

CHAPTER VI.

CHĀMARĀJA WOḌEYAR V, 1617-1637.

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

ON JULY 3, 1617, twelve days after the death of Rāja Wodeyar, Chāmarāja Wodeyar V succeeded to the throne of Mysore.¹ He was the grand-son of Rāja Wodeyar and son of Narasarāja by Honnamāmbā (Honnā-jamma).² Chāmarāja Wodeyar was born on April 21, 1603, and was in his fifteenth year at the time of his

Birth, accession and identity.

1. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 44: *Paingala, Āshādha su.* 10; also *Annals*, I. 49.
2. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155. The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (January 1623) ll. 3-4:

*Maisūra Rājabhūpāla sūnōr Narasarājataḥ |
Sanjātō Honnamāmbāyām Chāmarājēndra bhūpatih ||*
See also *Ibid.*, ll. 25-27; and *Annals*, I. 55.

accession.³ The earliest available lithic records of his reign refer to him as "Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, son of Narasarāja Woḍeyar" and "Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mayisūr (Mysore) ruling in Seringapatam."⁴

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

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

3. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 43: *Śubhakṛit, Vaisākha ba.* 6; cf. *Annals*, I. 49: *Parābhava, Āshāḍha ba.* 6 (July 15, 1606). The authority of the earlier Ms. is preferred here. Wilks (I. 54), following this Ms., states that Chāmarāja was "a youth of fifteen" at the time of his accession in 1617.

4. *E. C.*, III (1) My. 17 (June 1620), ll. 6-7: *Narasarāja Woḍeyara putrarāda Chāmarāja Woḍeravarū*; IV (2) Hg. 21 (1624), l. 3: *Śrīrangapaṭṭānavanāluva Mayisūra Chāmarāja Wade[yaru]*. These two records are private grants.

5. *Annals*, I. 54-56.

6. See *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 36 (November 29, 1620), ll. 5-6, referring to Chāmappa as the Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (. . . *Chāmarājodeyaranara Daḷavāyi Chāmappanavarū*). Chāmappa of this lithic record is identical with Beṭṭada-Arasu, the latter name being only a shortened form of Beṭṭada-Chāmappa or Beṭṭada-Chāme Urs. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 66) refers to this name in its still shorter form, Beṭṭappa.

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

In 1618 (*Kālayukti*) Jagadēva-Rāya despatched an embassy to Seringapatam, with presents (consisting of an elephant named *Rāmalinga* and 3,000 *varahas*), seeking Chāmarāja Wodeyar's assistance in connection with the acquisition of Chiknāyakanahalli.⁷ Chāmarāja, however, desired Beṭṭada-Arasu to send back the presents and attempt the acquisition for Mysore of Nāgamangala, an important dependency of Jagadēva-Rāya himself. Beṭṭada-Arasu marched on thither, at the head of his forces. At a village named Honne-maḍu,⁸ he was obstructed by Doḍḍaiya, elder brother of Channaiya of Nāgamangala, an adherent of Jagadēva-Rāya. A scuffle ensued, in which Doḍḍaiya was slain. Proceeding further, Beṭṭada-Arasu laid siege to Nāgamangala. Thereupon Ankuṣa-Rāya,⁹ brother, and Prime minister, of Jagadēva-Rāya,

7. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 21-22; *Annals*, I. 52-53; see also *C. Vam.*, 34; and *C. Vi.*, II, 73-75. Jagadēva-Rāya is identical with "Jugdeo Row" and "Jugdeo Raj" of Wilks (I. 53-55). His actual name in its Telugu form was Jagadēva-Rāyalu. Inscriptions and literary works (like the *C. Vam.*) spell the name in its Kannaḍa form, Jagadēva-Rāya. He was colloquially known as Jagadē-Rāya, by which name he is referred to in the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* and *Annals*. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* spells it in both the forms.

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

9. *Jagadēva-Rāyana oḍavuṭṭidanādankuṣa-Rāya* (*C. Vam.*, 34); *Anguṣa-Rājam . . . Rāya-vajīranemba pīriḍum birudāntidīrāmparillavemba . . .* (*C. Vi.*, II, 73-74). In the light of the latter passage and the context (*Ibid.*, II, 74-75), the word *vajīra* is to be taken in its two-fold sense, *viz.*, minister and cavalier. Evidently, as the Prime minister of Jagadēva-Rāya, Ankuṣa-Rāya seems to have been a reputed cavalier.

put up a stout opposition and raised the siege. Beṭṭada-Arasu was obliged to retrace his steps to Seringapatam. But, on his way back, he found himself attacked by Gōpālarājaiya of Kannambādi, a recalcitrant chieftain. Halting at Honne-maḍu, Beṭṭada-Arasu requisitioned for reinforcements from the capital and, on their arrival, laid siege to Hosakōṭe,¹⁰ a fort belonging to Jagadēva-Rāya. He gave battle to Ankuṣa-Rāya and Gōpālarājaiya, and put both of them to rout. Hosakōṭe was taken and among the spoils acquired were two elephants (named *Bhōjarāja* and *Chokkalika*) and several insignias. These were sent to Seringapatam and Beṭṭada-Arasu was about to re-attempt the acquisition of Nāgamangala.

At this juncture, affairs in the south seemed to call for

Beṭṭada-Arasu's immediate attention.

First aggression in the south, 1618-1619.

News reached him that some difference had arisen as between the Pāḷegār of Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe (below the ghāṭs) and the chiefs of the surrounding places.¹¹ Western Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe was, as we have seen, the southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, almost coterminous with the dominions of the Nāyak of Madura; and it had been assigned by Rāja Woḍeyar to Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar as a rent-free estate (*umbali*). Any trouble, therefore, arising in the south-east of this limit, would naturally have its repercussion on, and threaten the safety of, the kingdom of Mysore. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things for Mysore to advance further and take possession of Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe and other places in its neighbourhood, below the ghāṭs. Accordingly, Beṭṭada-Arasu sent thither a contingent at the head of Mallarājaiya, a relation of his:¹² Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe was besieged. Mean-

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

11. *Annals*, I. 53,

12. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 22; *Annals*, I. 53-54,

time the Pālegār of the place had sought the assistance of the Nāyak of Madura (Muttu-Vīrappa Nāyaka I) who, through the mediation of his agent, Chikkappa-Setṭi, eventually concluded a truce with Mallarājaiya, fixing on the Pālegār of Daṇāyakankōṭe an annual tribute of 12,000 *varahas* to Mysore. Whereupon the siege was raised; Chikkappa-Setṭi went back to Madura; and Mallarājaiya returned to Seringapatam with the stipulated amount of tribute.

