

MYSORE GAZETTEER

COMPILED FOR GOVERNMENT

VOLUME II

MEDIÆVAL

PART III

EDITED BY

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NEW EDITION

BANGALORE:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS

1950

MYSORE GAZETTEER

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THE MYSORE GAZETTEER

VOLUME II

HISTORICAL

PART III

CHAPTER XL.

MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

From the Foundation of the Vijayanagar Kingdom to the destruction of Vijayanagar by Tipū Sultān in 1776 A. D.

IN Part I of this volume, we studied the pre-history of Mysore and the sources available for a study of the historical period. In Part II, we dealt at some length with the early dynasties which held sway over Mysore and parts of the adjacent territories included in the modern Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and the Province of Coorg. In particular, we saw how the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Hoysalas, who were among those essentially native to the State, built up large kingdoms and helped to foster the growth of a civilized life in the land. Their cultural contribution to the greatness of Mysore¹ has been referred to, especially of the Hoysalas, in the departments of sculpture and architecture. In this Part, the story of the rise, development and decay of the great mediæval Empire of Vijayanagar, which brought under its sway the whole of Southern India, except small parts

of the west coast and the extreme north-eastern part of the Madras sea-board, is traced. Its relationship with Mysore from the earliest times is set out at every successive stage with the aid of inscriptions and literary works. How Mysore developed in the fourth dynasty of kings of the Empire from a small chieftainship into a strong kingdom and how its then ruler eventually displaced the local Imperial Viceroy and annexed Seringapatam, his capital, is re-told in the light of recent research. The history of Vijayanagar is sought to be studied from the original authorities available for such a study, supplemented by the aid of the latest researches of scholars in the fields of epigraphy and numismatics and the general literature that has survived in the Sānskrit, Kannada and Telugu languages. An attempt is also made to sketch not merely the political history of Southern India, including Mysore, during the period but also the social and religious conditions prevailing in it during the centuries the Empire, in one form or another, continued to hold sway throughout its length and breadth. For the first time, the history of the Empire is brought down to its latest phase, the final sack of the capital during the distressful times of Tipū Sultān's rule in Mysore. The history of the Fourth Dynasty of Kings is set out at some length, the circumstances that brought about its downfall and of the Empire itself receiving the attention their importance deserves. Finally, the good that Vijayanagar wrought in the South of India and the contribution that it made to enrich its arts, literature, religion and general civilization is summed up at some length.

Vijayanagar
Kingdom,
A. D. 1336-
1565.
Introductory
Traditionary
tales of its
origin.

While Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla *alias* Hampeya-Vodeya the last of the Ballālas, was still ruling in 1343 A.D., there had arisen a new dynasty which soon came to occupy the whole of Southern India. This was the Vijayanagar dynasty, which, according to tradition was

founded in 1336 A.D. Though the details vary, all accounts agree in attributing the origin of this dynasty to the five sons of Sangama I, of whom the most prominent were the first three, Harihara I, Kampa or Kampana I and Bukka or Bukka-Rāya I. The first and the last of these are commonly spoken of in tradition as Hakka and Bukka and to them is set down, with the assistance of the celebrated scholar Mādhava surnamed Vidyāranya of the Srīngēri Mutt, the actual establishment of the kingdom at Vijayanagar, now represented by the little village of Hampe in the Bellary District. Sangama I, the founder of the line, is described as of Yādava line and the Lunar race. Vijayanagar inscriptions are nearly as numerous in this State as those of the Hoysalas. The earliest of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings are found north and west of Mysore, and they were probably Mysorean by origin and feudatories of the Hoysalas. Dōrasamudra and Orangal, the respective capitals of Karnāṭaka and Telingana, had fallen a prey at about the same time to the Muhammadans. But amid the general revolts occasioned by the rash measures of Muhammad Toghlak, the two brothers Harihara and Bukka took advantage of a period of public commotion to lay the foundation of a new State: to which they were moved, according to the tradition, by the sage Mādhava or Vidyāranya, who, besides experience and talent, may, it has been suggested, have brought pecuniary aid to the undertaking. He belonged to the school of Sankarāchārya, and was the *Jagat Guru* of Srīngēri, the members of which establishment, alarmed on the approach of the Muhammadans, may have contributed their wealth and influence to the aggrandisement of the sons of Sangama. The actual truth of this story is discussed at some length below.

The capital Vijayanagar was, according to tradition, called Vidyānagara (city of learning) at first, in honour, Its capital.

it is said, of the sage Vidyāranya, who was chiefly instrumental in its foundation; but by a natural transition it passed ere long into Vijayanagara (City of Victory), the Bijanagar of Muhammadan historians, and the Bisnagar of the French. It is also commonly known as Ānegundi, properly the name of a village on the other side of the river, said to have been the capital of the Yādanas, regarding whom so little is known. Ānegundi, a Kannada name meaning "elephant pit," was translated into Sanskrit as Hastināpura and Hastināvati, which is the designation in the *Mahābhārata* of the capital of the Pāndus, near Delhi. The site selected for the new capital was a remarkable one, on the banks of the Pampa or Tungabhadra, where the ancient Kishkindha had stood. In the words of an inscription, "its rampart was Hemakūta, its moat the auspicious Tungabhadra, its guardian the world-protector Virūpāksha, its ruler the great king of kings Harihara." Captain Newbold has described it in language that deserves to be quoted. He writes:—"The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanagar on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, and of its suburb Ānegundi, on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoidal gneiss separated by rocky defiles and rugged valleys, encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river, and appear like so many verdant oases in this Arabia Petraea of Southern India. Indeed some parts of the wilderness of Sinai reminded me, but on a far grander scale, of this huddled assemblage of bare granite rocks on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The formation is the same; the scantiness of vegetation, the arid aspect of the bare rocks, and the green spots marking the presence of springs few and far between in the depths of the valleys, are features common to both localities. The peaks, tors and logging stones of

Bijanagar and Ānegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient Hindu metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite, which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry." (*J.A.S.B.*, XIV).

The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted the *varāha* or boar as the emblem on the royal signet, and their family god was Virūpāksha, the name under which Siva was worshipped in a celebrated temple erected at the capital. Their grants are signed *Srī-Virūpāksha*. Among their titles were, *ari-rāya-vibhāda*, *bhāshege tappuva rāyara ganda*, *pūrva-paschima-dakshina-samudrādhipati*, *Hindu rāya-Suratrāna*.

Its Kings and their emblem.

The Vijayanagar kingdom was ruled over in succession by four dynasties of kings. The first of these was the Sangama dynasty, who were Yādavas. They held the throne from A.D. 1336 to 1486-7. The throne was then usurped by a Sāluva chief named Sāluva Narasimha or Narasinga, who was succeeded by his son, Immadi Narasimha or Sāluva Narasimha II. There were thus only two kings of the Sāluva dynasty, also Yādavas, and they occupied the throne from A.D. 1486 to 1505. Then followed the Tuluva dynasty, consisting of six kings, who ruled from A.D. 1505 to 1567. This was the third (though often wrongly designated the second) dynasty of kings. The fourth or last dynasty, often called the Āravīdu or the Karnāta, started with Tirumala-Rāya I, the younger brother of Aliya

Dynasties of Vijayanagar Kings.

Rāma-Rāya, the son-in-law of Krishna-Rāya of the third dynasty. It consisted of a number of kings whose exact number is not fixed (some 10 to 14) and occupied the throne from about A.D. 1567 to 1665. There were, according to later inscriptions, a number of "kings," down to even 1793 A.D., but they do not disclose their relationship to the kings of the Karnāta line or the extent of the territory they actually ruled over. Literary and oral tradition, however, connects them with Chāma-Venkata III, one of the last rulers of the Karnāta dynasty, after its final fall from power. Until the contrary is proved, they may be treated as the last offshoot of the Karnāta line which survived its practical extinction and bore rule over an extremely limited extent of territory and to which for some time certain local chiefs owed nominal allegiance.

List of Kings. The following is the list of the Vijayanagar kings, based mainly upon the evidence of inscriptions:—

VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

First (Sangama or Yādava) Dynasty.

Name	Period
Harihara I	1336-1356 A.D.
Bukka I	1356-1376 "
Harihara II	1376-1404 "
Bukka-Rāya II	1404 "
Virūpāksha II	1404 "
Bukka-Rāya II (again)	1404-1406 "
Dēva-Rāya I—	
(Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya)... ..	1406-1422 "
Vira-Vijaya I—	
(Vijaya-Bukka or Bukka III)	1422-1424 "
Dēva-Rāya II—	
(Praudha-Dēva-Rāya or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya II)	1424-1446 "
Mallikārjuna—	
(Vijaya-Rāya II, Praudha-Dēva-Rāya II or Dēva-Rāya III)	1446-1497 "
Virūpāksha III	1465-1485 "
Sāluva-Narasimha's Revolution and end of the first Dynasty	1486-1487 "

Second (or Sāluva) Dynasty.

Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya-Odeyar (or Narasimha I)	1486-97 A.D.
Immadi-Narasinga (or Sāluva Narasimha II)	1493-1504 "
Revolution of Narasa Nāyaka, father of Krishna-Rāya, and establishment of the Tuluva Dynasty completed	1499 "

Third (or Tuluva) Dynasty.

Narasa, (or Narasa-Nayak)	1499-1503 "
Vira-Narasimha	1504-1509 "
Krishna-Rāya	1509-1530 "
Achyuta-Rāya	1530-1542 "
Venkata-Dēva-Rāya (or Venkatādri)	1542-1570 "
Sadāsiva-Rāya	1542-1570 "

According to the Bārakūr record, Sadāsiva 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 supplied by this record is of "doubtful" import. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 199).

- Usurpation of all sovereign power by Rāma-Rāja, his brother-in-law. After the death of Rāma-Rāja, his place was taken by his brother Tirumala, who subverted the Tuluva Dynasty and established the Āravidu or Karnāta Dynasty } 1542 "

Fourth (Āravidu or Karnāta) Dynasty.

Tirumala I	1570-1574 "
Sri-Ranga-Rāya II (or Ranga II)	1574-1586 "
Venkatapati-Rāya I (or Venkata I)	1586-1614 "
Sri-Ranga-Rāya III (Ranga III)	1614-1615 "
Rāma-Dēva.....(Rāmachandra or Rāma-Dēva IV)	1615-1630 "
Venkatapathi-Rāya II	1630-1642 "
Sri-Ranga-Rāya VI (Ranga VI)	1642-1664 "
Defeated by Bijāpur and Golkonda Sultāns, he sought refuge of Sivappanāyaka of Bednur. He set up rule at Belur for a time

End of the Vijayanagar Dynasty.

FIRST (OR SANGAMA) DYNASTY, 1336-1486 A.D.

Of Sangama I we have hardly any particulars worth knowing. In certain inscriptions he is described as the son of Māyāmbika or Māgāmbika and as the father (by Mālāmbika or Mārāmbika) of Harihara I and his four brothers. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 70, Mulbagal 158 and Goribidnur 56). Though in the last two records he is

Sangama I,
Circa 1300
A.D.

spoken of as a king and in one of them as "illustrious," "invincible" and "displaying good qualities," he was probably no more than a mere chief, who probably had distinguished himself in the warfare of the time and had made a name for himself. If the Dambal plates of Harihara II may be believed, he performed the feat of damming the Cauvery, seized the enemy alive and took possession of Tanjore and Seringapatam. (*M.A.R.* 1918, para 105). These are feats attributed usually to Narasa, a later king. The same plates attribute to him the conquest of the Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya kings, together with the Lord of Madhura-Mānabhūšana, the Turushka (Muhammadan) king and the Gajapati king. He is also said to have performed the sixteen great gifts at Rāmēsvaram and other holy places. We have, however, no records directly bearing on his reign or recording any of his grants. He is more famous as the progenitor of the first Vijayanagar kings than as a ruler by himself.

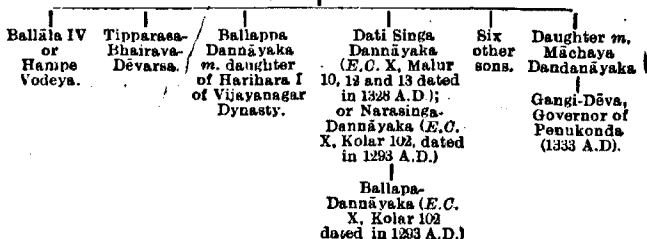
Harihara I,
1336-1353.
A.D.

Sangama had five sons who laid the foundations of their kingdom. These were Harihara I, Kampa I (also called Kampana I), Bukka-Rāya I, Mārāpa and Muddapa; of these Harihara and Bukka early distinguished themselves. These were probably at first feudatories of the Hoysalas, though the exact relationship they bore to the Hoysalas is not yet determined. They were, however, powerful enough to exercise much influence in the Hoysala kingdom long before they declared their independence of it. Ibn Batuta (1333-1342 A.D.), for instance, speaks of a Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honavar) on the Western Coast who was subject to Haraib or Harib, *i.e.*, Hariyappa or Harihara I (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 7). The fort of Bādāmi was built by a subordinate of Harihara I in A.D. 1340. (*I.A.* X, 63). In 1336, Harihara also reduced the Bairasu Wodeyars of the West Coast and made them acknowledge his

suzerainty. (*South Canara Manual* I, 55). About the same time he also built a fort at Bārūkūru, apparently to strengthen his position there against the aggressive Muhammadans. (*Ibid.*, 65). The repeated incursions of the Muhammadans of Delhi as far south as Madhura, involving as it did the destruction of cities and the plunder of sacred edifices, and the cruelties inflicted by Muhammad Toghlok and his permanent occupation of Dēvagiri, the Sēvuna capital, apparently led to mutual searchings of heart among the Hindu kings of the South. Of these, the two old houses of the Hoysalas and Sēvunas combined with the rising chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I, and cemented their good-will towards each other by marital alliances. Thus it came about that about that time. Ballappa-Dannāyaka, a son of Ballāla III of the Hoysala dynasty, was married to the only daughter of Harihara I (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 1, dated in 1346 A.D.), and Harihara II son of Bukka I, married Malla-Dēvi, the daughter or grand-daughter of Rāma-Dēva, of the Sēvuna dynasty (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 55; *E.I.* VIII, 299). The following table of inter-relationship shows the close connection that the two chief founders of the new dynasty—Harihara I and Bukka I—established with the two ancient families of the Hoysalas and the Sēvunas, apparently with the view of offering an united front to the Muhammadan invaders from the north :—

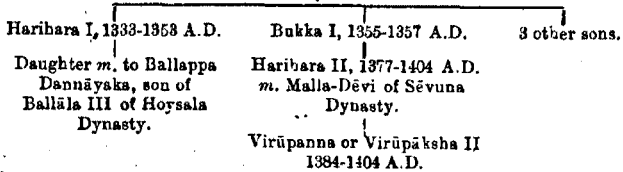
HOYSALA DYNASTY.

Ballāla III.

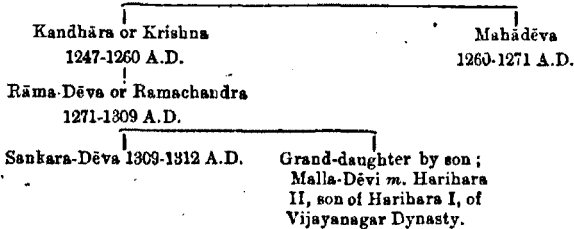


VIJAYANAGAR DYNASTY.

Sangama I.



SEVUNA DYNASTY.



[Malla-Dēvi is described in the *Nārāyṇi-vilāsa* as the daughter of Rāma-Dēva. But the Soraikkāvur plates make her the grand-daughter, (*pautri* or son's daughter) of Rāma-Dēva. The Aluṃpūndi plates, however, state, she was "of the race (or family) of Rāma-dēva." Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that she may be the daughter of an otherwise unknown son of Rāma-Dēva. Judging from the known dates of Rāma-Dēva and Harihara II, Mr. Sewell has remarked that it is quite impossible that Harihara II could have married a daughter of Rāma-Dēva. (See E.I. VIII. 299)].

His early
history.

Of the earlier history of Harihara I and his brother Bukka I, we know little or nothing from inscriptions. Tradition states that they were officers in the service of the king of Warrangal (Orangal) at the time of the destruction of that kingdom by the Muhammadans in 1323 A.D., and that they had escaped with a small body of horse to the hill country about Ānegundi, being accompanied in their flight by Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya. It is added that by some means not mentioned they became lords of that tract and afterwards founded the city of Vijayanagar. Another story states that the two brothers were officers in the service of the Muhammadan governor of Warrangal subsequent

to its first capture in 1309 A.D. They were, it would appear, despatched against the Hoysala king Ballāla III in the expedition undertaken by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D., but that they formed part of a force which was defeated and in consequence they fled to the mountainous tract near Ānegundi. Here they met, it is added, Mādhava, who was living as a recluse and with his aid, established the capital city and the kingdom. Another variant of the story states that the two brothers left Warrangal direct to Ānegundi, which would indicate their connection with that royal house. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, II Edn. 21-22; see also Wilks, *Mysore* I. 8). Mr. Sewell has suggested that they probably took service under the "petty Rajah of Ānegundi." Here, he adds, they rose to be minister and treasurer respectively. Though this is possible, there is nothing to support it. Ballāla III was still the Hoysala king at the time these incidents are said to have occurred. Muhammadan inroads had been, as mentioned above, the order of the day and their excesses filled the Hindus with horror and disgust. On the destruction of Dōrasamudra, Ballāla transferred his capital to a place variously called Hosdurga, Virūpākshapura or Hosavīdu, etc., said to be in the Hoysala dominions, which has been identified by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri with Hospet, near Hampi, where the famous temple of Virūpāksha stands. Ballāla III was here about 1329 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 43; see also above under *Hoysalas*). A manuscript in the Mackenzie series called *Kumāra Rāmācharitra* mentions "Hosdurga near Vijayanagar" as the capital of a chief named Kampila Rāya. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 326). Mr. Krishna Sāstri's identification seems to be further supported by the discovery by him in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi of an unpublished lithic record which refers itself to the reign of a Hoysala king. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, 236, *f.n.* 2).

