

CHAPTER XIII.

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

Religion: Sri-Vaishnavism; General tendencies—Sri-Vaishnavism, personal faith of Chikkadevaraja—Principal stages in its development—*First stage*: 1673-1680—*Second stage*: 1680-1696—*Third stage*: 1696-1704—Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Religious toleration—Gifts, etc.—An irrigation scheme, c. 1700-1701; contemporary Jesuit testimony—Grants and other records: (a) 1673-1680—(b) 1681-1695—(c) 1698-1704—Statue of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Social life: General features—Cities and towns: 1. Seringapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkote, etc.—The social order: General culture—Court culture: 1. The Durbar Hall; 2. The King; 3. The courtiers—4. The programme of the Durbar: (a) Music and dancing—(b) Other items—Feasts, festivals, etc.—Position of women—Social legislation: (a) Relating to *Sudras*: The *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya*—Its aims and objects—(b) Relating to *Arasu* families—The other side of the shield.

THE period of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's rule (1673-1704) witnessed an important development in the evolution of Śrī-Vaishṇavism, generally as the prevailing creed in the south of India and more particularly as the professed faith of the Mysore Royal Family. Indeed, as we have seen in the earlier chapters, the rapid strides Śrī-Vaishṇavism made in Southern India since the memorable battle of *Raksas-Tagḍi* (1565) were coeval with its steady progress as the religion of the Ruling House of Mysore and the development of Vaishṇava tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty. Further, we have indications that the Śrī-Vaishṇava influence—ever active in the viceroyalty of

Seringapatam—began to make itself felt on the court life of Mysore, especially on the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar in 1610. That influence, however, became more and more pronounced during the subsequent years, consequent on the gradual decline of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise to prominence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava families of repute, accompanied by the migration of some of their members from the court of the Āraviḍu Emperors to that of the Woḍeyars of Mysore. Mēlkōṭe and Seringapatam, among others, became the strongholds of rejuvenated Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Mysore. Singaraiyangār I was closely connected with the Mysore Royal Family as the teacher of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (younger brother of Rāja Woḍeyar and father of Kaṅṭhīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar); Aḷasingarārya (Singaraiyangār II), grandson of Singaraiyangār I and father of Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār), became celebrated as the Paurāṇika, friend, philosopher and guide of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar; and Aḷasingarārya and his son Tirumalārya were also important Śrī-Vaiṣṇava celebrities at the court of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (uncle of Chikkadēvarāja). Again, Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Eṭṭūr, son of Kōṭikanyādānam-Lakshmīkumāra-Tātāchārya of Śrīśaila-vamśa, from the court of Vijayanagar, became the preceptor of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar himself. So widespread, indeed, was the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence at the court of Mysore that within half a century from the conquest of Seringapatam, *i.e.*, about the close of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), it showed a tendency to become the chief religion in the State.

At a very early period in his life—particularly during his term of office as Yuvarāja under Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, personal faith of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, down to about Chikkadēvarāja. 1668—Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar showed a predilection for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal

faith.¹ The influence of education and the training he had received at the hands of his teachers; the strong Śrī-Vaiṣṇava leanings of his own grandfather (Muppina-Dēvarājā Wodeyar) and father (Doḍḍadēvarājā Wodeyar), the latter under the teaching and inspiration of Aḷasingarārya; lastly, the living example of Tirumalārya, companion and colleague of Chikkadēvarāja—these were perhaps factors contributing to that result.² The foundations of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as the personal creed of Chikkadēva had thus been laid long before his accession to the throne of Mysore in 1673. So that, during the period of his actual rule, he was, as he is depicted to us,³ an ardent devotee at the feet of deities like Apratima-Rājagōpāla of Haradanahalli (*Haradanapurī*), Paravāsudēva of Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kaunḍinī, Gōpāla of Kanjagiri (Gōpālasvāmi hill), Rangēśa of Paśchimaraṅga (Seringapatam) and Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe), among others. Equally devoted was he to Śrī-Kriṣṇa, as is borne out by the striking by him of gold coins in the latter's name about 1675, as already mentioned. Further, the *Chāmarājyanagar Plate* (November 1675)⁴ speaks of him as having brought from Śrī-Muṣṇa the image of Śvēta-Varāhasvāmi (which had been, it is said, lost during the Yavana invasion) and worshipped it with devotion in

1. See, for instance, *C. Vi.*, V, 113-152, depicting Chikkadēvarāja's devotion to God Paravāsudēva, adoption of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks (*Ūrūhva-puṇḍra*), daily worship of Viṣṇu, performance of gifts, acceptance of holy water, etc., during Dēvarāja's reign. Cf. Wilks and other authorities as set out in Ch. XV.
2. See *C. Vam.*, 104-160, 166-184; *C. Vi.*, III and IV; also Ch. X of this work, under *Domestic life*.
3. See *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 96, vv. 2-4, p. 100, v. 3; col. to *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, *Paśch. Māhāt.*, *Yād. Māhāt.*, *Śrī. Māhāt.*, *Śu. Sap.*, *Mbh. Śānti* and *Śālyā Parva* and *C. Vi.*; also *Sachchū. Nīr.*, I, 63; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 74-75, etc. The *Kamalā. Māhāt.* (III, 30-63) contains also an elaborate account of Chikkadēvarāja's visit to Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kaunḍinī (c. 1677-1678), and of his devotion to God Paravāsudēva there.
4. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 32-34; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 139.

Seringapatam. Another record⁵ mentions him as the *Śrī-Vaiṣṇava-mata-pratiṣṭhāpaka* (establisher of the religion of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas). Others⁶ likewise point to his adoption of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal faith. In keeping with this, we have a picture of the daily routine of his religious avocations (*nitya-vihita-karma*), which, we are told,⁷ used to consist of the following items: rising at dawn; contemplation of Viṣṇu; ablutions; wearing ceremonial clothes and besmearing the body with sandal paste; observance of the *Nāmatīrtham*, i.e., putting the *Ūrdhvaṇḍram* and the *Tīkā* (Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks) on the forehead; performance of the *sandhyā* and *jaṇam* (morning rites); worship of Viṣṇu, reciting His thousand names; acceptance of the holy water and offerings (*tīrtha-prasādam*); offering of oblations (*hōma*, *ājyā-huti*) to fire and bestowal of gifts (of cows, cash, etc.) on pious and deserving Brāhmins. At the end of this round of religious duties, he would receive the benedictions of Brāhmins and seat himself on the throne (*hari-pīṭha*) and listen to the exposition by learned scholars of topics of religious merit (like the *Gītā*, the Epics, etc.), after which he would attend to the day's business of state.⁸ Chikkadēvarāja, we learn,⁹ also paid particular attention to the observance of the fast day (*Ēkādaśī*) and the bestowing of gifts on Brāhmins on the day following, when the breaking of the fast (*Dvādaśī*) came

5. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 432-433, also l. 149.

6. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ch. 92; III (1) Sr. 151, My. 7, etc.; see also under *Grants and other records* cited below.

7. *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 88, 91; *Śū. Sap.*, I, 12-13; *Div. Sā. Cha.*, I, 84-85; *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 80-83; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 63-66; *Hasī. Māhāt.*, I, 92-97; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 8-15; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 52-55; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 48-49; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 63-64, 67-68; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 48, 118-119; *Suchchū. Nir.*, I, 47-49; also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 59-63; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 79-83; III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 87-90 (repeating Sr. 14), etc.

8. *Ibid.*; cf. Wilks and Dēvachandra as set out in Ch. XV.

9. See *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 86-89, 98; *Yād. Māhāt.*, ff. 102; *Div. Sā. Cha.*, I, 90; *E. C.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 110-112; also *Annals*, I, 151; vide also under *Gifts*, etc., below.

off; visited important places of pilgrimage and bathing-ghāṭs (*sapta-kshêtrâṣṭa-tīrthangala darśanam gaidu*); was fond of listening to Śrī-Vaishṇava sacred lore; and gave prominence to the *Vajra-makuṭi* (*Vaira-muḍi*) festival and the *Gajēndrōtsavam* of Śrī-Nārāyaṇa, the famous deity presiding over Mēlkōṭe.

The religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, thus described, was evolved during the period of his rule (1673-1704), side by side with the systematic, though mutual and complementary, development of Śrī-Vaishṇavism in general in Mysore.

Three distinct stages are, accordingly, noticeable in this connection. The first stage (1673-1680) may be conveniently regarded as the stage of initiation and preparation; the second (1680-1696) as the stage of expansion; and the third as the stage of culmination. It would be of interest to trace the course of development during each of these stages.

Despite the indications of a promising future for Śrī-Vaishṇavism in Mysore by about 1673 and the early leanings of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar towards it, there seems little doubt that other religions like Jainism and Vīra-Śaivism were equally active at the court of Mysore during the first part of his reign. The extent of influence of these religions—particularly of Jainism—on Chikkadēvarāja is found much exaggerated in later writings.¹⁰ The truth, however, appears to be, as we shall see, that while Chikkadēva seemed to encourage and even openly tolerate, as became an impartial ruler, other forms of religion that prevailed at his court, Śrī-Vaishṇavism held its own and kept up a steady and vigorous propaganda against its rivals, systematically initiating him into its

10. See, for instance, the accounts of Dēvachandra and Wilks as set out in Ch. XV of this work.

religious and philosophical subtleties and preparing the ground for its further development. Perhaps one strong point in support of this position is the remarkable output of Śrī-Vaishṇava literature, produced under the direct patronage of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself during this period.¹¹ Another was the influence that was being continually exerted on him and his court by learned Śrī-Vaishṇava leaders like Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and, more markedly, by Chikkupādhyāya.¹² Thus, not only was the religious outlook of Chikkadēvarāja definitely moulded in favour of Śrī-Vaishṇavism from 1673 onwards but he had also become a Śrī-Vaishṇava both by faith and profession by about 1680.

Alongside of this development, Jaina and Vīra-Śaiva cults also continued to flourish at the court of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar during the succeeding period (1680-1696).¹³ The tendency for Śrī-Vaishṇavism to overshadow the rival faiths became, however, more pronounced from 1686 onwards, especially after the death of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja, and the accession in his place of Tirumalaiyangār. Between 1686-1696 Śrī-Vaishṇavism occupied a most prominent position at the court of Mysore. Its philosophical doctrines continued to engage the attention of Chikkadēva in an increasing measure; and, already during this period, he appears to have had a Śrī-Vaishṇava preceptor (*āchārya*) also.¹⁴ So powerful, indeed, was

11. See under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*; also *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 387-391, XII. 480-482.

14. See *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 1, 81, 86, 91, 96, 100, 112 (first verse in each of the *Stavahs* and in the commentary on the *Y. N. Stavah*) and 119, where Vādhūla-Śrīnivāsārya, a celebrated Śrī-Vaishṇava scholar of the time, is mentioned as the preceptor (*Guru, Guruvarya*) of Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and is further referred to as having taken up his residence in the neighbourhood of Hēmagiri, not far from Mēlkōṭe. Vādhūla-Śrīnivāsārya seems to have been closely connected with the court of Seringapatam also through Tirumalāya. See also *Annals*, I. 132, referring to a Śrī-Vaishṇava *āchārya* of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.

the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence at the court of Mysore that by October 1690 it seems to have become the principal factor underlying Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's classification of the Arasu families in the State and his regulations in regard to them.¹⁵ And by 1693 Chikkadēvarāja had, indeed, come to be known as an out and out Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, while the heavy proselytizing tendencies of the faith had begun to extend over the court circle and beyond.¹⁶ Thus, in June 1693, we learn,¹⁷ the purōhīts and scholars of other sects attached to the court of Chikkadēvarāja were, agreeably to a representation of Tirumalaiyangār, desired to wear the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks (*nāmam*) on their foreheads while attending at the Palace during the king's *Nāmatīrtham*. Further, the embracing of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava faith by adopting its credentials (*Pancha-samskāras*, namely, *Chakrāṅkanam*, *Ūrdhwapuṇḍra-dhāraṇam*, *Dāsanāmam*, *Mūlamantrōpāsanam* and *Nārāyaṇa-pūjā*) and the observance of *Vaiṣṇava-dīkshā* were laid down as conditions precedent to any claims to blood-relationship with the Mysore Royal House, in the case of thirteen Arasu families recognised, under the recent classification of Chikkadēva, as of pure blood. Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya were entrusted with the communication of these injunctions to the families concerned. The latter not only acted accordingly but also, under instructions from the Gurikārs, submitted¹⁸ a solemn petition to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in March 1694, expressing their deep sense of gratitude to him for having rescued them from the abyss of social degradation and impurity, and conveying their resolution to adhere to and follow Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism both by faith and by profession under the royal decree. In June 1696, however, these families,

15. See under *Social life* below.

16. *Annals*, l.c.; see also Dēvachandra in Ch. XV.

17. *Ibid.*

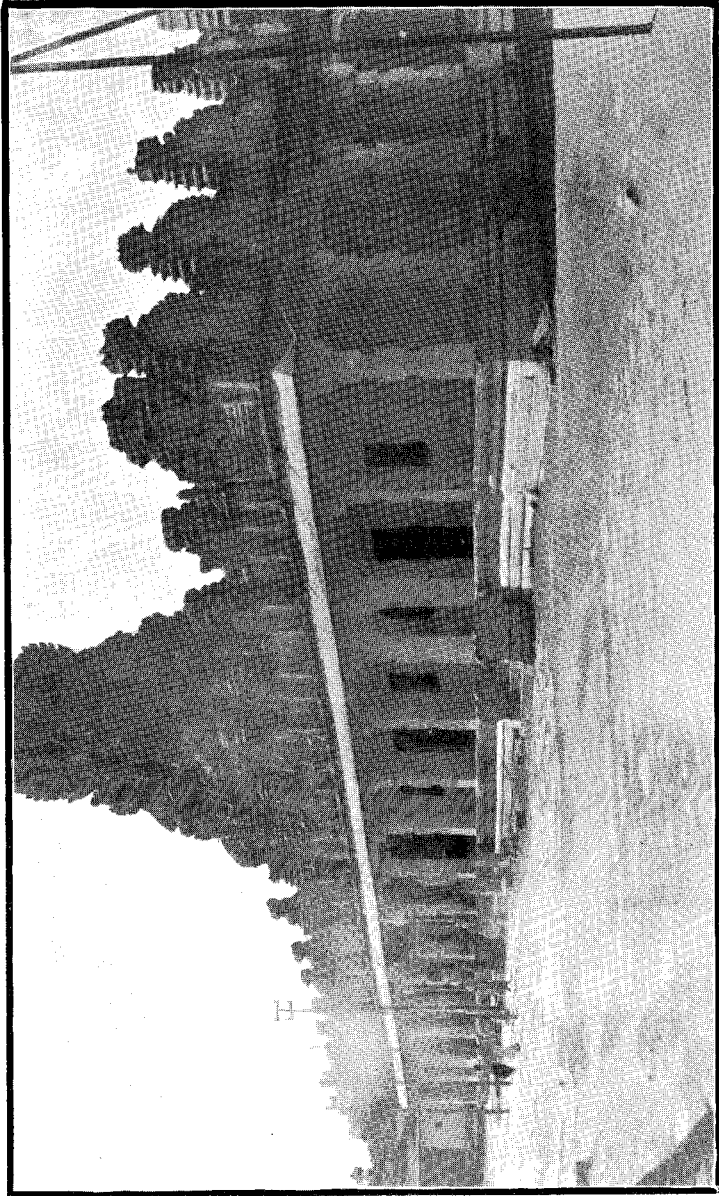
18. *Ibid.*, 132-134.

having experienced certain difficulties due to their having given up their family deities in favour of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava ritualism (*Nārāyaṇa-pūjā*), submitted¹⁹ another petition to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, praying for permission to worship their respective family deities also while adhering to all other Śrī-Vaiṣṇava usages and practices prescribed for them. The permission sought for was granted, Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya being, as usual, desired to communicate the order to the Arasu families.

