

CHAPTER IX.

KANTHIRAVA-NARASARAJA WODEYAR I,

1638-1659—(contd.)

Kanthirava's Rule: Ministers, Officers and Dalavais—Administrative measures: 1. Defence—2. Coinage and Currency, 1645—3. Settlement of conquered tracts—Feudatories, c. 1647-1650—Religion—Gifts, etc.—A scheme of public utility, c. 1645-1648—Grants and other records, 1639-1657—Authentic statues of Kanthirava—Social life: c. 1638-1648—Cities and towns: 1. Seringapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkote—General culture—Daily life, amusements, etc.—Court culture: costume and personal adornment—Kanthirava's personal servants—His daily Durbar and local titles—Festivals—The *Mahanavami* in Seringapatam—Its celebration in 1647 (September 19-28)—Beginnings: the eight days' Durbar—The detailed programme—The ninth day (*Mahanavami*)—The tenth day (*Vijayadasami*)—Gifts and presents—The social ideal: contemporary manners and morals, etc.—Kanthirava as a patron of learning—Literary activity: Sanskrit and Kannada writers—Govinda-Vaidya and his *Kanthirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam* (1648)—Domestic life: Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—Doddadevaraja Wodeyar: indications of his rule jointly with Kanthirava—Last days of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar—His death, July 31, 1659—An estimate of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar—As a warrior—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a "Maker of Mysore"—Kanthirava in tradition.

THE rule of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar bore the impress of his personality to a greater extent, perhaps, than that of his predecessors, on the administration of the country he ruled over. Inscriptions and other sources speak of him as ruling in Seringapatam seated on the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhāsana*).

Kanthirava's Rule:

Ministers, Officers
and Dalavais.

His government was conducted along traditional lines and was in keeping with the general course of political development the kingdom underwent. Timmarasa was the minister-in-chief (*mantriśa*) of Kanṭhīrava, well versed in political counsel, accounts and the arts;¹ Lappavarasa was his minister of finance (. . . *sakala rājyake . . . lekkavanu . . . baredōduva*);² Basavaiya was an officer in charge of the treasury (*bokkasa*);³ Narasimha-Upādhyāya—identical with Nṛsimhārya mentioned in the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant* (April 1639)—was the king's scribe (*rāyasadoḷu jāṇa*);⁴ and Linge-Gauḍa was the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Paṭṭaṇada-adhikāri*),⁵ the capital city (till July 1649). Among other officers, Koṭṭūraiya was an agent of Kanṭhīrava (*Narasarāja Waḍeyaravara kāryakke kartarāda*) at Sāligrāma.⁶ Among the Daḷavāis of the reign, already referred to,⁷ were Timmarājaiya (November 1638-December 1640), Nanjarājaiya of Hura (December 1640-January 1647), Lingarājaiya of Hura (January 1647-June 1648), Kempaiya (June 1648-July 1649), Linge-Gauḍa (July 1649-August 1650), Hamparājaiya (Hampaiya) of Kārugahalli (August 1650-September 1651) and Dāsarājaiya (Dās-rāj) of Kaḷale, father-in-law of Kanṭhīrava (September 1651-October 1653)—Linge-Gauḍa and Hamparājaiya holding the office a second time between October 1653-May 1655 and May 1655-1659, respectively. The short tenure of office usually allowed by Kanṭhīrava to each of his Daḷavāis points to the active

1. K. N. V., XXV, 84: *Vara-mantrade sura-guru . . . lēkhyāngade (lekkāngade) sarasiṣa-bhava . . . suvidyadali nere gaṇḍu-Sārade.*

2. *Ibid.*, 82.

3. *Ibid.*, 74.

4. *Ibid.*, 85.

5. *Ibid.*, 56.

6. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 185 (1650).

7. *Ante*, section on *Political history* in Ch. VIII; see also *Annals*, I. 68, 85-86, 88-89; *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 66-67 and f.n. 8 *infra*.

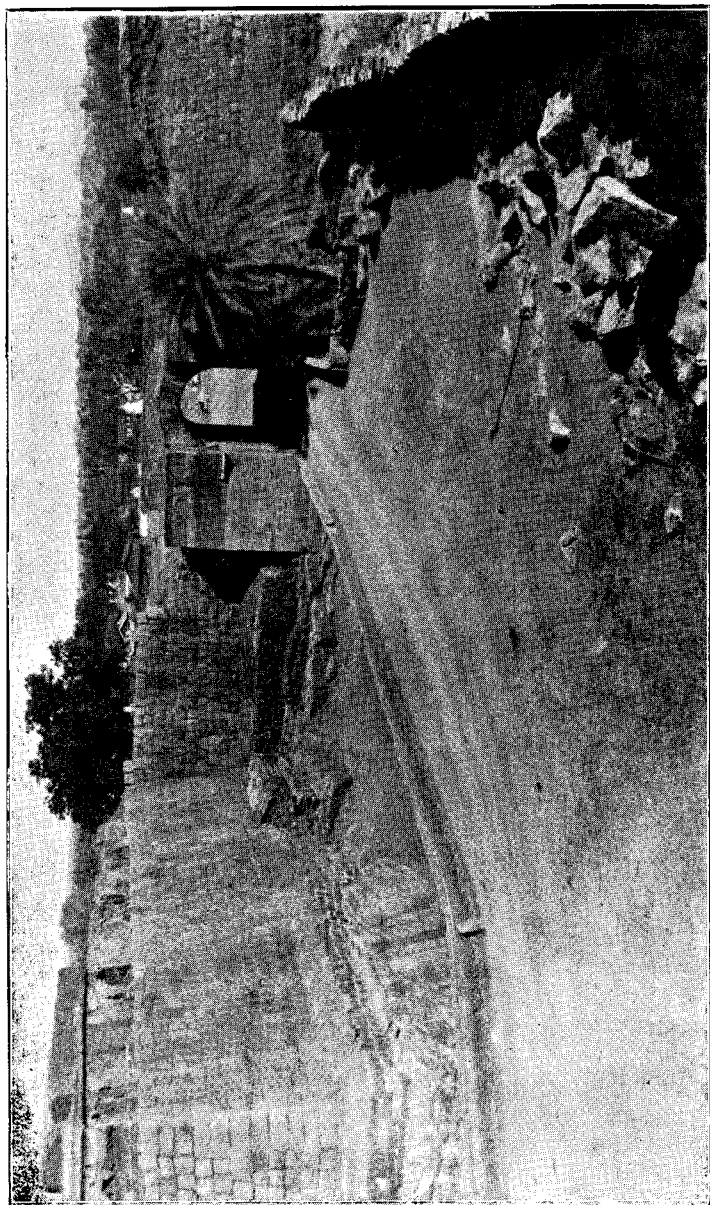
personal influence exerted by him in military as in civil administration.⁸

Defence was perhaps the foremost problem that engaged the attention of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in the early years of his reign. The fort of Seringapatam having sustained serious damages during the siege of 1639, Kanṭhīrava took a keen personal interest in the work of improving and extending it, with a view to make it more impregnable and self-sufficient. Huge flat stones were made use of in enlarging and strengthening the ramparts, bastions and ditches. And magazines and armouries were extensively laid out, together with large stores of fodder and provisions of every description. The fort of Mysore was likewise improved and strengthened, and arrangements made for storing in provisions, arms and ammunition.⁹

The next measure of importance was the establishment by Kanṭhīrava, for the first time, of a mint (*ṭenkasāle*) in Seringapatam and the reorganization of currency and coinage. The tendencies underlying this measure were of a political, administrative and religious character: firstly, by 1645, Kanṭhīrava was, as we have seen, sufficiently well established on the throne of Mysore (having successfully beaten off the Bijāpur invasion and counteracted the aggressions of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura)

8. The *Annals* (I. 88-89) refers to inefficiency, corruption, neglect of duty, assertiveness, etc., on the part of the Daḷavāi as the cause of his dismissal and the appointment of his successor. The *Mys. Dho. Pur.* (I. 66-67) merely mentions the period of office of each Daḷavāi. Whatever might have been the real cause for the removal from office of a Daḷavāi, Kanṭhīrava seems to have been the first ruler to realise the evils of excessive concentration of power in the Daḷavāi. He appears to have kept his Daḷavāis thoroughly under control generally by allowing them only a short tenure of office, unless any of them proved himself a man of exceptional capacity like Nanjarājaiya of Hura. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 290-292.

9. *Annals*, I. 79-80, 82. For details about arms and ammunition, *vide* Appendix IX.



The Srirangapatam Fort with its postern gate—A view.

and was aiming at independence from a local point of view; secondly, the innumerable estampages on the gold coins in the country—belonging to the Pālegār régime—had led to confusion and it was found absolutely necessary to have a uniform seal for all gold coins;¹⁰ thirdly, Kanṭhīrava's predilection for Vaishṇavism, perhaps most significantly echoed in a lithic record of his,¹¹ was also prominently at work. The first coins were, accordingly, struck in Kanṭhīrava's name, on the 26th of April 1645.¹² These are gold ones, variously known as *Kanṭhīrāya-haṇa*,¹³ *Kanṭhīrava-Rāya*¹⁴ and *Kanṭhīrava-Rāya-ravi*,¹⁵ and are impressed with the figure of God Lakshmi-Narasimha on the obverse and some dots on the reverse.¹⁶ Another species of gold coins, issued probably about the same time or slightly later, was the *Kanṭhīrāya-varaha*.¹⁷ Not only were these coins issued but their circulation all over the country was also provided for, 10 *haṇams* being equivalent to one *Kanṭhīrāya-varaha* and the weight of nine *haṇams* being equivalent to the weight of one *varaha* (*Kanṭhīrāyi*), the two denominations being ordered to be used in connection with the account and cash transactions, respectively, of the State.¹⁸ Kanṭhīrava appears to have

10. *Ibid.*, I. 90.

11. *E.C.*, V (2) Ag. 64 (April 1647), p. 768 (Text); see also under *Religion*.

12. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 36-37:

Sālivāhana-saka-varṣa 1567 sanda vartamānavāda |
Pārthiva nāma samvatsarada |
Vaiśākha-ṣu. 11 [Text gone] nakshatradallu |
Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wadeyaraṅgyanavaru tamma pesarimalli |
Lakshmi-Narasimha-mudre-nānyavannu hākisi |
i nānyakke Kanṭhīrava-Rāyanendu pesaru koṭṭu |
grāma-kshētragaḷannu samarpisida vivara ||

Cf. *Annals* (I. 91), placing this event in April 1643; *Wilks* (I. 61), merely referring to the establishment of the mint and the issue of "Cantyrāi hoons and fanams" by Kanṭhīrava; also *M. A. R.*, 1929, p. 31, referring to the issue of the coins "some time after 1646."

13. *Annals*, l.c.; see also Appendix IV—(4).

14. *Vide* f.n. 12 *supra*—Text.

15. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 25.

16. See Appendix *Ibid.*, for details.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Annals*, I. 90-91; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.

issued a series of copper coins also, known as *Ānekāsu*,¹⁹ to serve the purposes of a token currency.

In the localities annexed by him from the feudatories, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, it is said,²⁰ settled the land revenue dues according to the status and condition of each tract. The refractory Pāḷegārs and turbulent ryots in the local parts were allowed just enough means to enable them to sustain themselves, a major portion of their income being confiscated to the State. To promote local peace and facilitate the transmission of revenue collections from the countryside to the central exchequer at Seringapatam, officials like *Subēdār*, *Thāṇādār*, *Karaṇikas* and *Gumāstas* were also appointed.

Among the local feudatories of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar—at the height of his power, Feudatories, *i.e.*, during *c.* 1647-1650—were the *c.* 1647-1650. following:²¹ Doḍḍaiya (Doḍḍēndra) of Haradanahalli, Kempaiya (Kempēndra) of Satyāgāla, Timmarāja (Timmēndra) of Heggaddēvankōṭe, Doḍḍaiya of Channarāyapaṭṇa, Hampaiya of Turuvēkere, Chāmaiya of Channapaṭṇa, Hampaiya of Maddūr, Muddaiya of Nāgamangala, Nanjaṇṇa of Maḷavalli, Rājaiya of Terakaṇāmbi, Guruvanna of Kannambāḍi, Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, Chiṇṇa-Gauḍa of Pālupare, Muddaiya of Kānkānhalli, Honnaṇṇa of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavāḍi, Sangaiya of Ummattūr, Channaiya of Hosahoḷalu, Dāsaiya, chief of Balloḍeyar (?), Lingarājaiya (Lingarājēndra) of Yeḷandūr (Yeḷavandūr), and the chiefs of Hullahalli (Hullanahalli), Nilusōge, Kulagāṇa, Kōṭe-kere (Kōṭeya-kere), Hemmara-

19. *Vide Appendix Ibid.*

20. *Annals*, I. 89; also *Wilks*, I. 60-61.

21. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 47-55, 57-59, 61-71. Most of the feudatories, referred to, are stated to have been present in Seringapatam during the festivities of 1647, noticed under *Social life*. Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, mentioned, is further to be indentified with the one referred to as an agent of Kanṭhīrava at Sāligrāma (see *f.n.* 6 *supra* and text thereto).

gāla, Bīlikere, Talakāḍ, Sōsale and Rangasamudra. Some of these feudatories were, as we shall see, in the personal service of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar himself. Among the feudatories in friendly alliance with Kaṅṭhīrava were:²² Rangappa Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Narasimhapura), Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr, Doḍḍa-Kempe-Gauḍa of Kuṇigal and Chikka-Gauḍa²³ of Māgaḍi, Virupaṇṇa Nāyaka of Ālambāḍi and the sons of the chief of Nanjarāyapaṭṇa and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nāyaka (of Basavāpaṭṇa and Tarikere). Tanjore, Madura and Gingee (*Chenje*)²⁴ were among the distant powers represented by their ministers at the court of Kaṅṭhīrava during the period.

The period of Kaṅṭhīrava's rule witnessed an important stage in the development of Religion. Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in South India in general and Mysore in particular.

Already Mēlkōṭe had become a prominent centre of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism²⁵ and no less important was Seringapatam, the capital city.²⁶ More significant still, perhaps, was the influence of Vaiṣṇava tradition that was being continually exerted on the Mysore Royal House from the early years of the seventeenth century. We have seen how Rāja Woḍeyar, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar were staunch Vaiṣṇavaitees. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, father of Kaṅṭhīrava-

22. *Ibid.*, 93-99.

23. Doḍḍa-Kempe-Gauḍa here is to be identified with Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa II of Māgaḍi (1569-1658) and Chikka-Gauḍa with Chikka-Kempe-Gauḍa (son of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa), afterwards Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa III (1658-1678). Perhaps during the period, of which we are writing (c. 1647-1650), both father and son were governing the Yelahanka-nāḍu, the former from Kuṇigal, the latter from Māgaḍi, and both were present during the festivities of 1647 in Seringapatam. For the relations between Kaṅṭhīrava and Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa about 1648-1650, see f.n. 97 in Ch. VIII and text thereat. For the genealogy of the Yelahanka (Māgaḍi) chiefs, *vide* Table XVII.

24. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 89-91.

25. See *C. Vam.*, 113; *C. Vi.*, III, 78; also f.n. 85 *infra*.

26. *K. N. V.*, VII, 96; V, 112, etc.