Ballāla IV, son and successor of Ballāla III, was, as we have seen, probably crowned at this very place, he being named Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla-Dēva. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 105). His other name Hampeya Vodayaru (lord of Hampi) is suggestive of his formal rule over Hampi and the surrounding country. The coronation took place in 1340 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 111). The Hoysala move towards Virūpākshapura at the very time the chiefs of Ānegundi were rising to prominence at their ancestral seats may perhaps be taken to indicate that they were being slowly ousted out of the place by the Ānegundi chiefs, under Harihara I and Bukka I, who, in the interval between 1323 A.D. and 1340 A.D., had managed to fight out the Muhammadan marauders and even driven them out of the south of India. The fact that Harihara I and Bukka I and his descendants of the first Vijayanagar dynasty were also Yādavas—the tribe to which the Hoysalas, Sēvunas and Warrangal kings belonged—indicates that they might have been all connected with each other, a suggestion which is supported by the marriages that took place between them and the Hoysala and Sēvuna families, as mentioned above. As Harihara I and Bukka I rose in power, Ballāla IV appears to have been forced out of his royal position, with the result that he is no more heard of after 1343 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 105).

A silent Revolution :
Political geography of
South India,
Circa 1330
A.D.

How Harihara I and Bukka I managed to effect this revolution may be briefly told here. At about the time Alā-ud-dīn Khilji made his descent on Southern India, the country below the Vindhya was in a peculiarly weak state. The Sēvunas and the Hoysalas by their mutual wars had weakened themselves; the Hoysalas had by the partition of their kingdom and the internecine warfare they indulged in lost their vigour, while their fight for the supremacy of the south with the Pāndyas had dissipated

their strength by being drawn away from their homelands, which in consequence became less invulnerable; the Chōlas had ceased to be a power for some time owing to their frequent wars against the Pāndyas and Ceylonese and the repeated attacks on their kingdom by the Pāndyas, Kākatiyas and others, not to speak of the local chiefs, who had proved too strong for the kings of the time and had set up practically independent rule; and the Kākatiyas of Warrangal had also exhausted themselves by their frequent raids southwards. There was accordingly no central power down south to prevent these warring principalities from fighting against each other and thus paving the way for Muhammadan inroads from the North. The Chōlas had failed in their attempts at the complete subjugation of the Pāndyas; the Pāndyas had failed in their turn to win any certain victory against the Chōlas, though they opened up opportunities for the Hoysalas to eventually raid, if not effectually conquer, the whole of the south as far as Rāmēsvaram; and the Hoysalas had equally failed to make good their attempt at an empire in the south of India. The frequent wars in the south cannot but have had an effect on the Muhammadans in the north. Their ambitions were thus roused and though the first raids may have been for pure plunder, there is hardly any doubt that the later ones were expeditions of the regular type which aimed at the conquest of the whole of the south. The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Dēvagiri by Mahomed Toghlak, though a mad and unpracticable venture, was probably aimed at giving effect to this ambition. The fall of Dēvagiri saw the establishment about 1318 A.D. of a new Muhammadan province with its capital at that place under the ægis of Delhi. Mahomed Toghlak, as the result of the aggressive warfare he carried on against the Hindu states of the south, penetrated as far as Rāmēsvaram and left governors at different points of the country, such as

Kannanūr, the Hoysala capital in the south, Madura, the Pāndyan capital and possibly even farther south. (See under *Chōlas*). About 1330 A.D., he counted at least four among his twenty-three provinces in the south of India. These were: Deogir (Dēvagiri), Malabar (the country of the Chōlas and the Pāndyas), Tilank (Telingana) and Tilang-Darussamund (the Telugu and Kannada countries as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysala capital). Harihara I and Bukka I perceived the position and made good their opportunity. They decided to oppose the onrush and to prevent the ruin and devastation of the Hindu kingdoms of the south and the annihilation of their religion, their temples and their cities. They combined with the Hoysalas and Sēvunas on the one side and the Kākatiyas of Warrangal on the other and thus organized, they soon offered a solid wall of opposition and for 250 years southern India was saved.

Mahommed
Toghlak's
Invasion and
its conse-
quences.

Mahommed Toghlak was an eccentric and ambitious prince. Though he reigned only for 26 years (1325 to 1351 A.D.) he made it his business to extend his power over Bengal in the east, Gujarāt in the west and as far as Kāmēsaram in the south. Ferishta mentions among his conquests Dōrasamudra, Malabār, Kampila (identified by Mr. Sewell with modern Kampili, one of the provincial capitals at first of the Western Chālukyās, and then of the Hoysalas), Warrangal, etc., and these, he says, "were as effectually incorporated with his empire as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi." (Briggs, *Ferishta* I. 413). He also held Gujarāt firmly and recovered, in 1333, Bengal from Ghiyasuddin Bahadūr Bura, who had made himself independent. (Edward Thomas, *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings*, 200). In 1334, Mahommed was compelled to turn his attention once again to the south. In that year he proceeded against his rebel nephew, Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtasp, who, Ibn Batuta says, had taken refuge at the

court of the "Rāi of Kambila," the Kampila of Ferishta, a fortified place, not far away from Ānegundi. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 17). On the arrival of the troops, the Rāi—Ibn Batuta says—sent away his guest to a neighbouring chief, probably Ballāla III, the Hoysala king. His queens and the wives of his nobles, ministers and principal men immolated themselves in a huge fire-pit and he then sallied forth with his followers to give battle to the enemy and was slain. The town was taken and his "eleven sons" were, we are told, "made prisoners and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Mussalmāns." The Sultan, however, treated the sons with great honour, in admiration of their father's conduct. Ibn Batuta adds that he himself became intimate with one of these. He, indeed, states that they were both "companions and friends." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 17). Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, gives a long account of this event, though he antedates it by a century and states that only six of the followers of the king escaped from the general massacre that followed and that among these, all taken captives, were the minister and the treasurer of the Hindu king. Nuniz mentions the fact that the Hindu king had been at war with the Sultan for twelve years previously and he identifies the Hindu king with the king of Ānegundi. After a stay of two years, the Sultan left the place, being called away by rebellions in his northern dominions. Before retracing his steps, he appointed one Mileque Neby (apparently Mālik Nabi) as commander and governor with a sufficiency of troops. (*Ibid*, 291-296). His departure, however, was the signal for an attempt to recover the country from the invaders. The people in hiding returned and those who had pretended to submit joined hands, rose against Mālik Nabi and prevented provisions from going to him and refused to pay the taxes that had been forced on them. Mālik Nabi sent news of the sorrowful plight to which he had been

reduced. The Sultan took counsel and released forthwith the six captives he had still with him, nominating the minister "though not related by blood to the kings" to the throne. The minister accordingly became the king and the treasurer, the governor, and these repaired to their country with the four others. On their arrival home, Mālik Nabi delivered up the capital to the king, called by Nuniz, Deorao, nominated to it and departed to Delhi. The new king entering on his rule pacified the people, by securing their good-will by travelling about their fortresses and towns. Mr. Sewell has identified Nuniz's "Deorao" or "Dēva Rāya" with "Harihara Rāya I." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 7). This might well be so, as in the next chapter, Nuniz tells us that "Deorao" (*i.e.*, Harihara I) was succeeded by "Bucarao" (*i.e.*, Bukka-Rāya I) and that the latter was succeeded by "Pureoyre Deorao" (*i.e.*, Harihara-Rāya II), all of which statements are, we know, quite correct from many lithic and other records. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300-301). He must have been fairly advanced in age for, Nuniz states that on taking over charge of the kingdom, he abandoned the idea of re-gaining his lost territory, for he could not re-gain it, partly because he had no army or forces for such work and partly because he had no cause for making war; but more especially, as he puts it, "he was very old." (*Ibid* 299).

The story of
Nuniz con-
firmed.

If Harihara I was, as seems likely, the "Deorao" of Nuniz and was the king nominated by Mahommed Toghlak, who was his master, who so valiantly fought and died on the battle field? Nuniz styles him the "king of Bisnaga" (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar), meaning doubtless the "king of Ānegundi" as "Bisnaga" had, as he himself later admits, not yet come into existence. The question arises, was he any chief of Ānegundi? It seems probable he was. The battle in which he fell occurred about

1334 A.D. and Harihara I became king two years later, *i.e.*, in 1336 A.D. About this time, Ballāla III was still king of the Hoysala kingdom. It was probably as a counter blast that he appointed his son Ballāla IV to Hosdurga, near Vijayanagar, and had him crowned at Virūpākshipura and called him "Vīra-Virūpāksha" and "Hampeya-Odeya" setting him up openly as king of the country which Mahommed Toghlak had made over to Harihara I. This act it was that apparently brought on Ballāla III a fresh Muhammadan invasion of his territory in 1342 A.D., in which he fell fighting at Bereli. (See *ante* under *Ballāla III*). Harihara I followed up the defeat and death of Ballāla III by a rapid movement into the Hoysala dominions, which ended in the conquest of the Konkan. The Rāni of Barselore yielded (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25); the Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honavar) acknowledged his supremacy; the forts of Bādāmi and Bārūkūru had been built to protect his new acquisitions in the west. Even a dash against the home province of the Hoysalas is suggested in an inscription, which states that a son of Vīra-Bukkana-Odeyar (*i.e.*, Bukka I) whose date is wrongly given, attacked the town of Settihalli. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 65). This rapid growth in the power of Harihara I apparently ended in a friendly settlement between him and the Hoysala king Ballāla III; one of whose sons, "Aliya" Ballāla-Dandanāyaka became not only his son-in-law but also a Mahāmandalēsvara under him. (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 1 dated in 1346 A.D.). About the same time (1341 A.D.), Ballāla IV was crowned, and he was set up as ruler of Hampi and the surround-country. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 111). But he was no more than a nominal ruler, for Harihara I and his brother Bukka I had by then become powerful enough to attract the attention of foreign travellers like Ibn Batuta (1333-1342 A.D.) and had all but declared formally their independence.

Founding of
Vijayanagar,
1336 A.D.

Harihara I is credited with the founding of Vijayanagar, now represented by the little village of Hampi, in the Bellary District, and to have made it his capital in place of Ānegundi. Nuniz gives the traditionary story told in his time (16th century) as to how Harihara came to select this site for his capital. While out hunting one day amongst the mountains south of the river, a hare, instead of fleeing from his dogs, flew at them and bit them. The king, astonished at this incident, turned back homewards, lost in meditation as to whether it was really a hare or some prodigy. Arriving at the river, he met the hermit Vidyāranya (Nuniz calls him Vydiajuna) who advised him to build a city on the spot, which would prove the strongest in the world. "And so the king did," says Nuniz, "and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about; and that done, he left Nagundyam (Ānegundi) and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name of Vydiajuna (*i.e.*, Vidyāranya) for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him to construct it." Nuniz adds that after the hermit's death, he built "a very grand temple" (identified with the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi) "in honour of him and gave much revenue to it." In memory of the occasion, Nuniz states, the kings of Vijayanagar, on the day they were crowned, visited the temple before they went to their residence and offered prayers in it. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300). The saint Vidyāranya of Nuniz has been, with some reservation, identified with Mādhavāchārya, who had the surname of *Vidyāranya* (or Forest of Learning) and who was a *guru* of the Srīngēri Mutt. The city, according to Nuniz, was first known after Vidyāranya. Though the actual name of *Vidyānagara* is not mentioned by Nuniz, there is hardly any doubt that that is the name he refers to when he says that "he (Harihara I) gave it the name of *Vydiajuna*, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him to construct it."

The identity of Vid'yāranya in whose name the city was named and the year in which the city was actually founded have been discussed at some length by different authorities. As regards the latter, the event has generally been assigned to about 1336 A.D. In a work known as *Vid'yāranya Sikka*, quoted by Buchanan-Hamilton in his *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (III. 110-115), it is stated to be mentioned in it that the city was founded by Vid'yāranya for the two brothers in the *Saka* year 1258 and that it took seven years to build the whole city. It is also said to be mentioned in this work that Vid'yāranya performed the coronation ceremony of Harihara on "the 7th day of the moon in *Vaisākha*, being Wednesday, under the constellation Makha and bestowed the kingdom on him in the *Kaliyuga* year 4437 or A.D. 1335-1336." (*Ibid*, 114). There is nothing inherently improbable in this date. The work referred to by Buchanan may or may not be the same work as *Vid'yāranya Kālagṇāna*, which is a prophetic account of the foundation of city of Vijayanagar in *Saka* 1258 (1335-6 A.D.) and of the succession of its princes, attributed to Vid'yāranya or Mādhasvāmi, the minister of Harihara (I) and Bukka (I), the first princes of Vijayanagar. The work is accompanied by a commentary by Krishna Bhārata (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 322). But the date given in the two works agree and in both the foundation of the city is attributed to Vid'yāranya, who in the *Kālagṇāna* is further identified with Mādhasva. In the Bestarahalli copper-plate inscription, of which the original is not forthcoming and whose authenticity is for this reason doubted by Mr. Rice, the story of the founding of Vijayanagar is given exactly as in Nuniz's *Chronicle* and what is of greater interest, it is dated in *Saka* 1258, or 1336 A.D. (This date is given in words thus: *ashta-pancha-yūgalāika-sankhyayāsamyūte Sakanripasya vatsare Dhātri-Mādhasva-valuksha-saptamish*

Date of
foundation
and identity
of
Vid'yāranya.

ahni satyanagha-lagna-tārakē). The inscription gives us the additional information that Vidyāranya directed the building of a city called Vidyā with nine gates wherein he might reside, like Purandhara (*i.e.*, Kubera), in wealth acquired by victory in war on all sides. Harihara, we are told, following this direction, built a city called Vidyā (Vidyā-nagara) of vast dimensions and established his throne there and crowned himself there making the sixteen great gifts. The inscription records the grant of a village named Yaragudi, renamed Vidyāranyapura, in the Penukonda kingdom, to one Pampāvīrūpāksha. It was apparently one of certain *agrahāras* formed by Harihara on the occasion of the *phalābhishēka* festival of Pampāvīrūpāksha-Mahēsvara at the capital. (*E.C. X*, Bagepalli 70). In the Hosur copper-plates, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1370 A.D., we have a grant by Bukka I, who is represented as jointly ruling with Harihara, being described as seated on the jewelled throne in the city named Vidyā made by Vidyāranya (*Vidyā abhidāna-nagari Vijayōn-nati-sālīni Vidyāranya-krita tasyām ratna-simhāsānē stitah*) and making the sixteen gifts. These copper-plates record the grant of the village of PENCHUKALDINNE, renamed Bukkarāyapura, in the Gutti kingdom to Nāchana-Sōma, a great poet, who was proficient in eight languages. (*E.C. X*, Goribidnur 46). The Kapalur copper-plates, dated in *Saka* 1258 (or 1335-36 A.D.), similarly record a grant by Harihara, on his coronation, of the village of Anamēdu' renamed Hariharapura, in the Chandragiri kingdom. This grant is in many places identical in language with the Bestarhalli plates, with which it agrees in regard to the naming of the new city as *Vidyā* at the instance of Vidyāranya. Mr. Krishna Sāstri suggests that the date of the Bestarhalli and Kapalur plates may be accepted as genuine, being based on tradition, though the grants recorded on them may not be beyond suspicion. (*A. S. I.* 1907-8, 239, *f.n.* 9). He

also throws out the hint that seeing that the building of the new capital and his coronation took place in the same year, 1336 A.D., it is not improbable that Harihara I in this year actually made an attempt to declare his independence and in order to secure that object befriended a teacher of the Srīngēri *Matha*.

This brings us to the second point: the identity of Vidyāranya, at whose instance the new city was founded. The *Vidyāranya Kālagāna* identifies him with Mādhava. According to the *Sāṅkara Vijaya*, which gives a list of the *gurus* of the Srīngēri *Math*, Vidyāranya was the disciple of Bhārati-Krīṣṇa-Tīrtha and came next after him in succession. Bhārati-Krīṣṇa-Tīrtha was in his turn the disciple of Vidyā-Sāṅkara-Āchārya, whom he succeeded. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 324). The succession of these three *gurus* Vidyāsankara, Bhārati-Krīṣṇa-Tīrtha and Vidyāranya one after the other is entirely in conformity with the position assigned to them in the Srīngēri *Math* list, where also they come in succession to each other, though the two lists widely differ, especially in the earlier part, from one another. According to the Srīngēri *Math* list, Vidyāsankara was consecrated in 1228 A.D., and lived till 1333 A.D.; Bhārati-Krīṣṇa-Tīrtha was consecrated in 1328 A.D., and lived till 1380 A.D.; and Vidyāranya was consecrated in 1331 A.D., and lived till 1386 A.D. All these three *gurus* were accordingly contemporaries and lived in the time of Harihara I and his four brothers. There need be nothing incredible in this, as a *guru* has not infrequently his next successor consecrated in his own time, but also the latter's successor. That they succeeded one another in the order mentioned and that Vidyāranya lived down to 1380 A.D. is confirmed by a *kadita* copy of a copper-plate grant made by Harihara II in that year in which all the previous grants made are recounted and confirmed by him

Mādhava and
Vidyāranya.

