamâlikâ-Sângatya*, *Paéchirna-rangci-Sângata*, *Rangadhâma-Stuti* Sângatya*, *Èringâra-ÈatakaSângatya*[^] *Rangadhâma-Purusha-Viraha-Sângatya*, *Rangadhâma* Niti'-Sataka'Sângatya* and *Chitra-éataka'Sângatya*. All these are poems composed in the popular *sângatya* mètre, —as their names indicate—in honour of God Eanganâtha of Seringapatam, of whom Chikkadêvarâja was an ardent devotee. Indeed they occupy an important place in the devotional literature of éri-Vaishnavism in Kannaḍa. Perhaps they also seem to indicate an attempt on the part of the poet to commemorate his own élévation from the position of a teacher to that of a roinister, since they invariably voice his intimacy with his patron (Chikkadêvarâja),⁶

3. Vide under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

4. *Hasti. Mahat.*, I, 103; *Sri. Mahat.*, col.: *Kavita-vidhana-nipunam; Sahityadoj nâdana gâhpati; Karnâṭaka-bhâsha-chadura.*

5. Ms. No. 18-6. 11 (*P. L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), containing the collection; also Ms. No. B. 260 (*P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), containing only the *Pâchîma-Rangadhâma-Sângatya* and *Purusha-Viraha-Sângatya*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 487, 485-489.

6. Vide references cited, and textual expressions quoted, in Ch. XII, f.n. 28.

Next in order are the *Kamandaka-Nīti*⁷ and the *Sàuka-Saptati*⁸ (c. 1676-1677). Both these Works are prose renderings, done at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. They begin with invocations to Vishnu, Lakshmi, Rāmānuja and the Ālvārs. The former work deals, within the compass of 8 chapters (*asvāsa*), with the ancient science of politics (*danda-mīti*) as expounded by Kāmandaki. The introductory chapter contains verses in the *vṛitta* metre and prose passages (*vachana*) dealing, among others, with the pedigree (*vamsāvali*) and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja, the latest event referred to being the siège and capitulation of Jaḍakana-durga (1675-1676).⁹ The latter work treats of maxims (*yuktigalu*) in the form of seventy didactic stories said to have been narrated ages ago by the sage êukâchârya to a king by name Vahni-rāja. There is, however, no référence to any political event in this work, which would enable us to fix its date. At any rate, since both the *Kāmandaka-Nīti* and the *êuha-Saptati* deal with cognate subjects, there is reason to believe that their rendering took place in close succession to one another. Apart from the value of these works as good spécimens of seventeenth century Kannada in Mysore (*satkarnâtakâ-rītiyim* ; *Karnāta'Sadbhâshēyol*),¹⁰ they embody data which are, as a whole, of considérable importance to us from the points of view of the political history of the earlier years of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, the development of his political and administrative knowledge and the early adoption of êri-Vaishnavism as

7. Ms. No. 19-1-12—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 467, 468.

8. Ms. No. 19-4-36—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; cf. Ms. Nos. A. 101 and 153—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also the printed work in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* (Pub. K. T. ŚrinivâsaChârya, *Karnâṭaka Mudraśāhara Sālā*, Bangalore, 1874); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, l.c.

9. *Vide* Oh. XI, f.n. 86, for details.

10. *Kamand. Nī.*, II, 8; *Su. Sap.*, I, ff. 2 (A. 153).

his personal religion.¹¹ So dear indeed is the prose style of these writings that they seem to reveal an attempt at a direct exposition of their subject-matter by Chikkupâdhyâya to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself.

On February 18, 1678, Chikkupâdhyâya completed the *Divya-Sûri-Charitē*.¹² It is a *champu* work in *Halagannda*, in 14 chapters, rendered from the original work in Tamil at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja. It deals with the history of the twelve ěri-Vaishnava saints (*Ālvārs, Suri*). The author styles it an epic (*maḥā-prabandha*). The introductory chapter begins as usual with invocations to Bāmānuja, God Banganātha of Seringapatam and the Ālvārs; and contains a brief account of the pedigree of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and references to his religious avocations and his court. The succeeding chapters are centred round the subject-matter proper. The diction is sweet and melodious, in keeping with the established principles of the Kannada language (*Kannada bhāshā-kramadi nosedu*),¹³ the prevailing sentiment being *bhakti*. It is an important contribution to the traditional history and philosophy of ěri-Vaishnavism in Kannada, intended for popular use (*rūdhīyāgiralēvēlkenḍu*),¹⁴

The next series of Chikkupâdhyâya's works belongs to the period c. 1678-1680, and deals mainly with the Purānic accounts of the merits of holy places (*Māhātmya*) of Sri-Vaishnava importance. These accounts are renderings from the originals in Sanskrit, done at the

11. Vide Chs. XI—XIII, for details.

12. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvyā-Kalānīḥi Series*, No. 88 (G. T. A. Press, Mysore, 1911)—see XIV, 124: *Pingajā samvatsara Phālgunāmāḷa mahāpakṣhapāṃti*; also item No. 74 (P. L. M.) of the *Cat. Kan. Mus. in the Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 486, 478-480) which places the work in or before 1672 on the ground that a copy of it was made in *Vīrodhīkrit* (1672). Possibly *Vīrodhīkrit* is a scribal error for *Vīrodhī* (1709).

13. XIV, 120.

14. XIV, 119.

instance of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Thus, the *Kāmalachala-Māhātmya*,¹⁶ in 16 chapters, contains an account of Kanjagiri (or the Gôpâlasvâmi hill) as given in the *Bhavisyôttara-Purâna*; the *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*,¹⁶ in 18 chapters; the *Venkatagiri-Māhātmya*¹⁷ and the *Srî ranga-Māhatmya*,¹⁸ in 10 chapters each; and the *Paschimaranga-Māhātmya*,¹⁹ in 6 chapters—these enshrine, respectively, accounts of Kânci, Tirupati, èrîrangam and Seringapatam, as narrated in the *Brahmànḍa-Purâna*; and lastly, the *Yâdavagiri-Māhātmya*,²⁰ in 12 chapters, deals with the account of Mêlkôte (*Yadugiri*) as related in the *Nâradiya-Purâna*. These compilations are generally written in a mixture of *Halagannada* prose and poetry. The methodology adopted in them by Chikkupâdhyâya is of particular interest to us. In the introductory chapter of each *Māhātmya*, Bâmânûja, the Àlyârs, the demi-gods of the èrî-Vaishnava hierarchy (like Garuda and Vishvaksèna) and the presiding deity of the place dealt with, are usually invoked. Then follows a geographical description of the Karnâṭaka country (*bhûbhâga-varṇanë*) including the city of Mysore. This is succeeded in turn by an account of the pedigree (*vamsa-vistâra-vamane*) of the Buling Dynasty of Mysore and by a narrative of the exploits of Chikkadēvarāja himself (the hero and the poet's patron), the latest political event referred to being the siège and acquisition of Andûr, Maddagiri and

16 Ma. Nos. B. 38 and 42—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Kâ. Cha.*, II. 467, 478.

16. Ms. Ko. B. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 478-475.

17. Ms. No. 18-4-18—P. L. *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 488.

18. Ms. No. B. 270—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, [see also and compare *Ibid.*, l.c.]

19. Ms. No. 18-6-11—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 486.

20. Ms. No. 18-21-16—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 482.

the adjacent forts (1678).^{*} References to the personality, character and rule of Chikkadēva, his religious avocations and his Durbâr and the ancestry and attainments of the poet, among other particulars, not infrequently follow, both by way of completing the descriptive account of the rise and fortunes of the hero (*nâyakâbhyudaya-varṇaṇē*) and by way of indicating that the *Mâhâtmya* was a product of Chikkadēvarâja's court. The succeeding chapters deal with the subject-matter proper of the work. In exceptionally longer works like the *Kamalâchala-Mâhâtmya*, the subject-matter commences in the third chapter, the second being devoted to what purports to be an idéal description of the night adventures of the hero (*râtri-vihâra-varṇaṇē*). All these productions are, again, marked by variety in point of style. The *Kamalâchala-Mâhâtmya* is a *champu* work. It is, further, a new form of composition, characterized by grandeur of sentiment, splendour of diction, excellence of meanings, nicety of verbal embellishment and beauty of euphonic junctions and compounds.²² The *Hastigiri-Mâhâtmya*, another *champu*, is also written in the same style of literary expression while adhering to the *Kāvya* model, the objective aimed at being, of course, popular appréciation.³³ The *Venkatagiri-Mâhâtmya* is a prose commentary.²⁴ The *Srîrang a-Mâhâtmya* is also written

21. Vide Ch. XI, f.n. 57 and 63, for détails. The *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 468) speaks of the *Hasti. Mahat.* and the *Kamal. Mahat.* as having been written in 1679 (*Kalayukti*) and 1680 (*Baudri*), respectively, without citing the relevant texts. The manuscripts of these works examined by us seem to contain no reference to these dates. From internal evidence, as set forth above, they have to be assigned, along with the other *Mahatmyas*, to the period c. 1678-1680.

22. III, 78:

*Basabhavam piridage bandhadessakam saitage sabdarihadol-
| posakrâvaidhavamage nuprudigaloppambettu cheluvage san- |
dhi-samsam posaitage Kannadadola Kanjadri-Mahâtmyamam
rasikar meechi pogalvinam virachikum sammantri-Lakshmitaram ||*

23. I, 101, 106, 108: *Posatâdolnuṭiyinda; suprabandha-mârgam merovan-
tondi; ellar prêmade tilidâlipante.*

24. Vide colophon: *Vyakhyanâ vietâramam . . . Karnâṭaka tippaṇadola*

in prose, being intended solely for popular enlightenment.²⁵ The *Paschimaranga-Mâhâtmya* and the *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya* are poems in the *sângatya* mètre, the latter being written in prose also as *Yadugiri-Mâhâtmya*.²⁶ The *Mâhâtmyas* of Chikkupâdhyâya, on the whole, constitute a new type of literature in themselves, in that they delineate êri-Vaishṇava tradition against a background of epic poetry, *bhakti* being the prevailing sentiment throughout. They are thus an important addition to the literature on Sri-Vaishṇavism in Eannaḍa.

To almost the same period (c. 1678-1681) belong the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ-Tiku*²⁷ and the *Bukmângada-Gharitre*,²⁸ both written, as usual, at the instance of Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar. The former, a work in 18 chapters, is an intelligible Kannada prose rendering (*tîku*) of the original Sanskrit text.²⁹ It embodies a clear and popular exposition of the philosophy of the Lord's message to Arjuna.³⁰ The latter work is a *chanvpu* in 12 chapters, dealing with the story of Bukmângada as narrated in the *Nâradiya-Purâṇa*. It is intended to inculcate the merits of the *Êkâdaêi-Vratan*, devoutly observed by Chikkadêvarâja himself.³¹ The

25. *Ibid*: *Kathâsângatiyam sarvajânargô sulabhamâgi tîlîvante*.

26. See colophon to the work quoted in *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 468: *Karṇâṭakavaahana-rachanâbhîdhanamâda Yadugiri-Mâhâtmyado*.

27. Ms. No. K. 466--P. L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

28. Ms. No. 18-5-18--P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; also B. 41--P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 467-468, 475-477) which speaks of this work as having been written in 1681 (*d. 1601, Durmati*) without, however, citing the relevant text. From the Ms. copy of the work (from the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) examined by us, we only note that Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar observed the *Dodâdâi-Vratam* in October 1679 (*Siddhârîhi, Âvîja tu. 12*), at the time the work was written (I, 87). 1679-1681 appears thus to be the probable date of composition of the *Bukmângada-Gharitre*.

29. I, 87-88: *Tîlîva tevadi Karnâṭakadim; Kannaḍadoḷ gôcharamappantu*.

30. I, 89: *Ambujâmbakam vancheyim naranoḷ peḷḍa rahasyatatva-makḥilargam spaṇamappantu*.

31. I, 86-89, 96; see also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII of this work.

methodology adopted in both these works which are contributions to éri-Vaishṇava literature in Kannaḍa, is similar to that followed in the *Mâhâtmyas*:

During c. 1680-1691 Chikkupâdhyâya appears to have written the *Ôêsh a-Dharm a*,³² the *Sdtvika-Brahma-Vidyâ-Vilâsa*²³ and the *Vishniù-Purdna*³⁴ (c. 1691). AH these writings begin with invocations to the Srî-Vaishava panthéon in the same manner as the earlier ones. The *éêsha-Dharma* is a prose work (*ṭiku*) in 25 chapters, translated from the *Âsvamêdhika-Parva* of the *Hari-Vamêa*. Chikkupâdhyâya, as he tells us,³⁵ wrote it at the désire of Chikkadêvarâja for popular enlightenment, following the principles of Kannaḍa composition laid down in the *Bhashâbhûshanam* (12th cent.). The *Sâtvika-Brahma-Vidyâ-Vilâsa* is a *champu* rendered, under the orders of Chikkadêvarâja (*âjnaptanâgi*), from the original Sanskrit work of that name. It deals, in 9 chapters, with the Srî-Vaishṇava philosophy of *Viéistâdvaitism* which continued to engage the attention

32. Ms. No. 18-8-28—P. L. ; *Mad. Or. Lib.* ; also No. A. 133—P. ; *Mys. Or. Lib.* ; see also and compare *Kar. Ea. Oha.* I I . 467, 483.

33. Ms. No. B. 44—P. ; *Mys. Or. Lib.* ; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467, 480.

34. Pub. in the *Karnataka-Kavya-Kalanidhi Série**, Nos. 45,36 and 30, Mysore, 1914,1911 and 1910, Parts 1, 4 and 5 ; also Mss. Nos. A. 99 and 100—P. ; *Mys. Or. Lib.* ; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467. The Mss., referred to, contain no spécific réference to Chikkupâdhyâya, the author. They appear to have been copied by a scribe who went by the name of Venkatanarasiya, a contemporary of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar (see ff. 338-339). The colophons in the Mss. differ from those of the published work, which clearly mention Chikkupâdhyâya's name ; but the subject-matter of the text is similar. The *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (Le.) refers to the prose version of the *Vûhnu-Purdna* and has no particulars about it. It, again, speaks of the work as having been written in 1691 (II. 468) without citing the relevant textual réference. The Mss. and the published work do not refer to the date. However, we are inclined to take 1691 as the probable date of the *Vishnu-Purdna*, assigning it to the latest period of Chikkupâdhyâya's literary activity (c. 1680-1691).

86. See v. 2 of each ch. :

*Sêsha-Dharmakke ṭikanasêsha janam tiliva terado Chikkupâdhyâyam |
Têshisê Chikkadêvêndram Bhashâbhûshanâda Kannaḍâda virachisî-
dam ||*

of Chikkadêvarâja in an increasing measure during the period 1680-1696. The *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* is a prose treatise in Kannada, translated from the original work in the form of a dialogue between the sages Maitrêya and Parâṣṭra,³⁶ It is written in 5 parts (*amêa*), each containing a vârying number of chapters, and the whole dealing mainly with the philosophy of the principal incarnations of Vishṇu. Lucid, flowing and thoroughly enjoyable, thiô work typifies the new model *Hosagannaḍa* prose style that was evolved in Mysore towards the close of the seventeenth century. The *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* of Chikkupâdhyâya has come down in 6 parts in the *champu* form also,³⁷ the prose version, however, being by far the more popular. Among other contributions of Chikkupâdhyâya to the literature on Sri-Vaishnavism, perhaps assignable to the same period, are the *Tiruvâimoli-Tiku*,** a prose commentary in Kannada on the original Tarn il treatise of the great Nammâlvar, and the *Padma-Purâna-TiJcu*,³⁹ a prose version in Kannada of the original Sanskrit work of that name. He is also credited⁴⁰ with having written the *Amaruka-èatàka*, *Vaidyâmṛta-Tiku ArthcL-Panchaka* and *Tatva-Traya*.

Timma-Kavi was, as he refers to himself,⁴¹ a Brâhman of Jêmadagni-gôtra, being an ardent devotee of God Vêciugôpâla. He was probably a disciple of a religious preceptor by name Gôpâla.⁴² He occupied an important place

36. See colophon to each part of the published work: *Maitrêya-Parâṣṭra-samvâda rūpamâda Sri-Vishṇu-Purâṇavemba prabandha*.

37. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 477-478.

38. *Ibid*, 487, 489-490.

39. See *M. A. R.*, 1903, pp. 107-108.

40. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 487.

41. *Yed. Mahat.*, I, 21; *Paṣṭh. Mahat.*, I, 11: *Jâmadagnyanvayôdbhava; Sri-Vêciugôpâla pâdavanê jâta . . . bhringam; Vara-Vêciugôpâlaka bhaktam.*

42. See *Yed. Mahat.*, I, 26; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.*, v. 10:

*Hṛdayamêkêruhadalliyam nenodu Gôpâlânghri-pantijamam |
Mudavettilananaṃjeyânturiventi-vidvaddayâsradim ||*

ni the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the protégé of Chikkupādhyāya,⁴³ at whose instance he wrote in Kannada the *Yādavagiri-Mâhâtmya*,⁴⁴ the *Venkatagiri-Mâhâtmya*⁴⁵ and the *Paschimaranga-Mâhâtmya*⁴⁶ dealing, respectively, with the merits of the holy places, Mēlkôte, Tirupati and Seringapatam. All these are *champu* works. They belong to the same category as the *Mâhâtmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya (c. 1678-1680) alike in respect of methodology and subject-matter. The latest political event referred to in these productions is the siège and capitulation of Jadakana-durga (1675-1676) and Maddagiri (1678).⁴⁷ These works are, again, written in a sweet and flowing diction. Although *bhakti* is, as usual, the prevailing sentiment, the poet is at his best in his attention to minute details in describing Nature, and in his delineation of the erotic sentiment (*êringâra*), particularly in the introductory chapters.

Perhaps Timma-Kavi was the earliest contributor to the *Mâhâtmyas* as a type of literature during Chikkadēvarāja's reign, for, we learn, he completed the *Yādavagiri-Mâhâtmya* on February 2, 1677.⁴⁸ This work is in 16 chapters. The poet gives it the character of an epic treatise (*prabandha*) composed in the poetic prose style (*Kamâtaka vachana rachaneya*)⁹ An interesting feature of the work is that the subject-matter proper is dealt with from the fifth chapter onwards, the first four being devoted, respectively, to a delineation of the geographical features of the Karnâataka country (*bhûbhâga-varnane*),

43. *Pasch. Mâhât.*, l.c.: *Chikkupādhyāya-prasāda-niratam*.

44. *Ms. No. B. 55—P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and K. 431—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 492-496.

45. *Ms. No. B. 54—P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492-496, 496-498.

46. *Ms. No. B. 97—P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492, 496.

47. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 35 and 63, for details.

48. See f. 106 of *Ms. K. 431*: *Najā samvatsarada Māgha suddha dasamī yōḷ . . . pōṇam*; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 493.

49. I, 23; also colophon.

pedigree, risé and fortunes of the hero, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*vamdor-vistara-varnane* ; *nâyakâbhyudaya-varnane*), and his night adventures (*râtrivihâra-varnane*) and amusements (*chatûranga vinôda-yuddha . . . mṛgayâ vasanta jalaknâ-varnaṇam*), including his visit to the temple of Nârâyana at Mēlkôte (*Nârâyana sandarēanâdi*). The *Venkaṭagiri-Mâhâtmya*, said to have been completed in 1679,⁵⁰ is in 10 chapters, written in the narrative style (*vastukada mârgadol*).⁵¹ The *Paêchimaranga-Mâhâtmya*, written c. 1679-1680, is in 5 chapters, also composed in the narrative style (*vastukarachaneyim*) Timma-Kavi was probably the author also of the *Chikkadēvendra-Vamēâvaḷi* (c. 1680)⁵² a *champu* work of outstanding literary merit, containing several verses and prose passages—in a modified and highly polished style—from the first two chapters of his *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya*.

The *Chikkadēvendra-Vamēâvaḷi*, 6,1680.

Mallikârjuna, another Brâhman poet of the period, wrote a Kannaḍa version of the *Êrîranga-Mâhâtmya*⁵⁴ at the instance of Chikkupâdhyâya (*Chikkupâdhyâyapṛerita Mallikârjuna pranîta*), the work being completed on February 26, 1678.⁵⁵ This is also a *champu* in 12 chapters, and belongs to the same type of literature as the *Mâhâtmyas* of Chikkupâdhyâya and Timma-Kavi. The subject-matter, however, actually begins in the third chapter, the first two being introduced

Mallikârjuna.

The *Sri-ranga Madatmya*, 1678.

50. See *Kar. Ka. Cha. l.c. : s. 1601, Kâḷayukti*. The Ms. examined by us, however, was found to contain no date.

51. I, 68.

52. I, 55.

53. Pub. in the *Karnâṭaka-Kāvya-Kalânîdhi Series*, No. 6, Mysore, 1901. For a detailed discussion of the evidence in support of Timma-Kavi's authorship of this work as against the position of the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* assigning the same to Vēṅgôpâla-Varaprassâda, vide Appendix VI—(8).

54. Ms. No. B. 50—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*; II, 498-500.

55. XII, 61: *Pingaladeḷ Phalguna suddha Paurṇomiyôḷ . . . parigârnamaytu*; cf. *Ibid.*, 498.

tory chapters which, besides the usual features, contain a descriptive account in an ornate style of both the cities of Mysore and Seringapatam under Ghikkadëvarâja Wodeyar. Mallikârjuna refers⁵⁶ to his work as a pleasing poem (*manjula Kavya*). He is, perhaps, the most expressive and prolific writer of the school of Chikkupâdhyâya. His diction is sweet and majestic. He is, however, at his best in depicting Nature and in delineating the erotic sentiment.⁵⁷

Mallarasa (Mallarasänka-Paṇḍita) was another poet of the period. He was a Brâhman of êrivâtsa-gôtra and Kamme-vamëa, son of Tirnmarasa-mantri by Tippâmbikâ, disciple of Sadânanda-guru and résident of Nâravangala.⁵⁸

Mallarasa. At the instance of Chikkupâdhyâya, he wrote the *Ddëavatâra-Charitre*⁵⁹ (c. 1680), another *champu*, in 11 chapters, dealing with the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. The poet speaks of the work as an epic (*mahâ-prabandhâ*).⁶⁰ It is written in a melodious diction.

Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangâr, the minister), whose ancestry and official position we Tirumalârya. hâve elsewhere detailed,⁶¹ occupied the foremost place among the scholars and poets of the court of Seringapatam during the greater part of the reign of Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar.⁶² He was celebrated for his wide learning,⁶³ and was known to hâve written numerous delightful works in Sanskrit and

56. XII, l.c.

57. See, for instance chs. I—II.

58. *Ddëavatâra-Charitre*, I, 25-26; also colophon.

59. Ms. No. B. 98—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II, 510-513.

60. See colophon to the work.

61. Vide under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

62. *Mitra. Gô.*, I, p. 4 (*vachana*): *Paṇḍita-kavi-maṇḍala-khaṇḍalar*.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 4: *Aśśhakalanidhikumëni negaḷā; aśśhakantra svatantrateyim*. See also *Raj. Kath.*, XII, 474, where Dëvachandré speaks of Tirumalârya as having been an erudite scholar of his age (*Tirumalârya vidya-vidyâ-nënisidam*).

The earliest of the undated works of Tirumalarya are, however, a séries of hymns (*stavaḥ*), **The *Stavaḥs***, also in Sanskrit, composed by him c. 1673-1678. . . . under the Sanskritised form of his name, êriéailârya or érisâila-sûri.⁷⁰ The following among these hâve come down to us: *Êri-Yadugiri* Nârâyanaḥ-Stavaḥ*⁷¹, and *Sri-Yadugiri-Nâyakî-Stavaḥ*,¹² in 79 and 24 stanzas respectively, in praise of the principal God and His Consort presiding over Mêlkôte; *Sri-Lakshmî-Nrsimha'Stavaḥ*⁷³ in 23 stanzas in honour of God Lakshmî-Nrsimha of Seringapatara; *Sri-Manjula-Kêsava-Stavaḥ*⁷⁴ in 25 stanzas, devoted to God Saumya-Kêéava of Nâgamangala; *Sri-Apratima-Râjagôpâla-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁵ in 18 stanzas, in eulogy of God Apratima-Bâjagôpâla of Haradanahallî, the patron deity of Chikka-dêvarâja; ⁷⁶ *Sri-Paravâsudêva-Stavaḥ*,¹⁷ in 70 stanzas, dedicated to God Paravâsudêva of Dêvanagara—on the banks of the Kaundini—of whona Chikkadêva was an earnest adorer; ⁷⁸ and *ârî-Gôpâla-Stavaḥ*,¹⁹ in 32 stanzas,

70. See the end of each *Stavaḥ* in *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc. : *Srisailasûri krtishu*.

71. Pp. 1-80 in *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., edited with *Introduction* (pp. i-vi) by Mr. Jaggû Venkatâchârya of Mêlkôte—Pub. V. B. Subbaiya & Sons, Bangalore, 1934 (in *Telugu* characters); see also Ms. No. A. 612—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.* Some of the hymns from the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, (i.e., vv. 3, 6-9, 68), we are told, are recited to this day by devotees of the God at Mêlkôte during the *Mantrapushpam* and on such occasions as *Sankranti*, *Yugadi*, etc (see *Editorvâl Introduction*, pp. iii-iv), an indication of the popularity of the *Stavaḥ*.

72. Pp. 81-86 in *Ibid.*

73. Pp. 86-90 in *Ibid.*

74. Pp. 91-95 in *Ibid.*

75. Pp. 96-99 in *Ibid.*

76. P. 96, v. 2:

*Bhûmâ sahîrôdhyastê bhûmâ Chikadêvarâja-bhûgasya |
Kahemâya Haradanapurim Srimânâpratima-Râjagôpâlah ||*

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

77. Pp. 100-112 in *Ibid.*

78. P. 100, v. 8:

*Paramâhama kehrôdadhi ravûna bimbam Karigirih
Yrhadri Bêrivangam Yadugiritalê Dêvanagaram |
Hydambhøjam bhaktyâ surabhî Chikadêvendra-nrpatêh
Tava kridasthânanyakâh kalayê mâmakamapi ||*

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

79. Pp. 118-118 in *Ibid.*

devoted to God Gôpâla, the tutelary deity of Tirumalârya's family, settled in the abode of his father Nrsimhârya or Alasingarârya.⁸⁰ All these hymns reflect to a considerable extent the early prédilections of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar for êrî-Vaishnavism under the influence and example of his companion and councillor Tirumalârya. Hence they are to be taken as having been written between c. 1673-1678, a period which synchronises with the earlier productions of Chikkupâdhyâya and Timina-Eavi also. These hymns, again, like the *Sângatyas* of Chikkupâdhyâya, occupy an important place in the devotional literature available to-day on Srî-Vaishnavism. Elégant, dignified, and full of religious and moral fervour, they are an index of Tirumalârya's high attainments, and are good spécimens of his poetical style in classical Sanskrit.

Next we have the Kannaḍa works of Tirumalârya, also undated. The earliest of these is the *Chikkadēvarârya-Vamsâvali*,⁸¹ a prose work in *Hālagannaḍa* dealing with the traditional history of the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Koyal House, down to Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar. This work, as it has come down to us, is incomplète, since it stops abruptly with the invasion of Seringapatam by êivappa Nâyaka I (in 1659) in the very first year of the reign of Dēvarâja Wodeyar. It is conspicuous also by the absence of any référence in the text to its authorship. That Tirumalârya was the undoubted author of the *Chikkactēvarârya-Vamsâvali* and that it was his first literary production in Kannaḍa are, however, obvious from the occurrence of passages from

80. P. 118, v. 8; p. 115, v. 14: *Viharatî Nrsimhârya bhāvanê; Śrîmîn-Nrsimha-gurusvârya grhêthavâsyat.*

81. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Kannaḍaka-Kavya-Manjari-Series*, No. 18, Mysore, 1895; also P. L. Ms. of this work—No. 1085 of the *Cat. Kan. Ms.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, and No. 112 (in *Grantha* characters) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461, 464-465.

it iri his *Chikkadēvarâja-Vijayam*,⁸² and from the order of precedence followed by Tirumalârya himself in his *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*⁸³ while alluding to his other works. There are, again, indications in the *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali* that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar was becoming famous as *Karndtaṭa-Chakravarti* after curbing the local powers, and when he, at the height of his power, was asserting his claims to the sovereignty over the south as well (*Dakshinadik'Chakravarti*)⁸⁴ The political achievements of Chikkadēvarâja during the early years of his reign, namely 1673-1678, were so important from the contemporary point of view that, as we have seen, they found adequate expression in the works of Chikkupâdhyâya and other contemporaries of Tirumalârya. Indeed, while these writers attempted in their writings to invest Chikkadēva with ail halo of an epic hero by recounting his pedigree and exploits, Tirumalârya seems to have found it convenient to go even a step further and strike an altogether new Une by idealising and exalting his hero (Chikkadēvarâja) to the rank of a divinity—as an incarnation of Vishpu. That, at any rate, is how he has been depicted⁸⁵ by setting his birth and early life against the background of Vaishṇava tradition centring round the early history of the Euling Dynasty of Mysore. The *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali* appears, accordingly, to have been written not earlier than 1678 and not later than 1680. After invocation to Vishjitt, the work begins with an elaborate account of the rule and exploits of Râja Wodeyar (*Râja-Nripa-Charitam*) with spécial référence to his conquest and capture of Seringapatam (1610) from Tirumala, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkata I; and touches incidentally on the Vaishṇava tradition relating to the origin and founding of the

82. Compare, for instance, C. *Vu*, III, 11, 142-144, with C. *Vam*. 88, 160-161. 83. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

84. See pp. 168-168; also Ch. XI, f.n. 69.

85. Pp. 146-151, 166-169, etc.

Ruling House of Mysore. This is followed by short notices of the reigns of Châmarâja Wodeyar (*Châmarâja-Charitam*), Imma4i-B»âja Wodeyar (*Immadi-Râjarasa* Gharitam*) and Kaçthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar (*KaçthîravarNarasarâja-Charitam*). Then we have a lengthy account of Dodḍadēvarâja Wodeyar (*Dodḍadēvarâja Gharitam*), father of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kapthîrava-Narasa), by way of giving prominence to the birth and early éducation and training of Chikkadēvarâja as the heir to the throne of Mysore. At the end of this account is a brief but incomplète référence to the rule of Dēvarâja Wodeyar (younger brother of Dodḍadēvarâja Wodeyar and uncle of Chikkadēvarâja) in Seringapatam in succession to Kaçthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar, with an indication of Chikkadēva's position as *Yuvarâja* under Dēvarâja.

Though a prose work, the *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali* is conceived throughout in the poetic vein. It is a pièce of poetic prose, reading more like epic poetry superbly executed than as a plain prose narrative. Characterized by grandeur of diction, richness of imagery and beauty of the heroic and devotional sentiments delineated, it is a model of polished *Halagannada* prose style in Mysore in the seventeenth century. From the literary point of view, therefore, it is invaluable as a classic. In estimating the *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamêâvali*, from the historical point of view, however, it is to be remembered that Tirumalârya writes not as a strict chronicler but as a poet working on the traditional material available to him at the time. His accounts of historical persons and events, as we have noticed in the earlier chapters, are therefore not unoften marked by poetic license and lack of chroulogical séquence, and are occasionally coloured by his personal prédilections as well.⁸⁶ Due allowance must perforée be made for these limitations in utilising

⁸⁶. See, for instance, in Appendix II—(2) and V—(2) to this work,

the work for historical purposes. The *Chikkadēvarāya* Vamsāvali* is thie earliest available work so far, enibodying, in particular, a genuine traditional account of the course of affairs relating to the rise and progrès of the kingdom of Mysore under Râja Wodeyar (down to 1610) and his immédiate successors (down to 1659). Used with caution and discrimination, it is of considérable value as a corrective to ail accretions on the subject. From the contemporary standpoint, the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamêâvaty* iô of unique importance as throwing a flood of light on the development of Ôri-Vaishṇavism in Mysore in the seventeenth century ;⁸⁷ it indeed has to be regarded primarily as a contribution to the literature on that religion in Kannaḍa, and as an index of Tirumalârya's profound knowledge of its philosophy.

The *Chikkadēvarâja-Vijayam*,⁸⁸ the next literary production of Tirumalârya, is a *Halâraja-Vijayant*, c. *gannada champu* in 6 cantos (*âsvasa*) 1682-1686. dealing with the pedigree of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar and his early life as Crown-prince under his uncle Dēvarâja Wodeyar. The poet styles it an epic, clearly mentions his name in the colophon at the end of each canto, and directly tells us that the work was written by him as a protégé of Chikkadôvarâja (*ârî-Chikadēva-Mahârâja k r p â-p a r i p a l i t a S r î-Tirumaleyârya virachitamappa Chikadēvarâja-Vijaya mahâ-prabandhadol*). In the colophon at the end of the sixth canto, he speaks also of the completion of the poem (*Chikadēvarâja-Vijayam mahâ-prabandham sampûrtyam*), but the canto itself, as it has come down, is incomplète since it stops abruptly towards its close. The *Chikkadēvarâja-Vijayam* is decidedly earlier than

87. See, for instance, sections on *Religion* and *Social life* in Ch. IX, for details.

88. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Karnâṭaka-Kavya-Manjarî Series*, No. 17, Mysore, 1896; also *P. L. Ms.* of this work—No. 187 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 461-464.

the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* which not only mentions⁸⁹ it next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vcmiāvali* but is also found to contain verses⁹⁰ from the former. It is, again, later than the *Paravāsudēva-Stavah* and *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* because it borrows⁹¹ freely from both these works. Also certain portions from the latter work are found versified⁹² in the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*. Further, the colophon to each canto of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* invariably refers to the titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, some of them being indicative of his achievements over his contemporaries, namely, the Nāyak of Madura, the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas.⁹³ The latest political event within the direct knowledge of the poet at the time he wrote this work seems, obviously, to be the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and its repulse by Chikkadēvarāja about April 1682.⁹⁴ In the light of these data, the composition of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* has to be fixed subsequently to 1682 but not later than 1686. The first canto in the work begins with the usual invocations to Vishṇu, Lakshmi and the Ālvārs among others; and contains the traditional account of the création of the world and of the origin and rise of the Yādava dynasty up to the advent of the Yadu princes to Mēlkôte and their settlement in Mysore as progenitors

89. *Vide* f.n. 85 *supra*.

90. Compare, for instance, *A. V. O.*, I, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39-41, 43, and II, 5, 6, III, 17-18, 26, 43, with *O. V.*, V, 72, 101, 105, IV, 116, 96, V, 109, IV, 114, III, 17, IV, 120; and IV, 184, 127, 129, V, 107, IV, 138, V, 80.

91. Compare *Paravāsudēva-Stavah*, vv. 10-12, 14-15, 18, 22, 47, 56, 61-62, 65 with those quoted in the *O. V.*, pp. 129-124 (vv. 1-12); see also references in f.n. 82 *supra*.

92. Compare, for instance, *O. Fam.*, 166-168, with *O. V.*, IV, 50-180.

93. *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalādhipa-vīṣṭāṇḍa-vilunṭhana-Kaṅṅhīrava* (lion to the elephant, the lord of the Pāṇḍya country); *Bhāri-turushka-sushka-vana-dāgnala* (a wild fire to the forest, the mighty Turushkas); *Maruṭa-jhāṭa-mīgha . . . janjānāla* (powerful gale to the forest of clouds, the Mahrattas). For details about the political events echoed in these titles, *vide* Ch. XI of this work.

94. See Ch. XI of this work, for details.

of the Mysore Koyal Family. The next three cantos are closely modelled on the subject-matter of the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*. They deal, respectively, with the fortunes of the early rulers of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore; from [Hiriya] Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar I I I down to Kanthīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar; the idéalisation of Dodḍadēvarāja Wexjeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kanthīrava-Narasa); and the birth, early life, éducation and training of Chikkadēvarāja, the herô of the work, conceived of and depicted as an incarnation of Vishnu (*Yadugiri-Nârâyana*). The fifth canto mainly centres round the political events of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (younger brother of Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar and successor of Kanthīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar), and deals with the daily routine, etc., of his nephew Chikkadēvarāja as Crown-prince (*Yuvarāja*) under him. The last canto delineates a picture of the night adventures of the hero (*i.e.*, Chikkadēva).