Thereafter, Beṭṭada-Arasu, having temporarily relinquished his attempts at the acquisition of Nāgamangala, turned towards the other dependencies of Jagadēva-Rāya. In November 1619, he took possession of Maddūr from Beṇṇe-Honni-Viṭhaṇṇa who had, it is said, formerly received it as a rent-free gift from Nanjarājaiya of Talakāḍ.¹³ This was followed by the acquisition by him from the same person of Keregōḍu, in 1620 (*Raudri*).¹⁴ These activities resulted in the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore in the direction of Channapaṭṇa, the seat of Jagadēva-Rāya, in the north.

The power and influence of Beṭṭada-Arasu and his adherents in the court of Seringapatam, during 1617-1620, appear to have been not inconsiderable, for, about this time, according to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*,¹⁵ Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar and elderly members of the Royal House, had been away from Seringapatam on a pilgrimage to Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati, Kānchi, Kumbakōṇam, Śrīrangam, Rāmēśvaram and other sacred places. In April 1620, however, Chāmarāja attained his majority. This was, it would seem, a serious

13. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 2; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 23; cf. *Annals*, I. 50-51.

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

15. P. 33.

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

16. *Annals.*, I. 54-55; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.

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

18. *Annals.*, I. 55; see also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 66 and *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, *Ibid.*

The first act of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, shortly after the fall of Daḷavāi Beṭṭada-Arasu, was to inaugurate a series of campaigns with a view to expand the kingdom of Mysore in all the eight directions (*digjayangeyyalujjugisi*).¹⁹ In October 1621, Daḷavāi Lingaṇṇa, under the direction of Chāmarāja, marched towards the east, taking possession of Talakāḍ from Sōmarājaiya.²⁰ In May 1623, he took Maḷavalli after a tough siege,²¹ putting to rout the army of Jagadēva-Rāya (which had proceeded to the relief of the place) and promising assurance of protection to the inhabitants (*ūrugarge kaval-nambugeyanittu*).²² In December, Arikūthāra was taken from Bālōji Nāyaka, son of Channarāja Nāyaka;²³ and in May, Būkankere and Sindhughatṭa were acquired from Jagadēva-Rāya.²⁴ In May 1625, Satyāgāla—formerly belonging to Nanjarāja of Hadināḍ—was taken,²⁵ and in July, Heggaddevankōṭe was acquired from Channarāja Wodeyar.²⁶ Early in January 1626, Daḷavāi Lingaṇṇa laid siege to Channapaṭṇa and, in the struggle which followed, was slain by Channaiya of Nāgamangala.²⁷

19. *C. Vam.*, 33-34; *C. Vi.*, II, 64-82. In the poetical language of these works, the campaigns are mixed up and made to appear as having taken place in regular succession within a short space of time during the life-period of Chāmarāja Wodeyar. But they actually took place at considerable intervals during different years of his reign. The gleanings from, and references to, these texts are, accordingly, to be understood in their chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. See also and compare Wilks's *List of Conquests* of Chāmarāja (I. 55-56), which is based primarily on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 468-469), in the main, closely follows the *C. Vam.*, in detailing Chāmarāja's conquests.
20. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 3; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vi.*, II, 64-65.
21. *Annals*, I. 51; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24.
22. *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vi.*, II, 65.
23. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.; *Annals*, l.c.
24. *Ibid.*, II. 3-4; *Annals*, l.c. 25. *Ibid.*, II. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, ; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 54-55.
27. *Annals*, I. 57; also compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24.

On the fall of Lingaṇṇa, Basavalingaṇṇa was appointed to the office of Daḷavāi.²⁸ In March 1626, proceeding in the south, Basavalingaṇṇa took Honganūr and Ammachavādi which formerly belonged to Nanjarāja of Hadinād.²⁹ In July, turning westwards, he acquired Hāḍya from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṇṇa (*Piriyaṇṇa*) and Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavādi from Prabhu-Channarāja Woḍeyar.³⁰ Marching towards Piriyaṇṇa, he next broke up, it is said, a combination of Channarāja Woḍeyar and Gōpālarājaiya, chiefs of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavādi and Kannambādi, sending the former a captive to Seringapatam.³¹ Then he laid siege to Piriyaṇṇa which was defended by Bommarasaiya (a minister of Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu)³² assisted by Singaḷa-Rāya of Ikkēri (Keḷadi).³³ Basavalingaṇṇa requisitioned for fresh reinforcements from Seringapatam under Niyōgi Bommarasaiya; and with these pressed on the siege, putting his opponents to rout, cutting off the nose of Singaḷa-Rāya and capturing an elephant (named *Bōḷamalla*) among the spoils. Bommarasaiya of Piriyaṇṇa was ultimately obliged to sue for peace with the Niyōgi of Mysore, agreeing to send annually to Seringapatam an elephant and a cash contribution of 3,000 *varahas*.³⁴ Daḷavāi Basavalingaṇṇa followed up this victory by the acquisition of Hanasōge and Sāligrāma (dependencies of Piriyaṇṇa);³⁵ and returned to Seringapatam where, it is said,³⁶ he made Channarāja Woḍeyar (of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavādi)

28. *Ibid.*; see also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 66.

29. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 5; *Annals*, I. 51.

30. *Ibid.*, II. 5-6; *Ibid.*, I. c.

31. *Annals*, I. 57.

32. *Ibid.*; also see and compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25.

