

CHAPTER X.

DEVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1659-1673.

Lineal descent—Birth, accession and identity—Political situation—Political Development: *First Phase*: 1659-1660—Mysore and Ikkeri—Action at Grama, c. September 1659—Siege of Seringapatam, c. October 1659-January 1660—Sivappa Nayaka's retirement, c. January 1660—His death, September 25, 1660—*Second Phase*: 1660-1664—General course of events—Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkeri: Wars and counter-wars, c. 1661-1662—War continued, 1662-1663—Advance on Ikkeri, 1664—Peace—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1664: Sri-Ranga VI in Belur, 1659-1663—Devaraja's position in relation to Sri-Ranga VI: his titles, etc.—*Third Phase*: 1665-1668—Local conquests, etc.—Mysore and the South, down to 1667: General course of affairs—Siege of Erode, c. January-June 1667—Acquisition of Erode, etc., June 1667-February 1668—Other events, 1667-1668—*Fourth Phase*: 1668-1673—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1673—Local position of Devaraja, 1668-1673—Political position of Mysore, 1673—Devaraja's Rule: General features—Ministers, Officers, Dalavais, etc.—Administrative measures—Religion—Gifts, etc.—Grants and other records, 1659-1673: (a) 1659-1663—(b) 1664-1668—(c) 1669-1673—Statue of Devaraja—Social life: General features—Court culture—Devaraja as a patron of learning and culture—Literary progress—Early European intercourse with Mysore, 1671—Domestic life: Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—The Rise of the Kalale Family, down to 1673—Death of Devaraja Wodeyar, February 11, 1673—An estimate of Devaraja Wodeyar—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a "Maker of Mysore"—Devaraja in tradition.

WITH the death of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, the only infant son of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, towards the close of the latter's reign,¹ direct lineal descent in the line of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar ceased. The succession

Lineal descent.

1. *Ante*, Ch. IX.

accordingly devolved on the descendants of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Of the members of this branch of the Royal Family, once before referred to,² the eldest was Yeleyūr Dēparāja Woḍeyar, son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his first wife Dēvājamma. Little is known of him subsequent to 1607. As regards the other four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja by his junior wife Kempamma, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Chikkadēvaiya), the second, had predeceased his brothers, and Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Doḍḍadēvaiya), the eldest, had by 1659 renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his next younger brother, Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvaiya), leaving under the latter's care and protection Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar (Maridēvaiya), the last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, and his own two minor sons, Chikkadēvarāja (b. 1645) and Kaṇṭhīravaiya (b. 1647).³ Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar or, as he was more familiarly known, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the *third* son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, was then the nearest heir to the throne of Mysore, and he is said to have been sent for from Guṇḍlu and formally adopted by Kaṇṭhīra-Narasarāja Woḍeyar on July 28, 1659 (*i.e.*, three days before Kaṇṭhīrava's death) to succeed him.⁴

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on August 19, 1659,⁵ eighteen days after the death of Kaṇṭhīra-Narasarāja Woḍeyar. He was born on May 25, 1627,⁶ and was in his thirty-third year at the time of his

Birth, accession
and identity.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII; *vide* also Appendix IV—(2) and Tables II-IV (compare).
3. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); see also under *Domestic life*, for further particulars about Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar; cf. *Wilks*, I. 67-68; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 295; and Appendix V—(1).
4. *Annals*, I. 93; see also and compare the authorities in Appendix V—(1).
5. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 57, II. 23 (compared): *Vikāri*, *Bhādrapada śu.* 12. The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (25) places the accession in *Bhādrapada śu.* 1 (August 9, 1659); the *Annals* (I. 95), in *Bhādrapada śu.* 10 (August 17, 1659); and the *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 475), in *Sārvarī*, *Mārgaśira ba.* 1 (December 7, 1660). The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here.
6. *Ibid.*, I. 53, II. 55 (compared): *Prabhava*, *Jyēṣṭha ba.* 5, Friday; *Annals*, l.c.; see also Appendix IV—(1).

accession. He is identical with “Dēvarāja Woḍeya,” “Dēvarāja Woḍeyar,” “Dēvarāja Waḍeyaraiya,” “Mysūru Dēvarāja Woḍeyar,” “Dēva-Bhūpāla or Mahīpāla” and “Dēvarāja-Kshitiśaḥ”—referred to as the son of Dēpa or Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Muppina-Dēvarāja) and grandson of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (Bōḷa-Chāmarāja), in lithic and copper-plate inscriptions ranging successively from 1659 to 1673.⁷ Some of these documents, we find, are also issued under his own signature in Kannaḍa, as *Śrī-Dēvarāju*, *Śrī-Dēvarāja*, and *Śrī-Dēvarāja Waḍeyaraiyanavaruru*,⁸ while the *Hālagere* and *Bhērya copper-plate grants* (dated in 1663 and 1666 respectively) specifically mention him as the *third* son of (Muppina) Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by *Kempamāmbā* (Kempamma).⁹ Contemporary literary works (c. 1670) refer to him as “Dēvarājēndra,” son of Dēparāja (Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar).¹⁰ In keeping with these sources are the literary

7. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*.

For the identification of the successor of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa I in later writings and modern works, see Appendix V—(1).

8. See, for instance, texts of *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114; XII Kg. 37; TN. 23 (1663); IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666) and 43 (1667); Hg. 119 and 120 (1670).

9. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 41-48: *Tritīyaśrīta-jana surabhūjō Dēvarāja-Kshitiśaḥ . . . rakshati dharām . . . dharātalam prasāsati*; IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 156 (Text):

*Śrī-Dēvarājānṛpa makūṭa maṇēḥ Kempamāmbōdarābdhau
Vishṇōrumśēna jātaḥ . . . Dēvarāja-Kshitiśrah ||*

Kg. 37 refers, in a general way, to all the four sons of [Muppina] Dēvarāja (Dēparāja) being known as Dēvarāja (Dēparāja), *vide* ll. 36-38:

*Dēpa-dharādhipātāḥ |
Chatvārōśya kumārāḥ . . . sarvē Śrī-Dēparāja nāmānāḥ ||*

E. C., IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) also speaks of them in a similar manner, *vide* ll. 13-15:

*Asya Śrī-Dēvarājasya Dēvarājēndra nāmākāḥ |
Chatvārō jagmīrē . . . nandanāḥ ||*

But we know their *actual names* (i.e., Doḍḍadēvarāja, Chikkadēvarāja, Kempadēvarāja and Maridēvarāja) from the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.*, *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, etc. See also Appendix IV—(1) and Tables II-IV.

10. See *Dēvarāja-Sāngatya*, I, 21-33; *Chauṣadadu-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 3, 12. For particulars about these works, *vide* section on *Literary progress*.

works and inscriptions of the period c. 1676-1722, which invariably speak of the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar) in succession to Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar,¹¹ while some of the works (c. 1676-1680) of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi, in particular, more definitely assign him a period of fourteen years' rule.¹²

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar began his reign in Seringapatam just at a time when Bijāpur and Political situation. Gōlkoṇḍa, at the end of their southern campaigns, had been involved in their death-struggle with Aurangzīb in the Deccan, leaving

11. See *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 28; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 64; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 47; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 40; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, I, 105; *Munivam.*, II, 76-77, etc. The actual expressions used are: *pinte negaḷte vetta Doḍḍadēva-mahiṣana tamma Dēvarāyam . . . dharitriyam paripālisidam*; *Doḍḍadēva-nṛpananujātam . . . Dēva-janapālam . . .*; *Dēvarāja-mahīpam dhareyam . . . Kaṅṭhīrava-nantaradoḷ tāleḍu*; *Doḍḍadēva-nṛpatiya sōdaranā Dēvarāja-janapam . . . mēḍiniyanāḷḍan*; *Doḍḍadēvarāyananujam Dēvarājendra . . . ḷā samrambhamam tāḷḍidam*; *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa-bhūpōttamana kālāntyadoḷu . . . Dēvarājōḍeyarigā . . . padaviya paṭṭa . . .*, etc.

For particulars about these works, *vide* Ch. XIV. The kingly designation ascribed to Doḍḍadēvarāja in these passages is, of course, to be understood as implying his joint rule with and under Kaṅṭhīrava I [*vide* Ch. IX and Appendix V—(2)]. Tirumalārya, in the *C. Vam.* (188-191) and *C. Vi.* (V-VI), also refers to the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother (*anujātam*) of Doḍḍadēvarāja. For a further examination and explanation of his position on this subject, see Appendix *Ibid.* Among inscriptions, *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686) and 64 (1722), *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, etc., merely repeat the lines from *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663) referring to the rule of Dēvarāja, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja. Some of the inscriptions of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704), in particular, only mention his direct descent from Muppina-Dēvarāja and Doḍḍadēvarāja [see, for instance, *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) and III (1) My. 7 (1685)], while one record [*E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), l. 17] refers to Dēvarāja, the predecessor of Chikkadēvarāja, as “Doḍḍadēvarāja” (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja), perhaps by way of distinguishing the two rulers, without, however, specifying the exact relationship between them.

12. See *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 65; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 49; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 42. The actual expressions used are: *Dēva-janapālam . . . chaturdaśavarṣam . . . porēda mahīyam*; *Dēva-nṛpamasūli . . . āḷḍan . . . chaturdaśa-varṣa-murviyam*; *padināḷku-varṣa-miḷeyam . . . āḷḍu.*

their Karnāṭak possessions under their deputies (particularly Shāhji in Bangalore); when Ikkēri, in the north-west of Mysore, had become prominent under Śivappa Nāyaka I (1645-1660); when Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar (1642-1664?-1681) had been established by Śivappa Nāyaka at Hāssan and Bēlūr; and when Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682), grandson of Tirumala Nāyaka, had succeeded to the kingdom of Madura. Troubles were still brewing in the southern frontier, consequent on the war between Mysore and Madura during the last years of the reigns of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar and Tirumala Nāyaka. Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, whose lot it had been to take part in that disastrous enterprise, continued to hold office early in the reign of Dēvarāja, when he was called upon to face a new situation.

For, shortly after the accession of Dēvarāja Wodeyar to the throne of Mysore (August 1659), Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri proceeded on an expedition to Seringapatam.¹³ Ever since the rejection of the offer of his alliance by Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I (in September 1647), referred to in an earlier chapter, Śivappa Nāyaka, it would appear, was waiting for an opportunity to proceed against, and wreak his vengeance on, Mysore.¹⁴ With this object in view he had sought assistance from influential quarters

Political Develop-
ment:

First Phase:
1659-1660.

Mysore and Ikkēri.

13. *C. Vam.*, 191. This work, as it has come down to us, stops abruptly at this point. For further particulars, we have to rely on other sources of information cited below. Śivappa Nāyaka's expedition to and siege of Seringapatam is dated in *Vikāri* (1659), in the *Ke. N. V.* (VII. 114-115). Since the event is further said to have taken place in the very year of the accession of Dēvarāja Wodeyar and during the period of office of Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, we would not be far wrong in fixing it between c. September 1659-January 1660. Cf. *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 21; and *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172, which fail to note the contemporaneity of the rulers of Mysore and Ikkēri and place the event in the latter part of Dēvarāja's reign or early in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja, for which there is absolutely no evidence.

14. *C. Vi.*, V, 18: . . . *anēka dinādīm Mahiśūrawasana samayadoḷ paḍibariswenembāse.*

(*piridum bigurtu neravanarasi*),¹⁵ and we have seen how, espousing the cause of Śrī-Ranga VI, he had, on the plea of restoring the suzerainty of Vijayanagar (*Rāya-samsthānavanuddharisalvēḷkendu*), acquired Hāssan and Bēlūr from Bijāpur in 1657 and how he had succeeded in establishing Śrī-Ranga (*nelegolisi nilisi*) at those places in 1659. These activities of Śivappa Nāyaka on the north-western frontiers of the kingdom of Mysore had been viewed with considerable alarm by Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa towards the close of his reign. And the situation became more serious about the latter part of 1659. Śivappa Nāyaka, ostensibly to safeguard the interests of the Vijayanagar Empire but really in furtherance of his own scheme of aggrandizement, had reinforced his army by quotas drawn from the Pālegārs of Sōde, Bīḷigi, Tarikere, Harapanahalli, Chintanakal, Maddagiri and Giḍuga, and by the levies raised by the chiefs of Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, Koḍagu and Maleyāla;¹⁶ and had encamped in the neighbourhood of Grāma, on his way to Seringapatam.¹⁷

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar despatched a large force under Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya (*Hampa-varya*), with instructions to oppose Śivappa Nāyaka. In the action which followed (c. September 1659), Śivappa Nāyaka is said to have won a brilliant victory, capturing Hamparājaiya with sixteen officers (*shōḍaśa sankhyā dhīra gurikāraram*) and several warriors, elephants and horses belonging to the Mysore army. He is also said to have taken possession of Grāma.¹⁸ Accompanied by Lakshmappa Nāyaka of

15. *C. Vam.*, 190.

16. *C. Vam.*, 191; *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 114, v. 37; see also *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 476) which closely follows the *C. Vam.*

17. *Ke. N. V.*, l.c.: *Paṭṭaṇaḍa mukhakke daṇḍam teraldaidi Grāmada samīpamam sārdu pāḷeyavanīḍiral.* Grāma is an extant village, the head-quarters of a *hōbḷi* of that name in the Hāssan taluk (see *List of villages*, 114).

18. *Ibid.*, VII. 114, v. 38-43.

Hole-Narasipur (who had turned hostile towards Mysore and who, it is said, had intrigued with Śivappa Nāyaka) and other turbulent Pālegārs, Śivappa Nāyaka next marched against Seringapatam itself.¹⁹ Bridging up the Cauvery, he crossed the river and, encamping near the fort, commenced a regular blockade of the place (c. October 1659).²⁰

The siege went on apace. Meanwhile, the authorities in Seringapatam, helpless and unable to withstand the attack, it is said, were obliged to seek the support of a Bijāpur contingent under Bahlūl Khān.²¹ Śivappa Nāyaka was, however, by a diplomatic move (*mantramukhadinda*), able to make him retire (*pindegese*), and was about to take possession of the fort.²² At this juncture, we are told, the besieged, being disheartened, won over by bribe the officers and agents of Śivappa Nāyaka and had recourse to certain counteracting rites and ceremonies,²³ in consequence of which Śivappa Nāyaka became indisposed, and, finding it inadvisable to prolong his stay in the enemy's country, raised the siege of Seringapatam and retraced his steps to Bednūr.²⁴

19. *Annals*, I. 98; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 25; also *C. Vi.*, V, 18-19.

20. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 115, v. 45-46: *pāleyavanilidu paṭṭaṇada koṅṭeyam vēdhaisal*.

21. *Ibid.*, v. 46: *yuddha-mukhadol nittarisalammade tamma sahāyakke Vijāpuradim sainyam verasu Balūla Khānanam teraḷchi taral*. The power of Bijāpur in the Karnāṭak being on the wane about this time, it is not unlikely her generals took part in local politics espousing the cause of one power against another.

22. *Ibid.*, l.c.

23. *Ibid.*: *koṅṭeyam vēdhaisida gurimānisargam mattam kelambar niyōgigalgam paridhānava nittantu malladābhichāra hōma muntāda dushkrtyangaḷa noḍarchal*. Wilks (I. 69) also refers to the employment of bribery in inducing the Ikkēri army to raise the siege. There is nothing improbable in this, seeing that the Mysore army was away and Dēvarāja had to oppose the enemy single-handed, almost immediately after his accession.

24. *Ibid.*: *dēhadolāyāsam puṭṭal, intappa kāladol satru sīmā sannivēśadola villirpudamuchitamendu bagedu . . . muttige degesi . . . sainyam verasu Vēṇupuramam sārdu*.

The retirement of Śivappa Nāyaka was attended with results disastrous to himself. Dēvarāja Wodeyar, assisted by the inhabitants of Seringapatam, hotly pursued the retreating enemy and in doing so laid waste Lakshmappa Nāyaka's territory as well. Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, having in the meanwhile recovered his lost ground, it would seem, joined in the pursuit and continued it, cutting off the noses of several men in Śivappa Nāyaka's army and returning to Seringapatam with considerable spoils (consisting of horses, elephants and insignias).²⁵

Śivappa Nāyaka's attempt on Seringapatam was thus foiled. He did not long survive his return home. He died on September 25, 1660,²⁶ almost at a time when the relations between Mysore and Ikkēri had become thoroughly embittered.

Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya had been succeeded by Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (in April 1660), and he was in turn followed by Muddaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanāthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kāntaiya (February 1662-April 1662) of Kaḷale, Nanjanāthaiya holding the office a second time (between April 1662-April 1667).²⁷ In Ikkēri, Śivappa Nāyaka I was succeeded by his younger brother, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka ruled till August 1661 and was followed by Bhadrappa Nāyaka (1661-1664) and Hiriya-Sōmaśekhara Nāyaka I (1664-1671), the eldest and younger sons, respectively, of Śivappa Nāyaka I.²⁸

25. *Chaupaṇḍa-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 7; *C. Vi.*, V, 20-24; *Mys. Rāj. Cha. and Annals*, l.c. See also *Wilks*, l.c.

26. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 116: *Śārvari, Āsvija śu.* 1.

27. *Annals*, I. 96-97; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 67-68. For further particulars, see under *Ministers, Daḷavāis*, etc.

28. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 116-117, VIII. 118-124, 124-128; see also Table XV.

Prospects of war and counter-war between Mysore and Ikkēri, ever since Śivappa Nāyaka's retreat from Seringapatam (c. January 1660), continued to be imminent. Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkēri: Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II (of Ikkēri), by way of checking the encroachments of Mysore (*Pattanaḍavar mērevaridede-yāḍadantu*), had stationed on the frontier of his dominions (*gaḍimukhadol*) an army under the charge of Śivalinga Nāyaka (Śivalingaiya), son-in-law of Śivappa Nāyaka.²⁹ Wars and counter-wars, c. 1661-1662. True to the expectations of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, towards the close of 1661, it would seem, the Mysore army resumed hostilities against Ikkēri by laying siege to the fort of Hebbāle.³⁰ Early in 1662, Bhadrappa Nāyaka (successor of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II) despatched the Ikkēri contingent under Śivalinga Nāyaka, against Mysore. Śivalinga Nāyaka marched on towards Bēlūr. Here, it is said, he met Emperor Śrī-Ranga and, reinforced by the forces of the latter (*Bēlūr-gaidi Rāyaram sandhisi tatsainyam verasu*), proceeded towards Hebbāle and raised its siege (*Hebbāle-kōṇṭeyam muttige-degesi*). Marching further, Śivalinga Nāyaka laid siege to Hoḷe-Narasipur (*Narasimhapura*) itself, then in the possession of Mysore. The Mysoreans, by way of retaliation, invested and took possession of the fort of Koṇanūr (*Koṇanūr-kōṇṭeyam tegeḍukoḷal*). Whereupon the forces of Ikkēri marched on thither and were preparing to bombard and retake the place.³¹ At this juncture, Dēvarāja Wodeyar despatched reinforcements under his Daḷavāi, Kāntaiya of Kaḷale.³² In or about March 1662, Kāntaiya, making rapid marches, encamped near the slope

29. *Ibid.*, VII. 117, v. 50.

30. *Ibid.*, VIII. 118, v. 2. Hebbāle is an extant *sarva-mānya* village in the Arkaḷgūḍ taluk (see *List of villages*, 131).

31. *Ibid.* Koṇanūr, another extant village in the Arkaḷgūḍ taluk (*Ibid.*, 132).

32. *Ibid.*, 119, v. 2-3.

overlooking Kaṇagāla (*Kaṇagālīḷeyol pāḷeyavanīḷiyal*).³³ Here, we are told, an action took place between Mysore and Ikkēri, in which both sides fought desperately. At length, however, Daḷavāi Kāntaiya sustained reverses and was forced to retreat, while at the same time Śivalinga Nāyaka himself, struck by an arrow from the Mysore side, fell dead on the field of battle.³⁴

Nevertheless Bhadrappa Nāyaka vigorously prosecuted the war, taking possession of Honnavāḷi, Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi, Kandikere, Būdivāḷa and other places on the outskirts of the kingdom of Mysore.³⁵ Daḷavāi Kāntaiya of Kaḷale having been succeeded by Nanjanāthaiya in April 1662, the latter resumed operations against Ikkēri towards the close of 1662. The power of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāṭ was fast dwindling away since 1656, so that, when Nanjanāthaiya directed hostilities principally against Ikkēri, important places belonging to these Shāhi kingdoms fell in regular succession. Thus, in January 1663, he acquired Chēḷūr, Bidare and Sampige, and in March, Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi (which had lately been taken by Ikkēri).³⁶ Proceeding further, Nanjanāthaiya strenuously pushed through the

33. *Ibid.*, v. 3. Kaṇagāla, a village probably identical with the extant *sarvamānya* Karigaḷale in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (*Ibid.*, 133). Parts of the present district of Hāssan, it is to be remembered, formed the bone of contention between Mysore and Ikkēri, early in the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.

34. *Ibid.*, 119, v. 4-6.

35. *Ibid.*, v. 6.

36. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 24-25; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 97; also *Wilks*, I. 70 (*List of conquests*). Wilks's statement (*Ibid.*, 69), however, that the Mysoreans "appear to have received from the royal pageant (Śrī-Ranga) forced grants of conquered districts, during this (1663) and the four subsequent years," is hardly borne out by the sources. See also *C. Vi.*, V, 93. The references to Dēvarāja's conquests, etc., in this work, are to be understood in their chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Among other sources, the *Hastī. Mahāt.* (I, 67) and inscriptions of 1663 [*E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23, l. 10; XII Kg. 37, ll. 72-74; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 24-25] refer to and echo Dēvarāja's victory over the Turushkas (*Turushkaram savari*; *sushkāsturushkāh*, etc.), obviously pointing to the activities of Mysore in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāṭ in 1662-1663.

war with Ikkēri, capturing the elephant named *Gangā-dhara* and taking possession of the celebrated and impregnable fortresses of Hāssan (*Hāsana*) and Sakrepaṭṇa (*Sakkarepaṭṭana*)—with their dependencies of Vastāre (*Vasudhāre*) and Honnavalli—in December (1663).³⁷

In February 1664, Bhadrappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri was succeeded by Hiriyā-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka I, younger son of Śivappa Nāyaka I.³⁸ Shortly after his accession, Hiriyā-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka, it would seem, retaliated against Mysore, resuming possession of Bekkōḍu, Belagōḍu, Kanatūr, Abbiṇa and Bēlūr.³⁹ Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya pushed on the operations against Ikkēri, carrying fire and sword into the Malnād, passing through Kaḷasa, Khāṇḍeya, Dānivāsa, Hebbe, Jāgara, Bednūr (*Bidarūr*) and Honnūr (*Ponnūr*), and thrashing Ikkēri itself (*Ikkēriya-nokkalikkisi*).⁴⁰ These activities on the Mysore side appear to have been continued up to about the latter part of 1664, for, from a lithic record dated October 11 (1664), we learn how Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya (*Nandināthaiya*) was sent against Ikkēri and how he was able to win a victory against it.⁴¹

Thoroughly overpowered, Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka, towards the close of 1664—shortly after Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya's return to Mysore—seems to have found it expedient to sue for peace, sending his ambassador, Purushōttamaiya, to the court of Seringapatam with presents (consisting of

37. *Ibid.*, II, 26, dating the acquisition in *Śōbhakrit, Mārgasira śu.* 13 (December 2, 1663); *Annals*, l.c.; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 25; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1636), ll. 39-41, referring to Dēvarāja's conquests from Ikkēri; Cf. *Wilks*, I, 71 (*List of conquests*); *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172.

38. *Ke. N. V.*, VIII, 124. 39. *Ibid.*, 125, v. 28-30. 40. *C. Vi.*, V, 26.

41. See *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46, ll. 13-17: *Daḷavāyi Nandināthaiyanu samarasannāhava māḍi Yikēriyavara-mēlaṇa-kāryakke kaḷuhisuvalli . . . ā kāryavu namage digvijayavāgalāgi.*

elephants, horses, robes and jewels) and an offer of submission to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁴² Hostilities ceased on the grant of a letter of assurance by Dēvarāja.⁴³ The net result of this five years' war (1659-1664) was that by 1665 the sphere of influence of Mysore was extended as far as Chiknāyakanahalli, Hāssan, Sakrepaṭṇa and Vastāre in the north and the north-west, in which region perfect security was established.⁴⁴

We have seen how in 1659 Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was established in Bēlūr by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri. However temporising the policy of the latter towards his suzerain, there seems little doubt that Śrī-Ranga himself was fully confident of the powers and abilities of Śivappa Nāyaka, especially after the death of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar. The failure of Śivappa Nāyaka to take Seringapatam by siege (in 1659) and the death of Śivappa himself in September 1660 proved, however, serious blows to Śrī-Ranga. So strident, indeed, were his hopes of imperial restoration and so thoroughly had he been won over by Śivappa's assurances, that he had even begun to view with disfavour the policy of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar towards Ikkēri and had, in 1662, actively lent his support to the Ikkēri general, Śivalinga Nāyaka, against Mysore. What little hope from Ikkēri Śrī-Ranga had—especially after the death of Śivappa Nāyaka—was blasted for ever by the successes achieved by Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya during January-March 1663. With Ikkēri, his sole supporter (since c. 1656), growing weaker and weaker, and Mysore rapidly absorbing the possessions of Śivappa Nāyaka, Śrī-Ranga's position in Bēlūr in 1663 became critical to a degree: to depend

42. *C. Vi.*, V, 27-30; see also *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 67, referring to Dēvarāja's victory over the Ikkēri (*Keḷadi*) chief.

43. *Ibid.*, 31: *nambuḡeyam pāḷisi*.

44. *Ibid.*, 32: *paḷḡuḡaḍeyam paḷuḷam baḍisi*.

any longer on Ikkēri seemed unsafe; to turn again for help to Mysore, having lately distrusted her, would be humiliating in the extreme. Such was the predicament in which Śrī-Ranga found himself placed about April 1663, when he appears to have finally left Bēlūr for the south.⁴⁵

The position of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar in Seringapatam, during 1659-1664, appears in significant contrast to that of Śrī-Ranga. In the earliest inscriptional records of Dēvarāja's reign (belonging to the years 1659-1660),⁴⁶ we find his name mentioned without any titles. In his lithic records, dated in March 1662,⁴⁷ he is styled a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* ruling in Seringapatam (*Śrīrangapattanavāḷuva*), while in another record, also lithic, dated in November,⁴⁸ he refers to himself as *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja Mysūra Dēvarāja Vadēraiyānavaru* (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, Emperor of kings). In the next series of records—lithic and copper-plate—ranging from April 1663 down to March 1664,⁴⁹ Dēvarāja Woḍeyar appears with a number of titles implying

Dēvarāja's position in relation to Śrī-Ranga VI: his titles, etc.

45. We have inscriptions of Śrī-Ranga from Bēlūr, ranging from 1659 to 1663, if not 1664 [see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386; *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 357, No. 160; also *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 39 and Mj. 21]. In the light of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (cited in f.n. 36 and 37 *supra*), Śrī-Ranga appears to have finally left Bēlūr for the south not later than c. April 1663, although grants continued to be issued in his name till 1664. For particulars about Śrī-Ranga after 1663, *vide* section on *Mysore and the South* (down to 1667).

46. See *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659); *J. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52 (1660). In the former record, mention is made of Śrī-Ranga-Rāya and "Dēvarāja Voḍeya" (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore). It seems to have been issued by Dēvarāja during the sojourn of Śrī-Ranga VI in Bēlūr and would afford the earliest indication of his acknowledgment of the latter's suzerainty in the very first year of his (Dēvarāja's) reign. For further particulars about these records and those cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*.

47. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81, ll. 3-4. 48. *E. C.*, IX Kn. 94, ll. 5-8.

49. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 27-28; XII Kg. 93, ll. 9-11; 37, ll. 92-101; *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67, ll. 10-12; III (1) TN. 23, ll. 6-18; Md. 114, ll. 6-9 (of 1663) and Sr. 13 (1664), ll. 3-6.

imperial ideas, among the most significant being *Mūru-manneyyara-gaṇḍa* (champion over three chiefs), *Para-rāya-bhayankara* (dreaded by enemy kings), *Hindu-rāya-suratrāṇa* (Sultan of Hindu kings), *Nānāvārṇa-makūṭa-maṇḍalikara-gaṇḍa* (champion over chiefs of many-coloured crowns), *Chatussamudrādhiśvara* or *Chatussamudra-paryanta-bhūmaṇḍalādhiśvara* (lord of the world as far as the four oceans) and *Dharaṇī-Varāha* (sovereign of the world). The use of the Boar seal is also in evidence in some of these records,⁵⁰ while there is a marked tendency on the part of Dēvarāja to claim imperial rule from the throne in Seringapatam.⁵¹ All these documents are, again, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain, *i.e.*, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Evidently, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, during this period, gradually rose to prominence from the position of a feudatory of the Vijayanagar Empire to that of a ruler of an independent Mysore, who laid claim to imperial sovereignty. His achievements against Ikkēri and his activities in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāṭ and the south of Mysore during 1659-1663 were no doubt such as to enhance his reputation and prestige. His progress in those directions was possibly facilitated also by the unsettled conditions of the times and the critical position of Śrī-Ranga at Bēlūr. Śrī-Ranga himself having probably left the latter place about April 1663, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar appears more conspicuously—in his records (of 1663-1664)—with the imperial titles, referred to, which are distinctly reminiscent of Vijayanagar. In particular,

50. See, for instance, *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), l. 240; *Bhū-Varāhamudrayācha virājītam*; III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 78-79; *Bhū-Varāhamudrayā pravirājītam*.

51. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 48-49; XII Kg. 33, l. 12; 37, ll. 98-99; *M. A. R.*, 1917, l.c.; *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67, ll. 12-13; III (1) TN. 23, l. 16; Md. 114, l. 9 (of 1663); and Sr. 13 (1664), l. 6. The actual expressions used are: *Mysūra-Śrīrangapattāṇa śimhāsānārādhārāgi*; *Śrīrangapattāṇa śimhāsānādhiśvara*; *Pāschimaranga-dhāma-nagarī śimhāsānādhiśvaraḥ*; *Mysūru śimhāsānādhiśvara*, etc.

the *Palace Copper-plates* (dated April 9, 1663), while eulogising Dēvarāja's prowess and claiming for him the sovereignty of the Kārnāṭaka country, are even found to contain verses⁵² which seem to correspond with those from the *Śrī-Śailam Plates* (1465) of Virūpāksha III of Vijayanagar (1465-1485). Thus, apparently seceding from the decadent Vijayanagar Empire but really stepping into its shoes, Mysore, during the early years of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, had reached an important stage in the evolution of her independence as a kingdom. The arrival at about this time (April 1663) of the celebrated Tātāchārya family of Śrī-Vaishṇava royal preceptors from the court of Vijayanagar, and their settlement in Seringapatam, probably contributed no little to confirm in the Royal House of Mysore the vanishing glories of Vijayanagar imperialism.⁵³

By January 1665, Dēvarāja Wodeyar had reached the height of his power, as is perhaps obvious from the title Emperor (*Samrāt*) actually ascribed to him.⁵⁴ In July 1666, Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya acquired

Third Phase:
1665-1668.

Local conquests, etc.

52. See *E. C.*, *Ibid.*, ll. 18-27, 34-36:

Nīja-pratāpādadhigatya rājyam
Samasta bhāgyaiḥ parīpūrṇakāmāḥ |
Khadgagrataḥ sarva rīpūn vijītya
Pramōdatē vīra-vilāsa-bhūmīḥ ||
Kārnāṭa-Lakshmīḥ savilāsamāstē
Yasmīn mahīṣē mahānīyja kīrtau |
Bhūmī-stathai vāpaḥ pasundharātvaṁ
Sthirēti nāma prathamam guṇaughaiḥ ||
Pratāpa-vahnau parījṛmbhamānē
Śushkā-sturushkā-hyabhajan dīgantān |
Rīpu-kshītīndrāścha nirasta dhairiyāḥ
Kāntāra-valmīka kṛtātma rakshāḥ ||

. *Dēvarāja-kshītīśvaraḥ ||*
. *Rangādihānnaḥ-purōttamē |*
Pitryam simhāsanam prāpya pālayannavanīmīmām ||

53. *Vide* section on *Social life*.

54. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-11:

Samrāt samasta-nrpa-maulī-maṇi-prabhābhīr
Nīrājīto vijayatē bhuvī Dēvarājāḥ ||

Sāratavalli from Anṇājaiya,⁵⁵ and in November, Hoḷe-Narasipur from Narasimha Nāyaka.⁵⁶ In April 1667, Nanjanāthaiya was succeeded by Kumāraiya of Kaḷale.⁵⁷

The hostile relations between Madura and Mysore, so much in evidence during the last years of the reigns of Tirumala Nāyaka and Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, appear to have been prolonged in some form or other during the earlier parts of the reigns of Chokkanātha Nāyaka and Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. A lithic record from Singānallūr, dated in the very first year of Dēvarāja's reign,⁵⁸ possibly points to the renewed activities of the Mysore army in the neighbourhood of the passes. Other records, dated in 1663,⁵⁹ refer to Dēvarāja as "destroyer of the Pāṇḍya king," "skilful in cutting down the strong-armed Pāṇḍya" (*Chanda-bāhu-balōddanda Pāṇḍya-khandana-paṇḍitaḥ*), etc. Evidently by 1663 Mysore seems to have achieved a distinct victory over Madura, advancing, it is said, as far as Diṇḍigal.⁶⁰ The political

55. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 27; *Annals*, I. 97; cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*)

56. *Ibid.*, II. 27-28; see also *C.Vi.*, V, 94.

57. See *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 68, and section on *Ministers, Daḷavāis*, etc.

58. *M.E.R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659).

59. *M.A.R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23, ll. 10-11.

60. *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II. 169, 171-175. This Ms., from the *Mackenzie Collection*, refers to an invasion of Madura by "Carasura Nandi Raja," during the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, but speaks of the details as if connected with the reign of Tirumala Nāyaka, contemporary of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa I (1638-1659), for which there is no evidence. It seems, however, possible that the hostilities between Mysore and Madura, begun during the latter part of the reigns of Kaṅṭhīrava and Tirumala Nāyaka, continued unabated in the early part of the reigns of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and Chokkanātha Nāyaka (i.e., c. 1659-1663), Mysore ultimately coming out successful. "Carasura Nandi Raja," referred to, is probably identical with Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya I of Kaḷale, who appears to have been entrusted with the southern campaigns of Dēvarāja (see under *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaḷale Family*; also Table XIII). The Ms., being a later compilation, seems loosely to refer to him as "Carasura" (Karāchūri), which was, however, the distinctive epithet of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya III of Kaḷale (1739-1759). (See Vol. II of this work.) For a critical notice of the position of the author of the *Nayaks of Madura* on the subject, see f.n. 54 in Ch. VI.

ambitions of Mysore from 1663 onwards continued to be a source of concern to the southern powers, particularly Madura. The situation assumed an important aspect by the policy and attitude of Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, during the period. As indicated already, Śrī-Ranga appears to have finally left Bēlūr about April 1663. That he was in the south in 1663 seems obvious from a grant of Chokkanātha Nāyaka dated in that year,⁶¹ though the latter formally refers in it to Śrī-Ranga's rule at Ghanagiri (Penukoṇḍa); that he was away from Bēlūr before 1664 is borne out by the resumption of Bēlūr itself—along with other places—by Hiriya-Sōmaśekhara Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, early in 1664.⁶² During 1663-1667, Śrī-Ranga, it would appear,⁶³ resided in the dominions of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura, and continued to work out his plan of imperial restoration, directing his attention particularly against the rapidly rising kingdom of Mysore, towards which he was, as we have seen, by no means well disposed since 1659. To Chokkanātha, however, the presence of Śrī-Ranga in the south seemed eminently advantageous, to further his own ends against Mysore.

About this time Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār of Sāmballi, backed up as usual by Madura, appeared to remain an obstacle to the projected expansion of Mysore in all the directions (*dese-gelalendū*). About January 1667, Dēvarāja Wodeyar

Siege of Ērōḍe, c.
January-June 1667.

61. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 356, No. 157; *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2366-2367, No. 19, citing from Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*. *Sōbhakrit*, the date of the record, corresponds to 1663, the *śaka* date 1584, mentioned, being an expired year.

62. *Vide* f.n. 39 *supra* and text thereto.

63. See *C. Vi.* (V, 81), where Chokkanātha (*Chokkalinga*) is made to refer to Śrī-Ranga as "his Śrī-Ranga" (*tanna Śiranga-Rāya*). Evidently Śrī-Ranga had gone over from Bēlūr to Madura in the vain hope of recovering his position by an alliance with Chokkanātha and other southern feudatories hostile to Mysore. See also inscriptions of Chokkanātha during 1663-1667, in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga (*Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 356-358, Nos. 157, 165-168; *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2366-2367, Nos. 19, 21-24).

directed operations against him, defeating him and putting the Kongas to flight. At this reverse, Chokkanātha Nāyaka (*Chokkalinga* of Madura) himself marched forth towards Ērōḍe, at the head of a vast army (consisting, it is said, of a lakh of foot, a hundred elephants and several horses) and a confederacy made up of the fugitive Emperor Śrī-Ranga of Vijayanagar, Vēdōji-Paṇḍita, a Vizier of Bijāpur (then in charge of Gingee), Ananta-Paṇḍita (Anantoji) of Gingee (*Chenji*, *Tenji*), a Bijāpur general, and Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka⁶⁴ (Dāmarlaiyapēndra). There were also, in his ranks, the Velama-Kammes, Telugas, Baṇajigas and artillery-men (*tupākadavar*), the last under the command of Lingama Nāyaka, the artillery-officer (*tupākada Lingama Nāyaka*). Chokkanātha, with his main army (*tamma mūlabalamum*) and the forces of the confederates, encircled the fort of Ērōḍe and was preparing to lay siege to it. At this news Dēvarāja Woḍeyar deliberated with his councillors in Seringapatam as to how best to meet the situation. Some of the councillors spoke of the advisability of collecting a large army and carefully proceeding against the enemy; others touched upon the vain frivolity and laxity prevailing in the ranks of the confederate forces (despite their being numerically strong and well-equipped) and the ease with which the combination could be broken down; others, again, stressed the need for diplomacy (*rāyabhāriya-nesaguvudu lēsembudum*). At this juncture, the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja (nephew of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar)—now in his twenty-second year—offered, with rare courage, to lead the Mysore army against the coalition, and sought his uncle's permission to march on to Ērōḍe. Dēvarāja having apparently acquiesced in his request, letters were despatched forthwith to the commanders of various local forts, ordering a general mobilisation of their troops for

64. Identical with Aiyappa of Poonamalli (brother of Dāmarla-Venkaṭādri), founder of Chennapaṭṭana or Madras in the name of his father, Chenna. See *Sources* and *Mys. Gaz.*, referred to in f.n. 66 *infra*.

the campaign. In the course of these preparations, Chokkanātha's representative (*niyōgi-gurivānisam*) at Seringapatam—probably under the influence of Dēvarāja's own courtiers⁶⁵—hastened to send him a report (*binnavattale*), acquainting him with the weakness of his (Chokkanātha's) position and the intended advance of Chikkadēvarāja, and hinting at the latter's might and prowess. Whereupon Chokkanātha retired in strict privacy to Trichinopoly and was followed thither by Śrī-Ranga also. In vain did Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka and the artillery-men at Ērōḍe write to Chokkanātha assuring him of their steadfastness and of the support of the cavalry force of Gingee. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, on hearing of this turn in the course of affairs, found it expedient, in agreement with Chikkadēvarāja, to send his army only under the Daḷavāi, to engage the remnant of the confederacy. Accordingly, about June 1667, Daḷavāi Kumāraiya (who had lately succeeded Nanjanāthaiya) left Seringapatam. Making rapid and uninterrupted marches, he entered the camp of the enemy at Ērōḍe causing great havoc. A short and swift action followed, in which the Kongas were thoroughly defeated and put to rout; Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka was slain; Ananta-Paṇḍita put to flight; the elephant named *Kulaśekhara* captured and the entire Tiguḷa-nāḍu plunged in consternation (*Tiguḷa-nāḍanitam tabbibbugoḷe*).⁶⁶

65. There seems some reason to suspect the accuracy of this part of the *C. Vi.*, cited in f.n. 66 *infra*. It is a question whether Chokkanātha's agent at Seringapatam would not have been prevailed upon by Dēvarāja's courtiers to effectually detach his master from the confederacy. Some diplomacy must have been at work, in keeping with the mature deliberations at Dēvarāja's court and in view of the risk involved in entrusting young Chikkadēvarāja with the responsibility of leading the Mysore army against a formidable combination. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 297, for a similar view.

66. *C. Vi.*, V, 33-90; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 36-38; and *Hasti. Māhāt.*, I, 67—detailing, and referring to, the siege of Ērōḍe and Dēvarāja's victory over the Nāyak of Madura and the Kongas. The siege of Ērōḍe is to be dated c. January-June 1667, in the light of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* and inscriptions cited *infra*. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 69-70; *Ancient India*, pp. 296-297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 26, 171-173; and *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2394-2398.

It was a distinct victory for Mysore. In June 1667, **Acquisition of** Daḷavāi Kumāraiya took possession of Ērōḍe; in November, Dhārāpuram; and in February 1668, Vāmalūr and the dependencies of Kāmalūr and Sāmballi-pura—from Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār.⁶⁷ The Mysore army, we are told, proceeded as far as Trichinopoly, forcing Chokkanātha to submit and accepting from him presents consisting of several horses, cash and costly jewels.⁶⁸ These activities of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar are confirmed in an ample measure by records referring to his grants, found in what are now parts of Salem and Coimbatore districts, ranging from 1667 onwards.⁶⁹

Among other events of importance from a local point of view were the acquisition of Huli-yūr-durga in December 1667, and of Kuṇigal in January 1668, from Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1658-1678).⁷⁰

We have seen how Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was in the dominions of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura during 1663-1667 and how he left for Trichinopoly, about the middle of 1667, during the siege of Ērōḍe. Śrī-Ranga's last hopes of imperial restoration vanished with the break-down of the confederacy at Ērōḍe and the victory

Fourth Phase:
1668-1673.

Mysore and
Vijayanagar, down
to 1673.

67. See *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 28-29, specifically dating these acquisitions in *Plavanga*, *Āshādha śu.* 15 (June 25, 1667), *Mārgaśira śu.* 10 (November 15, 1667) and *Phālguna śu.* 10 (February 12, 1668); *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, V, 91, and *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 38-39, referring to Dēvarāja's conquests in the south-east of Mysore. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*); *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163.
68. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; *Annals*, I. 98; *C. Vi.*, V, 95-96; also *Wilks*, I. 69-70; cf. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 162.
69. *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 43 (June 22, 1667), referring to Dēvarāja's conquest of Tigulānya; *I.M.P.*, I. 551-552, Cb. 306, 308 and 309 (1669 and 1671). For further particulars about these records, see under *Grants and other records*. Cf. *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163, 171.
70. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 29; *Annals*, I. 97; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 93-94; *Hasti. Māhāt.*, I, 67; Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71.

achieved by Mysore against them (June 1667). Successively foiled at Mysore, Ikkēri and Madura during a period extending well nigh to two decades (c. 1650-1667), Śrī-Ranga, in or about 1668, appears to have left Trichinopoly for Penukoṇḍa, from where, it would seem, he continued to rule, with his authority much reduced, till about 1681, if not 1692.⁷¹ During the period covered by his absence in the south, two scions of the Āraviḍu dynasty, Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya and Venkaṭapati-Rāya (Venkaṭa V), son and nephew, respectively, of Śrī-Ranga, appear to have held nominal sway of the Empire.⁷² In a lithic record, dated in October 1664,⁷³ Dēvarāja Wodeyar acknowledges the suzerainty of Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya. The series of Dēvarāja's records, ranging successively from 1665 down to 1673,⁷⁴ are generally conspicuous by the absence of the name of the Vijayanagar Emperor. In only two of these records, however, dated in April 1665 and May 1668⁷⁵ respectively, does Dēvarāja Wodeyar acknowledge the suzerainty of Vīra-Venkaṭapatirāya-raiḥya (Venkaṭa V). Most of the records, from 1664 down to 1673,⁷⁶ refer to Dēvarāja with or without

71. See *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 360, 362, Nos. 183 and 198; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2367 (Nos. 25 and 26), 2406-2407, citing documents and correcting S. K. Aiyangar and other authorities.

72. See Table XIV; also records cited *infra*.

73. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46, ll. 6-9. For details about this and other documents cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records* and *Domestic life*.

74. *Vide* references cited under *Ibid*.

75. *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64, ll. 8-9; 65, ll. 6-10.

76. Among the records mentioning the imperial titles, etc., of Dēvarāja are *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-10; M1. 147 (1669), ll. 4-5; IV (2) Gu. 64 and 65 (1665), ll. 9-11; Hs. 139 (1669), ll. 7-8; 22 (1672), ll. 8-9; Yd. 53 and 54 (1666), ll. 5-7 and pp. 156-157 (Text); 43 (1667), ll. 10-22; Hg. 119 (1670), ll. 6-7; and 57 (1672), ll. 5-7; III (1) M1. 38 and 63 (1672), ll. 7-9 and 3-5; Nj. 191 (1672), ll. 10-13; TN. 54 (1673), ll. 9-11; IX Cp. 56 (1666), ll. 5-7; *M. A. R.*, 1931, No. 33 (1668), ll. 5-6; XII Kg. 4 (1671), ll. 7-8; and Tp. 106 (1673), ll. 4-6. Among the records not mentioning the titles of Dēvarāja are *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46 (1664), Tp. 72 (1669), 70 (1671), Kg. 5 (1671); XI Kn. 95 (1671); V (1) and (2) Cn. 218 (1665), 155 (1670), 273 (1672), etc., Hn. 8 (1666); II SB. 401 (1672); IV (2) Gu. 25 (1665), Ng. 44 (1669), Hg. 120 (1670) and 107 (1672); III (1) Md. 51 (1667); *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6 (1665); *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552 (1669, 1671), etc.

imperial titles, etc., these being generally identical with those occurring in the earlier documents (down to 1664). Among the additions, however, are *Karnāṭa-simhāsana-madhīśvaraḥ* (Lord of the throne of the Karnāṭaka country), *Vīra-pratāpaśāli-Chakravarti* (Emperor) and *Dakṣhiṇa-simhāsana-Śrīrangapattanakke-kartarāda* (Agent or Deputy to the seat of southern power—lit. throne), mentioned in lithic documents dated in December 1667⁷⁷ and January 1673.⁷⁸ The use of the Boar seal is also, as usual, in evidence.⁷⁹ In one document, dated in November 1672,⁸⁰ the earlier designation of Dēvarāja, *i.e.*, *Mahāmandalēśvara*, appears side by side with the imperial titles of his. Other records⁸¹ bear out, in an increasing measure, his claim to imperial rule from the throne at Seringapatam. One record⁸² even speaks of Dēvarāja as seated on a secure throne. From another,⁸³ we learn that he had been established on the jewelled

77. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43, ll. 10-11.

78. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 54, ll. 9-11.

79. See, for instance, *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43, ll. 166-167: *Bhū-Varāha-mudrayācha virājitam*.

80. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 191, ll. 10-11.

81. See *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 53, ll. 6-7; Hs. 139, l. 8; Hg. 119, l. 7; IX Cp. 56, l. 7; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Ml. 147, ll. 4-5; also IV (2) Gu. 64, ll. 9-10; 65, ll. 10-11; III (1) Ml. 38, ll. 9-10 (revised with a fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*); 63, ll. 4-5; V (1) and (2) Cn. 218, ll. 14-16—referring to the throne as *Śrīrangapattanāda simhāsana* and *Pāschima-rangadhāni simhāsana*, and to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar as *Śrīrangapattanāda simhāsanaḍhīśvara*, *Mysūru-simhāsanaḍhīśvara*, *Mysūru-simhāsanaḍhipati*, *Mayisūra-simhāsanaḍke yōgyarāda*, etc.

82. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text): *Bhadra-pīṭhāḍhipaḥ*. The word *Bhadra-pīṭha* generally means throne. Rice's rendering of the expression as "seated on a secure throne," is quite in keeping with the context.

83. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), ll. 16-18:

Śrī-Ranga-Rāya-maṇi-sōbhita-pīṭha-samstha
Śrīmān-vibhūr-vijayatām Doḍa-Dēvarāyaḥ ||
Rājad-Rangapurē surēndra-mahitē sāmrājya-simhāsane
Sākshāḍ-Viśṇuriva Śrīyā-Vasudhayā-samsōbhamānaḥ prabhūḥ ||

The reference to Śrī-Ranga-Rāya in this record is to Śrī-Ranga II (*vide* f.n. 97 in Ch. V). The record being a grant of the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704), Dēvarāja Woḍeyar is referred to here as "Doḍa (Doḍḍa)-Dēva-Rāya," perhaps by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor (see also f.n. 11 *supra*).

throne of Śrī-Ranga Rāya and was wielding the sceptre of imperial sovereignty from Seringapatam. All this points to how the Vijayanagar Empire was fast decaying and how the earlier tendency on the part of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar to step into the latter's sovereign status as its political heir—while retaining his theoretical designation of *Karta* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Seringapatam—continued to manifest itself in a more pronounced manner during the latter part of his reign.

Side by side with this tendency towards the open assertion of imperial power was the local position of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar himself. Local position of Dēvarāja, 1668-1673. Already by 1665, he was, as we have seen, at the height of his power. The events of 1667-1668 added considerably to his reputation and prestige. And, during 1668-1673, he was ruling Mysore in absolute peace and security, impressing his contemporaries with his might and prowess by the trophy of a pair of sandals (*pāda-chūḍam*), which he is said to have got prepared out of the precious stones received as tribute from the powers subdued by him.⁸⁴

By 1673, the last year of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar's reign, the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent, had been extended as far as Hāssan and Sakrepaṭṇa in the west, Salem in the east, Chiknāyakana-halli in the north and Ērōḍe and Dhārāpuram in the south.⁸⁵

Inscriptions of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar point to his rule from the capital city of Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne. The influence of his personality thoroughly made itself felt in civil as in military matters. The

84. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 98-99; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 95-96; *Kāmaṇḍ. Nī.*, I, 65.

85. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 40-43, which enables us to determine the precise limits of the kingdom of Mysore in 1673.

administration was, as usual, conducted in the traditional manner, due regard being paid to the precepts of *dharmā* laid down in the *Smṛti*.⁸⁶

The ministers and officers of Kanṭhīrava's reign, it would seem, continued in office under Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with the possible exception of the royal scribe, to which office Lakshmīpati, a Jain, appears to have succeeded.⁸⁷ Among the Daḷavāis of Dēvarāja, already referred to, Hamparājaiya of Kārugahaḷḷi continued in office till April 1660, when he was, it is said, removed from service on a charge of defrauding the state revenues. He was succeeded by Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (April-July 1660), Muddaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanāthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kāntaiya of Kaḷale (February 1662-April 1662). Nanjanāthaiya was re-appointed in April 1662 and was followed in April 1667 by Kumārāiya of Kaḷale, who remained in office during the rest of the reign.⁸⁸ Among the feudatories, Doḍḍaiya of Channarāyapaṭṇa, having died about 1660, had been succeeded by his son, Basavaiya, mentioned in records dated in the years 1661, 1669 and 1670.⁸⁹

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar is credited with having thoroughly studied the character and conduct of his feudatories (*Pāḷegārs*) and regulated his relations with them, granting rent-free lands (*umbali*) to some and quit-rent villages (*jōḍi*) to

Administrative measures.

86. See *Paśch. Mahāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 42: *Smṛtyukta-dharmadīndāḷḍu*.

87. *Vide* prose passage at the end of the Ms. copy (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāna*, p. 190: *Mysūra-Chikkaya-Rāyana rāyasada Lakshmīpati*. The reference to "Chikkaya-Rāya" here is to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore. See also under *Literary progress and Domestic life*, for further notice of this Ms.

88. *Annals*, I, 96-97; also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 67-68. Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya is identical with the one mentioned in *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81 (March 14, 1662, ll. 5 and 6), and with "Daḷavāyi Nandināthaiya" mentioned in *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46 (October 11, 1664, l. 13). For further particulars about the Daḷavāis of the Kaḷale Family, see section on *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaḷale Family*, and Table XIII.

89. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records*.

others and settling cash contributions (*khaṇḍaneya haṇa*) with the rest.⁹⁰

Dēvarāja was, like his predecessor, an ardent Vaishṇava.⁹¹

The *Palace Copper-plates*,⁹² in particular, speak of his devotion to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. From

other records,⁹³ we learn that he used daily to rise at dawn, contemplate and worship the lotus feet of Viṣṇu repeating without omission His thousand names, then perform oblations to fire, and, having bestowed gifts of cows and money on the Brāhmins, listen to the recital of the *Purāṇas* and sacred stories. In keeping with this, we have the contemporary work, *Chaupadada-Pustaka* (c. 1670),⁹⁴ generally depicting Dēvarāja Wodeyar as getting up at dawn, taking his bath, wearing shining silken garments, putting the *tīkā* of musk on his forehead and performing the morning rites. Toleration was, as usual, a prominent feature of Dēvarāja's religion. He

90. *Annals*, I, 102.

91. See *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 and III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 97-98 and 15-16: *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa pāda-pankajayugē vinyasta viśhvagbharah*; IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text): *Sudā Hari-parāyaṇē hṛdi-niviṣṭa Nārāyaṇah*.

92. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (1663), l. 32: *Raṅgeśa-sēvā-nīratā*. See also *Kāmand. Nī.* (c. 1676), I, 65: *Ranganātha pādāravinda-bandhura sēvā nīratam*.

93. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 68-70 :

*Kālyē prabudhya kamalā-ramaṇāṅghri-yugmam
Dhyātvābhīpūjya nīyamēna sahasra-nāmnā |
Hutvā kṛśānumadhikam vasugām phalāni
Prāyāṇi vipra-nīvahāya dadāti nītyam ||*

III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 43-46 :

*Kālyē vasugām dvijēbhjō
Datvā sanītyam itihāsa kathāh śruṇōti ||*

See also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I, 102.

94. See ff. 1 :

*Mysūra-Dēvarājendra . . . dinapa-nudayadali |
Majjanava-nanukolisi |
Suruchira dukulagala maiyyoḷim-bittu |
Pere nosalinoḷage kasturi-tīlakavittu |
Vinuta sandhyādi satkarmavanu rachisi ||*

The verses in this part of the poem are not numbered in the original. For a notice of the work, see under *Literary progress*.

was a great friend and patron of Brāhmanism as known to those days. He is indeed referred to⁹⁵ as having taken a vow to govern the kingdom, to protect and establish Gods and deserving Brāhmins. The *Bhērya copper-plate grant*⁹⁶ (1666) further speaks of him as having divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brāhmins, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and reserving the fourth for his own use. He paid equal attention to Śaivism and Vaishnavism and respected equally the three sects of Brāhmins, especially in the matter of making grants and bestowing on the latter, shares (*vrittis*) in the *agrahāras* formed in his own name (*Dēvarājapura*).⁹⁷ Equally solicitous was he towards the Jains and Vīra-Śaivas in the kingdom.⁹⁸ Maintenance and upkeep of temples, *maṭhs* and *satras* (feeding-houses) for all classes and creeds was, as we shall see, the object underlying most of his grants and other records.

Gifts, acts of piety and public utility were a normal feature of Dēvarāja's activities as a ruler. Thus, we learn,⁹⁹ he conducted the *Vājapēya* and other sacrifices to Gods (*Vājapēya-makhānēka-makha-nikhila ; yajnā dēvāścha dharmāḥ*); made the sixteen great gifts (*shōḍaśa mahā-dāna*) described in Hēmādri and other works (gifts namely, *hiranya-garbha, brahmāṇḍa,*

95. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 and XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 17-18 and 100-101: *Dēva-brāhmaṇa rakshaṇāya prithvī-sāmrajya-dīkshām vahan*; also Kg. 37, ll. 94-95: *Dēva-sa[d]-brāhmaṇa-gaṇa pratiṣṭhāpana-dīkshitah*.

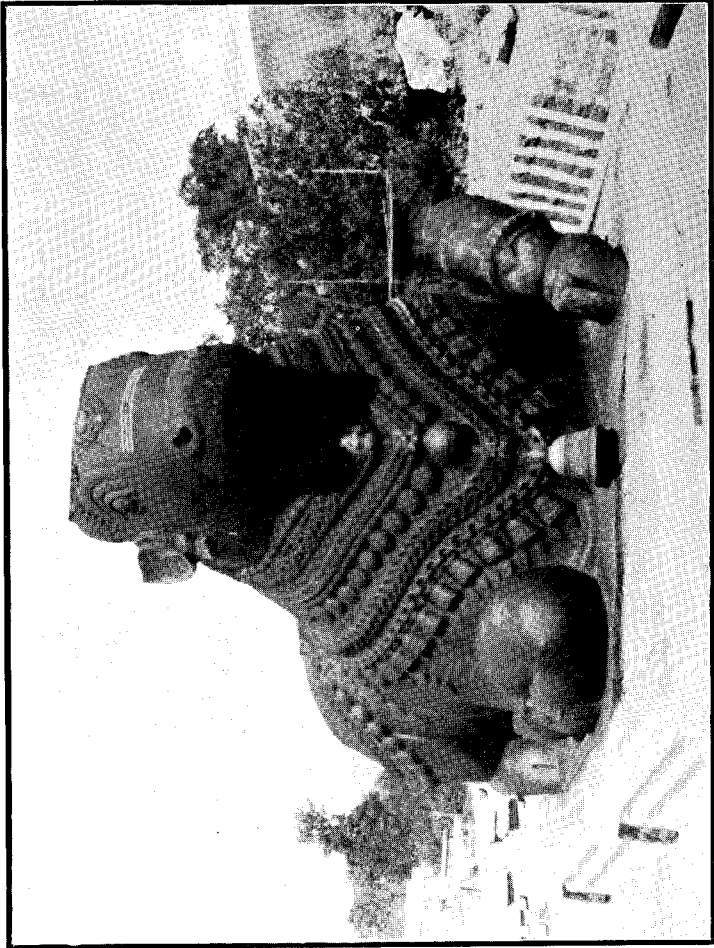
96. *Ibid*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 157 (Text):

*Chaturdā vibhajātmanō rājya-mādyam
Dvijēbhyō param dēvatābhyah prayachan |
Trīṣṭyantu dharmāya turyam svakiyam
Vidhāyāvati kshām sadā Dēvarājah ||*

97. See under *Grants and other records*, for details.

98. *Ibid*.

99. See *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 65; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, I, 107; *Hasti. Māhāt.*, I, 68; *Yād. Māhāt.*, I, 51-52; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 29; *C. Vi.*, V, 96; *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 72, 74-79; IV (2) Yd. 53, ll. 15-16; 54, pp. 156-157 (Text); also see and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 26-27; *Annals*, I. 100-101.



The Bull on the Chamundi Hill, Mysore—Cut out of a monolith.

saptāmbudhi, tulā-purusha, gō-sahasra, kalpavalli, kāmadhēnu, ratna, gō-svarṇa-bhū-svarṇa-garbhā, pañcha-hala or *lāngala, kalpa-vriksha, kanakarathi-bhāśva* and *viśva-chakra*); bestowed difficult, varied and innumerable gifts (*vividhān amānushān dharmān; amitā yasya dharmāh*) at Śrīrangam, Tirupati (*Venkaṭāśaila*), Mēlkōṭe (*Yādavagiri*), Kāñchi (*Hastigiri*), Rāmēśvaram (*Sētu*), the banks of the Gautamī (or Gōdāvarī), Allahābād (*Prayāga*), Benares (*Vāraṇāsi*), Gaya and Seringapatam (*Purē Rangadhāmanah*); constructed wells, ponds, tanks and temples (*vāpī-kūpa-taṭākān . . . dēva-grhān; dēvasthānāni*); established groves, watersheds and feeding-houses from road to road (*mārgē-mārgē sadvanāni prapāścha; mārgē-mārgē prapāścha satrāni*), furnishing each village with a feeding-house for the free distribution of food (*grāmē-grāmē bhūri-mṛṣṭānna-satram*); and arranged for the conduct of daily festivals in the temples, bestowing villages as donations therefor (*Dēvasthānān-yutsavān-tēṣu-nityam . . . tadartham datvā grāmān*). He is further referred to as utilising the spoils of war for making gifts to Brāhmins, for rewarding his friends and for providing ornaments to his queens.¹⁰⁰ The popularity of his rule and the extent of his kingdom are indicated by a record of 1686¹⁰¹ mentioning the establishment by him of feeding-houses (*satra*) at a distance of every nine miles (*yōjana*) on every road throughout the length and breadth of his dominions, to the east from Sakrepaṭṇa (*Sakharepaṭṭana*), to the west from Salem (*Śēlayapura*), to the south from Chiknāyakanahalli (*Chikkanāyakapura*), and to the north from Dhārāpur (*Dhārāpura*). Among other acts of piety Dēvarāja is credited with are: the laying of a thousand steps to the Chāmuṇḍi Hill at Mysore and the setting up of an exquisitely sculptured monolithic Bull midway thereto (1664); the construction of a tank named

100. C. Vi., l.c.

101. E. C., III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 41-43.

Dēvāmbudhi in Mysore (March 1666) besides provision for daily services, with gifts, to the holy shrine at Tirupati and endowments to the Goddess Chāmuṇḍēśvarī and to the Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples at Nanjangūd, Mysore, Seringapatam, Mēlkōṭe and other places; and the extension of the temple of Triṇēśvara at Mysore, adding a stone *maṇṭapam* of twenty-seven *anakaṇams*, a stone pillar and a seven-storeyed tower over its *Mahā-dvāra*, and setting up the images of twenty-five Śaiva deities in the pavilions of the temple.¹⁰²

Among the extant records of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, a damaged lithic inscription, Grants and other records, 1659-1673: dated in 1659,¹⁰³ seems to register a service to the Basavēśvara temple at (a) 1659-1663. Singānallūr, Kollēgāl taluk. A *nirūpa*, dated in 1660,¹⁰⁴ refers to his grant of lands rent-free (*umbali*) to Gange-Basave-Gauḍa of Hangaḷa. A third, dated November 25, 1661,¹⁰⁵ refers to a service by Basavaiya (son of Dodḍaiya) of Channarāyapaṭṇa, a feudatory of Dēvarāja, in the temple of Jakkēśvara-svāmi in the village of Jambūr. A stone charter of Dēvarāja, dated November 15, 1662,¹⁰⁶ directs the local officials of the *gaḍis* of the Kānkāhalli-sīme (*i.e.*, *Gurikārs*, *Pārupatyagārs*, *Sunka-maṇēgārs*, *Sēnabhōgas*, *Rāvutas*, *Rāṇuves* and *Sunka-kārkūns*, etc.) to make annual cash contributions to the treasury of God Mahadēśvara of Moḷagāla, for the offerings, illuminations, car festival and services to the

102. See *Annals*, I. 99-101; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* 27; also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 32-34 (referring to the construction of the tank in Mysore); *Wilks*, I. 70 (referring to the Bull); cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 472 (referring to the setting up of the Bull in the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava I).

103. *M.E.R.*, 1910, No. 20 (*I.M.P.*, I. 556, Cb. 345): s. 1581, *Vikāri*; see also f.n. 46 *supra*.

104. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangaḷa-Rāya-Rēkhe*, p. 10: *Śārvari*.

105. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 258: s. 1584, *Plava, Mārgaśira śu.* 15, Monday; s. 1584, in this record, is a slight error for s. 1583.

106. *Ibid.*, IX Kn. 94: s. 1561, *Śubhakṛit, Mārgaśira śu.* 15, Saturday; s. 1561, in this record, is an error for s. 1584 (*Śubhakṛit*).

