

## CHAPTER V.

### RAJA WODEYAR, 1578-1617.

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

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

Principal authorities for the reign.



Rāja Wodeyar, 1578-1617.



Wodeyar's reign; others, like the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*, *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre*, *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśāvali* and the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, contain traditional accounts of him. Among the literary works, the *Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648) of Gōvinda-Vaidya and the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* (c. 1678-1680) and *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalārya, though more or less contemporary, embody an account of Rāja Wodeyar drawn up in the poetical language. The available inscriptions of Rāja Wodeyar himself illumine, to some extent, his political position and other particulars. Other literary works and inscriptions—of the reigns of the successors of Rāja Wodeyar—seem to echo, in a significant manner, certain facts relating to his rule.

Rāja Wodeyar was born on June 2, 1552,<sup>1</sup> and was twenty-six years of age<sup>2</sup> at the time of his accession on November 26, 1578.<sup>3</sup> Of his early life very little is known, except that in his boyhood he had studied the sciences and practised at arms (*eḷaveyoḷ śāstra śastrābhyaśadoḷ*).<sup>4</sup>

Rāja Wodeyar appears to have been actually known as Timmarāja Wodeyar,<sup>5</sup> having been probably so named after his grandfather, Chāmarāja III, whose real name also was, as we

1. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 3: *Parīdhāvi, Jyēṣṭha śu.* 10; cf. *Annals*, I. 18: *Parīdhāvi, Jyēṣṭha śu.* 7 (May 30, 1552). The date, as given in the earlier Ms., is preferred here.

2. The *C. Vam.* (12) seems to convey a general picture of Rāja Wodeyar as a person of a sufficiently advanced age at the time of his accession (see f.n. 180 *infra*, for further details). In the absence of confirmatory evidence on this point, the authority of the chronicles is preferred here.

3. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 12: *Bahudhānya, Kārtika ba.* 12; cf. *Annals* (l.c.), fixing the accession in *Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha śu.* 15 (April 20, 1578). The date of the former Ms. seems more acceptable, if we are to make a due allowance for the two years' reign of Beṭṭada (Dēvarāja) Wodeyar (1576-1578).

4. *C. Vam.*, 12.

5. *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa* of Chāmarāja V (1617-1637): *Timmarāja tanūbhava Narasarāja garbha dugḍha sindhu sudhākara Chāmarāja Oḍeyaravarū*. Here Chāmarāja V, son of Narasarāja, is referred to as the grandson of *Timmarāja* who is, obviously, identical with Rāja Wodeyar (*vide* also Table II). For a fuller notice of the work, see Ch. VI.

have seen, Timmarāja Woḍeyar. In his own documents he appears mentioned as 'Rāja Woḍeyar,' 'Rāja Waḍeyaraiya' and 'Rāja Waḍēr of Mayisūr' (Mysore).<sup>6</sup> Other sources refer to him as 'Rājēndra,' 'Rāja-Nripa' and 'Rāja-Mahīpati.'<sup>7</sup>

At the time of his accession to the kingdom of Mysore, Rāja Woḍeyar was an overlord of thirty-three villages (of the revenue value of 3,000 *varahas*) and commanding 300 men.<sup>8</sup> He was a feudatory of Śrī-Ranga II of Vijayanagar (1574-1586) through Rāma-Rājaiya (Rāma III), the Viceroy at Seringapatam. Among his local contemporaries were,<sup>9</sup> Rāma-Rāja-Nāyaka of Hadinād and the chiefs of Kaḷale, Hullahalli, Hura, Mūgūr, Bīlikere, Kārugahalli, Kannambāḍi, Ammachavāḍi and Talakād. Raṇa-Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāya, the imperial representative of Vijayanagar and chief of the territory of Channapaṭṇa and Nāgamangala (up to Seringapatam), was another important contemporary of Rāja Woḍeyar in the north of Mysore.<sup>10</sup> Further north was Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1569-1658). In the far south was Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura (1572-1595). In the distant north-west flourished Rāma-Rāja Nāyaka of Ikkēri (1570-1582).

During the early part of his reign (1578-1585), Rāja Woḍeyar appears to have been a loyal feudatory of Śrī-Ranga II and Rāma-Rājaiya of Vijayanagar. He appears also to have maintained friendly relations with Daḷavai Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭaiya who was in charge of the Seringapatam Viceroyalty during the minority of Tirumala II, eldest

The Rise of the Kingdom of Mysore:

First Phase: 1578-1585.

First signs of aggression.

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

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

8. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 6-7; see also and compare *C. Vam.*, 13, referring to 23 as the number of the villages; 33, however, seems to be the correct figure, in keeping with the general political conditions of the times.

9. *K. N. V.*, III, 23, 25; *C. Vi.*, II, 28-29; *C. Vam.*, 7, 8, 10.

10. *C. Vam.*, 8.

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

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

11. *Ibid.*, 2.

12. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 73; *Annals*, I. 43. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 52-54. His list of Rāja Woḍeyar's conquests (*Ibid.*, 53-54) is found, on examination, to have been based mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*

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

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

14. *Ibid.*, I. 3-4.

15. *Ibid.*, I. 73-74; also see and compare *Annals* l.c.

16. *Ibid.*, I. 13.

17. *Ibid.*, I. 13-15; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 46-47.

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

Between 1592-1595, Rāja Wodeyar's aggression went on apace. Tirumala's absence from the Viceroyalty in this period, as suggested by the absence of his records for these years, would indicate that he was engaged in the war against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura. Tirumala, it is said,<sup>19</sup> sought Rāja Wodeyar's help on the occasion, but the latter refused it. However, the absence of Tirumala from Seringapatam seemed a favourable opportunity for Rāja Wodeyar to advance further. In 1592, he built a new fort at Rangasamudra<sup>20</sup>; in 1593, he acquired Hārohalli;<sup>21</sup> and in July 1595, he took Narunelli from Mallarājaiya.<sup>22</sup> In October 1595,<sup>23</sup> assisted by his younger brother (Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar) and 300 select followers, Rāja Wodeyar curbed<sup>24</sup> the power of his cousin, Virarājaiya,<sup>25</sup> chief of Kārugahalli, who had incurred his hostility by encroaching upon the boundaries of Mysore up to the Chāmuṇḍi Hills (*Chāmuṇḍiya giriya piridelle gattigōskara vairava berasi*),<sup>26</sup> and had also, it is said,<sup>27</sup> plotted in vain against Rāja Wodeyar's life. An action is recorded to have taken place near an elevated place known as *Kāḍubasavana-tittu*,<sup>28</sup> in which Rāja

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

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

20. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 74; cf. *Annals*, I. 43.

21. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10. There is no evidence for a siege of Mysore by Bijapur in 1593—referred to by Ferishta and accepted by scholars. *Vide*

Appendix II—(1), for a discussion of the subject.

22. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.; see also and compare *Annals*, l.c.

23. *Ibid.*

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

25. Identical with Vira Wodeyar of Kāraganahalli, mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 54, para 118—a lithic record of c. 1600.