This relaxation in favour of his relations did not mean any desertion of the chief articles of the Vaiṣṇava faith. There is, indeed, ample evidence for the view that Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism reached the culminating point as the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar in the closing years of his reign, more particularly from 1698 onwards, under the ever active influence and example of Tirumalaiyangār. So deep-rooted had become the earlier views of Chikkadēvarāja in regard to Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism that, during the years 1696-1704, they not only attained a remarkable state of maturity and perfection as articles of his creed but also became expressive to a degree. In fact, as a firm and steadfast devotee of Viṣṇu, he had begun to realize the higher life of the spirit, seeking salvation in accordance with the doctrine of faith in God's grace (*Nambuge*) and absolute self-surrender (*Prapatti*), and taking a keen interest in popularising his convictions. Of the directness of appeal and the deep moral fervour, earnestness and sincerity of those convictions, his own writings,²⁰ which can be dated between c. 1700-1704, are a standing testimony. These writings throughout bear the impress

19. *Ibid.*, 134-136.

20. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnaṇam* and *Gīta-Gōpālam*. For details about these works, see under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV below.



Śrī-Nārāyaṇasvāmi Temple, Melkote.

of his personality, and they cannot but be regarded as the vivid expression of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal faith.

Thus, of the Supreme Being and of Salvation, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, in the course of thirty humble petitions (*Binnapu*)²¹ addressed to Śrī-Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe), says :

Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

“Oh, Lord of Yadugiri! Having settled on the famous peak adorning the Karnāṭaka country, Thou hast attained celebrity as the Protector of all people and as the tutelary deity (*Kula-dēvate*) of the Yadu race. Thou art *Para-brahman*, the primeval cause of the world; Thou art infinite; Thou art manifest in the *Vēdas*, *Purāṇas* and the eighteen *Vidyas*. The *Vēdas* proclaim that the entire business of the world is Thine. As the attendants of a king praise him for the attainment of happiness by his subjects and followers, so do the *Vēdas* praise Thee for the bestowal of eternal happiness on those devotees of Thine following the prescribed course of conduct. The *Gītā* speaks of this; the *Smritis*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* describe it. Indeed those who have grasped the fundamentals of philosophy aver without contradiction that Thou art an object of wonder. Thou art an embodiment of the entire world, being “One” in diversity. Even the things perceived during dream turn out to be real if the philosophy of creation is rightly understood. In my own case, the sword *Nandaka*, which I was actually favoured with by Thee in a dream, has stayed perpetually with me and has enabled me, by virtue of Thy glory, to cut down the enemies who surrounded me in all the four directions. A pious king in this world lays down rules and regulations governing the protection and punishment of his subjects. If he acts up to them regardless of any distinction, he will be

21. *C. Bi.*, pp. 1-59. For specific references, see *infra*.

considered as impartial; in scrupulously adhering to them, he will be held as absolute; and in pardoning a delinquent, he will be regarded as kind-hearted. Even so is the case with Thee in awarding Thy retributions to sentient beings according to their actions (*Karma*). Thou art the cause of all creation, and preserver and destroyer too. Thou art the Supreme Lord of all individual souls, and the essence of our relationship is that of master and servant. As the Supreme Being, Thou art at the head of all creation, including animate and inanimate objects, worlds for the experiencing of fruits of past *Karma*, and oceans, heavens and hells of various kinds. Fear of falling into hell vanishes by the mere recitation of Thy name; sinners become purified by contemplating Thee.²²

“Salvation (*Mōksha*) is an end most cherished by those who are free from mundane cares. All the other ends are evanescent: salvation alone is eternal and it is to be attained by right action, right knowledge and right faith. Right action purifies the mind and leads to right knowledge and is, besides, part and parcel of right faith. Right knowledge leads to and develops right faith. Right faith centres round the sincere attachment of a devotee to the Lord. A knowledge of the philosophy of the Supreme Being (*artha-panchaka-tatvajnāna, sātāvika-śāstra*) is, however, absolutely necessary for the attainment of salvation. As several routes ultimately lead to the same place, so do the *Vēdas*, the *Pāncharātra*, *Yōga*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Pāśupata* schools of philosophy, in depicting Thy greatness, aim at one and the same goal. Oh, Lord of Yadugiri! To those who have renounced the world and placed their trust in Thee, Thou art easily accessible. Renunciation of worldly desire, as is taught by the elders, is easiest to achieve and is governed by the conception of relationship between

22. *Ibid*, pp. 9-13, 14-15, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-25, 28-29, 30-36, 37-39.

master and servant. Indeed, if a servant disregarding the king, his master, acquires for his personal use and spends away, according to his own whims, all that is due to the latter from the different parts of the kingdom, such a servant is to be considered as being both avaricious and treacherous. If he, on the other hand, realising his own position, places before his master all the things amassed or acquired in his name and serves him, receiving from him whatever he spares after his use—in the shape of food, raiments, jewels, etc.—such a servant is worthy of being regarded as impartial and sincere. Similarly, if a person, not knowing his self, enjoys worldly pleasures thinking that he is himself absolute, such a person will neither achieve renunciation of desire nor be devoted to Thee. If he, however, realising that he is Thy servant, conscientiously serves Thee by following the prescribed course of conduct (*Varṇāśrama dharmangal*), and experiences the pleasures extended by Thee through the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*, he is to be regarded as really devoted to Thee. Mere action (*Karma*) is not a sufficient means to attain salvation : it is just like service rendered by a servant to his master, governed by considerations of time, remuneration and the ego ; it is also of a two-fold character, good and bad (*satkarma, dushkarma*), eternal and optional (*nityam, kāmyam*), and the latter (*i.e., dushkarma, kāmya-karma*) plunges one in illusion (*avidya*) and the eternal prison-house of this world (*samsāramemba serevaneyol kēdapi*), from the fetters of which there is no chance of redemption. Devotion to Thee, trust in Thee and service and absolute surrender at Thy feet—these alone lead to such redemption.²³

“ Let Thy grace, Oh, Lord of Yaduśaila, dawn upon me. I have approached the shadow of Thy feet to rid myself of all my troubles. Make me refreshed by satisfying my cravings. Let Thy accessibility to Thy devotees

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43, 44-52, 53-57.

(*bhakta-sulabhate*) manifest itself, and may Thou settle in the abode of my heart. Favour me with Thy true form manifested in the *Vēdānta*, the foremost of all the *Vidyas*; relieve my mental torpor and enable me to gain true knowledge and devotion at Thy feet. Let me be considered a servant of Thine and be made to float on the waves of the ocean of Thy kindness. Let the excellent doctrine of unity in diversity (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*) be established in my mind. What am I in the ocean of Thy virtues! Let me be tolerated for having attempted to describe Thy glory. Let Thou be pleased with my humble words gathered from my association with elders devoted to Thee. Let me be favoured with eternal happiness and glory. I have placed my absolute trust in Thee. Let the sweet radiance effulging from the corner of Thine eyes be showered on me; let ignorance and passion (*rajastamōgūna*) in me vanish and goodness (*satva-gūna*) be increased. Let me not be forgotten in Thy ever active business of the world. Realising that my being, form, etc., are entirely under Thy control, I have withdrawn myself from all selfish pursuits. Worldly pleasures are transient. I desire only to serve Thee, which is eternal enjoyment. Let me be confirmed in this. Let my fear of hell be eradicated; let not my sins be made much of; let me be purged of them and protected. Let me be considered a devoted servant of Thine. I surrender myself at Thy feet and seek salvation.”²⁴

Again, holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of Viṣṇu, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, in the *Gīta-Gōpālam*,²⁵ speaks of trust in God's grace (*Nambuḡe*) and self-surrender to Him (*Prapatti*) as means to the attainment of salvation by the people:

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-22, 24-27, 29, 31, 36, 39, 41, 43-44, 46, 48-50, 52-57.

25. Pp. 1-70. For specific references, see *infra*.

“To the people of this world the hope of salvation lies only in the philosophy underlying the *Gītā*. As a physician administers medicine in the form of milk to the sick person who desires it, so does Chikkadēvarāja expound that philosophy to them.²⁶

“Oh, Lord Paśchima-Ranga! Tell me whether Thou knoweth not this. It is a source of pleasure for me to know that I am Thy man. I do not recollect anybody else except Thee, nor did I have trust in mere action, knowledge, faith and renunciation. In boyhood there is much aberration; in youth much vain pleasure; in old age there is liability of the body to diseases of various types. The fruits of *Karma* never cease. Systems of philosophy are many and among them are some disputations. The truth can never be made out by penetrating into them. Knowledge is never a sufficient means to salvation. By subjecting the body to mortification, by controlling the passions and by rigorous concentration, renunciation can never be achieved. Without giving up the hankering after the material world there can be neither true faith nor salvation.²⁷

“Oh, Lord Krishṇa! I do not accept anybody except Thee. I know Thy glory. If Thou forsake me I cannot live. I cannot be carried away by mere desire nor descend to the lower plane. I do not transgress the bounds of propriety nor am I particular about other Gods and the results they confer. I cannot swerve from the standard of duty laid down (*Mudre*), even for once. I do not speak with fools nor mix with tricksters. Neither do I merely hope for without understanding the nature of things, nor tease Thee by entering the wrong path. I do not enter different routes and wander here and there, nor engross myself in sensual pleasures. I do not wish to be born again in this world.²⁸

26. *Gī. Gō.*, pp. 2-3, vv. 10-11.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

“I am gratified to-day. Giving up all other things, I stand firmly rooted in my position as a servant of Thine. Prostrating at Thy feet, wearing Thy sacred *Tikā* and *Mudras* and the clothes, undertaking Thy service, accepting Thy offerings and gifts, looking at Thy divine figure, playing before Thee, mixing with Thy servants, recounting Thy virtues, relying upon Thy infinite love, bending at the feet of Thy devotees, acting according to Thy grace and becoming the servant of Thy servants, as I have been, protect me, Oh, Lord!²⁹

“I am always listening to Thy glory and praising Thee. I am settling Thee in my heart, beautifying and devoutly worshipping at Thy beautiful feet. Thou art my Lord; My attachment and love are no burden to Thee. Happy indeed am I, having alighted all my burdens at Thy feet.³⁰

“Oh, people of the world! place your trust in our Lord, Yādava Nārāyaṇa, and be happy. Look back with scorn on your previous conduct; behave well at present to avoid censure in the future. From hence follow one line of truth and be good. Understand your position well. Cling to an approved course of conduct. Revile at pride, prejudice and arrogance. Enter on the path agreeable to the good. Shuffle off the hard knot (*biruganṭu*) of *Karma* and cleanse away the dust of evil from your minds. With a pure heart and mind, follow the right standards and live on well for ever.³¹

“Tear off and cast away the conceit that we can obtain release by our own conduct. Trust in the higher powers, alight your burden, have peace and attain bliss. Trust in the Supreme Being (*Parama Purusha*). He removes all sins caused by the senses and purges out all defilement. He exalts you to the plane of your elders and confers prosperity on you. He forgets and forgives the sins of past birth and grants whatever is sought for. He

29. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

shines in the heart of hearts, yielding infinite pleasure. He cuts at the root of *Karma* and shuts the mouth of Death. He grants purity of mind and loves and protects one and all. He is the life-spirit of all his devotees.”³²

Of the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar thus evolved, toleration was, from the beginning, a prominent feature. Although, as indicated, his early education and training had been conducted under the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influences of the time, it was broad-based enough to enable him to understand and appreciate the points of view of religions other than Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. This particular feature of his attainments was, it would seem, fully developed during the period 1668-1673 when he came into contact with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit and Shaḍaksharaiya, representatives, respectively, of the Jaina and Vira-Śaiva religions. They, together with Tirumalārya, not only became his colleagues during his studies but their association with him appears to have given him ample opportunities to discuss with them the fundamentals of their respective faiths.³³ The spirit of enquiry and discussion became so strongly developed in him during the period, that it continued to dominate his character throughout his reign (1673-1704). Ordinarily, during years of peace, religious disputations and discussions formed a regular feature of the activities of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar’s court.³⁴ Chidānanda, a contemporary Jaina writer, testifies³⁵ to Chikkadēvarāja’s penetrating

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

33. See *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474-475, where Dēvachandra, for instance, speaks of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as earnestly engaging himself in listening to discussions on Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, Vira-Śaiva and Jaina systems of philosophy, conducted, respectively, by Tirumalārya, Shaḍakshari and Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, each of them an expert exponent of his faith. There seems little doubt that Chikkadēvarāja, in his religious and philosophical studies, brought to bear a mind well trained in the principles of dialectics, as testified to by Tirumalārya (see text of f.n. 5 in Ch. XI).

