

Its practical  
attainment.

The ideal was the same, and it appears to have been practised through the ages in this country, north and south. The test of a successful rule is set down by Peddana and it shows what the ideal meant if reduced to practical terms. A virtuous rule would mean: timely rains; unfailing and increasing crops meaning plenty and prosperity to the subjects; a happy life for all the five classes of people who lived a hundred years with their sons and grandsons; women looking upon their husbands as their Gods (*i.e.*, so devoted and so faithful); suppression of all fear from fire, thieves and epidemics of every kind; abundance of delicious fruits, sweet milk and scented flowers; disappearance of the six kinds of evils and of untimely deaths; and the growth of relationships amongst people like the spreading lotus (intertwining) indicating peace and prosperity all round. (*Manucharithramu*, VI, 118). Though somewhat poetic in characterization, the ideal should not have been altogether impossible of attainment judging from what even modern administrations aim at.

An estimate  
of Krishna-  
Dēva-Rāya's  
rule.

No estimate of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign can be considered just if it did not take account of the environments from which he sprang: His father, a great and famous soldier, all but a king, and his brother, both a soldier and a king, indifferent in the former capacity and in the latter charitable but wicked. Rescued from an untimely murder by a kindly minister, whom he revered as his father almost to the end of his life, he lived to see a Kingdom wide in extent, great in prosperity, high in reputation, and foremost of all, the most eminently respected by the rulers of the time. Great in war, he put down the aggressive Orissan Kings, and not only beat in the open field Ismail Ādil Shāh but performed the greater feat of becoming a king-maker setting up rulers in opposition to him. No wonder he got the title of

“Yāvanasthāpanāchārya.” Though we know he would have valued the existence of a buffer-State and even tried to create one with the resuscitation of the defunct Bāhmani kingdom, the northern Muhammadan kings had not the political instinct to form a buffer-empire. Instead, the five States fought against each other and their mutual jealousies were so great that Krishna-Dēva got his opportunity to beat Ismail as he had never known before. The defeat left a lasting impression on him, indeed cowed him down so far as to make him run incontinently when the very name of his adversary was mentioned. Though Krishna-Dēva showed brilliant sparks of statesmanship, his treatment of Ismail’s ambassadors—if Nuniz is to be believed—was wholly dangerous, apart from being discourteous, and worse still his final demand for Ismail’s attending on him to kiss his feet. It meant the eventual doom of his Kingdom. Such a treatment could not but earn its own reward. Curiously enough, what he did as king is hardly reconcilable with what he recommends in his *Rājanīti* in regard to ambassadors, though as to the treatment of an enemy, both his writings and action agree in no uncertain manner. His overbearing attitude bore a deadly fruit within less than half-a-century.

Another phase of the environment amid which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya pursued his policy of wars and expansion was the coming of the Portuguese and the emergence of the first European power in India. He was friendly towards them, made use of them and accorded special treatment to them. His political instinct was so strongly developed in certain matters that there can be no mistaking of the soundness of his attitude towards these foreigners. The reception he accorded to them was so warm, and so different indeed from what they received from their hereditary enemies the Muhammadans, that they sold all their horses to him and built up a brisk

trade in it, with permanent head-quarters at his capital. But for their help, he could not have waged his wars so successfully, nor indeed could he so easily have reduced Raichur in 1520 A.D. His conception of warfare was grand. The great preparations he made for the reduction of the frontier forts show the care he bestowed on them and the importance he attached to its absolute success. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was merciful to Ismail for he allowed him to escape and would not follow him, though keenly pressed to do so by his generals. He was more practical and desired to gather the fruits of his victory. Not only the whole camp of his adversary but also Raichur and what it contained was the reward. His reduction of the Orissan King and the repeated campaigns it meant show his iron will and determination to reduce a stubborn foe who had not thought ill of combining with the Muhammadans against him and his forbears. The greatness of his success seems to have impressed his contemporaries, though we are even yet unable to visualize it. He was no doubt a strong man; strong physically and personally; and strong as a leader of men and as a ruler. But he lacked constructive genius in the political field. The many years of warfare consumed his time; he denied himself the time required for re-orienting his forces for meeting the inevitable breaking out of enmity between himself or his successors and the Muhammadan princes beyond the border. As a retaliation for similar injuries in the past, it might have been an answer but it was not policy. He could not think out a polity nor construct one that could stand the test of time. Probably we know less of him as a statesman than as a military general. Death—sudden and unexpected—forbade him from completing his conquest of Ismail and from the recapturing of lost Belgaum. After that, probably, he might have turned his attention to internal re-organization, though we have no signs of it in what we know of him from his

inscriptional records and from his poem and from the writings of the foreign chroniclers. He had the material to his hand and he had only to transform it. But he evidently was no Roman and he appears to have lacked the insight to grasp the position before him.

As a general, he should have been the beloved of his feudatories and forces. He chose his time rightly; he believed in a combination of arms; he understood pursuit but grasped its limitations and would not blindly use it, against his own interests; and he implicitly trusted in "march divided, fight united." In this last principle, he was almost Alexandrian in habit: what he prescribed in his *Rājanīti* is this respect he acted on before Raichur. His advance on Raichur shows equal genius—the organization being perfect to the smallest detail, including the supply of water to the troops *en route* and the pitching of the tents and the supply of luxuries as much as necessaries in the camp. He prescribes physical exercise for Kings and himself practised it, if Nuniz and Peddana may be believed. The manner in which he so quickly restored the *morale* of his troops at Raichur shows the perfect personal control he had over them. The truth seems to be that his success over Ismail was complete; it was undoubtedly as great over him as over Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Such success looks undoubtedly easy; but had a lesser man attempted it and failed in it, many reasons would have been easily forthcoming as to why it failed. Did not so many of his distinguished predecessors—from the great Sāluva-Narasimha downwards—try their hand against these two redoubtable enemies and did they find the invasion of their territories easy? The answer to these questions involves the appraisal of Krishna-Dēva's genius as a military organizer and commander.

He was the greatest builder of his Dynasty. He was also the most charitable—he was quite princely in his

generosity. He gave unasked, and unprompted, everything and all at once "as you saw things in a dream" and "as the jack tree drops all its fruits together," as he puts it in his great poem. He was greater even as a civil builder but the glories of his palaces and chapels, alas! can only be read now in the old Portuguese *Chronicles* and the cryptic verses of contemporary poets. So complete has been the devastation and so crushing the ravages of time! He founded innumerable hamlets, villages, and townships, after his name and gave them away. Though he seems—judging from his poem—to have distrusted religious mendicants and ascetics as a class, he made exceptions in the case of really great men, as is evidenced in the case of one or two, notably in that of that prince of debaters and controversialists Vyāsa-Raja. He did not spurn the humanism of his forbears and it is a real pleasure to know the workings of his mind from the great poem he has left us. It shows not only that he could write correct verses but a perfect mastery of technique, which makes us realise the loss that literature has sustained by the disappearance of his many other works. Hardly was he dead, than romance was busy about him and his great minister. Many a story that is still current goes back to his days and is witness to the wit of the one or the wisdom of the other. The man was certainly greater than what legend describes him to have been. He was not only great but also good, for he endeavoured to lift the burden off the backs of the people.

There are, however, one or two events connected with his reign which seem to darken his portrait. One is his alleged harsh treatment of Vīra-Bhadra, the son of Pratāpa Rudra, who, Nuniz states, as the result of the discourtesy shown to him, committed suicide. This luckily has been proved from inscriptions to be wholly false. Vīra-Bhadra was appointed to a Governorship in the Mysore country and made grants, as we have seen,

for the merit not only of Krishna-Dēva but also of his own father.

The second charge against him has reference to his treatment of Sāluva-Timma in connection with the murder of his own youthful son. The provocation was undoubtedly grave and much may be forgiven to a sovereign of Krishna-Dēva's type, who had shown his filial regard so far towards Timma. He had to choose between his feelings as a father and as a man who had been befriended, saved from murder, and put on the throne. Filial affection overcame gratitude and that may be justified by some at least as natural. But Krishna-Dēva was too much imbued in the spirit of the *Sāstras* he rigidly believed in, to order his death. The only doubt is whether he was dealt *on suspicion* of complicity or *for* complicity in the murder. Nuniz suggests the latter, though it is not free from all doubt.

Whatever future researches may show, there can be no doubt that from what we do know of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to-day, we can say of him that as king, soldier, and humanist he stands high indeed among the kings of South India. He merits the distinction of "Great" that has been bestowed on him.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had thus succeeded in every war he had undertaken. The main causes of his wonderful success were two-fold :—

Causes of his great success against his enemies.

(1) Improving on the lessons he had learnt in the art of war, he had armed, equipped and trained his forces till they were, both in their morale and in their appliances, decidedly superior to the troops of any State in the south of India. Paes' description of his troops bears out this fact in unmistakable fashion. This idea of rendering his troops invincible on the field was entirely his. He does not appear to have been content with excellence with one arm of the service. He evidently bestowed equal care and thought on every branch of his army. Each was brought into a state nearly approaching

perfection. His infantry, his cavalry, his archers, his elephants, were the best of their kind. His artillery was evidently effective and after the battle of Raichur, perhaps, also in more numbers; his commissariat service (*pace* Nuniz's account of his advance on Raichur and of his camp at that place), perhaps the best arranged in the India of his days.

(2) Like Phillip of Macedon, he was at the same time "a master of finesse." The manner in which he began his quarrel against Ali Ādil Shāh shows that he was a past-master in the art of seeking artifices and stratagems for gaining his ulterior ends. He certainly took full advantage of the divided condition of the States across his northern border and played off one against the other. In this, he was greatly seconded by his Minister, Sāluva-Timma, whose instinct for diplomacy is seen in the manner in which he contrived to create differences between the Orissan king and his feudatories. Though the ministers gets the praise for all these timely hints and suggestions to his master, the latter cannot be reckoned a mere tool in the hands of his subordinates. He evidently had an infinite fund of artifices from which to draw and scarcely ever resorted to means which he had once used before. To these two main causes must be added:—

(3) The extraordinary vigour, activity and avidity to fight evinced by the man who scarcely ever—again like Philip of Macedon in this matter as well—rested for a moment and who seemed almost to possess the uncanny power of being in several places at once; and

(4) A decline in the fighting power of his northern enemies due to their plundering habit, which, at least temporarily, depraved their morals.

#### Domestic life.

According to Paes, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had "twelve lawful wives," of whom three were the principal wives. One of these three, he says, was "the daughter of the king of Orya (*i.e.*, Orissa), and others, daughters of a king, his vassal, who is king of Seringapatāo" (*i.e.*, Seringapatam).

One of these two queens was, according to Paes, the daughter of "Cumarvirya" (Kumāra-Virayya), the king of Seringapatam and all the territory bordering on

Malabar, who, Paes adds, was held in high esteem by the king. Mr. Sewell has identified this "Cumarvirya" with Bettada-Chāma-Rāya, who ruled Mysore from 1513 to 1532 A.D. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 169 f.n.1.). But this seems impossible, for Seringapatam came under the Mysore kings only in the reign of Rāja-Wodeyar (1578-1617). (See below under *Mysore Kings*). Another queen appears to have been "a very beautiful woman of the family of the kings of Narsinga," who was, according to Nuniz, married to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Sāluva-Timma, his minister. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 363). These two may be the queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi mentioned by Allasāni Peddana, the Court Poet of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as his two lawfully wedded queens. (*Manucharitramu*, Canto I. 33). Their names appear in certain grants (at the Simhāchalam and the Amarēsvara temples) as the queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who had accompanied him in his East Coast expeditions and made gifts to temples with him. They also figure in certain grants at Vijayanagar. When their names thus appear in public grants, there is ground for inferring that they were the king's lawful queens. This being so, the statement of Nuniz that Chinna-Dēvi (he calls her Chinadēvidy) was his courtesan must be taken to be a mistake. Peddana is likely to have known matters of this kind more correctly than Nuniz. Chinnā-Dēvi must be the other wife, who, Paes says, was "a courtesan whom in his youth he had for mistress before he became king, and she made him promise that if he came to be king, he would take her to wife, and thus it came to pass that this courtesan became his wife. For love of her, he built this new city," *i.e.*, Nāgalapūr, now Hospet, seven miles from the ruined city of Hampi. It is possible too, that Chinnā-dēvi's marriage was ratified by what Sāluva-Timma is said to have done, before removing her to a big castle built by



him for her residence in the City. (See below). Paes adds that each of the three principal wives had "the same, one as much as the other, so that there may never be any discord or ill-feeling between them; all of them are great friends and each one lives by herself." Each had her own costly jewellery and had a special bevy of 60 maidens to attend on her. Jaganmōhini, the daughter of the Gajapati King of Orissa, who was given in marriage to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, to ratify the treaty of peace concluded at the end of the war on the East Coast, was the third wife, "the daughter of the king of Orya." The marriage is mentioned by Nuniz, though, according to him, it came off after the return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to his own capital. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 320). But according to the *Rāya-Vāchakamu*, it would, as we have seen, appear to have followed immediately after the fight was over, while the king was still on the Coast. Whenever it took place, there seems no doubt that it did take place, the dowry being all the country lately in the occupation of the Gajapati King to the south of the Krishna. The marriage is also mentioned in the *Krishnaraja-Vijayamu* of Kumāra Dūrjati and *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya Vyākhyā*, a work by Nādinla Gōpa-mantri, a nephew of Sāluva-Timma. This marriage, however, did not prove a happy one, if five Sanskrit verses ascribed by tradition to her (called *Tukkā-Panchakam*, so-called after her alternative name of Tukka) are to be believed. In these verses, she bemoans her fate and the neglect she had suffered at the hands of her royal husband. She seems to have lived by herself at Kamban, in the present Cuddapah District, where the large irrigation tank, constructed at her instance, serves as a memorial of her stay there. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 116, 132, 143, 144). As will be seen from what has been stated above, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's arrangements left no room for jealousy between his queens; moreover, all the three

lawfully wedded queens appear to have lived in the king's own palace at the capital. If there was estrangement—and the *Tukkā-Panchakam* is witness to it—it should have come long after 1520, probably towards the latter part of the king's reign. It is remarkable that there is no mention made of this queen of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Allasāni-Peddana in his poem *Manucharitramu*, which, as we have seen above, names only Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi as his lawfully wedded and affectionate queens. (The original text has *Kurchudēverulu* which means *affectionate queens-consorts*.) When it is remembered that the *Manucharitramu* bears internal evidence of the fact that it was written *after* the whole of the East Coast warfare was over, this omission of all mention of Krishna-Rāya's marrying the Orissan princess is inexplicable.

According to the *Āmuktamālyada*, his two queens were Tirumalāmba and Annapūrnā-dēvi. (See *Sources*, 135). It would seem to follow from this that the fourth lawfully wedded queen, mentioned but not named by Nuniz, was Annapūrnā-dēvi.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had two sons, by which of these three queens, it is not quite certain. It is, however, possible, Tirumalāmba was the daughter of Tirumala-dēvi, and later married (Aliya) Rāma-Rāja, the famous minister of Sadāsiva-Rāya; and Vēngalāmba was the daughter of Chinnā-dēvi and married Rāma-Rāja's younger brother, Tirumala. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's first son, Tirumalaiya-Dēva, was probably the son of Tirumala-dēvi, and the second son, who was eighteen months old when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya died, was probably the son of Annapūrnā-dēvi, the fourth wife of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Both of these sons are mentioned by Nuniz, though he fails to mention their names. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 359 and 367). The elder of these two was

His two sons :  
Tirumalaiya-  
Dēva and his  
unnamed  
infant  
brother.

crowned king by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself during his life-time, because, Nuniz adds, "the boy being six years old, and the king not knowing what would happen after his death." Nuniz further states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, for this reason—that is, the uncertainty of what might happen after his own death, for he had his half-brother and nephews alive to dispute the throne—"abdicated his throne and all his power and name, and gave it all to his son, and himself became his minister," Sāluva-Timma, who had held that office, becoming his counsellor, and one of the latter's sons being made "a great lord among them," *i.e.*, a noble of the State. And so far did king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya go "that after he had given the kingdom to his son, he himself did obeisance to him." With these changes, "the king made," adds Nuniz, "great festivals which lasted eight months, during which time the son of the king fell sick of a disease of which he died." After his death, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya learnt that he had died by poison given him by the son of Sāluva-Timma. The king, in his anger, sent for Sāluva-Timma, his sons and his brother Gōvinda-Rāja and put them into prison. One of the sons of Sāluva-Timma, named Timmanna-Dannāyaka (the *Timadanayque* of Nuniz), escaped to a hill fortress, from where he made such war that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had to send his new minister against him. He was eventually defeated and was brought a prisoner before the king. He, his father, the aged Sāluva-Timma, and the latter's second son (named Gōvinda, who is not to be confused with Gōvinda-Rāja, Sāluva-Timma's brother), were ordered to be blinded and cast into prison, where Timmanna-Dannāyaka died. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 359-61). Whether Sāluva-Timma survived Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or not, and what became of him, if he did survive Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, are questions difficult to answer at present, for there are no materials

available to base any suggestion upon. Such at least is the story told by Nuniz, and there seems nothing inherently impossible of belief in it. According to inscriptional records, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's son who was anointed king—probably *Yuvarāja*—was Tirumalaiya-dēva-Mahārāya, whom one record describes as “the moon to the ocean, the belly of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.” (See *E.C.* IX, Magadi 82). This inscription is dated in 1524 A.D., and records a grant for the merit of Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya and Timmanna-Dannāyaka, in the province which was, it states, under the latter's governance. Another record, dated in the same year, and coming from the same province, mentions a grant by Timmanna-Dannāyaka himself for the merit of Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 6). There is another record, also dated in 1524 A.D., but which comes from Dāmal, in the present Chingleput District, which also refers to Tirumalaiya-dēva as the son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*M.E.R.* 1896, App. B. No. 139). These records sufficiently indicate that Tirumalaiya-dēva should have been anointed *Yuvarāja* (and even co-ruler with his father) somewhere about 1524 A.D., as there are no earlier records mentioning him. As Nuniz states that at the time of his crowning, the boy was only “six years old,” he must have been born about 1518 A.D., a couple of years before the capture of Raichur. Another son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned by Nuniz but is not so far known to inscriptions. He was, according to Nuniz, at the time of Krishna-Dēva's death, not “of fit age for the throne” being “only one of the age of eighteen months.” (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 367). His age being against him, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya nominated his half-brother Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya to succeed him. (*Ibid.*)

In an inscription dated in the same year *Saka* 1446 (A.D. 1524) discovered at Anantasayanagudi, Hospet

Tirumalaiya-  
dēva, son of  
Krishna-  
Rāya.

Taluk, Bellary District, Krishna-Dēva is said to have gifted a number of villages to the temple of Ananta-padmanābha at Sale-Tirumalamahārāyapura founded by the king, in the name of his son. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 79, App. B. No. 683). The date of the record is Cyclic year *Tārana*, *Jyēshtha* Su 7, Sunday. Magadi 6 is dated in the same Cyclic year, *Vaisākha Suddha* 13 and Magadi 82, also in the same Cyclic year, *Mārgasira Suddha* 2, Saturday. Arranged in the order of months, these records stand thus:—Magadi 6 (*Vaisākha*), Anantasayanagudi record (*Jyēshtha*) and Magadi 82 (*Mārgasira*). As Magadi 6 shows that the prince was alive in the *Vaisākha* month, and Magadi 82 suggests he was dead before *Mārgasira*, it has to be presumed that the gifts of villages mentioned in the Anantasayanagudi dated in *Jyēshtha*, i.e., the month following *Vaisākha*, the month in which the gift in Magadi 6 was donated, should have been made immediately after or as part of the coronation celebrations of the Prince held at Vijayanagar by Krishna-Rāya. An earlier inscription of Krishna-Rāya found at Kamalāpuram, near Hospet, dated in *Saka* 1440, *Bahudhānya* (expired), *Kārtika* 12, Saturday (corresponding to A.D. 1519), records a gift of land made by the king and his queen Tirumala-dēvi to the god Tiruvēngalanātha of Aṅjanagiri (i.e., Tirumala at Tirupati) for the merit of (prince) Tirumalarāya-Mahārāya. (*M.E.R.* 1923, App. B. No. 697). This gift was made when the prince was about 4 years old, apparently for his welfare. It would seem to follow from this record that the prince was the son of Krishna-Dēva by Tirumala-Dēvi and not Chinnā-Dēvi. Though Paes and Nuniz state that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya loved the latter "better than any of the others," Allasāni Peddana, who mentions both (Canto I. 33), later singles out Tirumala-Dēvi and states that Krishna-Dēva was fond of rambling cheerfully with her in his beautiful rounded Palace which had been fitted up

with different kinds of deceiving machinery. (*Kūta-harmya*). Apparently, the palace of this queen was a specially fitted up one containing different kinds of novelties. (See *Manucharitramu*, Canto III, 142). It would seem to be suggested in this verse of the Poet, that Tirumala-Dēvi was the chief queen, an inference confirmed in a way by Nuniz and Paes, the latter of whom actually states that Chinnā-Dēvi was originally a "Courtezan" and that the king had married her because of the love he bore for her before he ascended the throne. The Chōlasamudram inscription states, in confirmation of this statement, that "he ascended the Karnāta throne with his queen Tirumalāmbika." (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 55; App. C. No. 87 of 1912 dated in 1526 A.D.).

Three other inscriptions of his dated in the same year (*Saka* 1446, *Tārana*) have been traced at Kugaiyur in the South Arcot District. They record gifts to the temple at that place and to its servants for the merit of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his son by one Mrityyunjaya Nāyakar, described as the agent of Prince Tirumalai-Nāyakar. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 72, Nos. 115, 116 and 117). They may be thus arranged in the order of their dates:—

No. 115.—

*Saka* 1446, *Tārana*, *Tula*, *ba di* Ekādasi, Monday.

No. 116.—

*Saka* 1446, *Tārana*, *Dhanus*, *Su di* Purnai, Ādra, Sunday.

No. 117.—

*Saka* 1446, *Tārana*, *Dhanus*, *Su di* Prathama, Ādra, Sunday.

As the month of *Dhanus* according to the Sauramāna Panchānga corresponds to Mārgasīra of the

Chāndramāna, and Tula corresponds to Āsvīja of the Chāndramāna, which is only two months prior to Mārga-sīra, it is evident that these gifts were made on or about the date of the death of Prince Tirumalai-dēva-Mahārāya.

Coinage of  
Krishna-  
Dēva-Rāya.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have introduced a new gold coin during his reign. This coin has been popularly known as the "Durgi" pagoda. As a devotee of Vishnu, his coin has on its obverse the figure of Vishnu seated with the discus and the conch. On its reverse, is the following legend in Nāgari:—"Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya." Half-pagodas of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya with the same obverse and legends are also known. (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64; and Plate VII.).

Krishna-  
Dēva's titles.

Krishna-Dēva's full title was *Mahārājādhirāja Rajāparamēsvara Vīra-pratāpa-Krishna-Rāya-Mahārāya*. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 68 dated in 1516 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Sringeri 18 dated in 1529 A.D., etc.). The place of *Vīra-pratāpa* is sometimes taken by the fuller form *Vīra-bhujabala pratāpa*. (See *E.C.* IX, Magadi 82 dated in 1524 A.D.). It is shortened sometimes into *Vīra-Krishnarāya-Mahārāya* (as in *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 41 dated in 1516 A.D.); and sometimes into simply *Bhujabalarāya* (as in a record at Yaraganballi, Yelandur Taluk, dated in 1512 A.D.; see *M.A.R.* 1917, para 110). In this record, he is also called "subduer of *Gajapati* and *Asvapati*," the former referring to his successes over Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king. In one record (*E.C.V*, Hole-Narsipur 19 dated in 1517 A.D.), his name and titles appear in unusual forms. He is called *Krishnavarma-Mahārāya* and described as the son of Narasimhavarma-Mahārāja. His titles are thus enumerated in it:—*Svasti sri bhuvanādhisvara samasta-rājādhirāja rājāparamēsvara srimun-mahā-mēdini-misaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Srimāddakshina-samuḍrādhipati Narasimha-*

*varma-Mahārājatanūbhava prabalaipratāpa sakala-bhū-mīsvara-nikara-makuta-vinyasta-charanāravinda-yugala sarva-bhuvana prachāra kutūhalita-kīrtti-kuladēvatā-sahachāra-Chāturddanta-balānvi (dī) tavīralakshmi samākarshana śrīmat-Krishnavarma-mahārāyam samastha-prithvīrājyam geyutt iralu, etc.* Though the composition of this inscription is peculiar in regard to names and titles and the date is given in unusual detail, with all the particulars contained in the *Panchānga* (Indian Calendar), there is nothing inherently wrong in its contents. There is scarcely any doubt that the title *Mēdini-mīsvara-ganda, Kathāri Sāluva* was appropriated by the Tuluva kings from their predecessors of the Sāluva dynasty.

Some records indeed give him all the Sāluva titles. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 42. App. B. No. 196 of 18, *Saka* 1437 and App. C. Nos. 2 and 3 of 1919, dated in *Saka* 1403 and 1401, which should be 1443 and 1441).

The title of "Establisher of the kingdom of Muhammadans (Yāvanas)" and "the annihilator of the army of the Gajapati King Pratāpa-Rudra" are also mentioned in a record dated in 1517 A.D., from Neyvānai, (in the Chingleput District). (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 69; App. B. No. 381 of 1908). The first title is also in another record from Undavilli near Bezvada, dated in 1526 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 70; App. C. No. 47 of 1909). This title is also mentioned by Peddana. That the title of *Yāvana-sthāpanāchārya* was looked upon as an important one is borne out by the fact that it continued to be assumed by his successor Achyutā also. (*M.E.R.* 1906; App. B. No. 162 dated in 1533 A.D.).

In two copper-plate records which come from Kumbakonam, the king receives the title of *Urukavivaibhavanivaha-nidāna, i.e.,* "The cause for the highly prosperous condition of great poets," a title that seems to have been



literally true of him. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. A. Nos. 7 and 8, dated in 1528 and 1522 A.D.)

Death of  
Krishna-  
Dēva-Rāya.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya died, as stated before, in 1530 A.D., just as he was preparing for the capture of Belgaum. This is the date fixed by a number of inscriptions, which extend his reign to Saka 1452, cyclic year *Virōdhin*, *Vaisākha* month. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 525 of 1906). According to two inscriptions, found at Conjeeveram, the coronation of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya took place in the same year *Virōdhin*, fifth *tithi* of the second half of the solar month *Vrichika*, which corresponds to the *Kārtika* month of the lunar year. A record from Ankurahalli in Sorab, which records the rebuilding of a village granted originally by Harihara I to the local God Sri-kanta and regranting it to the same God, in order that a secure kingdom might be to Achyuta-Rāya, is dated in *Saka* 1451, cyclic year *Virōdhi*, Mārgasira 10 (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 39; See also *M.E.R.* 1899-00, Para 7, quoting App. B. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). It follows from these three sets of dates that Krishna-Dēva should have died between the months of *Vaisākha* and *Kārtika*, *Saka* 1452 A.D., which would fix the date between May and December 1530 A.D. A number of other inscriptions belonging to the last year of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the first year of Achyuta confirming the above inference may be noted here :—

(1) *E.C.* IX. Magadi 54. Records the building of a stone gateway at Biskur, Magadi taluk. Dated in cyclic year *Virōdhi*, Bhādrapada Suddha—*Su* 15, in the reign of Krishna-Rāya-Mahārāya (September 1530 A.D.).

(2) *E.C.* IX. Bangalore 28. Records the grant of a village, in order that merit might be to Achyuta-Rāya-Mahārāya and the donor's father. Dated in *Saka* 1452, cyclic year *Vikruti*, *Kārtika*-Suddha 12. (November 1530).

(3) *E.C.* IX. Dod-Ballapur 20. (Copper-plate grant.) Records the grant of Sambāpura re-named Achyutarāyām-

budhi, to a Brāhman in the Hoskote-sīma by Achyuta-Rāya at Vijayanagar, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Dated in *Saka* 1452 (in words) Vikruti year, Vaisakha-pournima-tithi (May 1530). This inscription specially mentions that Achyuta ascended the throne agreeably to the orders of Krishna-Rāya, (*nijānam*), after he had taken the world of Gods as his position (*kritavati suratoke Krishna-Rāya*). This record may thus be taken to state that Achyuta succeeded Krishna-Dēva on his death and that on the date mentioned, apparently shortly after his coronation, King Achyuta made the gift mentioned in it.

(4) *E.C.* IX. Hoskote 28. Records a private grant. Dated in *Saka* 1452 Vikruti year Bhadrapada *Su.* 12 (September 1530 A.D.), in the reign of Achyuta-Rāya.

(5) *E.C.* IX. Kankanhalli 31. Records a grant by Sugalnād prabhu to *Guru* Chaitanya-Dēva. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti, Āsvīja *Su.* 11, Sunday in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Mahārāya (October 1530 A.D.).

(6) *E.C.* XI. Davangere 28. Records a grant by a local chief of Ballapura, renamed Achyutarāyapura, in Harihara-sīma, to the *chatra* of Harihara temple. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year, Srāvana-bahula, 8 Monday, Krishnajayanti day, in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya.

(7) *E.C.* XI. Jagalur 1. Records a grant for a temple at Bilichod in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1450 Virōdhi (1529 A.D.).

(8) *E.C.* XII. Gubbi 32. Records a grant by a local chief in the reign of Achyuta-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1451, Virōdhi year, Chaitra *Su.* 5 (April 1530).

(9) *E.C.* XII. Tiptur 110. Records the grant by Achyuta-Rāya of a *umbli* for a tank. Dated in Vikruti year, Vaisakha *ba.* 1 (*Saka* 1452, or May 1530 A.D.).

(10) *E.C.* XII. Pavagada. Records a grant by the local Governor. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year, Kartika *Su.* 10, Monday (November 1530 A.D.).

(11) *E.C.* VI. Sringeri 18. Records a private gift of lands to a temple in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1451, Virōdhi year (1530 A.D.).

(12) *E.C.* VI. Kadur 31. Records a grant by a local chief to a temple in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in

*Saka* 1452, Vikruti year, Āshāda *ba.* 3, Wednesday (July 1530 A.D.).

(13) *E.C. V.* Channarayapatna 187. Records a grant by the local Governor to a temple in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya (who is given full imperial titles, with all the Sāluva titles, etc.). Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti (current), Āsvija *ba.* 7 Thursday (October 1530 A.D.).

(14) *E.C. VI.* Malavalli 105. Records a grant by Rāyananāyaka, "the King's son," to Kirti Nārāyana of Talakād, for the merit of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year (1530 A.D.).

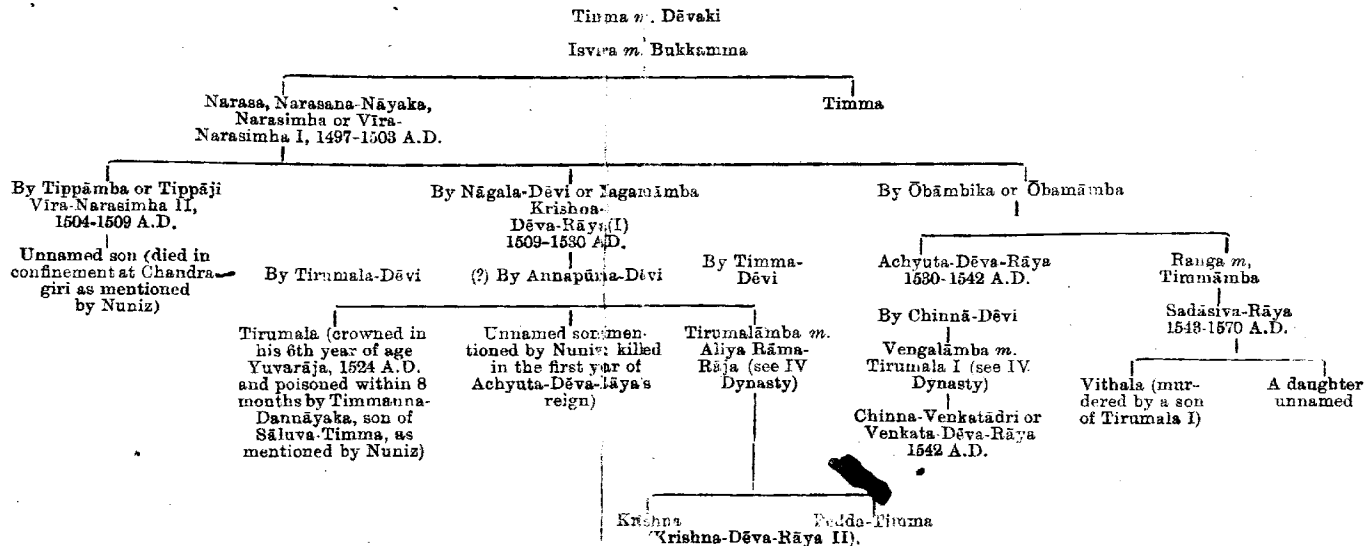
A few grants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, dated in 1532 A.D., have, however, been traced, but the dates mentioned in them do not appear to be correct. Thus, in one record (*M.A.R.* 123 of 1924) dated in *Saka* 1454, Plava, the *Saka* and cyclic years do not agree. *Saka* 1454 falls in Khāra, while Plava corresponds to *Saka* 1464. In a stray verse attributed to Allasāni Peddana, the date of Krishna-Dēva's death is mentioned as *Saka* 1447, cyclic year Tārana, *Māgha Suddha* Sashti, Monday, which would correspond to a day in February 1525 (*See Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161; *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, 170; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 186). This date cannot be correct as we have many genuine records of his considerably later than this year. The verse may be a spurious one and attributed to Peddana by mistake. It is, however, possible that the latter survived his sovereign, for another verse attributed to him makes him lament his outliving his patron. Indeed, he goes so far as to curse himself that he was a "living-corpse" having failed to go with Krishna-Rāya to heaven. (*Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161-2).

Statues of  
Krishna-  
Dēva-Rāya  
and his  
Queens.

Statues made in copper of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his two principal queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi are to be seen close to the first *gōpura* of the Venkatēsa temple of the Tirupati Hill, to which he was deeply devoted. The group is made up with Krishna-Dēva in

# PEDIGREE OF THE THIRD (OR TULUVA) DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

(Revised with the aid of available materials up to 1927).



(1) Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, according to Allasāni Peddana, his Court Poet, had I. 33). To these, the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* and the *Rāya-Vāchaka* with Tukka, the author of *Tukka-Panchakam*. The marriage of the by Nuniz, but not named by him, was probably Annapūrṇā-Dēvi,

ly wedded queens, named Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumalāmba. (*Manucharitramu*, and queen. The former names her as Jagannōhini, who has been identified is mentioned by Nuniz also. The fourth lawfully wedded queen mentioned Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's work *Amuktamālyada*.

the centre, Chinnā-Dēvi to his left and Tirumala-Dēvi to his right. The names of these queens are engraved on their images. The statue of Krishna-Dēva, from what we know of him as a strong well-built man, fond of physical exercise and the open air, cannot be altogether presumed to be a mere conventional representation of him. Mr. Venkayya, judging from the character in which the names are engraved (on the right shoulder in each case), thought that the images should have been set up during the life time of the king. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 9; see also *A.S.I.* 1909-10, Plate LXXVI, for lithotype reproduction of the three statues). It may be noted that in a record dated in 1513, in the Siddēsvara temple at Tirupati, the names of these two queens appear as Chinnājamma and Tirumalamma. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 87).

As mentioned above, Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya succeeded Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The statement of Nuniz that he was chosen by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to succeed him seems correct, for, one record, as mentioned above, states that it was under his direction that he took up the reins of Government. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 367; *E.C.* IX, Dodbballapur 30, dated in 1530 A.D.) As there is nothing to suggest that he succeeded as Regent of his brother's minor son, aged 18 months, he probably succeeded in his own right. This is more probable as there is reason to believe that he was already co-ruler with Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when the latter was still alive. Thus, in a record dated in *Saka* 1449, cyclic year *Vijaya* (1530 A.D.), he is described as king. (*M.E.R.* 1900, para 70; *M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 294 of 1897). Similarly in another record (see *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 15), dated in *Saka* 1450 *Saradhūri* (A.D. 1528), he is given all the Imperial titles and spoken of as ruling the kingdom (*prithvi rājyageyu thiralu*). From these records, it would

Achyuta-  
Dēva-Rāya,  
1530-1542 A.D.

seem to follow that Nuniz is not quite correct when he states that Achyuta was still in prison at Chandragiri when he was sent for to take the place of the dead king. Until he arrived, the kingdom was in charge of "Salvanag," who apparently has to be identified with the Sāluva chief Vira-Narasimha-Rāya, who subsequently rebelled against him. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 367 and 384.) According to Rājanātha Dindima's *Achyuta-rāyābhyudaya*, the formal anointment to the throne of Achyuta took place at Tirupati, after which he proceeded to the capital, where the coronation proper was once more celebrated. It is added that on the latter occasion, his favourite Queen Varadāmbika was anointed Queen-Regent and his son Pinna-Venkatādri as crown-prince respectively. (See *Sources*, 158-159). This latter statement is confirmed by the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*. (*Ibid*, 170-2). Among the many gifts given to the Brāhmins at the time was the one called *Suvarnamēru*. The date of his coronation is mentioned in a couple of inscriptions at Conjeevaram as the 5th *tithi* of the second half of the Solar month *Vrischika* (*Kārtika* of the lunar year) in the cyclic year *Virōdhin* or 4th November 1530 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 70, quoting App. B. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). There are, however, a number of inscriptions at Kālāhasti which state that his coronation took place at that place in the presence of God Kālāhastisvara in the cyclic year *Virōdhin* (*Saka* 1452) in the month *Kārtika*, the event being marked by the grant of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  villages as well as the proceeds of the duties on exports and imports collected at certain sea-ports to the God Kālāhastisvara. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45, App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173, 182 of 1924—all dated in 1532 A.D.).

Internal  
dissensions  
and the  
triangular  
fight for the  
throne.

The accession of Achyuta was, however, disputed. The authorities—Ferishta, Nuniz, and inscriptions—are not clear on the point, but a careful reading of them suggests

that there were, besides Achyuta, two other claimants to the throne. One of these was apparently the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, wrongly described by Ferishta as an "infant of the female line," there being none such, both according to inscriptions and according to Nuniz. Nuniz who mentions the infant (see *A Forgotten Empire*, 367) does not state whose son he was. Krishna-Dēva had, as we have seen, twelve lawful queens, of whom, according to Paes, there were three principal ones, the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom, but not those of others. (*Narrative of Paes in A Forgotten Empire*, 247). Of these, Paes mentions none by name. Nuniz, however, states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had four wives, of whom he mentions Chinnā-dēvi by name. (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 362-3). The *Āmuktamālyada* mentions Queen Annapūrṇā-dēvi with Tirumalāmba, while Peddana refers to only Chinnā-dēvi and Tirumalāmba, adding that the latter was the "coronation" queen. (See *ante*). Thus, there were four principal queens, three of whom were Chinnā-dēvi, Tirumalāmba and Annapūrṇā-dēvi. Now Rāmarāja and his brother Tirumala married two daughters of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, one of whom Tirumalāmba was the daughter of Tirumala-Dēvi who was married to Rāmarāja, and the other was the daughter of Chinnā-dēvi, and married to Tirumala. According to *Annals of Hande Anantapur*, on the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the two queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi wanted that Rāmarāja, as the elder *Aliya* (or son-in-law) of the family, should rule the kingdom, assisted by his brother Tirumala, the second son-in-law of the house. (See *Sources*, 178-81). If this was so, the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya mentioned above cannot have been the son of either of these two queens, for, if it had been so, the queen concerned would have preferred the claim in behalf of the son to that of the daughter. He should, therefore, have been the son of Annapūrṇā-dēvi

or the unnamed fourth lawful queen of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The infant's claim was put forward by his uncle—apparently his maternal uncle—who figures in Scott's *Ferishta* as Hojē Tirumala-Rāya (I. 262 *et. seq.*), while in Briggs (III. 80), he is called Bhōj-Tirumala. These are evidently corruptions of the designation *Huchchu* Tirumala, which appears in Couto (Dec. VI. l. v. cap. 5 as quoted by Mr. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, 169, *f.n.* 2). This Tirumala was evidently a man of weak intellect, if not absolutely insane. This *Huchchu* Tirumala was joined by "a slave," whom Rāma-Rāya had appointed the Governor of the capital. This is the person described by Ferishta as "the slave" who, having been ennobled by Rāma-Rāja, had, about this time, got possession of the capital, refused supplies to him for his wars, and had released the child-king and co-operated with Hojē Tirumala, assumed the office of minister, and, with a view to obtain possession of the Royal Treasury, began to raise troops. Ferishta adds that several of the tributary chiefs who were disgusted with Rāma-Rāja went to the capital and there declared themselves in favour of their lawful king (*i.e.*, the child-king). It would seem that they joined *Huchchu* Tirumala and the "slave" in their attempt at winning the throne for the infant minor son. "In a short time," Ferishta says, "thirty thousand horse and vast hosts of foot were assembled under his (*Huchchu* Tirumala's) standard at the City." Meanwhile, the "slave's" attempt to seize the throne for the infant king became known to Rāma-Rāja. Ferishta states that on his return from a distant expedition, Rāma-Rāja, having found himself deserted by many of the nobles, and unable to assert his authority, made peace with his lawful sovereign, and retired to his own province, which, by agreement, he was allowed to retain as his own independent State. A large number of the feudatories joining *Huchchu* Tirumala as the guardian of the child-king, *Huchchu* Tirumala had the slave assassinated,



and after the reapproachment with Rāma-Rāja, according to which the latter returned to his provincial charge, he strangled the child-king and seized the throne. Ferishta states that the feudatories submitted, since he was of royal blood and better, in their opinion, than Rāma-Rāja, but when afterwards they found themselves unable to endure his tyranny and oppression, they rebelled and invited Rāma-Rāja to return. Ferishta adds that *Huchchu* Tirumala found himself in such great straits that he sent ambassadors with large presents to Ibrahim Ādil Shāh, begging him to march to his help and that the Vijayanagar Kingdom would be declared tributary to Bijāpur. Ibrahim was delighted at this request, and after consulting Asada Khān, his general, arrived before Vijayanagar "in the year 942" (*i.e.*, between July 2, 1532 to June 20, 1536 A.D.). "He was," says Ferishta, "conducted into the City by Hoje Terumal Ray (*i.e.*, *Huchchu* Tirumala), who seated him on the musnud of the raaje (*i.e.*, Rāyas of Vijayanagar), and made rejoicings for seven days." This conduct led to a change of front on the part of Rāma-Rāja and his supporters who, as stated above, had determined on putting an end to *Huchchu* Tirumala's usurpation of the throne. They entreated—so Ferishta says—Tirumala for the sake of the country to procure the retreat of Sultān Ibrahim to his own dominions, promising submission and obedience, if this should be done. Tirumala, thinking that now he had no further use for his allies, requested the Sultān to return home. He paid over the subsidy as agreed upon, which was assessed at something like two millions sterling, and made many other gifts. The return of Ibrahim was signalled by a determined attempt on the part of Rāma-Rāja and his supporters on *Huchchu* Tirumala. This attempt ended in a great tragedy which is thus narrated by Ferishta:—

"Ibrahim Ādil Shāh had not yet recrossed the Kistnah when Ram-raaje (*i.e.*, Rāma-Rāja) and the confederates, who

had bribed many of the troops of the city, broke their newly made vows, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolved to put the Roy (*i.e.*, *Huchchu-Tirumala-Rāya*) to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor (*i.e.*, the child-king). Hoje Tirmul Roy, seeing he was betrayed, shut himself up in the Palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, also cutting off their tails, that they might be of no use to the enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, other precious stones, and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force that it pierced through and came out at the back, thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Rāma-raaje now became Roy of Beejanuggur without a rival."

Nuniz's account is somewhat different. He states that Achyuta was given over to "vice and tyranny," "of every little honesty" and that therefore the people and the feudatories were much discontented. He adds that he never did anything "except those that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews." The two "brothers-in-law" referred to were the brothers Sālaka-Tirumala-Rāyas who were really Achyuta's wife's elder brothers and not, as identified by Mr. Sewell, the brothers Rāma-Rāya and Tirumala, the sons-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 169, *f.n.* 5; and 367, *f.n.* 5). (These were the "brothers-in-law" of Sadāsiva, the successor of Achyuta and hence probably the mistake of describing them as the "brothers-in-law" of Achyuta himself). Nuniz's account would seem to indicate that Achyuta and his brothers-in-law Pedda and Chinna Sālaka-Tirumala made common cause against the party in favour of the child-king and his Regent, the uncle *Huchchu* Tirumala. While the

two queens Tirumala-Dēvi and Chinnā-Dēvi and their sons-in-law Rāma and Tirumala recognized Achyuta as king, the latter appears to have allowed the brothers Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala to take part in the administration. On this basis, the accounts of Nuniz and Ferishta are capable of reconciliation on the main point. It is difficult, otherwise, to explain the abject position to which Achyuta had reduced himself and the very strong condemnation of his conduct passed by Nuniz, who wrote as a contemporary what he has said in his *Chronicle*.

According to Nuniz, however, the invasion of Ādil Shāh of the capital was a wholly unprovoked one and not one undertaken in compliance with a request of any one of the parties. Nuniz, indeed, states that the Ādil Shāh, "learning of how little weight he (Achyuta) was, determined to make war on him, believing that he would easily succeed since the king (Achyuta) was not inclined to war; so he made his forces ready, and began to invade the king's territory," and arrived within a league of the capital. Though Achyuta was "in the city with great forces and power that he could easily have captured him if his heart had allowed him to take action, since the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh) had with him only 12,000 foot and 30,000 horse; yet with this small force the Ydallcao entered Nagallapor (modern Hospet), a league from Bisnaga (Vijayanagar) and razed it to the ground. The king never tried to go out against him, nor had he the stomach for a fight, and there were only small skirmishes by some captains, good horsemen. These spoke to the king, asking that His Highness would give them leave to attack, and saying that his own presence was unnecessary for so slight an affair; but the king was terrified and by the advice of his brothers-in-law (of which they gave not a little), decided to send and make peace with the Ydallcao." A peace to last "a hundred years" was accordingly made on condition of the payment of ten

lakhs of *pagodas* and jewels, valued at a lakh, by Achyuta with the city of Raichur, which had been captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The Ādil Shāh was, naturally enough, well pleased and retired. Nuniz adds that Achyuta subsequently sent to him a diamond weighing 130 *mangellinis* (or 162 carats, only slightly less than the Kohinoor, which originally weighed 186 carats) and fifteen other similar ones "worth fully a lakh." This money, it is said, "he soon afterwards recovered and put in his treasury, exacting payments from his captains (feudatories) and people so ruthlessly that they say that in six months he had recovered and put the whole in his treasury." Both because he made this peace and because he exacted sums from them, the feudatories and troops were thoroughly discontented with Achyuta and "have held," says Nuniz, "that if this kingdom should ever be brought to destruction, it must take place in the life-time of King Chitarao (*i.e.*, Achyuta Rāya); for he had destroyed the principal people of his kingdom and killed their sons and taken their goods, all owing to the bad counsel of his brothers-in-law, by whom he was dominated." He instances the case of one Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka, whom, he states, "he seized one night, and who, before he surrendered himself, killed all his wives, in number two hundred, and then killed himself with poison in presence of the king. This was because the king wanted to kill his son in his presence. By sale of the captains' arms, namely daggers, swords, spears, battle-axes and other things, which were all ornamented with gold and silver, the king realised more than 3,000 *pardaos*. In this way, the kingdom has been deprived of its principal men and of those who sustain it, wherefore, the Ydallcao holds it in so little esteem that he puts upon it every day a thousand affronts and requisitions."

Such is the story as told by Nuniz. He is severe as much on Achyuta as on his brothers-in-law, the Salaka-

Tirumala brothers, whom, indeed, he describes as grasping "Jews." To one like Nuniz, who had been accustomed to the stern, quick, and decisive measures adopted by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in matters of war and peace, the conduct of Achyuta and his brothers-in-law was thoroughly disgusting and inexplicable. He could not understand their inactivities in the face of the danger to the State and to the people and he could not see why they would not allow even the feudatories to fight out the Ādil Shāh, when he had had the temerity to invade the capital and destroy the new town erected by Krishna-Dēva. He set it down to the cowardice of Achyuta and his advisers, on whom he pours his scornful words of reproach. The possibilities are that these had made common cause against the child-king's party headed by *Huchchu* Tirumala and it could not have suited them to fight the Ādil Shāh, while their internal dissensions were still unsettled. The Ādil Shāh saw his opportunity in these very fights and apparently entered as the ally of the child-king's party and was bought over—according to Nuniz—by Achyuta and his brothers-in-law. As Nuniz's version is that of a contemporary, we may accept it as the more correct one. This is the more reasonable view to take, as the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* (see Canto XI) definitely states that Achyuta laid siege to Raichur and took it. The re-taking of it would not have been necessitated if it had not been lost after its conquest by Krishna-Dēva in 1520 A.D.

The question as to the identity of "Hoje Tirumala" "the slave" and others mentioned by Ferishta in connection with these civil dissensions has been discussed by scholars. Wilson, who was amongst the first to discern the actual place of disturbances after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, identified the "Rāmrāj" of Ferishta with "Aliya-Rāma-Rāja," his father-in-law, "Krishna-Rāya"

Identity of  
"Hoje  
Tirumala."

with the "Sesroy" (probably the shortened forms would be "Kishenroy" and "Sheroy") mentioned by him, "Hoje Tirumala" with "Achutya-Rāya" and "Salika Timma" (*i.e.*, "Salak Timma" who figures in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya) with the "Slave." (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. 87-89). Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, who has given considerable space to the subject, has, after expressing some doubt as to whether the disturbances took place in the reign of Achyuta or after his death, shifted them to the beginning of the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1903-9, Page 195). He has identified "Seo-Rāya" with "Sāluva Narasinga," "Heem-Rāja" with "Narasana-Nāyaka," "Rāmrāja" with "Aliya Rāma-Rāja," and "Hoje Tirumala" with "Salaka Timma" of the reign of Sadāsiva. Father Heras, the latest writer on the subject, though he mentions Wilson's remark as to disturbances having occurred after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, states that it might have been due to the confusion in the minds of the Muhammadan historians by the succession of his six-year old son (Tirumalaiya-dēva) who was murdered by Sāluva-Timma, as mentioned by Nuniz. (*The Aravidu Dynasty*, 3, *f.n.* 3.). He entirely fails to remember that this murder took place prior to the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and that he left a younger son, aged 18 months, surviving him. This "child-king" is the person referred to by Ferishta and his uncle is mentioned as "Hoje Tirumala." This being so, "Hoje Tirumala" must have been a brother of that queen of Tirumala whose son the "child-king" was. (See above). The only queen answering to this description is Annapūrna-dēvi, who is mentioned in the *Āmuktamālyada*. Hence "Hoje Tirumala" cannot be "Salaka Timma" (identified with Salaka *Tirumala*, the uncle of Achyuta) as is suggested by Father Heras. (*Aravidu Dynasty*, 4, *f.n.* 4 and 6). He was evidently the maternal uncle of

the "child-king" and had nothing whatever to do with Salaka Tirumala, who came into prominence only in the reign of Achyuta. Moreover, there is not a tithe of evidence to suggest that Salaka Tirumala, the minister of Achyuta or any other member of the Salaka family, was "mad." The many inscriptions relating to them nowhere even imply that they were "mad" and it is therefore impossible to identify "Salaka Tirumala" with "*Huchchu* Tirumala." These were two different individuals and they belonged to different reigns. Finally, there is the suggestion of Wilson that the "slave" of Ferishta's story may be "Salaka Timma." The great objection to this proposed identification is that they belong to different reigns and that if the "slave" died in Achyuta's reign, he could not have lived to take part in the civil dissensions of Sadāsiva's reign also. As a matter of fact, all the authorities—both inscriptional and literary—agree in assigning Salaka Timma to the reign of Sadāsiva and not to that of Achyuta. The progress of research since Wilson wrote has entirely falsified his suggestion and it has therefore to be given up as baseless. The "slave" of Ferishta has accordingly to be yet identified and future researches may clear up this point. It might be remarked that the whole difficulty in this connection is due to the fact that successive writers have failed to recognize that there were two disputed successions, one at the end of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign and another at the end of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya's reign and that in the first case, the eighteen months old son of Krishna-Dēva was set up against Achyuta and in the other, Venkatādri<sup>1</sup>, the son of Achyuta, was set up against Sadāsiva and that on each occasion, there was a regular fight for the throne. If these two disputed successions are recognized as the facts show that they ought to be, then many of the doubts concerning the succession after Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya will automatically disappear.

Duration of  
the contest.

Two more points remain to be determined about these internal dissensions and the triangular fight for the throne:—(a) When did they commence and when did they end? and (b) How did they end? As regards the first of these points, it might be pointed out that they presumably began not long after the accession to the throne of Achyuta and that they continued for about five years. If Ferishta is correct in stating that immediately on the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya—he mentions only the name of Minister Timma as “Heemraaje”—Ismail Ādil Shāh, taking advantage of the “confusion” and “the rebellions that had arisen” against his successor, laid siege to Raichur and Mudkal and took them, at the end of three months, by capitulation, then the dissensions should have begun in 1530-1531 A.D., when both these places should have been lost to Vijayanagar. The cession of Raichur under the treaty with Achyuta, also mentioned by Ferishta, can only mean the confirmation of the conquest achieved by Ismail. Ismail apparently died, on 13th August 1534 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Mālu, who was displaced in 1535 A.D. by his younger brother Ibrahim. It was Ibrahim, who, according to Ferishta, sent Asada Khān to the aid of *Huchchu*-Tirumala in his fight against Achyuta and Rāma-Rāja. The date given by Ferishta for the despatch of Asada Khān is 1535-6 A.D., The death of *Huchchu*-Tirumala and Salakam-Timmaiya and the treaty which ended with the confirmation of the cession of Raichur should accordingly have taken place about 1536 A.D. This definitely fixes the final settlement of the war of succession at about 1536 A.D. That this date is correct is proved by another consideration. Ferishta states that within four or five years, Rāma-Rāja cut off by treachery most of the chiefs who opposed him (thus confirming Nuniz) and that he then marched on an expedition in Malabar (apparently the expedition against the Tiruvadi Rāja referred to below) and then



advanced on a powerful chief to the south of the capital, from where he sent demands for supplies on the "slave" (*i.e.*, Salakam-Timmaya) whom he had raised to high rank and made Governor of the capital city. This man was so amazed at the contents of the royal treasury that he resolved to gain possession of it for himself. This shows that what induced Rāma-Rāja to return to the capital was the machination of the Treasurer with *Huchchu-Tirumala* on behalf of the child-king whose cause they had put forward. This fixes the date of the arrival of Rāma-Rāja at the capital to a date posterior to the conquest of the Tiruvadi-rājya. As will be shown below, this conquest was over by about 1534 A.D. (*M.E.B.* 1900; App. B. No. 49, dated 1532 A.D. and No. 50, dated 1534 A.D.). This being so, Rāma-Rāja should have reached Vijayanagar about 1535 A.D., as we have to allow a little time for his advance against the other powerful chief in the south mentioned by Ferishta.

The result of the contest was the confirmation of Achyuta as the ruling sovereign with his brothers-in-law, Salaka Pedda-Tirumala and Salaka Chinna-Tirumala, as the chief ministers. These, in the words of Nuniz, entirely "dominated" the administration. Rāma-Rāja and his brother Tirumala-Rāja also shared in the administration, but they were not so prominent in this reign as they were undoubtedly in the next.

Result of the contest.

The administration of the Salaka Tirumala brothers was, indeed, so high-handed and arbitrary, if not cruel, that it raised the ire of Nuniz against them and against Achyuta, their sovereign. Beginning with the loss of Raichur and Muḍkal, they soon alienated most of the feudatories, with the result that the Empire lost a great deal of its former prestige.

Character of Achyuta's rule.

Wars of his  
Reign.

The period of Achyuta's rule was marked by many wars, of which we have a few glimpses in the inscriptions and the literary works of the period. Certain inscriptions from Kānchi and Kālāhasti, dated in 1532 and 1534 A.D., mention prominently that Achyuta offered protection to certain chiefs like Rāyanarāya of Nuggihalli, Mallarāja of Ummattur, Venkatādri and others who sought refuge with him, that he went to war against Tiruvadi (identified with the modern Travancore country and a part of the present Tinnevely District, which, in ancient times, was included under that designation), and levied tribute from him, brought under subjection Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and Sāluva-Nāyaka and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tāmraparni after marrying the daughter of the Pāndyan King. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 70-77; App. B. Nos. 50 and 49, dated in 1532 and 1534 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1924, Paras 45-46, App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173 and 182, all dated in 1532 A.D. Other references to these wars are mentioned below). Of the first of the chiefs, mentioned, Rāyanarāya, nothing is known. Nuggihalli, his capital, has been identified with the name of that place in the Channarāyapatna Taluk of the Hassan District. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 71). Mallarāja of Ummattur, the next chief mentioned, was probably a rival of Nanjarāj, the then ruling chief of that place. In a grant of his, dated in 1532 A.D., he describes himself as Mallarāja-Odeyar and as the son of Mahāmandalēsvara Srī-Vīra-Mangapa-Rāyā's son and as the lord of Ummattur, from which and from his many titles such as *Gajabāntekāra*, or hunter of elephants, *ghēnankachakrēsvara* or emperor of the dagger, *javādi Kōlāhala*, exulting in musk, *arasānka-sūnegāra* (slaughterer in war with kings) and a *Pēsāli Hanuma*, or a Hanumān in crushing enemies, titles associated with Ummattur chiefs (*E.C.* III, Gundlupet 2, 9 and 11) it seems fair to infer that he displaced, with the aid of Achyuta, Nanjarāja.

The latter probably ruled after him, as the latter's inscriptions range up to 1542 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Introd. 27; *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 88; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45). A record dated in 1533 A.D. from Bukkapatnam in the Anantapur District refers to certain political disturbances as having occurred in the country, and that certain taxation that had been then illegally imposed was remitted. What these exactly were is not known. It has been suggested that the protection promised to Mallarāja might have been due to these disturbances. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 32, App. B. No. 179 of 1913).

The campaign against the Tīrvadi country, which looms large in Achyuta's inscriptions, was evidently undertaken to secure the person of one Sellappār Sāluva Vira-Narasimha-Nāyaka, who had sought refuge in it. He was, as mentioned above, the governor of the Tondaimandala country in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. He was, probably, descended from the ancient Chōla dynasty and his family had perhaps later allied itself with the Sāluvas of the Tamil Districts. He is described in some records as the son of Sāluvaikkulandan-Bhattan of Kānchi. However that may be, he seems to have been exacting taxes (*Jōdī*) which had been remitted in favour of the temples (the one at Tiruppanangādu in the North Arcot District is specially mentioned) by Sāluva-Timma in the preceding reign. What exactly were the circumstances which led to the deserting of his gubernatorial post and seeking refuge in distant Travancore are not clear, but it is possible that the people clamoured against him and he was asked to explain his conduct. Fearing for his life, probably he fled. Hence the expedition, which was commanded by Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāja, evidently the brother-in-law of Achyuta and his Chief Minister. The rebel was caught and brought back to Kānchi in the Makara month of *Saka* 1453, *Khara* year, corresponding

Campaign  
against  
Tīrvadi,  
1531-2 A.D.

to January 1532 A.D. What became of him is not known. But his successor Bhōgayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, the descendant of the Chōlas of Uraiyur, who had succeeded him in the vacant Governorship, got the *Jōdī* remitted agreeably to the orders of Tirumala-Dēva, for the merit of Achyuta. As regards the ruler of the Tiruvadi country, he was evidently brought under subjection, as it is stated that he paid tribute. The other incidents mentioned in this connection in the inscriptional records are the reduction to subjection of Tumbichchi-Nāyakan, the planting of a pillar of victory in the Tāmraparni river and Achyuta's marrying the daughter of the Pāndyan king. Rājanātha's poem, *Achyutarāyā-bhyudaya*, which has made this war its particular theme, explains more fully the connection between these different events. It states that immediately after his coronation, his minister, evidently Salaka Tirumala-Dēva, waited on him and informed him of the result of Chellappa (Tamil Sellappa), one of the local governors of his, being defeated in battle, of his taking refuge in the country of the Chēra (Travancore) King, of their (the Chēra king and Chellappa) making common cause against the Pāndyan King and making war against him and driving him away from his ancestral territories. Tirumala-dēva exhorted Achyuta to declare war against the Chēra king and protect the Pāndya king, who had gone into exile, and punish Chellappa and the Chēra King for their revolt. Achyuta declared war against both and ordered his minister to march with his army to the south. Achyuta, evidently with the intention of leading the expedition in person, left his capital, halted at Chandragiri, worshipped at Tirupati and Kālāhasti and from there soon reached Kānchi and Tiruvannāmalai, and then arrived at Srirangam. Here, he was prevailed upon by Tirumala-dēva, his minister, to leave the expedition to his hands, it being too small a matter to require

his personal attention. While Achyuta stayed on at Srirangam, Tirumalai-dēva pushed on to Madura, then arrived on the banks of the Tāmraparni, from where he detached a contingent under a subordinate officer against Tiruvadi, the Chēra ruler. The opposing armies met near the mountains and a battle was fought. The Tiruvadi was signally defeated. He made his submission in due form and surrendered the fugitive Chellappan, with presents of elephants and horses. Tirumalai-dēva (referred to not by name but as "Salaga-Kshītisa," *Salaganripa sutam, i.e., "King Salaga," "son of King Salaka,"* or merely "Salaka") accepted the surrender and the gifts and then visited Anantasayanam (Trivandrum). After worshiping there, he moved on to Ramēsvaram, and from there, hastened to king Achyuta at Srirangam. There he presented the Chēra King and the other prisoners of war. The Chēra King was ordered to be punished and the Pāndyan King, whose territory had been invaded, was directed to be restored. Such, in brief outline, is the story in Rājanātha Kavi's poem. Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, the information it furnishes seems, in the main, credible. Whether the Chēra king was brought up to Srirangam or not, he did submit and pay tribute, as we know from contemporary inscriptions. The restoration of the Pāndyan chief seems equally certain. Tumbichchi-Nāyakan, the ally of Sellappa, against the Pāndyan, is known from other sources to have made Paramakkudi, in the present Rāmnād District, his head-quarters, from where he defied his sovereign. (See Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Mackenzie Mss.* III, 183). The marriage of the Pāndyan King's daughter with Achyuta, mentioned in the Kānchi and Kālāhasti inscriptions, was apparently one of the results of this war. The Pāndyan King referred to was probably Jatāvarman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Srīvallabhadēva Kōnērin-maikondān, who bore

the tell-tale titles of *Iranda-kālamedutta* and *Pāndya-rājya-sthāpanāchārya* (*T.A.S.* No. 6 and extracts 13 and 14, page 47). He ascended the throne in 1534 A.D., about four years after Achyuta's succession and within about a year after the termination of the war against Sellappa and the Tiruvadi King. (See *M.E.R.* October 1895, App. B. No. 200, dated in *Saka* 1459, which is a record of the third year of Srīvallabhadēva also. *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73). The King of the Tiruvadi country referred to in this connection has been identified with Udayamārtāndavarman. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73). That Sālāka Tirumaladēva led the expedition is also confirmed by inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 253 of 1906, dated in *Saka* 1453). That Achyuta did visit Kānchi and Kālāhasti is also attested to by inscriptions. There were two visits to the former place, once in July 1532 A.D. and again in 1533 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). On the first occasion, he entered the town with his queen Varada-dēvi and prince Komāra-Venkātādri and weighed himself against pearls in the presence of god Varadarāja in Little Kānchi and presented one thousand cows. He also bestowed the gift called *mahābhūtaghata*, one of the sixteen gifts mentioned by Hemādri in the *Dānakhandā* and in the *Matsyapurāna*, besides the grant of (sixteen) villages and silk clothes and a breast-plate set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz, sapphires and lapis lazuli. Two months later, a conch, a discus, a pair of hands and a Vaishnava trident-mark, all set with jewels, were presented. (*Ibid.* No. 51 of 1900). On the occasion of the visit paid in the succeeding year, the Kāmākshī temple was presented with eight villages. (*Ibid.* Para 77 and *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 187-88). The visit to Kālāhasti took place in 1532, it being reached earlier on the way to Kānchi. The visit is recorded in trilingual inscriptions dated in 1532, A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45; App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173 and 182 of 1924).

Two or three other points connected with this expedition against the Pāndyan and Tiruvadi countries may be noted. One of these is the part played by Visvanāthā-Nāyak, son of Nagama-Nāyak, the founder of the Madura-Nāyak dynasty. From a record dated in 1534-35 (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 71; App. B. 113 of 1908), it would appear that he was an officer of Achyuta. Apparently he was serving with the Vijayanagar troops under Sālaka Tirumalaidēva and took an active part in the subjugation of Tumbichchi-Nāyakan and Sellappa *alias* (Sāluva-Nāyakan) the rebels, and thus found an opportunity to secure a footing in the Pāndya country. He was probably in command of the forces detached by Tirumalaidēva at Madura for despatch against the Tiruvadi king, and was eventually responsible for the capture of that king and the fugitive Sellappa. A copper-plate grant of the time of king Venkata I (see *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 14) states that Visvanāthā "conquered in battle the Tiruvadi, the Pāndyan King, the Vānadarāya and other Kings and annexed their dominions."

Several points relating to the invasion of the Tiruvadi country are referred to in different inscriptions which will be found referred to in *M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 70-77; 1907, Para 60; 1909, Para 71; 1921, Para 51; 1919, Para 43; and 1924, Para 46).

Another person who claims to have had a direct connection with this episode is Vittaladēva-Mahārāya, who claims to have defeated Tumbichchi-Nāyakan in this war. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401 of 1918, undated). It is possible he also took part in this campaign. The war, however, did not end in the reign of Achyuta. It was renewed in the next reign and in the campaign that followed (see below under *Sadāsiva-Rāya*), Vitthala was probably in sole charge. Vitthala was probably the son of Rāma-Rāja, who, Ferishta

states, was, about the time the civil dissensions in the capital were going on, engaged in an expedition into Malabar and was applying to the "slave" whom he had raised to the position of Governor of the capital, for funds for its prosecution. (See above.) If so, Rāma-Rāja and his son were probably both engaged in this war, though the name of Rāma-Rāja is not mentioned in any of the inscriptional records so far discovered.

Relations  
with the  
Portuguese.

The attitude of the Portuguese appears to have visibly changed towards the Vijayanagar empire from and after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Nuniz's account of Achyuta appears to be coloured by a feeling akin to enmity towards him. Achyuta himself seems to have been as friendly towards the Portuguese as his predecessor, but why the Portuguese turned hostile is not clear. Probably it was the desire to improve their position with the Muhammadans. It might have been due to the diplomatic influence of Asada Khān, the governor of Belgaum, against whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been getting up an expedition before his death, and whom we see coquetting even with Chistovao de Figueiredo, the great friend and admirer of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It is possible also that with the death of Krishna-Dēva, the Portuguese thought the times were propitious for an advance move on their part in the matter of acquiring territory both near Goa and elsewhere. What they actually did a little later (both near Goa and at Mylapore, near Madras) seems to confirm this last suspicion. To whatever cause the enmity was due, it was a sad reflection on the political morality of the Portuguese of the time. "Throughout the whole of their dealing with the Portuguese," writes Mr. Sewell, "I find not a single instance where the Hindu kings broke faith with the intruders, but as much cannot, I fear, be said on the other side. The Europeans seemed to think that they



had a divine right to the pillage, robbery and massacre of the natives of India. Not to mince matters, their whole record is one of a series of atrocities. It is sad to turn from the description given to us by Paes of the friendship felt for the Portuguese, and especially for Chistovao de Figueiredo, by the "gallant and perfect" king Krishna-Dēva, and then to read the treachery of the viceroy towards the great Hindu Government; with which the Portuguese had made alliances and treaties, and for which they openly professed friendship." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 177-8).

Among the first to war against Achyuta were Ismail Ādil Shāh and Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa. As we have seen above, Ferishta states that immediately after Krishna-Rāya's death, Ismail laid siege to Raichur and Mudkal and took them in three months. The conquest was evidently confirmed by the treaty of peace that was concluded after some time. This frontier fortress had thus been in Vijayanagar hands for ten years continuously.

Loss of  
Raichur and  
Mudkal, 1531,  
A.D.

Pratāpa-Rudra, king of Orissa, seems to have similarly invaded the countries to the south of the Krishna, ceded by him to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. A stray verse attributed to Peddana, who survived Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, states in biting words of sarcasm that having made himself scarce during the time Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made war on him, he had had the audacity to invade his territories immediately on his death. It is possible there is some truth in this popular verse. It is possible too that he had the assistance of Qūli Qutb Shāh Sultān, the first of the Qūli Shāh dynasty, who ruled between 1512-1543 A.D., in the reconquest of his old territories. A Telugu inscription, dated 20th March 1531 A.D., found at Malkapuram, in the present Kistna District, states that in

Pratāpa-  
Rudra's  
invasion of  
conquered  
countries  
south of the  
Krishna, 1531,  
A.D.

the reign of Muhammad Sāhu Sultān (identified with Muhammad Shāh II, the last real Bāhmani king), a general of his, named Masanad-Eli Kutumana-Mulka (probably Manad-Ali Qutb-ul-Mulk, who subsequently proclaimed his independence and under the name of Qūli Qutb Shāh became the first ruler of the Qutb Shāh dynasty) reduced, by his prowess, Kondapalli and other fortresses. (See *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 43; App. B. No. 152 of 1913). Though a Persian translation of this record (*Ibid.* App. B. No. 153 of 1913) gives the date as 931 A. H. (or A.D. 1524-25), which is inexplicable, it might be taken that the date 1531 A.D. given in the Telugu version for the re-capture of Kondapalli and other places is correct, as it is confirmed by Ferishta. (Briggs III, 374). In an inscription found in the North Arcot District, in 1531-32 A.D., Achyuta boasts of having defeated the Muhammadan troops and to have planted a pillar of victory in the Odyarājya (*i.e.*, Orissa). (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 60; App. B. No. 253 of 1906). In another record dated in the same year but found in the South Arcot District, he calls himself "the destroyer of the army of the Tulukkur and Oddiyar." Another record, dated in 1539 A.D., states that he destroyed the Muhammadan army, despoiled their ambitions and was the Sultān of Orissa. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 23; App. B. No. 331 of 1917). Probably these claims are not without some small foundation, the more so as we do not find much change in the position of Achyuta's rule on the East Coast. Except for the inroad of Qūli Qutb Shāh in 1531 A.D. into Kondapalli and other places mentioned in the Māikapuram record, all the other places such as Vinukonda, etc., continued as part of the empire during his reign and long after. Udayagiri was governed by Bhūtanātha Rāmabhatlu in 1536 A.D. A grant by his agent for the merit of Achyuta to the god on the Singarāyakonda hill in Kandakur taluk dated in 1536 is

known. A record of a subordinate of Salaka Pina Tirumala, Achyuta's brother-in-law and chief minister, dated in 1533 A.D., has also been traced in the place. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Udayagiri, No. 42, pages 1388-89.) These places were not lost to the Empire until the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shāh, some of whose records have been found in these places. (Inscription in the big Mosque at Udayagiri, which states that Ghazi Ali, a general of Abdulla, captured the fort and burnt away the supreme images of idolatry and founded a mosque in 1642-43; see *Nellore Inscriptions* III, Udayagiri, No. 39, page 1385; see also Inscription in the little mosque at the same place, stating that Abdulla destroyed a temple and built a mosque, in 1660-61, *Ibid.* III, Udayagiri No. 36, page 1381-82; and Inscription at Singarāyakonda, in Kandakur Taluk, recording a grant of grain to certain people by Abdulla, in 1641-42 A.D., *Ibid* III, Kandakur No. 80, pages 624-26.)

As Achyuta himself was at Bezwada in 1534 A.D. and made a grant of a village in the name of his mother, it might be presumed that he drove the Muhammadans who had temporarily gained some advantage in that region. (See *M.E.R.* 1900, App. B. No. 47.) His visit to Bezwada and his bathing in the Krishna river there is also mentioned in the *Achyutarāyābhyudaya*, where it is stated that he met the *Yavana* (Muhammadan) armies ranged on both sides of the river. In keeping with the spirit of the poem, the Sultān is said to have submitted to Achyuta on seeing him and sworn allegiance to him. (See Canto XI, *Sources*, 160 *et seq.*) The more reasonable inference probably is that the presence of Achyuta with his forces had the desired effect on the Sultān, who, as the result of the demonstration, withdrew to his own territories, probably coming to an amicable settlement. That some such friendly arrangement was come to is

Visit of  
Achyuta to  
Bezwada,  
1534 A.D.

admitted by Ferishta. The story as told by him is a long one and need only be briefly mentioned here. (See *Briggs*, III. 45-102; and *Scott* I. 236-278.) After the death of Huchchu Tirumala, an attack was made on Adoni, to defend which Rāma-Rāja sent his brother, Venkatādri. Asada Khān, on the approach of the latter, raised the siege. In pursuing him, Venkatādri went too far and his camp, including his family, fell into Asada's hands. Reinforcements arrived from Rāma-Rāja and peace followed, to the satisfaction of both parties. (*Scott's Ferishta*, I. 265.)

Asada Khān kept well with Achyuta on the one hand and with the Portuguese on the other. The latter were keen on securing possession of the mainland adjoining Goa, which the Sultān of Bijāpur had taken from the Vijayanagar kingdom. After a visit to them, he asked to seize it. Then to get the seizure ratified, he went to Vijayanagar, taking advantage of an invitation to that capital on the occasion of the great Dasara festival. He moved in state with a large army and retinue. He was received favourably and presented with a couple of places to the north of Goa, since the Vijayanagar sovereign expected him to help him against the Bijāpur Sultān. The latter, on hearing of this move, advanced on Vijayanagar and claimed the surrender of Asada Khān, as his recalcitrant "slave." Asada promised to be faithful to Achyuta, though keeping up communication with Ibrahim Ādil Shāh. Both the armies—those of Achyuta and Ibrahim—moved towards Raichur, the one to take it and the other to oppose such taking. On the third day, Asada made a move towards the Sultān's camp and joined it, protesting that all the while he had been only playing a game in his master's interests. He deceived both Achyuta and the Portuguese on the one hand and Ibrahim on the other. Ibrahim fearful, as a matter of fact, of his attitude, made peace with Achyuta by which he

surrendered territory to Achyuta, though Barros states (Asia Dec. III. 1. IV, Chapter 5 and Dec. IV. 1. VII, Chapter 6, quoted by Mr. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, 174, f.n. 1 and 2) that it did not include Raichur. The *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* says that it included Raichur and it may be taken as correct in this particular, as in the next war waged, only Mudkal is mentioned and there is no reference to Raichur. (See under *Sadāsiva-Rāya* below.) Mr. Sewell sets down these events as part of the transactions made in 1535 A.D. which ended in the cession of Raichur to Ibrahim. This, however, seems not justified, in view of the fact that it followed the cession, though immediately afterwards. Barros seems correct in referring it to 1536 A.D. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 176.)

Asada Khān, who rose to be Commander-in-chief, and Premier of the Ādil Shāhi kings, was, despite his tortuous diplomacy, a great personage of the times. The Portuguese held him in no esteem as a man of low cunning and unreliable. But Ferishta gives a glowing picture of him. He says:—

“He was famed for his judgment and wisdom.....For nearly forty years he was the patron and protector of the nobles and the distinguished of the Dekhan. He lived in the highest esteem and grandeur surpassing all his contemporary nobility. The sovereigns of Beejnuggur and every country observing a respect to his great abilities, frequently honoured him with letters and valuable presents. His household servants.....amounted to 250. He had sixty of the largest elephants and 150 of a smaller size. In his stables, he had 400 horses of Arabia and Persia, exclusive of those of mixed breed foaled in India. His treasures and riches were beyond amount.”

He was evidently a man of great force of character and knew how to make the most of a situation for himself.

Whatever he might have done, he does not appear to have wholly deceived Achyuta in the matter of the restoration of Raichur.

Visit to  
Seringa-  
patam, 1592  
A.D.

According to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Achyuta is said to have visited Seringapatam on his way back from Srirangam, where he is said to have received his minister Tirumalaidēva on his return from the Tiruvadi country. Here he received the local Governors, who made, it is said, large presents of money. (See Canto V).

Attempt to  
retake  
Raichur,  
Circa  
1586 A.D.

From Seringapatam, Achyuta is said to have travelled northwards, apparently towards the capital, and from there made arrangements to retake Raichur. This attempt, though it is mentioned in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* as having been undertaken immediately on the king's return from Seringapatam, probably did not actually take place until some years later. In any case, it could not have occurred until after 1535-36, when the cession of Raichur was confirmed according to the accounts of Ferishta and Nuniz (see above). Probably the treaty was broken as soon as it was made. According to the poem, the attempt was attended with complete success. The besieged garrison was sought to be relieved by the (Bijāpur) Sultān, but his forces were beaten off and the Sultān fled from the field of battle. (*Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto XI, see *Sources*, 160, 167-9).

Conquest of  
Ceylon,  
1539 A.D.

An inscriptional record dated in 1539 A.D. states that Achyuta conquered Īlam (i.e., Ceylon). (*M.E.R.* No. 40 of 1897; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49; 222 of 1924 dated in 1539 A.D.) In view of the invasion of the Travancore country, it has been suggested that this alleged conquest of Ceylon "cannot be absolutely false." (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 70.) Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII who ruled from 1521-1550 A.D. was the nominal king of Ceylon at this time,

the island being divided into three different parts between himself and his two brothers. The Zamorin of Calicut espoused one of the brothers and Bhuvanaika's cause was supported by the Portuguese, and there was perpetual conflict between these two brothers. It is possible that Achyuta did aid one of these two parties. (See H.W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 96-7.) A record from Ennāyiram in the South Arcot District, also dated in 1539 A.D., states that Achyuta exacted tribute from Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 331 of 1917.) The other conquests completed with that of Ceylon are "Tembulai, Irādayaranāyanpattanam and all countries besides" (in No. 222 of 1924) and may represent minor episodes in the great invasion against the king of the Tiruvadi country. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49.)

An undated record from Shiyali, giving the genealogy of Vitthala, mentions the defeat he inflicted on Tumbichchi-Nāyakan. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401). This event occurred in the period of Krishnappa Nāyaka of Madura 1564-1572 A.D. Tumbichchi had once before in the reign of Achyuta rebelled against the local Governor and had joined Sāluva-Nāyaka and had been put down. He again rebelled, for he was evidently chafing under the restraints imposed by the new *pālai-gar* system introduced by Visvanātha-Nāyaka, the father of Krishnappa. He collected his followers, strengthened his defences at Paramakudi and defied the authority of Krishnappa. Krishnappa's general Pedda Kēsavappa Nāyaka proceeded against him but himself fell in the conflict. Chinna Kēsava next advanced with fresh forces and a few pieces of ordnance and stormed the fort. The fort was taken and Tumbichchi caught alive and beheaded. The greater part of his territory was annexed to Madura, his two sons being nominated *pālai-gars* of Paramakudi and a few other surrounding villages. Such

Reduction of  
Tumbichchi-  
Nāyakan,  
Circa 1564  
A.D.

is the story told in the *Mrutyunjaya Mss.* (Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, III. 183-6; See also *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73 and Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 68-69). The identity of the Tumbichchi Nāyakan who fell in this insurrection is not definitely settled. There were two brothers of this name, the elder being known as Rāma-Rāya Tummisi Nāyakan glorying in the titles of "head of Sillavārs," "king of Vengu," etc. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II. Copper-plate grant No. 27, dated in 1543 A.D.) The younger was known as Sinna Vadāvāda Tummisi Nāyakar. The Tumbichchi mentioned in the Kilakkarai record (*M.E.R.* 1908, App. B. 398 of 1907 dated in *Saka* 1460 (?) between 1538-1547 A.D.) is probably the elder. The elder should have been the chief beheaded by Chinna-Kēsava-Nāyaka, the Madura Commander-in-chief, as he was certainly the more turbulent of the two brothers. Since the Manuscripts set down his suppression to the reign of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the successor of Visvanātha, it could not have occurred before 1564 A.D., his first year. But as the Shiyali record definitely states that Vitthala was the person who put him down, it has to be conceded that Vitthala was Viceroy up to at least that year, which is six years beyond 1558 A.D., the latest date assigned for his Viceroyalty by Mr. Sewell. (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 224.)

Attack on  
Sōlaga, a  
Tanjore  
Chief, 1547  
A.D.

Another refractory chief whom Vitthala appears to have temporarily put down was one Sōlaga in the Tanjore country. He is mentioned in the *Raghunāthā-bhyudāyam* (Stanza VIII) from which it would appear he was a human monster. He seems to have lived over eighty years, as he was eventually put down by Raghunātha Nāyaka, the Nāyaka ruler of Tanjore, in 1615 A.D. (See *Sources*, 286). He is described as a worshipper of Bhairava and he is said to have given considerable trouble



to people round about. His atrocities (mentioned in the *Sāhityaratnākara*, a work devoted to the life and achievements of Raghunātha Nāyaka) were many and took fiendish shapes. It would appear he used to throw his prisoners to his trained crocodiles; pass sharp needles into the roots of the hairs of his prisoners, etc. (See *Sources* 286 *f.n.*). He later allied himself with the Portuguese and is mentioned by Jesuit writers. (See *Sources*, 281, *f.n.* and Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, *f.n.* 5). This monster apparently escaped the punishment he deserved at Vitthala's hands and met his fate half a century later, when Raghunātha Nāyaka put him down.

From the description that Nuniz gives us of the administration of Achyuta, we cannot but draw the broad inference that though there was some discontent on the part of the feudatories, there was no serious falling off in its efficiency. Nor is there anything in the daily routine of Achyuta as sketched out by him to show that it was otherwise. The Government continued as before in the hands of the king assisted by his Minister and the provinces were under local Governors, while the feudatories were "rulers" of the tracts under them, each maintaining his *quota* of troops and paying the tribute in cash to the king once a year. The local Governors were not exempt from these liabilities. There was probably a great deal of rack-renting on the part of the feudatories and Governors, which led to much suffering and hardship on the part of the common people. Indeed Nuniz stigmatizes, as we have seen, the conduct of these renters as "tyrannical" (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 373-75). Inscriptions show that the worst offenders were not allowed to go scot-free. The case of Sellappa-Vira-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka, who has been identified with Salvanay or Sālvanayque of Nuniz, is one in point. In 1531 A.D., he failed to remit taxes as

Ministers,  
Generals,  
Feudatories,  
etc.

ordered and evidently rebelled when brought to book. The remission was, as we have seen, duly given effect to subsequent to his capture. In 1532 A.D., in the north-eastern districts, the oppressive methods adopted by the local officials had led the people to migrate to other provinces. The Mahāmandalēsvara Chikka Salaka-Tirumaladēva is said to have pacified the people and induced them to re-occupy the district they had deserted by offering them favourable terms of resettlement and occupation (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 69, Nos. App. No. 492, dated in 1532 A.D.). Like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, Achyuta is said to have had the Lakshahōma ceremony performed at the Varadarājammanpete, and to have ordered the remission of taxes at the end of it. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 32; App. B. No. 179 of 1913). It would thus seem that neither Salaka Tirumala nor his sovereign was so bad as has been represented by Nuniz. Instead of having been the rapacious men they have been described to be, they actually appear in the light of those who punished the oppressors of the people. An inscription dated in 1533 A.D. refers to the remission of taxes imposed on the artisan castes. Apparently these were felt to be so far oppressive as to compel those affected by its levy to leave their places and emigrate to other districts. Evidently the remission had the desired effect. It would seem to have been an innovation introduced by the local chief resented by the Pāñchālas in parts of the present Dharmavaram Taluk of the Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 42, App. C. No. 340 of 1926).

The Salaka  
brothers and  
their  
relations.

Among those prominently associated with the king were the two "brothers-in-law" of the king. These have been identified as Pedda Salaka Tirumalarāya-Mahārāsu and Pina or Chinna Salaka Tirumalarāya-Mahārāsu. That they were two and that they were brothers is certain for they are so mentioned in the

*Varadāmbika-Parinayam* (see *Sources*, text, page 175), though only the elder is more prominently known from inscriptions. A point worthy of note is that though Nuniz refers to them and characterizes them in strong terms, he does not name them nor call them ministers. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 368-69). On the other hand, he dubs "Salvanayque" as "the present minister" (*Ibid.*, pages 384-85). As stated above, the latter has been identified with Sāluva-Vīra-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka, or Sellappa, who was evidently a great favourite of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (see above). On the death of the great Sāluva-Timma, which evidently occurred immediately after Achyuta's coronation, for we hear no more of him after that, this Sellappa probably was appointed prime minister. He was also known as Sāluva-Dannāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 51, No. 256 of 1910.) He seems to have been rather irregular and indiscreet in his administration. When he was asked to divide the villages granted by Achyuta at the time of his coronation between the two temples of Varadarāja and Ekāmbraṇātha at Kānchi, he gave more to the latter and less to the former. This was subsequently brought to the notice of Achyuta, while he was in person at Kānchi and he had re-allocation of the villages made in his presence. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 48, No. 584 of 1919.) The elder of the Salaka brothers, Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāsu, apparently displaced him in the post. He is probably the Salaga or Salaka mentioned as the leader of the expedition against Tiruvadi. (See *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* in *Sources*, text 162, 164.) How this displacement of Sellappa by Salaka happened is not clear, but probably the causes that led to his displacement at head-quarters also led to his rebellion and eventual flight to the Tiruvadi-rājya. In this view of the matter, it has to be inferred that about 1530-31 A.D. or so, Tirumalaidēva became the chief minister and prosecuted the war against his rival. It is

probable that failure on his part to carry out royal decrees was one of the causes of his deposition but perhaps the reasons lay deeper—in the machinations of Tirumalaidēva himself. Personal ambitions and jealousies might have played their own part in the affair. As to Sāluva-Nāyaka (or Sāluva-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka), Nuniz states that he had a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand pardaos, that he was the lord of the cities of Coromandel, Negapatam, Tanjore, Bhuvanagiri, Devipatnam, Tirukoil (Chidambaram), Kāyal, and other territories bordering on Ceylon; and that he maintained thirty-thousand foot and three thousand horse and thirty elephants. What became of him after his capture is not known. His successor Salaka Tirumalaidēva and his brother are referred to in the *Varadāmbika-Parinaya* as the brothers of Varadāmbika, the queen of Achyuta. According to a record dated in 1533 A.D., they had another sister known as Kondamma (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 48, App. C. No. 170 of 1924). The elder of these two brothers is mentioned frequently in inscriptions. A record dated in 1530 A.D. calls him Peda-Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārājulu Gāru of the Salaka family and traces his descent backwards to three generations. He is described as the son of Salakarāja, grandson of Singarāja and great-grand-son of Lakkarāja and is given a long list of family titles. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 56, App. B. No. 544 of 1909.) The record registers the construction of a tank and the planting of a garden by him, both being granted to the temple of Gōpinātha at Vēlupālam in Kondavīdu. As the inscription is dated in *Saka* 1452, cyclic year Vikruti (or 1530 A.D.), it would seem as though he was already in power, almost simultaneously with the accession of Achyuta. In a record dated in 1531 A.D., a grant is made with his permission. He is called Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 253.) It is in this record that his expedition is mentioned. In another record dated in 1533 A.D.,

he is referred to as *Mahāmandalēsvarakumārar Jalakaya Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya* and records a gift of taxes to a temple in the Chingleput country for the merit of Achyuta. Evidently he was in charge of the country of Sāluva-Nāyaka after his rebellion. Why he was called *Kumāra* is not known, though it has been suggested that as the king's brother-in-law, he was treated "as a son and given a prominent position in the Empire." (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 71, App. B. No. 337.) More probably, the title might have been borne by him in his own family as the eldest in it. In an inscription dated in 1534 A.D., he is said to have built the shrine of Tiruvēngalanātha at Hampe and to have given valuable presents to it, together with a village in the Malayāla (apparently Travancore) country. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 167.) He is here styled *Hiriya-Tirumala-rāja-Odeya*, son of *Lakka-rāja-Odeya*. Apparently, his father, who is called merely *Salaka-rāja* in the *Achyutarāyābhūdayam*, was called *Lakkarāja*, after his grandfather who was known as *Lakkarāja*. (See above.) In a record, dated in 1533 A.D., he is given the title of *Swāmi* (or Lord) and a gift is recorded to have been made by an agent of his. Gifts appear to have been made in his name and under his orders, both for his own merit and for the merit of the king. He was, according to inscriptions, in charge of the Chingleput province. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 337 of 1908.) His brother *Chinna Tirumalaiyadēva* was evidently in charge of *Udayagiri* (*Nellore Inscriptions*, *Nellore* 34); in 1530-31, he was in charge of *Chandragiri* (*Ibid.* *Gudur* 108). He continued in charge of the latter in 1533-34 (*Ibid.* *Gudur* 82); and in 1533-34, he was still in charge of *Udayagiri*. In these records, he is called *Mahāmandalēsvara Chinna-Tirumala-rāya*, or *Pina-Tirumalaiyadēva* or *Salakarāja Tirumalaiyadēva*. (See *Nellore Inscriptions* III—1476.) In another inscription dated in 1535 A.D., which records a gift by

one of his agents, Abbarāja Timmappa, he is styled Pradhāna Tirumalarāja. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 82, App. B. No. 681 of 1922). The younger brother is also referred to in a record dated in 1533 A.D., in which he is called Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāju-Pina Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāju (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B. No. 161 of 1905). This is a new name that appears in the Nellore record (see above). In another inscription dated in the same year (1533 A.D.), we hear of a grant being made by the agent of one *Timmarāju-Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju*. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 492 of 1906.) A copper-plate record dated in 1534 A.D. mentions the grant of two villages at the request of his Minister *Pedda-Timma* of the Salaka family. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 11.) The *Timmarāju* and *Pedda-Timma* of these two records may be the same but it is not clear that these names were also borne in the alternative by *Salaka Pedda-Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāju*, the minister of Achyuta. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that they were so borne by *Pedda Tirumalaiyadēva*, probably because both are described as ministers. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 190.) This suggestion, however, is not convincing. As both may have been independent ministers, there is no reason why *Pedda-Timma* and *Pedda Tirumala* should be treated as identical persons. Besides, there is another record dated in 1533 A.D., which mentions a gift by one *Timmarāja Salakarāja*, who is described as the agent of Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāja Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 48, App. C. No. 170.) He has been identified with the *Timmarāju-Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju* (see *M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 492 of 1906) above mentioned. If so, *Timmarāju Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju* was himself the agent of the Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāju Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. Finally, there is mention made, in a record dated in 1538 A.D., of *Salakarāju Raghupati-*

rājaiyadēva-Mahārāja, whose relationship to the Salaka Tirumala brothers is not known. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 680 of 1917.) That he was a man of some importance is proved not only by his name and title but also by the fact that a subordinate of his was a *Mahāmandalēsvara*. This was Hanumaiyadēva-Mahārāja, who made a grant of an *umbli* to a temple, which grant had been gifted to him by his own master Salakarāju Raghupatirājaiya. (*Ibid.*) It will thus be seen that besides the two Salaka Tirumala brothers, there were two other persons who bore the title of *Salaka*. These were Salaka Timmarāju and Salaka Raghupatirājaiya. It would be best, in the present state of our knowledge, to take them as two separate individuals, each wholly different from both the Salaka Tirumala brothers. Of these, the former was also known as Timmarāju-Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju (see above). He was probably the *Salaka Timma* who is referred to in the *Narasa-bhūpāli-yamu* as the "wicked and very treacherous Salaka Timma" who was put to death by Rāma-Rāja and in the *Vasucharitra* as the wicked *Salaka* whom Rāma-Rāja is said to have killed after having defeated his troops. (See below under Sadāsiva-Rāja). This *Salaka-Timma* was evidently a close relation of the brothers Salaka Tirumala and took so prominent a part in the war of succession that followed immediately on the death of Achyuta that he has come to be mistaken for the elder Salaka Tirumala himself. Bayakāra Rāmappayya is described as another minister and as Viceroy of Kondavīdu. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 33; App. B. Nos. 302-304.) A record dated in 1539 A.D. gives his genealogy and acts of charity, such as building temples, tanks, *agrahāras*, etc. (*Ibid.* No. 302), especially the building of the tank called Lakshasamudra, after his mother. Telugu and Sanskrit verses in his praise and in praise of his sister Chinna-māmba have been found at Kondavīdu and Vankāyalapādu.

(*M.E.R.* 1915, Nos. 422 and 455.) Rāmappayya (also called Rāmamātya or Rāmāyamātya) was the author of the work *Svaramēla Kalānidhi*, where he describes himself as the daughter's son of Todaramalla Kallinātha, the commentator of Sārangadēva's *Sangīta-ratnākara* and the protege of Mallikārjuna Praudhadēva-rāya. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 33, see also *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 51). He seems to have continued in service in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya also. In a record dated in 1544 A.D., we have both a genealogical account and an eulogy of his deeds. From these sources we learn that his uncle Bāchaya (or Bhāvaya) was the Governor of Kondavīdu during Achyuta's time. In that capacity, Bāchaya ruled the whole of Āndhradēsa. He built the Gōpinātha temple at Kondavīdu, which, according to tradition, is said to have been built by a subordinate of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who, it is said, deceitfully managed to have all the 72 nobles, the subordinates of the Reddi kings, beheaded in this temple. To tradition, this subordinate is known as Rāmaya Bhāskarudu, probably identical with Rāmaya-Bāchaya of the inscription above quoted. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* II 188; *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 51.) Rāmāyamātya, Bāchaya's nephew—elder brother's son—succeeded him in the governorship of Kondavīdu, and his charities were, as remarked above, extensive. The number of tanks built by him was sixteen and he presented these and many gardens and *agrahāras* to the temple. Among the tanks built by him was one called Kāmassamudra after his daughter Kāmamma and an *agrahāra* called Achyutammāpura after another daughter of his known as Achyutamma. In one record (dated in 1539 A.D.), he is spoken of as a "great orator." (*Ibid.*) The statements about Bāchaya are confirmed in a record (*M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 422 dated in 1540. A.D.) wherein he is stated to have founded the Gōpināthanaagara with the temple of Gōpinātha. His brother Rāmāya



Bhāskara is also said to have been Viceroy of the King at Kondavidu. Another record (*Ibid.* No. 445 undated) assigns these acts (building the town and the temple) to Rāmaya Bhāskara also. Apparently they both joined in the work of construction as in discharging the duties of the office of Viceroyalty of Kondavidu. Bhāskara was evidently the more popular of the two, if tradition is to be believed. They had a sister Chinnamāmba, who was the wife of Pratāpa Yalla. This lady, among other charities, constructed the tank called Gōpināthasamudra. The eulogy of this tank has been characterized to be a very successful imitation of the description by Srinātha of the tank Santānasāgara given in the Phirangipuram record of Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma (*E.I.* XI, 323, Text, lines 99 to 134; see also *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 68). Visvanātha-Nāyaka, son of Nāganna-Nāyaka, who is described in the copper-plate records of the Madura Nāyak dynasty as its founder, was an officer in the Tiruvadi war. He fought in the Vijayanagar ranks and being appointed its agent in the Pāndya country, eventually made himself independent in it. (*M.E.R.* 1909, para 71, No. 113 of 1908.) Sevappa-Nāyaka, the founder of the Tanjore Nāyak Dynasty, is said in the Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* or *Subhadrā-parinayamu* to have married a sister of Tirumalāmba, one of the queens of Achyuta, and to have thus become the latter's kinsman. (*M.E.R.* 1905, page 60; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 191).

Rānā Bhotlayya, son of Bhūtanātha Chittam-Bhatta, appears to have been one of the foremost ministers of the time. He was a famous general and Viceroy of the time. He is described, in a record dated in 1532 A.D., as a resident of Krishnarāyapuram in the Chandragirirājya. He obtained the village of Kāsaram in the Kalimich-Chirmanani from the king and out of its income, he made a grant for the merit of his mother Viramma to the god at Kālāhasti. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 47; App. C. No. 159

of 1924.) In 1538, his wife Timmāji-Amman made a gift of two villages. (*Ibid.* No. 167 of 1924). At Kāsaram, he built a tank known after his name. (*Ibid.*; also *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 60.) He was evidently a great scholar and appears as a donee in the Kadaladi plates dated in 1530 A.D. (*E.I.* XIV—310-23; see also *M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 14.) His authority appears to have extended as far as Kolar. In 1541 A.D., we find an agent of his making a grant for the Somēsvara temple at Kolar. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 97).

Among other subordinates of Achyuta are the following:—Annāmalaiyar, Vīramarasa-Pallavarāyar, who seems to have been of Pallava descent; Sundara Hōludaiyan Māvali-Vānādarāya, etc. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49); Mallappa Nāyaka of Kugaiyur (*M.E.R.* 1918, No. 108 of 1918); Ayyapparasa in charge of Ghāndikōta (*Ibid.* App. B. No. 802); and an inscription at Suttur, Nanjangud Taluk, dated in 1530 A.D. mentions a *Mahāmandalēsvara Rāma-Rāja-Tirumala-Rājaiyadēva-Mahārāsu*. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 111.) Another feudatory mentioned is Rāmappa-Nāyaka in a record dated in 1538 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, App. B. No. 12.) A *Mahāmandalēsvara Lankaya-dēva-sōla-Mahārāsayan* is also referred to in one record dated in 1537-8. (*Ibid.* No. 66 of 1908.) A few others will be found referred to in Mr. Krishna Sastri's paper on the *Second Vijayanagar dynasty*. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, Pages 191-3).

Achyuta's  
gifts.

Achyuta was a great donor to temples and to Brāhmins. He was so rich that he was called a "Navakōti Nārāyana," or "Lord of Nine Crores," *i.e.*, fabulous riches. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 331 of 1917, dated in 1539). Nuniz's description of him as a rapacious king is probably overdrawn. However that may be, Achyuta could afford to be liberal in his charities. He appears to have been an ardent follower of the

Srī-Vaishnava faith. His gifts to the Varadarāja temple at Kānchi confirm this inference in an unmistakable manner. The Vitthala temple at Vijayanagar, which contains eight records of his, received many gifts from him and his subordinates. One of these inscriptions refers to the gift known as *Sunarnamēru*, or mountain of gold, which Achyuta donated to it. This gift is recorded in verse by the poetess Tirumalamma. Another record in the same temple refers to the setting up of the twelve Srī-Vaishnava Ālvārs and of Tirukkachchi-Nambi Ālvār within its enclosure for the merit of Achyuta. He also gave a gift called "Ananda-nidhi," by which he claims to have delighted Vishnu and to have made Kubēras of Brāhmans. This gift has been mentioned in one inscription dated in 1539 A.D., of which ten copies exist, of which six are in the temples in the capital and four others are at the Hariharēsvara temple at Davangere and the Chennakēsava temple at Nirgunde in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitaldrug District. Since all these records are dated in the identical year 1539 A.D., and they are repeated in distant places, it might be that Achyuta set much value on its institution by him. The verses in praise of it, which form the inscription, describe it as "a very new thing" and as something greater than the "nine treasures of Kubēra," the god of riches. Much skill and knowledge has been spent in explaining the name "Ananda-nidhi." (See *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 24; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 119; and *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 19; *A.S.I.* 1908-1909, Page 119, *f.n.* 1; and *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81). Mr. Narasimhachar has pointed out that the gift consisted of "a potful of money" as explained by Hēmādri in his *Dānakhandā*. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 89.) It is probable he permanently instituted a fund from which this gift was made at stated intervals. Otherwise, the great praise bestowed on it is inexplicable. Nuniz mentions that Achyuta always gave large sums of money in charity and

that there were always in his palace "two or three thousand Brāhman who are his priests and to whom the king commands to give alms." The fight among these to get the alms was so keen that Nuniz adds:—"These Brāhman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 379-80). Achyuta performed the *Tulābhāra* of pearls and the great gift of giving away 1,000 cows with his queen Varadādēvi and his son Chinna-Venkatādri at the Varadarāja temple at Kānchi. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 47, Nos. 511 and 543 of 1919.) He also made many other minor gifts which need no special mention. (See *Ibid.*).

**Domestic life.** Achyuta had, so far as is known from inscriptions and literary records, two wedded queens. One of these was the princess Varadāmbika, to whose marriage with Achyuta is devoted the Sanskrit work *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*, written by Tirumalāmba, a poetess of considerable talent. (See below.) The princess Varadāmbika was the daughter of Salaka-Rāja, who is mentioned several times by his title in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* and the sister of the brothers called Pedda Salaka-Tirumala and Pina (or Chinna) Salaka-Tirumala, who were the brothers-in-law and Prime Ministers of Achyuta. These are the two brothers whom Nuniz characterises as the "Jews" who "dominated" Achyuta's administration and brought ruin on it. (See above). The elder of this is frequently referred to in inscriptions as Mahāmandalēsvara Salaka-Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja. By this queen, Achyuta had a son, named Chinna-Venkatādri, who was crowned Yuvarāja in 1530 A.D. The second queen of Achyuta was the daughter of Srī-Vallabhadēva, the Pāndyan king, who is referred to in certain records. Of her, nothing more is known beyond

the bare mention of her marriage to Achyuta after the war against the Tiruvadi country. According to the Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* (or *Subhadrāparinayamu*), Achyuta had a third queen known as Tirumalāmba, whose sister was married by Sevvappa-Nāyaka, the first of the Nāyaka kings of Tanjore. (See *M.E.R.* 1904-5, page 60; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 191, *f.n.* 7.) This queen is not referred to in any epigraphic record, the only one mentioned *by name* in inscriptions being Varadāmba. By her, Achyuta had a son Venkatādri, who, according to certain copper-plate records, succeeded him on the throne, but soon after died, much lamented by the people. In a record dated in 1531 A.D. (found at Malhārpālya, Yelandur Taluk), one Hiriya Singana-Nāyaka is described as the "dear son" of Achyuta-Rāya. He was probably so called by way of compliment. (See *M.A.R.* 1919, para 113).

Achyuta appears to have continued the policy of encouraging poets and men of learning. His court poet was Rajanātha Dindima, who wrote the *Achyutarāyābhya-dayam*. It is a work of considerable historical interest. Its author belonged to a family closely connected with the kings of the Third Vijayanagar Dynasty and so was able to include in his poem points of interest relating to Narasa, its founder. He was also the author of the *Bhāgavata Champu*, which he dedicated to Achyuta. He describes his patron as a great king, who made extensive conquests and gave away the sixteen great gifts mentioned in the Hindu sacred books. He composed this work devoted to the story of Vishnu at the request of the king, who was an ardent Vaishnavite. The poet Tirumalāmba probably wrote her *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* in this reign and not in that of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as suggested in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (page 170). The work stops with the installation of Venkatādri as the Yuvarāja. As

Achyuta as a literary patron.

we know, this took place at the time the coronation of Achyuta was celebrated at Vijayanagar in 1530 A.D. Probably it was written a little later. It is a well-conceived poem written in a simple and chaste style. The author of the work, Tirumalāmba, was evidently (see Colophon to the work) an accomplished lady of refined literary tastes. She has been identified with the Ōduva Tirumalamma (or the student Tirumalamma), who is said to have composed the Sanskrit verse in the inscription at the Vithala temple at Hampe commemorating the gift of *Suvarnamēru* performed by Achyuta in 1533 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 9), a duplicate of which record has been traced in another part of the same temple. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81, App. B. No. 708). It has been suggested that Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the wife of Rāma-Rāja, may be the poetess Mōhanāngi, the author of a love poem called *Mārīchiparinayam*. However this may be, it cannot be definitely stated if Ōduva Tirumalamma can be identified with Tirumalāmba, the wife of Rāma-Rāja. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81). The great Madhva saint Vyāsa-Rāya continued to flourish in this reign as well. He installed in 1532 A.D. the image of Yōga-Varada-Narasimha in the court of the Vithala temple at the capital. This is the last inscriptional reference we have for him. (*M. E. R.* 1923, Para 84, App. B. No. 710).

Death of  
Achyuta,  
1542 A.D.

The exact date of the death of Achyuta is not known. The latest date known for him from inscriptions is *Saka* 1463 or A.D. 1541-2. He probably died somewhere about the close of the year 1541 A.D.

Venkata-  
Dēva-Rāya or  
Venkatādri,  
or Chinna-  
Venkatādri,  
1542 A.D.

Though a few records suggest that Venkata-Dēva-Rāya or Venkatādri "seated himself on the auspicious throne" as soon as Achyuta "joined the feet of Vishnu" (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186 dated in 1558 A.D., and

*E.C. V*, Hassan 7, dated in 1561 A.D.), it is doubtful if he really ruled for any length of time as Sadāsiva was co-ruler since 1537 (see below). There are no grants issued in his reign, though inscriptions dated in Sadāsiva's reign mention his actual rule. He was probably set up as independent ruler, thus superseding Sadāsiva. Hence the fight for the throne which is referred to under *Sadāsiva-Rāya*. The records, quoted above, speak of him as "famous for valour" and as "ruling the kingdom, his form like Manmatha, an abode of learning." Evidently, he was a promising youth of some personal charm and beauty, and well educated and wise. "To the misfortune of his subjects," we hear, "he, before long, ascended to Indra's abode." Other inscriptions in this State mentioning his rule are *E.C. X*, Malur 62, dated in 1542 A.D. in which he is called Venkata-Rāya-Mahārāya, and Sidlaghatta 52, dated 1543 A.D. Both are lithic inscriptions. Malur 62 is dated in *Saka* 1464, Subhakrit, Bhādrapada 12 (September), while Sidlaghatta 52 is dated in *Saka* 1464 Subhakrit, Pushya bahula 11 (January). Between these two dates, there is an interval of about five months. As will be seen from the account of the revolution given below, he was assassinated by Salakam-Timma with a view to himself usurping the throne. The exact date of the death of Venkatādri is not known. Achyuta died, as remarked above, about the close of 1541 A.D. There are records of Sadāsiva dated from about the middle of 1542 A.D. This would leave an interval of some six months during which the fight for the throne should have gone on. Probably, Venkatādri's assassination took place about the middle of 1542 A.D. Dated in 1541-2 A.D. (*Saka* 1463, Plava) in Achyuta's reign, is a record coming from Narayanavanam, near Madras, which states that one Virūpanna founded a town called Venkatādrisamudram and constructed there the temple of Venkatēsa-Perumāl for the merit of Venkatādri-rāya-Mahārāya. He granted,

with the permission of Achyuta, a number of villages to this temple for meeting the charges incurred in connection with the offerings to be made to the gods set up by him in it. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 56, App. B. No. 373). It is evident from this record that both Achyuta and his son Venkatādri were alive at the time of this grant. It is possible that both died not long after this grant within some six months of each other.

Sadāsiva-  
Rāya, 1542-  
1570 A.D.

Sadāsiva-Rāya appears to have been co-ruler with Achyuta from about 1537 A.D., as numerous epigraphs of his are current from and after that date. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 48, App. A. No. 6; see App. *E.C.* XII., Mad-dagiri 66, dated in 1540). At the end of his reign, he was evidently co-ruler with Venkata-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Venkatādri. (*M.E.R.* 1905-6, Paras 48-49). He was the successor of Achyuta on the throne, though, as will be shown below, his accession was not allowed to go uncontroverted. He was the son of Ranga-Rāya, or Aliya-Ranga-Rāya, a brother of Achyuta. Some records suggest Aliya-Ranga-Rāya was a brother of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and that Sadāsiva was a son of this Aliya-Ranga-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 193 *f.n.* 8). One record of his carries his reign to a period of four years beyond the last date hitherto accorded to him, *viz.*, *Saka* 1493, or A.D. 1570. (See *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 45; Copper-plate No. 1 of 1912-13). This only means the continuance of his nominal rule even after Tirumala I had practically assumed sovereignty in 1571 A.D. Indeed, certain inscriptions, dated in 1575-6 A.D., refer to Sadāsiva-Rāya as if he was still ruling on the jewel throne at Vijayanagar in that year. This would take his period of rule into that of Srī-Ranga II. (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 82, dated in *Saka* 1497 *Yuva* or A.D. 1576. This is a lithic record at Bhagtarahalli; *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1175, Podili 19, dated in 1575-76).



