

APPENDIX I.

(1) ON THE DERIVATION OF "WODEYAR."

Wodeyar: Kan. plural and honorific form of *Oḍeya*, lit. lord, master; spelt variously as *Oḍeyar*, *Wodeyar*, *Waḍeyar* and *Waḍeyaraiya*, in inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagar and Mysore periods. In Tamil, the word occurs as *Uḍaiyar*, as in Chōḷa inscriptions among others. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vīra-Śaivism was the predominant creed in the Southern Karnāṭak. This is evidenced by the fact that the word *Wodeyar* not infrequently appears in the literature of the period in a modified form as *Vaḍēr* or *Waḍēr*, a term of respect by which Jangama priests were, and are even now, addressed.

(2) ON THE DERIVATION OF "MYSORE."

Mysore: Derived from *Mahisha* (or *Maisa*) + *ūru*, lit. buffalo town. Popular mythology associates the place with the destruction of Mahishāsura, the buffalo-headed monster, by the consort of Śiva, worshipped by the Mysore Royal House as their tutelary Goddess, *i.e.*, Śrī-Chāmūṇḍēsvārī of the Chāmūṇḍi Hills, Mysore. There has been considerable discussion among scholars, for some time now (see App. J in *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 3118-3120, for a summary), on the derivation of the word Mysore, which they generally take to connote a tract or territory variously identified as *Mahisha-maṇḍala*, *Erumai-nāḍu*, *Mahisha-rāshṭra*, *Maisa-nāḍu*, *Māhi-shmati*, 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-yūran*, a name which has been taken to mean "he of Mahishapura

or Mysore" (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III, *Introdn.*, pp. xxi, xxv), and latterly attempted to be identified as a chief of Yemmiganūr (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 present State of Mysore, including the place called Mysore, was either coterminous with, or formed part of, the extensive tract known as *Mahisha-maṇḍala* or *Maisa-nāḍu* (*Mahisha-nāḍu*) in ancient times (*vide* Ch. III of this work, for documentary details). Equally significant is it to note the survival of the name of the place in its earlier forms as *Mayisūr* and *Mahisūr* in the inscriptions down to the sixteenth century A.D., and its gradual transformation to *Maisūru* (Mysore) in the seventeenth. The word in its Sanskritised form *Mahishāpura* 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 *Mahīśūra-pura* (lit. hero town) by later writers.

(3) HŪḌĒVU.

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 Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1673). At the time of which we are writing (*i.e.*, 14th-15th cent.), *hūḍēvu* could not mean anything more than a sort of fort irregularly laid out.

(4) PURAGĒRI.

Relying obviously on the *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, Wilks (I. 41-42) refers to Puragēri as "Pooragurry" (? Puragaḍi) and interprets it as an old name for Mysore. He also states (*i.e.*) that Mysore ("Mysoor" from "Maheshoor--Mahesh-Asoor") was a new name assigned to "Pooragurry" in 1524 after the construction of the fort. It

has, however, been pointed out (*vide* Ch. III) that Mysore was known as *Mayisūr* as far back as the twelfth century. Hence Puragēri, in the period referred to, would only mean an outskirt or suburb of Mysore, which was considerably improved by Hiriya-Betṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III (1513-1553) by the erection of a fort, and raised to the status of a town (*Mahisūru-nagara*), in 1524. See also and compare the *Muddarāja Urs Ms.*, cited in the *Annals* (II. 87-88). The reference to canons said to have 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. Pūr.*, examined by us.

(5) THE TEMPLE OF KŌḌI-BHAIRAVA IN MYSORE.

This is the place where Yadurāya and Krishna are said to have halted after their visit to the Chāmuṇḍi Hills according to the tradition narrated in the *Annals* (*vide* Ch. III, for details). It is situated behind the Triṇēśvara temple, and south of the Sōmēśvara temple, Mysore Fort; and is dedicated to Bhairava, known as Kōḍi-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-bearer and on the left by a female figure, apparently Bhadrakālī, with a bill-hook in the uplifted right hand."

(6) THIRTY-THREE VILLAGES.

The names of twenty-nine out of thirty-three villages, referred to, are traceable in the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 6-7). These are: *Mahisūra* (Mysore), Eeranagere (Vīranagere), Maluhalli, Beechanahalli, Yeṇṇe Māragonḍanahalli, Ruva- [? Ramma] nahalli, Kenabāyanahalli [? Kyātabōyanahalli], Sātagahalli, Dēvarasanāyakana-pura, Mālāgāla,

Darihalli, Mankahalli [? Mandakahalli], Madagarahalli, Marasehalli, Hechige, *Kemba*, Mārahalli, Tālūr, Durachitanahalli [? Dūra], Māvinahalli, *Hemmanahalli*, Angaḍihalli, Mādihalli, Kētanahalli, *Kenchalagūḍ*, Nagarahalli, Yaḍahalli, Maḷalagāla, Yaḍahallipura. Most of these villages are extant, their forms being slightly changed; and are situated in the Mysore and Nanjangūḍ 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) SIEGE OF MĀSŪRU, AND NOT MYSORE, IN 1593.

According to Ferishta, "In 1593, Munjum Khan, the Bijapur general, besieged Mysore belonging to Venkaṭadri Nayak, accompanied by Arsappa Nayak and Ganga Nayak; and the place was reduced in three months and 20 fine elephants taken. Munjum Khan was proceeding rapidly in his conquests, when the rebellion 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 siege of Mysore, referred to in this passage, is incorrect. Mysore, in 1593, was yet a small town under Rāja 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, Rāja Woḍeyar was, about this time, a feudatory of the Seringapatam Viceroy Tirumala II (1585-1610). That Munjum Khān, the Bijapur general, should come all 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 Ikkēri under Venkaṭādri Nāyaka. Again, since we are told that Munjum Khān was obliged to go back immediately to Bijapur to attend to the Pādshah's affairs, and since Malabar (probably Malnāḍ or part of the country bordering on it is implied here) is mentioned as the scene of his operations, it seems obvious that the Khān's activities were confined to the outlying part of the Karnāṭaka country, where the place referred to was situated. Indeed he could not have retraced his steps immediately, had he really been as far south as Mysore itself. The

penetration of the Bijāpur Muhammadans into the South (*i.e.*, Seringapatam and Mysore) did not begin until 1638-1639 (*vide* Ch. VIII of this work, for details). The occurrence of the word Mysore in the passage from Ferishta, has therefore to be otherwise explained.

In the *Kelādi-Nripa-Vijayam* (V. 73), we have the following :—

Venkaṭappa Nāyakam Rāmarāyar pālbenne umbali-gendu munnitta Māsūra-sīmeyam kaṭṭikolalaidida Manjuḷa Khānanam murida.

From this passage we learn, Māsūru-sīme, granted as a rent-free estate (*umbali*) by Rāma-Rāya (of Vijayanagar) for the supply of milk and butter, belonged to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1582-1629). Its occupation was attempted by Manjuḷa Khān (a Kannaḍa colloquial for Munjum Khān), who was repulsed by the latter. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, referred to here, is to be identified with the Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Ferishta. He was also known as Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nāyaka according to the *Ke. N. V.* In his inscriptions he is mentioned as Venkaṭādri [see *E.C.*, VII (1) Tl. 38, 56 and 58]. Venkaṭādri cannot therefore be identified with Venkaṭapati-Rāya (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 (*l.c.*) and the Rev. H. Heras (*Āravīdu Dynasty*, I. 418) take it to be. Māsūru-sīme, mentioned above, occurs in inscriptions also [see *E.C.*, VII (1) and VIII (2) Sā. 1, Nr. 33 and Sk. 324]. Māsūr is an extant village in Sāgar taluk (see *List of Villages*, 147). In the light of these references it would be obvious that what Ferishta meant was Māsūru, near Ikkēri in Sāgar taluk, Shimoga district. Possibly *Mysore* was a corruption of *Māsūru* since Ferishta wrote in the seventeenth century. There is thus enough evidence to hold that *Māsūru* was the place actually besieged by Munjum Khān in 1593, and not *Mysore* [based mainly

on the notes in f.n. to the article on *Kanṭhīrava-Narasaraṅga Woḍeyar* in the *H. Y. J. M. U.*, Vol. III, No. 2, Reprint].