Narasarāja Woḍeyar, was himself an earnest devotee of Vishṇu, adoring God Nṛsimha.²⁷ An inscription²⁸ records of him as having none to equal him alike in respect of bathing in holy rivers, making gifts, winning victory on the field and offering worship to Vishṇu. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*, already referred to,²⁹ makes mention of his pilgrimage to Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati, Śrīrangam and other sacred places, accompanied by his half-brother, Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the early years of the reign of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, the Vaishṇava predilections of the Mysore Royal Family became more and more marked. Kaṇṭhīrava was celebrated for his ardent devotion to Vishṇu (*atisāya Vishṇu-bhakti*)³⁰ and for his scrupulous observance of the characteristic features of the creed,³¹ namely, *Vaishṇava-Dīkshā* (leaving the head unshaved for long periods), *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa-Prasanga* (listening to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇam*), *Ēkādaśi-Vratam* and *Dvādaśi-Vratam* (fasting on the eleventh day of every fortnight and breaking the fast on the twelfth), *Hari-pūje*, *Hari-dhyāna* (worship and contemplation of Vishṇu), *Nitya-dāna* (daily gifts), *Kshīrāmbudhi* (distribution of milk) and *Brindāvana-sēve* (offering devotional worship to *Brindāvanam*, the abode of the Lord). A lithic record³² speaks of him as having placed his burdens at the feet of God Nṛhari (Lakshmi-Nṛsimha). Indeed so profound was the impression produced by his faith in Vaishṇavism that he was deified

27. *Ibid.*, IV, 4-10.

28. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 103 (April 1647), ll. 28-29 :

Snānēcha dānēcha jayēcha Vishṇōḥ
Pājā-vidhau tatsadrśō na-kaśhit ||

29. *Ante*, Ch. VI.

30. *K. N. V.*, XXVI, 3.

31. *Ibid.*, 4-16 ; VII, 63 ; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 25 ; *Annals*, I. 92-93.

32. *E. C.*, V (2) Ag. 64 (April 1647), p. 767 (Text) : *Srī-Nṛhari padayugē nyasta sarvasva bhārō* ; see also *C. Vam.* (37), depicting Kaṇṭhīrava as having been engaged in the contemplation and adoration of Vishṇu (*Nṛsimhana. dāya-mōrtiyam nenedu jānisi . . . adigeragi-yāḷgeydu . . .*).

by his subjects. Nor can there be any doubt that he aimed at perpetuating the cult of Vishṇu among his people by the issue of coins bearing the figure of God Lakshmi-Narasimha and by inducing them to worship that God and observe the rite of fasting (*Ēkādaśi-Vratam*) on the eleventh day of every fortnight. Thus, the record,³³ mentioned above, says: "The king Kaṅṭhīrava was taken by the people for God Nṛsimha. Seeing that from love of money the people had forgotten Vishṇu, the wise king Kaṅṭhīrava made from that money *Nṛhari* and preserved the people . . . Inquiring into the sayings of the *Vēda* and *Smṛiti* and ascertaining the meaning of all *śāstras*, in accordance with the intentions of both, he caused all to worship Lakshmi-Nṛhari's two feet on *Ēkādaśi* and also to perform that (*Ēkādaśi*) *Vrata* like Ambarīsha and other kings." It was, we are told,³⁴ his sincere conviction that salvation was only to be attained by absolute devotion to Vishṇu; and this perhaps found its lasting expression in the construction by him (between 1645-1648) of a temple to God Lakshmi-Narasimha, to the right of his Palace at Seringapatam, for the spiritual benefit of his people (*tannanti-lōgarellarum bardunkugendu*).³⁵ Toleration

33. *Ibid*, p. 768 (Text):

Kaṅṭhīrava-mahīpātam Nṛsimham mēnirē janāḥ ||
Vittēchchā paripīḍitēna manasā Vishṇuṃ sadā vismṛtān |
Lōkān vikshya dayāparōti-chaturāḥ Kaṅṭhīrava-kshamāpatih |
Tadvittē Nṛharim vidhāya sahasā kurvan nṛṇām pālanam |

Vēda-Smṛtyādi vākyaṃ savāchuna-sādrśam sarva-śāstram vicārya
Śrīmān Kaṅṭhīrava-śśrī-narapatir-niśchayitvārtha-yugmam |
Ēkādaśyām su-Lakshmi-Nṛhari-padayugārādhanam tad-vratancha
Vyātannannambarīśādyakhīla-narapatīnām-asēṣām-śchakāra ||

34. *C. Vam.*, l.c.: *nitya-sukhama-nēlasi tattvama-nāraydu Purushōttamana bhakti-yōlallade mukti-yanugoḷladendu niśchayisi*. See also *C. Vi.*, II, 140. According to Tirumalārya, the reference to *tattuva* in the above passage is to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava doctrines of trust in God's grace and self-surrender.

35. *Ibid*; *C. Vi.*, II, 141; also *K. N. V.* (1648), VII, 76-81, 114, referring to the temple (*Śrī-Narasimha-dēvana nilaya*); *Annals*, I, 89; *Mys. Rāj. Cho.*, 24 (compare). For further references to this extant temple, see under *Gifts, Grants and Social life*.

was a prominent feature of Kaṅṭhīrava's religion. He was devoted as much to Viṣṇu as to Śiva (*Hari-Harabhaktiyolīruva*),³⁶ while he worshipped his family deities *Lakshmīkānta*, *Chāmuṇḍēśvari* and *Triṇēśvara*³⁷ with no less fervour. He is also said to have observed the Śaiva rites (*Śaiva-Vrata*) as well.³⁸ In his capital there not only flourished Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva institutions (temples and *maths*)³⁹ but also adherents of different creeds and sects (such as the *Bhāgavatas*, *Vīra-Vaiṣṇavas*, *Mathādhīpatis*, *Śivabhaktas*, *Jōgis* and *Jangamas*), who lived side by side in friendly rivalry.⁴⁰

Numerous were the gifts of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar to institutions and individuals, both in and outside his kingdom.

Services in the temple of God Lakshmī-Narasimha at Seringapatam engaged his constant attention. That temple, it is said,⁴¹ was provided by him with a lofty enclosure-wall of stone (*ēḷtarada kalla pāgalu*), an extensive verandah (*bittarada kaisāle*), a seven-storeyed tower (*ēḷneleya gōpura*), *maṅṭapas*, *navaranga*, abodes for minor gods (*parivāra-dēvatālayaṅgaḷum*) and a *garbha-gr̥ha* (*gabbavane*), besides a sacrificial pavilion (*yāga-śāle*) and a spring festival pond (*Vasanta-kōḷa*). In the temple thus furnished, Kaṅṭhīrava, it is added,⁴² set up the image of Nṛsimha with Nāchyārs and the processional image of the God, together with minor deities and Āḷvārs, according to the *Pāncharātra* and other *āgamas*. He richly endowed this shrine with ornaments of precious stones—including a jewelled crown

36. *K. N. V.*, VII, 63.

37. *Ibid.*, IV, 96.

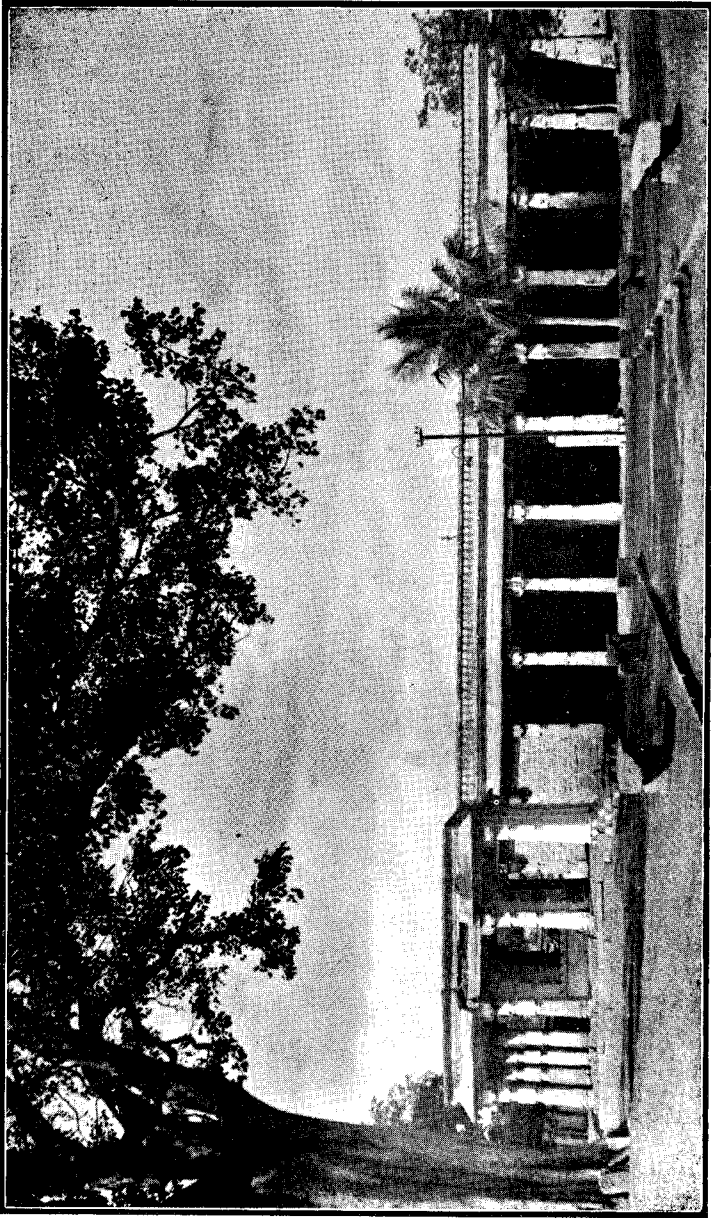
38. *Annals*, I, 93.

39. *K. N. V.*, VII, 73-114. For details, *vide* section on *Social life—Cities and towns*.

40. *Ibid.*, VI, 53, 62; XX, 45-47; XXI, 118, etc.

41. *C. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vi.*, II, 141-142; *Annals*, I, 89-90; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also under *Social life*, l.c.

42. *Annals*, I, 90; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; also *C. Vam.* and *C. Vi.*, l.c.; *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 58, para 130 [*E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), ll. 14-15].



Sri-Narasimhasvami Temple, Seringapatam.

named *Kanṭhīrava-muḍi*—silken fabrics, plates, cups, utensils and *vāhanams*; and arranged for the conduct of daily, fortnightly, monthly and yearly services to the presiding deity, setting apart the revenues of fertile villages for the purpose. As part and parcel of his religion (*Vrata-dharma*), Kanṭhīrava, we learn,⁴³ also established *agrahāras* at Seringapatam (Paśchimaranga), Karīghaṭṭa (Karigiri), Mēlkōṭe (Yādavādri), Śrī-Śailam, Benares (Kāśī), Śrīrangam and Rāmēśvaram (Sētu), with arrangements for the feeding of Brāhmins and the payment of annuities to deserving families, and provided for the worship of God Bindu-Mādhava and Viśvanātha at Benares and for the conduct of a *Rāmānuja-kūṭa* (assembly of the followers of Rāmānujāchārya) at Śrīrangam. He also set up feeding-houses (*anna-satra*) throughout his kingdom and performed innumerable deeds of charity (such as the celebration of marriages, thread ceremonies, etc.) in aid of the poor and the needy. Among the acts of piety Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar is credited with are:⁴⁴ the formation of a lake (named *Kanṭhīrava-sarōvara*) in the *Śuka-tīrtha* at Seringapatam, for use during the function of *Gajēndra-Mōksha* conducted for God Ranganātha; the establishment of an *agrahāra* named *Kanṭhīrava-pura* to the north of the Cauvery in Seringapatam, with *vrittis* (shares) to the three sects of Brāhmins; the construction of an extensive tank named *Narasāmbudhi* by damming the Kauṇḍinī river, to raise crops for services to God Nanjuṇḍēśvara of Nanjangūḍ; the extending of the towers, maṇṭapas and outer and inner enclosure-walls of the temple of Ranganātha and the presentation of a jewelled crown named *Vaikunṭha-muḍi* to that God; the extending of the tower of the

43. E. C., III (1) Sr. 103 (1647), ll. 49-53; K. N. V., XXVI, 31-39; see also f. n. 63 *infra* and text thereto.

44. *Annals*, I, 79, 82-83, 90-93; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 24-25. Dēvachandra speaks also of grants of lands by Kanṭhīrava to the Jain Basti at Śravapa-Belagola (Gommaṭapura) and rent-free gifts (*umbali*) to the Jain Brāhmins, etc., (*Raj. Kath.*, XII. 472).

temple of Gangādhareśvara in Seringapatam and the setting up of the Panchalinga in that temple; the execution of repairs to the temple of Venkaṭaramaṇa at Karīghaṭṭa and the erection of steps to that hill; the renovation of the *Gautama-ratha* at the temple of Śrīkaṅṭhēśvara at Nanjangūḍ; the laying out a garden (named *Śringāra-tōṭa*), near the waste weir of the old tank in Mysore, on the spot where his grandfather, Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, had been cremated; the construction of a large pond (named *Śringāra-tōṭada-koḷa*) with bathing-ghāṭs, to the south of the Triṇēśvara temple; the addition of a verandah to the latter temple, with the images of Chāmuṇḍēśvarī, Panchalinga, Dakṣiṇāmūrti and other gods set up therein, and the erection of a spacious *kalyāṇa-manṭapa* (marriage pavilion) behind the temple of Lakṣmīramaṇasvāmi at Mysore; the provision of gifts and endowments to Goddesses Chāmuṇḍēśvarī of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills and Jvālāmukhi-Amma of Uttanahaḷḷi, and to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples at Nanjangūḍ, Tirupati, Mēlkōṭe and other sacred places, according to the status of each of these temples; the construction of a tank at Arikūṭhāra in the name of his father-in-law, Doḍḍē Urs, and the laying out of a new water-course—extant as *Bangāradoḍḍi-kālve*—near Seringapatam, and naming it after Doḍḍājamma, a favourite consort of his (*gāndharva-patni*).

This last-mentioned act was, we are told,⁴⁵ the outcome of a scheme to provide traffic facilities to the public over the Cauvery when it is in floods and, ordinarily, for the supply of water to the inhabitants of the capital city. The Cauvery, flowing to the south-west and the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam, was, it is said,⁴⁶ bridged at convenient points; then the river was dammed near Chandra-vana, to the south of Gautama-kṣhētra (where it

45. *Annals*, I. 91.

46. *Ibid.*

divides itself into two branches), and the water thus stored in was led to the capital city by means of the canal running from the bridge in the south-west. Kaṅṭhīrava is further said to have laid down that the crops raised under the new scheme were to be set apart for services in the temple of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam.⁴⁷ In keeping with this account of the scheme is the contemporary reference⁴⁸ to the bridge adjoining both branches of the Cauvery and the new canal surrounding the city of Seringapatam, from which it seems obvious that these monuments of Kaṅṭhīrava's rule were conspicuous in Seringapatam already between c. 1645-1648.

Among the extant records of the reign of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated April 7, 1639,⁴⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Gajjiganahalli—under the name of *Narasarāṭpura* (divided into 24 shares)—to Vēdic Brāhmins, for the eternal benefit of his father (Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar) and as an offering to God Nṛsimha. A lithic record, dated December 7, 1640,⁵⁰ refers to the grant by Kaṅṭhīrava, as rent-free, of the village of Puṭṭanapura in the Hangaḷa-sṭhaḷa of the Terakaṅāmbi-sīme, for the offerings to God Hanumanta (newly set up, with a maṅṭapa in the central street of Terakaṅāmbi, by one Kempa-Narasimha Seṭṭi) and for the maintenance of a feeding-house for the daily distribution of food to Brāhmins (*nitya-katṭaḷeya . . . Brāhmaṇa-satra*). Another, dated March 15, 1642,⁵¹ speaks of the setting

47. *Ibid.*

48. K. N. V. (1648), V, 60-61: *Ubhaya-kāvēriya bigidopputtiha divya sētu . . . ōra baḷasi nere pariva kāluve*; also VII, 49: *nūtana-gālve*.

49. E. C., III (1) Nj. 198: s. 1561, *Pramāthi, Chaitra, śu. 15*. This record is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varāha-mudre*). *Vide*, on this point, f.n. 56 *infra*.