As a poetical work written on the classical model (*champu*), the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* is of considerable literary merit. It is a grand poem clothed in the most élegant language. Indeed, as Singarārya testifies,⁹⁵ it is characterized by beauty of diction, straightforwardness and propriety of meanings and sweetness of sentiments and éloquence. The terseness of Tirumalārya's poetical style, however, is occasionally counter-balanced by the variety of mètres (like the *tripadi* and the *sangatya*) to which he freely resorts. He is undoubtedly at his best in his delineation of the erotic sentiment and exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the text of Vātsyāyana (*Kāma-éāstra* ; *Kāma-tantradavaisika-prakaranam*),

95. See *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 4, referring to an appreciation of the *G. P.* while quoting from it (p. 8, v. 10): *Andamūgi melpuvāḍeda sabudangaḷa sruvōyim sarāḷamum, karamesēya puruḷa pavanigeyim sarasamumeniri tanisōḷaya sōneyānte. inidam kiviḷaḷge karogunt Tirumalāryara bōyiderēya sarasatiya saipuvāḍeda sahēya saundaryam.*

particularly in the last canto. That is an épisode in itself, a sort of burlesque as it were, set against an idéal background of contemporary society, with a note of realism pervading throughout. The *Chikkadêvarâja-Vijayam*, as indicated above, treats of the traditional history of the rise of the kingdom of Mysore under Râja Woḍeyar (down to 1610) and his immédiate successors (down to 1659), on the same footing and under the same background as the *Chikkadêvarâyavamsâvali*. At the same time, used with caution, it certainly is of greater importance than the latter as perhaps the only available contemporary source of information for the political history of the reign of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), particularly on the relations of Mysore with Ikkêri (1659-1664) and the siège of Ērôḍe (1667). No less significant is the work as a contribution to the literature on Sri-Vaishṇavism in Kannaḍa and as affording valuable évidence of the adoption of that faith by Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar.⁹⁶

Perhaps the latest work of Tirumalârya extant is the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*^d a *Viraa-Charitam Halagannada*, treatise in 4 parts (*prakaraṇa*) on poetics (*alankâra-grantha*), written at the instance of Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar.⁹⁸ It is so styled because it treats of the exploits of Chikkadêva in so far as these serve to illustrate the aphorisms (*sûtra*) of the science of poetics, *Apratima-Vira* being only a title of Chikkadêvarâja which he is said to have acquired after curbing the pride of êivâji (1677).⁹⁹ From internal

96. Vide Ch. XIII, for a detailed notice of the socio-religious data.

97. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. i-vi), in the *Karnâṭaka-Kavya-Manjari Series*, Mysore, 1931 (Second edition); also P. L. Mss. of this work—No. 109 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.* and No. 33 (*Apratima-Vira-Yasôbhâshanaṃ*) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 461, 465-467. Wilson refers to this work as *Chikkadêvarâja-Yasôbhâshana* (*Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.*, p. 341).

98. I, 12: *Niravisu nṃ kabhada nuḍi |*

Vuruḷgaḷoḷoḷavinirava-nendapratimam ||

99. Vide Ch. XI, l. n. 53, for details.

évidence, the *Apratima-Vira-Gharitani* was, it would seem, a product of the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. It appears to have been written just at a time when Chikkadēvarāja was securely established on the throne of Seringapatam and when he was enjoying the sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country after subjugating the contemporary powers in ail the directions. Further, the latest political event of Chikkadēva's reign within the living memory of Tirumalārya at the time of his writing this work was, we note,¹⁰⁰ the war with Ikkēri and the final acquisition of Arkalgūḍ from its chief Krishṇappa Nāyaka (1694-1695). Chronologically, therefore, the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* has to be assigned to the period c. 1695-1700.¹⁰¹ The work begins with the usual invocation to Vishṇu and with a brief référence to the pedigree and rule of Chikkadēvarāja personified as a divinity. The subject-matter proper is dealt with thus: On each item of the science of poetics, the relevant original *sūtra* in Sanskrit (from standard works of the classical school, like the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, *Pratāpa-Rudriya* of Vidyānātha and *Kāvya-lankāra-Sūtra* of Vāmana) is first stated. This is followed by its gloss (*vritti*) in Kannada, together with

100. *Ibid*, f.n. 155-160.

101. Compare the *Editorial Introduction* (p. v) to the *A. V. C.*, which refers to the possibility of its having been written at a time when Tirumalārya was only a court poet (i.e., before 1686), on the following grounds: firstly, that the exploits or achievements of Chikkadēvarāja, echoed in the illustrative examples of the *A. V. O.*, took place when Chikkadēva was *Yuvaraja* or Crown-prince (under his uncle Dēvarāja, 1659-1673); secondly, if it be assumed that Tirumalārya wrote the work during his period of office as Chikkadēvarāja's Prime Minister (i.e., 1686-1704), it would be open to question whether he could have found time and leisure for literary pursuits amid his onerous duties. This position is thoroughly untenable. For it does not consider in détail nor evaluate the internal évidence of the work bearing on the events of Chikkadēva's reign (1678-1704), but confines its attention only to certain verses in the text, borrowed from the *C. Vi.*, referring to the early life and career of Chikkadēvarāja (i.e., during 1669-1673). Again, it was certainly not quite impossible for a person of Tirumalārya's capacity and attainments to attempt literary production during c. 1695-1704, which was the period of consolidation and peaceful government in the long reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

an illustrative example in the form of a verse or verses. Some of these verses are found freely borrowed from the earlier work of Tirumalârya, namely, the *Chikkadêvardja-Vijayam*, while most of the illustrative examples are explained in intelligible prose also. The first part deals with the types of poetical composition and their general characteristics (*kabbada lakkana*); the second treats of style, diction, sentiment and verbal figures (*rîti, sayye, pâka, vritti, sabdalankara*) the third deals with one hundred types of figures of speech bearing on meanings of rhetorical expressions (*arthalankara*); and the last with figures relating to sentiment (*rasâlankara*), and proof or testimony (*pramandlankara*) as expounded by the neo-scholiasts (*posa-bijjevâlar pêlvudam*).

Apart from the value of the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* as a text-book of poetics in Kannaḍa, the incidental references in the illustrative portion of it throw useful light on the relations of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar with his contemporaries, namely, the Nâyak of Madura, the Mahrattas, the Muhammadans and the local powers including Ikkëri.¹⁰² Indeed, on this topic, Tirumalârya writes from direct knowledge, giving prominence to the delineation of the heroic sentiment. Looked at from this point of view, the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* constitutes an important contemporary source of information for the political history of Chikkadêvarâja's reign, while it also bears evidence of the culmination of Sri-Vaishnavism as his personal religion during the latter part of his reign.

Tirumalârya is also credited¹⁰³ with having written the

	<i>Paschimarangaraja-Stavah</i>	and the
<i>Other works.</i>	<i>Ēkddaêi-Nirnaya</i>	in Sanskrit, and the
	<i>Chikkadêvarâja-Satakam</i>	and the

Kîrtanêgalu in Kannaḍa. These have not come down

102. Vide Ch. XI, for details.

103. See *Editorial Introduction to the C. Vam.* (p. 3), C. Vi- (p. 8) and A. V. C. (p. iv); also *Kar, Ka, Cha.*, I I . 461,

to us so far. The *Chikkadēvarāja-éatakam* is, however, found mentioned by Tirumalārya himself in the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*¹⁰⁴ as a poetical work next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamêâvali*.

Singarārya (Singaraiyangār II), second son of Aḷasingarārya and younger brother of Tirumalārya,¹⁰⁵ was, as already indicated, another prominent scholar at the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. He was, we note,¹⁰⁶ well known for his accomplishments in various subjects which he had mastered by the favour of Tirumalārya. Evidently he was a disciple of Tirumalārya, and had attained celebrity as an authority on matters literary.¹⁰⁷

Among his works in Sanskrit are a *Gloss*¹⁰⁶ (*vyākhyāna*) on the *Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavah* of Tirumalārya, and a poetical piece named *Srīsailārya-Dinacharyā*¹⁰⁹ (daily routine of Srīsailārya). Both these works are conspicuous by the absence of the name of the author. But internal evidence goes to establish that Singarārya wrote them as a disciple of Tirumalārya. In particular, the commentator refers¹¹⁰ in the *Gloss* to Nṛsimhārya as his father, the latter being identical with the father of Singarārya and Tirumalārya, namely, Aḷasingarārya. The first stanza of the commencement of the *Gloss* occurs in the beginning of the *Srīsailārya-Dinacharyā* also.¹¹¹ Further, there is a close similarity in respect of style of both these works as also an intimate acquaintance on the part of the author with the personality, character and works of

104. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

105. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 3 (p. 2); see also Table in Appendix II—(4).

106. *Ibid.*, p. 2 (prose passage below v. 6): *Tirumalāryaru kṛpeyindēnikē-gaḷavaḷada palavum bijjegaḷim norevaṅige gonḍu.*

107. *Ibid.*: *Paḍa-vākya-pramāṇa-pārvāra-pāriṇarendu jagadoḷ negaḷdirpar.*

108. See pp. 1-80 in the *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., noticed in f.n. 71 *supra*.

109. See pp. 119-128 in *Ibid.*

110. See p. 37 (gloss on v. 38): *Asmat-pitr-charaṇni-Nṛsimhāryaiḥ.*

111. See pp. 1, 119.

Tirumalârya, whom he regards as his preceptor (*guru*).¹¹² The *Gloss* appears to have been written about 1678-1680 since the *Stavaḥ* of Tirumalârya are themselves assignable to the period 1673-1678, and since the latest event referred to in the *Gloss*,¹¹³ namely, the célébration of car festival, etc., at Mēlkôte on the occasion of the birthday of Srī-Râmânūja in the month of *Ghāitṛa*, is corroborated by a lithic record dated in 1678.¹¹⁴ The *éřiēailârya-Dinacharyây* on the other hand, is to be dated in or about 1700, since the latest event echoed therein¹¹⁵ is the visit of Tirumalârya (Srīsailârya) to Madura and his political advice to the Pâṇḍyan prince there (c. 1698).

Both the *Gloss* and the *Srīsailârya-Dinacharyây* are indices of Singarârya's attainments in classical Sanskrit. The *Gloss* contains a word-for-word explanation of each stanza of the *Yadugiri-Nârâyana-Stavaḥ*. Clear and authoritative, it evidences in a remarkable measure his thorough acquaintance with Sanskrit grammar, lexicon and poetics. The *Srīsailârya-Dinacharyây* is composed in an élégant and dignified style and is full of religious and moral fervour of the poet as an earnest disciple of éřiēailârya.

Only one Kannaḍa work of Singarârya is extant, namely, the *Mitravindâ-Govindam*,¹¹⁶ The *Mitravindâ-Govindam*, c. 1700-1704. a play (*rûpaka*) in 4 acts. It is perhaps the only available contribution to dramatic literature in *Halagannaḍa* (*Kârnâtakam nâtaḥam*), being an adaptation of the *Ratnâvali*, the well-known Sanskrit work of Srī-Harsha. Singarârya

112. See pp. 119-128, vv. 1, 4-6, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.; see also and compare the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. ii-iii) to the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., assigning the authorship of the *Gloss* to Singarârya on grounds similar to the above.

113. *Vide* f.n. 110 *supra*.

114. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 126.

115. See *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 126, v. 41: *Śrītaila-sūriratḥa Pāṇḍya-nṛpāya. . . rājñē sunitimupadītya.*

116. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, Mysore, 1920 (Second edition); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 508-504.

clearly refers¹¹⁷ to himself as the author of the play. The *Mitravindâ-Gôvindam* is later than the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalârya, the *Dēvanagara Copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690) coined by Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalârya and the *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nimaya* (c. 1687-1690) of Chikkadēvarāja, for it quotes passages from these sources.¹¹⁸ It is, again, almost contemporaneous with the *Apratima-Vira-Gharitam* (c. 1695-1700) because it refers¹¹⁹ to Tirumalârya as having completed all his works, including the treatise on *alankâra* (i.e., *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*), at the time Singarârya wrote this dramatic pièce; and points¹²⁰ also to the last phase in the life of Tirumalârya when he had attained prominence as a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher. The *Mitravindâ-Gôvindam* has therefore to be fixed in the period c. 1700-1704, when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was ruling the kingdom of Mysore in peace and quiet, at the end of a long series of conquests by which he had consolidated his position as a ruler. The work begins with the usual invocation to Vishnu (Govinda). The plot of the play is similar to that of the *Ratnâvali*, its prototype. It differs, however, from the latter in so far as the dramatist invents his own names for the characters, Vâsudēva (or Krishṇa) being made the hero, with Bukmiṇi as his senior queen and Mitravindâ (the counterpart of Ratnâvali) as the heroine (afterwards junior queen of Vâsudēva). Again, considerable space is devoted in the work to the delineation of the comic sentiment, the play being intended to

117. I, 3-5 (p. 2): *Singarârya-nusirdam*; *Singarârya-roveda . . . nâṭakan.*

118. Compare, for instance, *Mitra. Gô.*, I, 10 (p. 3) with *C. Vi.*, V, 106; and I, 9 (l.o.) with *E. C.*, *Mye. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 77-79, and *Sachchû. Nir.*, I, 44. Tirumalâchârya, referred to in the *Mitra. Gô.* (p. 3, *vachana* below v. 8), is identical with Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalârya in the light of references cited here.

119. P. 4 (*vachana*); see also f.n. 64 *supra*.

120. *Ibid.* (prose passage): *Dēśika-śrāvabhūmarenisidi-dvijarâj.*

bè enacted uûder the Very eye of Chikkadëvarâja on the occasion of *Vasantôtsava*¹²¹ of God Ranganâtha of Séringapatam, évidently a very popular festival of the time. The *Mitravindâ-Gôvindam* is written in an eminently enjoyable style and, as Singarârya himself tells us,¹²² is characterized by a wealth of pleasing mètres, directness of meaning, sweetness and beauty of diction, a happy association of words, figures and sentiments, and harmony of sounds. Altogether a unique contribution to the Kannaða literature of the times, testifying to the activities and tastes of the court of Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar during the last years of his reign.

Singarârya refers¹²³ in the *Mitravindâ-Gôvindam* totwo more works of his, nainely, *Râghava-bhyudaya* and *Gîta-Rangêsvara*. Thèse, however, hâve not so far come to light.

Other works.

A séries of works either ascribed to or written by Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar himself, are extant. The earliest of thèse is the *Bhârata-Vachana*,¹²⁴ a Kannaða prose version of the *Mahâbhârata* in Chikkadëvarâja's name (*Chikkadëva-Mahârâja-pranûtamappa tikû; Chikkadëva-*

râya virachitamappa Kamâta-bhâshâ rachita . . . tippanadol), dealing with the *Sânti-Parva*, *salya-Parva*, *Gadâ-Parva*, *Sauptika-Parva*, *Aishika-Parva*, *Strî-Parva*, *Mausala-Parva*,

The *Bharata-Vachana*; the *Bhdgavata* (*Chikkadëvarâja-Sûkti-Vilasa*), c, 1682-1686.

121. P. 1 (prose passage); see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII of this work 122. I, 8-5 (p. 2):

*Kabbamaise madhuvam sasutta; sadvrtta sampattiyim |
Bajagindandade munjivindarodege varpuçyað guṇasiltshadim ||
Lajitalankriye gâçhyamâgi sogasim kanthakke karnakke sai |
Tajavaffiruvu . . . ; a n d a m b e t t a padakramanganane-
kalanakriydbhikhyeyim |
Ohendam mumbharivondu bhavatatiyim chanchadrasasphurtiyim ||
Onde rtiyofondu barpa daniyindahladamam maikunad |
Nandam kaimige . . . natakam ||*

123. I, 6 (p. 2).

124. Ms. No. 226—P. L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; also item Nos. 104-106, 108-109, 111-118 in the *Des. Cat. Kan. Mss.*, of the *Mad. Or. Lib.* (I. 190-201, 208-209, 212-220); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 465, 469.

Makâprasthânq-Parva and *Svargârôhana-Parva*. All these episodes from the great epic seem to have been compiled between 1682-1686, since the latest political event directly reflected in them (especially in the colophons to the *Sânti-Parva*) is Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam under Dādaji and Jaitaji (c. April 1682), and since they point to Chikkadēva as having been at the height of his power at the end of his campaigns against his feudatories (*Karnāta dharā-maṅḍalanum ; samasta sāmanta-nr̥ga sarvasva sanhra-maṇa*). They begin with invocations to Gaṇēā, êarada, Vāsudēva, Krishṇa and Vēda-Vyāsa. Some of the colophons to the chapters refer also to ChikkadēvarājVs dévotion to Yadugiri-Nārâyana and Mukunda. The *Bhârata-Vachana* is written in homely *Hosagannada* prose style, and is another index of êrî-Vaishçavism as ChikkadēvarājVs personal religion during the interraediate stage (1680-1696). To the same period belongs the Kannada prose version of the second section of the *Bhâgavata* (also in Chikkadēvarāja's name) entitled *Chikkadēvarāja-Sûkti-Vilâsa*.¹²⁵ The colophon to the work refers to Chikkadēvarāja as enjoying the sovereignty of the Empire (c. 1686) (*sâmrajyaêchikadēvarāja-nr̥patêh*).

The next work of importance in Chikkadēvarāja's name is the *Sachchûdrâchâra-châra-Nirṇay* c. 1687-1690. (*ari-Chikadēva-mahârâjēna prañitêshu ; èri-Chikadēva-mahârâja kṛtishu Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirṇayê*), a treatise (*mahâ-prabandha*) in 14 chapters (*adhikâra*) defining and codifying the rites and practices for a good Śûdra. The introductory chapter (*upôdghâtâdhikârah*), begins with the usual invocation to Vishjju and deals with the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. At the end of

¹²⁵ Ms. No. 16—P.L. Mys. Or., Lib. ; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*
Le.

¹²⁶ Ms. No. A. 481-P. ; Mys. Or. Lib.

the last chapter is a long prose colophon recounting a series of titles of Chikkadēvarāja, which reflect his achievements and the outstanding political events of his reign. The latest of these events incidentally referred to in both these chapters are Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (1682) and his acquisition of Bangalore from Ēkōji (1687). The poetical passages and the prose colophon included, respectively, in these parts of the work are evidently taken from the compositions of Râmâyariyam-Tirumalāya. Such borrowing, as is usual with Royal authors, does not, however, mean here anything more than that the king refrains, out of modesty, from speaking in praise of his own ancestry or exploits. Again, the *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirṇayais* slightly later than the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* (1686) and almost contemporaneous with the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690), since the introductory chapter contains verses¹²⁷ which are found in both these documents. It appears further to have preceded Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to the Arasu families in October 1690. We would not, therefore, be far wrong in assigning the work to about 1687-1690. The *Sachchûdrâchâm-Nirṇaya* is a compilation in a mixture of prose (*vachana*) and poetry in Sanskrit, the subject-matter being taken from the 12th chapter of the *Siva-Mâhâtrvya* of the *Sûta-Samhitâ* in the *Skânda-Purana*. It is supported also by illustrative references from the *Vishnu-Purana*, the *Bhâgavata* and the *Manu-Smriti*. The work was, we learn, written with a view to bring about a much-needed social reform, namely, the uplift of the êûdras and the préservation intact of the idéal of *Varnâérâma-dharma* applicable to them as members of the fourth order of Hindu society. The subject-matter.

127. Compare, for instance, *Sachchû. Nir.*, 1,05-27,37,40, 50,60-63, with E. C. I I I (1) Sr. 14, ll. 34-41, 50-63, 56-69, 62-66, 66-77 ; also 1,12-26,28-32, 44-47, 60, 60-62, with E.C. *Mya. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116, ll. 21-44, 46-63 65-68, 77-83, 88-86, 86-96.

proper begins with invocation to *Srīsaila-Guru*. The chapters forming the work are devoted to the considération of matters relating to a good êûdra's privilèges and duties. Among the topics dealt with are: définition of the nature of the Sùdra caste (*êûdra-jâti svarûpa*); rights and limitations of a Sùdra in respect of êâstraic and Vêdic studies (*Sâstra vasyatva*, *vidyâsthânêshuchâdhikârânadhikriye*); principal duties and practices observable by him (*mukhya-dharma*); détermination of his privilèges in regard to imprégnation and other cérémonies (*nishêkâdishu*); the *dikshâ*, etc., according to the *Pâncharâtra* (*Pâncharâtrôkta dikshâdi*); divine knoweldge (*brahmajnânâdhikâra*); daily prayers (*sandhy à karma*); pollution (*âêaucha*) and funeral rites (*karma-prayôga*)¹²⁸.

Ascribed to Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar are a number of songs in Kannaça, composed in the *saptapadi* and *tripadi* mètres. Thèse have come down to us under the appellation of *Chikkadêvarâya-Saptapadi*¹²⁹ and *Tripadigala-Tâtparya*¹³⁰

the latter being also known as *Sringâra-Sangîta-Prabandha*. The latest political events echoed in thèse works are Chikkadêvarâja's législation relating to Arasu families (1690) and the acquisition by him of Sâkrepatña and Chickmagalûr (1690).¹³¹ Thèse songs are accordingly to be assigned to the period c. 1690-1695. They not only eulogise Chikkadêvarâja's exploits but also serve to illustrate his dévotion to Vishnu. Further, they seem to reveal, and bring us into intimate touch with, the personality of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar.

128. See ff. 10-13 (Introd. Ch.) referring to the scope of the work, etc. For a detailed exposition of the aims and objects of the *Sachchû. Nir.*, see under *Social life—Social législation*, in Ch. XIII.

129. Ma. No. B. 67—P.; *Myts. Or. Lib.*: see pp.188-282.

130. Ms.No. 18-6-6—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*

131. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 149, for détails.

Of, perhaps, greater interest and significance, however, are two Kannaḍa productions entitled *The Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam and the Gīta-Gôpalam, c. 1700-1704. Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam¹³² and Gīta-Gôpalam.¹³³ Both these works are later than the Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam (c. 1682-1686), the Apratima-Vīra-Charitam (c. 1695-1700) and the Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnaya (c. 1687-1690), since they freely borrow verses from the first two sources and the long prose colophon in Sanskrit from the last-mentioned one.¹³⁴ Both begin with invocation to Vishnu (as Yadugiri-Nârâyana), and both are assignable to the period c. 1700-1704, which corresponds to the latest phase of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as the personal religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. The Binnapam, however, is the earlier of the two and appears to have been written in or after 1700 when Chikkadēvarāja was, according to the work itself,¹³⁵ ruling Mysore in peace having subjugated his enemies (including the Koḍagu and Maleyâla chiefs) in ail the eight directions (ēndeseya pagegaladangidudarim). The Gīta-Gôpalam is slightly later than the Binnapam, since it contains poetical pièces and prose passages from the latter, though in a condensed form.¹³⁶ The colophon at the end of each of these works

132. Pub. in the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1905; also P.L. Mss. of this work—No. 82 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and No. 871 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss. in the Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 455, 457-459.

133. Pub. in the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, Mysore (No. and date of publication not specified on the title page); also Mss.—No. A. 48 (P.) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and Nos. 372-375 (P.L.) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss. in the Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 455, 459-461.

134. Compare, for instance, vv. 3-4, 10 of the *C. Bi.*, with A.V.C., I, 25, III, 28, and I, 50; and verses on pp. 1-2, 5, 11, 16, 20, 24-25, 29, 39, 37, 41, 63 and 68 of the *Gi. Gō.*, with verses in *C. Vi.*, IV-V, and A.V.C., I-III; also compare prose colophons on pp. 58-59 (of the *C. Bi.*) and pp. 88-89, 68-70 (of the *Gi. Gō.*) with the colophon on ff. 120-123 of the *Sachchya. Nir.*

135. See p. 4, para 2.

136. Compare vv. 5, 1-2, 6, 8-9 (on pp. 1-2 of the *C. Bi.*) with vv. 32, 1-2, 12, 13-14 (on pp. 19, 41, 63 and 65 of the *Gi. Gō.*); also compare, for instance, prose passages on pp. 5, 42-43, 47, 49-50, 52-55, 57-59, 60-62, 65-68 (of the *Gi. Gō.*) with *Binnapas* 19-30 (on pp. 41-57 of the *C. Bi.*). It is interesting to note the identity of the subject-matter treated of in these references.

refers to it as a *prabandha* and to the author as Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Sri-Chikadēva-mahārāja virachitamappa divya prabandhangalol*). At the same time these productions evidence, as usual, a free borrowing from, and are indicative of an acquaintance with, the earlier writings of contemporaries, particularly those of his minister Tirumalārya. Nevertheless there are sufficient grounds on which we can assign their authorship to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself. Firstly, the subject matter of the texts is wholly permeated by the prédilections, expériences and views of Chikkadēvarāja. Indeed his persônality appears prominently throughout, and the reader is made to feel that he is being directly addressed by, and brought into intimate contact with, him. Secondly, the methodology of these works differs from that of the well-known contributions of Tirumalārya and his colleagues, in so far as the author here clearly states and develops his thesis with an individuality and zest all his own. Thirdly, in marked contrast with the works of Tirumalārya and other scholars, the prose and poetical style of these writings is perfervid, yet homely, eminently popular and quite intelligible. Fourthly and lastly, although there is no independent evidence that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was an author himself, there is enough data at hand to hold that he was a person of many-sided tastes and accomplishments and that the possibility of his having tried his hand at literary ventures, particularly during the peaceful years of the latter part of his reign, is not altogether ruled out.¹³⁷

187. For détails about the tastes and accomplishments of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, *vide* Ch. XVI below. Cf. *Kar. Kd. Cha.* (II. 466, 460) which, while ascribing both these works to Chikkadēvarāja, refers to the possibility of Tirumalārya having written the *Gi. Gô.* and passed it off in Chikkadēva's name, on the ground that verses from Tirumalārya's works (like the *C, Vi.* and *A.V.C.*) occur largely in it. This position is untenable since it eschews considérations of personal élément, style, methodology, etc., above referred to, borrowals apart.

The *Chikkadêvarâja-Binnapam*, as noticed in the preceding chapter, deals with the essence of the Śrī-Vaishnava philosophy of *Visistâdvaitism*, in the form of thirty humble prose pétitions (*Binnapa*) addressed by Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar to God Nârâyaṇa of Mëlkkôte, the tutelary deity of the Yadn race (*tan' tanna kula-dêvatey appa Yâdavagiri-Nârâyanaṇadidâvaregaḷge biamapam geyva nevadol*).¹³⁸ The work commences with eulogistic passages in poetry and prose referring to or echoing Chikkadêvarâja's exploits and achievements. Then the Royal author sets out his objective,¹³⁹ namely, popularisation of the fundamentals of ail philosophical knowledge among his subjects in readable Kannaḍa, in accordance with the well-known message of the Lord in the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, to enable them ail to attain salvation. The first ten pétitions deal with the nature and attributes of the Suprême Being as creator, préserver and destroyer (*trividha-kârananum*). The next eight pétitions are centred round the romance of création (*srsti-krama*), with spécial référence to the universe, the éléments, heaven and hell; and the last twelve expound the nature of salvation (*môksha*) and the means of attaining it. The work reads throughout as a model pièce of flowing *Halagannada* prose, each *Binnapa* beginning with a stanza in the *Jcanda* mètre by way of introduction. The *Gita-Gôpâlam* is a poetical work in two parts, modelled on the *Gita-Gôvinda* of Jayadêva. It is devoted to an exposition of salvation for the masses in accordance with the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, as is pointed out by Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar himself.¹⁴⁰ Each part contains a séries of songs in seven sections (*saptapadi*). Each section of the first part contains seven groups of songs,

138. P. 5.

139. Pp. 4-5: *Ellarumarivante Kannaḍa vâtinolam melnudiḡaḷinḡe akhila tatavarthangalam sangatigolisi; prajegaḷanibarum ihadol sogavaḷdapar; icarge paragatiyumam sampâdisavilpudondâroydu.*

140. P. 8, v. 10: *I Lîgarolva Gîtada mûladolâ muktibatiya mogadrisidam,*

ail in thé *tripadi* mètre ; each section of the second part also embodies the same nurober of groups of songs which are, however, in the *panchapadi*, *tripadi* and *ëkapadi* mètres, their number varying. The songs, on the whole, seem to be modeiled and improved upon those of the earlier works ascribed to Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar, namely, the *Chikkadëvarâya-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigaja-T.âtparya*, They are occasionally interspersed by prose passages (*vachana*) briefly explaining the point at issue in each section. Both the parts are intimately connected with the explanation of the doctrine of trust in God's Grâce.¹⁴¹ The first part (*pûrva-bhâga*), in partïcular, depicts the boyhood and sports of Lord Sri-Krishna by way of giving prominence to Chikkadëvarâja's holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of the Suprême Being ;¹⁴² the second (*uttara-bhâga*) treats also of the doctrine of absolute surrender to Vishnu as the means of attaining salvation.¹⁴³ Delivered in a colloquial diction, the songs in the *Gïta-Gôpâlam* hâve a fascination of their own ; they are soul-stirring and universal in their appeal and unfailing in the human interest attaching to them.

The *Chikkadëvarâja-Binnapam* and the *Gïta-Gôpâlam* thus occupy an important place in the êri-Vaishnava literature of the period as living expressions of that faith in its popular aspect.¹⁴⁴ Chikkadëvarâja's religion as propounded in the *Binnapam*, in partïcular, is not merely the irrtelectual acceptance of a remote deity but a passionate insistence on the love and mercy of God. This prose-poem of his is not to be deemed a petty study

141. P. 5: *Eraḍum bhagadoḷ . . . nambuḡeyemba taḍupāyamam nīrūpisuvar.*

142. *Ibid.*

143. P. 41: *Mokḡhamam sadḡipudarke upāyamāda prapatti-svarāpamam nīrūpisuvar.*

144. For summaries of relevant extracts from these works, *vide* under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

or a simple exposition of mere theôlogical opinion ; it is the portrait of as variously gifted and fascinating a man as ever lived. Variously gifted, we say *advisedly*, because the legend of his having been a religious persecutor has well nigh buried the lyric poet, the great soldier, the thinking philosopher, the subtle politician, the brilliant diplomat and the humane ruler. This work enables us to see the whole man as he was. His portrait of himself, as sketched here, may cause controversy ; but he has helped to kill the traditional portrait perpetuated through the centuries. His *Appeal*—such a self-revealing, humble name—is one of great charm and humanity and is, even in the religious literature of India, of quite unusual design. There is not another work which gives, in such brief compass, so attractive a présentation of the true inwardness of the Vaishṇavite doctrine of Grâce. It is one of the most successful attempts ever made to link up mystical Vaishṇavite theology with the great doctrine of *Prapatti*. Only a devout, passionate and earnest Vaishnava, imbued with the truest spirit of the doctrine of Grâce, could have written it. And when that is acknowledged, we acknowledge the fine spiritual atmosphere in which he lived, moved and had his being.

Another Srī-Vaishṇava scholar at the court of Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar was Rāmāyaṁam-Tirumalārya. Tirumalārya (or Tirumalāchārya) of Kauṇḍīnya-gôtra. He was by profession, we note,¹⁴⁵ a reader of the Rāmāyana and the *Mahābharata*, skilled in composing poems in Kannada, Telugu

145. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 727-728, 780-781, and Sr. 100 (1724), ll. 91, 196-200 :

Rāmāyaṁam-Tirumalāryam Kauṇḍīnyam Vaishṇavam kavim ||
Śrī Bāmāyaṁa-Bhārata-pārdyaṁa-vihita-vṛttina-kṛtina |
Kavina Tirumalayāchāryēna . . . ||
Karṇāṁdhra-nusamkṛta-kavita-gāndharvakṛtshu yaḥ kṛtalaḥ |
Tīnēdam Rāmāyaṁa-Tirumalayāchārya-sāriṇa . . . ||

and Sanskrit languages, and proficient in music, With the assent of Chikkadēvarāja, he composed the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant*¹⁴⁶ in Sanskrit and Kannada. The subject-matter of this grant, as referred to in the preceding chapter, relates to the year 1674, but the grant itself appears to have been actually composed at a considerably later date, since there are clear references¹⁴⁷ in it to the events of 1682 and since it records¹⁴⁸ also an additional share (*vritti*) granted subsequent to 1674. The earliest record echoing the events of 1682 is the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* dated in 1686; the next one is the long introductory chapter in the *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnaya* (c. 1687-1690), narrating the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. The *Dēvanagara Plate* seems obviously to be subsequent to the former and almost contemporaneous with the latter, since it contains verses¹⁴⁹ found in either of these latter sources. Hence it must be taken to have been composed between c. 1686-1690.

On the ground of similarity of style and language, the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* and the introductory chapter to the *Sachchûdrâchâra-Nirnaya* (setting out the pedigree, etc., of Chikkadēvarāja, together with the long prose colophon at the end of the treatise), referred

Other works.

146. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115—see II, 150-151:

Likhyatē tadānujneya |

Rāmāyānam-Tirumalārya vidushā tāmra-kāsanam ||

Of. Kar. Ka. Oha. (III. 14-15) which places Rāmāyānam-Tirumalārya in 1722, solely on the authority of *E.O.*, III (1) Br. 64 and 100, though in the *M.A.B.* (1912, pp. 56-57, para 127), referring to the *Dēvanagara Plate*, the name of the poet (i.e., Rāmāyānam-Tirumalārya) as its composer has already been noticed by the learned author of the *Kavi-Oharitē*. That Rāmāyānam-Tirumalārya was a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja and that he lived through the reigns of the first two of the latter's successors, are now borne out from a study of all the records composed by him. See also f.n. 150 *infra*.

147. *Ibid.*, II, 88-85; see also Ch. XI, f.n. 99 and 100, for details.

148. *Ibid.*, II, 459-476.

149. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 127 *supra*.

to above, haverto Jbe asaigned, to Râmâyaṇam-Tīrūmalārya, although his name is not specifically mentioned in both of these works. These documents are jirawn up in the approved *kāvya* style in Sanskrit. Indeed so melodious are the poétisai passages of Râmâyaṇani-Tīrūmalārya that Singarārya quotes from them in the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*¹⁵⁰

Among the poéesses of Chikkadēvarāja's court workiūg directly under the Sṛi-Vaishnava influence, were Honnamma and Sringaramma. Honnamma and Sririgāramma.

Honnamma wrote the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*¹⁵¹ a Kannada poetical work in 9 chapters (*sandhi*) dealing with the duties of a faithful housewife. The poetess was, as noted in the preceding chapter, the bearer of Chikkadēvarāja's pouch (*sanchi*). She appears to have belonged to the fourth order of the Hindu society,¹⁵² and was attached to the household of Chikkadēvarāja Woçeyar since her teens (*pādadūḷigadoḷu baleda bālaki*).¹⁵³ She was, as she refers to herself,¹⁵⁴ an ordinary unlettered lady who wrote under the influence and favour of her religious preceptor Aḷasingarārya. Indeed Aḷasingarārya, we are told,¹⁵⁵ had once brought

150. I, 9 (p. 8); see also f.n. 118 *supra*. For details about the 18th century compositions of Râmâyaṇam-Tīrūmalārya, *vide* Ch. XVIII in Vol. II of this work.

151. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, No. 4, Mysore, 1898; also P.L. Ms. of the work—Nos. 644-645 of the *Cat. Kan. Ms.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 505-506.

152. See I, 20-24, also 9-10, where she speaks of herself as a humble, yet highly favoured, chambermaid serving under Chikkadēvarāja.

153. I, 24.

154. I, 22, 28, IX, 53, 55-56: *Ōveḷiḍḍu na vōḍadarivo; palavōḍugaḷinde palavu bijjegaḷinde palabage vōṭugaḷinde belevaḷōḍirpenendēnisuwaḷalla; Aḷasingarāryanuḍḍāma kṛpa vaibhavako; nogaḷiḍa maimēyindagi mahakṛti pēḷidenu; a vupadīṭavittarāryaru tanagi viḍhadōḷu pēḷidenu.*

155. I, 12-19 (pp. 2-4), 20-29; see also under *Position of women* in Ch. XIII. Compare the account of the poetess and her work in the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to it and in the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 505), which refer to the possibility of Honnamma (the poetess) having been a native of

her literary and poetical talents to the notice of Chikkadēvarāja, who desired his principal consort, Dēvamma of Yeḷandūr, to have a poem composed by her (Honnāmma). And Honniamma, thus encouraged, wrote the work: The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is an undated poem. Internal evidence, however, goes to show that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was at the height of his power after his series of conquests in all the eight directions (*aṣṭadigvijaya lakshmiyaru*) during the early part of his reign,¹⁵⁶ and when Aḷasingarāya, father of Tirumalāya, had risen to eminence in the social life of the period as a leading Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical scholar.¹⁵⁷ In particular, the titles (namely, *śrīmad-Vēdamārga-Pratisthāpanāchārya*, *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*) by which Aḷasingarāya is addressed in the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* are found repeated *Verbatim* in two lithic records of 1678 referring to him.¹⁵⁸ The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* was thus a product of the period c. 1678-1680. The introductory chapter (*pīṭhikā sandhi*) indicates the scope and subject-matter of the poem. It begins with invocations to Gūḍ Paēchimarangadhāma and Goddess Kanganāyaki of Seringapatam as well as God Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe). Then follows a reference to the ancestry of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and a brief notice of his rule

Yeḷandūr on the assumption that she was favoured by queen Dēvamma (of Yeḷandūr). There is, however, no independent evidence in the work itself as to the ancestry, nativity, etc., of the poetess.