in the presence of Vidyāranya. (*M.E.R.* 1916, para 94). The grants thus enumerated and confirmed are referred to below. The Srīngēri lithic grant dated in *Saka* 1268, or A.D. 1346, which invokes the blessings and friendship of Vidyātīrtha who was evidently still living at the time of this grant, and records the gift of nine villages by a number of people, chief among whom were Harihara I and his four brothers, Ballappa-Dannāyaka, the son-in-law of Harihara I and prince Sovanna-Odeyar, son of Kampa I, to the forty Brāhmans of Srīngēri, who attended on Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda and his disciples in order that the latter might continue to perform their austerities at the place, is suggestive of the inference that the Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda mentioned in it is identical with the Bhārati-Krishna-tīrtha of the *Sankara Vijaya* and Srīngēri succession lists. On this basis, the invocation addressed to Vidyātīrtha at the head of this grant is perfectly intelligible, for Vidyātīrtha, who should be identified with Vidyā-Sankara-Āchārya of the *Sankara Vijaya* and the Srīngēri lists, was the *guru* of Bhārati-Krishna-Tīrtha. Vidyātīrtha was alive in 1356 A.D., for in that year Bukka I paid a visit to him at Srīngēri and made a grant of lands to him for providing for the servants of the *Matha* and for the food of the ascetics. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 93). This shows that the statement in the Srīngēri *math* list that he died in 1333 is not correct. Vidyā-Tīrtha is mentioned in the Inam Office copper-plate grant of Harihara II dated in 1386 A.D. as the *guru* of Bukka I, the latter being described as having been the worshipper of the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtha. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Paras 54-55). Vidyātīrtha was besides the temporal adviser of Bukka I and Bukka I is spoken of as having become very great in the Hebbasuru copper-plate grant of his son Harihara II, dated in 1376 A.D., with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46). This statement is

confirmed by Mādhava in his work *Nyāyamālāvistāra*. This Mādhava, whom we may call, for distinguishing him from others of his name, Māyana-Mādhava, was the author, besides, of *Dēvyaparādhas̥tōtra* and *Parāsara-Mādhaviya*. He was evidently a man of profound learning and subsequently became Vidyāranya. He and his younger brother Sāyana were both disciples of Vidyā-tirtha, to whom they refer in the introductory verses to their works, where they describe him as an incarnation of Mahēsvara. That this was the current belief in 1386 A.D. is proved by the fact that the composer of the Inam office grant of Harihara II above referred to gives the name of *Vidyātirthēsa* in place of *Vidyātirtha*, the ending *isa* meaning *Īsvara* or *Mahēsvara*. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Paras 54-55). Vidyāranya set up an image of his *guru* under the name of Vidyāsankara at Srīngēri. Certain grants are recorded to this temple in 1389 and 1392 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 11 and *E.C.* VI, Srīngēri 22). If Vidyāranya was already famous as an ascetic in 1386 A.D., when, according to Nuniz, he advised Harihara I to found the city of Vijayanagara, the statement in the Srīngēri *math* list that he was consecrated in 1331 A.D. may be taken as correct. But this list gives 1386 A.D. as the date of his death, which is not confirmed. He was certainly alive at the time the Inam Office plates were drawn up, *i.e.*, in 1386 A.D., for we are told that the grant mentioned in it was made in *his presence* by Harihara II. Two other grants dated in 1378 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19 and 30), which are expressly stated to have been made in the presence or by the order of Vidyāranya, indicate that he was alive at least up to that year. According to the *Dēvyaparādhas̥tōtra*, he appears to have lived more than eighty-five years. But there is direct testimony available from a copper-plate grant dated in that very year in the reign of Harihara II, which records that he made a gift of lands

on the death of Vidyāranya in that year (corresponding to the cyclic year *Kshaya*). These lands were, it is said, made into 100 *vrittis* under the name of Vidyāranayapura and bestowed on the *mahājanas* of Srīngēri. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). From the *Kadita* copy of the grant dated in 1380 A.D., at Srīngēri, referred to above, it is learnt that Vidyāranya went on pilgrimage to Benares (in or about 1356 A.D.) and that he returned to Srīngēri by order of Vidyātīrta, his *guru*, and at the request of Bukka I. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Paras 94-95). This same grant mentions that Chick-rāya, son of Harihara II, also made a grant, as Governor of Araga, to Vidyāranya, which was also confirmed by Harihara II. (*Ibid* Para 94). One other grant of Harihara II dated in 1384 A.D. in favour of Vidyāranya's disciples is also known. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 96). In this grant, Harihara II is said to have acquired by the grace of Vidyāranya the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings. In this grant, dated in 1386 A.D. and mentioning Vidyāranya's death, Vidyāranya is described, among other kings, as "the supreme light incarnate." (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). And another *Kadita* at Srīngēri states that Vidyāranya died at Hampi and that his *samādhi* or tomb is situated behind the Virūpāksha temple. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). This place is still pointed out at Hampi and there is nothing improbable in the story that it marks the place where he was buried. This *kadita* adds that Vidyāranya on his way back first came to Vijayanagar and was then sent by Bukka I to Srīngēri, where he asked Mādarasa, Governor of Araga, to grant lands for the maintenance of Vidyāranya and his disciples. This Mādarasa, identified with Mādhava, the Saiva Scholar, and Vidyāranya should accordingly be different persons. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Paras 94-95). The statements that he is the person mentioned as Mādhava (in *E.C.* VIII, Tirtbahalli 147), that he was minister even as a *sunyāsin*, etc., seem to be made as

the result of the confusion arising from mixing up the facts relating to the personal histories of two different Mādhavas. (See *M.A.R.* 1907-08, Para 55). This question is considered below. Vidyāranya has been identified with Bhārati-tīrtha-srīpāda himself. This has been due to the attribution by Dr. Burnell of the authorship of certain works mentioned in the Tanjore Catalogue (*Catalogue of Tanjore Mss.*, 88; also *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* by Cowell and Gough, 273, *f.n.1.*) to Bhārati-tīrtha Vidyāranya (Mādhavāchārya). This, however, is now accepted as wholly erroneous (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 237, *f.n.1.*) Vidyāranya evidently lived through the reigns of Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. Both before and after his consecration, he appears to have been famous as an author. Three of his works have been named above. Of these, the *Parāsara Mādhaviya* deserves a word or two. The part of it known as *Vyavahāra Kānda* is a distinct work by itself, for it is not based on *Parāsara Smṛiti*. Mādhava found the advance made since Parāsara's time so great and supplied the omission by collecting what is said in the other *Smṛitis* for ready use. The work is really a digest of jurisprudence based on the *Smṛitis* treating of it, for ready use. The founding of a new kingdom required apparently a practical treatise on substantive and adjective law and Vidyāranya supplied it. It has been suggested that what is described by Mādhava in this work as law and procedure should have been actually in force in Southern India about the middle of the 14th century when the Vijayanagar kingdom came to be established, (J. Ramayya Pantulu, in *Āndhra Historical Research Society's Journal* II, 106). In composing the famous commentaries on the four *Vēdas*, Mādhava and his brother Sāyana seem to have had the active aid and co-operation of three scholars, mentioned in the Inam Office grant above named and in certain other grants, in which

gifts to them are mentioned. (M.A.R. 1907-8, Para 54; E.C. Srīngēri 23 and 34). These may be the progenitors of the three families which receive to this day special honours at the Srīngēri-matha. They are spoken of as the promoters of the commentaries on the four *Vēdas*. (M.A.R. 1907-8, Para 54). Two other scholars who helped Sāyana in his work are mentioned in the Agrahāra-Bachahalli copper-plates of Harihara II dated in 1377 A.D. The first two donees whose names appear in this grant are Sāyana and his son Singana. (M.A.R. 1914-15, Paras 88-89).

Māyana-
Mādhava and
his brothers.

The Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya referred to above was of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and the son of Māyana and Srīmati or Srīmayi. His younger brothers were Sāyana and Bhōganātha. Of these, Sāyana was the author of *Alankārasudhānidhi*, *Dhātuvrittī* and *Subhāshita-sudhānidhi*. Whether the last of these works is the same as the one known as *Sāyanīya-Subhāshitam* (Madras Government Oriental Mss. Triennial Catalogue of Mss. for 1910-1911 to 1912-1913, page 1054) identified with *Subhāshitanīvi* (*Ibid* page 245) remains yet to be determined. The latter is a collection of choice and pithy stanzas on various subjects. In a copy of the former, it is stated that it was composed by Kampābhūpati of Vijayanagar, who may be identified with Kampa (or Kampana) I, brother of Harihara I and father of Sangama II. Sāyana also took a prominent part in the composing of the celebrated commentaries on the *Vēdas* which go by his name. According to his work *Alankārasudhānidhi*, he was the minister of Sangama II, son of Kampa (or Kampana) II. Being posthumously born, Sangama II became a ward of Sāyana, who taught him from his childhood. During his minority, Sāyana was practically regent, marched against Champanarēndra and defeated him. This Champanarēndra may be identified

with Champarāya (Sambavarāya), the Drāvida chief who ruled over Tundīra-Mandala (Tondai-Mandala) at the time. (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 5-6). Sāyana's father's name is correctly given as Māyana and his two brothers Mādhava and Bhōganātha are also mentioned in the work. He is spoken of as having written a work on medicine. Some of Bhōganātha's works are named in it and are quoted from. These are *Rumōllāsa*, *Tripuravijaya*, *Sringāramanjari*, *Udāharana-māla*, *Mahāganapatistava* and *Gaurināthāshtaka*. He was, besides, the composer of the Bitragunta grant (*E.I.* III, 23) dated in 1356 A.D., in which he calls himself the "born companion" of Sangama II, son of Kampana I, who was the ward of Sāyana, his brother. There is a tradition that he became the *guru* of Srīngeri Mutt under the title of *Bhārati-tīrtha* the period 1328-1386 being assigned to him. This assertion lacks foundation judging from the manner in which he describes himself in the Bitragunta Plates. At the time of this grant, 1356 A.D., he could not have been a *sanyāsīn* and the inscriptions mention only *Bhārati-tīrtha* and not *Bhārati-krishna-tīrtha*. (See *M.A.R.* 1916, para 95). Of these, *Udāharanamāla* appears to have been specially written in praise of Sāyana. Sāyana had, according to this work, three sons by his wife Himāvati. They were Kampana, Māyana and Singana. The first became, it is added, a musician, the second a poet and the third a Vēdic scholar. This Māyana has been identified with Mādhava, the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*. The basis for this identification appears to be that in an inscription founded in the Arulāla-Perumāl temple at Kānchi, consisting of a verse addressed to Sāyana, which gives the names of his parents, brothers and patron, the name Māyana appears to be used in place of Mādhava. (*E.I.* III, 118; see also *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 91). That Sāyana had a son of the name of Mādhava is evident from the opening verses of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*:

In verses 3 and 4 of the Prologue to this work, the author describes himself as "Sāyana-Mādhava," the son of Sāyana. The term "Sāyana-Mādhava" seems designedly used in this work to distinguish its author from Māyana-Mādhava, who became famous as Vidyā-ranya. Cowell and Gough believing as they did in the tradition that Mādhava, the son of Māyana, was the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*, explain the term "Sāyana-Mādhava" in this somewhat curious fashion: "Mādhava elsewhere calls Sāyana his younger brother, as an allegorical description of his body, himself the eternal soul. His use of the term Sāyana-Mādhava here (not the dual) seems to prove that the two names represent the same person. The body seems meant by the Sāyana of the third *śloka*. Māyana was the father of Mādhava, and the true reading may be *Srīman-māyana*." Neither an allegorical interpretation nor any change in the reading is necessary, if the identifications of Sāyana-Mādhava (*i.e.*, Mādhava the son of Sāyana) with Māyana, the son of Sāyana, is accepted. Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar, who has suggested this identification, has invited attention to the fact that as Sāyana-Mādhava quotes verses from the Vaiṣṇava author, Vēdāntāchārya, who was a contemporary of Māyana-Mādhava, we would be right in assuming the lapse of at least a generation for Vēdāntāchārya's work being quoted from. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 91). That Mādhava (*i.e.*, Māyana-Mādhava), the author of the *Commentaries on the Vēdas*, cannot have been the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* and is different from him is also proved from the fact that the explanations given of particular passages in his *Commentaries* do not agree with the explanations given of them in the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*. A notable illustration of this is to be seen in the different interpretations given in the two works of the curious text: "A blind man found a jewel; one

without fingers seized it; one without a neck put it on; and a dumb man praised it." This passage occurs in the *Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka* (i. 11, 5). Mādhava in his *Commentaries* explains it of the soul and quotes the *Svetasv. Up.* III. 19. Mādhava in the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* takes *avindat* as "he pierced the jewel." Cowell, in translating the passage, follows the *Commentaries* which he regards as "correct." (*Sarvadarsana-sangraha*, 272, f. n. 1). It stands to reason that though different authors may legitimately take differing or even conflicting views of the same passage, the same author would not give two different meanings to it in two independent works. The well-known philosophical work *Panchadasi*, which has been attributed to Māyana-Mādhava, is neither his work nor that of Sāyana-Mādhava. Its author praises in his opening verses (1 and 2) his *guru* Śrī Sankarānanda, while the *guru* of Māyana-Mādhava was Bhārati-Krishna-tīrtha and of Sāyana-Mādhava Sarvajna-Vishnu. Sankarānanda-Bhārati, to give him his full name, was a *guru* of the Srīngēri-matha, who came a century later. He was consecrated in 1428 A.D. and died in 1454 A.D. (See Srīngēri-math succession list). He is identical with the Sankara-Bhārati of the list of *gurus* mentioned in the *Sankara-Vijaya*. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 324). The author of *Panchadasi*, whoever he was, should accordingly be set down to about the middle of the 15th century. The account of Vidyāranya given by the translators of *Panchadasi* (Śrī Vani Vilas Press edition, 1927) who attribute this work to Vidyāranya is a medley of the lives of the three Mādhavas. (See *Introd.* IX, XV). The *guru* of Sāyana was, according to the Arulāla-Perumāḷ temple inscription, Vishnu-Sarvajna (*E.I.* III, 118); he was probably the same person as Sarvajna-Vishnu, son of Sārangapāni, who is praised by Sāyana-Mādhava in the second verse of the Prologue to his *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*. It is evident that

the *guru* of father and son—Sāyana and Sāyana-Mādhava—was one and the same person, Sarvajña-Vishnu.

Chāunda-
Mādhava, or
Mādhava-
Mantri.

There was, besides Māyana-Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya and Sāyana-Mādhava, nephew of the former, a third Mādhava, a contemporary of Māyana-Mādhava, who was also known as Mādhavānka and Mādarasa-Odeya. He was the minister of Mārāpa, one of the brothers of Harihara I in his government of the Kadamba country. He was the son of Chāunda (or Chāundi-bhatta) and Māchāmbika and of the Āngirasa gōtra. (Goa Copper-plate inscription, *J. B. Br. R. A. S. IX* 228). His *guru* was Kāśvilāsa Kriyāsakti. Unlike Māyana-Mādhava, he was a follower of pure Saivism and not the Advāita. The facts relating to his life and his literary works have been, under a misapprehension, mixed up with those relating to Māyana-Mādhava and Sāyana-Mādhava. (Weber, *I.A. VI*, 162, *f.n.* 11). Chāunda-Mādhava, as he has been called to distinguish him from the two others, was also a Vēdic scholar but unlike Māyana-Mādhava also exercised secular authority, as a warrior and minister. According to one record dated in 1347 A.D., he was born a "pilot," who by the power of his wisdom is said to have overreached even Brihaspati. He is further spoken of as the conqueror of foreign countries for Mārāpa. (*E.C. VIII*, Sorab 375). The reference apparently is to the conquest of Goa effected by him for Mārāpa. (*I.A. VI*, 162 *f.n.* 11). He was in charge of the Jayanti (or Kadamba) country and was Mārāpa's minister. From another inscription, dated in 1368 A.D., which records a grant by Mādhava himself, we learn he was the minister of Bukka I. (*E.C. VII*, Shikarpur 281). He apparently became the minister of Bukka I when the latter ascended the throne in succession to Harihara I, about 1353 A.D. This record seems to suggest that his valour, though a "holy man," was so

great that it obtained recognition at his sovereign's hands. He was ordered, about 1368 A.D., the date of the record, to accept the charge of the government as far as the Western ocean. This is confirmed by an inscription dated in 1391 A.D., which tells us that Mādhava was the governor of Banavāsi; that he defeated the Turushkas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) and wrested Goa from them, and that he made a grant in that year to twenty-four learned Brāhmins, who co-operated with him in the composition of works bearing his name. (*J. B. Br. R.A.S.* IV, 115; *I. A.* VI, 162 *f.n.* 11). The Shikarpur record of 1353 A.D. describes him at great length. He was, we are told:—

“ Invested with authority for punishing the evil, and with Brāhman purity and Kshatra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear. Born from the Brāhman Chāunda who was an austere ascetic in the Āngirasa-*gōtra*, he is an astonishing expert in policy, like Brihaspati in exceeding wisdom; and though a *sūri* (or learned man), is always composing poetry which gives new pleasure to the minds of all,—what wonder is he, who through the astonishing favour of his master Kāsivilāsa (Kriyāsakti), a manifest incarnation of Girīsa, gained celebrity as a Saiva; by his masterful energies subdued this world and the next and was speedily the conqueror of how many countries on the shores of the Western Ocean; what more can be said in his praise? Who cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *Upanishads*, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents, the proud advocates of evil doctrines; so that though Brahma's dwelling is so far, he was ever helping the worthy to go there without a guide, and was praised by the wise as the *guru* who established the path of the *Upanishads*.”

Mādhava-Mantri, with a view to obtain success in his administration and to keep his charge “without trouble” carried out, at the instance of his guru, Kriyāsakti, a special Saiva vow, lasting a year, at the end of which he made a grant, with the permission of Bukka I, of the village of Muchchandi in Nāgarakhanda, bought as he puts it, “from the funds of my own property,” to eighty learned Kāshmir Brāhmins who were well versed in the

Saiva rites and devoted to the Saiva creed. It is stated in the record that the village was renamed at the time of its gift into Vidyēsvarapura, "after the eight Vidyēsvaras, who were objects of adoration in his vow." This record definitely shows that Mādhava-Mantri was a strict follower of pure Saivism of the Kāshmir school and was a devoted disciple of Kriyāsakti, who belonged to the Pāsupata (or Lakula) school. Another grant connected with his name is that recorded in the Goa copper-plates above referred to, which mention the gift of a village by him in his mother's name, naming it Machalapura. A lithic inscription at Balehalli dated in 1369 A.D. records a grant in his own favour during the reign of Bukka I, while it would appear from another record at the same place (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 6) dated in the same year, that he was governor of Āraga and other places—which were in charge of Mārāpa—and that he had a son named Boltarasa. (See *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 93). He helped Mārāpa in the production of a work called the *Saivāgama-sārusangraha*, a work devoted to the commandments of Siva. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). He claims to have written on the *Upanishads*. He was, besides, the author of *Sūtasamhita-Tātparya-Dīpaku*, a commentary, as its name indicates, on the *Sūtasamhitā*. (Burnell, *Catalogue of Tanjore Mss.* 194 A; see also the Colophon to his work on the *Sūta-Samhitā*, in which he calls himself the establisher of the *Vēdas* and the *Sāstras*). The *Sūta-Samhitā* itself is a collection of doctrines of legendary illustrations, especially according to the *Yōga* practices, collected from and forming part of the *Shānda Purāna*. It is usually divided into five or six sections, *viz.*, the *Siva-Mahātmya-khānda*, the *Manayōga-khānda*, the *Muktiyōga-khānda*, the *Yagnarāibhava-khānda*, and *Brahma-Gīta*, the last of which being sometimes divided into the *Brahma-Gīta* and the *Sūta-Gīta*. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 124).