50. *Ibid*, IV (2) Gu. 10: s. 1562, *Vikrama, Pushya śu. 5, Monday*. This record also bears the emblem of sovereignty of the world (*Vāmana-mudre*, see l. 11).

51. E. C., V (1) and (2) Cn. 163: *Vishu, Phālguna ba. 10, Tuesday*. Cf. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 278.

up of God Basavēśvara and the erection of a maṅṭapa at Channarāyapaṭṇa by Channa Woḍeyar, son of Doddaiya, Prabhu of Kāṅkāṅhaḷḷi, a feudatory of Kaṅṭhīrava. A third, dated March 10, 1643,⁵² records the grant by Kaṅṭhīrava, as an *agrahāra* (of 50 shares) to Purōhit Lingā-Bhaṭṭa and other Brāhmins, of the village of Mārachahaḷḷi—otherwise called *Narasarāja-pura*—with its eight hamlets, wet and dry lands, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated April 26, 1645,⁵³ registers the gift by Kaṅṭhīrava of lands in six tributary villages (*kaigāṇikeya grāmagalu*), on the occasion of the striking of the *Kaṅṭhīrāya-haṅams*. A lithic record, dated April 27, 1647,⁵⁴ mentions the formation by Kaṅṭhīrava of the *agrahāra* of Mattigōḍu (south-east of Rāmanāthapura)—named after himself—and the grant of the same to selected Brāhmins, divided into 13 shares, as an offering to God Narasimha (*Śrī-Narasimhāya namaḥ*). A copper-plate inscription from Toṇḍanūr, of the same date,⁵⁵ refers to the grant by Kaṅṭhīrava of the village of Sukadore to the north of Mēlkoṭe (Yādavādri), together with its seven hamlets, to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins, as an *agrahāra* under the name of *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa-Nṛpāmbōdhi*. This record, it is interesting, bears the king's signature as *Śrī-Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāju* and is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varāhamudre*).⁵⁶ A lithic record, dated September 23,

52. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 5: s. 1564, *Chitrabhānu, Phālguna ba.* 30, Friday.

53. No. 18-15-20, pp. 36-37: s. 1567, *Pārthiva, Vaiśākha śu.* 11.

54. E. C., V (1) and (2) Ag. 64: *Sarvajit, Vaiśākha śu.* 3. This record, again, is impressed with the Boar seal [see p. 770 (Text) in V (2)]:

. . . Rājēśa Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa-nṛpāh sāsanaṁ kārayitvā
Samyag-vārāha-mudrām tadupariccha param sthāpayitvā likhītva ||
See also f.n. 56 *infra*.

55. E. C., III (1) Sr. 103: *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, II. 154-155:

. . . Rājēśha Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa-nṛpa-śāsanaṁ kārayitvā
Samyag-vārāha-mudrām tadupariccha param sthāpayitvā likhītva ||

This record points, significantly enough, to Kaṅṭhīrava's local position when he was at the height of his power—particularly after the siege of

1647,⁵⁷ refers to the construction of a pond and a stone *maṭh* in Channarāyapaṭṇa by Kempaṇṇa-Gauḍa of Kasulagere, an agent of Doḍḍaiya of Kānkānhalli, feudatory of Kaṇṭhīrava. Between c. September 1647 and April 1648, we have lithic records⁵⁸ referring, among other things, to the construction of a temple (of three *ankanams*) to Gadde-Rāmēśvara, a pond, a well and an evening *maṭh* (*sandhyā-maṭha*), at Channarāyapaṭṇa, by Doḍḍaiya himself. Another record, a lithic one, dated December 8, 1647,⁵⁹ speaks of the grant by Kaṇṭhīrava of the village of Balakuḷi to Brāhmanas of various gōtras and sūtras. A *nirūpa* of Kaṇṭhīrava, dated March 14, 1649 and addressed to Channaiya of the *Paṭṭaṇa-hōbḷi-vichāra*,⁶⁰ refers to the setting up of a stone slab (*śilāpratiṣṭhebagye*) in Tirumalasāgara, and communicates an order to the effect that the boundaries of villages under *Tirumalasāgara-agrahāra* should be fixed up and that the supply of water thereto from the tank of Tonṇūr (Tonḍanūr) should, as usual, be conducted in perfect security. The *nirūpa*, it was further ordered, was to be got copied in the *kaḍita* of the *Chāvaḍi-karaṇika* and returned. A lithic record, dated October 21, 1650,⁶¹ refers to the erection of a *navaranga-paṭṭasāle* and an enclosure-wall—for God Veṇugōpāla set up in Āne-Bāgūr—and the promotion of a work of merit by Koṭṭūraiya, Kaṇṭhīrava's agent at Sāligrāma. This

Piriyapaṭṇa. In the present state of our epigraphical knowledge, the use of the Boar seal, in the public documents of the Rulers of Mysore, seems to have actually begun under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, although his predecessor, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, had already claimed the title of *Dharaṇi-Varāha* (vide Ch. VI). See also f.n. 49 and 54 *supra*.

57. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 159: s. 1569, *Sarvajit*, *Āśvija śu.* 5.

58. *Ibid.*, Cn. 158, 160 and 165: *Sarvajit-Sarvadhāri*, *Vaiśākha śu.*

59. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 23: *Sarvajit*, *Mārgaśira ba.* 7.

60. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 2): *Virōdhi*, *Chaitra śu.* 11. The actual expressions used are: *Tirumalasāgarada agrahāraḥke salluva grāmagaḷige yellegaṭṭa nillisi koḍuvudu*; *Tirumalasāgarada grāmagaḷige Tonṇūra kereyinda prāku mērege nīranu koḷisi, surakṣhitadalli naḍisi-konḍu barōdu*. This record points sufficiently to Kaṇṭhīrava's solicitude for the welfare of rural folk.

61. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 185: *Vikriti*, *Kārtika śu.* 7.

document further records that the erection of the temple was begun by Lingaiya of Yeḷandūr (Yaḷavandūr), that the *navaranga*, enclosure-wall, *paṭṭasāle* and other items of work were actually carried out by Nanjaiya, son of Koṭṭūraiya, and that, in the entire undertaking, he was assisted by the local śānabhogs (*Sēnabhōga*), Nariyapaiya and Chikkarasaiya, as well as by the Palace śānabhōgs, Mailāraiya and Gōvindaiya, while the temple itself was finished by one Basavaiya. A much worn out lithic record, in front of the Ānjanēya temple at Mādāpura, belonging to c. 1650,⁶² mentions the grant by Kaṅṭhīrava of thirteen villages for services to God Narasimha. Another, of about the same time,⁶³ is a stone charter of Kaṅṭhīrava granting in perpetuity the village of Honganūr—with the adjoining villages—in the Hadināḍ-sīme, to provide for the continuance of his works of merit in Benares (Kāśi) through his Purōhit, Lingā-Bhaṭṭa, the items of works, enumerated in the record, being as follows: charities, anointment of Viśvēśvara and other Gods, illuminations with *Sahasra-nāma* (reciting of onethousand names of the deity), offerings and rites at all the *Parvas*, bathing-gifts during the three months of *Māgha*, *Vaiśākha* and *Kārtika* (January-February, April-May and October-November), feeding 100 Brāhmans daily, annual allowance to God Kāśinātha and bathing in *Māgha* at Prayāga. Another lithic record, dated February 10, 1651,⁶⁴ registers the setting up of God Sōmēśvara at Aṇaṭi village, during the régime of Doḍḍaiya, feudatory of Kaṅṭhīrava, in Channarāyapaṭṭa. Another, dated May, 24, 1651,⁶⁵ refers to the setting up of Nāga-bhaktaiya and the building of a maṅṭapa at the temple of Īśvara, in the Diṇḍagūru village, by Doḍḍaiya himself. We have also

62. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 63, para 107.

63. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 42; see also text of f.n. 43 *supra* and *M. A. R.*, 1931, No. 53, p. 155, referring to 'Kāśi-āharmada grāma.'

64. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 202. s. 1572, *Vikriti*, *Māgha* *ba.* 14, Monday. Cf. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 275.

65. *Ibid.*, Cn. 171: s. 1573, *Khara*, *Jyēṣṭha* *śu.* 15, Saturday.



Statue of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Vodeyar I in the
Narasimhasvāmi Temple, Srīngapatam.

a lithic record, dated March 19, 1655,⁶⁶ in which Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya (Linge-Gauḍa?) is said to have made a grant of lands belonging to Narasīpura, attached to the Saragūr-sthāla, for the decorations, festivals, offerings and illuminations of God Narasimha. Another, a damaged one, dated 1655,⁶⁷ seems to refer to a service of Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya (Hampaiya) in the Ārḍra-Kapālēśvara temple at Ērōḍe. A third one, dated March 1657,⁶⁸ speaks of Kanṭhīrava as having caused to be made the image of God Arkēśvara for the Antarahaḷli *agrahāra*.

An authentic statue of Kanṭhīrava, a *Bhakta-vigraha*—with his name in Kannaḍa (*Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Waḍayaravaruru*) inscribed on the pedestal—is to be seen in a room to the left of the *Ranga-mantapa* of the temple of Narasimhasvāmi at Seringapatam.⁶⁹ It is a magnificent figure of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, about three and a half feet high, standing on a high pedestal with folded hands. Kanṭhīrava is represented as wearing a long robe, girt with a sword, shield and dagger on the left side, and with large ear-rings and *Vīra-penḍeya* (hero's insignia) on the right foot. Altogether a beautifully carved statue, presenting in life-like fashion the majestic bearing of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar as a warrior-devotee. A similar statue of his is to be seen in a pavilion of the temple of Trinayanēśvara in the Mysore fort.

During the reign of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar—especially in the earlier part of it—the capital city of Seringapatam was an important centre of social life. It was a beautiful and flourishing city, with its well-furnished and well-guarded fort (*kōṭe*) adorned

Social life: c. 1638-1648. Cities and towns.

1. Seringapatam.

66. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 49: s. 1576, *Jaya*, *Phālguna* *bā*. 7, Monday; see also f.n. 98 in Ch. VIII.

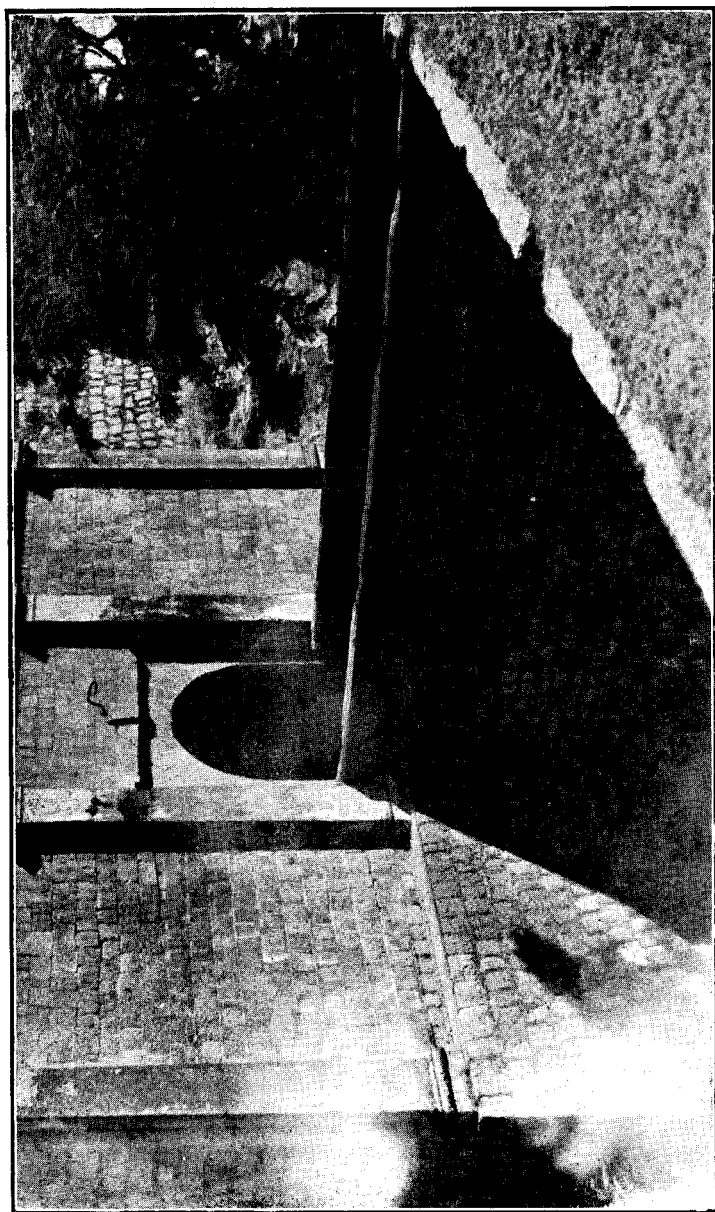
67. *M. E. R.*, 1910-1911, No. 170 (*I. M. P.*, I. 535, Cb. 150): *Manmatha*; see also f.n. 139 in Ditto.

68. *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 39: *Hēvilāmbi*, *Chaitra* *śu*.

69. *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 125; also p. 2, para 8 (*E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 176).

with lofty ramparts (*ālvēri*), bastions (*kottaḷa*), spikes (*tene*), flag-staffs (*ḍenkaṇi*), trenches (*agaḷu*) and guard-rooms at the entrances (*bāgila sejje*); with its broad main streets (*viśāla vīdhigaḷu*), named after the Sun and the Moon (*Ravi-Śaṣi vīdhi*), lined with the storeyed mansions (*harmya, upparige*) of princes, nobles and chiefs; with its minor streets (*kēri*), wherein resided poets, scholars, ministers, courtiers, people following different trades and professions (including the courtezans), merchants and the military, among others; and with its principal gates (namely, the Eastern Gate, the Mysore Gate and the Bijāpur Gate) lined with horse-stables (*aśvagaḷa lāya*) and elephant-stables (*gaḷada śālegaḷu*), containing horses and elephants captured in war (with Bijāpur and Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, etc.) and sent in as tribute by the Changāḷvas and by the chiefs of Koḍagu (Coorg), Konkaṇa, Kongu, Maleyāḷa and other places.⁷⁰ Conspicuous in

70. K. N. V. (1648), VI, 3-74, 91, 93, 198; VII, 1-9. Compare the general topography of Seringapatam, described here, with the topography of Vijayanagar as given by Domingo Paes (1520) (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 284-289). The two accounts are not identical but the similarity in respect of outlines of planning is rather striking from the point of view of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. See also f.n. 71 *infra*. Among the various classes of people depicted in the K. N. V. as residing in Seringapatam during the reign of Kanṭhīrava were: the nobility (*dore manneyaru*), poets and scholars (*kaviḷu, vidvāmsaru*), connoisseurs of arts (*kalā-kōvidaru*), ministers (*mantri-gaḷu*), accountants (*karaṇikaru*), physicians (*vaidyaru*), songsters (*gāyakarū*), actors, buffoons and confidants (*naṭa-nāyaka, pariḥāsaka, vinōdigalu*), Brāhmins, Vokkaḷigas, Śivabhaktas, Vīra-Vaiṣṇavas, courtezans (*sūlegēri, sūle-vāṭike, vēśyā-vāṭa*), dancers (*naṭuviga*), perfumers (*gandiga*), metal workers (*bōgāra*), oil-mongers (*tilagātaka*), copper-smiths (*tāmra-mardakarū*), painters (*chitriga*), weavers (*śēṭigarū*), barbers (*nāyinda*), tailors (*chippiga*), cobblers (*muchchiga*), athletes (*malla*), conjurers (*jālagārarū*), merchants (*haradara grhagaḷu*), torch-bearers (*diṭvaṭigarū*), cattle-keepers (*kottageyaru*), mahouts (*gaḷārō-hakarū*), royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutarū*), foot-soldiers skilled in handling weapons (*battisāyudhagaḷa subhātarū*), heads of the military (*vaṇṭēri-gāra nāyakarū*) and menials (*nīḷigadavarū*) (VI, 35-74, 91, 93, 198; VII, 1-9, etc.). For details of arms, ammunition, etc., stored in the Seringapatam fort, see Appendix IX. The K. N. V. is mainly drawn upon throughout this section, making due allowance for the prevailing erotic sentiment (*Śringāra*) and the literary devices employed by the contemporary poet, Gōvinda-Vaidya. For a detailed account and estimate of the work, see under *Literary activity*.