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

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

28. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 9.



Woḍeyar fought<sup>29</sup> a hand to hand fight on horse-back, horse-whipped (*kaśābhahatiyim*) Vīrarājaiya and removed his nose by a sledge-hammer (*chammaṭigeyim . . . mūgu paridu*; *mūgam bēruḷiyadantaridu*). The fort of Kārugahalli was felled down, the township razed to the ground and the land sown with castor seeds.<sup>30</sup>

In or about 1596, shortly after Tirumala's return from Madura to Seringapatam, the local chiefs, disheartened by the aggressions of Rāja Woḍeyar (*aggalikegekangettu*),<sup>31</sup> it would appear,<sup>32</sup> proceeded to the court of Seringapatam with tribute and presents, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Tirumala by accepting the insignia of office from him (*kappa-kānkeḷalanoppisi-yavana mudreyam vahisi*). From hence, favoured by him and being settled in the sovereignty of their respective territories (*avanolavam paḍedu tantamma neladoḍetanamam neleḷisi*), they all, it is said,<sup>33</sup> began to pursue an attitude of hostility towards Rāja Woḍeyar (*anibarum ondāgi . . . machcharamam mananḷisi*; *mūḷisabalidu*). At the same time Rāja Woḍeyar had sent his agents to Seringapatam to study the political situation (*saptāngadirava-nārayvenendu gūdhachāraram pranidhiḷaḷumam kaḷupurīnam*),<sup>34</sup> while Tirumala himself, having heard from the *Niyōgi* (*i.e.*, diplomatic representative) of Mysore<sup>35</sup> a favourable account about Rāja Woḍeyar, wished to make friends

29. *C. Vi.*, II, 28; *C. Vam.*, 7-8; also see and compare *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 70-72; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 52; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 35; *Municam.*, II, 17; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 16-17; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 28-29; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 9; *Annals*, I, 20, etc., referring to and echoing this exploit.

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

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

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

33. *Ibid.*, 6, 7-11; *K. N. V.*, l.c.

34. *Ibid.*, 2.

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

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

Meanwhile, Rāja Wodeyar had been well posted by his agents about the course of affairs in Seringapatam.<sup>41</sup> Agreeing with his half-brother, Dēvarāja, continues the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*,<sup>42</sup> he thought it expedient to renew and establish cordial relations with Tirumala, having regard to the circumstance that the neighbouring chiefs, and not Tirumala, were hostile to Mysore (*emmoḷ kēnamā prabhugaḷgallade ā rāyangilla*). Accordingly a letter was sent to the court of Seringapatam through the *Niyōgi*, communicating Rāja Wodeyar's proposed visit to Tirumala.

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

36. *Ibid.*, 11-13.

38. *C. Vam.*, l.c.

40. *C. Vam.*, l.c.

37. P. 13.

39. *K. N. V.*, III, 22.

41. *Ibid.*, 3-6, 11-14.

42. Pp. 15-18.

and proceeded as far as the Paśchimavāhini river (*tenkaṇa poḷeyam dāṇṭi paḍuvaṅge pariva kiruvoḷeya taḍivaregamenyḍi*), sure of success in his project. Here he met Rāja Woḍeyar. As they went further, towards the camp intended for the latter, a friendly talk followed, in the course of which they agreed, on mutual oaths and promises (*bāse nambugegaḷanittu*), to enter into a firm alliance between themselves. Presently, however, as Tirumala was about to leave Rāja Woḍeyar's camp, one of the latter's attendants recited his titles including *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore. This last-mentioned one gave so much offence to Tirumala that he desired one of his ministers to communicate to Rāja Woḍeyar not to have it recited in his (Tirumala's) presence, as it belonged to his family also by long usage. Thereupon Dēvarāja (brother of Rāja Woḍeyar) retorted, pointing out that the title *Antembara-gaṇḍa* belonged as a matter of right to the kings of Mysore<sup>43</sup> from the time of his grandfather, Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.<sup>44</sup> This having been communicated to Tirumala, he at once gave up all thoughts of an alliance with Rāja Woḍeyar and deliberated with the assembled chiefs on a plot to seize his person while he was engaged in performing his devotions at the temple of Ranganātha.<sup>45</sup> The plot was, however, promptly disclosed to Rāja Woḍeyar by a faithful adherent of his (Sōmayāji).<sup>46</sup> Whereupon, cautioning Dēvarāja, Rāja Woḍeyar quietly effected his escape to Mysore by the *Brahmapuri* gate of Seringapatam.<sup>47</sup> At this news

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

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

45. *Ibid.*, 18-23.

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

47. *Ibid*; *vide* also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 6-9, etc. This Ms., however, as indicated already (*vide* f.n. 13 *supra*), loosely assigns this event to the reign of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (1572-1576), and Wilks also has adopted this view (I. 44). As pointed out above, it has been shifted on to the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar. *Brahmapuri* is an extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 93).

Tirumala, in utter disappointment, proposed to lay siege to Mysore.<sup>48</sup> The chiefs, however, having brought home to him the futility of an attack on Mysore in the light of their past experience during the regime of his father, Rāma-Rājaiya,<sup>49</sup> it was decided that the fort of Kesare<sup>50</sup> commanding Mysore should be first blockaded.<sup>51</sup>

On August 18, 1596 (*Durmukhi, Bhādrapada śu.* 5), the siege of Kesare came off.<sup>52</sup> The siege lasted but a few days.<sup>53</sup> The investing forces consisted of about a lakh of foot, seven to twelve thousand horse and one to two hundred elephants, levied from chieftains in various parts of the Karnāṭaka country.<sup>54</sup> A major portion<sup>55</sup> of Tirumala's army encircled Kesare, while a section of it, headed among others by the chiefs of Ummattūr and Mūgūr, halted in the neighbourhood of Kerehatti,<sup>56</sup> ostensibly with a view to deliver an eventual attack on Mysore. While Tirumala was directing preliminary operations before Kesare, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Channarāja Wodeyar, younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar, were preparing for the emergency both in Mysore and Kesare. Grasping the reality of the situation, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja hit upon

48. *Ibid.*

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

50. An extant village in the Mysore taluk to the south-west of Seringapatam and north-west of Mysore (*Ibid.*, l.c.).

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

52. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 24. Wilks (I. 47), on the authority of this Ms., speaks of the siege of Kesare, without, however, noticing the date of the event. The date 1596 appears corroborated by the internal evidence of the *C. Vam.* also, according to which there is a clear gap of twenty years between the siege of Kesare and the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's rule (*vide* 12, 31; also see f.n. 180 *infra*). We know from other sources that the year 1616-1617 was the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's reign, his death taking place in June 1617. Deducting 20 from 1616 we arrive at 1596, the date of the siege of Kesare.

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

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

55. *K. N. V.*, III, 44-46, 53-60; also *C. Vam.*, 15, 24; *C. Vi.*, II, 41-43.