33. See *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vi.*, II, 68; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26. [According to the *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* (c. 1800), Keḷadi was the capital of the Ruling Chiefs (*Nāyaks*) of Ikkēri, between 1500-1512; Ikkēri, between 1512-1638; and Bednūr (Bidarūr or Veṇupura), between 1639-1763. See also Ch. VIII of this work. To avoid confusion, the kingdom is referred to throughout by the general name, Ikkēri.]

34. *Annals*, I. c. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25-26; *C. Vam.*, I. c.; *C. Vi.*, II, 68-69.

35. *Annals*, I. c.

36. *Ibid.*, I. 58.

confess his fault and obtained for him the king's pardon. In July 1626, Tagaḍūr and Kottāgāla were acquired from Prabhudēva and Lingarājaiya, respectively;³⁷ and in December, Jādale was taken from Channarājaiya of Heggāḍḍēvankōṭe.³⁸

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

In March 1630, Vikrama-Rāya, a brother of Beṭṭada-Arasu, was appointed Daḷavāi in succession to Basavalinganna.⁴² Between April and October (1630), the attention of Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya seems to have been directed towards Ikkēri, in the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore. We have seen how Singaḷa-Rāya of Ikkēri assisted the chief of Piriyaṭaṭṇa (Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu) during the siege of that place by Daḷavāi Basavalinganna in July 1626 and

37. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 6; *Annals*, I. 51. 38. *Ibid.*, II. 7; *Ibid.*

39. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24; *Annals*, I. 59; *C. Vam.*, 33. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār is colloquially spelt as Ghaṭṭi-Modaliār, in the Chronicles.

40. *Annals*, l.c. 41. *Ibid.*, cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25.

42. *Ibid*; *Ibid*; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 66. Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya is found referred to in a lithic record of c. 1630 [*E. C. III* (1) Md. 4].

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

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

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

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

of Mayzur⁴⁵ (Mysore) are lending him aid. The following have also rebelled against the said king: the queen of Olala and the queen of Carnate . . . so that, from the Canhoroto to Batecalla everything is in revolt and the king Virabhadar Naique is no longer master of anything below the ghats and is in such straits that he will no more be able to recover his losses . . . ” Evidently by about the close of 1630, it would appear, the crushing of Ikkēri had become a serious problem to Mysore.

Almost simultaneously, the conquest of the possessions of Jagadēva-Rāya continued to engage the attention of Chāmarāja Wodeyar. Renewed aggressions in the north and the north-west, 1630-1631. In October 1630, he directed the siege of Channapaṭṇa.⁴⁶ The place was taken

by Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya after a strenuous fight, and this was followed by the annexation of Kānkānahalli (Kāṇīkāranahalli) and the siege and acquisition of Nāgamangala (in December).⁴⁷ In March 1631, Beḷlūr, another dependency of Jagadēva-Rāya—then in the possession of Parama-rāvuta Guruvaṇṇa, a general of the chief of Chiknāyakanahalli—was taken after a hard fight, in which Guruvaṇṇa was slain and his army put to rout.⁴⁸ This victory was followed by a truce concluded with Mysore by the chief of Chiknāyakanahalli, who, in token of his submission, sent to Chāmarāja presents

45. Cf. Rev. H. Heras (*Ibid.*, p. 122) who writes: “This seems to be the Rāja of Mysore. Probably Venkaṭappa had encroached upon the Mysore territory, though no record of this fact is hitherto known.” But, as we have seen above, there were relations between Mysore and Ikkēri as early as July 1626.

46. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II, 7; *Annals*, I, 51; also *C. Vam.*, 34.

47. *Ibid.*, II, 7-8; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25-26; *Annals*, I, 51, 59; see also *C. Vam.*, l.c.; and *C. Vi.*, II, 77.

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

consisting of robes and jewels and an elephant (named *Rāmalinga*).⁴⁹

Between 1631-1634, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar appears to have been engaged in a series of More aggressions, 1631-1634. aggressions in the north-west of Mysore.

About the close of 1631, marching against the chief of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Lakshmappa Nāyaka), he inflicted a crushing defeat on him, accepting from him presents of gold and jewels and an elephant (named *Kanaka-Vasanta*).⁵⁰ Proceeding further, Chāmarāja directed his campaign against the chief of Bēlūr (Venkaṭappa or Venkaṭādri? Nāyaka), who had incurred his ill-will by his encroachments on the boundaries of Mysore. Chāmarāja successively defeated the army of Bēlūr in three pitched battles at Chōḷēnahalli (*Chōḷeyanapalli*), Ānekere and Yeleyūr,⁵¹ amidst great loss, putting to rout Bhaira Nāyaka, Sāla Nāyaka and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nāyaka who had espoused the chief's cause. In February 1634, Chāmarāja laid siege to and took possession of Koḷatūr—otherwise known as Channarāyapaṭṇa—from Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr.⁵² The place, it is said,⁵³ had been formerly annexed from one Puṭṭagiri-Hebbāruva by Lakshmappa Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur, who had given it away as a rent-free village (*umbali*) to his son, Channa-rāya. Channa-rāya having built a fort there, the place became known as Channarāyapaṭṇa which had been later acquired by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. The acquisition of Channarāyapaṭṇa by Chāmarāja, in 1634,

49. *C. Vam.*, l.c.

50. *Ibid.*, *C. Vi.*, II, 70-71; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 21; also see and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII, 468. The acquisition of Nāgamangala in 1630 seems to have opened the way to the further advance of Mysore in the north-west. Hence these activities between 1631-1634.

51. Extant villages in the Channarāyapaṭṇa taluk (see *List of Villages*, 126).

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

53. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* and *Annals*, l.c.