156. I, 4 (p. 2).

157. IX, 51-53; see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII.

158. Compare *Hadī. Dhar.*, I, 12 (p. 3) and IX, 51, with *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94 and IV (2) Kr. 45 of 1678 (cited also in Ch. XIII, f.n. 110). The similarity in respect of the titles occurring in all these sources is significant. Also compare *Kar. Ka. Oka.* (II. 505) which identifies Aḷasingarāya, mentioned in the text of the *Hadī. Dhar.*, with Singarāya, younger brother of Tirumalāya and author of *Mitra. Gō.*, a suggestion which is not warranted by evidence. Aḷasingarāya was prominent in Mysore during the early part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign also (up to 1686), and Singarāya, his son, during the latter part of it (from about 1696 onwards) — vide section on *Social life* in Ch. XIII; also works of Singarāya, above noticed.

and court and 'the circumstances' under which the work came to be written; The poem, in the words of the poetess, is an embodiment of the essence of the philosophy of virtuous womanhood, an elixir of life, the quintessence of sublime truth and the secret of *dharma*¹⁵⁹ being intended for study and practical observance by all good housewives.¹⁶⁰ The theme of the poem is adapted, and aptly illustrated by references, from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* (including *the Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Bhāgavata*, *Vishṇu-Vurāna*, and the canonical texts of Manu and other law-givers, with which the poetess shows her acquaintance.¹⁶¹ The next eight chapters are centred round the subject-matter of the work proper. Each of these chapters begins with invocations to Vishṇu and Lakshmi in their various manifestations. The second and third chapters deal, respectively, with the devotion of a good housewife to her husband and the nature of her services to him. The fourth chapter treats of her behaviourism towards her parents-in-law and other members in the family, and of faithful service to her husband. The fifth deals with the treatment to be accorded to her by her parents, brothers and sisters, parents-in-law and other relations; and touches on the responsibilities of parents in bringing up their daughters and bestowing them in marriage on right types of husbands. Chapter six is an exposition of the ethics of honourable wedlock, with reference to the happy companionship and co-operation of the married couple through life. Chapter seven depicts the state of renunciation and passionate longings of a virtuous lady separated from her husband during his long absence from his place. The next chapter deals with the daily

159. I, 39, 49, IX, 54: *Sastī dharmā . . . idu pāṭīratya-dharmā-tatvada-
mītra-vide-saṁjivana-mantra, idu paramārtha hitopadeśada tiruḷu;
dharmā-rahasya.*

160. I, 50: *Satīyārāśuvudu, oḷḷeṇḍiridharmāda hadanarittcharisuvudu.*

161. I, 40, II, 29-50, III, 48-49, IX, 5, 14-15, 25-44,

routine of a devoted wife in her household. The last chapter is an earnest plea for single-minded devotion to and worship of Vishnu on the part of faithful housewives, at the end of their meritorious careers, as means of attaining salvation in accordance with the doctrines of Śrī-Vaishnavism.¹⁶² The poem concludes with an expression of the indebtedness of the poetess to her preceptor Aṣingarāya and an eulogy of Çhikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's rule in Mysore.

The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is in the main written in the *sāngatya* mètre. The close of each chapter, however* is indicated by a verse in the *kanda* mètre (*sanchiya Honnamma nusirda kabbadolu . . . sandhi*). The work is a typical pièce of *Hṛlagannaḍa* poetry, its diction being grammatically pure, homely, easy-flowing, free from ornamentation and intelligible to a degree.¹⁶³ Throughout, the poem is expressive of the humility, earnestness and sincerity of convictions of an unsophisticated mind yearning for the maintenance unimpaired of the ancient ideals of Hindu womanhood, and for the préservation and promotion of domestic peace and felicity. Although, perhaps, Honnamma may be said to depict an idealistic picture of things, she maintains an intimate connection with the realities of contemporary life, in so far as she wrote under the Śrī-Vaishnava influence of the times. Indeed she does appear prominently as a moralist working against a religious and philosophical background, and her poem is but an index of the popularity of Śrī-Vaishnavism in the court of Mysore about 1680. As an exceedingly interesting though a plain lettered ode, as an everlasting code of social ethics relating to the duties

162. See IX, 1-8, 10-13, 45-48, referring to the merits, etc., of *jnāna, vairāgya, hari-bhakti, kāmya-karma, nitya-naimittika-karma, rahasya-traya, pancha-samskāra* and *arthapanchaka-tatva* as means of salvation (*mukti*).

163. See I, 38: *Ellurumarivantsāvatugalinā sallisuvana*, where Honnamma herself refers to the simplicity of her style.

and responsibilities of women as good housewives,¹⁶⁴ the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* occupies a unique place in the Kannaḍa literature of Ghikkadēvarāja's reign.

Sringâramma wrote the *Padmini-Kalyâna*¹⁶⁵ (c. 1685).

The Padmini-Kalyâna, c. 1685. She belonged to a Srî-Vaishnava Brâhmanical family, being a daughter of Chintâmaṇi-Dêéikendra and disciple of êrinivâsa-Dêéika.¹⁶⁶ She was, as already referred to,¹⁶⁷ a young poetess favoured by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The *Padmini-Kalyâna* is a Kannaḍa poem, also in the *sângatya* mètre, describing the inarriage between God êrinivâsa of Tirupati and Padmini.¹⁶⁸

By far the most important contributor to Vîra-êaiva literature during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was Shaḍaksharadēva (Shaḍaksharaiya), particulars of whose ancestry, etc., we hâve elsewhere noticed.¹⁶⁹ Shaḍaksharadēva, we learn,¹⁷⁰ had attained celebrity, and been honoured by the cultured classes, as an expert in the art of composing poems in the Sanskrit and Kannaḍa languages. His "Vîtings generally belong to the période. 1655-1700, although, curiously enough, there is nowhere any référence therein, to his actual position as one of the counsellors of Chikkadēvarāja's cabinet. Among the extant works, in *Halagannada*, of Shadakshari are the

164. IX, 54: *Dharmada nenahu mareyadante kṛtiyâgi nirmisi nelegoḷisidenu.*

165. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 516-517.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ante*, Ch. XIII—see under *Position of women*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

168. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 517.

169. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

170. See colophons to Shaḍaksharadēva's works (i.e., *Bhaktâdhikya-Ratnavali*, *Rajasekhara-Vilasa*, *Yrshabhendra-Vijaya* and *Sabaratanhara-Vilasa*): *Samskrîta Karnâḍaka bhâshâmaya sarasa-prabandha-nirmâṇa-chaṭuri-âharîṇa*; *sarasajana-mânistôbhayakavita-vistârada*; *udhaya-kavita-vichakshaya*. See also *Raj. Kath.*, XII, 474, where Dêvachandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been a distinguished poet of his age (*Shaḍakshariyu haviṣṭhara-nemidam*).

Râjasêkharar Vilâsa,¹⁷¹ *Vrshabhendra-Vijaya*¹⁷² and *Èabaraéankara Vilâsa*¹⁷³ ail written in the *chàmpu* style. The earliest of these is the *Râjaéèkhara-Vilâsa*, a *pràbandha* completed on January 30, 1655¹⁷⁴ It deals, in 14 chapters, with the story of how prince Râjaéèkhara, son of Satyendra Chôla, received capital punishment at the hands of his father for having caused the death of a child during his récréations in the streets of his capital city, and how he ultimately obtaiûed salvation at the hands of éiva. It is based on the original Tamil work of Tirugnâna-Sambandar (Pillai-Nainâr), first written in the form of an epic poem in Kannada by Gubbi-Mallanârya (c. 1513) in his *Bhâvachintâratna*.¹⁷⁵ A manuscript copy of the *Râjaéèkhara-Vilâsa* appears to have been actually completed on July 9, 1673 (*Pramâdicha?*, *Srâvana eu.* 6).¹⁷⁶ It was probably this copy which is said¹⁷⁷ to have been presented by Shaḍaksharadêva at the court of Chikkadêvarâja. The *Vrshabhendra-Vijaya*, also called *Basavarâja-Vijaya*, was brought to completion on January 28, 1677.¹⁷⁸ It is a *mahâ-purâṇa* in 42 chapters, dealing with the life of Basava, founder of Vîra-Śaivism. From a manuscript of this work it would seem that a copy of it was made by one Ganjâm Yatirâjaiya by December 23, 1700.¹⁷⁹ The *Sâbarasankara-*

171. Ms. No. K. 67—P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; also published work in the Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare Kar. Ka. Cha., II. 442-446.

172. Ms. No. K. 406—P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 446-447.

173. Mss. Nos. 67 and 357—P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 446-449.

174. XIV, 164: *Jayabdada Mâga suddha . . . tritîyalli . . . kṛti paripûrnâmytu.*

175. Kar. Ka. Cha., II. 448.

176. Ms. No. K. 67 (referred to in t.n. 171 *supra*), ff. 113, v. 185.

177. See *Râj. Kath.* (XII. 489, XI. 893), where Dêvachandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been well acquainted with Lîlâvatî and other narrative poems (*vastuka kavya*), and refers to his (Shaḍakshari's) presentation of a copy of the *Râjasêkharar-Vilâsa* to Chikkadêvarâja and to his being honoured with grants of *maḥa*, rent-free lands, etc., on the latter's appreciation of it.

178. ff. 163, v. 91: *Nalâbda Mâgha masada sîta-paksha panchamâ.*

179. Ms. No. K. 406 (referred to in f.n. 172 *supra*), ff. 184 (ending).

*Vilasa*¹⁸⁰ (c. 1690-1700) is also à *prabandha* in 5 chapters, dealing with the well-known sportive fight of éiva (in the guise of a huntsman) with Arjuna. Shaḍaksharadēva is further credited¹⁸¹ with having written in Sanskrit the *Kavikārṇa-Rasâyana*, *Bhaktâdhikya-Rdmâvali* and *Sivâdhikya-Ratnâvali*. Only the first two of these works (c. 1680-1690) hâve, however, come down to us,¹⁸² and they are contributions to the devotional literature on Vîra-êaivism. The *Bhaktâdhikya-Ratnâvali*, in particular, has also a gloss (*ṭippanî*) entitled *Bhaktânanda-Dâyini*, written by one Guru-Siddha-Yâti.¹⁸³

Shadakhari usually begins his works after invoking êivâ and the deities of the Saiva panthéon (*i.e.*, Ganéca, Shaṅmukha, Nandi, etc.), and after referring to his preceptor (Chikkavîra-Dêéika) and the early Vîra-êaiva poets (*i.e.*, Basava, Channabasava, Prabhudêva, Mallana, Harîévara, Bâghavânka, Sômanâtha, Nijagurjia-êivayôgi and others). He invariably speaks of the excellence of his writings as stressing new modes of literary expression (*navina . . . ukti ; nava-kâvya ; nûtana ; posa rlti . . . ; navinamâlankrti*)¹⁸⁴ His diction is majestic, flowing and melodious, though his descriptions are in an ornate style. Altogether Shaḍaksharadêva's contributions are an index of the potency of Vîra-êaiva tradition in Mysore during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

180. From the order of precedence mentioned in a P. L. Ms. (No. 67, ff. 29-30) of the *Sabaratanakara-Vilasa*, it would appear that the latter work was written subsequently to the *Rajastkhara-Vilasa*, *Vṛshabhendra-Vijaya* and *Kavikārṇa-Rasâyana*. Hence we are inclined to place it within the latest chronological limits, *i.e.*, c. 1690-1700. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 448.

181. See Preface to *Bhaktâdhikya-Ratnâvali*.

182. Ms. No. A. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and B. 990 (Pub.) in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* In view of what has been stated in f.n. 180 *supra*, we have to assign these works to c. 1680-1690.

183. See p. 66 (colophon) of B. 990 cited above.

184. *Vide* Ms. cited in f.n. 171-173 *supra*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 444-446, 448), quoting texts from the originals.

, Among the Jaina authors of the- period; Chidânanda and Chikkawa-Pandita claim our (c) *Jaina literature*, attention.

Chidânanda was, we note,¹⁸⁵ a poet, on whom the pontifical office at the Jain *math* of êravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa had been bestowed by his predecessor Chârukîrti-Pandita-Yôgîndra who had left the place to Sôniavârpēt owing to certain serious local différences. At the time of Chidânanda's succession to the pontificate after the death of Chârukîrti, the same state of affairs, we are told,¹⁸⁶ continued at êravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa, in conséquence of which he had to go about on a tour through various parts of the country (*nânâ nâḍugalolu saricharisi*). Ultimately, however, he was established in the pontificate with the assurance of safety (*abhaya*) promised by Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar.

As a mark of gratitude to Chikkadêvarâja, it would appear, Chidânanda wrote the *Munivamêd-bhyudaya*, c. 1700. The *Munivamêd-bhyudaya*,¹⁸¹ a poetical work in Kannada dealing with the rise and fortunes of the Une of Jain sages at êravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa, from the time of Vardhamâna down to Chârukîrti-Pandita-Yôgîndra of the *Dakshinâchârya-Pîṭha*, The poem, as it has come down, is in 5 chapters (*sandhi*) and is incomplète. The first chapter begins with invocation to Jina (*Vitarâga*) and contains verses of eulogy directly addressed to Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar and pointing to the excellence of his government tested with référence to the principles of the ancient science of politics, namely, the three-fold éléments of power (*utsa ha-prabhu-mantra-ialctî*) and the seven-fold éléments of sovereignty (*saptânga*, *Le.*, *svâmi-mantri-mitra-kôêa-dêêa-durga-balalakshanam*). In the second

185. *Munivam.*, II, 89-92.

186. *Ibid.*, 98-101.

187. Ms. No. A. 198-P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 508-510.

chapter, the poet sketches the pedigree of Chikkadēva by way of tracing the existence of friendly relations between the Mysore Royal House and the pontificate of Chàrukīrti, especially since the time of Châinarāja Woḍeyar V (1617-1637). The subject-matter of the work commences from the third chapter.

The *Munivamsâbhyudaya* has to be placed towards the close of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, since it presents a picture of him as a king ruling Mysore in peace after overawing the chiefs of Kongu, Koḍagu and Maleyâja countries (c. 1700),¹⁸⁸ and since it is conspicuous by the absence of any référence to Viéalāksha-Paṇḍita (1673-1686). It is written in the colloquial *sângatya* mètre, and is invaluable as affording us some insight into the character of Chikkadēvarāja as ruler of Mysore with toleration as an article of his political faith.

Chikkanna-Paṇḍita was a Jaina Brâhman of Kâéyapa-

Chikkanna -
Pandita.

gôtra, son of a scholar by name
Doḍḍârya.¹⁸⁹ He compiled the *Vaidya-*

The *Vaidya-*
Nighaṇṭu-Sâra, 1703.

Nighaṇṭu-Sâra,¹⁹⁰ a work on Pharma*
cology in Sanskrit, It was, as he tells

us,¹⁹¹ prepared in 1703 (i. 1625) at the désire of physicians and experts (in various *êâstras*) of the court of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The work begins with invocations to the five great Jaina preceptors (*panchaguru*), to Jina and Sarasvatî and to the earlier Jaina poets like Samantabhadra, Pūjyapâda, Âditya and Simhasêna. It is in 14 chapters and deals with the préparation of drugs from ingrédients of various classes (*varga*), such as grains, roots, plants, herbs, flowers, fruits, sandal, sugarcane and metals. The treatise was, as the compiler says, intended for practical application, to ensure the happiness of ail living beings.

188. Vide Ch. XI, f.n. 188, for details.

189. *Vaidya-Nighaṇṭu-Sâra*, ff. 1, v. 8.

190. Ms. No. 3290—P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.

191. ff. 1-2, vv. 5-7, 8.

Aînongjhe miscellaneous works assignable to the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, the *Sarajā-*
 (d) *Miscellaneous works.* *Hanumēndra-Yaso-Vilâsa*¹⁹² (c. 1700) is a Kannaḍa *champu* in 5 cantos, dealing with the bistory of Sarajā-Hanumappa Nâyaka, son of Sîtârâma, chief of Tarîkere-Santebennûr and a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja. The author of the work is Krishna-Sarma, a Brâhman of Bhâradvâja-gôtra and Yajuśśâkha, grandson of Appâji and son of Paṭṭe-Timmârya by Tirumalâmbâ. Skilled in poetical composition, he was, as he tells us, a devotee at the feet of Goddess Mînâkshi of Madura, and was the head of the guard establishment at the Palace of the king of Mysore, i.e., Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Mahisûra-râd'gêha-dvârâr dhyaksha*). The *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharanîramañabhya* dayah*¹⁹³ (c. 1700), an anonymous epicpoem (*mahâ-kâvya*) in 5 cantos in Sanskrit, deals with the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House upto Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Lastly, the *Chikḡadēva-Kempadēvammanavara-mêlaṇa-hâdugalu*¹⁹⁴ is a collection of Kannaḍa songs in the *sângatya* mètre, in honour of Chikkadēvarāja and his principal consort Dēvamma, composed in or about 1703 (*Svabhânu*). The compiler does not mention his name but he seems to hâve been the son of one Narasaiya, a treasury official under Chikkadēvarāja (*Bokkasada-Narasa-vibhu-putranâgi*)* Another Kannaḍa work, of unique popularity, though not written under the direct patronage of Chikkadēva, is the *Jaimini-Bhârata* (c. 1700) —dealing with the Āśvamêdhika-Parva of the Mahâbhârata in 34 cantos (*sandhi*) in the *vârdhika-shatpadi* mètre—by Lakshmiêa of Dēvapura or Dēvanûr (in the présent Kadûr district), son of Annamânka of

192. Ms. No. B. 58—P.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 528-529.

193. Mss. Nos. 21 (P.L., in *Grantha* characters) and B. 12. (P.) in the *Maharaja's Sanskrit College Library, Mysore*.

194. Ms. No. 18-6-6—P.L.; Mad. Or. Lib.; see ff. 180-181.

Bhâradvâja-gôtra and a devotee of the local deity Lakshmîramaça (*Dêvapura-nilaya Lakshmîramaça*), whom he invokes.¹⁹⁵

Hère we take leave of the authors of the period of Chikkadêvarâja's reign and their contributions. The period was one of considerable activity. Despite the political troubles and the wars which resulted from them, the peace and order Chikkadêva evolved throughout his kingdom helped towards a Vaishnavite Revival, which may be said to have reached its culminating point in his reign. He was, perhaps, the first leader of the Vaishnavite Renaissance, which had its remote origin in the reigns of the Vijayanagar Emperors of the third and fourth dynasties. This Renaissance gave to the masses and the intellectuals alike a philosophy of life, a philosophy that linked life to spirituality as its sure sheet-anchor. The poetry of the period does not prétend to be a substitute for religion; this view is plainly discarded. Vaishnavite philosophy made poetry the handmaid of religion. But religion does not overshadow the living faith of man in his higher destiny, though it furnishes the poet his subject-matter. It is hère that we see the highest blessing that Vaishnavism bestowed in its new setting. This, however, does not mean that all poetry became devotional; it is not so, as

195. Considérable contre ver sy h as, of la te, oentred round the nativity, date, etc., of Lakshmlâa, the author of this classic (Pub.). "Dêvapura," "Surapura" or "Gîrvânapura," occurring in the text, has been identified by some with Surapura in the présent Hyderabad State, while the work itself is attempted to be placed in the 15th century. The trend of ail the available évidence, however, is in favour of the identity of the place with Dêvanûr in the présent Kadûr district and of the poet being a ârl-Vaishuava Brâhman. Both on the ground of style and from références to Lakshmiâa in Kannada Works of the 18th century (see *Kar. Ko. Cha.* III. 16, 67), the poem must be held to have been composed about, or slightly subséquent to, 1700 when the harassing wars between Mysore and Ikkêri had come to a close and Dêvanûr, situated on the bordera of both the kingdoms, had begun to enjoy the blessings of peace. As to its popularity, it ought to suffice if it is said that there is hardly a Kannada knowing man who has not read it or heard it read (see *Mys. Gas.* II. iv. 2456),

we have seen above. The Vaishnavism of this period helped to bring back poetry and even what went by the name of philosophy to a sense of stability, of realism, of belief in a fixed order of things which makes life worth living and work worth undertaking. That is what animates and informs poetry of this period. With the Renaissance, the old order of scepticism, of unbelief, of idealism that is not rooted in the earth, is dissipated and we get in its place a poetry that expresses the absence of unbelief and implants a sense of deep spirituality, a spirituality that knows no bounds, which treats all alike, which sweeps in all humanity under its wings, and which has behind it a philosophy which avowedly takes the whole of experience into consideration and thus opens a vista for the man of action as much for the man of inaction in the true spirit of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*.¹⁹⁶

196. See *Bhag. Gî.*, VI, 3, which may be thus rendered : " For a Sage who is seeking Yôga, action is called the means ; for the same Sage when he is enthroned in Yôga, inaction is the means,"

CHAPTER XV.

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

Chikkadevaraja's measures of war finance—Contemporary évidence of the Jesuit Fathers—Their account—Its bearing—Examination of same—Its limitations—Narratives of Wilks and Devachandra (19th century)—Wilks's account—Devachandra's version—Narratives of Wilks and Devachandra compared—Their basic assumptions and limitations—Wilks, Devachandra and the Jesuit Fathers, compared and contrasted—Final évaluation.

WE have reached a stage in the narration of the story of Chikkadēvaraja's reign, where we may conveniently pause a little to consider an episode in it, to which brief référence has been made in an earlier chapter.¹

**Chikkadevaraja's
measures of war
finance.**

This episode relates to the mode in which he is said to have raised money for carrying on his warfare. There are three definite reasons why we should consider this episode at some length. First, because it looms large in his life-history; secondly, it furnishes the key to his financial and administrative measures and the political motives underlying them; and thirdly and finally, it is necessary to evaluate the actual truth underlying it, as much in the interests of historical research as of the practical value attaching to it in the career of a great ruler.

There has come down to our times an account of what Chikkadēva did in order to meet the emergency created by war. This account is contained in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers of the time, and it is best to set down

**Contemporary
évidence of the Jesuit
Fathers.**

¹, *Ante Ch. XI*: see text of i.n., 116-118.

hère what they sent home as the information gathered by them Writing of what occurred between 1684-1686, they stated :²

" Attacked in the heart of his kingdom by the armies of Sambogi [Sàmbhâji], the king of Mysore, to provide for the expenses of the war, resorted, in the eastern provinces of his dominions, to exactions and cruelties so revolting that his subjects rose in a body against him and all his ministers. Stimulated by the losses which weakened him on ail sides, driven by the impulse of the présent sufferings without any thought of what was to happen, destitute, moreover, of sentiments of patriotism and national grandeur, like ail enslaved people, they chose as their générais two Brâhmans, chiefs of the sects of Vishnu and Siva, and formed two large armies. The one composed of seventy thousand men marched straight against the fortress of Mysore and besieged the king who shut himself up there ; the second composed of thirty thousand meri burst on the province of Satyamangalam and the adjoining countries. . . . After discharging their first fury on the officers of the king and many magistrates, the two générais took advantage of thé occasion to vent their hatred against our néophytes and destroy Christianity." "The king of Mysore," it is further stated,³ "incensed at their (his subjects') insolence, sent an army against them to carry fire and sword everywhere, and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of âge or sex. Thèse cruel orders were executed. The *pagodas* of Vishnu and éiva wère destroyed, and their large révenues confiscated to the royal treasury. Thosé idolators whè escaped thé carnage fled to thé mountains and forests, where they led a misérable life."

2. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 292: Louis de Melio to Noyalle, 1686.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 194, quoting from Bertrand's *La Mission Du Maduré* (II, 800-801).

Though the above letters of the Jesuit Fathers seem partly to exaggerate and partly to mis-state what had actually occurred in Chikkadēvarājā's own kingdom, there is need to hark back a little and examine the conditions that prevailed in it during the period the war for supremacy was going on in the distant south (1680-1686). Chikkadēva's war, ostensibly in favour of the Nāyak of Madura, was really, as we have seen,⁴ for the assertion of his own right of overlordship over the entire south as the most powerful surviving Viceroy of the old Karnāṭaka province of the Vijayanagar Empire. Since the death of Śivāji there was evidently a stronger sentiment in his favour in the south, while his own martial prowess helped to substantiate, even better, his claim to the title. The wars waged by Chikkadēva should have entailed great expenditure, and the expenditure had to be met. The flow of men and money into Madura could not evidently be kept up in an uninterrupted fashion, especially as he had to provide for the defence of his home-lands attacked by Sambhāji. One result of this was that the dependents of the Madura Nāyak, who had joined him or acknowledged his overlordship, either began to desert him or went over to others who claimed to occupy the broken-up kingdom of Madura. In these circumstances, Chikkadēva appears to have made a supreme effort to find fresh resources for carrying the war to a successful issue. The exact measures he took and the actual persons whom he selected for giving effect to those measures are lost to us, perhaps, for ever, for, beyond the Jesuit letters above quoted from, we have only the accounts of Wilks, the historian, and of Dēvachandra, the Jain author, both of whom wrote from the traditionary tales current in their own period (19th century). Thus we have three versions to compare and contrast in this connection—the Jesuit

⁴, *Ants*, Ch, XI ; see under Myaorw and the South, 1680-1696.

version, the story as narrated by Wilks and the tradition as developed by Dēvachandra. It will be seen from the sequel that while the version of the Jesuit Fathers is not possible of belief because of its palpable improbabilities and the patently confused character of the news which it embodies, the stories given currency to by Wilks and Dēvachandra are to a large extent echoes of excesses committed neither by Chikkadēva nor by his agents but ascribed to them by tradition which fastens itself to "some prominent person whose memory is fading; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years or less, if the real facts have never been widely known."⁵ But, before we pursue further this aspect of the matter, we may examine here the three versions we have referred to above.

First, as to the version of the Jesuit Fathers so graphically set out in their letters.

Examination of same. There is, it must be stated at once, no evidence so far on the Mysore side, confirmatory of what we find in them. No doubt the statements made are of a contemporary character, but news travelled slowly in those days and much of it was gossip or truth, largely, if not wholly, diluted by hearsay. Such "testimony," even though contemporary, has to be received with great caution, especially when there is no independent evidence of any reliable kind to corroborate at least its principal points. The following statements are specifically made in regard to Chikkadēva : (1) to meet the cost of the war, he resorted, in the eastern provinces of his dominions, to exactions and cruelties so revolting that his subjects rose in a body against him and ail his ministers; (2) taking advantage of his difficulties; his subjects chose two Brâhmanas as their gēnerais, one the head of the Vaishnavites and the other the head of the ěaĭvites; (3) each of these

5. Vide Appendix VI—(4)

générais, collecting a large army, discharged their fury first on the officers of the king and many of his magistrates and then attacked the Christian néophytes with a view to destroy their religion ; (4) the king, in his anger, sent an army against his subjects, which carried fire and sword everywhere and tossed the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of âge or sex ; and (5) he also destroyed the temples dedicated to Vishṇu and Siva and confiscated their treasures to the royal treasury. The first of these statements is evidently an écho of the administrative and fiscal reforms undertaken by Chikkadēvarâja. The further statement that these were restricted to the " eastern provinces " is not correct, as we know his financial zeal and reforms, such as they were, extended to his whole kingdom. It is possible that they gave rise to some misunderstanding but the suggestion that they were intended specially as a lever to raise the cost of the war or were pressed through in an oppressive manner seems far from the truth. Much less can the suggestion that his measures led him into "exactions and cruelties so revolting" as to make his subjects rise in a body against him and ail his ministers carry conviction. What makes it more incredible are the statements that his subjects chose two " Brâhman " as their "générais," one of the " Vaishnava " and the other of the " Saiva " persuasion, that each of these collected an immense army and that they jointly discharged their fury first on the officers of the king, then on his magistrates and then on the Christian néophytes With a view to destroy the Christian religion ! The story of the sélection of the two " Brâhman généraiss " and their insurrection apart—wholly uncorroborated by any other évidence as it is—the concluding suggestion that they took hold of the occasion " to vent their hatred against the Christian néophytes and destroy Ghristianity," shows both the bias of the writer of the letter and the

petty character of some of the rioting that should hâve occurred in some restricted area. There is no indépendant évidence to believe that there was a widespread rébellion of the kind, alluded to, during Chikkadēvarâja's reign ; nor is there any évidence that Christianity had by then so far advanced in this région as to invité such wholesale destruction at the hands of rebels whose grievances, if any, were primarily against the king and his ministers rather than against the poor Christian néophytes who were probably confined to the poorest classes at the time and who could not hâve occupiéd a territory so large as to include the whole of the "eastern provinces."⁶ There is manifestly not only some exaggeration hère but also some religious bias against the king, in whose dominions such destruction of Christianity came to be canvassed. What follows is even more impossible of belief. It is said that the popular insurrection raised the ire of the king, that he sent an àrmy against his subjects "to carry fire and sword everywhere and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of âge or sex," and that "thèse cruel orders were executed." The cruel punishment referred to hère is the one of impaling people on the point of the sword (*Kazhuvikkëttaradu*), which, tradition says, a Pândyan king of Madura resorted to in that town in the casé of the Jains after his owti reconversion from Jainism to the Saivite faith.⁷ There is a festival that is annually celebrated in Madura in memory of this event in the great Siva temple there, and the story is currènt far and

6. The Franciscans found their way to Mysore from Goa about 1687. When the Jesuits arrived in the 16th century, they found Catholics in the Mysore territory, and a flourishing congrégation at Serongapatam. Father Cinnami made Seringapatam the head-quarters of thè Jesuit Kanarese Mission (*Mys. Gat.* Nèw édition, I. 842). The eastern dominions of Ghikkadēva extended to the Satyamangalam area, where the Portuguese Jesuits had founded the Kanarese Mission and had a centre of their own. Though thère was a flourishing congrégation in . . . Satyamangalam, the rural parts had prestunably not yet been invaded.

7. *Vide* Appendix VI—(6).

widè in Southern India. Evident]y those responsible for transmitting the news of distant happenings to the Jesuit Fathers transferred the story of the supposed royal iniquitiès of a past period to Chikkadēvarāja, and the Jesuit Pathers—theraselves probably familiar with the story in the Madura country—passed it on in their letters to their superiors at home, There is hère a complète transference of old memories of alleged cruelties practised by a certain king to another king of a later date, which is just what sometimes happens when news—especially political news—is transmitted by word of mouth through long distances and through widely differing individuals. What màkes the whole story even more difficult of credence is the further statement that the king destroyed ail the temples of Vishṇu and àiva and confiscated ail their revenues to the royal treasury. Ail that we know of Chikkadēva independently makes us pause and reflect whether, even if he were the cruel king he is described to be in thèse letters, he would hâve ever perpetrated such sacrilegious acts as thèse, however much he might hâve been offended at his subjects.

That those who conveyed news of the happenings in the eastern dominions of Chikkadēva to the Jesuit Fathers in the Madura kingdom believed in the truth of those happenings or that the Fathers themselves believed in them cannot be held to be a proof of their having actually occurred.⁸ But the fact that such news was conveyed

8. Often our eyes see things which are not actually in existence and our ears hear things which hâve no physical basis. This self-deception—or rather the capacity for self-deception—is well illustrated by a story told of Mr. George Bernard Shaw, commonly known as G. B. S. "Those letters G. B. S. recall to my mind," writes Mr. J. S. Collis, the well-known publicist, "a certain incident which has always seemed to me perfect as an illustration of the popular view of Shaw as well as a perfect symbol of the ways of eye-witnesses all thé world over. The following conversation took place in Dublin city whose inhabitants hâve never cared much about Shaw." "I was talking," Mr. Collis continues, "with a friend about Bernard Shaw. My companion inveighed agâinst the man's colossal

may be taken to be a pointer. We need not try to make history out of such news—news which probably was itself secondhand or hearsay—but we would be right in

conceit. ' I saw him at a hôtel the other day,' he said. ' His car was outside on the drive and, believe it or not, just above the index number he had actually put a plate on which were inscribed in large letters—' G. B. S.' ! ' " My friend," adds Mr. Collis, " had seen ' G. B. the letters that cars from Great Britain carry abroad. But he had expected to see, he had wished to see, * G. B. S.' And so—like a true eyes witness—he saw it."

In this connection, Samuel Johnson's observation is worth noting: "He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accustomed to require rigorous accuracy from himself, will scarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge and distinctness of imagery . . . To this dilatory notation must be imputed the false relations of travellers, where there is no imaginable motive to deceive. They trusted to memory what cannot be trusted safely but to the eye, and told by guess what a few hours before they had known with certainty,"—Johnson's *Works*, IX. 144, quoted by G. B. Hill in *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Clarendon Press, Oxford), II. 217, f.n. 4. Johnson advised Boswell to keep a journal of his life and in doing so, said: "The great thing to be recorded (said he) is the state of your own mind; and you should write down everything that you remember, for you cannot judge at first what is good or bad; and write immediately while the impression is fresh, for it will not be the same a week afterwards."—*Ibid*, II. 217. In a letter to Dr. Burney, Johnson wrote: "Of the caution necessary in adjusting narratives, there is no end. Some tell what they do not know, that they may not seem ignorant, and others from mere indifference to truth. All truth is not, indeed, of equal importance, but if little violations are allowed, every violation will in time be thought little; and a writer should keep himself vigilantly on his guard against the first temptations to negligence or supineness."—*Ibid*, IV. 361. Johnson insisted on a "superiority of understanding" on the part of a narrator of a story. *Apropos* of this, Boswell sets down the following conversation: "He told me that he had been in the company of a gentleman (Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller) whose extraordinary travels had been much the subject of conversation. But I found that he had not listened to him with that full confidence, without which there is little satisfaction in the society of travellers. I was curious to hear what opinion so able a judge as Johnson had formed of his abilities, and I asked if he was not a man of *sensé*. *Johnson*. 'Why, Sir, he is not a distinct relater; and I should say, he is neither abounding nor deficient in *sensé*. I did not perceive any superiority of understanding.' *Boswell*. 'But will you not allow him a nobleness of resolution, in penetrating into distant régions?' *Johnson*. 'That, Sir, is not the present purpose. We are talking of his *sensé*. A fighting cock has a nobleness of resolution.'"—*Ibid*, II. 333-334.

The Jesuit fathers saw in the news conveyed to them what they had heard about *Kazhuvikkëttaradu* and believed that Chikkadëvarāja had practised it in his own kingdom!! Troublesome problems arise only from an inadequate description of events that occur in the world by means of a faulty language.

assuming that beneath even such news, wrongly conveyed or wrongly understood, there lurks something wôrthy of careful investigation. Indeed the laborious task of consulting all possible évidence and weighing conflicting accounts is necessary, if we are not to be misled ijto wrong conclusions. The Jesuit Fathers passed on what they heard or imagined they had heard tod as they understood it. They were not writing the story of their own times with sober judgments formed on à review of all the known facts. They seldom had the means to test their sources when dealing with what they heard and recorded in their letters. Contradictions are often set down without the writer noticing them : like the narratives of mediseval writers in Europe, their letters cannot be relied upon unless we can verify them by collatéral évidence.. They never pretended to be historians of the scientific type and it would be wholly wrong to expect them, in the circumstances they were plâçed, to have been scientific in their method; and possibly they would hâve been so, if they had had our kpgliances for comparison. Their writings cannot be treated as history in the truest sensé. What is even more, remarkable is that their narrative fails wherever we could test it from facts independently known. Furtherpaorç, even " traditions " current in the very country where these "cruel " deeds are said to hâve been perpetrated do not countenance the carrying out of such barbarous acts as we find givep currency to in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers. Thèse " traditions " are referred to by Wilks and by Dêvachandra. A narration of them will show how widely différent they are from the versions sent home by the Jesuit Fathers.

Of these two, Wilks is the earlier, writing as he did
 " Narratives of Wilks and Dêvachandra (19th century)... about 1810. Though he does not specifically state his sources of information, he frankly admits that What

he gives is the "traditional account" which, he says, "has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information." Writing more than a hundred years after the events, he had, in the absence of authentic information, necessarily to depend on "tradition" which had its own modes of transmuting facts. Certain similarities between his own version and that of Dêvachandra suggest a common source to both. It is possible that Wilks based his account on the oral information available both to himself and to Dêvachandra at the time, they being contemporaries. Lt. Col. Mackenzie, who carried out his Survey of Mysore in 1804, was a friend of Wilks and possibly knew Dêvachandra. Dêvachandra himself, a Jain Brâhman of Kanakagiri (Maleyûr), actually completed his work *Râjâvali-Kathâ* in 1838. In this work, he treats of the kings of the Karnâṭaka country (including those of Mysore) from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century. He writes, however, not as a critical historian but as a gatherer and chronicler of current tradition. Added to it, he was a full-blooded Jain and wrote with ail the fervour of a good partisan who believed in the greatness of his own religion. Wilks's story is found detailed in différent parts of his work. It is brought together here and presented in one conspectus, so that a complète idea may be formed of the "tradition" as Wilks received it.