From certain later copper-plate records, however, it would seem that the immediate successor of Achyuta was, as before mentioned, his own son Venkatādri (or Chinna-Venkatādri) who is said to have ascended the throne for some time after Achyuta and died shortly afterwards, deeply lamented by his subjects. A record dated in 1561 A.D. indeed states specifically that when Achyuta died, "his son, famous for valour, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya, seated himself on his auspicious throne. Venkata-Rāya was thus ruling the kingdom, his form like Manmatha (Cupid), an abode of learning, when, to the misfortune of his subjects, he before long ascended to Indra's abode." (*E.C. V*, Hassan 7). This statement is also found almost in the same words in one earlier record, dated in 1558 A.D., both records having been drawn up by the Court poet Sabhāpati. (*E.C. IX*, Channapatna 186; see also *E.I.* IV, 3). Seeing that the statement is made within fifteen years of the death of the prince, and that by the Court-poet, who might be presumed to know the facts, it cannot be dismissed as without any foundation whatever.

Deposition  
and murder  
of  
Venkatādri,  
1542 A.D.

The above records suggest that there should have been a struggle to the throne immediately after the death of Achyuta, in which Venkatādri was assassinated. That there was such a fight is known from three different sources:—(1) from Gaspar Correa, whose account has been so far misunderstood, chiefly because the relations of the several persons mentioned by him could not be made out; (2) from contemporary Telugu poems; and (3) from contemporary inscriptions. Before the story of this revolution is set out, it might be pointed out that it has nothing to do with the one that occurred at the commencement of Achyuta's reign. The date of this revolution is fixed unalterably by the date given by Ferishta (*i.e.*, 1535 A.D.), who is confirmed by Nuniz in

Struggle  
for the  
throne.

whose time *Achyuta was alive*. The confusion arises chiefly from the fact that Rāma-Rāja and his brother, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the two Salaka Tirumala brothers, the brothers-in-law of Achyuta, assisted by the other members of their family, figure in both the revolutions. The date of the second revolution, which occurred *after the death* of Achyuta, is fixed by the date of the death of Achyuta which, we know, from both Correa and inscriptions, to be 1542 A.D. If the facts that there were *two revolutions*, one at the *beginning* of Achyuta's reign and another at its *end*, that the first occurred in or about 1535 A.D. and the second in 1542 A.D., and that the first referred to the succession of Achyuta as against that of the "child-king," the eighteen months' old son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the second one to the succession of Sadāsiva as against that of Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta, are borne in mind, much of the confusion surrounding these two revolutions will disappear. It might be added that while in the first revolution—of 1535 A.D.—Rāma-Rāja and his brother fought for their infant brother-in-law, in the second one, they espoused the cause of their brother-in-law, Sadāsiva. Also, in the first revolution, there was "a slave" who was against them and he was one who had been raised by Rāma-Rāja to the position of governor of the capital with charge of the Treasury; there were, in the second, the Salaka brothers and other members of the same family, one of whom was Salaka-Timma, who evidently led the revolution, with the two Salaka-Tirumala brothers. A copper-plate grant, dated in 1542-3 A.D., recording a grant in favour of Emmēbasavēndra, a Virasaiva teacher, gives the genealogy of Salaka-Tirumala-Rāja. Leaving aside the legendary progenitors, we have Lakkabhūpa, husband of Tippamma; their son was Singa-Rāja, husband of Chennāmbika; their son was Salaka-Rāja, husband of Tippāmbika; these had three sons, Pedda Timma-Ranga,

and Tirumala-Raja. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 121). The Salaka-Rāja of this record is evidently the person from whom the Salaka brothers, who figure in the usurpation episode, were descended. (See genealogical table of *Salaka Chiefs* at the end of this section).

According to Gaspar Correa, Achyuta died in 1512 A.D., leaving a young son (apparently Venkatādri) in the power of his uncle (evidently Ranga), brother of Achyuta, who, he adds, had been king contrary to right (a reference to the successful manner in which he had superseded the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya). The nobles desired to keep the boy at liberty nominating two ministers to carry on the government; but the uncle disagreed, since in this way he would lose all power and he contrived to gain over some partisans to his side. The nobles in disgust separated, returned to their estates, and in despair of good government, began to assume independence, each in his own province. The queen-mother of the boy (*i.e.*, Varadāmba) begged the Ādil Shāh (*i.e.*, Ibrāhīm I) to come to her aid and secure the kingdom for her son, promising him, in return for this favour, immense riches. The Sultān set out for this purpose, intending to visit Vijayanagar, but on the road he was met by emissaries from the minister and bought off with lavish gifts. The king by real right (*i.e.*, Sadāsiva, for Ranga, his father, who had been detained in the Chandra-giri prison with his two brothers by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, was already dead), who had been detained in a fortress, was then liberated, and he also sought aid from the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Sultān set out afresh, nominally to aid the true king, but really to acquire the kingdom for himself. The Hindus, in fear for their safety, placed on the throne the brother of the dead king (*i.e.*, the dead king's *brother's son*, or Sadāsiva) and succeeded in defeating the Sultān near the capital. The new king

The story according to Gaspar Correa.

(i.e., Sadāsiva), in order to strengthen his own position for the future, caused the boy, his rival (i.e., Venkatādri), to be assassinated, as also two of the latter's uncles and a nephew of the dead king. (These should be the two Salaka brothers Tirumala, who were the maternal uncles of Venkatādri and the nephew should be a nephew of queen Varadāmba). Then, in dread of the power of the principal nobles, he summoned them to Court, and put out the eyes of those who arrived first so that the rest returned in great anger to their homes and began to intrigue with the Sultān. They urged him to depose the tyrant, promising their aid and offering him the kingdom for himself, if only the country could be freed from the monster. The Sultān, accordingly advanced against Vijayanagar, where he was received by many as sovereign; but he assumed such intolerant airs that he aroused the hatred of all around him, and in the end, was obliged, for fear of his own safety, to retire to his own country. Meanwhile, a new king had seized the throne of Vijayanagar, a great lord from Paleacate who had been married to a sister of the king that preceded the dead king (which would mean Rāma-Rāja, who was a son-in-law and not a brother-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya) and in the end, he succeeded to the kingdom. (See for Correa's account, *A Forgotten Empire*, 182-84, where it is summarised from his Vol. IV, 247-249 and 276-282).

The truth in  
it.

Though, as pointed out above, there are mistakes in Correa's account, due to the transmission of the story from mouth to mouth, the central part of it seems not to be without foundation. The party in favour of Sadāsiva tried to secure the throne for him; while those in favour of Venkatādri, the Salaka brothers and their close relations, stood out for him, assisted by queen Varadāmba. Apparently, both called in the aid of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, who, between the two, made some money for himself,

helping neither. Though he might have had ulterior ideas of usurping the throne itself, he found it impossible to maintain his position and retired. Meanwhile, the party in favour of Sadāsiva, *i.e.*, his brother-in-law Aliya-Rāma-Rāja and his brothers Tirumala and Venkatādri (not to be confused with the son of Achyuta) put up a fight, Rāma-Rāja coming up from Pulicat, which apparently was included in his charge, and put to death the Salaka brothers and their associates and put Sadāsiva on the throne, thereby making their own position secure.

The above is substantially confirmed by contemporary Telugu poets. In the *Vasucharitra*, a work dedicated to Tirumala, the brother of Rāma-Rāja, by Bhattu-mūrti, the Court-poet of Rāma-Rāja, and called on account of that as *Rāma-Rāja-bhūshana*, or the ornament of the Court of Rāma-Rāja, we are told in plain terms that Rāma-Rāja being disappointed with the changes which happened on Achyuta's death, at the time of the coronation, left the capital with his two loving brothers, went to Penukonda, and from there to Adoni, and from there proceeded against many wicked chiefs (*i.e.*, those who had sided his opponents) and defeating them, advanced on that treacherous and base man Salaka and put down his pride by defeating him and his large armies composed of valorous soldiers. Excelling Arjuna, he established the Karnāta Kingdom once again, and protected all the people who surrendered to him, like Rāma (the epic hero), his story resembling that of the *Rāmāyana* (in that he was instrumental in raising to the throne the dethroned king and re-establishing the lost Karnāta Kingdom). (See *Sources*, 217-8). The suggestion is that Rāma-Rāja, in putting down Salaka, put down a person who tried to usurp the throne of Karnāta and thus restored the kingdom to the rightful king. In the *Narasa-bhūpāliyam*, the same poet (Bhattu-mūrti) again refers

Confirmed by  
literary  
works.

to how Rāma-Rāja put down the base and wicked Salaka-Timma and killed him and how he saved the Karnāta country. He gives in this work the full name of Salaka-Timma, whereas in the *Vasucharitramu*, he calls him merely Salaka. (See *Sources*, 225-7). In interpreting the above quoted passage from the *Vasucharitramu*, the Editor of the *Sources* has taken it to refer to the coronation of Rāma-Rāja (see page 216) and not the coronation which followed on the death of Achyuta, which the context shows, is really the case. Moreover, Rāma-Rāja was himself never crowned but was only *de facto* sovereign during the time Sadāsiva was king. Another poem that refers to the same incident is the *Narapativijayamu* (or *Rāma-rājīyamu*), written by Venkayya at the command of Rāma-Rāja. It is a poem detailing the conquests of Rāma-Rāja, who is called *Narupati* as the Muhammadan Sultāns were called *Asvapatis* and the Kalinga king *Gajapati*. In this poem, we are told that Rāma-Rāja, assisted by his brothers Tirumala and Venkatādri, defeated and tore to pieces the forces of *Salaka-Vibhu-Timma-Rāja* (i.e., Salaka-Rāja-Timma-Rāja) and captured the fortresses of Gooty, Penukonda, Gandikota, Kurnool and Adōni and won great renown. (See *Sources*, 185-6). A more prosaic account is given in the Telugu Chronicle called the *Annāls of Hanḍe Anantāpuram*. This Chronicle states that Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi, the queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, were anxious that Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, who had married the daughter of Tirumala-Dēvi, should, as the elder son-in-law of the family, rule the State, helped by Tirumala, his younger brother, who had married the daughter of Chinnā-Dēvi. But Salakam Timmayya, who had been the treasurer of the court, taking advantage of his position, secured control over the army and attempted to imprison Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala. Learning this, the latter fled from the city and after a sojourn in Penukonda,

collected forces and then took Adōni, where they cantoned for four months and on the arrival of reinforcements from Kurnool and Gadwal, advanced on the capital. Salakam-Timmaya, meanwhile, obtained the help of the five Muhammadan Sultāns, promising them to hand over the kingdom to them if they assisted him against Rāma-Rāja. The Muhammadan forces, accordingly, advanced on the capital, and encamped within three miles of it. On this, Rāma-Rāja, assisted by a chief called *Hande Hanumappa*, who was apparently a great hero, encamped within six miles of the capital, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Salakam-Timmayya's forces forming the first line were to deliver the attack, being joined afterwards by their allies, the Muhammadans. Knowing this, Rāma-Rāja forestalled and charged the enemy's troops, who, it is said, fearing that the Golla (*i.e.*, Treasurer) wanted to usurp the kingdom for himself as he was rich, deserted in a body and Salakam-Timmayya was killed in the fight. On hearing this, the queens ordered the ministers (evidently the two Salaka brothers Tirumala) to hand over the city to Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala-Rāja and this they did. (See *Sources*, 178-181). Though the two dates mentioned in this Chronicle are wrong, there is no reason to doubt the main incidents set out in it, the more so as they are corroborated from independent sources.

Rāmāyāmātya, the governor of Kondavīdu and author of *Svaramēlakālānidhi*, who continued in office during the reign of Sadāsiva, and wrote his work at the instance of Rāma-Rāja and completed it in 1549 A.D., also refers to the same incidents. He says that Rāma-Rāja left Vidyāpura (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar) with his two brothers and went to the fortress of Gooty, and after conquering those who had proved traitors to the sovereign (*Swami drōha krutaha*), placed the helpless king Sadāsiva (*Sadāsivamahipālananirālāmba*) on the Karnāta throne

(*Bhadrāsānam Karnāte*). (See *Sources*, 190-1). The name of the traitor is not mentioned, but there can be no doubt whatever that the reference is to Salaka-Timma.

The significance of the five passages translated from the three poems and the Chronicle is great. They refer to the story of the defeat of Sālaka-Timma and the coronation of Sadāsiva-Rāya at the hands of Rāma-Rāja and his brothers. Though the poets wrote from a sufficiency of facts before them, they only outline the main points in the story. The arrangements arrived at by Salaka-Timma at first for the coronation of Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta, and after his assassination, the perpetuation of himself and his relations, the Salaka-Tirumala brothers did not please Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja, naturally, espoused the cause of Sadāsiva, whose accession to the throne meant the perpetuation of himself and his brothers. Escaping forced imprisonment, he retired to Penukonda and from there to Adōni and with his allies, turned up against the Salaka leaders and their forces, and defeating them, killed Venkatādri and the Salaka chiefs and put Sadāsiva, his own protege, on the throne. The Salaka-Timma, the person mentioned in the poems and the Telugu Chronicle, and characterized in the poems as "wicked," "base" and "treacherous," has been again and again identified by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri as Salaka-Tirumala, the elder of the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta. But there is, so far as can be made out, no ground for this identification, though it has to be added that the terms "Timma" and "Tirumala" appear to be used in certain cases synonymously. As there is a Salaka-Timma also, termed as a *Mahārāsu*, it is possible he is the person referred to. (See above under *Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya*). He probably took the most prominent part with the Salaka-Tirumala brothers in arranging for the coronation of Venkatādri and after his assassination, attempted to usurp the throne himself and thus incurred



the great displeasure of Rāma-Rāja and his brothers. Hence the denunciations heaped on him in the poems. Apparently, all the Salaka chiefs—Timma, the two Tirumala brothers, and Raghupati-rājayya—shared the fate of Venkatādri and with it, the attempted usurpation of the kingdom by Salaka-Timma for himself and his family was finally set at rest. Hence the title assumed by Rāma-Rāja as the *Restorer of the Karnāta Kingdom*.

Faint echoes of these events are to be heard in certain stray copper-plate and lithic records. One lithic inscription, which comes from Markapur, which furnishes us with a genealogy of the Karnāta kings, states of Rāma-Rāja that he "subdued in town Vidyānagara (or Vijayanagara) Timma, 'who sinned against his lord' and the whole of the Salaka family and gave away the wealth of Karnāta to the learned who sought his protection." (*M.E.R.* 1905; No. 164 of 1905). Other records mention that "Sadāsiva was anointed to the throne by his brother-in-law Rāma-Rāja and other chief ministers (of Vijayanagara). (*E.I.* IV, 3, *f.n.* 2). The claim made in the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Narasabhūpāliyamu* that Rāma-Rāja "restored the Karnāta-rājya" after killing Salaka-Timma is also confirmed in epigraphic records. After the assassination of Venkatādri, whose cause he first espoused, Salaka-Timma, as we have seen, tried to usurp the throne for himself and for his own family *against the rightful* owner, Sadāsiva, the nephew of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the eldest surviving male representative of the *Karnāta dynasty* and his death put an end to that attempt. This fact is brought out in the title of *Prāyjakarnātarājya-sthāpanāchārya* (or establisher of the great empire of Karnāta) (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 34; App. A, Copper-plate 12, dated in 1455 A.D.) which might be compared with "the restorer of the whole of the Karnāta country" of the *Narasabhūpāliyamu*, and

Confirmed by inscriptions.

“who took on himself the restoration of the Karnāta kingdom,” which occurs in the *Vasucharitramu* in connection with the description of the deeds of Rāma-Rāja.

Date of the  
revolution.

The actual date of the capture by Sadāsiva-Rāya of Vijayanagar took place not long before Monday 6th August 1543 A.D.; for we hear that, on that date, a grant was made by one of his feudatories to a temple, on the joyous occasion when the royal communication reached him of Sadāsiva-Rāya's capturing Vijayanagara. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 70; App. C. No. 213 of 1916). Probably, his coronation followed shortly afterwards, which would mean that the dispute about the succession lasted over a year.

Salaka-Timma was, accordingly, the chief agent in the revolution in which the two Salaka-Tirumala brothers probably took part. Varadāmbika called in the aid of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh to put him down, but as Correa mentions, he was, on the road, bought off by Salaka-Timma and induced to return home. Thus foiled, Varadāmbika's last chance of succour was lost. She was probably put to death with her son, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya, Salaka-Timma, at the same time, killing two of his paternal uncles and a cousin as well. (*E.I.* IX, 340, Text verse 30). Whether Ranga, the father of Sadāsiva, was also despatched by him is not clear. Sadāsiva, who should have been amongst those whose lives had been canvassed, escaped. If Ferishta is to be believed, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya was strangled by Timma, and it is perhaps, this horrible act that is referred to by the words “wicked,” “base” and “treacherous” in the literary poems of the period quoted above and it is possibly to this deed, the Markapur record refers when it states that Salaka-Timma “sinned against his lord.” (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 164 of 1905). The object of Salaka-Timma was to

do away with all the members of the royal family and to make himself or one of the Salaka Tirumala brothers, the king. It was this deeply-laid plot of obliterating the royal family, with which Rāma-Rāja was closely connected by marriage, and substitute his own, that raised his ire against Salaka-Timma and induced him, as the same Markapur record puts it, to do away with "the whole of the Salaka family" (*ibid.*), and restore the Karnāta kingdom in the person of Sadāsiva.

The killing of Salaka-Timma and his confederates was evidently followed by the restoration of Sadāsiva by Rāma-Rāja. Sadāsiva, who had escaped from the cruel hands of Salaka-Timma, had taken refuge, according to Correa, in a part of the empire "towards the kingdom of Orissa." This might be taken to mean the province of Kondaviḍu, and from there, he had been removed by Rāma-Rāja, to Gooty, where he was apparently hidden by Rāma-Rāja, who had control over that fortress. On the way, they appear to have halted at Tirupati, where the first coronation of Sadāsiva took place before the god there, the Brāhmins giving him a "hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces." From there, Rāma-Rāja, leaving Sadāsiva at Gooty, proceeded against Salaka-Timma at Vijayanagar and there attacked and killed him and his associates. It is possible that Sadāsiva joined him in the State entry into the capital, immediately it fell; for an inscription dated on Monday 6th August 1543 A.D. states that the grant mentioned in it was made by the Tiruppakuli chief "on the joyous occasion when the royal communication reached him of Sadāsiva's capturing Vijayanagara." (See above; *M.E.R.* 1916, App. C. No. 213 of 1916). There he was installed on the throne and recrowned by Rāma-Rāja and the chief ministers, *amātyatilakaih*, as almost all the copper-plate grants put it. (See *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 58, for the Honnēnahalli grant, dated in

Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, first regent and then usurper.

1545 A.D.; *E.I.* 341, for the Kanuma grant, dated in 1548 A.D.; *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186, for the Malūr grant, dated in 1558 A.D.; and *E.C.* V, Hassan 7, for the Hassan grant dated in 1561 A.D.). These grants describe in vivid language this great act of Rāma-Rāja. They speak of him as the ornament of the earth, as the protector of the Lakshmi of the great Karnāta kingdom, as possessing valour, generosity and mercy. The suggestion seems to be that the deed was done by him as became a great and a generous Kshatriya, and as became the husband of his (Sadāsiva's) sister. The installation is also spoken of as "*Kliptābhishēka-Kramah*" or "*Kliptābhishēkōtsavah*," though it is added lower down in the same grants that the tears of joy shed by the people at the time of his coronation anointing so flooded the earth as to make her appear as the queen who was (being) anointed with him. Evidently, the act was not only felt to be a just and generous one on the part of Rāma-Rāja his confrere but also welcomed with great joy and satisfaction by the subjects. Nor could it well have been otherwise especially after the bloody deeds of Salaka-Timma and his confederates.

Date of Sadāsiva's coronation.

The date of the coronation at Vijayanagar is fixed by a record dated *Saka* 1466, Sōbhakritu, in the month of *Simha* (or *Srāvana*) *Su.* 6, Monday, corresponding to Monday, 6th August 1543 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1916; App. C. No. 213 of 1916). As mentioned above, this record states that on hearing the joyous tidings of Sadāsiva's capture of Vijayanagara, he made the grant registered in it. So the date of the coronation cannot be far removed from it. Dated in the previous year is a record from Seringapatam (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 42), which gives the full imperial titles to Sadāsiva. Its *Saka* year, however, has been read by Mr. Rice as 1464 (the last two figures being *doubtful* as they have been filled up by him

and put in brackets) but the cyclic year is *Subhakritu* and the month and the date *Srāvana-bahula 1*. The *Saka* year (expired) should accordingly be 1465. The cyclic year being *Subhakritu* (current), the date of this record would be July 1542 A.D. The coronation would, therefore, have taken place about July 1542. The Tirupakuli record probably fixes up, not the date of coronation and the gift that the chief made in honour of it, but of the registration of the latter in the temple in which it is engraved. At the date of his coronation, *Sadāsiva* was, according to *Correa*, only about sixteen years of age. *Cæsar Frederick*, however, states he was "very young," while the *Golconda* historian, whose account *Briggs* has given in his translation of *Ferishta*, says he was a child in arms. (*Ferishta*, III, 381). *Rāma-Rāja*, accordingly assumed the office of Protector and subsequently usurped the throne itself. The successive stages by which he managed to do this are discernible from the inscriptional records of the period. As *Father Heras* has pointed out, during the first stage, which probably lasted from 1542 to 1550 A.D., he was only Regent. During this period, *Sadāsiva* is described as ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom and the grants are made by *Rāma-Rāja* under the orders of *Sadāsiva* and *Rāma-Rāja* styles himself only as the agent of *Sadāsiva*, or agent for the affairs of *Sadāsiva's* kingdom, or administrator. (*Kṣhamāpati*). (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 110, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 58, dated in 1545 A.D.). *Sadāsiva* resided at the capital during this period, from where he issued his orders to the Regent. At the end of this period, he could have been about 24 years of age, taking *Correa's* statement of his being sixteen at his coronation as correct. He probably made himself felt at about this time and he was accordingly put in prison. According to *Couto*, his prison was

Stages in the  
usurpation of  
*Rāma-Rāja*.

a strongly fortified tower, probably at the capital, with iron doors and surrounded by sentries. However, the treatment he received while in prison was one befitting his rank. (Father Heras, *Āravidū Dynasty*, 31 f.n. 1 quoting Purchas, *His Pilgrimages*, X. 93, etc.). Authorities differ as to who was responsible for thus imprisoning him. Couto blames Rāma-Rāja solely for it. There seems to be truth in this accusation, as we find even his two brothers, Tirumala and Venkatādri, rebelling against him; apparently on this very account. Thus began the second period, probably about 1550 and ended in or about 1563 A.D. During this interval, we find Rāma-Rāja claiming equality with Sadāsiva. Grants accordingly ran in their joint names or for the merit of both, the genealogies of both Sadāsiva and Rāma-Rāja being given in them. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 54, dated in 1551; *E.I.* XIV, 210, the Bevinahalli grant dated in 1551 A.D.). Occasionally, grants are made only in his name or that merit might accrue to him alone. (*E.C.* XI, Molkalmuru 1, dated 1557). As above stated, his brothers apparently did not much relish this summary supersession of the lawful king. In 1551, they obtained control of Adōni and collecting forces, compelled several other chiefs to submit to them. Rāma-Rāja, who was away from the capital at the time, came back and with the aid of a detachment under Kabul Khan, entitled *Ain-ul-Mulk*, obtained from Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, advanced on Adōni and reduced it after a siege of six months. The two brothers yielded and were duly forgiven by Rāma-Rāja. Whether this story, told by a contemporary historian of Golconda (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 387-8), is true or not, it is possible that the two brothers did not desire to go too far. Father Heras has suggested that as Sadāsiva had made the grant mentioned in the Mamidipundi copper-plates at the request of Tirumala, there was reason for gratefulness on his part. (*Nellore Inscriptions*,

I. copper-plate No. 14, dated 1549-50, page 98). It is true that this grant was made by Sadāsiva at the request of *Timmarāja* who is identified by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti with *Tirumala*, the younger brother of Rāma-Rāja. But it is a question, if the *Timmarāja* referred to, is not *Timma*, who is called *Timmādhīsa* in the *Vasucharitramu*, the other brother of Sadāsiva. There is no reason why we should identify *Tirumala* with *Timma*, when there is a *Timma* also as his brother, though the genealogists usually describe him as an elder brother and not younger as mentioned in this grant. (It is probably this *Timmarāja* who remitted the tax on the barbers in different villages in 1547 A.D. (See Rangachar, *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I. 626, No. 568). His eldest brother Kōna was also a subordinate ruler. He is called Rāma-Rāja Kōnappa-Dēva-Mahārāja in a record dated in 1553 A.D., i.e., Kōnappa, grandson of Rāma-Rāja, the latter being the grand-father of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and his four brothers. (See M.E.R. No. 327 of 1901). However this may be, it is quite possible that *Tirumala* and his brother *Venkātādri* did not see eye to eye with Rāma-Rāja, the elder brother, and did hold out against him, though only unsuccessfully. If the Golconda historian quoted before is to be believed, they were excused by Rāma-Rāja for reasons purely personal to himself. He suggests that Rāma-Rāja was anxious to strengthen his own power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 381), and as such would not have desired to lose such close and useful relations as his two younger brothers.

The third stage was reached about 1563 A.D., when we see Rāma-Rāja described as supreme ruler with all the imperial titles. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 44, dated in 1462-3 A.D.). Sadāsiva is not so much as mentioned in

it. He is similarly described in another record dated in 1565 A.D., where also the name of Sadāsiva is omitted (*E.C.* VIII, Channagiri 62). Cæsar Frederick states that Rāma "sate in the Royal throne, and was called the king." There is so far no record of his coronation and it is possible he avoided it, as Sadāsiva, though hardly ever seen by his subjects, was still alive. Couto states that Rāma-Rāja and his two younger brothers saw him once a year in his prison and there did homage to him. (*VI.* 383). It was during this period that Rāma-Rāja appears to have issued the gold coin familiarly known as the Gandikota pagoda, which had the figure of Vishnu standing under a canopy on the obverse. (*C. J. Brown, Coins of India, 64.*)

Ancestry and  
early history  
of Rāma-  
Rāja.

Rāma-Rāja, who thus usurped the throne, claims descent from a long and distinguished line of ancestors, who had seen service in the State. Tāta-Pinnama, the founder of the family, is credited in the *Rāmarājīyamu* with having defeated and captured the seven constituents of royalty of an unidentified chief called Cheruku Rācha Nāyaka. His son was Sōmadēva (or Sōmidēva), who is said to have gained victories over many chiefs, among them being a Muhammadan. The greatest exploit attributed to him was the capture of seven forts (later described as a feat performed by him in *one day*), all probably situated in the debatable land between Vijayanagar and the Bāhmani kingdoms. He was probably a contemporary of Harihara II. (See *Sources, 80, f.n.*). Passing over the periods of his son Rāghavadēva and the latter's son Pinnama II, we come to Āravīti Bukka, who was one of the Governors of Sāluva-Narasimha, the founder of the second Dynasty. He is said to have taken part in the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1510 A.D., and so should have lived to a fairly long age. He was probably a local ruler with his seat at Aravīdu, which has been



identified with the village of the same name, 16 miles from Rāyachoti, in the Cuddapah District. (*Nellore Ins.*, I. 32, *f.n.* 2). It was from this place that the Aravidu dynasty took its name. Aravidu-Bukka had two sons, Singa-Rāja and Rāma-Rāja, of whom the former became the founder of the Nandyāla branch. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, Table, p. 20). His other son, Rāma-Rāja I, is described to have won a notable success over the Sāpada, identified with the Sultān of Golconda. He had three sons, of whom Timma-Rāja was the eldest. His son was Vitthala, the conqueror of Tiruvadirājya. The third was Srīranga or Ranga I. Ranga I married, according to the *Vasucharithramu*, Timmamma (or Tirumalāmba), by whom he had five sons and three daughters. (See *Sources*, 217-221). The sons were Kōna, Timma, (Aliya) Rāma-Rāja, Tirumala and Venkatādri. (See genealogical tree appended to H. Krishna Sastri's article on the Second Vijayanagar Dynasty in *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 201). Like Ranga I, who is described as a great warrior and was probably a Governor (Mahāmandalēsvara) under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (*Ferishta* III, 81, also see *M.E.R.* 1906; No. 156 of 1905), his son Rāma-Rāja became a noted soldier. If the Golconda historian is to be believed, he was at first in the service of Kuli Kutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda. Having been defeated in a fight with the Ādil Shāh's troops, he was, it is said, discharged from the Golconda service, from where he turned towards Vijayanagar, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya entertained him and forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage. (*Ferishta* III, 382-3). There is nothing inherently improbable in this story as Hindus and Muhammadans sought, about this period of history, service under rulers of either persuasion as they desired. Ranga I, the father of Rāma-Rāja, was, as we have seen, a minister under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the latter might, accordingly, have taken some interest in the young man, whom

he might have subsequently chosen as his son-in-law. Hence the sobriquet of "Aliya" by which he appears to have been popularly known in his own time. Besides Tirumalāmba, he married, according to the *Īāmarāji-yamu*, one Appalāmba, daughter of Peddanandi-Rāju of the Jillēla family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma, daughters of Timma of the Pōchirāju family. By Tirumalāmba, he had two sons Krishnarāya (apparently named after his grandfather) and Pedda Timmarāja. (See *Sources*, 184). Not much is known of the first of these. Pedda Timma, however, appears to have ruled over a part of Cuddapah District (*Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, 618, No. 492). Appalāmba bore him two sons, while by Kondamma, he had two sons Konda and Timma. These became governors of Anegundi and Raichur respectively. By Lakshmamma, he had one son Ranga IV, whose sons were Venkata II and Venkata III. He had thus five sons by his four wives and all these appear to have been active in the service of the Empire. According to the Golconda historian (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 408 and 453), he had, besides, two daughters, married respectively to Jotumrāj, who was deputed to invade Dēvarakonda and Indrakonda, and Buswunt-Rāj, the governor of Nandyāl and Kurnool. Rāma-Rāja's younger brother Tirumala, had, as we have seen, been married to Vengalāmba, another daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and queen Chinnā-Dēvi. He had four sons, named Raghunātha, Srīranga (Ranga I), Rāma-Rāya and Venkata-Dēva-Rāya. He had also a daughter, married to Nāgarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* No. 411 of 1911). Venkatādri, the other brother of Rāma-Rāja, is said to have married two ladies Rangamma and Krishnamma, by whom he had two sons Rangappa and Rāma. (See *Sources*, 222; *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 30).

At the time Sadāsiva's reign begins, we hear of Rāma-Rāja as advancing from Pulicat and taking charge of

affairs at the capital. But before that, in the reign of Achyuta, he was evidently in charge of an expedition to the Travancore country and later engaged in suppressing certain insurrections not far from the capital. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 80). This is confirmed by Couto, who speaks of Rāma-Rāja as a great general of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and as governing over a province of the Badaguas and Teligas (*i.e.*, northerners and Telugus). The province should have been Udayagiri, where a lithic inscription dated in 1543 A.D. has been found, stating that he was ruling over that fortress. (*M.E.R.* 207 of 1892; see also *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* II, 1153, No. 781). As another Ramarāju Timmaya-dēva Mahārāju gāru (probably a cousin of his) is also mentioned as ruling over that fortress, it might be inferred that the real charge was in the latter, though Rāma-Rāja was responsible for the administration, and absent probably at the capital.

The administration of Rāma-Rāja, both as regent and as usurper of the Kingdom, apparently seems to have run on the traditional lines. Grants of money, land or taxes to temples and learned Brāhmins continued to be made as usual. Among the more notable remissions of taxation during this period was the tax on barbers, which is found mentioned in a large number of records. According to one of these, it is said that Rāma-Rāja was pleased with the proficiency of Mangala Timmōja, Hommōja, and Bharrōja in shaving the chin and pardoned them from payment of all taxes. He also requested King Sadāsiva-Rāya to extend the same privilege to the barbers throughout the kingdom. (*I.A.* X. 65; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, p. 198. *f.n.* 5; *Nellore Inscriptions* II. 664; *E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 6). It is stated in one record, dated in 1540 A.D., that the exemption included the payment of *Katta meras*, *horn taz*, *Kanike*, *Khaddayam* and the *vetti*

Internal  
Administra-  
tion.

tax and that the royal decree was to take effect throughout the kingdom and inscriptions were to be set up in famous places and that local governors and feudatories were to give effect to it by putting up lithic inscriptions in their areas. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, 664, Kanigiri 20). As the earliest inscription granting this exemption is dated in 1545 A.D., it would seem that, within about ten years from then, it had been extended to the whole kingdom. (*E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 110, dated in 1546; *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 664, Kanigiri 20, dated in 1554 A.D.; *ibid.* III, 1195, Podili, 35 dated in 1547-48 A.D. and numerous other inscriptions).

The Capital,  
its trade  
and its  
magnificence.

That the capital continued to be a place of great attraction, both for its trade and for its architectural grandeur, is also attested to by foreign visitors. According to the *Svaramēla-kalānidhi*, Rāma-Rāja had a palace built for himself at Vijayanagar by his minister Rāmaya-mātya. It was, we are told, called *Ratna Kūta* and excelled even *Vaijayanti*, the palace of the Gods. It was surrounded, it is said, by extensive gardens, adorned with fine statues and constructed tanks, which abounded with swans. (See *Sources*, 190-193). We have a description of the city by Cæsar Frederick, the Italian traveller, as he saw it two years after its destruction, which will be found quoted below. Even in its ruined state, it appears to have impressed him as a magnificent one. It should have been something good and splendid to have wrung from him the remark, "I have seen many kings' courts, and yet have I seen none in greatness like to this Bezenegar." Of its trade, the same traveller writes:--

"The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezenegar were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine (a sort of Bengal tafetta) and pieces of China,

Saffron, and scarletts; and from Bezenegar they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels and Pagodas (gold coins), which be Ducats of Gold; the Apparell that they use in Bezenegar is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads called Colæ (Kullayi), made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves instead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth; they have breaches after the order of the Turkes; they wear on their feet plain high things called of them Aspergh and at their ears they have hanging great plentie of Gold." (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X. 97-8).

Rāma-Rāja was a great warrior and the greater part of his time, as Regent and as usurper of supreme power, was spent in wars. He is repeatedly praised in the records of the period and in later records as having subdued many enemies who are described as "a pest to the world," "dangerous to the world," "a scourge to the earth," or "thorns of the world" (*E.I.* XVI, 319; *E.I.* III, 252; *E.I.* XII, 186; *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). Ferishta seems to confirm these claims when he states that Rāma-Rāja "reduced all the Rājas of the Karnātik to his yoke." (III, 125). Apart from the petty insurrections he might have put down, there is scarcely any doubt that he engaged in wars in the extreme south, including Travancore and Ceylon and on the Fisheries Coast in what is now the South Kanara District.

The war against the Tiruvadi king was renewed during this reign. Either that king made another incursion into the Pāndyan kingdom, or had failed to pay the tribute agreed upon, with the consequence that an expedition was sent against him. The expedition was in charge of Vittaladēva-Mahārāja, a cousin, not son of Rāma-Rāja. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 56; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 57). His full name was Rāma-Rāja-Timmarāja-Vitthala-Dēva-Mahārāja, *i.e.*, Vitthala,

Expedition  
against  
Travancore,  
1543-1548 A.D.

the son of Timmarāja and the grandson of Rāma-Rāja I, Rāma-Rāja II being also grandson of Rāma-Rāja I, by another son (see *Pedigree of Aravīdu Dynasty*). Vitthala was evidently a distinguished general, whose victorious "campaign commenced in Anantasayanam (Trevandrum) in the south and ended at Mudugal in the north." (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 79). He was, just prior to taking up this post, evidently in charge of the Penukonda province (1543-4 A.D.). (*M.E.R.* 1902, App. A. No. 340 of 1901). Another record dated in 1558 A.D., which comes from Cuddapah and refers to Rāmarāja-Timmarāja, has been set down to him by Mr. Rangāchāriar. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency I*, 601 No. 322). This, however, cannot be correct, as, from 1543 A.D., when he headed the expedition against the king of Tiruvadi, he continued in charge of the southern viceroyalty for about 12 years, which takes us to 1567 A.D. The king of Travancore at the time was Bhūtula Vīra Sri Vīra Kērala-Varma *alias* Unni Kērala-Varma. Visvanātha Nāyak, the Vijayanagar governor of Madura, either sent a detachment in support of Vitthala or himself joined with his own forces, the invading army. (*M.E.R.* 1912, 17 of 1912 dated in 1563 A.D.). Evidently, Krishnappa, son of Visvanātha, also accompanied Vitthala in some capacity or other and served under him, as he is spoken of in the Krishnāpuram plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya to have deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadirājya of the constituent parts of his kingdom. (*E.I.* IX, 341). Vitthala had also, serving under him, his younger brother Chinna-Timma, who is mentioned in *Yādavābhyudaya-Vyākhyā* as having planted a pillar of victory in the mountains of Malaya, (*i.e.*, Travancore). (*M.E.R.* 1911, App. B. No. 250 of 1910, dated in 1545 A.D. *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency I*. 402, No. 717). Sadāsiva Nāyaka of Keladi also appears to have taken part in this expedition as he is also spoken of in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* to have defeated

the Kēralas and planted a pillar of victory in that country. (See *Sources*, 195). A Brāhman of Tiruvidaimarudūr seems to have also fought on Vitthala's side throughout his campaign and eventually obtained from Vitthala the gift of two villages for the temple at the place he came from. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; *M.E.R.* 1895, App. B. No. 140 of 1895 dated in 1543-4 A.D.). Vitthala entered Travancore by the Aramboli (or the Aruvāymoli) Pass, the people fleeing before him with their belongings. St. Francis Xavier, who was an eye-witness, describes the pitiful condition of the poor Christians who were be-taking themselves to the forests northward. The Holy Father was befriended by Unni Kērala-Varma, the Tiru-vadi, who said that the only help he could render was to offer prayers to relieve his anxiety. As Vitthala's forces reached Kottar, at present a suburb of Nagercoil, the vanguard suddenly stopped, unable to proceed further. Soon the reason for the halt came forth. "A tall majes-tic man dressed in black appeared in front of us," they said, "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once." The officers of the army could then realize that the fact was true, for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in gigantic form and dignified countenance barring the way to the capital. Vitthala and his forces were instinctively compelled to turn back and retreat. The Rev. Father Henry Heras, S.J., the latest writer on the subject, suggests that "the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case." (*The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 147, f.n. 5). Whether it is to be taken literally or as reminiscent of a diplomatic mission on the part of Xavier, for which, however, there is no evidence whatever, quite apart from the incident itself, there is scarcely any doubt that the troops were checkmated and retreated. The war ended, evidently without a formal battle—though the planting of pillars of victory is proclaimed by more than one chief

who followed the expedition. Unni Kērala-Varma was, it is said, delighted beyond measure. He received in person Xavier and embracing him, said, "They call me the Great King," but hereafter, they will always call you, "the Great Father." Accordingly, a proclamation by the king was issued that Xavier should be so called by all his subjects and that he should be obeyed everywhere as if he were the sovereign. Whether true or not, this statement testifies to the warm regard and friendship that undoubtedly existed between Xavier and Unni Kērala-Varma, which in itself is proved by Xavier's own letters. (See *Ibid.* 147). Peace pourparlers followed and an envoy was sent to Vitthala at Tuticorin, Xavier arranging for his conveyance by a special boat. It was feared that Vitthala was going full speed by sea to attack the Tiruvadi and to renew hostilities. But the death, at about this time, of Unni Kērala Varma brought matters to a pause. His successor, Bhūtala Vira, one of whose inscriptions dated in 1547 A.D. has been found in Tinnevely, perhaps, marks the end of the war and the signing of the treaty of peace. Tinnevely was ceded for ever to Vijayanagar, which in return agreed not to molest the Tiruvadi, the payment of the annual tribute being also agreed to by him; and to seal the arrangements thus come to, the Tiruvadi celebrated in the Sthanunātha temple at Suchīndram the birthday of Vitthala. (*M.E.B.* 1896, App. B. No. 64, dated in Kollam 722, or A.D. 1546-7, recording a gift of land for offerings at the temple on the birthday of Vitthalēsvara-Mahārāja by Bhūtala-Vira-Rāmavarman.) About the same time—1547-8 A.D.—Visvanātha-Nāyak of Madura should have been appointed *amaranāyak* or governor of Tiruvadi-dēsa. (*M.E.R.* 1912; App. C. No. 17, dated 1563 A.D.). Apparently, the jurisdiction of Visvanātha should have extended over the ceded part of the Tiruvadi country. At the same time, Vitthala continued as viceroy of the south.



Rāma-Varma, the ruler of the Tiruvadi country, having failed to pay the agreed tribute, Vitthala is said to have invaded his territories once again in 1558 A.D., with an army 6,000 strong. The Tiruvadi's forces apparently attacked the invading army and beat it back, inflicting great slaughter on it as it retreated. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 162-3).

War renewed  
against the  
Tiruvadi,  
1558 A.D.

What led to the war against the Nāyakas of Chandragutti, dubbed "*dāsya-Nāyakas*" in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* of Keladi Basavabhūpāla, where this war is briefly referred to (see *Sources*, 195-6), is not clear. Probably, it was an attempt countenanced by Rāma-Rāja to reduce them to subjection on the part of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka of Keladi, whose descendants ever afterwards included Chandragutti and Āraga among their territories above the ghats, with Barakūr and Mangalore below the Ghats. (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 11). According to the literary work quoted above, Chandragutti was attacked and taken. There is nothing in this work to indicate even the approximate date of this war. The poem itself is dated in 1709 A.D., and refers to events which took place in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka, who was undoubtedly a contemporary of Sadāsiva-Rāya of Vijayanagar. There are, however, a couple of inscriptions in the Coondapoor taluk, both at Basrūr, dated in 1548 and 1555 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, and one of them, the later, mentioning Sadāsiva-Nāyaka, the chief of Keladi also, in it. These probably may be taken to fix approximately the date of the subjugation of Chandragutti and its absorption into Keladi. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* II, 849, No. 19 and 850, No. 21). That, in any case, the subjugation of Āraga by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka and its absorption into his own territory, could not have taken place before 1550 A.D., is proved by his earliest record found in the Āraga area, in the Shimoga District

Subjugation  
of  
Chandragutti,  
Circa 1548-  
1550 A.D.

in that year. Apparently, Āraga had been lost to rebel chiefs in the Chandragutti area and recovered by Vijayanagar by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka. There have been found in the Shimoga District a number of grants of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka, as ruler of Āraga, mentioning Sadāsiva-Rāya, as his suzerain. They range in date from 1550 to 1566. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 77; Sorab 429; Nagar 5; Tirthahalli 103 and 171; Nagar 1 to 4). In Nagar 5, dated in 1552, is recorded a grant of villages to Brāhmins which provides for the devolution of their property on failure of heirs. All property and jewels of the deceased, it is stated, should, in such a case, go to claimants of the same *gōtra* as the deceased. If there be no such claimants, it should go to the temple of the village. Finally, it is ordered that such property—the property of the childless—shall not be forfeited to the palace. This remission was ordered by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka as from the date of the grant.

Relations  
with the  
Portuguese.

Projected  
attack on  
Tirupati  
Temple,  
1544 A.D.

The attitude of the Portuguese governors at Goa underwent a marked change about this time. As we have seen, there were signs of this change in their temper already in the reign of Achyuta. In 1544 A.D., Martin Alfonso De Souza, the Portuguese Governor, sent a fleet of forty-five ships under twenty-seven captains to the Eastern Coast to plunder the temple of Tirumalai (*i.e.*, on the Tirupati hill). His objective was the gold and riches stored in that temple, of which evidently exaggerated stories should have reached him. But the fleet failed of its purpose. Rāma-Rāja, having heard of the project, defeated it by advancing troops for beating off the attack. Foiled in its attempt, the fleet attacked certain temples on the Travancore Coast and returned to home waters. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 60-61, quoting *Faria-y-Souza* I. 216 and other authorities).

Matters were, however, adjusted between Goa and Vijayanagar at the end of about two years. A treaty was concluded on February 26, 1546 A.D., according to which Rāma-Rāja confirmed the Portuguese in the possession of Salsette and Bardes, which they were to continue to occupy without fear of molestation. There was also to be eternal friendship between the two parties. Another treaty concluded with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh on August 22, 1548, secured to the Portuguese the same territories without question from that quarter as well. Rāma-Rāja followed up the treaty of 1546 by the despatch, in the following year, of an ambassador to Goa to conclude a more elaborate treaty with the Portuguese. The embassy was well received and a fresh treaty was signed on September 19, 1547. Under this treaty:—

Treaties of  
1546 and 1547  
A.D.

(a) The two parties obliged themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other; and when called on to help, each was to help the other with all his forces against all Kings and Lords of India, Nizām Shāh always excepted;

(b) The Governor of Goa to allow all Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagar, none being sent to Bijāpur or to any of its ports. The King of Vijayanagar was bound to purchase all those that were brought to his parts on quick and proper payment;

(c) The king of Vijayanagar to compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast to send their goods through Honavar and Barcelore (Basrur), where Portuguese factors, kept for the purpose, were to purchase them. The King of Vijayanagar was likewise to forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the Bijāpur kingdom from any port or town of his own; these were to be brought by his merchants to the harbours in his kingdom, where they were to be quickly purchased by the Governor of Goa, without causing loss to them;

(d) All the cloth of the Vijayanagar kingdom was not to be sent to any port in Bijāpur but only to Ankolar or Honāvar, where the Portuguese merchants will be bound to purchase them, and exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, china silks and all other kinds of goods;

(e) The King of Vijayanagar was to allow no Moorish ships to stop in his ports ; and if any came, he was to capture and hand them over to the Governor of Goa ;

(f) Both parties agreed to wage war against the Ādil Shāh (of Bijāpur) and all the territories taken from him, to belong to Vijayanagar, except those to the west of the ghats, from Banda to Cintacora river, which were to belong to Goa. (Sewell, *A. Forgotten Empire*, 186-7; Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 63-4).

The primary object of this treaty was evidently to obtain the help of the Portuguese against Bijāpur. This, however, was not attained as the Portuguese had also entered into a treaty with it, which prevented it. (See above).

Portuguese  
activities on  
the West  
Coast.

During this reign, the Portuguese busied themselves in invading the territories of certain of the feudatories of Vijayanagar on the West Coast, mostly on the plea of their having withheld the tribute they had agreed to.

Attacks on  
Bhatkal, 1543  
A.D., 1548  
A.D.

The first to be thus attacked, in 1543 A.D., by Alfonso De Souza, the Portuguese Governor at Goa, was the queen of Bhatkal, whose husband had died recently at Vijayanagar. Souza landed a contingent of 1,200 men and attacked Bhatkal both by land and sea. While attempting to enter the city, he was opposed by the queen's troops. They were driven back to the city's gates and the struggle in the streets lasted for many hours. The queen encouraged her men personally and they put up a gallant fight. Despite all they could do, the city was occupied by the Portuguese by nightfall, the queen and her troops retiring to a neighbouring hill. Observing the fight of the Portuguese soldiery over the spoils, she advanced on them in such numbers that they fled in disorder and in the attempt to escape to their ships, many of them were drowned. The incensed governor ordered on the next day a fresh attack and the city was burnt and the country

laid waste. Peace followed, on 17th September 1548. The queen promised to pay the tribute of rice and agreed not to allow any pirates to leave her territory and in case of failure, made herself responsible for any damages sustained by the Portuguese. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 185 and 187; Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 187-188).

In 1556 A.D., the Portuguese attacked the queen of Ullal, on the pretext she had failed to pay the promised tribute. The city of Mangalore was plundered and a great Hindu temple destroyed. The queen submitted. Ten years later, her successor (Bukka Dēvi Chantar) was attacked on a like pretext but really to erect a fort in Mangalore and thus secure their position in it. The city was forced into and sacked, the queen escaping to the neighbouring mountain. The fort was completed in March 1566 and the queen finally agreed to the terms imposed on her. According to Cæsar Frederick, the trade of the place was "very small" at the time. (Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 189-190).

Attack on  
Ullal and  
Mangalore,  
1556 and 1566  
A.D.

The Portuguese had established themselves about 1522 A.D. at Mylapore, near Madras, and had set up a settlement of their own called St. Thomas, not far away from Mylapore. Though not large, it was "the fairest in all that of the Indies" and soon attracted considerable trade to itself. About 1558, the Franciscan Friars, at this place and Negapatam, desecrated a number of Hindu temples and destroyed the idols in them and built in their places many Christian Churches. The Jesuits who followed them also did the same. Representations were made to Rāma-Rāja, but in view of the friendship which existed between the Portuguese and Vijayanagar, and the necessity there was for the importation of horses through their aid, he did not take any action. Soon, however, a Portuguese fidalgo invited Rāma-Rāja to invade the Portuguese

Expedition  
against the  
Portuguese  
at Mylapore  
near Madras,  
1558 A.D.

town, stating that its inhabitants were "most rich." Rāma-Rāja moved on it with an army five hundred thousand strong and a great deal of ammunition. At first, there was talk of offering resistance, but wiser counsels prevailed and this suggestion was dropped, as in any case the Portuguese were in Vijayanagar territory and could not wage war against the king or his representative. The chief men of the settlement received Rāma-Rāja with becoming ceremony and offered him a present of about four thousand *Cruzados*. Account was taken of the property of the inhabitants and it was found that it did not exceed even a hundred thousand *pardaos*. The fidalgo, who had given an exaggerated account of the riches of the inhabitants of the place, was duly searched for, caught and promptly put to death. A tribute of a hundred thousand *pagodas* was, all the same, exacted, half of which was paid immediately and for the payment of the balance, five hostages were secured. But Rāma-Rāja released these at Vijayanagar and sent them back, in view of their services during the retreat.

This expedition did not evidently disturb the good relations subsisting between the Portuguese at Goa and Rāma-Rāja. St. Thome flourished as a trade-centre and at the end of the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, it still continued, according to Cæsar Frederick, a great trade centre. The lading and unlading of men and merchandise was, in his opinion, simply "marvellous." (Purchas, *His Pilgrimages*, 109). It traded largely with Pegu and Bengal, with the former in gold and sealing wax and with the latter in eatables, especially sugar. The beautiful clothes produced on the Coromandel Coast were greatly in demand in Portugal and the annual trade with Malacca in these clothes was so great that it made the merchants in St. Thome get great quantities of money. (Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, 70 f.n., 2). The tribute exacted by Rāma-Rāja could not therefore have been felt to be a heavy one.

This expedition would seem to clear up a mystery connected with the Pārthasārathi temple at Triplicane. Hitherto, there has been no satisfactory explanation forthcoming as to the fragments of tombstones with Roman characters on them, one or two of which have been found quite close to the inner sanctuary. As this sanctuary is not far away from the Pallikonda Perumā shrine, which was one of those built in 1564-5 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, by a private individual, it is possible that this donor utilized in his construction the materials derived from the destruction wrought by Rāma-Rāja's troops during the campaign of 1588 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 25; App. A. No. 239 of 1903).

Vitthala was engaged in another war in the south at about this time. The Paravas of the Fishery Coast had been baptized by about 1532 A.D., by a contingent of Catholic missionaries from Cochin, who had established themselves at different places on the coast. The chief of these was Punnei Kayal and it seems evident that some differences arose from the assumption of civil and criminal jurisdiction by the Portuguese over this area. The Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Vitthala and this led to an attempt to wrest from the Portuguese the area occupied by them, thus reducing both the Portuguese and the Paravas under them, simultaneously. In August 1544 A.D., Vitthala's forces attacked the Paravas, who sought refuge in the small islands facing the Cape Comorin. Punnei Kayal was also attacked, the house and boat of the Portuguese captain being set fire to. He and the inhabitants round about also fled to the islands. Tuticorin was also reduced and became the head-quarters, in all probability, of Vitthala. Vitthala's forces, however, do not appear to have marched northwards along the Coast, for his brother-in-law had been recovered before Vitthala returned to Madura.

War against  
the  
Portuguese  
and the  
Paravas on  
the fishery  
Coast, 1544-  
1560 A.D.

All the same, the war against the Portuguese and the Paravas was kept up for some years longer by Vitthala. The Portuguese had extended their settlements as far as Vedalai, not far away from Rāmēsvaram, and the sandbanks of Ceylon. They kept a small garrison there and it was in 1549 A.D., under one Correa, a Portuguese captain. The rapacity of this official led to reprisals. He dug a trench close to the famous temple and prevented pilgrims from visiting it unless they paid a toll he levied. The Brāhman priests complained. A force 6,000 strong, possibly sent by Vitthala, attacked Vedalai. Correa finding defence useless made good his escape to the islands of the Coast, accompanied by a great many Paravas. The Portuguese priest, who was in charge of the Paravas, fell a victim to the lance of a Muhammadan, who formed part of the attacking forces. The fort was razed to the ground and the trench dug by Correa, duly filled. It is possible that Visvanātha, the Nāyak governor of Madura, helped in this campaign as he is spoken of in a Tamil chronicle as having helped pilgrims who used to go to Rāmēsvaram. (*History of the Karnataka Governors in Taylor's O. H. Mss. II, 15*). Sporadic fights continued till about the end of 1551 A.D., when a settlement was arrived at. The Paravas yielded and promised to pay an annual tribute to the Madura Nāyak, which consisted in the catch of one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would have been the equivalent of 10,000 *pardacs*. But as the Portuguese still continued in charge of the Coast, Vitthala joined forces with one Irapali, a subject of the Zamōrin of Calicut and arranged to attack them by land and sea simultaneously. Punnei Kayal was attacked by troops from the sea. The Portuguese captain in charge with his men retreated into the town, where they were captured by Vitthala's forces. The fort was occupied by Irapali, who issued a proclamation that Portuguese trade and rule was at an end. When this news reached Cochin,



the Portuguese there fitted up an expeditionary force of 170 men. This soon reached Punnei Kayal, where a part of it was attacked by Irapali and in the slaughter that followed on both sides, he himself perished. The commander of the Portuguese troops, reinforced by men taken from a boat bound to Negapatam, reappeared on the scene and with the aid of a few Maravas who had joined him, signally defeated and slaughtered the remnant of Irapali's forces. The Portuguese captured by Vitthala were duly ransomed and were delivered over at Tuticorin. It was probably after this that the settlement between Vijayanagar and the Portuguese as to the tribute due from the whole of the Fishery Coast was come to and it was agreed under it that the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing should be given to the Nāyak of Madura. (See on the whole subject, Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 150-162 and the authorities cited therein).

The settlement, however, did not last long. In 1560 A.D., Visvanātha, the Nāyak governor of Madura, demanded the catch of two days' fish as the tribute. He attacked Punnei Kayal. The fort was surrendered and the men in charge tried to escape in a sloop. But the tide being on the ebb, the ship could not sail, with the result all the Portuguese were captured. They agreed to ransom themselves and were set at liberty. It might be presumed that the tribute of two days' catch was agreed to. The inhabitants of Punnei Kayal were at the same time removed to a new fortress built on the opposite island of Manaar, to secure them against Nāyak incursions, (*Ibid.* 165).

These successes over the Tiruvadi and the Portuguese probably justify Rāma-Rāja's assumption of the title of the Planter of a Pillar of Victory at Cape Comorin. (See *Rāmarājīyam* in *Sources*, 182). Whether it should be taken literally or only in the metaphorical sense, is not quite clear.

Relations  
with the  
Deccan  
Sultāns.

The policy of Rāma-Rāja towards the Sultāns of the Deccan was one rather of expediency than principle. He joined one or more of them against the other or others as necessities required. The result was that while he made no lasting friendship or alliances, he kept them divided and derived what advantage he could, by the existence of such disunion amongst them. But this policy had its evil side as well; it induced most, if not all, the Sultāns at last to combine against him and overthrow him. Both literary works and inscriptional records fully bear out this view. Thus, in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, we hear of his warring against the Nizām of Ahmednagar and defeating him with the aid of his brothers. (*Sources*, 181-190). The *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* refers to his war against the Nizām Shāh, the Ādil Shāh, and the Barid Shāh (*i.e.*, Sultān of Bidar). (*Sources*, 178-181). In the *Sivatattvaratnākara*, we hear again of his attack on Barid Padishāh. (*Sources*, 195). In the *Vasucharitramu*, we are told of his war on the Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and of his forcing him to abjure his friendship for Ibrahim (Kutb Shāh). (See *Sources*, 216). Finally, the *Narasa-bhūpāliyamu* states that he helped Kutb when he submitted to him and assisted him to win back his kingdom. In the same poem, he is said to have preserved the Sapāda (*i.e.*, the Ādil Shāh) in his kingdom on his agreeing to pay him tribute and hand over Raichur and Mudkal. Again, we are told in it that when the Nizām of Ahmednagar sought refuge with him, he lent him his help and established him firmly in his kingdom. (See *Sources*, 225-227).

Siege of  
Adōni, 1542  
A.D.

The first recorded conflict with Ibrahim Ādil Shāh appears to have occurred in 1542 A.D., immediately after the coronation of Sadāsiva-Rāya. Taking advantage of Salakam-Timma's revolutionary activities, Ibrahim sent a large force under Asada Khān to take Adōni. A siege

commenced. Venkatādri, Rāma-Rāya's brother, advanced with a strong contingent to relieve it. A short engagement followed. Seeing the strength of Venkatādri's troops, Asada Khān raised the siege and retreated in good order, pursued by Venkatādri. In the evening, both halted, Venkatādri at a distance of about eight miles from Asada Khān. Before day-break, the Khān surprised Venkatādri's camp. Taken aback, Venkatādri fled for his life, his treasures, family and elephants falling into Asada's hands. Negotiations began, a treaty of peace was concluded and Venkatādri's family rescued without delay. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 85-7).

Shortly afterwards, Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur induced Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to join him in an attack on Bidar and Vijayanagar. Ibrahīm was to attack Vijayanagar and Burhān was to invade Amir Barid Shāh's territories. On Burhān invading Bidar, Amir Barid Shāh arranged for its defence and unaware of the secret pact, hastened to Ibrahīm, his old ally, who promptly clapped him into prison. Having done this, Ibrahīm marched against Vijayanagar, and siezed a great part of its territories. (*Ferishta*, III, 387). So says *Ferishta*, though it is not clear which part of Vijayanagar he actually did annex. However this might be, Rāma-Rāja made up his mind to chastise Burhān Nizām Shāh as the sole author of this unprovoked attack on him. Seeing that he had to pass through Golconda and Bidar to reach Burhān's territories, he divided his troops into three divisions, one under his personal command to attack Golconda; the second under his brother Tirumala, to attack the Sultān of Bidar; and the third under one *Hande* Hanumappa Nāyudu of Sonnalāpuram, to attack Ahmednagar. A decisive battle was fought. Kalyāna was taken, and reduced to ashes; the Nizām Shāh and his Vazirs sought shelter in the forests as if they were old

War against  
Burhan  
Nizam Shāh  
of Ahmed-  
nagar and his  
allies. Capture  
of Kalyāna.

trees (*musali mānulu*), there being a play upon these words which together would mean *Musalman* here. As regards Kalyāna, it is stated that this Rāma (Rāma-Rāja) captured it with the aid of a world of friends (*Visvā mitrulu*) like that other Rāma (the epic hero) who attained prosperity (*Kalyāna*) by seeing Visvāmitra (the great *Rishi*). Thus both the Rāmas, (the epic hero and Rāma-Rāja) obtained Kalyāna (in the senses abovementioned). (See *Sources* under *Vasucharitramu*, Text, 218). The Telugu Chronicle, the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, in giving an account of this campaign, makes it plain that the defeat inflicted on the three allied Sultāns was so crushing that they had to flee from the battle-field, hotly pursued by Rāma-Rāja's troops. Burhān was taken prisoner by *Hande* Hanumappa and the city of Ahmednagar was destroyed and ploughed down with castor seeds, the traditional mode of laying waste a conquered country and rendering its soil unfit for cultivation. (See *Sources*, *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 185.) Because, of these great successes against Kalyāna and Ahmednagar, he is given the titles of *Kalyānapuravarādhīsvara* (Ruler of the city of Kalyān), *Kalyāna-nagara-sādhaka* (Capturer of the city of Kalyān) and *Amudānagara Sālabhanjana*, (Destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmednagar). (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 186). Once in Rāma-Rāja's hands, Burhān Nizām Shāh was compelled to forswear his alliance with Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh (see *Sources*, under *Vasucharitramu*, Text, 218) and give up all idea of claiming Kalyāna. (*Ibid.* Text, which records that he did not even *dream* of claiming it back). Burhān regained his liberty but never forgave Rāma-Rāja the indignity he had poured on him.

Attack on  
Ibrāhīm Ādil  
Shāh.  
Attempt  
on Raichur,  
1544 A.D.

About 1544 A.D., Rāma-Rāja joined Burhān Nizām Shāh and Jamshid Kutb Shāh in an attack on Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh. (*Ferishta* II, 230). Burhān's object was to

secure the territory he had had to yield to Ibrāhīm some time back, while Rāma-Rāja was desirous of wresting back Raichur. While the Sultān of Golconda occupied the whole country up to the walls of Gulburga, Burhān entered the Bijāpur territory and defeated Ādil Shāh's troops and laid waste his country. Venkatādri, under Rāma-Rāja's direction, endeavoured to retake Raichur. He defeated Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh on the banks of the Bhima and drove him from the field. The *Narasabhūpāliyam*, in referring to this war, with poetic exaggeration, states that the Ādil Shāh being thus beaten, sued for peace by kissing the feet of Rāma-Rāja. (See *Sources*, under *Narasabhūpāliyam*, Text, 226). Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh thus reduced sought the counsel of Asada Khān. Separate peace was made with Rāma-Rāja, and Burhān Nizām Shāh and Jamshid Kutb Shāh being thus isolated, were attacked by Asada Khān and defeated at Golconda. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 92-4).

About the close of 1548 A.D., shortly after the death of Asada Khān, Burhān Nizām Shāh joined Rāma-Rāja in an attack on Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh. Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh treated the ambassadors of Rāma-Rāja with scant courtesy. Their lives being in danger, they managed to escape from his capital and returned home. Enraged at this conduct, Rāma-Rāja declared war. There was an additional cause for his doing so. Kalyāna had been recovered and Ali Barid Shāh of Bidar had made an alliance with Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh to protect himself against any possible attacks. The troops of Rāma-Rāja, under the command of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka of Ikkēri, marched against Kalyāna, where they were joined by Burhān Nizām Shāh with his own troops. The invaders were attacked by the Bijāpur troops, but these were signally defeated by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka. Rāma-Rāja himself meanwhile joined with fresh troops. The fortress

Loss of  
Kalyāna and  
its recapture,  
1548 A.D.

of Kalyāna was invested and Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh advanced to relieve it. Ibrahīm so blocked the roads to the city that great distress prevailed among the allied troops besieging the fortress. After considerable deliberation, the allies made a sudden attack at dawn on Ibrahīm who was thoroughly unprepared for it. He and his troops accordingly fled and the allies turning back on the fortress, attacked it vigorously. Kalyāna surrendered (Briggs, *Ferishia* III, 233-5) and was evidently occupied by Rāma-Rāja. This is, perhaps, the reason why he is called not merely the "capturer" of Kalyāna but also its "ruler." (See above). Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka's part in this war is detailed at great length in the *Sivatattvaratnākara*. (See *Sources*, 195). He was ennobled and given the title of *Kōtikolāhala* and was made Governor of Chandra-gutti, Bārkur and Pangalur and was allowed the unique privilege of styling himself "Rāya-Nāyaka." (*Ibid.*).

Prince  
Ibrahīm Kutb  
Shāh at  
Vijayanagar,  
1550 A.D.

About 1550 A.D., Jamshid Kutb Shāh of Golconda showed signs of insanity. He became such a terror to his own people that two of his brothers, Ibrahīm and Haidar Khān, fled and sought protection at Bidar. Here, Haidar Khān soon died. Kāsīm Barīd Shāh, the Sultān of Bidar, soon tried to annex the private property and elephants of Ibrahīm. Ibrahīm escaped to Rāma-Rāja, who gave him asylum by conferring an estate on him. This estate had been till then in the enjoyment of Ambar Khān, an Abyssinian, who, in consequence, was called out and killed in the streets of Vijayanagar. (Briggs, *Ferishia* III, 328; see also 382).

Rāma-Rāja  
helps him to  
win the  
Golconda  
throne.

Meanwhile, Jamshid died and the nobles elevated his infant son, Subhān Kūli to the throne with Āin-ul-Mulk as Regent. This proved unacceptable to the people, at whose instance Ibrahīm was induced to return and become king. Rāma-Rāja agreed to send a large force

under his brother, Venkatādri, in support of his candidature. Thus aided, both from within and without, Ibrahīm ascended the throne, with Mustapha Khān as his minister. (See Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 327-9; also 380-3 and 392). The help that Rāma-Rāja rendered in this connection is reflected in the *Narasabhūpāliyam*, where we are told in unequivocal terms that Rāma-Rāja assisted Kutb Mulk (*i.e.*, Ibrahīm) to win back his lost throne. (See *Sources*, under *Narasabhūpāliyam*, Text, 225).

In 1551 A.D., Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh prepared to retake Kalyāna. This induced an alliance between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and Rāma-Rāja. The latter chiefs agreed that while Rāma-Rāja should capture Raichur and Mudkal, he should help Burhān to take Sholapur and Gulburga.

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh's attempt to re-take Kalyāna, 1551 A.D.

Raichur was taken and Mudkal soon surrendered. Rāma-Rāja detached a force under Venkatādri to help Burhān to capture Sholapur, which was taken. Meanwhile, Venkatādri and Burhān evidently fell out and Venkatādri returned to Vijayanagar. Gulburga accordingly remained unaffected. Shortly after, Burhān died and was succeeded by his son Hussain Nizām Shāh, who concluded a treaty of peace with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 104-5 and 235). The frequent fights that Rāma-Rāja indulged in against Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur were evidently with the object of winning back Raichur and Mudkal which had been lost in the first year of the reign of Achyuta. (Mr. Sewell seems to be in error in stating at page 166 of his work, *A Forgotten Empire*, that after the recapture of these places in 1530 A.D., by Bijāpur, they were never again subject to Hindu princes. It cannot be reconciled with his statement at page 190 of the same work, where, after

Capture of Raichur by Rāma-Rāja, 1551 A.D.

their capture by Rāma-Rāja in 1551 A.D., he says, "the Doab was thus once more restored to the Hindu sovereign.") The successive campaigns against Bijāpur won for Rāma-Rāja the title of *Vijayapura Bhaya-Dāyaka*, or "terrifier of the city of Bijāpur"; *Rāchurūrājya harana Dhurya*, or "capturer of the province of Raichur"; *Muduganti-durghādīnāyaka*, or "Ruler of the fort of Mudkal" etc. (See *Sources* under *Rāma-rājyamu*, 182 and Text, 186-7).

Rāma-Rāja,  
an ally of  
Ibrāhīm Ādil  
Shāh, 1555  
A.D.

The tide soon turned. In 1555, Hussain Nizām Shāh formed an alliance against Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh with a view to the capture of the fortress of Gulbarga. They commenced a siege but a month passed and still it held out. An assault was at last delivered but it not only failed of its purpose but ended in great loss to the allies. The siege, however, continued. Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh, reduced to great straits, sought the aid of Rāma-Rāja, who marched in person with a large army. He sent a diplomatic letter to Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh, while, at the same time, he asked Tirumala, his brother, to lay waste the Kutb Shāh's territory. This diversion and the presence of Rāma-Rāja himself at Gulbarga had their effect. The Kutb Shāh deserted his ally Hussain Nizām Shāh and suddenly left with his forces to his capital. This flight had the desired effect on Hussain Nizām Shāh, who raised the siege and returned to Ahmednagar. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 396-7; see also *Burhan-i-Māasir*, in *I.A.S.* 101-2).

Helps to  
repel an  
attack on  
Gulbarga,  
1555.

Helps in  
expelling  
Ain-ul-Mulk  
1555.

Shortly afterwards, Rāma-Rāja was called upon to help Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh to expel Ain-ul-Mulk, who had rebelled against his sovereign. Venkatādri advanced with a large contingent, and Ain-ul-Mulk was so badly defeated that he fled for his life to Ahmednagar, where he was put to death by Hussain Nizām Shāh. (*Ibid.*, *Ferishta* I, 100-111).



Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh died in 1557 A.D. and his youthful son Āli Shāh succeeded him. Taking advantage of the opportunity offered, Hussain Nizām Shāh advanced on Gulbarga, which Āli Ādil Shāh evacuated and ran off, attended by a small body-guard, to Rāma-Rāja at Vijayanagar. Ferishta tells the story that Rām-Rāja had just then lost a son and that his queen adopted the young Āli as her son! Rāma-Rāja on being condoled, promised his aid to Āli and soon advanced with a large force on Ahmednagar. The country was laid waste, the havoc being so great that the population fled in all directions. Hussain Nizām Shāh himself fled to Paithan and finally purchased peace by surrendering Kalyāna to Āli Ādil Shāh. What benefit Rāma-Rāja secured for the great aid he rendered to Āli is not clear from Ferishta. But we seem to get a clue for his real object in the *Narasabhūpāliyam*, where we are told that he helped the *Sapādu* (i.e., Ādil Shāh) to win back his kingdom on condition that he paid as tribute (*Kappamu*) the countries of Raichur and Mudkal. (See *Sources*, Text, 225). Apparently, Rāma-Rāja's possession of these places after their last conquest was confirmed by Āli Ādil Shāh as the price of the help rendered by him against Hussain Nizām Shāh.

Flight of Āli Ādil Shāh to Vijayanagar, 1557.

Rāma-Rāja's attack on Ahmednagar and restoration of Āli Ādil Shāh.

Āli Ādil Shāh's confirmation of the conquests of Raichur and Mudkal.

Hussain Nizām Shāh, however, would not accept defeat. He soon patched up an alliance with Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh and attempted to re-take Kalyāna, which he had just ceded to Āli Ādil Shāh. Āli once again indented on Rāma-Rāja for help. He advanced with a huge army, and in conjunction with Āli, called on Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh to join them, in accordance with the terms of the latest treaty, in attacking Hussain Nizām Shāh. He formally complied with the request but secretly sent word to Hussain that he would induce the allies to withdraw. Rāma-Rāja's troops devastated the country on their march and on their reaching Ahmednagar, Hussain evacuated

Hussain Nizām Shāh's attempt to re-take Kalyan, 1557 A.D.

Āli Ādil Shāh seeks Rāma-Rāja's aid.

it, after throwing plentiful supplies into it. The place was invested with great vigour for two months, when Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh interposed, with the liberal aid of money, that the allied troops should withdraw. The Ādil Shāh, however, seeing that Ahmednagar cannot resist longer, induced Rāma-Rāja to stay on. He offered Rāma-Rāja Indigy (the *Indraji* of the *Rāma-rājīyamu*; see *Sources*, Text, 185) if he continued the siege. Rāma-Rāja prosecuted the siege with increased vigour and the fortress would have capitulated but for Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh who allowed provisions and artillery to pass into it through his camp. Meanwhile, Ibrahīm sent his minister, Mustapha Khān and prevailed on Rāma-Rāja to raise the siege in return for the cession of the fort and district of Kondapalli to him. Rāma-Rāja immediately raised the siege and returned homewards, informing Alī Ādil Shāh. His allies did the same, and thus Ahmednagar was saved. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 117-22; 402-5; *Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A. L.* 104-6; 141-2; also see *Sources* under *Rāma-rājīyamu*, Text, 185 and 186-7 where Rāma-Rāja's titles of *Indragipurā-dhyakshāsīdu* "or ruler of the city of Indigy" and *Kondapalliharana*, or "capturer of the fort of Kondapalli" are mentioned.)

Hussain  
Nizam Shah's  
fresh attempt  
to take  
Kalyāna, 1558  
A.D.

Attack  
repelled by  
Rāma-Rāja's  
intervention.

Hussain Nizām Shāh effected, in 1558 A.D., a marriage alliance with Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh by giving his eldest daughter in marriage to him. As the festivities closed, they laid siege to Kalyāna. Alī Ādil Shāh called for the intervention of Rāma-Rāja, who advanced with a large contingent to the place. He was subsequently joined by Alī Barid Shāh of Bidār and Burhān Imad Shāh of Berār. Hussain Nizām Shāh's misfortune knew no end. A hurricane blew just at the moment he was bringing in his cattle and artillery and the latter got stuck up in the clay and became immovable. Rāma-Rāja also sent his brother Venkatādri and a few others to attack the southern parts of

Golconda, thus causing a diversion. The diversion proved successful, for though opposed, a number of places were taken by the generals sent, including Kondapalli, Masulipatam, Dēvarakonda, Gāndikōta, Indrakonda, Pangal, Ravilkonda and numerous other places. (*Ferishta* III, 407-9; see also *Rāma-Rājiyam* in *Sources*, Text, 186-7). Hussain and Ibrahim Kutb Shāh were thus compelled to raise the siege and return to their capitals. Hussain made peace with Rāma-Rāja by ceding Kalyāna to Ali Ādil Shāh and paying a ceremonial visit to Rāma-Rāja and accepting betel at his hands, in token of the latter's superiority. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 120-1, 239-43 and 331, 406-7; see also Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 90, *f.n.* 1 and 92, *f.n.* 1).

Mention has been made above of the havoc created by Rāma-Rāja's troops in the territories of the enemy on their marches, especially at Ahmednagar. *Ferishta* states that these devastations wounded the religious feelings of the Muhammadans, inasmuch as several of their mosques and sacred objects were damaged by the troops. Rāma-Rāja was probably unaware of such damage; in any case, it cannot be presumed that he would have ordered such gross and wilful damage of *religious* edifices and objects. However that may have been, the impression left by such wanton destruction appears to have been a most painful one and invited reprisals later, on Vijayanagar itself. "The infidels of Beejanuggur," writes *Ferishta*, "who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Korau. They committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable worship in the holy places." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 403-5; see also III, 120-1; 239-43 and 331).

Devastation  
of enemy  
territory.

Pretender  
Abdulla put  
down with  
Rāma-Rāja's  
aid, 1555-1557  
A.D.

Not long after, the active intervention and military aid of Rāma-Rāja was sought by Alī Ādil Shāh to put down the pretensions of his uncle Prince Abdullah called Meale, or Meale Khān in the Portuguese writings of the period. This prince had, at the instigation of Asada Khān, sought asylum at Goa, where the Portuguese had proclaimed him Sultān and had obtained from him the cession of Salsette and Bardez. Burhān Nizām Shāh had also had a hand in this transaction. The Portuguese captured Penda on behalf of the Pretender who, aided by them, rapidly advanced on Bijāpur. Some of the nobles at Gulburga having declared themselves in his favour, Alī Ādil Shāh requested Rāma-Rāja to help him. Rāma-Rāja sent a strong force, with whose aid Alī so signally defeated Abdulla that he sought asylum at Ahmednagar. Meanwhile, Burhān had concluded a treaty of peace with Alī and Rāma-Rāja and so he was compelled to keep Abdulla closely confined. He was later allowed to proceed to Goa, where he died. (See Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 98-100; also Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 92-94).

First expedi-  
tion against  
Ceylon, 1546  
A.D.

Vitthala also claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1905; No. 129 of 1905). Apparently he sent forces against the king of Kandy. This is probably the same event which is referred to in a letter, dated 6th December 1546 from Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa, to King Joas III, though the date is wrongly given in the inscriptional record. It is possible Visvanātha also joined in this invasion. The king of Kandy had evidently failed to pay his tribute to the Vijayanagar king and had invited trouble on himself. Though helped by Castro, it is evident he was defeated by the combined forces of Vitthala and Visvanātha and compelled to yield. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 169-170, *f.n.* 5).

About 1563 A.D., or thereabouts—the date is not certain—the king of Kandy again failed in his duty to the Vijayanagar sovereign. Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the son of Visvanātha, to enforce the tribute, which apparently had fallen into arrears since the last war, led an army 20,000 strong, under Chinna Kēsava Nāyaka and attacked the king of Kandy. The opposing forces met at Puttalam. The Kandian army was defeated, but the chief, against the advice of his minister, gathered together 60,000 troops and 10,000 Kaffürs (probably Portuguese) and gave battle in person. His forces were defeated and he himself was among the slain. Krishnappa-Nāyaka appointed one Vijayagōpāla-Nāyaka as Viceroy, and returned home. (See *ibid.* 169-171; Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 70-72, quoting Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue Raissonne of Mackenzie Mss.*, III, 183-6). The *Singla Dvīpa Catha*, which furnishes the above account, does not state when this event took place. In an inscription from Tiruttani, dated in 1564-5, Cyclic year *Rakthākshi*, king Sadāsiva-Rāya boasts of having looted Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; App. B. No. 451 of 1905). It is probable that this record refers to the expedition of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, who undertook it evidently as a Vijayanagar governor. A prince of the Vijayanagar family Venkata I, surnamed Vira-Vasantarāya (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; App. No. 5 of 1905-1906) apparently took part in this campaign. According to one record, dated in 1565-6 A.D., from Tārāmangalam, in the Salem District (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 82; App. B. No. 19), recording the grant of Īlam-samudra (after Īlam, Ceylon) to the Kailāsam and Īlamīsvara or Lankēsvara temples, named evidently after *Lanka* and another from Tachchūru, dated in 1568 A.D., we learn that this Prince should have begun to date his records in his own regnal years. He was evidently ruling independently from 1567 A.D., *i.e.*, a couple of years

Second  
expedition,  
1563 A.D.

from the battle of Talikota. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; No. 163 of 1905). These invasions of Ceylon and the exaction of tribute from it and the putting down of the king of Tiruvadi-rājya were doubtless the reasons why Sadāsiva came to be credited with the acquisition of the overlordship of the south. (See Vellangudi plates of Venkata II in *E.I.* XVI, 320).

Vitthala was evidently an intrepid and valiant general. He was viceroy of the south, which included the present Madura, Coimbatore and Salem Districts, and probably also Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78). In a record of his dated in 1544-5 A.D., found at Tiruvaidaimarudūr, he is described as *Vīrapratāpa Srīmān mahāmandalēsvara* and given the title of *Mahārāja*. (*Ibid.* 1895, App. B. No. 140). In a record at Koiladi, in the Tanjore District, dated in 1545-6, is referred a gift by him to the Ranganātha temple there. (*M.E.R.* 1901; App. No. 273 of 1901). Another record of the same year registers another gift to the temple on the Ratnagiri hill at Trichinopoly (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 191 of 1914). According to certain inscriptions of his, found in a temple in Madura city, he is said to have governed from 1547-1558, or for a period of twelve years. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, II, 224). Visvanātha-Nāyak, the governor of Madura, acknowledges his subordination to Vitthala in a record dated in 1550 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1917, No. 599 of 1916; see also No. 721 of 1915). It was during his vicerealty that the *mantapa* in front of the Alagar temple was built. (*M.E.R.* 1912; App. B. No. 557 of 1911). In another inscription found in this temple, dated in 1551 A.D., is registered a gift of three villages by way of gift from a local chief "for the merit of Rāmarāja-Vitthaladēva-Mahārāja." (*Ibid.* No. 559 of 1911). An agent of his was one Rāmappa-Nāyak, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1552 A.D.; another was Timmappa-Nāyaka, son of Basavappa-Nāyaka. The three latter are

grants "for the merit" of Vitthala to the Alagar temple. (*M.E.R.* 1912; Nos. 557 to 559 of 1911). Basava was evidently an officer of his. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6 of 1906, dated in *Saka* 1459 or 1537 A.D., which is too early for Sadāsiva in whose reign it professes to be dated).

Vitthala should have produced a great impression by his conquests in the south and by the gifts that followed them. An undated record from Shiyāli, which professes to give his genealogy, traces his descent from certain mythical ancestors, through the western Chālukyas. As its historical portion is confirmed from other sources, this genealogy might be taken to be an attempt to glorify the great general, whose conquests, devastations, and foundations of villages in the Madura district are all mentioned in it. Incidentally, we hear that one Kandala-Srīrangarāya was his *guru*, i.e., family *guru*. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401 of 1918).

The result of these different wars in which Rāma-Rāja engaged during the twenty-three years his administration lasted doubtless added to his prestige as a ruler. It should have made his name as much feared as respected in almost every part of India south of the Nerbuddha. There is scarcely any doubt that he was, at the time, the most powerful monarch in the South. The *Rāmarājīyam* makes this plain as much as Ferishta and the anonymous Golconda historian. Evidently his position as the military dictator of his day and as the arbiter of the destinies of his neighbours roused not merely their personal malice against him but also their inveterate hatred against the State whose wealth and resources in men he commanded to the discomfiture of his pestilentially quarrelsome neighbours. Individually they appear to have forgotten the help they sought or got from him, while collectively they combined in a confederacy to undo him and his kingdom. His personal

Results of his active war-like policy.

bearing, in which there was certainly something more than a mere tinge of hauteur, as much as his reckless diplomacy, appear to have contributed not a little to bring down on him the malignant enmity of almost every one of those beyond the northern border who had had his active aid for securing his own personal aims or ambitions. He had in turn displeased the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Ahmednagar and Golconda, and as regards the two others, the Sultān of Bidar had also suffered at his hands, while he of the Berars was a negligible quantity. All these now agreed to put him down. He had no friends among them and the combination against him proved, as we shall see, too strong, for once, for him.

Rāma-Rāja, the astute politician that he was, cannot but have foreseen the possibilities of incurring the enmity of his erstwhile friends and allies. He had so often himself played the game of friend and foe in turn to the same neighbour that he could not have had any misgiving about such a contingency. Hence it is that we hear of his strengthening the defences of his capital, of his fortifying the hills along his northern frontier, and of his ever being ready for an encounter from any side. But even he, always watchful, always ready to take advantage of his enemy's weaknesses, and always anxious to keep the warring Sultāns engaged in their own interminable quarrels and jealousies, forgot for a moment the diplomacy in which he revelled and plunged into a war from which he was never destined to return home alive and victorious.

The primary causes of the war.

The primary cause of the war, then, was the hatred engendered in the minds of the leading Sultāns of the north against the immense power wielded by Rāma-Rāja in the south, his great resources in men and money and the authoritative manner in which he interfered in their disputes, inquired into and settled them, or appeared to do so, always with an eye for his own interests.



The more proximate causes were five in number:—

The proximate causes.

(a) the excesses committed Rāma-Rāja's troops in the city of Ahmednagar and the disrespect shown to Islam by them in the areas through which they passed ;

(b) the destruction of buildings and devastation of territory indulged in by them ;

(c) the scant regard shown by Rāma-Rāja to the Sultāns and their ambassadors, whom, when he admitted to his presence, he " did not suffer them to sit and treated them with the most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness," making them " to attend on him in public in his train on foot, not allowing them to mount until he gave orders " ;

(d) the insolent behaviour of his officers and soldiers in general towards the Mussalmans on the occasion of the last expedition against Ahmednagar ; and

(e) the daily encroachments he made on the territories of the Muhammadan Sultāns, the latest being the annexation of parts of the territories of Bijāpur and Golconda.

In one word, Rāma-Rāja's successes had reached their culminating point and his general attitude became unbearable to the Sultāns across the border. Alī Ādil Shāh, who had been helped again and again by him, and who professed a filial regard towards Rāma-Rāja, was the first to move in the matter of forming a confederacy of Muhammadan chiefs against him. " Alī Ādil Shāh," says Ferishta, " at length resolved, if possible, to punish his insolence and curtail his power by a general league of the faithful against him ; for which purpose he convened an assembly of his friends and confidential advisers." A couple of these urged that Alī's desire " to humble the pride " of Rāma-Rāja was " undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic," but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Rāma-Rāja, collected from sixty sea-ports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force against which no single king of the Mussalmans

Formation of a confederacy of Sultāns.

could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success. Ali agreed with this view and commanded the formation of a league. Kishwar Khān, one of the two advisers referred to, sounded Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, who readily fell in with the proposal and even offered to mediate between Ali and Hussain Nizām Shāh, who never could agree on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur. He accordingly sent Mustafa Khān, one of his ablest ministers, to Ahmednagar and Bijāpur with a view to bring about a reconciliation between them and if possible to cement it by a family connection. (*Ferishta* III, 124-5). Hussain Nizām Shāh, forewarned of the importance of the proposals to be made, received Mustafa in private audience. Thus cordially welcomed, Mustafa expounded the objective aimed at in a manner at once impressive and convincing. According to *Ferishta* :—

“ He represented to him that during the times of Bhamenee (Bāhmani) princes, when the whole strength of the Mussalman power was in one hand, the balance between it and the force of the Roies (Rāyas) of Beejanuggar was nearly equal; that now the Mussulman authority was divided, policy demanded that all the faithful princes should unite as one, and observe the strictest friendship, that they might continue to be secure from the attacks of their powerful common enemy, and the authority of the Roies of Beejanuggar, who had received all the rājas of Carnatic to their yoke, be diminished, and removed far from the countries of Islaam; that the people of their several dominions, who ought to be considered the charge of the Almighty committed to their care, might repose free from the oppressions of the unbelievers and their mosques and holy places be made no longer the dwellings of infidels.” (*Briggs, Ferishta*, III, 124-5).

Was Hussain  
Nizam Shāh  
its chief  
promoter?

Hussain Nizām Shāh, who had nursed the greatest ill-will against Rāma-Rāja and whose territories had suffered the most at the latter's hands, concurred in the proposals made. Couto, indeed, goes so far as to state that

the idea of the league originated with Hussain. Whether this was so or not, there is no doubt whatever that he was the most conspicuous enemy on the battle-field and according to his court-poet, he alone fought against Rāma-Rāja and defeated him! So far as he was concerned, the opportunity for wreaking vengeance was too good to be lost. He agreed to the terms of reconciliation between him and Alī. He was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Alī and with it the fort of Sholapur as her dowry; Alī, in return, was to give his sister, Falah Bibi, to Hussain Nizām Shāh's eldest son. The marriages were duly celebrated at both the capitals and the preparation for the war began in right earnest. (*Ferishta*, III, 125; 413).

Among those who joined the confederacy were the following:—Alī Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, Ibrahim Kutb Shāh of Golconda and Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar. Of these, the first three were concerned both in the fighting and in the making of peace, while Alī Barid Shāh is spoken of as having only made preparations for the war. Couto adds to these four, Burhān Imad Shāh of Berar, which would make the confederacy one embracing all the five Sultāns of the south. This, however, is not certain as one authority definitely states that the Sultān of Berar did not join the others as he cordially disliked Hussain Nizām Shāh and would not fight on his side. (See *Ferishta*, III, 126, 246; *Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A. L.* 144; Couto VIII, 88; *Dasatīn-us-Salatīn*, 95). The Mahratta account states that Akbar had also joined the league, his name being mentioned first. (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar* in the *Account* of the second conference of the Bharata Itihasa Samshōdhaka Mandal, 170). This statement, however, seems not well founded. Anquetil du Perron omits the Sultān of Bidar and mentions

Those who  
joined it.

Melique, the insignificant chief of Dabril in the Konkan. (See H. Heras, *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, 198, f.n. 3).

Alī Ādil  
Shah's  
dubious  
conduct.

His treachery.

That Alī Ādil Shāh took a prominent part in the formation of the league and in the war, there is hardly any question. But there are one or two circumstances which indicate that he should have done much behind the scenes before he actually came into the open, so much so that the anonymous chronicler of Golconda states, as we have seen, that it was Hussain Nizām Shāh who took the lead in the formation of the league. Alī was a more cunning and artful man; there was something of the theatrical in his nature, judging from the manner in which he curried the sympathy of Rāma-Rāja when he found himself in trouble. Such a man could not openly have taken the lead against his benefactor. While acting secretly, he should have contrived to find a good pretext why he should declare himself against Rāma-Rāja. That he succeeded in an attempt of this nature seems all but certain. The Mahratta version of the war seems to confirm this view. It would seem to follow from it that when Alī protested against the war and would not join it, the other Sultāns sent word to him that he should allow them passage through his territory and that he should also join with his army. Alī, on hearing this, replied, it is said: "As I call myself a friend of Rāma-Rāj, I am sorry I cannot help you." (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, in *B.I.S.M.* 1914, 170). What happened subsequently and how he came to join them against his old "friend," is reflected in *Ferishta*. When things were getting ready for the attack, Alī sent an embassy, we are told, to Rāma-Rāja demanding the restoration of Raichur, Mudkal and a few other places which had been taken by him in 1551 A.D. (See above). "As he expected," says *Ferishta*, "Ramaraje expelled the ambassador in a very disgraceful manner from his

court; and the united Sultāns now hastened the preparations to crush the common enemy of the Islaam faith." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 126). It would seem that Alī pretended friendship till the moment arrived for action and then declared himself an enemy by putting forward his claim for the territories in the debatable ground, a claim that was always ready at hand for declaring war against his southern neighbour. The story of the ambassador's expulsion is not told in *Ferishta* but Hindu annals fully detail it. On the envoy going to an audience of Rāma-Rāja, he passed on his way some swine intended to be given to the menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of these unclean animals to the Rāja, the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and asked how he could hold them as unclean, when he fed upon fowls, who picked up grains from the ordure of swine, and took an opportunity of showing him the fact. The insult roused, it is said, Ādil Shāh to arms and he was readily joined by his brother Sultāns. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection of Mss.*, 268-9). Wilson does not mention his authority for this story beyond mentioning that it is narrated in "Hindu records." He is at any rate wrong in stating that the ruling Bijāpur Sultān was Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh, for we know that it was Alī who was ruling at the time of this war. Perhaps, the whole story is a later invention, though it may be that the envoy might not have been pleased with the treatment received from Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja, if *Ferishta* is to be believed, was evidently less polished and courtly in his manners than Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his father-in-law, and refused to treat them with becoming dignity.

The story of the envoy and the swine, a later invention.

The confederate Sultāns accordingly met with their respective armies at Bijāpur and began their march south on December 25, 1564. Soon, they encamped on the neighbourhood of Talikota, 25 miles north of the Krishna.

Advance of the confederate troops to Talikota.

The opposing  
troops and  
their  
strength.

Their total strength, according to Portuguese writers, was 50,000 horse and 3,000 foot. The Bijāpur forces were commanded by Kishwar Khan; the Ahamadnagar, by Maulana Ināyatullah, and the Golconda by Mustafa Khan. Rāma-Rāja's army consisted, according to Ferishta, of 70,000 horse and 90,000 infantry. Rāma-Rāja, and his two brothers, Venkatādri and Tirumala, commanded it. The Mahratta version states that Rāma-Rāja, before departing for war, visited in turn his queens and his mother, the latter of whom advised him to settle matters by negotiation. It is said he had dreams foreboding evil, but still he was not to be deterred. He distributed alms and soon joined his forces. (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, 171-2). The camp was evidently a large one, for every one in Vijayanagar, who owned a horse, had been ordered to join the colours and proceed to the front. Horses, elephants, camels, stores, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses, and corn stores, were all in the neighbourhood of the camp. (*Ibid.* 172). Evidently, Rāma-Rāja had not to any extent diminished the splendour of the camp equipment which, we know, was in vogue in the days of his illustrious father-in-law. (See above under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāja*).

Crossing the  
ford and  
arrival at  
Raksas-  
Tagidi.

The allied forces leaving Talikota, about twenty-five miles north of the Krishna, marched southwards to the river and began laying waste the territories of Rāma-Rāja. Venkatādri and Tirumala had meanwhile advanced to the river and had encamped on its south bank, where they constructed field fortifications, supporting them by cannon and rockets. Tirumala had, with a strong force, occupied all the fords of the Krishna. The Allies, on arriving at the river, found the defending force entrenched on the right bank, behind earthworks mounted with cannon, and in such a position as effectually to bar the

passage of the river. As this was the only point where their troops could safely cross, the Allies resolved by a feint to draw their opponents out of the position. They accordingly marched along the river as if to attempt a passage at a different point, and were followed on the other side by the Hindu army. But on the third night, they suddenly decamped, and gaining the now undefended ford, succeeded in carrying over their whole army, without opposition. Hussain Nizām-Shāh was among the first to cross the river. On the next day, the vanguards of both forces met some ten miles of the river at or about Muḍkal, the celebrated fortress. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 199 f.n. 2).

The ford crossed by the allied troops has been identified by Mr. Sewell with the bend of the river at Ingaligi, and in his opinion, the decisive battle was fought in the plains about the little village of Bāyapur or Bhōgapur, on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal. (*Ibid.*)

Identification of the ford crossed.

But a more recent suggestion has been made that the opposing armies met not far away from the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which, when put together, give us the convenient combined designation of Raksas-Tagdi. As the name is mentioned both in the Kannada and Marathi accounts of the battle, it has been, in the interests of historical accuracy, denominated the battle of Raksas-Tagidi. (See Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 203, f.n. 2 and the authorities quoted therein). As the battle did not take place at Talikota, which is twenty-five miles north of the Krishna, but at Raksas-Tagidi, which is about ten miles south of the same river, it seems right that the proposed change in the name for the battle should be accepted, though it is difficult easily to displace so famous a name as Talikota.

Place where the battle took place, Raksas-Tagidi.

Allied proposals for peace rejected.

Ferishta states that before the forces joined battle, the Allied Sultāns made overtures to Rāma-Rāja, "promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army." Rāma-Rāja, however, "refused to listen to any accommodation." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 27). This is possible, though their solemn mutual promises and preparations seem to belie the genuineness of the proposal they made. It is possible too, as Father Heras has suggested, that this is a purple-patch added by Ferishta "to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement." It is not difficult to understand Rāma-Rāja's refusal of the offer, if one had been really made to him. He had evidently been exasperated at the conduct of the confederates and had determined to fight them to the finish. The events showed that he was not far wrong in his calculations, though his capture demoralized his forces and turned a victory into a debacle.

The battle of Raksas-Tagidi. The disposition of the opposing armies.

Rāma-Rāja had, meanwhile, joined the army after reconnoitring the surroundings. His advanced guards, in charge of this work, came into conflict with those of the Allied army and forced them to retreat. As Rāma-Rāja was having his meal, he heard that the enemy was in sight. Utterly undismayed, he quickly mounted a horse and put his forces in battle order. It was the 25th of January, 1555, exactly a month after the confederates began their march south from the plains of Bijāpur. The Allied right was commanded by Alī Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, the left by Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar and Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, and the centre by Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar. Rāma-Rāja entrusted his left to his brother Tirumala, his right to his other brother Venkatādri, and himself commanded the centre. The Allies guarded their front with a line of cannon, fastened



together with strong chains and ropes. These gun carriages were arranged in three lines of two hundred each, the whole in command of one Chalabi Rumi Khan, a well-known officer from Asia Minor who had seen service in Europe. The elephants had been placed at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being, as usual, armed with sharp sword blades. Rāma-Rāja's front was protected by a large number of trained and armed war elephants, as well as cannon. Before the battle, Venkatādri and Tirumala induced Rāma-Rāja to leave the conduct of operations to them, his age being against him. But he would not listen and asked them to go back to the posts assigned to them. He harangued his forces to stand firm and resolutely give battle to the enemy. He had, he said, so far won all the wars he had been engaged in, without being disgraced and at his age (Ferishta says he was eighty years old then), he did not want to disgrace himself by being dubbed a coward. Any one overcome by fear, he said, was free to depart while there was yet time and thus save his life. His brothers and his troops swore that they would fight to the death. Rāma-Rāja, thus assured, mounted his litter of State, despite the entreaties of his officers, who entreated that he would be much safer on horse-back. But so sure was he of the quick defeat of the enemy that he exclaimed:—"There is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who certainly fly on the first charge; this is not war." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 128-9). The battle opened at about noon from Rāma-Rāja's side. Venkatādri, as the recognized Commander-in-Chief, began by attacking the forces opposing him under Alī Ādil Shāh. He had under him 200,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry and 500 elephants. A rapid discharge of artillery and rockets inflicted great loss on the enemy, which evidently fell back. Alī, in fact, was forced to leave the position assigned to him. Soon, a general action ensued

accompanied with great slaughter. Tirumala, who commanded the right wing, attacked the combined forces of the Sultāns of Golconda and Bidar. He and his son Raghunātha, fought valiantly and killed hundreds of Muḥammadans. The Golconda forces were beaten back with great loss. But Raghunātha himself fell, for we hear no more of him and Tirumala lost one of his eyes. As soon as Rāma-Rāja heard of this, he was full of rage. He left his litter and jumped on his saddle and encouraging his men with the battle cry "*Garuḍa, Garuḍa,*" he charged the Allied forces. The wings commanded by the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Golconda and Bidar soon broke before the uncontrollable fury of his troops. He next charged the Allied centre, which was led by the Sultān of Ahmednagar with 10,000 horse. Rāma-Rāja's attack was so sudden and so spirited that the Nizām Shāh's troops were thrust back half a league with the loss of 2,000 men. The Rāchabidas, the select corps of Rāma-Rāja, seeing him thus engaged, got down from their horses and rushing to his aid, killed many Muhammadans. Meanwhile, Alī Ādil Shāh, who had been pushed back by Venkatādri, returned with his forces to check Rāma-Rāja's advance, while Hussain Nizām Shāh collected his scattered troops and supported Alī. Several detachments of Rāma-Rāja continued to attack the centre, from where the concealed artillery under Rumi Khān was keeping up a heavy fire on them. As the troops covering this artillery went back, these detachments urged forward and when they came close to the heavy battery, the latter was turned on them with such effect that they retreated in confusion and with dreadful loss. Just at this time, Hussain Nizām Shāh ordered his state pavilion to be put on the field in front of the enemy, thus to indicate his determination not to quit until victory was declared for him. Rāma-Rāja now dismounted and ascended his throne set with rich jewels, surmounted

with a canopy of velvet. To encourage his men to do their utmost, he conferred rewards on them and placed before them ornaments of gold and jewels of value. The troops, inspired by this generosity, recovered from the panic caused by Rumi Khān's artillery discharge, and charged the Allied right and left wings "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder; Ali Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh began to despair of victory and even to prepare for retreat." (*Ferishta* III, 129). The two flanks were thus soon compelled to fall back and the defeat of the Muhammadans "appeared inevitable." (*Burhan-i-Māasir*, 193). "The Muslims were," says the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, "piled up in heaps over heaps and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army. The infidels showed their superiority and valour." Rāma-Rāja had thus "almost defeated his enemies." (See Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 210 and the authorities quoted therein). But Hussain Nizām Shāh, however, held firm in the centre, which was still unbroken. Rāma-Rāja's forces attacked with vigour and at close quarters, when Rumi Khān charged the artillery with bags of copper money, which proved so destructive that upwards of 5,000 of the attackers lay dead on the field before they could retreat. At this moment, one of the Bijāpur generals, attacked the retreating forces with 5,000 cavalry and routed Rāma-Rāja's centre.

Confusion prevailed among Rāma-Rāja's troops. Taking advantage of it, two Muhammadan generals, who served on Rāma-Rāja's side, deserted him and went over to the enemy. "This treachery," as Father Heras rightly puts it, "explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle." He quotes Cæsar Frederick, who heard the account of the whole battle one year later, when he visited Vijayanagar.

Treachery  
and desertion  
of two  
Generals.

"These four kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezenegar, but by treason. This King of Bezenegar was a gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans) and these two captaines had either of them in charge three-score and ten and four-score thousand men. These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the four Kings who were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought means with which to betray their own king into their hands. The king of Bezenegar esteemed not the force of the four kings his enemies, but went out of his City to wage battle with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joined, the batell lasted but a while, not the space of four houres; because the two traitorous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies, turned their forces against the King and made disorder in the Armie, that as astonished they set themselves to flight."

Anquetil Du Perron, writing later, confirms this treachery when he states that "the king, abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs, perished." This treason is naturally not mentioned by any of the Muhammadan historians of the period and has accordingly been missed by modern historians of India. (Mr. Sewell makes no mention of it in his well-known work, *A Forgotten Empire*. The first to notice is an Indian scholar, Mr. Krishnamachari, see *I. A.* LII. 11.) Father Heras has suggested (*The Aravidu Dynasty*, 212) that one of these two traitorous generals was Ain-ul-Mulk, whom Rāma-Rāja used to call his brother (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 381) and at whose request Sadāsiva-Rāya had granted the village of Bevinhalli to Brāhmans. (*E.I.* XIV, 64). His father had proved treacherous to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh and had been beheaded under his orders. He himself offended Ibrāhīm and fled to Rāma-Rāja and had sought service there. As we find subsequent to the battle an Ain-ul-Mulk in the service of Alī Ibrāhīm Shāh, it is possible that he deserted to Alī at the critical moment

and turned the tide of the battle. (Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 212; Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 381).

The treachery had immediate effects on the morale of Rāma-Rāja's troops. They were thrown into great confusion. "The soldiers," says one chronicler, "refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions." (*Ferishta* III, 129). In this confusion, Rāma-Rāja was himself wounded. Discerning what was happening, he got into his State litter to retreat from the battle-field; but the bearers, panic-stricken at the approach of an ungovernable elephant of the Ahmednagar contingent, ran away abandoning their precious charge in the middle of the prevailing turmoil. (*Ibid.*) Rāma-Rāja tried to escape on foot and just as he was dismounting his litter, he was overtaken by the elephant and seized by it with its trunk. (*Ibid.* 130). He was caught and conducted to Hussain Nizām Shāh, who, most chroniclers agree, ordered his head to be instantly cut off, though Couto relates that he beheaded him with his own hand, exclaiming: "Now I am avenged on thee. Let God do what He will do to me." (See Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 213, *f.n.* 7 quoting Couto VIII, 92). The story is recorded by Couto and the *Burhan-i-Māasir* that when Alī Ādil Shāh heard of his old benefactor's death, he hastened to Hussain to beg for his life but that he was too late. A painting reproduced by Father Heras depicts this scene. Two grants of the reign of Tirumala, his brother, both dated in 1568, refer to his death as due to the action of the Muhammadan kings (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7), one of them stating that it was for the sake of the Muhammadans that Rāma-Rāja died, thereby suggesting that his death was due to a plot of which he was not aware. (See H. Krishna Sāstri in *A.S.I.* 1908, 199 *f.n.* 6). Hussain caused the head to be placed on the point of a long spear so that his death

Effect of the treachery. Confusion in the ranks and death of Rāma-Rāja.

might be announced to his troops. This had the desired effect. For, as Ferishta records, when his troops saw "their chief destroyed, they fled in the utmost disorder from the field" towards Vijayanagar. They were pursued by the Allied forces and so many were put to the sword that the plain was strewn with their bodies. Ferishta states that the best authorities computed the slain on Rāma-Rāja's side at 100,000 during the action and the pursuit. (*Ferishta* III, 130). This seems a great exaggeration, for the *Burhan-i-Māasir* says that the number of the slain was only 9,000. Briggs, writing in 1829, records a curious detail about the fate of Rāma-Rāja's head. It would appear it was in the hands of the executioner's family, who yearly exhibited it to pious Muhammadans on the anniversary of the battle. (*Ferishta* III, 130, note). Father Heras adds that the existence of such a head is unknown now at Ahmednagar. (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 214, f.n. 3). The Mahratta account says that it was sent to Benares. (Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, 181). A stone representation of it is in the Museum at Bijāpur, and a photographic representation of it forms the frontispiece of Mr. Cousens' *Bijapur*. (See *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 214, for its history).

Flight of Venkatādri and Tirumala and pursuit of the Allied armies.

Both Venkatādri and Tirumala escaped. They made no attempt to rally the troops or protect the capital against the inevitable onrush of mad vengeance on it on the part of the Allied Sultāns. Ferishta states (III, 131) that Venkatādri fled to a distant fortress, probably Chandragiri. The *Rāmarājīyam* indeed suggests that the three Sultāns of Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmednagar tried to capture Venkatādri but finally gave up all hope of success. (See *Sources*, Text, 223, lines 5-7). He was alive for at least two years after the battle (See *E.I.* IX. 131), for the Krishnāpuram plates of about 1567

describe him as still alive. The Allied armies, however, did not continue their pursuit up to the capital. After going a few leagues, they returned to the battle-field and stayed there ten days, evidently to collect the spoils. All the riches of Rāma-Rāja's camp fell into their hands. "The booty," according to one chronicler, "consisted of jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maid-servants, men-servants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched." (*Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A. L.* 194). Ferishta says that "the plunder was so great that every private man in the Allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, the kings (*i.e.*, Sultāns) permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 130).

Since Mr. Sewell wrote his well-known work on Vijayanagar, and re-told the story of this great battle, much literature has been unearthed in regard to it. With the aid of these, Father Heras has put together a new account of it, which should be read in detail in his recently published book *The Aravīdu Dynasty* (194-217), to which the above brief sketch owes much.

Literature relating to the battle.