(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 tendency in them to make earlier events as having taken place at a later period and *vice versa*. In other words, tested with reference to the authority of inscriptions and chronicles, these works are conspicuous by the absence of chronological sequence of events described in them. Thus, in the *K.N.V.* of Gōvinda-Vaidya, the siege 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 Rāja Woḍeyar of the power of the chiefs of Bēlūr and Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), a later event, is mentioned as though it preceded the siege 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 siege of Kesare (III, 95). Similarly, in the earlier part of the *C.Vam.* (2), Tirumalārya makes it appear as if the siege of Kesare took place immediately after Rāja Woḍeyar resolved to expel Tirumala from the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam, consequent on the latter's treacherous retreat during Venkaṭa I's action against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura. In fact, however, Tirumala's expulsion happened fourteen years after the siege of Kesare itself. Tirumalārya himself, in the other work of his, namely, the *C.Vi.*, makes it obvious that Tirumala's expulsion was resolved upon by Rāja Woḍeyar, after the siege of Kesare (II, 52-55). A detailed study of the *C.Vam.* itself, in the light of other sources, brings this out prominently. Again, in the *C.Vam.* (8-10) as in the *C.Vi.* (II, 29), among other

events, the curbing by Rāja Woḍeyar of the chiefs of Kannambādi, Talakāḍ, Bannūr, Arakere, etc., clearly a later achievement, is made to appear as having preceded the siege of Kesare; and some of these chiefs are even made to bring about the action against Rāja Woḍeyar by insinuating Tirumala. Evidently Rāja Woḍeyar's conquest of Seringapatam (1610) and the events immediately preceding and succeeding it, have been uppermost in the minds of the poets (*i.e.*, Gōvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalārya). 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 siege of Kesare. Both in regard to this topic and the other political events of Rāja Woḍeyar's reign, these poetical works are to be understood in their chronological setting with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Compare *Araviḍu Dynasty* (I. 342-343, 419, etc.), where the Rev. Father Heras criticises the story of Tirumala's retreat from Madura and the subsequent details recorded in the *C.Vam.* as "untrustworthy" and "a concoction of the poet for justifying Rāja 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 siege of Kesare, according to the *K.N.V.* (III, 23-44), was as follows: Rāmarājendra of Hadināḍu was with 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 50 elephants; the lord of Rudragana (chief of Piriyaḍaṭṇa) with 20,000 foot and 50 elephants; Nanjarāja of Talakāḍ with 16,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 30 elephants; Timma Nāyaka of Kereyūr with 8,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 elephants; Bairendra, son of Sāla Nāyaka, with 10,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 elephants. There were also levies (numbers not specified in the text) from the chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur) and

Bēlūr, from Dāsa Nāyaka of Nuggehalli, from the chiefs of Kenge (Kengēndra), Kōlāla, Ballāpur and Bangalore, and from Timmapparāja, Pradhāni Appi-Setṭi, Immaḍi-Jakka, Pummāni-Pāmi Nāyaka and Guṇḍi Nāyaka—altogether a force consisting of a lakh of foot, seven to eight thousand horse and two hundred rutting elephants (III, 35). Among the leading elephants which graced the army on the occasion, were: Birudina-Kaṇḍeya, Rāya Gajānkuśa, Ganganagōlu, Mīsara-Gaṇḍa, Bōyala-Pōtārāja, Madana-Gōpāla, Narasimha, Tirumala-Rāya, Tiru-Venkaṭanātha, Morasara-gaṇḍa and Kastūri-Ranga. According to the *C.Vam.* (14), there were in all, on the occasion, one lakh of foot, twelve thousand horse and one hundred elephants. There were levies from Ballāpur, Kōlāla, Punganūr, Māgaḍi, Bangalore and other parts of *Morasa-nāḍu*, consisting altogether of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 elephants; forces of the chiefs of Talakāḍ, Yeḷavandūr (Yeḷandūr), Ammachavāḍi, Terakaṇāmbi, Kōṭe (Heggāḍḍēvankōṭe), etc., places in the interior of the province (*oḷa-nāḍu*), comprising 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 25 elephants; from Malnāḍ (including Bēlūr, Keḷadi, etc.), consisting of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 elephants; from Chintanakal, Chiknāyakanahalli, Bāṇāvar, Basavāpaṭṇa, Sīra and other parts of the Bēḍa dominions, making up 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 5 elephants; also from Raṇa-Jagadēva-Rāya, Timma Nāyaka of Kereyūr and others, consisting in all of 24,000 foot, 4,000 horse and 15 elephants, while the main army of Tirumala (*mūla-baladoḷ*) was composed of 30,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 30 elephants. Compare *Ancient India* (p. 283), where S. K. Aiyangar doubts the probability of the actual presence of these numbers (of the *C.Vam.*) on the field. The numbers, however, in the light of both the texts, appear to have actually taken part in the action, scattered and encamped in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, Mysore and Nanjangūḍ,

though the works are not much in favour of the efficiency of this miscellaneous rabble.

(3) SOME VERSIONS OF RĀJA WOḍEYAR'S ACQUISITION OF SERINGAPATAM (1610).

The prevailing version is that Tirumalarājaiya, the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatam, having been afflicted with a fatal cancer (*bennu-phanī*), sent for Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore and desired him to hold the charge of Seringapatam on his behalf, saying that he (Tirumala) would go to Talakāḍ, Tirumakūḍlu and other sacred places for being cured, and that if he happened to breathe his last, Rāja Woḍeyar was to hand over charge of the city to the chief of Ummattūr. Tirumala then went over to Talakāḍ where he died shortly after, and Rāja Woḍeyar entered into the government of Seringapatam on February 8, 1610 (see *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 2; *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, pp. 28-29; *Bettadakōṭe-Kaif.*, p. 86, etc.). The *Annals* (I. 23-24, 29-30, 45) also gives a similar account, with slight variations. Śrī-Ranga-Rāya (? Tirumala), afflicted with a fatal cancer, deliberated with his councillors thus: "Rāja 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 Pāḷegārs and extended his territories, he will naturally take Seringapatam also, if some one else is appointed." Accordingly, Śrī-Ranga-Rāya sent for Rāja Woḍeyar, narrated to him the story of the acquisition of Seringapatam and the throne by his ancestors, bestowed upon him both the throne and the kingdom, and, accompanied by his two wives (Alamēlamma and Rangamma), proceeded to Māḷangi, near Talakāḍ, where he died some time later.

These versions, it will be seen, refer to the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar as an act of "conditional

transfer" and "gift" or "bequest" respectively, consequent on a "fatal cancer" Tirumala was said to be suffering from. They, however, seem to indicate a later attempt to justify Rāja Woḍeyar'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 Rāja Woḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam, and that he made any arrangement with Rāja Woḍeyar for the administration of the Viceroyalty. Indeed epigraphical evidence points to Tirumala having been alive as late as 1626, sixteen years after he left Seringapatam [see *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 181; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2203-2208]. The story of the "fatal cancer" is, perhaps, applicable to Śrī-Ranga II of Vijayanagar (1574-1586), who, as we shall see below, appears to have 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 all probability, writes: "The acquisition of Seringapatam, in 1610, . . . is related in different 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 age 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 Nuggur Pootia even details the names of the persons,

probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Vencatapetty Rayeel, who then reigned at Chundergherry) to compel him to retire. All that can be determined with certainty is, the quiet retirement of Tremul Raj to Talcaud, where he soon afterwards died; and the peaceable occupation by Raj 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 Rāja Wodeyar. Indeed we have seen how Tirumala, by provoking Rāja 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. Pūr.*, which he refers to as the manuscript of Nagara Puṭṭaiya. 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 *Rāya-nirūpa* of Venkaṭa 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.