The Mysore Gate of the Seringapatam Fort—A side view.

the city was the king's Palace (*aramane*), with its superbly sculptured masonry walls (*bhitti*), exquisitely carved storeys (*nelevāda*, *upparige*) and the most artistically decorated pavilions and apartments, namely, *Hiriya-hajāra* (principal or Durbār Hall), *Lakshmī-vilāsa*, *Saundarya-vilāsa*, *Madana-vilāsa*, *Durgā-maṅṭapa*, *Śāradā-maṅṭapa*, *Bhuvanēśvari*, *Indirā-mandira*, *Baṅgāra-chauki*, *Vijaya-bhavana*, *Chitra-sāle* (picture-gallery), *Āyudha-sāle* (armoury), *Nāṭaka-sāle* (theatre), *Majjana-sāle* (bath-room), *Nāma-tīrtha-bhavana* (*Nāma-tīrtha* pavilion), *Bhōjana-sāle* (dining-hall), *B o k k a s a* . . . *bhaṅḍāra* (treasury vaults), etc.⁷¹ Conspicuous also in the city were the temples of Lakshmī-Narasimha (newly constructed, with *prākāra*, pillars, capitals, richly ornamented canopy, tower with pinnacle, *brindāvanam*, *dīpa-mālā* pillar, *maṅṭapas*, *vāhanams*, *garbha-grha*, etc.) and Ranganātha (with the *prākāra*, *dīpa-mālā* pillar, *maṅṭapas*, tapestried canopy, sculptured figures of elephants at the gates, *dvārapālakas*, the images of Varadarāja, Mannār-Narasimha, Vēṅugōpāla, shrines of Ranganātha and the goddesses, images of Emberumannār

71. *Ibid.*, VII, 21-58; XXII, 56-60. The Palace at Seringapatam, above referred to, no longer exists. The extensive site where it was located (*i.e.*, to the right of the temple of Ranganātha) is now marked by a commemorative *maṅṭap*—pointing to the birthplace of H. H. Śrī Krishnarāja Wodeyar III—put up by H. H. Śrī Krishnarāja Wodeyar IV on July 1, 1915 (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 3144). It is, however, interesting to note that the present Palace at Mysore corresponds, in respect of principal chambers and apartments, with the old Palace at Seringapatam. This is, perhaps, an indication of how the Vijayanagar idea has persisted through centuries. Seringapatam having been, for long, the seat of the southern (or Karnāṭaka) viceroyalty, there seems little doubt that the Palace there was closely modelled after the Vijayanagar one and improvements effected thereto from time to time by the rulers of Mysore. For a connected account of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore, *vide* Appendix IX.

Compare the description of the interior of the Palace at Vijayanagar as given by Paes (Sewell, *Ibid.*, I.c). Although Paes, being a foreign observer, could not be expected to mention the exact names of all the apartments in that Palace, yet the description left by him would seem to correspond, in respect of the principal items, with the account of the Palace at Seringapatam. The similarity is thus significant.

and the Ālvārs, etc).⁷² Among other temples in different parts of the city were those of Tiruvenkaṭeśvara (in the *Agarada-kēri*, i.e., *agrahāra*), Tirumalēśvara and Bēṭe-Rāya (in the *Akkiya-kēri*, i.e., street where rice was bought and sold), Gangādhareśvara, Virēśa, Moraḍiya-Tirumala-Rāya, Narasimha-Mūrti and Bāgila-Venkaṭeśvara (situated in the *Hora-kēri*, i.e., outskirts of the city).⁷³ Among the *maths* in the city were *Dodḍa-Hampaiyana-maṭha*, *Mūleya-maṭha*, *Viraktara-maṭha* and *Dāsōhada-maṭha*.⁷⁴

Another flourishing city during the reign was Mysore, with its well-equipped and equally well-guarded fort adorned with the newly constructed spirals (*nūtana tene*), ramparts, bastions, flag-staffs and the moat; with its main streets and minor streets—lined with storeyed mansions and houses inhabited by princes, courtiers, poets, scholars and professional people (including courtezans); with its elephant and horse stables and the armoury (*jīna-sāle*); with its Palace, containing the Durbār Hall (*ōlaga-sāle*, *hiriya-hajāra*, *h a j ā r a d a - t o ṭ ṭ i*), council-chamber (*mantana-gr̥ha*), picture-gallery (*chitrada-chāvāḍi*), theatre (*nāṭaka-sāle*), dining-hall (*bhōjana-sāle*), bed-chamber (*sejjeya sadana*), *chandra-sāle*, *nāmatīrtha pavilion* (*nāmatīrtha-chauki*), front verandah (*moga-sāleya totṭi*) and abode of worship (*aramaneyya dēgula*); and with its temples of Trinayana (Triṇēśvara), Lakshmi-kānta, Bāgila-Hanuma and Bhōgi-Bhūṣaṇa and Kāla-Bhairava (on the tank-bund, *taṭakadēriyali*).⁷⁵

72. *Ibid.*, VII, 73-111.

73. *Ibid.*, 112-113.

74. *Ibid.*, 114.

75. *Ibid.*, II, 25-82, 107, 109-111; see also *C. Vam.*, 45-46; *Annals*, I, 79-80.

The planning of the town of Mysore and of the Palace there seems to have been distinctly after the Vijayanagar models at Seringapatam (see f.n. 70 and 71 *supra*). Among the various classes of people depicted in the *K. N. V.* as residing in Mysore during the reign of Kaṅṭhīra were: members of the Royal Family (*Rājaputrarū*), poets, scholars and disputants (*karavīkaru*, *Vēda-sāstra-sampannarū*, *tārīkaru*), musicians, including lutists (*gāyakarū*, *nāḍavidarū*, *vainīkarū*), dancers (*naṭuviga*), libertines, jesters and confidants (*vīṭa vīdūshaka nāgarika pīthamardana*), courtezans (*sūlēgēri*, *vēśyā-vāta*),

Among the towns, Mēlkōṭe was, as already referred to, a prominent centre of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, with its main gate (*perbāgīlu*), principal street (*Śrī-vīdhi*), *Śrī-gōpura-dvāra*, pond (*kalyāṇi*), temple of Tirunārāyaṇasvāmi (with the images of the God and the Goddess and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava saints, the *Ranga-mantapa*, etc.) and the Palace (*aramane*), with the inner pavilion (*oḷa-chauki*) and the *nāmatīrtha* pavilion (*nāmatīrthada chauki*).⁷⁶

The general conditions of living during the period, particularly in the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore, are perhaps best reflected in the references⁷⁷ to the storeyed mansions (*harmya*, *upparige*, *karumāḍa*) of the richer classes; houses—with flat roofs (*māḷige*) and plastered pavements (*kuttīma*)—of the middle classes; and the ordinary dwellings (*mane*) of the humbler folk. The market-place (*angāḍi-kēri*)⁷⁸ in these cities was an index of the growing wealth of the times, which is further evidenced by the marked taste for luxuries that was being exhibited by the people of the higher strata of society—particularly in their use of silken and lace fabrics (*paṭṭe*, *paiṭhaṇi*, *dukūla*, *chīnāmbara*, *pītāmbara*, *jaratāri*)⁷⁹ and ornaments of various descriptions as, for instance, ear, finger and nose rings (*chaukuḷi*, *ōle*, *ungura mūguti*), bangles, wristlets, bracelets and anklets (*baḷe*, *kaḍaga*, *kankaṇa*, *nēvura* or *nūpura*) and strings, necklaces, medallions and tassels (*sara*, *hāra*, *padaka*,

athletes (*mallaru*) and people of different castes and creeds (*nānā-varṇa janaru*) (II, 69-74, 82, 107). For details of arms, ammunition, etc., stored in the Mysore fort, *vide* Appendix IX. The *Annals* (I. 79) refers to *jīna-sāle* for *jāna-sāle*, a colloquial form. See also f.n. 70 *supra*.

76. *C. Yam.*, 117, 121, 125-135, 138, 147, 149, 152, 156, etc.; see also f.n. 85 *infra*.

77. *K. N. V.*, II, 69-70, 74-75, 86-89; VI, 36-40, 43-46, 51, 54-62, etc.

78. *Ibid.*, II, 82; VI, 63-74.

79. *Ibid.*, VI, 55, 70; VIII, 82; IX, 71; X, 21; XXI, 112; XXII, 19, 58, 72; XXIII, 80-86; XXIV, 44; XXV, 59, 73, 83, 100-101, 134, etc.

kaṇṭha-māle, kuchchu).⁸⁰ Sacred and secular lore alike flourished in their pristine purity and vigour. We have reference to Brāhmanical scholars, "experts in six Śāstras, four Vēdas and the Purāṇas," in Seringapatam and Mysore⁸¹; to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins, teaching, expounding and studying the Vēdas, the Drāviḍa-Prabandha, poetry (*kāvya*), logic (*tarka*), Dharma-śāstras, grammar (*śabda*), Mīmāṃsa, Vēdānta and the Pāncharātrāgama, in Mēlkōṭe;⁸² and to oblations to fire (*agnihōtradāyāhuti, hōmadhūma*) in these places.⁸³ Gōvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*, was himself, as he says,⁸⁴ a devoted student of the Vēdas and Śāstras (*adhyayanādi sakala mantrasāstrava vēdyavenisi*). Aṣingarārya (Singaraiyangār II of Kauśika-gōtra, also known as Nṛsimha-Sūri), a typical Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholar of the time, was, as he is depicted to us,⁸⁵ a master of two systems of philosophy (*Ubhaya-Vēdānta*), of the texts of Śrī-Bhāṣhya and Śrūta-Prakāśike, grammar and rhetoric (*Pada . . . Vākya*), *Smṛiti, Itihāsa, Purāṇas* (including the *Gīta*), *Vēda* and *Vēdānta* (including the *Upanishads*) and the thirty-two *Brahma-Vidyas*. He is further depicted⁸⁶ as wearing a head-dress of red-coloured silken cloth (*muḍiyol dharisida raktapattōṣṇīṣamum*) with projecting and fluttering black and yellow borders (*kāla-karbatteya serangugalum*), having on his forehead the characteristic Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks (*ūrdhva-puṇḍra* and *śrī-chūrṇa-tilaka*), with ear-rings (*chaukuḷi*), the sacred thread (*yajnōpavīta*), strings of pearls (*muttinekkasara*) and of *tulasī* and *tāvare* rosaries

80. *Ibid.*, II, 91-95, 98-99; VI, 66-68, 102-104; IX, 71-76; X, 20-21; XXI, 14-17; XXIII, 81; XXIV, 18-76; XXV, 73-86, 90-91, 101, etc.

81. *Ibid.*, VI, 41; II, 72. 82. *C. Vam.*, 115, 152-153; see also f.n. 85 *infra*.

83. *K. N. V.*, VI, 50; *C. Vam.*, 153. 84. *Ibid.*, I, 11.

85. *C. Vam.*, 45-48. References from this work are, chronologically, applicable to the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, of whom both Aṣingarārya and his friend, Doḍḍadēvarāja, were contemporaries, *vide* Appendix V—(2); see also under *Domestic life*.

86. *Ibid.*, 47.

(*tuḷasidāvare-maṇigaḷa sarangaḷum*), and as having covered his entire body with a pair of white-coloured garments of silk (*meyyoḷ podedutṭa dhavaḷa-pattām-śuka-yugaḷamum*). Vēdic students at Mēlkōṭe are described as holding in their hands⁸⁷ the *palāśa* staff (*piḍida palāśa-daṇḍamum*), wearing white garments (*utṭa beḷvatte*), the thread of *maunji* grass thrice surrounding their waists (*mūrum baḷasum suttida maunjiyum*) and the sacred thread (*yajnōpavīta*), and covering their bodies with the antelope's skin (*podeda krishṇājinamum*) and the *ūrdhva-pundra* marks. Scholars reciting the *Prabandha* are referred to⁸⁸ as having a serene countenance (*śānti-rasam tumbi*) and wearing the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks on their bodies and red-coloured garments and strings of *tuḷasi* and *tāvare* beads (*podedutṭa taḷirgāvīyudēgaḷum dharisida tuḷasi-tāvare-maṇigaḷa-maḷsarangaḷum*). The Epics and the Purāṇas were, we find,⁸⁹ popular with the folk. Among secular subjects, poetry, music and dancing occupied a prominent place in the fashionable society of the time.⁹⁰ Women generally appear depicted as cultured and accomplished.⁹¹

In contrast with the peace and studied quiet normally prevailing at Mēlkōṭe, daily life in the capital city, and to some extent in Mysore city also, appears to have been, ordinarily, full of bustle and excitement. This was due to the fact that these places were as much of military as of civil importance. We have references⁹² to scenes of horses

87. *Ibid.*, 152.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *K. N. V.*, V, 5-60; VIII, 36; XVIII, 142-143; XXI, 118, 122; *C. Vam.*, 160, etc.

90. *Ibid.*, II, 72-73; VI, 42, 48, 56, 176-177; VIII, 19, 33-36, 55-69; XXI, 64-88, 108-116, 118-122, etc. References to Bharatāchārya and the technique of dancing as described in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra* are significant. Dancing, as an art, appears to have attained a high standard of technical perfection during the period.

91. *Ibid.*, VII, 44; VIII, 70-75, 81; XXIV, 4-5, 15, etc.; see also f.n. 100 *infra*.

92. *Ibid.*, II, 55-56; VI, 33, 58.

and elephants passing through the streets to and from the watering-places and to royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*) riding through the city. Of perhaps greater interest are scenes⁹³ of princes and sons of the nobles (*rājaputraru*, *arasu-makkalu*), in the public streets of the city, engaged in prancing the horses (*tējigalanu kuṇṇisuvāru*), riding the young elephants at will (*kalabhavanu bīdivarisuva*) and taking an active interest in witnessing ram-fights (*ṭagara jagala*), bull-fights (*gūli-kālagagala*), c o c k - f i g h t s (*kukkuṭagala kādipa*) and fights of wagtails and other birds (*sipale*, *gaujala*, etc.) ; of the sons of chiefs (*doregala kuvararu*) returning from the gymnasium (*garaḍi*) with weapons in their hands ; of princesses passing through, seated in palankeens (*pallakkiyēri*) ; of fashionable people (*sogasugāraru*) walking along the prominent parts of the city ; and of watersheds (*aravattige*) where water was being distributed to thirsty wayfarers. Dice (*paḡaḍe*) and chess (*chadurunga*) seem to have formed the common items of amusements in the polite society of the period.⁹⁴

More impressive still was the court culture of the
 Court culture: period : the Palace at Seringapatam, no
 costume and per- less at Mysore,⁹⁵ with the richly
 sonal adornment. tapestried and ornamented halls and
 chambers, adorned by architraves (*bōdige*), pillars (*kamba*),
 roofings (*lōve*), canopies (*mēlkattugalu*) and fissures and
 lattices (*bhittigalu*, *jālāndra*), was itself a scene of great
 attraction. Indeed it was another index of the wealth of
 the capital city ; the tastes of the times found adequate
 expression here. Among the items of dress and personal
 adornment of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, generally,
 were⁹⁶ garments overlaid with high class pearls (*kattāṇi-*
muttu-tettisidudige-y o l a l a v a ṭṭ u-mereda-duppataḍe),

93. *Ibid.*, II, 76-77 ; VII, 10-20 ; II, 54 ; VI, 75-80, 197.