It will thus be seen that the three Mādhavas we have mentioned above, who were contemporaries, were different persons, each being a learned scholar and each remembered by the literary work or works he has left behind him. There is justification for the confusion that has prevailed for some time in regard to them and their works. It is now all but certain that Māyana-Mādhava and Sāyana-Mādhava, related as uncle and nephew to each other, were not only different persons and great scholars, but also each in his own way wielded considerable influence at the Vijayanagar court. Māyana-Mādhava, indeed, as Vidyāranya, helped in the establishment of the kingdom and the capital, though there is nothing to show he held any temporal office under either Harihara I or Bukka I. Sāyana, as we have seen, held the position of regent and general of Sangama II, son of Kampana I. Mādhava-Mantri, the third of the name, distinguished himself as soldier, governor, poet and Saiva devotee under Mārappa and Bukka I. The following two tables of descent indicate clearly the parentage of these three different Mādhavas:—

Tables of descent of the three Mādhavas.

TABLE I

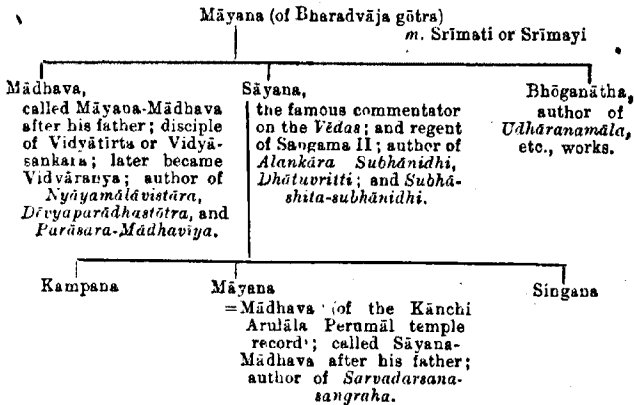


TABLE II

Chāunda (of Angīrasa gōtra)
 |
 m. Māchāmbika

Mādhava-Māntri

(also called Mādhavarasa and
 Mādarasa-Odeya; disciple of
 the Saiva teacher Kāsivilāsa
 Kriyāsakti; governor of Goa
 and Kadamba country; Saiva
 devotee and scholar; author
 of a commentary on the *Sūta-
 samhita* and compiler with
 Mārāpa of the *Saivāgama-
 sārasaṅgraha*)

|
 Boltarasa

(E. C. VI, Koppa 6 dated in 1369 A.D.)

Conquests of
 Harihara I
 and Bukka I.

Harihara I and Bukka I appear to have been inde-
 fatigable in extending the limits of the new kingdom.
 According to the Sringeri record (E.C. VI, Sringeri 1)
 dated in 1346 A.D., Harihara I had already brought
 under his control the whole country between the Eastern
 and the Western oceans. He was evidently in personal
 charge of the western and parts of the southern districts
 which had previously belonged to the Sēvunas of Dēvagiri.
 His brother Bukka I seems to have been governing the
 Eastern and Central divisions of the new kingdom.
 Certain inscriptions found in the Bangalore and Kolar
 districts suggest that prior to 1254 A.D., the last year of
 Harihara I, both these brothers were ruling jointly.
 But as about this same period we find in the Cuddapah
 and Anantapur districts independent records of Bukka I,
 and in the Kadur, South Canara and Bijāpur Districts,
 those exclusively of Harihara I, Mr. Krishna Sāstri has
 remarked that though joint rulers, they had actually
 administered well defined parts of the kingdom. (E.C. IX
 and X, Introd.). Kampana I, another brother, was in
 charge of Nellore and Cuddapah districts, while Mārāpa
 administered the Shimoga and North Canara Districts.

Kampana II (Hiriya-Kampana), son of Bukka, recovered the south from the Muhammadans and was in independent charge of it about 1361 A.D. Bukka I transferred the capital from Dōrasamudra to Hospattana between 1352 or 1354, about the last year of the reign of his brother Harihara I and his own first year, and thence to Vijayanagar, it being more central and convenient for administering the affairs of a large kingdom. Though Vijayanagar had been founded 18 years before, it had not yet been occupied as the capital as much of the country in the west and south had yet to be recovered or brought under control. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46; XI, Chitaldrug 46 and 2; *E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256).

Harihara I and his brothers not only conquered the whole of Southern India but also provided for its rule. The country appears to have been divided into provinces, some of which were ruled by themselves in person, while others were looked after by Viceroys. Thus, the north-western portion of the present Shimoga District and a good part of North Canara formed the province of Āraga, with its capital at Chandragutti or Gutti, a little to the south of Banavāsi, and was ruled over by Mārāpa, a brother of Harihara I. It is stated of him that he conquered the whole of the Kadamba country (or Banavāsi 12,000) and was ruling at Chandragutti in 1346 A.D., with the learned Chāunda-Mādhava as his minister. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). Santalige 1000, which lay to the south of this Province, and included parts of modern Shimoga and South Canara Districts, was in 1347, A.D. governed by a feudatory chief who called himself Pāndya-Chakravarti. (*E.C.* VIII, 126, *f. n.* 4; and Tirthahalli 154). He was probably connected with the old Ālupas (or Ālva) who bore the title of *Uttama-Pāndya* (*E.I.* IX, 21-22) and an ancestor of Pāndya-Chakravarti Vira-Pāndyadēva who in 1386 A.D. was ruling over parts of

Administra-
tive
Organisation.

South Canara district. (*M.E.R.* 1890, No. 50). The northern part of Tuluva (the Canara country) beginning from somewhere near Srīngēri was governed by a Viceroy, who was stationed at Bārakūr, a little to the north-west of Nagar. Ballāla III had a Viceroy at Bārakūr, which stronghold he visited (see above). Sankara-Nāik, the last representative of the Hoysalas, apparently, surrendered to Bukka I, for it is said that on the latter's approach, he was filled with fear. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). Southern Tuluva, with Mangalore as its capital, was another province. It was in 1349 A.D. governed by Hadapada Gautarasa, a minister of Harihara I. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 57; see *A.S.I.* 1907-8, 237, *f.n.*7). As pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, from the fact that *Gadyānas* were issued in the names of both these capitals, it should be inferred that their Viceroys were empowered to issue coins in their own names. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, 237-238). A record from the Kolar District suggests that Mahāmandalēsvara Ariya (or Aliya) Ballappa-Dandanāyaka, son of Ballāla III and son-in-law of Harihara I, was governing it. (*E.C.* X, Malur 61). Muluvāyi-rājya including the modern Kolar, Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts and the adjacent country were ruled over by Kampana I, the son of Harihara I and Bukka's son Hiriya Kampana or Kampana II. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 202 and 222 and 162). Tekkal-nādu, to which Harihara I and his brother Muttanna Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Muddappa) issued jointly an order in 1346 A.D., was doubtless included in this *rājya* or province. (*E.C.* X, Malur 39). Kampana II conquered Sāmbavarāya and acquired Padaividu, his stronghold and perhaps Kānchi, the capital of his kingdom known as Rājagambhīrarājya about 1361 A.D. (*Madhurāvijayam*, Introd. 20-25). Muluvāyi-rājya took its name from Mulbagal, its headquarters, which was the viceregal seat of government during Vijayanagar period of the eldest son of the reigning

king, (*E.C. X*, Introd, XXXIV). Udayagiri, including the present Nellore and Cuddapah Districts, was governed by Kampana I about 1346 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*; 780, No. 28). His son Sangana II was in charge of Nellore in 1356 A.D. (*E.C. III*, 24). About the same time, Vira-Sri-Sāvannodeya, another son of Kampana I, was ruling over Udayagiri, as "the lord of the eastern ocean." (*M.E.R.* 1906, Nos. 500 and 503). The province of Udayagiri must have formed, in the middle of the 14th century, the eastern part of the new kingdom. Then there was the province called Penugonda-rājya, which later included the Gutti-rājya, both together comprising a great part of the modern Bellary, Anantapur, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts. This province was in 1333 governed by Gangi-Dēva, son of Māchiyadannāyaka, a son-in-law (Aliya) of Ballāla III, with his capital at Penukonda. It appears to have passed into the hands of Bukka I, for we find him, about 1370 A.D., making the grant of a village included in it, (*E.C. X*, Goribidnur 40) and in 1397 A.D. a daughter of his arranging for the water supply of a place included in it. (*E.C. X*, Bagepalli 10). Another province called the Sadali kingdom is mentioned and it seems to have included Chikballapur and the adjoining country, which was in Nāganna-Odeyar's charge under Bukka I, in 1371 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Chikballapur 63). In the copper-plate grants of Harihara I, dated in 1336 A.D., above referred to, the Penukonda and Chanlragiri rājyas are included in the dominions of Harihara I. (*E.C. X*, Bagepalli 70). The interest of Harihara I and his brothers was evidently a joint one in the kingdom and the grant recorded by them in the Sringeri inscription (*E.C. VI*, Sringeri I) seems to confirm this inference. Little by little they soon came to occupy the whole of Southern India, spreading between the Eastern, Western and Southern oceans, and thus justifying the assumption of the title of "lord of the

Eastern and Western oceans" by Harihara I. and Bukka I. (*E.I.* III, 114 and VI, 327, *f.n.* 2.; see also *E.C.* X, Chikballapur 63 dated in 1371 A.D.).

Rule of
Harihara I.

Harihara I is known to tradition as Hakka, a name which is confirmed by a record (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 68) dated in 1357 A.D., where he is called Hakkanna. Of the five brothers, Hakka and Bakka (he is so called in many epigraphs) were the most prominent in building up the new kingdom. Harihara's rule over the south does not appear to have been as universal as that of his brother Bukka I later proved to be. Parts of the country were either in foreign hands or in the possession of chiefs who affected independence of the new kingdom. Harihara's chief work seems to have been to guard the Northern Frontier and prevent the Muhammadan incursions. In this he succeeded fairly well. The reduction of Muhammadan garrisons in the south left by Malik Kāfur was not attempted by him. That work was reserved to Bukka I and his eldest son Kampana II. Similarly, the duty of bringing to subjection recalcitrant chiefs, who, like the Sāmbavarāyas of Kānchi, practically helped to break up the Chōla empire, was also not attempted by him.

Harihara I
and his
brothers.

In view of the abovementioned fact that Harihara I and his brothers were all active members of a confederacy which made strenuous attempts to recover the country from the Muhammadans and re-establish Hindu rule in it, it seems necessary at this stage to note briefly a few facts about them. Kampa I (or Kampana I), his immediate younger brother, became, as mentioned above, the ruler of Udayagiri-rājya. His name appears as Sankara in one record. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375, dated in 1347 A.D.). He probably died before the demise of Harihara I. The Bitragunta plates which refer to a grant

made by him on the annual ceremony of his father probably refer not to his *first* anniversary but to a later one. His son Sangama II being posthumously born, the government of the province was under Sāyana, as Regent. It was during his minority that Sāyana led a campaign against Champanarēdra, identified with Sāmbavarāya, and defeated him. (See below). Kampana seems to have left another son, probably he was the eldest, named Vira-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 52; Appendix Nos. 500, 503 and 504 of 1906). In two of these records (Nos. 500 and 503) grants are made for the merit of his father Kamaparāja and his mother Manga-dēvi-amma. They are dated in *Saka* 1275 and 1273 or 1353 and 1351 A.D. The other record (No. 504 of 1906) is dated in *Saka* 1283 or A.D. 1361. According to the Bitragunta grant, Sangama II was ruling over the same province (Udayagiri) in *Saka* 1278 or A.D. 1356. A possible explanation is that Vira-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeya was co-regent of his father until his death and then ruled by himself. According to an inscription found at Kālahasti, Vira-Srī's 15th year corresponded to the Cyclic year *Subhakrit* or *Saka* 1285. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 188). His accession should, therefore, have taken place in *Saka* 1270-71 or 1348-49 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 52). Two other inscriptions of his dated in his 7th and 9th years (=1355 and 1357 A.D.), one of which comes from Tiruvorriyūr, (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 188 and 240 of 1903) are also known. They refer to the suppression of certain local disturbances. His son Singanna-Odeya is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 681). An inscription of his dated in *Saka* 1299 (=A.D. 1377) has been found at Terusomula in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. 481). He may be identified with the Singanna-Odeya who in *Saka* 1314 (=1392 A.D.) was in charge of Tulu and Malarāja with his capital at

Bārakūru. (A.S.I. 1907-08, Page 243). Another inscription of his dated in the 14th year (or A.D. 1363) comes from Conjeeveram (M.A.R. 1920, Appendix B. 523 of 1919). Harihara's second younger brother was Bukka I, who later succeeded him on the imperial throne. His next brother was Mārāpa, who ruled over the Āraga or Male country. A record dated in 1347 A.D. (E.C. VIII, Sorab 375) refers at length to his conquests. He was established, we are told, "in Gomanta-saila, the excellent Chandragupti," modern Chandragutti or Gutti, in the west of Sorab, which he appears to have made his capital. It is described as the *pradhāna-rājadhāni* of Banavāsi 12,000. He was praised by eulogists as *Rājā-dhirājā*, *Yuvarāt*, *Paramēsvara*, a great kite to the serpents, the kings Bhōja and Talinga, opposer in war of three kings, terrifier of foreign kings (apparently Muhammadan invaders), etc. He is said to have conquered the Kadamba country, to have visited Gokarna and worshipped god Mahābala at that place, and in honour of the occasion granted Kantapuri, re-named Marapapuri, to learned Brāhmans dependent on him, who were all emigrants from the Āndhra country. His minister was the great scholar and soldier Mādhava, son of the ascetic Chāunda referred to above. Mārāpa is said (in the record quoted already) to have given, in conjunction with his minister, to mankind "from love to the world and affection to the minister," the commandments of Tryambaka in the compilation *Saināgama-sāra*, which, it is stated, was produced after a study of the *Vēdas* and *Purānas*. Mārāpa left a son Sōvanna-Odeya. He is probably identical with prince Sōvanna-Odeya mentioned in a record dated in 1369 A.D. in the reign of Bukka I. Apparently he held office in a part of the Shimoga District. (E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 132). A brother of his was Hariappa-Odeyar, who probably ruled over Āraga for a time. He is referred to in certain

inscriptions. (See *E.C.* VI, Koppa 7 where he is given one of the supreme titles). Curiously enough, in another record (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 58) he is called Mangarayā-ātmaja. Muddappa, the last brother of Harihara I, was a joint donor with his brothers of the grant mentioned in Srīngēri I (*E.C.* VI) dated in 1347 A.D., to Bhārati-tīrta-sīpāda (See above). He should have lived at least up to 1379 A.D., as he made a grant in that year of an *agrahāra* to certain Brāhmins of whom one was Sāyana. He left a son named Kōnappa. Kōnappa appears with certain of the usual Vijayanagar titles in a grant of his made in the reign of Kampa II (Vīra-Kampa-Udaiyār) dated in *Saka* 1296 or 1374 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1928, Para 38, Appendix B. No. 662 of 1919). This record comes from Conjeeveram. Two other records of his dated in 1373 A.D. come from Dhārāpuram in the Coimbatore District. These state that the temple of Nāgēsvaram-Udaiyār in which they are found and which had been desecrated by the Muhammadans was reconsecrated by a local chieftain of the name of Avudaiyarāja. These inscriptions make it possible that Kongu was, at about the period of these records, a Vijayanagara possession. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 38).

Inscriptions of the time of Harihara I, though not very numerous, are not by any means scanty. At least twenty-one records of his reign are known, of which four are on copper-plates and the rest are lithic. These have come from such widely scattered parts of Southern India as Tanjore in the south and Shimoga and Mangalore on the west. They range in date from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1356. They are tabulated chronologically below:—

Records
relating to
Harihara I.

(1) 1336 A.D. *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 70 dated in 1336 A.D. (Bestarhalli copper-plates). Records a grant and states that Harihar I ruled in Kunjarakōna and that he founded the

city of Vidyānagara in accordance with the instructions of Vidyāranya.

(2) 1336 A.D. *Nellore Inscriptions*, No. 15, dated in 1336 A.D. (Kapalur copper-plates). Records a grant and states that Harihara I conquered all the quarters of the earth and that his capital was Kunjarakōna. Narrates the circumstances under which he founded the city of Vidyānagara under the instructions of Vidyāranya, where he ascended the throne, *i.e.*, was crowned.

(3) 1340 A.D. *E.C. IX*, Nelamangala 19, dated in 1340 A.D. Records a grant of Harihara I, who is described as *Mahāmandalēsvara* and as *Chatussamudrādhīpati* or ruler of the country bounded by the four oceans.

(4) 1340 A.D. *I.A. X*, 63, dated in 1340 A.D. Fort Bādāmi built by one Chāmeya-nāyaka, under the orders of Harihara I.

(5) 1342 A.D. *E.C. VIII*, Sorab 263, dated in 1342 A.D. Records the death of a Jain *guru* at Kuppatūr in Nāgarakhanda (corresponding to Shikarpur Taluk of Shimoga District) which was being governed by one Gōpēsa, under Harihara I.

(6) 1343 A.D. *E.C. V*, Arsikere 159, dated in 1343 A.D. In the reign of Harihara I, who is described as Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virapratāpa Harihara-mahārāya, a private grant was made.

(6a) Approximately 1344 A.D. *E.C. IV*, Hunsur 114, dated in 1344 A.D. A Virakal set up for certain Gaudas of Chapparadahalli, who fell in the service of Harihara I.

(7) 1346 A.D. *E.C. X*, Malur 39, dated in 1346 A.D. In the reign of the subduer of hostile kings Hariyappa-Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Harihara I) and Muttanna-Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Mudanna) an order was issued to the inhabitants of Tekkal-nādu that a certain village situated in that nādu was granted to one Vaiyannan Komuppan, exempt from taxes.

(8) 1346 A.D. *E.C. X*, Malur 61, dated in 1346 A.D. In the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara, subduer of hostile kings, Harihara I, a grant made by his son-in-law Mahāmandalēsvara Vallappa-dandanāyaka was recorded. The land granted was in the Māsāndi-nādu.

(9) 1346 A.D. *E.C. VI*, Srīngēri 1, dated in 1346 A.D. Having conquered the Earth from the Eastern to the Western

ocean, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, *Mahāmandalēsvara*, subduer of hostile kings, etc., Harihara I and his brothers granted nine villages in Sāntalige-nād to Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda, his disciples and others and the forty Brāhmins residing in that village for the performance of rites and service.

(10) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 154, dated in 1346 A.D. In the increasing victorious reign of Harihara I, master of the Eastern, Western and Southern oceans, Pāndya chakravarti made a grant of land in Sāntalige 1,000 to Naraharidēva, who is described as *Vēdi-mārga-pratishtāchārya* (establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*).