"One of the earliest measures of this Raja's reign," writes Wilks of Chikkadêva,⁹ "had been to compel the dépendant Wadeyars and Poligars, who, like his own ancestors, had commenced the career of ambition by affecting in their respective districts to be addressed by the title of Raja, publicly to renounce that assumption of independence, to disclaim the local prérogatives of punishment

9 *Wilks*, I. 219-222.

and confiscation without previous authority from the **Raja**, and to revert to their original character of obedient officera. ot. the government. This object was aided by first inviting, and then compelling them to fix their residence at Seringapatam ; by assigning to them offices of honour about the Baja's person, and gradually converting them from rebellious chieftains to obsequious courtiers. The insurgents in the districts were left, in consequence, destitute of the direction of their accustomed leaders, and the Jungum priests, deprived of their local importance, and much of their pecuniary receipts, by the removal of these mock courts from the provinces, were foremost in expressing their detestation of this new and unheard-of measure of finance, and in exhorting their disciples to resistance. Everywhere the inverted plough, suspended from the tree at the gate of the village, whose shade forms the coffee-house or the exchange of its inhabitants, announced a state of insurrection. Having determined not to till the land, the husbandmen deserted their villages, and assembled in some places like fugitive^ seeking a (distant settlement ; in others, as rebels breathing revenge. Chick Deo-Raj, however, was too prompt in his measures to admit of any very formidable combination. Before proceeding to measures of open violence, he adopted a plan of perfidy and horror, yielding in infamy to nothing which we find recorded in the annals of the most sanguinary people. An invitation was sent to ail the priests of the Jungum to meet the Raja at the great temple of Nunjendgode, about fourteen miles south of Mysore, ostensibly to converse with him on the subject of the refractory conduct of their followers. Treachery was apprehended, and the number which assembled was estimated at about four hundred only. 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 expence of the Raja. 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 ail the Jungum *muts* (places of résidence and worship) in his dominions; ; and the number reported to hâve been in conséquence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred, The disappearance of the four hundred Jungum priests was the only intimation of their fate received by their mournful disciples ; but the traditionary account which I hâve above delivered has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information, and I profess my entire belief in the reality of the fact. This notable achievement was followed by the opérations 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 eut down in the first sélection every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests) ; and not to cease steting 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; and there is a tradition which I hâve not been able to authenticate, that the Raja exacted from every village a written renunciation, ostensibly voluntary, of private property in the land, and an acknowledgment that it was the right of the state,

If such documents ever existed, they were probably destroyed in 1786."

"The sixth was," says Wilks in another part of his work,¹⁰ "the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his équivalent in money; and, from previous reasoning and subsequent fact, we have every cause to believe that he was unwilling to risk the odium of increasing this proportion in a direct manner. He therefore had recourse to the law of the Sasters, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment: and this is the arrangement which generally ensued; although, from the great discontent excited by the taxes, the compromise was generally made on the condition of excepting some one or more of the most offensive, and proportionally increasing those which remained; but the Raja, with that profound knowledge of human nature which distinguished all his measures, exempted from these new imposts all the lands which were allotted to the provincial soldiery in lieu of pay, according to the ordinary practice of the smaller Hindoo states, and thus neutralised, in some degree, the opposition to the measure, and ensured the means of eventual compulsion. Those who may be desirous of comparing the ingenuity of an eastern and a western financier, may examine the subjoined détail of these taxes. The whole System is stated to have been at once unfolded, with intimation that it would be gradually introduced according to circumstances; but the commotions which it produced by leading to measures of extrême severity, precipitated its total and abrupt introduction."

"The religious principles of the Raja/' remarks Wilks in a différent part of his work,¹¹ "seem to have been

10. *Ibid*, 217-319.

11. *Ibidi* 214.

sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves without difficulty to the circumstances of the times. There is little doubt that he was educated in the principles of the Jungum ; but he openly conformed to the cérémonial of the Vishnoo, which was the ruling religion. His early and long intimacy with Visha Lacsha, the Jain Pundit, whom on his élévation he had appointed his first minister, created a gênerai belief that he was secretly converted to that persuasion., and an expectation that he would openly profess it ; and this circumstance was supposed chiefly to hâve influenced the Jungum to assassinate that minister. When Tremalayangar, a Vishnavite, became afterwards the confidential minister, the Kaja evinced as strong an attachment to that persuasion : but political considérations alone would hâve rendered him the decided enemy of the religion in which he was supposed to hâve been educated. . . . The hostility and hatred of the Raja was farther increased by the opposition which the Jungum incited against his financial measures."

" The first fourteen years of this reign," Wilks writes elsewhere in his work,¹² " were occupied in thèse financial measures, interior reforms, and minor conquests ; but thèse reforms had rendered so unpopular the administration of the Jain Pundit, to whom they were chiefly attributéd, that a plan was secretly concerted for his assassination. Chick Deo Eaj had, without doubt, in the early part of his life, been educated in the doctrines of the Jungum, which was the religion of his ancestors : he had hitherto, since his accession to the throne, shewn no very marked attachment to any form of worship, but was supposed, from particular habits which he had adopted, and from the great influence of the Jain Pundit, to hâve conceived the intention of reviving the doctrines of that ancient sect. The Pundit was attacked and mortally wounded, while returning at night, in the usual

12. *Ibid*, 107.108.

manner, from court to his own dwelling (1686) ;¹³ and as, in addition to religious motives, the Jungum had a deep account of revenge to retaliate, for the murder of their priests, . . . , the suspicion of this assassination fell chiefly upon that people, and tended to confirm the alienation of the Raja's mind from the doctrines of their sect. He was much affected at the intelligence of this event, and immediately proceeded to the house of the minister to console him in his last moments, and to receive his advice regarding the choice of a successor. The advice was entirely unprejudiced, and he recommended, as the most able and honourable man of the court, a person of adverse religion, namely, Tremalayangar, a bramin of the sect of Vishnoo. To him the Raja gave his whole confidence ; and, in conformity to his advice, soon afterwards made an open profession of the doctrines of that prevailing religion. In other respects, the new administration was conducted on the same principles as the preceding, and with an equal degree of prudence and vigour."

Such, in the words of Wilks, is his version of the "tradition" as he received it, a "tradition" he believed in. We may now turn to Dêvachandra who wrote some twenty-eight years later than Wilks, though probably, as remarked above, he was one of those who, as an active gatherer and chronicler of tradition current during his period, was possibly also one of its oral disseminators, and as such one of those on whom Wilks himself was

13. Wilks (I. 107) places Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit's death roughly in 1686, i.e., in the fourteenth year of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. Dêvachandra, however, does not specify the exact date of death, though from the extracts from his work, noticed in the sequel, we have to fix the event in 1686, allowing an interval of about two years for the course of affairs leading to it from the first outbreak of the Jangama agitation (October 1684). The latest available reference to Viśālāksha is in a lithic record dated January 24, 1685 [see *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 41, cited also in Ch. XIII, f.n. 79]. In the light of this document and the Jesuit letter of 1686 (cited in f.n. 2 *supra*), the death of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit must be held to have occurred not earlier than July 1686. Compare the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 2) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.* referring to the Paṇḍit's demise in 1684, for which there is no evidence.

probably dépendent to some extent. However this may be, Chikkadēvarāja was, according to Dēvachandra,¹⁴ governing the kingdom he had inherited, since February 1673 (*i.e.*, from about three months after his accession),

with the counsel (*mantralochaneyim*)
 Dēvachandra's version. of his minister Viéâlâksha-Pañḍit.

Chikkadēva's first administrative measure, aiming at the public weal, was the introduction of a land survey and settlement. A fixed assessment (*siddāya*) of six *haṇas* per 100 measures (*kamba*) was introduced on lands of the first class, four on those of the middle class and two on inferior ones, exemptions being granted in respect of benevolences and compulsory dues therefrom (*kâṇike*, *kadḍāya*). While he was thus ruling his subjects and attending to his conquests, the Jangamas, being the proud possessors of many *maṭhs*, houses and rent-free lands ail over the country, had become exceedingly powerful, and, fortified in the belief that the title *Wodeyar* was applicable to them alone and none else, began to consider themselves as virtual rulers of the kingdom. In October 1684 (*Baktākshi*, *Āêvīja*), they, having come together, assembled a huge crowd of people, numbering nearly a lakh, on an extensive field near Tàyùr. Fencing the area with a thorny hedge and pitching up their camp within it, they appointed three from among themselves as their principal leaders, designating them as king, minister and commander-in-chief respectively. They then expelled the king's officiais—who were enriching themselves in local parts—asserting their own claims to rule. The Jangama annoyance soon became unbearable. They stopped payment of revenue dues and organized armed opposition to established authority in the local parts. To Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, their réduction by ordinary means seemed well nigh impossible. At length, however,

¹⁴ *Raj. Kath.* XII. 477, 482-485, 487-488, also XI. 387, 389, 391-892, 394-395,

Viéalâksha Paṇḍit's counsel prevailed. In accordance with it, Paridullâ Khân. (Faridullâ Khân), an officer commanding 200 horse, was entrusted with the task of quelling the rébellion. He proceeded against the rebels, with his men fully equipped, and soon secured entrance to the camp of the leaders, feigning submission to them ostensibly as an adventurer in search of pasture (*charâyi*) below the Passes. The leaders were occupying their seats on an elevated ground. Believing in Paridullâ Khân's words, they dictated their ultimatum (namely, the extinction of ail legitimate rule and the establishment of their own sovereignty within three days) and tried to win hiin over to their own side. This led to an altercation, in the course of which Paridullâ Khân pushed his opponents aside and instantly knocked them down with the aid of his arrows. Thereupon, a hue and cry followed in the camp; and the assembled crowds began to disperse in abject terror. On receipt of this news, the king (Chikkadēvaràja) ordered the démolition of the *maths* and houses of the Jangamas in the rural parts, and the confiscation of their rent-free lands. The Jangamas began to évade the issue by concealing themselves. A regular search for them was instituted by the king's officers. Gurikâr Nanje-Gaùḍa of Kamaravalli offered his services in the work of tracing out the rebels. He went about the country with his followers and succeeded in capturing a thousand Jangamas, most of whom were found plying the agricultural profession in disguise. Thèse were brought in before the king who, in great wrath, had them ail put to death (*arasant kôpisi yallaram pariharisidanu*). Further, on ail those subjects who had made common cause with the disloyal Jangamas; he levied an enhanced révenue assessment. Thus, for evey *varaha* of the original assessment, they were now isequired to pay an additional tax of 5 *hana-aḍḍa* under ferar items, namely, benevolences (*bēḍigé*), currency

discount (*nânya-vottā*), fee for gràzing rights (*hullu-samiñ*) and for observance of local usage or custom (*vyavaharaṇe-bagé*). Side by side, eighteen departments (*châvaḍi*) for the administration of *sunka*, *pommu* and other items of taxes levied were established, and officiais posted to supervise the revenue collections. All this added to the distress of the subjects. Meantime, the remaining Vira-êaivas became thoroughly irritated with Viéâlāksha-Paṇḍit. "This Jain alone," they delibefated, "is the main cause for the slaughter of the Jangamas, our preceptors, and for the uprooting of ail our dwellings, *maths* and rent-free estâtes. Therefore he should be done away with," Accordingly they prevailed upon an individual by name Nâgaṇṇa, who had practised at arms. Nâgaṇṇa made friends with the followers of the Paṇḍit. One day, as the Paṇḍit was proceeding to the Palace seated in a palankeen (*sibigeyanêri*), the hireling flung himself at him and pierced him through leaving him unconscious, in which state he was conveyed home. At this intelligence, king Chikkadêva proceeded in person to seè the Paṇḍit: he felt immensely grieved that ail his power was lost. The Paṇḍit, in his last moments, recommended Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangâr) as his successor in office, and passed away. In comémoration of the minister's services, the king issued a lithic grant, bestowing on Bommarasa, son of the Paṇḍit, the village of Yêchiganahalli as a *rakta-koḍige*. From hence, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar began to rule the kingdom with the ad vice of Tirumalârya. On one occasion, Chikkadêvarâja, having entrusted the gênerai management of affairs to an influential person by name Dodda-Dêvaiya in Seringapatam (*sarvâdhikâradolirisi*), proceeded on an expédition in the north. At this ppportune moment, the Vira-êaivas, having assembled, apprised Dodd-Dêvaiya thus ; "Formerly, Viéâlāksha-Paḍit, as the foremost man in power, brought about the

destruction of our *maths* and houses. Now is your chance. Being a Vira-êaiva, you hâve to do away with ail the Jain temples in the kingdom." Accordingly, in September 1698 (1 1620, *Bahudhânya, Bhâdrapada*), Doḍḍa-Dêvaiya, with the help of 10,000 labourers, demolished about 1,700 *bastis* situated in the neighbourhood of Mysore. Hearing this, the king ordered the stoppage of further molestation. Doḍḍa-Dêvaiya died in prison some time later.

In the early part of his reign, we are further told by Dêvachandra,¹⁵ king Chikkadêva, having inquired about the fundamentals of ail religions, became convinced that Jainism was the most sublime of ail and the Jaina mode of living (*Jainâchâra*) the purest. Accordingly, he enjoined on the inmates of his household to bring in water only after filtering it clean of ail insects. Further, he would not accept certain things known to be obnoxious (*kelavu dôsha-vastugalqm kollqade*). Being kindly disposed towards living créatures (*jivadayâ-paranâgî*), he laid down that in lieu of the countless animais like sheep, etc., that were being slaughtered by vile persons to propitiate or appease the deities, only cocoanuts should be used. Following the advice of Viéâlâksha-Paṇḍit, he also directed the construction of a *Chaityâlaya* to Vardhamâna-Tirthankara, near the Purâṇa-Basti in Seringapatam, setting up therein the images of the 24 Jinas ; and further got sanctioned the performance of the *Mastakâbkishêka* in Sravana-Belagola twice or thrice. In the latter part of Chikkadêva's reign, however, Tirumalârya, continues Dêvachandra,¹⁶ brought home to the king's mind the greatness of the Srî-Vaishṇava faith, and secured concessions and benefactions, grants of titles and insignias of office to individual adhérents of that religion, making it not only pure and sacred but also great in the popular eye.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, XII. 479-480, also XI. 387-389. ¹⁶ *Ibid*, XII. 487, also XI. 898-894.

Many were converted into Vira-Vaishnavas in this manner. The scholar Chikkanna-Pandita (Chikkaiya-Pandita), Bommarasa-Pandita and Dêvarasa, who were all Jaina Brâhmins, accepted, with a view to ingratiate themselves into the king's favour, the *êrî-Vaishpava mudrâ* and put on the *tikâ*, the Sñi-Vaishnava mark ; and thus became avowed enemies of the Jaina faith. In short, Tirumalârya glorified êrî-Vaishnavism and carried on a vigorous propaganda of proselytism, putting the *tikâ* on several people, impressing the *mudrâ* on them and making the individual *Dâsas* strong in their professions of Sñi-Vaishnavism.

Both Wilks and Dêvachandra, in the above extracts, speak of the administration of Chikka-
 Narratives of Wilks and Dêvachandra compared. dêvarâja Wodeyar as having been attended with some trouble during the early part of his reign. Each, however, has his own version regarding its origin, development and suppression. According to Wilks, the trouble originated from the discontent brought about by the curbing of the independence of the Wodeyars (including Jangama priests) and Pâlegârs, and by the levy of " a variety of vexatious taxes " on the husbandman, in addition to the lawful share ($\frac{1}{6}$) of the government dues, by Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar ; under the working policy of his minister Viéâlâksha-Paṇḍit, it assumed the shape of open résistance to authority, though the promptness of the king prevented a formidable combination on the part of the insurgents ; it was suppressed by the treacherous massacre of 400 Jangamas, leaders of the revolt, at the temple of Nanjangùḍ, followed by the démolition of more than 700 *maths* of the Jangamas, the dispersion of the mob by the military and the forced renunciation of private property ; and finally it ended in the revengeful and retaliatory murder of Viéâlâkshâ-Paṇḍit by the Vira-éaivas (1686). According to Dêvachandra, on the other

Hand, the government of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the early years of his reign, was beneficent ; trouble arose however, about the middle of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, when the Jangamas having become exceedingly powerful, began to assert themselves and incited the people to revolt; it assumed the shape of an organized rébellion against established authority, the insurgents stopping payment of revenue dues and expelling the unpopular officials ; it was suppressed by the slaughter of the ringleaders, followed by the dispersion of the mob by the military, the destruction of *maths* and houses and the confiscation of the rent-free estâtes of the Jangamas, the search for the fugitive Jangamas, the massacre of a thousand of them under the orders of the king and the levy of an enhanced assessment on the disaffected subjects ; it ended in the retaliatory murder of Viéâlâksha-Pañḍit by the Vira-êaivas (1686), and later by the démolition of the Jain *bastis* by them (in 1698) .¹⁷ The religion of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was, according to Wilks, flexible. In the early part of his reign, he was a Vira-êaiva (" *Jungum* ") though openly conforming to the cult of Vishṇu, while the Vira-êaivas, from his intimacy with Viéâlâksha-Pañḍit, believed and suspected him to have been secretly converted to Jainism, expecting him to publicly adopt the latter faith, a circumstance which, it is suggested, influenced them (Vira-êaivas) to murder the Pañḍit. Consequently, in the latter part of his reign, Chikkadēvarāja was definitely alienated from the doctrines of Vira-êaivism and openly professed [Sri] Vaishnavism under the advice and influence of Tirumalaiyangâr.

17. The destruction of Jangama *maths* in the first instance and then of Jain *bastis* by way of reprisal appears to be an invention strangely reminiscent of happenings of an earlier period. In the *Basava-Purâna* (1369) of Bhîma-Kavi, we are told that in the reign of Bijjala (1156-1167), Jain temples were destroyed by the Jangamas headed by Êkânta-Râmaiya. The story of the destruction of Jangama *maths* and houses during Chikkadēva's reign seems a sort of counterblast to this ancient exhibition of wrath on the part of Jangamas against the Jains.

According to Dēvachandra, on the contrary, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, in the early years of his reign, a confirmed Jaina, adhering to the tenets of that faith and encouraging the Jains under the advice of Viéâlāksha-Pariḍit. Even in the latter part of his reign, Dēvachandra would make it appear, Chikkadēvarāja continued his prédilections for Jainism despite the proselytizing tendencies of êri-Vaishṇavism at his court under the influence of Tirumalârya (Tirumalaiyangar), the new minister.

Wilks's account starts with his assumption that from the beginning Chikkadēvarāja's administration was based on the idea of all régal power being concentrated in himself, which led, in his opinion, ultimately to a public revolt. His view-point of the fiscal measures and policy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is wholly opposed to the administrative traditions current in the country and does not take adéquate notice of the actual conditions under which Chikkadēvarāja worked. He believes in, and exaggerates, the story of the massacre of the Jangamas, while his conception of the évolution of Chikkadēvarāja's personal religion is governed more by political and éconómie considérations than by the probabilities of historical fact. Dēvachandra being himself a Jaina, his account is throughout characterized by bias in favour of Jainism as the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. His picture of the sudden rise and revolt of the Jangamas under idéal conditions is rather inconsistent. His attribution of the massacre of the Jangamas directly to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is, again, a sheer exaggeration, if not a travesty of facts : it is both improbable and impossible and it contradicts his own statement that Chikkadēvarāja, as a staunch follower of Jainism, was kind to all living créatures. Further, his chronology is, as usual, vague and unreliable. He allows an interval of

twelve years to lapse between the murder of Viêâlâksha-Pandit (1686) and the démolition of the Jain *bastis* by the Vîra-êaivas (1698), which is incredible. Both these writers, as we shall further see below, differ also between themselves on certain points of détail connected with the Jangama agitation. These limitations apart, an examination of the accounts of Wilks and Dêvachandra in the light of other sources would go to show that there was some public disturbanse in Mysore during 1684-1686, *i.e.*, about the middle of Chikkadêvarâja's reign :¹⁸ it appears to have been due not so much to religious persécution or political aggrandizement on the part of Chikkadêva as to fear engendered in the rural classes as to the effect of the fiscal measures introduced by him, which was fanned into flame by those who would be most affected by them, especially at just the time when Chikkaçlêvarâja was straining every nerve to maintain his foothold in the Madura country as against the Mahrattas. The disturbance that followed was quelled with a strong hand ; the ringleaders were put to death ; respect for order and authority was enforced without fear or favour by Viêâlâksha-Paṇḍit, the Prime Minister of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar, which eventually brought about his own downfall ; and a System of checks and counter-checks introduced, by which the possibility of further disturbances was minimised. Neither the allégation that Chikkadêvarâja attacked the husbandman with "a variety of vexatious taxes " nor the story relating to *his* alleged participation in the sanguinary massacre of the Jangamas has so far been substantiated.¹⁹ There is not even a whisper of the

18. *Vide* Chs. XI and XII of this work, for références to the issue in its contemporary bearings.

19. Among modern writers, Bice accepts Wilks's account (see *Mya. Gaz.* Old édition, I. 366-367) ; S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, pp. 300-301) interpréta the fiscal position as a " revision of taxes which cost the life of the Jain Pundit, the responsible author of the révision," and speaks of " a wholesale massacre of the fanatical Jungam priests " after the murder of the Papait, for which there is equally no évidence. The

latter incident, nor even a passing référence to it, in earlier Jaina works like the *Belgolada-Gommatêvara-Charitre* (c. 1780) and the *Munivamêabhudaya* (c. 1700), while the taxes levied by Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar were no inventions of his but, in substance, a revival of the old ones to suit the changing conditions of the times.²⁰ Again, the trend of available évidence goes to show that Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar was, from the beginning of his reign, if not from the early years of his life, a devout Śrî-Vaishnava by faith and by profession, tolérant towards ail sects and creeds, a just administrator aiming always at the happiness of his subjects, and an intensely humane personality.²¹ The accounts of Wilks and Dêvachandra being later writings, based on "tradition/" coloured by political bias and religious préjudice, cannot prove acceptable in the absence of independent corroborative évidence. They are accordingly to be used with caution as authorities for this part of the history of Chikkadêvarâja's reign.

Nor are the différences between the accounts of Wilks and Dêvachandra on the one side and the Jesuit Fathers on the other less negligible. The Jesuit account represents the "exactions" as it stigmatizes the fiscal measures of Chikkadêva as the result of his military policy, and suggests that the people rose against him because of his "exactions" and the "cruelties" practised. Whether the "cruelties" were the result of

Wilks, Dêvachandra and the Jesuit Fathers, compare[^] and oontrasted.

Mys. Gaz. (New édition, II. iv. 2462-2463) doubts the accuracy of Wilks in regard to (1) levy of "vexatious taxes" by Chikkadêvarâja, and (2) the story of the latter's participation in the Jangama massacre; and views with a greater degree of probability the question of Viêlâksha-Parujit being responsible in the main for the troubles which ensued during the reign.

20. *Vide* Ch. XII, for détails about the taxes levied by Chikkadêvarâja. For particulars about taxation in ancient Karnâ[^]ak, see *E. O.*, III (1) TN. 27 (1290), 11.45-60, MI. 95(1506), 11.21-25, IV (2) Gu. 67 (1505), 11.16-20, etc. (Texts in the originals).

21, *Vide* Ohs. XII, XIII and XVI, for détails.

the reaction caused by the "exactions" is not clear, though they were presumably so. One of the Jesuit letters, at the same time, suggests that the people should have responded to the call of the king; it indeed charges them with a lack "of the sentiments of patriotism and national grandeur" and almost goes to show that their revolt was not justified from that point of view. It even seems to reiterate that they should have seconded the efforts of the king in his conquest for supremacy over the South. What follows in regard to the choosing of Brâhman générais—one of the Vaishṇava and another of the éaiva faith—and the manner in which their large armies vent their fury on the officers of the king and his représentatives and the poor Christian néophytes in the Satyamangalam area is not reflected in the accounts of either Wilks or Dêvachandra. What makes this more than incredible is that the king was a staunch Vaishṇava with undoubted good-will towards the éaivas and Jangamas, as we know from other sources.²² Nor is the other statement that the king himself was besieged in his own fortress at Mysore confirmed by either of these authorities. As a matter of fact, between 1684-1686, the king, as we have seen,²³ was actually residing in Seringapatam. It will also be observed that "Brâhman" générais are made to take the leading part in the Jesuit account, while in the accounts of Wilks and Dêvachandra it is the Jangamas that figure prominently. Remembering the mutual animosities existing between the Jangamas and Jains, there is ground at least for the belief that the later version is an attempt on the part of Dêvachandra and his sect at making the Jangamas get the worst of it. Wilks's narration reflects evidently a version entirely différent from that of the Jesuit Fathers, whose account unfortunately appears to have been based on wrong information or information which had been

22. See Ch. XIII, for détails.

23. Ante, Chs. XI-XIV.

badly mutilated in transmission to them from Mysore to Madiira, from which latter place they wrote. The suggestion of the particular kind of cruelty practised on Chikkadēva's subjects shows, if anything further at ail were needed, how exaggerated should hâve been the news that reached them. There is not even a whisper of this horrible cruelty in either Wilks or Dêvachandra, though, as a good Jain and an ardent chronicler of wrongs done to Jains, Dêvachandra would hâve been the first to mention it, if it had been adopted against any set of them, and more so against the Jangama leaders or those whom the latter (Jangama leaders) misled into rébellion, Nor, again, is there any the smallest suggestion in either Wilks or Dêvachandra that the king indulged in the cruel order for the démolition of the " pagoças of Vishṇu and êiva " or in the further statement that they " were destroyed " and " their large revenues were confiscated to the royal treasury." Nor, finally, is there anything in the accounts of Wilks and Dêvachandra that there was such a gênerai massacre of the " subjects " of the king—as is mentioned in the Jesuit letters—as would necessitate their " escaping their carnage " and fleeing to " the mountains and forests " there to live "a misérable life." Wilks makés the whole thing an insurrection of the peasantry who hated the new financial measures of the king and who, having lost their national leaders, the Pâlegârs, they having been compelled to live at the capital by the king, had fallen an easy prey to the Jangama priests who had, at the same time, lost their pecuniary receipts owing to the absence of the Pâlegârs. There is not a word of ail this in the Jesuit letters. Nor is there anything in them to suggest that the king was aiming at obtaining from his subjects a voluntary renunciation of their " private property in land " and an acknowledgment that " it was the right of the State." Dêvachandra also makes the Jangamas the fomenters of the insurrection in the

rara-lârjeais and hé and Wilks agréé when they stàte that trôops were etaployed to put the insurrection down. The story of the employment of Faridullâ Khân for the purposè, mentioned by Dêvachandra, though omitted by Wilks, is probably true; it is one of the few points on which Wilks agréés with him when he says that troops of cavalry were employed to disperse assemblages of mobs and eut down without parley " every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests)." Dêvachandra, on the other hand, makes the Jangamas the worst offenders—not merely leaders of the peasantry in the insurrection, but the very authors of the revolt. According to him, the annoyance caused by them soon became unbearable. Even the king's officiais were not safe at their hands. He represents the king as ordering the démolition of their *maths* and houses, the confiscation of their rent-free lands and, finally, the forfeiture of their very lives ! The story is thus found full-fledged in Dêvachandra. Absolutely absent in the Jesuit letters, we find it as small as a man's hand in Wilks, but in Dêvachandra, the persécution of the Jangamas takes its final shape in a manner which shows how Jaina tradition worked up the whole story in such a form as would fully bear out its traditional hatred towards its hated oppfessor, the Jangama priest. Nothing more seems necessary to show that the entire account of the Jangamas leading the revolt or of their being put to death in thousands—and that at the instance of Chikkadêvarâja himself, whatever his financial needs or political ambitions—is a product of the fertile imagination of Dêvachandra without the least basis for it. It is unnecessary to deny for Jdiis purpose that the Jangamas suffered like the rest of the peasantry ; it may also be conceded that they were in sympathy with those who suffered with them as the result of the financial measures—if thèse did so suffer in fact; and it may also be granted that the king took

certain measures to carry through his fiscal schemes. It is possible too that certain of the Jangamas suffered heavily in the conflict that followed. But to say that the king ordered a gênerai hunting down of the disguised and craven Jangamas, as Dêvachandra puts it, or ordered their massacre at Nanjangûd, at the hands of expert executioners, as detailed by Wilks, is to ask posterity to believe in a story which does not figure even in a cryptic form in the contemporary account of the Jesuit Fathers ; nor in the accounts of earlier Jain writers ; nor in any of the many inscriptions of the periôd ; nor even in the other-writers of the time, who, belonging to other religious persuasions, might be expected to hâve made a point of it in their favour. It is a story too which is incredible from the point of view of what is known of Chikka-dêvarâja Wodeyar from other sources, easily verifiable and absolutely untainted by sectarian animosities and religious or political préjudices of any kind. Finally it has to be remarked that the " tradition " which came to be thus worked up within about a hundred years after the death of Chikkadêvarâja bears on its very face the impress of successive additions until it reaches its finally evolved form in Dêvachandra. What in the Jesuit letters appears as a measure of finance for meeting the exigencies of war becomes a purely fiscal measure in Wilks, while in Dêvachandra there is no mention either of a financial or a fiscal measure as the cause of the insurrection. What again appears in the Jesuit letters as a gênerai revolt of the people of the " eastern provinces " comes out as an insurrection of the peasantry led by the Jangamas in Wilks, and solely by the Jangamas themselves in Dêvachandra ; and finally the objects of destruction, according to the Jesuit Fathers, are the Vaishṇava and êaiva temples, while in Wilks they are 400 Jangama priests, and more than 7,00 Jangamp[»] *matht*, and in Dêvachandra they are 1,000 Jangama

priests and ail their houses and *maths* all over the rural parts. It is also worthy of note that while Wilks makes the fiscal measures the root cause of the insurrection, in Dévachandra the enhancement of the assessment comes off as an after-effect, as the conséquence, of the Jangama agitation, by way of punishing the agitationists for their disloyalty. It is thus clear that the "tradition" on which Wilks worked up his account of Chikkadēva's fiscal measures and the results that followed their introduction is one that has undergone much development during the course of a century and more that had elapsed since the events connected with them actually took place. "Tradition" has a tendency to grow, to transmute facts, and even to displace events by hundreds of years. If the treatment said to have been meted out to the Jains by an ancient Pāṇḍyan king can be transplanted in the 17th century to Chikkadēvarāja, why should not "tradition," a hundred years later, get itself busy especially in the hands of a writer of the poetic, not to say sectarian, type of Dévachandra, and look like an actual* "fact" of history in the setting in which it is made to appear by him? The truth is that traditional narrative—of which epic poetry is the highest form—deals with *ri tuai* drama, and not with historical fact. The real facts of a career, like ail historical facts, have been, and could only be, ascertained, as has been authoritatively declared, from contemporary written records, interpreting the word "written" here in the larger sense as including inscriptions, etc.²⁴

If the view of Wilks were held to be true, then the history of Chikkadēvarāja's reign would be nothing more than a chapter of crimes and misadventures. But that would be plainly distorting the whole of his life-story.

24. See Appendix VI—(4), on "What is Tradition?" for a just appreciation of the historicity of tradition.

and what he did for his country and what he attempted to do in the direction of a settled and orderly form of government for Southern India as a whole. Nobody has yet accepted the remark of Horace Walpole that the history of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, and many others besides, is like reading the history of "highway robbers." The saner opinion has been that even amid the bloodied records of a king's life—to-day we may even justifiably say, a nation's life—we find jewels of culture, ornaments of wit and treasures of useful invention. It is these that redeem our faith in man and it is these again that restore our hope in his future. We have to remember, thus much at least if we are to read history aright or to purpose. In the case of Chikkadēvarāja, there is reason to believe that neither his policy nor his actions ever reached that extrême point which landed him in or necessitated the perpétration of dark deeds even for the purpose of gaining selfish ends. Granting for the sake of argument that the version of Wilks is true and that it is founded in truthful tradition, the utmost that would have to be said would be that he was served by a minister who possibly exceeded his instructions or went beyond the limits of what might be called ministerial responsibility. We know that Chikkadēva came to the throne quite peaceably. He was king of the whole country and all its people. Amongst his own people, he knew neither friend nor foe, for he came from Hangaḷa to succeed to the throne and had held aloof from every one connected with his predecessor. To bring peace and order into the land, to gain for it the supremacy that belonged to it as the rightful successor to Vijayanagar claims in the South, and to rule the country justly and well, were his objects. These would have been difficult of achievement even to a wise and experienced ruler during the period his life was cast in; and to Chikkadēva, who was only twenty-eight years old when he ascended

thè throne, they should hâve been well nigh impòssible; But he seems to hâve known by instinct how to govern and raake laws, how to choose his ministers wisely, and how to get the best out of them. With thèse good qualities he had the pertinacity to keep steadily to what he distinctly aimed at; this was to strengthen and bind together the country he ruled over and the additions he was constaûtly endsavouring to make to it, so that his kingship might extend over the whole of the south of India. To this end, he made himself the centre of ail power. He mapped out his plans; he chose the men to carry them out; he remembered everything, he thought of everything, and he cared for everything. When busy with his wars in the distant south or the equally distant north-west, he found time to think of refôrma in the administrative and social structure, not excluding even his Palace household. Nôthing, indeed, seemèd to escape his eye or his hand and that is possibly the main reason why his reign seems so full of action. Nor did he forget his Maker or his responsibility to Him. He was deeply religious, though religion with him did not mean mère bigotry or superstition,

Everything that is known of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar from the reliable sources pertaining to his period shows him to hâve been a popular king and a king too who was interested in his work. He might not hâve succeeded in ail that he strove for or attempted. It is given to no human being to achieve everything he aims at. Thaè Chikkadēvarāja failed in some of his objectives only shows that he was but a human being. Perfection cannot be, and is not, claimed for him. A man below or above humânity is rightly termed a monstrosity and Chikka-dēva was neither. He loved his people, his cotmtry and Ms-kind. In his work—of administration and rèform—he waé helped by his ûnnister Viéalâksha-Pandît, evidently à man of ready wit, who had been his colleague-at-studies

and whom, when he became king, he had made his Minister-in-chief. Evidently Chikkadêvarâja had grown t^o like him and begun to trust him as only an intimate friend would. Between the two—aided by the rest of the cabinet—they seem to hâve managed the business of the country. The nearest paralîel we can think of in English History to the relationship that existed between thém is that of Henry II and Thomas Becket. If Becket met his fate at the hands of assassins, so did Viââlâksha. Henry's outburst in the one case led to the murder of Becket in the cathedral; but in the case of Viéâlâksha, it was the mún'ster's own unpopularity that led to his death in the streets of Seringapatam. If Henry's remorse was genuine, Chikkadêva's sorrow was sincère, for he knew the extent of the loss he had sustained. All that we know of Chikkadêva makes us doubt whether the causes that led to Viéâlâksha's death can be set down to his master. We now know that the reforms—fiscal and administrative—were themselves not of a kind to raise the ire of the people against the king. If that be so, then the manner of giving effect to them—purely an executive act—must hâve been such as to render the minister not only unpopular but also hated. There must hâve been something in the *modus operandi* of the minister, that rendered the scheme itself unwelcome, if not odious, in the popular eye. This should hâve helped to transfer the responsibility for pushing them through from the minister, whose duty it was to give effect to it, to the king who was, perhaps, neither aware of the exact methods employed nor of the extent to which punitive steps had descended for giving effect to them. The minister was by religion a Jainand that was enough to suspect his *bona fides*. When the measure affected the local peasantry who were more or less in the hands of priests, whose relationship with the Jains as a class was something other than cordial, all the

conditions necessary for an insurrection were evidently présent. What followed may be inferred from the letters of the Jesuit Fathers, though there is reason to believe that there was évident exaggeration in the manner in which the récalcitrants were dealt with. It may be conceded that the minister crushed the insurrection with measures which were harsh even for his times and the harshness, as a matter of course, came to be attached to his sovereign as the probable person who should hâve sanctioned it. The sequel shows that this should hâve been so. The minister died and the whole incident closed. The king chose as his minister the person recommended by Viââlâksha, but then too there was no évidence of popular discontent. The king had nothing to fear from his people, and there was no danger of a rising against him. The people were true to him and to his new minister, though the latter was a person of the choice of the hated Viââlâksha himself. The people indeed—at least the chief malcontents—had no common cause against him, and they were silenced by the turn that events had taken. Viââlâksha's choice of his successor was excellent and the king's approval of it proved evidently magical in its effects. It might be that the king, immediately order was restored, beat down one by one the remaining leaders of the agitation and thus put down quietly what would, in less capable hands, hâve given occasion for further trouble. Though Chikkadëva, moderate in his use of victory, spared the masses who had been misled, he did not evidently let go his grip over the leaders whom he so weakened that they could do nothing against him. After this insurrection, the Pâjegârs and religious leaders lost still more of their power, and the king's ascendancy over the whole kingdom became nearly absolute. But the memory of the insurrection and the hatred conceived by the populace against the minister, whom the country

held responsible for the whole trouble—the manner of his death is witness to this—long survived the event, and in due course tradition built round it a tale that has puzzled as much historians. of the period as the veracious seeker after the truth, wherever it might be.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHIKKADEVÀRAJÀ WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Domestic life: Queens, etc.—The Kalale Family—Death of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, November 16, 1704—His personality, accomplishments and character—Contemporary testimony as to his greatness—His insignias and titles—An estimate of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar: As a political builder—As a politician—As a ruler—As a religious and social reformer—His conception of human equality—As a "Maker of Mysore"—Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the 18th century literature—His claim on posterity.