94. *Ibid.*, II, 76, 96-97 ; VI, 117-120, 197.

95. *Ibid.*, VII, 30-43.

96. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 51-74 ; XXII, 60.

ornamented coatee (*navaratna-khachitada . . . kallī*), filigreed turban (*misuniya rummālu*) set with a crest of diamonds (*divya vajrada mirupa turāyi, sirpēsh turāyi*), *ṭikā* of musk on his forehead (*nosaliḡe katturi-tilaka*), ear-rings of pearls and sapphires (*muttina chaukuḡi, nīlada bāvuli*), necklaces, medallions (*kaṇṭha-māle, padaka*) and rings of precious stones (*nava-ratna*), wristlets and bracelets (*kaḡaga, kankana, tōḡa-bhāpuri*) set with pearls, waistbands (*kaṭi-sūtra*), badges for the feet (*charaṇa-peṇḡeyagaḡu*), set with, it is said, precious stones from the crowns of supplicant chiefs (*śaraṇāḡata-rāda doregaḡa mukuṭa-ratnagaḡa*), and ornamented sandals (*ratnada hāvuge*). On ceremonial occasions Kanṭhīrava is depicted⁹⁷ as wearing an outer silken garment (*paṭṭeya dhōtra*), upper cloth (*bahirvāsa*) and a coloured head-dress (*rangu māṇikada kulāyi*), with the usual *ṭikā* of musk (*katturi-nāma*) on the forehead. Prominent courtiers like the Daḡavāi, ministers (*mantrī-śaru*) and chiefs (*maṇḡalikas*) are mentioned⁹⁸ as wearing silken garments (*pairaṇe duppaṭa, paitaṇeya dukūla*), lace turbans (*jaratāra rummālu, muṇḡāsu*) and ear-rings, necklaces and medallions. The royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*), military officers (*nāyakaru*), prominent warriors (*subhaṭaru*), officials of the king's body-guard (*maigāvalūḡigadavaru*) and the attendants in the king's personal service (*sammukhadūḡigadavaru*) are referred to⁹⁹ as wearing close-collared long coats (*dagale*), silken waistbands or sashes (*paṭṭeya daṭṭi*), red-coloured loin cloth (*kunkuma-gāṡe*), upper garment (*uttarige*), ear-rings, bracelets, wristlets, etc. The accomplished ladies of the court (*kōvidēyaru*), including the queens (*rāṇiyaru*), appear depicted as wearing silken and lace garments (*paṭṭe, pītāmbara, chīnāmbara*) of variegated colours and

97. *Ibid.*, XXII, 59, 61.

98. *Ibid.*, XXII, 82; XXIII, 79-81, 83; XXV, 79, 83, 86, 100, 102, etc.

99. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 84-89.

patterns (*chandragāvi*, *poppuli*, *bombeya-barahada-patṭe*, etc.), and ornaments of various kinds.¹⁰⁰

Among the personal servants of Kaṅṭhīrava, as already indicated, were some of the subjugated feudatories themselves. Thus, Muddaiya of Nāgamangala was the bearer of the king's pouch (*haḍapa*); Nanjaṅṅa of Maḷavalli was a menial (*sanchi*); Rājaiya of Terakaṅṅāmbi was the bearer of the spittoon (*kālānji*); Guruvanna of Kannambāḍi, of the goblet (*chambu*), and Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, of the ceremonial garments (*pāvaḍe*).¹⁰¹ Other officials in the personal service of Kaṅṭhīrava were¹⁰²: Basavaiya, bearer of his sword (*Narasarājēndrana kattīya piḍidiha*); Viranna, head of the *Avasarada-hōbḷi* (*avasaradadhika Vīraṅṅa*) department (a service attending to urgent calls in the Palace); Venkaṭapati-Jeṭṭi, personal attendant of the king (*bhūpana charanābja-vididiha*); Dhanvōjaiya, furnisher of ornaments (*ābharanava tandīva*); Krishṇaiya, lute-player (*vīṇeya*); Bhārati-Nanja, poet (*kavi*); and Sangaiya, jester (*hāsyada*). He had also servants to hold mirrors (*kannadiyavanu*), chowries (*kuncha*) and fans (*bīsanige*), besides the Huzūr minister (*rāyara sammukhada mantri*).¹⁰³

The daily Durbār (*nityōtsavadōlaga*) of Kaṅṭhīrava, during the period, was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the spirit of the times. Ordinarily

His daily Durbār and local titles.

100. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 5, 15, 18-48, etc.; see also f.n. 79 and 80 *supra* and text thereto. The ladies of the court are frequently referred to as having been well-versed in astrology, poetry, drama, music and *sāstras* (*jyōtiṣa kāvya nāṭaka sāstra saṅgīta-rīti kōvideyaru*; *nānā bage vidyadabaleyaru*; *sarva sāstra kōvideyaru*—*Ibid.*, VII, 44; VIII, 81 and XXIV, 5, etc.). See the accounts of Paes and Nuniz for similar contemporary references to the culture of court ladies (their costume, personal adornment, etc.), particularly at the court of Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274, 382, etc.; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1906-1907).

101. *Ibid.*, XXV, 54-55, 57-59.

102. *Ibid.*, 75-77, 80, 86-87, 92.

103. *Ibid.*, 78, 88.

Kaṅṭhīrava used to hold the Durbār during night, in the *Lakshmī-vilāsa* chamber of his Palace at Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled and richly ornamented throne, "served by twice-eight fair ones holding chowries in their hands," and honoured with the emblems in gold of the fish, crocodile, conch and discus. Among those who used to attend his Durbār were musicians (*gāyakaṛu*), poets (*kaviḡaḷu*), Vēdic scholars (*Vēda-vidāru*), *Bhāratis* (reciters of the *Bhārata*), disputants (*tārkikāru*), intimate ministers (*āpta-mantriḡaḷu*), accountants (*kaṛaṅkairu*), the Commander-in-Chief (*daḷapati*), royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*), feudatories and chiefs (*manneya-manḡalikāru*), and ambassadors from foreign courts (*dikku-dikkina doreḡaḷa rāyabhārīḡaḷu*). Dancing (*nāṭya*) and music of the guitar (*tumbura*) and the lute (*viṇa*); learned disputations of scholars in *Bhārata*, *Purāṇas*, dramaturgy (*nāṭaka*), politics (*nīti-sāstra*), logic (*tarka*) and grammar (*śabda*), recitation and expounding of the Epics (*Bhārata-Rāmāyaṇa-puṇya-katheya sāratarade . . . ōḡi*); submission of reports by the ministers, Daḷavāi, feudatories and others; and the honouring of the Durbārīs with betel and clothes (*vīḷeya, uḡugore*)—these were among the principal items of the programme of the Durbār, at the end of which Kaṅṭhīrava used to retire to his apartment in the Palace.¹⁰⁴ Among the local titles by which Kaṅṭhīrava

104. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. See text on p. 767 of V (2):

*Śrī-Raṅḡēṣapurē svakīya bhavanē Lakshmī-vilāsē sadā
Nānā chitra vicitrītē maṇilasat siṅhāsanaḡhīṣṭhitāḷ |
Chāraṣṭadvaṇya-chāmarāṅchīta-kaṛaīḷ kāntājanaiṣṣēvītaḷ
Sauvarṇair jhaṣa-saṅkha-chakra-makaraīḷ sat-kētubhīḷ pūjītaḷ ||*

K. N. V., VIII, 1-95; see also *Ibid.*, XI, 125; XV, 119; XXV, 11, etc., referring to Kaṅṭhīrava being served by chamber-maids. Cf. Paes's account referring to the king's daily routine, dancing, chamber-maids, etc., in the Palace at Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 265-279; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1907). Wilks (I. 61) speaks of Kaṅṭhīrava as having been "noted as the author of a new and more respectful etiquette at his court" [*Italics ours*]—a position confirmed and supplemented by the account given above.

was addressed during the Durbārs of the period were :¹⁰⁵ *Karnāṭaka-Chakrēśvara* (Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country); *Āndhra-bala-sangha-karikula* (herd of elephants to the forces of the Āndhra chiefs), *Āryāndhra-nripa-garva-parvata-kuliśāyudha* (thunderbolt to the mountain, the proud Āndhra kings); *Tirumala-Nāyaka-chaturangabala-vallarī-lavitra* (sickle to the bunch, the four-fold army of Tirumala Nāyaka); *Parabala-mēghānila* (gale to the clouds in the form of armies of hostile kings); *Ripurāya-nikara-śarabha-bhēruṇḍa* (double-headed eagle to the assemblage of enemy kings); *Samastōrviśa-makūṭa-manigaṇa-ranjita-pāda-padma* (with the assemblage of precious stones from the crowns of various chiefs, shining at his feet); *Sangara-vijaya-vadhūtīśa* (lord of the goddess of victory on the field of battle); and *Kōṭe-kōlāhala* (occupier of forts amidst great uproar). These titles, literary flourishes apart, are indicative of the profound impression created by Kaṇṭhīrava's political position on his local contemporaries during c.1642-1648.

By far the most characteristic expression of contemporary life is discernible in the public festivals celebrated during the period.

These attracted not only the local populace but people from far and near. All classes of people appear freely participating in them. The birthday (*Tirunakshatram*) of Śrī-Rāmānujāchāryar, annually celebrated at Mēlkōṭe under the constellation of *Āridrā* in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), was, according to the¹⁰⁶ *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*, a great festival (*piriyukkevam*), attended by Śrī-Vaiṣṇava celebrities

105. K. N. V., I, 21-23, 26-27; XIII, 35, 39; XIV, 49, 111; XVIII, 174; XIX, 69; XXI, 125; XXV, 13, etc. Cf. inscriptions of Kaṇṭhīrava, only some of which mention his usual titles, namely, *Birud-antembaragaṇḍa*, *Rājādhirāja-paramēśvara*, *Śrī-Vīrapratāpa* [See E. C., III (1) Sr. 103; V (1) and (2) Cn. 160, 165; IV (2) Ch. 42; Hg. 49, for the years 1647-1655.]

106. p. 113.

from different countries (*palavum divya-dēśangaḷindey-tarpa dēśika-sārtha*). Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and cousin brother of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar) from Mysore, it would appear,¹⁰⁷ also paid a visit to Mēlkōṭe on one such occasion (c. 1643-1644), accompanied by his friend and preceptor, Aḷasingarārya. At Seringapatam, the *Vasantōtsava*¹⁰⁸ (spring festival) and the *Diṇḍina-utsava*,¹⁰⁹ annually conducted for God Ranganātha during the bright half of *Chaitra*, were evidently very popular; and Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar himself is depicted¹¹⁰ to have once personally witnessed them, accompanied by his ministers, chiefs and courtiers. Next in importance and popularity were the *Gajēndra-Tirunāl*¹¹¹ (*Gajēndra-Mōksha*) and the car festival¹¹² (*rathōtsava*) of God Ranganātha at Seringapatam. We have an elaborate account¹¹³ of these as conducted about February 1647, when¹¹⁴ Lingarājaiya (Lingarājēndra) was the Daḷavāi of Kaṅṭhīrava in succession to Nanjarājaiya and when Linge-Gauḍa was the Mayor of the capital city. The *Gajēndra-Tirunāl* formed part of the programme of the car festival of Ranganātha and was preceded by the initiatory ceremony (*ankurārpaṇa*) and the flag-hoisting ceremony (*dhvajapaṭārōhaṇa*) and by such processions of the God as the *Pushpakōtsava*, *Śēshōtsava* and *Garuḍōtsava*.¹¹⁵ It was conducted on the sixth day at the Tirunāl-maṅṭapa¹¹⁶ (in the *Śuka-tīrtha* of the *Kaṅṭhīrava-sarōvara*, newly constructed during the early years of Kaṅṭhīrava's reign)

107. See *C. Vam.*, 113, 158-160; see also under *Domestic life* and f.n. 167 *infra*.

108. *K. N. V.*, VII, 110; IX, 56; also see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1906 (citing S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*, pp. 142-143, and referring to the popularity of the *Chaitra* festival in Vijayanagar).

109. *Ibid.*, IX, 59. 110. *Ibid.*, 56, 64, 67, 98-100, etc.

111. *Ibid.*, VII, 110; XXIII, 22-23, 51-58.

112. *Ibid.*, VII, 109; see also Chs. XXIII-XXV.

113. *Ibid.*, Chs. XXIII-XXV.

114. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 21-23; XXV, 44, 56.

115. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 41-50.

116. *Ibid.*, 51-58.

and was followed by the car festival of Ranganātha and the *Aśvārōhaṇōtsava*, *Jalakrīḍōtsava*, the *Pushpakōtsava* and other items of services.¹¹⁷ The capital city of Seringapatam was tastefully decorated on the occasion, it presenting a gay and festive appearance. And there was a huge concourse of people (including, it is said, the Telugas, Tiguḷas, Konkaṇas, Maleyāḷas and the Karnāṭas) assembled to witness the festivities.¹¹⁸ We have not only a spectacle¹¹⁹ of Kaṅṭhīrava himself witnessing the *Gajēndra-Tirunāl-Utsavam* but also a picturesque scene¹²⁰ in which he is depicted as proceeding to take part in the car festival of Ranganātha, seated on the state horse (*divyāśva*) and accompanied by his Daḷavāi, ministers, feudatories, courtiers and others and all the insignias, and as returning to the Palace after performing his devotion to the God.

Of greater popularity and significance in the social and public life of the capital city was the *Mahānavami* (*Navarātri*)¹²¹ festival. It used to be celebrated with considerable grandeur by Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in the

117. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 64-74; XXV, 106-138, etc.

118. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24-43, 75-77. 119. *Ibid.*, 55, 58.

120. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 49-87; XXIII, 78-107; XXV, 1-113.

121. The *Mahānavami* (or *Navarātri*), according to the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, is a festival celebrated during the first nine days of the bright half of *Āśvīja* (September-October) of every year in honour of the manifestations of Durgā or Chaṇḍikā (*Chaṇḍikā-Navarātri*), the consort of Śiva. Its actual conclusion with the functions of the tenth day (*Vijayadaśami*), however, endows it with the character of a ten days' festival, whence it is now familiarly known as *Dasara* (from *Dasarā* in Mhr.). For an account of Dasara in its traditional and Paurāṇic aspects, see late Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao's article on the subject (in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301-311). In respect of the main items of the programme, Dasara, as observed nowadays in Mysore, differs but little from the festival as conducted in Seringapatam during historical times. The similarity is striking to a degree. Compare also the *Mahānavami* festival in Vijayanagar as described by Paes (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 265-279). The similarity becomes more striking still—another indication of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. An important point in regard to Dasara as celebrated in Seringapatam is that, as we shall see, we have an accurate and exhaustive account of it by a local contemporary who adds considerably to our knowledge of the subject,

autumn (September-October) of every year, in keeping with the traditions set up by his predecessors and with his own local position and status. During the first eight days of the festival Kanṭhīrava used to hold the public Durbār (*oḍḍōlaga*) in his Palace. On the ninth day, he would worship the weapons (in the armoury) and horses and elephants, and on the tenth, he would proceed in state to perform the *Śamī-pūjā* outside the capital city. The *Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* of Gōvinda-Vaidya contains¹²² an elaborate contemporary picture of the entire course of the Mahānavami festival as conducted by Kanṭhīrava in September 1647¹²³ when he had reached the summit of his power. The following is an account of it as gleaned from the poem.