At some time during the waning phase of the battle, Tirumala, who had been latterly Prime Minister of Rāma-Rāja, seems to have left the battle-field for the capital. Venkatādri also escaped. The cause of their flight is nowhere explained or hinted at. But subsequent events give a clue to it. Venkatādri proceeded to the "distant fortress" of Chandragiri and from there passed on to Tirumalai, or the Tirupati Hill close by, there to prepare for the securing of the valuables to be transported by Tirumala, his elder brother. Apparently, the brothers had, before they separated, agreed upon a common course

Flight of Tirumala and Venkatādri. Its object and aim.

of action. If what they did is any guide to what they should have contemplated, they should have determined (1) to temporarily abandon the capital to save the Empire from the ravages of the Allied forces; (2) to remove the Emperor Sadāsiva-Rāya, the Royal family and the Treasury and valuables as far as may be to Tirumalai, the City of the Seven Hills, now known as Upper Tirupati; (3) to conserve and use the forces for necessary defence purposes, and (4) to reoccupy the capital, as soon as may be, after the Allied forces vacated it and rehabilitate it. Whether these decisions were justified, is a question that need not detain us long. In the circumstances in which they found themselves, it was evidently a choice between two evils: either to risk their personal liberties—and perhaps even their lives and the lives of every one dependent on them—by forcing another battle without sufficient troops to back them and bring on themselves an unequal siege of the capital with certain capitulation at no distant date or to give up the capital temporarily and save the empire by diverting the attention of the Allies to the plunder and booty they were evidently bent upon at the capital. The all-powerful Regent had fallen in battle, the forces had been demoralised and scattered, the resources of men and money had been nearly exhausted, time was fast flying, and a decision had to be taken, if at all, quickly. The two brothers had to choose one of two great evils: lose their lives and their empire or save both at the risk of their great, far-famed and beautiful capital, the City of Victory. They chose the lesser of the two, though it should have been at no little pain and sorrow to themselves. They should have realised what their decision meant. With the knowledge that they had of the Allies and their hatred towards them and their capital city, they cannot have expected any quarter to be shown to either of them. Nor had they any reason to expect any mercy from them. They should



have recalled to their minds the destruction that Rāma-Rāja had wrought at Ahmednagar, which he is said to have captured and razed to the ground and sowed it with castor seeds, so that it might never again prosper! Before him, about thirty-five years previously, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, though his treatment of Raichur, on its capture, was perfectly exemplary, had treated Bijāpur with little or no grace—or at least allowed his troops to do what they liked. “The city was left,” cries Nuniz plaintively, in chronicling the event, “almost in ruins.” (See *Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 354). Similarly, Krishna-dēva when he took Kulbarga “destroyed and razed the fortress to the ground” and Nuniz adds summarily, “and the same with many other places.” (*Ibid.* 357). The *Rāmarāṅyam* gives us more than a glimpse of what Rāma-Rāja had himself done in this line of destruction of his enemies’ captured cities. He is extolled in this poem as the “terrifier of the City of Bijāpur,” “destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmednagar,” “terrifier of the fort of Bidar,” “the breaker of the walls of Kulbarga,” “chastiser of the city of Golconda,” “destroyer of the fort of Savaga” (Seogi), etc. (See *Sources*, Text, 186-7; Summary, 182-184). These sobriquets tell their own sad stories. So they should have known what vengeance awaited their famous capital, its buildings and its inhabitants. Still the larger interests of the Empire and their own future required the great sacrifice to be made and they seem to have unflinchingly determined on it,

No sooner were the decisions taken than they appear to have been put into effect. Venkatādri hurried down to Chandragiri, completely evading his pursuers, and from there, proceeded to Tirumalai, only a few miles off, to prepare for the reception of the Emperor and the Royal retinue and treasure. Tirumala, on reaching the capital, immediately arranged for the transfer of the Emperor

Tirumalai Hill, the destination reached.

and others and the valuables. Sadāsiva-Rāya was set at liberty and with him, Tirumala, with his wives and the wives of his brothers and sons, ministers, nobles, generals and soldiers left the city without delay. Behind them came a thousand and five hundred and fifty elephants with all the treasure that could be removed. These consisted of gold, diamonds and other precious stones, cash and other things, said to be worth more than a hundred millions sterling. It is said that the famous jewelled throne, on which successive kings had sat and held court, was also secured and removed. All these reached in due course Tirumalai, which became the temporary head-quarters of the Imperial family and its belongings. (See Father Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 222-3, quoting Couto, who says that they "left for the interior and stored everything in the palace at Tremil.") That was the immediate destination, though later on, as will be narrated below, Penukonda became the Capital. Tirumalai, as a sacred place, probably had a palace on it for the temporary residence of the Emperor and his entourage when he visited it on important occasions. It had long been the place where, during times of trouble, anything valuable had been secreted. During the Muhammadan invasions that followed the break-up of the Chōlas, the sacred idols from Srīrangam had been lodged there. Moreover, the temple on the Hill had been an object of special veneration on the part of the Imperial dynasty since the days of Sāluva-Narasimha, if not earlier. It was evidently well fortified in those days and considered a great and inaccessible stronghold. Its situation, at the top of seven hills, rendered it a place fit, for the time being, for securing what had been brought away. The statement of Messrs. Sewell and Rice that Tirumala sought refuge in Penukonda seems, as pointed out by Father Heras, not well founded. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 206; *Mysore and Coorg*, 120; H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 222).

The departure of Tirumala left the city ill-defended. It has been suggested (H. Heras, *l.c.* 223), that "no garrison was left behind within its walls to defend the city." This may not be literally correct, for the whole army could not have moved out; for, leaving out of account those killed in the battle (they were only 9,000), the rest should have returned to the city. Of these, a goodly portion should have accompanied the Royal household and treasure to Tirumalai. The remainder can only be supposed to have been left behind to guard the city and offer such protection to it as it could. But the physical and mental condition of the troops should have rendered them helpless beyond degree. The city fell accordingly an easy prey to an organised attack on it on the part of the Bedars who looted the shops and houses and carried off the immense quantities of riches left by the nobles in their hasty flight. Couto calls them *Beduēs* which term, Sewell suggests, refers to "Beduinos," "Bedouins" or wandering tribes. This, however, seems not probable as the word used is *Beduēs*, which seems a corruption for *Bedars*, who are even to-day numerically the strongest caste in the Bellary district. (See W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Ch. III). Quoting Couto, Sewell says that the city was attacked by the Bedars six times on the second day following the battle, but as Father Heras points out, there is nothing in what Couto says to support the statement that all these attacks took place on the same day. According to Ferishta (III, 141), the *Bergies*, whom he mentions as living about the city, are stated to have looted the city. The Rev. Heras suggests the identification of these people with the *Beduēs* of Couto. This seems hardly necessary as the *Bergies* of Ferishta are evidently the *Bairāgis*, who have been long known to be beggars and thieves in the guise of ascetics. They infest the ruins of Vijayanagar even to this day, where, to unearth hidden treasure, they are believed to offer stray travellers

The Allies at the Capital; its sack and plunder.

as human sacrifices. (See W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Ch. XV, under *Hampi*). The destruction they wrought was, however, insignificant when compared to the havoc created by the Allied sovereigns and their armies. The Sultāns left the battle-field after a stay of ten days and soon reached Anegundi, while their vanguard marched on to Vijayanagar. (*Ferishta* III, 131; 414). The triumphal entry of the Sultāns followed and they evidently passed in procession through the main streets of the great capital. They would have left a bright page in their histories if they had spared the city as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya did Raichur on its capture. But that was not to be. Their minds were full of vengeance, of reprisals and of retributions. They settled down in the city, as if permanently, and their stay of six months was marked by iconoclastic excesses that will not bear repetition. Even so sympathetic a critic of their deeds in the capital as the Rev. Heras concedes that he feels "sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days, because they are not, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples." (*The Aravidu Dynasty*, 226). They came to destroy the city and they did their work to vandalic perfection. Whether all the destruction we now behold at Vijayanagar was their work as set down by Mr. Sewell or the lapse of centuries has added to what they did, as suggested by the Rev. Heras, is really a matter of detail. Though parts of old buildings may even now be seen in the old capital, there is hardly any reason to doubt that a vast amount of destruction on buildings was actually wrought by the hands of the conquerors. *Ferishta*, the Golconda chronicler and every other contemporary writer states this in plain and barefaced terms and there is no reason why we should read less into their written words than what they mean and intend to convey. It is admitted even by the Rev. Heras that the city was also set fire to, a fact which

is testified to both by records and the traces that the fire has left behind it. While, according to the Golconda chronicler, "the efforts of the conquerors were directed to the plunder of the country and the city," Cæsar Frederick has left on record that they searched "under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden." The poorer inhabitants of the city, who had hid themselves in the valleys surrounding the city, were searched out and tortured by the Muhammadan soldiers for the riches they were supposed to possess.

But the Sultāns could not stay on at this place. It has been suggested by the Rev. Heras that they desired and even aimed at the permanent annexation of the capital and with that view, even erected certain buildings in it. The style of architecture of certain of the buildings still standing in the capital seems to lend support to this view, though the influence of the Muhammadan style may have been expected in its buildings as the result of the social contact that had subsisted during the three centuries and more between the two communities. The use of mortar as in the Bijāpur structures may likewise be explained; still, as one of the chronicles quoted by the Rev. H. Heras states that the Sultāns "raised noble and lofty buildings" in the capital (see *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 227-8), it is possible that though their stay was restricted to about six months, they did add something to the structures of the place and thus tried to undo the irreparable damage they had so mercilessly inflicted on it. Though they did this, they found, according to Cæsar Frederick, the distance of the place to their own respective countries so great that they resolved upon quitting it. (*Purchas*, X, 94). Just at that time, they had an embassy from Venkatādri, who sued for peace proposing the restoration of all the countries taken by his brother Rāma-Rāja. (*Ferishta* III, 131). The disagreements

The Allies' aims on the capital and Venkatādri's proposal for peace. The departure of the Allies, July 1565 A.D.

which had meanwhile arisen amongst the Allies induced them to accept this proposal. They accordingly vacated Vijayanagar and at Raichur, finally separated from each other. Before doing so, they commissioned their generals to reduce Raichur and Mudkal, which they soon did. (*Ferishta* III, 131; 414).

Return of  
Tirumala to  
Vijayanagar,  
July-August  
1565 A.D.

The departure of the Allies from the capital was the signal for the return of Tirumala to it. He evidently came back with the idea of rehabilitating it and remaining in it. This idea could not have been by any means strange. Bijāpur, Ahmednagar and Kulbarga and many other places, which had suffered at the hands of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or Rāma-Rāja, had been restored to their ancient dignities by their rulers and there could be nothing impossible—so Tirumala should have thought—in attempting the restoration of Vijayanagar to its ancient glories. Despite the cruel damage done to it, the Palace, in which probably the Sultāns stayed during their temporary residence in it, was evidently intact. We have a detailed description of it from the pen of Cæsar Frederick, who visited it two years after its destruction. "I have seene many kings' courts," he writes, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger." It had nine gates; each was well guarded. He notes that the five inner gates stood open for "the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe bisinesse and make their feasts in the night, rather than by day." (*Purchas*, X, 97-8). Evidently, the attempt of Tirumala did not at first prove hopeless. He even induced the Portuguese to recommence their trade in horses. He sent word to them at Goa to bring all the horses they could, even those taken in the late war and bearing his own mark, saying he would pay for them as they desired. The Portuguese, as keen as ever in driving a good bargain, readily complied with the request, but

Tirumala, though he permitted them to return to Goa, did not pay them their dues! When the poor men saw how they had been deprived of their money, "they were," says Cæsar Frederick, who accompanied them, "desperate, and as it were, mad with sorrow and griefe." (*Purchas*, X, 91). Father Heras is right in stating that this incident took place at Vijayanagar and not at Penukonda, as suggested by Mr. Sewell. (See *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 230, *f.n.*, 1; *A Forgotten Empire*. 209). To this visit of Cæsar Frederick, who stayed seven months at the capital, we owe much of our knowledge of the capital in the period immediately following the great battle of 1565 A.D.

The purchase of these horses was timely; probably they were secured in view of an impending war against Ali Ādil Shāh, the Sultān of Bijāpur, who had hatched the confederacy against Rāma-Rāja, which ended with the catastrophic battle at Raksas-Tagdi. About this time (end of 1565 A.D.), Hussain Nizām Shāh died and was succeeded by his son Murtaza Nizām Shāh. He proved himself unpopular and his minister intrigued against him. The latter invited Ali to invade his territories, it being alleged that there was a party in favour of Ali at Ahmednagar. (*Ferishta* III, 416-8). Murtaza counter-plotted. He invited the aid of the Sultān of Golconda, who in his turn proposed that they should proceed to the *Krishna*, from where they should invite Tirumala to join, them in confederacy at the head of 10,000 troops. He aimed at recovering his lost territories, while the confederates thought that with his help, they could beat Ali down. But there was a fly in the ointment. Kunza Humayun, the queen-mother and regent of Ahmednagar, demanded from Tirumala a sum of two lakhs of *huns* for the aid the confederates were to give him for recovering his lost territories from Ali. Tirumala demurred and

Tirumala.  
invited to  
join the  
Sultāns of  
Ahmednagar  
and Golconda  
against the  
Sultān of  
Bijāpur,  
1565-6 A.D.

protested to Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, who advised Kunza Humayun of the rashness of the demand made on Tirumala, as it was calculated to make the confederates lose the assistance of his large contingent of troops. But Kunza Humayun was not to be dissuaded. The result was, Tirumala not only refused to pay the amount demanded but taking advantage of the position, marched with his forces against the Allies. Terrified at this, Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh requested him to return to his own territory, while he himself went back to his own country. Thus ended the projected war against Ali. (*Ferishta* III, 418-20; see also *Sources, Tapati Samvaranam*, 248).

This proposed attack on Bijāpur and the active steps which Tirumala took to join it should have brought on him once again the ill-will of Ali. At any rate, we hear of further attacks, actual or threatened, against Vijayanagar. (*Ferishta* III, 131-2; 251, see *Sources* under *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsāvali*, 302, which, however, was written a century later). Ali, indeed in 1567 A.D., led an army against Vijayanagar and Tirumala sought the aid of Kunza Humayun, the queen-regent of Ahmednagar. She marched so readily at the head of an army against Ali's capital, that he retired from Vijayanagar to defend it. Chennappa Nāyudu, Tirumala's minister, apparently attacked the Bijāpur troops under Kishwar Khān on this occasion and defeated them. (*M.E.R.* 1902, App. A. No. 341 of 1901, dated in 1580 A.D., in which Kishwar Khān is spoken of as Rambikēsuru Khān). There were similar attacks against Tirumala, which should have induced him about 1567 A.D. to reconsider the question of a permanent withdrawal from Vijayanagar in favour of Penkonda. Cæsar Frederick is definite on this point and even gives the reason for the final step taken by Tirumala: "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for the ill-successe that the people of Bezeneger had.....the king with his court went to dwell in one carte eight days journey up the land from



Bezeneger called Pengonde" (*i.e.*, Penukonda). Probably, the final abandonment of Vijayanagar and the actual transfer of the capital took place in or about July 1567 A.D. Tirumala would thus have stayed at Vijayanagar for about two years before he found it impossible to resuscitate its glory. Six months of thorough-going pillage had thus done its work. Even the continued presence of the new Regent and his efforts to re-make it proved futile. Six months evidently proved more than sufficient not merely to ruin the architectural and sculptural gems of the place but also to greatly unsettle life in it and break its continuity as a city. Cities, even in India, have risen and fallen, but none fell so desperately as Vijayanagar. It fell never to rise again! Tirumala's disgraceful attitude towards the Portuguese merchants gives us an insight into the reasons why trade could not be revived in it. If he had had a little of the good sense that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya displayed towards foreign traders, he would have infused confidence into the foreign merchants and would have restored credit with them and generally with the mercantile classes. This would, in its turn, have induced the generality of the people to return to the old city and re-begin life in it. But Tirumala's greed and want of common fairness should have spread far and wide (the Portuguese justifiably stigmatized him a "tyrant") and effectually barred its re-population. Tirumala was evidently not the man for the times. And Vijayanagar, the great Imperial city, ceased to exist because of his incompetence, his incapacity and his covetousness.

What the hand of man had still left standing,

Time did not spare. Rank ruin followed:

A ruin, yet what ruin! from its mass

Walls, palaces, half-cities, have been reared.

And yet the feeling uppermost in the mind of the person visiting the ruined remains of the Imperial city is:—

Heroes have tread this spot—'tis on their dust ye tread,

And the famous lines of Byron come to one's mind :—

While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand ;  
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall ;  
And when Rome falls—the world.

Vijayanagar still stands by the river side and the shrine of Pampāpati reminds us of its ancient grandeur and so long as it stands, the Imperial City shall stand.

In about a year's time from the transference of the capital, the city had gone into ruins. Two inscriptions (one on stone and another on copper-plates) both dated in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya in June 1568 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7) describe the city, the throne, the kingdom and the country and everything as destroyed and in ruins. (In both, the text has the following : *Pattana Simhāsana rājya dēsav ellā kettu khilar āgal āgi*). Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, there is no doubt that the old capital had been deserted at this time, and in ruins; for in both these records, though Sadāsiva is mentioned as the ruling sovereign, he is not spoken of as ruling from *Vijayanagar*, as usual. As the name of Penukonda is not mentioned in these two records as the place from which Sadāsiva ruled, it is possible they belong to the period of transition. The earliest record, at Penukonda, mentioning Sadāsiva as Emperor after 1565 A.D., is one dated in *Saka* 1489, *Prabhava*, corresponding to A.D. 1567-8. (*M.E.R.* 337 of 1901). This record probably fixes up the actual date of the transfer of the capital to Penukonda. About this time—*i.e.*, about two years after Tirumala removed the capital—Cæsar Frederick wrote of it thus :—

“The citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts,” (*Purchas*, X, 97).

At the end of the sixteenth century, Ferishta remarked.

"The city itself.....is now totally in ruins and uninhabited." (III, 131).

We may now sum up briefly the political effects of the battle. These were of a far-reaching character:—

Political effects of the battle: break-down of Hindu political power in the South.

(1) It broke up the Hindu power in the South, though the empire held fast for nearly another century under the next dynasty of kings.

(2) Slowly and surely, it eventually opened for Muhammadan incursions into almost every part of the South followed by Mahratta inroads.

(3) Later, with the disappearance of an organized central government, Southern India came to be dotted over with chieftainships exercising more or less local authority.

The power of resistance against a formidable aggressor was thus gone for ever. Disunion spread in the land with the result that the South became the happy hunting ground for ambitious rival Nawabs, aided by groups of foreign merchant-settlers and military adventurers like Muhammad Yusuf and Haidar Ali.

Among the more immediate results of the battle, were the loss of Raichur and Mudkal and the withdrawing of the Vijayanagar kings from the immediate vicinity of the five Muhammadan Sultāns. They came to be less aggressive than before, though this did not prove by any means an effective check to the ambitions of the Sultāns. In the northern portion of the empire, certain of the feudatories, fired by personal ambitions or in order to better provide themselves against the attacks of the Sultāns, declared themselves independent. Among these were the chiefs of Adōni, Bankāpur and a few others. (*Ferishta* III, 134-6). Adōni was, however, taken by Ali Ādil Shāh in 1568 A.D. (*Ferishta* III, 134-5). As regard the possessions of the Empire on the East Coast, many of these were lost to it,

More immediate results: loss of territories in the north and on the East Coast.

Rajahmandry and other places not far away from it were taken by Ibrahim Kutb Shāh. He also annexed Orissa. (*Ibid.* III, 421-3; 423-6).

Imperial  
power still  
secure in the  
South.

In the South, however, the authority of the Emperor was still obeyed. It has been the custom hitherto to describe the South also as having rebelled against the Emperor. This was natural to writers who had to generalise from scanty materials at a time when epigraphic research had not yet been taken up. Following Ferishta (III, 131), these writers have stated that the whole country was divided between Tirumala and his brother and their nephews. (See Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 269). As the Rev. Heras has pointed out, there is hardly any ground for this statement (*Aravīdu Dynasty*, 242-243), though certain Portuguese writers have also affirmed it. (*Ibid. f.n.*, 1). As mentioned above, Tirumala practically managed to hold together the greater part of the south. One of his objects in fixing upon Penukonda was possibly to save as much of the Empire in the South as possible and in this, he appears to have been generally successful. There is no denying, however, that the shock of the defeat, followed as it was by the destruction and subsequent desertion of the famous capital, was felt almost everywhere in the Empire. Echoes of this feeling are heard even in certain contemporary epigraphic records. (See *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7, both dated in 1568 A.D., above quoted). As Couto and others state, it is possible that members of the Rāma-Rāja's family were sent round to take up their positions at important places, such as Anegundi, Chandragiri, etc., not as independent chiefs but in subordination to and on behalf of the Empire. Between these different members themselves, there appear to have been no differences of opinion in regard to what they were doing. This is supported by epigraphic records of the period, which disclose no enmity between

them. Indeed, there is evidence to the contrary, which definitely shows that Tirumala was respected by his younger brother Venkatādri. (*E.I.* XVI, 257).

The fall of the Imperial capital told heavily on Portuguese trade. That trade, as we have seen, was an extensive and paying one. That was wholly lost to them. Filippo Sassetti, who was in India from 1578 to 1588 A.D., fully confirms this loss which is referred to by all Portuguese writers of the period. "The traffic was so large," he says, "that it is impossible to imagine it. The place was immensely large; and it was inhabited by people rich, not with richness like ours, but with richness like that of Crassi and the others of those days..... And such merchandise! Diamonds, rubies, pearls..... and besides all that, the horse trade. That alone produced in the city (Goa) a revenue of 120 to 150 thousand ducats, which now reaches only 6 thousand." Couto is even more doleful. "By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga," he says, "India and our State were much shaken; for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandise, by which they made great profits; and the Custom House at Goa suffered much in its revenue, so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal and it then languished and the gold pagodas, of which every year more than 500,000 were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were then worth 7½ Tangas, and to-day are worth 11½ and similarly every kind of coin." (Dec. VIII, C. 15, quoted by Sewell, in *A Forgotten Empire*, 210-11 from Lopes's *Chronica dos Reys de Bisnaga*, *Intro.* lxviii). Cæsar Frederick gives an equally vivid account of the trade that Goa lost and bears eloquent testimony to the disorganized state of the

Decay of the  
Portuguese  
trade.

communications between that city and the Imperial capital. The surrounding country was so infested with thieves that he was compelled to stay six months longer at Vijayanagar than he had intended. When at last he intended to set out for Goa, he was attacked everyday and had to pay ransom on each occasion. The reader has only to compare this complaint with the following which shows the absolute security which foreign merchants enjoyed before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They (the Portuguese merchants resident at Vijayanagar), he says, used "to sleepe in the streets or under porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night." (*Purchas*, 98-9).

Conduct and character of Rāma-Rāja and his responsibility for the war and the destruction that followed.

How much of the destruction and disruption that occurred may be set down to Rāma-Rāja's sudden and wholly unexpected death on the battle-field and what might have been the fate of the battle itself if he had escaped as he tried to do, it is impossible to say. But this much is certain that his undoubted talents, his indomitable energy and his persistency would have stood him in good stead in his hour of trial. He would certainly not have allowed the forces to get disorganized; it should be remembered he had practically staked his all on the battle and that he never wavered in his desire to crush the enemy. To say that Rāma-Rāja was clogged to a degree in winning through what he willed, is to utter a truism. Indeed he had all but won even this battle when misfortune overtook him. If the Hindu account is to be believed, the divisions of Kutb Shāh and Nizām Shāh were routed, and retreated in confusion, covered by the armies of Ādil Shāh and Barid Shāh. Rāma-Rāja's troops, considering the engagement over and the enemy annihilated, gave themselves up to rejoicing and festivity, and were surprised in their encampment. (*Wilson, Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. 90). It was just at that

moment, when treachery had played its part, that Rāma-Rāja's litter was upset and he was captured and beheaded. (*Ibid.*) That he was a man of great spirit and conduct is evident from the course that events took during his time. The princes of the Deccan were glad to court his alliance; and even to purchase his forbearance. His policy of systematically playing off one against the other was successful until they were nearly exhausted. In turn he made enemies of one and all of them and they eventually made up their minds to crush him. The very fear he inspired in them made him blind to his own arrogance, perhaps the greatest defect in his character. Insulted pride, religious bigotry and political dread combined his enemies in arms against him. But he disdained to crave for peace. He prepared for war and marched against them and died like a soldier on the battle-field. In war, he was in his true element. The wars he waged, if the *Rāma-rājīyam* is to be believed, were a hundred in number. So many were the countries, so many the forts he took and so many the towns he captured that the bard is hard put to it to find a sufficiency of terms to describe his titles. (See *Sources*, Text, 186-7; also 180-5). If he had, as suggested by his brothers, left the command to them and kept in reserve and used part of his forces at the time of need, the day might have ended differently. He was too old to lead, to ride, or to avoid the inevitable perils of the battle-field. While our unstinted admiration can be extended to the desire he showed to take a personal part in the war, we cannot but blame him for risking the Empire itself as he did. He did not realize that he was staking too much and that he was not wise in putting himself at the head of the army at his age. As it was, his death meant rank ruin to the capital and its teeming population, which was wholly unaware of the fate that awaited them. If he was great as a soldier, he was little as a statesman. It was enough to have commanded

the vengeance of his foes. The terror of his name would have done more than his sword; but he did not choose the path of common prudence. His presence on the battle-field helped to diminish his reputation and ruin his capital, country and subjects. An inscription dated 1565 A.D. (*Saka 1487, Rakthākshi Māgha Su, 15 Saumyavāra*), which describes Rāma-Rāja with all the imperial titles and as "seated on the jewel throne" and as "master of Kuntala," "lord of the throne of Vidyanagari" and "as ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom," is the last known record we have of him.

Rāma-Rāja's  
treatment of  
King  
Sadāsiva-  
Rāja.

A serious charge against Rāma-Rāja is the treatment he meted out to the Emperor Sadāsiva-Rāja and the manner in which he usurped the throne. Even after he attained age and was capable of ruling, he kept him closely confined and guarded, and himself ruled in his name. Though an usurper, he swayed the rule not, as the poet says, for "a while" but for nearly twenty-three years. "Yet," as we are reminded, "Heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs." Rāma-Rāja died before Sadāsiva's eyes and retribution came unsought and unasked. Though hard-hearted as a jailor, Rāma-Rāja does not appear to have been cruel as some other usurpers are known to have been. The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that his usurpation might have been necessitated more by "the incapability of the young sovereign than to his own ambition" and that from this point of view, "his usurpation provides a special side-light of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the Empire." (*The Aravīdu Dynasty, 219-220*). This sounds like special pleading and could be urged in favour of almost every usurper the world has known. In the present instance, there is nothing to show that Sadāsiva was an incapable prince and a great deal to prove that if he had had a chance, he would have made good. The



Māmidipūndi grant, dated in 1549-1550 A.D., speaks of him as "charming, the best of kings, the foremost of the famous, who is like Rāma in wielding the bow, and who is devoted to unlimited gifts." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 104). Making adequate allowance for poetic exaggeration, we have evidence here to suggest that he was neither a craven nor an imbecile. He was evidently a prudent man and refused to risk his life in fruitless rebellion. He knew the influence and power wielded by Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja was a grasping, ambitious and strong-willed Regent who would fain forget the existence of his sovereign. While there is thus nothing to suggest in justification of his conduct in this connection, it has to be conceded that Rāma-Rāja's treatment of Śaḍāsiva never became inhuman. Probably, prudential considerations prevailed even with him in this respect.

During the period anterior to the war in which he fell, Rāma-Rāja was undoubtedly held in the highest regard by his people. Contemporary inscriptions describe him as a great warrior and ruler. One of these speaks of him as having uprooted all his enemies and ruled over the earth as Bharata and Bhagīratha. In another, he is said to have been noted for valour, generosity and mercy. (*E.C. V*, Hassan 7 dated in 1561). As regards his generosity, a record of Venkata I states that he surpassed even the Kalpaka (wish-bearing tree of the gods) in his gifts. (*E.I. XVI*, 319). From literary sources, we learn not only of his military prowess and his many conquests but also of his interest in literature, music and the fine arts. Rāmayamātya, the governor of Kondavidu, states in his work that he wrote the *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, settling several points of dispute among musical scholars, at his instance. He dedicated the work to him, having completed it in 1549 A.D. (See *Sources* under *Svaramēlakalānidhi*).

His pre-war position and eminence.

As a patron of literature.

But a poet who later attained to great celebrity and is even now regarded as one of the more famous Telugu poets was Bhattumūrti. He was the Court poet in Telugu during Rāma-Rāja's time and was entitled "Rāma-Rāja-bhūshana" or "ornament of Rāma-Rāja's court." Considerable discussion has taken place as to whether Bhattumūrti and Rāma-Rāja-Bhūshana signify the same poet or different poets. Competent authority inclines to the former view and this seems correct. (*Vide* K. Veerasilingam, *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, Roddam Hanumanta Rao, *Rāmarāja-Bhūshana* and *Bhattumūrti*, etc.). As he appears to have written most of his works in the reign of Tirumala, further mention will be made of him under that king's reign. Purandara Dāsa, perhaps the most popular of hymnographers that Kannada knows, appears to have lived at Vijayanagar between 1538 and 1564 A.D. He was a Madhva devotee and a disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya, who flourished in the two preceding reigns. He was specially attached to the temple at Pandharpur, to whom his hymns are dedicated. His hymns are sung wherever Kannada is spoken and are noted for the simplicity of their diction, the profundity of their Vēdāntic thought and for the heart-melting music that permeates them. (See Narasimhachār, *Karnātakakavicharita*, II, 232). It is said he was originally a rich man but he is said to have given away his wealth immediately he attained enlightenment and lived the life of a devotee, begging for his bread from door to door in Pandharpur. Another Madhva devotee and hymnographer who also lived during this reign was Kanaka-Dāsa. Though he belonged to the Dharwar District, he seems to have been closely connected with the temple of Sri-Krishna at Udupi, where stories are still told of him. Though originally a disciple of Tōtāchārya, the Srīvaishnava *guru*, he subsequently appears to have been initiated into the Madhva faith by Vyāsa-Rāya. (*Ibid.* 237-8). There is a story that he

belonged to the Ande-Kuruba caste and became great after obtaining enlightenment at the hands of Vyāsa-Rāya. (*Ibid.*) Though he was an author, he is known better by his hymns, some of which are as famous as those of Purandara-Dāsa. Among his works are *Mōhanatarangini*, *Rāma-dhyāna-charite*, *Nalacharitrē*, *Hari-bhaktusāra* and *Nṛsimhāstava*. Another Madhva poet who flourished in this reign was Vādirāja-Tīrtha, who presided over the Sōde *math* at Udupi. He was a great controversialist and had travelled far and wide through India. The Rāja of Sōde (Sāude) became a disciple of his and with his aid, he built a temple of Śrī-Krishna at that place. (*E.I.* XII, 346). He was also a disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya and has left many works in Sanskrit and Kannada. Among his Sanskrit works are *Rukmanīsa-Vijaya*, *Tīrtha-prabandha*, which sums up his travels, etc., while, in Kannada, he wrote *Vaikuntha-varṇane*, *Svapnagadya*, *Lakshmiya-sōbhāne*, a commentary on *Bhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, a work of Śrī-Madhvāchārya, and a number of hymns, which are in popular use to this day. Mr. Narasimhachar has mentioned the date of his death as 1607 A.D. He quotes no authority for this statement. (See *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite* II. 301). An inscription in the Krishnamatha at Udupi, mentioning him and one of his pupils, is dated in *Saka* 1536, *Pramadin*, or A.D. 1614, which falls in the last year of the reign of Venkata I. (See *M.E.R.* 1901, App. No. 114 of 1901.). A grant in favour of Śrīmad Paramahansa Vādirāja-Tīrtha by Sadāsiva Rāya-Nāyaka in the reign of Tirumala, is registered in a lithic record which comes from Kautana-halli, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District dated in 1571 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 55). Probably he lived through the next three reigns. If so, he should have lived to at least his 84th year, taking it for granted that he was born in 1530 A.D., the last year of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign. As Vyāsa-Rāya was alive in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya

also, there can be no reason why he should not have been his *guru*. A contemporary of Vādirāja-Tirtha and co-disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya was Vijayindra-tirtha, a great saint of the Sumatindra-matha. He is said to have been patronised by Rāma-Rāja, who is said to have highly honoured him and presented him with many villages in recognition of his scholarship and eminence. (*E.I.* XII, 345-6; *Sources*, under *Rāghavēndravijaya*, 252). He was a contemporary of Appayya-Dikshita, the great Advaita scholar, who lived between 1554-1626 and whose critiques on Madhva philosophy, he controverted. Among his works are *Chakra-Mīmāṃsa*, *Chandrikōdāhrita*, *Nyāya-Vivāsana*, *Nyāyāmrita-Vyākhyā*, *Appayya Kapōla-Chapītika*, etc. (*E.I.* XII, 345-46). He is known to have also defeated in controversy one Emmēbasavēndra, a Virasaiva teacher, who had his headquarters at Jambunātha Hill at Vijayanagar and a *matha* at Kumbakonam. The latter, together with its rich belongings, passed into the hands of Vijayindra. (*Ibid.*) This Emmēbasavēndra has been identified with the person of that name who was author of the well-known prophetic piece *Kārajnāna*. It would seem that he lived in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who unsuccessfully endeavoured to put him down. (R. Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē* II, 233-44; see also *M.A.R.* 1917, Para 121). He was the donee of a grant made at Vijayanagar in 1542 A.D., by Salaka Tirumala-Rāya, one of the Salaka brothers. (See above). The copper-plates on which the grant was recorded passed into the possession of the Sumatindra *matha* on the defeat of Emmēbasavēndra. In this *matha* there is a bell with the Basava (or bull) surmounted, which, it is said, was part of the property belonging to Emmēbasavēndra. It is still in use in this *matha*, being the only one such bell in a Madhva *matha*, where bells surmounted by Hanu-mān and Garuda are generally in use. Surēndratirtha

of the Sumatindra *matha* also appears to have lived during this reign. He set up, in 1542 A.D., the image of Tiruvēngalanātha at Sante-Muddatapura. He is spoken of as the disciple of Raghunandana, who was himself the disciple of Mathitāmitratīrtha. This succession is confirmed by the traditional list of the Sumatindra *matha*, where the name Mathitāmitratīrtha appears as Jitāmitra, of which it is a synonym. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 86; App. B. No. 720). Among other Virasaiva poets of the period were Basavēndra, author of the *Mahādēvi-Akkas Purāna*; Linga, author of *Chōlarājasāngatya*; and others, who have been set down to about 1550 A.D. (R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē*, II. 254-271). Among the Jain poets of the period, the chief were Salva, author of a *Bhārata-Rasaratnākara* and *Vaidyasāngatya*, and Dodayya, who wrote the *Chandraprabhācharitē*, (*Ibid* 234-254).

Rāma-Rāja was a supporter of the Sri-Vaishnava faith and evidently did much during the period of his Regency to advance its interests. This was the more easy for him as Sadāsiva himself was an ardent Vaishnava like Achyuta and Krishna-Rāya. Sadāsiva honoured Tāllapāka Tiruvēngalanāthayya, son of Tirumallayyagāru, in 1545 A.D., with a gift of two villages in the present Ongole Taluk. As Tirumallayyagāru is described as the establisher of the two schools of Vēdānta, his son should have been a well-known teacher of Sri-Vaishnavism. (*Ins. of the Madras Presy.* II, 783, No. 337, and *M.E.R.* 784, No. 343). The Tāllapākam family of Sri-Vaishnava teachers supplied a number of songsters to the temple. Hundreds of songs, composed by Annamāchārya and Tirumalāchārya, members of this well-known family, and engraved on copper-plates, are still in preservation at the Tirupati temple. Both of these lived in the time of Sadāsiva, the former being the recipient of a gift from him,

As a supporter  
of Srivaishnavism.

(*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 72; App. B, No. 314). Tāllapāka Tiruvēngalanātha, a member of this family, was the author of a work called *Paramayōgivilāsamu*, a work quite different from that of the same name composed by Siddhī-Rāja Timmarājayya, a nephew of Tirumala I. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Paras 71-72; *Sources*, 211). He was evidently the son of Tāllapākam Tirumalayyangāru and was the recipient of a village from Sadāsiva in 1546-7. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 72; App. B, No. 419). A number of grants made during this reign show the great respect shown to Srī-Rāmānuja, the founder of Srī-Vaishnavism, during this reign. A grant dated 1567 A.D., registers the gift of several villages by one Chinna-Nāyaka to the temple of Ādikēsavaperumāl of Srīperumbudūr, where Srī-Bhāshyakāra (i.e., Rāmānuja) is said to have worshipped and to the Rāmānuja shrine at the place for meeting the cost of the daily offerings to be provided for them in a particular *mantapa*. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22; App. C. No. 186). In a record dated in 1565 A.D., the local *mahāmandalēsvara* repaired the Srīperumbudūr shrine and increased its capacity and ordered that the surplus income derived from the enlarged tank should be utilized for providing certain offerings to the God Ādikēsavaperumāl and Emberumānār (Rāmānuja). He also ordered that his own share of the divine offerings should be given away to the pilgrims halting at the Rāmānuja-kūtam. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App. C. No. 187). In 1549-50 A.D., Sadāsiva similarly honoured Āchārayya, another Srī-Vaishnava scholar, son of Anantārya. Anantārya is spoken of as an illustrious and upright personage and his son, as a great Brahma-yādin (Vedāntist) and expounder of the meaning of the *Srī-Bāshya* to classes of distinguished pupils. (*Nellore Ins.* I. 98-103). In this grant Sadāsiva is represented as being surrounded by many assiduous and amiable scholars. (*Ibid.*, 103). Rāma-Rāja is said to have displaced Gōvinda-dēsika, the *guru* of his father-in-law and

the donee of the grant mentioned in *E.C.* III. Mandya 115, dated in 1516 A.D., by Tātāchārya, a famous Sri-Vaishnava teacher who lived during this period. (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, Para 53)., *Mahisūra-Narapati-Vijaya*, a manuscript work which mentions this fact, describes Rāma-Rāja as addicted to lust and gambling and as not being well disposed towards Brāhmins. (*Ibid*). This is a work written about a century later after Rāma-Rāja's death and is unique in its characterization of Rāma-Rāja. Neither the inscriptional records of the period nor the Muhammadan and Portuguese writers speak of him in this manner or even distantly hint at the existence of these drawbacks in him, though some of the Muhammadan historians criticise him for his pride. Apparently the writer of this work was a partisan and wrote of him in this manner because of his preference to Tātāchārya. This teacher is referred to in certain epigraphic records (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 6 of 1904, dated in 1543 A.D.; see also *E.I.* III. 239) as Tirumala Aṅku Tātāchārya or Tātārya in certain grants of the fourth Dynasty of Vijayanagar Kings. He evidently came from Owk in the present Kurnool District. The *Prapannāmritam* refers to him at some length and in doing so, states that he helped his disciple Doddāyāchār (see above) in obtaining the help of Rāma-Rāja for restoring worship in the *Gōvinda-rāja* (or the Vaishnava) shrine in the great Siva temple at Chidambaram, which had ceased, according to the work, some centuries before. (See *Sources* under *Prapannāmritam*, 202-4). Tātāchārya apparently stayed with Rāma-Rāja for a while at Chandragiri (see *Sources* under *Prapannāmritam*, 202) and eventually settled down at Conjeeverain. He was the author of the well-known work *Panchamata-bhanjanam*, written in refutation of Appayya Dikshita's *Advaita Siddhi*. His son Srinivāsayya, better known as Lakshmi Kūmāra Tātāchārya and Kōti Kanyādānam Tātāchārya, became even more famous.

He was the *guru* of Venkata I, whose coronation he performed. (See below). He was evidently a man of ready wit, as is evidenced by the tales that go by his name. There was another Tātāchārya, Alvar Tirumalai Pengonde Narasimha Tātāchār, who was the donee of the grant mentioned in *E.C. X Goribidnur 32*, dated about 1550 A.D. Another great Sri-Vaishnava teacher and author of the time was Doddāyāchārya of Cbōlasingapuram (modern Sholinghur) who wrote his work *Chandamārutam* in refutation of Appayya-Dīkshita's *Advaita-Siddhi*. (*E.I.* XII. 348, quoting *Prapannāmritam*, 127). Rāma-Rāja was also instrumental in honouring Kandāla Srīrangāchārya, another notable Sri-Vaishnava teacher of the time. It was evidently at the instance of this *guru*, that the local chief Konda-Rāja requested Rāma-Rāja to move Sadāsiva to grant the thirty-one villages donated to the Sri-Vaishnava institute at Srīperumbudūr, in the present Chingleput district, the birth-place of Srī Rāmānuja, where is installed an image of that far-famed Vēdāntic commentator and preceptor. The grant of these villages was made in *Saka 1478, Nala*, corresponding to 1556 A.D., and is registered in the well-known British Museum plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*E.I.* IV 1-22; see also *Ins. of the Madras Presy*, III, 1721, copper-plate No. 1). This copper-plate record seems to be identical with the one, said to be in the temple of Srī-Rāmānuja, recording a grant in the same year, *Saka 1478, Nala*, of a number of villages, as many as 28 being enumerated in it, to the temple by Sadāsiva-Rāya. (See *Ins. of the Madras Presy*. I. 419, No. 856-A). This grant is said to have been made by Sadāsiva in the name of Rāmānuja in the presence of God Vitthalēsvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra, at Vijayanagara. Certain other inscriptions in the Vitthalasvāmi temple dated in the same reign, record grants by Timma-Rāja, brother of Konda-Rāja, and provide for the carrying out of diffe-



rent Vaishnava festivals in it and the building of a *māntapa* in it in his father's name. The grants of certain other chiefs, also of the Śrī-Vaishnava persuasion, have been found in it, thus indicating the rapid progress that Śrī-Vaishnavism had made by the time in the Empire. (See H. Krishna Sāstri, *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 197 and inscriptions quoted in f. ns. 1-4). There appear to have been several other Śrī-Vaishnava teachers of note, who did much to popularise Rāmānuja's religion among the chiefs in the Telugu country. Śrī-Vaishnavism may be said to have become the prevailing creed in South India amongst most classes within the half century that followed Rāma-Rāja's death.

Though Sadāsiva survived Rāma-Rāja by some five years, there was hardly any change in his position, except that he had perhaps a little more of personal freedom. On the abandonment of the capital, he was evidently first, at Tirumalai and then probably from about 1567 A.D. or so, at Penukonda, the new capital. (See *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 337 of 1901). Since we have no inscriptions of Sadāsiva subsequent to 1565 A. D.—and there are at least two records dated in that year at Penukonda (*M.E.R.* 533 of 1901)—it is possible that it was, from that date; recognized as the new capital, though Sadāsiva actually moved into it a little later. This inference is supported by the fact that there are one or two records which represent Sadāsiva-Rāya as still ruling in the city of Vijayanagar in 1568 A.D. (*E.C.* XI. Hiriyur 47; see also Hiriyur 75, which is set down by Mr. Rice to 1583 A.D., in which a grant for the merit of Tirumala is registered). In 1567 A.D., Sadāsiva journeyed to the south and stayed for some time on the banks of the Cauvery at Srirangam. From here, he made a grant, dated in 1567 A.D., at the request of his feudatory Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the ruler of Madura, of certain villages to the Tiruvēnkatanātha temple at

Last years of  
Sadāsiva-  
Rāya, 1565-  
1570 A.D.

Krishnāpuram, built by that chief. (*E.I.* IX, 328-342, the Krishnāpuram plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya). This grant shows that Sadāsiva, despite the great reverse that the Empire had sustained in 1565 A.D., was still respected by his southern feudatories and that the Empire did not wholly break up as the result of the defeat at Raksas Tagdi. Other records of his, dated in 1567, 1569 and 1570 A.D., come from districts ranging from Nellore to Tinnevely. (*M.E.R.* 64, 1908; 15 of 1910, 403 of 1922; 37 of 1887, dated in 1566 A.D., 78 of 1887, dated in 1567 A.D., 40 of 1887, dated 1566 A.D.; see also *S.I.I.* I. Nos. 47, 48; 44; *E.C.* III Seringapatam 149, dated in 1567 A.D., Mandya 54, dated in 1567 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Kadur 18, dated in 1569 when Sadāsiva "was ruling a peaceful kingdom"; *E.C.* X. Chintamani 151, dated in 1570 and *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 52, dated in 1565; and *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 1568-69, Nellore 105, dated in *Saka* 1492 or A.D. 1570-1). What became of him is not known from the inscriptions. But as Anquetil du Perron, when speaking of Venkata I, says that "he caused Sadāsiva's son to be murdered" and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisnagar," (*l.c.* 166) it might be inferred that he was also assassinated. An inscription, dated in 1570 A.D., coming from Sorab, in the Shimoga District, dated in the reign of Tirumala, suggests that it was Venkata I that carried out the dark deed. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 55). There is, however, no direct evidence to connect his name with it, except that of Anquetil du Perron, who, writing a century later, has remarked that Tirumala's son murdered the ancient king of Bisnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father. (*Descriptive History and Geography of India*, 166). The "ancient king" referred to in this passage has been taken to mean Sadāsiva, his "father" referred to being Ranga. Sadāsiva is said to have had a son named Vitthala-Rāya, who is said to have made a grant to a temple in Tinnevely. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 315;

*Ins. of the Madras Presy.* see under *Tinnevelly district*, III, *Tinnevelly* 275; *M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6). Sadāsiva had also a daughter, who being possessed, was cured by Parānkusa-Van-Sathakōpajiyamgāru of the Ahōbala temple in the Kurnool district. The Jiyamgāru was a great religious teacher and author and the agent besides of Rāma-Rāja at Ahōbalam. For exorcising the evil spirit, Sadāsiva presented him with a village. (See *Ins. of the Madras Presy.* II, 971, No. 579; also *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 65 of 1915).

Thus died Sadāsiva by the hand, if not of his successor at least by that of his son, and thus perished Sadasiva's son too and with him the great and glorious dynasty to which he belonged. He reigned but did not govern. If he had tried to rule, probably he would have met his fate earlier. There is evidence, however, to believe that he was not lacking in personal courage and that he could, as Sabhāpati, his court-poet puts it, wield the bow as Rāma did of old, (*Nellore Ins.* I, 98-109, copper-plate No. 14, Māmidipūndi grant), a statement that is confirmed by Correa, (see H. Heras in the *Āravīdu Dynāsty*, 247, *f.n.*, 1), who says that he was "a sensible man and a great warrior." The question then arises why he did not attempt to vindicate his right and put down Rāma-Rāja. There are at least three reasons why he did not or could not do so in the position he found himself. First, it was to put him on the throne that Rāma-Rāja had fought the Salaka brothers and gratitude required that he should not rebel so long as Rāma-Rāja did not fail to recognize the sovereign in him. And gratitude, as we know, is not merely the best of virtues, but also the most expensive. With Sadāsiva, evidently, it was something more than a feather. The penalty he had to pay had therefore to be something heavy: it proved to be an active exercise of his own sovereign powers. Secondly, he was evidently an

An estimate  
of his  
character.

young man when he succeeded to the throne and could not in any event have attempted anything useful against his benefactor. Thirdly, when, after a few years, he found the whilom upholder of his sovereignty, usurp the regal position, he should have found that the times were not propitious for him to break the fetters that bound the prison walls. A king, as the sententious maxim would have it, goes as far as he dares, not as far as he desires. The desire to go forward may have been there but Sadāsiva should have found it impossible to realize it. He should therefore have thought it more prudent to desist from working up a revolution. If he desired nothing, he certainly does not appear to have feared anything. He was, as king, evidently beloved by his subjects. There may be poetic exaggeration in what Sabbhāpati says of him in the Māmidipūndī grant but we need not go so far as to deny that Sadāsiva was a good and amiable king, charming in his manners, devoted to learning, engaging in conversation and unlimited in his gifts to those who deserved it. There is nothing to show that he merited the sad end that overtook him. He was destined to die, so that another might usurp his throne and found a new dynasty. It would seem to follow from inscriptions quoted above that Sadāsiva-Rāya died somewhere about 1570 A.D. Nellore 105 is dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta, chaitra ba. 7*, Monday, while Sorab 55 is dated in *Saka* 1493 *Prajōthpathi, Kārtika janana yōga*. Sadāsiva should therefore have died between April 1570 and November 1571 A.D. According to a record from Bārakur, however, he should have continued to live up to 1586 A.D., though only as a puppet king. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 140). It has been suggested that the information furnished by this record is "doubtful," as this date would take him into the reign of Venkata I, between whom and Sadāsiva, Ranga II has to be accommodated. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, 199). Rice has set down a record from Kurubarahalli, Sidlaghatta taluk, which

mentions Sadāsiva-Rāya as still ruling in 1580 A.D.; the original of this record, however, mentions no *Saka* date. (*E.C. X*, Sidlaghatta 2). He also sets down another record of the time of Sadāsiva-Rāya to 1583 A.D. (*E.C. XI*, Hiriyur 75). As both of these records are really undated, they cannot be taken to affect the argument. If he died in 1570-1 A.D., then how and where did he die? It has been suggested that he ended his days in Srīrangam, where he was in 1568 A.D., on a visit. (*E.C. IX*, 330). But as he lived two years later, and as some later inscriptions quoted above describe him as ruling from the city of Vijayanagar, the traditional capital, it has to be inferred that he returned to Penukonda, the new capital and lived there until he was removed by the assassin's hand. The Rev. Father H. Heras has suggested that he should have been kept in prison at Chandragiri, where probably he met his fate. But there is no evidence whatever to support this hypothesis. On the other hand, the existence of an inscription dated in 1567-8 at Penukonda and the statements made in other records that he was ruling from his capital, go to show that he should have been residing at Penukonda at the time of his death. According to Cæsar Frederick, Sadāsiva was put to death by a son of Tirumala. (*Purchas*, X, 97). As Tirumala was the man to be directly benefited by this infamous act, it has been suggested that he may have connived, or rather winked at it. (H. Heras, *The Āraṇḍu Dynasty* 245). The Rev. H. Heras thinks that it was Venkata I (he calls him Venkata II) that killed Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*Ibid*, 246; but see above).

There is some evidence to believe that in the earlier part of his reign, Sadāsiva had some voice in the administration of the Empire. During this period, he is, consistently with his position, described as its sole ruler. This period overlaps with the next two periods, when

Nature of  
Sadāsiva's  
reign: remis-  
sion of  
taxation.

Rāma-Rāja describes himself as his sovereign's *agent* and later describes himself as sovereign, without mentioning his master's name. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 81, dated in 1545 A.D.; Magadi 71 dated in 1547; Channapatna 177 dated 1547; Hoskote 39 dated 1549; Nelamangala 72 dated in 1551; Magadi 67 dated in 1556; and Tumkur 44 dated in 1562). It will be seen that this period practically ends about 1556 A.D., though occasionally we hear of Sadāsiva still spoken of singly as ruling the country. In the second period, Rāma-Rāja is spoken as *agent* of Sadāsiva, who is also mentioned in the grants. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 167 dated 1546; and *E.C.* VI, Tarikere 41 dated in 1547; *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 30 dated in 1544; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126 dated in 1545; *E.C.* X, Kolar 147 dated in Date which he is, as in certain others, still spoken of as merely Mahāmandalēsvara). This period may be said to date from 1557 A.D., when we have a grant by Sadāsiva for the merit of Rāma-Rāja. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 1). In the next period, both are mentioned, almost as equals, and their geneologies—of Sadāsiva and Rāma-Rāja—are given at length. (*e.g.*, *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 18 dated in 1558). In this period also grants are accordingly made in both their names, for both their merits and in order that merit may be to both. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 48 dated in 1549 and *E.C.* V, Belur 183 dated in 1548). During the first period, the internal administration of the State was conducted on the traditional lines. Remission of taxes of a kind that weighed heavily on the poor, were abolished. The tax on the barbers was first remitted by Rāma-Rāja as agent of Sadāsiva and its removal was given effect to throughout the Empire by feudatories and provincial governors. (*E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13 dated in 1545; *E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 6 dated in 1555).

Remission of  
Barber's tax.

A number of inscriptions recording this remission have the figures of the barber's instruments, like the razor, the

strop, mirror and scissors engraved on them. The Telugu poet Rudrayya, author of *Nirāṅkusōpākhyam*, secured an interview with the king (Sadāsiva) through the influence, it is said, of Kondoju, the favourite barber of Sadāsiva, who was instrumental in obtaining the remission of the taxes imposed on them. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 43). The poet composed a verse in his praise which is still extant. This remission included forced labour, fixed rent, land-rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birada*, etc. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 41 dated 1544; Tiptur 126 dated in 1545). In 1551 A.D., Sadāsiva appears to have ordered the grant of rent free lands to salt makers with rules as to the removal of saline earth by them. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 8 and 9 dated in 1551). In 1562, Rāma-Rāja remitted in favour of certain people, the tax for riding at marriages. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 17 dated in 1562). In the same year, Sadāsiva is said to have put a stop to riding at marriages in future. (*Ibid.*). An inscription dated in 1557 A.D., speaks of Rāma-Rāja's administration as a righteous one. (It is said to be *dharmapārupatya*, literally just overseeing) (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 1). It was presumably one in consonance with current ideas of what might be termed just and honorable alike to the people and the government. Neither Sadāsiva nor Rāma-Rāja could have been otherwise than popular, seeing that they abolished unpopular taxes and earned a good name for their administration.

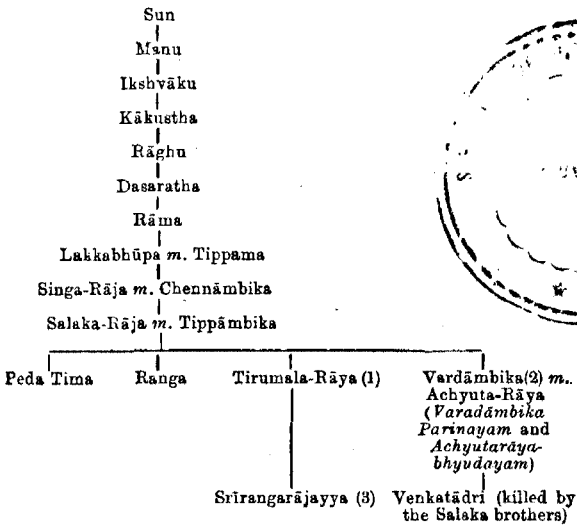
The government was carried on by Rāma-Rāja with the aid of his younger brother Tirumala as prime minister and Venkatādri as Commander-in-chief. Of these two, Tirumala appears to have wielded considerable independent powers. Thus, we hear of his bestowing certain privileges on the Pānchālas of Belur in 1555. (*E.C.* V, Belur 5). In some records, he is spoken as Rāma-Rāja-Tirumala, after his grand-father Rāma and termed Mahāmandalēsvara. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 1 dated in 1559).

Feudatories,  
Ministers and  
Generals.

In a few others he is referred to as Gutti Tirumalaiya. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 31 dated in 1556 A.D.). He is called in certain other records as *Yara-Timma*, a corruption for *Hirē-Tirumala*. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 94 dated in 1564; *E.C.* XI, Hiriyyur 40 dated in 1556; *E.C.* XI, Challakere 1 dated in 1557 and *E.C.* XI, Challakere 54). In a record dated in 1558, he is spoken of as "learned as Bhōja-Rāja" (see below) and "devoted to his brother." (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186). Among the feudatories of the period were the Nandyāla chiefs, of whom there appear to have been quite a number in the Mysore country. Thus, we hear of one Avabhalēsvara-Dēva of Nandyāla, whose grants are dated in 1544 and 1551. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 34 dated in 1541; *E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 121 dated 1544; Krishnarajpete 27; Hunsur 25, dated in 1544; *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 72 dated in 1551). Probably he has to be identified with Aubhalarāja, a cousin of Rāma-Rāja of the Nandyāla branch. Another chief of this family was Mahāmandalēsvara Timmaya-dēvamahā-arasu, who is mentioned in records dated in 1551 A.D. (*E.C.* Heggaddevankote 66 and Chamarajnagar 110). He is spoken of as the son of Narasingadēva-mahā-arasu of Nandyāla. Another inscription of his, also dated in 1551, has been found in Melkote. (*M.A.R.* 1906-07, Para 30). A still another was Nārāyanadēva-mahā-arasu, son of Narasinga-dēva, two of whose records dated in 1544 and 1545, have been found at Melkote. (*Ibid*). Evidently Timmayadēva and Nārāyanadēva were brothers, Nārāyana being identical with Naraparāja, son of Nandyāla Narasinga of the Āravīdu collateral branch, which is known familiarly as the Nandyāla family, because of their original connection with Nandyāla in the Kurnool District. The Timmayadēva mentioned above, however, does not figure in the genealogical table of the collateral branch as it appears in Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri's paper on the Second (? Third) Vijayanagar dynasty. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09,



## GENEALOGY OF SALAKA CHIEFS.



(1) This table is based on the Nanjangud Rāghavēndrasvāmi Mutt Copper plates of Salaka Tirumala-Rāya dated in 1543 A.D. Salaka Tirumala-Rāya is given in these plates the imperial titles of *Rājādhi-Rāja-Paramēśvara*, champion over the three kings, *Suratrāna* of the Hindu kings and who, having conquered his arrogant enemies, acquired the Goddess sovereignty. Peda-Timma is probably the Timma who is described in the Mārkapur record (No. 164 of 1905) as having "sinned against his lord." Timma-Rāya's position as ruler after the murder of Venkatādri, is probably hinted at in the Nanjangud Copper-plates. He should be the Mahāmandalēśvara-Salaka-Rāja-Chinna-Tirumalayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, mentioned in a record dated in 1533 (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, 118) and Mahāmandalēśvara Salaka-Rāja-Chikka-Tirumala-Rājayya along with his son Sri-Ranga-Rājayya in E.C. X, Malur 41 of 1578 A.D. He should have been killed almost immediately after this grant.

(2) Her name is not mentioned in the Nanjangud Copper-plates, as she had been already murdered.

(3) He is mentioned in E.C. X, Malur 41, dated in 1578 A.D.

Table at the end of the article). Nor is he mentioned in the table of the collateral family of Āravīdu chieftains, attached to the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. (See XII, Table IV). Mahāmandalēsvara Vīrarāja Srīrangarāja of the same family was in charge of Mulbagal Rājya in or about 1547 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 4). Several inscriptions of this family have been traced in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, dated in 1544 and 1555 A.D. (See *M.A.R.* 1906-07, Para 39; *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, 929, under *Markapur Taluk*; also *Ibid* I, 575, under *Badvel Taluk, Porumamilla*, No. 13; *Cuddapah Taluk* No. 17-A, etc.). Then we have Mahāmandalēsvara Komāra Konda Rājayya-Dēva-Mahārāsu. (*E.C.* VIII, T.-Narsipur 108 dated in 1556). He is probably to be identified with China-Konda, another cousin of Rāma-Rāja. He is probably the same as Mahāmandalēsvara Konda-Rājayya, who had charge of the Magadi country in 1558 A.D. and whose agent there was Korlakunte Kondama-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 28). There is a Mahānāyaka Kondama Nāyaka mentioned in another record dated in 1558. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 47). We have mention of one Pāpai-Dēva-Chōla-Mahā-arasu described as the son of Vengalarāja and grandson of Manubōla-Aubala-Rāja in a record dated in 1544 from the Chitaldrug District. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriya 22). Among other feudatories were Chennādēvi, daughter of Dēvarasa-Odeya, who was ruling over the whole of the Mangalore country, with her capital at Bhatkal, about 1546; Krishnappa-Nāyak of Madura; Komāra Timmanāyaningaru and his son Chinnappa Nāyaningāru of the Velugōti family ruling the Nāgarjunikonda-sīmā and the Kocherla-Kōta-sīmā in 1544 and 1569 A.D., respectively; Chinna-bomma-Nāyaka and Kalla-bomma-Nāyaka, the Nāyakās of Vellore; and the Getti-Mudaliars of Tāramangalam. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 198 and 199 and *f.n.*, 8 to 12). Bhayirarsannāji was in charge of the affairs of Kalasa between 1522 and 1555

A.D. (E.C. VI, Mudgere 40 and 60). Mahāmandalēsvara Prattikonda Kondaya-Dēva-Mahā-arasu, who made a grant in 1540 for rebuilding a tank, was evidently in charge of a part of modern Chitaldrug District. (E.C. XI, Hiriyur 35). Mahāmandalēsvara Nārāyana Rāja was overseeing the Hoskote country in 1559 A.D. (E.C. IV, Hoskote 2). Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Rājēsvara Srīrangarāya-Mahā-arasu, son of Tirumala, was governor of Gulur-sīmē in the Nelamangala country in 1561 A.D. (E.C. IX, Nelamangala 73). A Rāma-Rāya-Srīranga-Dēva-Mahā-arasu is referred to in a record dated in 1554 A.D. (E.C. IX, Magadi 67). Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the betel-bearer of Sadāsiva, is mentioned in three records coming from Davangere Taluk as making grants for a *chatra* (feeding house) at Harihar in 1554, 1561 and 1562, (E.C. XI, Davangere 22, 18 and 30). Rāma-Rāja appears to have encouraged the entertainment in his service of Muhammadans, though some of them do not appear to have requited his favours with gratitude at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. Thus Ain-ul-Mulk, at whose request Rāma-Rāja induced Sadāsiva to sanction the Bevinahalli grant dated in 1551 A.D., (E.I. XIV, No. 210, 16), has been identified with Mullik Einool Mulk Geelany, who is mentioned by the chronicler of Gōlconda, whose account is translated by Briggs. (*Ferishta*, III, 381). He was known as a friend of the Brāhmans, for one of whom he begged for the grant mentioned in the Bevinahalli record. The chief of this name who lies buried in a very elegantly built tomb, 2 miles east of Bijāpur, is a different personage who was killed in a rebellion he led in 1556 A.D. Another Muhammadan chief in Rāma-Rāja's service was Dilāvar Khān, who was his agent at Kolar in 1558 A.D. (E.C. X, Kolar 147). Vithalēsvara-Dēva-Mahā-arasu, another Mahāmandalēsvara, was in charge of the Sivanasamudram country (*i.e.*, Bangalore District) in 1544. His agent, one Rachur (Raichur) Narasimhaiya, granted that

merit might accrue to his master, a village in that province to the god Allālanātha of Jukkur. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 30). He is probably the same chief mentioned as Rāma-Rāya Vitthalēsvara, who remitted the barbers' tax in the Davangere country in 1544 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriur 29). His son Tirumala-Rāya is mentioned in a record dated in 1553. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 9). This same Rāma-Rāja Vitthala is mentioned in several other records. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 34 dated 1550; Pavagada 39 dated 1554). His son Tirumala, above referred to, was ruling over Penukonda-rājya in 1554. (*E.C.* XII, Madhugiri 78.) This Vitthalēsvara has to be distinguished from the great Vitthala, the conqueror of the Tiruvadi. Mahāmandalēsvara Komāra Kondarājyadēva-Mahārāja, the ruler of Vinukonda-sīmē, is evidently identical with the Kondarāja of the British Museum plates of Sadāsiva. (*E.I.* IV, 4). He appears to have been known also as Rāmarāja Konētirāja Kondarājyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1916; Para 70; App. B. No. 531). Vitthala, the conqueror of Tiruvadi-rājya, was assisted by his brother Chinna-Timmayadēva-Mahārāja and the latter appears to have held that province jointly with Vitthala. During the governorship of Vitthala was issued the *earliest* copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva so far known, dated in 1537 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6; also *M.E.R.* 1917, Para 45). Sūrappa-Nāyaka appears to have been in charge of a part of South Arcot. He is said to have repaired the temple of Alagiya Singaperumāl at Ennāyiram, which had been built by Rājendra-Chōla and had gone into ruins. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 74; App. B. No. 334 dated in 1543 A.D.). He was evidently in charge of the Tiruvadi-rājya. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. C. No. 41). He was the son of Pottappa-Nāyaka and is called the "lord of Manināgapura," the place from which the Gingee chiefs are said to have emigrated. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. C. 312; see also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 83). He was still living and

in authority in 1562. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. B, No. 411). The Mattli chief Varadarāja, son of Sōmarāja Pottarāja and son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, is mentioned in a record of his dated in 1544 A.D., from Conjeeveram. He was evidently a personage of some note as he is given the titles of *Kāvēri-Vallabha*, *Katikā-sūrahasa*, *Ötte Hurājulagunadanda* and *Gajasimha*. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 49; App. B, No. 523 of 1919). Achyutappa Tummichi-Nāyakkar of the Madura country, evidently a close connection of Tumbichi-Nāyaka, was subjugated by Achyuta. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 115; Nos. 292, 293 and 294 of 1923). The Princes Rāma-rāja Timmarāja and Chinna Timma appear to have exercised authority in the Chandragiri province. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 34; App. A, No. 12, the Sriperumbudūr Copper-plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya dated in 1477 or 1555 A.D.). They obtained a grant in favour of the Vēdic scholar Purushōt-tama Bhatta from the king in 1555 A.D. Aliya Rāma-Rāja's own son, Kumāra Krishnamarasayya, was also governing a district under Sadāsiva in 1561 A.D. (*Ibid* 1925, Para 34; App. B, No. 380 of 1925). According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, he was the elder son of Rāma-Rāja by Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. His younger brother, according to that poem, was governor of Raichur. (See *Sources*, 184-5). Some other subordinates of Sadāsiva will be found mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 52; *M.E.R.* 1917, Paras 45-7; *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 43; and *M.E.R.* 1927, Para 84).

#### FOURTH (OR ĀRAVIDU) DYNASTY.

Fourth (or  
Āravidu)  
Dynasty 1570-  
1759 A.D.  
Accession of  
Tirumala I  
the first  
*de jure*  
ruler of the  
dynasty.

The assassination of Sadāsiva was followed by the accession to the throne of Tirumala I, the first *de jure* ruler of the fourth or the Āravidu dynasty. Before describing his coronation and the other events connected with his reign, it would be advantageous to take a bird's eye view of the earlier chiefs of this dynasty.

Of the history of the earlier chiefs of the fourth dynasty, we have only scanty information. Literary and inscriptional records agree in assigning an hoary ancestry to them. (See *Rāmarājīyamu* in *Sources*, 79, 102, 181; *Bālabhāgavatamu* in *Sources*, 204; Kudligi Sringēri-matha grant of Venkata I dated in 1587, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83; Avanimatha copper-plate grant of Sri-Ranga-Rāya VI, dated 1645 *E.C.* X Mulbagal 60; Tumkur grant of Tirumala I, dated in 1571 *E.C.* XII Tumkur 1; and Tirumalapura grant of Venkata I, *E.C.* XII Chiknayakanhalli 1589). Leaving aside the legendary part of the genealogy traced from Chandra (moon) through Bharata, Nanda, Chalikka, Bijjalēndra and Vira-hemmalī-Rāya, the lord of Mayapuri, we come to Tāta-Pinnama, who was evidently a historical personage and the founder of the family. He was called "Tāta" or grand-father to distinguish him from his great-grand-son who was also known as Pinnama. It is said that at sight of him groups of his enemies trembled. The *Rāmarājīyamu* styles him *Cheruku-Racha-Nāyaka-saptānga-harana*, he who took and captured the seven constituents of royalty of Cheruka-Racha-Nāyaka. The identity of the latter has not so far been made out. His son was Sōma-Dēva (sometimes written Sōmi-Dēva), who is described in inscriptions as the capturer, from the enemy, of the seven forts in one day. The names of these forts are mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* to be the following:—Ganginenikōnda; Kandanolu (Kurnool); Kaluvakolu; Kota-Kāchūru (evidently Rāchūru-kōta); Mosalimadugu, which no king could take; Yatagiri town; and Sātāni-kōta. It is also mentioned in this work that he set up a triumphal arch before the eastern gate of the first of these forts and that these seven were taken in the order mentioned. The copper-plate records state, by way of evident exaggeration, that Sōma-Dēva took all these *seven forts in a day*, which is nowhere countenanced by the author of the *Rāmarājīyamu*, who

Brief history of the earlier chiefs of the fourth dynasty.

appears to have gathered full information about the family before composing his work. As most of these places are on the northern frontier of Vijayanagar, it is possible that Sōma-dēva did take part in the wars of his time and display his valour in the manner described in the poem. As Āravīti-Bukka, his grand-son, was a general of Sāluva-Narasimha (1486-1497), Sōma-Dēva might be set down to about the time of Harihara II. (See *Sources*, 80 *f.n.*). The *Rāmarājīyamu* states that Sōma-dēva defeated the proud Muhammad on several occasions in the battle-field and that when he was captured he begged his freedom, by falling at the victor's feet and agreeing to name his son after Sōma-Dēva. Sōma-Dēva, it is said, distributed the 6,000 horses he took from Muhammad among those who asked for them. This Muhammad has been identified with the Bāhmani king of that name who ruled between 1358 and 1375 A.D. Among the chiefs whom Sōma-Dēva is said to have defeated are Nadabala Nāyaka, Gujjulu-Viri-Nedu, Rudrapa, Gaura-reddi, and Gangināyaka. He is said to have also taken Akulapadu, Mudgal, Anegondi and Kuntisara. He is credited with many titles, the most notable of which is *Vīrakshētra-bhāratimalla*, which he is said to have acquired because of his capture of the last mentioned four places. He is said to have ruled from Āravītipura and to have been famous for his gifts. (See *Sources*, text, 82). He was succeeded by the brave Rāghavadēva of the inscriptions and Rāghavēndra of the *Rāmarājīyamu*. He is said to have given away, according to the latter work, many villages as *agrahāras* to Brāhmans. His far-famed son was Pinnama. His son was Bukka, who is said to have firmly established the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Sthiri-kritam*, E.C. VII, Shimoga 83). The *Rāmarājīyamu* styles him *Sāluva-Narasimharāya-Rājyapratishtapanāchārya*. (See *Sources*, Text, 103). He is said to have been a great devotee of the God Venkatāchalapati on the Tirupati

Hill. How long Āravīti-Bukka, as he is known in literature, lived, is not clear. Kumāra-Durjati states that he was present at the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which took place in 1509 A.D. If this might be accepted, then he cannot have died before that date. (See *Sources*, 129). He married Abbala-Dēvi and Bulla-Dēvi, called Ballāmbika in the copper-plate records. By the former he had many sons, of whom Singa was the eldest, who subsequently became the chief of Nandyāla (*i.e.*, Nandyāl). By Bulla-Dēvi, he had a son named Rāma-Rāja, known to history as Rāma-Rāja I. Rāma-Rāja is credited with many great feats, of which three appear to be of outstanding merit according to the copper-plate grants and the *Rāmarājīyamu*. He is said to have taken the hill fortress of Adōni, despite the fact it was defended by a garrison of 7,000 horse and an army of foot by one Kasappudaya, (or Kacha of the *Bāla-bhāgavatamu*), who is said to have "vied with Indra in power." He also attacked and captured the lofty fortress of Kandannavolidurga (*i.e.*, Kurnool), which is said to have been defended with great diligence by Savai Bibbi, (possibly Yusuf Ādil Shāh 1489-1510 A.D.), and captured his seven constituents of royalty. He made Kurnool his capital and ruled from there. His relations became jealous of him and would appear to have tried to poison him through the agency of a boy, who hesitated to hand him the cup containing the poisoned water. On this, Rāma-Rāja, of his own free will, snatched it from him, quaffed it all, as if it were nectar. His faith in God Hari was so great that the poison could do no injury to him. He married Lakkāmbika and by her left three sons, Timma-Rāja, Peddakonda-Rāja and Sri-Ranga-Rāja, known to history as Sri-Ranga I. Of these, the last seems to have continued to hold sway over Kurnool and probably Āravitinagara, while Timma-Rāja became the ruler of Owk and Peddakonda-Rāja of Adoni. It would seem that all these places



were within the jurisdiction of Rāma-Rāja I, when he died. The main line, accordingly, continued in Srī-Ranga-Rāja I. By Tirumalāmbika, he had three sons, Rāma-Rāja, who became famous as Aliya Rāma-Rāja, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and has been designated Rāma-Rāja II; Tirumala-Rāya, afterwards Tirumala I; and Venkatādri, the Commander-in-Chief of Aliya Rāma-Rāja. Of Aliya Rāma-Rāja, we have seen above how he became prominent in the reign of Sadāsiva and how he practically usurped the sovereign powers. Rāma-Rāja II married Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and had by her two sons Krishna and Pedda-Timma. Pedda-Timma is said to have won victories against the Nizām Shāh. Rāma-Rāja also married Appalāmba, daughter of Peddanandi-Rāja of the Jillelu family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma (or Lakshmāmba), the daughters of Timma of the Pothi-Rāja family. By Kondamma he had two sons, Konda and Timma. Of these, Konda fought against the Nizām Shāh and ruled with Anegundi as his capital, while Timma became Governor of Raichur, on its recapture from the Ādil Shāh. Konda married Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Sūrappa, a Commander of forces, and had a son Rāma (Rāma III). Rāma in his turn married the three ladies Narasingamma, Obamma and Janakamma. Timma-Rāja married Pochamma. By Lakshmāmba, Rāma-Rāja had a son Srī-Ranga-Rāja, the Srī-Ranga-Rāya IV of modern geneologists. Srī-Ranga IV married Lakshmamma and had by her, two sons, who were known as Pedda-Venkata and Chinna-Venkata. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājyamū*, 181-190):

Early career  
of Tirumala I.

Tirumala, as we have seen, was Prime Minister of Sadāsiva and was practically all powerful in the State. From about 1543 to 1551 A.D., he was in charge of Udayagiri-rāja. (*Nellore Ins.* II, 867, Nellore 104; III 1377,

Udayagiri 30). In 1552 A.D., he appears as Governor of Kochcharalakōta-Sīma. Two years later, he was appointed to Nāgarajunikonda-Sīma, and under him there was the Velugoti chief Komāra-Timma-Nāyannagāru, now represented by the Zamindars of Venkatagiri. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. B. No. 584 of 1909). Probably he was in direct charge of this province, while Prime Minister at the capital. For he is called the able Minister of Sadāsiva and *Mahāmandalēsvara* in 1554 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73; App. B. No. 341). He was also evidently in similar charge of Gooty in 1555 A.D., on account of which he came to be known as Gooty Tirumalaiya-Dēva. (*Nellore Ins.* 880, Nellore 112; *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 49; App. C. Nos. 1 and 176; App. B. 575, 577, and 739 *E.C.* XII, Sira 31). From certain records dated in 1565-66 A.D., it might be inferred he was in the enjoyment of the *Jagīr* of Kondavidu. (*Nellore Ins.* II, 946, Ongole 29). In a record dated in the same year (*E.C.* X Goribidnur 52) he is made to appear as the equal of Sadāsiva. This records a grant in Sadāsiva's reign and made by his command, but by *order* of Tirumala, *for the merit of both*. Five years later in 1569-76 A.D., he is described, in one record, as "ruling the Earth" with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 10). In a record dated in the following year, 1570-1 A.D., he is besides spoken of as *Vīra-Pratāpa*. From that to the Tumkur Copper-plates, which record for the first time his coronation, the transition seems almost imperceptible. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1). There is one record, however, of an earlier date, (1551 A.D.), which speaks of him as the ruling king in that year. The Budihal plates, in which this statement occurs, (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 42 dated *Saka guna giri veda indu*) seems clearly wrongly dated. There is no mention in them of either Sadāsiva or Rāma-Rāja and he is spoken of as a ruler of the Kingdom. There is nothing

Udayagiri 30). In 1552 A.D., he appears as Governor of Kochcharlakōta-Sīma. Two years later, he was appointed to Nāgarājūnikonda-Sīma, and under him there was the Velugoti chief Komāra-Timma-Nāyannagāru, now represented by the Zamindars of Venkatagiri. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. B. No. 584 of 1909). Probably he was in direct charge of this province, while Prime Minister at the capital. For he is called the able Minister of Sadāsiva and *Mahāmandalēsvara* in 1554 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73; App. B. No. 341). He was also evidently in similar charge of Gooty in 1555 A.D., on account of which he came to be known as Gooty Tirumalaiya-Dēva. (*Nellore Ins.* 880, Nellore 112; *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 49; App. C. Nos. 1 and 176; App. B. 575, 577, and 739 *E.C.* XII, Sira 31). From certain records dated in 1565-66 A.D., it might be inferred he was in the enjoyment of the *Jagīr* of Kondavīdu. (*Nellore Ins.* II, 946, Ongole 29). In a record dated in the same year (*E.C.* X Goribidnur 52) he is made to appear as the equal of Sadāsiva. This records a grant in Sadāsiva's reign and made by his command, but by *order* of Tirumala, *for the merit of both*. Five years later in 1569-76 A.D., he is described, in one record, as "ruling the Earth" with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 10). In a record dated in the following year, 1570-1 A.D., he is besides spoken of as *Vira-Pra-tāpa*. From that to the Tumkur Copper-plates, which record for the first time his coronation, the transition seems almost imperceptible. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1). There is one record, however, of an earlier date, (1551 A.D.), which speaks of him as the ruling king in that year. The Budihal plates, in which this statement occurs, (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 42 dated Saka *guna giri vēda indū*) seems clearly wrongly dated. There is no mention in them of either Sadāsiva or Rāma-Rāja and he is spoken of as a ruler of the Kingdom. There is nothing

to show—beyond its date—that it is a forgery as has been suggested. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 180, *f.n.* 1).

Tirumala's  
coronation.

On the death of Sadāsiva-Rāya, Tirumala was crowned king. The Tumkur copper-plate grant dated in 1571 A.D., a contemporary record (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1) describing the event, says that “at the time of his coronation-anointing, the earth, bathed in the streams of water poured out with his numerous gifts, ranked as the queen.” Later copper-plate records—of the reigns of Venkata I, Venkata II and Ranga VI—repeat this remark. The Rev. H. Heras has inferred from this statement that his queen was not present at his coronation. As the coronation appears to have taken place at Penukonda, where according to the Tumkur copper-plate record, Tirumala adorned the golden throne of Karnātake and ruled his Empire, it cannot have been impossible for his queen to be there by his side, even if she had been at Chandragiri previous to that. Nor could it be suggested that the times were such that it was insecure for the queen to proceed to Penukonda *five years* after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. As a matter of fact, his queen Channama-Dēvi was alive then and such a semi-religious ceremony could not have been performed without the queen. The phrase of Svayambhu, the Court-poet, about the earth being bathed at the time, *first* occurs in the Tumkur grant and is repeated by Krishna-kavi-Kāmakōti, his son, in the grant of Venkata I. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39, dated in 1589 A.D.), and by others, in the sense that the grants and gifts made on the auspicious occasion by Tirumala were so many that the earth overflowed with water in giving them by pouring of water, and seemed as though the Goddess Earth was also being anointed. It would be a clear misapprehension of the poetic idea involved in this description if it were taken as meaning that the coronation took place without the queen! It is possible that

Vengatāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the first queen of Tirumala, was dead at the time and that Channama-Dēvi had taken her place. As she was alive in 1571 A.D., the year following Tirumala's coronation, it is possible that she was crowned queen with her lord Tirumala I as King Tirumala, who was probably well advanced in years at the time, though it is impossible to state if he was "close upon ninety" as suggested by the Rev. H. Heras.

The coronation probably took place somewhere about 1570 A.D. Three of the latest records of Sadāsiva are dated in April and May 1570 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Siddlaghatta 88 dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta*, *Vaisakha* 5 *Soma*, i.e., May 1570; *E.C. X*, Chintamani 15, dated in *Saka* (1492), *Pramōduta*, *Vaisakha* *Sud.* 12, i.e., May 1570; and *Nellore Ins.* II, 869, *Nellore* 105, dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta*, *Chaitra* *Ba.* 7. *So. i.e.*, April 1570). One of the earliest records of Tirumala I, definitely mentioning his coronation and rule from Penukonda, is dated in November 1571. (*E.C. XII*, Tumkur 1 dated in *Saka* 1493, *Prajōtputti*, *Kārtika* 12, *Saumya*, i.e., November 1571). It would seem to follow from these two sets of records of the time of Sadāsiva and Tirumala, that the coronation of the latter should have taken place between May 1570 and November 1571 A.D. We may not be far wrong, if we set down the event to about the middle of 1570 A.D.

Tirumala's coronation apparently marks the beginning of the *de jure* rule of the Āravīdu dynasty. At any rate, the Court-poet Kavi-Sāsana Svayambhu, the son of Sabhāpati, made up a pedigree for him and his ancestors immediately after his coronation and incorporated it in the Tumkur copper-plate grant of 1571 A.D. Chidambara-kavi elaborated it in the Mangalampundi grant of

Its date:  
about 1570  
A.D.

'Setting up of  
a royal  
pedigree.

Venkata I dated in 1602-3 A.D. (*Nellore Ins.* I. 25, C. P. No. 6). The Vilapāka and Kondyāta grants of Venkata I and Venkata II repeat it. (*E.I.* IV. 272). These were drawn up by Rāma Kāvi, son of Kāmakōti and grand-son of Sabhāpati. The Utsur grant of Ranga VI dated in 1647-8 A.D. similarly elaborates it (*Nellore Ins.* I. 44, C. P. No. 7), while the Kallakurchi grant (*I.A.* 153) is identical with it. The Utsur and Kallakurchi grants of Ranga VI were also composed by the same Rāma Kavi. Thus, it would seem that except the Mangalampundi grant, which, however, agrees in its first twenty verses with the Utsur grant, the more important copper-plate grants of this dynasty were composed by the son and grandson of Sabhāpati. They were, as Court poets, evidently interested in working up a pedigree suitable to the position that the descendants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (albeit in the female line) had attained since his death. Such an ancient pedigree, connecting them with the ancient Nandas, Chalukyas and Kalachuryas, was evidently thought necessary to give stability to the rule of the Kings of the Āravidu Dynasty.

The  
succession  
contested.

The succession to the throne was not, however, left uncontested. Though inscriptional records do not throw any light on the point, Ferishta just hints at it and foreign travellers openly mention it. Who contested the succession actually and which of the feudatories joined them or took sides, it is nowhere mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The Rev. H. Heras quotes the author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala I. "There were," he says, "several wars over the question of the succession to the throne; for, there was no more issue of the royal family and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present." (See the *Āravidu Dynasty*, 242 f.n. 2). Though Rāma-Rāja had five

sons, none of them found it possible to succeed him. Tirumala was an old man and was practically in possession of the Empire, and was evidently helped by his brother Venkatādri. It is possible some of the sons of Rāma-Rāja, helped by some of the feudatories, disputed Tirumala's right to set them aside. The wars over the succession would only refer to some such fight. Ferishta quotes a letter from Tirumala himself to the chief of Bankāpur, in which he bemoans that most of his dependents had "become rebels from their duty." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 136). Cæsar Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, says that the diamond fields had been left unworked because of the troubles that have been in that Kingdom." (*Purchas*, X, 97). He also narrates some interesting details. "The first cause of this trouble was," he says, "because the Sonne of this Temaragiv (Tirumala-Rāya) had put to death the lawful King.....for which the barons and noblemen in the kingdom would not acknowledge him to be their king and by this means there are many kings, and great division in that kingdom." Anquetil du Perron confirms both the assassination of Sadāsiva and the subsequent troubles. "Many troubles," he says, "sprang from these revolutions; the nobles refused to acknowledge the new King" (*l. c.* 166). How long this recalcitrant attitude of the feudatories continued is not quite clear, but the Tumkur record of 1571 describing his conquest of the eighty-four *durgas*, curbing of the Avahalu Rāja, conquering the Utkala (Orissa) King, and the Sultan of Warrangal, would show that he had not only put down the insurrectionaries but also recovered the lost countries on the East Coast and made war northwards as far as Warrangal. In any case, it stands to reason that he cannot have carried on warfare outside his own Empire, if he had not first restored peace in it. The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that those mentioned in the Tumkur grant

“were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience.” (See *Āraṁḍu Dynasty*, 153). Whatever might have been the case with the eighty-four hill chiefs, it cannot be argued that the Utkala King and the Sultān of Warrangal were “the rebel chiefs” whom he reduced to obedience. The former was an independent monarch north of the Krishna even during the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his independence had been recognized by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya under the treaty that ended his final campaign. (See under *Krishnā-Dēva-Rāya*). As regards the Sultān of Warrangal, it is not clear who is referred to under this name. In Krishna-Dēva’s reign Warrangal had been recaptured by Chiraph Khān from the Muhammadans and had been restored to one Panchalarāya. There is no record since that time to show that it had become subordinate to the Vijayanagar Kings. Nor is there anything in the Tumkur plates to countenance the suggestion that the chief of that place was a subordinate of Tirumala. It styles him “Suratrāna of Urigola,” evidently a title which has to be classed with the others mentioned with it—chief gem in the garland Āravītipura, Tribhuvanamalla of Tengi, the lord of Kal-yānapura, Chalikka-Chakravarti, etc. (See *E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1). While some of these titles might indicate actual chiefs defeated by Tirumala, others seem to be mere titles borrowed from the “office copy” of old dynastic pedigrees.

Tirumala’s  
wars and  
conquests.

It is possible that with the aid of Venkatādri, Tirumala put forth considerable energy in reconquering part of the East Coast territories over-run by the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golkonda. In 1569 A.D., Alī Ādil Shāh and Mustafa Nizām Shāh mutually agreed to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other. Under this pact, it was settled that the Sultān of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy



Berar and that the Sultān of Bijāpur should be permitted to conquer as much of the dependencies of Vijayanagar as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of the Nizām Shāh. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, 135). Acting on this pact, Alī Ādil Shāh first reduced Terkul and then laid seige to Dhārwar, and took it after a siege of six months. He next laid siege to Bankāpur, which was stoutly defended by Velappa-Rāya and his son. Velappa applied for help also from Tirumala, but the latter could offer little or none because of the insurrectionaries nearer home. Velappa heroically held out for a year and three months and when his son fell, he surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, 135-9; III. 432). Mustafa Khān, the general of Alī Ādil Shāh, then entered and took possession of it. Mustafa appears to have next turned his attention against Tirumala himself and advanced against Penukonda, his capital. But Chennappa Nāyadu, a general of Tirumala, attacked him and beat him off. (*M.E.R.* 1902; App. A. 336 of 1401). If this lithic record is to be believed, Mustafa's attack should have been a well organized one, as it speaks of several Mussalman chiefs being engaged in it. Chennappa took care to put the Penukonda fort in order after the attack. He repaired and extended it and set up the inscribed slab containing these details in the Ānjanēya temple at its north gate. (*Ibid*). Though this record is dated in 1577 A.D., in the reign of Srī-Ranga II, incidents referred to in it might be taken to refer to the time of Tirumala I, who was evidently still living then. Another record of Srī-Ranga, dated in 1580 A.D., refers to a temple of Kēsavasvāmi built by him, evidently after repelling Mustafa's attack on Penukonda. This temple is no longer in existence (see *M.E.R.* 1902, App. A, No. 341), its site being occupied by a Reading Room. This attack on Penukonda and (since it is now known that

Tirumala might have lived up to 1578 A.D.,) the second attack that was made on it in 1577 A.D., may also be noted here, though the details relating to it will be found more properly under the reign of Sri-Ranga II. Thus he might have retaken Rajahmundry (Vēngi) and even driven out the intruding Orissan king, who might have shown a tendency to re-cross the Krishna. Hence the reference to the "reconquering of the Utkala king" in the Tumkur copper-plates. He might have even tried his hand against Kalyāna, which Rāma-Rāja had once before taken. As regards his victory over Ganga of Konaranikōta, he was evidently some local chief put down by him. Similarly, the Rāja of Roddi was evidently either a subordinate or a feudatory nearer home, for Roddi has probably to be identified with Rodda-nādu, a district of Penukonda-rājya, referred to in several inscriptions of Achyuta and Sadāsiva. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Nos. 89, 569, 571, 73 and 97).

His sons as  
viceroys.

Tirumala seems to have continued the time honoured custom of his predecessors of appointing princes of the Royal house as Viceroys of the Provinces. Tirumala, according to inscriptions and literary works, had four sons named Raghunātha, Sri-Ranga, Rāma, and Venkata. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamū*, Text, 214 and *Vasucharitramū*, Text, 220; also Kuniyur plates of Venkata II *E.I.* 252, dated in 1634; and the Avani copper-plates of Sri Ranga VI, dated in 1645 A.D., *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). Of these, the first figured as a brave warrior in the great battle of Raksas-Tagdi and is no more heard of. (See Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 247). He is described as a great warrior in the *Rāmarājīyamū* (*Sources*, Text, 214), in which he is stated to have so vehemently fought against the Muhammadans that he won the admiration and applause of those who witnessed the battle. The *Vasucharitramū* seems to confirm this when it affirms that he

courageously opposed the continued forces of the Adil Shāh and the Nizām Shāh on the bank of the Krishna and drove them off with great slaughter. (*Sources*, Text, 220). This poem speaks of him as a devout Vaishnava. (*Ibid*). The probable dates of these fights in which he was engaged cannot be determined. If he had survived the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, then he may be taken to have lived until about 1573 A.D., when, with his own death and the death of his brother Rāma, Srī-Ranga II became *Yuvarāja* and co-ruler. Srī-Ranga (Srī-Ranga II) appears to have been Viceroy of the home province of Penukonda, though at first he appears to have been in charge of Udayagiri. A grant of his brother Venkata I states he conquered Kondavīdu, Vinukonda, and other forts and began to rule at Penukonda. Apparently his Viceroyalty over Penukonda commenced after these conquests, which he doubtless accomplished on behalf of his brother. It would thus seem that a good part of the Nellore and Guntur countries, were reoccupied in Tirumala's time. (*E.I.* XII, 186; see also *E.I.* XI, 328; XVI, 319, 297 *E.I.* VII, Shimoga 83; *E.I.* XII, Chiknayakanahalli 39; and *M.E.R.* 1911, No. 23). He probably became Viceroy at Penukonda in or about 1573 A.D., when he became *Yuvarāja*. (See below). His brother Rāma or Rāma-Rājayya-Dēva (Rāma-Rāja III) was Viceroy of the Seringapatam country. The *Vasucharitramu* mentions that his rule extended over the territory between the Cauvery and the Arabian Sea with his capital at Seringapatam. (See *Sources*, Text, 221). The *Rāma-Rājīyamu* states that he opposed and beat off the forces of Nizām Shāh with a prowess that would do credit to Bhīma, the epic hero. (See *Sources*, Text, 215). He appears to have governed Penukonda before he was transferred to Seringapatam. Several records of his, attest to his rule at Seringapatam. One, dated in 1569 A.D., is the earliest of these. He is styled in it *Mahāmandalēsvara*. It

records the gift of Kollegal to one Rāma-Nāyaka, a dependent of his in the Sivanasamudra-sthala in the Hadinādu-sīme. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. E, No. 15). Another record, dated in 1577 A.D., mentions three of his officers, who repaired a tank bund and set up a flower-garden for the use of a temple. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. C. No. 43). A third comes from Yelandūr and is dated in *Saka* 1675, *Yuva* (which is wrong). Taking the cyclic year as correct, the date of this record would be 1574 A.D., which seems correct for Rāma III. In this record, which is dated in Tirumala's reign, he is called Chikka-Rāya (the usual title of the crown prince) and mention is made of one Ankusa-Rāya, who is referred to below. (*E.C.* IV, Yelandur 16.) In another record (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 48) which is roughly assigned by Mr. Rice to 1631 A.D., but which must be set down to somewhere about 1570 A.D., he is referred to as the son of Tirumala. In the Nagarkatte copper-plate record which comes from Krishnarajpet (see *E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 77), we have a further reference to him and his subordinate Immadi-Ankusa-Rāja, who is spoken as the grandson of Rāma-Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāja. This Rāma-Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāja is called the purifier of the *gōtra* of Rājādhirāja Vishnuvardhana. Evidently he was a descendant of and claimed kindred with the old Hoysala dynasty. He was in charge of the Nagamangala country, in which he made the gift, according to these plates, of an *agrahāra*. The plates, however, do not appear to have been correctly dated, as the dates *Saka* 1465 *Virōdhikrit*, do not agree, *Saka* 1465 corresponding to *Sōbhakrit* and *Virōdhikrit* being *Saka* 1473. Taking the cyclic year as signifying the intended date, the plates will have to be assigned to 1551 A.D. If this is the correct date, it is rather strange to see in it Rāma III described with the imperial titles and as ruling from Penukonda. The latter may be accepted as correct, for he was at first governor of Penukonda and the ascription

of the imperial titles may be set down to the fact that he was *Chikka-Rāya*, ruling more or less independently over the province in his charge. It should be added that a lithic grant similar to the Nagarkatte copper-plates is dated in 1573 A.D. Rāma is given in it also the imperial titles and described as ruling from Penukonda and as seated on the jewelled throne. Another record of his, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1581 A.D., confirms this statement. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 15). This registers a grant by one of his agents to Rāmānujāchārya of Melkote and describes Rāma III as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara und Rājādhirāja*. The date (1581 A.D.) assigned to this grant by Mr. Rice seems wholly untenable, as we have no record of Rāma III after 1573 A.D. It does not appear that he lived after that year; his death in or about that year should have hastened the appointment of Sri-Ranga as *Yuvarāja*. His nomination as *Yuvarāja* is also duly noted in the *Vasucharitramu*. (*Sources*, Text, 221). In a record dated in year 1573 A.D., Sri-Ranga is described as *Mahārāya*, apparently because he was associated with Tirumala in the government as *Yuvarāja*. This record registers the grant of Koilkuntha-Sīma to the Nandyāla chief Narasinga-Dēva as a *Nayankara* by Sri-Ranga II, without any reference to his father, who was still living. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, Para 75; App. B Nos. 698 and 699, dated in 1573 and 1571 A.D.). Tirumala was evidently only emperor in name at the time. This is confirmed by a record dated in *Saka* 1494 (or A.D. 1527) which registers a gift by Sri-Ranga II to his *guru* Tirumala Komāra Tātāchārya for the merit of his mother Vengalāmma.

Venkata I, the fourth son of Tirumala, appears to have governed the Tamil country. According to the *Vasucharitramu*, he was stationed at Chandragiri and from there ruled over many feudatories. (See *Sources*, Text, 221). These are spoken of in the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsavali* as those holding sway over the Tundīra (old

Pallava) Chōla, and Pāndya countries. (*Ibid.*, Text, 303). Evidently the Nāyakas of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura were included in his jurisdiction.

Feudatories,  
Ministers and  
Generals.

Prominent among the chief feudatories of Tirumala I were the Nāyakas of Tanjore, Madura, Vellore, and Gingee; the Wodeyars of Mysore; the Nāyakas of Kēladi and other chiefs. It is unnecessary to detail the history of these feudatories here. An important point to note about them is that during this period they all stood firm with the Imperial house. Bol Chāma-Rāja-Wodeyar IV was the ruling contemporary king; Rāma-Rāja-Nāyaka, grandson of Sadāsiva-Nāyaka was the Kēladi chief; Virappa-Nāyaka ruled at Madura; and Komāra Krishnappa at Gingee. A feudatory of some interest was the Matla chief Tirumala-Rāja, who claimed Chōla descent. At his request, the Emperor Tirumala I granted the village of Penagaturu, re-named Yellamarājēndra-Samudra, to certain Brāhmans. This chief's father had been a feudatory in the time of Sadāsiva and he and his ancestors were according to the *Kākustha Vijayamu*, a work written at the close of the 16th century, evidently closely related to the royal house of Vijayanagar. Matla Ananta, the author of this work, was the brother of Matla Tirumala-Rāja of the above quoted record. He probably lived about 1565-66 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Para 70). Ananta's two other brothers were Varada and Chinna-Timma. His father was Yella, after whom the village granted was very likely re-named. His grand-father Konaya is styled "the foremost of chiefs born in the Chōla family of the solar race." Hence the Matla chiefs called themselves "Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāja." (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 61; App. A. No. 1). Matla Ananta built the *gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at lower Tirupati. The two images on the walls of this temple represent his father and mother, Matla Tiruvēngalanātha-

rāju and his consort Channamma. (*Ibid*, as corrected in *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 51; App. B. Nos. 763 and 764. For further details about Matla Ananta, see under *Venkata I* below). Tirumala's general Channappa Nāyadu and his able defence of Penukonda, we have mentioned above. Another general of his was Dannāyaka Narasappa, who is mentioned in a record of 1572 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 99). An agent of his in the Sira country was Chaivapa Nāyaka, who is referred to in a record of 1569 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 10).

Tirumala appears to have been a great donor to temples and learned men. The Tumkur copper-plates, dated in the year following his coronation, mention the gifts bestowed by him in a laconic but compendious manner when they state that "in Kānchi, Sri-Ranga, Sēshāchalā (*i.e.*, Tirupati), Kanakasabha, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, and Ahōbalādri (in the Kurnool District), and other places, again and again did he bestow gifts in temples and bathing places, of gold, *tulā-purusha*, and others besides minor gifts." (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1.) The Budihal copper-plates, whether spurious or not, repeat these gifts *ipsissima verba*. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 42.) Grants dated in the reigns of his son Ventaka I reiterate the making of these gifts in identical terms. (See the Vellangudi plates of Venkata I *E.I.* XVI, 319; the Tirumalapur plates of the same King, *E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39; and the Kudligi Sringēri-matha plates of the same king, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83). He seems to have lavishly kept the traditional virtues of the Royal House in the matter of maintaining the religious centres of life in an adequate manner. He was evidently a pious Vaishnava, though tolerant to a degree like his forbears. In the Panagalūru grant, he is described as a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari, *i.e.*, Vishnu" (*E.I.* XVI, 245).

As a donor to temples, etc.

As a patron  
of literature.

As a patron of literature, Tirumala I appears to have been even better known. In the Malur copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya, Tirumala is spoken of as "learned as Bhōja." This comparison would justify the deduction that he was something of a poet himself as Bhōja of ancient days certainly was and that he could well appreciate poetic talent in others and reward it. In the grants of his sons Sri-Ranga II and Venkata I, we have statements fully confirmatory of this description. Thus in one of the former, we find him praised as wise. (*E.I.* XII, 357); in one of the latter, the description is repeated. (*Nellore Ins.* I, 25; C.-P. No. 6). In a grant of Venkata II, the appellation re-appears, (*E.I.* III, 252) while in one of Sri-Ranga VI, he is termed "the learned Tirumala." (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). The suggestion, therefore, that he was deeply interested in learning and was himself possibly learned, cannot be doubted. The Penagalūru grant, which was issued at the request of the Matla chief Tirumala-Rāja, was in favour of Brāhmins learned in the *Sāstras* and the *Vēdānta*, certain of the *Vrithis* gifted being reserved for the encouragement of the study of the *Rig* and *Yajur Vēdas*. (*E.I.* XVI, 245). This grant incidentally furnishes a picture of Tirumala as he should have probably lived during the years following his coronation. From it, we are left to infer that he spent his days "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the *Vēdas* and are highly educated." (*Ibid* 257). This description need not be taken literally, for we know from other sources that he was still engaged (in 1571 A.D., the date of the Penagalūru grant) in wars and that he could not yet afford to wholly spend his living in literary discourses and pursuits. There were, all the same, gathered at his court, the most eminent poets of his time. The greatest was undoubtedly Bhattu-mūrti, surnamed *Rāma-Rāja-*



*Bhūshana*, because he had been the Court poet of the great Aliya Rāma-Rāja. No thoughtful critic now denies the identity of Bhattu-mūrti with *Rāma-Rāja-Bhūshana*, a title which displaced his original name. He was the author of the *Vasucharitramu*, *Harischandra-Nalopākhyānamu* and the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*. Of these, the first named is one of the most famous in Telugu literature and vies with the *Manucharitramu* in popularity. This is dedicated to Tirumala I. It narrates the story of Vasu, king of Prasthana, who, whilst hunting in a forest, discovers and falls in love with Girikanya, the daughter of the Kōlāhala mountain, and marries her. (See K. Veeresalingam Puntulu, *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, new edition; Wilson, *Meckenzie Collection*, 295). Its very plot suggests its romantic character and its being not a bad imitation of Allasāni Peddana's great and glorious work, the *Manucharitramu*. It is replete with exquisite descriptions, though its erotic character in places betrays the taste of the times. A talent of a wholly different kind is shown by Bhattu-mūrti in his *Harischandra-Nalopākhyānamu*. It is a single poem with a double meaning throughout; interpreted in one manner, it narrates the famous story of Harischandra, and in another, the adventures of Nala. In a less capable hand, the style would become worse than artificial, though Bhattu-mūrti with his infinite capacity for good poetry and undefined resources for phraseology, is able to narrate both the tales in a manner at once striking and picturesque. Neither of the narratives is impeded in its progress by the want of skill on the part of the author and their imagery is often so good that it is a surprise how the poet could have managed to present it with such ease and simplicity. Acute critics who have closely examined the poem are unanimous in praise of this poem and the departure initiated by Bhattu-mūrti caught on and we have had even imitators in this line of composition, for example

the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviyamu* of Pingalisūrana, who was probably a contemporary of Bhattu-mūrti. This work simultaneously narrates the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Though artificiality in poetry is justly to be decried, the talent displayed by the poet in the composition of the poem, extorts admiration. Another work of Bhattu-mūrti is *Narasabhūpāliyamu*, which treats of poetics. This was dedicated by him to Pōchirāju-Naraparāju and hence its name *Kāvya-lankāra-chūdāmani*. This Naraparāju was a nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Tirumala and distinguished himself in one of the wars against Barid Shāh, in which he captured the camp equipage of that Sultān. He is spoken of as a great warrior and as a splendid bowman. Among the exploits attributed to him in this work is his shooting at the fish in the *yantra*, much like Arjuna, the epic hero. He is described as a devotee of Narasimha and as ruling from Toragal. (See *Sources*, Text, 225-227). He married Tirumalāmba, a daughter of Tirumala, and had by her a son named Sri-Ranga-Rāja. (*Ibid*). Another poet of the period was Konērunātha-Kavi, the author of the *Bālabhāgavatha* (also called *Padya-Bālabhāgavata* because it is entirely in poetry). His patron was Chinna-Timma-Rāja, younger brother of Vitthala, the great leader of the expedition against the Tiruvadi-Rāja. Chinna-Timma evidently accompanied his brother in his expedition, for he is described in this poem as *Tiruvadi-Sthāpanāchārya* and as dictator of the Pāṇḍya country. (See *Sources*, Text 209). In the introductory verses of the *Bālabhāgavathamu*, Timma-Rāja, son of Rāma-Rāja I, is called *Prabandha-Nāyaka* of the *Padya-Bālabhāgavatha*, (*ibid*, Text, 207), while later on his son Chinna-Timma-Rāja, whose exploits are set down at greater length, is styled *Kruthi-Nāyakundu*. (*Ibid*, Text, 208). Evidently, the work was written in the time of Chinna-Timma, a cousin of Tirumala I, and

dedicated to him (as *Kruti Nāyaka*) but connected with his father's name as *Prabandha-Nāyaka*. This work is written in a highly popular metre and is intended for easy recitation by boys and girls of the main themes of the *Bhāgavata*, so dear to Vaishnavas generally. Another nephew of Tirumala, was both a poet and a patron of poets. This was Siddharāju Timma-bhūpāla, who was the son of Kōnamāmba, sister of Tirumala. He was the governor of Kondavidu and wrote the *Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu* in Telugu. This work is devoted to a narration of the lives of the Ālvārs and is particularly interesting as a simple narration of the lives of pious and inspiring Srī-Vaishnava devotees of the South. (See *Sources*, Text, 212). A poet who emigrated from the distant Kondavidu country to the Seringapatam Viceroyalty during this period and served at the Court of Immadi Ankūsa-Rāya, was one Ēkāmranātha. He was the author of *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam* both in Sānskrit. As we have seen, the Immadi-Ankūsa-Rāya, to whom these two works are dedicated, was a feudatory of Rāma III, son of Tirumala and Viceroy of Seringapatam. (See above). The Nāgarkatte grant, which is wrongly dated, though, taking the cyclic year, it should belong to 1551 A.D., states that Immadi-Ankūsa-Rāya was the grandson of Rāma Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāya, who is styled the purifier of the *gōtra* of Rājādhirāja-Vishnuvardhana. The statement that he was the grandson of Pedda Jagadēva-Rāya is confirmed by the facts set out in the introductory part of the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam*. (See *Sources*, 228 and *Madras MSS. Lib. Descriptive Catalogue*, XX, Nos. 11535 and 11816). Though in this work and in the other work *Satyāparinayam*, Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāya is described as belonging to the fourth caste, the Nāgarkatte plates connect him with the *Gōtra* of Vishnuvardhana. Pedda-Jagadēva evidently took part in the warfare of the period,

anterior to Tirumala's rule, as we know that he fought against Burān Nizām Shāh and defeated him. Among his sons were Jagadēka-Rāya and Ankusa-Rāya, the former of whom evidently helped Sri-Ranga II in repelling an invasion of the Muhammadans against Penukonda in 1577 A.D. (See below). Pingalisūrana, mentioned above, lived at the Court of the Nandyāla chief Krishna-Rāja, whose son Mahāmandalēsvara Venkādri-Rāja is known to us from a record dated in 1571 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 699 of 1917). He was the author of three great works *Prabhāvati-Pradyum-namu*, which struck a new vein in Telugu literature, and *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* and *Rāghava-Pandaviyanu*. Another poet of the time was Cherukūri Lakshmidhara, who wrote the commentary called *Abhishatārthadāyani* on Jayadēva's *Prasanna-rāghava* which he dedicated to Siddarāju Timmarāju, the author of *Paramanyōgi-vilāsamu*, above named. He was also the author of *Anārghva-rāghava*; *Shadbhāshachandrika*, a Prākṛit grammar; and many other works. A work of his, but attributed to Tirumala himself, is the *Srutaranjanī*, which is a commentary on the *Gīta-Gōvinda*, the great lyrical drama of Jayadēva. It is now generally acknowledged that this work was actually written by Cherukuri Lakshmidhara and set down in some copies of the work to Tirumala and his patron. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 196; *Sources*, 212-3; and *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 182; also Hultsch, *Report on Sanskrit Mss.*, IV. 130, No. 2112). Whether he was the real author of this work or not, it is fairly certain that Tirumala enjoyed a real reputation among his contemporaries as one learned in Sānskrit and capable, indeed, of bearing the burden of authorship. The phrase "learned as Bhōja-Rāja" in the Malur copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya cannot, therefore, be dismissed as mere empty praise indulged by Sabhāpati Svāyambhu, the composer of that record. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186).

Penukonda, the new capital, evidently received some attention at the hands of Tirumala. His general Channappa, as we have seen, repaired the fort and improved its defences. According to tradition, the town is said to have been founded by Kriyāsakti, the great Saiva teacher, who is said to have built Bukkapatnam as well. Virūpanna, Bukka's son, was its first known Governor. (See above; also *E.I.* VI, 327). The original fort had been built, according to a record in the eastern side of its northern gate, by Ananta-Dēva-Vodeya, the minister of Bukka I, in 1354 A.D. Since the earliest periods of Vijayanagar rule, it had been considered as the second capital of the kingdom and had been the seat of a Viceroyalty and sometimes the place of confinement of serious rivals to the throne. The story of the imprisonment of Dharma-Rāya (Tamarao of Nuniz) and of his assassination by Narasana-Nāyaka has already been narrated above. (See above under *Narasana-Nāyaka*). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have added to its defences and resided in it. He kept it always in a good state, evidently as a stand by, in case of need. The repairs and extensions effected by Channappa at the instance of Tirumala, converted it into a real *Ghanagiri* (*i.e.*, impregnable hill), a name by which it is frequently known in inscripational records. The statement of the *Vasucharitramu* that it was made the "lord of the hills" by the imparting to it of the *Girisathva*, by offering as slaughter the skulls of the slain soldiers and the bodies of slaughtered elephants, seems thus not a mere poetical exaggeration. It would seem to indicate that those defending the hill fortress successfully beat back an attack on it, the invading Muhammadan forces attacking it being done to death by the victorious defenders. To keep up the continuity of its connection with the older capital of Vijayanagar, the kingdom itself is referred to in the Tumkur copper-plate grant (1571 A.D.) as the

Penukonda,  
the new  
capital.

“Penukonda-rājya belonging to Hastināvati” (i.e., Vijayanagar). (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1).

Alleged  
abdication of  
Tirumala in  
favour of his  
son Srī-  
Ranga II

A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri that Tirumala I abdicated the throne in favour of his son Srī-Ranga II. The *Vasucharitramu*, which he quotes in support of this statement, only states that he made Srī-Ranga *Yururaja* and no more. (See *Sources*, Text, 221; See *A.S.I.* 1902-10, 181-2). The *Srutaranjani*, a work attributed to Tirumala himself, no doubt states that he transferred the burden of the administration to his sons, and spent his time amidst poets and learned people, but this cannot, especially in the light of other available evidence, be held to support the theory of abdication. The fact seems to be that he practically made over charge of the administration to his three sons, who were Viceroys, and himself watched their rule. This would only mean that his sons were co-rulers with him and that Srī-Ranga II was actually associated with himself as *Yuvarāja*. This position was by no means unusual with the rulers of the Vijayanagar house, as it certainly was not either with the Chōlas or the Hoysalas.

Date of  
Tirumala's  
death, 1578  
A.D.