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

During the early years of his reign we find Chāmarāja Wodeyar openly acknowledging the suzerainty of Vīra-Rāma Dēva IV of Vijayanagar, down to 1635. Vijayanagar.⁵⁵ Literary works and inscriptions for the period c. 1625-1634 seem to point to Chāmarāja as an almost independent local ruler, probably in keeping with the series of his conquests.⁵⁶ The last years of Chāmarāja's reign synchronised with the early part of the reign of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar (1633?-1642), of whom he appears to have been a loyal feudatory. Indeed, Mysore, under Chāmarāja Wodeyar, figured prominently among the local powers represented at the court of Venkaṭa (at Penukoṇḍa), on the occasion of his installation on January 13, 1635 (*Bhāva, Māgha śu.* 5),⁵⁷

54. Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of a *Mackenzie Manuscript*, refers to an invasion of Madura by Mysore under Harasura (Karāchūri?) Nandi-Rāja, and a counter-invasion of Mysore by Madura before 1633, during the early years of the reign of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura (c. 1623-1659) and the latter part of the reign of Chāmarāja Wodeyar (*Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 119-120). There is no evidence in support of this position, since Chāmarāja during 1630-1634 was, as we have seen above, engaged in a series of local conquests in the north and north-west of Mysore; nor had he a general by name Harasura (or Karāchūri?) Nandi-Rāja. On the contrary, a further examination of the manuscript itself (Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II. 169) would go to show that the events, referred to, took place "when Dēva-Rāyer-Uḍiyar was reigning in Mysore." The "Dēva-Rāyer-Uḍiyar" mentioned is, of course, identical with Dēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore (1659-1673). It seems, therefore, open to question whether these events could not have happened during that reign. *Vide f.n.* 60 to Ch. X, for a further notice of this reference.

55. See E. C., III (1) My. 17 (1620); Sr. 36 (1620); and Md. 17 (1623); *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 17 (revised) and 155 (1623).

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

57. *Vide* Venkaṭaiya's *Immaḍi-Tamma-Rāya-Kempa-Rāya-Padagaḷu* (1635) a P. L., Ms. (No. 18-8-1) in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, Chs. I-II, ff. 1-41. According to this contemporary Kannaḍa poem, Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1569-1658) was the right-hand man of Venkaṭa II (*maṇḍalapati Venkaṭā-Rāyara bhujadaṇḍa*) whom he securely established on the throne of Vijayanagar (*narapatiya simhāsanava nilisi; sthīrādi Rāyara simhāsanava nilisi*) by subjugating the recalcitrant chiefs of Doḍballāpur, Kandikere, Sirya, Haṇḍe, Bijjavara, Kōlāla, Dhūligōṭe, Kundurupe and other places in the Karnāṭak, and exacting tribute from them (*kappagaḷa terisi*). Among the loyalists, said to have been assembled by

offering him presents which consisted of a rutting elephant (named *Ānimuttu*), jewels (including a necklace set with precious stones) and robes.⁵⁸ Again, we also find Chāmarāja Woḍeyar referring to the overlordship of Venkaṭa, in the *Mākuballi copper-plate grant* dated February 21, 1635 (*Bhāva, Phālguṇa śu.* 15).⁵⁹

The political position of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as the ruler of Mysore is, perhaps, best evidenced by the extant literary works and inscriptions of his reign referring to him as having been adorned by the following, among other, titles and insignias:⁶⁰ *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa* (champion over those who say they have such and such titles), *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara* (emperor of kings), *Apratima-vīra* (unparalleled hero), *Kaṭhāriya-sālva* (a daggered hawk to his enemies), *Vairi-gaja-gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa* (a double-headed eagle to the elephants, hostile kings), *Gaja-bēṅṅekāra* (hunter of elephants),

Chāmarāja's Royal titles.

Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa on the occasion of Venkaṭa's installation (at Penukoṇḍa) in January 1635, were the rulers of Kereyūr, Hosakōṭe, Dēvanahaḷli, Chikbaḷḷapur, Māsti, Bāgalūr and Mysore. For his meritorious services in the cause of the Empire, Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa is said to have been duly honoured by Venkaṭa with robes and jewels (such as pendants, medallions, etc.) and two rutting elephants named *Nilakanṭha* and *Sōmalīṅga* (II, ff. 23-41, vv. 14-39). The earlier part of the poem throws a good deal of light on the general political conditions in the Karnāṭak during the years which followed the death of Vīra-Rāma-Dēva IV of Vijayanagar (1614-1630? 1633) (I, ff. 1-16; II, ff. 16-23). The value of the work for the history of the times of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi, is not inconsiderable. The poet Venkaṭaiya refers to himself as the son of Poramāva-Timmappaiya and dedicates the work to Chikka-Kuppakka (a consort of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa), on July 22, 1635 (*Yuva, Śrāvāṇa ba.* 3) (II, ff. 41). He not infrequently eulogises Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa, of whom he was evidently a protégé. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 298) which mentions this poem as an anonymous work, fixing it in c. 1650.

58. *Ibid.*, II, ff. 28, v. 22; . . . *Maisīravara karasi Rāyarige santōsha-dīndānimuttenīpa maḍagajava kāntimattāda urutara kaṅṭhamāle sara muntāda bhūshaṅambarava koḍisi.*

59. *M. A. R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23, No. 6.

60. *Vide* colophons to *Aśvaśāstra, Chōmarājōkti-Vilāsa* and *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*; also see *E. C.*, II SB. 250 and 352 (1634); *M. A. R.*, 1924, l.c. (1635). For details about the literary works, see under *Literary activity*.

Śankha (conch), *Chakra* (discus), *Makara* (crocodile), *Matsya* (fish), *Śarabha* (unicorn), *Sālva* (hawk), *Gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa* (double-headed eagle), *Dharaṇī-Varāha* (boar), *Hanumā* (monkey), *Garuḍa* (eagle), *Ankuśa* (hook), *Kuṭhāra* (axe) and *Simha* (lion). These titles and insignias were, as indicated above, significant from the local point of view. Among the titles, *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa* was, as we have seen, the distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore from the time of Hiriya-Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (1513-1553). Others, like *Mahā-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara*, *Apratima-vīra*, *Gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa*, *Gaja-bēṅṅekāra* and *Dharaṇī-Varāha*, were distinct borrowals, mostly from Vijayanagar, and seem to convey ideas of universal conquest and imperialism. Most of the insignias had been, as already referred to, acquired by Rāja Wodeyar during different years of his reign (1578-1617).