At the approach of autumn, Kanṭhīrava, in consultation with the astrologers, fixed up the programme of the *Mahānavami*. Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya was desired to look after the necessary preliminaries. Linge-Gauḍa, the Mayor of the capital city, under instructions from the Daḷavāi, attended to the beautification of Seringapatam and the Palace, including the Durbār Hall (*Ōlaga-śāle*, *Āsthāna-maṅṭapa*), *Chandra-śāle*, armoury (*Āyudha-śāle*), stores

for which we had, hitherto, to rely solely on the account of Paes applicable only to Vijayanagar. Wilks (I. 61) refers to Kanṭhīrava as noted for his "*having first celebrated with suitable splendour the feast of the Mahanoumi or Dessara*" [Italics ours]. Although, as indicated in an earlier chapter, Rāja Wodeyar is reputed to have inaugurated the festival in Mysore, Wilks's position, so far as Kanṭhīrava is concerned, is more than confirmed and supplemented by the authentic account given here. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 290.

122. Chs. XX-XXII.

123. Since the writing of the *K. N. V.* was completed on May 22, 1648 (see section on *Literary activity*) and since Lingarājaiya of Hura (Lingarājendra) is stated to have been the Daḷavāi of Kanṭhīrava (XX, 51, 53), and Linge-Gauḍa is mentioned as the Mayor of Seringapatam (XX, 50), at the time of the *Mahānavami* festival described in the work, we cannot but place the event in September 1647, Lingarājaiya himself having succeeded to the office of Daḷavāi in January 1647 (*vide* section on *Ministers, Officers and Daḷavāis*). *Āsvīja śu.* 1-10 (the period of the *Mahānavami* festival) in 1647 fell between 19-28th September (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 97).

(*Ulupeya-mane, Ugrāna*), cisterns of curds, ghee and oil (*Dadhi-ghrita-taila-vāpi*) and wardrobe (*Uḍugoregaḷa-bokkasada-gr̥ha*). Presently the stables of horses and elephants and the streets of Seringapatam kept up a gay appearance. Camps (*biḍāra*) were laid out for the lodging of kings and chiefs from different places (*dese-deseṅinda . . . baha vasumatīśara*) and of other visitors from outside (namely, scholars, reciters, athletes, acrobats, courtezans, musicians, actors, conjurers, etc.), while kitchens and feeding-houses (*pākada-gr̥ha, bhōjana-sāle, dāsōhada-gr̥ha*) were put up (for the learned, Vīra-Vaishṇavas, Śrī-Vaishṇavas, elderly *Mahantas, Maṭhādhipatis, Jōgis, Jangamas*, the indigent and the defectives).¹²⁴ Kaṅṭhīrava next got addressed palm-leaf letters (*utturagaḷanu, ḍleya barisida*) to the ruling chiefs and feudatories, inviting them to the festival. The chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), Bēlūr, Kuṇigal, Māgaḍi, Nanjarāyapaṭṇa, the Bēḍa chief and the Koḍagu, Maleyāla, Konkaṇa and Tuḷuva chiefs went over to Seringapatam with presents (*kāṇike*), while the local feudatories of Kaṅṭhīrava proceeded thither with tribute and large supplies in addition (*batu vulupe kāṇike kappa sahita*). Ikkēri, Tanjore (*Tanjāvūru*), Madura (*Madhure*) and Gingee (*Tenje, Tenji, Chenje*) were among the distant powers represented. Among other invitees were scholars (*sūrigaḷu, vidvāmsaru*), functionaries (*vinīyōgigaḷu*), celebrities (*prasiddha-purusharu*), experts in *śāstras* (*siddhāntigaḷu*), musicians (*gāyakarū*), reciters (*pāṭhakarū*) and the elite of the city (*nāgarika . . . śringāra-purusharu*). The capital city was soon overcrowded with people from various places (*nānā-dēsada jana-jāla-vaitandu Paṭṭaṇake . . . kikkiridiha*).¹²⁵

124. *K. N. V.*, XX, 1-51.

125. *Ibid.*, XX, 52-75 ; XXI, 53-54. For the names of chiefs, feudatories, etc., see under *Feudatories*.

On the first day of the bright half of *Āśvīja*, the Brāhmins performed the purificatory ceremonies (*Puṇyārchane, hōma*) over the Durbār Hall, the horse and elephant stables and the armoury. The nine days' festival in honour of Chaṇḍikā and her sister deities [*Chaṇḍikāmbike (yara) navarātriya pūje*] was inaugurated by the solemn propitiation of Goddess Beṭṭada-Chāmuṇḍī, the tutelary deity (*maneya-dēvate*) of the Mysore Royal Family. This was followed by the sumptuous feeding of Brāhmins and all classes of people in the city. Large crowds from the city, the townships and villages and distant places (*purajana, parijana, nānā-dēśada-jana*), men, women and children dressed and adorned according to different tastes and fashions, witnessed the daily Durbār of Kaṇṭhīrava during the first eight days of the festival.¹²⁶ Every day Kaṇṭhīrava used to hold his Durbār (*Mahānavami oḍḍōlagōtsava*) during morning and night. At an auspicious moment (*śubha-muhūrtada vēḷeyali*), the images of Gods Ranganātha and Lakshmī-Narasimha used to be taken in procession to the Durbār Hall and placed on the jewelled seats (*ratna-pīṭha*). Then Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya, dressed in state, would proceed to welcome the king to the Durbār Hall, accompanied by the courtiers, ministers, chiefs and *karaṇikas* and with all the insignias and military honours. Meanwhile, Kaṇṭhīrava, having adorned his person, would have left his apartment, Venkaṭapati-Jeṭṭi most respectfully leading him. Seated in the palankeen (*pallakkiyanēri*), he would proceed towards the Durbār Hall under the shade of the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattigeya neḷalinali*), accompanied by instrumental music, the recitations of the panegyrists and by the emblems (like the chowries and fans, the *makara* banner, *śankha, chakra*, etc.)—evidently a picturesque scene

126. *Ibid.*, XXI, 1-24.

witnessed with considerable interest by the spectators. At the Durbār Hall, Kanṭhīrava would alight the palankeen, the Daḷavāi most ceremoniously leading him. Performing obeisance to Gods Ranganātha and Narasimha, he would next occupy the jewelled throne (*navaratnada gaddugeyali maṇḍisi*). In the meantime, the Palace officials (of the *Avasarada-hōbḷi* department) would be actively engaged in assigning seats in the Durbār Hall to the ministers, chiefs, scholars and others according to their respective ranks and status (*irisidaru . . . antaravaritu*). There used to be regular rows (*sālu-sālu*) of chiefs and feudatories (*manneya-maṇḍalikara*), of royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutara*), of courtezans (*sūleyarugaḷa*) from different places, of reciters (*pāṭhakara*), of experts in wonderful arts from various countries (*chappanna-dēśada chōdya-vidyādhikara*), and of spectators in general (*nōṭaka-jana*)—all systematically arranged in the interior of the Durbār Hall (*tappade sālaridantarāntara doḷa-goppavittaru*).¹²⁷

The daily Durbār, during the festival, was regulated in the following manner: The chiefs, feudatories and representatives of the powers would first pay their homage to the king, tendering their presents (consisting of elephants, horses and gold). This would be followed by the respectful obeisance of the *mahouts*, cavaliers, warriors, military officers (*Nāyakas*) and others. Then there would be thrilling boxing feats of athletes (*mallara hōrāṭa, kāḷaga*), arranged in pairs (*jōḍu-jōḍali . . . jattigalu . . . panthade nindaru*), exciting acrobatic performances of various types (*dombarugaḷu . . . bage-bageyātava tōri*), ram-fights (*ṭagara kāḷaga*), fights of rutting elephants (*madakarigala hōrāṭa*) and fights of daring men with tigers and bears let loose (*puli-karaḍigala biginēṇa paridu kāduva vīrara motta*).¹²⁸ At night, the splendour of the

127. *Ibid.*, 25-50, 66-69, 71.

128. *Ibid.*, 51-63, 89-98.

Durbār of Kaṅṭhīrava used to be enhanced by the illuminations (*dīpa-kāntigaḷu*, *divaṭigegaḷu*), and the programme would consist of the following items: dancing (*nāṭya*), including *kōlāṭam* (a play of sticks in alternate motions); display of feats by conjurers (*indrajālava tōruva mandī*); mimicry and comic (*bairūpa-dāṭagaḷa* . . . *hāsya-rasagaḷinda*); enactment of *Daśāvātāras* of Viṣṇu by the Bhāgavatas (*Hariya-Daśāvātārada-nāṭakava tōri mereva Bāgavatara*); vocal music and music of the lute (*gānava pāḍuva vidvāmsarugaḷu*, *vīṇeya vādīpa vidvāmsarugaḷu* . . .); display of skill in poetical composition (*lakshya-lakshana kāvya nāṭaka* . . . *alankāra śōbhitate balu padya kṛti bandhava naḍisuta jāna kavigaḷu*) and the musical recitation of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the *Bhāratis* (*Bhārata-Rāmāyaṇa sangīta-sāradolage* . . . *ōḍi vaibhavadīnda* . . . *Bhāratigaḷu ranjisidaru*). There would also be a display of crackers and fireworks (*birīsu bāṇagaḷu*), such as the *chakrabāṇa*, *sūtragambha*, etc., adding to the beauty of the scene. Then the Durbārīs would be duly honoured with betel and clothes (*vīleya uḍugoregaḷa*) according to their status (*antaravaridittu*), after which Kaṅṭhīrava would bring the day's Durbār to a close. Adoring Viṣṇu and partaking of the holy water and offerings (*Harige vandisi tīrtha prasādava koṇḍu*), he would finally retire to his apartment.¹²⁹

On the ninth day (*Mahānavamī*), the *Saundarya-vilāsa* chamber of the Palace was beautified and preparations made for the worship of the weapons (which included the sword, lance, bow, cutlass, dagger, knife and the collections from the armoury) and elephants and horses (*āyudha-gajāśva-pūje*). These, after being cleaned and washed, were taken in procession to the *Āyudha-maṅṭapa*, where

129. *Ibid.*, 99-133.

Kaṅṭhīrava performed their worship. This was followed by the observance by him of the *Durgā-japam* and by the elaborate propitiation by the Brāhmins of Goddess Chaṇḍī and all her manifestations, while in the quadrangle of the *maṅṭapa* (*āyudha-maṅṭapada divyānganadolage*) various items of services (such as music, dance, etc.) were gone through in honour of the occasion.¹³⁰

On the morning of the tenth day (*Vijayadaśami*), Kaṅṭhīrava, having finished the daily rites (*i.e.*, washing, bathing, *nāma-tīrtham*, worship of Viṣṇu, gifts, acceptance of holy water and offerings, and the benedictions of the Brāhmins), got through the second worship of *Chaṇḍikā* (*marupūjeya Chaṇḍikāmbikege māḍisi*) and broke into pieces the *kūshmāṇḍa* (pumpkin).¹³¹ This was the day of the public procession of the king to conduct the *Śamī-pūjā* which was to take place in the evening. Linge-Gauḍa (Mayor of Seringapatam) attended to the decoration of the *Śamī-maṅṭapa*, situated to the east, outside the capital city (*purada bahirbhāgada pūrva-dese-yali*). The main street of the city (*pura-vīdhi*), from the gate of the Palace as far as the *maṅṭapa* (*aramane-bāgilim jambisāri-maṅṭapa pariyanta*), a distance of nearly three miles (*yōjana pariyanta*), was befittingly beautified. The entire distance was crowded to the full by spectators from far and near (*chaudeseya-dēśada nōṭakajana*), to witness the grandeur of the king's procession (*jambī-savāri*). Then, at an auspicious moment, the shrines of Gods Ranganātha and Narasimha were taken in procession to the *Śamī-maṅṭapa*. Presently, at the striking of the drum, the army (consisting of gorgeously caparisoned elephants, horses, chariots and foot) started on its march, and Kaṅṭhīrava, having suitably adorned his person (*singaragaidu*), proceeded in state, on horseback (*uttamāśvavanēri . . . naḍedanu*), amidst the

130. *Ibid.*, XXII, 1-36.131. *Ibid.*, 55-69.

resounding notes of the recitations of panegyrists and of musical instruments. He was accompanied by the Dālavāi, ministers, *karaṇikas*, courtiers, chiefs and feudatories ; by all the emblems of sovereignty, including the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattige*), the *makara* banner (*makara-tekke*) and the fan (*ālavatta*) ; and by regular rows of servants (*ūḷigadavaru*) holding in their hands the pouch (*haḍapa*), chowries (*chāmara*), tasselled fan (*kuncha*), spittoon (*kālānji*) and ceremonial clothes (*pāvaḍe*).¹³² At the *Śamī-maṅṭapa*, a picturesque scene followed, in which Kaṅṭhīrava, having alighted his horse, was seen displaying his skill in archery (*singāḍiḷya tegedu ambuḡaḷanaḷavaḍisi*) and in riding at will the state elephant (*paṭṭada āneya śirake langhisi . . . bīdi varisi . . .*). The occasion was also marked by ram-fights (*ṭagara kāḍisi*) and athletic contests (*mallara kāḷaga*). These amusements were followed by the king's worship of the *Śamī* (the tree *Prosopis spicigera* *Lin.*) and his return to the Palace at night, seated on the state elephant (*paṭṭadāne*), amidst illuminations of countless torches (*lekkavillada . . . dīvatigegaḷu*) and the resounding noise of crackers and fireworks (*bāna-birisu*). The functions of the tenth day having been completed by the performance of the waving of the lighted camphor (*ārati*) in the Palace, the Daḷavāi dispersed the army and returned to his abode.¹³³

Next day the Daḷavāi and the *karaṇikas*, under the orders of Kaṅṭhīrava, made gifts to the needy and duly honoured the chiefs and feudatories, musicians, scholars, athletes, jesters and others with presents of gold, jewels and cloths. Thus was brought to a conclusion the grand *Mahānavami* festival conducted by Kaṅṭhīrava when he had been established in the sovereignty (*sthira-sāmrajyadoḷu*) of the kingdom of Mysore.¹³⁴

132. *Ibid.*, 70-98.

133. *Ibid.*, 99-107.

134. *Ibid.*, 108-110.

That the time-honoured social ideal of *Varnāśrama-dharma* was being rigorously enforced by the king and followed by his subjects is amply evidenced by the sources.¹³⁵ But side by side with the growth of wealth and luxury, and underlying the gaiety and splendour of city life (particularly in Mysore and Seringapatam), are pictures¹³⁶—though largely idealised and even imaginative to some extent, they cannot but have been entirely divorced from the actualities—depicting prostitution as a growing vice eating slowly into the vitals of contemporary society and indirectly hinting at the ideal of moderation as the *sine qua non* of social and cultural progress. In striking contrast with life in cities was the even tenor of corporate life in the rural parts, of which we have traces during the period.¹³⁷

Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was noted for his patronage of learning. He is said to have been a source of support to scholars (*sakala-vidvajjanādhāra*),¹³⁸ providing them all with a living (*samasta vibudhaśśrēṇī-samujjīvanam*).¹³⁹ He appears himself to have been a person of taste, trained to the appreciation of poetry, music and literature. The titles, *Sarasa-vidyā-viśārada*, *Saṅgīta-sāhitya-śāstra-viśārada*, ascribed to him¹⁴⁰ cannot be altogether devoid of foundation or significance.

Sanskrit and Kannada literature alike flourished during the reign. While the kāvya style was still adhered to by writers in Sanskrit, *Halagannaḍa*, as a medium of literary expression in Kannada, continued to

Literary activity :

Sanskrit and
Kannada writers.

135. See *K. N. V.* I, 11; II, 74, 109; IV, 100, 107; V, 50, 56-57; VI, 41, 50-52; IX, 3; XXVI, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40; *C. Vam.*, 37-38, 152-153, 160-161; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 103; Nj. 198; IV (2) Yd. 5; V (1) and (2) Ag. 64, etc.

136. *Ibid.*, II, 83-107; VI, 77-198; also Chs. IX and X.

137. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10; III (1) Sr. 103; Nj. 106; V (1) and (2) Ag. Chn. 160, 163, 165, etc.; see also under *Grants and other records*.

138. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 13. 139. *E. C.*, V (2) Ag. 64, p. 765 (Text).