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

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

57. Ditto in the Seringapatam taluk (*Ibid*, 93).

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

59. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 24.

60. *Ibid*; also *K. N. V.*, III, 60-61; *C. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, II, 47.

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

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

63. Ditto.

64. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 25-26.

65. *Ibid.*, I, 26; cf. *Wilks*, I, 47.

Then Rāja Wodeyar held<sup>66</sup> a review of his troops near the elevated ground in the neighbourhood of Bellavatta,<sup>67</sup> and ordered a general attack on the chiefs (*Pālegārs*) who had encamped to the east of Kesare. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Channarāja Wodeyar, at the head of the *halepaika* warriors, put them to rout, pursuing them as far as Brahmapuri.<sup>68</sup> Proceeding north, they met Rāja Wodeyar; and the united forces of the brothers began to pursue Tirumala. Tirumala, however, in utter discomfiture, quietly retreated to Seringapatam, leaving his insignias on the field, which fell into the hands of his pursuers who returned with them in triumph to Mysore.<sup>69</sup>

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

66. *Ibid.*

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

68. *K. N. V.*, III, 75-94; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I, 26-27; *C. Vam.*, 25; *C. Vi.*, II, 49-51. For the derivation, etc., of *halepaika*, see Appendix IX.

69. *C. Vam.*, 25; *C. Vi.*, II, 52-53; *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I, 27; see also *Hastī. Māhāt.*, (I, 51), *Munivam.*, (II, 17), *Annals* (I, 22), etc., echoing, and referring to, Rāja Wodeyar's victory at Kesare. For details of Mysorean warfare, vide Appendix *Ibid.*

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

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

72. *Ibid.*, I, 29; cf. *Wilks*, l.c.

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

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

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

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

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

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 39-42; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10-11, fixing this event in 1599 (*Vikāri*). The earlier Ms. is preferred here. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 47-48.

77. *Ibid.*, I. 75; *Annals*, I. 44; also *C. Vam.*, 8.

78. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19.

79. *Ibid.*, 18-19; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 22 and 44. According to the former source (19), Venkaṭa I's attitude of indifference towards Tirumala, since 1596, was the chief cause of this combination. The *K. N. V.* (III, 51) only refers to the curbing of the chiefs of Bēlūr and Hoḷe-Narasipur by Rāja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.

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

Tirumala's political position in Seringapatam, in and after 1609, was by no means secure. Tirumala's weakened political position, 1609-1610. As indicated, he went down in the estimation of Venkaṭa I by the most humiliating circumstance that he had to be rescued by the very person (*i.e.*, Rāja Wodeyar) against whom he had had to seek Venkaṭa's help. Venkaṭa himself, it would

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

81. *Annals*, I. 23; see also the *Daḷavāi-Agrahāram Plates I* (1623) [*E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62], ll. 67-68, 72, referring to Āladūr and Navilūr in the possession of the Mysore Rulers.



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

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

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

82. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 54-55; cf. *Wilks*, I. 51-52; also Appendix II—(3).

83. *C. Vam.*, 28.

84. *C. Vi.*, II, 54. The poet is, obviously, to be understood to be referring here to an hiatus between the siege of Kesare and Tirumala's final retreat from Seringapatam (1596-1610).

85. *C. Vam.*, 27-28.

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

On the morrow of this reverse, Tirumala, alone and helpless, having lost all hope of succour from his allies and being obsessed by the fear of an impending siege of Seringapatam by Narasarāja (*paṭṭaṇamam vēḍhaipanendalki*), quietly retreated towards Mālangi (near Talakād), leaving his family behind.<sup>89</sup> Immediately after receipt of this news, Rāja Wodeyar proceeded towards Seringapatam accompanied by his younger brother, Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar.<sup>90</sup> It was his first concern to<sup>91</sup> arrange to send Queen Rangamma,<sup>92</sup> the wife of Tirumala, to Mālangi under a proper escort. That done,<sup>93</sup> he entered and formally took possession of the city of Seringapatam on February 8, 1610 (*Saunya*,

86. See *C. Vi.*, II, 55: *Pitrghātiyivam . . . poḷalindareyaṭṭuvvendum*; also *C. Vam.*, 2: *i pītrghātiyanī-paṭṭaṇadim poramaḍisavēḷkum* (cf. the sequence of events as described in both these works). The passages literally refer to Tirumala as a traitor to his uncle, Venkata I. But Tirumala, in contemplating an action against Rāja Wodeyar who had recently saved him, appears to have evidently proved ungrateful to the latter also—a position perhaps best reflected in the *K. N. V.* (III, 50-52).

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

88. An extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 93).

89. *C. Vam.*, 29; see also and compare *K. N. V.*, III, 95; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19; *Annals*, I, 29-30; *Wilks*, I, 51-52; and Appendix II—(3).

90. *Ibid.*, l.c.; *K. N. V.*, III, 96.

91. *Ibid.*, 29-30.

92. Cf. *Annals* (I, 30-32), which speaks of two wives of Tirumala (mentioned as Śrī-Ranga-Rāya), Alamclamma and Rangamma, accompanying him to Mālangi, the first of whom is said to have plunged herself into the swirl of the Cauvery (at Mālangi) when she was, subsequently, compelled by Rāja Wodeyar's officials to return the jewels of the temple of Ranganātha, said to have been in her possession, etc. In the earlier sources, however, there is neither any reference to the two wives of Tirumala nor to this incident. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 284-285.

93. *C. Vam.*, 30; also *K. N. V.*, III, 96.

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

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

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

95. Among writers other than Gōvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalārya, Chikkupādhyāya, in his *Divya-Sūri-Charitre* (I, 72), speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar tactfully conquering Tirumala and expelling him from Seringapatam, and taking possession of the place (*Tirumala-Rājēndranati-kusalōpāyadinde geldēlchi Śrīrangapaṭṭanama-nīradīlām*). Other works of his, namely, *Kāmandaka-Nīti* (I, 54), *Pāschimaranga-Māhātmya* (I, 34), *Hastigiri-Māhātmya* (I, 52), *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 39) and *Bhagavadgītā-Tīku* (I, 36), likewise refer to Rāja Woḍeyar taking Seringapatam by wonderful tactics (*atichitra-rachaneyim Śrīrangapaṭṭanama-noppiskonḍu, matsarādīndēlbisi*), etc. Timma-Kavi, in his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 88), speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar subduing Tirumala by his prowess (*sauryadim geldu*). Chidānanda, in his *Munivamsābhyudaya* (II, 17), writes of Rāja Woḍeyar attempting the acquisition of Seringapatam after curbing Tirumala's pride (. . . *Tirumala-nripāna hamma muridu Śrīrangapurava sādhisidam*), referring, obviously, to the "acquisition" following long after the siege of Kesare. Inscriptions of 1680, 1686, c. 1686-1690, among others, refer to Rāja Woḍeyar's conquest of Tirumala and his acquisition of Seringapatam from him (*jitvā Tirumala-Rājam hrītvā Śrīrangapaṭṭanam*). (See *E.C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, ll. 9-10; III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 17-18; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 29-30. For particulars about these sources, see Chs. XIII and XIV. In the light of these data, the versions in later writings, relating to Rāja Woḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam as an act of "conditional transfer," "gift," "bequest," etc., are not entitled to credence. For a detailed examination of these versions, *vide* Appendix II—(3).