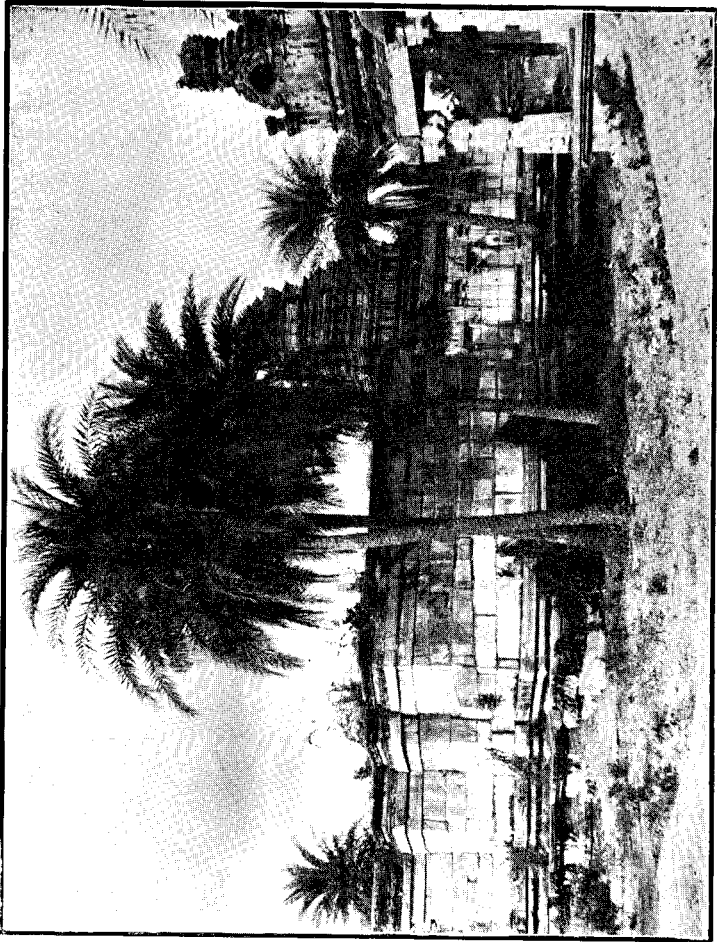
34. See under *Social life* below.

35. *Munivam.*, I, 7; see also *Kāmand. Nī.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 69: *Sakala-dharmāchāra-yuktam.*

knowledge of the secrets of all forms of faiths (*sakalamārgada marmadoḷaga-naridu*), and refers to³⁶ his constant enquiries into and discussions on Mīmāṃsa, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina systems of philosophy and religion (*parama Mīmāṃsa Śaiva vara Vaiṣṇava Jaina samaya charcheyoḷirda*). The composition of his own Council—consisting of Jaina, Vīra-Śaiva and Brāhmanical elements—in the early part of his reign points to the breadth of his religious outlook. As already indicated, he encouraged, and even openly professed, the doctrines of sects and creeds other than Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. His grants, as we shall relate,³⁷ were made to all the three sects of Brāhmanical Hinduism—Smārthas, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhyas, though the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas generally secured a greater share of them than the other two sects. Grants and concessions were likewise made, and extended, to the Jainas and Vīra-Śaivas,³⁸ though their comparative rarity from 1686 onwards has, perhaps, to be explained by the ascendancy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in court circles during that period. Of Jainism, it is said³⁹ that it so profoundly impressed Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar in the early years of his reign that he went to the extent of observing the absolute sanctity of all animal life (*jīva-dayāparanāgi*), giving up certain prohibited things and ordering the servants of his own (Palace) household to bring only purified water for his use. Again, Chidānānda, speaking of certain differences caused by his own succession to the Jain pontifical seat (of Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra) at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, tells us⁴⁰ how he was securely established there with the help of Chikkadēvarāja. As regards Śaivism, Chikkadēvarāja, in his own work *Gīta-Gōpālam*, refers⁴¹ to his respect for

36. *Ibid.*, I, 151.37. *Vide* under *Grants and other records* below.38. *Ibid.*39. See *Dēvachandra* in Ch. XV.40. *Munivam.*, II, 89-101; see also under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.41. P. 51, v. 2 (in the *tripadī* at the bottom of the page):

Śivana pāvanageydu Śiva-nenisidi-pāda |
Kavidu kallige jīva-kaleyitta-pāda ||



Śrī-Paravāṣṭuḍēva Temple, Guṇḍlupet.

and devotion to Śiva. Another well-known contemporary source⁴² speaks of him as having been ever engaged in the worship of the Jangamas, and of his having always busied himself in the discussion of the excellent *Śivāchāra* doctrine. It seems to have been the key-note of his policy that all sects and communities in his kingdom were to be protected.⁴³ Above all, the note of universalism pervading the *Gīta-Gōpālam* significantly points to toleration as an article of his personal faith.

Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is, like his predecessor, reputed for the numerous gifts he made alike to individuals and institutions in and outside the kingdom. In particular, under his active encouragement, learned and deserving Brāhmanical families were, we learn,⁴⁴ constantly settled in Mēlkōṭe, Śrīrangam, Anjanagiri, Kānchi, Vikshavana, Rāmēśvaram, Śankhamukha, Darbhaśayānam, Benares, Dvārāvātipura (Dvāraka?), Jagannātha and Prayāga. One of the earliest of his acts of piety was, it is interesting to note,⁴⁵ the temple he got built in honour of God Paravāsudēva, on the western bank of the Kaunḍinī, near Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇāmbi (Trikadambanagarī), in the Mādala-nāḍu, for the attainment of perpetual bliss by his father Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar: it was provided with a car, pavilion, outer enclosure-wall and tower (*vimāna-maṅṭapa prāmsū prākāravara-gōpuraiḥ*). In the temple thus formed, the images of God Paravāsudēva and Goddess Kamalavalli and the processional image of the God with the two Goddesses (Nāchyārs)

42. *Chāṭu* verses on Chikkadēvarāja, cited in the *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iv. 2462) from *Chāṭupadyamaṇimanjari* (Ed. by V. Prabhākara Śāstri):

Jangamārchanamu . . . nējana sēyu . . . sajjana sūddhumaḡu Śivāchāra darśanamunē sarasu derugu.

43. See, for instance, *Munivam.*, I, 155:

Sarva varnāśrama pālana pūrvaka urviya pālipudondu |
Sārvabhāumōpama gambhīravādūtāne sarvara taledūgisutide ||

44. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 112-116.

45. *Ibid.*, ll. 120-132.

which were, it is said, brought from Śivasamudram, were set up and an annual provision of 6,000 *varahas* was made for the services to the God and for the conduct of a *Rāmānuja-kūta*.⁴⁶ Further, a quadrangular *agrahāra* named *Pūrva-śataka*, otherwise called *Dēvanagara*, was specially formed to the west of the temple, and trained Brāhmanical scholars of the three sects (Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, Mādhvas and Smārthas) were brought in from far and near and settled there with shares (*vrittis*) bestowed on them, exclusively for carrying on the daily and periodical services in the temple.⁴⁷ A relic of this once flourishing institution is, perhaps, to be seen in a mutilated image of God Paravāsudēva, now in the Vijayanārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Guṇḍlupet, with an inscription⁴⁸ on its pedestal referring to the God as *Apratima-Paravāsudēva (Śrī-Vāsudēvarāya suprasanna Śrīmadapratima-Paravāsudēvaḥ)*. Among other acts of piety Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar is credited with are the setting up of a temple in Seringapatam to the processional image of God Śvēta-Varāhasvāmi from Śrī-Muṣṇa, with his name inscribed on the pedestal as *Śrīmadapratima Chikkadēvarāja Wadēru*;⁴⁹ the construction of a temple to God Gōpālakrishṇasvāmi (Apratima-Rājagōpāla) at Harādanahalli and Varadarājasvāmi at Varakōḍu;⁵⁰ the setting up and consecration of God Venkaṭeśvara in the fort of Bangalore;⁵¹ the endowment of gold ornaments to the two Nāchyārs in the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe;⁵² the enlargement

46. *Annals*, I. 137-138.

47. *E. C.*, *Ibid.*, II. 132-143; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 138.

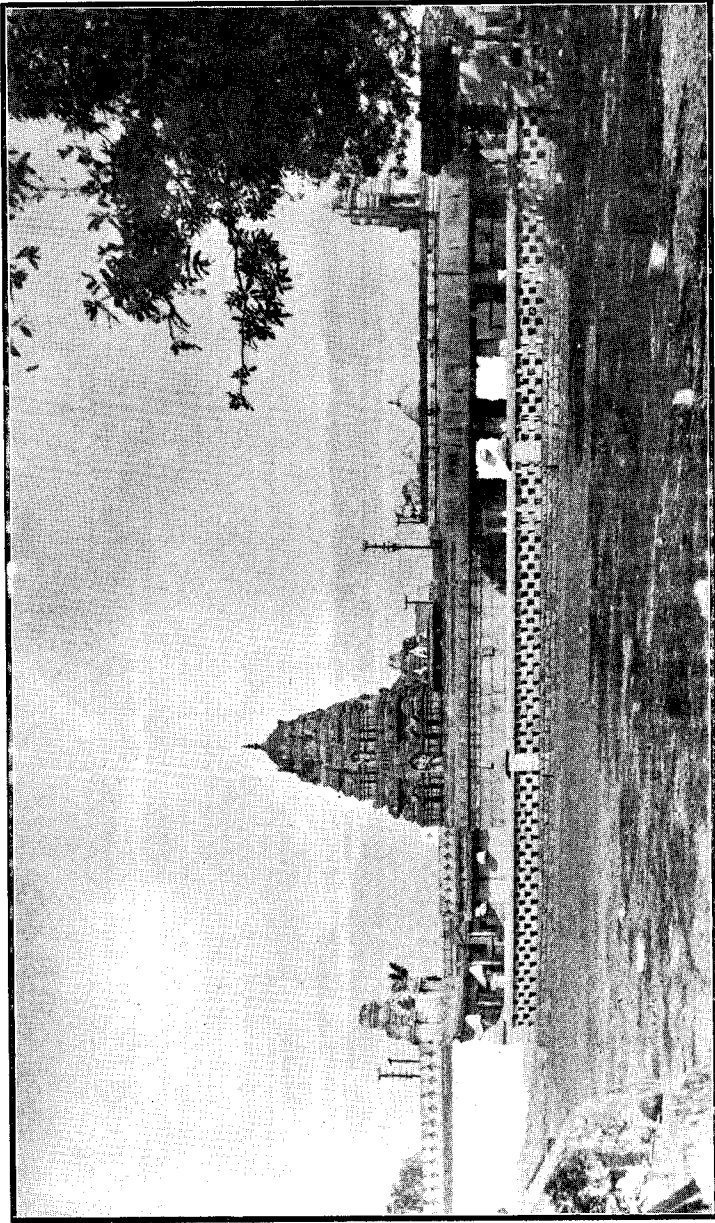
48. *Ibid.*, Gu. 104-105; see also Ch. X, f.n. 195.

49. *Ibid.*, My. 89 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128; 1918, p. 59, para 130); also *Annals*, I. 139.

50. *Annals*, I. 140.

51. *E. C.*, IX. Bn. 118 (1705), II. 7-8: *Bengalūra kōṭe vaḷage tanma appāji-yavaru nūtanavāgi pratiṣṭhe māḍisidanthā Venkaṭeśvara-svāmi*, where Kaṭṭhīra II (1704-1714) refers to the consecration of the God during his father's (Chikkadēvarāja's) reign.

52. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 287 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 76).



Śrī-Venkaṭeśvarasvāmi (Venkateswaraśvāmi) Temple, Fort, Bangalore—A side view.

of the bridge, the construction of a *mantapa* of six *ankanam*s near the Manikarnikā-kshētra, and the endowment of a silver spoon (*tīrtha-bēra*) to the temple of Varāhasvāmi at Seringapatam;⁵³ the provision for the upkeep of the Śaiva and Vaishnava temples at different sacred places (like the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Nanjangūd, Mēlkōṭe, Seringapatam, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, Karīghaṭṭa, Benares, Rāmēśvaram, Kānchi, Śrīrangam, Kumbakōṇam, etc.), and for the livelihood of the needy, the indigent and the defectives; and the grant of special endowments (*rakta-koḍige*) to the families of those who had fallen on the field of battle in the service of the country and the king.⁵⁴

No less important as an act of gift as of public utility was an irrigation scheme launched out by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar between c. 1700-1701. Damming the Cauvery to the west of Seringapatam, we are told,⁵⁵ he had canals excavated from both sides of the river, the northern canal being led on to a considerable distance by way of the Karīghaṭṭa hill and named after himself as *Chikkadēvarāja-sāgara*, and the southern canal, to the south of Seringapatam, being designated as *Dēva-nālā*.

In a Jesuit letter dated in 1701,⁵⁶ we have an interesting contemporary account of the beginnings of this project. During 1700-1701, according to this source,⁵⁷ the river (Cauvery or the Coleroon) continued to be so dry that the inhabitants of Madura and Tanjore dreaded a general famine. "Nevertheless," continues the letter,⁵⁸ "the rains had fallen in the usual season, and the waters which rush from the mountains would have

53. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 54-55.

54. *Annals*, I. 140-142; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 31. 55. *Ibid*, I. 116; *Ibid*, l.c.

56. See in *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 315-322: Lockman's *Travels*—Father Martin to Father De Villette.

57. *Ibid*, p. 321.

58. *Ibid*; see also pp. 211-212.

entered the Coloran [Coleroon] sooner than ordinary, had not the king of Maissoor [Mysore] stopped their course by a prodigious mole he raised and which extended the whole breadth of the canal. His design was to turn off the waters by the bank in order that these flowing into the canals dug by him might refresh his dominions. But while he thus resolved to make his own lands fruitful and thereby increase his revenues, he was going to ruin the two neighbouring kingdoms, those of Madura and Tanjaour [Tanjore]. The waters would not have begun to rise there before the end of July, and the canal would have been dry by the middle of September. The two princes, zealous for the welfare of their respective kingdoms, were exasperated at this attempt; upon which they united against the common enemy in order to oblige him, by force of arms, to destroy a mole which did them such vast prejudice. They were making great preparations for this purpose when the river Coloran [Coleroon] revenged (as was the phrase here) the affront which had been put upon its waters, by captivating them in the manner the prince in question had done. During the time the rains descended but moderately on the mountains, the mole stood and the waters flowed gently into the canals dug for that purpose; but the instant they fell abundantly, the river swelled to such a degree that it broke the mole and dragged it impetuously along. In this manner the prince of Maissoor [Mysore], after putting himself to a great expense, was frustrated, in an instant, of the immense riches which he had hoped to gain." Although the scheme of an embankment on the Cauvery, thus originated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, proved to be a failure owing to freaks of nature, the document we have quoted from amply testifies to the brilliancy of his constructive effort in a department of public works, which seems to have

profoundly impressed his critical contemporaries, the Jesuit Fathers. The canals, evidently offshoots of the scheme, are, however, extant as the vestiges of Chikkadēvarāja's rule ; but there is hardly any doubt that he was the forerunner of the later developments that Mysore has witnessed in the last half a century and more.⁵⁹

Among the extant records of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (most of which—especially the copper-plate grants issued by him—bear his signature in Kannada as *Śrī-Chikkadēvarājah* and are impressed with the Boar seal), a lithic one on an *anicuṭ* at Doḍḍa-Bēlūr, Salem district, dated in 1673,⁶⁰ refers to its construction by Kumāraiya (Kumāra-Rāya), Daḷavāi of Chikkadēvarāja. Another, dated April 18, 1673,⁶¹ records the erection of a temple to Gauramma at Channarāyapaṭṇa by Basavaiya, son of Doḍḍaiya, a feudatory of Chikkadēva. A copper-plate inscription in the possession of the Lingāyat *math* at Hullamballi, Maḷavalli taluk, also dated in the same year,⁶² registers a grant by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, on the holy occasion of a solar eclipse, of 212 *varahas*, to Rudramunidēvārādhyā, lord of the Rēvaṇārādhyā *matha* at Hullamballi, situated to the north-west of Muḍakatore (Muḍudore), to provide for the paraphernalia and expenses of the Svāmi's annual pilgrimage to Śrīśailam. The paraphernalia, according to the record, consisted of 5 *kambis* or bamboo laths for carrying burdens, a musical

59. See also *Ibid.*, p. 212, f.n. 15, S. K. Aiyangar's Editorial note, for a similar estimate.

60. *I. M. P.*, II. 1216, Sa. 107: s. 1595.

61. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 156: *Pramādīcha, Vaiśākha śu.* 11 [12?] Friday.

62. *M.A.R.*, 1920, pp. 40-41, para 96: *Pramādīcha*. "It is stated as a reason for the grant," writes R. Narasimhachar, "that the *prasāda* of God Mallikārjuna of Śrīśaila presented by the Svāmi to the king enabled him to gain undisputed possession of the kingdom." "The grant," he also adds, "closes with the signature of the king, *Śrī-Krishṇa*." Unfortunately, however, the original of this document has not yet been made available.

band, a Nandi flag, parasols, chowries, a palankeen with bearers and a number of retainers. Among the expenses, it is further interesting to note, was included the annual fee of 18 *varahas* for a Brāhman who was to perform the Mrityunjaya-japam in the Mallikārjuna temple every morning, naming the *nakshatra* or asterism under which the king was born. A lithic record, dated January 28, 1674,⁶³ refers to the construction of a large gateway (*kallu hebbāgilu*) at Kuṇigal, named the Mysore Gate (*Maisūra bāgalu*), by Siddarājaiya of Talakād, local agent of Chikkadēvarāja. On December 6, 1674 (*i.e.*, on the day of the annual ceremony of his father Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar), Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, according to the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant*,⁶⁴ having formed a second quadrangular *agrahāra* (of well-furnished houses each fifty feet square) named *Dvīṭiya-śataka*, in the country to the west and north of the Kauṇḍinī not far from Dēvanagara, granted it exclusively to eighty Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Vēdic Brāhmins of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*, with shares (*vrittis*) in sixteen villages, in the Arikuṭhāra-sthala in the Hadinād-sīme to the north of Dēvanagara, yielding annually 828 *nishkas*. Again, the *Chāmarājanagar Plate*, dated November 25, 1675,⁶⁵ records the grant by Chikkadēvarāja—also on the anniversary day of Doḍḍadēvarāja's death—for the merit of his father, of two villages named Kabbiligana-pura (otherwise called *Chikkadēvarājpura*) and Hullana (otherwise known as *Krishṇāpura*), in the Terakanāmbi country, to Krishna-Yajva of Śrīvatsa-gōtra,

63. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 7 : s. 1595, *Pramādicha, Māgha śu.* 2, Wednesday.

64. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 151-200 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, pp. 56-57, para 127). Though the grant was made on December 6, 1674 (s. 1596, *Ānanda, Mārgaśira ba.* 3, Sunday), the record itself, for reasons stated in Ch. XIV (see under *Literary activity* : Rāmāyanam-Tirumalārya), appears to have been actually composed between 1686-1690. Cf., *Annals*, I. 138-139.

65. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 (*M.A.R.*, 1909, p. 26, para 100) : s. 1597, *Rākshasa, Mārgaśira ba.* 3, Thursday.

Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajussākhā, son of Śrīnivāsārya and grandson of Śrīnivāsa, as a gift for having performed through him the funeral ceremonies of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar at Gaya. A lithic record, dated March 24, 1676,⁶⁶ relates to Chikkadēvarāja's gift of the village of Bommanahalli, in Uḍuvankanāḍu-sthala, to provide for a work of merit, namely, an inn for the distribution of food to Brāhmins in Haradanahalli (*namma dharmavāgi Brāhmarige anna-ḥatra naḍeva mariyādege dhārā-dattavāgi*). Among other records of 1676 are two lithic ones from the Coimbatore district.⁶⁷ One of these refers to the erection of *maṅṭapams* and the grant of a *salagai* of paddy land by two private individuals (Ranganātha Setṭi and another) to the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kumārapālayam; another, from the Gōbichetṭipālayam taluk, records the building by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of a temple for God Kumārasvāmi on the Dhavaḷagiri hill in the Dūrvāsa-kshētra, near the confluence of the rivers Chintāmaṇi and Bhavāni at Satyamangalam in the Uḍuvankanāḍu. Two duplicates of a *sāsana-nirūpa*, dated May 8, 1677,⁶⁸ and addressed to Hampaiya of Arkalgūḍ Aṣṭavaṇe-sthala, communicate an order of Chikkadēvarāja confirming in his office of hereditary Śānbhōgi of Arkalgūḍ one Venkaṭapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbāruva, who had vindicated his claims against the accusations of his enemy Nanjappa, son of Narasappa, an associate or deputy (*hastaka*) of Bhaira-Hebbāruva. A lithic record, dated [January 7] 1678,⁶⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadēvarāja, on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrānti*, of the village of Muṇḍūr as an *agrahāra*. Another, from the Tiruchchengōḍu taluk, dated Febru-

66. *Ibid.*, Ch. 138 : s. 1598, *Nāḷa, Chaitra ba.* 5.

67. *I.M.P.*, I. 527, Cb. 74; 551, Cb. 300 (*M.E.R.*, 1909-1910, No. 209) : s. 1598, *Nāḷa*.

68. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 2 and 3 : *Paingāḷa, Vaiśākha ba.* 2. See also under *Social life* below.

69. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 42 : *Paingāḷa [Pushya ba.* 9], *Monday*.

ary 3, 1678,⁷⁰ refers to the presentation of the images of *Dvārapālakas* to the temple of Channarāya-Perumāḷ (Channakēśava) at Rāyadurga (Śankhagiri, also called Kunnattūr-durga), by Muddaiya, agent of Nanjanāthaiya, an officer of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. A third, dated April 7, 1679,⁷¹ records the setting up and consecration of the images of Subrahmanya and the Aravattumūvar (the 63 Śaiva saints) in the temple of Kailāsanātha at Tārāmangalam (Vāmalūr taluk, Salem district), by Kempaiya, son of Śāmaiya (Chāmaiya), agent of Chikkadēvarāja. Among other records of 1679 (*Siddhārthi*), a lithic document⁷² from the Gaurī-Śankara temple, Talakād, refers to the establishment of God Mallēśa—otherwise known as Gaurī-Śankara—in Kariavana (Talakād), by Koṭṭūraiya, agent of Chikkadēva; a *nirūpa*⁷³ speaks of a gift by the latter (*tyāge pālistaru*); and a copper-plate charter⁷⁴ describes a grant made by him (Chikkadēvarāja), in the presence of God Venkaṭēśa of Nilāchala (Karīghaṭṭa), of payments to four Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins. The *Garani copper-plate charter*, dated January 21, 1680,⁷⁵ records the formation by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Ardhodaya*, of an *agrahāra* named *Chikkadēvarāyapura* in the village of Garani and the six hamlets attached thereto (in the Bijjavara-sīme), and the grant of the same, divided into 50 shares, in the presence of God Ranganātha, to Brāhmins of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and

70. *M.E.R.*, 1930, p. 51, App. B. No. 512: s. 1600, *Paingāḷa*, *Māgha ba.* 7. The *Report* places the record in 1679, taking s. 1600 as an expired year. But *Paingāḷa* actually corresponds to s. 1599. Taking the data of the cyclic year as the more correct data, the record is to be dated February 3, 1678.

71. *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 75, App. C. No. 316: K. Y. 4780, *Siddhārthi*, *Chittirai* 10, Monday.

72. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, TN. 203 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128).

73. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 10.

74. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 151.

75. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (*M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 58, para 130): s. 1601, *Siddhārthi*, *Pushya ba.* 30. This record is composed by Abhāni-Venkaṭāchārya of Kausika-gōtra (evidently a functionary of Chikkadēvarāja), and engraved by Viranārya, son of Gurumūrti (*vide* ll. 94-95).

sākhās, 40 of them Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, 5 Mādhvas and 5 Smārthas. Among other records of the period are inscriptions⁷⁶ registering a provision for the daily oblations to God Nārāyaṇa at Mēlkōṭe by Daḷavāi Kumāriya, and for the feeding of Brāhmins during the *Mahānavami* by Niyōgi Bhānōji-Paṇḍita, respectively.

A lithic record, dated in November 1681,⁷⁷ refers to a grant for God Nannēśvara of Hinakal by Appūrāya-Hebbāruva (an agent of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar for the collection of customs dues). Another, dated in September 1682,⁷⁸ records a gift by Chikkadēvarāja of the village of Mādāpura in Bidure-sīme to God Ānjanēya. A third, dated January 24, 1685,⁷⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadēva of the village of Yēchiganahaḷli, in the Mysore hōbḷi, to “Doḍḍa-Paṇḍita of Yeḷavandūr” (Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita of Yeḷandūr). A fourth, dated May 8, 1685,⁸⁰ speaks of his having got constructed a “meritorious and large pond” (*Śringāra-kōḷa*) in the fort at Maḷavalli, for the perpetual increase of his merit and fame. A fifth, dated August 12, 1685,⁸¹ deals with the grant by him, at the time of Krishna-Jayanti, of certain lands in Mānikāpura (excluding the garden land therein, inherited by Tirumalaiyangār), for the worship of God Gōpālasvāmi who, it is said, had appeared to Aḷasingaraiyangār (Singaraiyangār II, father of Tirumalaiyangār). The *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter*, dated November 19, 1686,⁸² records how Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya, a servant of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar

76. *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 55-56.

77. *E.C.*, III (1) My. 11 : *Durmati, Kārtika śu.*?

78. *Ibid*, XII Gb. 52 : s. 1564, *Dundubhi, Bhādrapada ba.*? The *saka* date here is an error for 1604.

79. *Ibid*, III (1) Nj. 41 : s. 1686, *Raktākshi, Pushya ba.* 30. Rice places this record in 1684, but the data contained in it actually correspond to January 24, 1685. Cf. Dēvachandra in Ch. XV.

80. *Ibid*, Ml. 61 : s. 1607, *Krōdhana, Vaiśākha śu.* 15.

81. *Ibid*, My. 7 : s. 1607, *Krōdhana, Śrāvaṇa ba.* 8.

82. *Ibid*, Sr. 14 : s. 1608, *Akshaya, Mārgaśira śu.* 15.

and son of Cheluvamma, bearer of golden goblet to the wife of king [Chikka] Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, set up the image of Śrī-Kōḍaṇḍa-Rāma, with Sīta and Lakshmaṇa in attendance, in the middle precincts on the southern side of Seringapatam, and how, with the object of providing for the God's worship and festivals, he presented the village of Avvērahaḷḷi (belonging to Baḷaguḷa) with the permission of Chikkadēvarāja. A lithic record, dated November 3, 1690,⁸³ speaks of Chikkadēva as having caused to be made a *maṇṭapa-brindāvana* at Maddagiri. A *nirūpa*, dated November 28, 1692,⁸⁴ addressed by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar to Sunkada-Linga, records the remission of tolls and other dues over the property belonging to God Allālanātha of Hangala. Another, of the same date,⁸⁵ addressed by Chāmaiya (an official of Chikkadēvarāja) to the *Maṇēgārs* and *Kōlukārs* of the Terakaṇāmbi-sīme, is to the following effect: "Marriage-tax (*maduve-sunka*), tax on live cattle (*jīva-danada-sunka*), tax on workshops (*paṭṭaḍi-sunka*), etc.—all these taxes should not be collected from the village of Yaḍavanahaḷḷi. On the roadside in the Terakaṇāmbi-sīme, no obstruction should be caused to the passage of bulls while conveying them after purchase." An inscription from Avanāśi, dated in 1695,⁸⁶ records the grant to God Avanāśīsvara, by Gurikār Mallaiya (an agent of Chikkadēva), of the fees of 14 *paṇams* (*haṇa*) on some bags and 12 on some other bags of goods. Among the records of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, assignable to the period c. 1681-1695, an epitaph⁸⁷ at Bantēnahallī, Bēlūr taluk, registers a gift by him; a

83. *Ibid.*, XII Mi. 15: s. 1612, *Pramōdūta, Kārtika śu.* 12, Thursday. The week-day seems apparently an error for Monday.

84. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 32: *Āṅgīrasa, Mārgaśīra śu.* 1. The actual wordings of the order are: *Sunkavannu mannisi sarva-māṅjavāgi naḍesikonḍu baruwahāge nēmisiḍēve.*

85. *Ibid.*, p. 33: *Ibid.*

86. *I.M.P.*, I. 523, Cb. 35: s. 1617, *Yuva.*

87. *M.A.R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 130.

number of boundary stones⁸⁸ from parts of Guṇḍlupet, Chāmarājanagar and Nanjangūḍ taluks are found to contain the official monogram introduced by Chikkadēvarāja, namely, *Dē Maisūru, Maisūru Dē*; a lithic inscription⁸⁹ on a wall in the verandah of the Vimala-Tīrthankara-Basti at Bellūr speaks of the erection of the *Chaityālaya*—on the land granted by [Chikka] Dēvarāja Wodeyar—by Sakkare Seṭṭi, son of Dodḍa-Ādanṇa Seṭṭi and grandson of Hulikal Padmaṇṇa Seṭṭi, on the advice of his Guru Lakshmiśēna-Bhaṭṭāraka, lord of the thrones of Delhi, Kollāpur, Jina-Kanchi and Penukoṇḍa.