140. *K. N. V.*, I, 25; XXV, l.c.

hold its own side by side with *Hosagannaḍa*, and the tendency of the latter towards displacing the former is also, to some extent, noticeable in the literary productions of the period. The poet Nṛhari, son of Narasimhārya, composed in Sanskrit the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate inscription*¹⁴¹ of Kaṅṭhīrava, dated April 7, 1639. Narasimha-Sūri, son of Śrīnivāsa of Kauśika-gōtra, wrote the copper-plate grant¹⁴² from Toṇḍanūr—also in Sanskrit—dated April 27, 1647. He seems to have also composed the Mattigōḍu lithic grant¹⁴³ of Kaṅṭhīrava, another record in Sanskrit of the same date, judging from the similarity in language of both the records. Among Kannaḍa writers, Bhāskara (Bāchirāja), son of Śrī-Varadēva and Lakshmīdēvi, was the author of *Bēhāra-Gaṇita*¹⁴⁴ (*Vyavahāra-Gaṇita*), a mathematical work. He refers to himself as a poet (*sarasam satkavivallabham*) and appears to have had the titles, *Śārade-guvara*, *Gaṇita-vilāsa*. The *Bēhāra-Gaṇita* (c.1645-1650) is written in eight chapters in a mixture of old and new Kannaḍa—poetry (of the *kanda* metre) and prose—each *sūtra* being followed by comment and examples. Among the topics dealt with are compound interest (*chakra-baddi*), square measure (*matṭada-sūtra*), chain measure (*birudina-lekka* ?), index numbers or tables (*padakada sūtra*), problems in mint mathematics (*ṭenkasāleyalli kaṭṭuva ichchā varṇakke sūtra*). The work, besides, contains references to Seringapatam (*Rangapura*),

141. *E. O.*, III (1) Nj. 198, ll. 127-128 :

Padyānā-manavadīyānām śāsanētra virājatām |
Kartā Śrī-Narasimhārya-nandanō Nṛharīḥ kavīḥ ||

142. *Ibid.*, Sr., 103, ll. 163-167 :

Śrīmat-Kauśika-vamśa . . . Śrīnivāsambudhēḥ |
Putrah Śrī-Narasimha-sūri . . . Kaṅṭhīrava-
Kshmapālēna nibhōdhitah kṛtimimām tachchāsanasāyākarōt ||

143. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. See also f.n. 54 and 56 *supra*.

144. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 375. Cf. Ms. No. 213—*P. L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*: This work, entitled *Bhāskara-Gaṇita*, contains reference to Rājāditya, a mathematician, and deals with arithmetic and astrology. It differs, however, from the Ms. noticed in the *Kar. Ka. Cha.*

Chāmarāja and Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa (*Narasabhūpa*).¹⁴⁵ Timmarasa wrote the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁴⁶ (c. 1645-1650), a *Haḷagannaḍa* poetical work in the *Vārdhika-shatpadi* metre, in 30 chapters and 1,000 stanzas. The poet refers to himself as the son of Karaṇika Bulla of Pālkurike, of the Kannāḍiga-vamśa, Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rig-Vēda. He refers also to Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe) Nārāyaṇa and Yadugiri Narasimha. Although there are no further particulars about him in the work, he seems identical with Timmarasa, minister-in-chief of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, who is said to have been well versed in the arts (*suvidya*), including, perhaps, poetry also.¹⁴⁷ Bhārati-Nanja was, as already mentioned, a poet at the court of Kaṇṭhīrava. He is referred to¹⁴⁸ as *Śringāra-kavi*, *Bāla-kavi*, and as having been highly proficient in music also (*sangīta-duttunganenīpa*). He appears to have been very influential at the court, although no works of his have so far come down to us.¹⁴⁹

By far the most important writer during the period, however, was Gōvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*¹⁵⁰ (1648). He was the son of Śrīnivāsa-Paṇḍita¹⁵¹ and appears to have been a Smārtha Brāhman of Seringapatam, well read in the *Vēdas*, *Mantra-sāstras* and literary and poetical lore.¹⁵²

145. *Ibid.*, II. 375-377.

146. Ms. No. B. 50—P; *Mys. Or. Lib*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 408-409.

147. See *K. N. V.*, XXV, 84; also f.n. 1 *supra*.

148. *Ibid.*, XXV, 87; also I, 25 and XXVI (colophon on p. 498), referring to Bhārati-Nanja who seems to have been a young man of poetical talents and musical attainments.

149. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 373), which, ambiguously enough, assigns the authorship of the *K. N. V.* to Bhārati-Nanja, besides indicating that Gōvinda-Vaidya also was the author of it! As we shall see, it was not Bhārati-Nanja but Gōvinda-Vaidya who actually wrote that work. *Vide* also f.n. 158 *infra*.

150. *Pub. Mys. Or. Lib. Kannāḍa Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1926.

151. *K. N. V.*, XXVI, p. 498 (colophon).

152. *Ibid.*, I, 11, 13.

He speaks¹⁵³ of his having written the poem at the instance of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya of Hura (1640-1647). The writing of the work seems to have been begun not earlier than 1641 and not later than 1645 and, according to the colophon¹⁵⁴ at the the end, was actually completed on May 22, 1648 (ś. 1570, *Sarvadhāri*, *Jyēṣṭha śu.* 11, *Chandravāra*—Monday). Gōvinda-Vaidya, it would appear, was a protégé of Bhārati-Nanja who had, it is said,¹⁵⁵ previously related the subject-matter of the work (namely, the exploits of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar) in the court of Kaṅṭhīrava. This was, perhaps, the reason why Gōvinda-Vaidya, as he himself says,¹⁵⁶ wrote the poem favoured by Bhārati-Nanja (*Bhārati-Nanja-nolidu*), and also why, when it was completed in May 1648, he had it read out by the latter in the court of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa according to the colophon.¹⁵⁷ In any case, Gōvinda-Vaidya seems to have been indebted to Bhārati-Nanja for the subject-matter of the poem, although there is no evidence in favour of the ascription of its authorship to the latter.¹⁵⁸ The *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* is, in the main, written in the *Hosagannaḍa sāṅgatya* metre. Lucid and intelligible, it undoubtedly is an index of the popularity of *sāṅgatya* as a form of poetical expression in Mysore in the middle of the seventeenth century. The theme of the work is centred

153. *Ibid.*, I, 28: *Daḷavāyi Nanjarājendra tannoḍeyana kāryaḍḍigeṅga . . . chariteyāgi . . . pēṭisidamu.*

154. *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 498.

155. *Ibid.*, I, 25: *Dorerāya Narasarājēdrana chariteyanoreḍa Bhārati-Nanja.*

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ibid.*, XXVI, l.c.: *Gōvinda-Vaidyanu Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayavannu virachisi . . . Bhārati-Nanjana mukhadinda vāchisi rājāsthānadalli vistārapaḍisiduḍu.*

158. Wilson (*Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.*, p. 331) ascribes the authorship of the *K. N. V.* to Nanja-Kavi (Bhārati-Nanja) and the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* also, apparently following him, assigns it to Bhārati-Nanja (see f.n. 149 *supra*). This seems due to a misunderstanding of the text and is not borne out by internal evidence. A detailed examination of the palm-leaf Ms. of this work (No. 110 of the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) shows that it closely agrees with the text of the poem as now published.

round the rise and fortunes of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, as is clearly indicated by the poet at the end of each chapter (*sandhi*). The entire ground is covered by him in twenty-six chapters. The poem begins with invocation to Paśchima-Ranga, Lakshmī-Narasimha, Lakshmīkānta, Trinayana (of Mysore), Channa-Nanjunḍa, Gaṇēśa, Sarasvati and Beṭṭada-Chāmuṇḍi, indicating the scope of the work by way of introduction (Chapter I). Then we have a descriptive account of the Karnāṭaka country and of the city of Mysore (Chapter II). This is followed by an account of the pedigree and family history of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar (Chapter III), and of his birth, education and training (Chapter IV). Next we have the legendary history (*Māhātmya*) of Seringapatam (Chapter V); a descriptive account of the city of Seringapatam (including the Palace, temples and other buildings therein) under Kaṅṭhīrava (Chapters VI and VII); a picture of the daily Durbār of Kaṅṭhīrava (Chapter VIII); and erotic scenes (Chapters IX and X). Then follows a detailed account of the advent of Raṇadullā Khān (of Bijāpur) to the Karnāṭaka, his siege of Seringapatam and his final repulse by Kaṅṭhīrava (Chapters XI-XV). The subsequent relations of Mysore with Bijāpur (Chapter XVI); Kaṅṭhīrava's siege and acquisition of Sāmbaḷḷi and Piriyaṭaṇṇa (Chapters XVII and XVIII); the action against Mustafā Khān and Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya's death at Turuvēkere (Chapter XIX)—these are treated next, and are succeeded by descriptive accounts of the beautification of Seringapatam on the occasion of the *Mahānavami* festival (Chapter XX), Kaṅṭhīrava's daily Durbār during the festival and his procession-in-state on the tenth (*Vijayadaśami*) day of the feast (Chapters XXI and XXII), and the *Gajendra-Tirunāḷ* festival and the car festival of Ranganātha at Seringapatam (Chapters XXIII-XXV). The poem concludes with a picture of Kaṅṭhīrava's religion

(Chapter XXVI). Throughout, Gōvinda-Vaidya writes essentially as a poet, freely employing all the literary devices (*i.e.*, ornate descriptions, imagery, epigram, simile, alliteration, etc.) to add to the beauty of the poem, and brings out prominently the greatness of its hero, namely, Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar. He delineates to a considerable extent the heroic (*vīra*) and erotic (*śringāra*) sentiments (Chapters III, IV, XI-XIX, XXVI; II, V-X, XX-XXV), and pays particular attention to minute details in describing nature (*i.e.* seasons, rivers, gardens, hills, paddy fields, etc., as in Chapters II, V and XX). From a purely literary point of view, therefore, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* answers to the description of an epic poem (*mahā-kāvya*), the pervading style being *Drākshā-pāka*.¹⁵⁹ As a local contemporary, on the other hand, Gōvinda-Vaidya prominently reflects his personality in almost every chapter of the work. In regard to political events, we find him giving expression to what he has himself either actually witnessed or gathered from those who participated in those events (Chapters III, XI-XIX). In delineating the social background, in general, he seems to have been fairly acquainted with the well-known standards of earlier writers as, for instance, Vātsyāyana.¹⁶⁰ In depicting the society and culture of his times (Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV), in particular, he does show a thorough

159. See also *Editorial Introduction* to the work, p. v.

160. References to and descriptions of such items as the social order, trades and professions, costume and personal adornment, arts and sciences, festivals, amusements, Palace, court life and culture, courtezans and prostitution (in Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV) correspond, in a remarkable measure, with the general background of social life depicted by Vātsyāyana (see pp. 54, 56-57, 60-63, 212-219, 228-232 and 313-320 of the *Kāma-Sūtra* of Vātsyāyana, translated by H. S. Gambers, Third edition, Amritsar, 1932). We have, again, a direct reference to *Iti-Sāstra* (VI, 197), and have also noticed the references to Bharatāchārya (*vide* f.n. 90 *supra*). All these point to the influence of ancient ideas and ideals on contemporary life and literature.

acquaintance with the realities of life, so thorough, indeed, that even when he presents, or rather attempts to present, idealised and veiled pictures (Chapters IX and X), he cannot but be understood as conveying the deeper under-currents of thought and feeling which he, as a contemporary observer, could not easily dissociate himself from. Viewed as a whole, the *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*, making due allowance for poetical fancy and literary flourishes, and subject to comparison with other sources wherever necessary, holds a unique place among the literary productions of the period, as a mirror of the political and social history of the earlier part of the reign of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar in Mysore (1638-1648).

Āyamma, daughter of Huchcha-Timmarājaiya of Biḷuguli, and Lakshamma, daughter of Dāsarājaiya of Kaḷale, were the principal queens of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar.¹⁶¹ Only by the former, the seniormost queen, Kaṅṭhīrava had a son (named Chāmarāja Woḍeyar) who, however, it is said,¹⁶² died in his sixth year (c. 1653-1654).

Among other members of the Mysore Royal Family, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, father of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, passed away at Guṇḍlu, at the age of 85, in

161. The *Annals* (I. 65-66) mentions in all ten queens of Kaṅṭhīrava, the first two, referred to above, being married by him in April 1629 and the next eight (*aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*) in the *Arka*, as distinct from the *Gāndharva*, form in April 1640. These eight queens were daughters of the chiefs of Narunelli, Arikūṭhāra, Yelandūr, Bāgaḷi, Haṭṭi, Tippūr and Malagūd. The *Mys. Dh. Pūr.* (I. 62) mentions only nine. The *K. N. V.* (VII, 69-70; XX, 37; XXIV, 3-4) refers, in general, to the queens of Kaṅṭhīrava (*rājaputriyaru*, *paṭṭada-satiyaru*) and idealises them. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 472.

162. *Annals*, I, 66. According to the *K. N. V.* (XXVI, 42), Kaṅṭhīrava had an issue (*piridu santānava paḍedu*) by 1648. The child must have predeceased him subsequent to that date. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, l.c.

March 1639.¹⁶³ Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the last surviving younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar and uncle of Kanthirava, is said to have been living with his family in Guṇḍlu during the greater part of the reign,¹⁶⁴ and appears to have died in the Palace at Hangaḷa (near Guṇḍlu), in or about 1656, at the age of 103.¹⁶⁵

163. The *Annals* (I. 78) refers to *Pramāthi, Chaitra* ba. 2 (April 9, 1639) as the date of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar's death. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 33) refers to *Pramāthi* (1639), the portion relating to further details about the date being worn out. But from the *Gajjiganahallī copper-plate grant* [*E. C.* III (1) Nj. 198], issued on *Pramāthi, Chaitra* śu. 15 (April 7, 1639), we note that Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar had passed away before that date, and the grant itself was made for the eternal merit of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, l. 83: *Pituh sadgatimanavichchan*), probably on the day of his attainment of *Vaikunṭha*. Accordingly we have to fix his death on or before *Pramāthi, Chaitra* śu. 2 (March 26, 1639), two months after Ranadullā Khān's siege of Seringapatam and his repulse. See also f.n. 165 *infra*.

164. *Annals*, I. 93, 95.

165. See *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25, pp. 163-165. This record alludes to the dismantling—by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, under the orders of Venkaṭa II—of the Palace at Hangaḷa, where the Arasu had formerly lived, and to the spot in that Palace, where Rājodeyar attained his beatitude (ll. 6-10: *Venkaṭapati-rayaravara nīrupadinda . . . Dēvarajuvōḍēru Hanguladalu ārasinavaru yida āramaneyali vōḍēdali Rājōḍēru muktārāda baḷiyā*). It further refers to the construction of a stone *maṭh* (*kala-maṭa*) and the setting up of a *linga* on that spot (*linga-stapyava māḍi*), etc., by Amritamma (queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar). The reference to the "Arasu" in this record seems obviously to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar who, as we have seen, lived in Guṇḍlu and who died in March 1639. It seems not impossible that he had also a Palace at Hangaḷa in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍlu, which was dismantled about 1640, shortly after his death. Again, Rājodeyar, mentioned in the record, appears to be a shortened form of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is also said to have lived in Guṇḍlu and whose death in the Hangaḷa Palace, according to the context, was perhaps intended to be commemorated by his eldest son, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, and his daughter-in-law, Amritamma, in May 1656. The document thus enables us to fix the probable date of Muppina-Dēvarāja's death in or about 1656. We know that he was born in 1553 (see Chs. IV and V). He was, accordingly, 103 years of age at the time of his death, which is in keeping with *Muppina* (old) prefixed to his name. See also and compare the Editorial note in *M. A. R.*, Ditto, pp. 165-166. For further reference to this record, *vide* f.n. 168 and 169 *infra*.