LIFE in the Royal household at Seringapatam during the reign of Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar was ordinarily one of peace and felicity. We have reference¹ to Chikkadevarāja attended by his queens and served by chambermaids holding in their hands the pouch, spittoon, staff, tassels, goblet and fans) and accomplished ladies of the court, proficient in dancing, music (vocal and instrumental) and poetry among the arts. Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar is further credited² with having improved the management of the Palace household by instituting twenty-two departments and organising their administration. Dêvâjamma, daughter of Lingarâjajaiya of Yelandûr, was his principal queen. (*pattada-râni*,

1. See *Hadi. Dhar.*, I, 8-8 (pp. 2-3); also *Songs on Chikkadevaraja and Kempadêvamma*, ff. 180, v. 2; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.*, p. 80, and *Yad. Mahat.*, ff. 82 (prose passage), etc.

2. *Annals*, I. 128. The departments, referred to, related among others to treasures (*bokkasa*), robes (*javaji*), swords (*katti*), king's apartments (*sammukha*), beddings (*hasige*), interior chambers (*oja-bagilu*), *namastriha*, establishment of servants of the *Mysuru-hôbbi* and *Pattayada-hôbbi*, stables (*idya*) of horses, elephants, camels and cattle, presents and benevolences (*hôbbike*), jewels (*oḷava*), body-guards (*maigvalu*), cavaliers (*aravaru*), urgent calls (*avasarada hôbbi*), attendants, etc.

pattādarasī)* . She is identical with "Kempadēvamā," "Dēvāmbā," "Dēvamāmbā" and "Dēvamā" of Yeḷandūr, prominently mentioned in literary and other sources.⁴ She was an idéal lady,⁶ pious and ever devoted to her husband.⁶ Among other queens of Chikkadēvarāja were⁷ Dēvamā (daughter of Dalāvāi Kumāraiya of Kāḷale), Kempamma (daughter of Sômarājaiya of Mûgûr), Chikka-Muddamma (daughter of Châmarājaiya or Châmaiya of Yeḷandūr), Doḍḍa-Dēpamma (another daughter of Dalāvāi Kumāraiya), Doḍḍa-Muddamma (daughter of Dēvaiya-Arasu of Kāḷale), Kempananjamma and Gauramma (daughters of Virarājaiya of Hullahalli),

3. *Annals*, I. 104; *I.M.O.*, No. 16-15-20, p. 55; *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 305 (referring to Dēvājamā of Yeḷandūr); see also *Hadī. Dhar.*, cited in f.n. 4 *infra*. Dēvājamā (*Dēvamāmbā*) is referred to in the *Dēvanagara Plate* (c. 1666-1690) as the daughter of Lakshma-Varma of Bāḷēndu-nagara or Yeḷandūr (see *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 101-102). Perhaps Lakshma-Varma, mentioned here, was the surname of Lāngarājaiya of Yeḷandūr.
4. See *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamā*, ff. 181; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, cited in Ch. V, f.n. 156; *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 98, 101, 103-104; *Hadī. Dhar.*, I, 3, ll. 16 (pp. 2-4); also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63.
5. *Hadī. Dhar.*, l.c.; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 134
6. See *E. O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 95-96, 98, where Rāmāyaṅam-Tirumalārya refers to her thus :

Sattishu mānyāsu sattuḥu chāya
Śrī-Dēvamāmbā mahāshī nṛpaṅya |
Pativratānām gaṇanā prasangē
Śrī-Dēvamāmbā prathamābhīdhēya ||

See also *E. O.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 96-98, repeating the above.

7. *Annals*, I. 104-105; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63-64 (compared). According to the *Annals* (l.c.), the first two queens of Chikkadēvarāja (i.e., Dēvājamā of Yeḷandūr and Dēvamā of Kāḷale) were married to him in February 1662, and the next eight (*aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*) in June 1679. All his queens, it is interesting to note, came from Arasu families which were either in friendly alliances with or closely related to the Royal Family. The *Hadī. Dhar.* (I, 4, p. 2) also refers to the eight queens (*iṣṭaganeyareṅbaru, rāṣṭiyaru*). Further, we learn (*Annals*, l.c.), these eight queens were married to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar with the *Arka* rite (*arka vivāha purasāravāgi vivāha māḍikonḍa aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*). *Arka* is the Sun-plant *Calotropis gigantea*, a small tree with medicinal sap and rind, the larger leaves of which are used for sacrificial ceremonies. *Arka* signifies also the *membrum virile*. Marriage with the *Arka* plant is enjoined to be performed before a man marries a third wife, who thus becomes his fourth, *vide* Appendix VI—(8), for a detailed notice of *Arka* and the ritualism of the *Arka* marriage.

Dēviramma (daughter of Basavarājaiya of Hullahalli) and Kântamma (daughter of Krishçaiya of Kottâgâla); Dēvâjamma of Yeḷandûr, the principal queen, was, it would seem, the most favourite consort of Chikkadēvarâja. Her memory is perpetuated by a votive *maṅṭapa* (of nine *ankaṅams*), to the north-east of the principal pond (*Jcalyâni*) at Mēlkôte, with her name inscribed thereon (*arasi ammanavaru Yaḷavandûra Dēvâjammanavara sēve* mantapa*).⁸ Of the junior queens of Chikkadēvarâja, Gauramma appears mentioned in a lithic inscription dated November 3, 1690,⁹ recording her gift of the *Gôpâla-sarasu* pond for the Goddess (*Amma*) of Talaku, south of the town of Maddagiri. By his senior queen Dēvâjamma, Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar had a son (è. 1672) by name Kanthirava (afterwards Kanthirava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar II).¹⁰ He is also said¹¹ to have had a daughter by name Dēvâjamma (6. 1680) by Doḍḍa-Muddamma of Kaḷale, one of his junior queens. Among other members of the Royal Family, Kantihiravaiya (Kanthirava-Arasu), younger brother of Chikkadēvarâja Woḍeyar, appear to have stayed¹² in Seringapatam holding a subordinate position during the reign. A lithic record, dated June 17, 1676,¹³ registers the consécration by him of the image of Pattâbhirâma in Sômanâthapur and his grant of the village of Uklagere for its maintenance.

8. *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 306 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 28, para 76); *I. M. O.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 55; see also *Annals*, I. 141.

9. *Ibid.*, XII Mi. 15: s. 1612, *Pramôdâta*, *Kârtika su.* 12; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 88.

10. *Annals*, I. 106, 165 (compared); *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 53, II. 56 (compared); also *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716), v. 49:

*Tamâcheçri Chikkadēva-nyama kuṭamaṅṅar Dēvamâmbôdarâbâhau |
Vishṇûbramâna jâtaḥ . . . Kanthiravêndrab ||;*

and III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 108-104.

11. *Annals*, I. 106.

12. See *Annals* (I. 187), according to which Chikkadēvarâja is said to have specially got constructed a miniature palace (*Chikkarâmanâ*) in Seringapatam for the residence of Kanthirava-Arasu with his family.

13. *E. O.*, III (1) TN. 90: s. 1598, *Naja*, *Asâdâha* ba. 2.

Frôm the dotnestic, no less frôm the pôittcâl, point of view, it is of interest to noté that The Kaçale Family. the Kaçale Family came into greater protnihence and into increasing contact with the Mysore Royal House during this period. Mallarâja III, eldest son of Mallarâja Wodeyar *alias* Kempê-Arasu and grandson of Karikâla-Mallarâja II, continued to bè the chief of Kaçale till Dècember 1679 when, having nò issue, he was succeeded by Dôđđâ-Mallarâjaiya or Mallarâja IV (1679-1719), a nephew of his and eldest son of Daçavâi Kumâraiya of Kaçale.¹⁴ Kumâraiya himself having been foremost in the service of the kingdom of Mysore since 1667, appears to hâve brought about this arrangement, under which, while he ained at securing direct succession in his own line to the sovereignty of Kaçale, he also sought to cernent the bond of relationship between the Mysore and Kaçale families and paved the way for opportunities to promising members of the Kaçale House to serve as Daçavâis of Mysore. Indeed, as we hâve seen,¹⁵ Kumâraiya was himself the father-in-law of Ohikkadēvarâja Wodeyar, having given two of his daughters (Dēvamma and Dođđâ-Dēpamma) in marriage to him. His brother Dēvaiya-Arasu likewise married his daughter (Dođđâ-Muddamma) to Ohikkadēvarâja. Further, on the retirement of Kumâraiya in May 1682, he was succeeded in the office of Daçavâi of Mysore by Dođđaiya, a nephew of his and second son of Mûppina-Kântaiya of Kaçale.¹⁶ Dođđaiya held the office with conspicuous ability, during 1682-1690. Again, Mallarâjaiya, younger brother of Doççlaiya and last son ôf Muppina-Kântaiya,¹⁷ was the Dalavâi of Mysore between 1696-1698. The foundations of greatness of the House of Kalale in the history of

14. K. A. V., ff. 16, 33; see also Table XIII.

15. *Supra*; see also under *Daçavâis* in Ch. XII, for details about the periods of office of Daçavâis from the Kaçale Family.

16. K. A. V., ff. 18; also Table XIII.

17. *Ibid.*

Mysore had tîras been laid, and developed, âlready during 1660-1704.

The progress of Kaḷale was coeval with the advance of Mysore into a first-rate political power in the south of India. Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar had been reaching his sixtieth year and was, from ail the available évidence, in the full possession of his faculties to the end of his reign, directing the affairs of his kingdom with vigour and détermination. The religious vein in him, though strong and pulsating with life, did not prove an obstacle to his work as a warrior and statesman. He was rather unfortunate in one respect and that was the physical weakness of his only son Kaçîṭhîrava who, as we shall notice in the sequel, was both deaf and dumb. What makes him great in the eyes of posterity is the singular equanimity with which he evidently bore this infirmity in his son and successor. The existence of steadfast and loyal ministers like Tirumalaiyangâr and others of his cabinet mtist hâve proved a consolation to him in his thoughts on what might happen to his son and to the throne when it fell vacant. His ripe spiritual wisdom, his developed sensé of dependance on God's grâce and his undaunted courage should hâve contributed fortitude enough to sustain him in the firm belief that his kingdom would be safe in the keeping of God. When the hand of Death was on him on November 16, 1704, in the sixtieth year of his âge and the thirty-second year of his reign,¹⁸ he should hâve passed away, if not with contentment, at least in the hope that the kingdom he had built up with such assiduity, zeal and military valour would, despite the frailty attaching to his son,

18. *Mys. Dho. Pâr.*, II. 31; *Târaça, Kârtika* &c. 80. There was a solar eclipse on this date (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 211). See also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 82; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 468, and *Annals*, I. 154. All the authorities cited, it is interesting to note, are unanimously agreed as to the date of death of Chikkadēvarâja.

continue unimpaired for générations to come. His queens, however, are stated to have not observed *sati*.¹⁹

Under the influence of his early éducation and training,²⁰ the personality, accomplishments and character of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar attained, as his reign progressed, a harmonious development and a remarkable state of maturity, which profoundly impressed his contemporaries. Possessed of exceptional personal strength, courage and prowess,²¹ he was, as he appears to us from contemporary sources, a handsome personage (*Chenniga Chikadēvarāya*),²² with features characteristic of a great man destined to rule as a sovereign²³—features suggestive of budding manhood, charming round face, large lotus-like eyes, well-proportioned nose, soft arms, round chest, well-built thighs, tender feet, white complexioned body, pleasing countenance and excellent voice.²⁴ In civil society, his personal beauty was a source of attraction to those around him,²⁰ while on the field of

19. *Annals*, I, 155. This departure from the established usage perhaps points to the humanitarian influence of Sri-Vaishnavism during the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign.
20. Vide section on *Early Life of Chikkadēvarāja* in Ch. XI, for details.
21. See *Yād. Mahāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 16; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 121; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 47-48, 51; *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 43-47; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 86; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 7; *Dorbaḷa simha-vikramanum; unnata bāhu-parākramam; anupama parākramam; surādri hima-saila dhairyam uddhata sauryam*, etc.
22. *Hādī. Dhar.*, see *kanda* verse at the end of each chapter.
23. *C. Yam.*, 168: *Mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa; anga-pratyanga cakravartī lakṣaṇa*.
24. *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 54; *Śrī. Mahāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 82-83; *Chikkadēvarāja-Vam.*, p. 29 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), II, ff. 82 (prose passage); *C. Yam.*, 168; *C. Vi.*, IV, 69-72; *Munivam.*, I, 9. Among the expressions found used in the texts are: *Rūpigoppuva javvana; kondēvareyam pōlva muḍḍu moga; ananamindu vendu; bagaseganga; nayanam lasadutpala; nīḍu nasu bāgida mūgu; nāḷi tōḷ; erde baḷḷitāda; tōḷe bāḷeya kamba; melnaḍo; pādamaṁ jānise pādamaṁēdu; aḷcha biḷpogeda mayyi; prasanna vadāntravinda; sividani*.
25. *Kamaṁd. Nī.*, II, I; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 81, 83; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 110; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 54; *Abhinava kandarpavatāra; nātana puṣkpaḍaṁ; dhāminī-hṛdaya-grāhi; mahā-saundaryadim strīyaram . . . manniṣi*.

battle he was a terrôr to his enemies.²⁶ Master of the science of arms and the different arts of warfare and of horsemanship and elephant-riding,²⁷ he would personally lead his mighty army (horse and foot) on the field, fight against heavy odds like a daring hero (*kaḍugali*), deftly (*kara-chamatkr̥iyim*) eut off his adversaries (*i.e.*, hostile powers) at the point of his farnous sword *Nandaka* and make hiraself conspicuous by displaying his shining standard, the *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, as an emblem of victory (*jayaêri vilasita natana*).²⁸ The accomplished person that he was,²⁰ Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was celebrated as a distinguished scholar of his âge.³⁰ He had a subtle

26. *Div. Śr. Cha.*, I, 81-82; *Hastī. Māhat.*, I, 88; *Paśc. Māhat.*, I, 44; *Sat. Br. Vi.*, I, 46; *Vairi-bhikaran*; *Kaliyendu raṇarangaḍoḷ*; *arīraya mahā imirārka*; *madavat kunjara simha*; *raṇasphurāṇa bhairavanendu*.
27. *O. Bi.*, pp. 58-59; *Gr. Gō.*, pp. 88-89, 69-70; *Mbh. Śānti.*, ff. 8 (col.); *Sachchā. Nir.*, ff. 120-121 (prose passage); *Astraviḍyā Bhṛgurāmanum*; *dhavakala tvṭavāhananum*; *asvārōhana kalāḍharikṛta rēvantanum*; *gajārōhana kalāḍharikṛta jayanti*, *maghavanitanum*, etc.
28. *Venkaṭa. Māhat.*, I, 48; *Śrī. Māhat.*, II, 81; *Kamala. Māhat.*, I, 118-121, also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 79; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 60; *Mbh. Śānti.*, l.c.; *Paśc. Māhat.*, I, 46; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, P. 22, vv. 116-116; *Yād. Māhat.*, II, 59-60; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 87; *A. F. C.*, I, 21, 28, 30, 87-88, III, 20, 36, 43, 44, 66, IV, 13; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 8; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 51-53; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 63-66; also III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 58-70. Among the expressions found used in the texts are: *Uttungāśva saṅghāta sindhura byndāḍbhūta pattiyukta nijasēnachakra sarvasaḍim*; *suttalāḍirchida ripugaḷa mottamanu sadedu*; *dhuradoḷ saivnyamanoggugaidu ripugaḷam gelāu*; *Nandaka kṛpāḍbhāramanum*; *Nandaka rakta dhara parishikta*; *Nandakamene moregumapratima-nṛpa khaḍgam*; *Nandakākhyā khaḍga khaḍḍitarāti nṛpa maṅḍala . . . sṛgāhara sammārjita*; *poḷeva yuddha Garuḍa-dhvajam*. In the poetical language of most of the contemporary sources, the sword *Nandaka* is conceived as a woman, a stage-dancer in the hands of Chikkadēvarāja on the field of battle, clothed with the blood of the enemies (see, for instance, in *Kamala. Māhat.*, I, 118: *Raṇarāngāṅgaḍoḷ sunandaka kṛpāṇa nṛpānārimani rakta-vasanōpētam*).
29. *Paśc. Māhat.*, I, 45; *O. Vi.*, V, 105; *Mitra. Gō.*, p. 3 (prose passage); *Muniyam.*, I, 154; *Sarasam*; *suprauḍhi*; *alampuḍra*; *kalānidhi*.
30. *Paśc. Māhat.*, I, 43-44; *O. Vi.*, V, 105; *Śringāra-Sataka-Sangatya*, ff. 133; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 7; *Muniyam.*, I, 157; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja anḍ Kempaḍevanma*, ff. 180; *Ohāduram, nipuṇam, kaḍujanam kalayoḷ*; *aravichāra kōvida*; *mahāvīdvisham*; *vidyāpravatna*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēvachandra speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having been the foremost among the learned celebrities of his age (*Chikkadēvarājavam kōvida-tikkhamāni-yenōvidam*).

mind capable of grasping the learned arts,³¹ and quick in comprehending the sentiments of others (*châru-râsajnam*).³² He was a brilliant conversationalist (*vâk-kôvidam*) and took a keen interest in debates and discussions among scholars in his court (*sâstrigala vâda*).³³ To talk with him once was, in the opinion of a contemporary poet, to wish for more talks with him, and to him who had not conversed with him even once, the desire was to find an opportunity to do so. "If the nectar is only known by the name," this poet asks, "is it possible not to yearn for a drop of it? When you have had a taste of it, is it possible not to hunger for it the more?"³⁴ An expert in all arts and sciences,³⁵ Chikkadêvarâja had dived deep into their secrets (*sarva suhalegalplaguṭṭa tilḷidu*).³⁶ In particular, as we learn from another contemporary,³⁷ he would personally test the weapons, diamonds, horses and éléphants required for his use (*âyudha ratna vaji gajamam tânë parikshikkumâm*). Well-trained in the study and appréciation of music and literature (*samantu kuéalam sangita-sâhityadol*).³⁸ he was an ardent lover of them and had a thorough knowledge of their fundamentals.³⁹ He was himself an expert among the lutists (*vâinikarôḷ praviṇa nereyam*),⁴⁰ having

31. *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, P. 20, v. 106; *Yad. Mahat.*, II, 54; *Salô vidvat satkalâ prauḍhyanure tîṭiyal êkshma mādantarangam nelegopârikum*.

32. *Kâmand. Nt.*, I, 69.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 1; *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 97.

34. See *Châṭupadâyamanimanjari*, vv. 48-54 (Ed. by V. Prabhâkara Sâstri), quoted in the *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2461.

35. *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 110; *Sri. Mahat.*, II, 81; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Yad. Mahat.*, II, 54; *Mbh. Sânti.*, l.c.; *C. Bi. and G. Gô.*, l.c.; *A. V. C.*, I, 19; *Mitra. Gô.*, I, 7; *Sakala kalâ nilayam*; . . . *pravîṇa*; . . . *âharanam*; *vividha kalâ pravîṇam*; *kalâ kôvidam*; *sâstrôrusârajanabhavam*; *akshâja sâstrangaḷ*, etc.

36. *Munivam.*, I, 7.

37. See Singarârya in *Mitra. Gô.*, l.c.

38. *Ibid.*; see also *C. Bi. and G. Gô.*, l.c.

39. *Chikkadêvêndra-Vam.*, pp. 22, 23 (prose passage); *Yad. Mahat.*, II, 62, also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Paśch. Mahat.*, I, 44; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Mbh. Sânti.*, l.c.; *Div. Sâ. Cha.*, I, 81; *A. V. C.*, I, 10; *Sangitâ-sâhîtya rasapramôḍita hrdayanam*; . . . *kôvidam*; . . . *rasajnam*; . . . *anêka sâhîti*; *mâdhuryatara sangita-bravama-lôla*; *sangitâda sâhityadolpanarâyû*.

40. *Mitra. Gô.*, l.c.

been taught to play scientifically on the instrument (lute), to the extent of endowing it with life and enrapturing his audience.⁴¹ Référéncé has been made in an earlier chapter to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the guiding spirit, nay as the creator, of the the literary movement of his reign and to the works ascribed to or written by him. Undoubtedly, in the literary and cultural sphères, he dominated the most notable circles of his time.⁴² Himself a connoisseur of literary merit,⁴³ he had a high standard of appréciation, and appears to hâve initiated a policy, in pursuance of which literary works were to be produced along up-to-date lines, yet without breaking away from the earlier traditions. Thus, we learn, he used to keep himself engaged in the enjoyment of writings characterized by symmetry in respect of form, sentiments delineated, diction, style, descriptive powers and figures of speech used (like similes, illustrations, etc).⁴⁴ Further, it seems to hâve been his désire that authors attempting literary productions in Kannaḍa prose and poetry should aim at popular understanding and appréciation (*ellar prēmāde tilidālipante ; aiēsha janam tiliva terade; ellarariviniṃ*) while paying due regard to beauty of form, sentiments, verbal embellishments, modernity in the médium of expression, use of *kanda* and other

41. C. V., IV, 111-116: *Biṣeyani kumdra Ohikadēvam . . . nādam svāra prakramam . . . nuṇchara . . . chārigalondire tāna tānaḍol pavaṇarītāntu bājisuvinaṃ . . . prāṇam banduḍu jantra bijjege . . . kiviḍḍe pokku . . . chētanavṛtti mottadol . . . saividāriyindamē samodudēmba vikaḷpade tōrpudu; see also C. Vam., 176-181.*

42. *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 69; *Vēnkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 47; *Sāt. Br. Vē.*, I, 47; *Prauçhāgraganyam; nūtana-sāhitya vijnāna gishpatī bhāṣvanmatī; pāṇḍīti mahimeyum.*

43. *Mbh. Sānti.*, C. Bī. and Gt. Gō., l.c.; *Sāhityarasaparikshā-nikāsha-prastaranum; sāhityavidyā-nikāsha-prastaranum.*

44. *Ohikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 28 (prose passage); *Yād. Māhāt.*, ff. 29-30 (prose passage); *Kāmand. Nī.*, l.c.; *Atimādhurātara-sāhityavidyā-vishayānurakta-mānasa; vāra-sāhitya-vinōdī; rūpa-rasa-pāka-tōṣyārīti-vārṇāṇḍpāṃḍēprākāshā-bhāṣachitrādī-guṇa-sāṃmītya-sūdhā-rāṣṭyana.*

varieties of mètres and melody of diction.⁴⁵ The extent to which these standards were realised is, perhaps, borne out by the literary achievement of the reign described in the chapter relating to it. Of, perhaps, greater importance to us is the keen interest he evinced in the history and culture of his country, for he was known to have "directed an extensive collection to be made of historical materials, including all inscriptions then extant within his dominions, which were already reported to be voluminous."⁴⁶ In this hereminds us of Ràja-Kàja, the great Chôja ruler. Magnificent, prosperous and happy, of sweet and good words and pleasing manners, calm and gentle, prudent, stainless, adhering to the established course of conduct, kind-hearted and generous,⁴⁷ Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, as he is depicted to us by his contemporaries, an intensely human character. With a thorough control over his passions and with a

45. See *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 101, 105-108; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, III, 73-75, 78-79; *Sū. Sap.*, I, 19; *Bhag. Gt. Tī.*, I, 67; *Sēsha-Dharma*, v. 2 (col.); *Sri. Mahāt.*, col., etc.: *Esakam bettu . . . r a s a b h ā v ā l a n k r t i r i t i s a d a r t h a*; *posatādoḥ nuḍi*; *padabandham posatāge kanda tatiyim nānavṛtta sandōhadim*; *kēḷva jana brindakkeḷlam trāvya sampāda munṁuttire*. For details about these productions, vide Ch. XIV of this work.

46. See Wilks's *Preface* to his *Mysoor*, I. pp. xxii-xxiii, where he obviously records a genuine tradition fresh in the memories of his contemporaries in Mysore.

47. *Sat. Br. Vē.*, I, 46-47; *Paśc. Mahāt.*, I, 43-44; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 110; *O. Vi.*, V, 106; *Chikkadēvarāja-Vam.*, pp. 22, 29 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 62, also ff. 32 (prose passage); *Venkata. Mahāt.*, I, 54; *Yād. Mahāt.* (of Chikkapādhyāya), I, 15; *Munivam.*, I, 9, 148, 158; see also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1886), l. 46: *V a i b h a v a d o ḷ e k a l p a s a l a*, *atyanta sampadamam*, *abhyudayamam paḍedoppuva*, *b h ā v u k a m*; *vinayōkti*, *madhūramaya bhāṣanam*, *oḷvātugan*, *ānanda-dāyakanum*, *janānanda-karam*, *utsavaḍoḷo Rāmanum*; *tāntam*, *nayastīlam*, *gāmbhīrya*; *viḷekāḷi*, *uchitajnam*; *akalanka*, *vimala-manam*; *nēmagaram*, *dharma-niṣṭha*; *sadayam*, *dāyāpayōḷi*; *udarah*, *chāgi*. Cf. *Nāyaks of Madura* (p. 220) which refers to Chikkadēvarāja as "the niggardly king of Mysore," on the authority of Taylor (*Or. Hist. Mss.*, II. 224-226), by way of bringing out the greatness of Mangammā of Madura (1689-1706) contrasted with the former (i.e., Chikkadēvarāja), her contemporary. There is absolutely no evidence in support of this characterization. Taylor's authority is itself a later tale on the hostile Madura side. It is not entitled to credence in the face of the strong testimony of incidental references from local sources cited in this chapter.

mastery of the sciences of politics and diplomacy,⁴⁸ he had a deep insight into the character of his councillors while remaining an enigma to them (*sakala sâmajikarolava tilidu nijaprakrtiyanavarge Kanisada*).⁴⁹ His government was that of a true Kshatriya, deeply rooted in the ancient idéal of *dharma* (*râjadharmam*), which had as its objectives punishment of the wicked and protection of the good (*diçta-nigraha êçta-paripâlcmmam*) and promotion of happiness of ail his subjects in gênerai and of Gods, Brâhmans and the dumb création typified by the cow in particular.⁵⁰ Gifts to Brâhmans (implying the leisured class), révérence and liberality towards poets and the learned, relief to the needy, dependents and the deserving, mercy and assurance of safety to supplicants, affection for his followers, kindly attention towards hi* subjects, gracefulness towards the fair sex, above al dévotion to Vishnu—these were the cardinal features o! Chikkadêva's character as the ruler of a growing kingdom.⁵¹

48. *Muniyam.*, I, 9, 11, 20; *Paçch. Mahât.*, I, 44, 46; *Div. Sû. Oha.*, I, 81 86; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.*, pp. 29-30 (prose passage); *Yad. Mahât.* ff. 82 (prose passage): *Arishadvargavaniradirisi; nitiritigaladhikoddi panavârge; pra bh u-mantrôsaha-çaktitraya-vaçedu parama-saptânga rajyadoçû; niti-nidhâna, niti-vidya-vistradanu, niti-prakaradim, sâmç dâna-bhêda-dançâ-chaturôpya-kusala, etc.*

49. *Muniyam.*, I, 148.

50. *Paçch. Mahât.*, I, 48; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam.* and *Yad. Mahât.*, l.c. *Mitra. Gô.*, I, 8; *O. Bî.*, p. 4, also col.; *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 60; *Gî. Gî* and *Sachçh. Nir.*, col.; *A. V. O.*, III, 45, 161, IV, 17, 28; *B. O.*, III (!) Br. 14, ll. 76-77. Among the textual expressions are: *Sarvajana anibâr prajegâl, sakala prajakântanum; dêva-gô-vipra-santais santas doçirke, dêva-brâhmaçça paripalanam pradhânam gaidu, dêva-brâhmaçç vakshanaçça prithvi-çimrôjya-çikshâ-bhrti.*

51. *Kamala. Mahât.*, I, 150; *Venkata. Mahât.*, I, 54; *Kamand. Ni.*, I, 86 *Paçch. Mahât.*, I, 44; *Div. Sû. Oha.*, I, 82; *Chikkadêvendra-Vam* pp. 20-21, vv. 108-109, also pp. 28-30 (prose passage); *Yad. Mahât.*, II, 5 also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Sât. Br. Vi.*, I, 46-47: *Dânade viparam, kav jana-hrdayabhîçamitû, pîridu manmayim buçharam, âçritangh manuâttaudaryadim, arthi-jana çhindraîna, pâtravanivaham; anat. prajeyam saikçeyim, abhayapradânaçindânataram; kaçu kîrneyi: vaktyasuçharakalam; prajeyanddaradim, prajeyam lalaneyim vilâsadim mânaniyarkalam, saundaryadim striyaram; ramâçhipana bhaktiyim, haripadâbja makaranda sanmadhukaram; sarvajanan palana satpradhânam guçam.*

Literary flourishes apart, contemporary testimony to the greatness of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is very weighty indeed. Contemporary testimony as to his greatness.

Mallikârjuna, in his *ânrange-Mâhp̄tmya* (1678), observes :⁵² " There are no sovereigns who do not perform obeisance to Chikkadēva, no chiefs who do not do homage to him, no warriors who do not regard him as a hero, no enemies who do not seek his protection, no Brâhmans not gratified by his gifts, no tract not impressed with the emblem of his sovereignty, and no vénérable persons not duly honoured by him." Tirumalârya, in his *Apratima-Vira-Gharitam* (c. 1695-1700),⁵³ speaks of him thus : " In this world there are none greater than Chikkadēva; if there be, they must only be in ancient writings. None are equal to him ; if there are, they are only his reflection. Opponents he has none ; if there are any, they are only for amusement in sports ; nowhere else are they to be seen."

Among the insignias and titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar were : *D h ar ani-V ar āh a* (boar), *Gaṇḍa-bhêruṇḍa* (double-headed eagle), *Birudantembara-gaṇḍa* (champion over those who say they have such and such titles), *Malepa-nriṇa-madamardana* (curber of the pride of refractory chiefs), *Advaita-parâkrama* (of peerless

52. II, 86 :

Maṇiyada rāyarilla besagaiyada manneyarilla
Śīranendenisada virarilla śaranendenada śātravarilla |
Danadim daṇiyada viprarilla nijamudreya-nottada dēsamilla
Mannaṇegoḷadāryarilla Chikadēva-nṛpam dharegaṇmanembinaṁ ||

Compare with this what Vijnânēvara, the famous author of the *Mitākshara*, wrote of Châlukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1112) : " There has not been, there is not, and there will not be, on the surface of the earth, a city like Kalyāṇ ; and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramânka seen or heard " (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. ii. 808).

53. II, 2 :

Jagadoḷ Śrī-Chikadēvanim piriyarillettānu-muṇṇādoḷam
Bagegoḷgum paḷavātinoḷ dorēyumillettānu-muṇṇādoḷam |
Bagegoḷgum pratibimbadoḷ malevarillettānu-muṇṇādoḷam
Bagegoḷgum prāṇayaparādhaividhīyoḷ meyārādinneḷliyum ||

prowess), *Saṅgara-Bhīma* (champion on the field of battle), *Hindurāya-Suratrāna* (Sultan of Hindukings), *Āndhra-kshitmdra-hrdaya-ēūla* (a trident to the heart of the Telugu chief, i.e., Nāyak of Madura), *Dakṣiṇadik-Chakravartī*, *Tenkana-Rāya* (Emperor of the South), *Karātaka-Bhūmandalādhisvara*, *Karnātaka-Chakravartiy* *Sringāra-Karnāta-Chakri* (Emperor of the Karnātaka country), *Yādavakulōddhāraka* (establisher of the Yādu race), *Mahishapuravarādhisvara* (Lord of the city of Mysore), *Paēchirnarangapuri-simhāsanddhīsthitam* (established on the throne, i.e., sovereignty, of the city of Seringapatam), *Mahārājādhirājaparamēsvara* (Emperor of kings) and *Apratima-Vira* (unparalleled hero).⁵⁴ Some of these titles show unmistakably the high position Chikkadēva had attained to in Southern India as a ruler.

Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar lived and worked in times of exceptional difficulty and stress. From the beginning of his reign, it was his avowed ambition to maintain the territorial integrity and independence of the kingdom of Mysore on the one hand and, on the other, to advance further as a representative of or rather as the political heir to the imperial traditions of "Vijayanagar in Southern India and the Karnājaka country. In seeking to realize that ambition, he successively came into conflict with numerous powers, the Nāyaks of Madura and Ikkēri, the local chiefs, the Muhammadans of Bijāpur and Gōlkonda and the Mahrattas under Shivaji and Sambhaji. Prospects of southern expansion of Mysore under him, as far as Madura and Trichinopoly, were bright up to 1682 but became gloomy and were definitely, though temporarily, arrested by the harassing wars of Sambhaji during

54. See, *O.V.*, col.; *Chikkadēvarāja-Vam.*, pp. 26-30 (prose passage); *Yād. Māhāt.*, ff. 27-32 (prose passage); *Mbh. Sānti.*, col., *O. B.*, *Gr. G.* and *Sachchū. Nir.*, col.; *E.O.*, III (1) Br. 94, ll. 3-5; IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 58-60; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 155-169, 480-440; also references cited in f.n. to Ch. XI of this work.

1682-1686 and the advance of Mughal arms into the south of India in the succeeding years, *i.e.*, 1689-1696. All these adverse circumstances, however, resulted in limiting his jurisdiction only up to the forts on the eastern frontier of Mysore, overlooking the south. In the other directions, he achieved a great deal of success. While systematically extending the kingdom of Mysore in the western and central Karnâṭak at the expense of local chiefs (like those of Ikkêri and Maddagiri) and foreign powers (like Bijâpur and Gôlkoṇḍa and the Mahrattas) during 1673-1687, he withstood and repulsed the Mahratta attacks on Mysore in 1677 and 1682, quickly recovered from the crisis of 1682-1686, and maintained unimpaired his diplomatic relations with the Mughal Empire (1687-1700). The net result of his policy was that during the last years of his reign (1698-1704), when Aurangzîb was engaged in his ever-deepening struggle with the Mahrattas in the Deccan, Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar had not only ensured the integrity and independence of the kingdom of Mysore as a bulwark against the Mughal Empire in the North but had also been sufficiently well-established in his claim to the sovereignty of the South and the Karnâṭaka country, and was in fact at the zénith of his power, an achievement creditable in no small measure to his untiring personal exertions and the activities of his Dajavâis.

To the student of history the reflection occurs that it was a public calamity that the ill-starred conditions of his time did not favour Chikkadêva with complete success in his southern campaign. With it the chance of the restoration of an orderly government throughout Southern India was lost for another century until the *Pax Britannica* made it possible. The results of the unfortunate check that Chikkadêvarâja received in that direction and in his attempt at the assertion of supremacy over

As a politician.

the territory which for âges Vijayanagar had held together and ruled over, made themselves increasingly felt with the lapse of years. What Chikkadêva's success might have meant it is needless to contemplate now; it were really profitless to consider a "what might have been." But it is patent enough to a chronicler of the times that his ill-success signified the loss of a strong central government that Chikkadêva alone—of ail the men of the time in the South—could have bestowed on the country as à whole. Neither the Mahratta king nor the Mughal Emperor could have done this. The Mahratta king was carrying on a warfare in the South not so much for founding a central government, with a view to extending the benefits of an orderly administration, as for getting footholds in it which might help in the future for collecting the *chauth* and the *sardësmukhi* from its chiefs and princelings. The imperialism of Sivâji, Aurangzïb and their successors differed widely from that of Chikkadêva's idéal of an Empire.⁵⁵ If what Chikkadêva attempted for his kingdom is any guide to what he might have aimed at for the larger territory he tried to conquer, there is hardly any doubt, it would have denoted a System of governance under which the blessings of peace and order were to prevail over the whole of the South for some décades at least. Aurangzïb's fight over the Southern Muhammadans consumed àll his talents and treasury, and the extension of his rule over the South, even if it had materialized, would not have brought for the people the reign of a sovereign who intended peace and contentment for the conquered tracts. In any case, it would not have spelt a System of administration which would have recalled to the Hindùs of the South à continuation of the orderly Vijayanagar rule to which they had grown accustomed for well **nigh** four centuries. The passing away of Chikkadêva

66. ON the relative claims of Mysdre, the Mahrattas and the Mughals to Empire in the South, *vide* Appendix V*-(7).

(in 1704) thus meant to the South something more than the loss of a *êivâji* or an *Aurangzîb*. So long as *Chikkadêva* lived there was the chance of a restoration of order in the South, a restoration which the interests of the country and its people needed from the days of *Venkaça I* (1586-1614), the *Vijayanagar* Emperor, and a restoration, too, which would have been in keeping with its own past traditions and culture. Whatever the *Mughal* or the *Mahratta* may have been for their homelands, they were essentially different to the kingdoms of the South which had had a civilization and a settled government of their own. His death, as we shall see, meant the loss for all time of such a chance, with the result that the way was open for the pretensions of the *Mahrattas* and the *Mughals* (including the *Nawâbs* of *Arcot* and the *Nizâm*) in later days, to levy contributions from the feudatories of the old derelict Empire, or to lay waste the country which taxed not only their resources but also strained those of the common people so much that the very presence of the armies of these demanders proved a signal for a general exodus of the inhabitants of towns and villages. The threat of an invasion thus proved worse than a war actually carried out, a state of affairs which added to the misery of the people who neither had peace nor security for another century.