By 1637, the last year of Chāmarāja's reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: On the north, it had been extended as far as Channa-
 paṭṇa and Nāgamangala; in the west and north-west, up to Piriyaṭṇa and Channarāyapaṭṇa; and in the east and south-east, as far as Maḷavalli and Ḍanāyakankōṭe. Indeed the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* does seem correctly to echo this position when it depicts that, towards the close of his reign, Chāmarāja had finished his campaigns in all the directions, extended his favour to the rulers of Ikkēri, Bāṇāvār, Basavāpaṭṇa and other places—who had latterly acted in a friendly fashion towards him—and brought the entire Kannaḍa country under his control (*Kannaḍa-nāḍellamam basakke tandu*).⁶¹ The reference to the friendly disposition of Ikkēri (*mitrabhāvadoḷ pattidirkēri . . .*), in particular, towards Mysore, is further significant. We have seen how there prevailed hostile relations between the two

61. P. 34.

kingdoms during 1626-1630 and how during 1630-1634 Chāmarāja had extended his kingdom as far as parts of Bangalore and Hassan districts by the acquisition of places belonging to Jagadēva-Rāya and the chiefs of Chiknāyakanahalli, Bēlūr and Hoḷe-Narasipur. During 1634-1637, Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri, in view, apparently, of this stronger political position of Mysore, had probably found it expedient to move on friendly terms with Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.

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

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

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

63. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 36, ll. 7-9: . . . *Śrīman-mahādēva-dēvōttama Maisāra-beṭṭada Śrī-Mahābalēśvara-dēvarige* . . . *Vide* also f.n. 6 and 16 *supra*.

64. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155, l. 5: *Śrīrangapattāṇa-khyāta-Bhōja-simhāsanādhipaḥ*.

of Bhōja in Seringapatam, and mentions⁶⁵ also a minister of his, Rāmā[nu?]jaiya-Virūpākshaiya-Gōvindaiya, son of Appāji-Paṇḍita and grandson of Hiriyāṇṇa-Paṇḍita (of Akajāpura), of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rikśākḥā. Other records of Chāmarāja Wodeyar point to his sovereignty of both Mysore and Seringapatam.⁶⁶ In his conquests, Chāmarāja Wodeyar was, as we have seen, considerably helped by Lingaṇṇa of Bannūr (March 1621-January 1626), Basavalingaṇṇa (January 1626-February 1630) and Vikrama-Rāya (March 1630-1637)—Daḷavāis in succession to Beṭṭada-Arasu.⁶⁷ In the actual administration of the local parts, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, it would seem, was assisted by agents (*kārya-karta*). Thus, we note, Basavalingaṇṇa, son of Kempa Wodeyar, administered the affairs of Chāmarāja at Talakāḍ,⁶⁸ while Rājaiya was looking after the same in the Yeḍatore region.⁶⁹

Chāmarāja Wodeyar is credited with having carefully brought in his acquisitions under the respective hōblis of the administrative units (*gaḍi*) and maintained intact the regulations of Rāja Wodeyar.⁷⁰ He is also, in 1626, reputed to have made elaborate arrangements with Channarāja Wodeyar, chief of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavādi, for the catching, and purchase, of

Administrative and other measures :

(a) Settlement of conquered tracts.

(b) Organisation of elephant-hunting.

(c) Institution of the armoury.

65. *Ibid.*, ll. 13-16, 72 (*Gōvindaḡyākhya-mantrinē*); also *Ibid.*, Md. 17 (revised) (January 1623), ll. 6-9, etc. Cf. *Wilks* in Appendix III.

66. See *E.C.*, II SB. 250 and 352 (1634) : *Maisūru-Paṭṭanādhīśvara*; *Maisūru-Paṭṭaṇa-puravarādhīśvara*. The reference here is to Mysore and Seringapatam, *Paṭṭana* being a shortened form of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. The expressions are in keeping with the local position of Chāmarāja Wodeyar at the height of his power after a series of conquests. See also sections on *Chāmarāja's relations with Vijayanagar and his titles*.

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

68. See *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 13 (1633). Basavalingaṇṇa of this lithic record appears to have been distinct from Daḷavāi Basavalingaṇṇa who died in February 1630 (*Annals*, I. 59).

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

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

elephants required for his army;⁷¹ and, in or about 1635, to have erected in Mysore an armoury (*alagina-chāvāḍi*; *alaguvaṇe*), a substantial structure of three floors (*mūneleya jagali*), for the preservation of various kinds of weapons (taken from the Pālegārs) and for the manufacture of new patterns.⁷²

Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was, we note,⁷³ an ardent Vaishṇava, adoring his family God Lakshmikānta of Mysore and devoutly serving Trinayanēśvara (of Mysore), Goddess Chāmuṇḍēśvarī of the Mahābalāchala hill and Vishṇvīśā. Toleration was the cardinal feature of his religion. Śaivism and Vaishṇavism seemed to claim his equal share of attention, while he was solicitous towards Jainism also.⁷⁴ Of the Jains, in particular, we find he

71. *Ibid.*, I. 58-59; see also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 27-28. The catching of elephants by ensnaring them into large-sized pits (*kappu*), seems to have been a very ancient practice in the southern and western parts of the present district of Mysore. The price of elephants thus captured—and subsequently trained—was, it is interesting to note, regulated by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as under: For an elephant with tusks measuring one full cubit (*moḷa*), 100 *varahas*; one span (*gēṇu*), 40 *varahas*; three-fourths of a span (*chōḷu-kombu*), 30 *varahas*; for one, with tusks just sprouting up (*muḡuḷu-kombu*), 25 *varahas*; for a female elephant measuring 5 cubits in length, 50 *varahas*; 4 cubits, 40 *varahas* and 3 cubits, 30 *varahas*; for a youngling (*marī*), 15 *varahas* (See *Annals*, I.c.). Evidently the title *Gāja-bēṇṭekāra* (hunter of elephants), ascribed to Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in the colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa* already referred to (*vide* section on *Chāmarāja's titles* and f.n. 60 *supra*), seems very significant.