(11) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 59, dated in 1346 A.D. Records a private grant of land in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I and Bukkana I in Sanainādu in Rājendrasōla-valanādu in Nigarili-sōla-valanādu (*i.e.*, modern Kolar District).

(12) 1347 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 97, dated in 1347 A.D. Records a private gift of land in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(13) 1347 A.D.; Inscription at Dammalur, in Malur Taluk, dated in 1347 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land by a general of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(14) 1348 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Devanballi 50. This inscription records the grant of a village by the Elahaka (Yelabanka) nād prabhu Bairidēva when *Mahāmandalēsvara*, master of the country bounded by the four oceans, Harihara I, was ruling the kingdom of the world.

(15) 1348 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 43, Appendix A. (Copperplate record No. 9). Copper-plate grant from Khader-pēta, Anantapur District. Describes Harihara I as ruling from his capital Vidyānagara.

(16) 1349 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 57 of 1901. (Lithic inscription at Kāntēsvara temple at Kāntāvara). Records a gift of money. Hadapada Gautarasa, minister of Harihara I, is mentioned as ruling over Mangalore-rājya.

(17) 1354 A.D. *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 104, dated in 1354 A.D. Records a *sati* in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara*, destroyer of hostile kings, the *Suratala* (*i.e.*, Sultan) of Hindu kings Sri-Vira-Hariyappa-Vodeya.

(18) 1355 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 85. Inscription at Vagata, Hoskote taluk, records a private grant during the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(19) 1356 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 111. Records the consecration of a Jain image at Rayadrug, Bellary District, during the reign of Harihara I.

(20) Date not known, *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 29; Appendix A: No. 18. Copper-plate grant from Komal, Tanjore District. Only last plate discovered. Appears to record the grant of a village during the reign of Harihara I.

Main features
of his rule.

From the above synopsis of the records of his period, it might be broadly inferred that Harihara I ruled from about 1336 to at least 1356 A.D.; that his first capital was Kunjarakōna (or Ānegondi); that he founded the capital of Vijayanagara, under the inspiration, if not under the guidance, of Vidyāranya, the great Srīngēri *guru*, whose original name was Māyaṇa-Mādhava; that he crowned himself king at this place in or about the year 1336 A.D., making the sixteen great gifts; that the original name of this capital was Viḍyānagara (=the city of Vidyāranya) which subsequently became corrupted into or was designedly changed into the Vijayanagara (=the city of Victory); that Harihara I subsequently greatly honoured Vidyāranya, visiting, with all his brothers and son-in-law and grandson, Srīngēri for the purpose of making a grant of nine villages to him for enabling him and his disciples to continue their austerities in peace; that by about 1336, Vijayanagar had become the capital of the newly established kingdom and that Harihara I ruled from that place as his capital seat, while Bukka I and his other brothers ruled from other centres; that by 1340 A.D., Harihara I had become the ruler of the country bounded by the four oceans, *i.e.*, roughly the territory south of the Krishna; that about this time, between 1340 and 1343 A.D., he assumed the full sovereign titles of

Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvarā Virapratāpa Harihara-mahārāya as even private grants issued in 1343 A.D. show; that though some later records describe him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, there is no reason to believe that he was a mere governor at the time, but actually a sovereign exercising full authority over practically the greater part of the Southern, Central and Western districts of the country south of the Krishna; that many of the records above quoted show that his authority was recognised in the ancient Kadambā kingdom, the Sāntalige-nād, Nigarili-chōlamandalam, Tēkkal-nād, Elahanka-nād, Penukonda country, and Mangalore; that he caused to be built a fort at Bādāmi in 1340 A.D., apparently to guard the frontier against Muhammadan aggressions; and that he celebrated a great festival of victory in 1346 A.D., which might be taken as the year in which his power was finally recognized as the sovereign of the South.

Inscriptions of later sovereigns describe Harihara I and his four brothers, each in his turn, as having conquered the Muhammadans. This might be taken as indicating not merely that each took a personal part in the struggle against the northern aggressors but also that the aggressors did not easily yield but put up a continuous fight against the Hindu chiefs. The direction from which the invaders made their descent into the south seems to be indicated by the several records of Harihara I found in the north-west of Mysore. The subjugation of this part of the Hoysala dominions, including the Kadur and Shimoga districts of Mysore, as far as Bādāmi, appears to have been Harihara's special work until about 1340 A.D., when the fort at Bādāmi was built by Chāmeyanāyaka, his subordinate there. Gautarasa governed the Mangalore-rājya on his behalf and Gōpēsa held Kuppatur in the Nagarakhunda (Shimoga District). The fact that

His struggles
against the
Muham-
madans.

he was acknowledged ruler of the country as far north as the Kaladgi district, north of the Malprabha, may be taken to indicate that he had recovered part of the territory overrun by Muhammad Toghlak. Partly by force of arms and partly by the aid of Vidyanaya, Harihara I and his brothers became masters of a large portion of Southern India. As the sequel will show, they met with opposition from certain of the local chiefs and from Muhammadans who had established themselves at Madura and a few other places, but they were either soon subdued or deprived of all power.

Duration of
his rule;
Nuniz
corrected.

Harihara I doubtless played, with Bukka I, a great part in the struggles of the period. It is now beyond dispute that it was he who made Vijayanagar his capital, from where he ruled from 1336 A.D. and onwards. Nuniz says that he reigned for seven years and "did nothing therein but pacify the kingdom which he left in tranquility." The latter may be taken to be quite correct but the former (that he ruled for *seven years*) seems wide of the mark. As we have lithic inscriptions dated in his reign up to 1356 A.D., a reign of seven years allotted to him by Nuniz seems unacceptable. Reckoning the seven years from his coronation (*i.e.*, 1336 A.D.), he should have ruled, according to Nuniz, till 1343 A.D. This is plainly contradicted by the records referred to above. It is possible that "seven years" is a mistake for "seventeen years" which would bring down his rule to 1353-1354 A.D., which is not far removed from 1355-1356 A.D., the date of the latest lithic record so far known of him. Taking this record as nearer the actual fact, his death may be taken to have occurred—perhaps at Vijayanagar—in or about 1356 A.D. If this be so, he should be taken to have been instrumental in affording an asylum at Vijayanagar to Krishna, son of

Pratāpa-Rudra of Warrangal, and to have actively joined him and the surviving Ballāla princes in driving back the Muhammadans and rescuing part of the Southern Deccan country and thus preparing the way for the overthrow of the sovereignty of Delhi south of the Vindhya. It is highly significant that the first record that gives the high sounding imperial titles of *Mahārājā-dhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Virpratāpa-Harihara-Mahārāya* is dated in the year 1343 A.D., the very year of this driving back of the Muhammadans. (*E.C. V*, Arsikere 159). In 1344 A.D., it is equally significant, his brother Bukka I assumes for the first time the title of "Rāya" and in the record in which he is so described a grant is made "for the success of his sword and arm." (*E.C. X*, Chintamani 89 dated in *Kaliyuga* 4449, cyclic year Tārana which should have actually fallen in Kali 4445). Within a couple of years, he also assumed the full regnal titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēsvara* and described himself as "ruling the world." (*E.C. X*, Kolar 201 dated in 1346 A.D.). This indicates that the conquest of the Muhammadans was over. This is further confirmed by an inscription of Sangama II dated in 1356 A.D., which states that Harihara I "defeated the Sultān," which is a direct statement and should be taken to refer to his re-conquest of the conquered territories from the Muhammadans. Harihara's reign cannot have been a quiet one, at any rate, until 1343 A.D., though it is certain he left the kingdom in a tranquil state to his successor. Nuniz states that Harihara I built the "very grand temple" of Virūpāksha at the capital in honour of Vidyāranya and "gave much revenue to it." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300). This may be taken to mean that he enlarged and rebuilt the temple, for we have inscriptions of an earlier date, of a Hoysala king, for instance, in them testifying to its previous existence. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, 236 *f.n.* 2).

Confederacy
of Hindu
kings against
Muham-
madans.

From Ferishta's account of the abovementioned war against the armies of Muhammad Toghlak (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I. 427), we learn that the combination of Hindu kings was brought into being by Krishna Naik, son of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva of Warrangal and that Ballāla-Dēva agreed to the proposal on the understanding that Krishna would induce all the Hindus of Telingana to join in the attempt. Next, we are told, Ballāla *built* the city of Vijayanagara, raised an army and the war began. Of course, this can only be taken to mean that there was a sufficient interval of time between the *building* of the city of Vijayanagar and the beginning of the war, as there actually was between the foundation of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D., and the commencement of the war in 1343 A.D. The question of a combination of Hindus against the Muhammadans should have been under consideration for some years before it was actually brought about. That seems to be the idea underlying Ferishta's account. Ferishta, who wrote nearly two centuries after the events he recorded, says that Ballāla *built* the city of Vijayanagar; it is just possible that Ferishta is here referring to the foundation of Hosapattana, which should have been not far away from the city of Vijayanagar; which a few years later supplanted it. As Hosapattana is described as being in the Hoysala country, its identification with Vijayanagar has been objected to by Mr. Rice. (*E.C.* XI, *Introd.* 24). If Hosapattana was not far away from Vijayanagar, as already remarked, it must have been in the Hoysala limits. Sir Walter Elliott says (*Numismata Orientalia*, 91) that the first name of Vijayanagar was Hosapattana, which, Mr. Rice agrees, is quite possible, as the word merely means "new town." However this might be, the Hindus of the south headed by the confederate chiefs of Warrangal, Dōrasamudra and Vijayanagar succeeded in wresting Warrangal from the hands of Imad-ul-mulk,

the Muhammadan Governor of Warrangal, who retired to Daulatābād. Other Hindu chiefs joined the confederacy, which seized the whole of the Deccan and expelled the Muhammadans from it so effectively "that within a few months Muhammad Toghlak had no possessions in that quarter except Daulatābād." That Harihara I was in the confederacy is evident from the Nellore plates of Sangama II (*E.I.* III, 24) wherein Harihara I is said to have defeated the Sultān, meaning Muhammad Toghlak. The Hindus, however, soon retired south of the Krishna, leaving the evacuated territories a prey to temporary anarchy. Three years later, in 1347 A.D., Alā-ud-dīn Bāhmani occupied it and was crowned sovereign of the Deccan at Kulburga, thus establishing a new dynasty which lasted nearly for a century and a half.

Bukka I succeeded Harihara I. In one record he is called *Abhinava-Bukka-Rāya*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 102). This is to distinguish him from Bukka, the father of Sangama I, the progenitor of the family, (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 46; Bagepalli 70; Mulbagal 158). It has been suggested by Mr. Sewell that on the death of Harihara I, the succession was apparently disputed, the claimants being his immediate younger brother Kampa I or Kampana I and his next younger brother Bukka I. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 27-28). This suggestion seems to rest on a slender basis. Harihara I does not seem to have had any son, his only daughter being married to Ballappadandanāyaka, a son of Ballāla III, the Hoysala king. This Ballappa-Dandanāyaka was still living in 1361 A.D., in which year he joined with some others in making a joint grant. He thus survived his father-in-law, Harihara I, by about five years. (See *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 101 dated in 1361 A.D., which, it should be added, is no authority for the inference that Harihara I, whose name

Bukka-Rāya
I, 1356-1376
A.D.

is incidentally mentioned in it, was still alive at that time. His name seems to be referred to only to show Ballappa's identity and no more). We have evidence enough for the belief that all his four brothers--Kampana I, Bukka-Rāya I, Mārappa and Muddappa—were, if not joint rulers with him, (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri I, dated in 1346 A.D., which is a joint grant by all the brothers), at least rulers over different parts of Southern India, over which he certainly claimed full sovereign power. (See above-quoted records of Harihara I which give him the imperial title of *Kājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara*, etc.).

Alleged
dispute as to
the succession
examined.

Mr. Sewell's suggestion rests on two assumptions:—

(1) That as Harihara I is said to have ruled for 7 years by Nuniz, he should have died—counting from 1336 A.D., the year of his coronation—in 1343 A.D., and to have been succeeded by his brother Bukka I, to whom Nuniz assigns a reign of 37 years. Bukka should have died in or about 1380 A.D., counting the 37 years from 1343 A.D.

(2) During this period of 37 years—1343 to 1380 A.D.—however, we have the Nellore Collector's office grant of Sangama II dated in 1356 A.D., recording a gift in that year. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 27-28).

This grant relates that Kampa I succeeded Harihara I and Sangama II, son of Kampa I, succeeded Harihara I, a year prior to the date of the grant. (Sewell's *List, of Antiquities*, II, 8 No. 58; *E.I.* III, 21). As there are inscriptions dated in 1354-1355, describing Bukka I as king and as this Nellore grant describes Sangama II as king in 1355, it has been inferred by Mr. Sewell that Kampa was king from 1343 to 1355, *i.e.*, from the alleged date of the death of Harihara I to the date of the Nellore grant. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 28). As we have seen, Harihara I did not die in 1343 A.D. but only about 1356 A.D. (see above), and so Sangama II could not have succeeded him in 1343 A.D. Nor is

it a fact that Bukka I died in 1380 A.D., for we have a copper-plate grant (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46) which gives the date of his death as *Saka* 1298 or 1376-1377 A.D., which is confirmed by another inscription from Nellore (*Nellore Inscriptions*, No. 76) which couples *Saka* 1322 with the 25th regnal year of Harihara II. A more serious objection against the alleged disputed succession is that in the Hulikere copper-plate grant of Harihara II, son of Bukka I, which is dated in 1378 A.D., it is actually stated that Harihara I "appointed his younger brother Bukka-Rāja as Yuvarāja." (*E. C. V*, Channarayapatna 256). As this grant is dated but two years from the death of Bukka I, it should be held to be practically a contemporaneous document. (*E. C. V*, Arkalgud 68, dated in *Saka* 1278 or A.D. 1356, appears to confirm the specific statement of Channarayapatna 256). Bukka I is not only represented in it as ruling the kingdom, but he is actually spoken of as "brother, prince Bukkanna-Vodeya" (*tamma Kumāra Bukkanna-vodeyaru*, where *tamma* signifies the relationship of brother and *kumāra* that of Yuvarāja or prince). Accepting Nuniz's statement that Bukka I ruled for 37 years, and that he actually died in 1376-1377 A.D., his initial year would fall in 1338-1339 A.D. A safer inference than that of a disputed succession, in the light of the facts made available by the progress of research since Mr. Sewell wrote, seems to be that Sangama II made the Nellore grant in his capacity of a subordinate ruler in 1355 A.D., when Harihara I was still the ruling sovereign. This is entirely in accordance with the known fact that Kampa I was in *Saka* 1268 or A.D. 1345-1346 already governor of Udayagiri-rājya including the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, page 789, No. 28). Sangama II, it is therefore permissible to infer, succeeded his father—Kampa I—in his charge, with his capital at Vikramasimhapura

(or. Nellore), and made the gift referred to in the Nellore plates in *Saka* 1278 or A.D. 1355-1356, while ruling over Udayagiri-rājya in a subordinate capacity. The *Mādhavīya-Dhātuvritti* and the *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi*, both works of Sāyana, brother of Māyana-Mādhava, indicate that Sāyana was minister to Sangama II. *Udāharana-Māla*, one of the works of Bhōganātha, brother of Sāyana, is, as already stated, one specially composed in praise of Sāyana. It is clear from this work that Sangama II was posthumously born and was taught by Sāyana from his childhood. During his minority, Sāyana who was practically Regent, marched against one Champanarēndra and defeated him. If this be so, then Sangama II could have been but a boy. It is said in Bhōganātha's above-quoted work that Sangama II attacked Garuda-nagara and defeated its king. Neither the king Champanarēndra nor the city Garuda-nagara has been so far identified (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 83), though it is possible Champanarēndra should be the same as Champarāya (or Sāmbavarāya) of the *Vīra-Kamparāya Charita* and *Garuda-nagaram* is the same as Maratakanagaram identified with modern Viranchipuram in the North-Arcot District. (See below).

Bukka I at first Yuvarāja under Harihara I and then his successor.

Bukka I should accordingly be taken to have succeeded Harihara I in the usual course, the more so as there is reason to believe that Kampa I died some time between the *Saka* years 1268 and 1278, or A.D. 1346 and 1356, which years mark his own and his son Sangama's governorship of Udayagiri-rājya. If Kampa I had thus predeceased Harihara I, Bukka I was probably made *Yuvarāja* after Kampa's death and succeeded Harihara I as the eldest male representative in Sangama's family at the time the sovereignty fell in. Though it is not quite certain when Bukka I became *Yuvarāja*, there is evidence

to believe that in the very year, 1346 A.D., he was actually co-ruler with Harihara I. (*E.C. IX*, Bangalore 59, which is a lithic inscription). In certain records of a later date, while Harihara I is described as the ruler (*E.C. IX*, Bangalore 97 and Devanhalli 50 dated in 1347 and 1348 A.D. respectively), in certain others, Bukka I is so represented. (*E.C. IX*, Kankanhalli 50 and Channapatna 16 dated in 1351 A.D.). In records dated in 1355 A.D. and onwards, Bukka I is mentioned with all the imperial titles or is spoken of as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C. IX*, Channapatna 176 dated in 1355 A.D.; Devanhalli 27 dated in 1358 A.D.; Nelamangala 23, dated in 1359 A.D.; Anekal 81, dated in 1364 A.D., etc.). The inference is irresistible from this style of referring to him that he was at first co-regent of his elder brother and then became sole monarch by virtue of his succession to the throne. This event should have occurred, as has been said above, about 1355-1356 A.D.

One of the first acts of Bukka's reign was to transfer his capital to Vijayanagar. In 1352-3, he was ruling from Dōrasamudra (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 522); two years later, in 1354-55, we find him ruling from Hosapattana (*E.C. XI*, Chitaldrug 2), a place from which he continued to rule in the next year as well (*Ibid*, Chitaldrug 3). Hosapattana is described in the latter inscription as in the Hoysala country and as the royal city of Nijagali-Kataka-Rāya, of whom nothing further is known. In the latter year (1356 A.D.), however, we find him described as ruling from his "jewelled throne" at Vidyānagara. (*E.C. XII*, Pavagada 74). It is inferable from this that the change to Vidyānagara should have taken place about the close of 1356 A.D., which would be almost immediately after he became sole ruler. Vidyānagara is said to have been made by him his permanent capital, apparently from that year. (*E.I.* III, 315, *f.n.* 9).

Transfer of
capital to
Vijayanagar.