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

The year 1610 has thus to be reckoned an important landmark in the history of Mysore. With the conquest of Seringapatam, Rāja Wodeyar evidently took formal possession of the Viceregal throne that had been long established there. This throne has been referred to<sup>96</sup> as “the throne of Bhōja” (*Bhōja-simhāsana*), and was generally known<sup>97</sup> as “the throne of the south” (*dakṣiṇa-simhāsana*) and “the jewelled throne” (*ratna-simhāsana*). Rāja Wodeyar is said<sup>98</sup> to have actually inaugurated his rule in Seringapatam on March 21, 1610 (*Sādhāraṇa, Chaitra śu. 7*), nearly a month and a half after his occupation of the place. He seated<sup>99</sup> himself on the throne (*simhāsana madhitiṣṭhan*), holding<sup>100</sup> his first *durbār* at Seringapatam at an auspicious moment (*jōyisaganitta nalvoṭinoḷ ōlagamirdu*). This may be taken to definitely mark the assertion of independence on the part of Mysore rulers from Vijayanagar overlords, though they formally acknowledge it in some of their grants for some years yet. Evidently diplomacy required such recognition. It is only on this footing that we can understand the acknowledgment of

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

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

98. *Annals*, I, 30.

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

100. *C. Vam.*, 30.

Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668.<sup>101</sup>

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

Rāja Woḍeyar's political position after his acquisition of Seringapatam is, perhaps, best reflected in a record,<sup>106</sup> dated in 1612, referring to him as *Śrīman-Mahādhirāja*, which points to him as a prominent feudatory of Venkaṭa I of Vijayanagar (1586-1614). Indeed, Venkaṭa seemed to regard Rāja Woḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam as the stepping in of a

101. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 65. Kaṅṭhirava-Narasarāja I of Mysore is said to be the right-hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1643—*Ibid*, Yd. 5. At the same time the Mysore kings make numerous grants on their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being of the date 1612—*Ibid*, Ch. 200; also see *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 150 (1617) and 117 (1625), TN. 13 (1633), etc. For further particulars, *vide* Chs. VI, VIII-X.

102. *Annals*, l.c.

103. See *K. N. V.*, III, 100-105.

104. *Annals*, I. 32; see also *C. Vam.*, 31, referring to Narasarāja as having predeceased Rāja Woḍeyar.

105. The *K. N. V.* (IV, 2) and the *Munivam*. (II, 18) speak of the joint rule of Rāja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭada-Chamarāja Woḍeyar (*Beṭṭada-Chāmēndra samasta bhūtaḷava nagraja saha nalidu; agrajānugar dharaṇiyānu taledu*). The latter (II, 14) perhaps significantly refers to Rāja Woḍeyar as *Adhirāja* and to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja as *Yuvarāja* (*Rājodeyari-gadhīrāja padavi, Yuvarāja padavi Chāmarāja tējō-nidhige*).

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

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

It was, further, on this occasion, that Rāja Wodeyar, according to the *Daḷavāi-Agrahāram Plates I* (1623),<sup>110</sup> received from Venkaṭa I, by means of an order of assurance (*abhaya hasta nirūpa pūrvakavāgi*), the grant of Ummattūr and Seringapatam as an hereditary possession (*kāṇanchiyāgi*). In keeping with this, the *Mēlkōṭe copper-plate grant*<sup>111</sup> of Rāja Wodeyar himself, dated in 1614, refers to Seringapatam as a rent-free estate assigned to him by Venkaṭa I (*namage Venkaṭapattirāyarinda*

107. Pp. 30-31: *Venkaṭapati-Rāyam tannam Madhureya puyiloḷ pagevar goppisi-yeral-bagedu biṭṭu pōgi pinteniśade bēramgoṇḍu binkadol tanagam tannanōlagipa doregalgam basamāgade paḍibarisi bal-meyolirpa Tirumala-Rājana dēśakōśangalām koṇḍavananelbidudarke perkaḷisi sorkānegal-anurku-guduregala-nollude-t o ḍ a v u g a l a m pāvudamam koṭṭu mantrigaloḷ kaṭṭāḷenisida Gambhīra-Rāya-Virupaṇṇanam kaḷupe; avaney-tandu tandueanoppise-yavam koṇḍavanam manniśi, Rāyange paḍipāvudamam kaṭṭisi kaḷupi santasadoḷirdam.*

108. See *E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62 (1623), ll. 36-44, referring to a grant of Venkaṭa I to Rāja Wodeyar on March 27, 1612 (*Paridhāvi, Chaitra śu.* 5).

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

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

111. *Ibid.*, Sr. 157, ll. 8-9.

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

Rāja Woḍeyar was thus, in theory, a feudatory of the ruling Vijayanagar Emperor. His actual political position in the eyes of the latter seems to have been that of a representative or an agent for the seat of imperial power in the south (*dakshina-simhāsana Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇake kartarāda*), as is significantly echoed in one<sup>114</sup> of the later records. Seringapatam, though a distinct gain to the kingdom of Mysore from Rāja Woḍeyar's point of view, was, as we shall see, not completely lost to the Empire at least for another half a century or so. In actual practice, however, Rāja Woḍeyar was more or less

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

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

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

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

In April 1610, Rāja Wodeyar acquired Siriyūr from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṇpaṭṇa.<sup>115</sup> In July 1612, he took Saragūr from Śri-kaṇṭha Wodeyar.<sup>116</sup> Early in 1614, Rāja Wodeyar apparently found in Nanjarāja Wodeyar of Hadināḍ Twenty Thousand country a serious competitor for the sovereignty of the Seringapatam province. At the head of a large army, levied from the chiefs of Ālambāḍi, Koḷeya, Yeḷandūr, Satyāgāla and Madura (*tanage Madhureyavariva kappada paṇadoḷ kattida kālāḷgaḷ*), Nanjarāja<sup>117</sup> began the offensive against Rāja Wodeyar by walking away with the latter's horse (named *Mēghapushpa*) stationed in Yeḍadore, a frontier fort of Mysore (*Eḍadoreyemba gaḍi-gōṇṭe*). Rāja Wodeyar decided upon hostilities and laid siege to Tāyūr. Nanjarāja was proceeding thither, with convoys, by way of Ammachavāḍi. Rāja Wodeyar surprised him in the neighbourhood of the hill overlooking Vāṭahāḷu and Gaṇaganūr,<sup>118</sup> and began to obstruct his passage. A fierce fight ensued, in which Nanjarāja was, with considerable loss, slain, and his camp plundered. In February 1614,<sup>119</sup> Terakaṇāmbi and Ummattūr—with their dependencies<sup>120</sup>—which had belonged to Nanjarāja, were annexed to Mysore. The Hadināḍ-sīme was, however, left in charge of Chandrasēkhara Wodeyar, younger brother of Nanjarāja.<sup>121</sup>

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

116. *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

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

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

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

120. Tāyūr, Tagaḍūr, Heḍatale, Hemmaragāla, Nilusōge, etc., (see *C. Vi.*, II, 29).

121. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 77-78.