Of the four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his second wife Kempamma, Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, the eldest (born February 18, 1622), it would seem,¹⁶⁶ was holding charge of the city of Mysore (*tanna Mahiśūra-nagara*) under Kaṅṭhīrava, and for some time resided in Seringapatam also, possibly ruling jointly with the latter (*arasu-geyyuttire*) from about 1644 onwards. A lithic record, dated December 8, 1644,¹⁶⁷ registers a grant by Doḍḍadēvarāja of the village of Sāvantanahalli to provide for the midday offering of God Chaluvārāyasvāmi of Mēlkōṭe. Another, dated May 12, 1656,¹⁶⁸ referring to the construction of a stone *math*, etc., in Hangaḷa by Amritamma (queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar), specifically mentions him as the lord of Mysore (*Maisūrādhīpa*), distinguished by the title *Antembaraganḍa*. The record, it is further significant, refers¹⁶⁹ also to Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar. Evidently Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, as a prominent member of the Mysore Royal Family, seems to have continued to rule in the city of Mysore in an almost independent capacity, during the latter part of Kaṅṭhīrava's reign, formally

166. See *C. Vam.*, 138, 160; also *C. Vi.*, III, 129, and Appendix IV—(1) and V—(2).

167. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 120: *Tāraṇa, Māragasira ba. 5*. "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. All the sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as we shall see in Ch. X (f.n. 9), are generally referred to in some inscriptions as Dēvarāja, although, according to other sources, they had distinct prefixes (*i.e.*, Doḍḍa, Chikka, etc.), with which their actual names commenced. The present grant appears to have been made by Doḍḍadēvarāja by way of commemorating his visit to Mēlkōṭe in c. 1643-1644 (see under *Social life—Festivals*).

168. *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25: s. 1578, *Durnukhi, Vaiśākha ba. 12*, Monday—see ll. 7-8. In view of what is stated in the above f.n., "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Moreover, as we shall see from other sources also, "Amritamma," mentioned in this record, was the queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja. *Vide* also f.n. 165 *supra* and Ch. X, for further reference to this document and to Amritamma.

169. *Ibid.*, ll. 3-6.

acknowledging the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga.¹⁷⁰ Doḍḍa-dēvarāja was also known as “Doḍḍa-Arasinavaru” and “Doḍḍadēvaiya-Arasu.”¹⁷¹ He is depicted to have been an ideal ruler,¹⁷² and is said to have established an *agrahāra* named after himself.¹⁷³

The last days of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar (particularly during the period 1653-1659) seem to have been rather unhappy. His domestic felicity suffered considerably by the death of his only son (c. 1653-1654), and his political position itself was seriously threatened by the calamitous invasion of his territories by Khān Muhammad of Bijāpur, by the war with Madura and by the rise to political prominence of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri. The dazzling splendour of the earlier part of Kanṭhīrava's reign appears, indeed, in striking contrast with the serious set-back in his fortunes during its latter part.

On July 31, 1659 passed away¹⁷⁴ Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, in his forty-fifth year, his queens, it is said,¹⁷⁵ observing *sati*.

Alike as a warrior, political builder and ruler, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar occupies an important place in the history of Mysore. In appearance he was, as depicted to us

170. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 166, where Dr. M. H. Krishna, assuming Doḍḍadēvarāja (of this record) to be identical with the successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasa, holds that the record was issued by the former “before he became king, though royal titles are applied to him out of courtesy.” There is no evidence in support of this position. For the identification of the successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, *vide* Ch. X and Appendix V—(1) and (2).

171. See *E. C.*, III (1) My. 7 (1685), ll. 10-11, and *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 57.

172. *C. Vam.*, 160-161; *C. Vi.*, III, 129-145, etc.; see also Appendix V—(2).

173. *E. C.*, l.c.: *namma Doḍḍa-arasinavaru māḍida Dēvarāja agrahāra* where Chikkadēvarāja refers to his father, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, as distinct from his uncle, Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

174. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 56: *Vikāri, Śrāvāṇa ba. 8*; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 25; *Annals*, I. 93; cf. *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 470-473), which fixes Kanṭhīrava's rule between 1635-1660 and places his death in December 1660, for which there is no evidence.

175. *Annals*, l.c.

by contemporary writers,¹⁷⁶ a stalwart figure, possessed of an exceptionally robust constitution and handsome and attractive features. Clad in a superbly wrought suit of armour (*muttina dagale, vajrada jōḍu*), with the helmet of lead on his head (*siradali . . . sīsakada pustanga*), the shining yellow-coloured cloth girt round his loins (*miruguva misuniya datti kaṭiyol*) and the jewelled dagger attached thereto (*ratnada bāku*), and brandishing his sharp-edged sword (*oreyanugida khaḍgaviḍidu*) in his hand,¹⁷⁷ he appears with all the life and vigour of a true warrior on the field of battle.

As a warrior. Among the titles ascribed to him as a warrior were *Ēkāṅga-vīra, Dhura-dhīra, Sangara-śūra*, etc.¹⁷⁸

Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar was a prominent character of Southern India during the greater part of the first half of the seventeenth century. His prominence is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that he strenuously worked for and moulded the destiny of the kingdom of Mysore during a critical period in the history of the Karnāṭaka country. Despite the reverses sustained by him during the later years of his reign, he may, broadly speaking, be said to have achieved a fair measure of success in his two-fold objective of stemming the tide of advance of Bijāpur arms on Mysore and of maintaining the political integrity of the kingdom of Mysore in the southern frontier, besides effecting a series of local conquests in all the directions. The net result of his policy was that he was able to bequeath to his successor a kingdom compact and progressive and yet with the semblance of its position as an integral part of the once powerful but latterly decadent Empire of Vijayanagar. It is, indeed, to the credit of Kaṅṭhīrava that, in evolving

176. See, for instance, *K. N. V.*, IX, 46, 55, 65, 98-117; X, 9, 17, etc.

177. *Ibid.*, XV, 12-13.

178. *Ibid.*, I, 21; XII, 41, 91; XV, 110; XVIII, 67, 174, etc.

this position, he showed from the beginning of his reign a rare consistency of purpose and loyalty to the cause of the Empire (under Venkaṭa II and Śrī-Ranga VI), which appear in refreshing contrast with the disloyal, ruinous and suicidal course of conduct pursued by the rest of the rulers of South India contemporaneous with him, particularly by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. Expediency and self-interest, it is true, were the governing principles of the South Indian powers in the complex conditions of the period, but, in the case of Kaṅṭhīrava, these appear to have been tempered by larger considerations than the immediate political interests of the hour. There seems little doubt that, in arresting the progress of Bijāpur arms in the south and in standing as an effective barrier to the encroachments of Madura and her allies on Mysore in the early years of his reign, Kaṅṭhīrava rendered a signal service to the cause of the Empire to justify his claim to be “the right-hand man of Emperor Śrī-Ranga in the south” (*taddakshīṇa-bhujadaṇḍa-nāda*) in 1643. The striking of coins (*Kaṅṭhīrāya-haṇams*) by him in 1645 and his neutrality during the siege of Vellore by Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in 1647 were due to circumstances and causes purely local and not dictated by any selfish interests; nor does the former event, in particular, indicate “an open disavowal of imperial authority” on the part of Kaṅṭhīrava, as has been conjectured by some.¹⁷⁹ Indeed Kaṅṭhīrava, from the materials before us, appears prominently as a local ruler (particularly during 1645-1650) and as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, a position which must be given its due weight in any estimate of him as an historical character. From the beginning of his reign, there are, further, as many documents of Kaṅṭhīrava mentioning his suzerain as there are others not mentioning him as such, but the latter circumstance, far from pointing to “a sure sign of

179. See, for instance, S. K. Aiyangar in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 133, f.n. 60.

assumption of independence" as has been suggested,¹⁸⁰ serves, to a considerable extent, to enhance his prestige as the ruler of Mysore, particularly after the siege of Piriyaṭaṇa in 1645, another outstanding event of his reign. This aspect of his position, again, tends to appear in greater relief when he, during the troublous years of Śrī-Ranga (c. 1650-1653), afforded him shelter and hospitality, denied to him by the other feudatories of his, and helped him to recover a part of his dominions as well. There is neither truth nor justice in the statement hazarded that¹⁸¹ "there is nothing to indicate that it was loyalty to the Empire which induced Mysore . . . to receive Śrī-Ranga." For it surely ignores the available evidence as to Kaṅṭhīrava's loyalty to the Empire before 1650 and the influence exercised by him on his local contemporaries during 1639-1646. The same under-current of loyalty is discernible in the attitude of Kaṅṭhīrava towards Śrī-Ranga during the latter part of his reign also. Kaṅṭhīrava suffered considerably from the course of policy pursued by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura during the period. It has been further held¹⁸² that Tirumala Nāyaka was justified in proceeding against Mysore, having himself suffered from the "repeated aggressions" of the latter, and having been "threatened by the new understanding between the Emperor and the king of Mysore." The first cause alleged is, as we shall point out, wholly untenable, while the second, though claimed to be based on a¹⁸³ "reading between the lines of the Jesuit account," is not borne out by it as our examination of the latter in the light of other sources would show. Śrī-Ranga had left Mysore in or about 1653, so that the alleged "understanding" between him and Mysore to threaten Madura with an invasion (in 1655) lacks foundation. Again, the first definite advance of

180. *Nāyaks of Madura*, 1.c.

182. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Mysore arms on the south (as far as Trichinopoly) was, as we have seen, due to Tirumala Nāyaka himself inciting his feudatory (the chief of Sāmbaḷli) to encroach on the southern frontier of Mysore, and even taking an active part in the movement. Tirumala had to eat the humble pie for this act of his, being promptly curbed for it by Kaṅṭhīrava. We have also seen how Madura, with Gingee and Tanjore, was represented at the court of Mysore in 1647. If this position is appreciated, we would be enabled to follow the subsequent relations of Kaṅṭhīrava with Madura. It was the desire to maintain the *status quo ante* in Mysore against Bijāpur, which had advanced as far as the Kāvēripaṭṭanam frontier by 1653, which appears to have induced Kaṅṭhīrava to proceed to the acquisition of Satyamangalam and Daṇāyakankōṭe, guarding the south, in 1654. This objective of Kaṅṭhīrava seems to have been thoroughly misunderstood by Tirumala Nāyaka as a direct attempt of Mysore to invade his own dominions. This, coupled with the memory of the serious reverses sustained by Tirumala in the early years of Kaṅṭhīrava's reign, was obviously responsible, in the main, for the calamitous attack of Bijāpur brought about by him (Tirumala Nāyaka) on Mysore, which eventually recoiled on Madura itself. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that Kaṅṭhīrava, as a loyal feudatory of Śrī-Ranga on the one hand and, on the other, with a view "to wreak just vengeance," waged the war against Tirumala Nāyaka during the last years of his reign (c. 1655-1659) when Śrī-Ranga was, by force of circumstances, actually in Ikkēri (especially from c. 1656). Without sacrificing local independence, the Mysore Royal House seems to have continued its allegiance to the Empire even during these years, for, as we have seen, we have a record of the dynasty, dated in as late as 1656, formally acknowledging the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga. If this position, again, is rightly understood, the

sweeping assertion of the contemporary Proenza,¹⁸⁴ that "Mysore had long ago withdrawn herself from subordination to the same monarch" (Śrī-Ranga), cannot be taken as a correct statement of fact. For, in this part of his account, Proenza refers only to the general political situation of Southern India (during 1656-1659) and does not write from a direct knowledge of the actual position of Mysore.

As a ruler, Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was very popular and impressed his contemporaries to the extent of idealisation and deification by them. An inscription¹⁸⁵ speaks of him as having been renowned alike for his victory in war and liberality in times of peace. Another¹⁸⁶ refers to his rule thus: "While he ruled, the lord of the Gods sent good rains; the earth brought forth full fruit; all points of the compass were unclouded; the respective orders were diligent in their several rites; all the people were free from disease; the country was free from trouble; the women were devoted to their husbands; and all the world was prosperous." A third¹⁸⁷ mentions him as having been adored by his subjects (*jana-vandyasya*). In keeping with these, the *Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*¹⁸⁸ also points to the beneficence of his rule and the happiness and contentment of his subjects. His government was deeply rooted in the ancient ideal of *Dharma*¹⁸⁹ in so far

184. *Ibid.*, p. 263 (*Proenza's letter*).

185. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198 (1639), ll. 46-48.

186. *Ibid.*, Sr. 103 (1647), ll. 40-46.

187. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 (1647): see text on p. 767.

188. I, 17-19; IV, 36-68; VI, 72; VII, 65-67; XXVI, 1, 30-39, etc.

189. *K. N. V.*, I, 20, 24; IV, 107; IX, 3; XX, 1; XXVI, 40; *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64: l.c. The expressions, *dharmadīrava*, *sthīra-dharmamārgadolage*, *sudharmava taledu*, *dharmārtham*, etc., are significant. Cf. *Wilks*, I, 62-63. His estimate of Kaṅṭhīrava as "the idol of his Bramin historians," etc., appears to ignore the fundamental principles of Hindu government. No doubt, as *Wilks* writes (*Ibid.*, 60-61), Kaṅṭhīrava was rather harsh in his treatment of the refractory Pāḷegārs and turbulent ryots but this measure was more than

as it was conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number, and was inseparable from religion. Countless were his gifts, benefactions and deeds of charity. The staunch Vaishṇava that he was, his tolerance of other faiths and creeds was of a high order. Seringapatam, the capital city, was, during his reign, bustling with life, being a centre of attraction to people from far and near both in ordinary times and on festive occasions, conspicuously during the *Mahānavami* festival. His court, with a galaxy of ministers, officers, feudatories and others, was noted for the splendour of his daily Durbār and had evidently touched the acme of contemporary taste and culture—a place where learning and literature flourished and were liberally encouraged. In private life, Kaṅṭhīrava was of regular and abstemious habits and his filial piety was of the noble type.

Impressive as a warrior, consistent and loyal as a political builder, popular and pious as a ruler, Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar appears to us in all the glory of a truly great historical character and a “Maker of Mysore.” The most enduring monuments of his rule extant are the Narasimhasvāmi temple at Seringapatam and the Bangāraddōḍḍi canal in its neighbourhood.

Perphaps what is of greater importance still is that Kaṅṭhīrava Narasarāja Wodeyar figures as prominently in tradition as he does in history. Numerous stories¹⁹⁰ have been current testifying to his personal prowess and

As a “Maker of Mysore.”

Kaṅṭhīrava in tradition.

counterbalanced by what the people gained in the shape of peace, contentment and settled government—the real criterion from which we are to judge of the rule of a prince. See also under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, for further evidence as to Kaṅṭhīrava's solicitude for his subjects.

190. The *Annals* (I. 77-78), for instance, records how, shortly after Rapadullā Khān's unsuccessful siege of Seringapatam in 1639, Kaṅṭhīrava was, by the might of his arms, able, single-handed, to overcome an organised attack on his person (in the Seringapatam Palace) by twenty-five hirelings sent by the chief of Trichinopoly, and how Kaṅṭhīrava defeated the latter's plot against his life, etc.

liberality. He evidently created such a profound impression on a generation of writers (like Tirumalārya, Chidānanda and others), during the latter half of the seventeenth century, that they see and depict him almost exactly as did his own contemporaries. Among later records, it is further interesting to note, inscriptions¹⁹¹ of the eighteenth century speak of him as a ruler beloved by all people and specially refer to his coining of the *fanams* (*Kaṇṭhīrāya-haṇa*) and his devotion to Nṛhari. He has, again, captured the imagination of posterity as a celebrated warrior (*raṇa-dhīra*) and his is a household name in Mysore whenever there is talk of chivalry, exploit or piety.

191. See *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 63 (1749); IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18 (1761), etc.



Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, 1659-1673.