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has likewise suggested that Tirumala's rule was a short one and did not extend beyond two or three years. He sets him down to 1571-1573 A.D. The Rev. H. Heras has also taken the same view and has, indeed, headed the chapter relating to Tirumala as “the short reign of Tirumala.” He evidently would put him down to a period below a year. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 250). This deduction does not appear to be well founded. There is a record of Tirumala I dated in 1578 A.D. which comes from the Kolar District. (*E.C.* X, Malur 57). The Masti copper-plate grant which registers a grant by the Yelahanka chief Hiriya-Kempe-Gauda

and yields this date, was issued in the reign of Tirumala I, who is given his *full imperial titles* in it. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this record might be referred to Tirumala II, because he was ruling over Chandragiri and in this grant, Tirumala is actually described as ruling from his jewelled throne at that place. It is possible that the grant might have been sanctioned while Tirumala I was temporarily at Chandragiri, which was a subsidiary capital of the Empire as well. But as Tirumala II is styled only *Mahāmandalēsvara* in two other records (*E.C.* III, 39 and 40) both dated in 1585 A.D., the Masti record cannot reasonably be set down to Tirumala II. Further, recently another record (Mulbagal Sripāda-Rāya-math copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1499) of Tirumala, dated in 1578 A.D., registering the grant of a village in Bairākur to a Brāhman, has been traced. The date of this grant, of which the original is not forthcoming, seems astronomically correct (8th March 1578). This grant also describes Tirumala with all his imperial titles, though it describes him as ruling from his jewelled throne at Chandragiri. (*M.A.R.* 1927, pp. 85-6, No. 89). This record seems to suggest not only that Tirumala I lived at least up to 1578 A.D., but also was actually ruling the Empire. This and the Masti records seem to dispose of the suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that Tirumala I should have died about 1571 A.D. The authority on which it is based—the apocryphal prophecy contained in an inscription in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné* of the *Mackenzie Mss.*—seems to be too fragile to depend upon on a point like this. Probably we may not be far wrong if we set down the year 1578 A.D., as the year of the death of Tirumala I. This would mean a rule of some 7 years, which is by no means an incredible period. He might have been advanced in years at the time of his death, probably nearing his ninety-eighth year. If a man could have lived up to ninety-two, there can be no objection to his having lived another

six more years. The possibilities are that Tirumala lived from time to time, during his last years, at Chandragiri, from where probably the Masti and the Mulbagal copper-plate grants were issued.

Tirumala's  
personal  
appearance.

According to a famous stray verse attributed to Bhattumūrti, Tirumala's Court poet, Tirumala is said to have possessed only one eye. The poet's comparison of his sovereign to Sukrāchārya, who had only one eye and was all-knowing, is thus complete, for Tirumala had also only one eye and was highly learned. The fact that he had only one eye is confirmed by Cæsar Frederick, according to whom he lost the other one in the great battle of Tālikota. (See *Sources*, 221-222, quoting *Purchas*, X 93).

An estimate  
of Tirumala's  
rule.

Whether as Prime Minister of Rāma-Rāja or as ruler of the Empire, after him, Tirumala appears to have impressed his contemporaries as an energetic sovereign. The Tumkur grant certainly conveys the idea that he did not rest until he re-established the Empire on a secure basis. "Having delivered the Earth," it says, "from the ocean of his enemies, he received the name of *Dharani-Varāha*, and the earth, forsaking all others, clung to him." There seems little or no exaggeration in this description. After the trials of the year 1565 A.D. and what followed it at the old capital, the people should have desired a king who could educe order out of the chaos that confronted them. Tirumala, whatever may have been his fault in not rallying the forces after the disaster at Raksas-Tagdi on a fresh position or even in not attempting to defend the hills and approaches round about Vijayanagar City, cannot be said to have failed in soon re-establishing peace and security within his realm. The title of *Dharani-Varāha*, as we have seen, was originally applied to Kings of the second Dynasty and there is an appropriateness in Svayambhū, the poet and composer of the Tumkur grant,



applying it to Tirumala. There seems to be a gentle hint in the words "the Earth, forsaking all others, clung to him," to the supercession of Sadāsiva and to Tirumala's taking over the sovereignty for himself. The idea underlying seems to be that the Goddess Earth, tired of the vicissitudes she had recently undergone, exchanged her lord, *i.e.*, she gave up Sadāsiva and wedded Tirumala. Hence it is that the poet in the previous lines describes the Goddess Earth as being crowned with Tirumala. The fickleness of the Goddess Earth is a favourite theme of the poets in India and Svayambhū suggests that the revolution was justified by the circumstances. It is possible that in this respect he echoes the feeling of his times. Tirumala's murder of Sadāsiva, though thus justified, cannot in any sense be commended. It was not merely a crime but also a political blunder. It was a crime because Sadāsiva was an inoffensive and good natured sovereign who allowed all the latitude Rāma-Rāja or his brother Tirumala desired, and to have despatched him because of his being an impediment in the way of Tirumala realizing his ambitions, argues rank treachery. It was a political blunder because it alienated the sympathies of the feudatories throughout the Empire and that just at the very moment when their united voice and will were required to regain the lost position. That this is no mere imaginary criticism is proved by the fact that he was unable to help the Dhārwar chief against Alī Ādil Shāh, with the result that later on he invited an attack on himself at Penukonda. The evils of the transfer of capital—taking it for granted that such transfer could have been avoided by more energetic action than Tirumala displayed—were manifolded as the political effects of this sad and mistaken crime. He may have been "a devoted brother" to Rāma-Rāja as the Malur plates put it (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186), but he proved an ambitious kinsman and a disloyal subject, who evidently aimed at

subverting the sovereignty merely to satisfy his personal ambitions.

Coinage of  
Tirumala I.

Tirumala is said to have introduced what has been called the "three Svāmi pagoda," as it contains on its obverse three figures, one standing, the other two seated. As he was a devotee of Srī-Venkatēsvara of Tirupati, the three may represent that deity and his two wives. Some writers have identified the three figures with Lakshmana, with Rāma and Sīta. (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64). This identification does not appear to be well-founded. Tirumala's many records do not refer to his coin, which seems strange.

Statues of  
Tirumala I  
and his  
Queen  
Vēngalāmba.

In the temple on the Tirupati Hill, close to the first Gōpura, there are statues made in stone of King Tirumala and his queen Vēngalāmba. As these statues have not got their names inscribed on them, it has long been a question as to whom they represented. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri has identified them as those of Tirumala I and his queen Vēngalāmba. Judging from the statues, Tirumala should have been a well-built, handsome figure, tall and majestic and soldierly in bearing, and his queen Vēngalāmba, a woman, a little less tall, but of great grace and beauty. (See *A.S.I.* Plate LXXVI for a lithotype reproduction of these statues).

Srī-Ranga-  
Rāja II, 1571-  
1586 A.D.

On the death of Tirumala I, whenever it happened, Srī-Ranga-Rāja II succeeded him on the throne. He was, since 1571 A.D., Yuvarāja and co-ruler with his father and as such, inscriptional records speak of him as already reigning from that date. (*M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 50; No. 380 of 1919 dated in *Saka* 1493 or 1571 A.D.). The year 1571 A.D., evidently then marks his accession to the throne as co-ruler. It has been suggested, however, that

this date might refer to his accession in his own right as successor to Tirumala. This seems altogether impossible, as the latest record of Sadāsiva, which has proved acceptable, is dated in *Saka* 1492 (or A.D. 1570-1), and Tirumala's reign as *de jure* sovereign has to be accommodated between these two dates *i.e.*, *Sakas* 1492 and 1493, or 1570-1 and 1571-2 A.D. (*Ibid*). Moreover, we have records in *Saka* 1494, *i.e.*, 1572-3 A.D., of Tirumala I (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 54; App. C, No. 185 dated in *Saka* 1494; and *M.A.R.* 1909-10, Para 99 dated in 1572 A.D.), which militates against this suggestion. These latter records indicate that Tirumala cannot have relinquished his sovereignty within a year after the issue of his Penagalūrū grant dated in 1571 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. A, No. 1) but having regard to these above quoted records, where he is mentioned with his full imperial titles, should have continued, at least nominally, as the reigning Emperor, leaving the actual administration in the hands of Srī-Ranga II. If, indeed, the Masti and Srīpādarāyama grants of *Saka* 1499 (or 1577-8 A.D.) are to be believed, then probably Tirumala did not actually die till that year, though he might have lived longer than that as we do not hear of him after that year. (See under *Tirumala I*). There are inscriptional records of Srī-Ranga II dated from 1571 to 1585 A.D.—in almost every year—and he appears to have been in active occupation of the throne during these fifteen years. At the same time, there has so far come to light one lithic record of his, dated in 1599 A.D., which describes him with his full imperial titles and represents him as still ruling the Empire of the Earth—in the reign of Venkata I. It registers the grant of an *agrahāra* to the west of Kunigal, by Venkata Krishnājamna, the wife of Immadi-Hire-Kempayya-Gaudaraiyya, the Yelahanka-nād-prabhu, for the merit of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. It is dated in *Saka* 1521 (so in the original) cyclic year *Vikūri*, *Jyēsthā*. 13,

which seems correct. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 12). It is difficult to reconcile the date furnished by this record, (*i.e.*, 1599 A.D.,) for the last year of Sri-Ranga's reign with that furnished by numerous other records which stop at 1585 A.D. The difference of fourteen years between the two is rather large and 1599 A.D., takes us right into the middle of the reign of Venkata I. One of two inferences is possible. Either that Sri-Ranga lived down to the year 1599 A.D., and was still *nominally* king in that year or that the record was engraved long after Sri-Ranga's rule was over and that the date on it represents the date of engraving of the record and not of the making of the gift. There is also a copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1514, *Pramādi*, *Vaisāka-Su* 12 in the reign of Sri-Ranga II. *Saka* 1514 and *Pramādi* do not agree and so the date as given is obviously wrong. As the cyclic year may be taken to be the intended date, the date of the grant would correspond to *Saka* 1501, or A.D. 1579, which seems quite correct for Sri-Ranga II. *Saka* 1514 given in the record corresponds to 1592 A.D., and would obviously prolong the reign of Sri-Ranga II, by six years, beyond 1586 A.D. For the present, we might take 1585-1586 A.D., as the last year of Sri-Ranga's reign, especially as there are inscriptions of his in *Saka* 1507, *Pārthiva*, and *Saka* 1508, *Vijaya*, corresponding to 1585-6 A.D., and 1586-7 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 53; App. C, No. 70 *Saka* 1506; *M.A.R.*, Para 122, inscription at Dyamenahalli, Arsikere Taluk dated in 1585; see also *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 187; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73), and none of Venkata I with titles indicating supreme sovereignty, have been found dated prior to *Saka* 1505. (See *E.C.* XII, Sira 3, dated in 1583, where he is given the full imperial titles). Moreover, the earliest mention of the coronation of Venkata I is contained in his Dalavai-Agrahāram plates dated in *Saka* 1508. (*E.I.* XII, 161). Finally, in certain copper-plate records belonging to his reign, Venkata I is

definitely stated to have occupied the throne only after the *death* of Srī-Ranga II. His coronation, which took place in 1586 A.D., can only have come after his *death* and not while he was still alive. Thus in the Dalavai-Agrahāram plates, dated 1586 A.D., (verses 23-26), it is stated that King Srī-Ranga (II) then (after his rule) went to heaven (*i.e.*, died) and after that event, Venkatapati-dēvarāya, began to rule the earth (verses 27-39). Similarly in the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant of Venkata I, dated in 1587 A.D., it is stated that his anointment to the throne took place after "Srī-Ranga (II) attained to the feet of Murāri." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83).

That Srī-Ranga's coronation actually took place at Penukonda, the new capital, is known from a number of later records. In the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* copper-plate grant of Venkata I, dated in 1587 A.D., it is stated that he took up his residence at Penukonda and was anointed to the throne, in accordance with the rules, by the chief Brāhmans, (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83), while in the Mangalampād grant of the same kind, dated in 1602-3 A.D., it is mentioned that his installation was performed according to the prescribed rules by the best of Brāhmans. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 30; C.-P. No. 6). These grants agree, however, in the statement that on that occasion "he everywhere rained gold" and "the fierce forest-fire which was the poverty of the good was quenched." (*Ibid*, 30-1). Evidently, Srī-Ranga should have been lavish in his charities to deserve such a handsome description, which cannot be wholly poetic. (See also *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83, where it said that Srī-Ranga on this occasion "distributed gifts on every side.").

The administration of the empire continued as in the reign of his father. His younger brother Rāma III continued as Viceroy (*Mahāmandalēsvara*) of Seringapatam.

His  
coronation.

The Admini-  
stration of the  
Empire.

(a) The  
Seringapatam  
Viceroyalty—  
Rāma III,  
Viceroy.

In 1575 A.D., Alī Ādil Shāh, while on a visit to the frontiers of his province, appears to have taken Chandragutti in the Shimoga District and rebuilt (probably repaired) the fortress at the place. At the request of Sankara-Nāyak, one of those chiefs who had rebelled against the Imperial House, he proceeded to Kanur (probably Kadur) but failed in his attempt to take it. Sankara-Nāyak prevailed on some of the chieftains on the West Coast to submit to Alī Ādil Shāh. According to Ferishta, among those who then agreed to pay tribute to Alī were Siva-Nāyak of Jenah, the Rāni of Barcelor and a few others. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 139-141). An edict of Rāma III dated in 1576 A.D. proclaimed that no taxes should be levied on the barbers of that province, evidently enforcing the famous order of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. (*M.A.R.* 1911, 1912, Para 111). Another record of his, dated in the same year, granted, for the merit of his father, a stone charter formally conveying a grant made to the *chatra* at Terakanāmbi by his father Tirumala I. Venkappa Nāyak, his *dalavāi*, joined him in the issue of this charter. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 21). He may be identified with Dalavāi Rēmati Venkatayya, mentioned in the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya-Vamsāvali*. (See *Sources*, 303). Again, in 1578 A.D., he issued another stone charter conferring a rent free village on one Rāma-Rāja-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 23). He was more or less independent in his charge of the Seringapatam province, for he is, in records dated about this period (1576-8 A.D.), called also Mahārāsu. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 27, dated in 1557; Mandya 37 dated 1576). Almost the last grant of his in his province was one made by him and (his wife) Vābajamma in favour of God Nārāyana at Melkote in 1581 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 158). Vābajamma mentioned in this record, was probably the wife of Rāma-Rāja III. According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, he is said to have married one Narasingamma. (See *Sources*, 213). It is

not possible to say if this was different from Vābajamma. His elder son, Tirumala II, appears to have succeeded him in the Seringapatam charge. The first record so far known of him is one dated in 1584 A.D., which records the grant of Timmasamudra village to a number of Brāhmans by an agent of his in the Seringapatam province. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 111). In a record dated in the succeeding year (1585), he is actually called *mahāmandalēsvara* and in as much as it records the grant by him, for the merit of his father, of four villages to Brāhmans, it has to be inferred that his father should have died about that time. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 39-40). Thus the suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that he might have died about 1577 A.D., does not appear to be well founded. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 291). Another grant of his is registered in a record dated in 1586 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 44). He continued in this charge even during the reign of Venkata I, for we find grants of his in this area dated in 1589 and 1591 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 25; Mandya 5). In the first of these records, dated in 1589, he is termed *Vīrapratāpa*, indicating his independent rule, while, in the last, dated in 1591 A.D., the grant is said to have been made by his minister for the merit of Rāma-Rājayya (*i.e.*, father of Tirumala II). A kinsman of his, Chinna-Timma-Rājayya, son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and brother of Sri-Ranga IV, was evidently in charge about 1580 A.D., of parts of the Kolar district. A grant of his is registered in a record dated in that year. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 153). There were evidently a number of local chiefs scattered throughout the Mysore country during this period. Among these was Mahāmandalēsvara Sripati-Rāja-Vallabha-Rāja, who made a grant in favour of the Pāñchāla or artizan classes of the Būdhil-Sīme in 1573 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 8). He is said to have made a grant to a Jain *basti* at Būdhil in 1579

A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 22). Tammaya Gauda, the Sugatūr chief, was another. Some of his grants, dated between 1575 and 1585 A.D., are known. (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 65 dated in 1517; Kolar 66 dated in 1578; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 44, No. 7 dated in 1579; *E.C.* X, Siddlaghatta 51). Another was Venkatappa-Nāyaka, son of Sindu-Gōvinda, described as a white-bodied Bhīma, boon lord of Manināgapura, defeater of the *Turuka* army, grandson of Bājappa-Nāyaka and son of Krishnappa Nāyaka. He was evidently in charge of the area round Yedatore, in the Mysore District, where the grant of an *agrahāram* by him is recorded. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore dated in 1576 A.D.). Bayia (Bairē) Gauda, the Avati-nād Prabhu, was another. (*E.C.* X, Chik-Ballapur 27 and 28 dated 1575 and 1574 A.D.). There was one Venkatādri-Nāyaka at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 12 dated in 1580 A.D.). A grant of his dated in 1584 A.D. is also known. (*E.C.* V, Belur 212). The Harati chief also figures as a subordinate in this reign. (*M.E.R.* 1917-1918, Para 76; App. B, 721). Mahānāyakāchārya Rangappa-Nāyaka was a subordinate not only in this reign but also in the next one. (*Ibid.*, App. B, Nos. 721 and 728). Immadi Ranga was a later subordinate of Venkata I. (*Ibid.*, No. 736). Later, about 1693 A.D., chiefs of this line appear to have asserted their independence. (*Ibid.*, App. B, No. 766). In that year, the Harati chief, Rāyappa Ranga, assumed the title of *Mahārāja*, though the later chiefs contented themselves with the designation of *Mahāmandalesvara* and omitted all mention of their Vijayanagar suzerain. (See *Ibid.*, App. B, Nos. 737, 740, 741 and 743). They probably became independent not long after the Mysore Rājas declared their independence of Vijayanagar. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* II, 194). Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore succeeded to the Mysore throne in 1578 A.D. He soon came into conflict with Tirumala II, the Viceroy. According to the Hanasoge copper-plate grant of Immadi-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar,



dated in 1761 A.D., Rāja-Wodeyar “speedily subduing Tirumala-Rāja, seated himself on the jewelled throne in Srīrangāpura, and gaining the Empire, received obeisance from all Kings.” (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 17). The *exact date* of this event—the driving out of Tirumala II from Seringapatam, the Viceregal seat—is not known from contemporary records. As we have seen above, the latest date available for Tirumala II in the reign of his Viceroyalty, is 1591 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 5 and 25). The next definite record we have is one dated in 1622 A.D., in the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV, in which it is distinctly stated that Venkata I granted in *Saka* 1534 cyclic year *Paridhāvi* (or A.D. 1612), Ummattūr and Seringapatam as an hereditary estate. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur 62). In a record, dated in 1639 A.D., in the reign of the Vijayanagar King Venkata II and the Mysore King Kanthīrava-Narasarāja I, it is stated that the Mysore kings “again obtained the Karnāta portion of the Earth, to protect it,” thereby suggesting that they had a right to its possession. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198). This is obviously a reference to the formal recognition by Venkata I of the conquest of Seringapatam by Rāja-Wodeyar in or about 1610 A.D., for the recognition was in 1612 A.D., and the conquest itself might have been accomplished not long before it. It is thus evident that towards the close of the reign of Venkata I, Seringapatam was actually lost to the Imperial Government and in the disturbed times that followed his death, it was safe in the keeping of Rāja-Wodeyar. Though we have had to anticipate a little here, it is clear from what we have stated above, that in the reign of Srī-Ranga II, Rāja-Wodeyar drove away Tirumala II from Seringapatam, his Viceregal seat, and practically annexed it to his own dominions. As we have no records of Tirumala II beyond 1591 A.D., and as the recognition of Rāja-Wodeyar’s claim to Seringapatam was formally admitted

by Venkata I in 1612 A.D., it would seem to follow that Tirumala II was "subdued" by Rāja-Wodeyar between these two years 1591 and 1612 A.D. We may not be wrong if we set down the event to about 1610 A.D.

Loyalty  
of West  
Coast Chiefs.

On the West Coast, Bhairava-Wodeyar of Karkala recognized the suzerainty of Srī-Ranga. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 104, inscription at Hariharapura, Koppa Taluk, dated in 1573 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1927, Para 65, No. 54, Ins. dated in 1574 A.D.). The Kēladi chief, Rāma-Rāya-Nāyaka, was similarly loyal to the Imperial House. His country was evidently peaceful at the time. As a dutiful scion of the family, he restored the *agrahāra* established by his grandfather in Sadāsiva-Rāya's time. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 5, dated in 1577 A.D.).

Portuguese  
incursions  
into  
Vijayanagar  
Dominions.

The Portuguese, however, did not allow any rest to the generality of the dependents of Vijayanagar in this area. On the pretence of claiming to collect arrears of tribute, they frequently attacked several of these and wrought much loss of life and destruction of property. Thus they had attacked Gersoppa in 1569 A.D. and taken it, despite the valiant resistance offered by Bhairadēvi, the Queen. An attempt to retake it in the following year having failed, she was induced to combine forces with Alī Ādil Shāh in a fresh attack on the place. This attack also shared the same fate. The Portuguese simultaneously advanced against the chief of Tolar and took the fortress of Barcelor (Busrur). A few other places were dealt with in the same way but without any decisive results. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 293-295 and the Portuguese authorities quoted therein).

Chandragiri  
Viceroyalty.

In the Chandragiri province, Venkata II, the grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and son of Srī-Ranga IV, was in charge as Viceroy. He is referred to in the Triplicane

record of 1585 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. A. No. 237) as Rāma-Rāja-Venkatapati-Rāju, *i.e.*, Venkata (or Venkata, the grandson of Rāma-Rāja), who could be no other than Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whose grandson was Peda-Venkata (the Venkata II of history). That he is the person referred to and not Venkata I (as stated by the Rev. H. Heras, see *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 280-281) is proved by another record dated in 1582 A.D., which describes him as Rāma-Rāja-Venkatayyadēva-Mahārāja. This record registers a grant to the Sriperumbudur temple by his Dalavāi Gōpāla-Tirumalai-Nāyakar. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App. C. No. 194).

During this reign, the capital continued to be at Penukonda practically throughout the whole period. Ferishta has observed that after the attack on the place by Alī Ādil Shāh in 1576-7 A.D., Venkata I (he calls him Venkatādri) "committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandurgeery," (*i.e.*, Chandragiri), in the present Chittōor District. This statement has been widely copied and has been interpreted to mean that the capital was permanently transferred by Venkata I to Chandragiri as the result of Alī Ādil Shāh's attack in 1567 A.D. (*Anantapur District Gazetteer*, 21; *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, 37). The Rev. H. Heras has categorically refuted this statement by quoting inscriptional records from 1572 A.D. to 1585 A.D., the last year of Venkata I, to show that he ruled from Penukonda as capital. There is little doubt that this statement is, in the main, correct. He is not only discovered in these records as ruling from Penukonda, but also as seated on the diamond throne there. The further remark of the Rev. H. Heras that "no inscription has hitherto been described stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri" has to be endorsed as entirely well founded. A careful collation of all the

Penukonda  
still the  
Imperial  
Capital.

known records of Srī-Ranga II, running from 1571 to 1585 A.D., (about fifty records) shows that the description uniformly is that he was at Penukonda "ruling the Empire of the Earth," "ruling the Kingdom," "ruling the Empire of the World," "seated on the diamond throne at Penukonda and ruling the kingdom of the world", etc. Sometimes the word "jewelled throne," takes the place of the "diamond throne," but there is no change in the name of the capital even in a single case. That Penukonda was in effective occupation in 1576-77 A.D., the year of Ali Ādil Shāh's war, is proved by some of these records. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73; App. B. No. 446 dated in 1577 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1259, Rapur, 41 dated in 1575-6-7; *E.C.* Yedatore 57 dated in 1576-7; *E.C.* Kolar 146, dated in 1576-7; *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1185; Podili 27; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 57; App. A. No. 13, C.-P. Grant dated in 1576-7). In a record dated in *Saka* 1499, *Khara*, (which do not agree) mention is made of one Savaram Channa as the Governor of Penukonda. He had the title of "Svāmidrōharaganda" or "the husband of the king's enemies" (*M.E.R.* Para 35; App. A., C.-P. No. 10 from Srīperambudūr District, whose date may be 1577 A.D.). A more conclusive case against Ferishta's statement can hardly be imagined. Lest it should be misunderstood that a record mentioned by Messrs. Butterworth and Vēnugōpal Chetty has been missed, reference may here be made to an inscription of Srī-Ranga (II) dated in the "Thāthu" year (?) corresponding to S. S. 1489 (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 399, Note). They add, "probably the year *Dhātu* and S. S. 1499 should be read" and remark "Ranga-Rāja was then living at Chandragiri." The latter is an addition of their own and there appears nothing to show that even the "translation" furnished to them of this record, of which the original is not given in that work, contains the statement that Ranga lived at Chandragiri in *Saka* 1499 (or

A.D. 1577), the corrected date. It is hardly necessary to add that in stating that Ranga was, in 1577 A.D., living at Chandragiri, Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty were setting down Ferishta's statement which had passed into current history.

Venkata I, the younger brother of Sri-Ranga II, was governing the Padaividu-rājya, roughly corresponding to the old Pallava country. A gift of land for his merit was made to the temple of Talasayana-Perumā at Kudalmallai, in the Padaividu-rājya. He is referred to as the king's brother Venkatapatidēva-mahārāja, (*M.E.R.* 1910 App. B. No. 255, dated in 1579 A.D.) whereas his cousin Venkata II is referred to as Rāma-Rājayya Venkatayyadēva-Mahārāja in the Sriperumbudūr record already quoted. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 54; App. C. No. 194 dated in 1582 A.D.).

According to a couple of records dated in 1568 A.D., Venkata I is said to have conquered Ceylon, evidently a reference to an expedition against part of Northern Ceylon for enforcing the tribute. (*M.E.R.* 1898-1900 Para 82; and *M.E.R.* 1906 Para 49). This must have been the expedition which occurred in 1564-5 A.D., in Sadāsiva's reign. (See *M.E.R.* 1900, No. 19 of 1900; Sathyanātha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 71-2). As Sri-Ranga II also claims to have conquered Ceylon (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 35), we may take it that Venkata I undertook the expedition in association with Sri-Ranga II before the latter began his reign.

Under Venkata I as Viceroy were the Nāyakas of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. Kumāra-Krishnappa Nāyaka succeeded Tirumala Nāyak but died towards the close of 1572 A.D. Krishnappa was succeeded by his son Virappa, who acknowledges his suzerainty to Sri-Ranga II in a record dated in 1579 A.D. (*M.E.R.* No. 187 of 1895). About 1553 A.D. he refused to pay the usual tribute (about 600,000 *paḷḷas*) and rebelled. Achyuta-Rāya,

Nāyakas of  
Gingee,  
Madura and  
Tanjore.

the Nāyaka of Tanjore, joined Venkata I and a battle was fought at Vellaprakāra. Basava-Rāya, the General of Venkata I, who had fought at Raksas-Tagdi, was killed and Venkata's army was destroyed, while that of Achyuta fled from the field. (*T.A.S.* 1-48, and 161-64). But it is doubtful if this version of the fight given in the Pudukōttai plates of Sri-Vallabha and Varatunga-Pāndya can be relied on. As Virappa acknowledged the suzerainty of Venkata I a few years later, it is at least open to doubt if the defeat that he inflicted was so crushing. Possibly the parties agreed to the restoration of the *status quo ante*, and the payment of the tribute was agreed to by Virappa. (See Rev. H. Heras, *the Āravīdu Dynasty*, 286).

Achyuta-Rāya-Nāyaka, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was, on the other hand, thoroughly loyal. He recognises the suzerainty of Ranga II in the Ariviligmangalam plates, which confirm the grant, in 1577-78 A.D., of a village granted to Vijayēndra-Tīrtha, the *guru* of the Sumatīndra-matha. (*E.I.* XII, 357). Achyutarāya-Nāyaka's father Sevvappa was still alive at the confirmation of this grant. Another grant made by Sevvappa and confirmed, is recorded in the Navalur grant of Sri-Ranga II, dated in 1575 A.D., in favour of Surēndra-Tīrtha, the *guru* of Vijayīndratīrtha of the same matha. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 115). (See *Sources* under *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Charitra*, 323). There is no reason to believe that he was other than steadfast in his loyalty to the Imperial House, with which he was connected on his mother's side. Similarly, Sūrappa-Nāyaka, the Gingee Chief, mentioned in the poem *Bhāvanāpurushōthama*, proved himself useful to Ranga in repelling a Muhammadan invasion, the date of which cannot be determined. His title of *Karnāta-simhāsanasthāpanāchārya*, firm establisher of the Karnāta king on his throne, seems to imply this. (See *Sources* under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272 *f.n.*).

Chinna-bommu Nāyaka of Vellore was equally faithful to Sri-Ranga II. He is mentioned in several records of the latter dated 757 A.D. (*M.E.R.* October 1887; No. 43 of 1887; 41 and 42 of 1887; *M.E.R.* 1913; No. 399 of 1912). Another record dated in 1582 A.D., mentions the construction of the Kālakantēsvara temple at Adaipalam in the North Arcot District, by Appaya-Dīkshita, the great philosophic teacher, who flourished at Chinna-Bommu's Court. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 395 of 1911). Two other Nāyakas mentioned with him are Agastyappa and Thimma, who were probably members of his family. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 62; App. B. No. 399).

Chinna-bommu Nāyaka of Vellore.

It is not quite clear who was in charge of the Udayagiri-Rājya during this reign. Several records of Sri-Ranga II dated in 1573, 1575 and 1582 A.D., suggest that there was no prince of the Royal family acting as governor in this Province. Grants made in these years mention the ruling Emperor and the Velugōti chief Timmappa, who is spoken in the first of these records as the *kāryakartha* of the king. He was the Imperial Agent in the Province and it was directly under the eye of the Emperor. (See *Nellore Inscriptions*, 11. 822, Nellore 54; Podili 27; and Nellore 124). Another subordinate in this area was Nāgapa-Nāyaningāru, son of Krishnama-nāyaningaru. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, No. 542 of 1909 dated in 1574). The Venkata-Rāju mentioned in the Amimābād inscription has been identified with Venkata I, brother of Sri-Ranga, and it has been suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that he was probably governor of Udayagiri at the time. If so, he must have been transferred to it from the Padaividu province about 1580 A.D. (See above).

Udayagiri Rājya.

Sri-Ranga II evidently served in certain of the provinces as Viceroy. Certain records dated in 1564-5 A.D.,

Sri-Ranga's early career.

suggest that he was engaged in an expedition against Ceylon, probably with his brother Venkata I (see below; also *M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 35). He is also said to have subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar tribes inhabiting the Kongu and the Malainādu and that the treasure he took from them, he distributed amongst the poor. (See *M.E.R.* 1905, Para 35). This campaign against the Kallars and Maravars should have occurred while he was yet in Madura, either before or after the expedition to Ceylon in 1564 A.D. In the Urayanchēri copperplate grant dated in 1576 A.D., he is spoken of as having stopped at Udayagiri and conquered the inaccessible forests of Kondavidu, Vinukonda, the eighty-four forts and to have had many titles, some of them reminiscent of his predecessors and a few suggestive of his personal victories over his enemies, such as "Āvahalu-Rāya-māna-maridi," who crushed the pride of the Āvahalu king, his identity being unknown; "Mānyapuli," tiger of the hills, etc. (*Ins. Madras Presidency I*, Anantapur 17; C.-P. No. 23 of 1911). The facts mentioned in this record are nearly the same as appearing in the Devanhalli plates dated in 1584 A.D., and in Tumkur 1, Chiknayakanhalli 39 and the Vilapāka grant (*E.C.* XII and *E.I.* IV, 269). The Urayanechēri grant registers the gift of the village from which the grant takes its name to one Lakshmi-patibhatta, it being renamed Vengalāmbā-pura, after Srī-Ranga's mother. From this grant, we learn that Srī-Ranga had two queens Tirumala-Dēvi and Krishnamāmba. The *Rāmarājīyamu*, however, mentions only the former of these, under the name of Timmamāmba. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 213; Text, 215).

Wars and  
expeditions.

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Srī-Ranga is said to have led expeditions into the territories of the Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and the Gōlkonda Sultāns and to have resuscitated the fallen glory of the Karnāta Empire. (*Ibid*,



Text, 214-15). This statement evidently refers to events which should have happened after the destruction of Vijayanagar and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda. Probably he took part in warding off Alī Ādil Shāh's attacks on Penukonda in 1566-7, 1567-8 and 1576-7. A.D. Channappa, the minister of Tirumala, who registers all these events in a lithic record dated A.D. 1580 at Penukonda (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 341) states that he even conquered the Ādil Shāh, who had come to capture the new capital. The generals of Alī Ādil Shāh whom he defeated on the latter two occasions were Rambikēsamkhānu and Vāmibinamale Khānu. These have been identified with the Kishāwar Khān and Roomy Khān mentioned by Ferishta. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 184-185). The attempted capture of Penukonda in 1576-7 A.D. is, as we have seen, testified to by Ferishta, though the latter's statement that Venkatādri (probably Venkata I) fled to Chandragiri, seems wholly baseless. (See below). According to Ferishta, the siege of Penukonda had to be raised for want of provisions. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 431). We have an independent reference to possibly the last two campaigns, in the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* (see *Sources* 231-233) and in the chronicle of the anonymous historian of Gōlkonda, whose account is included by Ferishta. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 431-435). According to Ferishta, the Alī Ādil Shāh's attack took place in 1575-6 A.D., immediately after his return from the West Coast. At that time, according to the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, Srī-Ranga II was on a tour towards Chandragiri. On learning of Alī's advance, he hurriedly returned and with the aid of Hande Malakappa defeated Alī's forces, which retired. This statement cannot be held to refer to the events connected with Alī's campaign of 1575-6 A.D., for according to the *Annals*, the Sultāns of the north again invaded Srī-Ranga's territories and in the course of this campaign,

Srī-Ranga was defeated and taken prisoner and all the country north of Penukonda annexed by them. With this, it is stated, that Malakappa transferred his allegiance to the northern Sultāns and obtained a confirmation of the grant of his territories and was honoured with the title of "*Pādshah Vazir*" (i.e., Vazir at the Badshāh's Court). This story seems highly exaggerated, for we do not hear of Srī-Ranga's capture by any of the Sultāns of the north and if he had been really captured we should have certainly heard of it from Ferishta. This part of the account in the *Annals* seems an exaggeration intended to justify the transfer of allegiance on the part of Malakappa, whenever it occurred. The writer of the anonymous Gōlkonda chronicle furnishes us with more correct details. According to him, Srī-Ranga applied to Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh, the Sultān of Gōlkonda, for help against Alī Ādil Shāh. To draw off Alī Ādil Shāh from Penukonda, Ibrāhīm sent a detachment under Shāh Muhammad Anju, his General, to attack and plunder the borders of the Bijāpur Kingdom, while he himself moved with his forces towards Penukonda in aid of Srī-Ranga. He was subsequently joined by Anju in the Bijāpur territories and they were joined by Srī-Ranga. The effecting of this junction had the desired effect and Alī Ādil Shāh raised the siege and returned to Bijāpur. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 435). It was probably during this war that Venkatappa-Nāyaka, described as the son of Sindu Gōvinda, a white-bodied Bhīma, boon of lord of Manināgapura, defeater of *Turuka* army, grandson of Bāyappa-Nāyaka and son of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, distinguished himself on Srī-Ranga's side. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 59 dated in 1576 A.D.) It is evidently to this event that the *Rāmarājīyam* should be referring when it says that "Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijiapur i.e., (Bijāpur)" the reference being to Anju's attack of Bijāpur territories on behalf of

Sri-Ranga. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 183, *f.n.* 3). Shortly afterwards, a Golkonda envoy visited Penukonda and an alliance was agreed to between Ibrahim and Sri-Ranga. It will be seen that in this attack, which ended so satisfactorily to Sri-Ranga, he was not taken prisoner according to the Golkonda chronicler. It was undoubtedly the campaign that Ali personally undertook after his return from the West Coast. There is no mention in Ferishta of any further attempt on his part to lead his forces against Penukonda. A further attack on it, in the year 1575-6 A.D., seems thus ruled out and with it the story of the *Annals* that Sri-Ranga was taken prisoner in it by Ali Adil Shāh. (The attack of 1577 A.D. was led not by Ali but by his generals who were four in number. See below). Moreover, there are inscriptions dated in 1575-1576 and 1576-7 A.D. which specifically state that Sri-Ranga was ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda, which seems to negative the suggestion of his captivity. (See *E.C.* X, Kolar, 146, dated in 1575; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 52, App. A. copper-plate No. 23 dated in 1576 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1259-61, Rapur 41 dated in 1575-6; Arivilimangalam grant dated in 1577-8, *E.C.* XII, 341; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1143, No. 688, dated in 1575-6; *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 1185-6, Podili 27 dated in 1575, which however mentions *Vidyānagar* as Sri-Ranga's capital, probably meaning Penukonda belonging to Hastināvati (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar), the established formula for mentioning the new capital. The Rev. H. Heras' suggestion that this mention of Vidyānagar as the capital, is probably an attempt at concealing his capture, is too fantastic and needs no formal refutation. See *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 271, *f.n.* 4).

Ali Adil Shāh, however, made another attempt on Penukonda in 1577 A.D. Though he did not personally lead his forces, there were evidently four of his generals engaged in this attack. This siege is not mentioned in

Ferishta and hence it is a question if the incidents mentioned in regard to it in the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam*, (see *Sources*, 229-230), by Ēkāmra-nātha, the court-poet of Immadi-Ankusa, the grandson of Jagadēva-Rāya of Channapatna, can be accepted as correct. In these two works, it is stated that Jagadēva-Rāya, son of Peda Jaga-Dēva and uncle of Immadi Ankusa, valiantly defended Penukonda against a Muhammadan Khān, and gave protection against an attack led by Mūrtijā Khān and Nuru Khān, and killed Sūjata Chērna Mulk. In the last edition of this *Gazetteer*, it was stated that Jagadēva-Rāya was the son-in-law of Srī-Ranga but the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* does not mention his wife's name. The *Satyāparinayam* says that he was married to GiriYāmba but her parentage is not mentioned in it. Apparently it was not high enough to require mention. Jagadēva-Rāya's services were well recognized by Srī-Ranga. He was rewarded with a large tract of country extending from Bārāmahāl in the east to the Western Ghats in the west. He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630, when it was taken by Chikka-Dēva-Rāya. Konēru-Rāya, to whom two villages were granted by Srī-Ranga II in 1579 A.D., as *netara-Kodagi*, for his services in warfare, probably also took part in the successful defence of Penukonda. (*M.A.R.* 1923, 44, No. 7).

Capture of  
Vinukonda  
Kondavidu,  
etc., by  
Ibrahim Kutb  
Shāh of  
Golconda, 1579  
A.D.

About the close of 1579 A.D., Ibrahim Kutb Shāh on the pretence that the promised tribute was not paid to him, but really to re-occupy certain lost territories, crossed the Krishna and attacked the north-eastern part of the Empire. Vinukonda, Kocharlakōla, Cumbum and other fortresses surrendered, but Kondavidu held out stoutly. The chiefs in charge of it—Kandi Timma, Mudna (Mudanna) Chinna and Kasturi Ranga—sallied out and attacked the invading forces. Though the anonymous

chronicler of Gōlconda claims that Haidar-ul-mulk defeated them and pursued them as far as Guram (possibly Gurramkonda), which he occupied, there seems little doubt that this is an exaggeration. Evidently the defenders beat off the investing forces, who were compelled to turn westwards from their objective. However, Haidar-ul-mulk next attacked Bellamkonda and a few other minor forts and thence retraced his steps to attack Kondavīdu. It was defended evidently by the troops of Srī-Ranga and the Orrissan King, whose general Harischandra (identified with Harischandra Mukunda) was, it is said, taken alive captive by Haidar-ul-mulk. (See Gangādhara-kavi's *Tapatī-samvaranam*, in *Sources*, 238-39). This, however, did not help much. Though he expended much time on the fortress, it proved of little avail. He urged for and got reinforcements from Gōlconda. Syed Shāh Tacki, the new general, advanced with his forces and tried to take the place by escalade. Having failed in this attempt, he moved his guns to the hill and opened them on the gate-way. A desperate fight followed, in which many fell on both sides. Though the defending forces drove back the storming party with heavy loss, the fort was eventually taken by the exertions of the elephants, who forced open one side of the gate. According to the anonymous Gōlconda chronicler, Kapuri Timmarāj, son-in-law of Rāma-Rāj, fell into the hands of the victors and was taken prisoner. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, 111, 436-8). He was the principal general, probably in charge of the fort. An inscription, dated in 1592 A.D. in the reign of Mohamed Kuli Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda at Aminabad, in the Sattenapalle Taluk, Guntur District, gives some additional details of this campaign. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 64; App. B. 541 of 1909.). It says that his father, in 1580 A.D., sent out an expedition which took Udayagiri and drove out Venkata-rāju (identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with Venkata 1, *A.S.I.* 1909-1910, 185) from the for-

tresses. Next, it is said, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangada and the outlying country, were secured. Finally Kondavīdu, described as the capital of the Karnāta kings, (evidently a prominent town of importance) was taken. There can be little doubt that the campaign of 1579-80 A.D. described by the anonymous chronicler and that referred to in the Aminābād record are identical. That Kondavīdu was in effective occupation at the time of Srī-Ranga is proved beyond all doubt by the existence of a record dated in his reign in 1574 A.D. at the place and registering a gift to the Durga temple at the place. (*M.E.R.* 542 of 1909.) We have seen it had been recaptured by Ranga with Udayagiri and other places dependent on it. This campaign of Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh was evidently to retake these places, in which he appears to have been completely successful. The Rev. H. Heras suggests that the Kondavīdu province was thus lost "for ever" to Vijayanagar. This seems an over-statement as he himself acknowledges in the very next sentence of his work. (See the *Āravīdu Dynasty* 275.). Not only this was not so and a good part of the province was in the hands of Srī-Ranga II and his successors as evidenced by inscriptions (*Nellore Inscriptions* II. 892, *Nellore* 124, dated 1582-83, which record in Srī-Ranga's reign the grant of a *meras* for a tank), but also there is proof enough to believe that Srī-Ranga II re-took the lost territories.

If we may believe the Devanhalli copper-plate grant dated in 1584 A.D., we have to draw the inference that Srī-Ranga marched in person to Udayagiri, stopped there for a time and from there re-conquered the inaccessible fortresses of Kondavīdu, Vinukonda, etc., including the eighty-four durgas, or hill-fortresses. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 57; App. A. No. 23.) It cannot be that the statement made in this grant as to the re-capture of these places has to be referred back to their original capture before 1575, which conquest also is mentioned in the

earlier years of Sri-Ranga. Inscriptions of Sri-Ranga found on the southern side of the Krishna, at Kondavidu, show that this part of the empire had been reconquered once before by Sri-Ranga. The viceroy in this area in Sri-Ranga's time was Rāma-Raja-Jagarāya, son of Timmarāja, the Channapatna chief (see *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 50; App. C. Nos. 162, 89, 113, of 1927 dated in Saka 1496, 1498 and 1499, or A.D. 1574-5 1576-7 and 1577-8.) As will be shown below in the reign of Venkata II, it is because of a second request by Sri-Ranga of Udayagiri and the other places, that the Chiefs in this area rebelled against Mohamed Kūli Kutb, son of Alī Ādil Shāh, who as mentioned in the Aminābād inscription, led another expedition against them in 1591 A.D. The death of Alī Ādil (See *M.E.R.* 1910 Para 64; App. B. No. 541 of 1909.) Shāh by the hand of an assassin was followed by the accession of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh II, his son. He being a minor, his mother the famous Chand Bibi became Regent. The minister Dilawar Khān became all powerful. One of his generals led an expedition against Shankar Rajāh, the chief of Kadur, but it ended in dismal failure. Despite this want of success, it is claimed by the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda that most of the petty Rajās of Bijanagar had now bent their backs to the Muhammadan yoke. (Briggs, *Ferishta* II 453.) As suggested by the Rev. H. Heras, this can only be held to refer to a limited number of chiefs on the northern borders of the Kingdom. (See *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 276.)

About 1584-5 A.D., Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh, assisted by *Hande* Malakappa, the traitor, invaded the country around Ahōbālam in the present Kurnool District, and even occupied the precincts of the famous temple. According to a lithic record to be seen in it, Ibrahīm and Malakappa devastated the surrounding country, reached Ahōbālam and completely ruined it. It has been suggested

Invasion of  
Ahōbālam by  
Ibrahīm Kutb  
Shāh of  
Gōlconda,  
assisted by  
the Hindu  
Chief  
Malakappa,  
1584-1586 A.D.

that the Hande Chiefs were Virasaivas and that they probably joined the Muhammadans in plundering the Vaishnava shrine, reducing it to ruins. Urged by Srī-Vam-Sathakōpajiyangāru, the religious teacher at the place, King Srī-Ranga deputed Kondarāju-Venkatarāju-Tirumala-Rāju to expel the two invaders. This commission was duly carried out by Tirumala-Rāju, who on the evacuation of the temple, restored it to the Jiyangāru. This commander of the Jiyangaru set up a *Jayasthamba* (or pillar of victory) in the temple to mark the expulsion of these invaders, as the inscription on it bears testimony to this day. This *Jayasthamba* is really the *garudasthamba* executed by Sūrappa-ōbulayyadēva-Mahārāja. The Abhirāma of this record is Ibrahīm Kutb. Shāh of Golconda, whose forces were driven out from it. This invasion of Ibrahīm and his expulsion from Ahōbalam is naturally not mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Golconda. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III 339.) The devastation of the country all round the temple then effected seems to have been so complete that even now it bears a desolate appearance about it. Kondārāju-Tirumala, the Commander, was also known as Venkatarājudēva-Chōla-Mahārāju and among his titles were *Dēva-Chōda-mahārāja* and *Lord of Uraiyur*, which show his connection with the Matla Chiefs of this period. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 18 and 53; and App. C. No. 70.).

Srī-Rangā's  
piety and  
gifts.

Srī-Ranga II was an ardent Vaishnava and a liberal donor of gifts to temples and learned people. At his coronation, he appears to have made numerous gifts to the Brahmins. His interest in the Melkote temple has been referred to above. Many gifts in his name, and for his merit, have been recorded in his reign. (9-9. *E.C.* V, Belur 1, dated 1578; *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 77 dated 1579; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 44, No. 7; *Nellore Inscriptions*



III. 1259, Rapur 41 dated 1575,; *E.C. X*, Kolar 153, dated 1580; *E.C. IV*, Yedatore 59, dated 1576.)

The great Sṛimushnam temple was enlarged and benefited in a variety of ways. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73. The temple of Sṛī-Rāmānuja at Sṛiperumbudūr and the great teachers connected with it received warm encouragement by gifts of villages. (See below *M.E.R.*; 1924-25 para 35; App. A. copper-plates Nos. 10 and 11). He appears to have shown some favour to the artisan classes, who did so much to help in the beautification of the temples by their work. A record, dated 1572 A.D., registers the grant of certain privileges by the people of Tiruvāmattur (in the South Arcot District) to the artisan classes—blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and carpenters—in accordance with the practice prevailing in the Padaivīdu, Gingee, Tiruvannāmalai and Kānchi countries. They gave an undertaking to this effect to the official Committee of Management connected with the execution of Royal Orders (*Rājakārya Bhandāra*). (See *M.E.R.* 1921-22, para 54; App. C. No. 65.) A similar undertaking in favour of the artisans of Naduvi-karai-pattra, another portion of the present South Arcot District, is registered in another record of his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, para 54; App. B. No. 378 undated.) The tax on the anvil levied on them in the Budihal country was remitted by Sṛipati-Raja Vallabha-Rājayya, the local *mahāmandalēsvara* in 1573 A.D. (*E.C. XII* Chickanayakanhalli 8; for another record in their favour, see *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 620 of 1204.) That the restoration of grant to the Jain temple (*baṣṭi*) at Budihal in 1579 was ordered by the same Sṛī-Vallabha is also recorded. (See above; *E.C. XII*, Chicknayakanhalli 22.)

But the greatest service he appears to have rendered to the pious public was the prompt manner in which he cleared the Muhammadans from the Ahōbalam temple and restored worship in it. This was a famous temple

during the days of the 3rd and 4th dynasties of Vijayanagar kings and its invasion by Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh and the Hande chief, Malakappa must have meant a severe blow to its popularity. Its *kanchu gumbhum*, or interior *gōpura* and *Jayasthamba* (or pillar of victory) and the large monolithic pillar are objects of great architectural interest in it. Near the *Kanchu gumbhum* stands on a slab, the record of Srī-Ranga II, dated in 1584-5 A.D., which sets out the details of the expulsion of the forces of Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh and Malakappa. This act of Srī-Ranga, as much religious as political, should have greatly endeared him to his people. (See above; also *M.E.R.* 1915, para 53; App. C. No. 70.) Srī-Ranga II took considerable personal interest in the temple at Melkote. An inscription, dated 1575 A.D., states that an assemblage of Srī-Vaishnavas, with himself, prince Komāra Rāma-Rāja, his younger brother, who was in charge of the Mysore viceroyalty, Tātāchārya, his Royal *Guru*, and others, provided for the recitation of the *Yatirāja Saptati*, a poem by Vedānta-Dēsikar in praise of Srī-Rāmānuja, at the temple. An inscribed slab giving effect to this rescript was put up at the time in the Bāshyakāra temple at the place. According to two other records at the place, dated in 1585 A.D., Ettur Komāra-Tirumala-Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Srī-Ranga-Rāja, was accorded certain privileges in the temple. (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, para 50.) This *guru* is referred to in a couple of other records, dated in 1577 and 1641 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 74; App. C. No. 209 and No. 174.) Evidently he was all powerful as *guru* at Srī-Ranga's court. A number of inscriptions found in the Yathoktakāri temple at Kānchi show that his influence was indeed great in the Kingdom. He belonged to the family of *Vēdamārgha-pratishthāpanāchārya-Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya-Periya-Tirumalaswāmi*. He was the son of one Ayyāvayyangār (*M.E.R.* 1920-21. para 53; App. B. No. 30 of 1921).

He carried out large construction works in the Vishnu temple at Kānchi, for which he had as his agent one Tiruppani Singaraiengar. (*Ibid*, App. C. No. 10 of 1921.) Tirumala-Tātāchārya's influence extended as far as Kumbakonam, as the name of that place appears, added to his, in certain records. (*Ibid*, No. 31 of 1921.)

As might be expected, the great Vaishnava temples received particular attention. Apart from those at Tirupati and Srīrangam, these were the shrine of Srī-Rāmānuja at Sriperumbudūr, so closely connected with the resuscitator of Vaishnavism, the temple at Srīmushnam in the present South Arcot District and the temple at Triplicane, Madras. A copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1514 *Pramādi* (wrong) registers the grant by Srī-Ranga of a village, renamed after his mother Vēngalāmba, for the benefit of the Rāmānujakūta at Sriperumbudūr, and for a flower garden there. This gift was at the request of one Tirumala-Nambi Srīrangamma connected with the Tātāchārya family, who was famous for her piety. (*M.E.R.* 1924-5, para 35; App. A.C.P. No. 11.) The date of this grant, taking the cyclic year as the intended date, should be set down as *Pramādi*, corresponding to *Saka* 1501 or A.D. 1579. Another record at Sriperumbudūr, dated probably in 1577 A.D., records the grant of a village, made at the request of Savaram Channa, the governor of Penukonda, to a great teacher at the place called Tirumalāchārya, who was a renowned scholar and expounder of the *Srī-bāshya*, the famous commentary of Srī-Rāmānuja on Bādarāyana's *Brahmasūtras*. This Tirumalāchārya was a descendant of Ananta-guru (Ānandālvar), a direct disciple of Rāmānuja, who is referred to in the *Prapannamritam* (Chapter 46) as one to whom the propagation of the Vaishnava faith by Ramanuja was made. (See *M.E.R.* 1924-25, para 35; App. A. C. P. No. X.) The surrounding wall of the great temple at Srīmushnam was built by one Rāyasam

Venkatayya during this reign, (1582-3). (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 73; App. B. No. 446). Venkatayya was the subordinate of Vaiyappa-Krishnappa-Kondama Nāyaka, who did much for the Chidambaram temple during this period. Kondama's son was Krishnappa, under whom was one Achyutappa-Nāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 73; App. C. No. 266 dated in 1583 A.D.) This Achyutappa also did much for the Srīmushnam temple. Among other things, he established shrines, presented villages, reclaimed lands, dug canals, cleared forests, constructed tanks and planted groves. He also presented many jewels, built high towers, enclosure walls, pavilions etc. He further renewed the ancient festivals and provided for music on a lavished scale. In return he was made a *nirvāha* and *samprati* of the temple with the right to put his seal on the store room of the temple—evidently the highest honour the temple authorities could confer on him. He was also made the *talāri* (*i.e.*, head-man) of Srīmushnam. (*Ibid*, App. C. No. 270, dated 1583 A.D.) To the temple at Triplicane, also devoted to Vishnu, Tirumala, the general of Venkata II and grand-son of Aliaya Rāmarāja II, granted a couple of villages and a flower garden in 1585 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. A. No. 237.) Evidently Srī-Vaishnavism was in the ascendant and the deification of Srī-Rāmānuja was completed about this time.

Domestic  
Life.

It has been long the custom to state that Srī-Ranga II died leaving no issue. The *Chikkadēvarāya-vamsāvali* asserts this definitely by stating that he died "without issue." This, however, does not appear to be correct. At any rate, some doubt is cast on it by one inscription which comes from the Tumkur district. In a record dated in 1573 A.D., Mahāmandalēsvara Sripati-Rāya Vallabha-Rājayya-dēva Mahārāsu calls himself the son of Srī-Ranga. The words actually used are *nammatun-*

*degalu Ranga-Rajayya-navarige punyavāgabēkendu bit-tēvu i.e.*, we have remitted this tax to you in order that merit may accrue to our father Ranga-Rājayya. (E.C. XII Chickanayakanhalli 8.) This indicates that Sripatirāja-Vallabha-Rāja was a son of Sri-Ranga. The fact that the latter was a *Mahāmandalēsvara* and that he was governing the country round Kolar and Tumkur, which was usually reserved for princes of the Royal House, would seem to suggest that he was a son of Sri-Ranga. It has, however, to be remarked that "Rangarājayya" is mentioned without any Royal appellations added to it, though they are given to him in full in the recital part of the grant. Also it has to be added that in a record dated in 1579 (E.C. XII Chicknayakanhalli 22) the genealogy of Vallabha-dēva is thus set out:—Sripati-Rājayya's son Rājayyadēva-Mahārasu's son Vallabhadēva-Mahārasu, *i.e.*, he was the grand-son of Sripati and son of Rājayyadēva. If this be so, the statement in the earlier record that he was the son of "Rangarājayya" is inexplicable, unless we are prepared to interpret Rājayya-dēva as the abbreviated form of "Rangarājayyadēva-Mahāarasu." Sri-Ranga's two queens, Tirumaladēvi and Krishnāmba, have been referred to above. (See E.C. XII, Chickanayakanhalli XIII.) The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that he had two daughters, of whom one was married to Mikar Tima, governor of Kondavidu, mentioned by the Gōlconda chronicler and the other was married to Jaga-dēva-Rāya of Channapattana. The former is really described as the son-in-law Aliya Rāma-rāja and not of Sri-Ranga II and as regards Jaga-dēva it is doubtful if the statement made to this effect by Messrs. Rice and Sewell (*List of Antiquities* I. 101) can now be held to be correct, in view of the direct evidence on the point furnished by Ēkāmbanātha's works, *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam*. (See above).

His titles.

The full imperial titles are given to Sri-Ranga-Rāyā in his records. A rather unusual title mentioned in one record dated 1581 A.D. is *Bhujabala-dēva*; which is reminiscent of *Bhujabala-dēva* of the days of the second dynasty. (See *M.E.R.* 1923-28, para 53; App. B. No. 323 of 1923.) An unusual number of titles are given to him in his Urayancheri grant as also in the Devanhalli grant, some of which have been above referred to. An inscription from Elavanasur in the South Arcot District calls him *Vīrakēsari*.

Ministers,  
Feudatories  
and generals.

It is known from literary works that Pemmasāni PeddaTimmaraġa was a minister of Sri-Ranga and continued in the same post in the time of his successor. Most of his (see Prabhakhara Sāstri, *Chātupādyamanimanġari*, 42) feudatories have been mentioned above. Pemmasānipedda-Timma is probably identical with Pemmasāni-Timma, or Timmaya Mantri, who is mentioned as the minister of *Sri-Ranga* in the *Chāruchandrōdayam* of Channamarāġu. (See *Sources*, 251). Timmaya-mantri was the patron of this poet. According to the latter, Timmaya was greatly honoured by Sri-Ranga who recognised his worth by presenting him with elephants, horses, palanquins, etc. He evidently continued as a minister under Venkata I. This Timmaya-mantri (*alias* Pemmasāni Timma) had a brother named Pemmasāni-Peddavīra, whose life was saved at the battle of Midagesi, by Lingannamantri, brother of Chennamma-Rāġu, the poet above named. Among the titles of Timmaya-mantri were *Manne-Mārtānda*, *Gandarāditya* and *Gandaraganda*. (*Ibid*, 242-3.) Sri-Rangarāġayya, son of Salākarāġa-Chikka-Tirumalarāġayya, one of those who opposed Sadāsiva's accession and was defeated by Aliya Rāma-Rāġa, held a subordinate's position in a portion of the present Kolar District. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 185.)

Like his forbears, Sri-Ranga II encouraged poets and scholars. His court poet was Rāyasam-Venkatapāthi, the author of the Telugu poem *Lakshmilāsamu*. He held also the secular position of the *nirvāhaka* (manager) of the Imperial Secretariat. He mentions the defeat Sri-Ranga inflicted on Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh, evidently at Ahōbālam, where it is said the Royal insignia of Ibrāhīm was captured. He states that he was presented by his Sovereign, with a village, the office of Rāyasam (or writer-of despatches) and with gold and valuable ornaments set with precious stones. (See *Sources*, 230-31). He evidently wielded a facile pen. His poem is well written, in a simple chaste style.

As a literary patron.

Among other poets of the period were Ēkāmbraṇātha, who lived at the court of Immadi-Ankusa, already named; and another was Ponniganti-Talaganārya, the author of the unmixed Telugu work *Yayāticaritam*, which he dedicated to one Amīr-Khān, the general of Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh. This poet mentions one GatātaKhān, brother of his patron, who was evidently something of a linguistic king as he knew the Arabic, Persian, Guzerāti, Telugu, Kanouji and Āre (*i.e.*, Marāthi) languages. Another brother of Amīr-Khān was Fazl-Khān, who was evidently a great diplomat. He was the person who brought about the treaty of peace between Sri-Ranga and Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh. (See *Sources*, 236-238.) A work dedicated to Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh himself is *Tapatisamvaranopākhyānamu*, by Addanki Gangādhara-kavi, who furnishes interesting details, (See *Sources*, 238-9.) There are a number of stray Telugu verses current testifying to the personal interest evinced by Ibrāhīm Kutb in Telugu poets and poetry. He was evidently highly popular with the literary men of the period, whom he is even said to have called together at his Court with a view to judge their comparative merits! (See Prabhakara Sāstri,

Other poets of the period. Ibrāhīm Kutb Shāh as a patron of Telugu poets.

*Chātupādyaṃanimanjari*, 41-46.) In one of these verses, he is compared to the epic hero *Rama*, of course poetically, his own name being split up into *Malki-Ibharāmudu!* (*Ibid* 45.) His capture of Udayagiri, his driving out of Venkatarāju from it, his taking of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, and Kondavīdu are all mentioned in another verse. (*Ibid* 42.) His donations and gifts to poets were, it is said, innumerable and generous. (*Ibid*, 44-45.)

Stray verses in praise of Velugōtivāru, who figure in the inscriptions of the Nellore District during this period, and of Matla-vāru, praising their valorous deeds, are also to be set down to contemporary Telugu poets whose names are unknown. (*Ibid*, 57 and 65.)

His death,  
1585-6 A.D.

Sri-Ranga II appears to have died about the year 1585-6 A.D., cyclic year *Pārthiva*, up to which date, as we have seen, his records run.

A justifica-  
tion of his  
Policy.

The Rev. Henry Heras in summing up his account of the reign of Sri-Ranga has been rather severe in his judgment of him. He suggests that he was more pious than politically minded. While conceding that he might have been more energetic in his military policy, especially against the encroaching Muhammadan Sultāns, it has to be admitted that he did more than might have been expected from him in the circumstances he found himself. After the great and disastrous battle of Raksas-Tagdi, these Sultāns had been ever anxious to attack Penukonda, the new capital. That they should have attacked it thrice is, therefore, no wonder; the greater wonder is that on each occasion, they should have been so successfully beat off by Sri-Ranga. The statement in the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* that he was defeated on one occasion and taken prisoner is not confirmed from Muhammadan sources, which naturally might have made



much of it, if it had been true. The fact that the Muhammadan forces suffered is evident both from inscriptions and literary sources of unimpeachable veracity. It is true that he had to contend against odds but that he triumphantly drove off the successive invasions of the Muhammadans on Penukonda entitle him to the praise that the *Rāmarājīyamu* gives him when it states that he "resuscitated the glory of the Karnāta Empire which had waned." (See *Sources*, 213.) Considering what followed Raksas-Tagdi, and remembering the renewed attempts of the Muhammadans on Penukonda and the manner in which they were foiled by Srī-Ranga, this statement of the *Rāmarājīyamu* is not merely striking but also literally true. The manner in which he won over Ibrahim, the Gōlconda Sultān, and compelled Alī Ādil Shāh to withdraw his forces appears to have impressed his contemporaries. Hence the praise bestowed on him in the Kaniyur grant of Venkata II that he "was renowned in the eight regions" and has "crossed the milk-ocean of policy" *i.e.*, the science of politics. (*E.I.* III, 253. These are not mere laudatory expressions as the Rev. H. Heras would have us believe. They indicate the impression his rule left on the people of his own times. He deserves a word of commendation for the promptitude with which he drove out the Muhammadans and the traitor Malakappa of the Hande family from Ahōbalam. Nor could we forget the rapidity with which he proceeded in person against the Gōlconda Sultān on the East Coast and recovered Udayagiri and other fortresses after the attack on them in 1580 A.D. His Devanhalli grant, dated in 1584 A.D., shows that he recovered these places, accompanying his forces in person. He was energetic, able and diplomatic as well. His own position was such that he could not defend the distant West Coast frontiers against either the Portuguese or the Bijāpur Sultān. Nor could he, with justice to

himself, be expected to have proceeded against some of the recalcitrant feudatories at a time when his attention was required nearer home. It must be said to the credit of the generality of the feudatories, that they held firm. The case of Hande Malakappa was one of those exceptions which prove the rule. He got his punishment in the Abōbalam campaign of Sri-Ranga, for we no more hear of him after that.

Venkata I,  
1586-1614.

Sri-Ranga II was succeeded by his younger brother Venkatādri, perhaps the most famous and most powerful king of the Fourth Dynasty. He is known to inscriptional records as Venkata-dēva or as Venkatapati-Rāya. The Rev. H. Heras has designated him as Venkata II, Venkata I, according to him, being Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta-dēva-rāya of the Third Dynasty. (See *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 300-1.) It seems, however, best to call the latter Venkatādri and style the successor of Sri-Ranga II as Venkata I. The adoption of this suggestion would enable us to avoid unnecessary confusion in the study of the records of the period, and enable us to keep to the system of enumeration adopted by epigraphists since they commenced their labours in the field of Vijayanagar History. Venkata I ruled for nearly 28 years.

His titles and  
early career.

Among his titles was the unusual one of *Vīra-Vasanta-Rāya*, which is known from a couple of lithic records from Salem and North Arcot Districts dated in 1568 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 82.) Another record from Tinnevely calls him *Bhujabala-Vīra-Vasanta*. As the Salem record is dated in the third year of his reign in 1568 A.D., it has been suggested that he had been already made crown prince in 1565 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva. (*A.S.I.* 1909-1910, 187; see also *ante*). It is more probable that he was more or less ruling independently in a part of

Tinnevely at the time this record was engraved. (See also *M.E.R.* 1905-06, Para 49; App. B, No. 163 of 1905, dated 1567 A.D., in which also he is represented as making gifts independent of the then ruling sovereign.) As this is so far the only record giving a regnal year to him, this seems the more reasonable interpretation to give than to suggest that he was selected as crown prince so early as 1565 A.D. He evidently took part in the campaign against Ceylon as he is in a couple of records, dated in 1568 A.D., credited with the conquest of Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1899-1900, Para 84.) In 1567 A.D., we find him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* in the Kurnool country. If he has been correctly identified with Venkata-Rāja of the Amīnabād inscription, then he should have been in charge of Udayagiri fort in or about 1580 A.D. (See *ante.*) In 1583 he was evidently at the capital more or less as co-ruler with Srī-Ranga II. In a record dated in that year, he is given the full imperial titles. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3.)

Venkata I was the fourth and the last son of Tirumala I. As the copper-plate grants of Venkata I state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of Srī-Ranga II, it would seem to follow that Rāma III, Venkata's immediate elder brother, was dead at the time and that his two sons, Tirumala II and Srīranga III, were too young to succeed to the throne. As we have seen, we have records of Rāma III in the Mysore State, dated in 1584, 1589 and 1591 A.D. In the last of these, a gift is registered for the merit of Rāma-Rāja. It might be that he was dead by then and Tirumala II, his elder son, succeeded him in 1584 in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47; *M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 111; *E.C.* III, Mandya 25, dated in 1589 A.D. and Mandya 5 dated 1591 A.D.) The question is how long before did Rāma III die? Mandya 25, dated in 1589 A.D., refers to a grant by his son Tirumala II, who is described as the son of

Whom did  
Venkata I  
actually  
succeed?

Rāma-Rāja (III) and grandson of Tirumala-Rāja (I.) (See the Text of the inscription in *E.C.* III, Mandya 25.) This would seem to indicate that he was dead by then. As Seringapatam 47, dated in 1584, indicates that Tirumala was already in power and even making grants, it is possible that Rāma III died between 1584 and 1589 A.D. The last record of Rāma III known in the Mysore State is dated in 1581 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 158.) Probably about 1584 A.D., he returned to Penukonda, leaving his son Tirumala II to take his place at Seringapatam and died there between 1584 and 1589 A.D. As his coronation is first referred to in the Kudligi-sringēri *math* copper-plate grant dated in 1587 A.D., and it is there stated that his coronation took place after the death of Sriranga II, the latter should have died before 1587 A.D. Between 1584 and 1587, Rāma III was perhaps in Penukonda and when Srī-Ranga II died *about* 1585-6, he probably as Chikka-Rāja assumed the sovereignty, but died before his coronation could take place. A Jesuit letter dated December 21st 1602, quoted by the Rev. H. Heras, referring to Tirumala II says:—

“After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a “kingdom.” (Letter of F. N. Pimenta, in the *Litterae annuae of Goa*, quoted in the *Āravidu Dynasty*, 301, *f.n.*, 2.)

This letter seems to indicate that Rāma III had assumed the sovereignty for a time after Srī-Ranga's death and that having died, perhaps suddenly, his younger brother Venkata I succeeded him, his accession being unanimously approved by the people. Father Pimenta states that Rāma's sons were excluded “on account of their age.” The reason does not appear to be quite convincing for we know Tirumala II was already

old enough in 1584 A.D., to succeed his father in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. But he certainly could have been no match to his uncle Venkata I, whose age and experience of administration should have commended themselves to the people. Moreover, the succession to the throne should have been governed by the rule of primogeniture, according to which Venkata I, was undoubtedly the rightful heir. However it might be, there can be no doubt that Venkata I fully justified his election, "if election it was" by the unanimous vote of all the classes of the people, as Father Pimenta puts it.

There are no records of Rāma III as sovereign. His records are to be found mostly in the Mysore State, except one at Srīsailam in the Kurnool District. His last record in Mysore is dated in 1581 A.D. The Srīsailam record (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 43 of 1915) ascribes to him the sovereign power and registers the carrying out of certain repairs to the bund across the Bhōgavati on the west side of the temple and the presentation of a flower garden to it by an agent of his. The record is dated in 1577 A.D. It is possible he wielded—as crown prince—certain independent powers. Venkata I is similarly represented, as we have seen already, in a record dated in 1567 A.D., *i.e.*, ten years earlier than the Srīsailam record of Rāma III. This record, though dated during the reign of Sadāsiva, registers a gift by Venkata I *without specifying that it was made with the approval of that king.* (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B, No. 163 of 1905.) As Rāma-Rāja III could not have ruled for any length of time—enough even for carrying out his coronation—the court genealogists have evidently dropped him from their lists and represented Venkata I as succeeding direct, as it were, to Srī-Ranga II.

His coronation ceremony was conducted with great pomp and ceremony, by the great Tātārya, who is described in the earliest grant recording the anointing as "the

Coronation of  
Venkata I  
1586-7 A.D.

*guru* of his own *gōtra*," and "by other *Brahmans*." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83, dated in 1587 A.D.) The Tātārya referred to here was Kumāra Tirumala Tātāchārya, who was one of the most prominent figures of his reign. (See below.) According to Du Jarric, the coronation took place, in accordance with custom, at Chandragiri, evidently meaning the Tirupati Hill, which is not far away from Chandragiri. (See H. Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty* 303, *f.n.*, 1.)

The extent of  
the Empire.

A fairly clear idea of the extent of the Empire as it was in the reign of Venkata I is given by Du Jarric. The greater part of India south of the Krishna was still included in the Empire. "Besides the western kingdoms of Malabar (evidently he means Travancore), he says, there were "several others towards the north, such as Oner (Honavar), Battikalla (Bhatkal) and so on that acknowledge the imperial authority. It has on the east two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, namely from Cape Comorin to the kingdom of Oricia (Orissa), and this length comprises the coast of Coromandel and Meliapor (Mylapore) of San Thome." (Du Jarric I-654, quoted by H. Heras in the *Aravīdu Dynasty*, 307.)

A very large number of inscriptions, both lithic and copper-plate, of the Fourth Dynasty belong to his reign. As far as this State is concerned, they have been found in almost every district of it. Among his copper-plate grants are the following arranged chronologically:—

Sl. No.	Authority	Description of grant.	Date
1	<i>E.C.</i> VII, Shimoga, 63.	Kudligi-Sringeri <i>Math</i> grant.	<i>Saka</i> 1509, <i>Sarvajit</i> , <i>Kārtika</i> Su. 12(=A.D. 1587.)
2	<i>E.C.</i> XII, Chiknayakanhalli, 39.	Tirumalapur grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1511, <i>Sarvadhari</i> , <i>Māgha</i> Su. (=A.D. 1599.)

Sl. No.	Authority	Description of grant	Date
3	<i>E.C.</i> XI, Hiriya, 39.	Hiriya grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1510, <i>Sarvadhāri</i> , <i>Pālguna</i> <i>Su.</i> 3 (= A.D. 1589.)
4	<i>E.C.</i> XI, <i>M.A.R.</i> 1918, Para 113.	Hiriya grant ...	A.D. 1589.
5	<i>M.A.R.</i> 1909, Para 101.	Ālangiri grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1511, <i>Sarvadhāri</i> , <i>Māgha</i> <i>Su.</i> 12 (= A.D. 1599.)
6	<i>M.A.R.</i> 1921, Para 68.	Chintanapalli grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1511, <i>Virodhī</i> , <i>Māghī</i> <i>Su.</i> 12 (1589.)
7	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1922-23, Para 57, App. A, Nos. 6 and 7.	Kāyaru grant ...	No. 6 dated A.D. 1591.
8	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1916-17, App. A, No. 8.	Venkatesapura grant...	<i>Saka</i> 1512, <i>Vikrit</i> , <i>Dhanu</i> <i>Su.</i> 12 Friday (= A.D. 1590.)
9	<i>M.A.R.</i> 1915, Pages 21-22, No. 8.	Singanballi grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1516, <i>Jaya</i> , <i>Māgha</i> <i>Su.</i> 15 (=15th June 1595 A.D.)
10	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1912, Para 59, App. A, No. 9; <i>E.I.</i> XVI, 319.	Vellangudi Plates ...	<i>Saka</i> 1510, <i>Vilambī</i> (=1598 A.D.)
11	<i>E.I.</i> XVI, 297 ...	Padmaneri grant ...	1598 A.D.
12	<i>M.A.R.</i> 1919, Para 93.	Sarjapur grant ...	1801 A.D. (same as No. 9 above,
13	<i>E.I.</i> IV, 269 ...	Vilapaka grant ...	1601-2 A.D.
14	<i>N. Ins.</i> I, 25 ...	Mangalampad grant ...	1602-3 A.D.
15	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1922-23, Para 87, App. A, No. 7.	Marugamangalam grant	<i>Saka</i> 1534, <i>Paridhāvi</i> , <i>Māgha</i> <i>Su.</i> 7 (=1612 A.D.)
16	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1921-22, App. A, No. 9.	Tirumalai grant ...	<i>Saka</i> 1535 <i>Pramādhica</i> , <i>Vaissakha</i> <i>Su.</i> 12 (=1613 A.D.)

Penukonda continued to be the capital of the kingdom for many years after the accession of Venkata I. A number of inscriptions dated in his reign attest to this fact and so the suggestion (see *M.E.R.* 1903-4, Para 25) that from the beginning of his reign he ruled from Chandragiri is based on a misconception. Even the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda states that Venkata I, on coming to the throne, removed to Penukonda. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 454.) According to the Kudligi Sringeri-math grant, dated in 1587, he established himself at this place in succession to Srī-Ranga II. According to this grant, both Srī-Ranga and Venkata I ruled from it. (*E.C.* VII Shimoga 83.)

Penukonda,  
his capital.

Inscriptions dated in 1589, 1593, 1598, 1598, 1600, 1603, 1605, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1612 testify to this fact. (*E.C.* XII Chiknayakanhalli 39; *M.E.R.* 1920-21, No. 322 of 1920, and *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 377; *E.C.* XII Tumkur 66; Sewell *Lists of Antiquities*, I. 134; *M.E.R.* 1903-4 App. A. No. 235 dated 1903; *E.C.* XII Pavugada 85; *M.E.R.* 1920-21, No. 382 of 1920 and *M.E.R.* 1903-4, No. 236 of 1903; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, App. B. No. 564; *M.E.R.* 1915-16 No. 67 of 1915. *M.E.R.* 1914 No. 184 of 1913 and *E.C.* VIII Tirthahalli 166; *E.C.* XII Sira 84, *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1284, and *E.C.* III T.-Narsipur 62.). Penukonda was thus not merely the place where Venkata I ruled from but also the recognized capital during his life time. It is, however, known from other sources, notably from the Jesuit records of the time, that he spent a great deal of his time at Chandragiri, which was thus slowly ousting Penukonda from its position of pre-eminence. Hence we find marked omissions of the name of the capital in certain of his records. This was probably due to the uncertainty of the king's actual place of residence at the time of the issue of the royal orders. Thus in an early record, dated in 1583, when he was probably only co-ruler, he is simply described as "ruling the earth" without the mention of the name of the capital city. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3.) In another, dated in 1698 A.D., though he is said to be ruling over the four oceans and the kingdom of the world, the capital is not referred to. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 241.) Similarly in a record dated in 1906, he is described to be ruling the kingdom, though its capital is not particularized. (*E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 5). In a record dated in 1614 A.D., he is spoken of as seated on the jewelled throne, ruling the kingdom of the world, but there is no mention of the capital. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 157.) Again in a record dated in 1617-18 A.D., he is said to be seated on the diamond throne and ruling the earth. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I. 454, Gudur 112). The Rev. Henry Heras has suggested that after the Bijapur inva-

Chandragiri  
his favourite  
residence.



sion of 1592 A.D., Venkata I went back to Chandragiri and established the capital there. He suggests that it was due to weakness on his part, to fear of the encroaching Muhammadans, to premature old age and to a sort of home-sickness. (*The Āraṁḍu Dynasty*, 310-11.) These inferences do not seem to be well founded. There is scarcely any doubt that he preferred Chandragiri for his residence. There are not in fact many inscriptions mentioning Chandragiri as the capital. Indeed the only two records so far traced are dated in 1603 and 1605 A.D. respectively and these come from Vaikunta and Siddhout, in the modern Cudappah district. In these records, Venkata I is described as ruling the "Chandragiri-Sīma." (*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, 576 Cudappah 16; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564.) As we have seen above, there are many records dated after 1605, and up to 1612 A.D. which mention Penukonda as the capital of the kingdom. These records would seem definitely to negative the alleged transfer of the capital to Chandragiri in 1592 A.D. There are other records dated long after the reign of Venkata I, in 1619, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1626 (*E.C.* III. T.-Narsipur 62; *E.C.* XII, Chik-nayakanhalli; *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 55, App. C. No. 53; and *M.E.R.* 1920-21, Para 54, Nos. 374 and 376 of 1920) all of which mention Rāma Rāja IV as the ruling king, and which definitely refer to Penukonda as the capital from which the then king ruled. The first break comes in 1629 A.D., when a record of Rāma IV states that he was ruling from *Vellūru* (*M.E.R.* 1925-26 Para 44 No. 305 of 1926.) This must be Vellore in the North Arcot district. But we have again records dated in 1633 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86) in the reign of Rāma IV and in 1634 in the reign of Venkata II which mention Penukonda as the capital (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 44, No. 299 of 1926.) There are later records dated in the reign of Venkata II, in A.D. 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, and 1642

mentioning Penukonda as the capital. (*E.C.* XII, Chik-nayakanhalli 19 and Tumkur 60; *Nellore Inscriptions* 753; Kavali 50; *E.C.* X, Kolar 246; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 123-4, No. 129 *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 751; Kavali 49; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 45; *M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 52, App. B. No. 502 of 1919.) In the reign of Sri-Ranga-Rāya VI, there are inscriptions dated in 1643, 1645, 1647, and 1649, mentioning Penukonda as the capital. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, App. B. No. 691 of 1917; *M.A.R.* 1924 Pages 64-5, No. 75; *M.E.R.* 1916, App. No. 1; *E.C.* IX Hoskote 71.) Ten years later, in 1659, we find him still ruling from Penukonda. (*E.C.* V Belur 196.) But in a record, also dated in 1659 A.D., we are told that Sri-Ranga VI was a daily worshipper of God Kēsava at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 80.) In a record dated in the next year (1660), he is said to be seated on the jewelled throne at Vēlāpuri ruling the empire of the world. He made a grant of a village from Belur city (*E.C.* V, Belur 81.) Two other grants dated in 1660 from Belur are known. (*E.C.* V., Belur 82 and Belur 122.) The transfer should have occurred in 1659-60 A.D. In confirmation of this we have several other grants dated in 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663 (*M.A.R.* 1925, 24-25, No. 11; *M.A.R.* 1927, 40 No. 10; *M.A.R.* 1919 Para 94; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123; *M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 5; *M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 114) by him which are described to have been made by him in the presence of Chennakēsava at Belur. The Vēlāpuri referred to in these records is undoubtedly Belur itself. But later inscriptions show that he might have been hovering between Belur and Penukonda in 1663 and 1664 A.D. A record dated in 1663, for instance, records a gift from his jewelled throne at Penukonda, (*E.C.* V, Hassan 40) though as we have seen above, he made gifts in the same year from Belur. Similarly, though we have records dated in 1664 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 12; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116) stating that he was

ruling from Belur, there is another of the same year (*E.C. V*, Hassan 39), which records a gift in the Belur country, though the place from which he ruled is not mentioned. From 1665 onward, we have a number of records which indicate that he was again ruling from Penukonda. (*M.A.R.* 1924, Pages 91-92, No. 5 dated in 1665; *E.C. IX*, Magadi 2 dated in 1669; Magadi 5, 2, 30 dated in 1674 and *E.C. IX*, Hoskote 105, dated in 1693). The latest records we have of his rule from Penukonda are two dated in 1712 and 1713 A.D. (*E.C. IX* Magadi 42 and 3.) There is also a much later grant of Sri-Ranga-Rāya which mentions Penukonda as the capital. It is dated 11th May 1759 A.D. This cannot refer to Sri-Ranga-Rāya VI. (*M.A.R.* 1923, Page 55, No. 36.) Penukonda seems to be referred to in certain other records which do not mention it by name but by the older appellation of "Hampe Hastinavati" (*E.C. VI*, Chikmagalur 79, dated in 1587 A.D.), and "Vijayanagar". (*M.E.R.* 1916-17, App. B. No. 452 of 1926, dated in 1613 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions I*, 269, Atmakur 53, dated in 1602-3 and *E.C. III*, Seringapatam 157, dated 1614). Similarly there are records dated in 1627 and 1635 in which Rāma IV and Venkata II are respectively mentioned as ruling from Vijayanagar (*E.C. XII*, Maddagiri 32 and *E.C. X*, Goribidnur 45). Considering that we have records dated as late as 1712 and 1713 A.D. mentioning Penukonda as the capital, the mention of these older names should be construed as referring to Penukonda itself and not to the older capital. Indeed, as we have seen before, Penukonda was known as Penukonda *alias* Vijayanagar or Hampe Hastināvati. This formula should have been purposely adopted to keep up the continuity of the Empire and its possessions. The capital was Vijayanagar wherever it was situated because the *State* of Vijayanagar had its head-quarters located there. Hence it is that the foreign travellers called the capital of the Vijayanagar

kings, wherever it was, as Bisnagar. Hence it is, that in the map of India by Sr. Sanson d'Abbeville, published in 1652, and republished by the Rev. H. Heras (in his work *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 313), Chandragiri is marked as "Bisnagar or Chandegary" i.e., Chandragiri. Chandragiri had, by about this date, become fairly famous as a favourite residence of the "Vijayanagar" kings from Venkata I to Sri-Ranga VI. As we have seen above, in 1659, Sri-Ranga VI, the ruling king, was hovering between Belur in the Hassan District and Penukonda. But the residence at Chandragiri should have become well-known by that time to be entered on the map as the alternative name of "Bisnagar." Again, Mendelslo, a traveller from Holstein, visiting the Coromandel coast in 1639, wrote that the king "resides sometimes at Bisnagar, and sometimes at Narasinga." (*Voyages and Travels*, 94, quoted by Henry Heras, in the *Aravidu Dynasty*, 313). The Rev. H. Heras suggests that "Bisnagar" here indicates "Vellore" and that "Narasinga" is "Chandragiri." Vellore, as we have seen above, is referred to in *only one record* dated in 1629 A.D. and that records dated in 1633 and 1634 and from 1636 to 1642 and again from 1643 to 1647 mention Penukonda as the capital. The place referred to as "Bisnagar" by Mendelslo should therefore be "Penukonda," which, as we have pointed out above, is called "Vijayanagar" in a couple of records dated in 1627 and 1635, which is not far removed from 1639, the date of Mendelslo's visit. Knowing as we do that the kingdom of "Narasinga" and the kingdom of "Bisnagar" were synonymous in the mouths of foreign travellers, because they were so treated by the people of the day even in southern India since the days of Sāluva Narasimha I, they should be taken as *alternative* names to the Vijayanagar kingdom as it was even during the days of the Fourth Dynasty of Kings. Mendelslo may, however, have used the name "Narasinga" in its

restricted meaning of "Chandragiri," which by his time became famous as the alternative residence of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty since Venkata I. There was the more reason to call it "Narasinga" because Sāluva-Narasimha I was closely connected with it, as will be seen, from what is stated below.

Penukonda was thus the recognized capital throughout the time the Fourth Dynasty lasted. About the year 1603 or 1605 A.D. according to inscriptions and from 1597, according to the letters of Jesuit missionaries (see Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 312) during the reign of Venkata II, Chandragiri became the favourite royal residence, so much so that the kings of this dynasty came to be popularly known afterwards as "Chandragiri Rājas." Many Jesuit letters of this period show that Venkata lived at Chandragiri from 1597 to 1604. In the latter year, he stayed for a while at Vellore, which had just then been captured from Singa-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, chief of that place. (See below). In 1607, he appears to have been again at Vellore, though in the same year he was again at Chandragiri. This was probably a visit paid to the latter place in that year, for we find him from 1607, more or less permanently stationing himself at Vellore, where he allowed the Jesuit missionaries also to settle almost next door to him. We find him in Vellore in 1608 as well and it has been suggested that he died at this place in 1614 A.D. (See H. Heras *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 464-485.) Then, again, about the year 1629 A.D., in the reign of Rāma IV, Vellore became another place of royal residence. But there is no evidence to believe that it was, even as such, more than an occasional one. In 1659 A.D., Belur, in Hassan district, appears to have become the capital; the jewelled throne of the kingdom is suggested to be there. Evidently it continued there till at least 1663 A.D., for we have records in Belur mentioning it as the king's

residence. From about 1664 A.D., Penukonda is again mentioned as the capital and from then to 1693 and even to 1712 and 1713 A.D., we have mention of it as the capital of the kingdom, which should have become by then only one in name.

Chandragiri,  
the alterna-  
tive Capital.

Chandragiri which thus became the favourite residence of Venkata I was evidently a place of great importance at the time. It was, in one sense, the second important city in the Empire and had been always looked upon as practically unassailable. It had been considered a safe asylum for Royal prisoners; for treasure to be secreted, evidently for being made use of when required, and as the seat of a prince-Viceroy, it had always been well fortified and guarded. There is evidence to believe that during the time of Śāluva-Narasimha, it was the place where the reserve of the army was concentrated. Tradition ascribes the construction of the fort to one Immadi-Narasimha, whom it wrongly sets down to 1000 A.D. and styles a Yādava king. Evidently the reference is to Śāluva-Nārasimha's son, who might have added to the fortifications and made it stronger. Tradition says that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya also improved it. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I. 139.) Probably the Mahal or Palace, of which parts still remain, was built by him and added to by Achyuta. (*Ibid*, 150.) According to an inscription in the Kōdandarāmaswāmi temple in Chandragiri town, the place is said to have had at one time 74 temples. As Mr. Venkayya has suggested, a great number of these must have been destroyed by the Muhammadans. An inscription of the reign of Achyuta mentions the fort and the two temples in it. One of these, Kampa-Īsvaramudaiya-nāyanār, must have come into existence during the time of Kampa of the First Vijayanagar dynasty. The ruins of six other temples are to be seen between the first and second walls of the fort. In the fort there was

evidently in olden days a Jain *basti*, mutilated images from which are still to be seen on the platform in front of the palace. (See *M.E.R.* 1904, para 8). At the time it became the royal residence, it should have been a place not only of importance, and a viceregal seat but also a flourishing centre of activity with a large population. Its many temples, its fine palace, its strong fort and its proximity to the sacred temple Venkatēsa on the Tirupati Hill, where generations of kings had been crowned, should have made Venkata think of it more than any other place for his residence.

Though according to inscriptional records it became the residence of Venkata I in or about 1602-3 A.D., Jesuit missionaries mention, in their letters dated in 1597, that he was already resident there. (Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 312. By a slip on this page, the date of the Siddhout inscription is given as 1625; it should be 1605.)

Venkata I apparently carried on an aggressive warfare against the Sultāns of the north. "Immediately after his anointment," says the Tirumalapūr copper-plate grant dated in 1589, "he dispersed the hosts of Yāvana fiends, and ruled the world." (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39.) The Kudligi Sringēri-*matha* grant dated two years earlier, uses identical language in describing the warfare he engaged in immediately after his coronation. (*E.C.* VII, Chiknayakanhalli 39). The latter record shows that the campaign referred to in it should have commenced in 1586-7, when Venkata's coronation probably took place. As there are two records registering, again in identical terms, his victory over Muhammad Shāh, Sultān of Gōlconda, the possibilities are that he directed his attention against him. That this was so is hinted at by the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda. According to him, Venkata I, in the beginning of his

Invasion of  
Gōlconda  
territories  
1586-7 A.D.

reign, "made some incursions and invasions with the Gölconda dominions." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 454).

Siege of  
Penukonda.

This was evidently followed by an invasion of Vijayanagar territory by Muhammad Küli Kutb Shāh. Muhammad Küli armed with a large force laid siege to Penukonda. According to the chronicler last quoted, Venkata opened up negotiations with a view to peace and an armistice followed. Venkata, however, utilized the period for throwing in additional forces and provisions into the beleaguered fortress. The famous Jagadēva Rāya is said to have advanced to Venkata's aid with 30,000 musketeers. Raghunātha, son of Achutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore, is also said to have joined Venkata with "hundreds of tributary chiefs." (See *Sources* under *Raghunāthābhayadaya*m, 285.) The siege was renewed but confessedly it proved futile. Muhammad Küli accordingly raised the siege, and as the rains were approaching, retreated towards his capital. If the inscriptional and literary records of the period are to be believed, the defeat sustained by Muhammad Küli on this occasion should have been crushing. The Kudligi Sringeri-matha and the Tirumalapūr records register this defeat in truthful though magniloquent language. His troops of horses and his elephants, his weapons and white umbrella having been seized in battle by the soldiers of the powerful Venkata, the son, Malik Ibrāhīm went to his house (*i.e.*, retreated homewards) in despair with his lustre (*Matia*) diminished (*manda*) thus making good his name Mahāmanda Shāhu. (The words have also been rendered thus:—he retreated homewards, in despair, well-beaten (*mahā-manda*), thus making good his name Mahāmandā-sāhu. See *E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39 and *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83, Text and Translation.) The Dalavāi-Agrahāra and the Vilapāka grants also refer to this success in the same glowing terms. (*E.I.* IV, 270, *E.C.* XII, 186.)



The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* also states that on the advance of Raghunātha "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda." (See *Sources*, 285). The *Rāmarājīyam* even goes a little further. It would seem that the garrison of Penukonda not only repelled the Muhammad Kūli Kutb's attack but also pursued it "as far as Golconda." (*Rāmarājīyam*). Venkata chased him as far as the Pennar banks. The water of the river became red with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle. (*Sources*, 243; see *Text*, 246.) According to the Sidhout inscription of Matla Ananta, this chief also took a prominent part in this war. He is said to have displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammadan sovereign in the battle of Penukonda. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564; see also *Sources*, 249; see *Text*, 250.) The inference seems irresistible that Venkata won a triumphant victory over Muhammad Kutb Shāh. If the Vellangudi grant is to be believed, Muhammad Shāh was defeated again and again and returned home hopelessly crestfallen. Evidently his whole camp equipage was captured, his forces shattered, and his elephants, horses, arms and state umbrella, the symbol of Royalty, fell into the hands of Venkata. Beginning from the Dalavāi-Agrahāra grant dated in 1586 A.D., the earliest to be issued by him, down to the Mangalamundi grant, dated in 1602-3 A.D., most of the copper-plate records of Venkata I mention this victory in terms more or less the same. It was undoubtedly reckoned a notable one and far-reaching in its political consequences.

Meanwhile, Venkata I sent out a detachment to help the governor of Udayagiri to lay waste the country as far as Kondavīdu. Though the Gōlconda chronicler says that this detachment was defeated by Muhammad Kutb Shāh's forces, there is reason to believe that this is an exaggeration. Venkata also sent troops to recover Gandikota. On learning that Murtuza Khān, the Gōlconda

general, had taken Cudappah, Venkata despatched a large army to attack him. Murtuza Khān being closely besieged, applied for further aid. Rustum Khān soon arrived with reinforcements and took over the command. He was suddenly attacked and his forces practically cut to pieces. His camp equipage was taken and on his return was publicly disgraced and banished from the kingdom for having allowed himself to be so badly beaten. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 435-9). Encouraged by these successes, the chiefs in the neighbourhood, both Hindu and Muhammadan, rose in rebellion against Muhammad Kutb Shāh and refused to pay the tribute due. Amīn-ul-mulk, the Gōlkonda general, advanced against them and put down the insurrection with a stern hand. (*M.E.R.* 1910; No. 541 of 1909; see also *Sources*, 240). The details given in the Aminābād record quoted above are confirmed in substance by the Gōlconda chronicler (see Briggs, *Ferishta*, III 460-1) but there is hardly any doubt that the campaign of Muhammad Kutb Shāh failed of its purpose. The insurrectionaries refused to recognize his overlordship, evidently encouraged by Venkata's presence and military strength. The Aminābād inscription sets down the insurrection to the year *Khara*, which corresponds to *Saka* 1515 or A.D. 1593. That Venkata I was adventurous to a degree is shown by the fact that he helped Mukund Rāja, the chief of Kāsīmkōta, in the present Vizagapatam district, to defy Muhammad Kutb Shāh. When Mukund Rāja was attacked, he proposed to Venkata that while he offered battle to Kutb Shāh at Rajahmandri, Venkata should detach a force to Konda-vidu and invest it. Apparently Venkata besieged Konda-vidu with a large force and, probably, took it. The Gōlconda historian hides the defeats inflicted on this occasion both by Venkata and his ally Mukunda Rāja, but it is clear from other sources that Muhammad Kutb Shāh sustained heavy defeats throughout this campaign. The

*Rāmarājīyamu* states that Muhammad Kutb Shāh was compelled to sue for peace, which was evidently granted on the condition that the Krishna should thenceforward form the boundary between the territories of the two sovereigns. (See *Sources*, 243.) That this statement is no boast is proved (1) by the statement made in the Vilapāka and the Mangalampūdi grants dated in 1601-2 and 1602-3 A.D. that Venkata I defeated the King of Oddiya or Orissa, which has to be interpreted as meaning Muhammad Kutb Shāh, whose conquests extended as far as Chicacole, in the modern Ganjam district, and (2) by the discovery of inscriptions dated 1612 and 1614 A.D. in the reign of Venkata I in the present Nellore district. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1365, Udayagiri 23 dated in 1586-7 A.D.; *Ibid*, 1284, Rāpur 60 dated in 1612-13). There are also a couple of records, one dated in 1616 A.D., both mentioning grants in the reign of Venkata I. Though Venkata I was dead by then, they are dated in this reign because the succession was uncertain after his death owing to the civil war and in keeping with the well-known practice of ancient days, the grants are dated in his reign. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1049 and 1079, Nos. 263 and 1, of which No. 1 of Atmakur, in *Nellore Inscriptions* 1). A record dated in 1602-3 A.D., in Venkata's reign, mentions one Muddaya-dēva Mahārāja as the governor (*mandalēsvara*) of Udayagiri-rājya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, 270-1, Atmakur 53). A grant of his made in the same year (1692-3 A.D.) is also registered in another record. (*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* II, 1056, No. 51.) There is, however, a record dated in 1613-14, in which a local chief of Kandakur mentions the grant to him of an *amaram* by Muhammad Kūli Kutb Shāh and his own construction of several tanks and wells and repairs effected to a ruined temple in which he restored worship. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, 485, Kandakur, 14.) It has been suggested by

Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty that this grant indicates that "by the beginning of the 17th Century the Mussalamans had obtained the sovereignty over the northern part of the (Nellore) district". The grant, however, does not mention when the *amaram* was granted; the date actually mentioned in it referring only to the construction of wells and tanks and its restoration of a ruined temple. It is possible, therefore, the grant of the *amaram* has to be dated back to the period anterior to 1586-7, when Venkātā's war against Gōlconda commenced. Hence it does not appear correct to suggest that after the war of 1586-7, Muhammad Kutb Shāh was still in the possession of the northern portion of the Udayagiri-rājya. However this may have been, Muhammad Shāh never ventured to renew his attack on Penukonda. Thus ended the last recorded attack of the Sultān of Gōlconda on the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh's attack on Penukonda 1592 A.D.

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, the Sultān of Bijāpur, had meanwhile, sent several expeditions against the western parts of the Empire and had thus incurred the ill-will of Venkātā. Venkātā accordingly entered into an alliance with Burhan Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar against him. Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, not to be outwitted, advanced with his forces and laid siege to Penukonda. Venkātā opposed him with a huge force. At the same time, he judged it prudent to entrust its command to one of his nobles and "retired with his treasures and its effects to the fortress of Chandragiri." Ferishta does not mention the name of the noble, but he has been identified with Matla Ananta, who is described in his Sidhout inscription as "the right hand" of Venkātā (*Dakshinabāhathidhānadhāri*) and who is said to have destroyed in the battle of Penukonda—the pride of the Yāvana Pādushāh (*i.e.*, Muhammadan Padu Shah, evidently, Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur.) (See *Sources* 243-9; also *M.E.R.* 1915-16,

Para 75; App. B. No. 564.) According to Ferishta, the siege lasted for three months, but he was compelled to raise it because one of the chiefs named Handiatim Nāik (? Hande Timma Nayak) deserted him and joined Venkata. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 141.) This siege has been displaced in Ferishta. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 185; also Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 336, *f.n.* 1.)

With this war, the trouble from the north ended. About 1593, Akbar began his campaign against the Deccan Sultāns. Ahmadnagar was taken in 1600 A.D. About the same time, an embassy from Akbar reached Venkata I at Chandragiri. The ambassador stayed with the Jesuit fathers, one of whom, Father Coutinho has left, on account of his doings. The ambassador was received after a stay of twenty days. But nothing came of this visit. Venkata refused the presents sent by Akbar. Indeed, he was rather suspicious of Akbar's intentions. He was told by his courtiers that if Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Gōlconda fell, his kingdom would have also to share the same fate. Venkata declared that he would "never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan; should he (Akbar) come here, war is sure to follow." It would appear that the object of the embassy was to study the position in the south with a view to its conquest. Indeed the ambassador was suspected to be a spy and one of the Jesuit missionaries at the court of Akbar himself explained the object to be "to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms." (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 338-9, quoting letters from Coutinho's letter dated July 17, 1600; also 339, *f.n.* 2.)

Effects of  
Moghul attack  
on the Deccan  
Sultāns, 1593  
to 1600.  
Akbar's  
embassy to  
Venkata I,  
August 1600.

Though the embassy failed of its purpose, Akbar did not accept defeat. He sent a second embassy to Venkata, somewhere between 1604-6 A.D. (*Ibid.*, 340 *f.n.* 1). His

Second  
embassy of  
Akbar to  
Venkata I  
1604-6 A.D.

death in the following year put an end to his ambitious schemes.

Proposed  
alliance of  
Southern  
states against  
the Moghuls.

About the same time Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh sent an embassy to Venkata evidently with a view to combine forces against the Moghul invaders. The Portuguese had made a similar proposal to Ibrahīm, who had been told off to sound the other rulers in the south of India in the matter. (*Ibid*, 340). Possibly the idea was a combination of all the rulers in the south against the common enemy at Delhi. But it evidently came to nothing, thus paving the way for the conquest of the entire south by the Moghuls.

Revolts and  
insurrections  
put down,  
1595 A.D.

Both inscriptions and literary records point to insurrections and rebellions during the reign. The reasons for the same are not by any means clear. How much of it was due to his alleged complicity in the murder of Sadāsiva-Rāya and how much to his superseding his nephews Tirmula and Ranga, who had undoubtedly superior claims to the throne, it is difficult to estimate. Anquetil du Perron definitely states that the Nāyakas of Tanjore, Madura and Gingee "gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge, as the sovereign, one who had dethroned the legitimate king of Bisnagar." (*Ibid*, 308, *f.n.* 1). The earlier grants of Venkata dated from 1585 regularly mention the manner in which he put down these rebels. Thus the Dalavai-Agrahāra, the Kudligi Sringēri-matha and the Chiknayakanhalli grants state that he was the sole conqueror of the eighty-four hill-forts, that he displaced the Oddiya Rāya (or Orissan king), and that he occupied the Karnāta throne by the might of his arm and that he slew all his enemies from the Himalayas to the Ramēsvaram. (*E.I.* XII, 183; *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83; *E.I.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli, 39). When it is remembered that some of these exploits, for example the

conquest of the eighty-four hill-forts and the Utkala king, are attributed to Sri-Ranga II (see above; also Arivilimangalam grant in *E.I.* XII, 357; and the Mare-dahalli grant *E.I.* XI, 328), it is rather open to question whether these records are not setting down once again to Venkata I what other plates have set down to Sri-Ranga II. The mention of some of these events in grants dated between 1585 and 1589 lends support to this suspicion. Still there is other evidence to believe that there were some insurrections in his reign, quite independent of what had occurred in the reign of his predecessor, in the suppression of which he might have taken an active part to merit mention of those exploits as well, in his own grants. The *Rāmarājīyamu* states that he put down some enemies who had opposed him at Nandyāla. As this is set down as a "good example" of how he met opposition from certain quarters, it might be taken as suggesting the infliction of salutary punishment on the Nandyāla chief. (See *Sources* under *Ramarājīyamu*, 243; *Text*, 246). The Sidhout inscription of Maṭla Ananta, the general of Venkata I, apparently refers to the same chief, when it says that Ananta, by the strength of his arm, instilled fear in the mind of Krishnama, the Nandyāla chief. Among the other exploits of Ananta, some of this period and some perhaps of the period anterior to Venkata I, mentioned in this record are: that he killed on the battlefield Vēligauda of Venkatādri of the Rāvela family; that he was victorious at the battle of Jambula-madaka (Jammalamadagu in the present Cuddapah district); that he devastated Katakāpuri (*i.e.*, Cuttack) and that he defeated Konda-rāja-Venkatādri and captured from him Chennur. (See *M.E.R.* 1915-16 Para 76; also *Sources*, 248). The last of these has been identified with *Mahamandalēsvara* Kondarāju-Venkatarāju, who took part in the war against Hande Malakappa and Ibrahīmi Kutb Shāh and drove them out of Ahōbalam. (See *Sources*, 248 *f.n.* 1 and 233).

Evidently since then, he had rebelled against Venkata I and was successfully put down by Ananta and his stronghold taken from him.

Besides Matla Ananta, a few other feudatories, governors and ministers appear to have helped Venkata in putting down those who rebelled against him. The *Chāruchandrōdayam* refers to the help afforded by Tam-mayya-Mantri in this connection. (See *Sources*, 241-2). Yāchima, of the Vēlugōti family, helped in defeating Dāvalu Pāpa at Uttaramallur, in the present Chingleput district. He is also said to have marched on to Tirumalai and there defeated the hill chiefs, and he is also credited with the capture of Chingleput. Dāvalu Pāpa was possibly a rebel chief and had tried to take Chingleput from which he was dislodged. (See *Sources*, under *Bahulasvacharithram*, 305.) Raghunātha, son of Achyutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore, also aided Venkata in putting down rebel chiefs. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* states that he subdued the Morasus (Vokkaliga Chiefs in N. Arcot district and the Kolar district). Venkata is said to have acknowledged his valued services in open court and presented him with horses and jewellery. (*Ibid*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 286).

Relations  
with  
Achyutappa-  
Nāyaka of  
Tanjore, Circa  
1595-1610.

Cordial relations appear to have prevailed between Venkata I and Achyutappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Tanjore. Inscriptions indicate that Achyutappa was loyal to his sovereign and recognized his suzerainty in his records. (*M.E.R.* 1911 No. 298 of 1911; *M.E.R.* 1904, 710 of 1904). Anquetil Du Perron, however, says that he rebelled against Venkata sometime before the year 1595. (See Rev. H. Heras, the *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 398, *f.n.* 7). Though this does not seem quite well founded, there is reason to believe the he sought an extension of his territories as far north as Kānchi and the fact that St. Thome, near Madras, afterwards became subject



to his jurisdiction, seems to confirm this suspicion. Hence it is that the Jesuit letters dated in 1595 speak of a projected war of Venkata I. (*Ibid*, 398-9, *f.n.* 1.) But the war did not come off. Achyutappa himself died in 1600 and was succeeded, sometime before his death, by his son Raghunātha, whose exploits are narrated in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*. (See *Sources*, 259.) He helped, as we have seen, Venkata in repelling the Muhammadan attack on his capital and also took part in the suppression of the Morasu rebels. He was loyal to his sovereign till about 1606 A.D., when the tribute was not paid. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āraṣidū Dynasty*, *f.n.* 4 quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1604-6.) In 1610, he joined the Portuguese against his sovereign, when the latter was besieging St. Thome, near Madras. (See *Ibid*, 402-3, *f.n.* 1).

About 1586 A.D. Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyak of Gingee, appears to have rebelled against Venkata I. Troops were marched against him under one Venkata, brother of Ankubhūpāla, the Kālahasti chief, and he was brought a prisoner, probably to Penukonda, and there confined. (See *Sources*, under *Ushāparinayam*, 308). Venkata was evidently put in charge of it. (*Ibid*). Raghunātha, the Nāyak prince of Tanjore, secured his release, and the grateful chief gave his daughter in marriage to Raghunātha. (See *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 286). Krishnappa was evidently a wise ruler, for he kept his capital city, Gingee, in an excellent condition. The Jesuit letters speak highly of its beauty and wealth and refer to it as the Troy of the East. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āraṣidū Dynasty*, 405, *f.n.* 1, quoting Father Pimenta and other Jesuit writers). He founded Porto Novo, then called Krishnapatam after himself. (*Ibid*, 406, *f.n.* 1). Among his subordinates were Lingama-Nāyaka of Vellore; the Nāyaka of Tiruvidi, near Panruti, in the S. Arcot district; and Sōlaga, who figures in the *Raghunāthābhyu-*

Relations  
with the  
Nāyak of  
Gingee, 1586,  
1608 A.D.

*dayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara*. (See *Sources*, 286 and 272). About 1600 he refused to pay the customary tribute and Venkata I was about to send an army against him, but news of his becoming insane at that moment prevented Venkata from taking such a step. The madness was, however, a pretence. Krishnappa in 1604 sent an embassy to Venkata but nothing evidently came of it. War was declared in 1607 and Yāchīna-Nāyak, the Vēlugōti chief, was probably in command of the forces, as the *Vēlugōtivāri-Vamsāvali* (Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 274) states that he captured Gingee in the reign of Venkata I. Krishnappa was taken prisoner and Venkata advanced from Vellore and obtained his submission in person. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 409-10, f.n. 1, quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1608).

Rebellion of  
the Nāyak of  
Madura, 1592.

There is ample inscriptional evidence to believe that Virappa, the Nāyak of Madura, was loyal up to 1592 to his suzerain. Up to this year grants found in the districts of Madura and Tinnevely recognize the overlordship of Venkata I. (Dalavai-Agrahāra grant, dated in 1586, *E.I.* XII, 186; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II 297; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1189, No. 223; *M.E.R.* 1891, No. 13 of 1891; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, 3 and 315). According to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, it would seem that Venkata was displeased with Virappa and directed the investment of Madura by his nephew Tirumala and others. (See *Sources*, 302-303). According to Anquetil Du Perron, Virappa proved refractory owing to Venkata's complicity in the murder of Sadāsiva. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 342, f.n. 6.) Vigorous action on the part of Venkata I compelled Virappa to yield. The further suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that Tirumala could not have been "one of the generals of the army" and that "he would have then

been too young for such a task" seems to rest on slender foundations. (*The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 343, *f.n.* 1). For the statement of the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* seems uncontradicted by any other authority on this particular point; and as there are inscriptions in the Mysore State from 1585 testifying to the Viceroyalty of Tirumala II at Seringapatam, the suggestion that he was too young for the post of commander of forces between 1592-5 A.D. seems impossible of admission. Moreover, the Rev. H. Heras himself admits later on that he was about "forty" at the time of his alleged abdication in 1610. (*The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 421, *f.n.* 4). He should therefore have been at least twenty-five years old in 1595 A.D. Whether there was reason or not for this revolt on his part, Virappa refused to pay the usual tribute and war followed. According to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, Virappa managed to bribe the generals of the Imperial army. Tirumala II was, according to it, one of these and he is said to have retired to his charge of Seringapatam after accepting the bribe. The Rev. H. Heras discredits this part of the story and states *inter alia* that this story is inconsistent with the statement of Anquetil Du Perron that Virappa submitted to superior force, which seems to be confirmed by the inscriptions of Krishnappa, his successor, dated in 1595, which acknowledge the overlordship of Venkata I. The only possible inference from these seemingly contradictory statements is that while some of these generals of Venkata yielded to bribery, others did not and prosecuted the siege to its completion.