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

73. *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*: *Śrī-Lakshmīkānta-pādāravinda-dvānda nishyandā-mānda-makaranda-bīndu-sandōhśvādāna-nīrmālīkṛtāntāḥkarāṇa Trinayanēśvara sabbhaktiyukta Mahābalāchalāvāsa Śrī-Chāmuṇḍīkāmbā sabbhakti maṇḍītarāda Śrī-Chāmarāja-Oḍeyaravararu*; also see *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155 (1623), ll. 2-3: . . . *Vishṇvīśa pūjaḥ satata śubha samājaś-Chāmarājendra-bhūjaḥ*; *vide* also *C. Vam.* (33-34) and *C. Vi.* (II, 64-82), depicting Chāmarāja against an essentially Vaishṇava background.

74. *Vide* references *infra*. Among the secondary sources, the *Annals* (I. 56-57, 61-62) and the *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (22) speak of the services of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and his Daḷavāis (Lingāṇṇa of Bannūr and Vikrama-Rāya), in the Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples at T.-Narasipur, Gargēśvarī, Nanjangūd, Seringapatam and Mēlkōṭe. The *Annals* (I. 60), in particular,

was a good friend, being referred to⁷⁵ by them as *Shaḍ-darśana-dharma-sthāpanāchārya* (lit. establisher of the *dharma* of the six *darśanas* or schools of philosophy) and *Shaḍ-dharma-Chakrēśvara* (lit. emperor promoting six kinds of *dharma* or religion). An interesting account is preserved⁷⁶ of how once, about the middle of 1631, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, while on a tour in the State, paid a visit to Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, and how, on being grieved to learn that the Jain *guru* of the place—Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgindra of the Dakṣiṇāchārya family—had left it for Bhallātākī-pura in consequence of obstacles (to the worship of Jina) caused during the regime of Jagadēva-Rāya, he (Chāmarāja Wodeyar) at once arranged for the recall of the *guru* from the latter place, and later accorded him a fitting reception in Seringapatam, allowing him every facility for the exercise of his religious avocations in the Pontificate at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa.

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

refers to a grant of the Aghaḷaya (*Chāmarāja-samudra*) *agrahāra* of 32 houses (in the Bāchahalli-hōbḷi of the Nāgamangala-sthāḷa), said to have been made by Chāmarāja Wodeyar to the three sects of Brāhmins (*Smārthas*, *Mādhvas* and *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas*), in October 1631, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 469) writes of Chāmarāja Wodeyar as having granted lands rent-free (*umbali*), to five Jain Paṇḍits. See also sections on *Court Life* and *Literary Activity*.

75. See *E. C.*, II SB. 250 and 352 (1634).

76. In the *Munivamsābhūdāya* (c. 1700) of Chidānanda (noticed in detail in Ch. XIV), II, 20-65. This work (II, 20) speaks of Chāmarāja's visit to Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, just at a time when he had finished most of his campaigns against the surrounding chiefs. The *Annals* (I. 60) refers to this visit as having taken place at the instance of Bommarasaiya, Niyōgi of Chāmarāja Wodeyar; and seems to place it shortly after Chāmarāja's acquisition of Nāgamangala and Bellūr (1630-1631). Since Bellūr was, as we have seen, taken by Chāmarāja Wodeyar in March 1631 and since, according to the *Annals* (l.c.), Chāmarāja was in Seringapatam by October 1631, he appears to have visited Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa about the middle of that year (April-June).

77. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 75): s. 1544, *Dundūbhī, Māgha su.* 10. The grant bears the king's signature as, 'Śrī-Chāmarāju' (see I. 70).

ardhōdaya, for the merit of his parents. A lithic record (of the same date)⁷⁸ refers to a rent-free grant by Chāmarāja to the same donee, of additional villages situated in the Maddūr-sthala of the Keḷale-nāḍu in the Seringapatam country. The *Daḷavāi-Agrahāram plates* I, dated March 6, 1623,⁷⁹ record the formation of an *agrahāra* named *Chāmarāja-samudra* (consisting of the villages of Āladūr and Navilūr in the Tāyūr-nāḍu of Mūgūr-sthala) and the grant of the same—divided into 41 shares, 40 being distributed among Brāhmins and one set apart for God Gunjā-Nṛsimha—by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, for the attainment of perpetual bliss by his father, Narasarāja Woḍeyar. A lithic record of c. 1630⁸⁰ refers to a grant in perpetuity to Āne-linga in the Narasimhasvāmi temple at Maddūr, by Vikrama-Rāya, Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated February 21, 1632,⁸¹ speaks of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as having restored the channels of the Cauvery in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam and of his having got constructed a bridge across the river (up to the junction of its branches), naming the area brought into cultivation thereunder as *Hosa-bayalu* (lit. new plain land). Another lithic record, dated May 22, 1633,⁸² refers to the grant of the village of Śāntapura, to the Śivabhakta Basavalingadēva, by Rājaiya, an agent of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Yet another, dated June 20, 1633,⁸³ records the setting up of the image of Panchalinga to the west of God Vaidyēśvara of Gaḷāranya-kshētra and the grant of lands at Talakāḍ and Pūrigāli to provide for the

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

79. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 62: s. 1544, *Dundubhi, Phālguna śu.* 15.

80. *Ibid.*, Md. 4.

81. Ms. No. 18-15-20, p. 30: s. 1553, *Prajōtpatti, Phālguna śu.* 11.

82. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 15: s. 1740, *Śrīmukha, Vaiśakha ba.* 10. The Śaka date, mentioned in this record, does not tally with the cyclic year *Śrīmukha* which corresponds to 1633; it is apparently a scribal error for s. 1555.

83. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 13: s. 1555, *Śrīmukha, Jyēṣṭha ba.* 10, Thursday.

offerings of the God—by Basavalinganna, another agent of Chāmarāja. Two records (lithic and copper-plate), dated June 28, 1634,⁸⁴ speak of Chāmarāja Wodeyar as having instituted an inquiry into the management of the endowments at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa and of his having caused grants to be made in the presence of God Gommatēśvara and Guru Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Dēva, releasing the temple lands (of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa) from nineteen mortgagees by discharging the long-standing mortgage debts and conferring on the *Sthānikas* perpetual use of the property for carrying on the worship of the God. The *Mākuballi copper-plate grant*, dated February 21, 1635,⁸⁵ records the gift by Chāmarāja—free of all taxes, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse—of the village of Mākuballi surnamed *Chāma-sāgara* (or *Chāma-samudra*), to Rāmachandra-Yajva, for the merit of his (Chāmarāja's) parents.