Dēvachandra, in his *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 455-464), gives an account of Rāja 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.): "Rāja

Woḍeyar I, a posthumous son of Dēvarāja of Mysore, was established in the kingdom of Mysore by his Jain adherents. With their help he ruled the country and received from Śrī-Ranga-Rāya of Vijayanagar the charge of the Seringapatam province in 1585-1586, when the latter was suffering from a fatal cancer. Śrī-Ranga went over to Talakāḍ where he died, his wives committing *sati*. Thereupon Rāja Woḍeyar I began to rule from Seringapatam. He died after some time. Then Ramarājaiya and his son Tirumala, from Vijayanagar, occupied Seringapatam. From hence the descendants of Rāja Woḍeyar had to rule only in Mysore. In 1609-1610, Rāja Woḍeyar II, one of these, conquered Seringapatam from Tirumala and continued to govern from there." The only element of probability in this version seems to be the death of Śrī-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 *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*.

Noticing this work in the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series* (Mysore, 1917), the Editor, Mr. M. A. Ramanuja Aiyangar, attributes its authorship to one Pradhāni Tirumalārya who is said to have flourished in the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, and states: (i) that this Tirumalārya, a descendant in the line of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava preceptors of the Vijayanagar rulers, formerly resided in Mēlkōṭe early in the seventeenth century; (ii) that he came into intimate touch with Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, who was often visiting Mēlkōṭe; (iii) that he was instrumental in moving Venkaṭapati-Rāya (Venkaṭa I) of Vijayanagar to confer upon Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore the *śime* of Seringapatam as a present or gift; (iv) that thereupon Rāja Woḍeyar went to Mēlkōṭe and bestowed upon the relatives and disciples of this Tirumalārya three

agrahāras with 128 *vrittis* (yielding 1,024 *varahas*) in Muttigere, Hādanūr and other villages; (v) that after this grant Rāja Woḍeyar requested Tirumalārya to stay with him in Seringapatam as his preceptor; (vi) that Tirumalārya at first refused the offer but afterwards, being much prevailed upon by Rāja Woḍeyar, was taken by him to the capital city (Seringapatam) and appointed his *Pradhāni*; (vii) that Tirumalārya was a great friend of the Royal House in Seringapatam, and died somewhere in the middle of the reign of Kaṅṭhīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar I (1638-1659); (viii) that Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya), the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, was the great grandson of this Tirumalārya (*i.e.*, son of his grand-daughter); (ix) that the two brothers Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao of the times of Haidar and Tipū (1761-1799) were the descendants of Appājappa, son of Pradhāni Tirumalārya (the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*); and (x) that these two brothers belonged to the family of this Tirumalārya according to the genealogy secured by Lt.-Col. Wilks also (see *Editorial Introduction* to the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*, pp. i-iv).

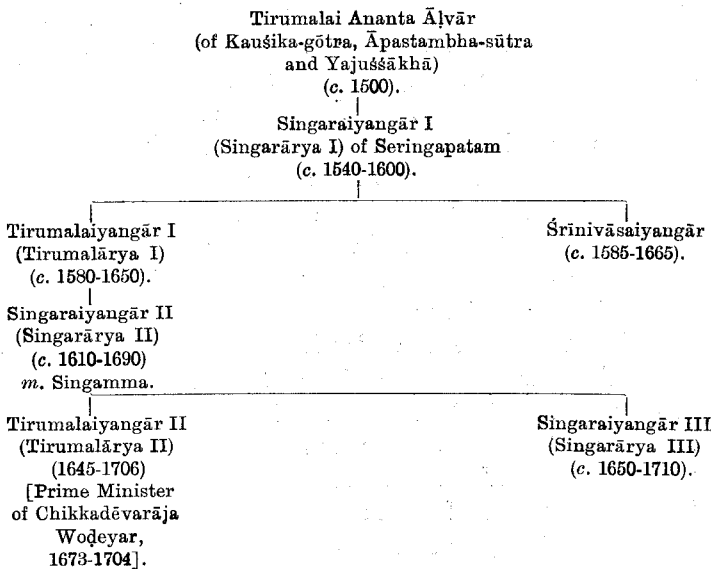
Thus, the Editor of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* distinguishes three persons by name Tirumalārya, the first one being, according to him, a Pradhāni of Rāja Woḍeyar; the second a minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar; and the third the agent-in-chief of Mahārāṇi Śrī-Lakshmammaṇṇiyavaroo of Mysore. And he assigns the authorship of this work to the first of these. He states that the text could not have been written by Tirumalaiyangār, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, because (i) he was not known as Pradhāni Tirumalaiyangār; (ii) it is nowhere mentioned in his works that he was conducting the office of *Pradhāni*; (iii) there are many differences in style as between this work and the works of Tirumalaiyangār (as, for instance, the *Chikkadēvarāya-*

Vamśāvali, *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, etc.); (iv) Tirumalaiyangār invariably refers to Chikkadēvarāja in his writings, but such a reference 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 Trumalaiyangār while writing his own works. Further, he adds, Tirumala Rao of the eighteenth century could not have been the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-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-Vrittānta-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.C.*, III (1) Sr. 157] does not prove that Rāja Woḍeyar made the grant of *vrittis* to the disciples and relatives of (Pradhāni) Tirumalārya, nor does it even mention the latter's name and designation. This document is only a grant to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins in general by Rāja Woḍeyar for the merit of his parents. There is no clue in the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* itself in support of the position that Tirumalārya was a *Pradhāni* of Rāja Woḍeyar. Even Wilks, who is referred to, does not support the Editor's view that Pradhāns Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao were descendants of (Pradhāni) Tirumalārya. Wilks, in fact, holds that between Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao themselves there was considerable disagreement as to their descent. Further, the genealogy furnished to him by the brother of "Tremal row" is said to have shown that Tirumalaiyangār, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja, was the "alleged ancestor" of the former (Tirumala Rao) (*Mysoor*, II. 239, f.n.). There is also this additional

point to remember that if it were true that Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya)—friend and co-student of Chikkadēvarāja—and his family were directly descended in the grand-daughter's line from the alleged (Pradhān) Tirumalārya—as is held by the Editor—he (Tirumalaiyangār) would not have missed mentioning, if not actually enlarging on, that point in his works.

All that the available evidence seems to point to is that there was regular succession in a line of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers in Mysore, exercising their influence on the Mysore Royal Family probably from the time of Rāja Woḍeyar. The genealogy of this line of teachers according to the testimony of inscriptions and literary works is as follows :—



[Based on *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), ll. 19-21; and 94 (1678), ll. 10-14; TN. 23 (1663), ll. 92-93; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 106-107; and Kr. 45 (1678), ll. 10-14; also *C. Vam.*, 163; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 3; and Commentary

on the *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 1, v. 1; p. 119, v. 1. Singaraiyangār I, in Sr. 13 (l. 20), is referred to as "Chennapyāji Singaraiyangār." If "Chennapyāji" is taken to be a scribal error for "Chāmappāji," then this name would be in keeping with his position as the preceptor of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar according to the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*, referred to in the text of Ch. V.].

APPENDIX III.

ON THE EARLY DAḶAVĀIS OF MYSORE.