Virappa was succeeded by his son Visvappa and he, in his turn, by his brother Kumāra-Krishnappa II. He probably ascended the throne about 1596 A.D. He was, according to grants issued during his time, a loyal feudatory of Venkata I. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1003 No. 91; also Padmaneri and Vellangudi grants of

Venkata I in *E.I.* XVI, 288 and 320). He was evidently still the "lord of the Southern Ocean," viceroy of the south on behalf of the Vijayanagar king of the time. (*E.I.* XVI, 288). About 1599, however, he withheld his tribute and became involved in a war with his suzerain. (See *The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 349. *f.n.* 5, quoting Jesuit letters). Venkata himself took the field, probably assisted by Matla Ananta, who is said to have led the forces against the rebel feudatory. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564; also *Sources*, 248 and 250. In the latter, as pointed out by Rev. H. Heras, the text given seems to be corrupt and the translation misleading). Submission followed and the tribute was added together with a war indemnity, the two together reaching a sum of twelve millions of gold coins. (H. Heras, *The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, quoting Du Jarric I. 685). Krishnappa-Nāyaka II died in 1601 and was succeeded by his nephew Kastūri-Rangappa, who in his turn was succeeded by Muthu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka in 1603 A.D. He was loyal to his suzerain and acknowledged his overlordship as is evidenced by his inscriptions and coins, in which Venkata's name appears. He paid his tribute also regularly up to his death in 1609. (See *M.E.R.* 1908, No. 35 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1916-17, No. 326 of 1917; Hultzsch, *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagar*, *I.A.* XX, 308, No. 37; *I.A.* XLV, 104; also Brown, *The Coins of India*, 64; the Rev. H. Heras, *The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 358, quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1608.) It was in his reign that Robert De Nobili, the famous Jesuit missionary, reached Madura (1606). He was succeeded by Muttuvirappa-Nāyaka, his eldest son. He was loyal at first but suddenly turned hostile, as several inscriptions of his dated in between 1610 and 1613 do not mention the name of Venkata. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 123 of 1907; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* I, 293). From the Jesuit letters dated in 1611 A.D., we learn that he was remiss in the payment

of his tribute in 1610 and an army was sent against him by Venkata to collect the arrears. Matla Ananta was probably at the head of it, as he is styled in a record dated in 1612-13, the conqueror of the territory called "Panchapāndya" *i.e.*, the kingdom of the five Pāndyas, or the Madura Kingdom. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I. 246.) Muttuvirappa was defeated and he paid up the tribute. (See H. Heras, *The Āravidu Dynasty*, 360 *f.n.* 5 and 361 *f.n.* 1 and 2).

About 1603, Lingama-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, governor of Vellore, rebelled. He was loyal up to 1601, when at his request the Vilapāka grant was made. (*E.C.* IV, 39). Lingama appears to have chafed at his dependence on the Nāyak of Gingee and even on Venkata himself. He had amassed immense wealth and had a fort, which even then was perhaps famous as one of the strongest and most beautiful of its kind known in Southern India. Venkata sent out his Dalavai, who was evidently Dāmarla Chenna of the Kālahasti family. (See *Sources* under *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, 305-6). He advanced rapidly with a view to take the place by storm. But he was evidently opposed on the way at a place called Munnali (identified with Minnal) by Lingama's forces, which he defeated. He then pushed on with a view to reach Vellore unexpectedly at dawn. But his forces lagged behind and the storming party received a warm reception at Lingama's hands. Chenna retreated, but undaunted, he invested the fortress, despite the rainy weather in which he found himself. The siege dragged on for a couple of months and Lingama was eventually taken prisoner by a stratagem, at the very gates of his fortress. Negotiations opened with a view to induce Chenna to abandon the siege. But the twenty lakhs that were offered to him would not tempt him. He sent word to Venkata that this was the time to fill

Revolt of  
Lingama  
Nāyaka of  
Vellore, 1603  
A.D.

his coffers and annex this most fortified town. Venkata hastened to the spot on January 9th, 1604, with a large army and a number of camp followers and elephants. Lingama received him with due humility but his sons still kept up a continuous fire and endeavoured their utmost to prevent Venkata from entering the city. But it availed not. Vellore at last surrendered and Venkata and his queen took up their residence "in the marble palace of Lingama-Nāyaka adorned with gold and precious stones." (H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 319-20, quoting Jesuit *Litterae Annuae*, which give a vivid account of the whole affair). Lingama was taken prisoner and his wealth was also taken from him. Venkata, after a stay of four months, left for Chandragiri, which he entered with Lingama in a triumphal procession, the magnificence of which is preserved to us in the Jesuit authority quoted above. What became of Lingama is not known. Vellore, of course, was not returned to him nor does he appear to have regained any part of his lost territory. He probably languished in the State prison at Chandragiri. Vellore itself became a second Royal residence from about 1606. This fact is mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* (see *Sources*, 243 and 246), though not registered in contemporary inscriptions. Several Jesuit letters, however, confirm this statement of the *Rāmarājīyamu*. Evidently it was not treated as the capital, though used as a Royal residence by Venkata I. Hence the sobriquet it still enjoys Rāya-Vēlūru, *i.e.*, the Vellore of the Rāya (*i.e.*, Venkata I) who first took up his residence in it.

Tirumala II  
as Viceroy at  
Seringapatam

Tirumala II, nephew of Venkata, succeeded his father as Viceroy at Seringapatam. His records in this area range over a period of twenty-five years, from 1585 to 1610 A.D., if not up to 1626. We have as many records mentioning the name of Venkata as his suzerain as there are others

not mentioning him or his Imperial rule. Probably Tirumala II ruled more or less independently in his own province. But the recognition of suzerainty, though it is not uniformly acknowledged, indicates that he held only a subordinate position under his uncle. Thus, in a couple of records dated in 1585 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam, 39 and 40), recording his earliest grants, we see him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* giving away, without any reference to the ruling suzerain, as a gift four villages, free of all taxes, to God Ranganātha for the merit of his father. In the following year (1586 A.D.) however, we have a grant of his mentioning Venkata I as ruling Emperor and calling himself a *Mahāmandalēsvara* and registering a *Kōḍige* grant to Hadinād Rāmarāya-Nāyaka. An interesting feature of this gift is that it is made to mark the occasion, it is said, when Rāmarāya-Nāyaka and his son called themselves after Tirumala II. To Tirumala, the son of Rāmarāya-Nāyaka, he granted five villages as a rent-free estate, together with the customs duties due on them, for the maintenance of a palanquin. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 141). In the next record, dated in 1587 A.D., registering a *Kōḍige* grant, he is called Tirumala-Rāja-Mahārāsu instead of *Mahāmandalēsvara* as in the previous grants. (*E.C.* V, Manjarabad 63). In a grant dated in 1592, we have due recognition of Venkata's suzerainty, all his imperial titles being given in it. This registers the grant of an *agrahāra* to Penukonda Tirumala Tātāchār for the merit of Sri-Ranga II made at the request of one Thandi-Nāyaka and Vasanta-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 38.) But in a later record, dated in 1598, he is styled as simply Tirumalarājayya, (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 52). Evidently he was a popular Viceroy and he was referred to without the conventional titles. This is the more probable as he is frequently so mentioned in his records. Father Coutinho, one of the Jesuit missionaries of the time, who knew him personally,

writing of him in 1600, states that he was "liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains" than his brother Ranga, who later succeeded Venkata I. (Rev. H. Heras, "The *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 412 f.n., 4). The record above referred to registers the release by him of the customs-duties due on Bachipalli in his province. Though this record does not mention Venkata as the supreme ruler, the next record known, dated in 1604 A.D., recognizes his suzerainty with due formality. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 111). This record registers a grant by him in favour of one Desāyi Gavasīka Gutti who is said to have acquired the pure Sivāchāra among good people. In a record which comes from Arkalgud in the Hassan District, dated in 1607, he is again styled *Mahāmandalēsvara*, which evidently indicates his official status. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 58). This grant registered by his command is repeated in another record which comes from Hunsur dated in the same year (*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 36.) This styles him both *Mahāmandalēsvara* and *Mahārāsu* and registers the gift of three villages to the Rudragana of Nanjarājapatna for the merit of his grand-father, father and himself for meeting the cost of services to be carried out at the shrine of Annadāni-Mallikārjuna. He also remitted, on the occasion, the *pagudi* tax payable to Seringapatna by these villages. As the name of Piriyaṛāja of the Changālva family of Nanjarājapatna is coupled with this grant and as it is also stated that the grant should be carried out as long as that family lasts, it has to be inferred that the villages granted lay within the jurisdiction of that chief. The next two records are dated in 1610 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 194 and *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 40.) The first of these registers the gift of a village to one Linganna of the Seringapatam-matha, while the second registers the gift of another to one Mariyanna, son of Rāmānujāya, establisher of the path of the *Vēdas* and the follower of both *Vēdāntas* (*i.e.*, Sānskrit and Tamil.) Both of these do



not mention the supreme ruler, Venkata I. There is also a lithic record, dated in *Saka* 1527, cyclic year, *Ananda* (*Sravana* *ba* 1.) which, however, do not agree. (*E.C.* IV, Gundalupet 13. Probably 1527, the *Saka* date given, is a mistake for 1537). The *Saka* date corresponds to A.D. 1605, while the cyclic year, for which details are given, corresponds to 1614 A.D. If the latter date is the intended date, then Tirumala II must have lived to that year. This record registers the grant of a village, rent-free to one Vengadayya Bhatta, described as the establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*, and is undoubtedly a genuine one. There is, further, another lithic record, whose *Saka* date is unfortunately not fully decipherable but whose cyclic year is given as *Akshaya*, *Pālguna* *Su* 10. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 181.) The cyclic year given corresponds to 1626 A.D. The record mentions Venkatapatirāya (with full Imperial titles) as ruling the kingdom of the earth, and registers the grant of a village in favour of one Jaiyachandra-Pandita by Tirumala-Rāja-Dēva (Tirumala II) who is described as the grandson of Āravīti Tirumala (I) and son of Rāmasvāmi (*i.e.*, Rāma III). There can be hardly any doubt that the grant is a genuine one. The questions arise whether Tirumala II was alive and ruling his province in 1626 and whether the Venkatapati-Rāya mentioned in this grant as the Imperial sovereign should be identified with Venkata I or Venkata II. There is, so far as can be seen, nothing to militate against the view that Tirumala II was still alive in 1626 A.D. The Venkatapati-Rāya mentioned in the record may be Venkata I, his name being mentioned as the safest thing to do in view of the prevailing civil dissensions of the period.

The dozen records set forth above do not exhibit Tirumala II either as an incapable or as a weak Viceroy. His inscripational records show that his rule was accepted without demur from Manjarābād to Mysore. He seems to have been popular in his province and his administration

would appear to have been attended with a fair amount of success. But he had two difficulties to contend against. One was the attitude of his uncle, Venkata I, towards him, and another was the rising power of Rāja-Wodeyar, the Mysore king, who proved himself an active and intrepid ruler, ever bent on expanding his own kingdom. Jesuit letters of the period show that Venkata was more fond of Sri-Ranga III than of Tirumala II, his elder brother. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 411-12, *f.n.*, 1; 504). Tirumala II tried to befriend his uncle in all possible ways, even through the agency of the Jesuit Father, who wielded considerable influence at Venkata's Court and passed and repassed through Tirumala's territories. He was pressing them to establish a centre at Seringapatam and station a missionary there. In 1600, he even tempted the Father with the grant of "a good piece of land in the city to build a house and church; moreover five-hundred-gold pagodes yearly"; evidently for the maintenance of the Church. He promised to receive them with "great honour and generosity." Six years later, in 1606, we see him still requisitioning Jesuit aid in his behalf. The Fathers at the Imperial Capital had evidently interested themselves in his behalf with the king and the princes of the kingdom had made mention of Tirumala's intended "journey to the Court." (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 413-414). Whether he journeyed to the Court or not, is not known. The sequel, however, shows that Venkata had evidently made up his mind against him and the Jesuit Fathers at his Court probably found that they could not make much headway with him in this particular matter. This was probably the reason why they tacitly rejected the unfortunate advances of Tirumala to open a missionary centre at his own Court. They should have thought that they could hardly please both uncle and nephew and they preferred, possibly, not to displease Venkata by establishing

themselves at his Court, Tirumala not being able to win for himself the good-will of his uncle.

Rāja-Wodeyar's successors made Tirumala feel the insecurity of his position as Viceroy. (See Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, 27-28). It is not clear if he suspected the aims and objects of Rāja-Wodeyar. But it is fairly certain that he was jealous of Rāja-Wodeyar's growing power and was alternately friendly and unfriendly to him. He finally took steps to check his career. He besieged Kesara, which was dependent on Rāja-Wodeyar but he beat him off with loss. He also refused to pay the usual tribute. Next an attempt would seem to have been made on Rāja-Wodeyar's life, but a faithful servant of his, killed the assassin at the nick of the moment and saved his master's life. (Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Madras Edition, I, 24-28). Whether Tirumala was responsible for this dastardly attempt or not is not clear, though his ministers seem to be implicated in it. (*Ibid* I, 25). Meanwhile (about 1593) Rāja-Wodeyar himself was besieged by Manjūn Khān, the general of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, and Mysore capitulated after a siege of three months. But Ibrāhīm being recalled for defending the capital, Rāja-Wodeyar easily regained possession of Mysore. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 175-6). It was probably shortly after this event, (Circa 1595-6) that Tirumala was, according to the *Chik-kadūvarāya-Vamsāvali*, required to proceed against Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura as detailed above. This poem states that he was one of those who accepted the bribe offered, by Virappa and retired from the siege. The poem adds that because of this treachery "Rāja-Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Rāya from his Vice-royalty." The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that the story of Tirumala's part in this war is a "concoction" of the poet and that the concoction is proved by the fact that the capture of Seringapatam is made to appear "as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason

in Madura." (*The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 343, *j.n.*, 1; 419). Though the statements—the taking of the bribe and desertion of his post at Madura by Tirumala and the resolution on Rāja-Wodeyar's part to drive him out of Seringapatam—appear as cause and effect in the poem by reason of their appearing in juxtaposition in it, there is no reason to believe that they followed each other almost "immediately." Because the text of the poem shows that on hearing of the treachery Rāja-Wodeyar took counsel with his ministers, generals and friends, and after learning the truth of the affair, he determined on taking the steps necessary to drive this traitor from Seringapatam. He then, it is added, sent out spies to find out Tirumala's strength (in regard to the seven constituents of power) and they after some "days" (meaning some length of time), it is stated, came and reported to him the inner secrets of his position. It was after this that action seems to have followed. (See *Sources* under *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, Text, 303-4). All this would mean the lapse of considerable time, though in the poetic language employed it would seem as though it was only a question of "days." That Tirumala was probably away from his capital between 1593 and 1598 seems inferable from the lack of inscriptional records in his own province between these years. (See above). It is possible he was away for a considerable time from his Viceregal seat and took part in the war against Madura as stated in the poem. The true reason for his defection may, perhaps, be traced to Venkata's coldness towards him. He had not only lost the kingdom when he was superseded but also did not seem even to stand the chance of succeeding Venkata on his death. His attempts to get Venkata change his mind, through the aid of the Jesuit Fathers at his court, had also failed and his interest in Venkata's affairs had probably reached the vanishing point. Whatever may be the reasons for his defection, there can be no

question that he did take part in the war against Madura and that he did desert his post at the siege. This circumstance evidently weighed heavily with Venkata against him and probably contributed no little in tacitly agreeing to his practical supercession fourteen years later by Rāja-Wodeyar at Seringapatam. Rāja-Wodeyar possibly rose as much in his estimation as a faithful feudatory as Tirumala went down as a Viceregal representative. It is only on some such basis that we can at all understand the brisk manner in which Rāja-Wodeyar laid siege to Seringapatam and the calmness with which Venkata stood gazing on the spectacle of the wresting of Seringapatam by him from his own nephew and representative. The suggestion of certain Mss. that Tirumala was compelled to retire by the members of his own court with the permission of Venkata himself seems not without some foundation. Probably the siege had only to be begun by Rāja-Wodeyar for Tirumala to retire from his seat and seek shelter at Talkad, there to end his days. (See on the whole subject Wilks I, 24-27; *Sources*, Introduction, 18-19; Heras, *Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 419-421). His position had evidently become so insecure that it did not require much effort on Rāja-Wodeyar's part to turn him out of Seringapatam. The fact that Rāja-Wodeyar had the support—more active than passive—of Venkata is proved by a grant dated in 1612 A.D., which is referred to in the Narasipur copper-plate record of Rāma III dated in 1622 A.D., which states that Venkata I granted Seringapatam and Ummattur as an hereditary estate to Rāja-Wodeyar. (*E.C.* III, T. Narasipur 62). Evidently the conquest of Seringapatam was duly confirmed by Venkata and there was thus the greater reason why Rāja-Wodeyar should prove himself worthy as a feudatory of the Empire. The Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant of Venkata II, dated in 1639 A.D., seems even to suggest that the Mysore kings had a right to the throne of Karnāta. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198.)

Their *Gotra* (Ātrēya) seems to be the same as those of the Āravīdu kings, though in their *Sūtra* and *Sākha* they differed. (The Mysore kings belong to the Āsvalayāna *Sūtra* and the Rig *Sākha* whereas the Āravīdu kings belonged, according to their grants, to the Āpastamba *Sūtra* and the Yajus *Sākha*).

Tirumala is said to have retired to Talakādu with his two wives, Alamēlamma and Rangamma. One of these appears to have died on the way. According to Wilks, Tirumala was, at the time he retired to Talkad, "worn down with age and disease," (*History of Mysoor*, I, 27) and that he "soon afterwards died" there. These statements, however, are not borne out by epigraphic records. As we have seen above, there is a record dated in 1614, recording a grant of his in the Gundlupet area. Then, again, there is another record of his dated in 1626, registering a gift for the merit of his father and mother to a Jain Pandit. This is the last record we have, so far, of him and it comes from Nanjangud. These records seem to suggest that he outlived Sri-Ranga III, and lived through a good part of the reign of Rāma IV. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 13; *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 181). Since his earliest grants are dated in 1585, he should have borne rule in the Seringapatam province for 41 years. If we suppose he had been but 20 years, at the time he succeeded his father in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, he should have been 61 years at the time when we last hear of him. Probably we may not be far wrong if we supposed that he died in or about 1626 A.D.

On Tirumala vacating his capital, Rāja-Wodeyar doubtless entered it and annexed it to his own dominions. It is possible he then proclaimed himself, by virtue of this conquest, the Karnāta king, a name which has long been associated with the Mysore Royal House. He probably also then took over the Karnāta throne as well which is still preserved as a sacred relic in the Mysore Royal

Palace. (See Puttaiya, *Note on the Mysore Throne in M.S.J. XI*, 262-3.) Rāja-Wodeyar conducted himself as a loyal feudatory. This is proved by his grants dated in 1614 and 1615 A.D. (*E.C. III*, Seringapatam 157 and T.-Narasipur 116) and in 1622 quoted above, which duly acknowledge his suzerainty and the suzerainty of Rāma III. (*E.C. IV*, Chamarajnar 62 assigned to 1604 A.D., is not a grant of Rāja-Wodeyar as stated by the Rev. H. Heras but a grant by Nanjarāja-Wodeyar (1604-1612) of the Hadinādu line. See *E.C. IV*, Introd, 20). Several of his successors down to as late as 1668 (*E.C. IV*, Gundlupet 65 dated in 1668), also did the same. The change meant no doubt the loss of an important province to the Empire but the loss was more an apparent than a real one.

It was during the reign of Venkata I that the Dutch and the English first appear on the East Coast to share in the Commerce of India. The monopoly which the Portuguese had so far enjoyed was thus sought to be broken into by other nations of the West. Up to 1587, the Portuguese monopoly was in the hands of the Government, but in that year, it was made over to a semi-commercial company called the Portuguese Company of India and the East, which gave place, in 1630, to the Commercial Company. Between 1595 and 1601, the Dutch sent as many as fifteen expeditions to the East. In 1602, all the Flemish amalgamated into a single Company and sent out an expedition to find out suitable trading centres. In 1603, the Dutch got a footing at Cuddalore, where they began building a Factory at Devanapatnam. Work was, however, stopped in 1609, by the intervention of Venkata, on behalf of the Portuguese, who, he said, "were better friends than the Dutch." The merchants of London obtained a charter on 31st December 1600 from Queen Elizabeth and sent out expeditions in 1601 and

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1604. These proved unsuccessful. A third expedition followed and reached Surat and from there proceeded to the Moghul Court. In 1607, the English settled at Masulipatam much to the annoyance of the Portuguese, whose Viceroy at Goa had instructions from his sovereign to do his best with Venkata to obtain their expulsion from that place. (The statement in the *Madras Manual of Administration*, 156, that the factory at Masulipatam was founded in 1611 seems wrong.) The Dutch also tried to obtain a footing at Pulicat. Though the Portuguese influence at the Court of Venkata, then at Vellore, prevented their settlement at that place for a time, it eventually gave way. Pulicat, then, was the headquarters of a province and had been since the time of Aliya Rāma-Rāja, if not earlier, the seat of a Governor. It was a great entrepot of trade, its sea-borne commerce, mainly with the Straits Settlements, being in Hindu hands. When the Portuguese influence at Venkata's Court declined about 1606, the Dutch renewed their attempt and a *cowl* was given to them by Venkata in April 1606 to settle at Pulicat. They were allowed to build a fort there to protect their property on condition of their paying 2 per cent on the goods and merchandise brought into it for trade purposes. Venkata engaged not to allow any other European nation to trade at the place. The Dutch, on their part, agreed to sell all European war materials required by Venkata at "the price they cost in our countries." They were also to pay all the painters, weavers and linen-makers their dues according to the agreements entered into with them. The English also tried to settle here two years later. But Kondamma (the "Conda Ma" of Floris, *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, III. 320), the "Governor" as she is called of the place, though tempted by "a very good present," refused to give an audience to them and said she would be pleased if they went to Venkata and obtained another



place for themselves. The Dutch, at Pulicat, however, proved a thorn in the side of the Portuguese at San Thome. About the close of 1612, the latter attacked the former and razed to the ground the fort at Pulicat. But the Dutch reoccupied the place in 1614, having been enabled to do so by Venkata's brother Ōbi-Rāju. They rebuilt the fort called Castle Geldria. Venkata, however, having heard of the attempt of the English, sent out a commission of three persons to the English at Masulipatam, with letters from Ōbamma, queen of Pulicat, Jaga Rāja Governor of San Thome and the surrounding country, and Appa Kondaja, Secretary of Venkata, asking them to choose a place "right over against the Fort of Paleacatte" which he would grant "with all privileges as we should desire." Floris, favourably impressed with the offer, was inclined to proceed in person to Venkata, who was then in Vellore, when he heard of the King's death and of the troubles there in consequence of it. The Embassy returned to Vellore having accomplished nothing. The English, however, tried to do some trading at Pulicat itself in 1614 but foiled in their attempts by the Dutch, they gave it up in despair. The Dutch at Pulicat effectually killed the Portuguese trade and amassed great profits from the trade in the far-famed Pulicat cloth. They were urged by their sovereign again and again to seize the new fort and raze it to the ground, but the conditions were not favourable for a repetition of the raid of 1612. The death of Venkata, two years later, should have rendered the prosecution of such a project even more difficult, for they had to know the disposition of the new Emperor towards them, and win him over, if possible, before they thought of taking such a step. (See on the whole subject H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 428-63.)

The relations of Venkata with the Portuguese were most cordial. He kept in touch with the Viceroy

Relations  
with the  
Portuguese.

through the Jesuit Missionaries who lived at his Court at Chandragiri. In 1601, he sent an embassy, with a couple of the latter, to Goa to establish on a firm basis a defensive alliance with the Viceroy against Akbar, who was suspected of having designs on the Vijayanagar kingdom. The Viceroy sent a return embassy. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 434-7.) The King of Portugal approved of the Viceroy's conduct in giving them a warm welcome. Later in 1607, he even approved of an alliance with Venkata against the Moghul Emperor. Indeed, it might be said that in Venkata's time, Portuguese influence in the south reached its zenith. The nearest Settlement of the Portuguese was at San Thome, Madras. The Settlement, though small, was an unruly one and the Hindu Adhikāri (or Governor) had a hard time of it. The person appointed in 1599, had special instructions from Venkata not to take any serious steps against the people of the Settlement without previously consulting the Jesuit priests. The internal squabbles in the Settlement continued down to 1606, and to put an end to them, San Thome was erected into a new Bishopric with jurisdiction over the whole of the Coromandel Coast and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu. In that very year, the Portuguese at the place, to revenge a private quarrel, attacked the Hindu town and set fire to the fort in which the Adhikāri had taken shelter. On hearing this, Venkata was in a rage but he was shortly after appeased by a special mission from the Settlement. The Adhikāri was replaced by a new functionary and peace was then restored in it. About 1611, however, a fresh war broke out against the Portuguese at San Thome. The exact cause is not known. It, however, synchronised with the absence of the Jesuit Fathers from Venkata's Court. Quoting a Jesuit letter of that year, the Rev. H. Heras suggests that it was "greed of money" that was responsible for it. But

subsequent correspondence on this matter shows that Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was evidently conspiring against his sovereign and possibly tried to get possession of San Thome, from which he was levying rent for some years (since 1604 A.D.). At any rate, when Venkata moved a large force against the settlement, Raghunātha helped the Portuguese against his suzerain and was afterwards warmly thanked for his services by Philip III, the Spanish King, to whom Portugal was then subordinate. Peace was eventually proposed and Venkata was forced to accept a small sum with the promise of a little more by instalments later. These events induced the Portuguese to fortify San Thome against future attacks and to appoint a captain to oversee its affairs and make the people keep the peace. Nothing, however, came of these proposals during the life time of Venkata. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 428-63.)

A few words may be added about the Jesuit Fathers, who established themselves at his Court and through whose influence the Portuguese carried on their trade and kept other European adventurers for long at bay. Their letters throw a flood of light on Venkata I, both as a ruler and as a man. They have been fully utilised by the Rev. H. Heras in writing his account of the reign of Venkata, which occupies more than a third of his book. The most eminent of these was Father Nicholas Pimenta who, as visitor on behalf of the General Society of Jesus, directed the establishment in 1597 A.D. of a Mission house at Chandragiri, the royal residence. To the Rev. Father Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of San Thome, was assigned the duty of opening the Mission. He left San Thome in October 1598 and was duly received by Ōba Rāya, father-in-law of Venkata, and introduced to the King, who received him in audience. He gave them permission to build a Church

The Jesuit  
Fathers at  
his Court.

at Chandragiri and elsewhere also if they pleased and promised the grant of a couple of villages for their expenses and for meeting the cost of erecting their Churches. He also gave them a golden palanquin for use, a distinction reserved only to nobles and to religious heads. Thus began Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits and it was in full vigour till 1606, when the first rift in the lute occurred. This, however, was soon overcome. Among those who stayed at Chandragiri during the reign of Venkata were Father Ricio, who reached it in 1599 and erected the first Church on a good site allotted for it by Ōba Rāya. There were three others in 1600: The Rev. Father Veiga, Coutinho, and Alexander Frey, an English lay Brother, who was a painter as well. As the villages promised could not be granted, an annual cash grant of one thousand *pardaos* was, by royal order, sanctioned instead. This payment, however, ceased from 1606, as the lands from the yield of which they were paid, had been destroyed and no other source of revenue had been assigned by the king for the maintenance of the Church and the Fathers connected with it. A letter of Venkata to Father Coutinho, dated in 1602, shows that he "allowed the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of San Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers," the village "Elamur" being identifiable with modern Egmore, (*Vulgo*: "Elamur" even now) which is now included in the City of Madras. On Father Veiga's transfer, Father Coutinho succeeded him at Chandragiri. He has left graphic accounts of his conversations on the Gospel doctrines with king Venkata. He wrote that Venkata not only "shows us marks of great friendship but also lends a very willing ear to the expositions of our doctrines." When Venkata began to reside in 1604 at Vellore, on its capture, Fathers Ricio and Laerzio visited him there. Venkata received them with great kindness

and put them up in "a house next to the palace." The nobles of the Court appear to have been equally friendly. "All of them are," says Laerzio, in a letter dated in 1604, "very good friends of the Fathers, very polite and kind, and many request us to build Churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance." Father Ricio passed away in 1606, being the first Jesuit to die in the Vijayanagar Mission. His place was taken by another Italian Father Antonia Rubino. In this year occurred the fight at San Thome, which ended in the recall of the Fathers from Venkata's Court. When peace was restored in 1607, they returned to their places, Rubino to Chandragiri and Coutinho with the lay Brother Bartolomeo Fontebona, to Vellore, where the king resided. A Church was built at Vellore, which probably occupied the site of the present Anglican Church. The old warmth of feeling for these foreign missionaries returned and great cordiality prevailed between them and the king. He appears to have had frequent talks about the Christian religion and tenets. On Coutinho's recall and subsequent death at San Thome in 1610, Rubino succeeded him, being in charge of both Chandragiri and Vellore. Coutinho was a great friend of Venkata and his death proved a distinct loss to the Portuguese cause at his Court. Evidently other influences were at work. The Jesuit letters blame the Brāhmans as their "Chief foes" but it is possible that Obamma (identified with Peda-Obamma of the genealogical table), the favourite queen to whom Pulicat had been allotted for pin money and who favoured the settlement of the Dutch at that place and had gained some alleged ascendancy over the king, was responsible for the coldness which the Jesuit Fathers experienced at Venkata's hands about this time. (See H. Heras, *The Āraṁḍu Dynasty*, 500-502). The result was that by the end of 1611, the Jesuits had withdrawn from both the royal

residences of Chandragiri and Vellore. This withdrawal, however, was due not so much to the loss of patronage or influence at the Royal Court on the part of the Fathers, but rather to an order from Philip III, who, in taking action on a scurrilous petition on them, had asked for their recall and replacement "by others of good conduct." Of course, the petition contained grave allegations against the honesty and character of the Jesuit priests, which, on the face of them, seem wholly false. Instead of first ordering an inquiry and then taking action on the result of the same, Philip, in keeping with his suspicious nature, first ordered their recall and asked the Viceroy to make inquiries as to the truth of the allegations. The head of the Mission soon recalled the priests and did not appoint others in their place. This withdrawal proved disastrous to the Portuguese cause. The war with San Thome and the establishment of the Dutch Factory at Pulicat were set down by the Viceroy at Goa as due to this loss of influence at Venkata's Court. He was anxious that the lost Missionary influence at the Court should be restored, but the death of Venkata I put an effectual end to the realization of the wish. There can be no doubt that the real object of the Fathers was to preach the Gospel and make known the Christian faith in the Vijayanagar kingdom. At the same time, there is no gainsaying the fact that both the Portuguese Viceroy and Venkata utilized the Fathers for political purposes, for which they were so handy. It should be remarked that the real object of the Jesuit Fathers was never attained. The reason assigned was that the people were "very obstinate" in their own doctrines. "They certainly acknowledged," wrote one of them in 1606, "that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it." That sums up neatly not only the tolerance they exhibited towards the new faith but also the general Hindu attitude even

to this day towards Christinity. Though they worked as much as possible to propagate their faith, the Fathers found, as they confess, "*Janna clausa est* (the gate is shut), and great grace of God is required to open it." Four years later (1611), the position was no better, though the Fathers were still hoping for a better "harvest." With this hope, the Mission to Vijayanagar ceased to exist. (See on the whole subject H. Heras, *Ibid*, 464-485, and the original Jesuit letters quoted therein.)

An aspect of Venkata's character disclosed by the Jesuit letters published by the Rev. H. Heras was his love of discussion, in a spirit of tolerance, on religious topics. Another was his deep interest in the art of painting which the Fathers were not slow to appreciate and gratify in so far as they could. They included in their Mission at Chandragiri, between 1600-1602, a Jesuit lay Brother Alexander Frey, who was an Englishman. He is reported to have painted and handed to Venkata several fine paintings bearing on the life of Jesus, which were highly appreciated by Venkata. In 1607, his place was taken by an Italian Lay Brother, named Bartolomeo Fontebona (or Fontebuone.) He became a great friend of Venkata, whom he joined at Vellore. He had evidently inherited the artistic skill of his race, for Venkata is said to have been "surprised to see how quickly the brother worked." He is said to have painted besides pictures of Loyola and Xavier, a portrait of Venkata himself, for which he gave a special sitting until the same was finished. He is also said to have painted a panel of pictures relating to Jesus, which Venkata hung, it is said, in a prominent part of his Palace at Vellore. This Lay Brother proved a great help, by his intimacy with the king, to the Fathers and they even thought of promoting him to the sacred priesthood. He evidently left Vellore with the rest of the Jesuit

Jesuit  
Painters and  
their work at  
Venkata's  
Court.

priests in 1611, when the Mission to Vijayanagar was finally closed. In 1626, he formed one of a party intended for Tibet but owing to the difficulties of the enterprise, he was sent back to Hughli on the Ganges and there died, at the age of fifty, on December 26th of that year. (See Henry Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 486-493.)

Coinage of  
Venkata.

From certain records of his reign, Venkata I would seem to have issued a gold coin called in them as *Venkatarāya-Varāham*. These must be the coins known after him and containing the legend *Srī-Venkatesāyanamah*, "Adoration to the Blessed Venkatēsvara," the God on the Tirupati Hill. This is the invocatory phrase with which his inscriptions begin. Dr. Hultzsch has described these coins. (*I.A.* XX, 307.) On the obverse of these coins Vishnu is seen standing under an arch and on the reverse is the Nagari legend mentioned above. A gift of 65 of these pieces are registered in a record dated in 1608. Another record in 1569 A.D. states that 140 *Pon* were the equivalent of 100 Gatti *Venkatarāya-Varāham*. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 55; App. C. No. 198.) From this record, it would appear that one *Varāham* was passed for 1.4 *Pon*. (See also C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64.)

Ministers,  
Generals and  
Feudatories.

Among the chief ministers of Venkata I were Pemmasani Timma, and Matla Ananta. The former is said to have had the titles of *Manne Mārtānda*, *Gandarāditya* and *Gandaraganda*. (*Sources*, 242.) Matla Ananta was an eminent warrior and poet (see below). He took a prominent part in the fighting of this reign. He actively helped in beating off the Muhammadans from the capital, when they invaded it. He was the son of Yellamarāju, in whose name he built a tank. He also repaired the Sidhout fort, building a protecting wall round it. He



further excavated a tank in his own name at Sidhōut. Among his titles were *Aivaraganda*, *Mannehamvira* and *Rāchabebbuli*. (*Ibid*, 248). His son was Matla Tiruvēngalanātha. (See under *Literature* below; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; *Sources*, 248-9). He was also a great soldier. Of him a stray verse, whose authorship is not known, states that when he fought the Muhammadans at Kurnool, the heaps of slain that he left on the field looked like a mountain, their bones like standing trees, their blood like flowing rivers, and their heads like stars in heaven! (V. Prabhakara Sāstri, *Chatupādya-manimanjari*, 65). He built the *Gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 61). Among the feudatories, we have references to a great many in the records of the reign. In one dated in 1583, when Venkata I was probably a joint ruler with his brother, we have mention of one Hari Kampappa Nāyaka described as an agent of his in the Sira country. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3). Probably he is identical with the Hariti Chief Immadi Kenchappa Nāyaka, who made the grant registered in a record dated in 1609 to his Dalavāi Basavi Nāyaka. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 1). Another dated in 1587, refers to a grant by one Krishnama Nāyaka, son of Venkatappa Nāyaka, in the Chikmagalur country. (*E.C.* VI Chikmagalur 79). In 1589, we have reference to one Srīpati Vallabha of the Madarāja-kula. It was at his request that Venkata made the gift to Brāhmins mentioned in the Tirumalāpur grant. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39.) He was evidently a notable chief of the times, for he is described as the maker of tanks, groves, wells and other public charities. He is spoken of as a worshipper of Srīpati. A copper-plate grant of Srī-Ranga-Raja, feudatory of Aliya Rama-Rāja, of Vijayanagar, dated 15th January 1554, registering a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, describes Srī-Ranga, as the son of Vallabbēndra and grand-son of Srī-Ranga-Raja

of the family of Mada-Rāja, famous for the construction of tanks, wells, groves and as an expert in the art of Government. This grant would seem to be a clear forgery, as it puts back Sri-Ranga-Rāja, son of Vallabhēndra, to a date anterior to 1554. The lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant is also known to have not occurred on the date mentioned. In a record from the Chamarajnagar country, dated in 1593, we have mention of the Hadinad chief Devappa-Gavuda's son Immadi-Rāma-Rāja making a grant for the merit of his mother Channājiyamma. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 30). A Mahānādprabhu, whose name is not known, is referred to in a record of the same year, coming from Maddagiri, modern Madhugiri, in the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 21.) A copper-plate grant dated 15th January 1595, refers to a gift of six villages by one Arasappa-Nāyaka, chief of Sōde. He is evidently a feudatory of Venkata in a part of the modern South Canara District. The grant was in favour of a *guru* of Vyāsa-Rāya *matha*, whose name is not mentioned. (*M.A.R.* 1925; 21-2, No. 8). From Mysore comes a record dated in 1598, registering a grant by Bettada-Chamarāja-Wodeyar for a Rāmānuja-Kūta and a Chatra at Belgola. This should be the Mysore king of the same name, who began his rule in 1576 A.D. and was the brother of Rāja-Wodeyar. Both of these recognize the suzerainty of Venkata I. Perhaps assignable to the same year, is a grant by Bidyavara mahānādprabhu Mummadi Chikkappa Gauda. He was evidently a local chief. A record assignable to about 1600 refers to Immadi Gauda, the chief of Sugatur, as a feudatory of Venkata I, (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 102). He is probably the same person who is referred to as Mummadi-Tammaya-Gauda of Sugatur in a grant dated in 1608. (*E.C.* X Kolar 241). Other records of his are dated in 1609 and 1614 (*E.C.* X Siddlaghatta 5; *E.C.* X, Kolar 157.) Another dated in 1605, mentions another

feudatory named Chandrasēkhara-Wodeyar, chief of Arakothāra. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnar 82). An inscription referable to 1605, mentions Immadi Kadirappa-Nāyudu as a local chief in the Kolar District. (*E.C.* X Bagepalli 20). In 1605, we have a record of the Hadinādu chief Mahāprabhu Nanja-Rāja-Wodeyar, registering a grant in the name of his parents. An inscription in 1606, refers to a grant by the agent of the mahānāyachārya Kamagēti Chikkanna-Nāyaka, who was evidently a feudatory of Venkata in the Chitaldrug country. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 80). In the following year, we have a grant by Venkatādri Nāyaka, of Belur, another feudatory of Venkata. (*E.C.* V Belur 145). Another feudatory of his referred to in a record assignable to 1609 is Hadappa Venkata Nāyaka, who is spoken of as the agent of the king in it. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 27). In a record from Mudgere, dated in the same year, we have a reference to another feudatory, Bhairāsa Wodeyar, son of Vīra Bhairāsa Wodeyar, governing the Kalasa Karkala kingdom. (*E.C.* VI Mudgere 63). From an inscription dated in 1610, coming from Tirthahalli, it might be inferred that one Venkatādri-Nāyaka held charge of the Aranya-dēsa. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 166). A record from the Bangalore District, dated in the same year mentions the Avatinād Prabhu Immadi-Bhairē-Gauda and a grant by him for the merit of his father. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 13, Dodballapur 49). The Harati chief Immadi-Rangappa-Nāyaka is mentioned in a record dated in 1612 (*E.C.* XII, Sira 84). In a grant dated in the same year, the Hadinad chief Nanjatāja Wodeyar is again mentioned as making a grant (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnar 135). The nādaprabhu Chinna-pparasa, of Yelvanhalli, Mulbagal Taluk, is said to have built a large tank in 1613 and donated it, with all the lands below it, free of all taxes to god Kōdandarāma at the place. (*M.A.R.*, 1926, 84, No. 93). In 1614, we have Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore appearing as a feudatory of

Venkata I and making a grant of certain villages which Venkata had assigned to him as *umbali* in the Seringapatam country. (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 157). This grant seems to have followed within a short time of Rāja-Wodeyar occupying Seringapatam after expelling from it Tirumala II, the Vijayanagar Viceroy in it. In a record dated in 1612, Venkatapati Nayanimgāru, the Vēlugōti chief, declares himself a feudatory of Venkata I. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1053, No. 36). In another record of the identical year, he calls himself "an Arjuna in war." (*Ibid.* 246, Atmakur 35). Yachama Nāyaka, another powerful feudatory, is referred to in the *Bāhulāsva-Charitramu*, as having received gifts from the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Gōlconda and Ahmadnagar and to have been highly esteemed by the people. (*Sources*, 305-6.) He defeated Dāvalu-Papa at Uttaramallur. This Dāvalu-Pāpa has been identified with the Pāparaju of the Jesuit records of the time. (H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 322; *Sources*, 305, f.n.). Yachama was a devout Śrī-Vaishnava and maintained a feeding house, at which he fed 300 Brāhman pilgrims going to or returning from Tirupati. (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, 219.) He is said to have lived on the top of a high hill, encompassed with shady forests. (H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 322, quoting Du Jarric, I, 657.)

Gobbūri Obarājayya was the chief general of the period. He has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with Ōba-rāya, described as the brother-in-law of Venkata by Barradas. He may be the Ōba-rāya mentioned as the father-in-law of Venkata in the *Rāmarājīyamu* and the Jesuit letters of the time. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 188-9; H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 307.)

As a patron of literature.

The general peace that prevailed during the latter part of the long reign of Venkata I gave ample opportunity throughout his realm for literary activity. Though he

may not have been, as the Dalavai-Agrahāra grant suggests, a profound scholar, he was probably learned enough to follow the discussions of great teachers and professors of religion. The occasional remarks let slip by the Jesuit Fathers show that he regularly studied, probably daily, with his religious teachers, and that disputations of a semi-religious and semi-philosophical character were frequently held before him in Sanskrit. (H. Heras, *The Āraṇḍu Dynasty*, 491, f.n. 1; and 518, f.n. 1). According to Father Ricio, Venkata had "disputations on God philosophy and mathematics with the teachers or philosophers every day." The Fathers could not join the debate, since they understood nothing. Venkata is praised as a patron of literary men. The Mangalampad grant calls him "a very moon to lotuses, which are scholars." "He was," it adds, "devoted to the protection of the learned." (*Nellore Inscriptions I*, 25). The most revered teacher and scholar at his court was undoubtedly Tātāchārya. His full name was Ettur Kumāra Tirumala Tātāchārya. He was also known as Lakshmi-Kumāra and Kōtikanyādāna, evidently suggesting the countless virgins he had given away in marriage to learned Brāhmins. In one record, he is called Venkatarāya-Tātāchārya, the Tātāchārya whom king Venkata revered. (*M.E.R.* Para 62, App. B, Nos. 564 and 565 dated in 1601 A.D.). Several inscriptions attest to his great influence at Venkata's Court. He was his *Guru* and officiated at his coronation. The king, in the excess of his admiration, is said to have offered him his whole kingdom. (*Sources*, under *Prapan-nāmritam*, 251). He was the manager of the Vaishṇava temples at Kānchi and had a number of subordinates under him. He is known to have lived in kingly splendour at Kānchi, where a number of inscriptions mentioning him have been found on the walls of the Arulāla Perumāla temple. In 1570 A.D., he got the Vimāna at Tirupati gilded (*M.E.R.* 1919-20; No. 354 of 1919). He

weighed himself against gold and silver and used all that wealth in the service of God Varadarāja of Kānchi in erecting the Kalyānakōti Vimāna in gold for the Goddess Lakshmi in that famous temple. In one record (No. 475 of 1919, undated) his gifts for vehicles for the temples, jewels for the deities, agrahāras for Brāhmins, and his digging of the tank called the Tātasamudram after himself are mentioned in glowing terms. The Kalyānakōti-Vimāna was finished about 1614 A.D. (See *M.E.R.*, No. 650 of 1919) and was evidently built in emulation of the Punyakōti-Vimāna set up by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The latter was repaired by Tātāchārya (*Ibid.*, No. 649 of 1919) and regilded by him as it had got defaced and weather-beaten during the course of the century that had elapsed since its erection. Finally, there is a record registering the *Hanumad-Vimsati*, a poem of 20 verses composed by him in honour of God Hanumān, whose image he set up in the temple on the bank of Tātāsamudram tank, now known familiarly as the Ayyankulam, dug by him. (See *M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 51). According to an inscription on the tank bund of the Tenneri Tank, Chingleput District, it seems it was dug by Tātāchārya. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, 393). He is probably identical with the Tātaya, mentioned in a record dated in 1590 A.D., as the grandson of Ettur Tātārya and son of Srinivāsa. This record registers the grant of a village called Venkatēsapura in his favour. (*M.E.R.* 1916-17, App. A, Copper-plate No. 8, see also *Catalogue of C.-P. grants in Madras Government Museum*, 54.) The *Prapannāmrītam* makes him the son of Panchamata-Bhanjanam Tātāchārya. His forbears had been connected with the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism and the family claimed descent from the uncle of the great reformer Śrī-Rāmānuja. (See *ante.*) There is hardly any doubt that he commanded universal respect alike for his position and learning. He is called, in the Dalavai-Agrahāra grant, as "the ornament of the

wise." A well known philosophical work of his is *Sātvika-brahma-Vidyā-vilāsa*. A work of the same name in Kannada by Ranga-Rāja, a Srī-Vaishnava poet, who lived at the Court of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja is known. (See R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka-Kavicharite*, II, 449-50). It is probably based on Tātāchārya's work. He also wrote a work called *Pānduranga-mahātmya* devoted to the Vishṇu temple at Pandharpur in the present Bombay Presidency. This work, however, should be distinguished from the Telugu work of the same name, the author of which was Tenali Rāmākrishna-kavi referred to below. The influence of Tātāchārya was evidently felt even by the Jesuit Fathers at the Court of Venkata. One of these, Father Coutinho, seems to have entirely misunderstood the great teacher. He calls him the famous *Guru* but stigmatises him in one of his letters as "unworthy of his post because of his vices." It would appear, according to a letter of his dated November 11, 1607, that he was specially lacking in continence, as "he had many wives at home," and is, he adds, "one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes." The passage quoted shows that the worthy Jesuit priest misunderstood the position of Tātāchārya, who was not a *Sanyāsin* (the Latin original refers to *Saniaces*) but a householder, who was permitted to marry and yet be a *guru*. The Rev. H. Heras has also missed this point and endorsed the harsh judgment of Father Coutinho, which seems wholly undeserved. A person belonging to the family to which Tātāchar belonged, and with the status he enjoyed in society, cannot have been otherwise than strict and becoming in his religious practices and principles. The good use he made of his immense wealth and his literary and philosophical works show him to have been a person deserving of the trust and faith laid in him by Venkata I, who was by no means a blind disciple. Himself a strict and virtuous

man in morals, he could not have tolerated incontinence even in his *guru*. (See the Mangalampad grant, which records of him that he was "indifferent to other men's wives.") A *guru* to whom, by the customs and notions of the country, marriage is allowed—as among Protestant Christians—and who is privileged, under the same sanctions, to marry more than one wife, stands entirely on a different footing from a *Sanyāsin*, to whom marriage of every kind is disallowed. There is scarcely any doubt that Tātāchārya was universally respected by the people and members of his family spread themselves throughout the country, both in the Telugu and in the Tamil Districts, and spread Vaishṇavism among them with considerable zeal and enthusiasm. The *Prapannāmritam* in a fit of poetical exaggeration describes Venkata's devotion to his *guru* as so great that he surrendered the kingdom to him and led a life of retirement, doing service to him like Kulasēkhara of old. This, of course, is not literally true; it only shows the extreme regard that Venkata paid to his *guru*. That speaks highly of Venkata, for according to Hindu ideas, a *guru's* word ought to be scrupulously regarded by his disciple, though it is equally incumbent on the *Guru* to see that he does not make the disciple's life impossible by inexorable demands on his patience and purse. The respect Venkata showed to his *guru* benefited Vaishṇavism generally. It attracted people to itself and thus Vaishṇavism soon spread into almost every part of India, south of the Krishna. Members of the Tātāchārya's family are found referred to in later inscriptions, both in the Tamil and Telugu districts, as *gurus* and recipients of land gifts. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* I, 607, No. 394, dated in 1644; I, 605, No. 376 dated in 1742 A.D.)

Apart from the respect he showed to Tātāchārya, poet and philosopher, Venkata appears to have encouraged Vēdic learning and literary pursuits. His very numerous



copper-plate grants (see list above) indicate his munificence. Thus the Sarjapur plates, dated in 1601, record the gift of a village called Perungolattūru, renamed Venkatarāyapura after himself, in Padaivīdu-nādu, to a Vaishṇava scholar named Rāmaiya, son of Allārya and grandson of Singarāya. (*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 93). The Mangalampād grant, dated 1602-3, records the grant of a village in favour of one Srī-Rangarāja, a descendant of one Vēdāntodayana, a learned scholar who was an attendant on Rāmānuja, the Vaishṇava teacher. He is described as specially learned in the Yajussākha. (*Nellore Inscription I*, 25 copper-plate grant No. 6). The Vilapāka grant, dated in the same year as the Sarjapur grant, was also in favour of a learned scholar who was "conversant with the eighteen Puranas." (*E.I.* IV, 272). A copper-plate record, dated in 1591 A.D., indicates the patronage extended by Venkata I to Brāhmins learned in the *Vēdās* and *Sāstras*. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 87; App. A, No. 6). Another record of the same kind, dated in 1612 A.D., is in favour of one Rāmakrishna Jōsya, well versed in *Vēda*, *Vēdāngas*, *Tarka*, *Smṛiti* and *Sāryasiddhānta*. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23; App. A, No. 7). The grant of 1591 A.D., above referred to, was in favour of many scholars learned in grammar (*Sabda-Sāstra*) and astronomy (*Jyōtisha*) and was made at the request of general Chenchā-Bhūpa, who was the son of the chief Ahūbalēsa and Governor of Chandragiri and other forts. According to certain stray verses which have come down to our own times, Appaya Dīkshita, the great Saiva philosopher, was patronised by Venkata I. (See *M.E.R.* 1903-4 Para 25; Sources, 250-1). It is said that he wrote his work on Alankāra, known as *Kuvalayānanda*, at the request of Venkata I. Appaya Dīkshita was also honoured by Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, who was Viceroy at Vellore until its capture by Venkata I. It would appear that Chinna Bommu performed with his own hands the Kanakābhishēka, the anointing with gold,

of Appaya Dikshita in recognition of his great scholarship by pouring the gold coins from out of the vessel. (*Sources*, 251.) Chinna Bommū's son was Linga, the donor of the Vilapākam grant of Venkata I (1601 A.D.). His capital was, as we have seen, taken, by Venkata, and made the royal residence. (See *ante*). An eminent contemporary of Appaya Dikshita was Sudhīndra-Tīrtha, the then *Guru* of the Sumatīndramatha. He was, according to the *Raghavēndravijaya*, honoured and respected by Venkata I. His head-quarters was Kumbhakōnam. His *kanakābhishēka* was performed by Raghunātha, the Nāyak at the time of Tanjore. Sudhīndra's disciple was Raghavēndra-Tīrtha, the eminent commentator on the Vēdas, who was sainted at Mantsala in the present Bellary District. (See *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Chapter XV, under *Mantsala*.) Among those converted by him to the Madhva faith was the well known Yagnanārāyana Dikshita, the commentator on the *Sulba Sūtras* and the author of the historical poem *Sāhityaratnākara* dealing with the life and times of Raghunātha of Tanjore. He was the son of the even more famous Gōvinda Dikshita, minister of Achyuta and Raghunātha, the Nāyak rulers of Tanjore. He wrote numerous works and is even said to have collaborated with Appaya Dikshita in the production of some of his works. (*Sources*, 253). Gōvinda Dikshita himself was not less known as a scholar than as a minister. He is said so have been a great authority on the Advaita Vēdānta and on the Darsanas. Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was himself, it would appear, a poet and scholar and a patron of poets and musicians. About a dozen of his works have come down to us. Among the works he is said to have written, one called *Achyutarāyābhyudāyam* has not yet been traced. The author of *Sāhityaratnākara* was his student; so also was the poetess Rāmabhadrāmba, the talented author of *Rāghunāthābhyudāyam*, devoted to the history of the reign of Raghunātha

himself. His Telugu version of the *Rāmāyana* has been highly praised for its excellence and has been honoured with a translation by Madhuravāni, another poetess at his court. In his *Sangīta-Sudha*, a work of merit, he states he was a great proficient in music and that he had invented some new *rāgas*. (*Sources*, 270.) Evidently Raghunātha was one of the most cultured feudatories of Venkata I. He seems to have been as great a writer as he was a warrior. Though Krishnama-Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Gingee, was not a scholar or a patron of literature, Sūrappa Nāyaka, his predecessor, was the patron of the well known poet Ratnakhēta Srinivāsa Dikshita, who dedicated to him his drama *Bhāvanāpurushōttama*. (*Sources*, 272.) Raghunātha's conquests and his court have been described in vivid colours by a lady poet Rāmabhadrāmba in the *Ragunāthābhyudaya*, which incidently furnishes us an account of the part played by Raghunātha in the war of succession that followed the death of Venkata I. Her poem is well written and is a fine example of what a cultured Hindu lady was capable at the beginning of the 17th century in the South of India. In the colophon to her work, she says she was an expert in the arts of *Satalēkhini* and *Samayalēkhini*, and that she was capable of writing the four sorts of poetry in all the eight languages (Sānskrit, Telugu and the six Prākritis). She also states that she was installed on the throne of *Sahitya Sāmrajya* (*i.e.*, declared empress among poets) by king Raghunātha, a position for which she seems to have been eminently fit.

In the Mysore country, there flourished during this reign many poets, some of them of outstanding merit. Most of them were Virasaivas, though there was a sprinkling of Brāhmīns and Jains. Vērūpāksha Pandit, the author of the *Channa-Basava-Purāna* was one of these. He wrote his work in 1584 A.D. It is composed in a simple and popular style and is of great value for an intelligent

appreciation of Virasaivism as a religious cult in the South. Tirumala-Bhatta, the author of *Siva-Gīta*, lived at the Court of the Keladi Venkatappa Nāyaka. Though a translation of a piece from the *Mahābhārata*, it is composed in a taking style. Pradhāni Tirumalarāya, who was the minister of Rāja-Wodeyar, wrote the *Karnavrittāntakatha*. The Jain lexicographer Dēvottama, whose work *Nānārtha-Ratnākara* deserves to be better known, probably lived about 1600. But the greatest poet and grammarian of the time was the Jain author Bhattākalanaka-Dēva, who finished the famous work *Karnātaka-Sabdānusāsanā* in 1604. He was a poet at the court of Sri-Ranga II and then at that of his successor Venkata I. He was an erudite scholar and was well read both in Sānskrit and Kannada and his work bears eloquent testimony to the depth and range of his learning. He has been described by a later writer as a Mahāvidvān conversant with Prākṛit, Sānskrit and Magadhi. His work is a grammar of the Kannada language and is perhaps the best of its kind dealing with it. A notable peculiarity about it is that the *Sūtras*, *Vṛitti* and *Vyākhyāna* which form the work are in Sanskrit. (See on the whole subject of the poets of this period, R. Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē* II, 307-59.) At the Imperial Court, Telugu received special attention. Among the great poets of the period were Tenāli Rāmakrishna, Mātla Ananta, Chinna Nārana, Pingali Sūrāna, and Tarigoppula Mallana. Of these, Tenāli Rāmakrishna deserves special notice. His work *Pānduranga-mahātmyamu* is one of great merit. His other work *Ghatikachala-mahātmyamu* is also one of considerable interest. According to tradition, the former is said to have been written within the time that the oil in an ordinary lampstand could be exhausted! It is also stated that it was taken down to the poet's dictation by one of the queens before the lighted lampstand! He was known as *Vikata-*

*Kavi* or the jesting poet. Numerous are the stories told even to this day of the wit and humour of this poet and the practical jokes he played on certain of his brother poets. Collections of these tales are known and their wide circulation shows the popular favour they enjoy. Whether Tenāli Rāmakrishna was Venkata's Court poet or not is still unsettled; nor indeed is his date quite definitely ascertained. As the many hits he gave to Tātāchārya have come down to our own days, it is possible they were contemporaries. However this may be, his eminence as a poet cannot be questioned. He was celebrated as an impromptu versifier and an acute critic of other works of his contemporaries. (For an account of his impromptu verses, see V. Prabhakara Sastry, *Chatupadyamanimanjari*, 142-150.) Pingali Sūrana, the author of the *Kālapūrnōdaya*, *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, *Garudapurāna*, and other works, lived at the court of Nandyāla Krishnarāja, of Gandikōta, a cousin of Venkata I, and was also patronized by Krishnarāja's brother and successor Timmayadēva. His *Prabhāvati-Pradyumnamu* is a work conceived on original lines, being a poem not based on Purānic episodes. Sūrana is reckoned one of the most eminent poets known to Telugu literature. Another cousin of Venkata I was Kōnēti Timmarāja. His son Kōnēti Rāmarāja accepted the dedication of *Sadakshināparinayam*. Matla Ananta, whom we have seen previously as a general, was also a great poet. He was the author of *Kākustha-Vijayamu*, a work of considerable merit, and other works. According to the Sidhout record dated in 1605 (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B, No. 564), he also built the Yellamarāju-Cheruvu, named after his father, besides repairing the fort at Sidhout which had been captured by his father. The Sidhout inscription consists, it is worthy of note, of one Sānskrit, a *Sisamāla* of 20 feet, and a *Tētagīta* in Telugu—all composed probably by himself. There are some stray Telugu verses

in praise of Matla-Kona, Matla-Ananta and Matla-Rāju-Tiruvēngadanātha. The verse relating to Ananta states that no king opposed him in battle without being captured; no prince begged for pardon without being protected; no hero who did not ransom himself; and no *Vazir* who did not bend down and bow in token of submission. (V. Prabhakara Sastry *Chatūpadyamanimānjari*, 65). Tarigopula Mallanna was another Court poet. He wrote the *Chandrabhānu-Charitramu*, from which we learn that his brother Datta Mantri was a minister of Venkata I. (*Sources*, 24). Channamarāju was another poet of this period. He was patronised by Pemmasāni-Timma, another Minister of Venkata I. (*Sources*, 241-3). In the Madura country, learning was highly appreciated. There were, in 1610, according to De Nobili, the Jesuit Missionary, over ten thousand students in Madura city, learning under private professors the *Vēdas* and the *Vedānta*. (See H. Heras, *The Āraṁvidu Dynasty*, 525-8). The Jesuit Fathers introduced printing into India about 1577 and printed the first Tamil book—a summary of Christian doctrine—in that year. (*Ibid*, 530-1).

A few words may be added about the composers of the royal grants of the period. Though the Dynasty changed, the chief composers of the Tuluva Dynasty continued in the service of the Āraṁvidu Dynasty. The composer of the grants of Sadāsiva, as we have seen, was Sabhāpati. His son, Svayambhu, who first comes into notice in connection with a grant dated in 1558 in the time of Achyuta, is known as the composer of certain of the grants of Tirumala I (Penagaluru and Tumkur grants, *E.I.* XVI, 237; *E.C.* XII, Tumkur 7). He was also responsible for the couple of grants of Srī-Ranga II (Arivilimangalam and Naredupalli grants, *E.I.* XII, 337 and *E.I.* XI, 329). His brother Kāmakōti had a son named Krishnakavi, who composed most of the grants of Venkata I, though one (the Vilapāka grant, *E.I.* XII, 187) was composed by a

brother of his named Rāma. This Rāma was responsible for the Kallakursi and Utsur grants of Ranga VI. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, 44-5; *I.A.* XIII, 153). A couple of grants (the Mangalampād and another dated in 1613, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 25 and *E.I.* XIII, 231) were, however, the work of one Chidambarakavi, who describes himself as the sister's son of Sivasūrya, the king of poets. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 26). As the Mangalampād and the Vilapāka grants agree in the geneologies and the verses in them are identical throughout except in a few cases, it is probable Chidambarakavi was a close relation of Rāma and had access to the Official records in his possession.

In the Kudligi Sringēri-math grant of Venkata I, dated in 1586-7 A.D., he is spoken of as having had four wives: Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Ped-Ōbamāmba, and Pin-Ōbamāmba. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83). In the Dalavai-Agrahāram grant, issued in the same year, in the place of Pin-Ōbamāmba, the name Krishnāmba appears. From this the Rev. H. Heras has drawn the inference that in the interval between these two grants, Pin-Ōbamāmba should have died and that her place should have been taken by Krishnāmba. But as he himself admits that the Tirumalāpura grant dated in 1589 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39) gives the very four names which appear in the Kudligi Sringēri-math grant of 1586-7 A.D., this falsifies the inference so completely that it has to be given up. So, it has been suggested that Krishnāmba was perhaps an alternative name of Pin-Ōbamāmba. (H. Heras, *The Āraṭṭu Dynasty*, 495 f.n. 1). This is a plausible suggestion, though the more probable inference would be that Krishnāmba was a fifth wife. This ought to be the more so, as the Vilapāka grant dated in 1601-2 A.D. *i.e.*, 14 years after the Kudligi Sringēri-math grant, mentions the following five:—Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Peda-Ōbamāmba, Krishnāmba and

Domestic  
life.

Kondāmbika. In other words, it mentions the first three mentioned by the Kudligi Sringēri-math grant and in the place of Pin-Ōbamāmba mentioned by it, it has, like the Dalavai-Agrahāram grant, Krishnāmba and finally a fifth name Kondāmbika. The Mangalampād grant of 1602-3 A.D., repeats the names of the five queens mentioned in the Vilapāka grant. These two grants would seem to indicate that Venkata I married another wife between the years 1589 and 1601-2 A.D. If Krishnāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmba are not identical, then he should have added a wife in 1586 A.D. Thus we come to this conclusion: at the time of the earliest grant known, he had four wives; he added one more in that year, making in all five queens. Then again, in 1601-2, he added another queen, bringing up the total to six; of which one, Pin-Ōbamāmba, finally drops off, probably on account of her death, from the grants of 1601-2 A.D., though she appears for the last time in a grant dated in 1589 A.D. She probably died between these two dates, 1589 and 1601-2 A.D. In the *Rāmarājīyamu*, a work which refers to incidents which occurred in the reign of Śrī-Ranga VI and consequently must have been written either during or after his reign, (1642-1644 A.D.), the following are mentioned as the queens of Venkata:—Venkatamma, Ōbamma, (daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja), Krishnamma, (daughter of Jillēla Krishna-Rāja) and Kondamma, daughter of Gobbūri Ōba. (See *Sources*, 243). The Ōbamma of this poem may, perhaps, be identified with Ped-Ōbamāmba of the inscriptions. As she is mentioned in the latest grants of Venkata, dated in 1601-2 and 1602-3 A.D., she may be taken to have lived later than Pin-Ōbamāmba, whose name does not appear in them, though it does in the Tirumalapura grant of 1539 A.D., which is the last grant which mentions her. But as the *Rāmarājīyamu* does not mention *Rāghavāmba*, she might have died after the Mangalampād



grant of 1602-3 A.D., which is the latest, so far, in which her name is mentioned. Of these, three appear to have survived Venkata and committed *sati* on his death. One of these three was Ōbamāmbika, for she is actually mentioned as having ascended the funeral pyre by Floris. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, 338). Taking it for granted that Pin-Ōbamāmba and Krishnāmba are different queens, Venkata should have had six lawfully wedded wives. These were :- Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Ped-Ōbamāmba, Pin-Ōbamāmba, Krishnāmba and Kondamāmba. These names are given in another form in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, but they differ only in the terminal endings (*Amma* for *ambika* or *amba*.) Of these six, Ōbamāmba (or Ōbanma) is stated in the *Rāmarājīyamu* as the daughter of Jillēlu Ranga-Rāja. There is reason to believe that this Ōbamāmba is identical with Ped-Ōbamāmba of the inscriptions. Pina-Ōbamāmba, who was also married to Venkata I, was evidently a daughter of Gobbūri-Ōba, the first part of her name indicating that she was the younger of the two. That Ōba had two of his daughters married to Venkata, seems to be indicated by the statements of Jesuit writers who visited Venkata's court in 1598-9 A.D. As the Rev. H. Heras has pointed out, Du Jarric mentions that Venkata "had married two of his (Ōba-Rāya's) daughters." (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 496, *f.n.* 2 and 3). In that year, according to the Tirumalāpura grant, Venkata had four queens, Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Peda-Ōbamāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmba, the identical names which appear in the Kudligi Sringēri-math grant of 1586-7 A.D. As both Rāghavāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmbika are mentioned in the earliest grants, they ought to be treated as two different queens and not as one as suggested by H. Heras. (*Ibid* 496). So, these four must have been the earliest wedded queens and of the two others, Krishnāmba became queen after sometime later in 1586-7 A.D., while Kondāmbika, another daughter of

Gobbūri-Ōba was added somewhere about 1601-2. The Editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* and the Rev. Henry Heras suggest, (see *Sources*, Introd. 20 and *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 496) that Venkatāmba of the *Rāmarājīyamu* and the copper-plate records is identical with Bāyamma mentioned in Barradas' letter as the daughter of Jaga-Rāya. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). It is true "any lady could be called Bāyamma in Telugu" or even in Kannada. But the honorific addition of Bāyi or *Bāyamma* is not usual in connection with Telugu names of women. Nor is *Venkatāmbāyamma*, which would be the form it would take if Bāyamma is added to Venkatamma, *Amma* and *Bāyi* together being meaningless. It is, however, possible that Venkatamma belonged to a Kannada speaking family or being the senior-most queen—her name being mentioned in all grants and in the *Rāmarājīyamu* being *first* in the list—was commonly known, out of respect, as merely *Bāyamma*, which would be the equivalent of "The Lady," "Her Ladyship" or "Her Highness." There are two other ladies referred to as the wives of Venkata by Barradas. One of these is described as the sister of Narpa-Rāya (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 225) whose identity is unknown.

The father-in-law of the king, Gobbūri-Ōba, appears to have wielded considerable influence at his court. (Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 409-10). This inference seems to follow both from inscriptions and from the Jesuit letters of the time. He was the son of Gobbūri-Tirumala, who in 1579 A.D., is recorded in an inscription from Kunnattur, in the Chingleput District, to have made a gift for the merit of Venkata I. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. B. No. 255). He is also said to have granted two villages in 1584-85 A.D. to the Triplicane temple. (*M.E.R.* 1903-4, App. A. 237). He (Gobbūri-Ōba) is also referred to in the Triplicane inscription of Venkata I (*M.E.R.* 103-4,

Para 25; and *M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; No. 332 of 1909) as Mahāmandalēsvara Koppūri Ōbu-Rājayyadēva-Mahārāju. His identification with Ōba (Ōbala)-Rāya of Barradas' letter was first suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56). But this identification seems to require revision. Gobbūri-Ōba had, it would seem from certain Jesuit letters quoted by the Rev. Henry Heras, two (or perhaps three) sons. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 498-9). One of these may be the "Ōba-Rāya," who is described Venkata's "brother-in-law." Evidently one of Gobbūri-Ōba's sons was also called "Ōba (or Ōbala) Rāya" after himself, which is not uncommon in certain Hindu families. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223; Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 498-9). It was to this Ōba's daughter that Chikka-Rāya, the putative son of Bāyamma, was married by Venkata I, (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). Gobbūri-Ōba, according to the Jesuit priests of the period, was all powerful with Venkata. His word was obeyed throughout the State. "A refusal of any officer," writes Du Jarric, "would have been equivalent to signing his death sentence, such was Ōba-Rāja's power." He was treated with marked respect by the king and his influence was resented by the Dālavāi and others. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 499). The suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that his influence declined after 1606 A.D., probably on account of Rāghavāmba's death, is unfounded, for Rāghavāmba, was, as we have seen above, quite different from Pin-Ōbamāmba and both are mentioned as queens in the earliest grants of Venkata, dated in 1586-7 and 1589 A.D. Probably he died in or about 1606 A.D., and so we do not hear of him in the Jesuit letters after that year. His son, the Ōba-Rāya of Barradas, because of his sister Ōbamma, became even more powerful after his death, because of the great influence queen Ōbama (identical with Peda-Ōbamāmbika) wielded on the king. Indeed so great was

her influence that Father Laerzio, in a letter dated 25th November 1611, says that the "king has handed over the Government to one of his wives and a brother of hers. These two are by no means friendly towards the Fathers, and even less friendly to the Portuguese." (H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 501). Pulicat had been granted to her "for a dowry by the king," wrote Hippon, the English captain in the same year (August 1611), and "so she at her own pleasure sets a Governor or Governess as she pleaseth" over it. (*Ibid*, 501-2). Though the Jesuit priests do not give her name but call her simply "the queen," Floris actually mentions her by name, as *Ōbama*. She has been identified with Peda-Ōbamāmbika by the Rev. H. Heras. This seems correct; but as she was the daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja it is difficult how she came to be described as the sister of Ōba-Rāya, the son of Gobbūri-Ōba. The latter could not have been "the brother of hers" as mentioned by Father Laerzio. Ōba-Rāya should have become powerful on account of his relationship and also probably because he was or was soon to become the father of Venkata's putative son Chikka-Rāya. This was why he became so powerful after the death of his father, in or about 1606. Venkata I got his putative son, Chikka-Rāya, married to Ōba-Rāya's daughter, according to Barradas, "to satisfy Ōba-Rāya, his brother-in-law."

Barradas' story of the putative son Chikka-Rāya.

Though he had six wedded queens, Venkata I had no issue by any of them. His senior queen, Venkatāmba, anxious to secure the succession, pretended, according to the story of Barradas (first made known to the public by Mr. Sewell in his *A Forgotten Empire*, 222-230) to have given birth to a son, who was really a child born to a Brāhman lady of her apartment. Venkata was evidently aware of the fraud but "for the love he bore for the queen," also dissembled "and made him Chikka-

Rāya" or Crown Prince. But "he never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the Palace" at Chandragiri, "nor ever allowed him to go out of it without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company with the queen." When he arrived at his fourteenth year, he, however, "married him to a niece of his, doing him much honour so as to satisfy Ōba-Raya, his brother-in-law." If he was 14 years at the time of his marriage, and if his marriage had been celebrated a couple of years before Venkata's death in 1614 A.D., then we may have to set down his birth to about 1598 A.D. or so, which is also the date suggested by the Rev. H. Heras. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 503). If this be so, the statement of Queyroz that he was born in 1611 A.D. during the siege of San Thome by Venkata, seems incorrect. (*Ibid*, 448 and 503, quoting Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, 309).

Venkata's attitude towards his putative son raised suspicions in the minds of his nephews as to the succession. Tirumala II, who had been superceded by Venkata, was not personally liked by Venkata. Though spoken of by the Jesuit Fathers in their letters dated in 1600 and 1604 as "the heir of this kingdom" and as "the Crown Prince," one of them, writing in 1608, states that Venkata did "not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala." His aversion for him was so great that he could not tolerate him even as Viceroy at Seringapatam. Though at one time popular and liked by the nobles, his cause was evidently given up by them towards the close of Venkata's reign. By then Venkata's affection for Srī-Ranga III had grown so great as to make it plain, in the treatment he accorded to him, that he intended him to be the heir. He was called Chikka-Rāya and was brought up in his own Palace. Even Venkatāmba, the senior queen, who was

partial to her putative son, gave up all hope of securing the succession for him on account of the adverse attitude of the nobles by about 1599, when probably Sri-Ranga III became Crown Prince. So at least Anquetil du Perron states. (H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 504, f.n. 5).

Last years of his life. Nomination of Sri-Ranga III as his successor.

The last few years of Venkata's rule were evidently marred by domestic intrigues regarding the succession and consequent unhappiness, to himself. He is spoken of in the Jesuit letters of the years 1607-1613, as "very old" and as doting at times, with the result that "those who govern the kingdom do always what they like." His death was expected "at any moment" in March 1613 and with it the breaking out of "dissensions" in regard to the succession. However, his death did not occur until about October 1614. As he was about to pass away, he confirmed the nomination of Sri-Ranga III as his successor. The deathbed scene is thus vividly described by Barradas;—

"Three days before his death, the King, leaving aside, as I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Rāya, in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Rāya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger,

shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 20,00,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, which was worth more than 6,00,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 2,00,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Rāya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed. While some rejoiced, others were displeased."

Reference has been made above to the influence of Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Venkata I and the great influence he wielded at his court. He was a staunch Srī-Vaishnava teacher and writer. He and others like him (*e.g.*, his grandson Singarāchārya, Tirumala Srīnivāsāchārya, Kandala-Appalāchārya, Kandala-Bhāvanāchārya, his son Srīnivāsāchārya, Kandala-Dēva-Rājāchārya, Tallapāka-Tirumalāchārya, the great composers and many others figure during the period as preceptors of the chiefs of the period) popularized Srī-Vaishnavism and made it the catholic religion it has become. With the temporary transfer of the capital to Tirupati, after the debacle of 1567, and its subsequent location at Penukonda, not far away from it, the importance of Tirupati greatly increased as a religious centre. For long famous in Srī-Vaishnava history as a place connected with the modern resuscitator of that religion, its importance had increased since the days of the powerful Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his son-in-law Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whose regard for this temple was great. Krishna-Dēva's interest in it is attested to by his gifts and by the existence of his own statue in it in a deeply reverent attitude. Achyuta and Sadāsiva were great devotees of the God at Tirupati. Their successors of the Āravidu Dynasty became greater devotees of this temple. The statues of Tirumala and Venkata I at Tirupati and their coins and copper-plate grants, show unmistakably their regard for this temple, and its famous presiding deity; nay, their

Spread of Srī-Vaishnavism.

very names betray their love and reverence for it. Venkata's grants are, indeed, openly declared to have been made before god Venkatēsa at Tirupati and his signature at their foot is "Sri-Venkatēsa" in Kannada characters. Since the days of Sāluva-Narasimha I, the maintenance of feeding houses for Sri-Vaishnava Brāhmins at Tirupati had become a royal pleasure, if not duty. The feudatories and the minor chiefs of the Empire followed in the wake of the Emperors. The feeding house maintained by Vēlūgōti Yāchama has been referred to above. The feudatories also contributed towards the beautification of Tirupati by the construction of temples, *gōpuras*, *mantapas* and the like. Matla Tiruvēngala, for instance, built, as we have seen, the *gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at Tirupati. Venkata's own grants to it include one, made in 1606, to provide offerings of rice to the God. (*M.A.B.* 1920, Para 91). Another record refers to the grant of a village to Brāhmins, the village being renamed Tirumalāmbāmpura. (*Catalogue of C.-P. grants in the Madras Museum*, 54). We have interesting references to the great popularity the place enjoyed at about this time and to the animated life one saw in it during this period, in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers who passed and re-passed it in their visits to Venkata I at Chandragiri. "The city of Tirupati," says one of these, dated 20th November 1598, "is very large and beautiful, and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pirmal (Perumā), is for these heathens what Rome is to us. Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to the temple." (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, X, 219; see also H. Heras, *The Āraṁḍu Dynasty*, 315).

The Tirupati temple and Sri-Vaishnavism. The Venkatēsa Mahātmya.

It was probably during this period that the temple received attention at the hands of a literary personage. This was Venkatārya, son of Krishnarāja, who wrote the



*Venkatēsvara Mahātmya*, in glorification of the shrine and its deity. His work is mostly legendary, but contains crumbs of historical detail which deserve careful sifting. According to the legend as narrated in the work, the Tirupati Hill was originally part, or mythologically, the son of Mēru, named Venkatāchala, or the Venkata mountain. Sēsha, the great serpent, and Vāyu, the God of wind, disputing pre-eminence, tried their strength upon this mountain, when Vāyu blew it to the Deccan along with Sēsha, who had coiled himself round it to keep it firm. After the recovery of the *Vēdas* by Vishnu as Varāha, (hence perhaps the Varāha seal of the 4th Dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings), he found Sēsha engaged in devotion on the mountain, and at his request consented to reside there, bringing the Kṛidāchala or mountain of pleasure, and the different sacred reservoirs from his Vaikunta, his own heavenly abode,—hence the different holy spots at this place are termed Sēshāchala, Kṛidāchala, Varāhatīrtha, Svāmi Pushkarani, etc. Afterwards, at the request of the Gods, who complained of the fatigue of seeking him in all parts of the universe, Vishnu consented to remain here with Lakshmi, or as Srī-nivasa, or the abode of Srī, or Srī-Svāmi, the lord of Srī. Amongst the pilgrims, was, it is said, Dasaratha, who obtained sons, Rāma and his brothers, by worshipping here, and Kārtikēya, who expiated here the sin he incurred by killing Tāraka. The first temples were, it is narrated, built by Tondamān Chakravarti in the beginning of the *Kali* age, and the annual ceremonies were then instituted. Vishnu having sent his sword and discus to assist his brother-in-law Vasu, whose sister, an incarnation of Lakshmi, the daughter of Ankusa-Rāja, he had fallen in love with and married, he became confounded with Siva, until the time of Rāmānuja, when the temple at Tirupati was once more made a Vaishnava shrine by that teacher. In

order to effect this transformation, he is said to have agreed with the Saivas to leave in the temple, a *conch* and a *discus* and a *trident* and a small drum, and the temple being closed for a night, it was found, on being re-opened, that the image had assumed the two former, *i.e.*, the insignia of Vishnu. The great temple is said to have been built by a Yādava prince, about 1048 A.D. and the later Chōla princes, and the sovereigns of Vijayanagar are recorded as among its chief benefactors. They are said to have constructed an infinite number of temples, pavilions, shrines, choultries and reservoirs on the hills, in the vicinity of the temple. All these are objects of great veneration, and a numerous pilgrimage. Vishnu is said to be worshipped here under five forms—Sri-Venkatāchalapati, which is the principal; Malaiyappa (or Utsava-mūrti) the diety taken in procession on ceremonial occasions; Srīnivāsa, a recumbent figure, highly popular with the masses; Kolavubari, who is supposed to preside over the daily occurrence; and Venkatēsvara, who is brought out once a year on the Kausika Dvādasi day. Besides the daily ceremonials, there are several occasional observances held during the year. The resort of pilgrims is most numerous at the period of the Dasara, which usually comes off between September and October. (See Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 254-55).

The elements  
of truth in the  
*Mahātmya*.

Such is the story told in the *Mahātmya*. It does seem to contain a few historical truths. Thus the founding of the first temples on the Hill are attributed to Tondamān Chakravarti. Evidently the reference is to a Pallava king or kings, from whom have descended the present day Tondamān kings. As a matter of fact, there has been discovered at the ancient temple at Tiruchchānur (popularly known as Chiratānur), not far away from the Tirupati Hill, a detached stone built into the

floor, at its entrance, with a record dated in the 51st year of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Danti-Vikramarāja. It registers the gift of a lamp by one Ulaya-Perumanār to the shrine of Tiruvilangōyil in Tiruchchōgunur in Kudavūr-nādu, a sub-division of Tiruvadākōttam. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 262 of 1904). As Mr. Venkayya has stated that the initial date of Dantivikramavarman takes us roughly to 760 A.D., the record of his 51st year would mean 811 A.D. A record of his grandson Nripatūnga has been found at Rēnigunta, not far away from Tiruchchānur, while another of his son Nandivikramavarman has been found at Tiruvallam. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 13). These records would go to show that this part of the country was in the effective possession of the Ganga-Pallavas in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., to which at least the Tiruchchānur temple goes back. Tiruchchōginūr is called Tiruchchōganūr in certain later records, while the form Tiruchōginūr is also known. These forms of the names of the place do not appear to confirm the tradition that connect it with the sage Suka but seem to justify the statement that the original shrine here was that of Chokkanātha or Sundara-rāja Perumāl, whose temples were pulled down about 1600 A.D. or so and to which the records quoted herein belonged. Apparently the place possessed both a Siva and Vishnu temple, the latter being the Chokkanātha shrine, and the former, being the Tiruvilangōyil, in favour of which the gift above mentioned was recorded. Mr. Venkayya, however, has taken a different view and has identified the temple pulled down as that of Ilangōyil, "the house of the young king" or the shrine of Subrahmanya and has nothing to say as to how the temple came to be called Sundara-rāja Perumāl. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 10.) Thus there seems to be some justification for supposing that the temple pulled down had shrines, for both Vishnu and Siva. That Mr. Venkayya felt a doubt in the matter as to

whether there was only one "Shrine" at the place is evident from the following remark of his:—"The *temple or at least the shrine* which has been pulled down was apparently known in ancient times as Ilangōyil." He then adds:—"In one of the Tanjore inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājarāja (*S.I.I.* II, No. 66) reference is made several times to the Tiruvilangōyil temple at Kadambur. Here there is nothing to prove absolutely whether Tiruvilangōyil was a Saiva or a Vaishnava temple. The Tamil work *Periyapurānam*, which gives an account of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, mentions the Ilangōyil at Miyāchchur, which must be Saiva. Again, in the Nallur grant of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, published by me (*E.I.* III, 126, verse 24), Yālangōvil, which is a popular form of Ilangōvil, occurs as the name of a Siva temple. The word Ilangōyil means 'The house of the young king' and may be taken to denote a shrine of Subrahmanya. Thus there is reason to suppose that the shrine in the Tiruchchānur temple which has been pulled down was originally called Ilangōyil, and was therefore Saiva. From the earliest hitherto discovered inscription of the place (No. 262 of 1904, above referred to), it appears that this shrine was built as an accompaniment of the temple at Tirupati, known at the time as Tiruvēngadanātha-Perumānadigal. Perhaps this can be taken to support the popular belief that the deity at Tirumala was originally Siva. This suggestion has been hotly disputed. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, I. 471, under *Tiruchchanur*). As has been remarked above, there might have been two shrines at this place, one dedicated to Vishnu and another to Siva. Though this might have been so, the *Venkatēsvara Mahātmya* itself would seem to suggest that Vishnu usurped the temple on the Hill when it states that he married the sister of Vasu, who had been born as the daughter of Ankusa-Rāja and became confounded with

Siva until the time of Rāmānuja. The Ankusa-Rāja referred to here is evidently some Chēra king, for the Chēras had the Ankusa for their symbol (when the Chēra king Ravivarman Kulasēkhara conquered the Pāndya king Sundara-Pāndya, who ruled between 1276-1290 A.D., he marked his records with the figure of a *fish*, the emblem of the Pāndyas, surmounted by an *ankusa*, which was his own symbol). (See *M.E.R.* 1911; Para 40, App. C. Nos. 33 and 34). Evidently he was a Vaishnava king. The conversion of the temple from that of Siva to one of Vishnu is attributed in the *Mahātmya*, through the intervention of Rāmānuja, to the fulfilment of a divine desire to that effect. Probably this Vaishnava appropriation occurred when the Yādava prince, referred to in the *Mahātmya*, rebuilt the temple in 1048 A.D. This Yādava prince is probably Vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāya, who is referred to as a feudatory in the inscriptions of the Chōla kings Kulōttunga and Rāja-Rāja III. There were two chiefs of this name, one was Tirukālatti-Dēva, and another, his son Vīra-Narasimha-Dēva. Both claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya family. An inscription of the 34th year of Vīra-Narasimha is in the Venkatēsa temple on the Tirupati Hill. This temple was rebuilt by him in his 40th year. (*E.I.* VII, 25). Another record of his son Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāja, dated in his 8th year, is also to be seen on the Tirupati temple. (See *ante* under *Chōlas*, Kulōttunga-Chōla III; also *M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 58, 61 and 71 of 1889; and 714 of 1904 for inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha Yādava-Rāya; and *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 173, 181-2, 181, 196 for those of Tirukālatti-Dēva). As a number of records of Tirukālatti-Dēva come from the Kālahasti temple, his agnomen *Tirukālatti* should perhaps be taken to indicate his or his family connection with Kālahasti. The record of his son Vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāja at Tirupati shows that he was a contemporary of

Kulōttunga III, who ruled between 1178 and 1218 A.D. and the rebuilding should have taken place about the close of the 12th century A.D. At the rebuilding of the temple, a number of the old records of the earlier Chōla kings—of the days of Rāja-Rāja and Rājendra-Chōla—were replaced by modern and faulty copies. (*M.E.R.* 1889 April Para 3 and Appendix). The date as given in the *Mahātmya* (i.e., 1048) seems too early by more than a century. The further statement in it that Chōla and Vijayanagar kings endowed it and added to its buildings is also fully confirmed by the numerous inscriptions found in it showing benefactions from the days of Rāja-Rāja, Rājendra-Chōla, Kulōttunga I, Sāluva-Narasimha, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and others, some of whom have not yet been identified. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, I, 472-475 No. 9 A to 21). It would thus seem that the *Mahātmya* is not far wrong in its statements, though it is overladen with legendary matter. Vēnkātārya, the author of the *Purāna*, had evidently some data before him before he composed it. His work has been a great favourite and is religiously read and expounded to large audiences to this date during the ten days of the Dasara festival in Southern India. It has thus been able to spread the name and fame of the God at Tirupati all over the country and helped to make it more popular than ever.

Other  
Vaishnavite  
centres and  
the spread of  
Śrī  
Vaishnavism.

Another important Vaishnavite centre of the period was Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District. A number of records register gifts to this temple between 1585 and 1609 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 53). A record dated in 1617 A.D., dated in the reign of Venkata I (this is one of those which refers to Venkata as the reigning king, though he was dead in 1614 A.D., owing to the civil dissensions of the period and the uncertainty that prevailed as to the kingship), refers to one Gangapa-Nāyaka, as the

governor of Srīgiri-Mandala. In Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time, Srisailam was the head-quarters of a Governor. After the reverse sustained in 1565 A.D., and the advance of the Muhammadans, the head-quarters was shifted to Venkatagiri-nagara, modern Venkatādrīpalem, just on the border of the jungle. In the temple of Chennakēsava at this place, Venkatādrīpalem appears as a more important place than now. Its ruins of tanks, etc., also testify to its former greatness. The temple of Chennakēsava (called Chennarāya in the records) was built by Gangapa and provided for by him by the grant of certain villages in the Dūpati-Sīma. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Para 54; App. B. No. 424 of 1923). The founding of a Vishnu temple on the way up to the great Srisailagiri shows the tendencies of the times. Wherever the influence of Vijayanagar kings of this period spread, there, Srī-Vaishnavism was sure to get a foothold. With the growth of Srī-Vaishnavism, the deification of its founder was continuing. Thus a record dated in 1602-3 A.D., found in the Perumāl temple at Madura, refers to the temple of Bhāshyakāra that had evidently been built at it. (*M.E.R.* 1907-8; Para 82; App. B. No. 607 of 1907 dated in 1601-2; App. C. No. 36 of 1908 dated 1602-3). As before remarked, shrines in honour of the great teacher and commentator became very common during the period of Āravidu Dynasty, thus attesting to the great popularity Srī-Vaishnavism enjoyed at the time. Indeed, it might be said that in the reign of Venkata I Srī-Vaishnavism reached its high water-mark in South India.

It was during such a period, when Srī-Vaishnavism was throughout Southern India at the height of its power and influence, that the first serious attempt to spread the Christian gospel was made. A more inopportune period could not well be conceived of. Xavier reached India in 1535 A.D., when Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya was the king.

Introduction  
of  
Christianity:  
1533-4 A.D.  
Robert  
De Nobili's  
methods and  
their failure,  
1606-1650.

The settlement of St. Thome had been founded sixteen years before his arrival. He passed through San Thome in 1545, when Sadāsiva had been reigning for two years. About the end of 1533, or the beginning of 1534, the Paravas on the Fisheries Coast were being oppressed by the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura would or could not help them. The Paravas got into touch with the Portuguese at Cochin. There they were well received by Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, the Portuguese captain, who promised to take up arms against the Muhammadans and to take the Paravas under the protection of the Portuguese nation on condition of their all becoming Christians. They agreed to this proposal and they were shortly after baptized. (See H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 119 and authorities quoted therein). Thus, there were already Christians in the South before Xavier even reached India. (*Ibid*, 151 f.n. 3). In the reign of Venkata I, about 1606 A.D., a bold attempt was made by Robert De Nobili to convert high class Hindus at the very capital of the Nāyak king of Madura. Joining the Society of Jesus in 1597, in the 19th year of his age, he reached Goa in 1605. He was posted to Madura in 1606. Starting with the idea that the people of this country were "rich and brave in war" but have "no knowledge of the true God," he adopted the customs of the people of the country and donned the robe of a *Sanyāsin*, lived like a high class Brāhman, undergoing physical difficulties of no ordinary kind. He even declared himself a Brāhman and admitted none but Brāhman into his service. He learnt Sānskrit, Tamil and Telugu. He had the prescience to see that he should not attack the Gods the people worshipped, if he desired to win them over to his faith. He tried the more noble method of securing first their esteem and affection and then placing before them the truth of his own religion. But he failed—and failed to the last degree. Though he laboured on



till 1660, well into the reign of Venkata II, the Vijayanagar king, and Tirumala-Nāyak, king of Madura, he achieved not the ambition of his life. The high class people would not touch him and he would not give up his methods, though he tried them with a rare persistency for 56 years of the best part of his life-time. It has been suggested that his failure was due to internal opposition, the opposition of a brother missionary (Father Fernandez) who objected to the very fundamentals of De Nobili's methods as cutting at the root of Christianity. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *Nāyaks of Madura*, 107). There may be some truth in this suggestion. But the true cause lay deeper. It was the strength, the vitality and the ever absorbing character of the great religion, De Nobili, in the guise of a Brāhman *Guru* from Rome, sought to attack. At the time we are writing of, that religion had been presented to the people in the catholic form of Sri-Vaishnavism, which properly understood, knows, in actual practice, no distinction between man and man in the eyes of God. And what is more, it had been accepted and had spread and was spreading throughout the South. It was suited to the soil, to the people and to the conditions prevailing in the country and against it Christianity which readily levels down but does not as readily help to level up, and which to the Hindu mind, as a religion, is philosophically unsatisfying and socially unedifying, could not have even a chance. With his death in 1660, De Nobili's methods, earnest but spectacular, died a natural death! Nobody has revived them for the sacrifice it requires is truly great without any compensating advantages.

Venkata died "three days" after the "proclamation" of Sri-Ranga III and six days after his re-nomination on his deathbed. The exact date of his death has been fixed from the writings of Floris and Du Perron some-

Venkata's  
death

where about the middle of October 1614. (H. Heras, *The Āraṇḍi Dynasty*, 507-8). According to Barradas, Venkata was sixty-seven years old when he died. The place of his death is not known definitely, though it is just possible he died at Vellore, where he was latterly staying. (*Ibid*). Barradas thus describes briefly but graphically the *sati* performed by his three queens:—

“Three days later the king died at the age of sixty-seven years. His body was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods, sandal, aloes, and such like; and immediately afterwards three queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the king, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity.”

According to Floris, one of the three queens referred to above was Ōamma (Peda-Ōbamāmbika) the queen of Pulicat. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, 338).

Records of  
Venkata I  
after 1614  
A.D.

Though he really died, as above mentioned, in October 1614 A.D., there are a few inscriptions which though dated after 1614 A.D. mention Venkata I as still the ruling sovereign. Thus there is a record from T.-Narasipur dated in *Saka* 1537, *Rākshasa*, or 1615 A.D., in the reign of Venkata I, registering a grant by Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur 116). Similarly another which comes from Challakere, also dated in 1615 A.D., in which he is mentioned as still ruling over the Empire. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 25.) A third comes from the North Arcot District, dated in *Saka* 1538, *Nala*, or A.D. 1616. (*M.E.R.* 1920-21, Para 54; App. B. No. 112

of 1921). This record has been wrongly attributed in this report to Venkata II, who did not begin to reign before 1630 A.D. Two records from Atmakūr, also dated in 1616 A.D., mention Venkata I as the ruling king. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 196; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1079, No. 263). Finally there is a record dated in 1617-18 A.D., the latest known for Venkata I, which also comes from Nellore. It records a private grant and describes Venkata as still seated on his diamond throne, ruling the earth. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 454, Gudur 112). All these records do not, as a matter of fact, belong to the reign of Venkata I. They appear to be dated in his reign owing to the uncertainty created by the civil war that broke out after his death. In accordance with well established practice, grants were, during periods of civil strife, recorded in the name of the sovereign last known to have actually ruled the Empire.

Venkata I undoubtedly proved himself a great and beneficent ruler. He was perhaps the greatest of his dynasty. He was energetic, active and intrepid in the affairs of State. The manner in which he suppressed Muhammadan invasions and regained the lost territories marks him out as a born ruler of men. He was a wise diplomat as well. His fame had spread far and wide and his friendship and alliance was sought, in the hour of his need, by the Sultān of Bijāpur as much as by the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa against the imperialistic designs of Akbar. He seems to have restored the greatness of the Empire as it was in its palmyest days—a century before—when the great Krishna-Dēva-Rāya ruled. Like Krishna-Dēva, he befriended the Portuguese, and incidentally learnt what he could from them; like him, he was for keeping the invaders at bay; and like him, again, he was for keeping a magnificent court, at which poets and religious teachers vied with each other in philosophical and other

An estimate  
of his rule and  
character.

disputations. He was tolerant to a degree and the almost brotherly feeling he showed towards the foreign priests and painters and the active personal interest he evinced in their religious discourses and work indicate the breadth of his outlook and the culture which he possessed. Though an ardent Vaishnavite and devout as a disciple of his *guru* Tātāchārya, he would not yield to him in his crude criticism of Christian teaching or cruder objections to Christian artistic productions. The answer he gave to learned Brāhmans who questioned as to a panel of Christian pictures he hung in his study was characteristic of him. "This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also," he said by way of mild rebuke, "comes from their country. If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?" (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 491, quoting from Coutinho's letter dated 11th November 1607). His bounty, generosity and kindliness of disposition are testified to in numerous inscriptional records and in the writings of the Jesuit Fathers. The Italian painter Fontebona describes him as a "lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European." (*Ibid.*, 509, quoting from Fontebona's letter dated 11th November 1607). As to his generosity, while one of his copperplate grants states that "he was a wishing tree to the poor" and "a munificent giver like Kubēra," Father Coutinho characterises him as "very liberal." His numerous grants confirm this trait in his character while the actual instances quoted by the Jesuit priests at his court show that by instinct he was charitable and kindly towards those frequenting his court or working under him. Nothing brings home this better than his affection for and the treatment of the Italian Lay brother, Fonetebona. He was, besides, a discriminating patron of literature and art. The close interest he evinced in the work of the

European painters shows that he was endowed with a sense of the beautiful that was, probably, unique in his times.

The Rev. H. Heras has, in the full length portrait he has drawn of Venkata I, pointed to three notable flaws in his character. The first of these is the part he took in the murder of Sadāsiva-Rāya, which he sets down to him. The second is his practical handing over of the Government to his queen Ōbamāmbika during the closing years of his life, which, in his opinion, opened the way for the revolution that followed his death. And the third is his discarding of Tirumala II, whom the nobles and feudatories desired to be king, and his nomination of Śrī-Ranga III in his place. Whatever its object, it was never realized, nor did it even give general satisfaction. As Barradas pithily sums it up, "while some rejoiced, others were displeased." The anticipated civil war broke out and hastened the break up of the Empire. Venkata was directly, though unintentionally, responsible for this sad result. He would seem to have re-built the lost Empire only to lose it again.

The criticism seems, on a closer examination of facts, to be somewhat overdrawn, if not exactly harsh. While no defence whatsoever is possible for the part Venkata evidently played in the assassination of King Sadāsiva-Rāya, so long as there is any doubt as to its actual perpetrators, Venkata I, who certainly did not immediately benefit from it, cannot be held responsible for it. His alleged retirement from Government comes mainly from Portuguese sources, and their statement, though made by them without reservation, has to be taken *cum grano salis*. They had their own grievances against the queen, who had allowed the Dutch a footing at Pulicat. Venkata's part in this matter is not open to criticism. Nor is the queen's either, for the position taken by her was that of the now familiar "open door" in matters of trade. The Portuguese desired an exclusive monopoly

of it but their case was weak from every point of view. Venkata and the queen stoutly refused admission to the English also at Pulicat. This shows that their objection was based on principle and policy and not mere love of lucre. The chagrin felt by the Portuguese at the queen (Ōbamāmba) in this affair was great and their descriptions of her and the king appear to have been coloured by ill-feeling, which they could not well disclose though they actually felt it. The Jesuit Fathers also seem to have felt poignantly the tenacity with which the king stuck to the queen in this and other matters. Venkata was evidently a strong and well disciplined king, who, while he was kind, courteous, and generous to a degree, could afford to stick to his decisions, once they were justly taken, and not budge from them for any reason whatever. Finally, as to his predilection for Srī-Ranga III which, in the opinion of the Rev. H. Heras, led directly to the civil war which followed Venkata's death, he suggests that its real object was "to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne," evidently by the circuitous route of inviting trouble on Srī-Ranga III through a civil war. This was nothing less than the planning of the civil war by Venkata himself. This suggestion seems wholly unjust and certainly gratuitous. Venkata's love and affection for Srī-Ranga III was real, not dissembled. His dislike for Tirumala was equally real; not assumed. Tirumala was out of the question in 1614 A.D., when he would have been nearing sixty. Srī-Ranga had been brought up by Venkata under his paternal eye to succeed him. He had had training, example and goodwill. Probably he had education as well. If he did not prove a good king or could not even reign for a while, the causes for that are not far to seek. His life was cast in difficult times and he was unable to fight the tremendous odds against him. That cannot be a reason for any adverse comment on Venkata himself for his selection of

Sri-Ranga III. It was a case of *quo Fata vocant* (whither the Fates call).

Certain of his records describe Venkata I as one possessed of great personal beauty. Thus the Mangalampād grant states that his "cheeks resembled the moon" and that he "eclipsed the God of love in beauty." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 33, verse 35). Rev. H. Heras quotes Father Du Jarric to confirm this description, "The king," he says "is quite handsome, although a little dark; his eyes are big; he is of medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion; he dresses quite nicely, and shows always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner." This description seems to be borne out by his statue in Tirupati temple. This statue is to be seen to the left of the *gōpura* of the Venkatēsvara temple, on the Tirupati Hill. (*M.E.R.*, 1904, Para 9; see also *A.S.I.* 1909-10 Plate LXXVI for a lithotype reproduction of this statue).

His personal appearance.

His statue on the Tirupati Hill.

Sri-Ranga-Rāya III, nephew of Venkata I, next succeeded to the throne. He was the second son of Rāma-Rāja III, and younger brother of Tirumala II, the Seringapatam Viceroy. He was, as we have seen above, nominated to the throne by Venkata I on his death. He was known as Chikka-Rāya, as he had been chosen as crown-prince, perhaps some years prior to the death of Venkata I. His adoption, his crowning as *Yuvarāja* and his being known as Chikka-Rāya are mentioned not only by Barradas but also in the *Rāmarājyam*. (See *Sources*, 244). According to the same poem, he was married to Ōbanma, daughter of Jillēla-Narasimha. (*Ibid.*) A lithic inscription dated in *Saka* 1521 or 1599-1600 A.D., which comes from Krishnasāgara, in Kunigal taluk, Tumkur District, gives him the full Imperial titles, and states that he had been "for long ruling the Empire of the Earth."

Sri-Ranga-Rāya III, 1614-1615 A.D.

(E.C. XII, Kunigal 12). As Venkata was still alive in 1599-1600, Sri-Ranga could only have ruled as crown prince in the Kunigal country. As we have seen, in the time of the first three dynasties, the Sira and the Kunigal countries were ruled by a prince of the Royal family, it is possible that the custom was followed even during the time of the fourth dynasty. It is only on some such basis that we could understand this record. If he was ruling as crown-prince in 1599-1600 A.D., in the Kunigal country, it stands to reason that his nomination as Chikka-Rāya had already been decided upon more or less formally by Venkata I. The attempts of Tirumala II to regain his uncle's good-will, through the good offices of the Jesuit missionaries at Chandragiri, made in 1600 and 1606 A.D., seem also to confirm that about 1600 A.D., Sri-Ranga had been made or was about to be made Chikka-Rāya and allowed a share (probably as co-ruler) in the Government of the Empire. The Krishnasāgara record of 1599-1600 A.D., from the full imperial titles given to him, shows that the position was altering in Sri-Ranga's favour, to the detriment of Tirumala II, his elder brother. The putative son of Venkata I was also known as Chikka-Rāya, a name evidently given to him by Venkata I to please his queen Bāyamma, identified with his chief queen Venkatamma. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). The latter was, as will be seen presently, raised to the throne by his uncle Jaga-Rāya. The object of the Civil war referred to below was to raise this young man to the throne in the place of Sri-Ranga III, whom, as we have seen, Venkata I had, on his deathbed, himself personally selected to succeed him.

Character of  
Sri-Ranga  
III, his  
weakness and  
want of  
capacity to  
rule.

Sri-Ranga III was obviously most unfitted to be king. Though he had been brought up under the eye of his great uncle Venkata, he had neither capacity nor daring nor even understanding enough to discern the minds of



those around him. He was most ill-fated to rule over the Empire which Venkata had so laboriously re-established and administered, for over a quarter of a century. He did not vindicate the justice of his uncle's choice, and he failed most miserably even to retain his position. What is worse, he handed back the throne at the first assault on him, even without striking a blow. But for the imbecility he exhibited, he should have been a successful ruler. He had a peaceful Empire, a large and powerful party in his favour and he was in possession of the throne. Nothing more would have been required or desired by one possessing some real ability to make good his kingship. That he failed in his task is no wonder; it speaks ill of him and not of Venkata, who chose him for the throne. Nor can the nobles or the feudatories be blamed for what happened to him because some of them made his cause their own and fought for it. The restoration of the sovereignty to his son Rāma-Dēva IV was entirely their work and to them the credit of it is entirely due.

It was this want of capacity and discernment that proved the proximate causes of the Civil War that commenced immediately Sri-Ranga began his reign. The first part of the story which ended in his vacating the throne and the fort (of Vellore evidently) where he was residing after his accession, is thus graphically told by Father Barradas, in a letter he wrote on the 12th December 1616, about two years after the incidents related in it took place:—

Causes of the  
Civil War,  
1614 A.D.

“ Then the new king began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress, but keeping others by his side; and all came there to offer their allegiance except three. These were Jaga Raya, who has six hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and puts twenty thousand men in the field; Tima Naique, who has four hundred thousand cruzados of revenue

Jaga-Rāya,  
leader of the  
Revolt.

and keeps up an army of twelve thousand men; and Maca Raya, who has a revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados and musters six thousand men. They swore never to do homage to the new king, but, on the contrary, to raise in his place the putative son of the dead king, the nephew of Jaga Raya, who was the chief of this conspiracy. In a few days there occurred the following opportunity.

“The new king displeased three of his nobles; the first, the Dalavay, who is the commander of the army and pays a tribute of five hundred thousand cruzados, because he desired him to give up three fortresses which the king wished to confer on two of his own sons; the second, his minister, whom he asked to pay a hundred thousand cruzados alleging that he had stolen them from the old King, his uncle; the third Narpa Raya, since he demanded the jewels which his sister, the wife of the old King, had given to Narpa. All these three answered the King that they would obey his commands within two days; but they secretly plotted with Jaga Rāya to raise up the latter's nephew to be king. And this they did in the manner following:—

“Jaga Raya sent to tell the king that he wished to do homage to him and so also did Tima Naique and Maca Raya. The poor king allowed them to enter. Jaga Raya selected five thousand men, and leaving the rest outside the city he entered the fortress with these chosen followers. The two other conspirators did the same, each of them bringing with them two thousand selected men. The fortress has two walls. Arrived at these, Jaga Raya left at the first gate a thousand men, and at the second a thousand. The Dalavay seized two other gates of the fortress, on the other side. There being some tumult, and a cry of treason being raised, the King ordered the Palace gates to be closed, but the conspirators as soon as they reached them began to break them down. Maca Raya was the first to succeed, crying up that he would deliver up the King to them; and he did so sending the king a message that if he surrendered he would pledge his word to do him no ill, but that the nephew of Jaga Raya must be King, he being the son of the late king.

Surrender of  
Sri-Ranga III.

“The poor surrounded king, seeing himself without followers and without any remedy, accepted the promise and with his wife and sons left the tower in which he was staying.

He passed through the midst of the soldiers, with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast. There was none to do him reverence with hands (as is the custom) joined over the head, nor did he salute anyone."

The surrender of Sri-Ranga was followed by the crowning of Chikka-Rāya, the putative son, and Jaga-Rāya calling upon Yāchama Nāyaka, the leader of the Royalists, to do homage to the new king. This Yāchama-Nāyaka was Vēlugōti Yāchama-Nāyaka. This part of the story is thus narrated by Father Barradas:—

The crowning of Chikka-Rāya, the putative son and the imprisoning of Sri-Ranga  
III

The King having left, Jaga Raya called his nephew and crowned him causing all the nobles present to do him homage; and he finding himself now crowned king, entered the palace and took possession of it and of all the riches that he found there. If report says truly, he found in diamonds alone three large chests full of fine stones. After this Jaga Raya placed the deposed king under the strictest guard, and he was deserted by all save one captain alone whose name was Echama Naique, who stopped outside the fortress with eight thousand men and refused to join Jaga Raya. Indeed, hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect more troops.

"Jaga Rāya sent a message to this man bidding him come and do homage to his nephew, and saying that if he refused he would destroy him. Echama Naique made answer that he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and, so far as destroying him went, would Jaga Rāya come out and meet him? If so, he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed!

"When this reply was received, Jaga Rāya made use of gentle expressions, and promised honours and revenues, but nothing could turn him. Nay, Echama took the field with his forces and offered battle to Jaga Rāya, saying that, since the latter had all the captains on his side, let him come and fight and beat him if he could, and the nephew would become King unopposed. In the end Jaga Rāya despaired of securing Echama Naique's allegiance, but he won over many other nobles by gifts and promises."

Yāchama's attempt to rescue Sri-Ranga III or one of his sons.

Meanwhile Yāchama-Nāyaka was not idle. His first object was to secure the release of the imprisoned Sri-Ranga III or at least one of his sons. Father Barradas writes:—

“While Jaga Rāya was so engaged, Echama Naique was attempting to obtain access to the imprisoned King by some way or other; but finding this not possible, he sought for a means of at least getting possession of one of his sons. And he did so in this manner:—He sent and summoned the washerman who washed the imprisoned King's clothes, and promised him great things if he would bring him the King's middle son. The washerman gave his word that he would do so if the matter were kept secret. When the day arrived on which it was the custom for him to take the clean clothes to the King, he carried them (into the prison) and with them a palm-leaf letter from Echama Naique who earnestly begged the King to send him one at least of the three sons whom he had with him, assuring him that the washerman could effect his escape. The King did so, giving up his second son aged twelve years, for the washerman did not dare take the eldest, who was eighteen years old. He handed over the boy, and put him in amongst the dirty clothes, warning him to have no fear and not to cry out even if he felt any pain. In order more safely to pass the guards, the washerman placed on top of all some very foul clothes, such as every one would avoid; and went out crying “*Talla ! talla !*” which means “Keep at a distance! Keep at a distance! (Telugu: *Avatala*-Keep out). All therefore gave place to him and he went out of the fortress to his own house. Here he kept the prince in hiding for three days, and at the end of them delivered him up to Echama Naique, whose camp was a league distant from the city, and the boy was received by that chief and all his army with great rejoicing.

“The news then spread abroad and came to the ears of Jaga Rāya, who commanded the palace to be searched, and found that it was true. He was so greatly affected that he took to his house for several days; but he doubled the guards on the King, his prisoner, closed the gates, and commanded that no one should give aught to the King to eat but rice and coarse vegetables.”

The partial success that attended Yāchama's efforts not only caused desertions in the ranks of Jaga-Rāya but also emboldened him to redouble his efforts in securing the escape of the rightful sovereign Sri-Ranga III. What he could not easily obtain by open fight he tried to win by a stratagem, which unluckily for him miscarried at the very last moment, as success was staring the rescuers in their faces. Father Barradas' description should speak for itself, for, it is too lively to be mutilated:—

Yāchama's  
further  
attempt at  
rescue by  
stratagem.