Chikkadêva was a born ruler of men. He was essentially a man of action. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest of his race. He aimed high but did not go beyond the possible. His government was a centralized despotism of the benevolent type, usually conducted along traditional lines. His administrative measures and Works of public utility reveal a personality far in advance of his South Indian contemporaries, a personality with an ardent desire for reform of old institutions to suit the changing conditions of the times, and with a genius for initiation

and exécution of new ideas and schemes. His fiscal régulations were as strict as they were just, for they aimed at the standardization of revenue dues and provision of facilities to the ryots on the one hand and, on the other, at reducing to the minimum, chances of disaffection on their part. He linked the civil, criminal and revenue sides of the administration in such a way that control and governance during difficult times was rendered easy and possible. In the matter of foreign relations, he, much like Sivâji, refused to seek the aid of outsiders, though he maintained diplomatic relations with the Mughal. A devout êrî-Vaishṇava by faith and profession, he evinced a keen interest in the philosophy of that religion while tolerating other sects and creeds. Numerous were his gifts and acts of piety. Cities, towns, and Brâhmanical settlements in local parts, which were as ever before the vanguards of spiritual and temporal culture, were in a flourishing condition under him. As head of the social order, Chikkadëvarâja Wodeyar, in keeping with the ancient idéal of *Varṇâsrama-dharma*, strove hard to maintain social well-being in the country. His court was noted for its dazzling splendour and magnificence, being thoroughly expressive of the tastes and culture of the times to which he belonged. Himself an accomplished person and an engaging personality, he gave an impetus to the development of Kannaḍa literature as the means of popular éducation, ushering in a new erâ in the literary history of Mysore. His encouragement to and patronage of scholars and poets was proverbial. Regular and systematic in his habits and pursuits as he was, his domestic life was marked by peace and happiness.

With Chikkadëvarâja, religion was the rock-bed of social well-being. Religion divorced from society was as nothing to him. Here we see religious duty identified with

As a religious and social reformer.

social duty. Sin is an offence against the latter and not the former. Redemption, it would seem to follow from this standpoint, is tantamount to libération from association with unhelpful society, a society that discards human sympathy and human good-will towards its own kind. Conduct is greater than mere profession of belief. Religion is, in this sensé, the fountain-head of morality and that is morality which has its suprême sanction from religion. We can now appreciate why Chikkadêva stresses duty in one's own sphère in the true spirit of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*. He incubâtes the view that if human solidarity is to be achieved peacefully, it is necessary for each in his own place to do his duty selflessly and thus help towards harmonious action. That is a doctrine that has its value as much in the national as in the international sphère even to-day. It would seem that in the religious and social domain, as in the political and administrative, Chikkadêva realized the limits of human action. If it is the first duty of a reformer to prevent any future reformation, Chikkadêva splendidly succeeded in his attempt. To those who think that they can by a stroke of the pen remould society or remake religion, hère is something to unlearn, if not to learn.

Monarchs hâve seldom condescended to become the preceptors of their subjects. If some praise is due to Aéoûka for the care with which he propagated the *Law of Piety* and to Justinian for reducing a laborious system of law into a short and elementary treatise understood by the youth as much of Eome as of Constantinople and Berytus, then some crédit is also due to Chikkadêva for the diligence with which he attempted to teach those committed to his charge the solidarity of humanity. To him ail human beings—the four orders of the Hindu social life—were oné, each being indissolubly bound up with others and ail being one single whole for the common good. His

His conception of human equality.

conception of equality transcended law. It was something more than equality in the eye of the law. It was equality in the eye of God, for ail who worship Him or in His name are, according to him, equal before Him and attain to everlasting life. That is a conception of equality which is not only great but also one which stands unique in history.

A worthy contemporary of Sivâji and Aurangzib, a consummate warrior, a strenuous political builder, a shrewd administrator, a humble seeker after truth and an intensely human personage of many-sided tastes and attainments, Chikkadëvarâja Woḍeyar must be reckoned, from the materials now available to us, a typical character of Southern India during the latter part of the seventeenth century, He is undoubtedly entitled to rank high as a "Maker of Mysore." He is, perhaps, best remembered by the most enduring monuments of his rule, the *Chikkadëvarâja-sâgara-nâlâ* and the *Dëva-nâlâ* (*Chikkadëvarâja-nâlâ*), canals in the présent district of Mysore. His reign thus fully exemplifies the truth of the well-known saying, "Peace hath her victories, no less renown'd than war."

The influence of Chikkadëvarâja Woḍeyar on the génération of writers immediately after his death was profound. He figures prominently in the literature of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ In particular, one literary work, belonging to the reign of Kaçṭhîrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar II (1704-1714), significantly echoes the memory of his greatness as a warrior-king of Mysore.⁵⁷ Another work,

**Chikkadëvarâja
Woḍeyar in the 18th
century literature.**

56. See, for instance, *E.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716); III (1) Sr. 64 (1722) and 100 (1724), TN. 63 (1749), and IV (2) Yd. 17, 18 (1761); also *infra*.

57. *Anangavijaya-Bhâṣaṇ*, pp. 2-3: *Nirantara-duranta bhujâ-kuntâ balâkrânta simanta simanta nighâtâ nija-mudrâkhitâ jaya-stambha Sri-Chikkadëvarâya prithoi-ramaṇa*.

belonging to the reign of Krishnarāja Wodeyar I (1714-1732), vividly points to the glory of his reign.⁵⁸

Chikkadēvarāja stands out in history by reason of his exceptional personal quality, which makes him more noteworthy than his contemporaries. Among the rulers of the new states that had grown up out of the wreckage of the old Vijayanagar Empire, he was easily first. His greatest claim on posterity is that he laid the foundations of a government which stood for peace and order. He may be said to have realized that order was as important for cultural progress as peace itself. During the thirty-two years of his reign, the country, despite the wars he fought, enjoyed the blessings of a settled government. The literary activity of the period is the best evidence of this great blessing. After the fall of the resuscitated Vijayanagar Empire at Penukonda, an interval of nearly a hundred and fifty years from the death of Venkaṭa I (1614), the last great ruler of that illustrious line, till the memorable reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore (1672-1704), is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of a series of kings—beginning with Srī-Ranga III (1614) and ending with Brī-Ranga VII (1759)—who successively occupied the Imperial throne of Vijayanagar. During the same period, Mysore, as we have shown,⁵⁹ rose from the position of a mere viceroyalty to the proud status of a sovereign seat, which, under the capable rule of a discerning king, Chikkadēva, was fast taking the place of the old Imperial House (of Vijayanagar) itself, a king who might have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the successors of ancient Hakka and Bukka. Chikkadēva's kingdom suffered a temporary eclipse because, as

68. *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.*, pp. 24 (Introd. Oh.).

69. *Vide* Chs. V, VI, VIII, X and XI of this work, for the political evolution of Mysore during 1610-1704.

we shall notice, weaker sovereigns began to appear in the line of succession, who were neither fired by the same zeal nor possessed of the same capacity to manage men and things. The ideals and objectives aimed at by him—the idéal and objective primarily of a united South against the aggressive Mughal who tried to break through the frontier states and destroy what was left of the ancient Hindu land—were lost sight of by those who immediately came after him. Servants tended to become masters and loyalty to get displaced by rank treachery. The usurpation of Haidar was only ended by the dévotion of trusted leaders who again and again asserted the principle of right over might and held aloft the high principles of service, dévotion and loyalty, and amidst all kinds of difficultés owned no other duty to the Sovereign House of Mysore but that of duty done for the sake of duty.

APPENDIX I.

(1) ON THE DÉRIVATION OF "WOḌEYAR."

Woḍeyar: Kan. plural and honorific form of *Oḍeya*, lit. lord, master; spelt variously as *Oḍeyar*, *Woḍeyar*, *Wadḍeyar* and *Wadḍeyaraiya*, in inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagar and Mysore periods. In Tamil, the word occurs as *Uḍaiyar*, as in Chôḷa inscriptions among others. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vīra-êaivism was the prédominant creed in the Southern Karnâṭak. This is evidenced by the fact that the word *Woḍeyar* not infrequently appears in the literature of the period in a modified form as *Vaḍḍer* or *Wadḍer*, a term of respect by which Jangama priests were, and are even now, addressed.

(2) ON THE DÉRIVATION OF "MYSORE."

Mysore: Derived from *Mahisha* (or *Maisa*) + *ûru*, lit. buffalo town. Popular mythology associâtes the place with the destruction of Mahishâsura, the buffalo-headed monster, by the consort of Siva, worshipped by the Mysore Royal House as their tutelary Goddess, *i.e.*, êri-Châmuriḍḍêvarî of the Châmuriḍḍi Hills, Mysore. There has been considérable discussion among scholars, for some time now (see App. J in *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 3118-3120, for a summary), on the dérivation of the word Mysore, which they generally take to connote a tract or territory variously identified as *Mahisha-maṇḍala*, *Erumai-nâdu*, *Mahisha-râshtra*, *Maisa-nâdu*, *Mahishmati*, etc., referred to in inscriptions and literature. The Sangam poets (6th cent. A.D.) in particular, as is well known, refer in their works to *Erumai-yûran*, a name which has been taken to mean "he of Mahishapura

or Mysore" (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.* I I I, *Introdn.*, pp. xxi, xxv), and latterly attempted to be identified as a chief of Yemmiganûr (see *Mys. Gaz.*, 3120). Although the last word has not yet been said on the subject, enough data is at hand to hold that a portion of the présent State of Mysore, including the place called Mysore, was either coterminous with, or formed part of, the extensive tract known as *Mahisha-maṇḍalcù* or *Maisa-nâḍu* (*Mahisha-nâḍn*) in aũcient times (*vide* Ch. I I I of this work, for documentary détails). Equally significant is it to note the survival of the name of the place in its earlier forms as *Mayisûr* and *Mahisûr* in the inscriptions down to the sixteenth century A.D., and its gradual transformation to *Maisûru* (Mysore) in the seventeenth. The word in its Sanskritised form *Mahishâpura* appears side by side with the earlier forms in the epigraphical and literary records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By way of literary flourish, it is spelt also as *Mahiéûra-pura* (lit. hero town) by la ter writers.

(3) HUḌĒVU.

This word is defined thus: "A circular bastion-like structure of stones, etc., at some distance from a village, in which peasants endeavoured to secure themselves in the time of a sudden attack from marauders" (Kittel, *A Kannadq-English Dictionary*, p. 1673). At the time of which we are writing (*i.e.*, 14th-15th cent.), *hũḍĕvu* could not mean anything more than a sort of fort irregularly laid out.

(4) PURAGĒRI.

Kelying obviously on the *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, Wilks (I. 41-42) refers to Puragĕri as "Poorigurry" (?Puragadi) and interprets it as an old name for Mysore. He also states (Le.) that Mysore ("Mysoor" from "Maheshoor—Mahesh-Asoor") was a nũw name assigned to "Poorigurry" in 1524 after the construction of the fort. It

bās, however, been pointed out (*vide* Ch. III) that Mysore was known as *Mayisûr* as far back as the twelfth century. Hence Puragëri, in the period referred to, would only mean an outskirt or suburb of Mysore, which was considerably improved by Hiriya-Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Woḍeyar I I I (1513-1553) by the érection of a fort, and raised to the status of a town (*Mahisûru-nagara*), in 1524. See also and compare the *Muddarâja Urs Ms.** cited in the *Annals* (II. 87-88). The référéncé to canons said to hâve been placed on the bastions of the Mysore fort (*Annals*, II, 89-92) is, however, applicable to a later date, since this is not mentioned in the original of the *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, examined by us.

(5) THE TEMPLE OF KODI-BHAIRAVA IN MYSORE.

This is the place where Yadurâya and Krishṇa are said to hâve halted after their visit to the Châmuṇḍi Hills according to the tradition narrated in the *Annals* (*vide* Ch. III, for détails). It is situated behind the Triççévara temple, and south of the Sômêśvara temple, Mysore Fort; and is dedicated to Bhairava, known as Kôḍi-Bhairava (lit. Bhairava at the outlet of the tank). "The image of Bhairava, about 3 feet high," states the M. A. R. (1922, p. 2, para 8) noticing this monument, "has for its attributes a trident, a drum, a skull and a sword. It is flanked on the right by a female chauri-bfcarer and on the left by a female figure, apparently Bhadrakâlî, with a bill-hook in the uplifted right hand."

(6) THIRTY-THBEE VILLAGES.

The names of twenty-nine out of thirty-three villages, referred to, are traceable in the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 6-7). Thèse are : *Mahiéûra* (Mysore), Eeranagere (Vïranagere), Maluhaḷli, Beechanahaḷli, Yeṇṇe Mâragoṇḍanahaḷli, Buva- [?Eamma] nahāḷli, Kenabâyanahaḷli [? Kyâtabôyanahaḷli], Sâtagahalli, Dêvarasanâyakana-pura, Mâlâgâla,

Darihalli, Mankahalli [? Mandakahalli], Madagarahalli, Marasehajli, Hechige, *Kemba*, Mârahalli, Tâlûr, Duraçhiianahalli [? Dura], Mâvinahalli, *Hemmanahalli*, Anga4ihalli, Mâdihalli, Kêtanahalli, *Kenchalagûd*, Nagarahalli, Yaðahalli, Małalagâla, Yaðahallipura. Most of these villages are extant, their forais being slightly changed ; and are situated in the Mysore and Nanjangûd taluks (see *List of Villages*, 82, 110, etc.). Places over which branches of the Mysore Royal Family held direct sway towards the close of the sixteenth century, are indicated in italics.

APPENDIX II.

(1) SIÈGE OF MÂSURU, AND NOT MYSORE, IN 1593.

According to Ferishta, " In 1593, Munjum Khan, the Bijapur gênerai, besieged Mysore belonging to Venkatadri Nayak, accompanied by Arsappa Nayak and Ganga Nayak ; and the place was reduced in three months and 20 fine éléphants taken. Munjum Khan was proceeding rapidly in his conquests, when the rébellion of the king's brother in Belgaum occasioned his recall and left the affairs of Malabar once more in an unsettled state " (Briggs, III. 176). The siège of Mysore, referred to in this passage, is incorrect. Mysore, in 1593, was yet a small town under Râja Woḍeyar, who was gradually becoming prominent by his aggressive policy against the local chieftains in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. The fort of Mysore was then being strengthened by him. Moreover, Râja Woḍeyar was, about this time, a feudatory of the Seringapatam Viceroy Tirumala II (1585-1610). That Munjum Khân, the Bijâpur gênerai, should come ail the way to besiege the town of Mysore without taking Seringapatam and other places, seems inconceivable. A close reading of Ferishta, however, would go to show that what he meant was a place near Ikkëri under Venkaḷâdri Nâyaka. Again, since we are told that Munjum Khân was obligea to go back immediately to Bijâpur to attend to the Pâdshah's affairs, and since Malabar (probably Malnâçl or part of the country bordering on it is implied hère) is mentioned as the scène of his opérations, it seems obvious that the Khân's activities were confined to the outlying part of the Karnâtaका country, where the place referred to was situated. Indeed he could not hâve retraced his steps immediately, had he really been as far south àè Mysore itself. The

pénétration of the Bijàpur Muhammadans into the South (*i.e.*, Seringapataru and Mysore) did not begin until 1638-1639 (*vide* Ch. VIII of this work, for détails). The occurrence of the word Mysore in the passage from Ferishta, has therefore to be otherwise explained.

In the *Kēladī-Nripa-Vijāyant* (V. 73), we hâve the following:—

*Venkaṭappa Nâyakam Râmarâyar pâlbennē umbalī-
gendu munnitta Mâsûra-sîmeyam ḡattikōlalaidida
Manjula Khdnanam murida.*

From this passage we learn, Mâsûru-sîme, granted as a rent-free estate (*umbalī*) by Bânia-Bâya (of Vijayanagar) for the supply of milk and butter, belonged to Venkaṭappa Nâyaka I of Ikkēri (1582-1629). Its occupation was attempted by Manjula Khân (a Kannaḡa colloquial for Munjum Khân), who was repulsed by the latter. Venkaṭappa Nâyaka, referred to hère, is to be identified with the Venkaṭâdri "Nâyaka of Ferishta. He was also known as Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nâyaka according to the *Ke. N. F.* In his inscriptions he is mentioned as Venkaṭâdri [see *B.C.*, V I I (1) Tl. 38, 56 and 58]. Venkaṭâdri cannot therefore be identified with Venkaṭapati-Bâya (of Vijayanagar) as has been done by Sewell (see *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 218-219), nor can the place referred to be Mysore, as both he (*Le.*) and the *Kev. H. Heras* (*Âravidu Dynasty*, I. 418) take it to be. Mâsûru-sîme, mentioned above, occurs in inscriptions also [see *E.C.*, VII a) and VIII (2) Si. 1, Nr. 33 and Sk. 324]. Mâsûr is an extant village in Sâgar taluk (see *List of Villages*, 147). In the light of these références it would be obvious that what Ferishta meant was Mâsûru, near Ikkēri in Sâgar taluk, Shimoga district. Possibly *Mysore* was a corruption of *Mâsûru* since Ferishta wrote in the seventeenth century. There is thus enough évidence to hold that *Mâsûru* was the place actually besieged by Munjum Khân in 1593, and not *Mysore* [based mainly

on the notes in f.n. to the article on *Ķanthirava-NarasaraĶa Woḁeyar* in the *H. Y. J. M. U.*, 'Vol. III, No. 2, Eeprint].

(2) POETICAL WORKS ON THE SIEGE OF
KESARE (1596).

The *K.N.V.*, *C.Vam.* and *C.Vi.* being essentially poetical works, there is a tendeney in them to make earlier events as having taken place at a later period and *vice versa*. In other words, tested with référénce to the authority of inscriptions and chronicles, thèse works are conspicuous by the absence of chronological séquence of events described in them. Thus, in the *K.N.V.* of Gôvinda-Vaidya, the siège of Kesare is made to appear as having taken place towards the *close* of Tirumala's rule in Seringapatam (III, 94-96). Secondly, the curbing by Râja Woḁeyar of the power of the chiefs of Bêlûr and Narasimhapura (HoĶe-Narasipur), a later event, is mentioned as though it preceded the siège of Kesare (III, 50-51). Thirdly, Tirumala's retreat from Seringapatam, also a later event, is spoken of as if it followed immediately after the siège of Kesare (III, 95). Similarly, in the earlier part of the *C.Vam.* (2), Tirumalârya makes it appear as if the siège of Kesare took place immediately after Râja Woḁeyar resolved to expel Tirumala from the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam, conséquent on the latter's treacherous retreat during VenkaĶa I's action against Vîrappa Nâyaka of Madura. In fact, however, Tirumala's expulsion happened fourteen years after the siège of Kesare itself. Tirumalârya himself, in fche other work of his, namely, the *C.Vi.*, makes it obvious that Tirumala's expulsion was resolved upon by Râja Woçleyar, after the siège of Kesare (II, 52-55). A detailed study of the *C.Vam.* ifcaelf, in the light of other sources, brings this ont prominently. Again, in the *C.Vam.* (8-10) as in the *C.Vi.* (II, 29), among other

events, the curbing by Bâja Woḍeyar of the chiefs of Kânambâḍi, Talakâḍ, Bannûr, Arakere, etc., clearly a later achievement, is made to appear as having preceded the siêge of Kesare ; and some of these chiefs are even made to bring about the action against Bâja Woḍeyar by insinuating Tirumala. Evidently Râja Woḍeyar's conquest of Seringapatam (1610) and the events immediately preceding and succeeding it, hâve been uppermost in the minds of the poets (*i.e.* Gôvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalârya). Hence the juxtaposition noticeable in these works. Allowing a fair margin for the poetical conception of events and the literary flourishes, these texts are drawn upon for an almost contemporary picture of the course of transactions connected with the siêge of Kesare. Both in regard to this topic and the other political events of Râja Woḍeyar's reign, these poetical works are to be understood in their chronological setting with référence to the more spécifie authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Compare *Âraviḍu Dynasty* (I. 342-343, 419, etc.), where the Rev. Father Heras criticises the story of Tirumala's retreat from Madura and the subséquent détails recorded in the *C.Vam.* as " untrustworthy " and " a concoction of the poet for justifying Râja Woḍeyar's capture of Seringapatam,"* etc.—a position not warranted by a detailed study of the texts.

The composition of Tirumala's army during the siêge of Kesare, according to the *K.N.V.* (III, 23-44), was as follows: Râmarâjêndra of Hadinâḍu was with 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 50 éléphants ; the lord of Rudragapa (chief of Piriyaḍatna) with 20,000 foot and 50 éléphants ; Nanjarâja of Talakâḍ with 16,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 30 éléphants; Timma Nâyaka of Kereyûr with 8,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 éléphants ; Bairêndra, son of Sâla Nâyaka, with 10,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 éléphants. There were also levies (numbers not specified in the text) from the chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hole-Narasipur) and

Bêlûr, from "Dâsa Nâyaka of Nuggehalli, from the chiefs of Kenge (Kengendra), Kôlâla, Ballâpur and Bangalore, and from Timmapparâja, Pradhâni Appi-Setti, Immaḍi-Jakka, Pummâni-Pâmi Nayaka and Guṇḍi Nâyaka—altogether a force consisting of a lakh of foot, seven to eight thousand horse and two hundred rutting éléphants (III, 35). Among the leading éléphants which graced the army on the occasion* were : Birudina-Kaçḍeya; Raya Gajânkusâ, Ganganagôlu, Mîsara-Gaçḍa, Bôyala-Pôtârâja, Madana-Gôpâla, Narasimha, Tirumala-Râya, Tiru-Venkaṭanâtha, Morasara-gaṇḍa and Kastûri-Ranga. According to the *C.Vam.* (14), there were in ail, on the occasion, one lakh of foot, twelve thousand horse and one hundred éléphants. There were levies from Ballâpur, Kôlâla, Punganûr, Mâgaḍi, Bangalore and other parts of *Morasa-nâdu*, consisting altogether of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 éléphants ; forces of the chiefs of Talakâḍ, Yejavandûr (Yeḷandûr), Ammachavâḍi, Terakaṇâmbi, Kôṭe (Heggaḍḍevankôṭe), etc., places in the interior of the province (*ola-nâdu*), comprising 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 25 éléphants ; from Malnâd (including Bêlûr, Kejadi, etc.), consisting of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 éléphants; from Chintanakal, Chiknâyakanahalli, Bânâvar, Basavâpaṭṭa, Sîra and other parts of the Bêḍa dominions, making up 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 5 éléphants; also from Raṇa-Jagadêva-Bâya, Timma Nâyaka of Kereyûr and others, consisting in ail of 24,000 foot, 4,000 horse and 15 éléphants, while the main army of Tirumala (*mûla-baladol*) was composed of 30,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 30 éléphants. Compare *Ancient India* (p. 283), where S. K. Aiyangar doubts the probability of the actual présence of these numbers (of the *O. Vam.*) on the field. The numbers, however, in the light of both the texts, appear to hâve actually taken part in the action, scattered and encamped in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, Mysore and Nanjangûd

though the works are not much in favour of the efficiency of this miscellaneous rabble.

(3) SOMB VERSIONS OF RÂJA WOḌEYAR'S ACQUISITION OF SERINGAPATÂM (1610).

The prevailing version is that Tirumalarâjaiya, the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatàm, having been afflicted with a fatal cancer (*bennu-phani*), sent for Râja WoḌeyar of Mysore and desired him to hold the charge of Seringapatàm on his behalf, saying that he (Tirumala) would go to Talakàḍ, Tirumakûḍlu and other sacred places for being cured, and that if he happened to breathe his last, Râja WoḌeyar was to hand over charge of the city to the chief of Ummattûr. Tirumala then went over to Talakàḍ where he died shortly after, and Râja WoḌeyar entered into the government of Seringapatàm on February 8, 1610 (see *Mys. Dho. Vam.* ff. 2 ; *Mys. Nag. Pûr.*, pp. 28-29; *Beṭṭadakôte-Kaif.*, p. 86, etc.). The *Annah* (I. 23-24, 29-30, 45) also gives a similar account, with slight variations. éri-Ranga-Râya (? Tirumala), afflicted with a fatal cancer, deliberated with his councillors thus : " Râja WoḌeyar, our friend, who is the most powerful ruler, has stood us in good stead on some occasions. Born in the Yadu race, he is the proper person to occupy the throne and rule the country. Since he has defeated some Pâḷegârs and extended his territories, he will naturally take Seringapatàm also, if some one else is appointée!." Accordingly, Srî-Ranga-Râya sent for Râja WoḌeyar, narrated to him the story of the acquisition of Seringapatàm and the throne by his ancestors, bestowed upon him both the throne and the kingdom, and, accompanied by his two wives (Alamëlamma and Rangamma), proceeded to Mâlangi, near Talakàḍ, where he died some time later.

Thèse versions, it will be seen, refer to the acquisition of Seringapatàm by Râja WoḌeyar as an act of "conditional

transfer " and " gift " or " bequest " respectively, conséquent on a " fatal cancer " Tirumala was said to be suffering from. They, however, seem to indicate a later attempt to justify Râja Wodeyar's acquisition from the point of view of Tirumala. For there is nothing in the earlier sources to show that Tirumala was suffering from any bodily ailment at the time of Râja Wodeyar's occupation of Seringapatam, and that he made any arrangement with Râja Wodeyar for the administration of the Viceroyalty. Indeed epigraphical évidence points to Tirumala having been alive as late as 1626, sixteen years after he left Seringapatam [see *E. G.* III (1) Nj. 181; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2203-2208]. The story of the " fatal cancer " is, perhaps, applicable to éri-Ranga II of Vijayanagar (1574-1586), who, as we shall see below, appears to hâve spent his last years in Seringapatam, and not to Tirumala.

Wilks (I. 49-52), while referring to and rejecting this " tale of singular bequest of confidence and friendship " as contrary to ail probability, writes : " The acquisition of Seringapatam, in 1610, . . . is related in différent manuscripts, with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel. . . . Forty-six years had now elapsed since the subversion of the empire from which the Viceroy had derived his original powers. This sinking and fugitive state, foiled in the attempt to re-establish its government at Penconda, had now renewed its feeble efforts at Chundergherry. The Viceroy himself was worn down with âge and disease : his Government, long destitute of energy, had fallen into the last stage of disorganization, faction, and imbecility : it is not improbable that, foreseeing its impending destruction, he concluded the best compromise in his power with his destined conqueror ; and the manuscript of Nuggux: Pootia even détails the names of the persons,

probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Vencatapetty Eayeel, who then reigned at Chundergherry) to compel him to retire. All that can be determined with certainty is, the quiet retirement of Tremul Baj to Talcaud, where he soon afterwards died; and the peaceable occupation by Baj Wodeyar of the fort of Seringapatam."

In examining Wilks's position, we have to note, there is no evidence to show that Tirumala "was worn down with age and disease." On the contrary, enough data is at hand to hold that he was about forty-five years when he retired from his charge of the Viceroyalty (see *Mys. Gaz.*, 2208; also *C. Vam.*, 28, according to which Tirumala was just approaching his old age in 1610). Nor is there any ground to believe that he concluded "the best compromise in his power" with Raja Wodeyar. Indeed we have seen how Tirumala, by provoking Raja Wodeyar, brought about his own downfall in 1610 (*vide* Ch. V). As for the statement that Tirumala "quietly retired to Talcaud," Wilks relies here mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* which he refers to as the manuscript of Nagara Puttaya. An examination of this manuscript in the light of other sources would go to show that the "quiet retirement" was resolved upon by Tirumala only on the *Râya-nirûpa* of Venkata I, his uncle. It was merely an aspect of the situation and Wilks is just nearer* the point so far. The *K. N. V.* and the *C. Vam.* (utilised in *Ibid*), however, to a considerable extent enable us to clear the "mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel," referred to by Wilks.

Dêvachandra, in his *Râj. Kath.* (XII. 455-464), gives an account of Raja Wodeyar's conquest of Seringapatam from Tirumala, drawing freely upon the *C. Vam.* But he is hardly reliable when he loosely writes thus (X. 285-295, 313-318, 371, XII. 449-450, 464-465, etc.): "Raja

Woḍeyar I, a posthumous son of Dēvarāja of Mysore, was established in the kingdom of Mysore by his Jain adhérents. With their help heruled the country and received from éri-Ranga-Râya of Vijayanagar the charge of the Seringapatam province in 1585-1586, when the latter was suffering from a fatal cancer. êri-Ranga went over to Talakâḍ where he died, his wives committing *sati*. Thereupon Râja Woḍeyar I began to rule from Seringapatam. He died after some time. Then Ramarâjyaiya and his son Tirumala, from Vijayanagar, occupied Seringapatam. From hence the descendants of Râja Woḍeyar had to rule only in Mysore. In 1609-1610, Râja Woḍeyar II, one of these, conquered Seringapatam from Tirumala and continued to govern from there." The only élément of probability in this version seems to be the death of êri-Ranga II (1574-1586) by cancer in or about 1586. There is little truth in the story of reconquest to regain a lost possession, built up by Dēvachandra.

(4) ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *Karna- Vrittânta-Kathe*.

Noticing this work in the *KarnâtaKa-Kâvya-Kalânidhi Séries* (Mysore, 1917), the Editor, Mr. M. A. Ramanuja Aiyangar, attributes its authorship to one Pradhâni Tirumalârya who is said to hâve flourished in the reign of Râja Woḍeyar of Mysore, and states : (i) that this Tirumalârya, a descendant in the line of êri-Vaishṇava preceptors of the Vijayanagar rulers, formerly resided in Mêlkôṭe early in the seventeenth century ; (ii) that he came into intimate touch with Râja Woḍeyar of Mysore, who was often visiting Mêlkôṭe ; (iii) that he was instrumental in moving Venkaṭapati-Râya (Venkaṭa I) of Vijayanagar to confer upon Râja Woḍeyar of Mysore the *sime* of Seringapatam as a présent or gift ; (iv) that thereupon Râja Woḍeyar went to Mêlkôṭe and bestowed upon the relatives and disciples of this Tirumalârya three

agrahdras with 128 *vrittis* (yielding 1,024 *varahas*) in Muttigere, Hâdanûr and other villages ; (v) that after this grant Râja Wodeyar requested Tirumalârya to stay with him in Seringapatam as his preceptor; (vi) that Tirumalârya at first refused the offer but afterwards, being much prevailed upon by Râja Wodeyar, was taken by him to the capital city (Seringapatam) and appointed his *Pradhâni* ; (vii) that Tirumalârya was a great friend of the Royal House in Seringapatam, and died somewhere in the middle of the reign of Karîṭhîravanarasarâja Wodeyar I (1638-1659) ; (viii) that Tirumalaiyangâr (Tirumalârya), the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar, was the great grandson of this Tirumalârya (*i.e.* son of his grand-daughter) ; (ix) that the two brothers Tirumala Rao and Nârâyana Rao of the times of Haidar and Tipû (1761-1799) were the descendants of Appâjappa, son of Pradhâni Tirumalârya (the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe*) ; and (x) that these two brothers belonged to the family of this Tirumalârya according to the genealogy secured by Lt.-Col. Wilks also (see *Editorial Introduction* to the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe*, pp. i-iv).

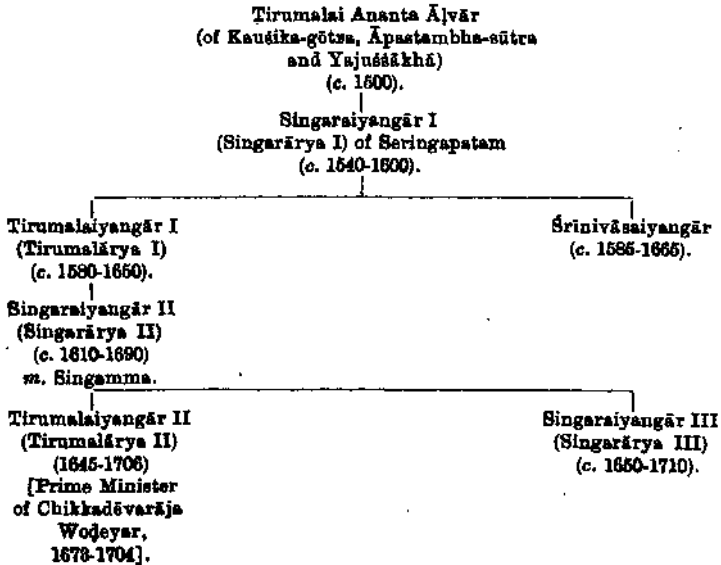
Thus, the Editor of the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe* distinguishes three persons by name Tirumalârya, the first one being, according to him, a Pradhâni of Râja Wodeyar ; the second a minister of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar; and the third the agent-in-chief of Mahârâṇi êri-Lakshmamawiyavaroo of Mysore. And he assigns the authorship of this work to the first of these. He states that the text could not have been written by Tirumalaiyangâr, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar, because (i) he was not known as Pradhâni Tirumalaiyangâr ; (ii) it is nowhere mentioned in his works that he was conducting the office of *Pradhâni* ; (iii) there are many differences in style as between this work and the works of Tirumalaiyangâr (as, for instance, the *Chikkadēvarâyā-*

Vaméâvali, *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, etc.) ; (iv) Tirumalaiyangâr invariably refers to Chikkadēvarāja in his writings, but such a référence is conspicuous by its absence here ; and (v) the style of this work is based on ancient models and it is possible that the Vaishṇava background for the text, in the introductory chapter, later served as a guide to Tirumalaiyangâr while writing his own works. Further, he adds, Tirumala Eao of the eighteenth century could not have been the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe* as he spent a greater part of his lifetime in political and diplomatic activities (*Ibid*, pp. i-ii).

An examination of the views of the Editor of the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe* shows that they are not based on any authentic sources of information, which, again, are neither quoted nor referred to in his *Introduction*. The only inscription cited [namely, *E.G.* III (1) Sr. 157] does not prove that Râja Woḍeyar made the grant of *vrittis* to the disciples and relatives of (Pradhâni) Tirumalârya, nor does it even mention the latter's name and désignation. This document is only a grant to êrî-Vaishṛiava Brâhmans in gênerai by Râja Woḍeyar for the merit of his parents. There is no clue in the *Karṇa-Vrittânta-Kathe* itself in support of the position that Tirumalârya was a *Pradhâni* of Râja Woḍeyar. Even Wilks, who is referred to, does not support the Editor's view that Pradhâns Tirumala Bao and Nârâyana Rao were descendants of (Pradhâni) Tirumalârya. Wilks, in fact, holds that between Tirumala Rao and Nârâyana Rao themselves there was considérable disagreement as to their descent. Further, the genealogy furnished to him by the brother of "Tremal row" is said to have shown that Tirumalaiyangâr, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvaraja, was the "alleged ancestor" of the former (Tirumala Rao) (*Mysoor*, II. 239, f.n.). There is also this additional

point to remèber that if it were true that Tirumalaiyangâr (Tirumalârya)—friend and co-student of Chikkadëvarâja—and his family were directly descended in the grand-daughter's Une from the alleged (Pradhân) Tirumalârya—as is held by the Editor—he (Tirumalaiyangâr) would not hâve missed mentioning, if not actually enlarging on, that point in his works.