A lithic inscription at Kottasivaram dated in 1365 A.D., in the reign of Bukka I, states that he was "ruling from Hosapattana," thus making the identification of Hosapattana with Vijayanagar a greater possibility. (*M.E.R.* 1917, para 43; Appendix C, No. 27). This change of capital appears to have been dictated as much by military reasons, as by the fact that the succession to the throne involved his transfer to Vijayanagar, the new capital. Though his capital was at Vijayanagar, his rule over Mysore was complete as inscriptions of his have been found in every district of the State.

Wars against
Muham-
madans.

A record of his son Haribara II, dated in 1376 A.D., states that Bukka I was Krishna re-born "as a king to deliver the world when it was overpowered by Mlēnchhas." The reference is plainly to the Muhammadans who had invaded the South and wrought havoc with Hindu temples and religion since 1310 A.D. According to this inscription, Bukka I "was born in the region of Pampāpati," *i.e.*, Vijayanagar, to chastise the Muhammadans and free the country from their horrors. Then, we are told, that "with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni" (the guru of Vidyāranya), Bukka I "became very great, the earth being as his wife and the four oceans his treasury." "Having freed from enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dōrasamudrā, he ruled over," it is added, "an empire perfect in its seven parts" (*i.e.*, king, minister, ally, territory, fortress, treasury and army). He must have been great in war, as one record dated in 1380 A.D., in the reign of his son Harihara II, compares him to Arjuna, the epic hero, like whom he was the middle son of his father and adds that "the theme of universal praise was Bukka, a son on account of whom Sangama was famous." (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnar 64, dated in 1380 A.D.; cf. *E.C.* V, Hole-Narsipur 7, dated in 1396 A.D.). In keeping with this statement is

the description of Bukka I in an earlier record dated in 1358 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 22) as *Sangamēsvara-rāya-bahuta*, which would make him the royal *bhat* or bard of his father Sangama. The military victories of Bukka I apparently earned great fame for him and for his father, who it is implied, through his (son's) genius, became famous. A record of Harihara II, dated in 1396 (*E.C.* V, Hole-Narsipur 7) speaks of his valour thus:—"When his sword began to dance on the battle-field, the faces of the Turushkas shrivelled up, Konkana Sankapārya was filled with fear, the Āndhras ran into caves, the Gurjarās lost the use of their limbs on every road, the Kambhōjas' courage was broken, the Kalingas suffered defeat." This description of his valour is repeated in numerous later inscriptions. Thus, a record of Bukka II, son of Harihara II, adopts the same description. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25, dated in 1404 A.D.; cf. *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 201). Similarly, another inscription dated in 1397 A.D., in the reign of Harihara II, describes Bukka I in similar terms as a terror of Turushkas, the Konkana king Sankapārya, the Āndhras, the Gurjarās, the Kambhōjas and the Kalingas; whom he is said to have defeated. This need not necessarily be set down as poetical exaggeration, as we know independently that Bukka I was engaged in continuous warfare against the Muhammadans, whom he evidently successfully threw back beyond the Krishna and saved the south for the Hindus.

During his reign, the greater part of the country to the south of the Krishna, with the coast of Kanara, came under the Vijayanagar sway. There is hardly any doubt that by about 1360 A.D. the conquests of Harihara I and Bukka I and their sons and generals in almost every part of Southern India was finally consolidated and a proper system of administration through viceroys, governors and other local rulers had been evolved. So far as

Fight against
Bābmani
kings.

Mysore itself is concerned, it formed an integral part of the new kingdom, Bukka's power and rule being recognised in every part of it. He seems to have visited it at least once in 1367 A.D., after he became king. His minister's deputy is specifically mentioned in a record dated in 1368 A.D., as being in full possession of the territories of the great Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarañanagar 113). In an earlier record dated in 1354 A.D., Bukka I is described as "ruling the territory belonging to the kings of the Hoysala line (wearing it with as much ease and grace) as an ornament on his shoulder." (*E.I.* VI, 327). To the north, the simultaneous origin of the Bāhmani kingdom prevented an extension of territory in that direction. The rivalry between the Bāhmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms led to a continual succession of wars and alliances between the two, many interesting details of which are recorded by Ferishta, but perhaps with too favourable a colouring, as might be expected, to the Muhammadan side of the picture.

List of Bāhmani kings.

For convenience of reference, the list of Bāhmani Sultāns is here given :—

Hassan Gangu, Alā-ud-dīn	...	1347 A.D.
Muhammad Shāh	...	1358 "
Mujāhid Shāh	...	1375 "
Dāud Shāh	...	1378 "
Mahmud Shāh	...	1378 "
Ghiyās-ud-dīn Shāh	...	1397 "
Shams-ud-dīn Shāh	...	1397 "
Firūz Shāh	...	1397 "
Āhmad Shāh, Khān Khanān	...	1422 "
Alā-ud-dīn Shāh	...	1435 "
Humāyun Shāh	...	1457 "
Nizām Shāh	...	1461 "
Muhammad Shāh	...	1463 "
Mahmud Shāh	...	1482 "

Early in the reign of Muhammad, which began in 1358 A.D., a couple of years after Bukka I ascended the throne, Bukka I and his ally Vināyaka-Dēva of Warrangal demanded the restoration of certain territories. This was eventually refused and war ensued. Muhammad attacked Warrangal and plundered the country round about. He did not choose to follow up his success, but retired on payment of an indemnity. After a short while, however, Muhammad, enraged at a supposed insult said to have been offered by the king of Warrangal, invaded his territories and in the conflict that followed, Vināyaka-Dēva met with a cruel death. Muhammad then retired towards Kulbarga, followed by large bodies of Hindu forces, who continually harassed him in his retreat. His loss in men was great and he himself was severely wounded in his arm. It was probably in this war that Nadigonte-Malla, whose exploits are spoken of in Chitaldrug 2 and 3 dated in 1355 and 1356 A.D., distinguished himself on the side of Hindu forces. (See below). The partial success that the Hindus seem to have obtained against Muhammad encouraged Bukka and his confederates to send an embassy to Feroze Shāh, the Emperor at Delhi, for combined action against Muhammad. Feroze was, however, too much engrossed in his own domestic commotions to be of any use to them. He left the Deccan to its fate. Muhammad now saw his opportunity and despatched fresh forces against Warrangal and Gōlconda. Gōlconda surrendered and Warrangal fell eventually in 1424 A.D., and was annexed to the Bāhmani kingdom. This brought the Muhammadan frontier to the Krishna all along its length except in the neighbourhood of the East Coast. (Briggs, *Ferishta* II, 307; see also Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 31-32, for further details).

War against
Muhammad,
Circa 1356
A.D.

The defeat of the Gōlconda chief emboldened Muhammad to press forward and declare war against Vijayanagar.

Muhammad's
invasion of
Vijayanagar,
1366 A.D.

The story of this campaign may be read at length in *Ferishhta*, as told in the words of a contemporary of the time. (Scott, *Ferishhta* I, 23 and Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 32-47). It ought to suffice here to briefly summarize it.

“One evening,” we are told, “when the spring of the garden of mirth had infused the cheek of Muhammad Shāh with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Amīr Khusru in praise of kings, festivity and music. The Sultān was delighted beyond measure, and commanded to give the performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Roy of Beejanuggur” (a deliberate insult). The draft was signed and despatched. But “the Roy, haughty and proud of his independence, placed the presenter of the draft on an ass, and parading him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back with every mark of contempt and derision.” He also gave immediate orders for assembling his troops and prepared to attack the dominions of the House of Bāhmani. He assembled an army of 30,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and 100,000 foot and marched them to the vicinity of Adōni, from whence he sent detachments to lay waste the enemy’s country. He captured the frontier fortress of Mudkal and put all the inhabitants to the sword; only one escaping to carry the tale to Kulburga. The Sultān swore that he would not rest till he had slain a hundred thousand of the infidels. A series of engagements took place, in which Bukka was worsted, and an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children continued until the payment of the wretched draft was enforced. The cold-blooded slaughter of hosts of helpless human beings for so paltry a provocation led Bukka’s ambassadors to propose that in any future wars the lives of unarmed inhabitants and prisoners should always be spared. This merciful provision was agreed to and the rule long after observed. In this war,

the defence of Adōni was, according to *Ferishta*, entrusted by Bukka (whom he throughout mistakenly styles "Kishen Roy") to a sister's son, himself retreating towards Vijayanagar to defend it. Who this was is not known as the genealogists do not mention any sister of Bukka. This was the first occasion *actually* on which a Muhammadan sovereign invaded the Vijayanagar dominions in person. The siege of Vijayanagar lasted, it would seem, a month, at the end of which it was raised, Muhammad retreating across the Tungabhadra, harassed by large bodies of Hindu troops. The retreat, however, was a ruse and the over-confident Hindus were engaged, at an unguarded moment, in a night-attack and defeated, with, as stated, immense slaughter. Muhammad died in April 1375 A.D., just a year before Bukka himself died.

Mujahid, the successor of Muhammad, ruled from 1375 to 1378 A.D. He soon found a pretext for war against Bukka. In the territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, both the sovereigns owned territory. Mujahid coveted Bankāpur, which lay on the direct route from Vijayanagar to the sea and thus protected its trade, and demanded Bukka to surrender it and other places, and limit himself in future to the Tungabhadra. Bukka replied by a counter demand in which he asked Mujahid to vacate the Raichur Doab, in which lay Raichur and Mudkal, which had always belonged to Ānegondi. He declared that the Krishna was the true boundary and asked Mujahid further to restore the elephants he had taken. Mujahid declared war and simultaneously besieged Adōni and advanced on Vijayanagar. *Ferishta* says that Bukka, instead of attacking him, as he at first intended, retreated towards the Hills, probably those close to Sandur. This movement was probably intended to make Mujahid become reckless in

Mujahid's
campaign
against
Vijayanagar,
1375 A.D.

his advance on the capital. If so, it succeeded sufficiently well; for he was allowed to penetrate its outer walls where he was attacked—Bukka personally leading his troops—and nearly lost his life. In the battle that ensued, the Hindus were, according to *Ferishta*, defeated. But while the invaders were resting from their labours, Bukka's brother—probably Mārappa, as he claims to be “the terrifier of foreign kings in a record of his (Sorab 374, see *ante*)—led into the city a reinforcement of 20,000 horse and a vast army of foot. Fighting was resumed, but it is inferable from *Ferishta's* narrative, that, though it claims the victory for Mujahid, he had to beat a retreat towards Adōni. He besieged this fortress for nine months, but without any visible effect. He then raised the siege and retired to his own dominions. This must have occurred about the close of 1375 A.D. In view of the actual result of the campaign, the inscriptions (referred to above) seem justified in claiming the victory against the Muhammadans for Bukka I. This is the more credible for the peace of the kingdom was not disturbed for nearly twenty-one years after the retreat of Mujahid. (Though the Vijayanagar king of the period is, even in regard to this campaign, styled by *Ferishta* as “Kishen Roy,” there is no doubt the reference is to Bukka I, an identification which is supported by the *Burhān-i-Maāsir* which calls him, “Kapazah,” which is, as suggested by Mr. Sewell, probably a mistake for “Pakazah,” a corrupt form of “Bukka Shah.”) (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 49, *f.n.* 1). Mujahid was murdered by his uncle Daud in 1378 A.D., but he himself was, in his turn, assassinated, while at prayer, a month later and was succeeded by Alā-ud-dīn's youngest son Mahmud I (Muhammed I of *Burhān-i-Maāsir* and other authorities) who died in 1397. During the whole of the intervening period of about twenty-one years, peace prevailed between the two kingdoms.

Within his own dominions, Bukka I had to overcome a chief named Venrumān Sāmbavarāya, who was in possession of Kānchi and the surrounding country, including the fortress of Rājagamābīra-malai, identified with Padaivīdu, in the present North Arcot District.

Internal
wars, 1363
A.D.

Sāmbavarāya appears to have been once defeated by Sāyana, the minister of Sangama II. Bukka I sent his eldest son Kampana II to proceed against him. The fight ended successfully for Kampa, Sāmbavarāya being taken prisoner and his fortress captured. (Further details will be found below under the head *Kampana II*). This happened about 1363 A.D. Kampana II was next directed to drive the Muhammadans out of Srīrangam and Madura. This was duly accomplished and worship was restored in the desecrated temples throughout the South. This campaign against the Muhammadans should have occurred soon after 1363 A.D., as it was undertaken immediately after the capture of Sāmbavarāya. (For further details, see below).

Suppression of
Sāmbava-
rāya,
1363 A.D.

With the completion of these wars, the whole of the South passed under the rule of Bukka I and he styled himself the "Suratrāna of the Hindu Rājas," *i.e.*, the Sultān (or supreme ruler) over the chiefs of the South, (*E.C. III*, Malavalli 22 dated in 1358 A.D.).

Among the more famous of Bukka's ministers and generals was Muddappa-dandanātha, who is spoken of in terms of high praise in a record of Harihara II. (*E.C. V*, Channarayapatna 256). He is described as "the dwelling place of justice and policy, an ornament to the Lakshmi victory of the kingdom" and as "the refuge of those who did obeisance." We are told that Bukka I reposed so much confidence in him that "committing to him the burden of the world, the king Bukka remained at ease like Vāsudēva." Another minister was Teppada-Nāganna, also

Ministers and
generals.

called Nāganna Dannāyaka-Odeyar and Teppada Nāganna Vodeyar, who is referred to in a record dated in 1359 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 25 and *E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 29 dated in 1352), as Bukka's senior minister. But a more famous minister and general, who was governor of Āraga and other places forming the western part of the kingdom, was Mādarasa-Odeyar, identical with Chāunda-Mādhava, the great Upanishadic scholar and Saiva author already referred to. He served under Bukka I also. He was still alive in 1384 A. D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147), though in 1377 A. D. we hear of Virūpāksha-Rāya I, a younger brother of Harihara II, succeeding him in the governorship of Āraga. (*E. C.* VI, Koppa 19). If this was so, Mādhava should have been the minister and Virūpanna, the viceroy, for in 1384 A.D. Mādhava is referred to as making grants in Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147). A few facts about Chāunda-Mādhava may be noted here. From the inscriptions quoted above, ranging in date from 1347 A. D. to 1384 A.D., he should have lived throughout the reigns of Harihar I and Bukka I and for a time during the reign of Harihar II as well. In the earliest inscription dated in 1347 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375), when Harihara I was living, Mādhava appears as the minister of Mārāpa, who had "acquired a kingdom in the West" with Chandragupti as its capital. It is stated that Mārāpa obtained him as Bhārgava had obtained Sankara. Mādhava is here described as the disciple of Kriyāsakti, who was Tryāmbaka himself, and as "the great minister," who was born a pilot to the great king (Mārāpa) "floating in the ocean of the kingdom." In the power of his wisdom, he could, it is said, over-reach even Brihaspati. He helped Mārāpa in the production of the compilation of *Saivāgama-Sārasangraha*, which Mārāpa is said to have undertaken "from love to the world and affection to the minister." (Sorab 375 and *ante*). In the next important inscription dated in 1368 A. D., in the

reign of Bukka I, we have some more notable details about Mādhava. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 281). He is described as the son of Chāunda, an austere ascetic Brāhman of the Āngīrasa-gōtra, and that through the astonishing favour of his *guru*, Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti, he gained celebrity as a Saiva. By his masterful energies, he subdued this world and the next, and was speedily the conqueror of many countries on the shores of the Western ocean. (These doubtless refer to his conquest of Goa and other countries already referred to). "What more could be said in his praise!" exclaims the learned Phanisitu, the composer of the inscription. We are next told that he cleared and made plain the ruined path of *Upanishads*, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents, the proud advocates of evil doctrines, so that though the abode of Brahma is so far, he was ever helping the worthy to go there without a guide, and was praised by the wise as the *guru* who established the path of the *Upanishads*. Bukka I, on ascending the throne, committed the government as far as the Western ocean to him. Mādhava, in order that his overseeing of that part of the kingdom might be without trouble, on the advice of his *guru*, Kriyāsakti worshipped his favourite *linga* Tryāmbakānātha by means of special ceremonies and by a number of rites and practices as prescribed in the *Saivāmnāya*. Then in order to complete the great vow which he had commenced with special rites a year before in accordance with the directions of the *Siva-Sandhya*, he requested the king's permission to make the grant of a village, but explained that it must be acquired from his own funds. Leave being granted, he purchased "at the price of the day," a village, in his own province, "with," we are told, "the knowledge of the authorities of the *mandala*," and divided it into 80 shares and bestowed the same on Kāshmir Brāhmins, "pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point

of the *Chārāyaniya-aticharanāmnāya*, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure *Sivāmnāya*, ever devoted to the worship of Ashtamūrti." Mādhava is further described as distinguished for policy and courage and as renowned in the world for his good qualities. It is said, he was "invested with authority for punishing the evil and with Brāhman purity and Kshatra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear." He was undoubtedly as great in leading armies to success on the battle-field as in conducting the civil administration of the country. That he was a devout Saiva and a great scholar and author is also evident. His grant to Kāshmir Brāhmins, evidently of the Pāsūpata sect and resident in the Mysore country, shows that he was either an immigrant Kāshmir Brāhmin himself or preferred Kāshmir Brāhmins as his donees because of his *guru* Kriyāsakti who was obviously the head of the Pāsūpata sect at the time. Kriyāsakti, mentioned as his *guru*, appears to have been the family *guru* of Vijayanagar kings of the first dynasty from Harihara I downwards. He probably belonged to the Lakulāgama school and was a strict Saiva. The next inscription mentioning Mādhava is one dated in 1384 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147). This takes us into the reign of Harihara II. He was still the administrator of the western part of the kingdom including Āraga and the other provinces. Seeing that we have no further trace of him, probably it has to be presumed that he died not long after. His son Boltarasa has been referred to above. Chāunda, father of Mādhava, is, it will be seen (from *E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 281), described as "an austere ascetic." The Goa copper-plates speak of him as Chāundi-bhatta and mention his mother's name as "Machāmbiga." Chāunda has been identified with another Chāundappārya, son of Chinnārya and elder brother of Ādityaḍeva and Manchapārya, who is known as the author of a work called *Āpastambhīyāihvara-tantra-*

svatantra-vyākhyā (with the alternative name of *Prayōgaratnamāla*), a commentary on the *Srautasūtra* of Āpastamba, a treatise on Vedic sacrifice. This Chāundārya in describing himself in the colophon to his work states that he was the minister of king Vira-Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukkabhūpāla and Tippāmba and grandson of Srīmahārājādhirāja-Srī-Vira-Harihara (II). Vira-Bhūpati was according to inscriptions the son of Bukka II by Tippāmba. He was in power between 1409 and 1420 A.D. Accordingly Chāundappārya, his minister, and author of the work *Prayōgaratnamāla*, must have lived in about the first quarter of the the 15th Century A.D. So, his identification with Chāundabhatta of the Goa inscription and Chāunda, the "austere ascetic," who is described as the father of Mādhavamantri, governor of the western province of the Vijayanagar kingdom, (in *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281) is wholly untenable. As Mādhavamantri was governor between 1347 and 1384 A.D. (see above), his father Chāunda-bhatta should be set down to at least *Circa* 1320 A.D., if not earlier. From Harihara I and his brothers Bukka I and Mārāpa, whom Mādhava-mantri served as minister or administrator, there were four generations to Vira-Bhūpati. While Mādhava-mantri was the minister of Mārāpa of the first generation of kings, his father Chāunda-bhatta—if his identification with Chāundappārya is correct—cannot be the minister of Vira-Bhūpati, removed from Harihara I by three generations. Consequently, he must have been another Chāunda, who could not have been even a descendant of Mādhava-mantri, calling himself by the name of Mādhava-mantri's father, for they belonged to different *gōtras*. Chāundappāchārya, the author of the *Prayōgaratnamāla* belonged to the Vasishta-gōtra while Chāunda, father of Mādhava-mantri, belonged to the Āngīrasa gōtra. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 51, *f.n.*). It is stated in the introductory stanzas of

Prayōga-ratnamāla that Vidyāranya having been requested by Pandits like Chāundappārya to comment on the *Sraūta-sūtras*, explained the Hautra and Audgātra portions of that work. This would show that Chāundappārya was the younger contemporary of Vidyāranya and benefited from his teachings and explanations in Vēdic ritualism. (*Triennial Catalogue of Mss. of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library, 1910-11 to 1912-13, Vol. I, Part I, Sanskrit, C. R. No. 795, page 1050*). This statement confirms the tradition that Vidyāranya lived to a great age.