“As soon it was known that Echama Naique had possession of the King's son, there went over to him four of Jaga Rāya's captains with eight thousand men; so that he had in all sixteen thousand, and now had good hope of defending the rightful King. He took, therefore, measures for effecting the latter's escape. He selected from amongst his soldiers twenty men, who promised to dig an underground passage which should reach to where the King lay in prison. In pursuance of this resolve they went to the fortress, offered themselves to the Dalavay as entering into his service, received pay, and after some days began to dig the passage so as to gain entrance to the King's prison. The King, seeing soldiers entering thus into his apartment, was amazed, and even more so, when he saw them prostrate themselves on the ground and deliver him a palm-leaf letter from Echama Naique, in which he begged the King to trust himself to these men, as they would escort him out of the fortress. The King consented. He took off his robes hastily and covered himself hastily with a single cloth; and bidding farewell to his wife, his sons and his daughters, told them to have no fear, for that he, when free, would save them all.

“But it so happened that at this very moment one of the soldiers who were guarding the palace by night with torches fell into a hole and at his cries the rest ran up, and on digging they discovered the underground passage. They entered it and got as far as the palace, arriving there just as the unhappy King was descending into it in order to escape. He was seized and the alarm given to Jaga Rāya, who sent the king to another place more confined and narrower, and with more guards, so that the poor prisoner despaired of ever escaping.”

His third attempt at rescue—its failure.

Thus foiled in his second attempt, Yāchama made a further one to secure the rescue of Srī-Ranga III, this time by a daring *coup de main* which he arranged for. Barradas writes :—

“ Echama Naique seeing that this stratagem had failed, bribed heavily a captain of five hundred men who were in the fortress to slay the guards as soon as some good occasion offered, and to rescue the King. This man, who was called Iteobleza, (Peda Ōbalēsvara) finding, one day, that Jaga Rāya was leaving the palace with all his men in order to receive a certain chief who had proffered his submission, and there only remained in the fortress about five thousand men, in less than an hour slew the guards, seized three gates, and sent a message to Echama Naique telling him to come at once and seize the fortress. But Jaga Rāya was the more expeditious; he returned with all his forces, entered by a postern gate, of the existence of which Iteobleza had not been warned, and put to death the captain and his five hundred followers.”

Jaga-Rāya orders the assassination of Srī-Ranga III and his children.

Yāchama's repeated attempts at rescuing induced decisive action on the part of the rival leader. Jaga-Rāya finally made up his mind to put to death Srī-Ranga III and all the members of his family. Barradas thus describes in pathetic terms what followed this determination of Jaga-Rāya :—

Srī-Ranga III kills his children and himself.

“ Enraged at this attempt, Jaga Rāya, to strengthen the party of his nephew, resolved to slay the King and all the members of his family. He entrusted this business to a brother of his named China-obraya, (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāya) ordering him to go to the palace and tell the poor King that he must slay himself, and that if he would not, he himself would kill him with stabs of his dagger.

“ The prisoner attempted to excuse himself saying that he knew nothing of the attempted revolt. But seeing the determination of Chinaobraya, who told that he must necessarily die, either by his own hand or by that of another—a most pitiful case, and one that I relate full of sorrow!—the poor King called his wife, and after he had spoken to her for a

while he beheaded her. Then he sent for his youngest son and did the same to him. He put to death similarly his little daughter. Afterwards he sent for his eldest son, who was already married, and commanded him to slay his wife, which he did by beheading her. This done, the King took a long sword of four fingers breadth, and, throwing himself upon it breathed his last; and his son, heir to the throne, did the same to himself in imitation of his father. There remained only a little daughter whom the King could not bring himself to slay; but Chinaobraja killed her so that none of the family should remain alive of the blood royal, and the throne should be secured for his nephew."

The barbarous conduct of Jaga-Rāya created a reaction in favour of Yāchama-Nāyaka. More feudatories went over to his side and he gave battle to Jaga-Rāya, presumably at Vellore, and signally defeated him. Jaga-Rāya fled with his putative nephew, Chikka-Rāya. Yāchama proclaimed Rāma-Dēva IV, only surviving son of Sir-Ranga III as king. Barradas thus narrates these incidents in his own inimitable fashion:—

Yāchama attacks Jaga-Rāya and defeats him and proclaims Rāma-Dēva IV as sovereign.

"Some of the chiefs were struck with horror at this dreadful deed, and were so enraged at its cruelty that they went over to Echama Naique, resolved to defend the prince who had been rescued by the washerman, and who alone remained of all the Royal family. Echama Naique furious at this shameful barbarity and confident in the justice of his cause, selected ten thousand of his best soldiers, and with them offered battle to Jaga Rāya, who had more than sixty thousand men and a number of elephants and horses. Echama sent him a message in this form:—'Now that thou hast murdered the king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops; kill him and me, and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne!'

"Jaga Rāya tried to evade this for some time; but finding that Echama Naique insisted, he decided to fight him, trusting that with so great a number of men he would easily not only be victorious, but would be able to capture both Echama

Naique and the prince. He took the field, therefore, with all his troops. Echama Naique entrusted the prince to a force of ten thousand men who remained a league away, and with the other ten thousand he not only offered battle, but was the first to attack; and that with such fury and violence that Jaga Rāya, with all the people surrounding his nephew, was driven to one side leaving gaps open to the enemy, and many met their deaths in the fight. Echama Naique entered in triumph the tents of Jaga Rāya, finding in them all the royal insignia belonging to the old king, and these he delivered to the young prince, the son of Chica Rāya, proclaiming him rightful heir and King of all the empire of Bisnaga."

"The spoil which he took was very large, for in precious stones alone they say that he found two millions worth."

Result of these decisive steps: desertions in favour of Yāchama and Jaga-Rāya's fight.

The effect of these decisive steps adopted by Yāchama led to further desertions in his favour while Jaga-Rāya retreated to the jungles. From there Jaga-Rāya secured the aid of Muthu-Virappa, the Nāyaka of Madura, while Yāchama was joined by Raghunātha, the Nāyaka of Tanjore. The opposing armies were near Trichinopoly, when Father Barradas closed his letter. He has thus described the final part of his story:—

"After this victory many of the nobles joined themselves to Echama Naique. So much so, that in a short time he had with him fifty thousand fighting men in his camp; while Jaga Rāya, with only fifteen thousand, fled to the jungles. Here, however, he was joined by more people, so that the war has continued these two years, fortune favouring now one side now the other. But the party of the young prince has always been gaining strength; the more so because, although the great Naique of Madura—a page of the betel to the king of Bisnaga who pays a revenue every year of, some say, 600,000 pagodas, and has under him many kings and nobles as vassals, such as he of Travancor—took the side of Jaga Rāya, and sustained him against the Naique of Tanjaor. Yet the latter, though not so powerful, is, with the aid of the young King, gradually getting the upper hand. Indeed, there are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichenepali not only the



hundred thousand men that each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers.

"Taking advantage of these civil wars, the city of San Thome—which up to now belonged to the King of Bisnaga, paying him revenues and customs which he used to make over to certain chiefs, by whom the Portuguese were often greatly troubled—determined to liberate itself, and become in every thing and for every thing the property of the King of Portugal. To this end she begged the Viceroy to send and take possession of her in the name of His Majesty, which he did, as I shall afterwards tell you. Meanwhile the captain who governed the town, name Manuel de Frias, seeing that there was close to the town a fortress that commanded it, determined to seize it by force, seeing that its captain declined to surrender it. So he laid siege to it, surrounding it so closely that no one could get out."

Here we may as well stop and fix the probable date of the death Sri-Ranga III. It will be seen from Barradas' narrative quoted above, that the war had "continued" for "two years" at the time the opposing armies were at Trichinopoly, when he closed his own letter dated December 12, 1616. The deaths of Sri-Ranga, his wife and children had just preceded Yāchama's victory at Vellore. This would fix their deaths at or about 12th December 1614. This date seems to be nearly confirmed by a couple of inscriptions, one of Sri-Ranga III and another of Rāma-Dēva IV. The former of these is a lithic one and comes from Venkatāpura in the Tumkur district and is dated in *Saka* 1537, *Ānanda*, *Āsvija-ba.* 3. This date would seem to correspond to a date in or about October 1614 A.D. It gives the full Imperial titles of Sri-Ranga III and describes him as ruling the "kingdom of the world." (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 94). The record of Rāma-Dēva IV is a copper-plate grant, which comes from Anekal in the Bangalore district, and is dated in *Saka* 1536, *Ānanda*, *Kārtika-su.* 15. This date would seem to correspond to a date in or about

Date of Sri-Ranga's death, October-November 1614 A.D.

November 1614 A.D. This describes Rāma-Dēva with all his Imperial titles and as ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda, the recognized capital of the Empire. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 47). It would seem to follow from these records that Srī-Ranga III ceased to rule before *Ānanda Kārtika-su.* 15, or November 1614, when his son Rāma-Dēva IV was already ruling. Srī-Ranga's death should therefore have occurred in *Ānanda*, between October and November 1614 A.D., which seems very near to Barradas' date of December 12, 1614 A.D.

His place of death probably Vellore.

As regards the place, there seems little doubt that it was at Vellore, for there is no mention made of the departure of Srī-Ranga III from that place after the death of Venkata I. Barradas also states that he was still in the "fortress" when he was attacked by Jaga-Rāya and asked to surrender. He was evidently imprisoned later at Vellore itself, from where evidently Jaga-Rāya, worsted in battle, in 1616 A.D., escaped to the jungles and from there went to Trichinopoly and reformed his forces with the aid of Muttu-Virappa, the Nāyaka of Madura.

Identification of persons mentioned in Barradas' narrative.

(a) Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebel forces.

It is worth while identifying a few of the important persons mentioned by Barradas in his vivid narrative of Jaga-Rāya's revolution and what followed it. Jaga-Rāya himself is known as the father of Bāyamma, the queen of Venkata I and so was the grandfather of her putative son Chikka-Rāya. We learn from the Dutch records of the period that he was the brother of Yatirāja, the Governor of the Pulicat country. These records describe "Jaggaragie" as the principal nobleman at Venkata's court. (See William Foster, *The English Factories of India*, 1622-3, 106, *f.n.* for Chikka-Rāya, the putative son). He is, however, called the "nephew of Jaga-Rāya" by Barradas. Mr. Sewell has suggested by way of explana-

tion, that he "was only a great nephew of Jaga-Rāya's by double marriage. His wife was the niece of King Venkata, and therefore by marriage, niece of the Queen Bāyamma, who was Jaga-Rāya's daughter." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 225, f.n. 1). The putative son was married to a daughter of "Ōbo-Rāya," Venkata's "brother-in-law." If the identification of this "Ōbo-Rāya" with one of the two sons of Gobbūri Ōbarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja is correct, as suggested by the Rev. H. Heras (see above), then his interest in the succession of this youth seems legitimate. In this view of the matter, "Itoleza" mentioned by Barradas as the person who attempted to liberate King Sri-Ranga III from his prison was an entirely different person from this "Ōbo-Rāya," the son of Gobbūri-Ōba and father-in-law of the putative son of Bāyamma. "Itoleza" is probably a corruption for "Peda-Ōbalēsvara," which when rapidly pronounced, as it would be in conversation, becomes really "Petoblesa". The "Chinaōbrāya" mentioned by Barradas as the brother of Jaga-Rāya may be "Ōbo-Rāya", the brother-in-law of Venkata I and the father-in-law of the putative son of Bāyamma. He would be naturally interested in securing the rights of his son-in-law as against those of Sri-Ranga III, whose life he demanded. This would make Jaga-Rāya himself a son of Gobbūri-Ōba, the father-in-law of Venkata and his general. This, again, would make Gobbūri-Ōba the father of two sons as stated by the Jesuit fathers at his court. (See Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty*, 498-99), of whom Jaga-Rāya himself would be one, the other one being "Ōbo-Rāya," the "brother-in-law," as specifically mentioned by Barradas himself. That this suggestion is not far-fetched will be evident when it is mentioned that there is a stray verse current in Telugu which actually speaks of "Gobbūri-Jagga-Rāju" and of his and his associates' inferiority to Yāchama-Nāyaka, the Royalist leader. (See *Sources* 308, verse from

*Chātupadyaratnākaram*). The description "Chinaob-rāya" applied to the brother-in-law of Venkata by Barradas, when he speaks of him as the "brother" of Jaga-Rāya despatched by him to demand the lives of Sri-Ranga and his wife and children, would perhaps distinguish him from his own father Gobbūri-Ōba, the father-in-law and general of Venkata I. A point that deserves to be noted in this connection is that Gobbūri-Ōba had given in marriage two of his daughters to Venkata I. One of these, as we have seen, was Kondāmbika, and the other was, it has been suggested, Rāghavāmba, the name of whose father is not mentioned in any of the sources known to us. (See above). Both these also should be presumed to have been interested in the candidature of the putative son of Bāyanma, and the possibility is that his marriage with the daughter of Ōba-Rāya should have been favoured by at least three of the Queens of Venkata I. This fact should have made Jaga-Rāya's position unusually strong and it is not surprising that he was able to hold on for two years and more with a civil war which nearly broke the back of the resuscitated Empire. Jaga-Rāya has, however, been identified by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri with Kumāra Immadi Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, described as the son of Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, the minister of Rāna-Peda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāya of Cheunapatna, in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, mentioned in a lithic record from Dasavāra, Channapatna taluk, dated in 1623 A.D. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 190). He has further remarked, basing his inference on this possible, (for he says, "perhaps") identification that Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the Revolution, "appears to have acquiesced in the succession of Rāma," for we find him "making a grant as Rāma-Dēva's subordinate in *Saka* 1545," (*i.e.*, one recorded in the above quoted Dasavāra inscription.) This suggestion, however, seems not well founded. For there is nothing to show that Jaga-Rāya of Barradas and the literary works quoted

below and "Jaga-Dēva-Rāya" of the Channapatna record are the same. The latter evidently belongs to the same family as the Peda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāya mentioned in Ēkām-branātha's *Jāmbavatikalayānam* and *Satyāparinayam*. (See *ante*; also *Sources*, 227-30). He belonged to the Rāna family and to the Vishnuvardhana *gōtra* according to inscriptions. The literary works referred to above, describe Jaga-Rāya as belonging to the fourth caste, whereas Jaga-Rāya of Barradas, the revolutionary leader, belonged to the Kshatriya caste and to the family of Gobbūri-Ōba. The Editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* has also pointed to some of these differences between the two and has suggested that these two chiefs "have nothing to do" with each other. (See *Sources*, 229). The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* also states that Yāchama, the leader of the Royalist forces, killed him at the same battle. (See *Sources*, 305). If he was killed in the battle of Topūr, which was probably fought not long after December 1616 A.D., Jaga-Rāya could not have lived, if he was identical with the Channapatna chief Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, to make the grant mentioned in the Dasavāra record (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 182) in 1623 A.D. Thus the identification is an impossible one and has to be given up.

"Echama Naique" mentioned by Barradas as the leader of the Royalist army in the Civil war, is undoubtedly the famous Yāchama-Nāyaka, the Venkatagiri chief of the time. The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* describes him as the son of Kastūriranga, son of Yacha of the Vēlugōti (or Venkatagiri) family who had married Venkatamma, daughter of Vengala, of the Kālahasti family. (See *Sources*, under *Bahulāsva-charitramu*, 304; see also *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. 1, 1465-7, under *Vengatagiri Zamindars*). His brother-in-law (sister's husband) was Chenna who, as we have seen, led the forces of

(b) Echama Naique, the leader of the Royalist army.

Venkata I against Linga of Vellore and defeated him and made Venkata annex his territories. (See *ante*). As will be shown below, it is probable Chenna also took part on Yāchama's side in the Civil war. The family of Yāchama was evidently deeply attached to the Imperial House, for several members belonging to it are entitled *Kāryakarta* (agent) of the ruling Emperor in the areas they served. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. 1, 1467). Thus in two records dated in 1570-1 and 1573-4 A.D. (?) Vēlugōti Timmappa describes himself as *Kāryakarta* of Sri-Ranga II in the Udayagiri-Rājya. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 822, Nellore 54, 105). His son Vēlugōti Timma is mentioned in a record dated in 1575 A.D. (*Ibid* III, 1185, Podili 27). It is extremely doubtful whether he is identical with Kōnēti Chinna Timma, who is described in a record dated in 1582-3, (*Ibid*, II, 892, Nellore 124), as the grandson of Rāvēlakanti Nāyaningāru and son of Tirumalayyagāru. If he can be so identified, then it would be evidence for the statement that the Vēlugōti and the Rāvela families have been intermarrying. This would be interesting also as indicating that these two families took opposite sides in this Civil war. Rāvela Venkata is, as will be shown below, mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhya-dayam* as having fought on the side of Jaga-Rāya and fled for his life on his defeat at the battle of Topūr. (See *Sources*, 290). A table of the Vēlugōti chiefs as gleaned from the inscriptions is given in the *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. I 1465-6, under *Family of Venkatagiri Zamindars*, but it seems impossible to identify any names mentioned in this table with that of the Yachama mentioned in Barradas' letter and in the *Bahulāsva-charitramu*. The only Yāchama-Nāyaningāru mentioned in the published inscriptions is to be found in a record dated in the cyclic year *Bahudānya* (corresponding to *Saka* 1560), or A.D. 1638-9. This inscription registers a grant by Vēlugōti Kumāra Chinna Timma, for the merit of Timma

Nāyanaingāru and Yāchama Nāyanaingāru. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Podili 40). The following revised table shows his position in the Vēlugōti family as made out from inscriptions:—

Vēlugōti-Ranga or Vēlugōti Kastūri-Rangapati Nāyanaingāru (mentioned in *Nellore Inscriptions* I. 89, C.-P. No. II, dated in 1438.) (1)

Vēlugōti-Ranga, 1528-1529. (2)

Peda Timma, 1528-9 to 1533-4. (3)

Vēlugōti Kumāra Timma, 1554-5 to 1575-6 (Kāryakarta of Sri-Ranga II. (4)

Kumāra-Chinna-Timma, 1579-80 to 1583-84. (5)

Vēlugōti Peda Koudama (mentioned in records of his son and grandson. (6)

Vēlugōti Kumāra Timma, 1610-11 and 1612-13 (or Vēlugōti Timma or Vēlugōti Rājappa paturu (Rājayya partudu.)

Venkatapathi (or Venkatappa) 1612-13 to 1638-9 (identified with Yāchama Nāyanaingāru of Podili 40.) (7)

Kumāra Timma 1638-9 A.D. (or Kumāra Chinna Timma. (8)

Kumāra Timma, 1766-67 A.D. (9)

Kumara Yāchama 1794-95. (10)

(1) Dated in *Saka* 1360, cyclic year *Vijaya*, which do not agree.

(3) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 5 dated in 1528-9.

(3) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 5; I Gudur 82 dated in 1533-4 A.D

(4) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 21; *Nellore* 105 dated 1570-1; *Nellore* 54 dated in 1573-4; *Podili* 27 dated in 1575-6 A.D.

(5) *Nellore Inscriptions* III *Podili* 34 dated in 1579-80; *Podili* 27 dated in 1575-6 A.D.

(6) *Nellore Inscriptions* I *Atmakur* 40 dated in 1610-11; *Rapur* 63 dated in 1612-13.

(7) *Nellore Inscriptions* III *Rapur* 18 dated in 1522; I *Atmakur* 35 dated in 1612-13; many grants in 1638-9 I *Gudur* 40 dated in 1614 A.D.

(8) *Nellore Inscriptions* II 119 dated in 1638-9, III *Podili* 40 dated in 1638-9.

(9) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 9, dated in 1766-7.

(10) *Ibid* III *Sulurpet* 18, dated in 1794-95.

It will be seen from the above table, that the inscriptions of Venkatapati, son of Vēlugōti Kumāra-Timma, range from 1612 to 1639 A.D. There is independent evidence to believe that Yāchama-Nāyaka lived only up to about 1639 A.D. That he was still alive seems certain from a letter dated 20th October 1622 from the Pulicāt

factors Thomas Mill and John Milward (at Pulicat) to the Masulipatam factory, in which they refer to "our old friend Cheminique" and intimate that he was advancing to their neighbourhood with two or three thousand men. (See William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, 133). The same factors wrote a little later, on 6th November, intimating that the forces of Yāchama-Nāyaka had advanced as far as a village close by, and fortified it, that one "Iteraja the lord of their parts" (evidently Yatirāja, the local chief), had closely besieged him and then opened fire from two pieces of ordnance (with the aid of two or three thousand gunners) both supplied to him by the Dutch at Pulicat and that the forces agreed to surrender and after negotiations they arrived at a friendly settlement of their boundaries and then both retreated to their countries. But, they add, that on the day following, the "enyinie, as false as politike, whose hed hath name Ceminique, in the nyght returned with 2,000 persons and rayseed again the said forte and made it something larger and hath put therein, 500 persons, and soe remaines himself neare in company with 10,000, his being, within three miles of Pallicate." (*Ibid* 139). There is scarcely any doubt that "Cheminique" or "Ceminique," the person referred to as the head of the forces which occupied the earthen fortress 3 miles off Pulicat in 1622, was Yāchama-Nāyak. According to a note of Mr. Foster (see *Ibid* 139, *f.n.* 2), Mr. Swinton has suggested the identification of this name with that of "Chennappa-Nayak, the father of the chief from whom the English obtained the site of Fort St. George." "But," he adds, "another surmise is that he was the Echama Naique, who in 1614-16 was fighting with Jaga-Rāya on behalf of King Ranga IV. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 226-31)." The latter identification seems correct, for "Cheminique" and "Ceminique" approximate more to "Yāchama Nāyak" than to "Chin-



nappa-Nāyak"—in the former there is only an elision of the initial vowel in the name "Yachama," which is natural, whereas in the latter the omission of "apa" from "Chennappa" cannot be so easily accounted for. The Podili lithic record quoted above (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Podili 40, dated in 1639 A.D.) records a grant to a Jangama priest "who worships at Kūdali Sangamēsvara," by Vēlugōti Komāra-Chinna-Nāyaningāru and Yāchama-Nāyaningāru "for the religious merit of Timma Nāyaningāru and Yāchama-Nāyaningāru," the first of whom was his grandfather, identifiable with Vēlugōti Kumāra-Timma of the above table, who was also known as Vēlugōti-Timma or Vēlugōti Rājayya-Patudu (*i.e.*, Rājayyapātrudu), and the second was his father, identifiable with Venkatapati of the above table. The nature of the grant shows that he should have died in or about 1639, in which year it is dated. Numerous inscriptions show that Venkatapati (or Yāchama-Nāyak) was a distinguished member of the Vēlugōti line. Though his name does not appear in the family pedigrees of the Venkatagiri family given by Messrs. Boswell (*Manual of Nellore District*, 713) and Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 240) he deserves to be remembered not only for the loyal services he rendered to the Imperial cause in 1614 A.D. against Jaga-Rāya but also for the interest he evinced in encouraging irrigation in the country subject to him. In the single year 1638-9, we find twenty-five grants to irrigation works. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. I, 1466). That Venkatapati had also won renown as a soldier is indicated in a record dated in 1612-13 A.D. (*Ibid* and I. Atmakur 35). In this lithic inscription, Venkatapati is described as the "conqueror of the territory of Panchapāndya, who is an Arjuna in war," perhaps, because, he had fought in favour of the then ruling King, Venkata I, in his war against the Madura Nāyak, who was then ruling over the Pāndya country (the country of the five

Pāndyas referred to in the record). It is probable he took part in Venkata's war against Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura, which according to the Pudukkōttai plates of Śrī-Vallabha and Varatrungapāndya, Venkata I undertook in 1583 A.D., (see Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archæological Series*, I; 61-88, at 63 and 84) and in which he defeated Virappa-Nāyaka at the battle of Vallamprakāra. It is remarkable that except in Podili 40, Yāchama is in all other records-called Venkatapati and Venkatayya in one record. It is possible that Yāchama is another form of Venkata; it is also possible that Yāchama was his alternative name and that he was more familiarly known by that name, though the name Venkata was used in formal documents, like grants and gifts. The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* describes him as the son of Kastūri-Ranga, the son of Vēlugōti Yacha of the Vēlugōti family. The table of inscriptions above set forth shows he was the son of Kumāra Timma. The disparity is only apparent and not real, for we know that the original progenitor of the Vēlugōti family was Kastūri-Ranga, who as already stated above, is met with in a copper-plate grant dated in 1438-9 A.D.: (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, C.-P. No. 11, dated *Saka* 1390, *Vijaya*, which however do not agree. See also *Lists* II, 242). The author of the *Bahulāsva-charitramu* probably meant that Yāchama was descended from Kasturi-Ranga and no more. He also states that Yāchama had two brothers named Ranga and Singa and a sister named Akkamma, who married Chenna, the chief who defeated the Vellore Linga-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu-Nāyaka. Inscriptions, so far discovered, do not refer to any of these persons. Even the Jesuit letters of the period, do not, as we have seen above, refer by name to Chenna but speak of the leader of the forces that led the expedition against Linga, as the Dalavāi of Venkata I. But the *Bahulāsva-charitramu* is probably correct in stating it as Chenna for that

work was written by Dāmarla Vengalabhūpāla, a member of the Kālahasti family which was connected by marriage with the Velugōti chiefs, who lived during the reigns of Sri-Ranga II, Venkata I and Rāma-Dēva IV. (See *Sources*, 304-307). It, however, mentions that he lived in the reigns of Rāma-Rāya I and Sri-Ranga-Rāya III, which seems a mistake for Sri-Ranga III and Rāma-Dēva IV. There is evidence in the poem itself, which chronicles the events of the civil war that followed the death of Venkata I, that he lived through it, though it lasted in the earlier part of the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV as well.

Two other persons mentioned by Barradas as having actively co-operated with Jaga-Rāya in the rebellion are "Timma Naique" (Timma Nāyaka) and "Māca Raya" (Māka-Rāya). They had both refused to do homage and had subsequently taken part in the imprisoning of Sri-Ranga III, Māka-Rāya actually seizing him and delivering him over to Jaga-Rāya. There is no further reference to these two chiefs in Barradas' letter, though Māka-Rāya is mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* as one who fought on the side of Jaga-Rāya at the battle of Topūr. (See below.) He is also mentioned in a stray verse which praises the virtues as a military leader of Yāchama as against Jaga-Rāya and Rāvela Venku. (See *Sources*, 308). This verse states that a crore of Jaga-Rāyas, seventy crores of Māca-Rāya's father (*i.e.*, not merely Māka-Rāja but he who gave birth to him, an abusive phrase indicating absolute inferiority) and one lakh and sixteen Rāvilla-Venkus (the name is so transformed, evidently with the purpose of indicating the feminine spirit he showed on the battle-field at Topūr, from which he is said in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* to have fled, having lost courage after the defeat inflicted by Yāchama) put together would not be a match to Yācha, who bears the

(c) Timma-Naique and Māca Ranga.

title of *Ibbāra Ganda*, just as any number of goats joining together would not be a match for the tiger. (*Ibid*). This "Māka-Rāja" is probably the Sāluva Māka-Rāja-Tirumala-Rājayya-Dēva, who is described in a record, which comes from Nārāyanavanam, in the Chittoor district; dated in *Saka* 1544, *Raudri*, corresponding to 1622 A. D., as ruling the country round Nārāyanavanam in the reign of Venkata II. He was probably the Sāluva chief of Kārvētīnagar who rose to prominence about the time of this record and who displayed the Sāluva emblem of the boar with the dagger. (See *M.E.R.* 1911-12 Para 60 App. B. 377 of 1911). In another record dated in *Saka* 1545, *Dundhubi*, corresponding to A. D. 1623 (*Ibid*, No. 376 of 1911), he calls himself the son of Srī-Ranga-Rāja and grandson of *Māhāmandalēsvara* Kattāri-Sāluva-Māka-Rāja. From this it has been inferred that his name Māka-Rāja Tirumalayyadēva has to be interpreted as meaning Tirumalarāja, grandson of Māka-Rāja. Another record from Nārāyanavanam, dated in the cyclic year *Pramādicha*, refers to a grant as being in the Kālashti temple by Kattāri Sāluva Māka-Rāja Bomma-Rāju-Dēva-Mahārāju. (*Ibid*, No. 382 of 1911). This name indicates that Bomma-Rāju-Dēva was another grandson of Māka-Rāja. Though no *Saka* date is mentioned in this record, the cyclic year corresponds to *Saka* 1597, or A. D. 1675. The Māka-Rāja who was evidently the ally of Jaga-Rāja was thus a Sāluva chief and has to be identified with Tirumalarājayyadēva (or Tirumalarāja) who was chief of Kārvētīnagar in 1622 A. D. There is no doubt he survived the battle of Topūr, for the *Raghunāthābhayudayam* of Rāmabhadraṁba actually states that he fled from the battle with Rāvilla Venku and others. (See *Sources*, 290). Of him, Barradas states, he had a "revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados" and mustered "six thousand men." The Sāluva chiefs of Kārvētīnagar were connected with the Matla chiefs, as cousins, both being

descended—or at least claiming descent—from the ancient Chōla king Karikāla. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Paras 60 and 70). There is no clue to the identity of his other associate Timma-Nāique, who was probably a bigger chief as he is said to have enjoyed an annual revenue of four hundred thousand cruzados and kept an army of twelve thousand men. He might, however, be identified with Tima-Nāyudu, son of Sāyappa-Nāyudu, who is described as ruling over the Nāgalūti country in a record dated in *Saka* 1546, *Rakthākshi*, corresponding to 1624 A.D., in the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. No. 53 of 1915).

The Rāvilla Venkata mentioned above was evidently a member of Rāvēla (or Rāvūla or Rāvilla) family, which was quite an old one in the Nellore District. The earliest member of it, Rāvilla Nāyakkan is mentioned in a record dated in the 12th year of Rājarāja-Dēva, which would mean about the 11th Century A.D. (*Nellore Ins.* III, Sulturpet 6). The Rāvilla Venkata mentioned should be identified with the Rāvūla Venkatappa (or Venkatapathi) son of Vēngalappa, mentioned in a record dated in 1616-17 A.D. (*Ibid.*, I, Gudur 112). He received a village as an *amaram* from Venkata I. From another record dated in 1645-6, it is known that he received Kodur as an *amaram*. He evidently survived the Civil War by at least 30 years. His son Rāvūla Vēngalappa is also mentioned in Gudur 112 (See *Nellore Ins.* III, app. I, 1461).

(d) Rāvilla  
Venkata.

Another chief mentioned by Barradas as having joined Jaga-Rāya is Narpa-Rāya. He is identical with Narpa-Rāju mentioned in Vīra-Rāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhyudayam* as an ally of Jaga-Rāya, in the Civil War. (See *Sources*, 260). Barradas speaks of him as the brother "of the old king" Venkata I. Though a number of Narpa-Rājus are known to inscriptional records, there is

(e) Narpa-  
Rāya.

none known to them during the period covered by the reigns of Venkata I, Sri-Ranga III and Rāma-Dēva IV. (See *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, Cudappah 508; Guntur 181-3; Kurnool 340; Nellore 504; 429; and Nellore 684). But the *Rāmarājīyam* mentions a Jillēla-Narapa, whose daughter, Tiruvēngalāmba, was married to Chinna-Venkata, one of whose sons was Sri-Ranga, the Sri-Ranga VI of the genealogical tables. (See *Sources*, 311). This was probably the chief who, according to Vira-Rāghava-Nāyaka's *Ranganāthābhyudayam*, fought on the Royalist side against Jaga-Rāya and his associates, including the Narapa-Rāya mentioned by Barradas. (See *Sources*, 260, 262). This Jillēla Narapa-Rāju should have been a different person from the Narapa-Rāju of Barradas. He might have been another member of the same family, either a brother or a cousin. This suggestion seems to receive some support from the manner in which this particular person is mentioned in the text, where it reads "Nandēla Chitrāju Naraparāju," which might perhaps be taken as describing one person rather than two as suggested by the translator. (See *Rāmarājīyam* in *Sources*, Text, 262 and Translation, 260). If this view proves acceptable, we would have evidence of the fact that this Narapa-Rāju belonged to the Nandēla family and that he was really the second member in that family who was known by that name, *Chitrāju*, meaning only "little Rāju." We know that Venkata I had married two ladies from the Jillēla family. One was Ōamma, the daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja and another was Krishnamma, the daughter of Jillēla Krishna-Rāja. (See *Sources*, 243). Jillēla Narapa, the brother-in-law of Venkata, should therefore have been a brother—the sequel shows he was a brother and not merely a cousin—of Jillēla Ranga and Jillēla Krishna, who were perhaps brothers. Evidently the sympathies of Jillēla Narapa of Barradas were with the putative son, though both his brothers do not figure in the Civil War.

The Jillēla family, like the Gobbūri, was thus closely connected with the Āravidu Royal family from the days of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, to its end. (Indeed an inscription in Sadāsiva's reign dated 1551-2 A.D., states that he granted to Srīmān Mahāmandalēsvara Jillēla Rāngapati-Dēva-Māhārāya, the village of Pāmūlapādi for his granting it to another as *umbali*). Venkatādri's grandson Gōpāla was married to two ladies, of whom one was Timmamma, the daughter of Jillēla Rānga and another was Vēngamma, the daughter of Gobbūri Giryappa. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu* 222). It would thus seem that Gōpāla and Venkata, I were co-brothers. Similarly, Peda-Venkata the son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, married the daughter of Gobbrūi Ōba, evidently a sister of one of the wives of Venkata I; while his younger brother Chinna-Venkata married, as stated above, Tiruvēngalāmba, the daughter of Jillēla Rānga, and became also a co-brother of Venkata I. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 310-11). There seems therefore small wonder that the representatives of the Gobbūri and Jillēla families supported the candidature of the putative son—who was himself married to a daughter of the Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebels in the Civil War. But there is, however, one interesting point to remember in this connection and that is, that Sri-Rānga III himself was married to Ōbamma, the daughter of Jillēla Narasimha, who should have either been a brother or cousin of Jillēla Narapa and Rānga. Rāma-Dēva VI had married Kondamma, the daughter of Gobbūri Yatirāju. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 244-45). This Gobbūri Yatirāju was probably a cousin or brother of Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya, who figures as a leader on the other side. It was against Sri-Rānga III and his son Rāma-Dēva IV that the civil war was fought. While there might have been reason for Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya to fight for his son-in-law, the putative Chikka-Rāya, one would have expected

The civil war  
a fratricidal  
war in its  
origin.

Jillēla Ranga and Narapa to have sided their brother or cousin Jillēla Narashimha, the grandfather of Rāma-Dēva IV. But, as a matter of fact, they did not do so. They, on the other hand, fought against him. In a word, the fight was between brother and brother, at first between Jillēla Narasimha and his son-in-law Sri-Ranga III, and then with his grandson Rāma-Dēva IV, who had married a Gobbūri chieftain's daughter, assisted by Yāchama and others on the one side and Jillēla Ranga and Narapa, sponsoring Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya and his son-in-law, the putative Chikka-Rāya, assisted by a number of chiefs. Evidently both the Jillēla and the Gobbūri families were houses divided against themselves and they could not stand. This fratricidal aspect of the war, in fact its—poetically speaking—epic character, is strikingly brought out by the author of *Rāmarājīyamu*, (see *Sources*, 244-6) when he compares the members forming the contending parties to the different heroes mentioned in the war of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus Rāma-Dēva IV and the Yāchama brothers who espoused his cause and fought for him are likened to one set of epic heroes:—

Rāma-Dēva IV	to Yudhishthira.
Singa-Nripati, younger brother of Yāchama	to Bhima.
Yāchama Rāyappa	to Arjuna.
Ranga Ayyana, elder brother of Yāchama	to Nakula.
Chenna, brother-in-law of Yāchama	to Sahadēva.
Their other allies	to the king of Virāta, Pāncāla and other countries.
Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore	to Krishna.

It should be noted here that the *Rāmarājīyamu* refers to Yāchama as merely Rāyappa, the honorific suffix, either as a mark of respect or because he was, after the civil war, in which he had greatly distinguished himself, known as Rāyappa. Ranga is similarly referred to as merely *Ayyana*, entirely because it is a shortened form of *Rangayya*. Another point to note is the suggestion that Singa-Nripati, Rāyappa, Ayyana and Chenna were the brothers of



Rāma-Dēva IV, since they are likened to the five Pāndava heroes of the epic. This suggestion wholly seems out of question for two reasons. First, because Rāma-Dēva's brothers were all dead at a very early stage of the war, long before the final fight took place. According to Barradas' account and according to *Raghnāthābhya-dayam* of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka and Rāmabadrāmba and the *Sāhityaratnākara* of Yagnanārāyanadīkshita, Srī-Ranga III and all his sons, except Rāma-Dēva IV, had been killed by Jaga-Rāya. (See *Sources*, 244 *f.n.*, also 255-7; 260-4; 273-84; and 289-90). The Civil War, indeed, assumed the proportions it did because of the barbarities and excesses committed by Jaga-Rāya. Secondly, because it is clear beyond the possibility of any reasonable doubt that the names of the five persons as given in the *Rāmarājīyam* refer to Rāma-Dēva IV and his four staunchest allies, whose names as given in this poem entirely tally with those of Yāchama and his two brothers and his brother-in-law, Chenna, as mentioned in the *Bahulāsvacharītram*, in which there is evidence that Chenna also fought in the civil war. It is specifically stated in this poem that he fought against the Nāyak of Madura, whom it calls "the Pāndya" and says that he put him to flight. (See above; also *Sources*, 334-5).

On the opposite side, the enemy is thus compared:—

Chenchu	to Dussāsana.
Virappa, the Madura Nāyak-King, who was the supporter of the putative Chikka-Rāya.	to Sakuni.
Yāchama	to Salya.
Māka-Rāju	to Karna.
Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebel forces	to Duryōdhana.

Of the above, we know Jaga-Rāya, the father-in-law of the putative Chikka-Rāya. As he was the prime leader of the Rebel forces, he is fittingly compared to Duryōdhana. Chenchu, who is compared to Dussāsana, was Jaga-Rāya's *dalarāi* or commander-in-chief. He is mentioned

in Vijayarāghava's poem *Raghunāthābhuydayam*. (See *Sources*, 263 and Text, 263). In the poem of the same name by Rāmabhadrāmba, he is called Rāyadallapi, a mistake for Rāya-*dalavāi*, i.e., the *dalavāi* of Jaga-Rāya. Māka-Rāju, who is compared to Karna, is the Māka Nāique of Barradas' letter, in Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhuydayam* and in the stray verse we have referred to above. He has been identified as the Sāluva chief Tirumalarāju of Karvētinagar of the time. (See above). The only name that is yet a puzzle is that of Yāchana, who has been compared to Salya. His name has to be carefully distinguished from that of Yāchama, the Royalist leader. This Yāchana was one of the more important chiefs of the time who sided with the Rebel leader. His name suggests that he was from the Telugu country. It has been found impossible to identify him. An Echappa Udaiyar, who lived in the reign of Sadāsiva and made a gift to the Kōtīsvara temple in Condapoor taluk in 1546 A.D., is known. He was probably the same person as the Jain chief Gavisappa, who married a daughter of the last Kārkāla king Bhairāsu Udaiyar about 1560 A.D. (See *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II, 852, quoting inscriptions from Taylor's *List of Mackenzie's Inscriptions in Mysore, Kanara, etc.*).

The chief  
authorities  
for the Civil  
War.

Besides the chiefs in Barradas' letter, there were, then, others who joined one or other side and fought out a protracted war to decide the succession. The civil war is referred to or described in some detail in the following contemporary authorities:—(1) Barradas' letter already quoted; (2) Venkayya's *Rāmarājyam* (see *Sources*, 244-46); (3) Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhuydayam*, a Telugu drama written by Vijayarāghava, son of Raghunātha Nāyaka, whose interference decided the fate of the war in favour of Rāma-Dēva IV. (*Ibid* 254-9; also 264-66). This drama embodies a report of what

happened on the battle field at Topūr, which, being dated in 1617-18, is of great interest and value. (*Ibid* 259-64). (4) Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita's Sanskrit poem *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, the author Yagnanārāyana being a brother of Gōvinda Dīkshita, the minister of Achyuta and Raghunātha of the Tanjore Nāyak dynasty. His poem however breaks off in the middle. (*Ibid* 269-84). (5) Rāma-bhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, written by a lady-poet named Rāma-bhadrāmba, who graced the court of Raghunātha-Nāyak of Tanjore. (*Ibid* 294-302). (6) Damarla Vēngala Bhūpāla's *Bahulāsvacharitam*, a poem dedicated to Vēlugōti Yāchama, the leader of the Royalist army in the Civil war. (*Ibid* 304-8). (7) A *chātu* verse about Jaga-Rāya and Yāchama-Nāyaka, the rival leaders. (*Ibid* 308). (8) Methwold, in his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golconda*. (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, A.D. 1626, 993).

The account of the Civil war given by Barradas shows that the scene shifted rather suddenly to Trichinopoly, by about the middle of December 1616, and concludes with it. It does not, however, throw any light on the reason why Jaga-Rāya, after his flight to the jungles, repaired to Trichinopoly and as to the circumstances under which the two great armies came to face each on its plains. During the reign of Virappa Nāyaka, 1572-1595, the beginnings of enmity between the Nāyak rulers of Madura and Tanjore made itself felt. In the former campaign, Venkata I had been assisted by Achyutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore. Virappa was defeated at Vallam-prākāra and compelled to submit to Venkata. Again, about 1595, he became irregular in the payment of his tribute and an army under Tirumala II, the Seringapatam Viceroy, was sent against him. He was once again forced to submit. (See *ante*). Four years later, his son and successor Krishnappa-Nāyaka II, withheld the tribute

Continuation  
of the Civil  
War: part  
played by the  
Madura and  
Tanjore  
Nāyaks in it.

and rebelled. Venkata I took personal command of the campaign with the active aid of his general Mātla Ananta, obtained his unconditional surrender and levied a heavy fine on him, besides collecting the arrears of tribute due. (See *ante*). This severe punishment kept his son and successor Muthu-Krishnappa maintain a loyal attitude towards his sovereign and even sent an embassy in 1608 to the latter with the tribute. (See *ante*). His inscriptions, so far, recognize the Imperial Sovereignty. About 1610 A.D., this recognition was no more conceded to it, as some inscriptions indicate. (*M.E.R.* 1907 No. 123 of 1907; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 293). This was probably due to the waning influence of the Imperial House, during the last years of Venkata I. Muthu-Virappa, who ascended the throne in 1609, became irregular in the payment of the tribute, sometimes even refusing it, as a Jesuit letter of the year puts it, in insolence. Payment had to be enforced by a regular army sent for the purpose. (See *ante*). One of these expeditions occurred in 1610, probably led by Mātla Ananta, and Muthu-Virappa was reduced to subjection and compelled to pay up his arrears. (See *ante*). Muthu-Virappa's family never forgave the Nāyak family of Tanjore for the help the latter had rendered to the Imperial House in reducing it to subjection. Muthu-Virappa, about the close of 1611, attacked Achyutappa-Nāyak of Tanjore. The cause of the war is not known. Probably Achyutappa had helped Ananta against Muthu-Virappa in the last war and after Ananta's departure, Muthu-Virappa attacked Achyutappa. (See Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 361-2, quoting a Jesuit letter dated in December 25, 1611). The death of Venkata in 1614 and the beginning of the war of succession evidently came in opportune moment to Muthu-Virappa of Madura. Jaga-Rāya, on his signal defeat at Vellore, evidently proceeded direct to Muthu-Virappa and sought his aid. Perhaps he winked at

the possible permanent excusal of the tribute and the formal recognition of his independence, if he should effectually aid the putative pretender's cause. There is no reason to suppose that Muthu-Virappa would not have taken some advantage at least of the position to which the Imperial House had been reduced on the death of Venkata I, especially when he could, with the aid of a friendly emperor, bring to terms Achyutappa of Tanjore. It was evidently with this frame of mind that Muthu-Virappa determined to help Jaga-Rāya and throw in his lot with him. As a first step in the carrying out of the cause he had evidently made his own—it should be remembered that the *Rāmarājīyam* makes him the Sakuni of the war, Sakuni being the evil counsellor in the great Epic—he transferred his capital in 1616 to Trichinopoly, "with," as we are told by an independent authority, Leon Besse, "the object of making war with the King of Tanjore." (*La Mission Du Madurē*, 3, evidently basing the statement on unquoted Jesuit letters). There is hardly any doubt that the primary objects of the transfer of the capital and the army to Trichinopoly seem to have been in fact three in number: (a) to make it the base of operations against Achyutappa of Tanjore, who had joined the Royalists, a purpose for which Trichinopoly was certainly better fitted than Madura, being closer to Tanjore and a convenient centre for all the allies to reach from the North, East and West; (b) to eventually make Trichinopoly the capital of a new and enlarged kingdom, including Tanjore, for which it was well-situated; and (c) to assert his independence like Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore, of the Imperial House and cease paying the tribute. The author of the *Sāhityaratnākara*, who was the son of the minister of Achyutappa and had thus direct knowledge of the truth of affairs, makes it perfectly plain that Muthu-Virappa had been, ere this, without any reason whatever, entertaining a feeling of

hostility towards him. He had, he asserts, concluded alliances with Sōlaga, a neighbouring chief in the coastal regions who had an evil reputation for his cruelty (see *ante*) and with Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyak of Gingee, evidently with a view to attacking Achyutappa. Achyutappa, seeing the strength of the coalition, was waiting for an opportunity. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272-3). Meanwhile Raghunātha, son of Achyutappa, who had already distinguished himself in repelling an attack on Penukonda, the Imperial capital, and had taken a prominent part in obtaining from him the release of Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Gingee, and been honoured by Venkata I, had grown up to manhood's estate. The times were such that they required a younger man to be at the helm. On the advice of his minister Gōvinda Dīkshita, Achyutappa installed his son, so that he might conduct the impending war with diligence and vigour and himself retired to Srirangam, there to end his days in pious meditation. (See *Sources*, *Sāhityaratnākara*, 273. See also Rāmabhadhrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 285). Hardly had the coronation of Raghunātha been brought to a close, than news arrived of the latest movements of the enemy. As Muthu-Virappa and his allies had come to an understanding and were about to proceed against Achyutappa, they had been joined by Jaga-Rāya, a relative and a servant of Venkata I, who had treacherously assassinated the Emperor Sri-Ranga III and his near relatives. (See *ante*). The *Sāhityaratnākara* gives a brief account of this story of the assassination, while Rāmabhadhrāmba in her *Raghunāthābhyudayam* gives a more detailed one. The former states that the murder of the Emperor was carried out one night by Jaga-Rāya and his friends while on a visit to him as if for some act of service, and while he was asleep along with his children and friends; that they were joined by the Drāvida, Chēra, and Pāndya chiefs,

(i.e., the Madura Nāyak and others); and that the noble Yācha had rescued one of the Emperor's sons by a stratagem and was then proceeding to him for help. (See *Sources*, 273 and 278). *The Raghunāthābhyudayam* fully confirms the story as told by Barradas—the surrounding of the palace by Jaga-Rāya's troops, the massacre of the Emperor, his wives and his children, the skilful rescue of the boy-emperor at dead of night by a washerman, and the fight that some grateful officers had put up for his cause. Raghunātha was requested, by the envoys who carried all this news, to take up his cause and rescue the Empire *once again* as he had done *once before* and to destroy Jaga-Rāya and his party. The *Sāhityaratnākara* mentions the name of the rescuer of the only surviving son of the late emperor as Yacha, i.e., the Yāchama Nāyaka mentioned by Barradas. This nobleman was, it is said, proceeding with other chiefs, to Achyuta for help. Achyuta, it was added, was to effect a junction with Yacha and the young emperor (Rāma-Dēva IV) before Muthu-Virappa and his allies met the troops of Jaga-Rāya at Srirangam, as arranged between them. (See *Sources* under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 273). So says the *Sāhityaratnākara*, which seems quite credible. Rāma-bhadrāmba gives a poetic touch when she says in her *Raghunāthābhyudayam* that Jaga-Rāya and his allies had effected a junction with the Nāyaks of Gingee and of Madura and with their armies, were scouring the country for the late emperor's son in order to capture him and put him to death. (See *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 289). Perhaps the truth was that when the news first arrived at Raghunātha's capital, the junction had not yet been effected and that by the time Raghunātha could order his troops, the junction between Jaga-Rāya and Muthu-Virappa had been effected at Srirangam and they had moved on towards Topūr (modern Tohur, about two miles off from the Grand

Anicut, on the south bank of the Cauvery), which they had made their head-quarters. (*Ibid* 289). The *Sāhityaratnākara* adds that to prevent Raghunātha from effecting a junction with Yācha, Muthu-Virappa (whom it always calls the Pāndya King) had cut off the Grand Anicut. Neither the *Sāhityaratnākara* nor the Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam* furnish any details as to those who joined the combatants except in a general way. The *Sāhityaratnākara* states that Jaga-Rāya had been joined by the Drāvīda, Chēra and Iāndya kings, which, except for the assistance rendered by Muthu-Virappa (called the Pāndyan King) seems vague, if not altogether, poetical. Rāmabhadrāmba speaks of Jaga-Rāya, and his party as the traitors of the Empire, which, though true, is not explicit. She, however, refers when describing the battle of Topūr, to the Gingee ruler, (the ruler of *Tundira*, *i.e.*, Tondamandalam,) Rāvila Venka, Māka-Rāja and to Rāya Dalavāi Chenchu. They were evidently helped by a contingent of Portuguese gunners, probably from Ceylon, as they were inimical to Raghunātha, who had espoused the cause of Sangili Kumāra. There is an interesting description of their appearance and accoutrement in the *Sāhityaratnākara*, including their especial preference for liquor. (See *Sources*, 273). (See also *Sources*, 287, *f. n.* quoting F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, viii.; also H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 111-12). Sangili was ruling in the name of the king in 1615, but he was subsequently captured and sent to Goa, where he was tried and executed. Two attempts were made by Raghunātha of Tanjore in 1620 and 1621 as suzerain to recover the country from the Portuguese, but he failed. Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's poem *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, however, gives a long list of thirty-two chiefs, mostly hailing from the Telugu country, who joined the side of Yāchama, the Royalist leader. (See *Sources*, 260). Among these were



Konēti Kondarāju; Ōbalarāju, called *Māma*, probably maternal uncle of Rāma-Dēva IV; Sṛigirirāju, the chiefs of Kāluva, the chiefs of Cudappah, Balumūri chiefs, the chiefs of Madura, the Reddis of Kamban, Kondavidu and Kondapalli and others. This list may be taken as reliable, as it is given by Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, whose statements in the poem he has left us, have been fairly confirmed in other respects by independent sources.

Rāghunātha was evidently at the head of the allied forces assisted by Yāchama and Yāchama's brother-in-law Chenna. His plan was first to break up the coalitions between Muthu-Virappa and Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyakas of Madura and Gingee and Sōlaga, the island chief, and then attack Muthu-Virappa and Jagarāya and his allies and defeat them. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 274; Rāmabhadrāmba's *Rāghunāthābhūdayam*, 288). With this end in view, he made suitable arrangements for the administration of his capital and set out along the banks of the Cauvery to Kumbakōnam, where evidently he effected a junction with the forces of Yāchama and Rāma-Dēva IV, the Emperor. (*Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 274). Yāchama should have travelled from Vellore *via* Tiruvannāmalai, Villupuram, Porto Novo, a town that had been recently built by Krishnappa, the Gingee Nāyak, Māyavaram and thence to Kumbakōnam, where he awaited the junction of his forces with those of Rāghunātha. He could not have travelled *via* Jalarpet, Salem, Erode and Trichinopoly, because at the last of these, the large army of Muthu-Virappa was concentrated and there was, at any rate, his military depôt. From there, he marched direct on Sōlaga's head-quarters and called on him to surrender. Sōlaga defied and held out. Rāghunātha ordered the construction of a bridge of boats and himself

Royalist plans to divide the enemy and defeat them.

crossed over to the island on an elephant. He then laid siege to the fort, but the garrison offered a stout resistance. Evidently Sōlaga hurled stones and even opened fire on the invaders. Raghunātha, not to be baffled, redoubled his efforts and took the fort by escalade. Sōlaga tried to escape but was taken prisoner. His life was mercifully spared but being considered too dangerous to be liberated, was kept a prisoner. Krishnappa-Nāyaka made good his escape to Gingee. (See *Sources* under Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 288. See also *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272, which also states that the attack on Sōlaga took place just before the attack on Jaga-Rāya and as a preliminary to it).

The attack  
on the  
Portuguese  
in Ceylon.

According to Rāmabhadrāmba's poem, an attack in favour of Sangili was made at about this time by Raghunātha against the Portuguese in Northern Ceylon. But this incident seems misplaced here, as it appears to have occurred in 1620 A.D. (H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 111-2). But as there was more than one attempt in 1615, probably this was one of those smaller attempts which the Portuguese chroniclers have not noted. There can be no doubt, however, that the Portuguese had proved unfriendly and that they had gone over to the side of Muthu-Vīrappa. They had been dislodged from Negapatam, but they had crossed over to Ceylon, which had since the Chōla days been dependent on Tanjore. Raghunātha is said to have built a bridge of boats and crossed over to the island and attacked the Portuguese forces which took to their ships. He reinstated his ally and left a garrison in charge of Jaffna. (See *Sources* under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 289). If this attack did really take place in 1616 or 1617 A.D., then it should have been intended to show that Raghunātha resented the interference of the Portuguese not only in the affairs of the island of Ceylon, over which he

claimed suzerainty, but also against their helping the rebel leader Jaga-Rāya and his ally Muthu-Virappa, the Nāyak of Madura. Probably a fleet was organised for this purpose and a detachment was sent across the seas on this expedition.

Meanwhile Jaga-Rāya and Muthu-Virappa, having heard of the preparations of Yāchama and Raghunātha, made preparations to give battle to them on their advance. (See *Sources*, Rāmabhadrāmba's *Ragunāthābhyudayam*, 289).

The attack on the rebels : their preparations at opūr.

It was the year *Nala*, the month of *Āsādha* and the fifth day of the bright fortnight, corresponding to about the 21st July 1617 A.D. (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava's *Ragunāthābhyudayam*, 259). Raghunātha left his camp at the village of Palavanedi and mounted his elephant and marched in battle array attended on either side by his officers and followed in the rear by Rāma-Dēva and his large retinue of (thirty-two) chiefs with their forces. (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava's *Ragunāthābhyudayam*, 259-60). Barradas states that each side had 100,000 men besides as many as a million of soldiers in reserve. (See Barradas' Narrative in Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 230). According to Rāmabhadrāmba, the army evidently wended its way westward to Topūr, modern Tohur, not far away from the Grand Anicut, where the enemy had breached the Anicut and were awaiting Raghunātha's advance. (See *Sources*, under *Ragunāthābhyudayam*, 289). The Royalist troops opened the attack on the Rebel forces facing them, the scene resembling, in the words of Rāmabhadrāmba, the meeting of the eastern ocean with the western. There was an artillery duel between the two contending armies, the artillery on the rebel side being almost to a certainty in the hands of the Portuguese in their ranks. (See *Sources*, 273). After

Raghunātha, the chief leader of the Allied forces, and his advance on Topūr.

The battle order.

The rebels  
defeated and  
dispersed.  
Flight of  
Muthu-  
Virappa.  
Death of  
Jaga-Rāya.

Flight of  
other chiefs.

Capture of  
Muthu-  
Virappa. His  
life spared.

that, the cavalry of Raghunātha proceeded in semi-circular formation and attacked the enemy, closely followed by his infantry which proved irresistible. Muthu-Virappa unable to withstand the attack, broke and fled from the field. Jaga-Rāya then advanced and opposed the Royalist forces. A fierce attack followed and Jaga-Rāya was killed by the spears of Raghunātha's infantry. Jaga-Rāya's troops were utterly destroyed and Muthu-Virappa, terror-stricken and anxious for the safety of his own territory, fled a league homeward, leaving his elephants, horses and treasury and *harem* in his camp. Krishnappa-Nāyaka also fled from the field to the utter disgust of his officers. Seeing the rout, Rāvella Venka (Venkata) fled along with the others; so did Māka-Rāja, who had reached the field in a braggart spirit. Chenchu, Jaga-Rāya's *dalavāi*, left the field in utter dismay. (See *Sources*, under Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthā-bhyudayam*, 290, which seems to be based on credible information). According to Vijayarāghava's poem, however, Muthu-Virappa fought until all his officers fled. He then would seem to have dismounted his horse and fled from the field leaving behind him his camp, *harem*, and treasury. (*Ibid*, *Raghunāthā-bhyudayam*, 260). In other respects, his statements, as incorporated in his work, agree with those made in Rāmabhadrāmba's work. In the latter, it is added that Muthu-Virappa was eventually taken prisoner and brought before Raghunātha, who gracefully spared his life. He accepted Muthu-Virappa's daughter in marriage to himself. (See *Sources*, 290 and 260). To mark his victory, Raghunātha rebuilt the Anicut that Jaga-Rāya and his allies had destroyed, "with the skulls" of the slain enemy, and set up there a pillar of victory on the spot detailing his glorious deeds. (*Ibid*, 274, 290). He returned to his capital in triumph. (*Ibid*, 260, 291).

Meanwhile Krishnappa-Nāyaka, who had fled for his life, collected together some of the chiefs and preferred to hold out. A detachment was sent against them and Raghunātha awaited their return at Panchanada (Tiruvaiyar) near Tanjore. They took Bhuvanagiri, not far away from Chidambaram, and other fortresses. They were then attacked by Krishnappa-Nāyaka and his ally Yatirāja, who had also fled for his life from Topūr. The attack was presumably beat off by Raghunātha's generals, who evidently left Krishnappa and Yatirāja to themselves. (*Sources*, 290).

Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Gingee Nāyaka, rallies his forces and renews the attack but is repulsed.

The successes of Raghunātha evidently attracted the notice of the Sultān of Bijāpur, who sent an ambassador to his court. (See *Sources*, 261).

Such in brief is an account of the war as reflected in the poems of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, Yagnanārāyana-Dīkshita and Rāmabhadrāmba. These make Rāghunātha, the Nāyak of Tanjore, the hero of the whole war. Seeing that the *Rāmarājīyamu* calls him the *Krishna* of the war, (See *Sources*, 244) there might be reason for this prominent rôle attributed to him in these poems, which were written by his own son, his minister's son, and his court poetess. The *Rāmarājīyamu* calls Yāchama, the Arjuna of the war (*ibid.*, 244) but his name is put into the shade in all these works. The *Bahulāsvacharītramū*, a poem written by Yāchama's own brother-in-law, Damarla Vēngala Bhūpāla, does him further justice. It says that it was he who killed Jaga-Rāya at the battle of Topūr and drove Muthu-Vīrappa, the Nāyak of Madura, from the field. And it exclaims, "Is there any one that can excel Vēlugōti Yāchama, in the performance of heroic deeds." (See *Sources*, under *Bahulāsvacharītramū*, Text, 306). As we have seen, Rāmabhadrāmba's poem attributes the spearing of Jaga-Rāya and his relatives to Raghunātha's infantry. (See *Sources*, 290). But the

Yāchama's part in the battle of Topūr.

*Bahulāsvacharitramu* is more definite. Yāchama, would have, as a matter of course, made the killing of Jaga-Rāya, a matter of personal honour. It may be taken, therefore, that Yāchama was personally responsible for effecting the death of Jaga-Rāya. It is undoubted that but for him the Royalist cause would not have attained the success it did.

Yāchama appears to have been regent of Rāma-Dēva until he attained majority. He attempted to attack Yatirāja, brother of Jaga-Rāya and governor of Pulicat. But the Dutch helped Yatirāja and Yāchama left the place after building a frontier fortress and garrisoning it against the depredations of Yatirāja. (See below under *Founding of European Settlements*). Probably Yāchama did the same with others, thus rounding up all the King's enemies and restoring order and peace in the land.

Did Rāma-Deva accompany Yāchama's army to the South and was he present at the battle of Topur?

According to the *Sāhityaratnākara*, Rāma-Dēva IV, the Emperor, is said to have accompanied the army of Yāchama to Kumbākonam, where the junction between the Imperial forces and those of Raghunātha, the Nāyak of Tanjore, was effected. It is also mentioned in it that Raghunātha resolved upon celebrating his coronation at that place, after effecting the junction. (See *Sources*, 274). Rāmabhadrāmba, however, does not even suggest the presence of the Emperor with the forces that had arrived from Vellore to give battle to Jaga-Rāya and his allies, the Madura and Gingee Nāyaks. It simply states that his envoys arrived at Raghunātha's court to inform Jaga-Rāya's revolution. (See *Sources*, 287). Vijayarāghava, in his work *Raghunāthābhuydayam*, agrees with Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita and states that Rāma-Dēva accompanied Raghunātha to the battle of Topur. (See *Sources*, 260). It cannot be that the statements of Yagnanārāyana and Vijayarāghava were intended to be mere poetical exaggerations indulged in by them to make Raghunātha,

their hero, a much greater person than he actually was. While there is nothing serious in the way of our believing in their statements, for the presence, if anything, of the Emperor would have rallied all the feudatories on Yāchama's side, it is just a question whether Yāchama would have risked his life by making him accompany so far away from the Royal residence, and that just after overcoming Jaga-Rāya at it. Inscriptional records, however, show that Yāchama had evolved order by about the end of 1614, when we find Rāma-Dēva actually ruling (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 47) and that there was a settled government administering the Empire, and recognized in the provinces from that date onwards. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 103 dated in 1615 A.D., *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40, dated in 1617; and Bagepalli, 75, dated in 1617). These records would seem to indicate that there was peace in the Empire except, perhaps, in the southern region and that Yāchama might have induced Rāma-Dēva to accompany him to inspire confidence in the troops and in his confederates and even to keep them steady on the battle-field. Raghunātha rated his successes in this war over the Madura and the Gingee Nāyaks so highly that he got representations of them and of his raising Rāma-Dēva to the Empire in one of his palaces at Tanjore called "*Vijaya-Bhavana-Raj.*" (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhudayam*, 265). Probably they were mural paintings, for which Tanjore was at one time greatly famous.

The effects of the protracted Civil War, though it confirmed Rāma-Dēva in the sovereignty, proved disastrous to the Empire. His authority was considerably shaken, though the crowning success that the Royalists attained at Topur did much to repair that damage. Several of the recalcitrants, such as Māka-Rāja, Rāvilla Venkata, and others, became reconciled to him, as their subsequent

Disastrous  
effects of the  
Civil War.

quiet careers, in their own territories, show. (See *ante* for later inscriptional records referring to them). On the big viceroyalty of Madura, it had an evil effect. The defeat that Muthu-Virappa suffered burnt into his soul. Almost the first act, on his accession, of Muthu-Virappa's brother and successor, Tirumala, was to prepare himself to shake off the Vijayanagar yoke. With this end in view, he constructed two forts on the frontier of his dominions and raised an army of 30,000 men. (Father J. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, 198). He eventually threw off the yoke and formed alliances to defy the Emperor himself. (See below). If he had adopted a different policy, the Empire would have been saved from the misfortune which befell it, and his own kingdom as well saved. The more immediate effects of the Civil War were no less serious. The devastation caused by the war, which lasted from about the middle of 1614 to about the middle of 1617, led to serious famine and this in its turn to a slave trade, which, owing to its lucrative nature, increased by leaps and bounds within the next forty years and had to be peremptorily stopped. William Methwold, who was chief of the English Settlement at Masulipatam about 1618-1630 (see W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-19, 41; 1630-33, Introd. xxxiii, and 331; 1634-6, 315 and Introd. xxiv-xxv), has left on record his personal testimony on this matter. In his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golconda*, (Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, 993) he says:—

“Since the last king (of Vijayanagar) who deceased about fifteen years since, there have arisen several competitors for the crowne, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions or affections; from whence hath followed a continuall civill warre in some parts of the countrey, and such extreme want and famine in most of it that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the seaside, selling there a child for five fanams (noted in the margin as equivalent to 2sh. 6d.) worth of rice; transported from thence



into other parts of India (*i.e.*, the East Indies) and sold again to good advantage—if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of scules."

The 'last king' referred to in the above passage is King Venkata I, and the "several competitors" is an exaggerated reference to the two competitors who fought for the throne immediately after King Venkata's death. Though the competitors were only two, there were many adherents on either side and the fight was, as we have seen, a protracted one. Mr. William Foster who quotes the above passage (see *The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, Introd. xxxviii, *f.n.*, 1) has furnished some telling extracts from the English records of the period in confirmation of Methwold's description. In a letter dated, Pulicat, July 26, 1622, Pulicat being then in the dominions of Rāma-Dēva IV, the factors there complain how the Dutch on the Coromandel coast were competing in the trade and had procured all they could, "to the number of four or five thousand men, woomen and children, and, rather than faile, to leave ther other affaires and follow that designe; for which cause they have layd the countrey all over, standing uppon no price." "The result was," they add "that the price per slave had gone up from 4 or 5 pagodas to 12 or 14 pagodas, and even at that rate you could not get any." "Thus (this ?) their proceeding," they comment, "is much distasted heer amongst all, and if not in tyme remydied and by them forborne will caus much alteracion; for most of thos slaves brought them to sell are stollen uppon the highwayes and brough (t) forcibly from their parents and frinds; which proceeding of theirs suffring hath caused such a feare that the people of the countrey have not theis many dayes frequented the marketts, by which meanes the towne is not furnished of thos provisions needfull as formerly. Besides, many of the people of the towne have with-drawne themselves with their wives and children into

remote places to avoyd a supposed dainger; although wee must confess the Dutch not altogether faulty, because they are brought to them to sell, so not altogether ignorant but that they are stollen; which courses being bruted abroad was much complayned of; wherefor they now proceed giving content, causing those that sell them to bring the parties of whom they first bought them, and whosoever is found culpable looses his head; which execution hath been performed upon one already who most worthy deserved the same, for it is a matter of conscience to be duly considered of and beffore God not allowable in this kind; but the Dutch, who, making conscience of nothing, make itt as lawful as the rest." So the factors excused themselves that they were unable to purchase the 14 or 15 slaves, aged between 16 to 20 years and fit for labour, that the President and Council at Batavia required, "but," they added, "notwithstanding when tyme shall better fitt the occasion, wee will use our best endeavors to furnish that wante." (*Ibid*, 105-6, see also 122, 141 and 147). From Dutch sources, it is understood that the competition for slaves was so keen on the coast that the Dutch were purchasing as many as they could for the purpose of peopling the Dutch Settlements in the Moluccas. (*Ibid*, 105, *f.n.*, 2). Evidently the abuses in the trade were many and serious and conscience, as the English factors complain, had no place in it. Four months later, the English factors at Pulicat made good their promise and intimated their despatch of 460 slaves from their place and another 650 from Tegnapatam, Cuddalore. (*Ibid*, 147).

The lack of a strong central government at this period became increasingly felt. The Civil War destroyed as nearly law and order as the Empire itself. The retrocession of society that occurred about this time is vividly illustrated by the open traffic in the sale and purchase of human beings for transportation, an idea unknown to India till

then. As will be seen from what follows, the political set-back that the Empire received in consequence of the Civil War, practically destroyed it—both as a political and social entity. The Jesuit letters referring to this period again and again deplore the break-up that had occurred, and their strong, if not, harsh judgment of Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, is largely coloured by the view that he failed at the critical moment in maintaining the integrity of the Empire which did not actually fall for another half a century. There is hardly any doubt that the Civil War proved a nail in its coffin. Its rapid decay began with Jaga-Rāya's revolution and in another fifty years, it practically ceased to exist.

Rāma-Dēva IV is styled variously in records as Rāma-chandra-Rāja (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 103 dated in 1615), Rāmachandra Rāja-Dēva, (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40 dated in 1617), Rāma-mahā-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 204 dated in 1619), Rāghunātha-Dēva (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, C. P. No. 187 dated in *Saka* 1542 *Kālayukti*, *Saka* 1540 where taking the cyclic year as the year intended, it would be A.D. 1618), Rāmadēva-Vodeyar (*M.A.R.* 1927, Page 82, No. 81 dated in 1621), Rāma-dēva-Rāyalayya, which like Srī-Ranga-Rāya, was evidently the popular form copied by Wilks and made to look as Srīranga Rāyael, "Rayeel" being the Telugu plural for "Rayalu.", (*E.C.* X, Channapatna 182 dated in 1623), Rāmarājendra-Rāja-Āya, (*E.C.* XII, Sira 54 dated in 1626 and as Rāghava-Rāya (*E.C.* III, Mysore 17 dated in 1620), "Rāghava" being a synonym, for "Rāma." According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, he appears to have had two wedded queens Ōamma, the daughter of Pōchi Rāju Rāma-Rāja, and Kondamma, the daughter of the Gobbūri chief Yātirāja. (See *Sources*, 244-45). It is understood from contemporary Dutch records that Yātirāja, called in them "Iterrajie" and in the English records as

Rāma-Dēva  
IV or  
Rāmachan-  
dra Rāja-Dēva  
IV 1615-30  
A.D. (? 1633.)

"Itteraja," was "brother to Jaggerajie (Jaga-Rāya), the principal noble of King Venkata I" (See William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1622-3*, 106, quoting *f.n.*, L. C. D. Van Dijk's *Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wemmer Van Berchem*, 30). This was the Jaga-Rāya, whose daughter Bāyama was married to Venkata I and who figured as the Rebel leader in the Civil War. Yati Rāju, who was in 1622-3 the governor of the country round Pulicat, frequently figures in the English and Dutch records of the period.

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Rāma-Dēva is said to have had a peaceful reign after the Civil War. He is said to have bestowed all the gifts including the *Tulāpurushas*. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 244-5). He appears to have had no sons. In the seventh year of his reign, he probably made Venkata II—Venkatapati-Dēva-Mahārāya—his *Yuzarāja*. The latter was the grandson by direct descent of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. The reason for this election or reversion to the senior line, was that he had evidently no sons to succeed. His own brothers had been massacred by Jaga-Rāya on the death of Venkata I and Venkata II, grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, was the eldest male member of the Royal household, who had the best claim to the succession. He belonged to the third generation from Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whereas Rāma-Dēva IV belonged to the fourth from Tirumala I, the younger brother of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. It would therefore seem that Venkata II was already a fairly elderly man and perhaps governing a part of the Empire. A lithic inscription which comes from Atmakur in the Nellore District and is dated in 1621-2 A.D., registers a grant by Venkata II in that year and describes him in it as Venkatapati-Dēva-Mahārāya with the regnal titles (see *Nellore Ins.* I, Atmakur 48) though the Emperor of the time was undoubtedly Rāma-Dēva IV. Another record, coming from Nārāyānavanam in the Chittoor District,

Domestic  
life.

Venkata II  
made Crown  
Prince.

dated in 1622-23 and recording a private gift, also gives him the Imperial titles and describes him as the ruling sovereign, though we know Rāma-Dēva IV was still actually ruling. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Para 60; App. B. No. 37). Mr. Sewell also notes a record from Arumbāvur, Trichinopoly District, dated in 1622-3 in the reign of Venkata II. This should also refer to Venkata II, when he was still a crown-prince. (See *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 263; also *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, III. 1541 No. 248). He was evidently made or considered as Crown-Prince in 1621 A.D., and as such was probably co-ruler with Rāma-Dēva IV, the reigning sovereign. Srī-ranga VI, a cousin of Venkata II, was also ruling the country at the time in association with the king like Venkata himself. A lithic record of his—with its duplicate in copper—which comes from Ellore in the Kistna District, indicates that his charge was in that region of the Empire. It is dated, according to Mr. Sewell, in *Saka* 1545, corresponding to A.D., 1622-23. (See *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 34-5; also *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II. 894. No. 218 C. to U). As will be seen from what will follow, Rāma-Dēva IV was succeeded by Venkata II, grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, and he in his turn by Srī-Ranga-Rāja VI (adopted son of Gōpāla, grandson by direct descent, of Venkatādri, the younger brother of Tirumala D. Srī-Ranga VI was the third and last son of Chinna-Venkata (the Venkata III of the genealogists), younger brother of Venkata II. After Srī-Ranga VI, the succession reverted to the line of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, Srī-Ranga VI being succeeded by his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma (or Rāma-Rāja V), eldest son of his elder brother Venkata IV. Venkata V, son of Venkata IV, was evidently the crown-prince of Srī-Ranga VI, for we have mention made of him in inscriptional records mostly from Mysore from 1662 to 1669 A.D. But we have so far no inscriptional records for the reign of Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-

Srī Ranga VI, also mentioned as associate ruler.

The course of succession after Rāma-Dēva IV briefly indicated.

Rāja V), who probably reigned as a matter of fact as stated by the *Rāmarājīyamu*. As the poem was by a contemporary writer, it is probably correct when it makes this statement and also in the other one, that he was assisted by his younger brother Venkata V in his rule. In that case, he should have lived for some years after 1669, up to which only we have inscriptional records for him. Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja V) was the king to whom the *Rāmarājīyamu*, which has proved so valuable for reconstructing the history of Vijayanagar, was dedicated by the poet Venkayya. He left four sons Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI), Chinna-Venkata (Venkata VII), Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja VI), and Venkata (Venkata IX). Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma Rāja V) appears to have been succeeded by his eldest son Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI of the table at the end of this section). We have inscriptions for him from 1690 A.D. to 1717 A.D. His nephew Srī-Ranga VI (eldest son of his brother Timma or Tirumala III) appears to have been crown-prince, for we have inscriptional records for him from 1693 A.D., onwards. Srī-Ranga VII appears to have been succeeded as crown prince by his uncle Venkata VI and we have inscriptional records for him up to 1759 A.D. He was, so far as is known, the last Srī-Ranga-Rāya known to history. Srī-Ranga VII had evidently ruled as crown—prince with his younger brother Chinna Venkata (Venkata VII of the table) for we have inscriptional records for him from 1742 to 1752 A.D. As there are no records for the other three sons of Kōdanda-Rāma (*viz.*, Chinna-Venkata VIII), Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja VI) and Venkata (Venkata IX), it is probable that they did rule even nominally.

Rule of  
succession in  
the Aravidu  
dynasty:  
Primogeni-  
ture.

A close examination of the course of succession, during the whole period of Aravidu rule, shows that it strictly followed the rule of Primogeniture, the eldest male member succeeding to the throne, *unless* there was an

actual adoption in the case of failure of direct heirs as in the case of Srī-Ranga VI. Another point to note is that there was usually a crown-prince, who was the next senior in the family and he usually succeeded as king. The succession to the throne being governed by these principles, the families of the three sons—Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, Tirumala II and Venkatādri—of Srī-Ranga-Rāja I, participated in the rule of the Empire. Of these, leaving out of account Aliya Rāma-Rāja II himself, Venkata I became the most famous in the Tirumala branch of the family, Venkata II in the Aliya Rāma-Rāja II branch and Srī-Ranga VI, the adopted son of Gōpāla, in the Venkatādri branch. After Srī-Ranga VI, though he is said to have left two sons, probably minors, the sovereignty, such as it was, was entirely confined to the Aliya Rāma-Rāja branch up to its very end.

The relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with the Seringapatam Viceroy appear to have been most cordial. Rāja-Wodeyar was the Viceroy at the time the Civil War broke out. He did not join the insurgents against the interests of Rāma-Dēva. His own position should have been difficult as he was confirmed in his position only in 1612; he had evidently his hands full. It was as much as he could do to keep those round about him under control and not join the rebels. His successor Chāmarāja VI came into power in 1617 and was Viceroy throughout the period covered by Rāma-Dēva's reign. There are at least four grants of his known, all dated in Rāma-Dēva's reign, which freely and openly acknowledge the latter's suzerainty. The earliest of these is dated in 1620, Channappa, the *dalavāi* of Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, making a grant. (*E.C. III, Serāngapatam 36*). Another record dated in the same year registers the purchase by a private party of a portion of the land granted by Tirumala I to Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, evidently Bōl Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, and its presentation to God

Relations  
with Mysore.

Mahābalēsvara (*E.C.* III, Mysore 17). An inscription, which seems to belong to 1622 A.D., records a grant by the king himself. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 17). Finally, there is the well known record dated in the same year (1612), which registers the fact that Venkata I in 1612 granted Rāja-Wodeyar, Ummattur and Seringapatam as an hereditary estate and that he with the permission of Venkata I had resolved upon establishing an *agrahāra*. He founded one at the junction of Cauvery and the Kapila in 1622, in the name of his father Narasarāja Wodeyar, so that he might attain Vaikuntha *i.e.*, heavenly bliss. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur).

Relations  
with  
Venkatappa,  
the Ikkēri  
Nāyak.

Great friendliness seems to have prevailed with Venkatappa-Nāyaka I, the Ikkēri chief, who was in power between 1582-1629, though his inscriptions range only from about 1606 to 1629. (*E.C.* VIII, Introd. 15). His uncle Dodda Sankappa (1545-1558) had been a great favourite with Aliya Rāma-Rāja and had been invited to reside for some time at the Imperial capital. (See *Sources*, under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 337). He had named one of his sons after the Regent and he was given a large accession of territory to govern. (*Ibid*). His brother Sankappa II built the new town of Ikkēri and a magnificent palace in it, and provided it with a good theatre. He was also a literary patron. (*Ibid*, 339). His successor Venkatappa-Nāyak I was both an efficient and enlightened ruler. An account of his rule will be found in Volume V "Gazetteer by Districts" of this work. (See *Shimoga District* under *History*). It might be added here that the last 15 years of his long rule of 47 years synchronized with those of Rāma-Dēva IV. He did not join the insurgents in the Civil War, for his family had always been loyal to the Imperial House. As we shall see in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI, when everybody else deserted the Emperor, it remained firm in its duty to him. (See be-



low). In a record dated in 1610, Venkatappa recognizes the suzerainty of Venkata I. (*E.C.* VII, Tirthahalli 166). Venkatappa had to keep in check the forces of Bijāpur, which twice invaded his territories. Possibly these invasions occurred at the very time the Civil War occurred and so the best that Venkatappa could do was to keep himself fit to be useful to the Empire on a future occasion. Hanuma, the chief of Basavapatna, attacked him, evidently with the aid of the Bijāpur forces, and laid siege to Hole-Honnur which he compelled them to raise. Majjulakhān, who was in charge of the Bijāpur detachment sent out probably by Randhulla Khān, was driven back to his own territory. He put up a pillar of Victory at Hanugal in Dharwar, just across the Mysore border. (See *Sources* under *Sivatavaratnākara*, 344; and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 34, which is a copper-plate grant from Dasarahatti, dated in *Saka* 1399, *Plavanga*, which do not agree. Mr. Rice has assigned it to 1667 A.D., by pushing forward the date by 200 years. This might be accepted as approximately correct. Some time should be allowed to the last three generations, and we know that Venkatappa II ruled only upto 1629. This grant mentions Hire-Hanumappa, his son Tulā-Hanumappa, his son Immadi Hanumappa, his son Kengappa, and his son Basavappa. It has been suggested that the Hanumappa mentioned may be one of these three). The elder brother of Hanumappa concluded a treaty with Venkatappa, but the younger proved persistent and attacked afresh Venkatappa. He was defeated and took refuge at Bānāvāra. Venkata next captured Dānivāsa and Kumbase (probably Kumsi) and put up fortresses at Hibbejagara and other places to keep the enemy in check. He next attacked Bhairava-Dēvi, the queen of Garisoppe, for she had then become a feudatory of Bijāpur. He also took Bednur and Kavale-durga (called in the poem *Kauravadurga*). Evidently these and other conquests enabled him to extend his

territories in the East as far as Māsūr, Shimoga and Kadur and on the West and South they were carried to the sea at Honore and down to the borders of Malabar. He constructed, according to the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, many temples within the Kavaledurga fort; which he renewed; at Srīngēri he built a new *matha* for the *guru* of that famous place; and he built a *matha* for priests of Bhūrudras (*i.e.*, Virasaivas). He rebuilt Anantāsivapura (now Anantapur) and erected in it the *matha* called Champakasaras for Virasaivas in the place, for which he made a grant of the transit duties levied at all the *thānas* (or stations) in his dominions. (See *Sources*, 345; *E.C.* VIII, Sagar 123 dated in 1606). He also built a town called Sadāsivanagara at Ikkēri, where he provided himself with a fine palace. He built and presented *agrahāras* on the Varada and elsewhere to Vēdic scholars, got many sacrifices performed by them, and made liberal endowments for the maintenance of the temples founded by him. He proved himself a munificent literary patron, for, we are told, many works on poetry, drama, law and other subjects, were written during his time. (See *Sources*, under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 345). There is evidence enough available from the inscriptions of the period to show that the statements made in this poem of Keladi Basava are not his inventions. His interest in the Champakasaras *matha* is proved by a record dated in 1606. (See above). There are, besides, numerous records registering the grant of transit duties to Virasaiva *mathas*. (*E.g.*, *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 56, dated in 1616). Though he was fighting against the Muhammadans, he was fair to Muhammadans living in his own dominions, grants to their mosques being also recorded in 1627. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sagar 38). As regards his interest in literature, a commentary in Sānskrit on the *Siva-Gīta* portion of the *Padmapurāna* by him is known. (Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. T. C. of Mss., R. No. 1818, Page 2623). That

Venkatappa was an enlightened ruler is testified to by the famous Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, who visited Ikkēri in 1623 in company with a Portuguese embassy that visited Venkatappa in that year. That embassy, by the way, was sent to secure the trade in pepper, through an alliance with Venkatappa, and to keep out from it the Dutch and the English, who had begun to take interest in it. So far, the Portuguese had been inimical to Venkatappa but about the time of this embassy, they were engaged in expeditions against Persia and Malacca and endeavoured to protect their interests in the lucrative pepper trade by a friendly gesture to Venkatappa, then undoubtedly the strongest ruler on the West Coast. Pietro della Valle mentions the five wide level roads from Sagar to Ikkēri, and the splendid avenue trees on either side. These are the magnificent *dhūpa* trees, of which many may still be seen. He saw a Virasaiva funeral, the corpse being carried sitting in a chair and tried to dissuade, later, a woman who was about to commit *sati*. He argued the matter out with her and she proved equally calm and dispassionate in her reasoning. She tried to induce him to contribute something towards the fuel. His scruples would not permit him to agree but instead he assured her that he would do his best to immortalise her. In pursuance of his promise, he tells us that the lady's name was Giacomma, which probably represents Giriakkamma. He left Ikkēri highly rejoiced, except for his pity for the *sati* victim, and bearing with him a Kannada book presented to him there. He made his way to Barselore, which he describes. From there, he passed through Mangalore and Banghel and reached Olala, the limit of his travels in India. Of the queen of Olala, he gives a curious picture. She was, he says, as black as the Ethiopian, and always went about alone on foot, save for an escort of six foot-soldiers. A cloak round the head and some thick pieces of white cotton cloth round the waist summed up her royal attire.

Visit of Pietro della Valle to Ikkēri, 1623.

Della Valle rather caustically remarks that she was "like a dirty kitchen wench more than a queen." He gives some gossip details of her relations with the neighbouring state of Bungle. It is worthy of remark that this lady's cause was espoused by Venkatappa against the Portuguese, who sided the Banghar Rāja and ousted the latter from his territory. Della Valle travelled alone in the country of Venkatappa, "marching," as he says, at his pleasure; and as the roads throughout the dominions of Venkatappa were very secure, he descended the *Ghats* slowly. He finally embarked at Mangalore for Calicut, and after some strenuous fight with the pirates, he reached Goa, from where he returned home to Europe, in 1624.

Relations  
with Madura.

The relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with the Nāyaks of Madura were greatly strained during the period of his rule. The two Nāyaks who then governed Madura were the brothers Muthu-Virappa I (1609-1623) and the famous Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659). The leading part played by the former in the civil war has been narrated above. His attitude towards his suzerain was coloured by his ardent desire for independence and his personal hatred towards Achyutappa and his son Raghunātha, the Nāyak chiefs of Tanjore, whose steadfast loyalty towards the Imperial House was a thorn in his side. The success that attended Raghunātha's efforts in the civil war, if anything, added to this hatred. The civil war probably ended in 1617. Muthu-Virappa survived its termination by six years. He evidently nursed his hatred against his suzerain and Raghunātha, his neighbour, during this period, for, except in a single inscription dated in *Saka* 1542, *Kālayukti* (Saka 1540) which do not agree, but in which the cyclic year may be taken as the year intended and the record assigned accordingly to 1618 A.D., he does not acknowledge the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, C.-P. No. 187). On the accession of

his brother Tirumala-Nāyakan, about 1623, almost the first task undertaken by him was to organize the defences of his kingdom with a view, doubtless, to eventualities. He constructed two fortresses on his frontier and raised an army of 30,000 men. "These preparations," we are told, "excited much movement and disquiet in the whole country." (Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, 198). Father Bertrand, the Editor of the Jesuit letters, who makes the above remark, adds that these steps were taken by Tirumala "in pursuance of the object of his father (*i.e.*, brother, the Jesuit priest mistook the exact relationship of Tirumala to his predecessor) which was to overthrow the domination of Bisnagar" and that therefore he "wished to put himself in a condition to resist the armies of this monarch." (*Ibid*). Though there is considerable truth in what he states, still Tirumala was evidently only in the preparatory stages. Until long after Rāma-Dēva's death, we do not actually see him engaged in anything seriously affecting the rights of his suzerain. Evidently the battle of Topūr had produced some small impression on him as on the other feudatories. Tirumala, so far as could be made out, was anxious to keep up loyal relations with his overlord. There is conclusive evidence of friendly disposition as we have a record at Dadikkombu, near Madura, dated in 1629 A.D., mentioning Rāma-Dēva IV as the reigning Emperor. (*M.E.R.* 1894, App. B, No. 31 of 1894). It was only after the issue of the Kuniyur plates, dated in 1634, sometime after the death of Rāma-Dēva, that we find him endeavouring to break away from his suzerain. This period of Tirumala's reign falls into the reign of Rāma-Dēva's successors and will be considered below.

After his defeat at Topur, Venkatappa-Nāyaka had, as we have seen, held out against Rāma-Dēva and Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, assisted in this warfare by

Relations  
with Gingee.

Yatirāja, the younger brother of Jaga-Rāya, who himself had fallen at Topur. (See *ante*; also *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhūdayam*, 209-1). He had been defeated on the banks of the Cauvery, near Tiruvadi, and pursued into his own territories, in which Bhuvanagiri and other places had been taken. Venkatappa, thus reduced, fled and was evidently forgiven. There are no records available to show when he died. But he should have been old when the battle of Topur took place, for he was a contemporary and ally of Sōlaga, the barbarian island chief, of whom we hear since the days of Vithala, cousin of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. There is, however, a record of one Vala (or Bāla) Venkatapati-Nāyakkan, described as the son of Vala Krishnappa-Nāyakkan, Rāja of Senji, dated in *Saka* 1386 (A.D. 1464) *Kaliyuga* 4565, *Pārthiva*, in the reign of Rāma-Dēva-Mahārāya. Taking it for granted that the cyclic year was the intended one, the date of the record would fall in *Saka* 1566, which corresponds to *Pārthiva*. The correct date of the record would thus be 1644 A.D. This falls into the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. The date of the record is beyond doubt disputable, but the recognition of Rāma-Dēva's paramountcy in it is significant. It is possible that Venkatappa became reconciled to Rāma-Dēva and acknowledged his subordination to him before his death. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, No. 70; see also *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, I, 172, No. 359).

Relations  
with Tanjore.

As regards Tanjore, the relations of Raghunātha with Rāma-Dēva IV were such as to win for him not merely the admiration but also the gratitude of his suzerain. But for his active and valiant prosecution of the war against Jaga-Rāya and his allies, Rāma-Dēva could not have retained his throne. Raghunātha appears to have lived in comparative and magnificent splendour after his great success at Topur. He proved himself an able,

energetic and enlightened prince. He was a great soldier and an expert in training elephants. He built a number of temples for Rāma, his favourite deity, at Rāmēsvaram, Kumbakōnam, Srīrangam, Tiruvadi, etc., and the great *gōpuram* of the Kumbhēsvara temple at Kumbakōnam. His charities and gifts were many and munificent—including the *tulābhāra*, etc. He was as good with the pen as with the sword. Amongst his works in Sānskrit and Telugu were :—*Pārijātāpaharanam*, *Vālmīki-charitram*, *Achytēndrābhayudayam*, *Gajēndramōksham*, *Rukmani-Krishna-Vivāha-Yakshagānam*, etc. A work of considerable interest to students of Hindu music which he wrote is *Sangīta-Sudha*, in which there are references to new *rāgas* and *tālas* which he invented. He is said to have taught the art of playing on the *Vīna* to many musicians. Tanjore even now enjoys a great reputation as a centre for players on that great and delicate instrument. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhitya-Sudha* 267 and *Sangīta-Sudha*, 269).

Among the other feudatories of Rāma-Dēva IV were a few who may be noted to show both the extent of his Empire and the limits within which his authority was recognised. A number of records show that the chiefs of Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar Districts recognized his suzerainty throughout the period of his rule, and of his predecessor Srī-Ranga III. Thus the Yelahankanād Prabhu in making a grant dated in 1599-1600 A.D., to the west of Kunigal for the merit of Immadi Kempe Gauda and his wife Lingājamma, states that Srī-Ranga III was "ruling the Empire of the Earth," probably as crown-prince, in the Kunigal country. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal). In a copper-plate record dated in 1627 A.D., which comes from the Sōsale Vyāsa-Rāya-*mātha*, a grant by Immadi Kempaya Gauda, for the merit of his father, is registered. The village was called Vyāsasamudra, in Sonde-Koppa,

Other  
Feudatories.

Bangalore-*śimē*. The village was newly built with a tank by Rāyasada Sēshagiri by order of the donor, the donee being named as Rāmachandra-Vodeyar, where "Vodeyar" evidently stands for "tīrtha," disciple of Śrīpati, disciple of Lakshmikānta. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 115). This grant recognizes the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV. The same chief, in a record dated in 1628 A.D., refers to an agreement for the conduct of festivals, offerings, etc., to God Ranganātha of Mutyālapēte in Bangalore, and registers a grant of customs duties by him. Rāma-Dēva IV is said to be ruling the kingdom, which we know was actually the case from other sources. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 1). In another record dated in 1614, Havali Baire Gauda recognizes the suzerainty of the same sovereign. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 94). He was the Avati-nād Prabhu. He was probably the same who is mentioned as Immadi Havali Baire Gauda in a record dated in the reign of Rāma-Dēva in 1617 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40). The Sugatur-nād Prabhu Timmappa Gauda's son and Immadi Tammappa's grandson, Mummadi Tammappa, acknowledges the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV in a record dated in 1614 A.D. In 1619 A.D., we have a record of Sugatur Chikka Rāya Tammaya Gauda, also owning the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva. The title "Chikka-Rāya" indicates he was the younger brother of the ruling chief mentioned in the last quoted grant. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 204). The latter chief registers in 1620 A.D. a sacrifice performed at his instance. (*Ibid.*, Mulbagal 177). The same chief made another grant in 1630, in the last year of Rāma-Dēva's reign. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 164 and 165). So does Gummināyani Krishnappa, son of Gummināyani Kadirappa, in a record dated in 1617. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 75). A record of Rāma-Dēva dated in 1620 comes from the Pudukkottai State, recognizing his suzerainty. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 55; App. B, No. 221 of 1914). From Shimoga, we have a similar record dated in 1621



A.D., registering a grant by one Hanumān, son of the chief Kenga-Nripa. It was made, we are told, on the day of his marriage. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 27). In a lithic inscription dated in 1622 A.D., Malla, son of a Virappa of the Rāvilla family, is said to have been the governor of Srīgiri-mandala. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Para 55, No. 423 of 1923). It is interesting to note this record, for it testifies to the quiet acknowledgment of the overlordship of Rāma-Dēva by a member of the Rāvilla family, which was on the side of the rebels in the civil war. An inscription from Chiknayakanhalli dated in 1623 A.D., mentioning the grant of a tank and garden to the Sivāchāra-matha at that place, by Dalavāi Paranappa, general of Mudiappa-Nāyaka, who was ruling from Chiknayakanhalli, similarly acknowledges Rāma-Dēva's suzerainty. (*E.C.* XII, Chikrayakanhalli 1; see also *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 114, where a revised version of the inscription will be found). Kumāra Immadi Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, son of Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, the minister of Rāna Pedda Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, chief of Channapatna, owns his subordination to Rāma-Dēva IV in a record dated in 1623 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 182). But in a copper-plate record from Muttegere dated in 1633, though he acknowledges the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva, we see the Pedda Jaga-Dēva-Rāya styling himself "Rājādhirāja-Rājēsri-Rāna-Pedda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāyalaingar" and making a grant to the west of Muttegere, belonging to Nāgamangala, for erecting a fort, etc. From this record, it would seem to follow that Rāma-Dēva ruled up to 1633 A.D., and not only up to 1630 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86). In 1627 A.D., we have a grant of Holavanhalli Rana-Baire-Gauda, also acknowledging his subordination to Rāma-Dēva IV. A copper-plate grant from Koratagere, of which the date is doubtful, registers a grant to the Mahākālī of the place by one Holavanhalli Dodda-Rana-Baira-Gauda. As it mentions

Rāma-Dēva IV, its date 1656 taken from a hand copy is plainly wrong. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 31).

Peace in the  
Empire.

Thus a review of the relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with his more important and lesser feudatories, shows that after the success he attained at Topur there was peace in the land. The Empire held together, though it was quite like the proverbial calm before the storm. For some fifteen years from the battle of Topur, there was hardly any foreign invasion or war on a large scale to disturb the normal life of the country. This was largely due to two principal causes:—

(1) The successful termination of the civil war in favour of Rāma-Dēva and his adherents; and

(2) The absence of the usual invasions of the Bijāpur and Gōlconda Sultāns, except in the north-western frontier in the last year of Rāma-Dēva's reign.

Condition of  
Southern  
India.

Of the condition of Southern India as seen and chronicled by a foreign observer, we have the account of William Methwold, who was in India between 1618 and 1630 A.D. Of "Bisnagar," as he calls it, Methwold says, it was, "rent at this time into several provinces of Government, held by the Naices of that country in their own right"—which of course expresses only a partial truth. For a foreign traveller, to learn more would have been rather difficult. He should be thinking of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. Methwold, however, gives a longer and more interesting picture of Golconda, the rival kingdom. It had not yet yielded to the Moghul arms and appears to have been in a most flourishing state. Its capital was, according to Methwold, "a citie that for sweetnesse of ayre, convenience of water, and fertility of soyle, is accounted the best situation in India, not to speak of the King's Palace, which for bignesse and sumptuousness.....exceedeth all belonging to the

Mogull or any other Prince; it being twelve miles in circumference." His account, however, makes it plain that while the kings were wealthy, the common people were ground down by unspeakable poverty. Rack renting, due to farming of public revenue, appears to have been common. Religious toleration and absence of serious crime struck him as something worth recording. Though independent, the proximity of the Moghul made the Sultān to be ever on his guard against his encroachment. (*Purchas; His Pilgrimage*, 993). There were no invasions of Golconda into Vijayanagar territory, even in the Udayagiri Province, which undoubtedly continued to be ruled by Vijayanagar until the first years of the reign of Sriranga VI. (See below). As regards Bijāpur, there were no invasions during this reign from that quarter, practically during the whole of Rāma-Dēva's reign. If he did rule till 1632-33 A.D., then we have evidence of an attack by Muhammed Ādil Shāh, the son of Ibrahim Ādil Shāh. In the Arabic and Persian inscriptions we find in the northern frontier of the present State of Mysore, recording the erection of a fort on the hill at the Masur-Madag tank, in the Shikarpur Taluk. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 324 dated 1632 A.D.). Except for this, there was peace in the land throughout the reign of Rāma-Dēva after his success at Topur. Peace, of course, had its own problems. In the wake of the war, there followed evidently a great scarcity for food. The scarcity was so great that traffic in human life became the order of the day. The Dutch appear to have taken full advantage of the opportunity and exported thousands of coast people from Pulicat and Tegnapatam to their colonies. The English followed their example but they seem to have been afflicted by a "conscience" in the matter which kept them under control. The trade had reached its high water-mark in 1622-1623 A.D. at the Dutch Settlements on the Coast. (See above under *Effects of the Civil War*).

The administration continued on the traditional lines. But it is clear from the letters of the English factors on the Coast, that the king and his deputies did not quite realize what was happening about them. It is inconceivable if a ruler like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or Aliya Rāma-Rāja II would have allowed with impunity the Dutch traffic in slaves in the manner, and to the extent, that Rāma-Dēva allowed it. We have seen how the former dealt with the Portuguese at Goa and at his own capital and we know how the latter handled the representatives of the same nation at San Thome. There was an evident lack of vigour and political prescience in certain directions in the administration of the Empire. As the sequel will show, such want of understanding cost the Empire its very life within about a quarter of a century from the death of Rāma-Dēva IV.

Portuguese  
throw off the  
imperial  
yoke, 1614  
A.D.

Nothing illustrates better this lack of vigour than the manner in which the Portuguese at San Thome threw off the imperial yoke. The story is thus told by Father Barradas:—

“Taking advantage of these civil wars, the city of San Thome—which up to now belonged to the King of Bisnaga, paying him revenues and customs which he used to make over to certain chiefs, by whom the Portuguese were often greatly troubled—determined to liberate itself, and become in everything and for everything the property of the King of Portugal. To this end she begged the Viceroy to send and take possession of her in the name of His Majesty which he did, as I shall afterwards tell you. Meanwhile the captain who governed the town, by name Manuel de Frias, seeing that there was close to the town a fortress that commanded it, determined to seize it by force, seeing that its captain declined to surrender it. So he laid siege to it, surrounding it so closely that no one could get out.”

In the end, the Portuguese were successful. The fortress was taken, its garrison of 1,500 men capitulated,

and a fleet came round by sea to complete the conquest. The letters of the English factors also bring out the same weakness at the Imperial head-quarters. Nothing was done—or even attempted—for instance, in putting down at Pulicat, Tegnapatam and other places, the slave traffic which became a perfect nuisance after the Civil War. While the Mogbul Emperor and the Moghul governor of Surat refused in 1619 A.D. to countenance the English ousting the trade of the Gujarātis to the Red Sea, though the English made strenuous attempts to do so, King Rāma-Dēva and his ministers apparently did nothing to keep under check the excesses of the Dutch in the matter of slave traffic, a thing which would have been far differently dealt with by Krishna-Dēva or Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. XVII to XIX).

During this reign, the English renewed their attempts to obtain a share of the lucrative trade that the Dutch were enjoying at Pulicat. But before narrating the circumstances that led to this attempt, we might note in chronological order the main events connected with the endeavour made by the English and other European nations to secure a foot-hold in the trade with the East:—

Founding of  
European  
Settlements.

- 1496 Henry VI granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons to fit out three vessels for the discovery of the N.-W. passage to India. This attempt ended in failure.
- 1576, 1577 and 1578. Failure of Martin Frobisher's attempts to pierce a northern passage to India.
- 1579 Rev. Father Thomas Stephens arrives at Goa, as Rector of Jesuit's College, Salsette. He was the first Englishman to arrive in India. His letters opened the eyes of his countrymen to the trade of India.
- 1583 Fitch (Merchant of London), Newberry and Leeds start for India. John Huyghen Van Linschoten, the Dutchman, reaches Goa.
- 1585 John Davis' attempt to discover a N.-W. passage to India under the patronage of a London Company.
- 1586 The famous Sir Thomas Cavendish sails round the world.
- 1587 Sir Francis Drake captures the *St. Philip*, which gave an idea of the commodities that the East could supply.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Growing contempt for the Portuguese and a determination to open up a direct trade with India strengthened.

- 1591 Failure of James Lancaster's mercantile expedition.
- 1595 The Dutchman Cornelius Houtman's fleet of 4 ships sails for Sumatra.
- 1596 Failure of Sir Robert Dudley's private expedition under Captain Benjamin Wood.
- 1599 Dutch raise price of pepper against the English. Meeting at Founder's Hall. Company formed. John Mildenhall, English traveller, starts on an overland journey to India to negotiate a treaty with the great Moghul.
- 1600 Company granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth.
- 1602 Dutch East India Company formed, amalgamating smaller concerns. First Voyage of English Company under James Lancaster to Achin and Sumatra.
- 1603 John Mildenhall reaches Agra and is admitted to the presence of Akbar. But he evidently failed to secure any treaty advantageous to his nation, owing to Jesuit influences against him and his nation.
- 1603 English Factory established at Bantam, in Java.
- 1604 The success of the above voyages induced private merchant adventurers into the field. Michelborne obtains a license from James I for private trade. His methods hindered English trade at Bantam. Second voyage under Sir H. Middleton to Bantam. Trade extended to Banda and Amboyna.
- 1606 East India Company's Third voyage, but the first which opened dealings into the Moghul Court, under the command of Keeling, David Middleton and William Hawkins. The "Hector" under command of Hawkins, the first English ship, reaches Surat.
- 1609 The success of above ventures induced further enterprize. A new charter was granted by king James I. Hawkins' Embassy to Jahangir reaches Agra to secure *firman*.
- 1610 Captain Best of the Tenth voyage wins a great victory over the Portuguese off Swally. His was the first armed expedition to the East. Resumption of negotiations between the English and Jahangir at Agra.
- 1611 Captain Hippon's voyage in the "Globe" sailed up the Eastern Coast. Touched at Pulicat, where the Dutch and the Vijayanagar Governor refused to allow him to trade. He sailed northwards, past the mouths of the Pennar, to Pettapoli (Peddapalli,) about 86 miles to the south of Masulipatam and established a factory there. From there, he sailed to Masulipatam. Factory at Masulipatam established.
- 1612 Establishment of an English Factory at Surat.
- 1613 Factories established at Gogra, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Ajmere—all connected with Surat.
- 1615 Sir Thomas Roe's visit as Ambassador to Jahangir. He remained three years.
- 1616 Factories established at Calicut and Cranganore on the West Coast, in the Peninsula.
- 1618 Prince Shah Jahan's *firman* for Surat Factory and Jahangir's general *firman* issued.
- 1619 Bantam erected into a Presidency.
- 1619 Treaty between England and Holland to put an end to differences between the traders of the two nations. Factory established at Pulicat by the side of the Dutch factory there established in 1609.
- 1620 Portuguese attack the English but are defeated by Captain Shillingel. Factories established at Agra and Patna.
- 1622 The English joining the Persians attack the Portuguese and take Ormuz from them.

- 1623 (27th February.) Dutch jealousies end in the massacre of ten Englishmen at Amboyna for an alleged conspiracy to take possession of the castle there.
- 1626 Factory established at Armagon, 70 miles off Madras. It was the first fortified place held by the English in India. It mounted 12 guns. Masulipatam temporarily abandoned.
- 1628 Bantam re-occupied by the English but made subordinate to Surat.
- 1632 Factory at Masulipatam re-established.
- 1634 Bantam again made independent of Surat.
- 1634 Shah Jehan granted a firman to the Company by which the trade of the whole of Bengal was opened to the English. Factory established at Pipllee, near the mouths of the Hughly.
- 1634 Portuguese expelled from Bengal by the great Moghul.

*Dutch Settlements.*

- 1596-7 Houtman's successful voyages.
- 1602 The Dutch East India Company formed amalgamating various rival companies. Exclusive privileges granted to this Company for 20 years. It gradually appropriated the whole trade of the Spice Islands.
- 1609 Factory established at Pulicat.
- 1616 Factory established at Surat.
- 1619 By a treaty between England and Holland a council of defence was constituted, composed of an equal number of members of the English and Dutch East India Company to put an end to the differences that had arisen between them.
- 1623 The privileges of the Dutch East India Company renewed for 21 years.

*French.*

- 1537 and 1578 Unsuccessful attempts made to trade with the East Indies.
- 1604 Henry IV granted the first exclusive charter to a Company for 15 years.
- 1611 Charter extended to a further period of 12 years.
- 1616 Letters patent granted.

*Danes.*

- 1616 First Danish East India Company established by Christian IV.
- 1618 Proposal to found a Colony in Ceylon at the instance of the King of Kandy.
- 1619 The Danish Admiral Ove Gjedde pushed into the Indian Coast. Port of Tranquebar formally ceded by Raghunātha-Nāyak of Tanjore, "Dansborg," a rudimentary fortress built and Hendrick Hess left in charge with 20 persons and a few cannon.

The above brief synopsis will show that the attempts of the more energetic and adventurous European nations to open up a trade with India in competition to the Portuguese, who had been enjoying a monopoly of it since 1497, when Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, nearly synchronise with the coming into power

Portuguese monopoly in the East disputed by Dutch and English.

in the south of the Āraṁvidu Dynasty. Thus, in the the reign of Venkata I, the Dutch, as we have seen, established themselves at Pulicat. The Portuguese opposition did not succeed. The English attempt to establish a factory there was not allowed by Venkata's representative at the place, backed by his queen, to whom the revenue from the trade belonged.

English Settlement at Pettapoli, 1611.

The English were, however, in 1611 allowed to establish a factory at Pettapoli (Peddapalli), now called Nizampatam, within the territorial limits of Rāma-Dēva IV. This was evidently in fulfilment of the promise of Venkata's agent that he would allow them to open a trade centre at any place a little farther away from Pulicat: This place lies between the Krishna and the Pennar rivers and is about 70 miles to the north of Pulicat and 36 miles to the south of Masulipatam, at which latter place the English opened another factory in the same year (1611) under the protection of Abdulla, Sultān of Golconda. Masulipatam, in course of time, became a well-established trade centre and proved itself the real foundation of English trade in the East Indies. At the time it was founded, it had no territory attached to it. Abdullah had permitted the English only to build a factory or trade house, and transact business on the Coast. The factory was not a manufactory but comprised merely of a warehouse, offices and residential accommodation for the factors and their guard. The trade consisted in the importation from Bantam, to which Masulipatam was subject, (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. xxxviii) and occasionally from England direct, of specie and European manufactured goods, the sale of the latter, and the "investment" of the former in the purchase of calicoes, chintz and muslins by advances made to the local weavers. The calico, or long-cloth, was sent to England, while other cotton goods were readily

At Masulipatam, 1611.



absorbed by the Java market. (See H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* I, 12). Abdulla's exactions, however, soon induced the English to seek for a more convenient place lower down in the Southern Districts. But the jealousies of the Dutch prevented success for some time. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Introd. 1618-21, xxxvi-xliv, where the story is summarized). In 1616, the English, however, succeeded in opening factories at Calicut and Cranganore with the permission of the Zamorin. Three years later, in 1619, under a treaty between the Dutch and the English, concluded between James I and the States-General, the English were permitted to establish a factory at Pulicat, by the side of the Dutch on joint account. The Dutch and the English Companies, under this arrangement, had agreed to a modified partnership in the Far East, the English to have one-third of the trade in Moluccas, and one half of the Bantam pepper trade, and both parties uniting in providing a fleet for defence against the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The seventh article of this Treaty of Defence had declared that "the English Companie shall freely use and enjoy trafficque at the place of Pellicate and shall bear the moyetie of the charge of the maintenance of the fort and garrison there; this to begin from the tyne of the publication of this treaty in those parts." (*Ibid*, xliv, quoting *Factory Records, Java*, II, i.) The English factors actually arrived at Pulicat in June 9, 1621 and the joint trade continued for sometime. But the position was soon found to be an impossible one. The English factors were never in favour of the joint trade; nor were the Dutch. Matthew Duke writing from Masulipatam on 27th August 1621 to the Company remarked:—

"It is thought (thought) good by Mr. Methwold (Chief) to desolve the factory at Petapolie (Pettapoli,) for saving of charges; but if I might have perswaded, Petapolie should have

Factories  
opened on  
West Coast,  
1616.