The court of Chāmarāja Wodeyar was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the tastes and culture of the times. Court life: Chāmarāja appears himself to have been an accomplished person, being referred to⁸⁶ as an expert in the arts (*chauṣaṣṭi-kalā-pravīṇa*). He is depicted⁸⁷ to have been systematically devoting himself to the practice of elephant-riding and horse-riding (*āne-kuduregalanēri vaiyāḷiya vilāsa*), athletics (*garuḍi-geytada-kaimē*), marksmanship (*bilgaṇegonḍu guriyisuva kauśala*) and music—particularly the lute (*vīṇe-daledu baṇṇa-vāḍugaḷam bājipōje*); to the appreciation of literature—including poetry, drama and rhetoric (*kāvya-nāṭakālankāra-sāra-sarvasva-rasāsvādana*); and the listening to the sacred lore (*Purānē-tihāsādi-puṇya-kathā-śravaṇānurāga*).

84. *Ibid.*, II SB. 250 and 352: s. 1556, *Bhāva, Āshādha śu.* 13, Saturday.

85. *M. A. R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23, No. 6: s. 1555 expired, *Bhāva, Phālguṇa śu.* 15. This record also bears the king's signature as, 'Śrī-Chāmarāja.'

86. *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*.

87. *C. Vam.*, 34.

His court formed also the meeting-ground for Brāhmanical, Viraśaiva and Jaina religions, between whose adherents there were frequent disputations, in which Chāmarāja Woḍeyar appears to have taken a keen personal interest.⁸⁸ In particular, we learn,⁸⁹ Chennārya, son of Viraṇārādhya, was able to defeat Rāma-Dikshita in the course of one such debate in the *durbār* of Chāmarāja. Another disputation (*mantravāda-prasanga*), it would seem,⁹⁰ was conducted by the Jains in Chāmarāja's court shortly after his visit to Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa (1631) and, it is added,⁹¹ Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra of the Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa-maṭh, himself a celebrated disputant (*bandhura mantravāda-prasiddha-purusha*), was invited to participate in it. If Dēvachandra is to be relied upon, it was probably on this occasion that Chāmarāja Woḍeyar had the Jain works, *Bharatēśvara-Charite* (of Ratnākara-Varṇi), *Hari-Vamśa*, *Sanat-kumāra-Shatpadi* (of Bommarasa) and *Chandraprabha-Charite* (of Doḍḍaiya of Piriyaṭṭa), recited in his court, eulogising Jainism, it is said, as a great religion (*Jaina matam doḍḍadendu praśamsegaidaru*).⁹²

88. See *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharaṇīramanābhhyudayaḥ* (c. 1700) (noticed in Ch. XIV), III, 16 :

. . . antar-bahirmata-vivāda-vidām mukhēna
tatvam param kimapi chētasi niśchītāya . . .

(referring to Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V).

89. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 377), quoting from Śānta-Vira-Dēśika's (c. 1650) *Śivagaṇa-Chārītra* :

Chāmarājēndrana sabheyoḷu tarkisuva |
Rāma-Dikshītana bhanjisida |
Śrīmad-Viraṇārādhya tanuja guṇa |
Dhāma Chennārya.

The poet, Śānta-Vira-Dēśika, was the grandson of Viraṇārādhya and son of Chennārya (*Ibid.* 377, 379).

90. *Munivam.*, II, 48.

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

92. See *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 373, 375. Dēvachandra also speaks of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as having got rendered from Sanskrit into Kannaḍa, the following five Jaina works: *Hari-Vamśa*, *Prabhanjana-Kathe*, *Śrīpāla-Charite*, *Jayakumāra-Parivardhīnī-Shatpadi* and *Samyaktva-Kaumudī-Shatpadi* (*Ibid.* 375).

Chāmarāja Wodeyar was a liberal patron of letters. The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (1623) speaks of his treasury as having been intended for the relief of poets and scholars (*kavi-budhārtim yasya kōśasya pūrtih*).⁹³ He is said to have also afforded shelter in his court to learned men from various quarters and reared up the tree of learning.⁹⁴ Himself a person of taste, he was, we note,⁹⁵ a connoisseur of literary merit, skilled in the appreciation of poetry.

Kannaḍa literature flourished under Chāmarāja's patronage. Rāmachandra, a protegé of his (*Chāmarāja-bhūvara-prōtsāhita-nāda*), wrote the *Aśva-Śāstra*⁹⁶ (c. 1625), a rendering, in colloquial Kannaḍa, of Śālihōtra's treatise on horses. The work begins with invocation to Gaṇēśa, Krishṇa and Nārāyaṇa. It is written in 18 chapters dealing with the physical constitution and the age of horses, method of worshipping them during the Mahānavami festival and the treatment of their diseases. Another protegé of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, Padmaṇṇa Paṇḍita, son of Dēparaśa, a Jain Āyurvēdic scholar (*Āyurvēda-budha*), wrote the *Hayasāra-Samuchchaya*⁹⁷ (1627), a compendium of the science of horses. It is a

93. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155, ll. 1-2.

94. *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharaṇīramanābhyaḍayaḥ*, III, 15 :

*Digbhyō budhānu pagatānadhigatya sadyō
Rājā cha samsadi nījāsana-māsasāda |*

Vidyātātā natu vivrdhīmupaitu . . . ||

95. *Ibid.*, III, 17 :

*Śabdārtha bhāvarachanāguṇa vrtti rīti
Vyangyādi vaibhava bhinna rasēpi kāvyē |
Sārasvatāmṛtarasam rasīkaḥ kavīnām
Sangrahya samsadi rarāja sa rājahamsah || ;*

also *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya* (c. 1680), I, 97: *Sarasakalānīpūṇate vettu.*