Chāunda-Mādhava's son Boltarasa is recorded to have made a grant on Vira-Virūpanna (*i.e.*, Virūpāksha I, a son of Bukka I) coming to the kingdom of the world. (*E.C. VI, Koppa 6*). It is not clear from this record which specifically states that Bukka I was ruling the kingdom from his capital Vijayanagar (called here Hastināvati-patna) how Virūpanna came to rule the kingdom of the world. He was evidently appointed governor of Kalasa or the Three Thousand kingdom, in or about 1369 A.D. He made a grant to the Brāhmins of the Brahmपुरi of god Kalasanātha in 1370 A.D. (*E.C. VI, Mudgere 59*). This surmise is supported by another record dated in 1370 A.D., in which he is specifically described as the son of Bukka I and is mentioned as making a grant for the god Kalasanātha of Kalasa-nād. (*E.C. VI, Mudgere 52*). A Sāmantādhipati of the name of Mayilēya-Nāyaka is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1359 A.D., coming from the Bangalore District. (*E.C. IX, Nelamangala 23*).

A Mahāsāmantādhipati Sonneyanāyakar is also mentioned in an inscription dated in 1369 A.D. (*E.C. X, Kolar 12*). Another person prominently mentioned in records found in the Kolar District is Nāganna-Vodeyar, who is described as ruling the Sadali kingdom. (*E.C. X, Chikballapur 63* dated in 1371). His son Dēpanna-Vodeyar figures equally prominently in certain records

dated in the years 1333 and 1384 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 80 and 67). Who these were—whether they were related to Bukka I and Harihara II—is nowhere stated. Whether this Dēpanna-Vodeyar can be identified with Dēparāja, the kannada poet, is discussed below. Another great minister of Bukka I was Chicka-Odeya Anantarasa, who was administering the Penukonda country in 1376 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 92). Virūpanna Odeya, a son of Bukka I, was in charge of this province in 1354 A.D. (*E.I.* VI, 327). Probably Anantarasa was temporarily in charge of it as Virūpanna was transferred to Āraga in or about 1363 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 20 and 37). His deputy (he is called his minister) at Penukonda was Chōlappa who constructed a canal and a bridge. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 92). It was at the instance of this *Mahāpradhāna* apparently that Bhāskara-Bahadūra dug the tank at Porumāmilla in 1370 A.D. and designated it Ananta-sāgara after him. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 91). In the record mentioning this fact, Ananta (also called Anantarāja) is spoken of as the minister of the five sons of Sangama I as Sri Krishna had been the charioteer of the five Pāndava brothers. According to another inscription dated in 1354 A.D. (*E.I.* VI, 327), he built the fortifications of Penukonda, future capital of the Vijayanagar kings. Later inscriptions show that his son Bukkanna and his grandson Ananta followed his excellent example and added, to works of public utility in and around Anantapur, which by the way, came to be known after this great minister of Harihara I and his brothers. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 37; Appendix C. No. 350 of 1926). Mahāpradhāna Malleya Dannāyaka administered the Bārakūr-rājya between 1360 and 1365 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 132, 138, 139 and 141). Another *Mahāpradhāna* of note was Bayicheya-Dannāyaka, whose son was Irugappa-Odeya, who became famous as the prime minister of Harihara II. (See below). An inscription dated in 1367 A.D., found at

Chelumutturu, in the Hindupur taluk, states that he put up a stone bench at that place. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; Appendix B. No. 779 of 1917). Irugappa is known to us as the "best of Jainas" who built the Jain temple at Vijayanagar. (*S.I.I.* I, 156).

A record dated in 1371 A.D. refers to one Bōdha-Mahādēva, who was ruling over Durga. He was probably the donor of the grants recorded in Coorg inscriptions 8 and 9. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 87; *Intro.* 22). A Sāmantādhipāti Singāya-Nāyaka is referred to in an inscription dated in 1367 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 117). Another minister Mallarasa is mentioned in a record assigned to 1346 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 201).

Several lithic inscriptions of Bukka I have been found in the present Mysore District, some of them *Virakals* commemorating the deeds of those who fell fighting. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 61 dated about 1365 A.D.). He had a great Brāhman minister named Basavayya-Dannāyaka who is described as "a mirror to the faces of ministers, supporter of all works of merit, a light of the Brāhman race," and under him was one Ganapatima, who was "like the treasury of his right hand" and "governing the south side of the Cauvery in the country of the strong-armed Vishnuvardhana Pratāpa-Hoysala." (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnar 113 dated in 1368 A.D. and Chamarajnar 117 dated in 1363 A.D.). In still earlier inscriptions, dated about 1360, this minister's name is not mentioned. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 87 dated in Kaliyuga 4400 and Mandya 90, which is undated). This shows that he probably came into power between 1360 and 1363 A.D.

Sons as
Viceroys of
Provinces.

As mentioned above, during Bukka's reign, the administration of the kingdom was already regularized into provinces, with viceroys and governors over them. Most of his sons appear to have been viceroys. His eldest son

Tippanna-Vodeyar was evidently in charge of the home province of Dōrasamudra. Harihara II, who eventually succeeded him, appears to have ruled with him, at least he is so described (as "ruling the kingdom of the world"), in an inscription of Bukka I dated in 1375 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 93). Another son, Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha I) was viceroy of Āraga or the Male-Rājya. We have inscriptions of his dated in 1362, 1363, 1367 and 1379 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 20, 37 and 194; Nagar 34, Tirthahalli 114). In one record dated in 1378 A.D., he is called Yadugiri Virūpanna-Vodeya. Yadugiri is a corrupt form of Udayagiri. It mentions a gift in his reign by order of Vidyāranya Sripāda. His minister in 1367 A.D. was Talkād Māvārasa. The record which mentions him states that Virūpāksha I governed over Āraga 18, Gutti 18 and Idugundi, with the Kōnkana and Hoysana kingdoms as his boundaries. (Nagar 34). He is called in some records as Vīra-Udagiri-Virūpāksha Rāya. (*E.C.* VIII, 114 and 163 dated in 1379 and 1380 A.D.). Apparently he had been originally in charge of Udayagiri-rājya. As inscriptions of his dated in 1385 and 1386 A.D. have been found in the Tanjore District, it has to be inferred that he was later in charge of that province. (*M.E.R.* 1925-1926, para 35; Appendix C. No. 152 of 1926 and Appendix B. No. 509 of 1925). Sovanna-Vodeyar, son of Marapa, seems to have governed a part of Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 132 dated in 1369). Mallinātha, or Mallappa, another son of Bukka I is spoken of in a record of 1355 A.D., as ruling the kingdom of the world, apparently as co-regent. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 87). Hiriya-Kampana (or Kampana II), another son, was governor of Muluvai-rājya or the province of Mulbagal. He is referred to in many inscriptions discovered in the Bangalore and Kolar Districts. From these, it is clear he was administering this province from 1356 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222) to 1366 A.D.

(*Ibid* Kolar 162). He seems to have succeeded in it his uncle Kampana I, who was ruling over it from 1351 A.D. (*Ibid* Kolar 202). He appears to have been succeeded in the governorship by his nephew Immadi-Bukka (son of Harihara II), who figures as viceroy in inscriptions dated in 1383 A.D. (*Ibid* Bowringpete 17) and 1397 A.D. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 74). He is the hero of the *Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam* or *Madhurā-Vijayam*, whose author was his queen Ganga-Dēvi. (See below).

Chikka-Kampana-Vodeyar, another son of Bukka, appears to have been governor of south Mysore under his father. Several epigraphs mentioning his governorship have been traced in it. One at Bettahalli dated in 1368 A.D. refers to a grant of his. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 46). Another dated in *Saka* 1290, Cyclic year *Kilaka*, or A.D. 1368, mentions him as ruling the kingdom of the world; this suggests co-regency on his part. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 117). A third dated about 1369 A.D. is a record of grants made to the god Vaidyanātha of Mamballi, which is described here and elsewhere as the bathing place of Harihara (*Harihara-nāthana-majjana*), whether god or king is not clear (*E.C.* IV, Yelandur 64); another dated in *Circa* 1370 A.D. records a charter granted by him to the officials of Hattalakōte, in which the customs due from Hadinād are regulated (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 97); and two others dated in 1372 A.D. record a grant by the Brāhmins of Prasanna-Vijayāpura providing for the annual support of the dancing girls attached to the temple of god Rāmanātha at the place. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 32 and 34). It is not known when Chikka-Kampana-Vodeyar died. But a later addition to a record which comes from Mysore (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 21) states that "Kampana-Vodeyar attained *Svarga* (*i.e.*, died) in the *Plava* year on a Saturday corresponding to *Vaisākha bahula* 6. The reference may be to Chikka-Kampana as he was governing in this part of the kingdom.

His son Nanjanna-Vodeyar is said to be ruling in *Saka* 1296 (Cyclic year *Ānanda*), or A.D. 1374, in which year he made a grant to a Pāsupata teacher named Ākāsavāsi Sāṅkhyādiguru. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 108).

Jainism still flourished in the land, despite the progress of Srī-Vaishnavism. In the reign of Bukka I, we hear for the first time of differences having arisen between the two classes of votaries. At length, in 1368 A.D., matters appear to have reached a crisis. The Jainas preferred a petition to Bukka I about the injustice done to them by the Vaishnavas and Bukka summoned the leaders of the two communities before him and effected a reconciliation between the two creeds. The king evidently called the parties together to his presence, the Jainas (called "the blessed people") and the Srī-Vaishnavas (called the "bhaktas") being present from all their different districts and centres. As is graphically put in one record, he taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Srī-Vaishnavas of the eighteen *nāḍus* including the *achāryas* of Srīrangam, Tirupati, Kānchi and Melkōte and other Vaishnava sects (among whom special mention is made of the Tirukulas and Jāmbavakulas, *i.e.*, Holeyas and Madigas, who are said to have helped Rāmānuja in recovering the image of Selvapillai from the Muhammadans at Delhi) declared that there was no difference between the Vaishnava and the Jaina creeds. He then decreed as follows:—"The Jaina creed is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* or vase. If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaishnavas, the latter will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own creed. The Srī-Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sāsana* or inscription in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and moon endure, the Vaishnava creed will continue

Settlement of
Jain and Srī-
Vaishnava
dispute, 1368
A.D.

to protect the Jaina creed. Vaishnavas and the Jains are one body; they must not be viewed as different. Tātayya of Tirupati will, out of the money levied from every Jaina house throughout the kingdom, appoint twenty servants as a bodyguard for the god at Belgola and repair ruined Jaina temples. He who transgresses this decree, shall be traitor to the king, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudāya*." (*E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola New Edn. 344=Old Edn. No. 136). Copies of this decree appear to have been set up in various places, for besides the one at Sravana-Belgola there is still one at Kalya in Magadi Taluk, the Kallehadapattanna referred to in them. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 13). This place is described as a wealthy town in a record of 1371 A.D. Apparently it was an important Jaina centre in early Vijayanagar times (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 64), though there are no Jains at present in this place and the *basti* in which it was set up has disappeared and the slab bearing the inscription is lying in a private field. In the Kalya version, which is slightly different from the Sravana-Belgola one, it is mentioned that the Jains petitioned that the Srī-Vaishnavas were unjustly killing them—apparently as the result of the dispute that had arisen between the two parties in regard to the use of the five different musical instruments. The king's order included permission to the use of these instruments at five (important) *bastis*, while they were prohibited at all the others. It is interesting to note that these inscriptions open with a verse in praise of the Srī-Vaishnava teacher Rāmānuja, which is the last one of five verses known as *Dhātīpanchaka* in adoration of Rāmānuja. (*E.C.* II, Introd. 63). This would indicate that the Srī-Vaishnavas were willing parties to the engagement they had entered into at the instance of the king to protect the Jaina creed.

Bukka, we are told, had many wives. Of these, a Domestic life. record of the time of his son Harihara II states, the chief was Honnāyi, in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vēdas. She is spoken of as the "fulfiller of his desires." (*E.C. V*, Channarayapatna, dated in 1378 A.D.). Apparently she died about the year 1372 A.D. (Cyclic year *Paridhāvi*), for we find Bukka I making a grant of Honnāpura in her name to god Basavalinga at Honnāpura-Halandulige (attached to Māsavalli) in Manjarābād Taluk. (*E.C. V*, Manjarābād 31). The village evidently came to be known after her. It is not known who exactly were her sons, though Bukka had at least eight sons. Whether Tippa-Rāja or Tippanna-Vodeyaru, spoken of in one inscription dated in 1360 A.D. as the eldest son (*Hiriya-komāranu*) of Bukka I, was her son is not known. (*E.C. V*, Hassan 19). It is seen from the record quoted above that he captured Uchchangi, the place of that name in the Chitaldrug District. Apparently he subverted the Pāndyas, whose capital it was. The same Tippanna-Vodeyar and his capture of Uchchangi is referred to in *E.C. VI*, Mudgere 25 dated in 1359 A.D., the grant recorded by it being confirmed by him. His wife Singāra-Dēvi is mentioned in it. As he is given full regal titles (even *Chakravarti*), it must be presumed he was in charge of the home province of Dōrasamudra. Another queen of Bukka I was Gaurāmbika, by whom was born Harihara II, who succeeded him. (*E.C. V*, Hole-Narsipur 7 dated in 1396 A.D. and *E.C. VI*, Koppa 25 dated in 1404 A.D.). But curiously enough, in a record dated in 1378 A. D., of Harihara II, who makes the grant mentioned in it, it is stated that Jambur in the Hoysana country was renamed Honnalāpura after his mother (*mātri-nāmna*) and gifted by him to Brāhmans. It is evident from this inscription that the grant was made for the merit of Honnāyi, who is mentioned in the earlier part of the same record as the

favourite wife of Bukka I, after her death. Either Gaurāmbika and Honnāyi describe the same person or Harihara II must be presumed to have made the gift of Honnalāpura in the name of his step-mother Honnāyi. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256. Text and Translation of Hulikere Copper-plate grant).

Kampana II
and his
brothers.

According to the *Vira-Kamparāya-charitam*, Bukka I appears to have had several other queens, among them Dēvāyi whom the author of that work says he loved best. Bukka I appears to have had by her three sons, Kampana (II), Kampana (III) and Sangama (III). It is mentioned in this poem that Kampana (II) was so named because his enemies quaked with fear at the very mention of his name. (*Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 4). Two of these sons are further referred to below. Mallinātha or Mallappa-Vodeya, another son, is mentioned in certain inscriptions. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 82). He is mentioned in a record, dated in 1355 A.D., as ruling the kingdom of the world. In another, (*Ibid* Anekal 87) the father's name is (mistakenly) given as Mallappa-Odeyar and the son's as Bukka. This is dated in 1356 A.D. Another son Kampana-Vodeyar was governor of Mulbagal, though described as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 81 dated in 1363 A.D.). He was governor of Mulbagal-rājya from 1356 to 1366 A.D. (*E.C.* Kolar 222 and 162). He must be distinguished from Chikka Kampana, the Governor of South Mysore. The latter was another son of Bukka and was apparently the younger brother of Kampana II. Hence he is described in the records from Mysore as *Chikka* (or the younger) Kampana. If Kampana, the younger brother of Harihara I, is called Kampana I, Bukka's first son Hiriya Kampana, who was governor of Mulbagal, would have to be called Kampana II, and his younger brother Chikka Kampana, the governor of South Mysore, as

Kampana III. Kampana II (*i.e.*, Hiriya Kampana) is the hero of *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam* or *Madhurā-vijayam*, composed by his queen Ganga-Dēvi and mentioned above. A son of his, of the name of Kamaiya-Nāyaka, is mentioned as making a grant of land in 1363 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 81). Two other sons of his were Kattaiya-Nāyaka and Jommanna Udaiyar who are mentioned in records dated in 1359 and 1375 A.D. (*E.C.* Bowringpet 31 and Chintāmani 94). Another son of his, known from literary but not from inscriptional sources was Dēparāja, author of *Sobagina Sōne* and *Amaruka*. Dēparāja calls himself the son of Kampa in his works, but which Kampa it is that he refers to is not clear. It is a question if he can be identified with Dēpanna-Vodeyar, son of Nāganna-Vodeyar, who figures conspicuously in certain records in the Kolar District in the reign of Bukka I, and whose relationship to Bukka I is not known. Mr. R. Narasimhachar thinks that Dēpanna was probably the son of Kampa II. More probably he was a son of Kampa III, though he is not mentioned in the inscriptions as such. Other inscriptions of his are dated in 1365 A.D., 1369 A.D. and 1374 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 67, Hoskote 103, 103a, and 157). He is styled in his records as *Sri-Vīra-Kumāra Kampana-Udaiyār* and described as *Mahāmandalēsvara*, subduer of hostile kings, champion over kings who break their word, lord of the northern, southern, eastern and western oceans." (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222). In this last quoted inscription, he is described in terms of high praise as "a sun in unbounded valour, a moon incarnate in serenity, a unique treasure of music, a tree of paradise to the learned," and is further spoken of as "intent on establishing *dharma*, lord of the Goddess of sovereignty, with a name renowned among kings."