A lithic record⁹⁰ on the east slope of Nijagal-durga, chronicling the items of work done by
 (c) 1698-1704 Dāsarājaiya, son of Biḷuguli Kempa-
 rājaiya, a servant of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, during a period of twenty years from 1698, speaks of his having begun the construction of the fort of Nijagal-durga (otherwise known as Śūrāgiri-durga) on December 2, 1698 (ś. 1620, *Bahudhānya, Mārgaśira śu.* 10) after setting up the image of God Vighnēśvara, in front of the principal gate, in August. A copper-plate charter from Dēvarāya-durga, dated April 24, 1699,⁹¹ records the setting up and consecration of Goddess Kalyāṇalakshmi in the presence of God Narasimha of Karigiri, and the grant, as an *archaka-svāsti*, to Aḷama-Singarāchārya (son of Chikka-Narasaiya and grandson of Narasaiya of *Chikkadēvarāya-durga*, of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Bōdhāyana-sūtra and Yajuśśākhā), of lands in Anupinahaḷli and Chinuvāḍanahaḷli (belonging to Ānebiddajari-sthala), to provide for the worship and festivals of the

88. *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 98-102 (*M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59, para 130). 89. *Ibid.*, Ng. 43.

90. *Ibid.*, IX Nl. 66; cf. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 63, para 108; also *E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nl. 66 revised.

91. *Ibid.*, XII Tm. 45: ś. 1620 expired, *Pramāthi, Vaiśākha śu.* 5, Monday. Dāsarājaiya, referred to here, is distinct from the one mentioned in the previous record (*vide* f.n. 90 *supra*). He is perhaps identical with Dāsarājaiya, Daḷavāi of Chikkadēvarāja during 1702-1704. The grant appears obviously to have been made by him before he became the Daḷavāi.

Goddeſs—by [Daḷavāi] Dāsarājaiya-Timmapparājaiya, ſon of Kriſhṇaiya and grandſon of Biḷuguli Timmarājaiya. Another record, a lithic one, dated October 13, 1699,⁹² refers to the formation of the tank of Dēvarāya-samudra by Doḍḍaiya, ſon of Sangaiya and grandſon of Channa-vīraiya, under the orders of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. A *nirūpa* of Chikkadēvarāja, dated Auguſt 8, 1700,⁹³ addreſſed to Dāſaiya, *Pārupatyagār* of Nāgamangala, is to the following effect: “The Āyakanahalli *agrahāra*, formed previously, is to be handed over to the charge of the Brāhmins. Manage the affairs ſmoothly. This *nirūpa* is to be got copied in the *kaḍita* of the Śānabhōg and left with the donees.” Another, dated June 8, 1703,⁹⁴ addreſſed to Jois Ānandaḷvār, refers to Dēvaiya as having been entrusted with the management of affairs (*pārupatyā*) of Hangala-sīme in Dēvanagara hōbḷi, and directs that the treaſury ſeal (*haſtāntara mudre-ungura*) pertaining thereto ſhould be handed over to him. A third, of the ſame date,⁹⁵ addreſſed to the ſame individual, is to the following effect: “We have ordered the reconſtruction on a ſound footing and repair of tanks and ponds in Hangala-ſthaḷa, which have breached: let 500 *varahas* out of the annual revenues from this place be utilized for the purpoſe, with due regard to increaſe in the revenue reſources of the government. The ryots ſhould be allowed 200 *khaṇḍugas* of corn as half the ſhare of produce (*vāra*) and permitted to uſe 100 oxen and 150 ſheep. Beſides, they ſhould be granted 250 *varahas*, out of the revenues of Hangala, for the purchaſe

92. *Ibid.*, Mi, 16 : s. 1621, *Pramāthi, Kōrtika ſu.* 2, Friday.

93. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 3) : *Vikrama, Bhādrapada ſu.* 5.

94. *Ibid.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 29 : *Svabhānu, Aśhāḍha ſu.* 5.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31 : *Ibid.* This record adequately points to Chikkadēvarāja's ſolicitude for the welfare of the agricultural population in rural parts. Among the actual expreſſions uſed in the document are: *Hangalada-ſthaḷadalli kittu-hōgīruva kere-kattegaḷu saha balavāgi kaṭṭiſuvahāge kaṭṭeyannu mādiſidēve . . . hēraḷavāgi pairu-pachhegaḷannu āgumādīsi . . . sakalavāda baḍa-prajegaḷanneḷā kāpāḍi naḍīsi kombadu.*



Bhakta-vigraha of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in the
Paravāsudēva Temple, Gundlupet.

of sheep ; and the administration is to be so conducted that all the poor subjects are duly protected.”

No authentic statue of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar has, however, so far come to light, although we have, on one of the pillars in the temple of Paravāsudēva, at Guṇḍlupet, a bas-relief figure of his, a *Bhakta-vigraha*, with his crest sloping on one side (*vāraśikhi sahitavāgiruvante*).⁹⁶

Social ideals had been deeply rooted in the soil for ages. However cataclysmic the effects of certain of the political events of the reign, they appear to have touched but the fringes of social life in the country. The period was in the main, as is depicted for us by contemporary writers,⁹⁷ characterized by timely rains, good harvests, growth of wealth and increase in the general happiness of the subjects, and immunity from the fear of war (*rājika bhayamilladeyum*), especially during the latter part of the reign (*i.e.*, 1696-1704). As one responsible for the maintenance of social order, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, we are told,⁹⁸ strove to preserve and perpetuate the ancient ideal of *Varnāśrama-dharma*, with a view to promote social harmony on the one side and domestic felicity on the other. Whatever may be said against the caste system as it obtains to-day, there can be no question that in the days we are writing of, it helped to hold the different grades of society together and enabled the king to administer the country with due respect to law and order. The respect for *varṇa* and *āśrama*,

96. See *Annals*, I, 138, where the cutting of the bas-relief is attributed to Chikkadēvarāja himself.

97. See, for instance, *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 57-58; *C. Bi.*, p. 4 (prose passage in second para).

98. See *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.* (of Timma-Kavi?), p. 30 (prose passage at the end): *Varnāśrama-dharmam tappadante*; *Sachchū. Nir.*, ff. 10-13; *Munivam.*, I, 155; *A. V. C.*, III, 149 and 151, I, 27 (with gloss): *Ohaturvarṇyāchārāda ritiyānaridēlge-golisuvaṇpratimam*; *Varnāśramānugūṇamāgi nadeyāda patitarāma śikshisuvaḍarinda*, etc.

reflected in the works of the period, means no more than that they bound society together into one whole and held it together for the benefit of its component parts. As indicated above, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, which was at the height of its power during the period, with its insistence on humility as a virtue and grace as a prerequisite for salvation, made *varṇāśrama* lose its harsher and cruder features.

Contemporary social life continued to find the most characteristic expression in cities and towns, of which we have authentic descriptions extant. Thus, of Seringapatam, the capital city, we learn:⁹⁹ Surrounded by the Cauvery, its impregnable fort presented a majestic appearance, what with its lofty ramparts, newly constructed rows of spirals, deep moat, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs and banners of various descriptions. Inhabited by the Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, adorned by glittering temples and richly ornamented mansions (including the Palace) and storeyed buildings set with pinnacles, by the elephant-stables, horse-stables, by the grand Sun and Moon streets and by the market-street (with shops of grocers, jewellers, cloth merchants and metal merchants, among others) and the courtezans' street—it was a delightful city in the plenitude of its glory and prosperity. In keeping with this, a lithic record, dated in 1685,¹⁰⁰ speaks of Seringapatam thus: “With plum, jack, cocoanut, plantain, lime, orange, fig and other fruit trees, with houses as high as hills, was the city filled; and with cows and Brāhmins, with trees of plenty, with temples, with fine elephants like Airāvata, with horses neighing like the thunder of clouds, with splendid chariots and foot-soldiers, . . . a beautiful city, having splendid gateways, an ornament to the lady Earth, surrounded by the Cauvery.”

99. See *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 46-47.

100. *E.C.*, III (1) Pl. 61, ll. 2-10.

Mysore, of which we have a similar account,¹⁰¹ was likewise a flourishing city, with its fort (conspicuous by lofty spikes, ramparts, tiger-faced gates, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs, cannons, etc.), with a garden (*upavana*) well laid out with flower and fruit trees, with the principal streets (named after the Sun and the Moon) lined with pinnacled and storeyed mansions (including the Palace in the middle) inhabited by the four-fold classes following their respective vocations, and with the market and the courtezans' streets.

Among the towns, Mēlkōṭe was at the zenith of its glory as the stronghold of Śrī-Vaishnavism in Mysore;¹⁰² Maḷavalli was a flourishing place, with its fort surrounded by a deep moat,¹⁰³ and Dēvanagara, on the banks of the Kaunḍinī, was a self-sufficient cultural unit.¹⁰⁴ Bangalore, Gubbi and Turuvēkere, among others, were, as indicated in the preceding chapter, important centres of trade and commerce.

From references in contemporary sources, we obtain a fair picture of the state of Hindu society and of general culture during the period, which, in the main, is in accord with the standards laid down in the classical literature of India (*e.g.*, Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, *Laws of Manu*, etc.). Thus, in the city of Mysore, the Brāhmins were noted as repositories of Vēdic learning and culture; the Kshatriyas were reputed as warriors, as devotees of Vishnu and as persons of taste; the Vaiśyas were distinguished for their wealth and liberality; and the Śūdras, ever devoted to the service of the other

101. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārajuna), I, 103-128; also *Kamulā. Māhāt.*, I, 59-78; *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 12-19; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 8-11, vv. 41-55.

102. See *Y.N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 30-37, vv. 28-33 (with gloss).

103. *E.C.*, III (1) Ml. 61, l. 15.

104. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 185-190.

classes, were secure and prosperous in their profession of agriculture.¹⁰⁵ The capital city of Seringapatam was filled with priests, poets, wise men and ministers,¹⁰⁶ and the town of Maḷavalli with men learned in the Vēdānta, Śruti, Smṛti and Dharma-śāstras,¹⁰⁷ while at Dēvanagara, Brāhmans of all the three sects, learned in Vēdas, Śāstras, the two systems of Vēdānta, Drāviḍa-Āmnāya and Śrauta and Smārtha ritualism, had been settled.¹⁰⁸ Among the items of costume and ornaments provided for these scholars were, it is interesting to note,¹⁰⁹ silken garments for the body (*kaushēya*), silken head-dress (*paṭṭōṣṇīṣam*), ear-rings (*kunḍali*) and finger-rings (*angulīyaka*). Aḷasingarārya (Singarayangār II) and his son Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār) were among the typical Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholars of the period. Closely connected with the court of Mysore as *Paurāṇika* to the Royal House from about the middle of the seventeenth century, Aḷasingarārya had by 1678 become familiarly known as *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*, *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*, *Vaiṣṇava-dharma-mūrti* and *Paramārtha-vādī*.¹¹⁰ Indeed his influence on the court of Mysore seems to have been not inconsiderable till 1685, in an inscription¹¹¹ of which

105. *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 129-132 : *Vēdaghōṣhaṅḃvāla chaturāsyaṅ unnata kalā-nīlayar gurumārgadarśigaḷ . . . dvijaṅ | Dhura-dhīrāhita bhūmipāla timīrāṅḃpa prabhāva . . . ṭṭējōnidhigaḷ . . . sarasāgrēsar Achyutōnnata padāsaktar kalā-kōvidar . . . kshatriyar || Pasarisi ponnarāśigaḷa . . . perchisi . . . udāraguṅḃadoḷ pogedirda parākīrāṅḃtakar deśedēsegurvīpar . . . dhanōnnatīyam . . . || Surara māhātmyadoḷu dharaṅḃsura-rutsavadoḷu . . . bevasāyada pempenuturki permeyīndurutara dhānya-rāśigaḷa-nendeseṅḃuttalōḃar chūtāvagam Haripadasambhavarkaḷesevar puradoḷ-bahu-dharmadeḷ-geyīm ||*

106. *E.C.*, MI, 61, ll. 10-11 : *Guru-kavi-prājñaiḃ vṛte mantrībhiḃ.*

107. *Ibid.*, ll. 15-16 : *Vēdāntagaḃiḃ Śrutiparaḃiḃ Smṛti Dharma Vidyaiḃ pūrṅē.*

108. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 133-136 : *Vēdasāstra-vīśārādān Vēdāntadvaya-tatvājñān Drāviḷāmnāya pāragān . . . śrauta smārtha vidhānājñān.*

109. *Ibid.*, ll. 190-191.

110. See *E.C.*, IV (2) Kr. 45, ll. 12-14 ; III (1) Sr. 94, ll. 12-14 ; *Hadī. Dhar.*, IX, 51 ; see also f.n. 127 *infra*.

111. *Ibid.*, III (1) My. 7, ll. 11-12 ; see also f.n. 81 *supra*.

year Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar refers to him as a principal dependent of his (*namma mukhyāśrita*). He appears to have died between 1685-1698. His son Tirumalārya (also known as Śrīśailārya, the Sanskritised form of Tirumalārya), apart from his activities as minister, poet and scholar of the court of Chikkadēvarāja, profoundly impressed his contemporaries, particularly from 1698 onwards, as a celebrated Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher,¹¹² respected by Chikkadēva and revered by his disciples, amongst whom was his own younger brother Singarārya (Singaraiyangār III).¹¹³ From the account left by the latter,¹¹⁴ it would seem that Tirumalārya was a person of fine stature (wearing the *Ūrdhvaṇḍram*, the sacred thread and a garment leading from the navel to the ankle) with a serene countenance, a disciple of Vādhūla-Śrīnivāsārya, an ardent devotee of God Nṛsimha of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe) and an erudite scholar expounding to his band of disciples the right course of conduct and interpreting the abstruse thoughts of great teachers.

As a centre of social activities, Seringapatam, during the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, had become the cynosure of contemporary powers. His court appears to have been the very symbol of the culture and tastes of the times. Ordinarily he used to conduct his Durbār (*oḍḍōlaga*) in the magnificent court hall of the Palace (*āsthāna-maṇṭapa*, *sabhā-maṇṭapa*, *śātakumbha-sthambhālaya*) known as *Saundarya-vilāsa*, which was adorned

Court culture :

1. The Durbār Hall.

112. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 4: *Dēsika-sārvabhaumarenisi*; *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc. (*Śrīśailārya-dinacharya*), p. 119, vv. 1-2, 127, v. 47: *Śrīśaila-dēsika*; *Tirumala-dēsikēndra*; *Gī. Gō.*, pp. 50, 53: *Tirumaleyāryādi divyadēsikara*; see also *E.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Ng. 108, l. 1, evidently referring to Śrīśailārya as a religious teacher (*Śrīśailārya prēraṇayā*).