Wilks appears to have had some misconception regarding the early Daḷavāis of Mysore. Indeed, while indicating that he had no access to the “*genuine* history of the Dulwoys,” during the period of Chāmarāja’s rule (1617-1637), he points out that in the manuscripts of the family history of the Daḷavāis available to him there is no reference to “*Veecrama Raj*” (Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya), his name itself having been “obliterated from their annals” (I. 56-57). If Wilks be understood to refer here to the manuscripts of the Daḷavāi family of Kaḷale, he does seem to be under an impression that from the beginning the Kaḷale Family regularly furnished Daḷavāis to the rulers of Mysore. We have, however, seen how, towards the close of Rāja Woḍeyar’s reign, there was an agreement between Kaḷale and Mysore regarding the furnishing of Daḷavāis by the former to the latter (*Ante*, Ch. V), but there is so far no evidence that it was observed by the Kaḷale Family till rather late in the seventeenth century. We have also seen how Karikāla-Mallarājaiya, the first Daḷavāi designate of the Kaḷale House, resigned his office, and how Rāja Woḍeyar, in the last year of his reign, had to make his own choice in the person of Beṭṭada-Arasu (*Ibid*). Beṭṭada-Arasu continued in office under Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and he was followed by three others, namely, Bannūr Lingaṇṇa, Basavalingaṇṇa and Vikrama-Rāya, all locally chosen (*vide* text of Ch. VI, for details as to their periods of office). Beṭṭada-Arasu and Vikrama-Rāya were connected with the Mysore Royal Family, being natural sons (*gāndharva-putrā*)¹ of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother of

1. Sons by marriage by the *Gāndharva* as distinguished from the *Brāhma* form of marriage.

Rāja Woḍeyar, while Bannūr Linganna and Basavalinganna were private persons belonging to the Vīra-Śaiva community (see *Annals*, I. 63). There seems accordingly no reason why these early Daḷavāis should figure in the annals of the Kaḷale Family as Wilks appears inclined to think. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* itself, relied upon by Wilks but not perhaps thoroughly examined by him in the original, refers to all the four Daḷavāis of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in regular succession (I. 66). Stray inscriptions also, as we have shown (*vide* Ch. VI, f.n. 6 and 42), refer to two of these. We have thus enough data bearing on the "genuine history" of the early Daḷavāis of Mysore. Another misconception Wilks appears to have been labouring under was that in the period of Chāmarāja's rule the office of General and Minister was held by one and the same person, namely, Vikrama-Rāya (I. 56). But, we know, these two were distinct offices, held by separate individuals (*vide* text of Ch. VI: see under *Ministers, Daḷavāis, etc.*). A third misconception of Wilks is in regard to the rôle of Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya as the supposed minister of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. He writes (I. 57): "The preceding Raja [Chāmarāja Woḍeyar] had succeeded to the government at the early age of fifteen. We may conjecture from subsequent events that his minister had found him of an easy temper; and in the mode so familiar to Indian courts of modern 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 perpetual tutelage." There seems absolutely no foundation for this conjecture. Wilks speaks as though Vikrama-Rāya was the only Daḷavāi and minister of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar throughout the latter's reign, and makes his statements more in the light of later happenings than the realities of the case. We have, however, seen that Vikrama-Rāya was the fourth

and last Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja 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-DĒVARĀJA WOḌEYAR AND HIS SONS.

The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 53-54) refers to the Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of the *Annals* (I. 16, 95) as Muduka-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, "Muppina" and "Muduka" (lit. old) being synonymous with each other. According to the former manuscript (I. 53-54, II. 55, compared), Muppina-Dēvarāja had two wives, Hiriamma (Dēvājamma) and Kiriamma (Kempamma). By the first, he had a son by name Yeleyūr Dēparāja Woḍeyar, who saved Rāja 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-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar had four sons, Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*b. Durmati, Phālguna* *ba.* 3, Monday: February 18, 1622), Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*b. Prabhava, Jyēṣṭha* *ba.* 5, Friday: May 25, 1627), Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar, the last-mentioned being further referred to as the youngest of the four (*yivarellarigū kiriyavaru*) (see also Table IV). All these four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja 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, Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar and Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar being mentioned in the manuscript as the second and third sons respectively of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, whereas in the former sources Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar is invariably spoken of as the second, and Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar as the third son of his. We make use of the genealogical data of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, subject to correction in the light of earlier documents, the order of precedence followed therein being preferred.

(2) ON THE USURPATION AND FALL OF
DALAVĀI VIKRAMA-RĀYA.

The following is a summary of the traditionary account of the usurpation and fall of Dalavāi Vikrama-Rāya, as narrated in the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 45-51, II. 55 compared): On October 11, 1638 (*B a h u d h ā n y a*, *Āśvīja śu.* 14), three days after the death of Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar proceeded from Nallūr to Mysore, with a view to being installed; and took up his residence at the local gymnasium (*garaḍi-mane*). On the 19th (*Āśvīja ba.* 7), however, Dalavāi Vikrama-Rāya left Seringapatam on a tour in the State, leaving ten servants in the personal service of Kaṅṭhīrava. He returned to the capital about a month later, *i.e.*, on November 17 (*Kārtika ba.* 7). To Kaṅṭhīrava this was a trying situation, since Vikrama-Rāya was caring for his own ends. Two of Kaṅṭhīrava's faithful attendants, namely, *S u ṇ ṇ a d a - R ā m a* and Mahanta, pointed out to him that Vikrama-Rāya had killed by poison the preceding ruler Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, and that, intent on securing power for himself, he was bestowing offices on his own men. They sought also Kaṅṭhīrava's permission to put an end to the usurper. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Rangapataiya, an adherent of Vikrama-Rāya, having caught scent of these deliberations, advised him, on his return from the tour, to proceed to Mysore some time later. Vikrama-Rāya, feigning, for all outward purposes, to be loyal, went thither forthwith and showed himself up to Kaṅṭhīrava. After an interview he retired to his residence. About two hours later, on the night of the same day, Vikrama-Rāya 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 Kaṅṭhīrava (namely, *Suṇṇada-Rāma* and Mahanta)

descended the parapet wall of the backyard and fell upon the torch-bearer putting out the light. Sunṇada-Rāma, the first attendant, then stood in front of Vikrama-Rāya. "Who is it?" asked he. "Sunṇada-Rāma," was the reply. "Ah! I am undone by this wretch." So saying, Vikrama-Rāya flung a goblet at him. Evading the blow, Sunṇada-Rāma engaged Vikrama-Rāya 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, Sunṇada-Rāma 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-Rāya and made short work of him. On November 22 (*Kārtika* *ba.* 12, Thursday), Kaṇṭhīra-va-Narasarāja Woḍeyar succeeded to the throne of Mysore and he proceeded to Seringapatam on December 8 following (*Mārgaśira* *śu.* 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-Rāya and Kaṇṭhīra-va's first visit to Seringapatam after his installation. There is an air of suspicion and loose sequence of events in that part of the narrative relating to the assassination of Vikrama-Rāya and subsequent details. 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) ON THE *Muhammad-Nāmāh* AS AN AUTHORITY
ON THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM (1639).

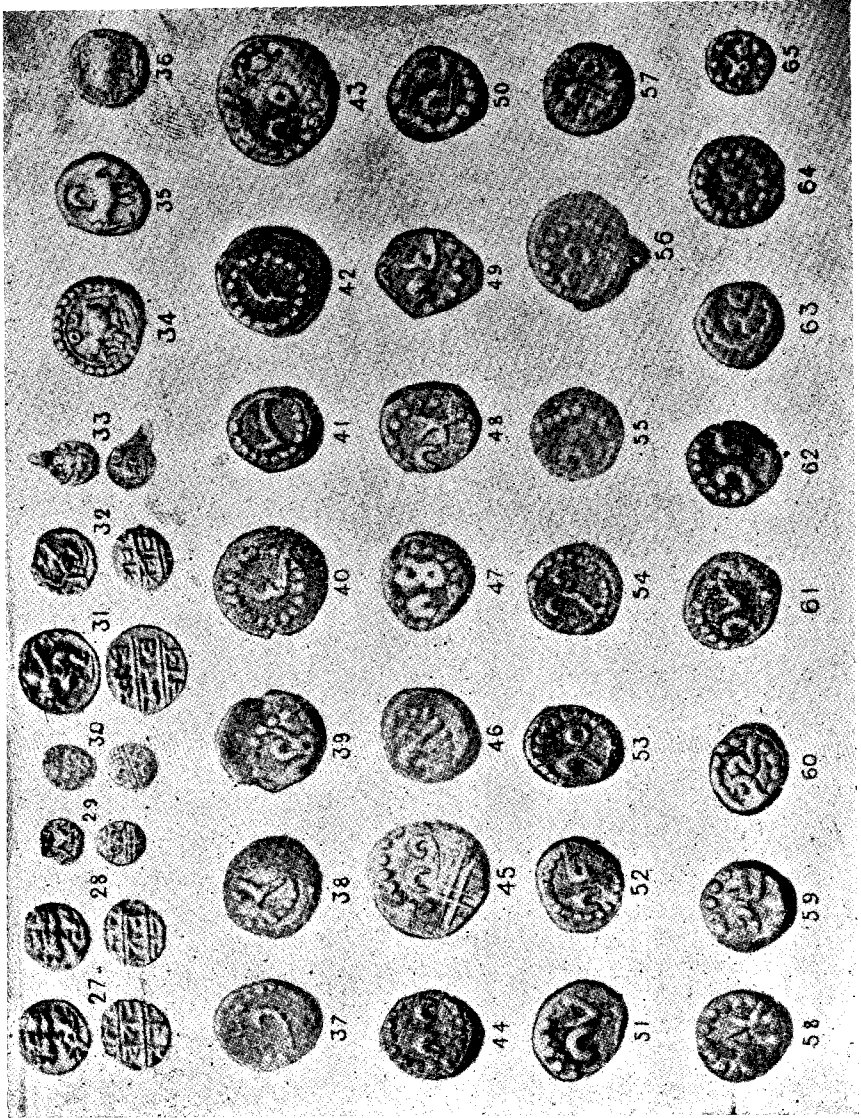
According to the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*¹ (pp. 170-171), a contemporary official history in Persian by Zahur bin