All that the available évidence seems to point to is that there was regular succession in a line of Sri-Vaishṇava teachers in Mysore, exercising their influence on the Mysore Royal Family probably from the time of Râja Woḍeyar. The genealogy of this line of teachers according to the testimony of inscriptions and literary works is as follows :—



[Based on JS.C, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), II 19-21; and 94 (1678), II. 10-14; TN. 23 (1663), II. 92-93; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), II 106-107; and Kr. 45 (1678), II 10-14; also *O. Vam.*, 163; *Mitra. Go.*, I, 3; and Commentary

on the F.Y.V. *Stavah*, etc., p. 1, v. 1; p. 119, v. 1. Singaraiyangâr I, in Sr. 13 (l. 20), is referred to as "Chennapyâji Singaraiyangâr."¹ If "Chennapyâji" is taken to be a scribal error for "Châmappâji," then this name would be in keeping with his position as the preceptor of Beṭṭada-Châmarâja Wodeyar according to the *Sriranga-Mâhâtmya*, referred to in the text of Ch. V.] .

APPENDIX III.

ON THE EARLY DAḶAVĀIS OF MYSORE.

Wilks appears to hâve had some misconception regarding the early DaḶavâis of Mysore. Indeed, while indicating that he had no access to the " *genuine* history of the Dulwoys," during the period of Châmarâja's rule (1617-1637), he points out that in the manuscripts of the family history of the DaḶavâis available to him there is no référence to " Veecrama Raj " (DaḶavâi Vîkrama-Râya), his name itself having been " obliterated from their annals " (I. 56-57). If Wilks be understood to refer hère to the manuscripts of the DaḶavâi family of KaḶale, he does seem to be under an impression that from the beginning the KaḶale Family regularly furnished DaḶavâis to the rulers of Mysore. We hâve, however, seen how, towards the close of Râja Wodeyar's reign, there was an agreement between KaḶale and Mysore regarding the furnishing of DaḶavâis by the former to the latter (*Ante*, Ch. V), but there is so far no évidence that it was observed by the KaḶale Family till rather late in the seventeenth century, We hâve also seen how Karikâla-Mallarâjaiya, the first DaḶavâi designate of the KaḶale House, resigned his office, and how Râja Wodeyar, in the last year of his reign, had to make his own choice in the person of Bettada-Arasu (*Ibid*). Bettada-Arasu continued in office under Châmarâja Wodeyar and he was followed by three others, namely, Bannûr Lingawa, Basavalingaḇṇa and Vîkrama-Râya, all locally chosen (*vide* text of Ch. VI, for détails as to their periods of office). Bettada-Arasu and Vikrama-Bâya were connected with the Mysore Royal Family, being natural sons (*gândharva-putra*)¹ of Bettada-Châmarâja Wodeyar, younger brother of

1. Sons by marri âge by the *Gandhaurva* as distinguished from the *Brahma* form of marriage.

Râja Wodeyar, while Bannûr Lingapria and Basavalingançã were private persons belonging to the Vîra-Saiva community (see *Annals*, I. 63). There seems accordingly no reason why thèse early Daļavâis should figure in the annals of the Kaļale Family as Wilks appears inclined to think. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* itself, relied upon by Wilks but not perhaps thoroughly examined by him in the original, refers to ail the four Daļavâis of Châmarâja Woḍeyar in regular succession (I. 66). Stray inscriptions also, as we hâve shown (*vide* Ch. VI, f.n. 6 and 42), refer to two of thèse. We hâve thus enough data bearing on the " genuine history " of the early Dalavâis of Mysore. Another misconception Wilks appears to hâve been labouring under was that in the period of Châmarâja's rule the office of General and Minister was held by one and the same person; namely, Vikraina-Râya (I. 56). But, we know, thèse two were distinct offices held by separate individuais (*vide* text of Ch. VI: see under *Ministers, Dalavâis, etc.*). A third misconception of Wilks is in regard to the rôle of Daļavâi Vikrama-Bâya as the supposed minister of Châmarâja Woḍeyar. He writes (I. 57): " The preceding Raja [Châmarâja Woḍeyar] had succeeded to the government at the early âge of fifteen. We may conjecture from subséquent events that his minister had found him of an easy temper; and in the mode so familiar to Indian courts of modem and ancient date, had, by inciting and corrupting his natural propensities, plunged him into habits of low and licentious indolence; and thus kept him through life in a state of perpétuai tutelage." There seems absolutely no foundation for this conjecture. Wilks speaks as though Vikrama-Bâya was the only Daļavâi and minister of Châmarâja Woḍeyar throughout the latter's reign, and makes his statements more in the light of later happenings than the realities of the case. We hâve, however, seen that Vikrama-Râva was the fourth

and last Daḷavâi of Châmaràja Woḍeyar, succeeding to the office in 1630. It thus becomes hard to accept the state of affairs conjectured by Wilks, which is quite opposed to the spirit of the materials now available to us (*vide text of Ch. VI*).

APPENDIX IV.

(1) MUPPINA-DÊVARÂJA WOḌEYAR AND HIS SONS.

The *Mys. Dho. Pur̃.* (I. 53-54) refers to the Muppina-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar of the "Armais (I. 16, 95) as Muduka-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, "Muppina" and "Muduka" (lit. old) being synonymous with each other. According to the former manuscript (I. 53-54, II. 55, compared), Muppina-Dêvarâja had two wives, Hiriamma (Dêvâjamma) and Kiriamma (Kempamma). By the first, he had a son by name Yeleyùr Dêparâja Woḍeyar, who saved Râja Woḍeyar's life from the hands of the assassin Singappa Woḍeyar in 1607 (*vide* Ch. V), but of whom, however, little is known during the subsequent period. By his second wife, Muppina-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar had four sons, Doḍḍadêvarâja Woḍeyar (*b. Durmati, Phâlgunā ba. 3, Monday: February 18, 1622*), Kempadêvarâja Woḍeyar (*b. Prabhava, Jyêṣṭha ba. 5, Friday: May 25, 1627*), Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar and Maridêvarâja Woḍeyar, the last-mentioned being further referred to as the youngest of the four (*yivarellarigû kiriyavaru*) (see also Table IV). All these four sons of Muppina-Dêvarâja are found referred to in the earlier and contemporary sources (*vide* Tables II-III; also Ch. X), but the only difference lies in the order of precedence followed, Kempadêvarâja Woḍeyar and Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar being mentioned in the manuscript as the second and third sons respectively of Muppina-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, whereas in the former sources Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar is invariably spoken of as the second, and Kempadêvarâja Woḍeyar as the third son of his. We make use of the genealogical data of the *Mys. Dho. Pur̃.*, subject to correction in the light of earlier documents, the order of precedence followed therein being preferred.

(2) ON THE USUBPATION AND FALL OF
DALAVI VIKRAMA-RAYA.

The following is a summary of the traditional account of the usurpation and fall of Dalavai Vikrama-Râya, as narrated in the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I. 45-51, II. 55 compared) : On October 11, 1638 (*Bahudhânya, Âsvija eu.* 14), three days after the death of Immadi-Râja Wodeyar, Kanthirava-Narasarâja Wodeyar proceeded from Nallûr to Mysore, with a view to being installed ; and took up his residence at the local gymnasium (*garadi-mane*). On the 19th (*Âsvija ba.* 7), however, Dalavai Vikrama-Râya left Seringapatam on a tour in the State, leaving ten servants in the personal service of Kanthirava. He returned to the capital about a month later, i.e., on November 17 (*Kâtika ba.* 7). To Kanthirava this was a trying situation, since Vikrama-Râya was caring for his own ends. Two of Kanthirava's faithful attendants, namely, Sunnada-Râma and Mahanta, pointed out to him that Vikrama-Râya had killed by poison the preceding ruler Immadi-Râja Wodeyar, and that, intent on securing power for himself, he was bestowing offices on his own men. They sought also Kanthirava's permission to put an end to the usurper. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Bangapataiya, an adherent of Vikrama-Râya, having caught scent of these deliberations, advised him, on his return from the tour, to proceed to Mysore some time later. Vikrama-Râya, feigning, for all outward purposes, to be loyal, went thither forthwith and showed himself up to Kanthirava. After an interview he retired to his residence. About **two** hours later, on the night of the same day, Vikrama-Râya went to the backyard of his residence attended by a torch-bearer, to answer the calls of nature. It was a dark night. As previously arranged, the two attendants of Kanthirava (namely, Sunnada-Rama and Mahanta)

descended the parapet wall of the backyard and fell upon the torch-bearer putting out the light. Sunnada-Râma, the first attendant, then stood in front of Vikrama-Râya. "Who is it?" asked he. "Sunnada-Râma," was the reply. "Ah! I am undone by this wretch." So saying, Vikrama-Râya flung a goblet at him. Evading the blow, Suçñada-Râma engaged Vikrama-Râyà in a hand-to-hand fight, in the course of which the former went down and was being almost overpowered by the latter. At this juncture, Suçñada-Râma whispered to the Mahant (the other attendant): "Are you ready?" "Are you up or down?" asked the Mahant. "Down," was the reply. At this, the Mahant thrust himself at Vikrama-Râya and made short work of him. On November 22 (*Kârtika ba.* 12, Thursday), Kañthîrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar succeeded to the throne of Mysore and he proceeded to Seringapatam on December 8 following (*Mârgaêira eu.* 12, Monday. The week-day was, however, actually Saturday).

Curiously enough, the manuscript is silent as to what happened during the period of fifteen days intervening between the alleged assassination of Vikrama-Râya and Kañthîrava's first visit to Seringapatam after his installation. There is an air of suspicion and loose séquence of events in that part of the narrative relating to the assassination of Vikrama-Râya and subséquent détails. Compare Wilks (I. 58-59) who closely follows the account as detailed in the manuscript, and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 290) who adopts Wilks in the main.

(3) OK THE *Muhammad-Nâmâh* AS AN AUTHORITY
ON THE SIÈGE OF SERINGAPATAM (1639).

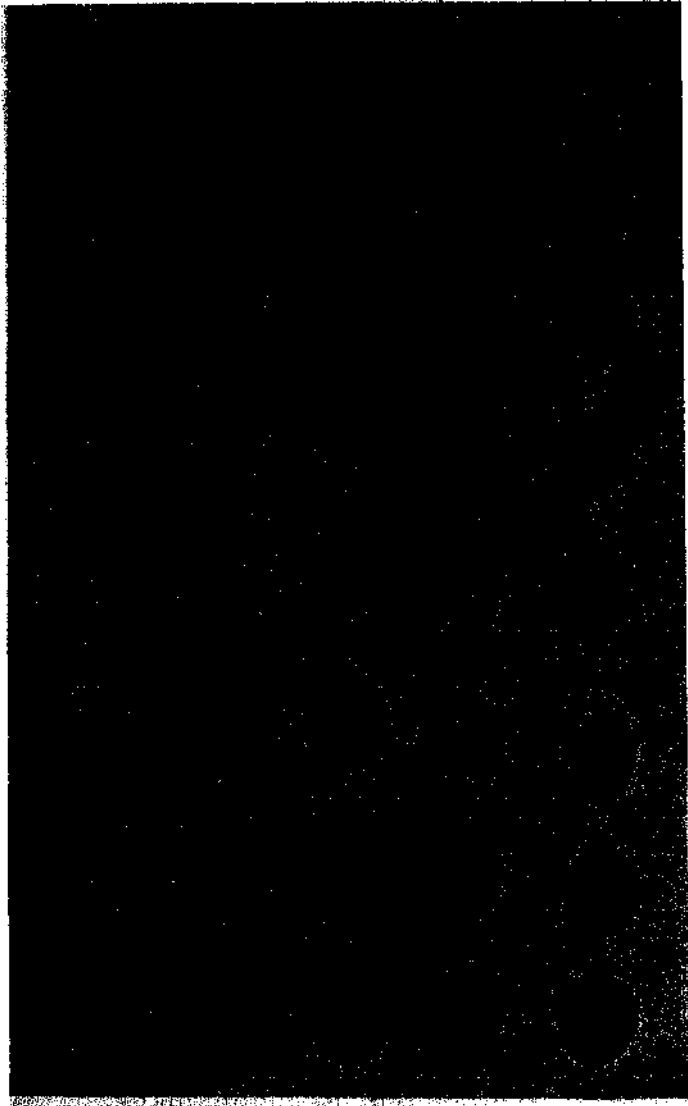
According to the *Muhammad-Nâmâh*¹ (pp. 170-171), a contemporary official history in Persian by Zahur bin

1. Quoted by J. Sarkar in his article, *A Page from Early Mysore History*, in the *M. B.*, November 1929, pp. 601-502. See also his article, *Shahji Bhomle in Mysore*, in *Ibid.*, July 1929, p. 9, briefly touching on the subject.

Zahuri, the siège of Seringapatam (*Srirangapatān*) took place in 1639: "Randaula Khan (who had lately been given the title of Kustam-i-Zaman) lefi Shahji Bhonsle in charge of the recently conquered fort of Bangalore and marched from that place in order to punish the Rajah of Srirangapatān, who was inordinately proud (or refractory) When he arrived near the fort of Srirangapatān, his troops began to fight and encircled the fort. After fighting and exertion on both sides had been protracted for nearly a month, the Eajah sent his envoy to Rustam Khan, saying * Please leave the fort of Srirangapatān to me, as you hâve done to other (Rajahs) cherished on the sait of the August State [Bijapuri Government], and lay before the throne the five lakhs of *hun* in cash and présents of various kinds which I am offering.' Rustam-i-Zaman, at this submission of the Rajah, reassured him with promises of Adil Shah's favour, and seeing that the rainy season was near, he left Qazi Sa'id there with Kenge Nayak to take delivery of the indemnity agreed upon and himself returned to Court The Qazi, on getting the money promised by the Rajah of Srirangapatān, started for the Adilshahi capital. Kenge Nayak rebelled."

The référéncé in this version to the "Rajah of Srirangapatān" is to Kanṭhirava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar I of Mysore. The account on the Mysore side, as we hâve seen (*vide* Ch. VIII), is marked by definite chronological data and by fuller local détails relating to the siège of Seringapatam and is corroborated by more than one particular source of information. The *Muhammad-Nāmâh*, on the other hand, though it has the merit of being contemporary, is relatively vague in regard to chronology, cause of action, and détails of the campaign.²

². See also S. K. Aiyangar's criticism of the Persian sources on the Bijâpur invasion of Mysore, in his article, *The Bise of the Maratha Power in the South*, in the *J. I. H.* Vol. IX, p. 204.



COINS OF THE EARLY RULERS OF MYSORE.

Its version seems to be based on reports compiled at a place remote from the scène of action and is, further, not corroborated by independent évidence so far. If we are to take literally the "submission of the Bajah," referred to, it is very much to be doubted whether Kanṭhīrava, after the crushing defeat he seems to have inflicted on Raṇadullâ Khàn, would have ever countenanced the idea of sending an envoy to the latter and offer him cash and présents in token of his submission. The contradiction is thus obvious. The submission may not have been an actual fact, although from an examination of ail the available materials it seems probable that Raṇadullâ Khàn ultimately raised the siège of Seringapatam and retired to Bijâpur after the conclusion of a truce with Kanṭhīrava, and after having effected a mutually valuable settlement for the future safety of the Bijâpur possessions in Mysore. Such a settlement seems to have been readily acquiesced in by Kanṭhīrava in view of the prospective benefits assured to him under the truce (see *Ibid*, for détails).

(4) KANṬHĪRAVĀ'S GOINAGE.

Of the coins of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar I we have lately an account by Dr. M. H. Krishna in the *M. A. R.* (1929, pp. 31-32). The available type of *Kanṭhīrâyi-hanaṃ* issued by Kanṭhīrava is familiarly known as *Agala-Kanṭhīrâyi-hana*. (*Agala*, lit. broad) as distinguished from the well-known *Ġidda-Kanṭhīrâyi-hcṃa* (*Ġidda*, lit. small) issued by Dewân Pûrṇaiya in the nineteenth century. It is a gold coin and one variety of the type is of 2'5"(?) size with a weight of 5.2 grains, having on the obverse "the figure of four-armed Narasimha seated to the front holding conch and discus" and on the reverse "a three-line Nâgari legend, with inter-linear double rules, probably standing for

1. *Sri*

2. *Kamthi*

8. *rava*(PL. IX. 29)."

Another variety of the *Agala-Kaṅṭhīrāyi* type has also been traced with a similar obverse but on the reverse are to be seen some dots which Dr. Krishna interprets as "three-line legend uncertain, with similar raies (PL. IX. 30)." These dots may, perhaps, be taken to represent the constellation under which Kaṅṭhīrava was born or the coin issued at first (*vide* article on *Two Centuries of Woḍeyar Bule in Mysore*, in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 464, f.n. 112). The former position, in particular, appears to find some support from the specific mention of *Svāti* as the birth-star of Kaṅṭhīrava, in a lithic inscription of his referring to the striking of coins by him [see *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) *Ag.* 64 (1647); also Ch. VIII, f.n. 5].

Dr. Krishna describes next what he calls "an interesting *half-varaha*" from the *Bangalore Muséum Collection*, said to have also been issued by Kaṅṭhīrava. It is a gold coin 4" in size with a weight of 26 grains, having on the obverse the usual "four-armed Narasimha holding conch and discus, seated to front on dais with Lakshmi on his left lap" and on the reverse "the three-line Nāgari legend

1. *Srī Kam (thi)*
2. *(ra) va Nara,*
3. *(sa) rāja* (PL. IX. 27-28),"

a type which, as he observes, "closely follows the Vijayanagar model in respect of its weight, in the presence of a god on the obverse and in the use of *Nāgari* for the three-line legend on the reverse." There seems no doubt about the issue of *varahas* by Kaṅṭhīrava, since their use in Mysore is evidenced by inscriptions and other sources also (17th-18th cent.).

As regards the copper coins, Dr. Krishna writes: "No distinctive copper coins of Narasarāja are **known**. But

among the copper coins of the chequered reverse type described under the provincial coins of Vijayanagar is a variety with a lion facing and seated on its haunches, which may as well have been issued by Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja." That Kaṅṭhīrava issued also the éléphant type of copper coins (*Āne-Kasu*) appears warranted by the circumstance that he was victorious over the chiefs of Koḍagu, Kongu and other places, and acquired rich spoils in the form of éléphants, which were stabled in the capital city of Seringapatam (see Ch. IX). Possibly the éléphant type was issued by him in commémoration of the victory. The obverse of this type contains the figure of an éléphant while the reverse is chequered (*vide* also article in the *Q. J. M. S.*, above cited, pp. 464-465, f.n. 114).

ÂPPENDIX V.

(1) ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUCCESSOR OF KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA WOḌEYAB I IN LATER WRITINGS AND MODERN WORKS.

There has been much confusion and loose thought in later writings—especially the secondary works—regarding the identification of Dêvarâja Woḍeyar, the actual successor of Kanṭhîrava-Narasarâja Woḍeyar I. He is generally referred to in these sources as *Doḍḍa-Dêvarâja Wodeyar*, either by way of distinguishing hira from his successor Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar or by way of making him identical with *Doḍḍadêvarâja Woḍeyar*, father of Chikkadêvarâja, or both.¹ The earliest authority evidencing this method of identification is the *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (c. 1710-1714), according to which Kempadêvarâja Woḍeyar, younger brother of Doḍḍadêvarâja Woḍeyar, actually succeeded Kanṭhîrava I in August 1659 under the name Dêvarâja Woḍeyaraiya (Dêvarâja Woḍeyar), and later came to be known as Doḍḍa-Dêvarâja Woḍeyaraiya (Doḍḍa-Dêvarâja Woḍeyar), especially in and after the reign of his nephew Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar (II. 23, 25, 30, etc). The *Mys. Nag. Pur.* (c. 1734-1740), however, speaks of the successor of Kanṭhîrava only under his original name Dêvarâja Woḍeyaraiya (Dêvarâja Wodeyar) (p. 29). The *Mys. Râj. Gha.* (c. 1800) mentions him as Dodda-Dêvarâja Wodeyar (p. 25). The *K. A. V.* (c. 1830) refers to him as "Doḍḍa-Dêvarâja

1. *Dodda-Dêvardja* stands for the prefix by which the name of Dêvarâja Wodeyar (Kempadêvarâja Wodeyar), third son of Muppina-Dêvarâja and successor of Kanṭhîrava I, is generally found mentioned in later writings. *Doḍḍadêvarâja* was the actual name of his elder brother, i.e. the eldest son of Muppina-Dêvarâja and father of Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar (1678-1704) [vide Ohs. VIII-X; Appendix IV—(1), V—(2); and Tables II-IV]. This distinction in spelling is sought to be maintained in this work, from the point of view of clarity,

Wodeyaraiyanavaru of Mysûru-nagara " (ff. 15). Dēva-chandra, in the *Rāj. Kath.* (1838), speaks of the succession of Dēvarāya (younger brother of Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja) after the death of Kanṭhīrava, and states that he became subsequently known as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāya (*Doḍḍa-Dēvarāyanenisida Dēvarāyam*) (XII. 475-476). A later copy of a paper *sanad* in the possession of the Lingāyat Guru of the *math* at Hangaja (M. A. R., 1930, No. 24, pp. 161-163), originally dated in 1663, refers to " Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Wodeyaraiyanavaru " (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Wodeyar), the latter being identical with Dēvarāja Wodeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Wodeyar), referred to in a still earlier copy (c. 1800) of the same from the *Mackenzie Collection* (Ms. No. 19-1-52, p. 13). Among other compilations, the *Bettadakôte-Kaifiyat* and the *Mysûru Dhoregala-Vamêa-Pârampare» Kaifiyat* (c. 1800-1804) assume the successor of Kanṭhīrava to be Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja, father and brother respectively of Chikkadēvarāja according to them (p. 86 ; ff. 12). The *Annals* (first compiled, 1864-1865) refers to the adoption by Kanṭhīrava of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as heir to succeed him, but subsequently assumes him to be identical with Doḍḍa-dēvarāja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (1.93,95-103).

Relying mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, Wilks, among modern writers, refers to " Kemp Devaia " (Kempadēvaiya) as the successor of Kanṭhīrava, and identifies him as " Dud Deo Raj " (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja) (I. 68, and f.n.). He further tells us that " Dud Deo Raj " was selected as the fourth or last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja (" Muppina Deo Raj ") " to the exclusion of the three elder brothers, and their mâle issue," that " Dud Devaia " (Doḍḍadēvaiya or Doḍḍadēvarāja), the eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, " was an old man," that his (Doḍḍadēvaiya's) son Chikkadēvarāja was of the "same âge" as his younger brother (" Dud Deo Raj "), i.e., thirty-two,

and that "Chick Deo Raj with his father were kept as prisoners at Turkanamby" (Terakaṅāmbi) during the reign of Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja (I. l.c.; also 105). These statements are neither borne out by the original manuscript itself, examined by us, nor corroborated by authentic sources so far [see Appendix V—(2), and compare authorities in Ch. X, f.n. 186], Eice generally follows Wilks's position (*Mys. Gaz.*, I. 365; *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 128), though in the *Introduction* to *E. G.*, III (1) he merely indicates the identity of Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja with Dēvarāja, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja (see f.n. 2 to the Table on p. 33), and in *E. C.*, IV (2) he mentions him as "(Doḍḍa) Dēva-Rāja" (see *Introduction*, p. 31). S. K. Aiyangar, in the light of the *Annals*, works of Tirumalārya and certain inscriptions of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, attempts to identify Kempadēvaiya, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as the ruler in succession to Kaṅṭhīrava, and maintains that he "became Dod Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore" [*Ancient India*, pp. 295-296, 313; see also Appendix V—(2), f.n. 1 below, for a critical notice of S. K. Aiyangar's interprétation of Tirumalārya's works in regard to the succession question]. R. Sewell, in assigning a number of inscriptions from the *E. C.* and other collections to Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, maintains that Doḍḍadēvarāja, and not his brother *Kempadēvaiya*, succeeded after Kaṅṭhīrava's death in 1659 (see *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 282-285); but his position is hardly borne out by the internai évidence of the documents themselves, referred to by him. In the *Mys. Gaz.*, New édition (II. iv. 2441), Wilks's position is generally adhered to. An article entitled *Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore* (by N. Subba Eao, in* the *H. Y. J. M. U.* Vol. III, No. 1, Reprint) attempts an examination of the succession question in support of the position that Dēvarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, was the actual ruler of

Mysore in succession to Kaṅṭhīrava, between 1659-1673. It has now become possible to reconstruct the entire position relating to the identity, relationship, détails of the reign, etc., of this Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with référence to the évidence of contemporary sources of information, making use of the later writings (especially the *Mys. Dho. Pūr., Annals*, etc.) subject to comparison, correction and corroboration wherever necessary (*vide* text of Ch. X).

(2) ON THE POSITION OF TIRUMALĀRYA REGARDING
THE SUCCESSOR OF KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA
WODEYAR I.

After dealing with the reign of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, Tirumalārya, in his works (*G. Vam.* and *G. Vi.*), writes of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), making it appear as though he ruled in succession to Kanṭhīrava. He starts with a picture of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar ruling for some time in the city of Mysore, of his paying a visit to Mēlkōṭe, then reaching Seringapatam in the course of his return journey (*payanagatiyol Srīrangapattanamam sārdu*) and subsequently (*i.e.*, just before and after the birth of his son Chikkadēvarāja) ruling from there seated on the jewelled throne (*Doḍḍadēva mahārḍyam Éri-rangapattāṇa. rājadhāniyōl. ratna-simhāsanārūḍhanāgi sāmraḷyam geyyuttire*). He next speaks of Doḍḍadēvarāja as having made up his mind, in accordance with the family précèdent as he is made to say, to proceed on a pilgrimage and perform penance (*tīrthayātrādi tapassāmraḷyama-nanubhavipem*), after relieving himself of his burden by arranging for the succesion in chief (*piriyarasutana*) of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvaiya), the second younger brother of his (the first one Chikkadēvaiyarsa or Chikkadēvarāja having predeceased Doḍḍadēva), and making his own eldest son Chikkadēvarāja a junior prince under Dēvarāja

(*kiriyaramtanamam Kumâra Chikkadêvarayanga marisi*). He further speaks of how Doddadêvarâja Wodeyar, having installed and suitably advised Kempadêvaiya, and having placed his own sons (Chikkadêvarâja and Kaṅṭhîravaiya) and his last brother (Mariyadêvaiya or Maridêvarâja) under his (Kempadêvaiya's) care and protection, proceeded to the banks of the Kaurîḍinî in the south, and how he eventually passed away there after performing penance for a long time (*palavum kâlam tapam geydu*) (*G. Vam.*, 37-48, 89-160, 160-185, 185-188; C., III, III, also IV, 170-180).

In examining the above position of Tirumalârya, it is to be remembered that he wrote as a poet after the death of Doddadêvarâja and during the reign of the latter's son Chikkadêvarâja (1673-1704), with whom he was intimately connected as his co-student and companion. Tirumalârya's primary object, as is obvious from the texts, was to glorify the birth, and anticipate the eventual succession, of his hero Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar and, incidentally, to hallow and exalt Chikkadêva's father (Doḍḍadêva) as an idéal ruler. There is thus full scope in this portion of his works for the free play of imagination on his part. Chronologically, therefore, it is inconceivable how Doḍḍadêvarâja Wodeyar could have been ruling independently from Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne, before and after the birth of Chikkadêvarâja as is depicted, for we learn from the texts themselves that the latter was born in 1645 (*Pârthiva*) (*Ibidy* 166; *Ibid*, IV, 51), and it is well known that the actual ruler of Mysore in Seringapatam between 1638-1659 was Kanthîrava-Narasarâja Wodeyar I. Doddadêvarâja was, accordingly, a contemporary of Kaṅṭhîrava-Karasa, and could not have been more than a prominent member of the Mysore Royal Family holding charge of the city of Mysore and for some time residing in Seringapatam, and possibly ruling jointly with

Kaṅthîrava from about 1644 onwards. It would then follow that it was his charge of the city of Mysore, and not Seringapatam, which he had renounced by 1659 in favour of his second brother Kempadêvaiya after arranging for the care and protection of his last surviving brother Maridêvarâja and his own two minor sons Chikkadêvarâja and Kaṅthîravaiya. Indeed it would appear from the texts (C. *Vam.*, 187-188, 190; C. *Vi.* IV, 170, V, 3) that there was a hiatus of time between this act of Doḍḍadêvarâja and the actual succession of Dêvarâja to the throne of Seringapatam after the death of Kaṅthîrava (in July 1659). Doḍḍadêvarâja was born on February 18, 1622 [see Appendix IV—(1)]. His renunciation at a comparatively early âge of 37 or so was, perhaps, due as much to domestic affliction caused by the prématuré death of his first younger brother (Chikkadêvaiya or Chikkadêvarâja) as to family précèdent. Unless therefore Tirumalârya is understood and appraised on this footing, it would be uncritical to accept him literally as a poet.¹ For further détails about Doḍḍadêvarâja, see under *Domestic life* in Chs. IX-X.

1. Cf. *Ancient India* (p. 295), where S. K. Aiyatogar, accepting literally Tirumalârya, writes: "Tirumala Aiyangar himself makes Deḅa Bâja succeed nominally only, while Kempa-Dêviah, his third brother, was carrying on the administration in fact. The truth appears to be that Kempa-Dêviah, the third son, was the successor ruling for a short time in the name of his eldest brother who must have been old and then in his own name, on condition that the said brother should succeed him/' This interprétation, however, is neither in keeping with the internal évidence of the texts nor does it take sufficiently into account Tirumalârya's position as a poet. Of also the *Note* in the *O, Vam.* (p. 5), where Mr. M. A. Srinivasachar asserts that Doddadêvarâja, elder son of [Muppina] Dêvarâja, succeeded Kaṅthîrava 1

APPENDIX VI.

(1) ON THE DATE OF THE MAHRATTA INVASION OF SERINGAPATAM.

Wilks (I. 114-116, f. n.) speaks of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam during the reign of Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar as having taken place in 1696, on the following grounds. Firstly, the memoirs of the Daḷavâis which have few dates, place the invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore (1687) ; secondly, Pûrçaiya's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, mentions it after the western conquests from Bednûr (1690-1695) ; thirdly, the manuscripts are agreed that the Mysore army was at the time before Trichinopoly ; and lastly, according to a letter from *Fort St. George*, Madras, dated January 19, 1697, the Mahrattas were in the Mysore country in 1696 and Nawâb Zûlfikar Khân (the Mughal gênerai) had gone thither—whether to join or fight them—and left a very small part of his army in those parts.

As against this position of Wilks, the trend of évidence now available—noticed in détail in Ch. XI and f. n. thereto—is as follows; The earliest record extant, referring to and echoing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (under Dâdaji, Jaitaji and Nimbâji) and its repulse by Chikkadêvarâja Woḍeyar, is the *Seringapatam Temple Copper-plate grant*, dated November 19, 1686. The chronicles are agreed that Kumâraiya was the Daḷavâi of Mysore only up to May 26, 1682, when he was succeeded by his nephew Doddaiya (1682-1690). From the Jesuit letter (1682) and the letter to *Fort St. George* (1682), it would be obvious that Dajavâi Kumâraiya was with the Mysore army before Trichinopoly in **1682** when he was being harassed by the Mahrattas there. **In keeping with this position, it was in 1682 that**

a major portion of the Mysore army was, according to one source (see Ch. XI), diverted from the siège of Trichinopoly and marched on under Doḍḍaiya to fight the Mahrattas near Seringapatara. Again, Yīrarāja of Kajale, in his *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitâ-Sârârṇava* (c. 1714-1720) and *Āndhra-Vachana-Bhâratamu—Sabhâ-Parvamu* (1731), alludes to the exploits of his father Dalavâi Doḍḍaiya against the Mahrattas under Dâdaji, Jaitaji, Nimbâji and others during the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar. The Mahratta gēnerais, referred to in thèse and other sources, were contemporaries and belonged to the army of êivâji and Sambhâji; and they carried on their warlike activities in Southern India and Mysore during c. 1680-1682, i.e., shortly after the death of Sivâji.

In the light of ail thèse data, the manuscripts inentioned by Wilks—later compilations as they are—do not seem to hâve been quite correct in placing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and Dalavâi Kumâraiya's siège of Trichinopoly in the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. As regards the *Fort St. George* letter dated 1697, cited by Wilks, it is to be understood to refer only to the Mahratta disturbances in Southern India and parts of the Mysore country, under Sântaji, Dhanaji and other leaders, during Aurangzib's prolongea siège of Gingee (1691-1698) [see J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, V. 122-130]. It has absolutely no bearing on the Mahratta invasion of Mysore under earlier gēnerais like Dâdaji, Jaitaji and Nimbâji. Accordingly, the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam could not hâve taken place later than April 1682, the last year of Kumâraiya's period of office as Dalavâi of Mysore. Wilks's date 1696 is too late a date for the event and cannot be accepted.¹

1. Wilks's date is followed in the *Mus. Gaz.* (Old édition), 1.868, (New édition) IV. ii. 2447; and in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 207. The last-mentioned work (I.o.) even speaks of the successful repulse of the Mysore army by **Mangammal** (the dowager-queen of Chokkanfitha Nâyaka of Madura), for which there is no évidence. The *Editorial Introduction* (p. vi) to the *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.* assigns the event to 1691, which, however, is not borne out by the materials on record.

(2) CHIKKADEVARAJA'S COINAGE.

In the *M. A. B.* (1929, pp. 32-33), Dr. M. H. Krishna attributes two types of coins to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, which he describes as follows :—

" No coins are known which can be definitely attributed to the successors of Narasarāja until we come to the reign of Chikkadēvarāja. Elliot long ago published a coin, regarding the authorship of which he was doubtful.

Type: Krishna.

Gold : Size 4", weight 52.7 grains.

Obverse : Under ornamental arch baby Krishna dancing, wearing girdle of jingles and holding a lump of butter in his right hand, while the left is outstretched. Near his feet is a curved line with a three-prolonged head which is either the petals of a lotus or the hoods of a cobra. In the latter case, the image would be that of *Kālīṅga-mardana* and in the former, of *Navanīta-nrīta-Krishna*.

Reverse : Three-line Nāgari legend with single intervening raies :

1. *Sri Chi*
2. *Ka de va.*
3. *rāja*

[PL . IX . 31 .]

A *half-varaha* weighing 25.7 grains has been published by Elliot (No. 107) and another exists in the Bangalore Muséum Collection. It is exactly similar to the above *varaha*, but the legend appears to be slightly différent (PL . IX . 32).

Chikkadēvarāja altered the old Mysore type both on the *obverse* and on the *reverse* but he kept up the old weight standard.

The Kannada Numéral type.—Large numbers of coins are found near Mysore having a chequered pattern on the reverse with meaningless symbols in the inter-spaces **and** bearing on the obverse a bordering circle of dots in

the centre of which is a Kannaḍa numéral. Thèse numbers range generally from one to thirty-one and there can be little doubt that they belong to some Mysore king. As all the yarietàies are of nearly the same weight and size, it is clear that the numbers do not indicate their value. The only possible explanation would perhaps be that the numbers stand for the régnai years of issue. Who then was the Mysore king who reigned for 31 years? It has been suggested that the coins could be attributed to Doḍḍa Krishṇarâja who reigned between 1713 and 1731. But it may be noted hère that the Mysore king who reigned for 31 years and died in the 32nd year was Chikkadêvarâja who reigned from 1672 to 1704. It may also be noted that it was in the reign of Chikkadêvarâja that Mughal influence was very strong at Mysore leading to a political alliance between Chikkadêvarâja and Aurangzïband the introduction into Mysore of the Mughal System of administration. It is possible that the famous Prime Minister of Mysore at this time, the Jaina Viéâlâksha-Pai^ḍita, might hâve introduced the System of minting the régnai years on the copper coins, to commemorate the accession to the throne of his friend and pupil Chikkadêvarâja. However, the attribution cannot be beyond doubt as no corroborative évidence has yet been available. On the other hand, a fact which somewhat disturbs this conclusion is found in the existence of a smaller coin in the collection of this department, with chequered reverse bearing on the obverse the numéral 40. Jackson mentions types with the numerals 31 and 32. The other numbers after 31 are not to be seen anywhere now. We can only assume that the reckoning introduced by Chikkadêvarâja was possibly continued by his successors."

As regards the *Krishṇa* type referred to above, there is little doubt that Chikkadêvarâja Wodeyar himself issued it, since his name appears clearly mentioned on its

reverse. But it seems certain that the figure on the obverse is that of Krishjia represented in the dancing posture on the hoods of a cobra (*Kâlinga-mardana*), for it symbolises Chikkadēvarāja's sports over his enemies, and the coin itself was actually known as *Tâṇḍava-Krishna-Mûrti-Dēva-Râya* (vide under *Goinage and Currency* in Ch. XII). In regard to the *Kannaḍa Numéral type*, there is no évidence in favour of the view that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar could hâve issued it, nor in support of the position that the 32, or 31, numerals represent the period of Chikkadēvarāja's rule. The possibility of Visâlāksha-Pandit having under the Mughal influence minted "the régnai years on the copper coins, to commemorate the accession to the throne" of Chikkadēvarāja, appears untenable because Mughal influence at the court of Mysore is discernible only during the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, i.e., c. 1700-1704, long after Visâlāksha-Paçdit's death (1686). The copper coins may as well hâve been issued by Krishnarâja Wodeyar II who also ruled for 32 years (1734-1766). Àgain, since the latest available numéral figure is 40, the numerals may merely indicate the number of times the coin was minted during some period in the history of Mysore when copper coins were in great demand.