113. *Ibid.*, p. 2; also *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., pp. 119-128, vv. 1, 4-6, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.

114. *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., pp. 119-128, vv. 1-7, 9-37, 45-55, etc.

by an exquisitely carved and ornamented entrance (*dvāra*), pillars (*sthambha*), architraves (*bōdige*), beams (*tole*), walls (*bhitti*) and platform (*jagati*).¹¹⁵ Dressed in glittering and well-bordered upper garment of white silk (*vidyut-prabhāmbara*, *paṭṭāmbara-dukula*, *anchina duvvaṭa*, *dhautāmbara*), wearing the richly embroidered coatee (*kanchuka*) and the crown (*śirshadoḷ dharisi kirītamam*; *makūṭavardhana kirīṭa maṇigana*), having the *ṭikā* on his forehead, his person beautified with badges (*pendeya*), medallions (*padaka*), necklaces (*korāṣara*, *hurumanjiya kaṇṭha-māle*, *hāra*), finger-rings (*angulīyaka*), ear-rings (*kaṇṭha-bhūṣhaṇa*, *bāvali*, *chaukuḷi*), bracelets (*kankaṇa*, *kēyūra*, *kaṭaka*), wristlets (*kaigaḷa pachcha*), sashes (*kaṭi-sūtra*) and anklets (*nūpura*, *maṇjīra*, *kālpasādana*) set with pearls and precious stones of various descriptions, his knot of hair tied up with fragrant flowers (*parimaḷadaraḷam muḍidu*), with ornamented sandals adorning his feet (*rannada hāvuge*, *kanaka pāduke*), and with the jewelled dagger (*rannada chikkathāri*) in his hand, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, we learn,¹¹⁶ would proceed in state to the Durbār Hall. Seated in the golden palankeen (*kanakāndhōḷikārūḍhanāgi*), with the five different kinds of music playing (*pancha-mahāvādyangal*), and accompanied by emblems like the umbrella, chowries, fans and ensigns (*āvṛtachchātra chāmara vyajana sīguri patāka samūhanum*) and the courtezans (*sannutāngiyar*, *belevēṅgal*), he would make himself conspicuous by occupying the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhāsana*, *simha-piṭha*). The Durbār Hall (*sabhā-bhavana*, *maṇṭapa*) would be adorned

115. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 58; also *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 91; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 68, etc.; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 24 (prose passage).

116. *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 89-91; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 16-18, 21; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 64-66, 68; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 23-24, vv. 119-121, and prose passage; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 57-59; *Sāt. Br. Vi.*, I, 50, 52; *Pasch. Māhāt.*, I, 49; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 97; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 55; *Div. Sū. Chā.*, I, 86; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamamma*, ff. 130, vv. 1-2; also references *infra*.

by the following classes of courtiers:¹¹⁷ the nobility, including relations blood royal (*bāndhavar*,

3. The Courtiers. *bandhutati*) such as brothers and sons of the king (*bhrātru-sutar*) and junior

members of Arasu families (*kuvarar*), well-wishers (*hitarum*) and distinguished personages (*mahōnnatarum*); tributary chiefs, feudatories and ministers from foreign courts (*maṇiva bhūpālakar*, *dharanīṣar*, *sāmantar*, *digdēśa mantriśvarar*); civil and military officers, such as Ministers and Councillors (*sachivar*, *pradhānar*, *amātyar*), financiers (*karaṇīkar*) and the Commander-in-Chief (*daṇḍanātha*, *sēnāni*); officials of the general administration (*prabhutvadavar*); members of the diplomatic service (*niyōgi-varga*, *sandhi-vigraha-sanchiyabhṛtyajana-varga*), including functionaries (*niyōgi*), news-carriers (*harikāra*) and interpreters (*rāyasamam tilupuvavar*); learned Brāhmins (*vipra-prakara*, *budhāvāli*, *vibudha-vitāna*, *vidvajjāla*), including scholars in Vēdas, Smṛtis, Śāstras, Epics, Purānas and various Āgamas (*śruti-kōvidar*, *śruti-smṛti-abhiṅnar*, *vēdārasajnar*, *śāstrajnar*, *śāstrigaḷ*, *bharatajnar*, *purānavidar*, *kathākuśalar*, *nāna-āgamajnar*); readers (*gamakigaḷ*, *gamakīśrēṇi*), grammarians (*vyākaranajnar*), connoisseurs in

117. *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 87-89; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 69-76, and ff. 31-32 (prose passage); *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 24-25, vv. 123-130, p. 29 (prose passage); *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 92-98; *Ruk. Cha.* I, 94-96; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamma*, ff. 130, vv. 3-4; *Hasti. Māhāt.*, I, 98; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 56-59; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 50; *Kamala. Māhāt.*, III, 20, 22-28; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 61-67; *Sū. Sap.*, I, 13-14; *Sāt. Br. Vi.*, I, 51. The *Annals* (I. 134) refers to Chikkadēvarāja's arrangements for the maintenance of account relating to the Palace officials, Arasus, Pālegārs, Brāhmins, scholars, lutists, songsters, physicians and others adorning his court; also to his insistence on the attendance of scholars and Brāhmins during the carrying out of his daily avocations at the Palace and on the daily visit to him of the other courtiers, these being strictly ordered to communicate their absence from the head-quarters and make their representations to him—on occasions of marriage and other ceremonies in their houses—through Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya. These particulars, read in the light of contemporary sources we have here cited, would give us an idea of the regularity and discipline with which the Durbār of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was conducted.

poetics (*alankāra-rasajnar*), poets (*kavinivaha*, *kaviś-varar*, *kavirasajnar*), experts in literature and various arts and sciences (*sāhitya-viśāradar*, *nānā-kalā-pravī-nar*, *akhila-śāstra-kōvidar*), and disputants and elocutionists (*vādi-stōma*, *vāgmikar*, *vākpariṇatar*); the professional class, comprising priests (*purōhitar*), astrologers (*jōyisar*), physicians (*vaidyār*), scribes (*lipijnar*), songsters (*gāyakar*, *gāyaka-nikāya*), lutists (*vainikar*), courtezans (*gaṇikeyar*, *vārānganeyar*), dancers (*naṭar*, *naṭa-samudāya*), wrestlers (*mallar*), jesters or buffoons (*parihāsakar*) and panegyrists (*pāṭhakar*, *vandī-vrinda*, *vandī-māgadādhyar*); the warriors (*yōdhar*, *bhaṭa-nikurumba*, *bhaṭāḷi*) and skilled elephant-riders and cavaliers (*gajaturugārōhaṇa-prauḍhar*, *vāhaḷika-vyūha*); and the menials (*bhṛtya-varga*, *ūḷigadavar*), including door-keepers (*pratīhāri*), mace-bearers (*vētradhāri*), chamberlains (*kanchukī*), and bearers of tassels (*kuncha*), fans (*tāla-vrintaka*, *biḷḷaṇige*), betel, perfume and wreaths of flowers (*vīlya-gandha-pushpamāle*) and of the pouch (*sanchi*), the sword (*khaḍga*), the waving goblet (*āratiya giṇḍi*) and the chowry (*chāmara*). The beauty and grandeur of the scene, as depicted,¹¹⁸ would evidently be enhanced by the glittering ear-rings (*kaṛṇa-bhūshaṇa*), necklaces (*hāra*) and swords (*khaḍga*) of the feudatories and supplicant chiefs; by the lustre of the red-coloured silken and lace upper garments (*chandra-gāviya melpodake*) and ornaments of gold and pearl (*ponna-gejje*, *maṇi-bhūshaṇa*, *bhūshaṇa-chāyeyim*), worn by the courtezans; and by the radiance of scimitars (*mahā-kaukshēyaka-dyōtīyim*) held by the warriors (*vīrabhaṭāḷi*).

Music (*sangīta*)—vocal (*gāna*) and instrumental (*vādya*)—and dancing (*nāṭya*, *abhinaya*) occupied a prominent place in the programme of the Durbār. The vocal

4. The programme of the Durbār:

(a) Music and dancing.

118. *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 71, 74; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 24-25, vv. 125, 128; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 97-98.

musicians (*pāḍuva-gāyakar*) are referred to¹¹⁹ as having been experts in their art (*sangīta-kalāvidar*, *sangīta-sārajanar*). We have reference¹²⁰ to the symphony of the *pancha-mahāvādya* (*mēlaisuva pancha-mahāvādyangaḷa*) consisting of instruments like the horn, tabor, conch-shell, kettle-drum and gong. The lute (*viṇā*), as an item of instrumental music, seems to have been very popular. The lutists (*vaiṇikas*) are depicted¹²¹ as having been skilled in the art of keeping time while performing on the instrument (*viṇā-vādana tatva-laya-jnāna-kuśalarāda*). Dancing was, as usual, the forte of the courtezans (*vārānganeyar*, *nartakiyar*), and was accompanied by the soft music (*muṇcharadoḍane*) of the quarter tones (*śruti*), measure (*tāḷa*), tabor (*mṛdanga*) and the guitar (*tantri*). It was, we further note,¹²² also characterized by considerable precision, ingenuity and expressiveness in respect of form, technique, movements of the body, behaviourism, sentiments and unity of effect.

Among other items of the programme were:¹²³ discourses on sacred lore including the Vēdas (*trayī*), Purāṇas (*purāṇa san-chaya vichāra*, *kathā praśamse*,

119. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, ff. 2 (prose passage); *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 56.

120. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 58; also *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, ff. 30, and *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 28 (prose passage), referring to the music of instruments like the conch (*śankha*), drum (*bhēri*), measure (*tāḷa*), tabor (*jambaka*, *dīṇḍima*, *muraja*), double drum (*dhakka*, *tambaṭa*), flute (*vēṇu*), lute (*viṇā*) and trumpet (*kahaḷa*).

121. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), l.c.

122. *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 79-80; also *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 25 (prose passage), 26, v. 133 :

Jatī laya tāḷa riti gamakam yatatōpu kalāsadhātu mē |
naṭi rasabhāva binkamure binnaṇadappade nētra vaktra pā (?)||
dataḷa karangaḷoḷ ruchiragāna sutāḷada mārgamoppuvan |
tatichaturatvaḍin-dabhinayangaḷa-nāhisutāḍi tōridar||

123. *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 97; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 99-100; *Kāmand. Nī.*, II, 1-3; *Sū. Sap.*, I, 13-15; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 60-61; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 53-54; *Kamālā. Māhāt.*, III, 29, 68-70; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 60; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 77-78, also ff. 27-32 (prose passage); *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 25, vv. 131-132, and pp. 26-30 (prose passage); *Sāt. Br. Vi.*, I, 52-55, etc.

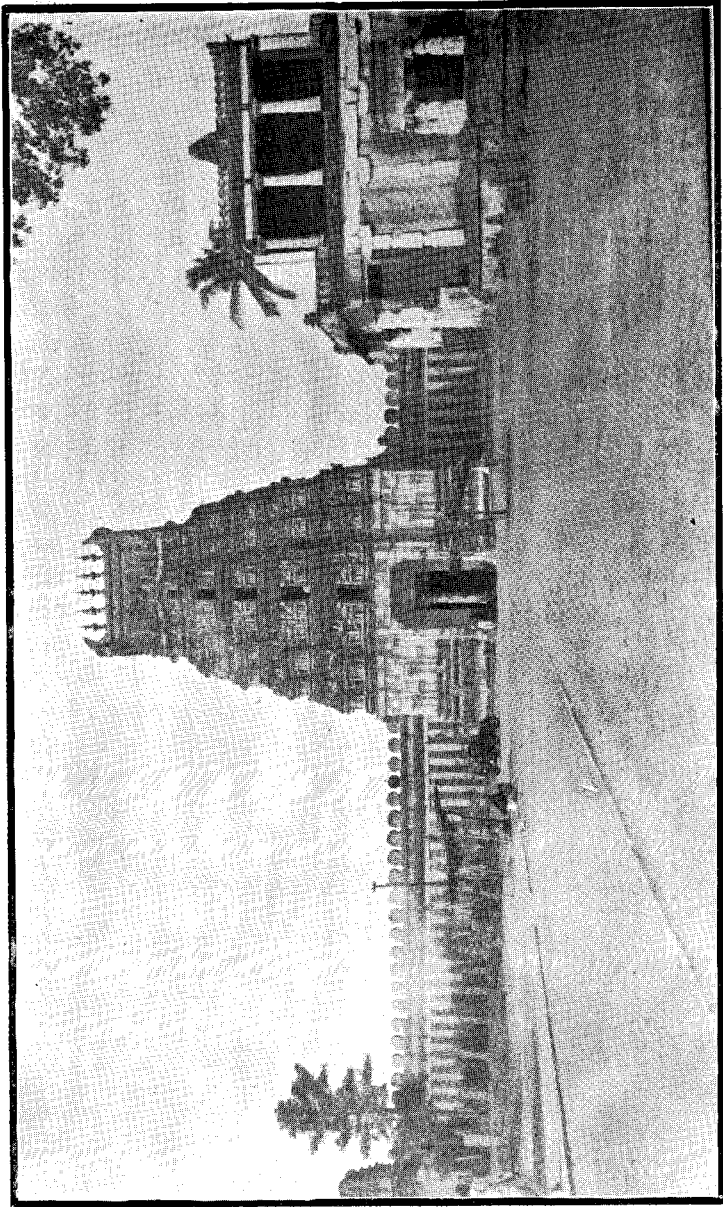
kuśala-kathā śravaṇa, *purāṇadolpanādaripudu*) and the Vaiṣṇava literature (*vaiṣṇava kathā*); disputations of scholars in various subjects (*bahusūāstra-vāda*) including religion and metaphysics (*ānvīkshaki*, *vēdānta*); expounding of the classical sciences of economics and politics (*vārta*, *daṇḍanīti*) and of maxims (*yuktigaḷu*); literary entertainments—particularly in poetry (*ghana-sāhiti-rasānurakti*, *sarasa-kavitva*, *sāhitya-prasanga*, *kavi-prasanga*); the tendering by supplicant chiefs (*maṇiva bhūpālakar*) of tributes and presents (*kappa-kāṇike*) consisting of necklaces (*hāra*), golden palankeens (*hēmada pallakki*), rutting elephants (*mada-mātangāḷi*), silken robes (*dukūla*), horses (*vāji*) and swords (*khaḍ-gāḷi*); and the recitation of the king's titles and benedictory verses (*parāku*, *birudāvaḷi*) by the panegyrists. The Durbār would come to a close on the honouring of the Durbārīs with betel, perfume and flowers (*vīlyagandha-pushpamāle*) and the rewarding of the musicians, courtezans and panegyrists with jewels and cloths (*pasadanam koṭṭu*, *pasāyanamanittu*). After this, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar would retire to his apartment in the Palace.¹²⁴

Feasts and festivals were a regular feature of social life during the period. Among the former, the *Rāmanavami* and *Kriṣṇajayanti* were very popular;¹²⁵ among the latter, the birthday of Śrī-Rāmānujāchāryar (*Emberumānār Tirunakshatram*) at Mēlkōṭe, in March-April (*Chaitra*) of every year, occupied a prominent place.¹²⁶ The *Tirunakshatram* lasted ten days during the ascendancy of the sacred birth-star (*Āridrā*) of the celebrated

124. *Yād. Māhāt.*, III, 4; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 26, 30 (prose passage); *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 68.

125. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 92-104; *My.* 7 (1685), l. 26; also *Annals*, I, 151.

126. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1678), ll. 24-26; also *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 37, v. 33 (with gloss).



Srī-Ranganāthasvāmī Temple, Srīrangapatnam.

teacher. A lithic record, dated June 20, 1678,¹²⁷ relates how Aḷasingarārya, father of Tirumalārya, gave away in perpetuity the village of Bīrubalḷi, in Mandagere-sthala, to provide for the annual holding of a car festival, distribution of food and other ceremonies at Mēlkōṭe on the occasion of the celebration of the *Tirunakshatram*. The *Vajra-makuṭi* (*Vaira-muḍi*) and *Gajendra-mōksham* were other important annual festivals at Mēlkōṭe.¹²⁸ The car festival (*Yātrōtsava*) and the spring festival (*Vasantōtsava*) of God Ranganātha in Seringapatam were other important festivals which annually attracted visitors from various countries (*palanāḍugaḷim*).¹²⁹ The *Mahānavami* festival appears to have continued to dominate the social and public life of the capital city.¹³⁰ The prosperity of the Brāhmanical settlements (*agara, agrahāra*), temples (*dēgula*) and feeding-houses (*satra*), evidenced in the sources,¹³¹ is, in some measure, an index of the steady progress of cultural and social life all over the country. Old superstitions, however, died hard. An indication of the persistence of belief in ordeals as a means of establishing one's claims in civil disputes is afforded by a record of 1677¹³² referring to Venkatapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbāruva, as establishing his claims to the Śānabhōgi of Arkalgūḍ against his opponent by

127. *Ibid.*, II, 18-30: s. 1600, *Kālayukti, Āshāḍha śu.* 11; see also *E.C.*, IV (2) Kr. 45, and f.n. 163 in Ch. X. According to the record, Bīrubalḷi had been formerly assigned by Aḷasingarārya to the treasury of the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe. At the time of the above mentioned transaction, however, the village of Singanamāranabalḷi, belonging to Kottāgāla, was made over to the temple in lieu of Bīrubalḷi. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 1) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A.V.C.*

128. *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 33, v. 30 (with gloss); see also f.n. 9 *supra* and text thereto.

129. *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 58; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 1; also *Yād. Mahāt.*, III (referring to *Vasantōtsava*).

130. Though we have no account of the *Mahānavami* festival during the period, we have a reference to it in a record from the *Mackenzie Collection* (*vide* f.n. 76 *supra*).

131. *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 59; *A.V.C.*, I, 27.

132. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 2; see also f.n. 68 *supra*.

circumambulating the feet of God Arkēśvara and plunging his hand into ghee boiled as hot as possible (*atikathinataravāgi kādu yidda tuppaddalli kaiyya-nikki . . .*).

Women are found depicted as having been faithful housewives (*oḷuvenḍiru*).¹³³ In particular, Dēvājamma (Dēvāmbā, Dēvamma) of Yeḷandūr, the principal queen (*paṭṭadarasi, paṭṭadarāṇi*) of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, is spoken of as an ideal lady, an embodiment of all virtues, pure and chaste (*sakala-sadguṇa-sampanne; akalushe*).¹³⁴ The charming ladies (*gāḍikā[r]tiyaru*) of the court are referred to¹³⁵ as having been highly cultured and accomplished (*sarva-sarasavidyā-siddhānta-vēdiniyar*). Among the maid-servants in the personal service of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, Honnamma, the bearer of his pouch (*Chikkadēvarāyana sanchiya Honnamma*), had risen high in his favour (. . . *kṛpā-rasadim . . . unnatiyodaḡuḍi . . . ēlgevetti*).¹³⁶ and was noted for her literary and poetical attainments (*kāvyaḷankāra-nāṭakagaḷa pavanige yirava ballavaḷu . . . sarasa-sāhityada varadēvate*).¹³⁷ Śringāramma was a young poetess under the fostering care of Chikkadēvarāja (*Chikkadēva-bhūpāla santavisida sanṇa magalu*).¹³⁸ The code of ethics relating to the duties and responsibilities of women, generally as devoted housewives, continued to be of a very high standard, the preservation and propagation of which, under the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava atmosphere of the times, found living expression in Honnamma's *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*.¹³⁹

133. *Haḍi. Dhar.*, IX, 57.

134. *Ibid.*, I, 3, 11, 16 (pp. 2-4).

135. *Ibid.*, I, 6-7 (pp. 2-3).

136. *Ibid.*, I, 24-25 (p. 4); also colophon to each chapter.

137. *Ibid.*, I, 12, 14 (p. 3).

138. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 516-517, quoting from the Ms.

139. *Vide* Ch. XIV below, for details about the work.

Perhaps a more marked influence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism on social life during the period is discernible in the attempt on the part of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to reform and uplift the Śūdras by defining and codifying their rites and practices as members of the Hindu social order. This attempt of his finds eloquent expression in the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690) ascribed to him.¹⁴⁰ In levelling up, as far as possible, the distinctions between castes and according to the Śūdras a legitimate place in the social structure, Chikkadēvarāja perhaps sounds the key-note of his success as a benevolent yet strict ruler of the age.

The work *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya*, we have referred to, is primarily an exposition of the duties of those who can call themselves *good Śūdras* (*Sat Śūdras*). The term "good" as applied to a "Śūdra" connotes much the same idea as it does when applied to a "Brāhmaṇa," "Kshatriya" or "Vaiśya," that is, one who conforms to the course of conduct prescribed to his *varṇa*. In that sense, *sat* would convey the idea of *nirduṣṭa*, *i.e.*, *without blame, virtuous, real or respectable*. A real Śūdra, in this sense, would be one who has gone through the rites and ceremonies customary to one of his class and keeps up to the duties fixed for him in the social and legal codes applicable to him. According to *Manu*, a good Śūdra has service for his duty, service to those above him. His *dharma*, according to the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, is serving the twice-born (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya). This *Purāṇa* stresses the *dharma* by saying that as *Yajna* is the duty of the Brāhmaṇa so is service to the twice-born the duty of the Śūdra. This *Purāṇa*, indeed, adds that by service the Śūdra attains salvation. The *Varāha-Purāṇa* says that the Śūdra has no *mantra* other than bowing to the Brāhmaṇa, *i.e.*, service to the

140. *Ibid.*

classes above him, of which the Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as an example. The *Mahābhārata* goes a step further and sets down the religious tie that binds the Brāhmaṇa householder to the Śūdra attached to him. According to the epic, a Śūdra serving in a Brāhmaṇa household is a member (*anga*) of that household and as such he is entitled to a *pinḍa* (an oblation) in the name of the householder.¹⁴¹ In these and other cases, where the Brāhmaṇa is mentioned, it should be taken as illustrative of the three higher classes and not as exhaustive. If a "good" Śūdra is to serve the other castes, the three other castes cannot escape their duties (*dharma*). Thus the interdependence of the four castes is made manifest. And that is the reason why, quite apart from the different duties attaching to the different castes, ancient authorities stress the duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes. According to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, these are, apart from the procuring of offspring and support of one's family, the practice of kindness to man and beast, patience, humility, purity, truth, gentleness of speech and contentment, with an absence of envy and avarice, grumbling and abuse.¹⁴² The *Mahābhārata* similarly enumerates the following as the duties common to all the castes: the suppression of wrath, truthfulness of speech, justice, forgiveness, begetting children on one's wedded wives, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel and maintenance of dependents.¹⁴³ Manu also refers to a ten-fold law which every one must obey, in whatever stage of life he may be: "contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, obedience to the rules of purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom (probably of the sacred books), knowledge (of the Supreme soul), truthfulness, and abstention from

141. *Mbh.*, *Aranya-Parva*, *Adhyāya* 149.

142. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 7.

143. *Mbh.*, *Śānti-Parva*, Sec. 72; also *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Svarga-Khaṇḍa*, *Adhyāyas* XXV-XXVII: Discussion between Nārada and Māṇdhātā.

anger, form the ten-fold law.”¹⁴⁴ Epic poets and law-givers both made it plain that the four castes had to observe a common code, besides discharging duties in their respective stages of life (*āśramas*). This insistence on the observance of a common code made the members of the four castes feel that they were not only one inseparable whole but also bound together for each other’s good, and that for attaining the common good, they were all bound by the same ideals of social conduct. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, indeed, goes to the extent of saying that if a devotee of Vishṇu discharges the duties pertaining to his caste and adheres to the code of social conduct common to all, he would be ever immune from Death.

Chikkadēva, it is worthy of note, supports his work from illustrations drawn from the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Manu-Smṛiti*. From the first of these, he quotes a verse which holds up Vishṇu as the Lord for adoration to all the *Varnāśramas*.¹⁴⁵ He then quotes from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* some notable verses, all of which emphasise the importance of performing one’s own duty. Thus, he refers to a verse from the Eighteenth Discourse,¹⁴⁶ which concludes what Śrī-Krishṇa lays down as to the duties of the four castes. Taken together, the verses which precede and follow this particular one stress the point he has in view. The first of these says that “each (man) reacheth perfection by being intent on his own duty (*karma*). Listen thou how perfection is won by him who is intent on his own duty (*karma*).” The next verse—the one quoted by him—says: “He from whom is the emanation of beings, by whom all this is pervaded, by worshipping Him in his own duty (*karma*), a man winneth perfection.” The next verse drives home the point he

144. *Manu*, VI, 92 (Bülher’s Trans. in *S. B. E. Series*).

145. The following is the verse:

Varnāśramāchāravatā puruṣhēṇa paraḥ pumān |

Vishṇurārādhyate panthā nānyastattōṣhakārakah ||

146. *Bhag. Gī.*, XVIII, 46.

wants: "Better one's own duty (*dharma*) though destitute of merits than the well-executed duty (*dharma*) of another. He who doeth the duty (*karma*) laid down by his own nature, incurreth not sin."¹⁴⁷ An examination of these and other verses, remarks Chikkadēva, indicates that to those who do their duty in the spirit of the *śāstra*, the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa grants the full fruit thereof. And what may be the fruit thereof? This is furnished to us in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* itself, to which we have necessarily to refer. He who performs the duty (*karma*) to which he is born, though that be (deemed) tarnished (*sadōshamapi*),¹⁴⁸ provided his Reason (*buddhi*) is unattached, his self subdued, his desires annihilated, he attains by renunciation to the supreme perfection of freedom from obligation (*karma*).¹⁴⁹ And he who attains perfection, obtains the Eternal, the highest state of wisdom.¹⁵⁰ To those of the fourth (or, in fact, any) order, the attainment of the Eternal is not thus barred. Would it make any difference if they did not worship Nārāyaṇa but other deities? Chikkadēva says that that would not matter. He quotes the verse of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which reads: "Even the devotees of other Shining Ones, who worship full of faith, they also worship Me, O son of Kunti, though contrary to the ancient rule."¹⁵¹ Even those who worship other—even inferior—deities, if they do so in the name of the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa, they only offer worship to Him; only, Chikkadēva continues, if they do this, they reap the fruit of such worship only through those deities.¹⁵² But, he adds, significantly, that their actions (*karmāṇi*)

147. *Ibid.* XVIII, 45-47; cf. *Bhag. Gī.*, III, 35, which says: "Better one's own duty (*dharma*), though destitute of merit, than the duty (*dharma*) of another, well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty (*dharma*); the duty (*dharma*) of another is full of danger."

148. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 48.

149. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 49.

150. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 50.

151. *Ibid.*, IX, 23.

152. This remark of Chikkadēva seems to be covered by *Bhag. Gī.*, IX, 24-25.

should be done leaving aside attachment and the fruit pertaining to it.¹⁵³

Brought up in the traditions of Rāmānuja, Chikkadēva insisted on, and even enlarged, the view of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, that the doing of one's duty led to salvation. A good Śūdra, he suggests, may attain salvation by following out his own *āchāra*¹⁵⁴ rather than feel discontented over the duty laid on the other three divisions. In a larger sense, Chikkadēva lays down, as the essential condition of social peace and contentment, implicit obedience to the *dharma* of his own *varṇa* and *āśrama*, a dictum that is not wanting in votaries even to-day. Such obedience to one's own *dharma* would be, if we are to follow out Chikkadēva's suggestion, the means of one's own self-expression and salvation in terms of definite duties (*karma*) according to the definite *dharma* assigned to each. No wonder, we see him quoting the famous text of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which announces the great message to all classes of people, men, women and sinners even: "They who take refuge with Me, O Pārtha, though of the womb of sin, women, Vaiśyas, even Śūdras, they also tread the highest path."¹⁵⁵ The significance of the appeal will be manifest when we remember that Śrī-Krishṇa assures salvation to Śūdras as much as to anybody including Brāhmins and devoted royal saints¹⁵⁶ at one end and sinners¹⁵⁷ at the other, provided "they take refuge with Me." As Śrī-Krishṇa declares in the same context: "Even if the most sinful worship Me with undivided heart, he too must be accounted righteous, for he hath rightly resolved."¹⁵⁸ And, in the next verse, He concludes by

153. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 6. This, Śrī-Krishṇa says, "is my certain and best belief."

This is one of the more famous texts of the *Bhag. Gī.*

154. Traditional or immemorial usage (as the foundation of law); established rule of conduct (as prescribed by immemorial usage). The word *āchāra*, however, signifies in certain contexts the meaning conveyed by the terms *dharma* and *karma*.

155. *Bhag. Gī.*, IX, 32.

156. *Ibid.*, IX, 33.

157. *Ibid.*, IX, 32.