God. The *Palace Copper-plates*, dated April 9, 1663,¹⁰⁷ register a rent-free grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, for the merit of his parents, of the village of Chandakavāḍi (with six hamlets) in the Rāmasamudra hōbḷi in the Hadinād-sīme, to Mantra-mūrti Rāja-Rājendra-Bhārati-Svāmi, as a *maṭh* endowment (*maṭha-svāsthya*). A lithic record, dated May 6, 1663,¹⁰⁸ refers to the building of a temple to God Chandrasēkhara at Channarāyapaṭṇa and the performance of the consecration service therein by Doḍḍaiya. The record also refers to the erection by him of a temple to Kāḍa-Basavēśvara. We have next a number of records of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, dated July 6, 1663 (*Śōbhakrit, Āshāḍha śu.* 12, Monday) : one of these, a copper-plate grant from the Rāghavēndrasvāmi *maṭh* at Nanjangūḍ,¹⁰⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Nallūr—surnamed *Dēvarājapura* (of the annual revenue of 100 *dīnārs*)—in the Saragūr-sthaḷa, to Rāghavēndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda-Svāmi, son of Sudhīndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda (spiritual son of Vijayīndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda), to provide for God's worship and the feeding of the Brāhmins. Others record, respectively, the establishment and grant of an *agrahāra* (named *Dēvarājapura*) of fifty shares for Brāhmins at Malagūr and its seven hamlets in the Bāchahallī-sthaḷa and the Nāgamangala hōbḷi of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍu;¹¹⁰ the grant, for the merit of Dēvarāja's parents and ancestors, of the village of Tūbinakere in the Amritūr-sthaḷa, to Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Yēḍūr or Eṭṭūr—of Śaṭamarshana-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajuśśākhā—son of Kōṭi-Kanyādānam Lakshmīkumāra-

107. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (*M. A. R.*, 1909, p. 26) : s. 1585, *Śōbhakrit, (Nīja) Chaitra śu.* 12. There was an intercalary *Chaitra* in *Śōbhakrit* and the grant appears to have been made in *Nīja-Chaitra*, April 9, 1663, as indicated above.

108. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn., 156 : *Śōbhakrit, Vaiśākha śu.* 10, Wednesday.

109. *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143. *Śōbhakrit, Āshāḍha śu.* 11, Monday, of this record, actually corresponds to July 6, 1663, on which day there was both *Ēkādaśi* and *Dvādaśi* (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 129), the former being evidently observed by the Vaishṇava *maṭh*, the donee.

110. *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67.

Tātāchārya and grandson of Immaḍi-Tirumala-Tātāchārya of Śrī-Śaila Vamśa, after making the *laksha-hōma*, *svētāśva* and other gifts;¹¹¹ another grant to the same donee of the village of Hallikere, in the Nāgamangalasthala, and of the *agrahāra* of Nūlapura (named *Ikkēri*), containing sixty-four shares;¹¹² the establishment of an *agrahāra* (named *Dēvarājapura*) in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra, north-east of Seringapatam, and the grant to the three sects of Brāhmins, *i.e.*, *Smārthas*, *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *Tatva-vādins* (Mādhvas), of the village of Hālagere (with its hamlets and two other villages)—also in the Amritūr-sthala and yielding 500 *dīnārs*—divided into fifty shares;¹¹³ the gift of the village of Āgatūr, in the Saragūr-sthala, to a priest, as an offering to Lord Krishna;¹¹⁴ and a grant to an *agrahāra* established at the village of Kauḍale (otherwise called *Dēvarājapura*).¹¹⁵ A *nirūpa* of Dēvarāja, dated in 1663,¹¹⁶ records the grant of the villages of Horakēri-Bachahalli and Hosahalli to the newly constructed stone *maṭh* at Hangala (*Hangala-dalli hosadāgi kattista kalmaṭakke*).

111. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 33. For further particulars about the donee, see under *Social life*.

112. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 23. See also f.n. 162 and 169 *infra*.

113. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37: the *Hālagere Plates*; also 38; III (1) Sr. 14 (1656), ll. 34-36; and *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, pp. 55-56, paras 132-133. See also under *Learning and culture*. Rice places Kg. 37 in 1662 but *Śōbhakrit*, the actual date of the record, corresponds to 1663.

114. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 85.

115. *E. C.*, III (1) Md. 114 (revised with the fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*). See also *M. A. R.* 1933, No. 49, pp. 252-256.

116. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangala-Rāya-Rēkhe*, p. 13: *Śōbhakrit*. This record is almost identical with *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 24 (pp. 161-163), regarded by Dr. M. H. Krishna, on chronological grounds, to be spurious (*Ibid.*, p. 163). In the light of the earlier copy (*c.* 1800) from the *I. M. C.*, the latter (*i.e.*, No. 24) must be taken to be an interpolation of a document originally dated in 1663 (*Śōbhakrit*)—*vide* also Appendix V—(1). The stone *maṭh*, referred to in the record, is the same as the one mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25 (1656), pp. 163-166, and noticed in Ch. IX, f.n. 165. For further reference to it, see under *Domestic life* in this Ch.

A lithic record, dated October 11, 1664,¹¹⁷ refers to the grant by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Tulā-Sankaramaṇam*, of the village of Kaggere in the Kuṇigal-sthaḷa, for the service of Kaggere-Tōṇṭada-Siddēśvara-Svāmi, a deified Vīra-Śaiva saint. The grant, it is said, was made in commemoration of the success achieved by the Mysore army (under Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya) against Ikkēri, for which they had offered prayers to the *svāmi*. A copper-plate inscription, dated January 6, 1665,¹¹⁸ registers the grant by Dēvarāja of the village of Lakkūr, in the Terakanāmbi-sthaḷa, to Lakkappa-Jyōtisha (son of Banadaṇṇa-Jyōtisha, of Jāmadagni-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛk-śākhā), at the time of performing the gift of *svarṇa-tulā* (weighing oneself against gold), on the occasion of the solar eclipse. A lithic record, dated April 10, 1665,¹¹⁹ speaks of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar as having caused the *virakta-maṭha* to be newly erected in the Mallana's corner (*Mallana-mūleyalli*), to the north of God Nanjuṇḍēśvara at the junction of the Kapinī and Kauṇḍinī, and made a grant of the villages of Hukunda and Dēśipura to the Virakta-svāmi Pranamappa-Channavīra-Dēvaraiya Waḍēr, in order that all the Vīra-Māhēśvaras might find refuge in Śiva. Another, dated December 7, 1665,¹²⁰ is a charter registering a grant of Dēvarāja to the God of Bhaktarahalli. A copper-plate inscription, dated December 29, 1665,¹²¹ records the gift of three villages (one belonging to the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa division and the other two to Hāssan)—on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrānti*—

117. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46: s. 1585 expired, *Krōdhi, Kārtika śu.* 2; see also text of f.n. 41 *supra*.

118. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126): s. 1586, *Krōdhā, Pushya ba.* 30, Friday; also IV (2) Gu. 25.

119. *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64: *Viśvāvasu, Vaiśākha śu.* 5, Monday.

120. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 218: s. 1586 expired, *Viśvāvasu, Mārgaśīra śu.* 10.

121. *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6: s. 1587, *Viśvāvasu, Pushya śu.* 3, Friday. See also Nos. 9 and 10 (copies of No. 6). The donor, Dhanōjaiya, in this record, seems to be identical with Dhanvōjaiya who used to furnish ornaments to Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I (see Ch. IX).

by Dhanvōjaiya (*Dhanōjaiya*, son of Śivaiya and grandson of Nānaga, of Lambakarna-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra), an officer of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (?), for the celebration of the car festival in the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kukke and for the maintenance of an *anna-satra* there. A lithic record, dated February 22, 1666,¹²² refers to the grant of some villages by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar to the *agrahāra* of Garakahalli (named *Dēvarājapura*), on the occasion of *Śivarātri*. An epigraph, dated June 24, 1666,¹²³ records a cash grant to the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*) of Ādiśvara of Seringapatam, by Pāyaṇṇa (a disciple of Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa), for the *Aṣṭāhnikā-Dharma*. A lithic record, dated June 29, 1666,¹²⁴ registers the grant of the village of Gāvunahalli as rent-free (*sarva-mānyavāgi*), by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, for the service of the Goddess Chāmuṇḍēśvarī. Another, dated December 30, 1666,¹²⁵ is a stone charter of Dēvarāja, granting an *agrahāra* (of 92 $\frac{3}{4}$ shares) named *Dēvarājapura*—in the Bhērya One Thousand place and its twelve hamlets belonging to Narasimhapura—to learned and deserving Brāhmins of various gōtras and sūtras, on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrānti*. The *Bhērya copper-plate grant*, of the same date,¹²⁶ not only confirms this charter but also records the additional gift by Dēvarāja of a well-built and well-furnished house (in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra) to each of the 92 donees, on the same occasion. A lithic record, dated in

122. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 56 : *Viśvāvasu, Māgha ba.* 12, Thursday, *Śivarātri*. *Śivarātri*, however, actually took place on *Māgha ba.* 14, Thursday (February 22, 1666)—see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 134. The *tithi*, mentioned in the record, is apparently a slight scribal error. Cf. *Annals*, I. 99.

123. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 181 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126) : s. 1589, *Parābhava, Āshāḍha śu.* 2; s. 1589, in this record, is a slight error for s. 1588.

124. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 8 : s. 1588, *Parābhava, Āshāḍha śu.* 8.

125. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 53 : *Parābhava, Pushya (śu.* 14), Sunday.

126. *Ibid.*, Yd. 54 : *Ibid.* For further details about the grant, see under *Learning and culture*.

April 1667,¹²⁷ speaks of the grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar of three additional villages to the *Dēvarājapura agrahāra* which he had previously established at Hāluganga-kere belonging to Amritūr. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated June 22, 1667,¹²⁸ records a grant by Dēvarāja, of eleven villages in the Paritipādi-sthaḷa of Vāmalūr-sīme, for services to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, on the occasion of his conquest of Tigulānya (*Tigulānyavannu . . . muntāda rājyavannu jeyiśi jayōtsavagaḷalli grāma-kshētragaḷannu biṭṭa vivara*). Another record, a copper-plate charter, dated December 30, 1667,¹²⁹ registers a gift by Dēvarāja of the village of Muṇḍūr, in the Sāligrāma-sthaḷa (belonging to Narasimhapura), for an *agrahāra* (of 21 shares) named *Dēvarājapura*. A lithic document, dated May 30, 1668,¹³⁰ confirms the grant by him of the villages of Hukunda and Dēsīpura to the Virakta-maṭha newly built in the Mallana-mūle to the north of the Kapinī and Kaunḍinī rivers in Nanjangūd. Another, dated July 1, 1668,¹³¹ records his gift of the village of Kētaḷalli, in the Terakaṇāmbi-sthaḷa, for the free distribution of food in the Lingāyat maṭh in the town of Mysore (*Maisūra ura-voḷagaṇa . . . Mahattina maṭhāda anna-dānada dharmake*).

Another, dated April 1, 1669,¹³² registers a grant of Dēvarāja, in perpetuity, to a certain Wodeyar (? of Talakād), in the village of Belakavādi. A third, dated May 10,

(c) 1669-1673.

127. *E. C.*, III (1) Md. 51: s. 1586, *Plavanga, Vaiśākha*. Rice places this record in 1664, relying on the *saka* date only (1586), which, however, does not tally with *Plavanga*. *Plavanga, Vaiśākha* actually corresponds to April 1667 and this date is preferred here.

128. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 43: s. 1589, *Plavanga, Āshāḍha śu.* 11, *Prathama-Ēkādaśi*.

129. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43: *Plavanga, Pushya ba.* 10, Monday.

130. *Ibid.*, Gu. 65: s. 1590, *Kīlaka, (Adhika) Āshāḍha śu.* 1, Saturday; *vide* also Gu. 64 in f.n. 119 *supra*.

131. *M. A. R.*, 1931, No. 33, pp. 129-131: *Kīlaka, Nija-Āshāḍha śu.* 2. For further reference to this document, see under *Domestic life*.

132. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, No. 147 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126): s. 1591, *Saunmya, Chaitra śu.* 10, Thursday.

1669,¹³³ refers to the setting up of God Viśvēśvara in Nāgamangala. A fourth, dated October 19, 1669,¹³⁴ speaks of the erection of a temple and a *bali-pīṭha* for God Chandraśekhara, the processional image of God Śankarēśvara of Keregōḍu (in the Channarāyapaṭṇa-sīme), by Doḍḍaiya, a feudatory of Dēvarāja. Among other records of the year 1669 are two lithic ones (one from the Mahādēva temple, south of Bestara-pālayam on the north of the Bhavānī river, and the other from Sengalarāi, Śiva-pālayam, near Satyamangalam, on the way to the same river),¹³⁵ registering the gift by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (*Uḍaiyar*) of the village of Bestara-pālayam, surnamed Kumāra-pura (*Comārī*), to the temple of Kumārasvāmi on the Dhavaḷagiri hill in the Dūrvāsa-kshētra at the confluence of the rivers Chintāmaṇī and Bhavānī. A lithic record, dated February 23, 1670,¹³⁶ speaks of Basavaiya as having caused a *dīpa-mālā* pillar to be erected for God Channarāya in the fort of Channarāyapaṭṇa. Another, belonging to about 1670,¹³⁷ records a gift by Dēvarāja of the village of Bindēnahalli, for the incense, lights, offerings, decorations and festivals of God Chandraśekhara of Channarāyapaṭṇa. A third, dated January 2, 1671,¹³⁸ registers his gift—on the occasion of *Makara-Sankramaṇa*—of the village of Jānagere, in the Kottanagere-sthala of the Kuṇigal hōbḷi, for the Śivarātri service (*Śivarātri śēvege*) and for the offerings to God Agastyēśvara at the tri-junction of the Cauvery, Kapilā and the Sphaṭika-sarōvara (crystal lake). A fourth, dated January 17, 1671,¹³⁹ speaks of his grant of a piece of land

133. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ng. 44: *Saumya*, *Vaiśākha* ba. 5.

134. *Ibid.*, XII Tp. 72: *Saumya*, *Kārtika* su. 5.

135. *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 181; also *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552, Cb. 306 and 308: s. 1591, *Saumya*.

136. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 155: *Saumya*, *Phālguṇa* su. 15; s. 1491, in this record, is an error for s. 1591 (*Saumya*).

137. *Ibid.*, Cn. 168.

138. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 4: s. 1592, *Sādhāraṇa*, *Māgha* su. 2, Monday.

139. *Ibid.*, Kg. 5: *Sādhāraṇa*, *Māgha* ba. 2.

in the Kuṇigal-sīme to Udeya Nāyaka. A fifth, dated March 20, 1671,¹⁴⁰ refers to his having given away the tank of Virupa-samudra to God Mahadēśvara of Moḷagāla, in the Kāṅkāṅhaḷḷi (*Kāṅikāranahaḷḷi*)-sthala, and to its restoration and rebuilding, after a breach, by a private individual. A sixth, dated August 12, 1671,¹⁴¹ mentions the gift by a private individual of a *dīpa-mālā* pillar and a *pātāla-maṅṭapa* to the processional image of God Śankarēśvara at Keregōḍu, under the government of Basavaiya, during Dēvarāja's reign. A seventh, dated in 1671,¹⁴² records the formation of the village of Vinnappalli into an *agrahāra* of sixty-four shares, and the bestowal of the same on sixty-four Brāhmins, by Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Among the records of 1672, a lithic one, dated August 18,¹⁴³ registers his grant of the village of Toravaḷi to God Mahābalēśvara. Two others, dated October 21,¹⁴⁴ relate to his grant of the village of Sasiyālapura, to provide for the offerings, illuminations and festivals of God Gangādharaēśvara of Maḷavaḷḷi (otherwise named *Gangā-dharapura*) and for the upkeep of the temple of the God. The grant, we learn, was made on a representation by one Gangādharaia of the Maḷavaḷḷi-sthala. Another, of the same date,¹⁴⁵ records Devarāja's gift of the village of Rāgi-Bommanahaḷḷi, for the maintenance of a feeding-house for Brāhmins. A fifth, dated November 7,¹⁴⁶ registers his grant of the village of Marihaḷḷi (belonging

140. *Ibid.*, IX Kn. 95: s. 1584, *Virōdhikrit*, *Chaitra* ba. 5; s. 1584, in this record, is an error for s. 1593.

141. *Ibid.*, XII Tp. 70: s. 1593, *Virōdhikrit*, *Śrāvāṇa* ba. 3, Saturday; see also Tp. 72 in f.n. 134 *supra*.

142. *I. M. P.*, I. 552, Cb. 309: s. 1593, *Virōdhikrit*.

143. *E. C.*, IV (2) Hg. 107: *Paridhāvi*, *Bhādrapada* śu. 6. Rice doubtfully places this record in 1612 (?) but it actually belongs to Dēvarāja's reign.