Treaty of  
Defence  
between  
Dutch and  
English 1619.  
Their joint  
trading, 1621.

Its incon-  
veniences.

yet continued for one year, till better experience made of Pulicat, for divers reasons too longe here to insert." (*Ibid* 262).

This warning proved correct. Duke was dissatisfied with the cunning shown by the Dutch in turning the cloth investment to their own benefit. He said:—

"I cannot but thinke they finde that trade most profitable. But all things are carried by a single duple voice and not ordered by consultation; which I could wishe were otherwise, for considering that the factory of Petapoli is dissolved, wee are enow to have steered our owne course and not to saile by another mans compass. I doe not incert this caution, upon any certen ground or just cause of suspition other then common reason doth lead mee to; which is to doubt the worst, for thold fable is that woolves are often clothed in sheepes skines, and it is alwaies good to doubt the worst." (*Ibid*. 304-5).

In a letter dated 10th October 1621, Methwold complained in the same strain and concluded with the words "and thus they (the Dutch at Pulicat) hould us to the strict sense of all agreements, whilst themselves violate or infringe in part of all authentick and serious treatyes." (*Ibid*, 298.) The attitude of the Dutch was entirely in accordance with the instructions they had had from their Governor-General, who wrote on August 12, 1621, to the Dutch Agent at Masulipatam directing him to discontinue the practice at Pulicat and elsewhere, of buying cloth jointly with the English. He laid down:—

"We are not bound to do so by the contract and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter; so do your best, without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least, for we find it productive of no good. It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on our jurisdiction, honour, prerogative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat and do not agree to the payment

of any portion here (unless it be year advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English, and they on the other hand will have to come to us." (*Ibid*, 206, f.n., 2, quoting *Hague Transcripts*, III, i, No. LI).

The arrangement was found too inconvenient from a trading point of view, financially onerous to the English, and from a practical point of view, the Treaty of Defence (against the Portuguese) was found to be not only unworkable but also raised questions which led to acrimonious controversy. The English determined accordingly to abandon their factories from the Moluccas, Banda and Amboyna. Before this decision could be carried out occurred the famous "Massacre of Amboyna," ten Englishmen being tortured and put to death, after an irregular trial on a charge of conspiring to capture the Dutch fortress in that island (Feb. 27, 1623); and with this outrage vanished all hopes of future co-operation in the Far East. The English determined to establish themselves outside Dutch jurisdiction. By the end of 1623, the system of joint working was dissolved throughout the East, and the English retired, so far as the Coromandel Coast was concerned, to Masulipatam. The establishment at Pulicat was ordered to be withdrawn on April 11, 1623, and the English actually left the place on July 1st 1623. Meanwhile an event of great importance had occurred. In 1622, the English joining the Persians, attacked the Portuguese and wrested Ormuz from them. President Fursland at Bantam, writing on 22nd August 1622, to the Company pressed it to retain the place and maintain it. "To conclude," he said, "if you maye have possessione of Ormuz and will send meanes to mainteyne itt, Your Worships may reckone thatt you have gotten the keye of all India, which will bee a brydell to our faithlesse neighbours the Duch, and keepe all Moores in awe of us." (*Ibid*, 1622-23, 118; See also *Introd.*: i-xiv.)

Massacre of Amboyna, 1623.  
Joint trade given up.

Yāchama's  
attack on  
Pulicat and its  
Governor  
Yātirāja,  
brother of  
Jaga-Rāya,  
1622-23.

During the time the English traded at Pulicat, the Vijayanagar Governor of the Pulicat country was Yātirāja, the brother of Jaga-Rāya, the rebel leader. His grant to the Dutch enabling them to trade at Pulicat was made on August 28, 1600. In this grant, Yātirāja is said to have been governor 40 miles round Pulicat. Yātirāja's term of office was evidently drawing to a close and it was expected another person was to take his place and he was expected to "furnish likewise 4,000 men at all commands"—evidently for the use of Rāma-Dēva. The factors did not like the idea of a new governor, for they expected, as one of them wrote on July 26, 1622, "polling and taxing of the poore, I mean weavers and painters that have employment in our affaires, that will peradventure cause them to forsake the placce, which is common in these sorte of people to exacte." (W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1622-1623, 106-107). On October 20, the same factor intimated the advance of "Chemenique" (Yāchama-Nāyak) with a force about 2,000 or 3,000 strong, evidently against Yātirāja, whom, as we know, he had already defeated at Palemkotta, identified with Palayamkottai in the South Arcot District. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyam*, 305). His advance filled the people all round with such fear that some 2,000 of them with "bag and baggage" sought shelter in the Pulicat factory. (*Ibid*, 133). A few days later (Nov. 6, 1622,) there was news that Yāchama and his forces had set fire to a neighbouring village and "raysed a forte of mud and other combustable mixed together, which they finished in two dayes and two nights bringing with them coules (coolies) for the purpose." Yātirāja, however, proved himself equal to the occasion. He collected an army of 4,000 or 5,000 strong and "besieged the said forte, the enemye beinge within noe more then 300 persons, which notwithstandinge held out a day or two, till the Dutch were faine to send hym,

the side Iteraja, two peeces of ordnance out of the forte, with two or three gunners to his assistance; which the enymye perceivinge, fearinge the worst," came to terms and delivered up the fort and retired. Through the intervention of a mediator, terms were settled, and the parties abided to restrict themselves to their respective territories which were separated by a river. Yātirāja also retired, but shortly after Yāchama re-occupied the fort in the night and put into it a garrison of 500, besides a force 1,000 strong to protect it. Yātirāja, learning this, returned with a large force, with "his brothers and other his friends." He was daily having accretions to his troops. One of the English Factors at Pulicat spoke highly of him and incidentally let out the true cause of the warfare indulged in by Yāchama and Yātirāja. "He (Yātirāja)," this factor reported to his masters at Batavia, "is a man by all reported of a stouthe corrage; his only want is money to supply his occasions att present, whereof the other is well stored and therefore is of more forse. They bothe strive for that they have noe right unto, but patronise as their owne until the Kinge be established, which is yett younge; besides he is held in small esteeme as yett. What will follow these chains of troubles, the conclusion will make appearance; but in the meane time we greatly feare, yea verily beleeve, our negotiations wilbe greatly hindered, if not in our expectation wholly frustrated; for this Cemeniqua (Yāchama-Nāyaka), whose drifte and ayme is for Pallicat, to bring itt in subjection under his government, that he might have the sacken of the inhabitants, who is possesst they enjoye an infinitt of meanes, and therefore would faine be plucking of their feathers; which having soe subjected, would lett them rest they were growne out againe and fully ripe. This fort which he the enymye injoyes is just in the high waye from Pallicate into the country, whereby you may perceive the danger that depends thereon. Pullicate of itt-selfe

affordeth noe manner of commiditye for our employment, only most parte of the persons imployed therein; and for our best paintings, they are most parte salure and mayer (meaning that the best painters were at Salure and Mayer, identified with Salurpet on the Pulicat Lake, about 30 miles north-west of Pulicat, and Medur, on the road to Ponnēri) by reason of the water att other places abroad in the country, a Jentesh (Gentu or Hindu) league from hence; whereby you may partly imagin what incorradgment these people can have to sett themselves aworke in these troblesome tymes, when on all sides there is burnynge and spoyllinge where they come." (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-1623, 139-140). As remarked already, Yāchama was practically Regent of the State during the minority of Rāma-Dēva IV and after the battle of Topūr was rounding up the rebels, among whom Yātirāja, Jaga-Rāja's brother, was evidently too important a personage to be left alone. Mr. Foster quotes a letter from the Dutch chief at Masulipatam to Batavia, dated about a month later, (January 15. 1623,) in which mention is made of the arrival at Pulicat of "Iteragie" (Yātirāja), to whom the Dutch gave sixty or seventy rials, with a promise to help him with cannon in his campaign against the invaders. (*Ibid*, 140, quoting *Hague Transcripts*, I, VI.) But the cloud eventually passed off, for it was reported in a letter from Pulicat, dated November 12, 1622, that Yāchama had retired, though he still retained possession of his fort. It is possible that Yātirāja's preparedness to give him battle, with the Dutch cannons, had the desired effect on Yāchama. (See *Ibid*, 143).

Invitation to  
the English to  
settle in  
Tanjore, 1622.

In 1622, it was reported that the "greate Naige" of Tanjore (evidently Raghunātha) proposed to the English that they might "trade with him as well as the Portuguese, sayinge they shall have pepper and any thinge the

lande dothe affoarde and hee will buy those commodttees which they bring, as tynne, leade, iron, and red cloathe, which is well sould." It was also reported that the "Danish trade under names of the Englishe and are marvalously well used. He hathe given them a towne and place to builde a castell, which is fynished and hath 36 peeces of ordinaunce mounted therein." (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1622-23*, 117-8.) Nothing, however, came of this.

The Danes had founded an East India Company in 1616 and had attempted to establish a colony in Ceylon at the instance of the King of Kandy, who had desired, with their help, to drive out the Portuguese, who were his enemies. In 1618, a ship was despatched to Ceylon. It reached the Island in safety, and it after sending word to the King that a fleet was following, passed on to the Coromandel Coast. There the Portuguese attacked the ship and in the conflict the ship was driven ashore and Roelant Crape, the Dutchman in charge of it, sought refuge at Tanjore, where he was well received by Raghunātha, the Nāyak chief. The Dutch fleet under Ove Gjedde arrived in Ceylon in 1619 but failing to obtain suitable concessions, Gjedde moved on to the Coromandel Coast. Raghunātha ceded to him and to Crape, the port of Tranquebar, where they erected the "castle" referred to above. (*Ibid*, 1618-21, Introd. xlv.) The "Castell" was called the "Dansborg," a rudimentary fortress which was in charge of one Hendrik Hess, and twenty persons and a few cannon. Gjedde sailed for Copenhagen in May 1621.

The Danes at  
Tranquebar,  
1619.

As we have seen above, the Dutch, who had formed a Company in 1602, had established themselves at Pulicat in 1609, and had yielded, under the treaty of 1619, mentioned already, to the English trading with them jointly in their factories. The arrangement proved disadvan-

The Dutch  
and the  
French.

tageous both financially and otherwise, and as has been pointed out above, was given up in 1626. Meanwhile, in 1623, the Dutch Company's privileges were renewed for 21 years. The French were also attracted to India about the same time. They obtained a charter from Henry IV in 1604. This charter was extended in 1611, and letters patent were granted 1615. But they took another sixty years before they established themselves at Pondicherry.

English determine to concentrate on Coromandel Coast, 1626.

Founding of Armagon, near Pulicat, 1626.

In 1626, about two years after the massacre at Amboyna, the Company's agents at Bantam suggested to their masters in Europe that it would be more expedient to concentrate their attention on the trade on the Coromandel coast. They themselves took the initiative by sending, at the close of the season, a vessel from Batavia to a place called Armagon, 40 miles north of Pulicat, where through the kindness of the local chief known as P. Armugam Mudali, they established a small trading establishment. It was so called after him. This place, however, was not so well suited as Masulipatam, which was more close to the seats of local manufacture. The local governor at Masulipatam, however, exacted such heavy dues that it was temporarily abandoned in the autumn of 1628. Armagon was the first place fortified by the English in India. It mounted 12 guns. The business here consisted of cargo brought from England, intended for investment in piece-goods, which were to be taken to Bantam and Maccassar for the provision of a return lading of pepper and spices. The factory was to the north-east of Chandragiri and equi-distant from Nellore and Pulicat and lay within the limits of Pulicat governorship, though under a separate governor, called Rāja Chetty, who figures in the factors' letters of the period. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1630-1633, 170, 262, 265, 312). The merchants of Masuli-



patam were, however, anxious that the factory at their place should be re-opened and the English were anxious to do so as Armagon by itself was found to be insufficient to supply their commercial needs. The result was that the factory at Masulipatam was re-opened in April 1630, Henry Sill, from Bantam, being appointed to it as Agent on the Coast. Apparently commerce was resumed on the old lines and soon the English had five factories going—Masulipatam, Petapoli, Motipalli, Armagon, and Viravāsaram, the last being a small town, 8 miles north of the fort of Narasāpur in the Godavari District. (See *Ibid*, Introd. xi.)

Just as the Masulipatam factory was being re-opened, there occurred one of the most disastrous famines that India has ever known. It affected the whole of the country, north and south, and the scarcity is said to have extended even to Persia. Harrowing descriptions are to be found in the letters of the English traders in India to their masters in England. Thus President Rastell writing from Surat on December 31, 1630, gave a vivid account of its effects. The famine had followed three bad seasons and culminated in 1630 in "an universall dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record; the country being wholly dismanteled by droughth.....the poore mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitations in multitudes, and instead of reliefe elsewhere have perished in the feilds for want of food to sustaine them." Many of the inhabitants fled into "parts of more hoped plenty," *i.e.*, the northern provinces, which had escaped the famine; while others in desperation attacked and plundered all but the strongest parties of travellers. From Gujarat to the Golconda Coast, the land became one vast charnel-house. (*The English Factories in India, 1630-1633*, Introd. xiii). An equally terrible account of this famine is to

The Great  
Famine of  
1630.

be found in the *Bādshanāma* (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* VII, 24) where it is stated that "destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love." Similar descriptions are to be read in the contemporary Dutch records quoted by Mr. Foster in his work, and in Peter Mundy's narrative of his journey from Surat to Agra. (W. Foster, *l.c.*, xiii, *f.n.*, 1.) On the Coromandel Coast, it was no less severe than in Upper India. "Mesulupatam and Armagon was sorely oppressed with famine," wrote an eye witness, "the liveinge eating up the dead, and men durst scarsly travell in the countrey for feare they should be kild and eaten." (*Ibid*, Introd. xiv; 268). The factors at Armagon wrote in 1631, explaining the small returns they made, as due to the "miserable tymes, full fraught with the calamitie of war, pestilence, and famine." (*Ibid*, xxiii and 183). If so, the Chandragiri and Pulicat provinces should have been badly affected by the famine, though we have no references to it in any of the inscriptions or literary works of the period. The famine was evidently as bad in its effects as the one registered in a record dated in 1540 A.D., which comes from the Mysore District, in which it is stated that the prices ruled so high that men ate men (*manusa manusara tindaru*). (*E.C.* III, Chamarājnagar, 108).

Visit of  
William  
Fielding, Earl  
of Denbig,  
1633.

William Fielding, Earl of Denbig, perhaps the first English nobleman to visit the East as a tourist, arrived in India in November 1631, and visited Masulipatam about the beginning of 1633. (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1631-33, Introd. xix and 257.)

Indian policy  
towards  
foreigners:  
Remarks of  
Mr. William  
Foster.

Mr. William Foster in concluding his review of the relations of the Imperial Moghuls with the English settlers in their Dominions during this period, has drawn pointed attention to the fact that the Emperor and his

leading nobles were actuated by "painstaking desire to act fairly by all and to consider the welfare of those under them," and quotes Sir Thomas Roe's emphatic declaration that "their justice is generallie good to strangers." This might be taken to have been the policy of Venkata I as well, though in the reign of Rāma-Dēva, the circumstances were such that effective control over the vagaries of some of the settlers went unchecked. Another point, referred to by Mr. Foster is that "there is no trace of intolerance or persecution of any man on account of his religion—a statement which could scarcely be made of any European country at the same period." (*The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. xlvi). This remark is as applicable to the Hindu Kings and the chiefs of the South as to their Muhammadan contemporaries in the north. Another writer has gone one step further in this connection and has suggested that the free facilities allowed to travellers in India during this period is indicative of its high civilization. "From one point of view," he says, "there is nothing that gives us an insight into the comparatively high state of civilization in India during the mediæval period as the immunity with which strangers from a foreign country were able to take their women-folk with them on their travels in India. In the fifteenth century, we saw Conti doing so with perfect safety; at the beginning of the seventeenth, Pietro Della Valle supplies us with a second example. Had the positions been reverted, and an Indian traveller attempted to travel with his family through any of the more civilized countries of Europe between the beginning of the fifteenth and the close of the sixteenth century, it is doubtful whether the treatment he would have received would have been in any way comparable to that which the natives of India, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, meted out to their "Feringhi" visitors. (*E.F. Oaten, European Travellers in India*, 137-8).

Rāma-Dēva's  
residence.

Though his records uniformly mention Ghanagiri, (i.e., Penukonda) as his capital, Rāma-Dēva was evidently mostly in residence at Vellore. A record of his dated in 1629, actually states that he was ruling from Vellore. (*M.E.R.* 1925-6, Para, 44; No. 305 of 1926.) The suggestion of Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri that "there is good reason to believe that he must have been ruling at Chandragiri" seems not quite well founded. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 191).

His religious  
leanings.

Rāma-Dēva was undoubtedly a staunch Srī-Vaishnava. But there is one record just indicating his interest, if not his leanings, towards the religion of Siva. Thus, he seems to have shown considerable interest in restoring worship in the Virupāksha temple at Mutinapura, in distant Chikmagalur Taluk. It is mentioned in a record dated in 1615 that the temple had once gone out of repairs during the reign of Vira-Ballāla-Rāya, and that he came to the place and repaired it granting for the offerings, perpetual lamp, dancing girls, decorations and musicians of the God, eleven villages. But that since then the temple had again gone out of repair, and worship had ceased. Rāma-Dēva, it is said, repaired it and set up the God once again in it. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur, 103).

His death.

The date of Rama-Dēva's death is not known. His inscriptional records, so far discovered, stop at 1629 A.D., except one, and those of his successor Venkata II commence in 1630, though as Yuvarāja, a few of his records dated in 1621-22 and 1622-23, are known. (See above). The exception mentioned is the Muttugere copper-plate record dated *Saka* 1555 (wrongly printed as 1155) *Srīmukha* year, *Āshadha* *Su* 5, when he is still to be said ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86). If this date is correct, the *Saka* and the cyclic year agree, and if the *Saka* date as printed is amended as above, then he should have reigned till about

July 1632, after which he should have died, probably at Vellore, his usual residence. It might be added that there is a record of Venkata II, his successor, dated in the same *Saka* and cyclic year as that of the Mutugere record, but nine months later in April *Chaitra Sudda panchami* (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, App. A. No. 17.) It is possible he died on some day between July 1632 and April 1633.

Rāma-Dēva IV, having died without issue, was succeeded by Peda-Venkata, or Venkata II, styled in inscriptions as Venkatapatidēva-Mahārāya. He appears to have been made *Yucarāja* in the seventh year of Rāma-Dēva's reign, as there are records dated in 1621-2 A.D., describing him with the full Imperial titles. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, Atmakur 48, dated in 1621-22 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 60; App. B. 377, dated in 1622-23 A.D.) He was the grandson by direct descent of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, and son of Sri-Ranga-Rāja IV, a son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. In a record dated in 1630 A.D., he is wrongly spoken as the son of Tirumala II. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. B. No. 388 of 1912.) As remarked in connection with the date of the death of Rāma-Dēva IV, it is possible that Venkata II became king in or about the beginning of 1633 A.D. In a record dated in 1634 A.D., he is called Ānegondi Venkatapati-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 56; App. C. No. 20) probably because he lived with his paternal uncle Konda-Rāja, who is stated to have ruled at Ānegondipura. He is similarly styled "Ānegondi Venkatapati" in the chronological list included in the Mackenzie Mss. (Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 265). This would seem to suggest that Venkata II (or his father Sri-Ranga IV) settled at Ānegondi, the old capital, after the battle of 1565 and lived there, probably ruling over the surrounding country. He married Bangāramma (or Bangāramāmba,) who, according to the *Rāmarājīyam*,

Venkatapati II, Peda-Venkata, or Venkata II, 1630 (? 1633)-1642 A.D.

was the daughter of Gobbūri Obarāja. (See *Sources*, 310). This Gobbūri Obarāja was probably the son of the person of the same name who was the father-in-law of Venkata I. Venkata is said to have been crowned to the throne by Tirumala-Tātāchārya. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this may be the *guru* who conducted the installation of Venkata I. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 191, *f.n.* 2). It is, however, more probable that he was his son; as in two records which are undated and come from the Chingleput District, it is stated that the *guru* of Venkata II was Ettūr *Immadi* Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchārya, who was probably the son of Ettūr Kumāra-Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Venkata I. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. C. Nos. 221 and 222.) These two records register the fact that this *guru* built an irrigation tank called Tātāsamudram at Tennēri, which breached, and that he repaired it, putting up 23 sluices for it. (*Ibid.*)

His royal residence.

Though in almost all his inscriptions, Venkata II is spoken of as ruling from his throne in Penukonda, which continued to be the recognized royal capital, he is described in one record as ruling from Vijayanagar (*E.C. X*, Gori-bidnur 45, probably assignable to 1635 A.D.). His royal residence was undoubtedly Vellore, wherefrom his predecessor also had ruled.

Nature of his rule.

His rule of about ten years appears to have been a quiet one. He seems to have held the various parts of the Empire together and ruled it with wisdom. But the power was slipping away from him, slowly but surely. The chief territorial loss of his reign was Udayagiri which, as will be shown below, was captured in 1642-3 A.D., the last year of his reign, by Sultān Abdullah of Golconda.

Relations with Madura.

In the south, his relations with Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura were cordial. Early in his reign, probably about

1633 A.D., there was a war between Chāmarāja VI of Mysore and Tirumala, these two subordinates of the Empire indulging in counter invasions. This indicates the weakness of the central power. These wars evidently benefited neither party, though each should have done some damage to the other, as they are spoken of as having carried the war into each other's territories. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 119-120). Chāmarāja VI also appropriated Channapatna and its dependencies, hitherto under the rule of the Jagadēva-Rāyas' family. Tirumala himself was dutiful, as his Kūniyur plates, dated in 1634 A.D., which recognize the suzerainty of Venkata II, amply testify to. But it is interesting to note that in this record Tirumala claims equality with the Emperor by inserting both his own and the Emperor's pedigree in it. (See *E.I.* III, 236; *M.E.R.* 1891-6.) While Kūniyur, the village registered to be granted in this record by Venkata II, at Tirumala's request, is said to be in Tiruvadi-rājya, there is an edict of Unni-Kērala Varma, dated in 1634-5 A.D., the Tiruvadi King, excusing the taxes due from the cultivators in the territories that suffered from Tirumala's troops. (V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, 302-3.) Evidently, this edict was issued after the war in which Tirumala engaged against the Tiruvadi-rājya, in the name of the Emperor. (*A.S.I.* 1911-2, 195). The Kūniyur grant would seem to suggest that the invasion was a success.

Chāma-Rāja, the Mysore King, in a grant dated in 1634 and Kauthirava-Narasa-Rāja I, in another dated in 1640, recognize the suzerainty of Venkata II. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 22-23, No. 6; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 10 and Gundlupet 49, which repeats 10). Chāmarāja's war against Tirumala, the Madura Nāyaka, has been mentioned above.

Relations  
with  
Seringpatan.

Among the minor chiefs known from the inscriptional records of the period are a few that might be mentioned. Two of these were Mahāmandalēsvara Kadirināyani Kōnapa-Nāyaka and Hande Dēvi-Nāyudu. (*M.E.R.* 1925-6, Para 44; No. 299 of 1926). Others were Sante Bennur Hanumappa (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 19 dated in 1639); Bajrappa-Nāyaka (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 115; copper-plate grant from Chiknayakanhalli dated in 1639 A.D.); Immadi-Baire-Gauda (*E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 31 dated in 1640 A.D.); and Sāluva Mahārāja-Tirumalarājayyadēva-Mahārājayyadēva-Mahārāja, son of Sri-Ranga and grandson of Mahāmandalēsvara Kattāri-Sāluva-Mahārāja, who ruled over the Kārvetinagar country. Evidently he had become loyal since the battle of Topūr. (See *ante*). Records of Venkata II have also come from the Kolar, Tumkur, Anantapur and Nellore Districts. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 60 dated 1636; *E.C.* X, Kolar 246 dated 1637; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 123-4, No. 129 (spurious); and *Nellore Inscriptions* III. 753, Kavali 50 dated 1636-7; Kavali 49 dated 1638-39). In the last of these, there are two records dated in 1637 and 1639 A.D., from Kavali, registering the settlement of *mēras* for certain irrigation tanks in the Udayagiri-*sīma*. A copper-plate record which comes from Penukonda is dated in Saka 1560, (or A.D. 1638) and agrees word for word with the Kūniyur grant, above mentioned. (*M. E. R.* C. P. No. 17 of 1911). It records the restoration of certain villages originally granted by Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya, Sadāsiva, and Venkata I to the *darga* of Bābayya at Penukonda. The renewal was necessitated, it is said, by the loss of the original documents on the occasion of the seizure of Penukonda by Immadi Hāvali Baire-Gauda. The Baire-Gauda of this record has been identified with Baire-Gauda, the chief of Dodda-Ballapur. He evidently rebelled about 1638 and seized Penukonda itself, in 1638, in the reign of Rāma-Dēva. (See below). As regards



Bābayya *darga*, Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has identified it with the shrine of the Muhammadan Saint Bābanatta, to which much veneration was paid by the people for the success of its horological forecasts. Hence the villages granted were styled as *hōra* villages. The reputation reached even the far south as we see queen Magammal of Madura making a grant to it. (*M.E.R.* 1911, C. P. No. 19 of 1911).

There are, besides, a few forged copper-plate grants dated in this reign, which may perhaps be taken as indicating the attempts made during unsettled times to pass them off as valid documents of title to real property. Three of these mention grants by Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya. The first of these bears no *Saka* date but mentions only the cyclic year, which is Yisvera (Īsvara), probably Saka 1499, corresponding to *Saka* 1499, or A.D. 1577, which is an impossible date for Venkata II, who began his rule as Yuvarāja in 1621 and as King in 1633. This grant describes Vijaya-Venkatapati as the son of Virupāksha and grandson of Narasimha and as the chief lord of the Karnāataka throne of Vijayanagar and registers a grant of the village of Vengere in the Vadaga Rāttūr-hōbli, attached to the Paramati-*sthala*, to Suvarna-tīrtha, disciple of Sankarshana-tīrtha and disciple's disciple of Adirāja-tīrtha, the establisher of the Vaishnava Siddhānta. The *guru* mentioned evidently belonged to the Sripādarāya-*matha* at Mulbagal, from which the grant comes. (*E.C. X.* Mulbagal 1). The second grant (consisting of only one plate) is dated in Saka 1290, cyclic year Īsvara, (or A.D. 1268) and mentions Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya. The date is impossible for Venkata II. The *Saka* and cyclic years also do not agree, for Īsvara is *Saka* 1200, while the professed *Saka* date of the grant is *Saka* 1190. The titles ascribed to Vijaya-Venkata are also peculiar, as they seem to be derived from those of the Dynasty of Mysore

Some forged grants of the period.

Kings. Vijaya-Venkatapati is also described as the son of Virūpāksha, and grandson of Narasimha-Rāja of the Ātrēya-Gōtra, Asyanu (Āsvulāyana) *Sūtra* and Rick-Sākha. At the professed date of the grant, the Vijayanagar Dynasty was not yet born. Venkatapati, besides, belonged to the Āpasthamba-Sūtra and Yajus-Sākha. The plate is in modern Kannada. It records the grant of the village of Vengere to Suvarnavarna Parasurāma-tīrtha of Mulbagal (of the Sripadarāya-matha) who is described as the disciple of Sankarshana-tīrtha and *prati-Sishya* of Ādirāja-tīrtha. The latter is the donee in *E.C. X*, Mulbagal, where the same ancestry is given to Venkatapati-Rāya. (*M.A.R.* 1908-9, Para 94). The third grant of Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya comes from Srīngēri and is dated in Saka 1240, Vibhava, which do not agree, Vibhava corresponding to Saka 1250. Saka 1240 would be A.D. 1318 and Saka 1250 would be A.D. 1328. The grant is in modern Kannada characters. Vijaya-Venkatapati is described as the son of Virūpāksha, and grandson of Narsimha-Rāyarāya. It registers the gift of the village of Vengere in Paramati-sthala, to the Goddess Sārada at Srīngēri, the donee being Narasimha-Bharati of Srīngēri, disciple of Rāmachandra-Bhārati and disciple's disciple of Govīnda-Bhārati. This grant resembles *E.C. X*, Mulbagal, which grants Vengere to another *matha*. But what has been spoken as a typical forgery of the period is a lithic record dated in Saka 1581, Prabhava, or A.D. 1659, which comes from Kuvattur, in the Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, App. C. No. 158 of 1924; the date is given as Saka 1584 at page 166 of the *Report*, which seems a mistake). It registers a gift of 17 villages to the goddess Angāla-Paramēsvari, for the merit of Sadāsiva-Mahārāya and Timmarāyan, the former of whom is described as the son of Sāluva-Mangu-Udaiyar Dēva-mahārāya." Not stopping here, it quotes a previous gift by Rāmarāsayan (Aliya Rāma-Rāja II) to the same temple!

In 1638, there was evidently a plundering raid on Penukonda, the capital, by Immadi Hāvāli (? Avati) Baire-Gauda of Dod-Ballapura. (*M.E.R.*, C. P. No. 17 of 1911). As we hear of Penukonda being the capital in numerous grants after 1630 A.D., Baire-Gauda should have been beat off.

Avati chief's  
raid on  
Penukonda,  
1638.

The progress of the European nations in the South during this reign is indicated in the following chronological table, which, except for one event, need not be enlarged.

Progress of  
the English :  
grant of  
Madraspatam  
for a  
settlement,  
1639.

- Feb. 26, 1634 Golconda Firmān issued by the Sultān of Golconda to the Company exempting the Company from all manner of duties in the kingdom on condition it allowed the royal officials to purchase all the horses and curios imported by the Company.
- 1635 "Accord" with the Portuguese by which hostilities ceased with them in the East.
- This was approved and affirmed by the famous treaty between the two nations dated in May 1642, which still subsists.
- 1635 Courtens' Company formed.
- 1639 Founding of Fort St. George (subordinate to Bantam until 1654.).
- 1642 Regular despatches received by Fort St. George.
- 1636 English making investments in Pondicherry and Port Novo, (W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1634 6, Introd. xxxviii.)

Armagon had not proved as advantageous to the English as they were led to expect that it would be. It, however, enjoyed an ephemeral importance between the years 1626 and 1630, when Masulipatam once again became the chief settlement. The Nāyak of Armagon proved unfriendly and the fort was going to decay. Thomas Day, the factor in charge of it, apparently thought that instead of repairing it, it would be best to seek a new and more hospitable place on the coast and build a fort there in the Company's interests. Thomas Ivie, who had been appointed to Masulipatam as chief, passed through Armagon, on his way from Bantam, and authorized Day to explore the coast for a better station. Day made a voyage of exploration in 1637 as far as Pollecheere (Pondicherry) and evidently selected "Medraspatam," three miles to the north of San Thomē and negotiated for its grant with

Venkatādri-Nāyaka, son of Chenna, the famous general of Venkata I, who defeated Vēlūri Linga, the son of Chinna-Bomma, Nāyaka of Vellore. (See *ante* under *Venkata I*). Venkatādri evidently had become the Commander-in-chief and Chief Minister of Venkata II, as he is spoken of as the "lord General of Carnatica" and "Grand Vazier" to the Rāja. It would seem as though he had his (perhaps temporary) head-quarters at the time at Wandiwash (in the present North Arcot District) and had left one Aiyappa, Nāyaka of Poonamalli, to attend to the affairs on the coast. This Aiyappa is described in the English records as his (Venkatādri's) "brother," (see Love, *l.c.*, 14) and in the Dutch records of 1642 as the "brother-in-law" of Venkata II himself. (*Ibid*, 14, *f.n.*, 1). He is probably identical with Akkappa-Nāyaka, described as the brother of Venkatappa-Nāyaka and son of Dāmal Channappa-Nāyaka, mentioned in a record dated in 1642 in the reign of Venkata II. (See *M.E.R* 1923-4, Para 56; App. B. No. 421 of 1923; lithic inscription from Tiruppanangadu, Cheyyur Taluk, North Arcot District). Dāmal Chennappa, the father of Venkatādri and Akkappa (also called Aiyappa) will be referred to further below. With the aid of Akkappa, who was in charge of the Poonamalli country, in which Madraspatam was included at the time, Day obtained from Venkatādri-Nāyaka, a grant of territory and privileges, and license to build a fort and form a settlement. Copies of this grant are extant. Erroneously called a *farmān* by Day, it states that it was issued by the Nāyaka out of his "spetiale Love and favour to the English." Among its terms were:—

(1) That the English could build a fort and castle "in or about Medraspatam," the first mention of that name in the Madras Records, the charges for the first instance being met by him and then defrayed by the English on their taking possession of it;

(2) The English to have full power and authority to govern and disposal of the fort of Madraspatam during the space of two years from their occupying it;

(3) The English were to receive a moiety of the customs and revenues of the port;

(4) The English were to import into or export goods from Madraspatam for ever customs free;

(5) The English were to pay customs duties on goods passing through the Nāyak's territories or those of any other Nāyak;

(6) The English at Madraspatam were vested with the right of perpetual free coinage;

(7) The Nāyak was to make good money advances by the English to merchants, painters, (*i.e.* dyers), weavers, etc., in the said port, in every case where he has guaranteed such repayments, or deliver up such persons if they be found in his territories;

(8) The English at Madraspatam to buy provisions for themselves and for their ships free of all duties in the Nāyak's territories; and

(9) The English to have restitution upon demand of everything found in ships which suffered shipwreck in any part of the Nāyak's territories, provided they belonged to the English or any nation whatsoever which came to trade at the port of Madraspatam.

The grant of Dāmarla Venkatādri-Nāyaka was dated 22nd July 1639, though Col. Love thinks that this date is really a slip for 22nd August 1639. (H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras* I, 16-17). It would seem from certain records that it was confirmed by King Venkata II but no copy of the latter's grant has so far been discovered. (See *Ibid.*, 67). The debts at Armagon were paid off and Madraspatam (both the forms *Medraspatam* and *Mādraspatam* are to be seen in the records of the period) was occupied on 20th February 1640. (*Ibid.*, 25). Evidently the village of "Medraspatam" already existed at the time of the grant, the English Company being granted the whole of the village for two years certain. Its total

length was from north to south about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles and its mean width one mile. (*Ibid*, 27 and 28). The fort was lined out newly square plain, with a bastion at each angle (*Ibid*, 28). There were evidently *in the site of the fort* about fifteen or twenty fisher-men's huts, which soon gave place (about 1641) to 70 or 80 houses. (*Ibid*, 35 quoting *Dagh Register* 1640-41, 185). The expenditure on the fort was met by borrowing, Day being personally liable at first for the interest due on the loans. (*Ibid*, 35 and 37). On 24th September 1641, Madras became the chief factory on the coast, Masulipatam yielding its place to it. (*Ibid*, 41). The earliest letter extant from "Fort St. George" is dated 17th July 1642. (*Ibid*, *f.n.*, 1). A few months elapsed, and Venkata II himself died and his minister Dāmarla Venkatādri lost his position at the Imperial head-quarters. (*Ibid*, 59). The English, however, were secure by now in their new possession; so secure, indeed, that they were able to withstand the disturbances of the next half a century and more. Col. Love has suggested that the name "Madraspatam" ought to be derived from the name of "Mada Razu or Rāju," who, he conjectures, "may have been some local ruler of the district in the forgotten past." (*Ibid*, 87). There can be no question that "Medraspatam" existed prior to the settlement of the English at or on it. From the grant of Srī-Ranga VI, dated in October 1645 and to be referred to below, the grant of Venkatādri-Nāyak, confirmed by king Venkata II, had included both "Medraspatam" and the land on which Fort St. George came to be built. To the latter, on which originally a few fisher-men had lived and had been compelled to vacate it to make room for the English settlement—the name of Srī-Ranga-pattana had been given by Srī-Ranga VI. This is the name by which it is referred to in Srī-Ranga's grant above mentioned. In this grant, Srī-Ranga-Rāya distinguishes between the village of Medraspatam and the new

town springing up around the Fort, which he calls "Zero-Ranga-Rāyapatān, my town" (*Ibid*, 83). The fort and the new town near it seem to have been also collectively called as the "Fort and town of Chinapatām," as this is the name under which it occurs in Nawab Nekkām Khān's grant dated in 1672. (*Ibid*, 82-3). Thus, it has to be inferred that "Sri-Ranga-Rāya-pattam" and "Chinapatam" are different names for the new town, while "Madraspatam" continued to be the name of the old village which probably lay contiguous to the new town. (*Ibid*, 83). On the basis of a document dated in 1660, it has been stated that it was called "Chinapatam" because Aiyappa Nāyak, brother of Dāmarla Venkatappa, wrote to Francis Day at Armagon, in 1639, expressing a desire to found a town in the name of his father, Chinnappa Nāyak, and offering liberal privileges if the English would come and settle in it. The name of "Sri-Ranga-Rāyapatam" given in 1645 should, Col. Love suggests, have been rejected in favour of "Chinnapatām," which should by 1660 have come into current use. He also suggests that the original site on which the Fort was erected should have had a name and that original name would have been displaced with difficulty. "Chinnapatam may therefore," he thinks, "have been that original name, the assigned derivation from Chennapa being evolved later." (*Ibid*, 83-84). The first appearance of the name occurs in a record of 1652 but it should have been in use among the residents of the place much earlier than that date. That this should have been the case is suggested by a private grant dated in 1646, which records an endowment of the Chenna-Kesava Perumal temple at Madras. (*Ibid*, 84). This Chennapa may be identified with Chennapa Nāyaka of Damal mentioned in a lithic inscription from Ayyangar-kulam, in the present Chingleput District, recording a private grant made by the merchants of various countries present at Tātasamudram *alias* Ayyan-kulam or Ayyangar-

kulam, after Ettūr Tirumalaiya ningāru, the *guru* of King Venkata I and probably of Venkata II as well, to a newly founded for Hanumān temple at the place in the year *Subhakritu*, (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 98; App. C. No. 95). The year *Subhakritu* corresponds to A.D. 1662.

That Damarla Venkatādri's desire was to perpetuate his father's name is borne out by three other inscriptions found on the bund of the Narasamangalam Tank in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 98; *M.E.R.* 1906-7, Para 74; App. B. Nos. 261, 262, and 263 of 1906). These three lithic records are dated in 1638-9, the very year in which the site at Madraspatam for the future Fort St. George was granted, and register the fact that Venkatappa-Nāyaka built a tank at the village and called it *Chenna-Sūgaram*. That Venkatappa's brother, Aiyapa, also took an active interest in the grant of the site to the English is also clear from later records. (See Love, *Ibid.*, I 346, where he is referred to as the "man that made and begun Chinapatam").

Foreign  
travellers in  
the South.

It was during the time of Venkata II that William Bruton, the English traveller, passed through the Coromandel Coast, in 1632. He describes "Massulipatam" (Masulipatam) as "a great town of merchandise" and gives a picturesque description of a little expedition to Cuttack sent by John Norris, the English agent at that place. (*E.F. Oaten, Travels in India*, 173). But a greater traveller than him was the German Albert de Mandeslo, one of the most active and intelligent who ever visited India. He reached India in 1636. He did not go farther down south than Bijāpur, which was then subject to the Moghul Emperor. (*Ibid.*, 176-179).

Gōlconda  
attack on  
Udayagiri,  
1642-43.

In or about 1642-43 A.D. Abdulla Kutub Shāh, the Gōlconda Sultān, attacked Udayagiri, and took it. He evidently did much damage to the temples on the hill, as



he prides himself in a record of the year mentioned above that Ghazi Ali, probably his general, "from one end to the other," "burnt away the sweepings of idolatry" and that "his justice cleansed the garden of its impurities." He adds:—

"With the fire of his sword, (he) burnt in one moment the idol worshippers; (he) killed all, that breaker through (annihilator) of the army; when he captured the fort of Udayagiri, the world became full of jessamine; (he) began to construct the mosque and the date was, "Founder of the mosque—(Ghazi) Ali, the iconoclast." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III. 1385, Udayagiri 39).

Evidently he demolished the famous temple on the hill and erected in its place the mosque, on which this Persian record is to be seen. That Abdulla was at the time in possession of the adjacent country, including Vinukonda, is proved by a record dated in Hijra 1050 (or A.D. 1640-1) found at the latter place, at which he sanctioned the erection of a mosque (*M.E.R.* 1913 No. 53; of 1913). Several other inscriptions in Udayagiri attest to this conquest of Sultān Abdulla. One dated in 1661-2 states that Saiyid Muzaffar, a courtier of his, laid a beautiful garden of his own device in the fort of Udayagiri. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1370-1. Udayagiri 26). From another dated in the cyclic year Plava, corresponding to *Saka* 1583, or A.D. 1661, it would seem that Saiyid Muzaffar Zil-ul-lah-u Tayala (his full name is given in Udayagiri 27) gave to the garden laid out under his orders the name of *Pārsmisāl* and that he erected an inscribed pillar there. (*Ibid*, 1371, Udayagiri 27). *Pārsmisāl* means Persia-like, Persia being noted for its gardens. Evidently the garden had been laid out on the Persian model. It would appear from this inscription that the garden was the work of one Sheik Hassan, as it is styled his garden. Another record at Udayagiri states that Sultān Abdulla destroyed a temple and

constructed a mosque for the purpose of prayers in 1660-1. (*Ibid*, 1381, Udayagiri 36). It might be inferred from these records of Abdulla that he took interest in the place (he actually ruled till 1672 A.D.) he had captured and that he countenanced its beautification by mosques and gardens. In the cyclic year Jaya there is mention made of a grant to a temple at Tirumlisai in the reign of Rāma-Rāja Venkatapati-Dēva-mahārāja, which, it has been suggested may refer to Venkata II as he was the grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 59; App. C. No. 22). The cyclic year Jaya, however, corresponds not only to *Saka* 1517 and 1577 but also to *Saha* 1637, equivalent to A.D. 1595, 1655, and 1715. This record cannot refer to Venkata I as he was neither the son nor the grandson of Rāma-Rāja; it cannot also apply to Venkata II, as we know definitely that he died in 1642; and as regards Venkata VI, he was the son of Kōdanda-Rāma (see *ante*) and was ruling, nominally or otherwise, up to 1717 A.D. He may have lived longer than that date. Another is a record in 1645-6 (see *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 61; C. No. 80) which, in registering the repair of a temple in Penugonda-sīme, states that the repairs were carried out under the orders of Venkata (II). As we know now definitely that the latter died in 1642, this record has to be construed in the sense that the order was issued before his death in 1649 and that it was carried out in 1645-6 after his death and not in the sense that Venkata II was still alive in 1645-46 A.D. when they were carried out.

Death, 1642  
A.D.

Venkata II appears to have died in October 1642 at Narayanavanam, in the present Chittoor District. (William Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 25, *f.n.*; H. D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras* 1, 53, *f.n.*, 3, which entirely agree with the available dates for Srī-Ranga VI as a *ruling King*. The earliest of these is dated in

*Saka* 1663 *Vishu* (Vrisha), Asvayuja 30, September-October 1641). There are, however, a couple of lithic records that conflict with this date. In these records, he is spoken of as still ruling. These are dated in 1645-6 A. D., (*M.E.R.* 1912 Para 61, App. C. No. 80; also *Nellore Ins.* II, 798, Nellore 33). These two records should be construed as recording in 1645-6 what Venkata II had ordered before 1642, when he was still alive. Probably he was a devotee of the temple of Kalyāna Venkatādri Perumāl at this place, founded in 1541 A.D., in the name of Venkatādri, son of Achyuta-Rāya (see *ante*) as we find an inscription of Venkata II himself in its outer *gōpura*, dated in 1622 A.D., recording a grant to it by the mercantile community headed by Prithvisetti Rāyanimantri Bhāskara, the local chief of the time being Sāluva Mahārāja-Tirumalārājyādēva, already mentioned. This Mantri Bhāskara was evidently a high-minded and charitable Brāhman who befriended the trading classes and obtained for them many immunities from the rulers. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 60; App. B. No. 377). There are many ministers of the name of Rāyani Bhāskara known to Telugu literature and inscriptions. One of these probably belonged to the 16th century, for Krishna-Rāya is said to have appointed one of his generals Bhāskarayya to govern the fortress of Vinukonda, after its capture by him. (See *ante* under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya*). He must be the person praised by the poet Ravipāti Tripurāntaka in his verses. There was another of the same name in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya in charge of Kondavīdu. (See *ante* under *Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya*). Another was in charge of Gandikōta in 1602 in the reign of Venkata I. (See *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, I, 621, Cuddapah 512). One of the time of Kātaya Vēmā-Reddi is also known. (See V. Prabhakara Sastri, *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 75-86, for further information).

Sri-Ranga-  
Rāya VI  
1632-1664  
(? 1691).

Venkata II was succeeded by Sri-Ranga-Rāya VI, his nephew, who had been adopted by Venkatādri's grandson Gōpāla (see Table at the end), though not without a struggle as will be mentioned below. He appears to have been co-ruler—probably as Yuvarāja—since at least 1623, when we have a reference to him in a lithic record from the Kistna district. (*Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II. 894, No. 218 C. to U). Other records dated in 1630, 1631, 1637, 1640, and 1641 confirm this inference, as some of these describe him as seated on the jewelled throne at Ghānagiri (or Penukoda) and ruling the Empire. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi I. dated in 1630; *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 105; *M.E.R.* 1905-6, Para 49 dated in 1631; App. B. No. 388 of 1905 dated in 1637; *M.A.R.* 1913-14, No. 111 dated in 13th June 1640; and *E.C.* X, Kolar 225 dated in 1641 and 86 dated in 1641). In a record dated in 1642-3, *Saka* 1565, Subhānu, Panguni, 7 Friday, he is styled *Mahāmandatēsvara*, evidently because his coronation had not yet taken place. If this inference is correct, then his actual accession should have taken place after the above date which falls in March-April 1643. (See *M.E.R.* 1913-14, App. B. No. 271 of 1913).

Duration of  
his rule.

Sri-Ranga's rule is not yet finally determined. According to the letters sent out by the English at Fort St. George, he ceased to reign, at least on the coast, from about October 1647, from when they date the occupation of the country by Mir Jumla, the general of the Sultān of Gōlconda. Sri-Ranga did not lose the whole of his empire by then, though he might have been dislodged from the Pulicat province about that date. (See H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras*, I. 75-76). The latest record mentioned by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in connection with him is one dated in *Saka* 1586 or A.D. 1664. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 193). But there are a few records of his dated in 1674 and 1681. These would seem to indicate that

he probably ruled over a dismembered or an attenuated empire up to at least that date. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 5 dated in 1674; *E.C.* IX Magadi 8, dated in 1681 and Pavagada 59, dated in 1681).

The reign of Sri-Ranga VI was cast in difficult times. Between his ministers and his chief vassals—the chiefs of Gingee, Tanjore and Madras—he had no easy time. But he was evidently a man endowed with political insight and vigour. He tried to alternately subdue them and use them against their common enemy. Though his efforts were not crowned with success, justice requires he should be given credit for putting them forth. The Empire at last gave way in his reign. His recognized capital was taken; he himself was compelled to flee for his life; and his vassals were also reduced and their kingdoms subverted before long.

Character of  
his rule.

During the first half of his reign, Penukonda continued to be the recognized capital of the Empire. From that place, his records are found dated up to about 1649 A. D. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 1 dated in 1630; *M.E.R.* 1917-18, Para 77 and App. B. No. 691 of 1917 dated in 1643 A.D.; *Nellore Ins.* II, 798, Nellore 33, dated in 1645-6; *M.A.R.* 1924., 64-5, No. 75, dated in 1st. April 1645; *M.E.R.* 1916, App. A. No. 1, dated in 1647; and *E.C.* IX. Hoskote 71, dated in 1649.) During this very period, there is independent evidence to believe that his actual residence was at Vellore and not at Penukonda or Chandragiri. (*La Mission Du Madure* III. 42, letter dated in 1659). This evidence is supported by the *Rāmarājīyam*, which states definitely that Sri-Ranga VI ruled from Vellore. (*Sources*, 311). The Gōlconda invasion of 1644 was successfully beaten off by Sri-Ranga and hence there is no interruption observable in the dating of the records from Penukonda, up to 1649 A.D. Even the temporary loss

His capital.

of Vellore in 1645 did not make any impression. In 1649, there was evidently a renewed attack on Penukonda, for the decade 1649 to 1659 A.D. is barren of inscriptions. If a Mackenzie Manuscript can be believed (*Mackenzie Mss*, *Local Records*, LXIII, 1-8), Penukonda was taken by Bijāpur in 1652, through the treachery of its governor one Konēti Nāyudu, who obtained as its price Kundarti in Kalyānpur as Jaghir. A few inscriptions which have been traced in the vicinity of Conjeeveram, show that parts of the country had been in possession of Abdulla, the Gōlconda Sultān in 1658, 1664 and 1665 A.D. We know that Abdulla was recalled to his capital by a Moghul invasion in 1656. On his return, he appears to have left some of the lieutenants in charge of his new conquests. Thus a record, which is dated in 1658 A.D. and which comes from Dēvulacheruvu, in the present Chittoor district, mentions Hazart Anāra Sāhib of Gōlconda as governing over Gooty, Gurraunkonda, Chandragiri, Ghandikota and other provinces "when the reign of Vīra-Rāma-Dēva of Ānegondi had ended." This is a reference to Rāma-Dēva IV, whose reign closed in 1630. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 99; App. B. No. 323). Another record dated in 1664, which comes from Ekanāmpētta, in the Conjeeveram Taluk, registers a cōwle that was given to the people who colonized the hamlet of Ekanām-Khān Sāhib in Tangi, a village of Kāliyūrṇādu. (*Ibid* App. C. No. 80). Another record dated in the cyclic year Visvāvasu (*Saka* 1587 or A.D. 1665), that comes from Puttēri, Conjeeveram taluk, mentions Kōchchalamu Sāyabu, the manager of Kutumu-Parsa of Gōlconda *i.e.*, Kutb Shāh Abdulla. (*Ibid*, App., C. No. 131). There are a number of Telugu inscriptions at Belur commencing from 1659 and ending in 1663 which suggest that Belur in the Hassan district had become both Srī-Ranga's actual capital and residence. Evidently that place became Srī-Ranga's temporary capital and

residence during the quinquennium. These records bear testimony to the period of his rule from Belur as it is said in one record that he was seated on the jewelled throne in Vēlāpuri and ruling the empire of the world. (*E.C. V. Belur* 80 dated in 1659; *E.C. V. Belur* 196 dated in 1659; *M.A.R.* 1925, 24-25 No. 11 dated in 20th November 1659; *M.A.R.* 1927, 43 No. 10 dated in 1659; *E.C. V. Belur* 81 dated in 1660; *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 94 Smartha Matha C. P. grant dated in 1660; *M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 8. C. P. grant dated in 1660; *M.A.R.* 1916 Para 105. C. P. Grant dated in 1661; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123, three C. P. grants from Belur dated in 1660, 1662 and 1663, in the last of which the Emperor is said to be ruling at Belur; *M.A.R.* 1911-12. Para 114, record two grants C. P. dated in 1642 and 1663). In keeping with this, in a record dated in 1660 A.D. (*Saka* 1582, *Sārvari*) which comes from Pavagada and belongs to this period of Sri-Ranga's reign in which it is simply recorded as "in the days of Sri-Ranga." (*E.C. XII. Pavagada* 599, which is wrongly assigned by Mr. Rice to 1681. See Translation of this record). About 1663, there was a movement back again to Ghanagiri, (*E.C. V. Hassan* 40 dated in 1663) though the fact that a few records dated in 1664, occurring in the Belur country, do not mention the place he ruled from, *eg. E.C. V. Hassan*, 39 dated in 1664; *E.C. V. Manjarābad* 21 in 1664; *E.C. VII. Seringapatam* 12 dated in 1664), would seem to indicate that he was still at Belur. As a matter of fact, a record dated in 1664 actually registers that he was still ruling from Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116, inscription at Raghunātha temple at Abbinahole, dated in 1664). But from 1665 Belur is no longer mentioned as the capital or the seat where the jewelled throne was located. A copper-plate grant dated 15th March 1665, which records a grant in the Gudluru-*sima* of the Penukonda-*Rājya*, omits all mention of the capital. (*M.A.R.* 1924; 11-12 No. 5). Another dated in

the same year, however, refers to Srī-Ranga VI as seated on the throne in Chandragiri and ruling the Empire from there. This record registers a private grant in Koramangala-nād in the Penukonda-Rājya, (E.C. X. Goribidnur 3). Evidently Srī-Ranga was still endeavouring to get back his capital Penukonda, which had been occupied by the Muhammadans. A record assigned to 1668 shows that Hazarat Sāhib Abdulla Hassan Sahib, probably, the Gōlconda Sultān, Abdulla, who is referred to here, was still "ruling from the throne of Penukonda," a grant being made by his Subhedar for building a *matha*. (E.C. XII Pavagada 93). By 1669 evidently Srī-Ranga, had regained Penukonda. A record of that year actually represents him as seated on the jewelled throne at that place and as "ruling the secure Empire of that world." (E.C. X. Magadi 2). A record dated 16th April 1669, found at Venganur in the South Arcot district recognizes Srī-Ranga VI as the ruling sovereign. (M.E.R. 1912-13, 62; App. C. No. 2). The death of Abdulla, the Gōlconda Sultān, in 1672 should have enabled Srī-Ranga once again to re-assert his authority with even greater vigour over his lost dominions. We have accordingly a few records dated in 1674 A.D. actually registering his rule over the "Empire of the World" from Penukonda, "seated on the jewelled throne" at that place. (E.C. IX. Magadi 5; Magadi 29; Magadi 30 all dated in 1674 A.D.). But in a record dated in 1681, he is simply described as "seated on the jewelled throne" and ruling the Empire, the capital not being mentioned. (E.C. IX. Magadi 8). As we know from other sources, in the interval between 1674 and 1681, other events of great importance had occurred. Venkāji, the son of Shāhji and brother of Sivāji, had, as the Bijāpur representative in the south, taken Tanjore; Sivāji himself invaded the south and captured Gingee in 1677, on behalf of Bijāpur Sultān and claimed a part of the conquests of Venkāji as



his part of the inheritance. Evidently Penukonda was not yet finally lost. We have records dated in 1693 (*E.C.* IX. Hoskote 105), 1712 (*E.C.* IX Magadi 42), 1713 (*Ibid.*, Magadi 3), 1717 (*M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 13) and 1759 (*M.A.R.* 1923, 55, No. 36) mentioning it. Of these records, the last is not quite reliable as the date is not correctly given in it. All these records, however, mention the name of the reigning king as Venkata V, VI, and Sri-Ranga VII, and speak of him as ruling from the jewelled throne at Penukonda. We know that Penukonda was taken by Morari Rao in 1746 and from that date its inscriptional importance wholly ceased.

The death of Venkata II, in or about October 1642, was followed by domestic broils, which are reflected in the records of the English East India Company's agents at their new settlement of Fort St. George. The accession of Sri-Ranga coincided nearly with the appointment of Francis Day as agent at Fort St. George, (4th January 1642-3. See H. D. Love *l.c.* 51), though he did not stay long in his post and was succeeded by Thomas Ivie in August 1643. According to these records, the succession to the throne was disputed and Dāmarla Venkatādri, who was in high authority in the reign of Venkata II, was evidently not in favour of the accession of Sri-Ranga VI. He apparently championed the cause of some other claimant, whose name is not known, and called in the Muhammadans to his aid. But before he could attain his ends, the plot was discovered and he was seized and placed in confinement. The greater part of the country in his charge as governor was also wrested from him and occupied by Sri-Ranga's troops. Dāmarla Venkatādri's brother (probably Aiyappa) and kinsmen were, however, not unmindful of what was occurring. They raised a large army and with the aid of the Muhammadans, whose

Dispute as to the succession; the story as told in the Fort St. George records.

arrival they were hourly expecting, they hoped to restore Venkatādri to liberty or to ruin the whole kingdom. Who these Muhammadans were it is not mentioned. The English, fearing harm to themselves, improved their defences. Cogan and his colleagues thus describe the position on the 29th December 1642:—

“The wars and broyls increasing in this countrey, and now by reason of Great Naiques (*i.e.*, Dāmarla Venkatādri's) imprisonment drawing nere to us, we lately raised a third Bulwarke of turfe (which they, before 1643, cased with stone); and wanting Gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the (ship) Advice shall spare us foure Minion (a Minion being a 3-inch, 4-pounder gun) for that purpose, because there is noe danger of enemie in her way to Bantam, and when she comes there she may be againe supplied.” (H.D. Love, *l.c.* 53).

Again, on 4th January 1642-3 they resolved:—

“This Countrie being all in Broiles, the old King of Karnatt being dead; so is the Naique of Armagon, whose Countrie is all in the hands of the Moores, and whoe will ere long by all likelyhood bee Maisters of all this Countrie. For our Naique (*i.e.*, Venkatādri) not findeng the Respect from the New Kinge as he expected, did made profer to assist the Moores; but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'twas discovered, (and) he apperhended by the Kinge, who hath seized a greate parte of his Countrie. But wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and release him, for our Naiques brother and kinsmen are levying an Armie for his rescue, whoe, with the help of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayes Journey of each other), will force his libertie or ruine the whole Kingdome.” (*Ibid.*, 53-54).

As remarked above, there is no clue in the passages quoted above as to who the competitor of Srī-Ranga VI to the throne was and who the Moores were with whom Damarla Venkatādri had opened negotiations. The *Rāmarājīyam* does not throw any direct light on these

points. But there is some negative evidence as to the identity of the competitor. While this poem mentions three sons of Chinna Venkata (III), of these it particularly refers only to two of them, Srī-Ranga (VI) and his elder brother Venkatapati (or Venkata IV of the table). Of Tirumala, the eldest brother of Srī-Ranga VI, it does not state anything. It is just possible that he was the competitor, all reference to him being omitted in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, because that poem was dedicated to Kōdanda-Rāma, the eldest son of Venkata IV, whose descendants eventually ruled over what remained of the Empire. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 311 and Text, 313-6). As regards identifying the "Moorees" whose aid Dāmarla Venkatādri called in, there seems less difficulty. The *Rāmarājīyamu* mentions that the heroic Srī-Ranga VI obtained great fame by advancing as far as Udayagiri against the forces of Kutb Shāh (of Gōlconda) and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. (*Ibid*, Text, 314). This event should have occurred in the early part of his reign and should be identified with the campaign referred to in the extracts from the Fort St. George records quoted above. Records of a later date go to confirm this inference. It would appear from them that Dāmarla Venkatādri was finally disgraced and the authority exercised by him was conferred by Srī-Ranga VI on Mallai (or Mollī), probably Mallaya *alias* Chenāna Chetty, an Indian merchant, who had been broker to the Dutch at Pulicat. This Mallai was not overfriendly to the English at Madras and his appointment was looked upon with grave concern by the Agent and factors there. He was apparently an astute man, who not only managed to supercede Venkatādri in the Pulicat province but also did good business as the Indian merchant through whom the Dutch made their investment on the coast. Evidently a part of the bargain was that Mallai should obtain Dutch aid for Srī-Ranga VI in order that

the latter might completely secure possession of Venka-tādri's territories.

The following extract from the letter of the Agent at Fort St. George to his superiors at Bantam, dated 28th January 1643, shows the fears that he and his colleagues entertained of this combination of the Dutch and Sri-Ranga through Mallai's agency :—

'Such a storme is preparing for us that 'tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch have bine long a projecting, and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their Merchant, is Like to be as Powerfull with the king as the Serkayle is at Gulcandah. And to ingratiate him throughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and Gunns for the subdueing of Castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their owne use; by which means our Nague is Casherd and hee substituted, and is also made his Treasurer, and dus even in a manner Command all. And 'tis very probable that he will governe all the Seaports even to the very verges of Cealon; and what this may come to in a short time is no hard matter to Judge of. Beleve itt, 'tis not for naught that the Dutch assist him in this manner, for their ayme is to have the sole Trade of the Coaste; and if you doe not sett to the helping hand, and that suddenly, adue to all; but of this more at Large in an after Clause.....

'For our Competitors the Dutch dus dayly draw many advantages by our Long and tedious vacations, for, beleive it, they ayme att the sole trade, thereof never being such possibilities as at present. For the Portugalls, they play Least in sight; nay, 'tis to bee Dubitated whether they will have any abideing place in these parts within this few months, for the Dutch gives itt out that they intend to take St. Thomay at the returne of their Fleete from Goa: and as for the Danes, hee is in as bad or worse Condition. And 'tis very probable wee may bee in the same predicament in a short time, being soe far removed and estranged from our Masters and your good opinions that all that goes from hence meets with dis-respects and scorne.....' (*Fort St. George to Bantam*, O. C. No. 1859, 28th January 1643-4 quoted in H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras I*, 59).

Mallai seems to have made common cause with the Dutch and tried to secure control over Fort St. George as well. The Agent was prepared for "retaliation but regretted he had not sufficient hands to reinforce the garrison." He wrote:—

'Wee have in a former Clause made Nomination of Mollay. Wee are sorry wee have occasion to treat of him farther. Some few daies sence hee made demande to have the Government of this place and all the profetts to himselfe, which is Contrary to those Cowles of the former King and our Nagues, for by those the Government is given to us, with halfe its proffitt. (No record has been preserved of this confirmation by Rajah Venkatapati of the Nayak's grant. The confirmation must have been prior to October, 1642, when the Raja died). Which if wee should yeeld thereto, by surrendering our pre-vidge, the Towne would bee suddenly Ruinated by the Raiseing of the Customes, for therein they (the Dutch) ground their pollice to worke us mischiefe. But wee intend not soe Easily to part with our emunities; and if hee shall any way molle-t us, if opportunity presents for a retaliation, wee shall make the Best use thereof. And indeed wee beleive there may bee such a Course taken that may fright Mollay for entertay (n)einge such thoughts. This wee conceive facill if wee had some more hands to reinforce our Garrison, and a small vessell of a reasonable force to attend, if occasion should require, some of his vessells; both which should not bee all-together unprofitable, but should serve for many other uses and well merritt their charge.....' (*Ibid*, H. D. Love, *Vestiges I*, 59-60).

But the Dutch at Pulicat were not spared by the Gölconda troops. Because they had joined Sri-Ranga, the Gölconda general who had come to help Dāmarla Venkatādiri against his sovereign laid siege to Pulicat. The English at Madras were afraid that their turn would come next, for they wrote, on 5th July 1644 "of the great troubles and broyles of theis parts, both homebred and fforreigne, and how our neighboures the Dutch are besieged in their castle of Pollicatt by the Moores; and

for anything we know we may be in the same predicament in a few days" (Love, *l.c.* 62).

Mallai, however, was as cunning as he was astute. He had tried to be friends as much with the Emperor Sri-Ranga VI as with the invading Moores. When he heard of the differences that had arisen between the Emperor and Venkatādri, he had sent on behalf of the Dutch presents to both Sri-Ranga and to the Sultan of Gölconda. (*Ibid*, 54). While he succeeded with the former, he was not spared by the Gölconda general, for the latter, once on the spot, should have understood his duplicity. Hence the siege of Pulicat by the Gölconda troops. But relief came to the Dutch from Sri-Ranga. By about the beginning of (September) 1644, the Gölconda troops had advanced within three miles of Pulicat and sent for the Dutch governor to surrender up the castle and it was expected that he would do so. But shortly after, the Hindu forces (of Sri-Ranga) came down in great numbers, gave the Gölconda forces battle, routed them and put them "to flight beyond Armagon," where they tried to gather their forces again. (*Ibid*, 64). This is evidently the fight referred to in the *Rāmarājīyamu* where we are told that Sri-Ranga VI obtained a great victory at Udayagiri—this place being not far away from Armagon—against the forces of Kutub Shāh. Apparently, the Gölconda forces were pursued and defeated at Udayagiri.

Meanwhile, Day had retired from the position of Agent at Fort St. George and his place had been taken by Thomas Ivie on 4th August 1644 A.D. Mallai, strange as might seem, fell out with the Dutch. These changes created a new situation. Evidently the Dutch had given cause for dissatisfaction to Sri-Ranga VI and this in its turn involved Mallai in the affair. He had seized one of their merchants and even defeated a contingent of Dutch forces sent against him from Pulicat. Sri-

Ranga VI had ordered a general taking over of all the goods belonging to the Dutch in the hands of Hindu merchants within his dominions and Mallai, as the local feudatory, got them collected at a place not far away from Madras. Here they were sold on behalf of the Emperor, and they were bought by merchants belonging to Fort St. George and indebted to the English Company. The Dutch threatened reprisals, but they were besieged by Mallai, with the aid of the Emperor's troops, and under his directions, at Pulicat. It was reported that the Emperor was "sending downe great Ordinance and more power against Pullecatt to burne the towne and bente downe the fort." So wrote the Agent and his colleagues in a letter dated 1st October 1645 A.D. and added in the characteristic fashion the sardonic words:—"the former may be done but for the latter they will finde a harde Taske to performe." Four months elapsed and still the siege of Pulicat by Sri-Ranga was going on. Within this time other events had occurred. For reasons which will be mentioned below, Sri-Ranga became involved in bigger wars and three of his chief feudatories—probably the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee—and their countries had been overrun by both the Gōlconda and Bijāpur forces. The forces sent up against Pulicat had, therefore, to be withdrawn for opposing the invading foreign hosts. The position is well described in a letter dated 21st January 1645/6 from Thomas Ivie and his colleagues at Fort St. George, to their superiors at Surat.

'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the king hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore, and in Civell wares with three of his great Nagues; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a considerable foorse against Pullacatt, more than 4,000 soldiers that lay before it to stopp the wayes, that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath

sent his Generall, Meir Gumlack, with a great Armie to appose this King, who is advance (d) to the Jentues Cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers, as reporte saith, whereof 3,000 he sent for from Pullacatt to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry. Soe their is now remaining before Pullacatt but one thousand, of which Dutch made no esteeme of.....  
(*Fort St. George to Surat*, O. C. No. 1974, 21st January 1645/6 quoted in H. D. Love, *Vestiges*, I. 73).

Sri-Ranga evidently found it no longer useful to continue the siege of Pulicat. He closed up with the Dutch and sent Mallai to secure his old position of trust and responsibility with the Dutch. Keen as the Hollanders were on their trade, they were not any more anxious to continue hostilities. Mallai accordingly returned to them and was "by them kindly entertained," though, as the English at Madras reported, he was of little use to them," having regard to "the greate alteration and present poverty of those parts," evidently owing to the ravages of the famine referred to below. (See Love, *l.c.* 74).

The English at Fort St. George, while the siege was in progress and the Dutch, their great rivals, were in disgrace with the Emperor Sri-Ranga, tried to improve their own position. Thomas Ivie and his colleagues made up their minds to send a mission to Sri-Ranga at Vellore to win his friendship and obtain a confirmation of their rights and privileges at Fort St. George. They thought this was the most opportune time for the purpose and sent Mr. Henry Greenhill on a visit to him. The circumstances under which he was despatched are thus detailed in a letter to the Company dated 1st October 1645:—

'Wee have bin often tymes sollicitd by this Kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessors since our first arivall heere, which is now 7 yeares allmost; soe if wee any longer deny his reasonable request,



wee may suddainely Expect his Just displeasure, and peradventure have a Seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defence, who hath twenty for one more then wee; soe that if the like should happen unto us, what can you except of fifty well and sicke men to defend your estate and Fort against the King's power; .....soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civill Comportment and respect to the kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders Potencie, and at present are in such esteeme with the king and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Hon'ble English East India Company. And for the mayntenance of the same and the kings favour wee are.....resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry Greenhill, with foure other English souldiers for his attendance, for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the great Nague under whose protection formerly wee liv'd; but now the king hath taken his power and this Cuntry from him, soe that his power and protection is of noe longer vallue. So now findeing a fitting opportunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the Addition of a great many more, by this now Reigneing king which hath brought all his great Lords unto his Command, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before: this by Mollayes Assistance wee make noe question to obtayne.....

'This instant wee received a letter from the king by two of our owne Servants whome wee sent to him for that purpose... ..' (*Fort St. George to the Hon'ble Company, O.C. No. 1952, 1st October 1645, quoted in Love, Vestiges of old Madras 65*).

This letter from 'Zree Seringo Raylo' at 'Arloor' announced that the Raja had declared war on the Dutch. (Here *Zree Seringo Raylo* stands for *Sri Sri-Ranga-Rayaloo* and *Arloor* is probably *Vellore*, the royal residence). Sri-Ranga directed the British to assist his commander Chenana Chetti with munitions of war, and expressed pleasure at the prospect of receiving 'a man of quality,' such as was Ivie's senior councillor. (See Love, *Vestiges*, I. 66).

Greenhill's visit came off probably at Vellore, the Royal residence, and he there obtained a Cowle, securing to the English at Fort St. George their "old privaleige, with some addition, new confirmed by this King under the Kings owne hand." Col. Love states that there are three contemporary copies of this Cowle, from which it would seem that the place in the occupation of English at Madras was called Srī-Ranga-Rāyapatam at the time. Srī-Ranga registers the fact about the town—which he proudly calls "my towne" and the "towne which bears our name"—was "at first but of small esteeme," and that the English after settling there from Armagon had "there built a fort and brought trade to that port." He, therefore, that they "may be the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the towne," excused them all customs or duties upon all goods brought or sold in that place for and in behalf of English company. He also added slightly to the territorial extent of the town and entrusted "the government and justice of the towne" to them for the better managing of their business. He took them into his personal jurisdiction, making the town one under his protection and not, as hitherto, under the Nāyak of Poonamalli. (See Love, *l.c.* 67 *et seq.*). The Cowle was signed "Sree Rama," which, without doubt, stands for "Srī-Rāma," the usual sign-manual of Srī-Ranga VI, as is known from several other grants of his referred to below. According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, Chinna Venkata (III), the father of Srī-Ranga, was a great devotee of Srī-Rāma, the deified hero, who, it would appear, had appeared before him in a dream and told him that he would be born as his grandson. (See *Sources*, 311, text, 313-4). The Cowle is dated in the cyclic year Pārthiva, *kārtika* month, the Moon in the wane, (*bahula*). Mr. Sewell has suggested that the date indicated lies between the 26th October and the 9th November 1645. (*Ibid.*)

The evil effects of the war were augmented by a famine of unusual severity which broke out in Southern India in 1647. The English factory at Madras was so badly attacked that it requested provisions from Masulipatam. "The famine is so great," wrote the Agent and his colleagues to their immediate superiors at Surat, "in this Kingdome that we beleive it will be the Destruction thereof, for there hath not fallen any rayne this yeare for the increase of any graine to relieve the people; and now the season of the Raynes are past so that if the Almighty does not send supply from other parts, the Country will be so dispopulated that it will be impossible to recover itselſe againe in five yeares time." It evidently wrought havoc among the inhabitants. In Madras 4,000 people died in five months; at Pulicat, 15,000 died; and at St. Thomē, another 15,000. The weavers, painters and washers at Fort St. George were reduced to a third of their original number. No wonder Thomas Ivie, the Agent, wrote home to the Directors, that the violent character of the famine was such that it would scarcely "be credited." (See Love *l.c.* I, 74-75).

Scarcity of grain and famine, 1647 A.D.

Judging from the numerous copper-plate grants issued during his reign, Sri-Ranga VI would seem to have been not only a pious sovereign but also one whose Imperial authority, at any rate during a considerable part of his reign, was evidently recongnized all over the Empire. Among these grants may be mentioned the following as the more important :—

Sri-Ranga's authority universally recongnized. Evidence from extant grants.

- (1) 1639.—Grant of Madraspatam to the English at Madras to build a fort on the site of Fort St. George.
- (2) 1644.—Kasaram grant, registering the grant of the village Kasaram to the temple of Kālabasti for midday worship and for the maintenance of a feeding institute. (Similar to No. 3 below). (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 60; App. A. No. 22).
- (3) 1644-5.—Kallakurisi grant. (*E.I.* VII No. 545).
- (4) 1644.—Another grant similar to the Kallakurisi grant. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. A. No. 15, date lost, but cannot be earlier than 1644).
- (5) 1645.—Āvani *matha* grant, registering a grant to Rāmachandra-Iharati-Svāmi of that *matha*, disciple of Vitthala Bhārati Svāmi and disci-

ple's disciple of Visvarūpa Bhārati-Svāmi. (*E.C.* X Mulbagal 60). This grant gives a full geneology of the Āravidu Dynasty.

(6) 1617.—A grant by the people of Nandyāla for the merit of Hazrat Khān Sāheb, probably the local governor, the grant taking the form of a contribution of fees for God Venkatēsa. This Muhammadan worthy was probably the local Governor, who had befriended the Hindus and governed over the area as a subordinate of Sri-Ranga VI (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, App. A. Nos. 1 & 2). It is said in this grant that the contributions had been stopped for sometime owing to the political disturbances, evidently a reference to the disturbances which resulted in the driving out of the Muhammadans from Ahōbālam.

(7) 1647-8.—Utsur grant, registering a grant at Srirangam temple of the village of Ūtsur, in the Chandragiri-rājyam, to one Anantāchārya. This agrees throughout with the Kallakurisi grant above mentioned.

(8) 1655.—Copper-plate grant from Kanadiputtur, Coimbatore District, included in the Nāyak Kingdom of Madura, in the reign of Tirumala, who recognizes the suzerainty of Sri-Ranga VI in this record. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate record No. 190).

(9) 1659.—Grant issued from Belur in the presence of God Chennakēsava and signed "Sri-Rāma," just like the grant of "Medraspatam" to the English. It records the grant of the village of Sambaga, renamed Vyāsa-rājapura, in the Belur-Sime by Sri-Ranga, seated on the diamond throne, to Raghunātha-Yōgi, disciple of Lakshmi-Nārāyana-Yōgi, descendant of Vyāsa-Rāja, author of *Taraktāndava*, etc. (*M.A.R.* 1915, 24, 25 No. II).

(10) 1659 A.D.—Grant recording the gift of a village, 5 miles off Belur, by King Sri-Ranga VI to the Madhva *Guru* Raghunātha-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmi-Nārāyana-tīrtha of Kundāpur-Vyāsa-Rāja *matha*. (*M.A.R.* 1927, 40, No. 10).

(11) 1660 A.D.—Grant from Smārtha-*matha* at Muluvagal, Thirthahalli Taluk, Shimoga District, registering the gift of a village in Belur-Sime in favour of Smārta-svami, Agnimudra Krishnānanda-Svāmi.

In this record Sri-Ranga VI is described as the son of Gōpāla-Rāja and Gangamāmba; grandson of Ranga and Timmādēvi, who in other copper-plate grants is called Vengamāmba, and grandson of Venkatēsa (*i.e.*, Venkatādiri) and Rangamāmba. (See *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 94).

(12, 13 and 14) 1660, 1662 and 1663 A.D.—Three copper-plate grants from Belur: (a) One dated in 1660 recording a gift of lands made from Penukonda while in residence there to a Brahman favourite named Venkatēsa; (b) Second dated in 1662, registering a grant of land for a car festival at Belur; and (c) third and last, dated in 1663, recording another grant in favour of Venkatēsa, grantee in (b) above, for constructing a canal at Gōrur. In the last of these the king is said to be ruling at Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123).

(15) 1661 A.D.—Kanabur grant, recording the gift of a village in Belur-Sime, signed "Sri-Rāma." (*M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 5).

(16) 1661 A.D.—Sringēri-*matha* grant, recording a gift in the presence of Chennakēsava at Velāpuri *i.e.*, Belur, in favour of Krishnānandasvāmi signed "Sri-Rāma." (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 105).

(17-18) 1662 and 1663.—Two grants from Sosale Vyāsa-Rāja-*matha*, registering gifts of villages made in the presence of Chennakēsava, on the banks of Vishnusamudra, in Velāpuri, *i.e.*, Belur, to Lakshmi-kānta-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmi-Vallabha-tīrtha, for the service of God Gōpāla-Krishna. The villages gifted are described to be in Yelshanka Hosavūru belonging to Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 114).

(19) 1663 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Srirangam registering gift of land to a temple priest by Chokkanātha, grandson of Tirumala-Nāyaka of

Madura, in the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper-plate grant No. 51).

(20) 1662 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Bellary registering the gift of a village by Sri-Ranga VI, then at Velapuri, on his jewelled throne, *i.e.*, Belur, Hassan, (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper plate grants, No. 128).

(21) 15th March 1665 A.D.—Copper-plate grant, from Sōmayājulapalli Kolar District, recording a grant of lands in several villages Karnika-mānya by Mahānāyakāchārya Rāmappa in Gundulur-Sime of Penugondarāja. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 91-92, No. 5).

(22) 1665 A.D.—Copper-plate record from Kaniyur, Udamalpet Taluk, Coimbatore District, registering gift of land by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura in the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate grant No. 396).

(23) 1665.—Copper-plate record from Kannadiputtur registering grant of land in the reign of Visvanātha-Nāyaka-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura, when Sri-Ranga VI was Emperor. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, I, 562, No. 394, quoting *Inscriptions in Southern Districts*, Mackenzie Mss., 224).

(24) 1667 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Kumaringam, Udamalpet Taluk, Coimbatore District, recording a gift of lands by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura in the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate No. 188).

(25) 1678 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Madura registering the grant of a village by Muddu-Alagūdrī-Nāyadu, grandson of Visvanātha-Nāyanī-Tirumala-Nāyadu of Madura, in the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate grant No. 20).

(26) 1692 A.D.—Copper-plate grant Kanakagiri, Tinnevely District, registering grant to a mosque, by Vijaya Ranga Chokkanātha, of Madura in the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper-plate No. 53).

These grants, not only confirm the statement in the *Rāmarājīyamu* that Sri-Ranga made gifts and maintained *dharma* but also show that Sri-Ranga VI was not a sovereign merely in name. (See *Sources*, 311). The gifts are in the main to religious institutions such as the Sringēri, Smarta, and the Vyāsa-Rāya *mathas* and to Brāhmins for services to be rendered at the temples or for securing the maintenance of public charities. These grants also indirectly bring out the fact that even after his flight to Belur, he was still recognized as sovereign and that he bore rule at Belur without any interruption. It will be noticed that Sri-Ranga's copper-plate grants run from 1639 to 1665, or a period of twenty-six years, though he appears to have lived down to at least 1681 A.D. The first of these grants was in favour of the English at Madras, which is separately referred to below.

Support for religions and public charities.

Srī-Vaishnavism still the predominant religion.

Srī-Ranga VI was evidently a pious Srī-Vaishnava, a fact which throws a side-light on his selection of Belur as his temporary capital after his flight. A record of his dated in 1659, actually calls him a daily worshipper of Kēsava at Belur. (*E.C.* V Belur 80). A grant of his dated in 1641, in fāvour of Nallān-Chakravarti Venkatāchārya, belonging to a family of what are called *Svayamāchārya-purushas* among the Srī-Vaishnavas, shows also his regard for Srī-Vaishnava teachers. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 86). He also carried out, in or about 1643 A.D., certain repairs to the famous Gōvindarāja shrine, in the Chidambaram temple, including its *gōpura* and the *vimāna* of the goddess shrine, etc., and made a grant, rent free, of five villages, in which Srī-Vaishnavas permanently lived. He also fixed, it is added, the processional roads at the place, thus evidently setting at rest the disputes that should have arisen and been long subsisting between the followers of the Siva and Vishnu temples at Chidambaram. (*M.E.R.* 1913-14, App. B. No. 271 of 1913). Vaishnavism, indeed, had by about this time, permeated into almost every part of the Empire. A record of some interest, in this connection, is one dated in 1644, in which Pemmasāni Timmaya-Nāyadu, possibly a descendant of the more famous minister of Srī-Ranga II, a subordinate of Srī-Ranga VI, appointed one Bukkapatnam Tātāchārya to be the head of all Samayācharam of Gandikōta District. He was to receive *gurusēva*, to be present at Harisēva, and to punish people who swerved from the right path. This record indicates the manner in which the Tātāchāryās spread Vasihnnavism in the land and became powerful as a family of teachers. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, II, 607, No. 394). Religion was still closely connected with almost every detail of daily life. A record dated in 1664 A.D., which comes from the Ranganātha temple at Abbinahole, gives an account of the settlement of a dispute by the ordeal

of dipping the hand in boiling ghee. (See *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116).

Here we might take a glance at the political geography of India as it existed about the beginning of the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. In Northern India, Shāh Jahān had ascended the Moghul throne in 1628 A.D., and had run through nearly half of his reign of thirty years. His dominion extended over the same provinces as that of Akbar, his grandfather; it included Kabul, the Punjab and Hindustan; it also extended over part of the Deccan. The Moghul Empire had been gradually encroaching upon the Deccan ever since Akbar's time. In the reign of Shāh Jahān, the conquered provinces in the Deccan were formed into a Viceroyalty, which was known as the "Deccan." Bijāpur and Golconda, the two Muhammadan kingdoms of the Southern Deccan, still remained unconquered. Bijāpur, however, about 1634 A.D., concluded a treaty and became tributary to Delhi. This enabled her to direct her army to the south, above the Ghāts. Randulla Khān, with Shāhji, father of Sivāji, as second in command, overran the open country of Bankāpur, Harihar, Basavapatna and Tarikere, and as far even as Bednur. An attempt was made on Seringapatam, but it was repulsed with loss. Kempe Gauda of Yelahanka was reduced and Bangalore taken in 1638 A.D. Next, other local chiefs, subordinates of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Kolar District, were reduced and practically the whole of that District was seized. Later, the invading army descended the Ghāts and took Vellore, the capital of Sri-Ranga, and Gingee, the seat of one of his feudatories. Turning back and ascending the Ghāts, Dodballapur, Sira and the southern part of Chitaldrug were taken in 1644 A.D. Over all these acquired territories—both above and below the Ghats—Shāhji became the Governor, the territories above the Ghāts forming his Jaghir, with capital

Political  
geography  
of India  
about the  
middle of the  
17th Century.

first at Bangalore and then at Kolar and Doddballapur (See below under *Bijāpur*). Gōlconda had annexed a good part of the territories below the Ghāts, on the eastern-side. It had thus reached as far as Masulipatam on the coast and had even, as we have seen, made attempts on Penukonda as well. The Vijayanagar Empire was thus being occupied from both sides by its two old enemies, Bijāpur and Gōlconda. The internal dissensions that commenced on the death of Venkata II ended in the treacherous conduct of Dāmarla Venkatādri calling in Gōlconda aid. This treachery appears to have proved infectious; it was copied by Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura, who seduced the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee as well against their liege-lord. Though, as we shall see, Tanjore remained loyal, the other two failed to remember that their own existence was primarily bound up with that of the Empire. As it was, their disloyalty ended not only in their own ruin but also in the break-up of the Empire. The circumstances which led to these disastrous results deserve attention in some detail.

The return of  
the Gōlconda  
forces, 1645  
A.D.

After the defeat at Udayagiri, Mir Jumla, the general of the Gōlconda forces, came up with a large army, and evidently penetrated as far as Vellore. This is the invasion referred to by the English at Madras in their above-quoted letter dated 21st January 1645/6. Mir Jumla's route lay through the East Coast *via* Masulipatam, Ongole, Nellore, Chittoor and from thence to Vellore. At about the same time, the Bijāpur forces appear to have converged on Vellore from the Western side *via* Gadag, Harihar, Kudur, and Yelahanka.

Siege of  
Vellore and  
the first  
flight of Sri-  
Ranga, Feb.  
1646 A.D.

The combined forces laid siege to Vellore, about the beginning of 1645 A.D. Sri-Ranga's attempt to draw away Mir Jumla from his advance by directing Mollai to despatch 3,000 out of the 50,000 troops raised by him



appears to have failed of its purpose. Mollai appears to have been a better merchant than a soldier. What happened subsequently might be gleaned from the contemporary records of the English at Madras. Beaten by the combined forces of Bijāpur and Golconda, and his royal residence of Vellore occupied by them, Sri-Ranga had to flee for his life, leaving the defence operations to Mollai, who, as might have been expected, proved treacherous to the Imperial cause, surrendering the "strongest hold in this kingdom (*i.e.*, Vellore) to Mīr Jumla upon composition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free." The following two extracts (see H.D. Love, *l.c.*, I. 76) tell the story briefly but quite distinctly :—

"This country is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores armie is come into this country on the one side, and the King of Gulcondah upon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is General for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings Castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this Kingdom; where Molay was sent to keep it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumla, uppon Compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free. But how hee will be received by the King, we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday; and how wee are like to doe in this troublesome Cuntrey that hath neither shipp nor boate to secure the Companies estate, wee leave you to judge.....Thomas Ivie Henry, Greenhill, George Travell." (O. C. No. 1975, 10th February 1645/6).

'We had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the Coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondahs Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this Kingdome, and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob. This 16,000 rials he lent us for one twelve month gratis; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*. So, in requitall of the Annabobs Curteszie, wee gave him one of the two Brass Guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which he would not bee denied of whither he had lent us this money or no; otherwise hee

would not have confirmed our old priviledges formerlye graunted us by the now flected Jentue King. So, upon the deliveringe of this Gunn, hee gave it us here under his hand that he received the Gunn in full and Contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire anything else for the same; and withall confirm'd under the King of Gulcondahs great seale all our former priviledges in ample manner as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid flected Jentue King, Soe by this means the Gun hath saved you three times the value of it by accomplishing two good Acts at once..... Thomas Ivie, William Gurney.' (O. C. No. 2046, 9th October 1647).

Though the English at Madras were treated considerably by Mir Jumla, who so far trusted them as to place in deposit with them 16,000 rials, he compelled them to part with one of the two brass guns they had recently imported from England. The English congratulated themselves that they were let off so cheap, when things could have so easily gone worse with them.

Recapture of  
Vellore and  
restoration of  
Sri-Ranga  
VI by  
Sivappa-  
Nāyaka of  
Kēladi, 1646  
A.D.

To what place Srī-Ranga fled, is not indicated in the Madras records of the time. Col. H.D. Love has stated that he "fled to Mysore," but this should be understood in the restricted sense that he sought the help of Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi, who at this time was, perhaps, one of the most loyal and affluent feudatories of the Empire. Sivappa, according to Father Leonardo Paes, who travelled at the time in Kanara, possessed enormous wealth and maintained a standing army of from 40 to 50,000 men. (See Volume V of this work under *Shimoga*). It is possible Srī-Ranga sent his emissaries to Sivappa and he consented to come to his aid. According to the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, (Wilson, *Mackenzie Mss.*, 154 and *Sources*, 347), Srī-Ranga was "wandering without a home" after the loss of Vellore. Vellore, it would seem, from the same poem, had been occupied by the

Muhammadan forces and that Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi (1645-1660 A.D.) whose kingdom had suffered at the hands of Randbulla-Khān, the general of the Bijāpur Sultān, seized the opportunity and advanced with a large force against the Muhammadans in occupation of Vellore. He commenced a regular blockade of it and soon reduced it to submission. Srī-Ranga, says the poem, on hearing the glad tidings, returned to Vellore and presented Sivappa with many titles, among which were *Rāmabāna* and *Paravārana-vārana*. It is also said that he gave him a costly ear-ornament made of sapphire, an equally costly pearl and an umbrella called the *Jagahjampa* and endowed him with the emblems of the conch and the discus. It is, besides, stated that Srī-Ranga presented Sivappa with the head of his enemy—which must be taken to refer to the general of the Gōlconda forces in charge of Vellore, at the time it surrendered to Sivappa. It would seem as though he had been killed during the course of the siege operations. Sivappa is also said to have reduced to subjection some of the recalcitrant feudatories of the Empire and handing over their territories to Srī-Ranga, returned to his own capital. (See *Sources* under *Sivatavaratnākara*, 347). As we have a number of inscriptions dated from 1645-46 to 1649 A.D. signifying to the continued rule of Srī-Ranga, with his recorded capital at Penukonda, and probably his personal residence at Vellore, we have to infer that the restoration of the *status quo ante* by Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi helped him to continue in possession of practically all his territory with the exception of the Pulicat and Poonamalli provinces on the Coast, within which the factories of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English lay. These, it would seem, continued in the possession of Mīr Jumla, the Gōlconda general, who appears to have called himself the Nawāb of the Karnātic from about the close of 1647 A.D. (H. D. Love, *l.c.*, I. 76). How long

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this relief from wars continued there is no means to determine, especially as the decade 1649 to 1659 A.D. is wholly unrepresented in inscriptional and other records. But the proximity of Mir Jumla to Vellore, the residence of Sri-Ranga, should have proved destructive of real peace. Though we have no direct evidence from any quarter of wars between 1647 and 1659 A.D., when we find Sri-Ranga settled at Belur, Hassan District, as his temporary capital, and issuing grants from there, it has to be assumed that circumstances should have forced on Sri-Ranga a war of no mean dimensions for him to seek safety in a second flight from his royal residence. As a Jesuit letter of 1659 (*La Mission du Madure*, III, 41-45) mentions his flight as already a *fait accompli*, it has to be presumed that the war in question should have occurred not long before that year. Since that letter states that it sums up "the political events of the last three years," the war should have occurred between 1656 and 1659 A.D. This second flight is the one mentioned in such detail in the *Chikka-dēva-Raya-Vamsāvali* (see *Sources*, 309-310). This subject is further referred to below.

War against  
Tirumala-  
Nāyaka of  
Madura,  
1656-1659.

It has been remarked in connection with the account of the reign of Venkata II, that Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura, though he made preparations to defend his territories against aggression from outside, was loyal towards Venkata II, to the end of the latter's reign. Even after the death of Venkata II, in 1642 A.D., he appears to have been loyal to the Imperial House until about 1655 A.D., the date the Kannadiputtūr copper-plate grant, in which he recognizes Sri-Ranga's suzerainty. (See list of his copper-plate grants given above). From the date of that grant to 1659 A.D., though there are a few grants of Tirumala-Nāyaka, the overlordship of Sri-Ranga is not registered in any of them. Though this omission by itself need not be taken to imply a denial

of Srī-Ranga's suzerainty on his part, yet, taken in conjunction with the other evidence available on the matter, it would seem to indicate that he was overlooking his primary duty as a feudatory. Taking note of the disadvantageous position in which Srī-Ranga was placed between Bijāpur and Golconda, the former with its representative alternating between Kolar and Bangalore and in possession of Penukonda from 1652, and the latter probably not far away from Masulipatam, with agents dotted over at Conjeeveram, Chittoor, Gooty, Chandragiri, Gurramkonda, Ghandikota and other places (see above), Tirumala saw his opportunity and tried to assert his independence. According to a Jesuit letter dated in 1659 A.D., it would seem he refused to pay the tribute due to his suzerain. Srī-Ranga prepared himself to enforce his claim. He collected a force and declared war against the recalcitrant feudatory. Tirumala tried to win over to his side the Nāyaks of Gingee and Tanjore and formed a league with them to defy the common sovereign. The heart of Vijayarāghava, the Nāyak of Tanjore, was not in the league and he informed Srī-Ranga of the ambitions of Tirumala. (The fact that he joined Srī-Ranga in this war is also mentioned in Vijayarāghava's drama *Raghunāthābhayadāyam*, see *Sources*, 255 and 258). As Srī-Ranga advanced on Gingee, in execution of his design of putting down the two confederates of Gingee and Madura, Tirumala opened up negotiations with the Sultān of Gōlconda and arranged for an attack on Srī-Ranga from the rear. Vellore being thus threatened, Srī-Ranga, turned his forces on the new enemy, and attacked and repulsed him. The whole story is told in an animated manner in the letter of Father Proenza, quoted above, from which the following is taken:—

“The Nāyaks of Madura had been punctual, for a long time, in paying the annual tribute; but their arrogance growing

with their strength, they began to feel this subordination irksome. Tirumala Nāyaka, who rules now, walking in the footsteps of his father, resolved to free himself. Too weak to resist his sovereign openly, he resorted to artifice. During several years he gave only rich presents, as marks of deference and friendship, without paying his tribute. The old Narasinga, (Sri-Ranga VI) dissembled, to avoid the embarrassments of a war. But, after his death, the new king, far superior to his father in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army and declared war. The Nāyak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingi, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter, informed of everything through the Nāyak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingi. Swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nāyaka secretly addressed the *subah* of Gōlkonda, and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga, (Sri-Ranga VI) obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy, who was repulsed with loss." (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 264).

In the above extract, it is hardly necessary to explain that "Narasinga" stands for the king of Vijayanagar, the kingdom of Vijayanagar being called by the Portuguese and other foreign nations by the name of Narasinga since the time of Sāluva-Narāsīmha I. The particular "Narasinga" referred to is undoubtedly Sri-Ranga VI.

Sri-Ranga's  
change of  
tactics: forms  
a league  
against  
Gōlkonda but  
fails to work  
it to  
advantage.

Though foiled in his attempts, Sri-Ranga soon saw the difficulty of his position and realised the critical situation he was reaching by reason of the internecine war that had been going on between himself and his feudatories in the South. Instead of quarrelling between themselves and thus ruining the Empire and making it a prey to the aggressive Gōlkonda forces, he tried to bring



his feudatories into a league against the foreign invader. But his action was wholly unequal to his ambitions. Instead of making the most of the league thus formed and preparing himself in every possible way to drive the enemy out of the numerous places he had occupied from Coast to Coast, he wasted his time in vain frivolities with results disastrous to himself and his co-adjutors. He had once again to flee for his life. Father Proenza writes:—

Second  
flight of  
Sri-Ranga.  
1650 A.D.

“The King of Golkonda, resolved to vindicate his honour, raised an army more numerous than before, resumed the field, regained his vantage-ground, and actively attacked Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI.) The latter, finding no chance of success but in an alliance with the three Nāyaks, invited them to join him against the common enemy and offered them favourable conditions, which were accepted. Pleased with their good disposition, he joined them to better concert together the means of defence and attack. But here the Indian character was revealed: Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI) spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts, and pleasures, during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. Rejected again by the Nayaks, Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI) established his court in the forests of thieves (Kallans), lying to the north of Tanjore, where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him, and this grand monarch, one of the richest in India, was forced to beg for help from the King of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown. He received from him invitation to choose, for his stay, a province more agreeable to him, and assurance of a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; he eagerly accepted the offer, so obliging, and found a hospitality, which even surpassed the promises made to his ambassadors.” (*Ibid*, 264-265).

The victorious Gölconda troops continued their march and Tanjore soon surrendered. Proenza thus chronicles the fact:—

In search of  
the Emperor:  
Submission  
of Tanjore  
Nāyaks.

The Golkonda army, resolved to add to the conquest of Narasinga's (Sri-Ranga's) dominions that of the kingdoms of

his tributories, advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nāyak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to an enemy, whose mere number had created so much terror; but, he could no longer count on his ally of Madura, whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obligated to take sides, he did what one would always do, under the influence of terror; he decided on the most senseless and disastrous step; he delivered himself up to the King of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion." (*Ibid*, 265).

Capture of  
Gingi and its  
plunder.

Then followed the conquest of Gingee, which fell under the most regrettable circumstances. Proenza, as a contemporary, writes with feeling if not with bitterness:—

Tirumala Nāyaka, seeking safety in his unsound policy, committed a second folly, which brought about the ruin of all these kingdoms. His ambassadors went, in his name, to treat with Idal Khan (the Ādil Shāh) or the King of the Dekkan, who sent him seventeen thousand horse. With this imposing cavalry and thirty thousand infantry of his own he marched to Gingi. But the Muhammadans of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The *subah* of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan, and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the seventeen thousand cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry, continued the siege of Gingi, which they were called for to defend. The thirty thousand Madura infantry entered into the place and joined the troops of the king of Gingi. The fortress, protected by its advantageous position, was, besides, defended by good fortifications, furnished with a strong artillery and by a numerous army, provisioned for a considerable time; it could, accordingly, defy all the efforts of the besiegers. But soon disagreements and divisions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out; in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy, who rushed into it and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage. The booty was immense, consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value." (*Ibid*, 265-266.)

The ready arrival of the Bijāpur troops, above mentioned, seems to have been induced by a grievance which the Bijāpur Sultān appears to have nursed against Sri-Ranga VI. If Thevenot is to be believed, Sri-Ranga had failed to keep up a promise which he appears to have made to the Bijāpur Sultān against the Moghuls, who were continuously pressing on him for some time. This failure, says Thevenot, the French traveller, "so exasperated the King of Bijāpur that he no sooner made peace with the Moghul in 1650 A.D., than he made a league with the king of Gōlconda against the king of Bisnagar and entered into a war with him; they handled him; (i.e., the king of Bisnagar) so very roughly that, at length, they .....stripped him of his dominions.....so that..... (he) was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains, where he still lives." (*Travels*, III, 91).

Exulting in their easy success at Gingee, the Bijāpur forces, turned their attention on Tanjore and Madura. What followed is narrated briefly by Proenza in these words:—

Renewed  
attack on  
Tanjore and  
advance on  
Madura.

Masters of Gingi, the Muhammadans marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura. The former hid himself in inaccessible forests; the latter shut himself up in his fortress of Madura, whose distance appeared to screen him from the enemy. But when they saw him (the Bijāpur general) over-running their dominions and carrying devastation everywhere, they opened negotiations and submitted to the law of the conqueror. Thus, after conquering a vast country, subduing two powerful kings, and gathering incalculable treasures, without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle, and almost without losing a single soldier, the Dakhan army returned to Bijāpur, where it made a triumphal entry." (*Ibid*, *Nayaks of Madura*, 266).

Retreat of  
Khān-i-  
Khānan, the  
Bijāpur  
General,  
towards  
Gingee.

This account would seem to indicate that Tirumala did not raise his little finger to defend his kingdom when attacked by Khān-i-Khānan, the Bijāpur general. It has been suggested, however, that this part of the Jesuit account is not quite correct, as there appears to be some evidence to believe that he beat off the Bijāpur forces with the aid of the Kallars. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 130, quoting Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonne of Mss*, III, 40). It is possible that he offered some resistance and that this induced the Muhammadan forces to withdraw towards Gingee.

Ill-advised  
policy of the  
Madura and  
Tanjore  
Nāyaks' war-  
levy in  
Madura and  
Tanjore and  
its effects.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Tanjore at the time, does not appear to have taken any active steps to stem the torrent against him. Neither his own drama, the *Raghunāthābhyaḍayam* nor the *Tānjavūri-Āndhra-Rājula-Charita*, which gives an account of the Nāyak kings of Tanjore, makes any mention of this war. (See *Sources*, 255, 258, 324 and 335-356). After the Khān-i-Khānan, the Bijāpur general, retraced his steps from Madura, the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, instead of trying "to heal the wounds," as Proenza puts it, "of this disastrous war, and strengthen themselves against fresh attempts, which they ought to expect, more especially as they had not the intention to fulfil the treaties,..... they only thought of pressing their own subjects whom their impudence and cowardice had already delivered to the horrors of an invasion by the enemy. Their arrogance seemed to conceal the degradation and meanness which had dishonoured them, in revetting the yokes of despotism on their people. Extortions and spoliations recommenced with a cruelty which made them universally regret the domination of the Moghuls." This appears a severe castigation of their conduct but considering their omissions and commissions, not altoge-

ther undeserved. It is possible that they tried to make good the losses sustained by them in the war by a forced war-levy on the people of their respective territories.

Srī-Ranga VI, however, settled himself down at Belur, at "the invitation," it is said, "of the king of Mysore" and from there arranged for the future. Father Proenza's letter of 1659 A.D., quoted above, does not, however, mention who is referred to by the phrase "the King of Mysore." It has been stated by Mr. Rice (see the last edition of this work, I. 356; *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 122 and 159) that Srī-Ranga fled to Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi in 1644 A.D. (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 122, though at page 159 the date is given as 1646) and was by him installed "at Belur and neighbouring parts" including Sakrepatana. Sivappa is even said to have "laid siege to Seringapatam on the plea of restoring his sovereignty," an attempt in which he is said to have been unsuccessful. (*Ibid*, 122 and 159). These statements have been repeated by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri (*A. S. I.* 1909-10, 193) and by the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* (see page 129). There seems to be here some mixing up of events that appear to have occurred at different intervals of time. The statement that Srī-Ranga fled to Sivappa's capital in 1644 (or 1646) is not countenanced even by the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, which, as before mentioned, records that Sivappa repaired to Vellore and recovered the place for his suzerain. This, according to the records of the English East India Company's servants at Fort St. George, should have occurred about 1646 A.D. This is also the flight that is recorded by Wilks in his history when he states that Srī-Ranga (VI) left Dravida (*i.e.*, South) in 1646 and fled to Bednore. (*History of Mysore*, I. 36). Indeed it is to him that we should trace Mr. Rice's statement that Srī-Ranga "took refuge with the

Srī-Ranga VI  
at Belur  
in Hassan  
District, 1659-  
1663 A.D.

Rāja of Bednore" (also called Kēladi or Ikkēri), for Wilks states that the Rāja of Bednore "availed himself of this useful pageant to extend his own dominions under the semblance of re-establishing the royal house of his liege-lord and now (1646) appeared before Seringapatam with an army sufficiently powerful to invest the place." (*Ibid*). These statements are based on the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya-Vamsāvali* (see *Sources*, 309-310) where it is stated that Sivappā, failing in his attempt to secure an alliance with Chikka-Dēva, took Srī-Ranga-Rāya, who was then wandering over the country for want of support, and ceded to him the districts of Belur and Hassan. By the influence he thus obtained, he secured, it is added, the help of the chiefs of Aigur, Tarikere, Harpanballi, Chintanahal, Maddagiri, etc., and went to war against Chikka-Dēva. The only objection to this story is that Sivappa died about 1660 A.D. and Venkatappa, his brother, came to power in the same year and that Chikka-Dēva ascended the throne in 1672 A.D., so that the suggestion of an embassy for an alliance from Sivappa to Chikka-Dēva immediately after the latter's accession seems to lack support. Channamāji, the widow of Sōmasēkhara, the son of Sivappa, was the ruler in 1672 A.D. when Chikka-Dēva came into power, her adopted son Basava succeeding her in 1697 A.D. The *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsāvali* and the actual facts as we find them may be reconciled, if we take it that "Seoppa Nayak's" (Sivappa-Nāyak's) invasion took place in 1646, after the *first flight* of Srī-Ranga from Vellore and when Sivappa (1645-1660) was actually ruling over Kēladi and that later, after the death of Sivappa in 1660, *i.e.*, just after the second flight, Srī-Ranga sought the goodwill of Kanthī-rava and his successor Dodda-Dēva. That this reconciliation is both sound and reasonable will be seen from the fact that even Wilks states that "the Mysoreans extended their conquests to the west, and appeared to

have received from the royal pageant (*i.e.*, Sri-Ranga VI) forced grants of conquered districts during this and the four subsequent years, after which we hear no more of Sri-Ranga-Rāya, or the House of Vijayanagar." (Wilks, *i.e.*, I. 36). Such forced grants would be impossible, unless Dodda Dēva-Rāja had won over Sri-Ranga VI to his side, as indeed his predecessors appear to have done. The flight of Sri-Ranga that occurred in or about 1656, according to the Jesuit letters, and is confirmed by inscriptions found at Belur, with dates ranging from 1653 to 1659 A.D., occurred ten years later and on a wholly different occasion when Sivappa was in the penultimate year of his reign. If he had helped Emperor Sri-Ranga once again in 1659 A.D., and established him at Belur and Sakkrepatna, the fact would have found a place in that poem, which so particularly describes the earlier exploit of Sivappa at Vellore. As the statements made by Father Proenza that Sri-Ranga sought "help from the king of Mysore" and that "he received from him invitation to choose for his stay" a "province" cannot be held to be wholly without foundation, as they are made by a contemporary, it has to be inferred from the context and from what followed that the king of Mysore, whose assistance Sri-Ranga sought and who in turn invited him to choose his own province was the actual king of Mysore, *i.e.*, the Viceroy at Mysore, the descendant of Rāja Wodeyar who had displaced the Vijayanagar Prince Tirumala II, in 1610 A.D. This ought to be the more so, as the Jesuits knew that the "king of Ikkeri" was quite a different person from the "king of Mysore." Thus Andre Freire, in his letter dated in 1662 (*La Mission du Madure*, III, 307) when writing of Sāmbhāji states that he was "helped by Iquerian *i.e.*, "he of Ikkeri"), or the king of Canara, and by the king of Golconda, both of whom are united against (the king of) Mysore (who is) regarded as the common enemy."

The ruling Mysore king at the time was Kanthīrava Narasarāja-Wodeyar I, (1638-1659), the successor of Rāja-Wodeyar II, and the predecessor of Dodda-Dēva-Rāja (1659-1672). He was, as might be expected, a dutiful and loyal feudatory. In a lithic record of his, dated in 1642 A.D., in the very first year of the reign of Srī-Ranga VI, he recognizes the latter's suzerainty over himself. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 5). It is worthy of note that in this record Kanthīrava describes himself as "the right-hand" of Srī-Ranga, who is given his full complement of Imperial titles, and as ruling a secure kingdom (the text having the words *tad-Dakshinabhujadandanāda*). This would seem to indicate that he enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperor and that he reciprocated whole-heartedly the trust laid in him. We have, therefore, to identify "the king of Mysore" of Proenza's letter with Kanthīrava-Narasarāja-Wodeyar, who was one of the most energetic in extending Mysore territory and power. As a loyal feudatory, he should have encouraged his suzerain to settle in or about his territory. The selection of Belur was probably dictated by at least three definite considerations; first, its proximity to Halebid, famous as Dvārasamudra, formerly the capital of the Hoysalas, the prestige attaching to which still lingered at the place; secondly, its popularity as a Vaishnavite centre, which, during the five and a half centuries that had elapsed since the foundation of the Kēsava temple there by Vishnuvardhana had become a place of importance, Srī-Ranga VI being himself a staunch Vaishnava; and thirdly its position, which lying as it did between Kēladi in the north and Seringapatam in the south, both of which were the seats of Viceroys of the Imperial House, whose loyalty was beyond question and through whose territories Bijāpur forces, which had been indented upon by Tirumala, the Nāyaka of Madura, had to pass and re-pass. How far, if at all, the identity



of the name of Belur (Hassan) with that of Velur (North Arcot), the royal residence so far, influenced the decision of its selection by Sri-Ranga, it is difficult to determine. Though there is, so far from the records available from the Mysore side, no direct mention of Kanthirava's having afforded any asylum to Sri-Ranga, the definite mention of him by the general name of the "King of Mysore" in Proenza's letter with the other available evidence as to the loyalty of his family and himself towards the Imperial House and his defence of its rights and privileges subsequently should be allowed their due weight. It might be added that Kanthirava was no friend of Bijapur, for he had successfully resisted its invasions and had made it yield to his annexing Chennarayapatna to his own territories and had even fortified it. (*E.C. V, Chennarayapatna, 158, 160 and 165 and see below under Mysore Rājas*). He asserts, in a record dated in 1646 A.D., that he was Sri-Krishna himself born to give peace to the world when it was troubled by the Turushkas (Muhammadans) and resounded with the noise of horse hoofs. (*E.C. IV, Seringapatam 103*). The Editor of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* has suggested that because he minted coins in his own name and issued certain records in his own name, without mentioning Sri-Ranga's name, he must be taken to have openly disavowed "Imperial authority" and that this was due to the fall of Vellore in 1646 A.D., which, it is hinted, rendered the Emperor "practically a fugitive without a capital of his own." (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura, 133, f.n. 60*). Though this reasoning seems plausible, there is little substance in it. As regards coining, we know that almost every petty ruler in India at the time had his own coinage; then as regards not mentioning Sri-Ranga's name in one of his records dated in 1646 A.D. (evidently in *E.C. IV Seringapatam, 103*, a copper-plate record which comes from Melkote), there are

records, as we have seen, dated as early as 1612 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnaragar 200), 1616 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 150), 1625 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 117) and 1625 (*E. C.* IV, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 13) which register grants independently in the name of certain Mysore kings. It has not, on this account, been suggested that they pretended to be independent of the Imperial House. The record of 1642 A.D., already mentioned, in which Kanthirava speaks of himself as the "right hand" of Sri-Ranga is more to the point in this connection as it indicates, in a *positive* manner, his real attitude towards his suzerain. The temporary loss of Vellore in 1646 A.D. did not evidently alter matters for him, as we see him an ardent Royalist between 1656-59, after the second flight of Sri-Ranga, as the result of the foolish and destructive policy of Tirumala Nayak of Madura towards him and his aims of offering an united front against the foreign invaders.