1. Quoted by J. Sarkar in his article, *A Page from Early Mysore History*, in the *M. R.*, November 1929, pp. 501-502. See also his article, *Shahjī Bhonsle in Mysore*, in *Ibid.*, July 1929, p. 9, briefly touching on the subject.

Zahuri, the siege of Seringapatam (*Srirangapatan*) took place in 1639: "Randaula Khan (who had lately been given the title of Rustam-i-Zaman) left Shahji Bhonsle in charge of the recently conquered fort of Bangalore and marched from that place in order to punish the Rajah of Srirangapatan, who was inordinately proud (or refractory) When he arrived near the fort of Srirangapatan, his troops began to fight and encircled the fort. After fighting and exertion on both sides had been protracted for nearly a month, the Rajah sent his envoy to Rustam Khan, saying 'Please leave the fort of Srirangapatan to me, as you have done to other (Rajahs) cherished on the salt of the August State [Bijapuri Government], and lay before the throne the five lakhs of *hun* in cash and presents 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 Srirangapatan, started for the Adilshahi capital. Kenge Nayak rebelled."

The reference in this version to the "Rajah of Srirangapatan" is to Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I of Mysore. The account on the Mysore side, as we have seen (*vide* Ch. VIII), is marked by definite chronological data and by fuller local details relating to the siege of Seringapatam and is corroborated by more than one particular source of information. The *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, on the other hand, though it has the merit of being contemporary, is relatively vague in regard to chronology, cause of action, and details of the campaign.²

2. See also S. K. Aiyangar's criticism of the Persian sources on the Bijāpur invasion of Mysore, in his article, *The Rise 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 scene of action and is, further, not corroborated by independent evidence so far. If we are to take literally the "submission of the Rajah," referred to, it is very much to be doubted whether Kanṭhīrava, after the crushing defeat he seems to have inflicted on Raṇadullā Khān, would have ever countenanced the idea of sending an envoy to the latter and offer him cash and presents in token of his submission. The contradiction is thus obvious. The submission may not have been an actual fact, although from an examination of all the available materials it seems probable that Raṇadullā Khān ultimately raised the siege of Seringapatam and retired to Bijāpur after the conclusion of a truce with Kanṭhīrava, and after having effected a mutually valuable settlement for the future safety of the Bijāpur 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 details).

(4) KANTHĪRAVA'S COINAGE.

Of the coins of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja 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 *Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇam* issued by Kanṭhīrava is familiarly known as *Agala-Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇa* (*Agala*, lit. broad) as distinguished from the well-known *Gidḍa-Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇa* (*Gidḍa*, lit. small) issued by Dewān Pūrṇaiya 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 Nāgari legend, with inter-linear double rules, probably standing for

1. Śrī

2. *Kamṭhi*
3. *rava* (PL. IX. 29)."

Another variety of the *Agala-Kaṅṭhīrāyī* 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 rules (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 Wodeyar Rule 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 Museum 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. *Śrī Kam (ṭhi)*
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 Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja." That Kanṭhīrava issued also the elephant type of copper coins (*Āne-Kāsu*) 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 elephants, which were stabled in the capital city of Seringapatam (see Ch. IX). Possibly the elephant type was issued by him in commemoration of the victory. The obverse of this type contains the figure of an elephant while the reverse is chequered (*vide* also article in the *Q. J. M. S.*, above cited, pp. 464-465, f.n. 114).

APPENDIX V.

(1) ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUCCESSOR OF KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA WOḌEYAR 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 Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the actual successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I. He is generally referred to in these sources as *Dodḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar*, either by way of distinguishing him from his successor Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar or by way of making him identical with *Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar*, father of Chikkadēvarāja, or both.¹ The earliest authority evidencing this method of identification is the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (c. 1710-1714), according to which Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, actually succeeded Kanṭhīrava I in August 1659 under the name Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), and later came to be known as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), especially in and after the reign of his nephew Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (II. 23, 25, 30, etc). The *Mys. Nag. Pūr.* (c. 1734-1740), however, speaks of the successor of Kanṭhīrava only under his original name Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar) (p. 29). The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (c. 1800) mentions him as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (p. 25). The *K. A. V.* (c. 1830) refers to him as “Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja

1. *Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja* stands for the prefix by which the name of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar), third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and successor of Kanṭhīrava I, is generally found mentioned in later writings. *Doḍḍadēvarāja* was the actual name of his elder brother, i.e., the eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704) [vide Chs. 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.

Woḍeyaraiyanavaru of Mysūru-nagara" (ff. 15). Dēva-chandra, in the *Rāj. Kath.* (1838), speaks of the succession of Dēvarāya (younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja) after the death of Kaṇṭhīrava, 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 Hangaḷa (*M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 24, pp. 161-163), originally dated in 1663, refers to "Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍēraiyanavaru" (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), the latter being identical with Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), 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 *Beṭṭadakōṭe-Kaiṣiyat* and the *Mysūru Dhoregaḷa-Vamśa-Pārampare-Kaiṣiyat* (c. 1800-1804) assume the successor of Kaṇṭhīrava 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 Kaṇṭhīrava of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as heir to succeed him, but subsequently assumes him to be identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (I. 93, 95-103).

Relying mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, Wilks, among modern writers, refers to "Kemp Devaia" (Kempadēvaiya) as the successor of Kaṇṭhīrava, 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 ("Muppin Deo Raj") "to the exclusion of the three elder brothers, and their male 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 age" 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" (Terakanāmbi) 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]. Rice generally follows Wilks's position (*Mys. Gaz.*, I. 365; *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 128), though in the *Introduction* to *E. C.*, 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 Kaṇṭhīrava, 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 interpretation 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 Kaṇṭhīrava's death in 1659 (see *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 282-285); but his position is hardly borne out by the internal evidence of the documents themselves, referred to by him. In the *Mys. Gaz.*, New edition (II. iv. 2441), Wilks's position is generally adhered to. An article entitled *Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore* (by N. Subba Rao, 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 Kanthīrava, between 1659-1673. It has now become possible to reconstruct the entire position relating to the identity, relationship, details of the reign, etc., of this Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with reference to the evidence 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 KANTHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA
WODEYAR I.