144. *Ibid.*, III (1) Ml. 38 and 63: *Paridhāvi*, *Kārtika* śu. 10; s. 1472 and 1595, in these records, respectively, an error for s. 1594. See also *M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95 (Ml. 38 revised).

145. *Ibid.*, II SB. 401; *Ibid.* See also *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 54, para 129.

146. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 191: s. 1594, *Paridhāvi*, *Kārtika* ba. 12, Thursday.

to Ummattūr) to a local god, for the merit of his father (Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar). A sixth, dated November 14,¹⁴⁷ relates to his grant of the village of Kaggundi (otherwise called *Dēvarājapura*), for a feeding-house (*satrada dharmakke*), while a seventh, dated December 19 (*Pushya śu.* 10),¹⁴⁸ records his gift of the village of Madani, to provide for the daily distribution of food to the Jaina sanyāsis of the *Dāna-sāle* of Chārukīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa. Perhaps the last of the available records of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar is a lithic one, dated January 15, 1673,¹⁴⁹ registering his grant—on the *Ratha-saptami* day—of the village of Beṭṭahalli (also called *Dēvarājapura*), in the Talakāḍsthala, to provide for the worship and ceremonies of God Mallikārjuna (of the original Śrī-Śaila) on the left of God Vaidyēśvara of Talakāḍ (*Gajāranya-kshētra*).

A *Bhakta-vigraha* of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—evidently an authentic likeness of his—is to be seen placed side by side with that of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, in one of the pavilions of the temple of Trinayanēśvara at Mysore, with the name Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar latterly inscribed thereon, the prefix *Doḍḍa*¹⁵⁰ being generally used to distinguish him from his successor, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.

Seringapatam, the capital city, continued to be a flourishing centre of social life, with all its attractions, under Dēvarāja. Its importance as the seat of the southern throne (*dakṣhiṇa-simhāsana*) increased with the fall of

147. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hs. 22: *Ibid.*, *Mārgaśira śu.* 5, Thursday.

148. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 273: s. 1595, *Paridhāvi*, *Pushya śu.* 10. Here, for s. 1595, read s. 1594. The *Munivam.* (II, 78-79) speaks of Chikkadēvarāja, during Dēvarāja's reign, as having paid a visit to Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa and got the village of Madaneya (Madani) as a gift to the *Dāna-sāle* of that place. It was possibly this gift which was, later, recorded on stone in December 1672.

149. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 54: s. 1594, *Paridhāvi*, *Māgha śu.* 7, Wednesday.

150. *Vide* Appendix V—(1).



Bhakta-vigrahas of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I and
Dēvarāja Woḍeyar in the Trinayanēśvara Temple, Fort, Mysore.

Penukoṇḍa and the Muhammadan occupation of Vellore, the capitals of the rapidly decling Vijayanagar Empire. The systematic adoption of Vijayanagar political ideals and traditions by the Ruling House of Mysore also helped in the same direction. This was made possible by the influence exerted by the celebrated Tātāchārya family, particularly by Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Yēḍur (grandson of Immaḍi-Tirumala-Tātāchārya of Śrī-Śaila Vamśa and son of Kōṭi-Kanyādānam Lakshmikumāra-Tātāchārya, already referred to) who, we learn,¹⁵¹ proceeded to the court of Seringapatam as the preceptor of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Already during the reign, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism had become a living religion in Mysore. Aḷasingarārya, father of Tirumalārya and companion of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, continued as the expounder of the Purāṇas (*Paurāṇika*)¹⁵² to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar after the retirement of Doḍḍadēvarāja to the banks of the Kauṇḍinī in or about 1659. The *Vasantōtsava* of God Śrī-Ranganātha, the *Rāma-navami* and the *Mahā-navami* (*Mānōmiyukkeva*) were, we note,¹⁵³ among the popular festivals of the period. The general culture of the times, especially in Seringapatam, is reflected¹⁵⁴ in the references to storeyed

151. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), l. 37: *āgamana Śrī-guru-nidhēr-narapatēr-Dēvarājasya*. Cf. Rice's rendering of this passage, "who was in his assembly as Brihaspati in the assemblage of the gods" (*Ibid.*, p. 72, translation), which does not seem to be in keeping with the text. Members of the Tātāchārya family were very influential at the court of Vijayanagar as royal preceptors (*Narapatī-sinhāsana-chārya*). Kōṭi-Kanyādānam Lakshmikumāra-Tātāchārya, father of Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya, was himself the preceptor of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614) and was reputed to have given away countless virgins in marriage to learned Brāhmins, as his title seems evidently to suggest—see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2223-2226. The migration of the family to the court of Seringapatam in the sixties of the seventeenth century seems significant, generally from the point of view of the continuous course of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore and particularly from the point of view of the growth of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the country. Probably the nucleus of the present *Parakāla-Maṭh* at Mysore was laid in the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.

152. See *C. Vi.*, V, 15: *Aḷasingarāryarim purāṇam gēlveḍeyoḷ*, referring to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar; see also under *Court culture*.

153. *Ibid.*, V, 164-168; VI, 106, 270-274; *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), l. 56.

154. *Ibid.*, VI, 80-82, 87, 99, 108, 152, 154, 200, 206, 208, 222, 236, 238, 265, etc.

mansions (*karumāḍa*) with pavilions (*matta-vāraṇa*), plastered pavements (*kundaṇada jaguli*; *chandrōpala paṭṭikā* . . . *kuttimāṅkaṇa*) and apartments (such as *Chandra-sāle*, *Bhadra-bhavana*, etc.), and¹⁵⁵ in the gay and luxurious life and tastes of fashionable society, as indexed, for instance, by the use of silken clothes and garments and the popularity of music and dancing among the arts. There is evidence of the active pursuit of the ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* by the respective sections of the Hindu social order.¹⁵⁶ The social evil, as is seen depicted,¹⁵⁷ shows that it had become deep-rooted in contemporary city life.

The *Palace copper-plate grant*¹⁵⁸ (1663) testifies to the wealth and grandeur of the court of
 Court culture. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. From the *Chaupadada-Pustaka* (c. 1670)¹⁵⁹ we glean a picture of him, with his half-tied *jaṭā* or tress of hair (*ara-jaṭe*) and the *ṭikā* of musk on his forehead (*nosalinolaḡe kasturi-tilaka*), dressed in silken and lace garments (*pītāmbara*, *dukūla*), with wreaths of flowers, with ear-rings, finger-rings, medallions and necklaces (set with pearls and precious stones), with the jewelled sword in his hand (*ratnamaya-khaḍḡa-dharanāḡi*), and seated on the throne (*simhāsanārūḍhanāḡi*) surrounded by ministers (*mantriḡaḡu*), functionaries (*niryōḡiḡaḡu*), scholars and musicians (*sāstra-saṅgīta-kōvidaru*), personal attendants, mahouts and cavaliers (*pari-jana* . . . *gaja-turaga-rēvanta rāvutaru*). In his court, we note,¹⁶⁰ flourished

155. *Ibid.*, V, 158; VI, 128-133, 155-158, 169, 170, 174, 196, 198, 200, 238, etc.

156. *Ibid.*, V, 170.

157. *Ibid.*, VI, 32, 64-70, 74-81, 141-151, 154-155, 237-239, 263, 274-285, etc.

This canto of the poem, though principally devoted to the delineation of the erotic sentiment, indirectly hints at the deeper undercurrents of contemporary life. For further details about the *C. Vi.*, see Ch. XIV.

158. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 31-32:

Aṣṭaiśvarya samā-yukta-śchāṣṭa-bhōga durandharau.

159. ff. 1, v, 1-6, etc.; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 6-10. 160. *C. Vi.*, V, 158-160.

poetry, music, dancing, drama and amusements of various descriptions (such as athletic contests, cock-fights, ram-fights, elephant-fights, etc.). Foremost among the court scholars of the time was Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya (of the Tātāchārya family), the royal preceptor (*guru*). He was reputed for his proficiency in logic, philosophy and the śāstras (*tarka-vēdānta-śāstra-sāmrājya-dhārīṇē*),¹⁶¹ and is referred to¹⁶² as having delivered verses of eulogy on Dēvarāja (*rāja-prabandhān uvācha*) when the latter granted him the Nūlapūra (or *Ikkēri*) *agrahāra*. Another scholar at the court was Aḷasingarārya, to whose attainments we have referred in the preceding chapter. He seems to have attained considerable popularity as *Paurāṇika* to Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is said¹⁶³ to have granted him the villages of Nāṭanahaḷḷi and Bīrubalḷi (in the Narasīpura hōbḷi of the Mandagere-sthala) for expounding the *Mahābhārata*, particularly the episode relating to Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation. His son Tirumalārya, the young litterateur, was, it would seem,¹⁶⁴ exercising a profound influence on his co-student and colleague, Chikkadēvarāja, the Crown-prince. Among other luminaries were Lakshmīpati (*Lakshmā-khya budhōttamam*), the royal scribe,¹⁶⁵ and Lakhappa-Śarman, an astrological scholar (*Jyōtirivida*).¹⁶⁶

Sacred and secular lore alike claimed the attention, and flourished under the patronage, of Dēvarāja, as a patron of learning and culture. Dēvarāja. From the *Hālagere Plates*¹⁶⁷ (1663) we learn that he got built in the *Dēvarājapura agrahāra*, in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra,

161. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 48-49.

162. *Ibid.*, ll. 38-40; see also f.n. 112 *supra* and text thereto.

163. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1678), ll. 13-17; IV (2) Kr. 45 (1678), ll. 14-18. The actual expressions used are: *Dēvarāja Wodeyurairayanavarū nanma kaiyya Mahābhāratava kēḷi Yudhiṣṭhīrābhishēka śravaṇa kāladallī namage dhāreya-neradu koṭṭa . . . grāmagaḷālī . . .*

164. See *C.V.*, V and VI.

165. *Vide* Ms. copy (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāna*, p. 189.

166. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 11-12.

167. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 80-90.

fifty houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), with a well and backyard, and settled them with poets, religious teachers, artists and learned men (*kavi-guru-kalā-dhārān-anu-vibudhāmscha nivēśayāmāsa*), giving them villages that they might dwell there and carry on their religious exercises. Again, from the *Bhērya copper-plate grant*¹⁶⁸ (1666) we note that he got built ninety-two houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), also in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra, and gave them away (each furnished with supplies for a year, together with jewels, clothes and a milch-cow and calf) for the maintenance of Brāhmins of good lineage, learned in *Vēdas*, *Śāstras* and Philosophy, observers of penance and religious rites, pure, and following the right course of conduct, (*Vēda-śāstrārthata t v a j n ā n japa-hōma-parāyanān | sadāchāra-ratān śuddhān jvalatō brahma-tejasā . . .*), besides assigning $3\frac{1}{4}$ shares exclusively for the recitation of the *Vēdas* (*tripāda-sammitā Vēda-vṛttiścha*).

Among the authors of the period, Tirumalārya of Kausika-gōtra, son of Aṣingarārya, composed in Sanskrit the copper-plate inscription, dated July 6, 1663 (*Śōbhakrit, Āshāḍha śu. 12, Monday*), recording Dēvarāja's grant of Hallikere to Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya, the royal preceptor.¹⁶⁹ This record is as usual written in the *kāvya* style, and is so far the earliest known literary production of Tirumalārya. Chāmaiya wrote the *Dēvarāja-Sāṅgatyā*¹⁷⁰ (c. 1670), dealing with the achievements of Dēvarāja. The work, however, as it

168. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, pp. 157-158 (Text).

169. See *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23, ll. 92-94: *Kausikānvaya . . . Aṣingarāryasya tanayah Tirumalāchārya vyatānit tāmbra-sāsana ślōkan*; also f.n. 112 *supra* and text thereto. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.*, and *A. V. C.*, erroneously assigning this record to 1664.

170. Ms. No. 19-3-44 (*P*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), I, 28: *Bhūmipa Dēvarājendra-chariteya Chāmaiya-nolīdu pēḷidavū*. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 535-536, fixing the poet in c. 1700, which is not borne out by the internal evidence available.

has come down, is unfortunately incomplete, containing as it does only two chapters (*sandhis*). It is, as its name indicates, a poem written in intelligible *Hosagannaḍa sāṅgatyā* metre. The poet, who seems to have been a protégé of Dēvarāja, directly refers¹⁷¹ to his patron as "Dēvarājēndra of Mysore, of Ātrēya-gōtra," and as distinguished by the titles, *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, *Dhore-Vīra* and *Karnāṭaka-Kuruvara-Chakra*. He begins with invocations to Gōpāla of Padmagiri (Gōpālasvāmi Hill), Rāmachandra, Paśchima-Ranga and Lakshmīkānta among the Gods, and Vyāsa, Vālmīki and Jaimini among the poets; gives the usual poetical description of the Karnāṭaka country and the city of Mysore; and eulogises Dēvarāja. Another work, also incomplete, written in the *Hosagannaḍa chaupadi* metre under Dēvarāja's patronage, has also come down to us under the title, *Chaupadada-Pustaka*¹⁷² (c. 1670). Its authorship, however, is unknown, being anonymous. It begins with invocations to Rāmachandra, Gaṇēśa, Gangādhareśvara, Ranganātha and Narasimha (of Seringapatam), and, besides the eulogy, contains direct references to the achievements, personality, court life, daily routine, etc., of Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Among other writers, Lakshmīpati, the royal scribe of Dēvarāja, appears also to have been a poet. Though no authentic works of his have so far come down to us, we have some evidence of his poetical attainments in the verses (in the *kanda* metre) at the end of the colophon to the manuscript copy¹⁷³ (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa* (c. 1000), prepared by him for the use of the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Chikkēndra-bhūmīśangendu*). From the reference to Dēvarāja of Mysore and his Daḷavāi Kumāriyai

171. I, 23-27.

172. Ms. No. 18-11-7—P.L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*173. Ms. No. A. 53 (P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), pp. 189-190. The copying of the work was actually completed on August 25, 1663 (s. 1585, *Sōbhakrit*, *Bhādrapada śu.* 3), according to the colophon on p. 189. For further references to this Ms., *vide* section on *Domestic life*. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 450), which, by a slip, places *Sōbhakrit* in 1662.

in the verses at the beginning of the second chapter of a manuscript¹⁷⁴ of Immaḍi-Tōṇṭadaiya's *Vajrabāhu-Charite* (c. 1530), it appears probable that a copy of this work also was made towards the close of Dēvarāja's reign.¹⁷⁵

The reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar saw the beginnings of intercourse of European nations with Mysore. "In the month of June 1671," we note,¹⁷⁶ "Flacour, the French agent, went from [Tellicherry] to settle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Dellon [the physician who had sailed from France in March 1668], intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents and came back: Flacour persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672 Dellon sailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat."

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar had two queens, Muddājamma, daughter of Channarājaiya of Arikuthāra, and Dēvājamma, daughter of Lingarājaiya of Ammachavādi.¹⁷⁷ Of these, Dēvājamma is probably identical with "Dēvāmbā" and "Dēvājamma" mentioned in two lithic records dated March 14, 1662.¹⁷⁸ She is, again, referred to in

174. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1; see also f.n. 227 *infra*, for a further notice of this Ms.

175. Cf. *Ibid.*

176. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, pp. 174-175, Note VII-v.

177. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 95.

178. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81: s. 1584, *Śubhakṛit, Chaitra śu.* 5. These records relate to the construction of a *maṭh* in Kaḷale (attached to the Palace), and the grant of the villages of Kurahaṭṭi and Śambupura as an endowment thereto, by Dēvāmbā (Dēvājamma), with the permission of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and the consent of (Daḷavāi) Nanjanāthaiya, on the death of her father (?). The expressions, *namma arasinavaru svargastarāgalāgi*, in Nj. 81, ll. 8-9, are literally rendered by Rice as, "on my king (*i.e.*, husband) going to *svarga*." (*Ibid.*, p. 103, translation). In the absence of specific reference, these expressions may as well imply the death of an elderly member (father of Dēvāmbā?) of Dēvājamma's family taking *namma arasinavaru* in a wider sense, in which case we have to assume the identity of Dēvāmbā with Dēvājamma, queen of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.

an inscription, dated June 22, 1667,¹⁷⁹ recording a cash grant for services (*i.e.* flower decoration and offerings) to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. Dēvarāja had no issue by either of his queens. Yet he seems to have endeared himself to Chikkadēvarāja (the Crown-prince) and Kaṅṭhīravaiya as their uncle,¹⁸⁰ looking upon them as if they were his own sons.¹⁸¹

Among other members of the Royal Family, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, elder brother of Dēvarāja Wodeyar—who, as already referred to,¹⁸² had renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his younger brother by 1659—devoted¹⁸³ himself to penance on the banks of the Kaunḍinī river (near Guṇḍlu-Terakanāmbi), during the latter part of his life covered by the reign of Dēvarāja. The staunch Vaishṇava that he was, Doḍḍadēvarāja was, as he is depicted to us,¹⁸⁴ a saintly personage with a religious and philosophical turn of mind, ever devoutly served by his younger brothers (*yad-bhakti-yukta-chittair nityam paricharyatē nijair anujaiḥ; yad-bhakti-bhāva-vivaśair . . . anujaiḥ*). In particular,

179. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 45: *Plavanga, Āshāḍha śu.* 11, *Prathama-Ēkādaśi*.

180. See colophon to the Ms. copy (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa* by Rāyasada Lakshmīpati, p. 190; *Chaupādāda-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 1, 3; *C. Vi.*, IV, 176, 178—referring to Dēvarāja as “*Chikkaya Rāya*,” “*Chikkayya*,” “*Kiru-tandē*,” respectively. All these terms mean “uncle.”

181. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, l. 30, where the reference to “*putraishcha*” is applicable to the nephews of Dēvarāja in a general sense; also *C. Vi.*, V, 69, 73, where Dēvarāja is made to refer to his nephew, Chikkadēvarāja, as “*maga*” (son). We have also some records where Kaṅṭhīravaiya, the other nephew of Dēvarāja, is generally referred to as “*kumāra*” (son), *vide* references cited in f.n. 200-203 *infra*.

182. *Vide* section on *Lineal descent*.

183. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*.

184. *C. Vam.*, 37-48, 89-160; *C. Vi.*, III, 7-123; *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 38-42; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 15-17; III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 118 (Text); 14 (1686), ll. 23-29, etc. For further reference to the Vaishṇava predilections of Doḍḍadēvarāja, *vide* Ch. XIII.

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar himself is stated¹⁸⁵ to have ruled the kingdom of Mysore as a devotee at the feet of his elder brother. Obviously, as the seniormost member of the Royal Family, Doḍḍadēvarāja seems to have continued to wield his moral influence over the affairs of the State, during the period of his retirement.¹⁸⁶ Amritāmbā (Amritamma), daughter of Bālē Urs of Mūgūr, was his lawful and only queen (*dharmapatnī*; *ēkapatnī-vratasthā*).¹⁸⁷

185. See *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 65: *Dēva-janapālam bhūmāgraja-bhaktiyim porēda mahiyam*; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 49: *Dēva-janapālam . . . Doḍḍadēva-urpananghriya bhaktiyol āldan . . . urviyam*, etc. Cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*.

186. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 475-476, where Dēvachandra speaks of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar as not having been allowed by his brother, Dēvarāja, to re-enter Seringapatam on his return from a pilgrimage, of his (Doḍḍadēvarāja's) subsequent tour in the kingdom, his sojourn in Yeḷandūr, the marriage of his son, Chikkadēvarāja, with the Yeḷandūr princess (Dēvajamma), Doḍḍadēvarāja's death at Hangaḷa and the performance of his obsequies on the banks of the Kaupḍini by Chikkadēvarāja, etc.; cf. also *Wilks* in Appendix V—(1), referring to Doḍḍadēvarāja and his son, Chikkadēvarāja, as having been kept as prisoners at Terakaṇāmbi during Dēvarāja's reign. Rice (I. 365) follows *Wilks*; S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 295) is rather inclined to be critical on the point. There is absolutely no evidence in support of the position of either Dēvachandra or *Wilks*. A detailed examination of the *Rāj. Kath.* goes to show that Dēvachandra, who closely follows the *C. Vam.*, only *distorts* that text in an attempt to trace the connection of Chikkadēvarāja with his Jain minister, Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit. Nor does *Wilks* seem to have been well-informed by his contemporaries on the point at issue. The truth seems to be that a legend grew up, in later times, about the renunciation of Doḍḍadēvarāja and his penance and death on the banks of the Kaupḍini river. Since Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Doḍḍadēvarāja, was also, as we shall see, in Hangaḷa from 1668 onwards, this would appear to have led to the notion that both father and son were in prison, a notion which perhaps easily crept into later writings like the *Kaṭṭiyats*, etc., uncritically relied upon by *Wilks*. We have to totally reject both Dēvachandra and *Wilks* in the light of the evidence derivable from the sources cited in f.n. 180-181, 183 and 185 *supra* and 196-199 *infra*.

187. *Mys. Dh. Pār.*, I. 57; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 45; *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 21-22; III (1) Sr. 151, pp. 118-119 (Text); also see and compare *Annals*, I. 95; cf. *E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), l. 27, referring to Channamāmbā as the mother of Chikkadēvarāja, which seems evidently a surname of Amritāmbā. All other sources are agreed that Amritāmbā was her actual name. See also references cited in f.n. 189 *infra*. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 474), where Dēvachandra connects Amritāmbā with Yeḷandūr, for which there is no evidence.

By her he had two sons, Chikkadēvarāja (b. 1645) and Kaṅṭhīravaiya (Kaṅṭhīrava-Arasu, b. 1647), and two daughters, Dēpamma and Guruvājamma.¹⁸⁸ Amritāmbā was, as she is depicted,¹⁸⁹ an ideal and pious lady, ever devoted to her husband. As already indicated, she got constructed, in 1656, a stone *math* in the Palace at Hangāḷa [where Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar (?) had died] and an independent *math* for Maraḷa-Basavalinga-Dēvaru, granting the village of Horakēri-Bāchahaḷḷi as an endowment to the latter.¹⁹⁰ She also, we learn,¹⁹¹ got newly erected a Lingāyat *math* in the town of Mysore. Evidently she seems to have been a patron of the Vīra-Śaivas. She appears to have predeceased Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar,¹⁹² and her memory is perpetuated by a votive *manṭapa*, to the east of the *nāmatīrtha* pavilion at Mēlkōṭe, with her name inscribed thereon (*Amrutamma-Navara sēve-manṭapa*).¹⁹³ Doḍḍadēvarāja himself, it would seem, passed away, in his forty-seventh year, not later than November 30, 1669, for we have a lithic record, dated

188. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 57-58; Appendix V--(2) and references cited in f.n. 185 *supra* and 189 *infra*; also see and compare *Annals*, l.c.

189. *C. Vam.*, 39; *C. Vi.*, III, 24-26; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 62-63; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 26-27; *Bhaḡ. Gī. Tī.*, I, 45-46; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 38-39; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, I, 103-104; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 46-48, etc.

190. *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25 (1656), pp. 163-166; see also Ch. IX, f.n. 165 and 168. It was probably this grant which was confirmed and extended by Dēvarāja in 1663—*vide* f.n. 116 *supra* and text thereto.

191. *Ibid.*, 1931, No. 33 (1668), pp. 129-131, ll. 7-9: *Maisūra vāra-voḷagaṇa Mahattige Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru nūtanavāgi kaṭṭiṣṭa Mahattina-maṭha*. Dr. M. H. Krishna renders the expressions, *Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru*, literally as Amritamma, "mother" of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, pp. 130-131). The word *Ammanavaru*, however, is only a term of respect by which Amritamma, an elderly lady and *sister-in-law* of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, is referred to here.

192. See *M. A. R.*, l. c., from which it would seem Amritamma had died some time before 1668. The *Annals* (I, 103, 138) is rather confused and contradictory on the point. In the absence of decisive evidence, we would not, in the light of inscriptions (dated in 1656 and 1668) above referred to, be far wrong in placing her death somewhere between 1656 and 1665.

193. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 83.

November 19, 1670,¹⁹⁴ registering a grant—on the anniversary day of his death (*namma pitru-divasada puṇyakāladalli*)—by his second son, Kaṇṭhīravaiya (Kaṇṭhīrava-Arasu). A mutilated image of God Varadarāja (formerly adorning the Paravāsudēva temple on the banks of the Kauṇḍinī but now to be seen in the Vijaya-Nārāyanasvāmi temple at Guṇḍlupet), with the label *Śrī-Doḍḍadēvarāja-Varada* (lit. giver of boon to Doḍḍadēvarāja) inscribed thereon,¹⁹⁵ perhaps reminds us of his devotion to that God, especially during the last years of his life. Of his two sons, Chikkadēvarāja, the elder, who had been placed as a junior prince (*Kiriyarasu*) under Dēvarāja, became the Crown-prince during the latter's reign (*Yauvarājyadoḷ alankarisidam*).¹⁹⁶ On February 21, 1662 (*Plava, Phālguna śu.* 14), Dēvarāja, it is said,¹⁹⁷ got him married to Dēvājamma (Dēvāmbā), daughter of Lingarājaiya of Yeḷandūr, and Dēvamma, daughter of (Daḷavāi) Kumāraiya of Kaḷale. There is evidence of Chikkadēvarāja having stayed with his uncle in Seringapatam till June 1667, for, as we have seen, he made a rare exhibition of his courage and prowess during Dēvarāja's deliberations on the occasion of the siege of Ērōde.¹⁹⁸ It was probably shortly after this event that he was, with his family, sent to Hangala by Dēvarāja for being educated and trained in politics and state-craft under proper arrangements.¹⁹⁹ Kaṇṭhīravaiya, the younger son of Doḍḍadēvarāja, appears to have stayed

194. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 119 : s. 1592, *Sādhāraṇa, Mārgaśira* ba. 3. For details, see text of f.n. 203 *infra*. We have also records in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, relating to his grants on the anniversary day of the death of his *father*, Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*i.e.*, *Mārgaśira* ba. 3)—*vide* Ch. XIII. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*.

195. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Gu. 105 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 56). For details about the Paravāsudēva temple, *vide* Ch. XIII.

196. *C.Vam.*, 190.

197. *Annals*, I. 96 and 104; cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*. For details about the Kaḷale Family, see under *Rise of the Kaḷale Family*.

198. *C.Vi.*, V, 62-75; see also text of f.n. 66 *supra*.

199. *Annals*, I. 96; cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *supra*. For further details, *vide* under *Early life of Chikkadēvarāja* in Ch. XI.

with his uncle and possibly ruled jointly with him during the latter part of his (Dēvarāja's) reign. An inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁰ refers to his grant of the village Horeyāla (*Arasinavara-hallī*), in the Turuvēkere-sthaḷa, for services to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. A lithic record, dated October 26, 1669,²⁰¹ records the formation by him of an *agrahāra* in Tarīkallu (and twenty-three adjoining hamlets), named *Kaṇṭhīrava-samudra*, and the grant of the same—divided into 126 shares—to learned and deserving Brāhmins of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *sākhas*, one share being set apart for God Lakshmīkānta-svāmi. Another, dated October 15, 1670,²⁰² refers to his grant of land of 6 *varahas* (in Ālanahallī?) to Biḍārada-Venkaṭaiya, on account of having sent him to Kāśī. A third, dated November 19, 1670, already mentioned,²⁰³ registers his gift of the village of Biḷugumba (in Kottāgāla), also named *Kaṇṭhīrava-pura*, to a Brāhmin by name Beṭṭappaiya of Kāṭūr (of Gautama-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuśśākhā), on the anniversary day of the death of his father, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar. A fourth, dated December 11, 1672,²⁰⁴ records his grant of land, assessed at 10 *varahas*, to Niranjaiya, Śānabhōg (*Sēnabhōga*) of Kittūr, as an *umbali-mānya* (rent-free) for the Kambara-maṭha of the Kittūr-sthaḷa. A fifth, a much worn out record, also dated in 1672,²⁰⁵ seems to register his grant of the village of Manchanahallī, in Maḷavallī hōbḷi, for the feeding of Brāhmins. All these records are usually signed by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, at the end. Evidently the grants seem to have been made by

200. *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 45: *Plavanga, Āshāḍha śu.* 11.

201. *E.C.*, IV (2) Hs. 139: *ś.* 1591, *Saunhya, Kārtika śu.* 12. The week-day mentioned, *Bhānuvāra*, is apparently a misreading, or a scribal error, for *Bhāumavāra* (Tuesday).

202. *Ibid.*, Hg. 120: *ś.* 1532, *Sādharāṇa, Kārtika śu.* 12; *ś.* 1532, in this record, is clearly an error, for *Sādharāṇa*, in the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, corresponds to *ś.* 1592.

203. *Ibid.*, Hg. 119; see also f.n. 194 *supra* and text thereto.

204. *Ibid.*, Hg. 57: *ś.* 1594, *Paridhāvi, Pushya śu.* 2.

205. *Ibid.*, III (1) Ml. 69 (*M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95): *ś.* 1594, *Paridhāvi.*

Kaṅṭhīravaiya with the consent of his uncle. Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar, youngest brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar and last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—who had also been placed under the care of Dēvarāja—seems to have stayed in Seringapatam during the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, faithfully serving him.²⁰⁶ He was familiarly known as “*Chikka-Arasinavarū*.”²⁰⁷ A copper-plate inscription (from the Ranganātha temple, Seringapatam), dated March 12, 1664,²⁰⁸ registers, under Dēvarāja’s signature, a grant by Maridēvarāja, of the village of Allappanahalli, to six families of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, to provide for daily decoration with garlands (*tirumāle*) from head to foot of God Ranganātha and the Goddess Ranganāyaki of Seringapatam, and for small garlands to the attendant goddess and the two Nāchyārs (goddesses). The record further registers his grant of a land, assessed at 4 *varahas* (*nālku-varahada-bhūmi*), for God Hanumanta newly set up in the *maṅṭapa* in the middle of the village. Another inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁹ records a similar pious service of his in the Ranganātha temple at Seringapatam.

From the domestic, no less from the political, point of view, the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, it is interesting to note, witnessed an important development in the relations of the Mysore Royal House with the Kaḷale Family.

The Rise of the Kaḷale Family, down to 1673.

206. See *Ibid*, Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 29-30 :

Paricharati mudāyam bhavya-karmānjanmā
Sakhalu Mariyadēva-kshmāpati . . . ;

Yād. Māhāt., I, 41: *Dēva-nṛpālanalli Maridēvēndram mahā-bhaktiyam taledirdam*, etc. See also *E.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (1663), ll. 30-31 (*Bhrātr putraischa sahite mantri-mukhyaischa sevitaḥ*), referring, in general, to Dēvarāja as having been served by his brother, sons and ministers. The reference to the brother here is to Maridēvarāja. For further notice of this reference, *vide* f.n. 181 *supra*.

207 *I.M.C.*, l.c., *vide* f.n. 200 *supra*.

208 *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13: s. 1585, *Śābhakrit, Phālgunā ba.* 10.

209. *I.M.C.*, *vide* f.n. 207 *supra*.

In view of the influence the latter exercised in later times on the fortunes of the kingdom of Mysore, it seems pertinent here to trace its origin, foundation and rise from small beginnings. The founding of the Kaḷale Family dates in 1500, according to tradition preserved in the *Kaḷale-Arasugala-Vamśāvali*²¹⁰ (c. 1830). Two brothers, by name Kānta Wodeyar and Krishṇarāja Wodeyar, of Yādava descent, Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, it is said, proceeded from the region of Dvāraka towards Vijayanagar, intending to carve out a kingdom for themselves.²¹¹ At Vijayanagar they stayed for a while, deliberating with its ruler (*Rāya*). Ultimately, however, Kānta Wodeyar, owing to some differences with the latter, left with his consort and his brother for Kaḷale in the south, taking with him the shrine of his family god Lakshmikānta. In due course, as unanimously decided by the elders (*haḷabas*), Kānta Wodeyar was installed as chief of Kaḷale by the Pālegār of Ummattūr.²¹² Kānta Wodeyar I thus became the progenitor of the Kaḷale Family, and is assigned a period of twenty-two years' rule (1505-1527).²¹³ Kānta Wodeyar I had a son and four grandsons, one of the latter, Kānta Wodeyar, marrying (Doḍḍa) Dēvīamma, daughter of Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (*Vijaya-Chāmarāsa Wodeyar*) of Mysore (1513-1553).²¹⁴ Kānta

210. A paper Ms. in the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, No. B. 424. It is otherwise known as *Sri-Vēṅṅapurada-Kshatrigaḷavara-Vamśāvali*. It embodies the traditional history and fortunes of the Kaḷale Family down to the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and from internal evidence appears to have been compiled about 1830 (see ff. 34). Our account is mainly based on this Ms., supplemented by other sources of information wherever available.