In December 1614, Rāja Woḍeyar acquired Hura,<sup>122</sup> and in February 1615, Haradanahalli,<sup>123</sup> from Śrīkaṇṭha Woḍeyar and Nanjarāja Woḍeyar (sons of Lingapādaiya) respectively. In February 1615, he also acquired, and exacted tribute from, Talakāḍ (from Sōmarājaiya), Hullahalli (from Śrīkaṇṭha Woḍeyar), Kalale (from Karikāla-Mallarājaiya), Heggaddēvankōṭe (from Channarājaiya), Maḷalavāḍi (from Gōpālarājaiya), Bilikere (from Śāntarājaiya), Kottāgāla and Ammachavāḍi.<sup>124</sup> In March, Mūgūr from Basavarāja Woḍeyar,<sup>125</sup> and in November, Kikkēri and Hosahoḷalu from Jagadēva-Rāya,<sup>126</sup> were taken. In February 1616, on the death of Chandrasēkhara Woḍeyar (in January), Rāmasamudra, in Hadināḍ, was annexed.<sup>127</sup> In March 1617, Māvattūr was acquired from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭṭa.<sup>128</sup>

By about the middle of 1617, Rāja Woḍeyar had effectively established his sway over a greater portion of the present district of Mysore. He was evidently at the height of his power (*maṇḍalādhipatyadoḷire*), as the *Chikkadēvarājā-Vijāyam*<sup>129</sup> seems to indicate. The long series of Rāja Woḍeyar's conquests, between 1584-1617, had resulted in the acquisition by him of a number of insignias,<sup>130</sup> such, for instance, as *Dharaṇivarāha* (boar crest), *Garuḍa* (eagle), *Makara* (crocodile), *Śankha* (conch), *Sitātapatra* (white umbrella) and *Chakra* (discus). These conquests were, again, important from the domestic point of view. Rāja Woḍeyar, as we shall see, entered

122. *Ibid.*, I. 79; *Annals*, I. 44.

123. *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

124. *Annals*, I. 44-45; also *C. Vi.*, l.c.

125. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 80-81; cf. *Annals*, I. 45.

126. *Ibid.*, I. 81-82; *Annals*, l.c.

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

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

129. II, 29.

130. See *Śrīranga-Māhātmya* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 24: *Dhore dhoregaḷa-niridiviridottarisute dharaṇivarāha nāmamananta biruḍugaḷāntam garuḍa makara śankha sitātapatra chakrāḍigaḷam* ||

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

The kingdom of Mysore, in 1617, extended from Seringapatam in the north to Ummattūr and Terakaṇāmbi in the south, and from Bannūr in the east to Māvattūr, Akkihebbālu and Hoḷe-Narasipur in the west and the north-west. Western Daṇāyakankōṭe, Rangasamudra, Vijayāpura, Naḷūr, Arakere, Yeleyūr and Mangala, were among the important places within its sphere of influence.<sup>131</sup> The kingdom, thus built up by Rāja Wodeyar, was coterminous with the Channapaṭṭṇa Viceroyalty (under Jagadēva-Rāya) in the north and the territory of the Nāyaks of Madura<sup>132</sup> in the south.

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

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

132. R. Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of Taylor, speaks of a probable invasion of the Diṇḍigal province by one "Mukiḷan," a general of Rāja Wodeyar (*Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 105), for which there is no evidence. The reference here is, possibly, to a general of Nanjarāja of Hadinād, who, according to the *C. Vam.* (31), had levied tribute from Madura.

133. *C. Vam.*, 13, 31; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 20; *Annals*, I. 45, 48; cf. *Wilks*, I. 52-53.

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

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

Rāja Wodeyar is reputed to have organised the Mahānavami (*Navarātri*) *Durbār* in Seringapatam, in continuation of the Vijayanagar traditions. We have an elaborate traditional account of how he first celebrated the *Navarātri* in 1610 (September 8-17).<sup>135</sup> His eldest

134. *Annals*, l.c. ; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 467.

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

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

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

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

137. *Ibid.*, I. 45-47; *Mys. Dho. Vam. Kaiḥ.*, ff. 7-8 (compared). The word *Daḷavāi* literally means mouthpiece of the army (*dala* + *vāyi* or *bāyi*) and denotes a military officer of the rank of Commander-in-Chief. It is a colloquialism for *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Dapṇāyaka* of the Vijayanagar inscriptions, and occurs for the first time in the seventeenth century records of the Wodeyars of Mysore, the earliest being *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 36 (1620). (*Vide* also f.n. 6 to Ch. VI). The word is generally spelt as *Daḷavāyi*, *Daḷavoy*, *Daḷavāy* and *Daḷavāi*, the last being conveniently followed in this work. Wilks's spelling, *Dulwoy* or *Dulvoy*, is obsolete.

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

his grandson, Nandināthaiya. Thereupon Beṭṭada-Arasu, a natural son of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (younger brother of Rāja Woḍeyar), was appointed Daḷavāi in January 1617.<sup>139</sup> The latter, it is said,<sup>140</sup> was of considerable assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar in the acquisition of Māvattūr from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭṭaṇa (March 1617).

Rāja Woḍeyar, as depicted to us,<sup>141</sup> was a devout Vaishṇava, adoring God Lakshmīkānta of Mysore, the tutelary deity of his family (*tanna manedēvarenīpa*), Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri, the deity of his race (*tanna kula-dēvarenīpa*), and Ranganātha of Seringapatam. He was noted for the catholicity of his religious outlook. Numerous<sup>142</sup> were his gifts and grants, alike to individuals and to Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples in the kingdom. Repairs and services to the temples of Ranganātha and Nārāyaṇa in Seringapatam and Mēlkōṭe, respectively, claimed his constant share of attention.<sup>143</sup> In particular, he is said<sup>144</sup> to have endowed the latter shrine with a jewelled crown known as *Rāja-muḍi* (named after himself), and the former with lands yielding 50 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy

139. *Annals*, I. 47; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 66; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 286.