After dealing with the reign of Kanthīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, Tirumalārya, in his works (*C. Vam.* and *C. Vi.*), writes of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), making it appear as though he ruled in succession to Kanthīrava. 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 (*payanaḡatiyoḷ Śrīrangapaṭṭanamam sārdu*) and subsequently (*i.e.*, just before and after the birth of his son Chikkadēvarāja) ruling from there seated on the jewelled throne (*Doḍḍadēva mahārāyam Śrīrangapaṭṭana rājadhāniyōḷ ratna-simhāsanārūḍhanāgi sāmṛājyam geyyuttire*). He next speaks of Doḍḍadēvarāja as having made up his mind, in accordance with the family precedent as he is made to say, to proceed on a pilgrimage and perform penance (*tīrthayātrādi tapassāmṛājyama-nanubhavipem*), after relieving himself of his burden by arranging for the succession 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

(*kiriyarasutanamam kumāra Chikkadēvarāyanga marisi*). He further speaks of how Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, having installed and suitably advised Kempadēvaiya, and having placed his own sons (Chikkadēvarāja and Kaṅṭhīravaiya) and his last brother (Mariyadēvaiya or Maridēvarāja) under his (Kempadēvaiya's) care and protection, proceeded to the banks of the Kaunḍinī in the south, and how he eventually passed away there after performing penance for a long time (*palavum kālam tapam geydu*) (*C. Vam.*, 37-48, 89-160, 160-185, 185-188 ; *C. Vi.*, III, also IV, 170-180).

In examining the above position of Tirumalārya, it is to be remembered that he wrote as a poet after the death of Doḍḍadēvarāja and during the reign of the latter's son Chikkadēvarāja (1673-1704), with whom he was intimately connected as his co-student and companion. Tirumalārya's primary object, as is obvious from the texts, was to glorify the birth, and anticipate the eventual succession, of his hero Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and, incidentally, to hallow and exalt Chikkadēva's father (Doḍḍadēva) as an ideal 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 Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar could have been ruling independently from Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne, before and after the birth of Chikkadēvarāja as is depicted, for we learn from the texts themselves that the latter was born in 1645 (*Pārthiva*) (*Ibid*, 166 ; *Ibid*, IV, 51), and it is well known that the actual ruler of Mysore in Seringapatam between 1638-1659 was Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I. Doḍḍadēvarāja was, accordingly, a contemporary of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa, 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

Kaṅṭhīrava 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 Kempadēvaiya after arranging for the care and protection of his last surviving brother Maridēvarāja and his own two minor sons Chikkadēvarāja and Kaṅṭhīravaiya. 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 Doḍḍadēvarāja and the actual succession of Dēvarāja to the throne of Seringapatam after the death of Kaṅṭhīrava (in July 1659). Doḍḍadēvarāja was born on February 18, 1622 [see Appendix IV—(1)]. His renunciation at a comparatively early age of 37 or so was, perhaps, due as much to domestic affliction caused by the premature death of his first younger brother (Chikkadēvaiya or Chikkadēvarāja) as to family precedent. Unless therefore Tirumalārya is understood and appraised on this footing, it would be uncritical to accept him literally as a poet.¹ For further details about Doḍḍadēvarāja, see under *Domestic life* in Chs. IX-X.

1. Cf. *Ancient India* (p. 295), where S. K. Aiyangar, accepting literally Tirumalārya, writes: "Tirumala Aiyangar himself makes Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja succeed nominally only, while Kempa-Dēviah, his third brother, was carrying on the administration in fact. The truth appears to be that Kempa-Dēviah, 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 interpretation, however, is neither in keeping with the internal evidence of the texts nor does it take sufficiently into account Tirumalārya's position as a poet. Cf. also the *Note* in the *C. Vam.* (p. 5), where Mr. M. A. Srinivasachar asserts that Doḍḍadēvarāja, elder son of [Muppina] Dēvarāja, succeeded Kaṅṭhīrava!

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 Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar as having taken place in 1696, on the following grounds. Firstly, the memoirs of the Daḷavāis which have few dates, place the invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore (1687); secondly, Pūrṇaiya's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, mentions it after the western conquests from Bednūr (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 Nawāb Zūlfikar Khān (the Mughal general) 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 evidence now available—noticed in detail in Ch. XI and f.n. thereto—is as follows: The earliest record extant, referring to and echoing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (under Dādaji, Jaitaji and Nimbāji) and its repulse by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, is the *Seringapatam Temple Copper-plate grant*, dated November 19, 1686. The chronicles are agreed that Kumāraiya was the Daḷavāi of Mysore only up to May 26, 1682, when he was succeeded by his nephew Doḍḍaiya (1682-1690). From the Jesuit letter (1682) and the letter to *Fort St. George* (1682), it would be obvious that Daḷavāi Kumāraiya 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 siege of Trichinopoly and marched on under Doḍḍaiya to fight the Mahrattas near Seringapatam. Again, Vīrarāja of Kaḷale, in his *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitā-Sārārṇava* (c. 1714-1720) and *Āndhra-Vachana-Bhāratamu—Sabhā-Parvamu* (1731), alludes to the exploits of his father Daḷavāi Doḍḍaiya against the Mahrattas under Dādaji, Jaitaji, Nimbāji and others during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The Mahratta generals, referred to in these and other sources, were contemporaries and belonged to the army of Śivāji and Sambhāji; and they carried on their warlike activities in Southern India and Mysore during c. 1680-1682, i.e., shortly after the death of Śivāji.

In the light of all these data, the manuscripts mentioned by Wilks—later compilations as they are—do not seem to have been quite correct in placing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and Daḷavāi Kumāraiya's siege 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 Śāntaji, Dhanaji and other leaders, during Aurangzib's prolonged siege of Gingee (1691-1698) [see J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, V. 122-130]. It has absolutely no bearing on the Mahratta invasion of Mysore under earlier generals like Dādaji, Jaitaji and Nimbāji. Accordingly, the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam could not have taken place later than April 1682, the last year of Kumāraiya's period of office as Daḷavāi 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 *Mys. Gaz.* (Old edition), I. 368, (New edition) IV. ii. 2447; and in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 207. The last-mentioned work (l.c.) even speaks of the successful repulse of the Mysore army by Mangammā! (the dowager-queen of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura), for which there is no evidence. 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) CHIKKADĒVARAJA'S COINAGE.

In the *M. A. R.* (1929, pp. 32-33), Dr. M. H. Krishna attributes two types of coins to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, 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 *Kālinga-mardana* and in the former, of *Navanīta-nritta-Krishna*.

Reverse : Three-line Nāgari legend with single intervening rules :

1. *Śrī Chi*
2. *Ka de va.*
3. *rā ja*

[PL. IX. 31.]

A half-*varaha* weighing 25·7 grains has been published by Elliot (No. 107) and another exists in the Bangalore Museum Collection. It is exactly similar to the above *varaha*, but the legend appears to be slightly different (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 Kannaḍa Numeral 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 numeral. These numbers range generally from one to thirty-one and there can be little doubt that they belong to some Mysore king. As all the varieties 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 regnal 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 Krishṇarāja who reigned between 1713 and 1731. But it may be noted here that the Mysore king who reigned for 31 years and died in the 32nd year was Chikkadēvarāja who reigned from 1672 to 1704. It may also be noted that it was in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja that Mughal influence was very strong at Mysore leading to a political alliance between Chikkadēvarāja and Aurangzīb and 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 Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita, might have introduced the system of minting the regnal years on the copper coins, to commemorate the accession to the throne of his friend and pupil Chikkadēvarāja. However, the attribution cannot be beyond doubt as no corroborative evidence 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 numeral 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 Chikkadēvarāja was possibly continued by his successors."

As regards the *Krishṇa type* referred to above, there is little doubt that Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar 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 Krishna represented in the dancing posture on the hoods of a cobra (*Kāṅga-mardana*), for it symbolises Chikkadēvarāja's sports over his enemies, and the coin itself was actually known as *Tāṅḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēva-Rāya* (*vide* under *Coinage and Currency* in Ch. XII). In regard to the *Kannāḍa Numeral type*, there is no evidence in favour of the view that Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar could have issued it, nor in support of the position that the 32, or 31, numerals represent the period of Chikkadēvarāja's rule. The possibility of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit having under the Mughal influence minted "the regnal 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 Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit's death (1686). The copper coins may as well have been issued by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II who also ruled for 32 years (1734-1766). Again, since the latest available numeral 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 AUTHORSHIP OF THE *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvali*.