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

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

poetical work, in 20 chapters, written in the Kannada *kanda* metre (*Karṇāṭa kanda padyagaḷindam*). It begins with invocation to Jina and treats, among others, of the shape and sex of horses and the treatment of their diseases. Ascribed to Chāmarāja Woḍeyar himself, are two works extant, namely, *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*⁹⁸ (c. 1630) and *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*⁹⁹ (c. 1635). The *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*—also known as *Maṇiprakāśa-Vachana*¹⁰⁰—is a prose work, in colloquial Kannada, in 22 chapters. It commences with invocation to Śambhu and deals with the philosophy and ritualism of Śaivism—as expounded in the *Skanda-Purāna*—in the form of illustrative stories of a didactic character. The other work, *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*—after Chāmarāja Woḍeyar—is a popular Hosagannada prose version, in 7 parts, of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇam*, and begins with invocation to Vishvaksēna and Gaṇēśa. From a manuscript of this work, it would appear, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar got it written in his name by a scholar, named Virūpāksha, for the enduring benefit of mankind.¹⁰¹

Among other contemporaries of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar we find mention made of Bommaṇṇa-kavi of Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa, in a lithic record,¹⁰² although no works of his have so far come down to us. Nanjanātha was a scholar of Chāmarāja's court, under whose direction Nṛsimha, a pupil of his and son of Gajāraṇya-Nṛsimha-Paurāṇika,

98. Pub. V. B. Subbaiya & Sons, Bangalore, 1897; see also Ms. No. 291—*P. L. Mys. Or. Lib.*; and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 361.

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

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

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

Vālmiki-muninā-prōkta Śrīmad-Rāmāyaṇasya cha |
Karṇāṭa-bhāshayā ṭikām kārayishyan nṛpōttamah ||
Lōkānāmvapakārāya Virūpākshēna dhimatā |
Vīduṣhā kṛtavān samyak pratijñam Chāmahūpatih ||

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

composed the *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (January 1623),¹⁰³ in Kannada and Sanskrit. What other works he wrote is not known.

Chāmarāja Wodeyar had five queens, Muddājamma of Yeḷandūr, Dēviramma of Biḷugali, Domestic life. Siddājamma of Mūgūr, Channājamma of Mūḍana-kōṭe and Doddājamma of Sindhuvali.¹⁰⁴ He is said¹⁰⁵ to have had issues which, however, seem to have died in their infancy. At the instance of his principal queen, Muddājamma, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, in 1633, is stated¹⁰⁶ to have got constructed in her name a bathing-ghaṭ in the pond at Mēlkōṭe, for the convenience of pilgrims during the Vaira-muḍi and Brahmōtsavam festivals.

Among other members of the Royal Family, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar, seem to have been living in peace and quiet, with their sons, in Guṇḍlu-Terakanāmbi and Yeleyūr, respectively, during the greater part of Chāmarāja's reign, especially after their pilgrimage to sacred places.¹⁰⁷ A lithic record, dated July 31, 1625,¹⁰⁸ refers to the erection

103. *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 75), ll. 68-69 :

Gajāranya-Nṛsimhākhyā-Paurāṇika-sutō likhīt |
Nanjinātha-budhachchātrō
Nṛsimha-stāmraśāsanam ||

Nanjinātha (Nanjanāthaiya), mentioned in the record, seems to have belonged to the Royal Family.

104. *Annals*, I. 50; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 61.

105. See *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 469) which speaks of Chāmarāja as having had sons, one of whom was named Dēvarāja (*Dēvarājam modalāda kumāraram paḍedu*). The *Annals* and the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* are silent on this point.

106. *Annals*, I. 60.

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

108. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 117: s. 1547, *Krōdhana, Śrāvāṇa* su. 7. Dēvarāja is referred to in this record as the son of Chāmarāja Wodeyar of Mysore, the latter being, of course, identical with Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1572-1576).

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

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

It is, indeed, to the credit of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar that he appears more prominently in the records of his own period of rule than does his predecessor, Rāja Woḍeyar.

Cut off in the middle of a most promising career, his influence on the generation of writers immediately following his death, while not considerable, was not altogether negligible. Although unfortunately there is no reference to Chāmarāja in the *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648), the memories of his court and rule are preserved in all their freshness in the other literary works of the seventeenth century. In particular, to Tirumalārya, in the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* and the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, Chāmarāja appears essentially as an epic hero with a record of uninterrupted course of military campaigns to his credit. So impressed were Tirumalārya and his contemporaries (like Chikkupādhyāya, Chidānanda, etc.) with Chāmarāja's achievements and the dazzling splendour and culture of his court, that we find a strong contemporary flavour in their works while depicting them. Chāmarāja Woḍeyar's rule is further echoed in some of the inscriptional records

109. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 44 and 55: *Īsvara, Vaiśākha* ba. 3. See also *Annals*, I. 62. Bhāskara (c. 1650), in his *Bēhara-gaṇita*, mentions the death of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in s. 1559 (1637) (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 375). Cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (22) which places Chāmarāja's death in *Īsvara, Vaiśākha śū.* 15 (April 28, 1637). Wilks (I. 55) also dates the death in 1637. Cf. Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 467-470), fixing Chāmarāja's death in December 1633 and the period of his rule between 1616-1633, which it is hard to accept; nor is there any evidence for his statement (*Ibid.* 375) that there were hostile incursions, famines and other public calamities during the reign.

110. *Annals*, l.c.

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

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

111. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 63 (1748) ll. 36-37; IV (2) yd. 17 (1761), ll. 22-23. Most of the inscriptions of the latter part of the 17th century and the earlier part of the 18th [like *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 of 1686 and 64 of 1722] pay a good deal of attention to the tracing of the descent of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar from the line of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Hence they are conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the rulers who followed in the wake of Rāja Wodeyar. We have noted the exceptions here.

112. I. 55.

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

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

The pious and tolerant ruler he was, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar adhered strictly to the standards of Rāja Woḍeyar. The different religions (Brāhmanical, Jaina and Vīraśaiva) flourished under him. As an accomplished scholar of his age, he liberally encouraged learning and the arts. Particularly Kannāḍa literature received a remarkable impetus from the keen personal interest he seems to have evinced in its development. Regarded alike from the political and cultural points of view, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar is entitled to a unique place in history as a "Maker of Mysore."



Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, 1637-1638.