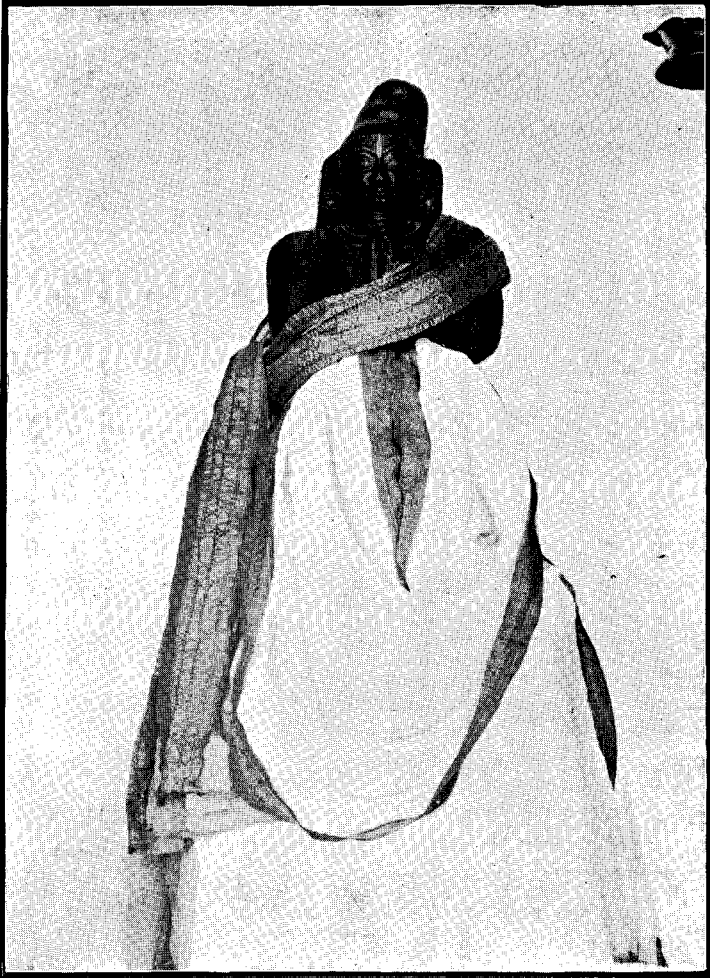
140. *Ibid.*, I. 47-48.

141. *Vide* on this point *C. Vam.*, 10, 19-23. See also *Introd. Ch.* in the works of Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi, etc.; cf. *Wilks*, I. 52. There is no evidence in support of Wilks's statement that the cult of Vishṇu was adopted by the Mysore Rulers only after Rāja Woḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). For the Vaishṇava predilections of Rāja Woḍeyar before 1610, *vide* references *infra*.

142. See *Mys. Raj. Ch.*, 20; *Annals*, I. 40-42, referring to Rāja Woḍeyar's grants of *agrahāras* to Brāhmins, and his services in the temples at Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Mysore, Seringapatam, Mēlkōṭe, T.-Narasipur, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, etc. Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 465) even speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar as having made rent-free grants to the *Ādiśvara-Bastī* at Seringapatam and to individual Jains, and got built a *prākāra* to the *Bastī* at Kanakagiri (Maleyūr).

143. See, for instance, *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 23-24, 26-27, referring to Rāja Woḍeyar's services to the temple of Ranganātha during 1600-1616; also *C. Vam.*, 9, 15.

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



*Bhakta-vigraha* of Rāja Woḍeyar, now in the Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa  
(Lakshmikāntasvāmi) Temple, Fort, Mysore.









*Bhakta-vigraha* of Rāja Woḍeyar in the Nārāyaṇasvāmi Temple, Mēlkōṭe.

under the tank of Kaṣṭavādi enlarged by him.<sup>145</sup> He is also said<sup>146</sup> to have built the tower over the outer gate (*mahā-dvāra*) of the Lakshmīkāntāsvāmi temple at Mysore, setting it with a golden pinnacle (*suvarṇa kaṣāṣu*). Among the extant records of his reign, a lithic one, dated March 13, 1594,<sup>147</sup> refers to the construction of a *Sankrānti-maṅṭapa* to God Lakshmīkānta of Mysore. Another, dated March 31, 1598,<sup>148</sup> records a grant of lands for *Rāmānuja-kūṭa* and a feeding house (*chātra*) in the precincts of the temple of Janārdanasvāmi at Beḷa-guḷa. The *Mēlkōṭe copper-plate grant*, dated April 14, 1614,<sup>149</sup> registers a gift by Rāja Wodeyar of the village of Muttigere (*Nrisimhapura*) divided into 50 shares, of which 49 were distributed among 28 Brāhmins and one was set apart to provide for the offering of the Garuḍa-vāhana in the temple of Chaluvārāyasvāmi (Nārāyaṇa) at Mēlkōṭe. Another record, a lithic one, dated April 3, 1615,<sup>150</sup> refers to a grant by him of the village of Bēvinahalli to God Rāmachandra of Vahnipura. A third, also lithic, dated February 5, 1617,<sup>151</sup> mentions a service of Rāja Wodeyar in the Śrīnivāsasvāmi temple at Karīghaṭṭa.

A *Bhakta-vigraha* of Rāja Wodeyar, a bas-relief statue, one and a half feet high, standing with folded hands, with his name inscribed on the base, is found carved on one of the pillars of the *navaranga* of the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe.<sup>152</sup> A similar statue of his, about two feet high, is also to be seen to the right in the *prākāra* of the Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi temple at Mysore.<sup>153</sup>

145. *I. M. C.*, Ditto, p. 27 (1616).

146. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 95 (1851), ll. 2-3 (*M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 3, para 10).

147. *E. C.*, III (1) My. 4: s. 1516, *Jaya, Chaitra śu.* 1.

148. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198: s. 1520, *Viḷambi, Chaitra śu.* 5.

149. *Ibid.*, III (1) Sr. 157: s. 1536, *Ānanda, Vaiśākha śu.* 15.

150. *Ibid.*, TN. 116: s. 1537, *Rākshasa, Chaitra śu.* 15. The week-day, Thursday, mentioned in the record, is apparently an error for Monday.

151. *Ibid.*, Sr. 150: *Naḷa, Māgha śu.* 10.

152. See *M. A. R.*, pp. 21 and 58, paras 44 and 142.

153. *Ibid.*, 1920, p. 3, para 10.

Two miracles, said to have occurred during the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar, give us some insight into his piety. As already mentioned, early in his reign, Virarājaiya of Kārugahalli, a cousin of Rāja Woḍeyar, plotted against his life, it is said,<sup>154</sup> by administering poison into the holy water of God Lakshmīkānta (*Lakshmīramāṇasvāmī*) at Mysore. Rāja Woḍeyar partook of the holy water from the priest of the temple, when the sediment of poison, contained therein, only remained, and became distinctly perceptible, on the palm of his own hand. Again, in February-March 1599 (*Viḷambi, Phālguṇa*), a blind man (a Brāhman by name Venkaṭēśaiya) from Tirupati is stated<sup>155</sup> to have got back his eye-sight at the temple of Lakshmīkāntasvāmī in Mysore, under the influence of Rāja Woḍeyar's faith in that God.