211. *K.A.V.*, ff. 1. The actual expressions used are: *digvijaya nimityavāgi*. Cf. the founding of the Mysore Royal Family as recorded in the *Mys. Nag. Pūr.* (*Vide* Ch. III of this work).

212. *Ibid.*, ff. 1 and 2. The Vijayanagar ruler of the time, according to the Ms., was Krishṇadēva-Rāya (*Krishṇa-Rāya*). But the actual ruler, in 1500, was Narasa Nāyaka (1497-1503).

213. *Ibid.*, ff. 31; see also Table XIII.

214. *Ibid.*, ff. 2; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

Woḍeyar I appears to have got built a temple to Vishṇu (*Lakshmīkānta-svāmi*) in Kaḷale.²¹⁵ His rule was, however, characterized by considerable domestic embroil between the chief of Ummattūr and the members of the Kaḷale House, leading eventually to a wholesale massacre of the latter, with the exception of only one member, Mallarāja Woḍeyar, a great grandson of Kānta Woḍeyar I, who was rescued and brought up by a faithful adherent of the family. Great confusion prevailed in the land, and the Ummattūr chief placed Kaḷale under the nominal sway of one Kāntanna, a natural son of Kānta Woḍeyar.²¹⁶ Meanwhile the Kaḷale Family was revived under Mallarāja Woḍeyar, whose son, also known as Mallarāja, married (Chikka) Dēvīamma, another daughter of Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III of Mysore.²¹⁷ The family, however, resumed its sway in Kaḷale only under this Mallarāja's son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar I, who is assigned a period of eighteen years' rule (1527-1546).²¹⁸ He is said to have had five sons by three out of his four consorts, the last of the latter, (Chikka) Dēpamma, being a daughter of Bōla-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar IV of Mysore (1572-1576).²¹⁹ At his death (in April 1546), Lakshmīkānta Woḍeyar, his eldest son by his first consort (Doḍḍājamma of Hura), was installed by the leaders of the *haḷepaika* community. This so much excited the jealousy of Lakshmīkānta Woḍeyar's half-brothers (*i.e.*, sons of Timmarāja Woḍeyar by his second consort, Channājamma of Tagaḍūr) that they treacherously removed the former to the unbearable agony and bitter curse of his mother who is said to have committed *sati* with her husband. They sought also the life of Mallarāja (afterwards Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II)—then a child of five years of age—another half-brother of

215. *Ibid.*, ff. 5.216. *Ibid.*, ff. 3-7.217. *Ibid.*, ff. 8-9; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.218. *Ibid.*, ff. 9 and 31; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.219. *Ibid.*, ff. 9-10; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

theirs (*i.e.*, son of Timmarāja Wodeyar I by his last consort, Dēpamma of Mysore). Luckily, however, a faithful onlooker removed him for safety to Mysore.²²⁰ The kingdom of Kaḷale thus fell to the share of the sons of Timmarāja Wodeyar I by his second consort, and, it is said, they kept under custody Dēpamma, mother of Mallarāja.²²¹ Of these sons of Timmarāja Wodeyar, Nandinātha Wodeyar is assigned a rule of eighteen years (1546-1564).²²² He was followed by Mudda-Mallarāja Wodeyar I (1564-1591), probably a son of his. The latter was in turn succeeded by Kānta Wodeyar II (1591-1605) and Chandraśekhara Wodeyar of Mallahaḷi (1605-1615), younger brothers of Nandinātha Wodeyar.²²³ Meanwhile Mallarāja, who had been brought up at Mysore, was advised by his saviour to proceed against his cousins and take possession of Kaḷale. Mallarāja approached his maternal uncle, Rāja Wodeyar (1578-1617), and sought his assistance. Rāja Wodeyar, however, on grounds of policy, directed him to Hiriya-Rāmarāja Nāyaka, chief of Yeḷandūr One Lakh country. Rāmarāja Nāyaka not only promised Mallarāja the assistance he sought but also gave his daughter, Dēvīamma, in marriage to him. During the wedding ceremonies, the pavilion, owing, it is said, to a slight defect in the *lagnam* already forewarned, caught fire; and Mallarāja himself sustained a severe burn on his foot which swelled and left a scar thereon, whence he became familiarly known as *Karikāla*-Mallarāja (lit. Mallarāja, with the black scar on his foot). *Karikāla*-Mallarāja, with the assistance in men and money from his father-in-law, succeeded in taking possession of Uppanahaḷi and Sindhuvaḷi and eventually Kaḷale itself. Chandraśekhara Wodeyar (1605-1615), the last of *Karikāla*-Mallarāja's half-brothers in charge of Kaḷale,

220. *Ibid.*, ff. 10-11; see also *Annals*, I. 46-47, referring to this account.

221. *Ibid.*, ff. 11.

222. *Ibid.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII.

223. *Ibid.*

was obliged to flee for his life to Malabar (Maleyālam), leaving the other members of his family at Mallahaḷli where they were kept under a close guard and ultimately died. Unopposed Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II was installed by the elders on the throne of Kaḷale.²²⁴ He is assigned a period of twenty-eight years' rule (1615-1644).²²⁵ He was an important member of the Kaḷale House and, as referred to in an earlier chapter,²²⁶ was the first Daḷavāi of Mysore under the solemn compact entered into between him and Rāja Woḍeyar in or about 1614. Karikāla-Mallarāja (Karikāla-Mallarājaiya of other sources) having, however, returned to Kaḷale and sent in his resignation through his grandson Nandināthaiya, the compact was not actually in force for some time, possibly because Karikāla-Mallarāja and his immediate successor had had more than they could manage in bringing order out of chaos and in securing their own position in Kaḷale before they could effectively take part in the politics of the kingdom of Mysore. Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II was succeeded by his second son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar II,²²⁷ and he is assigned

224. *Ibid.*, ff. 11-14. 225. *Ibid.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII. 226. *Ante*, Ch. V.

227. The *K. A. V.* is silent as to why Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu, eldest son of Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II (*vide* ff. 14 and Table XIII) did not succeed the latter to the kingdom of Kaḷale and how the second son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar, became its ruler. It seems, however, possible that the eldest son had been adopted by Lingarājaiya, son of Tirumalarāja Nāyaka and grandson of Hiriya-Rāmarāja Nāyaka of Hadināḍ-Yelandūr. For we have a lithic record, dated July 12, 1647 (*Sarvajit*, *Ashāḍha* *ba.* 5), specifically referring to Mallarāja as his heir-elect—see *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Yl. 188, ll. 10-12: *tamma paṭṭada sriyārāda Kaḷileya-prabhu Mallarāja-Arasinavaru*. We further learn from this record (l. 12) that Mallarāja had also a daughter by name Mallājamma. He had five sons (*vide* *K. A. V.*, ff. 14-15 and Table XIII) who are referred to in a Ms. copy (c. 1670) of Immaḍi-Tōṇṭadaiya's *Vajrabāhu-Charite*, and he is himself found mentioned in it as the right-hand man of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore in the south (*Maisūru-Dēvarājanige dakṣiṇa-bhuja-nenisida Kaḷileya Mallarāja*)—see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1; also f.n. 174 *supra* and text thereto. Evidently Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu, as a member of the Kaḷale Family in general and as the ruler of Yelandūr in particular, seems to have occupied an important position during the reign of Dēvarāja

a period of about sixteen years' rule (1644-1660).²²⁸ Timmarāja Woḍeyar was in turn followed by his nephew, Kumāra-Mallarāja Woḍeyar III (1660-1679), eldest son of Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu.²²⁹

The period of rule of Mallarāja III in Kaḷale synchronised with that of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar in Mysore. By now the kingdom of Kaḷale had been securely established, and the relations between the Kaḷale and Mysore families were renewed, perhaps under the influence of Mallarāja *alias* Kempē-Arasu, father of Mallarāja Woḍeyar III.²³⁰ Mallarāja III himself was married to Chikka-Dēpamma, a sister of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar,²³¹ and, as we have seen,²³² he held the office of Daḷavāi also under the latter for a short while (April-July 1660), while Nandināthaiya (Nanjanāthaiya of other sources) and Kumāraiya, younger brothers of Mallarāja III, successively held the same office (September 1661-February 1662; April 1662-April 1667; April 1667-1673). The bond of relationship between Kaḷale and Mysore was further strengthened by the marriage of Dēvamma, a daughter of Kumāraiya, with the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, in February 1662.²³³ Among other members of the Kaḷale Family, Nanjarājaiya I (a nephew of Mallarāja III) seems to have commanded the Mysore army during Dēvarāja's southern campaigns (c. 1659-1663),²³⁴ while his son, Kāntaiya, officiated as the Mysore Daḷavāi during February-April 1662.²³⁵ We have thus enough data at

Woḍeyar. This perhaps accounts, in a great measure, for the renewed friendly relations between Mysore and Kaḷale and the appointment of Mallarāja's sons and other members of the Kaḷale Family as Daḷavāis of Mysore during the reign.

228. *K. A. V.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII.

229. *Ibid*; also Table XIII and f.n. 227 *supra*.

230. *Vide* f.n. 227 *supra*.

231. *K. A. V.*, ff. 15; also Table XIII.

232. *Vide* section on *Daḷavāis*; also Table XIII.

233. *Vide* f.n. 197 *supra* and text thereto.

234. *Vide* f.n. 60 *supra*; also Table XIII.

235. *Vide* f.n. 232 *supra*; also Table XIII.

hand pointing to the rise of the Kalale Family to an important position in the kingdom of Mysore already by 1673.

On February 11, 1673, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar passed away, in his forty-sixth year, in the Palace at Chiknāyakanahalli, while on a tour in the State.²³⁶ His body, it is said,²³⁷ was quickly conveyed in the course of a single day to Seringapatam and his cremation, as had been piously desired by him, took place on the banks of the Cauvery, his queens observing *sati*.

If Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I worked for and evolved the independence of the kingdom of Mysore in the critical conditions prevailing in his time while remaining loyal to the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar went a step further by entering into and claiming the status of the Empire itself as its political heir, without, however, completely breaking away from the original theoretical position of Mysore as a feudatory of the latter. There is ample evidence, as indicated and explained above, that this result was, in a large measure, brought about by a combination of circumstances at once fortuitous and favourable to Mysore from the beginning of Dēvarāja's reign. The siege of Seringapatam by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, followed by his disastrous retreat and death (1659-1660); the attitude of prejudice,

236. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 57, II. 23: *Parīdhāvi, Phālguṇa śu* 5; see also *Annals*, I. 103; cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 27; *Rāj. Kath.* XII. 476; and *Wilks*, I. 70. Rice (I. 365) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 298), following Wilks, place Dēvarāja's death in 1672. The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here. That the last days of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar were spent at Chiknāyakanahalli appears obvious from a lithic record, dated July 13, 1673 (*Pramāḍīcha, Śrāvāṇa śu*. 15), registering a gift of three villages for the decorations, illuminations, offerings, etc., to the Goddess Beṭṭada-Chāmuṇḍēśvari (*E.C.*, XII Tp. 106). Evidently, it would seem, grants continued to be made in Dēvarāja's name in those parts, even after his death on February 11, 1673.

237. *Annals*, I.c.

if not open hostility, adopted by Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI himself towards Mysore after 1660, under the influence of Śivappa Nāyaka's anti-Mysore policy; the series of operations of Mysore against Ikkēri during 1663-1664; the gradual slackening of the control of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa over their Karnāṭak possessions; the departure of Śrī-Ranga towards the south about April 1663; the simultaneous settlement in Mysore of the celebrated Tātāchārya family (of Śrī-Vaishṇava royal preceptors) from the court of Vijayanagar; the victory of Mysore over the southern confederacy at Ērōḍe (headed by Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura) in June 1667; and the rapid dissolution of the Empire itself thereafter—all these contributed not a little to steadily enhance the reputation and prestige of Dēvarāja Wodeyar as a ruler of Mysore. If this general course of affairs is remembered, we would be enabled to follow and estimate Dēvarāja Wodeyar's achievements as a political builder. Though not possessed of conspicuous military talents like his illustrious predecessor, and though he does not appear to have commanded the army in person or taken an active part in any decisive action, there is evidence of his having exhibited rare political insight, diplomatic skill and courage which stood him in good stead, especially when he was on the point of losing in the deep game of political policy. We have reference in the sources to his expert knowledge of politics and diplomacy (*nīti-śāstra nipuṇanum; akhīla rāja-dharma nidānam*).²³⁸ Indeed it is to these attainments of his that we have to ascribe his success in repulsing Śivappa Nāyaka I from Seringapatam (1659) and his victory against the confederacy at Ērōḍe (1667). Added to these qualities, he was assisted by able Daḷavāis like Nanjanāthaiya and Kumāraiya of Kaḷale, in

238. *C.Vam.*, 186; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 78. Cf. *Wilks*, I, 70: His statement that Dēvarāja "is less celebrated by his bramin historians for his civil or military talents and political skill than for his excessive devotion and religious munificence," is hardly borne out by the materials quoted in this Chapter.

the work of political expansion. And he was, on the whole, able to extend, and maintain the independence and integrity of, the kingdom of Mysore in the west, north and the south, with a tendency to advance further southwards in the direction of Trichinopoly and Madura ; and leave a rich legacy to his nephew and successor, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.

As a ruler of Mysore, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar was very pious and popular. He was universally adored

As a ruler. by his subjects for his numerous acts of benevolence and solicitude towards them. Though a devout and staunch Vaishṇava, his toleration towards other faiths and creeds was remarkable. The capital city of Seringapatam under him was a centre of great attraction, and his court was famous for the galaxy of learned scholars and the munificent patronage extended to sacred and secular lore alike. He was, as he is depicted to us,²³⁹ a strong and well-built person of middle age, possessed of attractive features and a serene countenance expressive of the depth of spiritual merit acquired by him. In domestic life, he was amiable and endearing to all the members of the Royal Family, and he was devoutly served by his queens, younger brother and nephews. His sincere devotion to Doḍḍadēvarāja, his saintly elder brother, was a noteworthy feature of his domestic life. No less significant was the establishment of renewed relations between the Mysore and Kaḷale families and the rise of the latter to a position of importance in the kingdom of Mysore by 1673, while there were already the beginnings of European intercourse with Mysore during the reign.

An astute political builder and a popular and pious ruler, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar occupies an important place in history as a "Maker of Mysore." The most enduring

239. See *C. Vam.*, 186, 188-190; *C. Vi.*, V, 4-10; *Dēvarāja-Sāṅgatyā*, I, 33; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 64; *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 157 (Text), etc.

monuments of his rule are the *Thousand Steps* to the Chāmuṇḍi Hill and the huge monolithic *Bull* thereon and the *Dēvāmbudhi* tank (now known as *Doḍḍakere*) in Mysore. In sum, the period of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar's reign justly claims to be regarded as an intermediate stage in the evolution of new ideas, tendencies and factors in the development of the kingdom of Mysore.

On the generation of authors who wrote during the succeeding reign, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar has left a lasting impression. Tirumalārya testifies to the magnificence of Dēvarāja's rule and presents an ideal picture of his personality and character, besides showing an intimate acquaintance with his reign.²⁴⁰ Among other writers contemporaneous with Tirumalārya, Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi, Mallikārjuna and Chidānanda speak of the splendour and popularity of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar's rule in unequivocal terms;²⁴¹ so also do later inscriptions (of 1686, 1716, 1722, 1748, 1761, etc.).²⁴² Under the influence, however, of the compilations of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *Annalists* and other writers, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, as we have shown,²⁴³ has become well known, and been deep-rooted, in popular tradition as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the prefix "Doḍḍa" being generally, though loosely, used either by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, or by way of making him identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja, or both.

240. *C. Vam.*, l.c., *C. Vi.*, V and VI.

241. *Vide* works cited in f.n. 11 and 12 *supra*.

242. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115; Nj. 295; III (1) Sr. 1 and 64; TN. 63; IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18, etc.

243. *Vide* Appendix V—(1).