(3) ON THE ÀUTHORSHIP OF THE *Chikkadēvendra-Vaméâvali*.

The *Chikkadēvendra-Vaméâvali*, as distinct from the *Chikkadēvarâya-Vamsâvali* of Tirumalârya, is, as it has come down to us, conspicuous by the absence of the name of its author. It is a *champu* in 137 verses, occasionally interspersed by prose passages (*vachana*). The Editors of the *Karṇâṭaka-Kâvyâ Kalânidhi Séries*, when they first published the work in 1901, referred to it as an anonymous one (see *Introduction*). Subsequently, however, the author of the *Karṇaka-*

Kavi-Charite (IL 506-507), on the authority of a manuscript of the poem from the Madras Oriental Mss. Library, attempted to assign its authorship to one Vēṅugōpāla-Varaprasāda, without citing the relevant text. He was, at the same time, inclined to doubt if Timma-Kavi could not have written the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamēāvali*, on grounds of the latter's références to God êri-Vēṅugōpāla in his own works and the occurrence in the poem of some verses from his *Yādavagiri-Mâhâtmya* (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 507). But he refrained from deciding the point in favour of Timma-Kavi, in the spécifie absence of the name of the author of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamēāvali*.

The manuscript of the work above referred to, now examined by us (No. 18-18-4, ff. 1-25—*P.L.* ; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), agrées in the main with the published text, ending only, however, with a passage as follows: *Srīmad Vēṅugōpālana vara-prasādēna kṛta Chigadēvarāya-Mahârâyara-Vamēāvalige éōbhana mastu*. This passage merely indicates the conclusion of the work entitled *Chikkadēva-Mahârâyara-Vamsāvali* (a colloquial form of *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvali*), written under the favour or bénédiction of God Sri-Vēṅugōpāla. Obviously the author was a de votée of that God. The ascription of the work to a person of the name of Vēṅugōpāla-Varaprasāda, as has been done in the *Karnâta-Kavi-Charite*, becomes accordingly meaningless—a position due evidently to a misreading of the relevant passage in question, *i.e.*, *Vēṅugōpāla-varaprasādēna* for *Vēṅugōpālana varaprasādēna*. This apart, a detailed examination of the text, side by side with the works of Timma-Kavi, would enable us to regard the latter alone as the probable author of it (*i.e.* *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvali*), on the following grounds: Firstly, Timma-Kavi directly refers to himself both *in im Yādavagiri-Mâhâtmya* (I, 21) and *Paschimmmga-Mâhâtmya* (I, 11)

as a devotee of God Sri-Vēnugôpâla, which tallies with the statement of the manuscript of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsâvali* that its author was one who wrote by the favour of that Deity. Secondly, in the *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya* (I, 26), Timma-Kavi refers to Gôpâla as his preceptor (*guru*), in almost the same language and spirit as he does in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Varnsâvali* (vv. 10 and 56). Thirdly, the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsâvali* evidences a free borrowing of a large number of verses and prose passages from the *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya* [compare, for instance, vv. 10, 79-87, 89-90, 88, 91-105, 107-108, 110-111, 113-117, 118, 119-134, and prose passages on pp. 26-30 (after v. 134), of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, with I, 26, II, 26-34, 35-37, 38-52, 53-63, 64-81, and III, 3 (including prose passages after II, 81), of the *Yâd.-Mâhât*]. Perhaps the only arguments militating against the above, would be : some of the verses in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsâvali*—particularly verses 1 to 9 and 11 to 78—are not to be seen in the *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya* ; and even the verses borrowed from the latter work are found composed in a modified and highly polished style in the former. But the weight of internal evidence would only tend to support the view that Timma-Kavi was at full liberty to enlarge upon, and write in an improved style, the subject-matter of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsâvali*, this being by far the most important portion of his *Yâdavagiri-Mâhâtmya* testifying to his abilities and skill as a poet.

(4) WHAT IS TRADITION?

Some years ago, a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, writing on the value of oral tradition in history, remarked that the study of tradition was still worth much inasmuch as it afforded dues for tracing missing links in the life-history of a king or even of a country. In India, tradition has had considerable vogue, as much

vogue, in fact, as in the several countries of Europe, whose earlier history is largely shrouded in mystery. In using and in interpreting tradition, modern critics, however, have adopted a new mode of approach. The modern school may be said to be represented by Lord Raglan who, delivering his address as Président of the Anthropological Section, at the meeting of the British Association held at Leicester in September 1933, developed the theory propounded by it in a manner which bears *répétition hère*.¹ Though his illustrations are drawn from English History, there is no doubt that his reasoning is capable of a wider application in the historical field, He said :—

" Those writers who have tried to establish the historicity of tradition have invariably, so far as I can learn, adopted the method of taking some period the history of which is totally unknown, examining the traditions which they assume to belong to that period, striking out all miraculous or otherwise improbable incidents, and then dilating upon the verisimilitude of the residue. I shall follow a totally different method. I shall take a period the history of which is known, the feudal age in England, and see what tradition has had to say about that. According to the usually accepted theories, outstanding personalities in the history of a country never fail to leave their mark on tradition. Now, who were the outstanding personalities of the period in question? No one, I suppose, will object to the inclusion of William the Conqueror and Edward I. The Norman conquest in one case and the conquest by Simon de Montfort of Wales and Scotland in the other, cannot have failed to create a tremendous impression at the time, and this impression, according to the theory which has been repeatedly applied to the Iliad, for

1. See also Lord Raglan's latest work on the subject, *The Hero--A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama* (Methuen & Co., London, 1936).

example, should have perpetuated itself in tradition. Yet what traditions do we find? Of William the Conqueror, that he fell on landing, and that he destroyed a number of towns and villages to make the New Forest. Of Edward I, that his life was saved by his queen, and that he created his newly-born son Prince of Wales. All these traditions are completely devoid of historical foundation. Of the real achievements of these two great monarchs tradition had nothing to say whatever.

" Similarly the only traditions of Henry II and Richard I are the fabulous tales of Queen Eleanor and Fair Bosamond, and of Blondel outside the castle.

" With the traditional accounts of Henry V, those that have been made famous by Shakespeare, I shall deal at greater length. They tell us that he spent his youth in drinking debauchery, in and about London, in company with highwaymen, pickpockets and other disreputable persons; that he was imprisoned by Chief Justice Gascoigne, whom after his succession he pardoned and continued in office; and that on his accession his character, or at any rate his conduct, changed suddenly and completely. The authorities for these stories are Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governor* (1531) and Edward Hall's *Union of the Noble and Illustrious Houses of Lancaster and York* (1542). These two highly respectable authors seem to have relied largely on matters already in print, some of it dating within fifty years of Henry V's death. I know no argument for the historicity of any traditional narrative which cannot be applied to these stories, yet there is not a word of truth in any of them.

" The facts are these. In 1400, at the age of thirteen, Henry became his father's representative in Wales, made his head-quarters at Chester, and spent the next seven years in almost continuous warfare with Owen Glendower and his allies. In 1407 he led a successful invasion

of Scotland. In 1408 he was employed as Warden of the Cinque Ports, and at Calais. In the following year, owing to his father's illness, he became régent and continued as such until 1412. During this period his character as a ruler was marred only by his religious bigotry, and what seems to be the only authentic anecdote of the time describes the part he played at the burning of John Badby the Lollard. In 1412 an attempt was made to induce Henry IV, whose ill-health continued to unfit him for his duties, to abdicate, but his refusal to do so, together with differences on foreign policy, led to the withdrawal of the future Henry V from court, probably to Wales, till his father's death a year later. He did not re-appoint Sir William Gascoigne as Chief Justice, and there is no truth in the story that the latter committed him to prison.

" These facts are drawn from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which sums up the question by saying that ' his youth was spent on the battlefield and in the Council chamber, and the popular tradition (immortalised by Shakespeare) of his riotous and dissolute conduct is not supported by contemporary authority.' According to Sir Charles Oman, ' his wife was sober and orderly . . . He was grave and earnest in speech, courteous in ail his dealings, and an enemy of flatterers and favourites. His sincère piety bordered on asceticism.'

" Even had there been no contemporary records of the youth of Henry V, there are points in the accounts adopted by Shakespeare which might lead the sober critic to doubt its veracity. The first is that it would be, to say the least, surprising that a man should be an idle and dissolute scapegrace one day, and the first soldier and statesman of his âge the next. The second is that the stories belong to an ancient and widespread class of folk-tales. Had, however, our critic ventured to express his doubts, with what scorn would he not hâve

been assailed by believers in the historicity of tradition ! * Hère/ they would hâve said, 'is an impudent fellow who prétends to know more about the fifteenth century than those who lived in it. The facts which he dares to dispute were placed on record by educated and respectable persons, the first historians of their day, Could anything be more absurd than to suppose that they would invent discreditable stories about a national hero, at a time when ail the facts of his career must hâve been widely known ? No reasonable person can doubt that Falstaff was as real as Piers Gaveston.' As we hâve seen, however, the only évidence for Falstaff's existence is tradition, and tradition can never be évidence for an historical fact. He is a purely mythical character, who plays Silenus to Henry's Dionysus, as does Abu Nawas to the Dionýsus of Harun-al-Eashid.

" The assimilation of the king to Dionysus no doubt goes back to a time when an aspirant to the throne had to perforai various rites and undergo various ordeals, but whether thèse stories had previously been told of other English princes, and became permanently attached to Henry V through the invention of printing, or whether they were recently introduced from classical sources, I hâve no idea.

" It may be objected that Henry V, an historical character, appears in tradition, and that tradition is therefore to that extent historical ; but this is not so. The characters in a traditional narrative are often anonymous. When named they may be supernatural beings, or persons for whose existence there is no real évidence. When the names of real persons are mentioned, thèse names form no part of the tradition, but merely part of the machinery by which the tradition is transmitted. Just as the same smart saying may be attributed to half a dozen wits in succession, so the same feat may be attributed to half a dozen heroes in succession ; but it is the

anecdote or feat which, if it is transmitted from âge to âge, becomes a tradition, and not the ephemeral name. The name selected is that of some prominent person whose memory is fading; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years, or less, if the real facts have never been widely known. His name remains attached to the tradition till some other suitable person has been dead for a suitable length of time.

" This explains certain facts which have puzzled Professor Gilbert Murray, who asks: 'Why do they (se. the Homeric poets) refer not to any warfare that was going on at the time of their composition, but to warfare of forgotten peoples under forgotten conditions in the past? . . . What shall one say of this? Merely that there is no cause for surprise. It seems to be the normal instinct of a poet, at least of an epic poet. The earliest version of the Song of Eoland which we possess was written by an Anglo-Norman scribe some thirty years after the conquest of England. If the Normans of that âge wanted an epic sung to them, surely a good subject lay ready to hand. Yet as a matter of fact their great epic is ail about Roland, dead three hundred years before, not about William the Conqueror. The fugitive Britons of Wales made no epic to tell of their conquest by the Saxons; they turned to a dim-shining Arthur belonging to the vaguest past. Neither did the Saxons who were conquering them make epics about that conquest. They sang how at some unknown time a legendary and mythical Beowulf had conquered a legendary Grendel.'²

" The true explanation has nothing to do with instinct; it is that epic poetry, like other forms of traditional narrative, deals with ritual drama, and not with historical fact. Real people and events can only be identified with ritual drama when their memory has become vague.

2. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, pp. 63-65.

Roland could not have been made to fall at Hastings before about 1166, and by that time the form of the epic was fixed in writing. What we learn from the Song of Roland are old traditional tales which were probably attached to Charlemagne about a hundred years after his death.

" The real facts of his career, like all historical facts, have been, and could only be, ascertained from contemporary written records.

" In this connection Dr. Leaf remarks : ' When they (the Normans) crossed the Channel to invade England, they seem to have lost all sense of their Teutonic kinship with the Saxons, and it is doubtful if they even knew that their name meant Northmen. The war-song which Taillefer chanted as they marched to battle was not a Viking Saga, but the song of Roland.'³ He realised that a people can completely forget its origin within a hundred and sixty years—yet still believed in the continuity of historical tradition ! "

As the reasoning is too close and the argument too recondite, a long extract has been given, especially as it is fully exemplified by facts taken from history.

Lord Raglan's suggestion that when the names of real persons are mentioned in a traditional tale—*i.e.*, a tale handed down from age to age by oral communication—these names form no part of the tradition, but merely part of the machinery by which the tradition is transmitted, seems well justified from the numerous instances quoted by him, to which parallel from Indian traditional tales can be easily adduced. " Just as¹ as he says, " the same smart saying may be attributed to half a dozen wits in succession, so the same anecdote or feat . . . which, if it is transmitted from age to age becomes a tradition, and not the ephemeral name. The name selected is that of some prominent person

8. W. Leaf, *Bornier and History*, p. 46, .

whose memory is fading ; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years, or less if the real facts have never been widely known. His name remains attached to the tradition till some other suitable person has been dead for a suitable length of time." The truth underlying this remark may be verified from countless tales occurring in the Indian Epics—the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*—and from the eighteen *Purāṇas* which, indeed, enshrine the old traditions—orally handed down to posterity from ancient times. Tradition may be of the elders but it wears a snowy beard, and is slippery to a degree to base an argument upon or build an historical account with its aid. Something very similar has occurred in the case of the traditional tales connected with the name of Chikkadēvarāja, as a comparison of the versions current during the time of Wilks and Dēvachandra goes to show. They had been growing for long and when they were first committed to writing by Wilks—a hundred and twenty-five years after the events to which they relate are said to have occurred—they had already become highly exaggerated by embellishments and, in Dēvachandra, we find them assume proportions which even to Wilks, if he had had an opportunity to read them as they appear in Dēvachandra, would have seemed strange. Apart from this, there is reason to fear that in this particular instance, even as early as the time of Chikkadēvarāja, there was evidently much confusion of thought as to what actually took place in connection with the disturbances which followed the imposition of a war-levy that was resorted to by either Chikkadēva or his minister Viéâlāksha. The news that reached the Jesuit Fathers—and they committed to writing what they had heard almost contemporaneously—was that the people had been impaled on sword-sticks. This evidently was a phrase of the time as it is to-day for describing unspeakable harshness in punishment. It

could not be that they were actually impaled as the Jains had been by the Pândyan king of old, The story of this notorious im paiement had been current for âges—nearly 400 years or so—by then and the suggestion that such an im paiement was practised in the time of Chikkadēva stands uncorroborated even in Wilks and Dēvachandra. The inference seems inévitable that news spread that the harshness of the punishment inflicted was so much spoken of that it was only capable of being described in terms of the cruelty practised on the Jains by the Pâçdyan king, a phrase—*Kazhuvikkëttaradu*—with which the Jesuit Fathers, who had learnt Tamil, the dominant language of the Madura country, were evidently familiar. And what they seem to hâve done is to simply pass on the euphemism in their letter as describing a fact that had actually occurred in the " Eastern dominions " of Chikkadēva. If a loose or wrong description can thus pass into History, what is there to prevent tradition—a mère oral communication from mouth to mouth through the générations, ever subject to the incident of mutation in the very process of handing down—from becoming something entirely différent from what it started with ? In the case of Chikkadēva, there were at least three good reasons why he should look harsher to posterity as a ruler than he actually was : (1) He was a vigorous ruler ; (2) he was the builder of a new kingdom and had to carry through things ; and (3) he undertook a thorough reformation of the administrative and social foundations on which his kingdom was built. Added to thèse causes, his minister Viéâlâksha was one who lacked prudential restraint in giving effect to the measures decided upon by the king. What he did not only recoiled on him but also on his Sovereign, to whom undoubtedly he was deeply attached. With him evidently action was greater than the reaction to which it was necessarily subject. Posterity has been

kind to him in forgetting hîm àbsolutely, éveil in his òwn native village. Only it has been unjust to his master in making him responsible for very mueh more than his share in the results that followed his acts.

(5) *Kazhuvikkêttaradu.*

The story of the impaiement of 8,000 Jains by a Pârîḍyan king is told in the Madura *Sthala-Purâna* and is reflected in the other local chronicles as well in the neighbourhood. Tradition current in Madura refera to the contest that occurred between the Jains and êaivites in the days of Tirugnâna-Sambandar. If the *Periya-Purânaṃ*, a Tamil work treating of the sixty-three devotees of êiva, is to be believed, this king should be identified with Neḍumâran who was converted to êaivism from the Jain faith by the famous saint Tirugnâna-Sambandar (c. 7th cent. A.D.). According to the Madura *Sthala-Purâna*, this king was also known as Kubja-Pârîḍya, because he was a hunchback. He was, it would seem, originally a êaiva but was converted to Jainism and from the date he became a Jain, he, it is added, persecuted his êaivite subjects. His queen Mangaikkarasi, however, remained a êaivite in secret and induced Tirugnâna to visit the king. He cured the king not only of the incurable fever which the Jain priests could not subdue but also of his hunchback. The king was reconverted to êaivism and changea his name to Sundara-Pârîḍya, or the beautiful Pânḍya, and decreed the death of all Jains who refused to embrace êaivism. Those who did not join the êaivite faith—and they were some 8,000 in number—he ordered to be impaled on the point of a sword! As if to remind this great deed of his, at one of the festivals connected with the famous temple at Madura, an image representing a Jain impaled on a stake is carried in the procession! This festival is known, after the alleged event, as

Kazhuvikkëttaradu, the act of impaling on the point of the sword.

The king Sundara-Pânḍya of this taie has been identified with Mâravârman Arikësari, who boasts of having won the battle of Nelvëli. If the impaling had been a fact—it is obviously much exaggerated in the *ëaiva Purânas*—it would hâve been referred to in the *Chinnamanur copper-plates* and the *Velvikkudi grant* which throw considérable light on the early Pânḍyan kings up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The omission to do so is the more remarkable because Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parântaka, who issued the *Velvikkudi grant*, ascended the Pânḍyan throne next after the son of Neḍumâran.

Neḍumâran, for the services he rendered to the *ëaiva* cause, was translated to the position of a saint and became thus one of the famous sixty-three celebrated in the *Periya-Purânâṃ*. The period of his rule has been fixed by some scholars between 650-680 A.D. (K. V. Çlubrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Anàient Dekhan*, 127 ; see also *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3). Internai évidence afforded by one of his hymns—in which Tirugnâna refers to Sirûttonḍan who fought at the battle of Vâtâpi (modern Bâdâmi) which took place in 642 A.D.—seems to confirm this date, which fixes him to a period iater than that event (i.e., to the latter half of the 7th century A.D.). For the date of Tirugnâna-Sambandar, see *E. I.*, III. 277-278 ; *L A.*, XXV. 113, 116 ; *8.I.1.*, II. 152. For références to the traditionary taies oonnected with him, see W. Francis, *Madura Dist. Gaz.*, 29 and 74 ; *South Arcot Dist. Gaz.*, 97.

In one of his verses, Tirugnâna-Sambandar prays for *ëiva's* grâce to deliver him from fear. Treacherous Jains, he says, hâve lit for him a fire, which, he implores, may go to the Pânḍyan king (as fever), so that he might know the torture of slow flame (*Padigam* 112 ; *Periya-Purânâṃ*, 701, 715), The référence hère is to the

traditionary tale that the Jains, out of enmity, set fire to Sambandar's house and that he sent up an appeal to Ôiva that the fire might be transformed into a slow consuming fever and go in that form to the Pâ^ḍyan ruler, then a Jain. The king got the fever, and Sambandar relieved him of it. That is the miracle which subsequently became converted into the impairment of 8,000 Jains, in the manner described above. Tradition has been busy here as elsewhere. If the évidence afforded by Tirugnâna's own hymns is to be believed, then the following facts are vouched for by him: that he was devoted to Mangaikkarasi, the daughter of a Chôla king who had been married to a Pâḍyan king; that this queen was an ardent êaivite; that the king's minister Kulachchirai was also a êaivite; that the queen took a personal interest in the welfare of Tirugnâna who was contending against the Jains who had won over her husband, the Pârḍyan king, to their faith; and that the Jains had set fire to Tirugnâna's house and Tirugnâna prayed that that fire, transformed into a fever, might go to the Pâḍyan king, then a Jain. This happened and the king was re-converted with Tirugnâna's aid. Conceptions of popular justice required that the Jains should be punished for their supposed iniquities, and the impairment of 8,000 Jains was the result. Tradition cannot be other than tradition.

Kingsbury and Phillips render the verse of Sambandai referred to above thus:—

O, Thou whose form is fiery red,
 In holy Àlavây, our Sire,
 In grâce deliver me from dread.
 False Jains have lit me a fire:
 O, let it to the Pândyan ruler go,
 That he the torture of slow flame may know.

(See *Hymns of Tamil Saivite Saints*, 32-33, by F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips, in the *Héritage of India Series*)

The legend of the impaling of " eight thousand of the stubborn Jains " is mentioned by them at page 11 of their book. They add the remark later : " Legends make him (Tirugnâna) a wonder-worker, but we must draw our knowledge of the man from his poems themselves." It is much to be regretted that except for the effort of Messrs. Kingsbury and Phillips, no translations of the hymns of Appar, Tirugnâna-Sambandar and Sundarar are yet available on the lines on which the late Kev. Dr.-G. U. Pope brought out the hymns of Mânîkya-vâchakar (*Tiruvâchakam*, Oxford University Press).

(6) ON THE *Arka* MARRIAGE.

Arka is the Sun-plant *Calotropis gigantea*, a small tree with medicinal sap and rind, the larger leaves of which are used for sacrificial cérémonies (&at. JBr. ; Br» Âr. Up.). *Arka* means also the *membrum virile* (A. V., VI. 72-1). Manu enumerates eight kinds of marriage (III. 21), which are : Brâhma, Daiva, Ârsha, Prâjâpatya, Àsura, Gândharva, Eâkshasa and Paiêâcha. Cf. Yâjnavalkya, I. 58-61. Marriage with the *Arka* plant (*Bandhuka*) is enjoined to be performed before a man marries a third wife, who thus becomes his fourth (*chaturthâdi vivâhârtham tritîyôrka samudvahêt—*Kâéyapa). Gârga thus says as to a third marriage:

Grihasyâd êka patnikah sa kâmi chôdvahêt param |
Tritîyam nôdvahêt kanyâm chaturthîmapi chôdvahêt |
Tritîyam udvahêt kanyâm môhâdajnanatôpi yât |
Dhana-dhânyâyushân hâni rôgi syâd yadi jîvati |
Tritîyôdvâha siddhyartha marka-vriksham samu-
dvahêt |
Grâmât prâchimudâchîm vâ gachchêd yatraiva
tiçhati |
Yathârkam sôbhanam krittâ krittâ bhûmîncha
sôbhitam |

*Vastrēna tantunā vēṣṭya brāhmaṇastam pariśrayēt |
Svaśākhōkta vidhānēna hōmāntē agnim sva ātmani |
Ārōpyaiṅva varō dhīrō brahmacharyam charēt
tryaham |
Ēkāhāmapi vā kanyām udvahēt davi sankita iti||.*

An householder should generally be possessed of one wife; if he is very carnal, he may also marry a second time. But he should not marry a third dam sel. If it is necessary, he may marry a fourth (damsel). As regards the third marriage, if he wishes to get married through ignorance, he will become reduced in wealth, corn and lifetime, and will become (further) sickly. Accordingly, in the case of a third marriage, in order to be free from sickness, etc., he should get married to the *Arka* plant. To perform such a marriage, he should go towards the east in search of a tree wherever it is and there he should perform the marriage rite as between himself and that tree in every détail (as in a marriage). He should invest the *māngalya-sūtra* to that plant agreeably to the ritual and to the *éâkhâ* to which he belongs, and should (then) perform the *hōma* (by raising the sacrificial fire), This done with due solemnity, he will be free from ail other obstacles and then he can marry (the third) damsel without further doubt, which should accordingly be considered as the fourth (marriage)—see *Smṛiti-Muktâvāḷi, Sôdaiakarma prakaranam*, 139-140, in the *Madhva-Śiddhânta Granthamâlâ Sériés*, Ed. by Krish^âchârya, êrî Krishna Mudrâ Press, Udipi. According to the *Trivarnikâchâra* of the Svêtâmbara Jains (XI, 104), " a third marriage is to be performed in the *Arka* form, otherwise the bride will be like a widow; thus should the wise act" (*Akṛtvârka-vivâhantu tṛtīyām yadi chōdvahēt | Vidhavā sā bhavēt kanyā tasmât kāryam vichakṣhaṇā||*)—quoted in *The Jain Law* (p. 216) by C. R. Jaina, Madras, 1927.

(7) ON THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF MYSORE, THE MAH-BATTAS AND THE MUGHALS TO EMPIRE IN THE SOUTH.

There is overwhelming évidence in support of the position that Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar based her claims to Empire in South India as the immédiate political heir of Vijayanagar. This position was the natural outcome of the following circumstances :— Since the fall of Penukoṇḍa and Vellore, and the flight of êri-Ranga VI (1647), the décline of the Vijayanagar Empire became rapid. During êri-Kanga's long sojourn in the south (1647-1663), he had no recognised capital, although he formally claimed to rule from Penukoṇḍa, Chandragiri or Bêlûr. While the Deccani powers of Bijâpur and Gôlkonda were in quick succession occupying his impérial possessions in South India (1647-1656), the kingdom of Mysore under Kanṭhîravâ-Narasarâja Woḍeyar I (1638-1659), by remaining loyal to the Empire, strove hard to maintain her integrity and independence against the encroachments of these States. In 1656, however, the activities of these powers in the Karnâṭak ceased, and they retired home dividing their spoils. During the next three décades they were so thoroughly absorbed in their struggle with the Mughals in the Deccan that they could hardly dévôte their attention to Kârñâṭak affairs, beyond leaving its administration in the hands of their gènerais (like Shâhji the Mahratta, in Bangalore). This made it possible for the growing kingdom of Mysore gradually to extend her warlike activities in the direction of the Bijapur-belt of territory in the north, while her attempts to maintain the *status quo ante* in the direction of Ikkeri and Madara in the north-west and the south-east tended to rouse the persistent opposition and hostility of those neighbours. An immédiate result of this policy of Mysore is reflected in the futile invasion of Seringapatam—in the very first year of accession of

Dēvarāja Wodeyar (1659-1673)—by Sivappa Nâyaka I of Ikkëri (1645-1660) who, on the plea of restoring the suzerainty of êri-Ranga in the Karnàṭak, won him over from the allegiance of Mysore, only to make him pursue an hostile attitude towards her from Bêlûr. êri-Ranga, however, met with little success owing to the weakness of the successors of Sivappa Nâyaka and the steady advance of Mysore on Ikkëri, so that in 1663 he had to leave Bêlûr for the far South, again to seek the protection of his erstwhile hostile feudatories who were fighting in their own interests. Meanwhile the kingdom of Mysore was fast becoming a first-rate power in Southern India. The political centre of gravity was shifting from Penukoṇḍa to Seringapatam, this being facilitated to some extent by the migration of the êri-Vaishṇava family of Eoyal preceptors of the Âravîçlu Dynasty to the court of Dēvarāja (1663). At the same time impérial ideas and ideals began to take root in the congenial soil of Seringapatam. Sri-Banga, in view of these developments, made one more, and last, effort to recover his position from Mysore by allying himself with Chokkanâtha Nâyaka of Madura (1659-1682) and other feudatories, and laying siège to the fort of B̄rōḍe belonging to her (1667). Mysore, however, ultimately came out successful in the siège and Sri-Ranga, sorely disappointed, disappeared from the vortex of South Indian politics. In Seringapatam, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, far from severing his connection with the Vijayanagar Empire, gradually stepped into the impérial status itself (as is significantly borne out by the assumption of impérial titles by him), and paved the way for the independence of the kingdom and her future political development. With Madura, Gingee and Ikkëri struggling for their existence under the troubled conditions of the times, Mysore, alone among her contemporaries, emerged into the political arena of South India as the strongest, **and** sole, représentative of

Vijayanagar (1673). She soon found herself placed in an eminently advantageous position to extend, preserve and unite, in the true impérial spirit of the times, what was still left of the detelict Empire in the south as a bulwark against further aggressions from any powers (like the Mahrattas and the Mughals) from the north. No wonder, after the short-lived success of Kôdaṇḍa-Râma I, the then Vijayanagar king, against Daḷavâi Kumârâiya (of Mysore) in the battle of Hâssan (1674), Chikkadēvarâja Wodeyar (1673-1704) began his untiring activities in ail directions. And his assumption of the titles *Kamâṭaka-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the Karnâṭaka country) and *Dakshinadik-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the South), as is amply borne out by the records of his own period, from this time onward, acquires suprême significance in South Indian History (for a fuller treatment of this course of affairs, *vide* Chs. VIII, X and XI, with documentary détails in f.n.).

The claims of the Mahrattas and the Mughals to Empire in the South appear to be less strong. Much has been said and written in récent years in favour of the view that the Mahratta State in the South owed its existence to the genius of Shâhji under Vijayanagar influence, and that his son êivâji was the political heir and successor of the Vijayanagar Empire (see, for instance, the latest articles on the subject in *Vij. Com. Vol.*, pp. 119-138). This is, however, negatived by the well-known facts recorded of their careers during the period of political transition in the South (1647-1674), sketched above. Indeed there is no direct évidence,⁴ to lend support to these suggestions, although the trend of ail

4. Śivâji's coronation (1674) and his Karnâṭak expédition (1677) have been held by scholars like Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as having "had in it the idea of reviving the Hindu Empire of the South," while his supposed grant to the sons of Ôri-Banga VI and his issue of the gold *hun* after the Vijayanagar model have been taken to be proofs in support of the position that it might have been his ambition "to stand before Anrang-zib as the acknowledged successor of the emperors of Vijayanagar"

the available data goes to show that whatever influence Vijayanagar exerted on the Mahrattas (under Shâhji and êivâji) was only of an indirect character, their rise to power in the South being mainly rooted in, and conditioned by, the Shâhi state of Bijâpur in the Deccan. Accordingly, the extension of Mahratta power and influence in South India under âivâji and his immédiate successors was more in the footsteps of Bijâpur than of Vijayanagar (whose sphère of influence in the 17th century lay farther away from the Mahratta country), while their claims to Empire in the South were derived more from their right—real or supposed—to establish footholds in it which would eventually enable them to collect *chauth* and *sardëemukhi* from the feudatories of the old Vijayanagar Empire, than from an instinctive désire to unité the heterogenous éléménts into an autonomous whole and evolve a *bénéficiari* system of government over the length and breadth of the land. Again, even as regards their united résistance to Mughal advance on the South, they were treading more in the footsteps of Bijâpur and Gôlkoçça than of Vijayanagar, which explains why, during 1677 and 1680-1686, they actually came into conflict with Mysore which, on this issue, was clearly following the Vijayanagar policy. Mughal pressure on South India after the fall of Bijâpur and Gôlkoçça (1686-1687) was in the nature of a military conquest of an alien power, by way of continuation of the policy of the early Sultans of Delhi. Mughal

(see *Editorial Notes in Nayakas of Madura*, pp. 27, 134, 177, etc.). It is hard to accept this as a literal statement of facts when we bear in mind the actual course of political évolution of Mysore during 1647-1674. Mahratta sovereignty in the South was itself a matter of graduai development in the wake of Ôivâji's Karnâtak expédition of 1677, when he himself found that he had been anticipated by Chikkadëvarâja Wofleyar of Mysore as the sole, and natural, représentative of Vijayanagar in the Karnâtaka country (see *supra* ; also Ch. XI, for détails). And we have defnite évidence of Sambhâji, son and successor of Sivâji, assuming the title of Emperor (*sambhôji-Chakraverti*) for the first time in July 1680 (see *M. Cf.*, X Mb. 117).

claim to Empire in the South was, further, derived from the principle that might is right and hardly carried with it schemes of settlement and orderly administration applicable to the conquered tracts as a whole, whatever measure of success their rule might have been attended with in Northern India. This accounts largely for the harassing raids of Mughal lieutenants in South India under Aurangzib and his successors in the latter part of the 17th century and the first part of the 18th, which left her a prey to anarchy and confusion until British rule at the end of the 18th century brought the blessings of peace and order into the land. Happily for Mysore, however, it is to the credit of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar that in contesting the claims to supremacy in the South of the Mahrattas and the Mughals in the 17th century, he so manœuvred as to keep them at arms' length and not only saved the country from their attacks but also, in advancing his claims to absolute sovereignty of the South of India, gave Mysore an individuality all her own.

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- Adil Shah of Bijâpur : Chikkadēvarâja's success over (1678), 289 (n. 64) ; referred to, 278, 540.
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Vrshabhendra-Vijaya (or *Basavarāja-Vijaya*) : see under *Shadakaharadēva*.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	Remarks
4	19	For " <i>Storio</i> " read " <i>Storia</i> ."
8, n. 10	2	For "Ch. XV and Appendix VII--(2)" read "Vol. II, Ch. I and Appendix I--(2)."
15 (also 16, 61, 273, 859)	Text	After " <i>Baksas-Tagḍi</i> " add "(<i>Rākḥasas-Tangḍi</i>)."
34	8	For "dated in" read "dated."
84, n. 28	3	Add at the end:—In some of these records, the title <i>Biruḍ-antembara-gaṇḍa</i> also occurs as <i>Antambara-kaṇḍan</i> and <i>Antembara-gaṇḍa</i> (see <i>M. E. R.</i> , Nos. 678 of 1909 and 321 of 1938). The adoption of the title by the Woḍeyar Dynasty of Mysore, under circumstances narrated above, has a special significance of its own attached to it.
38	3	For "dated in" read "dated."
55, n. 68	2	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
56	4	For "1507" read "1607."
71	Last line from the bottom of the text	For " <i>Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi</i> " read " <i>Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa</i> (<i>Lakṣmi-Kāntasvāmi</i>)."
71, n. 158	1	For " <i>Ibid</i> , 1920, p. 3, para 10" read "See <i>Ibid</i> , 1920, p. 3, para 10, where the statue is, perhaps by a slip, located in the <i>Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi</i> temple at Mysore."
72, n. 155	7	For "n. 21" read "ff. 121."
117	15	For "1655" read "1658."
119	10	For " <i>Morasa-Nāḍu</i> " read " <i>Morasa-nāḍu</i> ."
144, n. 27	18	For "f.n. 178" read "Ch. IX, f.n. 23."
150	12	For "amiserable" read "a miserable."
154, n. 144	3	} For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
160, n. 9	2	
174, n. 70	5 from bottom	
175, n. 71	15	
177, n. 75	8	

Page	Line	Remarks
200, n. 161	9	Add at the end:—For details about the ceremony of <i>Arka</i> marriage, <i>vide</i> Appendix VI—(6).
209	5 from the bottom of the text	For "Perhaps" read "Perhapa."
226, n. 60	8 from bottom	For "Nanjarājaiya III" read "Nanjarājaiya IV."
241, n. 121	4	Add at the end:—This position is confirmed by a copper-plate grant of his, dated March 17, 1667, which has recently come to light (see <i>M. A. R.</i> , 1934, pp. 145-168, No. 99). We further learn from this Sanskrit inscription that Dhanōjaiya (<i>Dhanōji</i>) was a rich Gujarāt Brāhman who had settled for trade in Mysore with his dependents and associates, that he was successively patronised by the Mysore kings Chāmarāja V, Kanthirava-Narasa I and Dēvarāja, that he had a wife by name Rāmebhāyambā, and that he was well known for his gifts and charities. This is also one of the earlier records in <i>Kāvya</i> style composed by Tirumalārya, afterwards Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.
276	7 from the bottom of the text	For "Kesaragōḍu (<i>Kāsaragōḍu</i>)" read "Kāsaragōḍu."
281, n. 44	3	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
299, n. 106	5	Add at the end:—For Sambhāji's claim to sovereignty of the South, <i>vide</i> Appendix VI—(7), n. 1.
309	11	For "Dhārmapuri" read "Dharmapuri."
309	15	For "Kuntūr-durga (<i>Kun n ū t t ū r</i>)" read "Kuntūr-durga."
336, n. 43	2	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
388	7	For " <i>varṇāsrana</i> " read " <i>varṇāsrana</i> ."
552	Head line	For "Chikkadēvarāja's" read "Chikkadēvarāja's."
572	2 from the bottom of the text	For "evidence, 4" read "evidence 1."
572, n. 4	1	For f.n. "4" read "1".