The influence exerted by Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism during this reign is, perhaps, best illustrated by two Kannada works extant, assignable to the period of Rāja Woḍeyar. The earliest of these is the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*<sup>156</sup> (c. 1600) by Singarāchārya who refers to himself<sup>157</sup> as a teacher

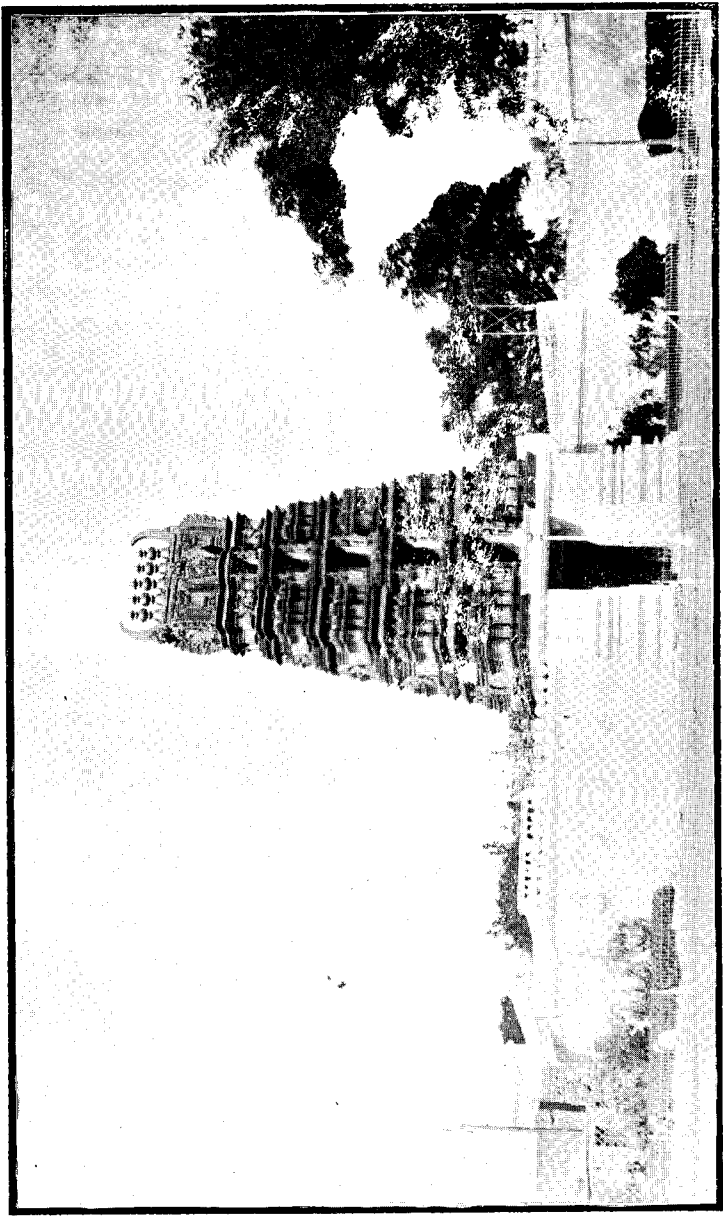
Literary activity during his reign.

154. *Annals*, I. 19-20. See also *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 95 (1851), I. 2, echoing this tradition.

155. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 29-32; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 20-21; *C. Vam.*, 10; and *Introd. Ch.* in the works of Chikkupādhyāya, etc. Some of the literary works (including the *C. Vam.*) speak of the recipient of the eye-sight as a woman from Tirupati. The authority of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, however, is preferred here as the more specific one.

156. Ms. No. 19-14-3—*P.L., Mad. Or. Lib.*; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 133-134), assigning this work, on grounds of style, to c. 1770, and identifying Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, mentioned in the Ms., with Chāmarāja VII (1771-1776). There is no evidence in support of this position. On the other hand, a detailed examination of the Ms. goes to show that a copy of it was made by a scribe, named Tirunārāyaṇa, for Devāmbā, queen of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704)—*vide* ff. 21. See also and compare Ms. No. K. A. 194—*P., Mys. Or. Lib.*

157. *Vide* colophon to Chs: *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja rāja-puramēśvara prauḍha-pratāpa Yadukula payaḥ pāravāra . . . Śrī-narapati-Beṭṭa[da]-Chāma-mahārāyaṇa Mahōpādhyāya Singarāchārya virachītamappa . . .* The ascription of the titles, probably by way of literary flourish, is in keeping with the position of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja as a ruler jointly with his elder brother, Rāja Woḍeyar. See also f.n. 105 and 173.



Śrī-Lakshmi-Nārayāṇa (Lakshmīkāntasvāmī) Temple, Fort, Mysore.



of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar, and is possibly identical<sup>158</sup> with Singarayangār I of Seringapatam, of Kausika-gōtra, Āpastambhasūtra and Yajus-sākhā. The work begins with invocations to God Ranganātha, Ranganāyaki and Rāmānuja, and deals with the legendary history of Śrīrangam in Kannāḍa prose (in 10 chapters). The other work, *Karna-Vrittānta-Kathe*<sup>159</sup> (c. 1615), dealing with the episode of Karna in the *Mahābhārata*, is an incomplete poetical production (in 12 chapters), written in the popular *Sāngatya* metre. The author's name is nowhere mentioned in the text, but there are indications<sup>160</sup> in it that he was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman of Seringapatam living with his parents and a brother. The authorship, however, is attributed to one Tirumalārya, said to have been at first a preceptor, and afterwards *Pradhāni* (minister), of Rāja Wodeyar.<sup>161</sup> If this Tirumalārya is presumed to have written the *Karna-Vrittānta-Kathe*, then he is, perhaps, identical<sup>162</sup> with Tirumalaiyangār I, eldest son of Singarayangār I of Seringapatam. The *Karna-Vrittānta-Kathe* begins with an invocation to God Paśchima Ranganātha (the God at Seringapatam) and is pervaded by an essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava background.

Vīrāmbā (Vīrājamma), sister of Channarāja of Bommanahalli, was the principal consort of Rāja Wodeyar.<sup>163</sup> Among other consorts of his were,<sup>164</sup> Doḍḍamma of Bilikere, Kempamma of Hura, Timmājamma of Bilugali and Muddamma of Tippūr. He had four sons,<sup>165</sup> three by

158. *Vide* Table in Appendix II—(4).

159. Pub. *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhī Series* (No. ?), Mysore 1917. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 326.

160. See I, 1-4, 23.

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

162. *Vide* Table in Ditto.

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

164. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.; cf. *Annals*, l.c.

165. *Ibid.*, I. 33; see also *C. Vam.*, 31-32; cf. *Annals*, I. 19; and Tables IV and IX.