158. *Ibid.*, IX, 30.

saying: "Speedily he (such a person) becometh dutiful and goeth to eternal peace; O Kauntēya, know thou for certain that My devotee perisheth never."¹⁵⁹

What may be the reason that induced Chikkadēva to write this work (*Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya*) whose insistence on the *Gītā* ideal of essential dependence on God of all classes of the community for their happiness and salvation, of their mutual dependence on each other for their own and for the common good, and of their ultimate equality before God, is so evident to those reading it? This we can only guess. It is possible he desired to secure social solidarity by this means, in order that political solidarity may not be jeopardised. That he should insist on the upper three divisions discharging their duty towards the fourth and that of the fourth towards the upper three, would indicate that the need for securing social order and consequently of general happiness was, in his view, an important end in itself. Indeed he says, in one place, that the happiness of the three superior classes relates itself to the well-being of the fourth. Fearing that the three other classes may discard the happiness of the fourth while the fourth may discard its duty towards the other three classes, and desiring the happiness of the fourth, Chikkadēva says, he wrote this work. To achieve this end, he adds, he brought together, in order to protect the good among the fourth class, their duties as found scattered in the different authorities. This work, accordingly, fixes the duties of the Sachchūdras while it takes the opportunity, at the same time, to favour their interests by securing to them the protection due to them from the three others. He would, indeed, suggest, by the phraseology used by him in this connection, that he was specially favouring them in compiling this particular work in

159. *Ibid.*, IX, 31.

their special interests.¹⁶⁰ The main authorities on which Chikkadēva bases his studies are, as we have seen, the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Manu* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. We have seen his indebtedness to the last of these great works, and the manner in which he brings together the different declarations in it in regard to the essential equality of the four divisions of people and their mutual dependence for the general good of the whole community, shows how deeply he had imbibed the fundamental teachings of the *Gītā*. His indebtedness to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* is equally great. Its open declaration that to all *varṇas* and *āśramas* Vishṇu is the lord for adoration is his main text.¹⁶¹ This leads to the next suggestion that one may pray to any deity—inferior or superior—but if he prays in Vishṇu's name, his prayer is heard and he benefits from it. The teaching that the adorer or the devotee of Vishṇu attains salvation finds its counterpart in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* which proclaims that the messenger of Yama, the God of Death, has no control over those who seek the shelter of Vishṇu. And the devotee of Vishṇu, we are told, is one “who never deviates from the duties prescribed to his caste; who looks with equal indifference upon friend or enemy; who takes nothing (that is not his own), nor injures any being.” Such “a

160. See *Sachchū. Nir.*, ff. 12-13 :

*Ityādinā mōkshārthibhissākshād bhagavadārādhana rūpāni svasva
varṇōchītāni nitya naimittika rūpāni karmāni sakala sangata
krītvā tyāgapūrvaka manuṣṭhēyāniti nīrdhārya |*

*tatrādyānām trayāṇām varṇānāmāchārakramasya bahushu nīban-
dhēshu taistair nībandhabhīr nipunātarāmupapādikatvēna
sugamatām chaturtha-varṇāchārasya tūtratatra viprakīrṇatayō-
pasamhartumasākyaivāt . . . vichārya |*

Chikadēvu mahīpālāsachchūdrānujighrikshayā |

prabandha makarōdēnam Sachchūdrāchāra-Nīrṇayam ||

Here *anujighrikshā* means *anugraha*, showing favour to, conferring benefits on, or furthering or upholding the good of *Sachchūdras*.

161. Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 75-79. This has been declared one of the finest passages in the whole of this *Purāṇa*. Considerations of space forbid its reproduction here, but it is well worth reading in the original or in the translation of Wilson.

person of unblemished mind" is to be known "to be a worshipper of Vishṇu." And Yama ordains his messenger not to "come into the sight of him in whose heart the imperishable soul resides; for he is defended from my power by the discus of his deity; he is designed for another world (for the heaven of Vishṇu)." ¹⁶² The main plank in the argument of Chikkadēva that Sachchūdras can attain salvation by the faithful carrying out of their *karma* is thus a reflection of the teaching of both the *Gītā* and the *Vishṇu-Purāna*. Chikkadēva, however, in thus stressing the duties of Sachchūdras, does not forget to insist on their essential equality with the three other divisions or the mutual interdependence of the four taken as a whole. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that he goes beyond the limits set to them in the ancient teachings (*Śrutis* and *Smritis*) such as *Manu* and the like. Nor does he, so far as can be seen, transcend the teachings of Bādarāyaṇa as expounded in the *Apaśūdrādhikaraṇa*. ¹⁶³ Indeed his main theme is that within the limits prescribed by the ancient seers, a Sachchūdra is entitled to protection for the service he renders, and that salvation is possible to him if he devotes himself to his duties and to the adoration of Vishṇu. Though Chikkadēva does not show an advance on *Manu* and the text-writers in the matter of

162. *Ibid.*

163. The *Vishṇu-Purāna* allows a Śūdra to perform rites in honour of the dead (see Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purāna*, III, 88). As *Manu* is more rigorous in this respect, it might perhaps be inferred that the *Vishṇu-Purāna* marks an advance on the *Manu-Smriti* in this regard (see *Manu*, X, 109). As to Bādarāyaṇa's position, see the *Vēdānta-Sūtras—Apaśūdrādhikaraṇa*, I, 3, 33-39 (Rāmānuja); I, 3, 34-38 (Śankara and Ānanda-tīrtha). But all these ordinances are overshadowed by the declaration in the *Vishṇu-Purāna* that there are "duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes," a passage which, as shown in the text above, has its counterpart in the *Manu-Smriti* as well. Both sets of declarations have to be read together if we are to understand the actual conduct which governed the relations between the four different divisions of society. This is exactly what Chikkadēva does in his work, in which, he says, he has brought together scattered texts bearing on the well-being of Sachchūdras (*vide* f.n. 160 *supra*).

written declarations, his bringing together of the scattered texts relating to the duties of Sachchūdras, and no less the manner in which he has woven the teachings of the *Gītā* into their texture, shows the humane ruler he was. He tried to secure social order and political consolidation by making each unit realize how dependent it is on the other for its own good and for the common weal. He laboured to work out in detail how those belonging to the fourth order should aim at becoming Sachchūdras and thus help not only to maintain society together but also attain to spiritual salvation.

Thus, as an example of the interaction of the tendencies and forces of the times, Chikkadēva's social experiment acquires considerable significance. Indeed, while there are indications of the widespread application and adoption of his code, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava background underlying it seems to have formed the supreme factor governing his legislation relating to the Arasu families also in the State. Some of these families, who were directly related to the Royal House, had shown a tendency

(b) Relating to Arasu families.

to give up the due performance of rites and ceremonies originally prescribed for them, and had contracted alliances with families considered as belonging to a lower status (*gaudapattu sambandha*), while others had cultivated relations with families of inferior social standing (*baḍajāti sambandha*). Realising the need for preserving undefiled the social status of these families and their purity of blood, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, on October 2, 1690 (*Pramōdūta*, *Āśvīja śu.* 10), instituted a careful inquiry into the matter.¹⁶⁴ As a result of this inquiry, the doubtful families were differentiated from those who showed evidence of having maintained the purity of their blood so far; the former were absorbed in the respective

164. *Annals*, I. 129. The ordinance which Chikkadēva issued in this connection, as described above, partakes in part of the character of what may be called, in modern parlance, a Royal Marriage Act.

lineages with which they had contracted their relations, while the latter were grouped into 31 families (*manetana*), 13 among them being recognised as of an exceptionally pure stock and the remaining 18 as of a slightly lower status in consequence of certain differences in the usages and practices observed by them.¹⁶⁵ Marital relations as amongst these families, it was further laid down,¹⁶⁶ were to be strictly endogamous in character. An exception, however, was made in the case of the members of 13 families, who were allowed to receive as wives daughters from the 18 families only in respect of second or third connections.¹⁶⁷ To look after the successful working of these arrangements, to supervise the general social relations with the 31 families, and to see that they regularly observed the Vēdic rites and practices laid down for them, Sōmarājaiya of Mūgūr, father-in-law of Chikkadēvarāja, and Appājaiya, the Palace genealogist, were appointed as special Huzūr officers (*Sammukhāda Gurikār, Sammukhāda Karanika*), an order to this effect being communicated to the 31 families summoned to the court.¹⁶⁸

The growth of wealth and luxury in the period was as usual accompanied by the concomitant social evil, by now an established fact in fashionable society. We have

The other side of the shield.

165. *Ibid.*, 129-130. The 13 families, referred to in this source, were those of Mysore, Mūgūr, Yeḷandūr, Kottāgāla, Arikūthāra, Nilasōge-Hyākanūr, Bijuguli-Naranalli (Narunelli), Kaḷale-Huṇasanālu, Haḷēbiḍu-Bijlikere, Heḍatale-Hemmaragāla-Toravalli, Kōṭe-Mūḍanakōṭe-Hura-Hullahaḷli, Tagaḍūr and Kārugahaḷli. The 18 families were those of Kirugunda, Bāgali, Muḷlūr, Kōṭe Singappa Woḍeyar, Malagūḍu, Sindhuvaḷli, Marase, Hebbāl, Kikkēri, Hādanūr, Kulagāṇa, Talakāḍ, Beḷlūr, Hosakōṭe, Maḷalavāḍi, Maddūr, Hebbalaguppe and Tippūr. See also the *C. Sap.* (pp. 192-193, v. 3), a contemporary work, which speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having established on a proper footing and regulated the lineages of families (*kulagōtragaḷa sajjugōḷire . . . kulagōtragaḷa pempu . . . naḷateya nelegōḷisida balu nēmagāranige*). Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to the Arasu families is perhaps echoed here. Cf. the loose and gossipy account of Dēvachandra in the *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 477-479, also XI. 388-389.

166. *Ibid.*, 130.

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Ibid.*, 130-131.

idealized pictures of and scenes from the courtezans' street (*vēśyāvāṭa*, *sūlegēri*)—particularly in the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore—not entirely divorced from actualities, depicting their luxurious life and the ethics of their profession, and suggestively hinting at moderation as an ideal to be achieved.¹⁶⁹ It is a question if the social evil was really as rampant as some of the works of the period would seem to indicate. Evidently members of the female sex had escaped, by about this time, the tyranny to which they had been long subjected from early times. The condition of women had by now been greatly softened by the refinements of social life. Education had made some progress among women. They had even taken to writing moral text-books. Culture had spread and even percolated deeper into the lower strata of society. If the women who had embraced the life of ease and pleasure enjoyed freedom from constraint and had comfort at their command, they certainly reflected a state of society which made such comfort and ease possible of realization by a larger number without the wells of social life being poisoned for them. But neither the growth of competence nor even of luxury can wholly explain the growth of the social evil to the extent to which it had evidently attained in the time of Chikka-dēva. In the imaginary ramble through a whole night depicted for us in one work of the period,¹⁷⁰ we perceive something more than a mere description of the sights seen by the adventurous couple of night-wanderers in the happy haunts of Seringapatam. We see in it a

169. See, for instance, *Yād. Māhāt.*, III; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 10, vv. 47-51; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 140-163, II, 68-111, etc.

170. See *C. Vi.*, canto VI, where Tirumalārya shows with powerful insight, in the form of a burlesque, how the rigour of the old sexual laws (laid down by classical writers like Vātsyāyana) was being more honoured in the breach than in the observance thereof in the society of his time. For further references to the gradual growth of the social evil in the 17th century, *vide* under *Social life* in Chs. IX-X of this work.

picture, besides, of the rigour of unequal marital unions of the time.¹⁷¹ Hindu society then sanctioned more easily marriages which were not infrequently incompatible with the true happiness of those brought together in legal wedlock. The independence that women enjoyed under the Hindu Code rendered them free of control. Adultery was not a crime then as now and the damsels consecrated for service in the temples (*Dēvarāḍiyāl*, *Dēvadāsi*) had fallen low and were able to make a profession of their knowledge of the arts of dancing, singing and even letters.¹⁷² Freedom to secure wealth, legal capacity to own property and transmit it to her own heirs and the human right to be deemed a *person* and not a *thing*—as under Roman Law in Europe, until it was superseded by the Code Napoleon in later days—not only enabled every member of the female sex to act as she liked but also to make

171. The rigour of the marital law may be inferred from the following features characteristic of it : (1) The time of marriage was fixed at the early age of eight years. (2) Marriage was not a contract between the parties but one arranged by the parents whose approbation was, in any case, required. (3) The son was subject to the control of the parents until a legal division was effected between him and his father. (4) Dissolution of marriage was impossible under the law for the upper classes and though divorce was sanctioned by usage in the case of the rest, the example of the upper classes set the standard for all and hence usage was rarely effective in this connection. This inherent dislike to resort to the manly prerogative of divorce was much like the odium which was evinced against its exercise among the Romans even in just cases. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of individual Romans who abstained from the use of this tempting privilege for above five hundred years. But the same fact shows, as Gibbon remarks, the unequal terms of a connection in which the slave was unable to relinquish her tyrant, and the tyrant was unable to relinquish her slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new legal conception was evolved that marriage was, like other partnerships, a contract and can be dissolved by the abdication of one of the parties to it. We know too how this privilege of divorce has degenerated into mere license and the most sacred of ties violated in a manner at once unjustifiable and immoral. Happily that stage has not yet been reached in this country and it is to be hoped that it will not be, though society may require an escape from unequal unions in just cases.

172. For an account of *Dēvarāḍiyāls* and what led to their degradation, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. ii. 1295-1297.

social life easy for many who could find no felicity in their own domestic circles. If marriage as a solemn sacrament made life difficult in some cases, the existence of a group of women with trained intelligence and a wider outlook rendered escape from the agonies of unequal lives possible. To this loose and voluntary compact, neither religious ceremonies were required nor did legal rights flow from them to either party. The happiness of life which such unions made possible was, however, more apparent than real, for mental adjustments were not always easy and society looked with disfavour on such commingling and it was accounted a misfortune if the existence of such misalliances came to be known in public. The dignity of marriage was refused to them and that was the one effective check that law and society possessed against its more general prevalence to the detriment of society. Changes in the law did not keep pace with the advance of society and centuries of prosperity and corruption did not help to evolve the principle of divorce for the upper classes while the rest suffered from their high example. This arrested development of law resulted in the most tender of human relations being deserted to a transient society of pleasure, which was the more deplorable because everybody knew the evil but none dared propose a remedy for it. The higher ideal prevailed but as an ideal and the generality of the people who stuck to it failed to note the injury they were doing to society at large by their supineness in a matter of primary importance affecting the general welfare of the community.