The *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvali*, as distinct from the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamsāvali* of Tirumalārya, 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 *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, when they first published the work in 1901, referred to it as an anonymous one (see *Introduction*). Subsequently, however, the author of the *Karṇāṭaka-*

Kavi-Charite (II. 506-507), on the authority of a manuscript of the poem from the Madras Oriental Mss. Library, attempted to assign its authorship to one Vēṇugōpāla-Varaprasāda, without citing the relevant text. He was, at the same time, inclined to doubt if Timma-Kavi could not have written the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*, on grounds of the latter's references to God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla in his own works and the occurrence in the poem of some verses from his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 507). But he refrained from deciding the point in favour of Timma-Kavi, in the specific absence of the name of the author of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*.

The manuscript of the work above referred to, now examined by us (No. 18-18-4, ff. 1-25—*P.L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), agrees in the main with the published text, ending only, however, with a passage as follows: *Śrīmad Vēṇugōpālana vara-prasādēna kṛta Chigadēvarāya-Mahārāyara-Vamśāvalige śōbhana mastu*. This passage merely indicates the conclusion of the work entitled *Chikkadēva-Mahārāyara-Vamśāvali* (a colloquial form of *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*), written under the favour or benediction of God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla. Obviously the author was a devotee of that God. The ascription of the work to a person of the name of Vēṇugōpāla-Varaprasāda, as has been done in the *Karṇātaka-Kavi-Charite*, becomes accordingly meaningless—a position due evidently to a misreading of the relevant passage in question, *i.e.*, *Vēṇugōpāla-varaprasādēna* for *Vēṇugōpālana 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-Vamśāvali*), on the following grounds: Firstly, Timma-Kavi directly refers to himself both in his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 21) and *Paśchimaranga-Māhātmya* (I, 11)

as a devotee of God Śrī-Vēṅṅopāla, which tallies with the statement of the manuscript of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvaḷi* that its author was one who wrote by the favour of that Deity. Secondly, in the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 26), Timma-Kavi refers to Gōpāla as his preceptor (*guru*), in almost the same language and spirit as he does in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvaḷi* (vv. 10 and 56). Thirdly, the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvaḷi* evidences a free borrowing of a large number of verses and prose passages from the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* [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 *Yād.-Māhāt.*] Perhaps the only arguments militating against the above, would be: some of the verses in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamsāvaḷi*—particularly verses 1 to 9 and 11 to 78—are not to be seen in the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*; 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-Vamsāvaḷi*, this being by far the most important portion of his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* 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 clues 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 President 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 repetition here.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 Rosamond, 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 regent 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 all his dealings, and an enemy of flatterers and favourites. His sincere 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 age 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 have

been assailed by believers in the historicity of tradition! 'Here,' they would have said, 'is an impudent fellow who pretends 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 all the facts of his career must have been widely known? No reasonable person can doubt that Falstaff was as real as Piers Gaveston.' As we have seen, however, the only evidence for Falstaff's existence is tradition, and tradition can never be evidence for an historical fact. He is a purely mythical character, who plays Silenus to Henry's Dionysus, as does Abu Nawas to the Dionysus of Harun-al-Rashid.

"The assimilation of the king to Dionysus no doubt goes back to a time when an aspirant to the throne had to perform various rites and undergo various ordeals, but whether these 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 have 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 evidence. When the names of real persons are mentioned, these 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 age to age, 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 (sc. 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 Roland which we possess was written by an Anglo-Norman scribe some thirty years after the conquest of England. If the Normans of that age wanted an epic sung to them, surely a good subject lay ready to hand. Yet as a matter of fact their great epic is all 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. 52-55.

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 parallels from Indian traditionary tales can be easily adduced. “ Just as,” 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

3. W. Leaf, *Homer 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 *Rāmāyaṇa* 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 traditionary 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 Viśālāksha. 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 Pāṇḍyan king of old. The story of this notorious impalement had been current for ages—nearly 400 years or so—by then and the suggestion that such an impalement was practised in the time of Chikkadēva stands uncorroborated even in Wilks and Dēvachandra. The inference seems inevitable 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 Pāṇḍyan king, a phrase—*Kazhwikkēttaradu*—with which the Jesuit Fathers, who had learnt Tamil, the dominant language of the Madura country, were evidently familiar. And what they seem to have 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 mere oral communication from mouth to mouth through the generations, ever subject to the incident of mutation in the very process of handing down—from becoming something entirely different 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 these causes, his minister Viśālāksha 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 him absolutely, even in his own native village. Only it has been unjust to his master in making him responsible for very much more than his share in the results that followed his acts.

(5) *Kazhwikkēttaradu.*

The story of the impalement of 8,000 Jains by a Pāṇḍyan king is told in the Madura *Sthāḷa-Purāṇa* and is reflected in the other local chronicles as well in the neighbourhood. Tradition current in Madura refers to the contest that occurred between the Jains and Śaivites in the days of Tirugnāna-Sambandar. If the *Periya-Purāṇam*, a Tamil work treating of the sixty-three devotees of Śiva, is to be believed, this king should be identified with Neḍumāran who was converted to Śaivism from the Jain faith by the famous saint Tirugnāna-Sambandar (c. 7th cent. A.D.). According to the Madura *Sthāḷa-Purāṇa*, this king was also known as Kubja-Pāṇḍya, because he was a hunchback. He was, it would seem, originally a Śaiva but was converted to Jainism and from the date he became a Jain, he, it is added, persecuted his Śaivite subjects. His queen Mangaikkarasi, however, remained a Śaivite in secret and induced Tirugnāna 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 Śaivism and changed his name to Sundara-Pāṇḍya, or the beautiful Pāṇḍya, and decreed the death of all Jains who refused to embrace Śaivism. Those who did not join the Śaivite 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

Kazhwikkēttaradu, the act of impaling on the point of the sword.

The king Sundara-Pāṇḍya of this tale has been identified with Māravarman Arikēsari, who boasts of having won the battle of Nelvēli. If the impaling had been a fact—it is obviously much exaggerated in the Śaiva *Purāṇas*—it would have been referred to in the *Chinnamanūr copper-plates* and the *Velvikkudī grant* which throw considerable light on the early Pāṇḍyan kings up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The omission to do so is the more remarkable because Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka, who issued the *Velvikkudī grant*, ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne next after the son of Neḍumāran.

Neḍumāran, for the services he rendered to the Śaiva cause, was translated to the position of a saint and became thus one of the famous sixty-three celebrated in the *Periya-Purāṇam*. The period of his rule has been fixed by some scholars between 650-680 A.D. (K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, 127; see also *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3). Internal evidence afforded by one of his hymns—in which Tirugnāna refers to Sirūttonḍan who fought at the battle of Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi) which took place in 642 A.D.—seems to confirm this date, which fixes him to a period later than that event (*i.e.*, to the latter half of the 7th century A.D.). For the date of Tirugnāna-Sambandar, see *E. I.*, III. 277-278; *I. A.*, XXV. 113, 116; *S. I. I.*, II. 152. For references to the traditionary tales connected with him, see W. Francis, *Madura Dist. Gaz.*, 29 and 74; *South Arcot Dist. Gaz.*, 97.

In one of his verses, Tirugnāna-Sambandar prays for Śiva's grace to deliver him from fear. Treacherous Jains, he says, have lit for him a fire, which, he implores, may go to the Pāṇḍyan king (as fever), so that he might know the torture of slow flame (*Paḍigam* 112; *Periya-Purāṇam*, 701, 715). The reference here 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 Śiva that the fire might be transformed into a slow consuming fever and go in that form to the Pāṇḍyan 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 impalement of 8,000 Jains, in the manner described above. Tradition has been busy here as elsewhere. If the evidence afforded by Tirugnāna'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 Chōḷa king who had been married to a Pāṇḍyan king; that this queen was an ardent Śaivite; that the king's minister Kulachchirai was also a Śaivite; that the queen took a personal interest in the welfare of Tirugnāna who was contending against the Jains who had won over her husband, the Pāṇḍyan king, to their faith; and that the Jains had set fire to Tirugnāna's house and Tirugnāna prayed that that fire, transformed into a fever, might go to the Pāṇḍyan king, then a Jain. This happened and the king was re-converted with Tirugnāna's aid. Conceptions of popular justice required that the Jains should be punished for their supposed iniquities, and the impalement of 8,000 Jains was the result. Tradition cannot be other than tradition.