Virāmbā and the fourth and last by Timmājamma. Narasarāja, the eldest, was born in July 1579; Nanjarāja, the second, in September 1581; Beṭṭa Woḍeyar (Beṭṭadiya), in 1583; and Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, the youngest, in May 1612. Narasarāja, as we have seen, was of active assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar, during the conquest of Seringapatam (1610). The *Mākuballi copper-plate grant* (February 1635) echoes his prowess.<sup>166</sup> Rāja Woḍeyar, as noted already,<sup>167</sup> had a younger brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1554), and two half-brothers, also younger, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1553)—afterwards known as Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—and Channarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1555). Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar had two wives,<sup>168</sup> Guruvāmbā (Guruvājamma), daughter of Timmarāja of Hura, and Lingājamma of Bāgaḷi. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar also had two,<sup>169</sup> Dēvājamma and Kempamma (Kempamāmbā). Channarāja Woḍeyar, it would appear,<sup>170</sup> predeceased Rāja Woḍeyar after the siege of Kesare (1596). Rāja Woḍeyar, as depicted to us,<sup>171</sup> had the full co-operation of all his brothers, alike in times of war and peace. We have seen how faithfully they served him during the siege of Kesare. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, in particular, was of considerable assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar during 1595-1596. Inscriptions and literary works point to him as a gallant warrior.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, there are indications<sup>173</sup> of his having ruled Mysore jointly with Rāja Woḍeyar, both before and after the acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). We find him prominently

166. *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 23, No. 6.

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

168. *K. N. V.*, III, 13; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 61; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 17, 65.

169. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 52-53, 61; *Annals*, I. 95; also Table II (compare).

170. *C. Vam.*, 31.

171. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

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

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

mentioned in two lithic records, dated in March 1594 and 1598.<sup>174</sup> In 1604 (*Krōdhi*), however, it would appear, some differences arose between Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and Rāja Woḍeyar, in connection with the acquisition of a village named Majjigepura.<sup>175</sup> Whereupon Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, we learn,<sup>176</sup> proceeded to Seringapatam and sought the friendship of Rāmānujaiya, Daḷavāi of Tirumala. In vain did Rāja Woḍeyar persuade him to return to Mysore. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja refused to move thither until he had taken Majjigepura. Rāja Woḍeyar, in turn, sent word to him that he would be captured if he persisted in his resolve. Heedless of this warning, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, at the head of some forces, marched on from Seringapatam towards Majjigepura. On hearing this news, Rāja Woḍeyar despatched a contingent under his sons, Narasarāja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar (Beṭṭadaiya). Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja had almost succeeded in taking Majjigepura when Narasarāja and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar made a surprise attack from an ambuscade and captured him. Beṭṭada-Chāma was taken to Mysore, where Rāja Woḍeyar, in brotherly affection, extended him a hearty embrace. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, however, in great wrath, pushed him aside, only to find himself kept in honourable confinement in Mysore. Meanwhile, Narasarāja, ostensibly to win Rāja Woḍeyar's approbation, engaged a hireling to put out the eyes of his uncle. The plot was, however, promptly communicated to Rāja Woḍeyar by an adherent of his (Ranganātha-Dīkshita). Rāja Woḍeyar was on his way to Tippūr. Cancelling his programme, he forthwith

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

175. An Inām village in the Beḷagula hōbḷi, Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 94). According to *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198 (1598), ll. 13-15, Majjigepura was otherwise known as Śankarapura, and had been acquired by the Mysore Ruling House, by a deed of sale, from the inhabitants of the place. The village does not, however, appear to have been actually occupied by the rulers till 1604.

176. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 34-39; cf. *Wilks*, I. 48-49.



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

The last days of Rāja Woḍeyar were rather clouded by sorrow. As already referred to, his youngest brother, Channarāja, had predeceased him after the siege of Kesare (1596), while his eldest son, Narasarāja, had died in September 1610. And this was followed by the deaths of two other sons (Nanjarāja and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar) of his.<sup>177</sup> Rāja Woḍeyar was considerably weighed down with this domestic affliction. Yet, so attached to him were the surviving younger brothers (of Rāja Woḍeyar), Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, that their company was in itself, it would seem, a solace to him.<sup>178</sup> At the same time, the question of succession to the kingdom continued to engage his attention. His last son, Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, was yet in his infancy, while Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja and Dēvarāja were already sufficiently well advanced in age. The only immediate lineal descendant for the throne was his own grandson Chāmarāja (*b.* 1603), son of Narasarāja. Accordingly, in the last year of his reign, Rāja Woḍeyar, in consultation with his brothers, nominated Chāmarāja as his successor, and made a provision for the members of the Royal family, assigning western Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe to Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar; Rangasamudra, Naḷūr and Vijayāpura to the sons of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar; and Arakere, Yeleyūr and Mangala to those of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.<sup>179</sup>

177. See *C. Van.*, 31.178. *Ibid.*, 31-32.179. *Ibid.*, 32.

Rāja Wodeyar passed away on June 20, 1617, in his sixty-sixth year.<sup>180</sup> At the time of his death, a weird spectacle is said<sup>181</sup> to have been observed in the Nārāyaṇa-svāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe, where Rāja Wodeyar, having entered the *garbha-griha*, was known to have become one with the deity.

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

180. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 43: *Paingala, Jyēṣṭha ba.* 13; see also *Annals*, I. 49.

The *C. Vam.* (31-32) conveys to us a picture of Rāja Wodeyar as an extremely old person (*kaḍu-muppāgi*) at the time of his death, and speaks of his having ruled for eighty years (*enbattum barisam . . . dhareyam pāvisi*). Again, according to this work (12), Rāja Wodeyar had ruled for sixty years (*aruwattum barisamum belgodeya nelaloḷirdudarinda*) already about the time of the siege of Kesare (1596), so that there is, as already indicated (*vide f.n. 52 supra*), a clear gap of twenty years between that event and the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's reign (1616-1617). Dēvachandra (See *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 467), relying on the *C. Vam.*, speaks of Rāja Wodeyar's death in his eightieth year, on December 8, 1616 (*Naḷa, Mārgaśira śu.* 10), evidently interpreting the passage from the *C. Vam.* as the life-period of Rāja Wodeyar (*Paramāyushyamāgi embhattu varuṣham kaḷiye*). If the *C. Vam.* is to be literally interpreted, Rāja Wodeyar's accession itself will have to be pushed back to 1536 and his date of birth perhaps even much earlier. If, on the other hand, Dēvachandra's interpretation be accepted, Rāja Wodeyar's date of birth would have to be fixed in 1536. In the absence, however, of confirmatory evidence, the authority of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* and the *Annals* is preferred here as the more specific one and in keeping with the probabilities of historical fact.

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

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

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

An estimate of Rāja Woḍeyar.

182. *Vide* f.n. 95 *supra*; see also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 30-34; IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18 (1761), ll. 18-22 and 6-11, among the 18th century inscriptions, referring to Rāja Woḍeyar's rule.

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

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

184. *Ibid.*, 32: *Puyīla-nesaguvalliyum podaviyam porevalliyum . . . dharma-mama-nārayḍu naḍevudendu buḍḍhi vēḷdu . . .*

185. *Ibid.*, 13.

186. *Ibid.*, 12.

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

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





Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V, 1617-1637.