The plan of his next campaign in the South; failure of his attempt to regain his lost territories.

Sri-Ranga's removal to Belur might, according to inscriptions found in the Belur country, be set down to about 1659 A.D. It lasted down to at least 1663, if not a couple of years later, when we find records mentioning him as ruling from Penukonda. (See above). While at Belur, he appears to have worked out the plan of his next campaign in the South. He took counsel with Kanthirava of Mysore and with him soon moved against the foreigners who were occupying his territories. The story is thus told by Proenza in the letter of 1659 already quoted from :—

"Narasinga had more wisdom; encouraged by the good reception and help of the king of Mysore, he took advantage of the absence of Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan), Idal Khan's general, to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces, and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him. It appears certain that, if then the three

Nāyaks had joined him with all the troops they could gather, they would easily have succeeded in chasing the common enemy, and depriving him of the advantage he had taken of their disunion and reciprocal betrayal. But Providence, which wanted to punish them, left them to this spirit of folly, which precipitated the ruin of princes and (their) dominions." (*History of Nāyaks of Madura, 367*).

What followed can only be stated in Proenza's words which are bitter to a degree. He writes:—

"Tirumala Nāyaka, instead of co-operating in the re-establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, who alone could save the country, recommenced negotiations with the Muhammadans, opened to them again the passage through the Ghats, and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore, whom he should have sought for help. (The king of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed to the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life.....prince (made) unhappy by the folly of his vassals, whom his personal qualities rendered worthy of a better fate. Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan) did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur full of riches." (*Ibid, 267*).

Thus the campaign ended in a dismal failure. Sri-Ranga evidently returned to his temporary capital, Belur, "on the confines of his kingdom," as we know that he kept up state in some attenuated form there, till 1659 A.D. This campaign probably ended somewhere about 1656 A.D., when the Bijapur forces retired with their booty and Kanthirava's campaign against Tirumala, as will be shown below, began in 1656 A.D. Orme also dates the division of the conquests that ended with this war in 1656. (See *Historical Fragments, 62*).

Sri-Ranga's  
return to  
Belur, 1656.

The retreat of the Bijapur troops was the signal for a fresh attack on Tirumala Nāyak of Madura by Kanthirava of Mysore. He had now his long looked for

Kanthirava's  
campaign in  
favour of  
Sri-Ranga,  
1656 A.D.

opportunity and he was least inclined to let it set slip by. He opened war almost immediately in 1656 A.D. and invaded Satyamangalam, a province that had been part of Tirumala's territories since at least 1652. His *Dalavai* Hampaiya was in command and he had evidently orders to cut off the noses of all who fell into his hands—a punishment reserved to those who had proved treacherous to their sovereign. The troops advanced without much opposition on Madura itself and Tirumala was evidently at his wit's ends as to how to counter the new situation. Raghunātha Sētupati, the Marava chief, hearing of the danger, ran up to his aid with a large force. With these and his own troops, Tirumala beat off the Mysore army towards Dindigul, where a sanguinary battle was fought, each side losing about 12,000 men. Proenza in describing this campaign of Kanthīrava states:—

“ His (the Bijāpur general's) departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Nāyaka to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satyamangalam which borders on his kingdom. The general entrusted with this expedition did not experience any resistance, and made himself master of the capital, where he found considerable booty. Encouraged by the facility of the conquest, he exceeded the orders of his king and advanced to the walls of Madura without coming across the enemy. His unexpected arrival threw the Nāyak into such a consternation that, neglecting the means of defence in his hands, he was inclined to run away, without any following, and hide himself in the woods. It would have been all over with Madura but for the unexpected help of the Maravas. This warlike people, well known for the wars that they had conducted more than once with advantage against the Europeans of the sea-coast, gave their name to (the country) Marava, situated between Madura and the sea. The king of the Maravas, informed of the danger that threatened the Nāyak whose vassal he is, collected twenty-five thousand men in one day, marched at their

head, and placed himself between the walls of the town and the army of besiegers. A help so opportune emboldened the Nāyak, who, on his part, raised an army of thirty-five thousand men, and thus found himself superior in number to his enemy.

The Mysore general, too weak to hazard a general action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements, which his king had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the Maravas, impatient at this delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dungeon, pounced on the enemies, and cut them to pieces. The remains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expected reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat again began with such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battle-field.

The advantage remained with the Nāyak, who utilised his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the theatre of this bloody war to their provinces. A special circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to cut off the nose of all the prisoners; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executed this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, men, women, and children, and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nāyak, resenting this procedure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered reprisals; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of 'hunt for noses.' The king of Mysore, the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved." (*History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 267-269).

The last statement seems an obvious exaggeration, for there is no record of it anywhere else. Nor is there any confirmation of it on the Mysore side; it is possible the

general in charge possibly lost his nose in the retaliatory game adopted by the Madura forces, which, according to certain *Mackenzies Mss.*, hotly pursued the retiring Mysore army into its own territories. (W. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Mss.* II, 175 & 182). Evidently Kanthirava desired to mark his displeasure of Tirumala's rebellion against his sovereign by ordering the infliction of this punishment on certain of his leading officials, a direction which was either carried to excess in its execution or grossly misrepresented as a regular "hunt for noses." The whole life and character of Kanthirava seems to be against the ascription of such a "barbarity" to him. (See below under *Mysore kings*).

Death of  
Kanthirava  
and the  
blasted hope  
of Sri-Ranga.

The war of Kanthirava, on which Sri-Ranga built his hopes, thus ended in no decisive blow in his interests. Not long after the war, on the 16th February, 1659 A.D., Tirumala died at Madura. (Sathyanatha Iyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 148). The same year saw the death of Kanthirava at Seringapatam. Shāh Jahān, the Moghul Emperor, had also died a few months earlier, in 1658 A.D. The last of these events had an important bearing on the fortunes of Sri-Ranga in his own territories. The reign of Aurangazīb, the successor of Shāh Jahān, covered half a century—from 1658 to 1707 A.D. The four prominent events of his reign were (1) the rise and growth of the Mahrātta power; (2) the persecuting wars against the Hindus; (3) the final conquest of Bijāpur and Gōlconda; and (4) the development of the three important English factories into Presidency towns. The third of these prepared the way for the conquest of the south, first by the Mahrāttas and then by the Imperial Moghuls, the internecine fights of whose representatives within less than half a century provided the requisite opportunity for the conversion of a trading Company into a sovereign power.

Before passing on to the subject of the next step taken by Sri-Ranga VI in his endeavours to regain his lost Empire, we may take a brief review of the policy that Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, pursued towards his sovereign. There can be no question as to its effects: it proved disastrous to himself and the Empire. It destroyed the Empire; it wrought ruin to the three Nāyakships of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura; and it brought incalculable misery on the inhabitants of the Empire generally. Proenza, though a contemporary, appreciated the position correctly and the view he propounded of the duty of Tirumala towards his suzerain is, both on principle and from a consideration of what happened subsequently, absolutely unassailable. Tirumala's policy was not only politically unsound, but also morally indefensible. It opened the way to dire destruction of the Empire and the security against the foreign domination it stood for during so many centuries. While his efforts at an honourable independence, within certain well defined limits and within the orbit of the Empire, might have and even yet won sympathy for him, such endeavours cannot but earn disapprobation if they went beyond such limits and proved ruinous both to himself and his suzerain. Attempts have been made in recent years to rehabilitate his character in this respect but they have rightly failed to secure any support. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 130-131). The Editor of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* has refused to countenance the special pleading of the author of that work in this regard and has quietly superceded it by comments of his own which are in the main both just and well merited. (*Ibid* 127, *f.n.* 52; and 131, *f.n.* 56.) To suggest that Tirumala could not join Sri-Ranga VI because he had allied himself with Kanthīrava, who by his "repeated aggressions" had shown himself hostile to Madura, seems historically inaccurate.

Ruinous  
policy of  
Tirumala, the  
Nāyak of  
Madura.

as the aggressions, if any, of Kanthirava commenced *after* the war of 1569 A.D. To state that Tirumala only followed the usual rule of seeking aid now of Gōlconda and now of Bijāpur; though these were Muhammadan States, because such alliances were common in those days between Hindu and Muhammadan principalities is to attempt to convert a truism into a political philosophy which is wholly unsound. The Sultāns of the north combined before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and though some Hindus fought in their ranks, as some Muhammadans did on Rāma-Rāja's side, despite the fact that the latter eventually proved treacherous, nobody denies that the Muhammadan States combined for a definite political purpose as against a Hindu State as such. To urge that Tirumala succeeded in his policy of safeguarding his interests, "though at much cost to his kingdom and those of his neighbours" is frankly to admit the falsity of the reasoning adopted and to confess its inutility as an argument in favour of the soundness of Tirumala's political conduct. Finally, to state that this policy of Tirumala had been "forced on him by the hasty and incautious action of Sri-Ranga" is to ignore the previous studied conduct of Tirumala which aimed at independence at any cost but which only bided its opportunity. Such are some of the reasons urged by the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* in justification of the policy of Tirumala in regard to his attitude towards Sri-Ranga VI and so unconvincing are they that they cannot but be characterized as special pleading. On the other hand, the Editor of the same work has remarked at one point (page 128 *f.n.* 52) that the "enterprise" of Sri-Ranga to form a combination of all the Southern Viceroyalties against the Muhammadans "cannot be regarded as foolish" in the circumstances in which they were conceived by him. "The responsibility for not acting," he adds, "in this effort must rest with the southern Viceroys,



chiefly the Nāyak of Madura, and there was nothing in the situation, except perhaps selfishness, to justify his attitude, not merely of aloofness, but even of active hostility." At another point (page 132, *f.n.* 56), he is even stronger in his criticism. "While therefore," he says, "Tirumala's policy can be justified as a continuation of that of his predecessors towards the Emperor, neither political foresight nor even enlightened self-interest could be urged in support of the particular attitude that he took up as against Sri-Ranga." Tirumala, though otherwise a great and amiable ruler, was not blessed with political foresight. The verdict of history on him cannot but be in accordance with the dictates of inexorable truth.

Among the chief feudatories of Sri-Ranga VI were Kanthirava I of Seringapatam, who was in power from 1638 to 1659; after him Dodda-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, from 1659 to 1672; and finally Chikka-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, from 1672-1704. Of these, Kanthirava acknowledges the supremacy of Sri-Ranga VI in a record dated in 1642 (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 5), though there are a couple of records, dated in 1646 and 1652 (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 103 and Nanjangud 106) in which he makes no mention of his suzerain's name. But the earnest fight he put up for his sovereign's restoration in 1659 A.D. is evidence of his loyalty. (See above). His successor, Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, however, recognizes in a record dated in 1664 (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 46), the overlordship of Sri-Ranga's son Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāja. It is of interest to note that in this record Dodda-Dēva registers the grant of a village in favour of Kaggere Tōntada Siddhēsvara-Svāmi in fulfilment of a prayer for success on the occasion of Dalavāi Nandirāja's attack against Ikkēri. In 1660 Sivappa-Nāyak was still ruler of Kēladi and on his death in that very year, he was succeeded by Venkatappa, who ruled for only one year. This is probably a

Chief  
feudatories.  
(i) Mysore.

contemporary reference to the defeat that Dodda-Dēva is said to have inflicted on the army of the Kēladi kings which is mentioned in a record dated in 1686 A.D. in the reign of *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja*. It is there stated that he captured the elephant (of the Kēladi chief) called *Gangādhara* and took the impregnable fortresses of Hassan and Sakkarepatna. (See *E.C. IV*, Seringapatam 14). Kunigal 46 shows that in this war, Dodda-Dēva's army was commanded by Nandirāja and that he had prayed for victory of Kaggare Tōntada-Siddhēsvara-Svāmi. The reference may be to the fight which occurred about 1664 A.D., after Sivappa's death in 1660 A.D., and during the reign of Venkatappa-Nāyaka II, his successor, for the record does not mention Sivappa's name. Dodda-Dēva also appears to have "defeated the army of the lord of Madura in the Irōdu (Erode) country, slew Dāmarla Ayyapēndra, and put to flight Anantōji. He captured the elephant "Kulasēkhara" (evidently belonging to the Pāndya king) and closely besieging them, took by assault Chamballi-pura, Ōmaluru and Dhārāpuram." These exploits of Dodda-Dēva are mentioned in the record of *Chikka-Dēva* dated in 1686, fourteen years after his (*Dodda-Dēva's*) death. The "Lord of Madura" in Dodda-Dēva's time was Chokkanātha-Nāyaka (1659-1682), and so he (Dodda-Dēva) should have defeated Chokkanātha and Dāmarla Ayyapēndra in the Erode country before 1672, the last year of Dodda-Dēva's reign. The Dāmarla Ayyapēndra referred to is evidently Ayyappa, the brother of Dāmarla Venkatādri, and the founder of Chennapatna in the name of his father, as mentioned in his half-brother Anka's work *Ushāparinayam*, (See *Sources*, 308-9). Anantōji was probably a Bijāpur general who helped Chokkanātha in this war. By a slip, the Editor of the *Sources* has set down these exploits to "Chikka-Dēva-Rāya of Mysore"—(See *Sources*, Introd. 21)—and he has been followed in this respect by the

author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* (page 172; see also Appendix D. Page 362, No. 194). The record, as we have seen, is dated in Chikka-Dēva's reign but the exploits are there set down specifically to Dodda-Dēva. Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, successor of Dodda-Dēva, began his reign in 1672, and describes himself, in his earliest record, dated in 1675 A.D., while Srī-Ranga VI was still alive, as seated on the throne of the Karnāta dominion like the great Indra. (See Chamarajanagar plates, *E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 92). This is a noteworthy record, for it is the *last* record, so far as is at present known, in which Srī-Ranga VI is described as ruling from Penukonda. (See under his *Capitals* above). Though there have been traced a couple of records of his dated respectively in 1678 (Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 20) and in 1681 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 8), these do not describe him as *ruling from Penukonda* but simply from his "jewelled throne." It is probable that Chikka-Dēva as the champion supporter of the claims of Srī-Ranga VI aspired to the Imperial throne. It has been stated above that a record dated in 1639 (Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant, see *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198) implies that the Mysore kings had a right to the throne of Karnāta. A record dated in 1722 A.D., in the reign of Dodda-Krishna-Rāja, ascribes to Chikka-Dēva the conquest of Madura and states that he withstood Sivāji when the rulers of Agra, Delhi and Haiderabad were falling down before him. (Tonnur copper-plate grant, see *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 64). As in a record dated in 1686 A.D., in his own reign, he claims to have defeated the Mahrāttas, this may be correct. He also states that he reduced to abject terror Sāmbhāji, son of Sivāji; Kutb Shāh, the Sultān of Gōlconda; Ikkēri Basava; and Venkāji of Tanjore, (Seringapatam temple copper-plate grant, *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 14). The statements made in the record of 1722 A.D. cannot be mere boasts. The exploits set down

in Seringapatam 14 to Dodda-Dēva are confirmed by the discovery of his records dated in 1670 and 1671 A.D. found in the Coimbatore District, then part of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura. These records show that his influence had extended so far into the Madura Nāyak territories as the result of that war. Chikka-Dēva's records dated in 1673 and 1676 have been found in the present Salem and Coimbatore Districts. (See below under *Mysore Rajas*). It has been suggested that Chikka-Dēva on his accession carried on an aggressive warfare at the expense of the Madura Nāyak and occupied part of his territories. (Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 172). It has also been stated that about the time of these records a combination of chiefs attacked Chikka-Dēva at Erode and were defeated by him. This confederacy was made up of Chokkanātha of Madura; a general of the Nāyak of Tanjore; Ayyappa, brother of Dāmarla Venkatādri and founder of Chennapatnam in Madras, and a Bijāpur general (evidently this refers to Anantōji mentioned in Seringapatam 14 who was put to flight by Dodda-Dēva in the fight in the Erode country) who, it is alleged, supported the claim of Sri-Ranga VI against Mysore. Ayyappa is said to have fallen in this battle. Having been defeated, Sri-Ranga VI, it is said, betook himself to Sivappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri. (S. Krishna-swami Iyengar, Introduction to *Sources of Vijayangar Histroy*, 21; see *Ibid*, Text, 308-9, where the authority of E.C. IV, Seringapatam 14 dated in 1686 is quoted). This last citation, Seringapatam 14, however, sets down these exploits to *Dodda-Dēva-Rāja* and not to *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja*. Though they are mentioned in a record dated in 1686 in the reign of Chikka-Dēva, they are, as remarked above, *attributed specifically to Dodda-Dēva*. The exploits of Chikka-Dēva himself are also mentioned in that record and these are stated lower down in it. These included the instilling of fear by Chikka-Dēva in

Sāmbhāji, Kutb Shāh, Ikkēri-Basava, Venkāji, brother of Sivāji and to the cutting of the limbs and noses of Jaitāji and Jasavata, *i.e.*, Yasōvant. It will be seen that there is no mention here of Sivappa, but of Basava of Ikkēri, whom Mr. Rice has correctly identified with Basappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri, adopted son of Channamāji, widow of Sōmasēkhara-Nāyaka, the second son of Sivappa-Nāyaka. (*Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions*, 130 and *E.C. IV*, Introduction 30). The period of Sivappa-Nāyaka was 1645 to 1660 A.D., whereas Chikka-Dēva ruled between 1672 to 1704. It is also a matter worthy of remark that Dāmarla Ayyappa, would not be expected to have joined a confederacy in support of Sri-Ranga VI, since we know definitely from independent sources (*i.e.*, Fort St. George records) that his brother Dāmarla Venkatādri had been publicly disgraced by Sri-Ranga VI and thrown out of the governorship of Pulicat province. (See above). The Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda against whom, according to Seringapatam 14, Chikka-Dēva fought was probably Abū Hasan, who was in power in 1636 A.D., the date of this record. Evidently Chokkanātha, the Madura Nāyak, with the aid of the Bijāpur Sultān and of Dāmarla Ayyappa, whose brother Venkatādri had been disgraced, made common cause against Dodda-Dēva-Rāja of Mysore and opened war against him. All the three had cause to be angry with Dodda-Dēva, each for his own reason. But the confederacy was defeated and broken by Dodda-Dēva, who was acting both for himself and Sri-Ranga VI, whom the confederates equally disliked. This signal defeat put a final end, as Wilks has pointed out, (*l.c.* I. 36) to Chokkanātha's attempt at the conquest of Dodda-Dēva and his territories. It will thus be seen that the events that occurred in the reign of Dodda-Dēva have been attributed to Chikka-Deva's reign by the Editor of the *Sources* and the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, with the result that Chikka-Dēva instead of

appearing as the supporter of Sri-Ranga's claims has been made to figure as his dire enemy against whom a combination of Chokkanātha of Madura, Ayyappa of Poonamalli, the general of the Tanjore Nāyak and even an officer of the Bijāpur Sultān, were, in the view of the Editor of the *Sources*, required to restore Sri-Ranga VI to his throne! (See *Sources*, Introd. 21; and Sathyanatha Iyer's *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 172, where this view is copied without any attempt at verification of the original record, *E.C.* IV Seringapatam 14, on a misreading of which these statements have been made).

Now that we know that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, like his predecessors from Rāja-Wodeyar I to Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, were loyal to the House of Sri-Ranga VI, it is easy to understand Chikka-Dēva's attitude towards the Madura Nāyakas from Chokkanātha (1659-1682) to queen Mangammāl (1689-1706.) He not only occupied the province of Satyamangalam and captured important fortresses in the North-West of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura, but also strengthened them with a view, if not to make further encroachments, at least to keep at bay Chokkanātha and his Bijāpur and other allies. That he was well advised is proved by the fact that Sivāji, coming to know of the exact situation from his agents, prepared himself to swoop down the Karnātic and conquer the whole of the South. His invasion of the Karnātic in 1677 with 40,000 foot and 30,000 horse is capable of no other interpretation. His minister came to a friendly understanding with the Bijāpur Sultān and concluded an alliance with the Sultān of Gōlconda, Sivāji subsequently agreeing to share the conquests with the latter. Sivāji also concluded a treaty with the Moghul Emperor. His march proved a triumphant one, place after place being taken. He captured Gingee almost by a trick and had designed to return home *via* Seringapatam, Bednur and Kanara, capturing those places, on the way. (See Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, 219-

30; Orme, *Historical Fragments*, 233; J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 363-99). As already stated, he strengthened its defences, and despatched a detachment to besiege Vellore, he himself marching to Tanjore. The country round about Vellore was next taken and the Palaijars were reduced to subjection. He then moved on to Seringapatam and is said to have levied tribute from it. Aurangazib, meanwhile, was astonished at Sivaji's conquests and himself personally prepared to lead an expedition against him. Sivaji hurried northwards, not, however, before settling disputed matters with his brother Venkaji, who now became ruler of Tanjore. Vellore was finally taken in August 1679, by Sambhaji brother of Sivaji and Raghunatha Pant, his minister, after a protracted siege of 14 months. (Takakhav and Keluskar, *Life of Sivaji*, 439-40, f.n. 2; *La Mission du Madure*, III, 271, says one year). Thus passed Vellore once more into Hindu hands. We hear no more of it in the Vijayanagar records though Penukonda is referred to as the capital of Sri-Ranga's successors till about 1759 A.D., albeit it had passed into Mahratta hands in 1746. Though, as stated above, Sivaji is said to have levied tribute from Seringapatam, there is no evidence to believe that he attempted its capture. If a record of 1722 (Ton-nur plates, *E.C. IV*, Seringapatam, 64) is to be believed; Chikka-Deva is said to have withstood Sivaji at the time when the rulers of the country round Agra, Delhi and Haiderabad were falling down before him and presenting tribute. However this might have been, after Sivaji's death in 1680, the Mahrattas appear to have tried to lay their hands on Chikka-Deva, who in a record dated in 1687, states that he advanced as far as Panchavati (Nasik) and there subdued Dadoji, Jaitaji, and other Mahratta chiefs. It is said he slew Dadoji and cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitaji and Jasvanta. (*E.C. IV*, Seringapatam 14). The same record states that Sambhaji,

son of Sivāji, fled in abject terror, Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda failed in his purpose and Ikkeri Basava was disgraced. Evidently these had combined in an attack on Chikka-Dēva and Chikka-Dēva routed them in a battle. (*Ibid*). It has been suggested that the object of Sivāji's southern expedition was to appear "as the acknowledged representative of the Empire of Vijayanagar recently become extinct" before Aurangazib, the Moghul Emperor. (See Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Introd. to History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 27; also Text, 176, *f.n.* 71). Apart from the Empire becoming extinct, Sri-Ranga was still alive and was evidently supported by Chikka-Dēva as against his southern enemies. It was because of this support that we find the Madura Nāyaks continued to recognize the suzerainty of the Imperial dynasty, as will be shown below, even after the reign of Chokkanātha, who had behaved so disloyally towards him.

(ii) Madura  
Nāyaks.

During the reign of Sri-Ranga, Madura was governed by three Nāyaks in succession. Tirumala-Nāyaka (1623-1658); Muttu-Virappa Nāyakar II (1659) and Chokkanātha (1659-1682.) The history of their relations with Sri-Ranga VI has been set out above. It was Tirumala's disloyal policy, continued by Chokkanātha, that finally broke up the Empire and made it a prey to the Muhammadan Sultāns of the north, and in their wake to the Mahrāttas and finally to Aurangazib, the Moghul Emperor.

(iii) Tanjore  
Nāyaks.

In Tanjore, Raghunātha had been succeeded by Vijayarāghava. He was loyal to the core to Sri-Ranga and this virtue brought on him the vengeance of his neighbour, Chokkanātha of Madura. He was attacked in his own capital and he died bravely fighting for his king and country. His son Mannāradāsa also fell with him. His woman folk put themselves to death. A child was



saved and he was the Cheagamala Dās of history. The story of how he was restored to his throne by the aid of Venkōji, the brother of Sivāji, who came out with a large Bijāpur force, and then turned out the prince and himself usurped the throne has been told above. (See *Sources*, 323-327). Vijayarāghava, who fell so manfully fighting, was a scholar, being the author of the drama *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, and a pious king. His many charities earned for him considerable fame both at Srirangam and Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District. (*Ibid*). It was during his reign, in 1666 A.D., that Negapatam was wrested from the Portuguese by the Dutch.

Little is known of the Nāyak of Gingee who governed (iv) Gingee. over that province during the reign of Sri-Ranga VI. Whoever he was, he made common cause with Tirumala and Chokkanātha and was eventually wiped out of existence. Gingee was taken in 1644 A.D. by the Bijāpur forces and looted of its enormous wealth. Thirty years later, in 1674 A.D., Francois Martin founded Pondicherry. This settlement was within the limits of Gingee. In 1677 A.D., Sivāji, as we have seen, captured it and strengthened its fortifications. After the reduction of Bijāpur and Gōlconda in 1687, Aurangazib sent his general Zulfikar Khān to take it to cripple the Mahrātta power in the south and make it the seat of a local Government which would stabilise his southern conquests. The siege lasted seven years and when it fell in 1678, Sri-Ranga VI had been dead seventeen years—Venkata II, one of his successors being then king. The Nāyak of Gingee thus contributed to the fall of the Empire as much as the Nāyak of Madura.

Of the chiefs of Kēladi who contemporaneously governed (v) Kēladi. their country, with Sri-Ranga as the suzerain, Sivappa-Nāyaka, was thoroughly loyal to him. The successive

fight he put up for his restoration in 1646 are among the more pleasing events of this reign. He evidently befriended Sri-Ranga on his second fight in 1659 but his death in 1660 appears to have had an adverse effect on the relations of Kēladi with the ruined Imperial House. Sivappa, as remarked above, was an enlightened ruler, and his administration of the country won for him the warm appreciation of discerning foreign travellers of the time. (See above).

Minor  
subordinate  
chiefs.

Among the minor subordinate chiefs may be mentioned Immadi Kempe Gauda, who recognized Sri-Ranga's suzerainty throughout the greater part of his rule. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi, dated in 1630; *M.A.R.* 1916, para 105; copper-plate grant from Magadi dated in 1631 and Magadi 2, dated in 1669, all of which are dated in Sri-Ranga's reign). A record, dated in 1674, states that Mummadi Kempe Gauda also made a gift in his reign, evidently as his subordinate. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 5 dated in 1674). Three more records of this chief, all dated in Sri-Ranga's reign, dated in 1674 and 1681, attest to the same fact. (*Ibid.*, Magadi, 29, 30 and 8). Another was Dēvappa-Nāyaka of Surgi (*M.A.R.* 1926, 94, No. III, lithic inscription dated on 13th June 1640) and Ōbirāja-Ramana-Rājayya of Kolar was still another. (*E.C.* Kolar 163 dated in 1642). The Hande Chief of Anantapur, who had rebelled in 1584 A.D., had evidently been reduced to submission, as a record dated in 1643 would seem to suggest. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, para 77; App. B. No. 691 of 1917). One Mahāmandalēsvara Pōchirāja, son of Boggarājayya, registers a grant in 1654 A.D., in this reign. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 64-5, No. 75). Natur Chinna-Jaya-Gauda, who held a subordinate charge in the Mulbagal area, records a grant in 1646 A.D. The Hadinādprabhu, Lingarājayya, son of Tirumalarāja-Nāyaka, was another Chief in the Seringapatam area, who, in a grant of his dated

in 1647, recognises Srī-Ranga's suzerainty. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 118). Vīra Hottenripa, a local Chief in the Pavagada country, similarly recognises, in a record dated in 1660, his overlord-ship. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada, 59). Venkatādri-Nāyaka, in Arkalgud, Hassan District, also recognises his suzerainty in a record dated in 1662. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud, 83). Timmanripa, the Harita Chief, was also loyal to Srī-Ranga, as a couple of his records, dated 1663 and 1670 A.D., show. (*E.C.* I XII, Pavagada, 61, dated in 1665 and 46 dated in 1670).

A local chief or Governor, who probably belonged to the royal family, is mentioned in a record dated in 1663 A.D. His name is given as Ramanarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, who is stated to have granted for the car festival of Chela-Nārāyana of Kalasapura, the village of Kalasahalli, included in the Kalasapura-*Sthala*, after making application to Srī-Ranga VI. (*E.C.* Chikmagalur, 153). It is difficult to establish the identity of this subordinate. It might be conjectured that he may be Kōdandarāma (Rāmarāja V, see *Table* at the end) who was a nephew of Srī-Ranga VI. Another prince who was occupying a subordinate position in Srī-Ranga's reign, was Venkata, at whose instance the Kasaram grant was issued by Srī-Ranga VI, in 1644. (See *M.E.R.* 1911, para 60, App. A. No. 22). He is described as the son of Kari-Channa and grandson of Peda-Venkata. It has been suggested that he was, perhaps, a grandson of Venkata II, who not being in the direct line of descent, did not succeed to the throne and was consequently occupying a minor position under Srī-Ranga VI. (*Ibid*). If so, he has to be identified with Venkata V (see *Table* at the end), an younger brother of Kōdanda-Rāma. It is possible that Kari-Channa was an alternative name of Venkata IV, elder brother of Srī-Ranga VI. (See *Table*).

Domestic  
life.

.. Sri-Ranga married, according to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, three ladies :—

Papamma, daughter of Gobbūri Vengala ; Rāghavamma, the daughter of Pōchirāja Venga ; and Vengamma, the daughter of Pōchirāja Venkata.

That he had no male issue by any of these queens, at least up to 1660 A.D., seems to be indicated by a copper-plate record of his which comes from Belur, dated in that year. This record registers a gift of certain lands to one Venkatēsa, a favourite Brāhman priest of his, on the occasion of the holy time of *Mahōdaya*. Sri-Ranga VI made this gift "being," we are told, "desirous of obtaining a son," the gift being intended for feeding Brāhmins. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123). His prayer was apparently heard, for we hear of a son of his, rather dubiously referred to in a lithic record which comes from Keggare, Kunigal Taluk, where he is mentioned as "Sri-Ranga-Rāja's (? son) Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāyārāiya" (*Sri-Rangārāyara-Dēvamahārāyaraīyanavaru Pruthuvi-Sāmrajyam-gaittiralu*). (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 46). If Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya was the son of Sri-Ranga VI, he could only have been about three years or so, at the time of this record, for we know Sri-Ranga had no sons up to 1660 A.D. As the record in question is one of Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore, described as the son of Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar and grandson of Rāja-Wodeyar, to be identified with Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, who ruled between 1659 and 1672, A.D., the recognition of the suzerainty of the Dēva-Dēva, the son of Sri-Ranga VI, is of some interest. The *Rāmarājīyamu* does not mention any issue—male or female—of Sri-Ranga, VI. Nor is there any trace of this Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya in any other record of a later date. The fact that Sri-Ranga was succeeded by his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja V of the Table) seems also to indicate that Dēva-Dēva was probably still an young man. If he

was only three years old in 1664 A.D., he cannot have been more than 17 years in 1618, up to which year we have records for Śrī-Ranga VI. Whether Dēva-Dēva is identical with one of the two sons of Śrī-Ranga VI, said to be mentioned in a silver-plate grant of Sivāji, registering some provision for them and their widowed mother, it is not possible to determine. (See *Sources*, 312, *f.n.*). We have, however, a number of records of Venkata V, son of Venkata IV and nephew of Śrī-Ranga VI, with full imperial titles ranging from 1662 to 1669 A.D. In these, he is described as seated on the "diamond or jewelled throne at Ghanagiri, (*i.e.*, Penukonda), and ruling a secure kingdom" and protecting the world. As we know that Śrī-Ranga VI returned to Penukonda from Belur about 1663, these records may be accepted as registering the actual state of affairs. The earliest of his records, which is dated in 1662-3 A.D., comes from Nellore and registers a grant for building a tank by Mahāmandalēsvara Kochari Jaggarāya (or Jaggayadēva) Mahārājalayya. From this it would seem that a good part of Nellore was still in the possession of the Imperial family in 1663 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 418, Venkatagiri 24). The next two records, dated in 1665 or 1668, come from Gundlupet and register the grant of a village by the Mysore king Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, (*i.e.*, Dodda-Dēvarāja) to a Viraktamatha, which he caused to be built to the north of the Nadisvara temple at that place. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet, 64 and 65). Then we have a record from Tarikere, dated in 1669, registering a grant by Balagiri Nāyaka of Sante-Bennur, who is described as the rod in his (Venkata's) right hand. (*E.C.* V, Tarikere 21). Finally comes the grant registered in the Tirumalāpūr copper-plate, dated in probably 1669 A.D. This records the gift of a village by one Sāli-Nāyaka, who had been appointed Amara-Nāyaka of Yarakatta in the Hoysala country by Venkata V. (*E.C.* XII, Chikka-

nayakanhalli, 38). It was at the instance of Venkata V that the Kasiram grant, dated in 1644, was issued by his uncle Sri-Ranga VI. (See above).

As a literary patron.

There is some evidence in the *Rāmarājīyamu* (V. 358) that Sri-Ranga VI was a lover of poets and a warm patron of authors and writers.

Authorises issue of coins by the E. I. Co. at Madras

Though Sri-Ranga VI himself did not issue any new coin, he is known to have authorized the issue by the E. I. Co's agents at Madras of what is known as the pagodas of the "Swāmi" type. Both the Dutch and the British Companies struck "Venkatapati pagodas" but with a granulated reverse. The Dutch coins acquired the name of "Porto Navo Pagodas" because they were chiefly issued from Porto Navo, South Arcot. The famous "Star Pagoda" was of this type, with only the addition of a star on the reverse. (See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*; E. Thurston, *History of the E.I. Co's Coinage in J.A.S.B.*, 1893, 52; *History of the Coinage of the territories of the E. I. Co*; C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, 65).

Sri-Ranga's return from Belur to Chandragiri, and then to Penukonda, 1665-1669 A.D.

The Editor of *the History of the Nāyaks of Madura* has hazarded the remark that the "trend of the transactions connected with the final disappearance of Sri-Ranga III, (i.e., VI according to the *Geneological Table* at the end of this section) is wrapped up in obscurity." (See *History of Nāyaks of Madura*, 133, f.n., 60). The table of copper-plate grants given above does not disclose any such mystery as is suggested in this remark. Whether Sri-Ranga VI "ceased to be a force in South Indian politics" about 1675 A.D. as suggested by the last mentioned critic (*Ibid*, 134, f.n., 60) or whether the Empire itself ceased to exist in 1646 as adumbrated by Mr. Krishna Sāstri immediately after the invasion of Mir Jumla, the Gōlconda general, (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 193), are

questions that need not detain us for any length of time, for they appear to be made on insufficient data. The Empire survived, as we have seen, Mir Jumla's campaign, and as regards the "disappearance" of Sri-Ranga VI after 1675 A.D., there is ample reason to believe he was active on the political stage till 1681 A.D., when we hear no more of him. There seems little doubt that he ruled from Belur up to about 1664. A record dated in 1665 would seem to suggest that he had regained Chandragiri from where it is dated. In 1669, he appears to have wrested back Penukonda, where his power appears to have been strengthened by the death of Abdulla, the Sultān of Gōlconda in 1662.

A number of inscriptions dated in 1674 refer to his rule from that famous City. A record of his, dated in 1681, however, while it mentions his rule, does not mention Penukonda as his capital. As before remarked, between the dates 1674 and 1681, certain important events had occurred in South India, which helped to put in the shade Sri-Ranga's authority. Venkāji, the son of Shāhji, had in 1678 taken Tanjore and superseded Sengamaladās, the youthful son of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, the last Nāyak ruler of Tanjore. He had been sent over by the Bijāpur Sultān to displace one Alagiri, a general from Madura, who had practically usurped all sovereign authority in Tanjore. After defeating the latter and reinstating Sengamaladās, Venkāji seized the throne for himself. (See Wilks, *History of Mysoor*, I, 49; W. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, 176-79). Sivāji, his brother, next invaded Gingee, on behalf of the Bijāpur Sultān, and overran the Karnātic, in 1677. (Wilks, *i.e.*, I, 51. Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrathas*, I, 203; *La Mission du Madure*, III, 46). Thus the two Nāyakships of Gingee and Tanjore were in the hands of the Mahrāttas. Sivāji probably nursed the ambition of driving the Mahammadans out of the Karnātic and declaring himself King. He even repaired the

Recognised as  
Emperor in  
records up to  
1681.

fortress of Gingee. He is said to have "constructed ramparts round Gingee, dug ditches, raised towers and bastions and carried out all these works with a perfection of which European skill would not have been ashamed." (*La Mission du Madure*, III, 81). But death supervened in 1680 and put an end to his designs.

Death of  
Sri-Ranga,  
VI.

About a year later, Sri-Ranga VI himself probably died, for we have no record of him after that date.

An estimate  
of his rule.

Sri-Ranga VI is a pathetic figure on the stage of Vijayanagar history. He had from the first year of his rule to engage himself in war to maintain his regal position. He was neither well served by those immediately around him (such as Mallai and others) nor by those far away in the Provinces (such as the Nāyaks of Gingee and Madura). Sivappa of Kēladi rendered loyal service to him. Similarly, Kanthīrava, Dodda-Dēva and Chikka-Dēva were true to him. The conduct of these redeem an otherwise traitorous chapter in South Indian History. By himself, Sri-Ranga was evidently a man blessed with no mean political insight, though he appears to have been singularly unfortunate in some of his instruments. Mallai as a soldier was evidently a great mistake. Sri-Ranga paid heavily for the folly of selecting him to oppose Mīr-Jumla. His quarrel with Venkatādri was probably unavoidable but, with some tact, might, perhaps, have been avoided with advantage to himself, when he was on the threshold of his career as sovereign. He fought for his territories again and again, and he deserved to succeed more fully than the Fates evidently allowed him.

Successors of  
Sri-Ranga VI.

The following is a tentative list of kings who, according to inscriptional records, and the *Rāmarājīyam*, appear to have ruled over an attenuated Empire after Sri-Ranga VI:—



Kōdanda-Rāma I (or Rāma-Rāja V).	Mentioned in <i>Rāma-Rājīyamū</i> ; no inscriptions; records available about him.
Venkata V (assisted his brother above named).	
Peda-Venkata or Venkata VI.	... 1690-1717.
Sri-Ranga VII (Crown Prince from 1693).	1693-1759.

Mahādēva-Rāya, represented as ruling at Ghanagiri, is mentioned in a copper-plate record dated in 1724. (Sewell, *Lists*, C.-P. No. 109). He may be identified with Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya mentioned as the son of Sri-Ranga VI in E.C.XII, Kunigal, 143 dated in 1664 A.D. He was probably ruling over a part of the kingdom in the year mentioned.

Chinna-Venkata or Venkata VII	(Crown Prince 1742-1752).
Chinna-Venkata VIII.	...
Kōdanda-Rāma II (or Rāma-Rāja VI	(ruled as independent prince in 1739).
Venkata IX.	

The above list may be usefully compared with the list of the later kings of the fourth dynasty drawn up at the instance of Col. Colin Mackenzie in 1801. (See *Mackenzie Mss.*, translations &c. X, Nos. 9 and 10) :—

Venkatapati-Rāyaloo	...	1672-1692
Chinna-Rāyaloo	...	1692-1703
Dasa-Rāyaloo	...	1703-1720
Chikka-Dasa-Rāyaloo	...	1720-1733
Rāma-Rāyaloo	...	1733-1755
Tirumala-Rāyaloo	...	1756 (still alive at the time the list was drawn up in 1801).

Of the above, Venkatapati-Rāyaloo is identical with Venkata V, Chinna-Rāyaloo has probably to be indentified with Venkata VI, above mentioned; Dāsa-Rāyaloo with Sri-Ranga VII, who was crown prince of Venkata VI. Chikka-dāsa-Rāyaloo with Venkata VII, crown prince of Sri-Ranga VII above; Rāma-Rāyaloo with Kōdanda-Rāma or Rāma-Rāja VI; and Tirumala-Rāyaloo is probably identical with Tirumala, the son of Vira-Venkata, the son of Gōpāla and the adopted son of

Chinna-Dāsa of the *Genealogical* table of the descendants of Chinna-Venkata III printed by Mr. Sewell. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 216). This latter table differs somewhat in regard to the names and the relationships noted in it from the *Table* printed at the end of this section. It is not at present possible to reconcile these two tables. It is from the Tirumala last named, however, that the present Rāja of Ānegondi traces his descent. (See *Ibid*).

Brief sketch  
of their rule.

The "rule" of these kings will be briefly sketched out below, with the remark that what is mentioned of them is gleaned mainly from inscriptional records and that they are only set down to aid future study of this last phase of Vijayanagar history.

Kōdanda-  
Rāma I or  
Rāma-Rāja  
V, 1681-1704.

On the death of Śrī-Ranga, his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma, eldest son of Venkata IV, succeeded him to the dignity of the Empire, which was only one in name. As already remarked, he was probably governing a part of the country during the distracted reign of his uncle as also his younger brother Venkata V. He may be the Ramanarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja mentioned in a record which comes from Kalasapura, dated in 1663. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 153).

The *Rāmarājīyam* states that he ruled the kingdom with fame assisted by his last brother Venkata V. This Venkata V, as mentioned in the account of the reign of Śrī-Ranga VI, was a provincial ruler and had evidently some experience of administration. Hence the statement that he helped Kōdanda-Rāma, his elder brother, in governing the country, may be true.

Extent of his  
kingdom.

The extent of the kingdom ruled over by Kōdanda-Rāma is rather difficult to make out. Except part of the country round Penukonda, which figures as the recognized capital for about sixty years later, the country

had been overrun by the Muhammadans and the Mahrātas and even Mysore had extended her frontiers and consolidated her position. Probably there was fight even against his continued possession of Belur. (See above).

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Kōdanda-Rāma had two younger brothers, Timma and Venkatātri. Of them, Timma (or Tirumala) has been described as a very pious devotee of Virūpāksha at the old Imperial Capital of Vijayanagar. It has been stated that he built here the tall eastern *gōpura* (tower) of the temple of Pampa, which had then gone to ruins. He is said to have composed the *Rāmāyana* in Telugu (in the *dvipada* metre) and dedicated it to his favourite deity. He is also said to have laid out an extensive and shady garden by the side of the Tungabhadra in Vijayanagar City and there built the temple of Sri-Ranganātha resembling Srirangam on the banks of the Cauvery. He married Kōnētamma, the daughter of Konda of the Jillēla family, and Tiruvēngadāmba, the daughter of Pōchirāju Rāma. The first of these is said to have been a patron of poets. Tirumala had by her two sons Sri-Ranga (VII) and Chinna-Venkata or Venkata (VII). (See *Table* at the end). Kōdanda-Rāma himself had four sons—Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI), Chinna-Venkata (Venkata VIII), Kōdanda-Rāma II (Rāma-Rāja VI) and Venkata (IX).

Domestic  
life and  
charities.

It was during Kōdanda-Rāma's rule that the old enemies of his House, the Bijāpur and the Gōlkonda Sultāns, were conquered by Aurangazib, the Moghul Emperor (1686 and 1688.) Their territories passed nominally under the Moghul sovereignty. But the destruction of Bijāpur and Gōlkonda made the Mahrattas, after Aurangazib's death, the undisputed masters of South India. Though Aurangazib conquered the two Sultāns, he was compelled to let go his grip on Southern

Conquest of  
Bijāpur and  
Gōlkonda,  
1686 and 1688.

India and lead back his troops to Ahmednagar. As has been frequently remarked, Aurangazib continued even after Sivāji's death, to wage his victorious yet hopeless campaign against his spirit. These were the two great protagonists that monopolize attention during the forty years that elapsed from the first flight of Sri-Ranga VI to the end of the reign of Kōdanda-Rāma I. Aurangazib died in 1707 and the Moghul sovereignty in the South ceased to exist. A strong ruler like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would have recovered the lost sovereignty of the Imperial House. But that House was ill-blessed at the time and was itself in the last stages of its destruction and decay. Kōdanda-Rāma I, though a good and amiable ruler, was hardly the man to make the most of the opportunity that lay at his hand.

The lost opportunity of Kōdanda-Rāma I.

It was the break-up of the Moghul Empire by the Mahrāttas that made possible this opportunity and it was the same cause which allowed the successors of Sri-Ranga VI, from Kōdanda-Rāma I to Kōdanda-Rāma II, to still keep up a semblance of royalty and rule in diverse parts of the country from about 1681 to 1759. The success of Haidar in 1761 in effecting a virtual revolution in Mysore opened a new chapter in the history of India. It swept away the lingering remains of the Vijayanagar Empire throughout the South and made bold that ambitious soldier of fortune to try conclusions with even the British for supremacy in the South. (See below).

Battle of Jūtūru, circa 1688.

Kōdanda-Rāma I is said to have fought a battle against his enemies outside the town of Jūtūru and utterly defeated them. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyam*, 312). Who these enemies were, it is not clear. Jūtūru, where the battle was fought, has probably to be identified with the place of that name in the Udayagiri-Sīma, Nellore District, for whose tank the *meras* was

fixed in *Saka* 1558 (should be 1560) Bahudhānaya (A.D. 1638) in the reign of Venkata II. (See *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 751-2, Kavali 49). According to this record, the village had been granted to Velugōti Venkatapati Nāyanivāru in that year as an *amaram*. It was presumably in the hands of his descendants and had been held by them. Udayagiri was overrun by Abdulla about 1658 and had been in his possession. Jūtūru should, therefore, have been included in the new Gōlconda acquisitions in that province. It is possible that after the fall of Gōlconda in 1687, these territories threw off their allegiance and the local Velugōti chief claimed possession, without any regard to the rights of Kōdanda-Rāma. Hence probably the fight, in which the latter was successful. If so, the battle fought at Jūtūru may be taken to have been fought about the year 1688.

Another fight in which, according to *Rāmarājīyamu*, Kōdanda-Rāma distinguished himself was the one which was fought at Hassan against the Mysore troops under Kumārāyya. Kumārāyya, we know, figured in the siege of Trichinopoly in 1696 A.D. There can be hardly any doubt he should be the person mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu*. Two years before, there was a war between Ikkēri and Mysore, at the end of which a peace treaty was concluded, by which the whole of the present district of Hassan, except Manjarābād, was ceded to Mysore. The fight between Kōdanda-Rāma and Kumārāyya at Hassan should, perhaps, be traced to a period later than this war between Ikkēri and Mysore, which occurred in the reign of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, as the *Rāmarājīyamu* mentions Kanthīravēndra the ruling Mysore king of the time. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 318, line 15 of *Vijayasīsamālika*). Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja II was the son of Chikka-Dēva and ruled from 1704-1713 A.D.

Fight for the possession of Belur: battle of Hassan.

The battle at Hassan, therefore, should have been fought, at the earliest, about 1704. (Chikka-Dēva had also a brother Kanthīrava, who is known only to genealogists and as such cannot be the Kanthīrava referred to in the *Rāmarājīyamu*). Evidently during the reign of Kanthīrava-Narasa II, an attempt appears to have been made to break off connection with the weakening Empire, which claimed to rule from Penukonda and evidently endeavoured to continue its hold on Belur. Though in the battle at Hassan, Kōdanda-Rāma was ably assisted by his Telugu feudatories (Kāsarkota Timmayya, Subnis Krishnayya and the invincible Matti, probably Matla Venkatapati and others, see *Ibid*, Text, 318) and was successful in it, he does not appear to have continued in possession of Belur much longer after this battle. Evidently the growing power of the Mysore Kings should have entirely ruled out any further claims of Vijayanagar in this area. The identity of Matla Venkatapati, the feudatory of Kōdanda-Rāma I, is disclosed by an inscriptional record which comes from Lēpāka, Cuddapah District, dated in 1712-13, of his son Perumalla-Rāja, who is said to have constructed a sluice to a tank at that place. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, para 88, App. B. No. 430). He is there styled Venkatakrishnarāju-Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāju. There is a Matla Venkatarāmarāju-Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāju referred to in a couple of copper-plate records dated in 1689 and 1690. (*M.E.R.* 1907-8, App. A. Nos. 3 and 4). Whether he is identical with Venkakrishna-Mahārāju above named remains to be cleared up.

A poetical picture of Kōdanda-Rāma's reign.

We have a pleasing picture of Kōdanda-Rāma I and of the ceremonial court held by him in the *Rāmarājīyamu* but it is impossible to say how much of it is poetical. He impresses one as an active and valiant prince who tried to maintain his vanishing power.

To Kōdanda-Rāma we owe the *Rāmarājīyamu*, for it is to him that that great poem was dedicated by poet Venkayya. It is stated in the poem that it was written at Kōdanda-Rāma's request. It is to the Vijayanagar history what the *Lusiad* of Camoens is to that of the Portuguese in India. It is a poetical history of the Āravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar. Its merits are many, not the least its general accuracy in regard to historical events and to the relationship that existed between the different members of the Imperial family and the families of subordinate chiefs. Though first discovered and edited by Dr. G. Oppert, now nearly thirty years ago, it still awaits a detailed study and careful annotation. The poem is known by the alternative name of *Narapati-Vijayamu* and sometime also as *Rāmarājīyamu* and is so named after Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, the famous son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāja, the virtual founder of the Āravidu dynasty. It should accordingly be set down to the close of 17th century A.D. when Kōdanda-Rāma I ruled.

His interest in literature patron of Venkayya, author of *Rāmarājīyamu*.

As we have no more trace of Kōdanda-Rāma after 1704, it is probable that he died somewhere about that date. He does not appear to have long survived his success at Hassan.

His death 1704.

Of his above mentioned sons, Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI) appears to have ruled with his father Kōdanda-Rāma. Venkata VI is represented by a number of inscriptional records dated from 1690 to 1717. A record from Kampli, in the Bellary District, dated in 1690, registers a right of way settled by certain merchants of the place. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, para 88; App. B. No. 717 of 1922). Next comes a copper-plate record from Madura, registering a grant of land in 1701, by Queen Mangammāl, for a feeding institute. (*M.E.R.* 1910-11, para 62, App. A. No. 3 of 1911). Another copper-plate grant of

Peda-Venkata or Venkata VI, 1704-1717.

the same Queen, dated in 1706, comes from the Tinnevely District, registering likewise a gift of land. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 110). Next comes a copper-plate grant from the Sankarāchārya-matha at Kumbakonam, dated in 1708-9 A.D., registering the gift of a village to that math by Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. No. 4). Finally, we have a copper-plate grant, dated in 1717 A.D., registering the gift of a *chuttram* at Srirangam to the Srīperambudūr Yatirāja-svāmi by Visvanātha-rāja-Vijayaranga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura. (*M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 13). As most of these grants give Venkata VI the full complement of Imperial titles and mention his rule from Penukonda, there can be no doubt he was recognized in certain parts of the country, including the Anantapur and Bellary Districts and probably portions of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely Districts, as exercising some regal authority over them.

Sri-Ranga  
VII, co-ruler  
with him  
from 1693.

During his reign, Sri-Ranga VII, his cousin, appears to have governed a part of the country with him, as we have records of him from 1693 onwards. (See below).

Venkata VI appears to have been, like his forbears, a literary patron. It was to him that the *Venkatapati-Rāja Dandakam* was dedicated by its author.

Sri-Ranga  
VII, 1717-  
1759.

Sri-Ranga VII was probably the next ruler. A record of the Sugatur chief Mummadi Chikka-Rāya Tamme Gaudayya, dated in 1693, registers his rule from Penukonda. Evidently he was in charge of a small part of the home province in which Sugatur was really or nominally included. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote, 105). Presumably he was the person on whom Shāhji in 1639 bestowed the Punganur district in place of Kolar, which he committed to his son Sāmbhāji. He is styled Rānga-Rāja-Wodeyar



in a record dated in 1704. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47). A number of records dated in the Cyclic year *Khara* (corresponding to *Saka* 1633, or A.D. 1710-11) will have to be assigned to him. (See *M.A.R.* 1925, Nos. 94 and 102; *M.A.R.* 1926, Nos. 86, 96, and 102; and *M.A.R.* 1927, No. 98). Two records dated in 1712 and 1713, in *Srī-Ranga's* period of rule from Penukonda, mention gifts by Mummadi Kempe-Gowda's grandson Mummadi Kempa-Vira-Gowdayya. It is possible that Kempe-Gowda-Kempa-Vire-Gowda of Magadi recognised the overlordship of *Srī-Ranga VII* in the year mentioned, as we know that Magadi was not captured by Mysore until 1728, when the chief was carried off to Seringapatam, where he, the last of the line, died. (*E.C.* IV, Magadi, 42 and 3). A few copper-plate grants from Madura and Tinnevely recognize *Srī-Ranga's* authority in the old *Nāyaka* viceroyalty. One, dated in 1716, registers a gift by Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha, son of Ranga-Krishnamuttu-Virappa and grandson of Chokkanātha. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 50). A second, dated in 1729, which comes from Madura, registers a grant by Sinna Kadirappa-Nāyaka, chief of Dindigal under Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha of Madura. (Sewell, *loc. cit.* C.-P. No. 33; Burgess and Natēsa Sāstri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, 117-21, No. 27.) Another, dated in 1741, registers a gift to the Kumbakonam Sankarāchārya-matha. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 54.) Two other grants take us to still later dates. One of these is dated 20th July 1758 and registers a grant by the Māsti chief Krishna-Rāja Gaudayya to Lakshmīdhara-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmimanōhara-tīrtha, who was the disciple of Rāmachandra-tīrtha of the Vyāsa-Rāya-matha. (*M.A.R.* 1925, 20-21, No. 7). Māsti, though united to Hoskote on the conquest of Kolar by the Mahrāttas, was not annexed until the conquests of Haidar Alī were completed. Hence this chief's recognition of *Srī-Ranga's* authority over

him. Another copper-plate record, dated 11th May 1759, in Sri-Ranga's reign at Penukonda, registers a grant by the Sugatur chief Mummadi-Chikka-Rāya-Tammegowda, named above. (*M.A.R.* 1923, 55, No. 36).

Mahādēva-Rāya, as subordinate governor of Penukonda, 1664-1724.

During this reign, Mahādēva-Rāya, identified above with Dēva-Dēva, son of Sri-Ranga VII, appears to have ruled over Penukonda and its suburbs. He is referred to in two records, one dated in 1664 (as Dēva-Dēva, *E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 46) and another in 1724, (as Mahādēva, Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 109, which comes from Tinnevely). Probably he held a subordinate position under Sri-Ranga VII.

Venkata VII, another subordinate governor, 1715 to 1752.

Another prince who appears to have ruled over some small extent of territory with all the Imperial titles added to his name during this reign was Venkata VII (Chinna-Venkata), brother of Sri-Ranga VII. We have records mentioning him from 1715 to 1752 A.D. The earliest of these, dated in the *cyclic year* (the *Saka* date being omitted) records a grant of his to the Siva temple at Tirumalaisai, by his agent Dinakara Pillai. As has already been pointed out above, the Venkatapati-Dēva of this record has been sought to be identified with Venkata II but the difficulties in the way of such identification are:—(a) that the *Jaya* year mentioned has to be taken, in that case, as corresponding to *Saka* 1577, (or A.D. 1655) which would take the reign of Venkata II into the reign of his successor Sri-Ranga VII; and that (b) we have to concede that Venkata II lived in retirement up to that date, whereas we know as a matter of fact that he died in or about October 1642. It would seem to follow from these considerations that the *Jaya* year mentioned in this record should be taken to be *Saka* 1637, or A.D. 1715, which would make it one of Venkata VII. Another record of this prince is dated in 1733 and

comes from Trichnopoly, registering a gift by Queen Minākshi, widow of Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha. This record mentions that Venkata VII was sovereign at the time and ruling from Penukonda. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 49). The period of Minākshi's rule (1732-6) was, as we know, marked by internal strife, which was followed by foreign aggression and the final extinction of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura. (See Sathyanatha Iyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 232 *et seq.*). Another record of this prince, dated in 1742, comes from Pāpināyakanhalli, Bellary District, and registers the gift of a village by a servant of the king. Another dated in 1752, coming from Muddāpura, Bellary District, registers the consecration of a village for the merit of king Venkata VII. It has to be conceded from a consideration of the above records that Venkata exercised some authority over the Nāyak province of Madura and later over parts of the present Bellary District.

Finally, we have another prince, Rāmarāya, who is described as "ruling the world" in a copper-plate grant from Trichinopoly dated in 1739. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 43.) He is probably identical with Kōdanda-Rāma II (or Rāma-Rāja VI), son of Kōdanda-Rāma I (or Rāma-Rāja V), and the Rāma-Rāyaloo of the *Mackenzie Mss.* list above set forth.

Rāma-Rāya, probably another subordinate ruler, 1739.

Sri-Ranga VII, accordingly, is the last sovereign of the dynasty known to inscriptions. As he was co-ruler with Venkata I in 1693, and we have records of him up to 1759, he should have had an unusually long reign—counting from 1693, it would be 66 years and from 1717, 42 years. Taking it for granted that he began to be co-ruler from his 18th year, he would have been, in 1759, 84 years of age. As we do not hear any more of him after that date, he probably died about that year.

Sri-Ranga VII, the last sovereign known to inscriptional records.

His death, 1759.

Tirumala-  
Rāya  
dispossessed  
by Tipu  
Sultān and  
Ānegundi  
sacked, 1776.

With him, the dynasty, as such, virtually closed. According to the *Mackenzie Mss.*, however, Tirumala-Rāya, who succeeded, in 1756, Rāma Rāyaloo (identical with Kōdanda-Rāma II or Rāma-Rāja VI) was still ruling in 1801 at Ānegundi. As he is the person from whom the present Rājas of Ānegundi trace their descent, he probably represented that section of the Āravidu dynasty that settled down at Ānegundi after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. He is probably identical with Timmappa, who was dispossessed by Tipu Sultān, when he overran the whole country in 1776 and burnt the town of Ānegundi and its suburbs.

The  
Vijayanagar  
Empire:  
its duration  
and causes of  
its decline  
and fall.

The story of the Vijayanagar Empire may be said to end here. This Empire had endured in one form or another, for nearly 440 years (1336 to 1776, when Ānegundi was burnt by Tipu Sultān), under some thirty princes, claiming descent from four different dynasties, more or less connected with each other. Attaining its greatest magnitude in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, including as it did practically the whole country south of the Krishna, it had gradually broken up and contracted its territorial limits, until it had come to occupy but the country immediately surrounding, at first Penukonda, and finally Ānegundi, its ancestral home. Its destruction had been caused partly by internal decay—the interne-cine quarrels for succession are a sure indication of this—and partly by the ceaseless invasions of the Muhammadan powers of the North. Vijayanagar attracted, by its wealth and glory, the invader, whose armies dispoiled its fertile plains. Her sack in 1565 by the Muhammadan hosts and conquerors was, perhaps, worse than what Rome experienced at the hands of Alaric or Genseric. Tirumala's retirement to Penukonda did not, as events showed it, save it or the Empire. The invasions followed until the invaders in turn were invaded and their capitals

and themselves blotted out of existence by a higher power. Meanwhile, weaker sovereigns began to appear on the scene and province after province was abandoned to the Viceroys and local feudatories, who looked more to their own self-aggrandizement than to the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. The letter of Proenza forms a contemporary protest against the suicidal policy of Tirumala, which hastened the ruin of the Empire, and made South India lose every chance of retaining for her good a central Government, strong and well-knit, which would have stood out against the Moghul and the Mahratta. When the provinces fell off, the Empire could not maintain itself. From the time of the early Emperors—beginning from Dēva-Rāya I—it had been considered a matter of excellent strategy to take the invading Muhammadans themselves into pay and use them for military purposes. This policy, however, proved fatal, the bond of religion proved stronger than the love of lucre. What was witnessed at Raksas-Tagdi in 1565 was repeated at Gingee in 1644. The Muhammadan powers perceived their strength and determined to use it and have the country for themselves. They succeeded in their destructive work, but hardly had they dealt the mortal blow than they were themselves overwhelmed with disaster. The Empire they helped to destroy survived their own destruction, though in a feeble, attenuated and decrepit form, for another three quarters of a century (1688 to 1776), thus scorning at the mad thought that had taken possession of them. It seems a sad reflection that these neighbours could not have hit on a common course of action for their mutual benefit. But the idea of a more or less permanent League was foreign to the times as Federation appears to have been unthinkable to the congeries of States into which the Bāhmani kingdom broke up. The result was disastrous in either case. They fought until they all destroyed each other.

The good it wrought in Southern India.

Though the Vijayanagar Empire disappeared, the good it wrought is still with us. The people of the South of India are the children of that Empire—in religion, social life and philosophic ideals. Saivism and Vaishnavism spread through the land, the former with the first dynasty of kings and the second with the second, third and fourth dynasties. Literature and fine arts, architecture and sculpture, and learning and the secular arts flourished and they form a heritage to countless generations, yet unborn, in this land. Vijayanagar lives though dead. Its fall marks, in one sense, the death of the mediæval world and the birth of a new one—perhaps, the greatest transition in South Indian History.

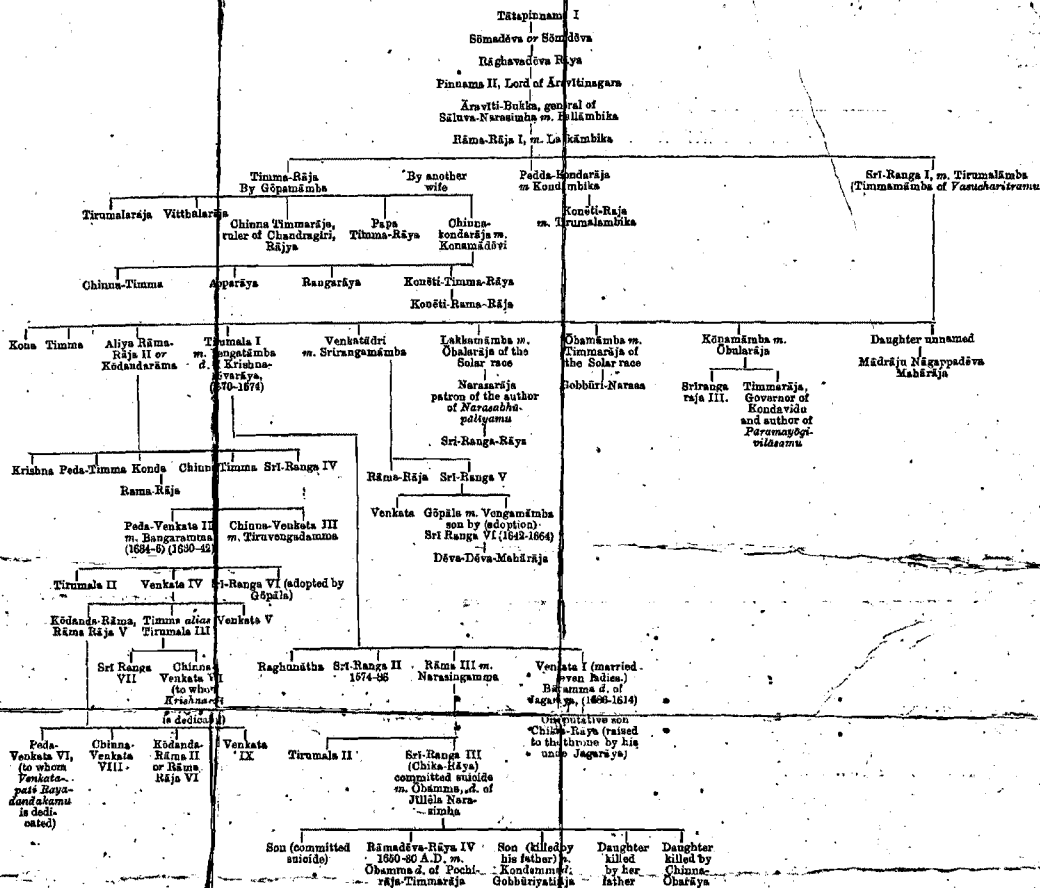
Coinage of Vijayanagar Kings.

A few words may be added here on the coinage of the Vijayanagar kings. The four dynasties of kings appear to have issued coins from time to time. Probably there were re-issues again and again of the older coins, as the inscriptions do not refer to new coinage except at great intervals of time. The older coins of the countries included in the vast Empire—such as the Pāndya, Chōla, Hoysala, etc.,—should have also had considerable vogue, as some of them are referred to occasionally even in the inscriptions. The small dumpy pagodas issued by the Vijayanagar kings with their half and quarter divisions, appear to have set the fashion for the south. Coins, gold or copper, of more than twelve sovereigns are known. On these coins appear a number of devices, the commonest being the bull, the elephant, different Hindu deities, and the famous Gandabhērunda, a double eagle holding an elephant in each beak and claw. The Bull probably represents the Saiva cult, which was professed by some of the early kings, and the Elephant perhaps signifies one of their most important constituents of warfare. A pagoda, on the obverse of which a God and Goddess appear sitting side by side, was struck by Harihara I and repeated

## PEDIGREE OF THE ARAVIDU (OR FOURTH) DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

(The Imperial Branch.)

TABLE II



Note.—(1) This pedigree is based on that given in the *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 238 with such modifications as later researches have necessitated. To avoid confusion, no attempt has been made to alter the original numbers attached to the names. The successors of Sri-Ranga VI are tentatively given numbers to differentiate them from one another.

(2) The main branch of the Aravidu family is given separately. (See Table I.)

PEDIGREE OF THE ARAVIDU (OR FOURTH) DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

TABLE I.

(Main Family.)

Tirupinname

Somasiva (or Somidiva)

Harihara-Deva (Raghavendra of the *Balahagastama*).

Pinnama

Aravil-Bukka (general of Harihara-Narasimha)

By Ahala-Devi

By Ballambika

Sagaraja  
Nandiyala Narasimha

Tiruma-Deva (*Pravaha-Nayakudu*  
of *Balahagastama*)

Paddalindaraja  
Kondambika

St. Ranga I or Tirumalamba  
(Tirumanamba of the *Ven-  
chavira*). (See Table II.)

Anaharaja

Narasaraja

Kumaraja I, w. Lakshminika

Obalaraja (or  
Ahhalarava-  
siva)

Narasagaraja

Chinna Ahala-  
raja, ruler of  
Udayagiri

Tirumayadava  
(of Nandiyala),  
ruler of  
Chandibala

Krishnaraja of  
Nandiyala  
(son of the  
author of  
*Kalperudra-  
perera*)

By Gajana (mentioned in  
*Balahagastama*).

Krishnaraja,  
w. Tiruma-  
Mambika

Ahala Kondaraja

Tirumayara

Rangaraja

of Udayagiri.

Mahamandalayana  
Narasagaraja  
Maharaja (No. 229  
1597 dated in 1476  
A.D.)

Mahavechakadri-  
Raja (No. 295 dated  
1597 dated in  
1493-1471  
A.D.)

Tirumala

Vittala (of  
*Balahagastama*  
see and  
Companion of  
Tirumala Raja)

Chinna  
Tiruma

Tiruma  
Tiruma  
w. Kocamma

By a different wife

(When the *Balahagastama* calls  
*Tirumaladeva alahagastaraja*.  
He is the *Aravil-Nayakudu*  
of *Balahagastama*. Mentioned  
as Harihara-Chinna-Tirumaya-  
Deva-Maharaja in inscriptions.  
See M. E. S. No. 945 of 1904 and  
No. 9 and 446 of 1906. He was  
ruling over Chandragiri-raja-  
(M. E. S. 1918-11, Para 66)

By Tirumala Devi (mentioned  
in the *Balahagastama*)

S. Tirumalamba  
w. Narasara-  
ja (to whom  
*Aravil-Naya-  
kudu* is  
dedicated)

Rangappa

St. Ranga-Raja

Chinna  
amma

Apparaja

Rangaraja

Kondambika

NOTE.—The pedigree of the Imperial branch of the Aravidu Dynasty of kings is given separately (see Table II.)



by Dēva-Rāya. These probably represent Siva and Pārvati, knowing as we do that the first Dynasty of Kings professed the Saiva faith. The reverse has the following legend in Nagari:—*Srī-Pratāpa-Harihara*. Gold and copper coins of Haribara II are still met with. (*I.A.* XV 302, XXII 321; *E.I.* III 118.) Dēva-Rāya is also said to have issued a pagoda of his own but the issue is so closely imitative of his earlier namesake that it is difficult to distinguish between the two sets of coins. They are well known as Dēva-Rāya *pon* or *hana* or *panam*. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 40; *M.E.R.* 1910-11, page 85). *Vira-Chāmpa-guligai*, evidently so called after Kampana, the conqueror of Padaividu, are also known. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 42). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the first to issue a coin with the distinctive mark of Vishnu on its obverse, seated with discus and conch. (See under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya above). Similarly, Aliya Rāma-Rāja II is said to have issued another coin with God Vishnu on it, but the Vishnu figure is seen *standing* under a canopy on it and not *sitting* as on the coin of Krishna-Dēva. Tirumala's coin had also the figure of Vishnu on it but Vishnu is seen on it *standing* with his two consorts, one on either side, *sitting*. Venkata I issued a new *varāha* in his name which has on its obverse God Vishnu *standing* under an arch and on its reverse the Nagari legend *Srī-Venkatēsvarāya Namah*. (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 63-64, Plate VII.) From Krishna-Dēva to Venkata I, the *standing* figure of Vishnu may be taken to be that of Venkatēsa, the God on the Tirupati Hill, to which the Kings of Vijayanagar became deeply devoted from the time of Krishna-Dēva. The legend on the reverse of the coin issued by Venkata I gives the clue to this interpretation of the representations of the coins of Krishna-Dēva, Rāma-Rāja II and Tirumala I.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1416	8	For "Yādanas" read "Yādavas."
1421	5	For "Madhura" read "Madura."
1424	10	For "seats" read "seat."
1425	29	For "unpracticable" read "unpractical."
1426	5	For "Malabar" read "Ma'abar."
1438	24	For "Kampābhūpati" read "Kampabhūpati."
1439	12	For "born" read "boon."
1439	15	Insert a comma after " <i>Bhārati-tirtha</i> ."
1439	22	For "these" read "His work."
1439	80	For "founded" read "found."
1440	2	Before "the" insert "Mādhava."
1442	3	After "Sarvajnavishnu" add:— <i>The Arulāla-Perumāl temple inscription states that Srikantanātha was the preceptor of Sāyana. (E.I. III. 119). Srikantanātha was the preceptor of Sangama II, whose minister was Sāyana. (E.I. III. 22). From the colophon to Tarakabhāsha-Prakāsika, we learn that it was composed by one Chinna-bhatta, who was the son of Vishnudevārādhyā, the younger brother of Sarvajna, and a dependant of Harihara II, (Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue 244 a). Sayana's teacher was a certain Vishnusarvajna. (See Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum under Sāyana). Sarvajna, the elder brother of Chinna-bhatta, is probably identical with the Sarvajna, the teacher of Sangama. (E.I. III, 118).</i>
1446	12	For "1254 A.D." read "1354 A.D."
1447	5	For "or" read "and."
1449	4	For "Sangama" read "Sangama."
1450	22	For "break up": read "break-up."
1450	25	For "abovementioned" read "above mentioned."
1453	Last line	For "Harihar" read "Harihara."
1460	1	For "abovementioned" read above mentioned."
1463	22	After the words " <i>(A Forgotten Empire 27-28)</i> ," add within the brackets:— <i>"Bitragunta Grant of Sangama II, grand-son of Sangama I and son of Kampana I" and then continue "Sangama II, according to this record, granted Bitragunta in the Nellore District to 28 Brāhmins at the suggestion of his religious preceptor, the Saiva Philosopher Srikantanātha. After the latter, Bitragunta (or Bittaragunta) received the name of Srikantapura. Another village called Simkēsari identified with Sunkēsaru, near Pushpagiri, in the Nellore District, was also granted by Sangama at the request of the same guru. The Bitragunta grant was made in Saka 1278 (=1356 A.D.). The inscription was written by Bbōganātha, the court-jester of Sangama II. The</i>

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
		object of the grant was two-fold :—to meet the request of his <i>guru</i> and to obtain immortality to his father, the grant having been made at the <i>Pratyābda-Kāle</i> , i.e., anniversary of his father's death. It may have been the <i>first</i> anniversary of Kampa's death. Sāyana probably was also minister of Harihara II. ( <i>E.I.</i> III. 21.)"
1467	3	For " <i>rāya-bakuta</i> " read " <i>rāyā-bākuta</i> ."
1473	15	Insert a point after "South."
1475	23	Insert a comma after "Kriyāsakti."
1477	35	Insert a point after "gōtras."
1477	36	Insert a comma after " <i>ratnamāla</i> ."
1479	5	For "kannada" read "Kannada."
1479	22	After "brothers." add:—"He is said to have been the Governor of Udayagiri. ( <i>E.I.</i> XIV. 97-100)."
1487	21	For "his" read "Kamapana II."
1488	28	For "his" read "Kampana's."
1488	30	For "Chitambaram" read "Chidambaram."
1491	7	After "Capital" add:—"Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out that <i>Maratakanagara</i> is a vulgar form of <i>Marakatanagara</i> , the city of emeralds. He quotes Bates' <i>Hindi Dictionary</i> and Platt's <i>Hindustani Dictionary</i> , which give both <i>Markat</i> and <i>Martak</i> . ( <i>E.I.</i> III. 40, f.n. 5). The form <i>Marataka</i> for <i>Marakata</i> occurs also in the Ranganātha inscription of Sundara-Pāndya, where the latter is styled <i>Marakata-prithivībhrit</i> , i.e., the emerald king. ( <i>E.I.</i> III. 11 and 12, Verse 13). That <i>Maratakanagara</i> was situated in the present North Arcot District seems inferable from the fact that <i>Anda-nādu</i> is described as a sub-division of <i>Martakanagara-prānta</i> in the Satysamangalam plates ( <i>E.I.</i> III. 35). Certain villages (e.g. <i>Vēppambattu</i> in the Vellore Taluk) were included in it; also the <i>Sima</i> of <i>Gudiyātam</i> , now the head quarters of a Taluk in North Arcot District, formed part of the <i>Anda-nādu</i> . (See <i>E.I.</i> III. 35, f.n. 3 and the authorities quoted therein). So, <i>Martaka-nagara-prānta</i> must have included parts of the present <i>Gudiyātam</i> and <i>Vellore Taluks</i> . Mr. Venkayya has drawn attention to the fact that the goddess of the <i>Mārgasāhāyēsvara</i> temple at <i>Virinchipuram</i> in the Vellore Taluk is even now called <i>Marakata-valli</i> . He, therefore, was inclined to identify <i>Maratakanagara</i> (for <i>Marakatanagara</i> ) with <i>Virinchipuram</i> itself. ( <i>E.I.</i> III. Additions and Corrections VII). This place is now called <i>Virinjipuram</i> , a Railway station on the Madras-Jalarpet Line. The temple is about 3 miles south of the Railway line and attracts many pilgrims during the festival season.
1491	19	Insert "had" after "who."

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1495	15	Insert a comma after "Tiruppulivanam."
1496	18	Add at the end:—From certain Ms. copies of the <i>Sāyaniya Subhāshitam</i> by Sāyanāchārya, the well-known commentator on the Vēdas, it is understood that this work ( <i>Sāyaniya Subhāshitam</i> ) was compiled by Sāyana at the instance of <i>Kampabhūpati</i> , described as king of Vijayanagar. ( <i>T. C. of Skt. Mss.</i> , Madras, l. i. C., No. 797, page 1054).
1497	24	For "In" read "in" and put a point after "region."
1499	82	For the word "those" appearing twice in this line read "these."
1499	84	For "were" read "was."
1504	14	After "1290" insert "(a mistake for 1299, see E. C. IX. Translation, Bangalore 132 f.n.1.)"
1504	16	After "Anekal" insert "29,".
1504	17	For "1290" read "1298."
1504	20	For "1290" read "1298."
1508	80	For "he" read "Harihara II."
1523	10	For "Māgappa" read "Magappa—"
1528	19	After "(M.A.R. 1907-08, para 54)," add within the brackets:—"Nallur grant of Harihara II" and then continue: "From this grant we learn that he had the titles of <i>Vēdabhāshya-prakāsaka</i> , which refers to the commentaries on the <i>Vēdas</i> which were published under his authority by Sāyana, who was one of his ministers, and <i>Vaidikamārga-Sthāpanāchārya</i> . The title <i>Vēdabhāshya-prakāsaka</i> corresponds to the words <i>Vaidikamārga-pravartaka</i> , which is attributed to him by Sāyana in his commentary on the <i>Satapata-Brahmana</i> . The Nallur grant states that Harihara II provided the priests with employment and that his eloquence was well-known. He is described in this record as having been surrounded with several pious and amiable scholars, who walked in the path of the <i>Vēdas</i> and who were full of eloquence. ( <i>E. I. III 118-126</i> , dated in <i>Saka 1321</i> , or A.D. 1399)"
1530	13	Add at the end:—"A record dated in 1376 A.D., refers to the dedication of dancing girls to temples. ( <i>E. C. IV</i> , Gundlupet 32 and 34). Another record dated in 1376 A.D., mentions the prevalence of the custom of self-immolation of women with their dead husbands i.e., the practice of <i>Sati</i> . ( <i>E. C. VIII</i> , Sorab 106). A further record, dated in 1358 A.D., also mentions the marriage of the peepul tree. ( <i>E. C. III</i> , Malvalli 22)."
1530	28	For "gods" read "goods."
1532	14	After "record" insert a dash.
1535	22	For "by" read "of."
1535	25	For "Siddhāla" read "Siddhāls."

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1537	...	Table of inscriptions. No. 4. Column, Remarks, line 4. For "a month" read "a month."
1537	...	Table of Inscriptions. No. 10. Column: Gist of the record. Line 2. After "Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya" add "in the presence of God."
1540	8	After the word "father" add the following sentence:—"The title <i>Prānāchārya</i> assumed by Bukka II occurs in an inscription dated in the 12th century A.D. (See Professor Kielhorn's remarks on its connotation, in <i>E.I.</i> VIII. 154)."
1544	5	Insert a comma after "Friday."
1546	14	For "mimes" read "mimics."
1546	22	For "Firoz" read "Firuz."
1546	23	For "beatiful" read "beautiful."
1547	11-12	For "Meer Fuzzul his commander Oollah" read "Meer Fuzzul Oollah (his Commander)."
1547	23	For "besiged" read "besieged."
1547	Marginal note	For "1417 A.D.-1419 A.D." read "1417 A.D.-1419 A.D."
1551	8	After "spoken of" insert the words "as such."
1554	17	Omit the point after the bracket enclosing "Dēva-Rāya II) and insert a comma."
1555	4	After the words "the throne," add:—"( <i>E.I.</i> XIV 68-83). The Dandapalle (Chittoor District) plates refer to Vijaya Bhūpati, son of Dēva-Rāya I and Dēvāmbika, daughter of one Nuka-Bhūpāla of the Solar race. Nūka-Bhūpāla was probably the chief Nūka or Nalla-Nūka, who married Vēma-sāni, sister of Annavēma. Similarly, the Rāmes-varam plates of Allaya-Vēma refer to a Kātaya-prabhu as the son-in-law of Harihara III. Kri-yāsakti-dēsika was his <i>guru</i> . He founded the village of Dandehalli <i>alias</i> Kriyāsaktipura, in Mulvāgilrājya and granted it to Krishnapandita. It was also called Abhinava-Vijaya-Bukkarāya-Samudra after the donor. (Dated in 1410 A.D., <i>Vikriti</i> year). Krishnapandita was the son of Mēchāmbika and Singarārya. He built a tank in the village called Vijaya-Samudra and with the permission of the King, made a grant of the village and the tank to Brāhmins.
1555	16	For the comma after "Taluk," insert a point.
1557	5	Insert a comma after "Arāga."
1565	30	Insert a comma after "matter."
1567	18	Insert a comma after "resplendent."
1572	25	For "Kāmpelumaloge" read "Kambelumalege."
1580	2	For "Hindu" read "Hindus."
1580	23	For "Jaffana" read "Jaffna."
1581	6	Insert a comma after "Codrington."
1583	31	For "only" read "jointly."
1584	5	Insert a comma after "built."
1584	26	For "Tokal" read "Tōkal."
1584	35	Insert a comma after "District."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
CHAPTER XI—contd.		
1586	7	For "E. C. XI. 29" read "E. C. XI. Chitaldrug 29."
1586	8	After "above" insert the words "(E. C. X, Malur 1 and 3)."
1587	8	For "Māragandanakatte," read "Māragaudan-katte."
1587	19	For "Kara-kavi" read "Karnātaka-Kavicharite."
1592	81	For "today" read "to-day."
1596	93	For the colon after "37" insert a semicolon.
1598	32	For "near" read "year."
1601	16	Omit the point after "41 years."
1606	33	Insert double inverted comma after "fighting."
1610	29	Insert a comma after "206."
1611	12	Insert a comma after "XV."
1612	26	Insert a comma after "IV."
1620	16	For "came" read "come."
1622		Table A. No. 5. E. C. XII. Pavagada 69, col. 4, line 5. Insert a hyphen between "re" and "called."
1625		<i>Ibid</i> No. 30. E. C. X. Bowringpet 24. Line 7 for "Iragattur" read "Irāgūttūr."
1625		Table A. No. 35. E. C. X. Bowringpet 18, col. 4, line 6 for "Syayanbhūnātha" read "Svāyambhūnātha."
1626	...	Table B. No. 1. E. C. IX. Devanahalli 38, col. 4, last line. Insert a bracket at the end of the sentence.
1628	...	Table B. No. 11a. M. E. R. 1921-22, col. 3. For "Kumbha see pratana Monday uthiram" read "Kumbha, Su., Pratama, Monday, Uttiram."
1629	...	Table B. No. 13, col. 2, line 1. After "E. C." insert "X."
		Col. 4 line 4. For "Syayambhūtha" read "Svāyambhūnātha."
1629	...	Table B. No. 18. E. C. X. Mulbagal 104, col. 4, line 9. For "geyutam" read "geyutam."
1632	...	Table C. No. 17. M. E. R. 1921-22, col. 4, line 2. Omit the comma after "his."
1633	...	Table C. No. 26 col. 2. For "Magha" read "Mēsha" and put a comma after it; after "Suddha" insert "dasami;" and for "Madras" read "Monday."
1638	...	Table C. No. 27, col. 2. For "Visvāsa" read "Visvavasū;" and for "Asvigala" read "Asvijuga."
1634	...	No. 32, E. C. III. Mysore 38, col. 4, line 12. Insert a comma after "Hebbarava"
1636	9	Insert a bracket after "1459 A.D."
1636	10	Omit the bracket after "1485."
1636	29	For "Tomm-Iru-gattur" read "Tamma-Irāgūttar."
1638	1	For "n" read "in."
1656	21	For "Its" read "their."
1658	1	Insert a comma after "Dēva-Rāya II."
1659	29	Insert a comma and the word "each" after "toleration".

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—concl'd.</b>		
1664	2	For "the" read "a."
1664	8	After " <i>Mallikāṛjuna-Vijaya</i> " insert a semicolon in place of the comma.
1664	9	Omit the words "of whose" occurring between "former" and "name."
1666	9	For " <i>Bhāgavati-Samhitirtha</i> " read " <i>Bhāgavata-Samhitārtha</i> ."
1667	6	For "or" read "and."
1668	21	For "Sāluva-Manga" read "Sāluva-Mangu."
1669	2	For "Sāluva-Manga" read "Sāluva-Mangu."
1669	10	Omit the word "one."
1669	25	For "Sapara" read "Sabara."
1678	10	Insert a comma after "Narasimha."
1682	21	For "Puttar" read "Puttur."
1682	34	For "breakup" read "break-up."
1684	11	For "Terukāttupalli" read "Tirukāttupalli."
1685	26	For "usurpations" read "usurpation."
1685	26	Insert a comma after "Virūpāksha III."
1687	26	For "Bear" read "Boar."
1689	13	After the word "great," add:—"Mr. Gopinatha Rao has suggested that the <i>Sāluva-bhyudaya</i> was written after the death of Sāluva-Narasimha and not during his lifetime. It would seem from the <i>last verse</i> of this poem that there is some ground for this suggestion. The author Rājanātha-kavi was the son of Sōnagirinātha (or Arunagirinātha) and was on the maternal side connected with the family of Sabhāpati and his son Kāmakūti and Svayambhū, the great composers of the inscriptions of Achyutarāya and Sadasivarāya. We know that a Rājanātha-kavi was the author of the <i>Achyutarāya-bhyudaya</i> , <i>Bhāgavata Champu</i> and other works. If this latter may be identified with Rājanātha-kavi, the author of <i>Sāluva-bhyudaya</i> , as suggested by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, then Rājanātha-kavi, the son of Sōnagirinātha, should have been the author of all these works. (See <i>E.I.</i> XII. 347-9). It should, however, be noted that the <i>Sāluva-bhyudaya</i> , while it gives full details as to Sāluva Narasimha's conquests, does not refer to him as <i>Emperor of Vijayanagar</i> . On the contrary, it associates him intimately only with Chandragiri. Hence it has been suggested that it should be taken to be a work belonging to Narasimha's early career. (See <i>Sources</i> , 176 <i>f.n.</i> ). Rājanātha was probably a native of Mullandram, near Arni, in the North Arcot District, the Mūlandam of Tundira-mandala, mentioned in the <i>Subhadra-Dhananjaya-nātaka</i> , a work of Rāma-kavi, son of Svayambhū and grand-son of Sabhāpati. An inscription at this place (Mullandram) mentions a poet Dindima-kavi. ( <i>M.E.R.</i> 1912, Para 72)."
1689	15	Insert a comma after "poem."

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1689	16	Insert a comma after "Narasimha."
1690	3	For "Bala" read "Bala."
1692	6	For "Chanhattamalla" read "Chauhattamalla."
1692	11	For "Rāyuchanhattamalla" read "Rāyuchauhattamalla."
1697	2	For "vasu" read "vasu."
1701	13	Insert a comma after "administration."
1701	81	For "good will" read "good-will."
1702	10	Insert commas after "Narasimha I" and "1486 A.D."
1706	2	For "Kālābasti" read "Kālabasti."
1706	17	For "former" read "latter."
1708	19	For "Simha-Rāja-Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I" read "Simha-Rāja, Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I."
1709	6	After "Simharāj" in brackets insert a comma in place of hyphen.
1709	23	Insert a comma after "slain."
1714	Marginal note	After "Virabhadra," insert a comma.
1716	9	For "raiya" read "riots."
1717	31	Omit the bracket after "1496 A.D."
1718	4	Omit the bracket before "Also."
1724	...	Table of Ins. No. 30, Col. 2. For "464" read "664"; for "Haresa-Nāyaka" read "Narasa-Nāyaka."
1725	1	Table of Inscriptions, No. 35, Col. 3. Line 1. For "Mention," read "Mentions" and omit the comma after the word.
1729	13	Table of Inscriptions No. 56. Col. 3, Line 13. For "Viramarasayya" read "Viramarasayya."
1737	26	Insert a comma after Simha-Rāja, in place of the hyphen after it.
1738	22	Insert a comma after "Simharāj," in place of the hyphen after it.
1739	24	For "Narasimha" read "Narasana" and insert a hyphen after "Narasana."
1739	27	For "Narasimha-Nāyaka" read "Narasana-Nāyak."
1740	19	For "Basakur" read "Barakur."
1740	20	After "No. 66" insert "dated in 1499-1500 A.D."
1740	27	For "Timmanāyanikāru" read "Timmanāyanin-gāru."
1740	23	For "Timapanarque" read "Timapanārique."
1740	30	For "Nāridu" read "Nādu."
1740	31	For "Ghandikōta" read "Gandikōta."
1744	85	For the dash in this line insert a comma.
1746	1	For "as at" read "as far as."
1746	28	After "gift" insert "of."
1747	24	For "118, No. 98" read "119 and No. 98."
1748	4	For "Kōyilolugu" read "Kōyilolugu."
1753	35	For "Narasimha-Nāyaka" read "Narasana-Nāyaka."
1754	2	Do
1754	6	Insert a comma after "usurpation."
1754	17-18	Omit the brackets after "99" and before "Rice" and insert the words "also see" between them, inserting a semicolon after "99."



## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1754	81	For "Hadarvalli" read "Hāduvalli."
1754	Pedigree facing this page	For "General Tymorsa" read "General Tymarsaa," For "Tammavadēva" read "Tammayadēva"; and for "Tamma Rao" read "Tamarao."
1755	17	Insert "of" after "one."
1755	25	For "Būdhēsabbavāna" read "Budhēsabbavana."
1755	28	For "Kshemapura" read "Kshēmapura."
1755	Last line	Insert a comma after "Tulu."
1757	15	For "apparently" read "justly."
1759	1-3	Insert the sentence beginning with the words "As he is" and ending with "(E. I. III 151)," after the words "at the end of this section" in line 6 on this page.
1758	27	Insert "occupy" after "came to."
1759	32	Insert "finally" after "and."
1760	2	Insert a comma after "chief."
1761	5	For "Mānavadunga" read "Mānavadurga."
1764	28	For "issues" read "issue."
1764	Last before line from bottom.	For "the Rāchirāja" read "Pūchirāja."
1765	5	Insert "the" after "from."
1765	8	For "Busabrao" read "Busabralao."
1765	12	After "above" insert a semicolon in place of the comma.
1765	12	For "Crismarao" read "Crismarāo" "(or Crisnarao.)"
1765	Marginal note	Insert a comma after "Krishna-Dēva-Rāys."
1766	4	Insert "to" after "referred."
1766	14	For "secrete" read "secret."
1766	29	Omit the comma after "attempt" and insert "and" after that word.
1766	30	Omit the word "and."
1766	31	For "Salvatimaya" read "Salvatimya."
1767	21	At the end of the quotation insert the following:— (See <i>Chronicle of Nuziz in A Forgotten Empire</i> , 314-315).
1769	Marginal note	For "Busbalrao" read "Busbalrao."
1769	90	Do
1769	33	For "forgotten" read "Forgotten."
1769	84	For "185" read "315."
1770	28	For "against" read "amongst."
1774	...	Table of inscriptions, No. 9. Col. 3, line 5. For "Mahā-rāya" read "Mahārāya."
1775	21	For "Guanāja" read "Ogemdraho;" and for "Gandaraje" read "Gamdarja."
1775	25	For "351" read "327."
1776	11	Omit the comma after "Translation" and insert it after "Part."
1776	18-20	For "Kalpakshihinhalatikam" read "Kalpakshiritruhalatikam;" omit the comma after "Kānchanam;" for "Kshamāyē" read "Kshamāyō;" for "hiranyasvartham" read "hirānyāsvaritham" and insert a comma after it; after "gosahassram" insert a comma in place of the hyphen.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1776	7	For "Fernaë" read "Fernso."
1778	12	Insert the word "the" after "to."
1762	7	For "in" read "on."
1784	20	After "engineering" add "talents,"
1792	6	Transfer the words "(who were also his sons-in-law)" to the end of the sentence, "after the word "gōpa."
1793	25	For "above" read "below."
1794	7	For "above" read "below."
1795	10	For "above" read "below."
1795	11-12	Omit the bracket after "Vēmarasayya" and put it after "record."
1795	31	For "Inscription" read "Inscriptions"
1797	1	For "Ghandikota" read "Gandikota."
1798	28	For "descended" read described.
1800	8	Insert "the" between "of" and "Nayak."
1800	20	For "Ghandikota" read "Gandikota."
1801	28	Omit the word the between "of" and "Golkonda."
1803	17	Omit "three."
1804	19	Omit "three."
1809	15	For "Forgotton" read "Forgotten."
1814	6	Omit the words "in the Vizagapatam District."
1817	13	For "getting" read "setting."
1822	40	For "those" read "these."
1825	30	Omit the word "the" between "with" and "Kuth"
1828	4	After the word "establish," add the following:— "but who may have been the Masanada Eli Kutumana Malka-Odeya of the Malkapuram record referred to below."
1831	19	For "good will" read "good-will."
1831	Marginal note	For "Bijapur" read "Bijāpur."
1847	Last but one line from bottom	For "surmised" read "surprised."
1852	23	For "there" read "these."
1869	15	For "Gāndikota" read "Gandikōta."
1876	24-25	For "Inscriptions of" read "Inscriptions of."
1878	5 from bottom	Insert a bracket after "Construction."
1879	3	Insert a bracket after "175" and omit the bracket before "Mr."
1881	6	For "are" read "is."
1886	Last line at bottom.	For "fittedup" read "fitted up."
1889	10	Between "and" and "appointed" insert the word "Sāluva-Timma."
1890	10	For "aring" read "a ring".
1895	11-12	For "amendable" read "amenable".
1895	31	For "one" read "some".
1898	21	Insert a comma after "Sivangi".
1901	13	For "Madhwa's" read "Madhva".
1906	10	For "they" read "the players."
1908	10	Omit "easily" occurring after "may be."
1908	4 from bottom	For "Kasapātrā" read "Kasavapātra."
1909	2-3	For "Katburgi" read "Kulburgi."
1910	1	For "whereever" read "wherever."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
1911	28	After "Kokatam" insert "village."
1914	25	After "also" insert "to his credit."
1922	4 from bottom	For "fondling" read "founding."
1956	17	For "gets" read "get."
1965	24	Insert "traced" after "also."
1973	1	For "reapproachments" read "reapproachment"
1973	15	For 1536 read "1533."
1974	19	For "every" read "very."
1974	25	For "Sālaka" read "Salaka."
1974	24	do
1982	4	For "Kālāhasti" read "Kālahasti."
1982	20	Omit the comma after "chiefs."
1986	8	Insert a semicolon after "Srivallabhadēva."
1986	9	Omit the point after "also."
1987	9	For "Sālaka" read "Salaka."
1987	11	For " <i>alias</i> (Sāluva-Nāyakan)" read "( <i>alias</i> Sāluva-Nāyakan)."
1987	25	Omit the bracket at the end of the Para.
2006	16	For "Ghāndikōta" read "Gandikōta."
2014	Last line at bottom.	For "Pedda Timma-Ranga" read "Pedda-Timma, Ranga."
2018	25	For "Anantāpuram" read "Anantapuram."
2019	28	For "Svaramēlakalanidhi" read <i>Svaramēlakalanidhi</i> ."
2020	6	For "Sālaka" read "Salaka."
2027	14	Omit the bracket before the word "See."
2048	8	For "abovementioned" read "above mentioned."
2059	16	For "Pangalur" read "Mangalur."
2057	29	For "Tāramangalam" read "Taramangalam."
2037	32	For "regard" read "regards."
2068	19	Omit the word "possibly."
2094	28	For "Pandhārpur" read "Pandharpur."
2096	13	For "Vivasana" read <i>Vivarana</i> .
2099	4	Insert after "53", a point in place of the comma.
2099	8	Insert a comma after "later" and another after "death."
2106	14	For "Date" read "1553 A. D."
2106	15	Insert "in" before "which."
2106	15	After "he" insert "(Rāma-Rajā)."
2112	16	Before "1477" insert the word "Saka."
2112	Marginal note.	Insert a comma after "Tirumala I."
2113	21	For "Cheruka" read "Cheruku."
2127	30	For "Vengalamma" read "Vengalamma."
2129	10	Add at end of the line:—One Timma-bhūpāla, described as his nephew (son of his sister Konāmbika, by Jābāla, son of Ananta and Siddhiraṣa of the Siddhi family) is said to have been his minister. This fact is mentioned in the <i>Prasannarāgharīya-Vyākhyānam</i> , a commentary on Jayadēva's <i>Prasannarāghaviyam</i> by Charukuri Lakshmana. This commentary is also called as <i>Timmabhūpāliya</i> , after Timmabhūpāla, who was the poet's patron. The author states that he was requested to write the commentary by his

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
		patron and dedicate it to God Gōpinātha worshipped at Kondavidu. The author gives a genealogy of the Aravidu family and so far as it goes it agrees with the table given in this work. (See <i>T. C. of Mss of Madras Oriental Mss.</i> Library III. i. Skt. A., R. No. 2388, pages 2320-3224).
2130	83	For "living" read "time."
2132	8	For "This was dedicated by him to Pōchirāju-Naraparāju and hence its name <i>Kāvyalankāra-Chūdāmani</i> " read "Hence its name <i>Kāvyalankāra-Chūdāmani</i> . This was dedicated by him to Pōchi-rāju Naraparāju."
2144	Marginal note.	Omit "(a)."
2149	33	For "described" read "discovered."
2153	8	For "757 A.D." read "1577 A.D."
2153	4	After "1913" insert a comma in place of the semicolon.
2154	19	For "Anantapur 17" read Anantapur 171."
2157	5 From bottom.	Before the word "See" insert a bracket.
2161	10	For "request" read "conquest."
2164	33	For " <i>Vēdamārgha</i> " read " <i>Vēdamārḡa</i> ."
2165	35	For "made" read "entrusted."
2166	14	For "lavished" read "lavish."
2167	30	Before "Aliya-Rāma-Rāja" add "of."
2169	13	After "simple" insert a comma.
2171	6	For "entitle" read "entitles."
2177	Table of copper-plate grants.	After No. 6 (a) add No. 6a :—Madras Museum Rpt. 1930 p. 15; Puthur grant; dated in Vikriti, Saka 1512 (Saturday, 4th July 1590 A.D.)
2177	Table of Inscriptions, serial number	No. 12, col. 4. For "1801" read "1601."
	12	
2178	28	For "1906" read "1609."
2191	18	Omit the comma after "left."
2191	14	For "on" read "an."
2191	30	Omit the word "lettrs" after "quoting."
2204	11	For "Father" read "Fathers,"
2204	16	Do
2204	24	After "Kingdom" insert the word "and."
2204	32-3	For "unfortunate" read "unfeigned."
2206	Last line at bottom.	For "ny" read "may."
2211	27	Insert a point after "1612."
2218	10	For "these" read "Issues of this."
2218	18	For "are" read "is."
2218	26	Add at the end of the Para :—During this reign, a part of Northern India appears to have been visited by a traveller by name Henry Defeynes, commonly called by the name of the Manor of Mountfort. He was undoubtedly a real traveller, whose narrative, however, is so miserably barren that <i>An exact and curious survey of all the East</i>

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
		<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>
		<i>Indiæ</i> was perhaps the last title that it deserved. He started from Paris in 1608 and went overland to Ispahan, whence he travelled by Kasbin and Lar to Cambay. In the course of his travels, he visited Surat, Calicut, Sumatra, Macao and Canton and on his return from China visited Bisnagat, identified with "Bisnagar," "where," he says, "the King worships the tooth of a monkey," and the "Realm of Idalcan" (the Adil Shāh of Bijāpur, who was then Ibrahim II). He returned home by the Cape route. (E.F. Oaten, <i>Travels in India</i> , 170, quoting <i>Purchas His Pilgrimes</i> ). The "Bisnagat" referred to by Defeynes has probably to be identified with the ruined capital rather than with the country or the kingdom of the same name. The remark that the king worships "the tooth of a monkey," if it is not a travellers' tale, should perhaps be construed as referring to the worship of animals held sacred by the Hindus, so common in India from primitive times.
2220	17	For "is" read "was."
2222	32	Add at the end of the para:—His nephew Sri-Ranga-Rāja (son of his sister Konāmbika by Jābāla, son of Ananta and grandson of Siddhirāja of the Siddhi family) is spoken of as having been his minister in Charukūri Lakshmana's <i>Prasannarāghaviya-Vyākhyānamu</i> , a work written at the instance of his brother Timmabhūpāla, who was the Minister of Tirumala. (See ante, <i>T. C. of Mss. of the Madras. Oriental Mss. Library</i> , III, Skt A., R. No. 2383, pp. 3220-3224).
2227	11	For " <i>Nellore Inscription</i> " read " <i>Nellore Inscriptions</i> ."
2227	11	After "25" insert a comma.
2231	16	For " <i>Kālapūrnōdaya</i> " read " <i>Kālapūrnōdaya</i> ."
2234	27	For "Kondamma" read "Kondamma."
2240	17	For "deathbed" read "death-bed."
2242	18-19	For "Tirumalāmbāmpura" read "Tirumalām bāpura."
2246	27	After "Siva," insert double inverted commas.
2247	21	For "Chalukya" read "Chālukya."
2253	19	For "beneficent" read "beneficent."
2253	35	For "magnificent" read "magnificent."
2259	1	For "ill-fated" read "ill-fitted."
2259	22	For "causes" read "cause."
2263	Marginal note	For "Rescuse" read "Rescue."
2263	33	For "He" read "The putative Son."
2269	29	In place of the point after the word "Court" insert a comma.
2272	28	Insert a comma after "App. I."
2276	6	For the semicolon after "Series I," insert a comma.
2277	Marginal note	For "Ranga" read "Rāja."
2285	24	Insert the word "other" after "each."

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
2286	7	Insert the word "he" after "and."
2286	Line 4 from bottom.	Insert the words "at an" after the words "came in."
2293	Marginal note.	For "opur" read "Topūr."
2304	21	For "Crown prince" read "Crown-prince."
2304	25	For the dash between "crown" and "prince" insert a hyphen.
2304	31	Insert the word "not" after "did."
2309	22	For "fuel" read "funeral."
2311	3	Insert a point after "eventualities."
2313	32	Omit the hyphen after "comes."
2325	11	For "from" read "in."
2351	98	For "Mdure" read "Madure."
2352	14	For "the" read "his."
2353	14	For "record" read "records."
2353	15	For "grants C. P." read "C. P. grants."
2353	25	After "from" insert a bracket.
2362	17	Insert double inverted commas before "of" and for "to" read "unto."
2365	26	For "recognized" read "recognized."
2371	98	Insert a comma after "Ivie" and omit the comma after "Henry."
2376	7	For "Sri-Ranga VI" read "Venkata II."
2380	13	For "Nāyaks" read "Nāyaks" and insert a colon after "Nāyaks."
2381	8	For "Mysore" read "Mysoor."
	from bottom.	
2387	7	For "367" read "267."
2390	13	Add at the end :—Proenza's statement referred to in the text deserves to be noticed at some length, the more so as other seventeenth century observers have referred to the "hunt for noses" attributed to the Mysore Kings. "The King of Mysore", writes Proenza, "the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved." This, as remarked above, seems an obvious exaggeration as it is not confirmed from the Mysore side. Kanthirava-Narasa I was the Mysore king at the time referred to and there is nothing to indicate from the many lithic records we have of him, that he lost his nose in the wars against Madura. The practice of cutting off the noses was evidently an old one. There is probably an inscriptional reference to it in E. C. III Seringapatam 14, dated in 1686 A. D. Mr. Rice suggests that the words <i>saranga-nasa-chhidi</i> appearing in this copper-plate record might probably be translated into "cut off the noses of all arms (see <i>Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions</i> , 130), quoting Manucci's <i>Storia do Mogor</i> (Irvin's translation and additional notes, Volume IV). He suggests that it was a practice adopted by the Mysoreans in order to instil terror into the

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—contd.

Page	Line	Add
		<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>
		<p>enemy. He himself suggests that it might have been a survival of an old Indian custom, and quotes the following from Professor Macdonell (<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India II</i>; see also <i>Sanskrit Literature</i>, 427):—"Probably the only valuable contribution to surgery to which India can lay claim is the art of forming artificial noses. This operation (rhino-plasty) has been borrowed in modern times from India, where Englishmen became acquainted with it in the 18th century." The Bedars are said in Manucci to leap on to the quarters of the horse behind and cut off the noses of the horsemen. This mode of attack is paralleled by that of the wild Irish at the end of the 14th century as described in <i>Froissart's Chronicle</i>, where it is said that they leap from the ground behind a horseman and embrace the rider so tightly that he can in no way get rid of them, and cut his throat.</p> <p>The following extract taken from the <i>Fort St. George Consultation</i> book of January 1679 refers to this custom as prevalent in Mysore:—</p> <p>"Their custom is not to kill, but to cut off the noses with the upper lips of the enemies; for which they carry an iron instrument with which they do it very dexterously and carry away all the noses and lips they despoyle their enemy's of, for which they are rewarded by the Naik of Mysore according to the number, and the reward is the greater, if the beard appear on the upper lip. This way of warfare is very terrible to all that those people engage with, so that none care to meddle with them; they being also a resolute people and have destroyed many that have attempted them, for though they kill them not outright, yet they die by lingering deaths, if they make not themselves away sooner, as for the most part they do that are so wounded, the shame and dishonour of it being esteemed greater than the pain and difficulty of subsisting."</p> <p>This account is fully confirmed by Dr. Fryer, who travelled in India from 1676 to 1681. He refers to the Mysore ruler as the "Raja of Sarapatam", which is, as suggested by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, doubtless the same as Seringapatam (see <i>Early Records of British India</i>, 74). The following curious passage is taken from Fryer's account:—</p> <p>"The Raja of Sarapatam (it should have been Chikka-Deva-Raja, 1672-1704) must not be slipped by in silence, because his way of fighting differs from his neighbours; he trains up his soldiers to be expert at a certain instrument to seize on the noses of his enemies with that slight either in</p>

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	Line	Add
<b>CHAPTER XI—contd.</b>		
		the field or in their camps, that a budget-full of them have been presented to their Lord for a breakfast; a thing, because it deforms them, so abashing, that few care to engage with him; and this he makes use of because it is against his religion to kill anything. He enjoys a vast territory on the back of the zamorhin (Zamorin)."
		The reason assigned by Fryer would indicate that it was religious scruple that made Chikka-Dēva and his predecessors adopt this kind of warfare. But we know that neither Kanthirava nor Chikka-Dēva were professing Jains in religion to be such strict adherents to the doctrine of the sacredness of human life. Neither Saivism nor Vaishnavism inculcates such a belief, though they foster a humane spirit towards animals and men generally. Even Jain kings have never desisted from war as such, from Chandragupta to Vishnuvardhana, because it involved the killing of human beings, though it was the horror that he witnessed after a war that made Asōka turn away from it for ever and become an ardent Buddhist. (On the subject of "nose-cutting", see, further, text of this work, Vol. II, page 2451, line 2 from bottom).
2399	13	Insert a comma after "Sāmbhāji."
2401	1	For "Cheagamala" read "Changamala."
2401	28	For "Venkata II" read "Venkata V."
2418	4	Insert a comma after "Kanthiravēndra."
2415	Marginal note.	Insert a colon after "Literature."
2423	12	For " <i>Chāmpa</i> " read " <i>Champa</i> ."
2423	Genealogical Table of the IV Dynasty of Vijayanagar Kings.	Add following notes:—Gōpa-Tippa, author of <i>Tāladīpika</i> , has to be identified with Tippa (or Timma) son of Gōpa, Goppa, or Gōpa Tippa-Bhūpāla mentioned in the pedigree of the Sāluva Dynastv. The name Gōpa-Tippa would then mean Tippa, son of Gōpa. As will be seen from the pedigree, Gōpa-Tippa has been identified with Tirumaladēva-Mahārāja of the inscriptions. He was evidently a minor ruling chief. In the colophans to his work, he describes himself as Gōpatippa-Bhūpāla and as the moon to the Sāluva family and as one who had known the depths of the Bharatamata i.e., the art of dancing. His work <i>Tāladīpika</i> deals with the subject of <i>Tāla</i> or the measurement of time in music. Evidently he was a great proficient in music and dancing. (See for a notice of his work, <i>T. C. of Mss. of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library</i> , I. 1. Sanskrit C., R. No. 770, pages 1015-16).