Kingsbury and Phillips render the verse of Sambandar referred to above thus:—

O, Thou whose form is fiery red,
 In holy Ālavāy, our Sire,
 In grace deliver me from dread.
 False Jains have lit me a fire:
 O, let it to the Pāṇḍyan ruler go,
 That he the torture of slow flame may know.

(See *Hymns of Tamil Śaivite Saints*, 32-33, by F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips, in the *Heritage 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 (Tirugnāna) 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, Tirugnāna-Sambandar and Sundarar are yet available on the lines on which the late Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope brought out the hymns of Māṇikyāvāchakar (*Tiruvāchakam*, 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 ceremonies (*Śat. Br.*; *Br. Ār. Up.*). *Arka* means also the *membrum virile* (*A. V.*, VI. 72-1). Manu enumerates eight kinds of marriage (III. 21), which are: Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Paisācha. Cf. Yājñavalkya, 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 (*chaturthādi vivāhārtham tritīyōrka samudvahēt—Kāśyapa*). Gārga thus says as to a third marriage:

Grihasyād ēka patnīkaḥ sa kāmi chōdvahēt param |
 Tritīyam nōdvahēt kanyām chaturthīmapī chōdvahēt |
 Tritīyam udvahēt kanyām mōhādajnanātōpi yāt |
 Dhana-dhānyāyushān hāni rōgi syād yadi jīvati |
 Tritīyōdvāha siddhyartha marka-vriksham samu-
 dvahēt |
 Grāmāt prāchīmudīchīm vā gachchēd yatraiva
 tiṣṭhati |
 Yathārkam sōbhanam kritvā kritvā bhūmīncha
 sōbhītam |

Vastrēna tantunā vēṣṭya brāhmanastam pariśrayēt |
Svaśākhōkta vidhānēna hōmāntē agnim sva ātmani |
Ārōpyaiva 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 damsel. 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 detail (as in a marriage). He should invest the *māngalya-sūtra* to that plant agreeably to the ritual and to the *śākhā* 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 all other obstacles and then he can marry (the third) damsel without further doubt, which should accordingly be considered as the fourth (marriage)—see *Smṛiti-Muktāvali, Sōḍaśakarṃa prakaraṇam*, 139-140, in the *Madhva-Siddhānta Granthamālā Series*, Ed. by Krishṇāchārya, Śrī Krishṇa Mudrā Press, Uḍipi. According to the *Trivarnikāchāra* of the Śvētāmbara 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” (*Akṛtvārka-vivāhantu trīyām yadi chōdvahēt | Vidhavā sā bhavēt kanyā tasmāt kāryam vichakshaṇā*!!)—quoted in *The Jain Law* (p. 216) by C. R. Jaina, Madras, 1927.

(7) ON THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF MYSORE, THE MAH-RATTAS AND THE MUGHALS TO EMPIRE IN THE SOUTH.

There is overwhelming evidence in support of the position that Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar based her claims to Empire in South India as the immediate 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 Śrī-Ranga VI (1647), the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire became rapid. During Śrī-Ranga's long sojourn in the south (1647-1663), he had no recognised capital, although he formally claimed to rule from Penukoṇḍa, Chandragiri or Bēlūr. While the Deccani powers of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa were in quick succession occupying his imperial possessions in South India (1647-1656), the kingdom of Mysore under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja 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 Karnāṭak ceased, and they retired home dividing their spoils. During the next three decades they were so thoroughly absorbed in their struggle with the Mughals in the Deccan that they could hardly devote their attention to Karnāṭak affairs, beyond leaving its administration in the hands of their generals (like Shāhji 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 Bijāpur-belt of territory in the north, while her attempts to maintain the *status quo ante* in the direction of Ikkēri and Madura in the north-west and the south-east tended to rouse the persistent opposition and hostility of those neighbours. An immediate result of this policy of Mysore is reflected in the futile invasion of Seringapatam—in the very first year of accession of

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673)—by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1645-1660) who, on the plea of restoring the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga in the Karnāṭak, won him over from the allegiance of Mysore, only to make him pursue an hostile attitude towards her from Bēlūr. Śrī-Ranga, however, met with little success owing to the weakness of the successors of Śivappa Nāyaka and the steady advance of Mysore on Ikkēri, so that in 1663 he had to leave Bēlūr 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 Śrī-Vaiṣṇava family of Royal preceptors of the Āravīḍu Dynasty to the court of Dēvarāja (1663). At the same time imperial ideas and ideals began to take root in the congenial soil of Seringapatam. Śrī-Ranga, in view of these developments, made one more, and last, effort to recover his position from Mysore by allying himself with Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura (1659-1682) and other feudatories, and laying siege to the fort of Ērōḍe belonging to her (1667). Mysore, however, ultimately came out successful in the siege and Śrī-Ranga, sorely disappointed, disappeared from the vortex of South Indian politics. In Seringapatam, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, far from severing his connection with the Vijayanagar Empire, gradually stepped into the imperial status itself (as is significantly borne out by the assumption of imperial titles by him), and paved the way for the independence of the kingdom and her future political development. With Madura, Gingee and Ikkēri 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, representative of

Vijayanagar (1673). She soon found herself placed in an eminently advantageous position to extend, preserve and unite, in the true imperial spirit of the times, what was still left of the derelict 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 Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma I, the then Vijayanagar king, against Daḷavāi Kumāraiya (of Mysore) in the battle of Hāssan (1674), Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704) began his untiring activities in all directions. And his assumption of the titles *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country) and *Dakshinādik-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the South), as is amply borne out by the records of his own period, from this time onward, acquires supreme significance in South Indian History (for a fuller treatment of this course of affairs, *vide* Chs. VIII, X and XI, with documentary details 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 recent years in favour of the view that the Mahratta State in the South owed its existence to the genius of Shāhji under Vijayanagar influence, and that his son Śivāji 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 evidence,⁴ to lend support to these suggestions, although the trend of all

4. Śivāji's coronation (1674) and his Karnāṭak expedition (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 Śrī-Ranga 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 Aurang-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 Shāhji and Śivāji) was only of an indirect character, their rise to power in the South being mainly rooted in, and conditioned by, the Shāhi state of Bijāpur in the Deccan. Accordingly, the extension of Mahratta power and influence in South India under Śivāji and his immediate successors was more in the footsteps of Bijāpur than of Vijayanagar (whose sphere 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 *sardēsmukhi* from the feudatories of the old Vijayanagar Empire, than from an instinctive desire to unite the heterogenous elements into an autonomous whole and evolve a beneficial system of government over the length and breadth of the land. Again, even as regards their united resistance to Mughal advance on the South, they were treading more in the footsteps of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa 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 Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa (1686-1687) was in the nature of a military conquest of an alien power, by way of continuation of the policy of the early Sultāns of Delhi. Mughal

(see *Editorial Notes* in *Nāyakas of Mādura*, 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 evolution of Mysore during 1647-1674. Mahratta sovereignty in the South was itself a matter of gradual development in the wake of Śivāji's Karnāṭak expedition of 1677, when he himself found that he had been anticipated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore as the sole, and natural, representative of Vijayanagar in the Karnāṭaka country (see *supra*; also Ch. XI, for details). And we have definite evidence of Sambhāji, son and successor of Śivāji, assuming the title of Emperor (*Śambhōji-Chakravartī*) for the first time in July 1680 (see *E. C.*, 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 Aurangzīb 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.