That all this is no mere empty boast is proved to some extent by his queen's poem *Vīra-Kamparāya-charitam*

Conquest of
Sāmbava-
rāya's
kingdom.

above referred to. (Edited by Pandits G. Harihara Sastri and V. Srinivasa Sastri, at the Sridhara Press, Trivandram, 1916). According to this work, Kampana II was commanded by his father Bukka I to attack Champarāya, the Drāvīda chief, who was then ruling over Tondamandala, with Kānchi as his capital, and wrest his kingdom from him; then subdue the Vanvyarājas (or forest kings) of the south, and finally advance against the Muhammadans who were still in possession of Madura and drive them out of it. Agreeably to this order, Kampana II marched forth southwards with a well-equipped army, crossed the borders of the Karnāṭaka country and reached *Kantakānana* (literally identical with *Muluvāi* or *Mulbagal*), which he made his head-quarters. He next marched his armies to Virinjipuram on the Pālār and from there he entered Champa-rāya's territory. A fierce battle followed, in which Champa was defeated and he fled in the direction of his capital. Kampana pursued him, took his capital and laid siege to the strong fortress of Rājagambhīra, in which he had taken refuge. The siege lasted for several days, at the end of which Kampana's soldiers scaled the hill with ladders and attacked the garrison inside. Champa seeing that all was now really lost, sallied forth and fell in a single combat with Kampana. Kampana next entered Kānchi and set up rule there, which proved quite a successful one. He here received—apparently an interval of time is presumed between his conquest of Champa and his expedition against Madura—accounts of the havoc wrought by the Muhammadans in the south at Chitambaram, Srīrangam, Jambukēsvaram, Madura and Tinnevely. He next advanced on Madura relieving doubtless the intervening country of Muhammadan rule, and there killed in another single combat, after a hard fight, the Muhammadan chief who had despoiled the kingdoms of the Hoysāla Ballālas, the Cholas and the Pāndyas.

The identity of the persons mentioned in the *Vira-Kamparāya-charitam* is not difficult to make out. Champarāya is Sāmbavarāya, evidently a descendant of the Sāmbavarāyas of the inscriptions (see under *Chōlas*) who ruled over a large tract of country extending from the Ghāts on the west to the sea on the east, with Padavidu as his stronghold and perhaps Kānchi as his capital. The Rājagambhīra hill has been identified with Padavidu. (*Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 21). It appears to have been so known from one Rājagambhīra Sāmbavarāyan (an ancestor of Champarāya) who lived in the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja III, and ruled over the country round about Kānchi. (*S.I.I.* I, iii. But see below). An inscription of Kampana, dated in *Saka* 1287 (=1375 A.D.), found at Tirupputkuli near Kānchi, records that Kampana, son of Bukka I, became permanent on the throne after his capture of Rājagambhīra-rājya. (*M.E.R.* 1899, App. B. No. 18). Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya was at one time disposed to identify *Rājagambhīrarājya* with the Pāndyan kingdom, the name *Rājagambhīra* being a surname of Jatāvarman-Kulasēkhara. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Paras 57 and 40). But, as pointed out by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, it might refer to the district ruled over by Rājagambhīra Sāmbavarāya and his descendants, which lay in the modern districts of Chingleput and North Arcot. (*Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 22-24). He probably acquired the title of "Rājagambhīra," which appears to have been held by the Chōla king Rājarāja II, on his conquest of the part of Chōla country, which he subsequently ruled over. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 36 quoting App. No. B. 440, in which it is stated that the lands granted to the temple at Tirupalatturai were clubbed together under the name of *Rājagambhīranallūr* after this title of Rājarāja II). Though the poem states that Champarāya was killed in a single combat, this probably is an exaggeration. Other

Identity of persons mentioned in *Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*.

authorities (such as *Rāmābhyudayam*, *Sāluvābhyudayam*, *Varāha purāna* and the Telugu *Jaimini Bhāratam*) agree in asserting that he was defeated and reinstated in his original possessions though only as a subordinate. This is confirmed by a lithic inscription found at Madam in the North Arcot District dated in 1363 A.D., which specifically states that Gandaragūli Mārāya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya Dandanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kampana II, defeated and took captive Venrumān Sāmbuvarāya and captured Rājagambhīra-malai. To commemorate his capture of the hill-fort and its chief, Mārāya-Nāyaka, according to the record, built a *gōpura* called *Gandaragūli Mārāyanāyakkān-tirugōpuram* in the second *prākāra* of Tiruvagalīśvara Madaiya-Mahādēva of Kulattūr. The record itself is found engraved on the left side of the outer *gōpura* of the temple at Madam. This record is conclusive on the points of the identity of the Sāmbuvarāya of the *Vīru-Kamparāya-Charitam* and of his being taken captive alive. The circumstances under which the poetess Gangā-dēvi described Champarāya as having been killed in a single combat by her lord seems but a poetical license she has indulged in. This is nearer the truth as Champa is said to have accompanied Jini-Gundadēva in his advance on the Sultān of the south. (*Ibid* 24-25). As this campaign against Champarāya is said to have been accomplished after Butka's accession to his throne, and seeing that Kampana's inscription at Tirupputkuli is dated in 1365 A.D., it should have been achieved some time about 1365 A.D. The Madam inscription of the same king, dated in 1363, detailing the capture of Champarāya and his fort, shows that it should have occurred about that year. That Chāmparāya had been attacked by Sāyana, the minister and regent of Sangama II, about the year 1355 A.D., seems to be clear from Bhōganātha's *Udāharanamāla*. (See *M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 83). Though victory is claimed in that poem for

Sāyana, it could not have had any permanent effect. The chief apparently became restive again and the bigger campaign of Kampana II undertaken about 1365 A.D. was probably the result. In that poem *Champarāya* is called *Champanarēndra* and his capital Garudanagara, which is probably the same as Maratakanagara, which Kampana II made his capital. There is now hardly any doubt that the names *Champarāya* and *Champanarēndra* are the same as *Sāmbavarāya* and that they refer to one and the same chief, whose ancestors had defeated the Chōlas and set up independent rule. (See *ante*).

Kampana's general Gōppanārya, a Brāhman, was instrumental in driving the Muhammadans from Srirangam. He was, according to the *Srīrangam Kōilolugu*, a work which records the benefactions made to the Srīrangam temple, in charge of the Gingee Province. He got into touch with the temple authorities and through their aid, he attacked the Muhammadan governor who stationed himself at Samayavaram and defeated him. The *Kōilolugu* assigns this event to *Saka* 1293 (or A.D. 1371). His inscription in the Ranganātha temple confirms the statements made in the *Kōilolugu*. (*E.I.* IV, 322). Dated in this very year is an inscription of Kampana at Tiruppullani near Rāmnād, which would indicate his conquest, by then, of the country round about Madura as well. (*E.I.* VI, 324). The Muhammadan "Sultan" at Madura must have been a successor of the representative of Malik Kāfur. As coins of one Ahsan Shāh, dated in 1337-1338 A.D., have been found in Madura (Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors*, 26-27), it has been surmised that the person who suffered death at the hands of Kampana should have been his successor, as Ahsan Shāh seems to have lived at least up to 1337 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Nos. 106 and 111). Gōppanārya's successful wresting of Srīrangam was followed by the

Fall of
Srirangam
and Madura,
1371 A.D.

restoration of the image of the ancient god in it, which had been removed from it on the advance of the Muham-madans. This restoration is referred to in two verses by Vēdānta Dēsika, the great Vaishnava teacher, engraved on the Srīrangam temple. (*E.I.* VI, 322-331). It would seem to follow from the above facts that Srīrangam and Madura fell to Kampana II and his general Gōppana in or about 1371 A.D. With this, the conquest of the south on behalf of Bukka I seems to have been an accomplished fact. Though the inscriptions found in the Mysore State describe Kampana II as ruling over the Mulavāyi (or Mulbagal) province, his capital is said, in the *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, to have been Maratakanagara. This place has been identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with Virinchipuram, in the present North Arcot District, and it continued to be a viceregal capital during the reign of Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha II) and after him of Srīgiri-bhūpāla, son and grandson respectively of Harihara II. (*E.I.* VIII, 308-312).

Period of —
rule of
Kampana II.

How long Kampana II administered his province is not quite clear. An inscription of his dated in 1369 A.D. has been found at Conjeeveram. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Appx. B. 230). But the latest record of his in the Kolar District is dated in the Cyclic year *Paridhāni* or A.D. 1373. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 205). He seems to have lived up to *Saka* 1296, Cyclic year *Ānanda* or A.D. 1374. (*M.E.R.* 1890, Appendix No. 28, which is an inscription found in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram, where another inscription of his No. 33 dated in *Saka* 1288 or A.D. 1366 is to be seen in the Tāyār Sannidhi; see also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66, Appendix C. No. 90, which is an inscription found at Vriddhāchalam, South Arcot District, dated in *Saka* 1295, Cyclic year *Ānanda*.) His son Jammanna-Udaiyar is described as governing the same province in the same year. It is possible Kampana II died in or about

that year, an inference which is confirmed by a couple of inscriptions dated in the same year A.D. 1374 found at Tiruvannāmalai and Eyil in the present South Arcot District which make mention of certain gifts bestowed by Jammanna Udaiyar for the merit of his deceased father. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Nos. 572 and 573, 1906, No. 224). This is further confirmed by an inscription of Jammanna found at Kaivara, Kolar District, dated in the same *Saka* 1296 *Ānanda* and *Kaliyuga* 4475, in which he is described as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C. X*, Chintāmani 94). As Kampana II died two years before the demise of his father Bukka I, the latter was succeeded on the Vijayanagar throne by his younger brother Harihara II. Kampana II should thus have lived a strenuous life and to have contributed materially towards the driving out from the south of the Muhammadans and consolidating the Vijayanagar power in it. In power and dignity, he apparently did not differ much, if at all, from an independent sovereign. (*E.I.* VI, 324). The area of his rule probably extended over the whole of the South of India, besides a good part of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts. His province appears to have been visited by his father Bukka I in 1367 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Malur 79), the year in which he settled the dispute between the Jains and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. He seems to have been helped by a number of able generals and ministers. One of these was Gōppanna already mentioned. He was in service under Kampana II as early as 1353 A.D. Another was Sōmappa, who is spoken of as "the illustrious" Sōmappa¹ in an inscription found at Dōmasandra in the Kolar District, dated in 1356 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 222). He is referred to as Sōmappagalu in another record dated in 1353 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 523; see also *M.E.R.* 1901, 250 and *M.E.R.* 1889, No. 89). He must have been as suggested by this record—found at Kadiri—a Sanskrit scholar of note. He is also mentioned in a record at

Kurumanje dated in 1361 A.D. In this record, mention is made of Vittappa-Ayyan, perhaps identical with Vittappa of Ānegondi, who as the king's officer in the Tiruvorriyūr temple in 1308 A.D., tried to settle certain disputes prevailing among its servants. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 51, Appendix B. No. 309). A gift by Sōmappa in 1361 A.D. to the Nāgēsvara temple at Serkad in the North Arcot District conferred for obtaining the "the continuity of the rule of Kampana-Udaiyar" is known. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. 203). As minister, Sōmappa was, it would appear, magnanimous, upright, skilled in politics and well-versed. He is described as the lord of some place, whose name could not be fully read. He built a temple dedicated (after himself) to Sṛī-Sōmanātha, in order that religious merit may accrue to him. It is stated that Kampana II visited this temple after the god was comfortably lodged in the temple built by his minister, in "observance of the Monday-vow" and made a grant of a village for the god. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 222). He appears to have had two sons, one Gandaragūli Mādha-Nāyakar who gifted land to a Mahēsvara of the Kulandai-Andur temple at Madam in 1363 A.D., and another Gandaragūli Mārāya-Nāyaka, the capturer of Sāmbavarāya and his fort Rājagambhīra-malai in 1363 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. Nos. 228 and 267.) In 1343 A.D., Sōmappa gifted a garden named after himself to the temple built by him. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Para 91). He was still minister in 1362 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 203; Mulbagal 58). In 1363 A.D., an agent of his named Pōvindarasar (? Gōvindarasar) made a gift of taxes to the temple at Brahmādēsam in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 272 of 1915). He is also mentioned in the *Kōilolugu*. Two other ministers of Kampana II mentioned in inscriptions are Sāmāntādhikāri Avani Rāmayādēva (*E.C. X*, Mulbagal 58 dated in 1362 A.D.) and Duganna, who is spoken of as the sole manager of Kampana's palace and

is given the title of "Abhanga-Garuda Nārāyana-Chakra-kōla Vijaya-Chudāmani." (*E.C. X*, Kolar 101 dated in 1363 A.D.). Apparently he was a Srī-Vaiṣṇava devotee, as some of the titles assumed are those ascribed to Rāmānuja. This first inscription records a gift of lands by him to the gods of the temple at Bellur, in the Kolar taluk, for conducting the daily services. He made a gift in 1370 A.D., to a temple at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 375). Still, another person who appears to have actively helped Kampana II was Sāluva Mangi, who is stated in the *Sāluvābhūdaya* and the *Rāmābhūdaya*, as one of the officers who accompanied Kampana in his campaign against Champarāya and the Sultān of the South. Apparently it was through his intervention that Champarāya was reinstated in his territories, for he is described as *Chamburāya-Sthāpanāchārya*. For the notable gifts he made to the Brāhmins of Srīrangam and perhaps also for the services he rendered in restoring worship at the temple there after its recapture from the Muhammadans, he was also styled *Srīranga-sthāpanāchārya*. (*Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 35; see also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 23-28).

Kampana's name was perpetuated in the Kamparājapura, the Modahalli of the present day, situated in the Kollegal Taluk, Coimbatore District. This fact is mentioned in a record of Harihara II, in which a previous grant of Hiriya-Kampa (*i.e.*, Kampana II, son of Bukka I) is mentioned. His proposed identification with Kampa I seems wrong, as he was not known as Hiriya-Kampa. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 26; Appendix B. No. 247 of 1913). Several inscriptions of Kampana II come from the Panyakōtisvara temple at Little Conjeeveram. One dated in *Saka* 1289 (=A.D. 1267) states that while seated in the Jānakimandapa he conferred, in the presence of the royal ladies, his servants and his subjects, the title of

Karunākara-dāsan on Parakāla-Nambi together with certain honours, privileges and dwelling house. Two others dated in Plavanga and Saumya come from Kalavai in the Arcot Taluk. One of these refers to the re-consecration of certain images desecrated during the disturbances that occurred during certain local disturbances. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Paras 44-45, Appendix C. No. 27, 108 and 110 of 1921). An inscription of his dated in Vilambi corresponding to *Saka* 1281-1282 (or A.D. 1359) comes from Avur in the South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. 305 of 1909). Other inscriptions of his have been found in the Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 72, App. C. Nos. 107, 149 and 152). Some are undated but two are dated in *Saka* 1294 and 1296 (or A.D. 1372 and 1374). The temple of Tiruppulivanam where the two latter are engraved was apparently part of Sāmbavarāya's territory. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. Nos. 389 and 390; 393 and 394).

Rājendra-Odeyar, another son of Bukka I, and others.

Another son of Bukka I named Rājendra-Odeyar is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1367 A.D. He is described as "ruling the kingdom of the world," with the usual regal titles of *Mahāmandalēsvara*, *Subduer of hostile kings* and *Champion over kings who break their word*. He is not otherwise known. Probably he bore rule over a part of the Mulbagal province. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 134). Sōvapa-Nāyaka, a brother-in-law of Bukka I, was apparently in charge of the government of the Sira country in or about 1376 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 100). A grand-son of Bukka I, Mallinātha-Vodeyar, son of Aliya-Sāyi-Nāyaka, was in charge of Bemattanakallu (Chitaldrug), where he built an upper storey of stone to the Siddhāntha temple. Sāyi-Nāyaka was probably a son-in-law of Bukka I. (Chitaldrug 2). There is hardly any doubt that this Sāyi-Nāyaka is the same as Sōmeya-Nāyaka, whose son, Mallinātha-Vodeyar, is described as a

Mahāmandalēsvara in another record. (Chitaldrug 55, dated in 1355 A.D.). Mallinātha is highly eulogised in a couple of records, dated in 1355 and 1356 A.D., (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 2 and 3), in which he is spoken of as having gained renown by his success over the Muhammadan army, the Sēvuna army, the Telunga army (probably the Warrangal forces), the immense Pāndya army (*i.e.*, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi) and the Hoysala army. Apparently he was a seasoned soldier. It is said of him that the Sultān (*i.e.*, the Bāhmani Sultān) honoured as a brave warrior of a foreign army. (Chitaldrug 2). He was, it would appear, such a hero that he dispensed with fortifications (Chitaldrug 3), and became famous as *Nadegonte-Malla*. He is probably the same person who is referred to in another record dated in 1345 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 67). He must, however, be distinguished from Mallinātha, another son of Bukka I, who is referred to as Mallappa-Odeyar. He appears to have been ruling with his father. A grant of his, dated in 1363 A.D., is known. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 82). Sāvanna-Odeya, son of Mārāpa and a nephew of Bukka I, apparently ruled over a part of Shimoga District, (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 132) as we find him making a grant in 1363 A.D. In that region, Bhāskara-Bhavadūra, another son of Bukka I, appears to have administered the eastern province, which had Udayagiri for its capital, from about 1369 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 91). He apparently succeeded Vira-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeyar, a son of Kampa I and a brother of Sangama II, who had been in charge of it in 1356 A.D. (See above). Two other sons of Bukka I, Sangama III and Sāyana-Odeyar, and a daughter Jannāmbika are also referred to in the inscriptions of the period. Of these, Sāyana-Odeyar probably ruled over a part of the North Arcot, South Arcot and the Tanjore Districts. He may be identified with the Vira-Sāvanna-Odeyar, described as the son of Srī-Mukkanna-Odeyar

(a mistake apparently for Sri-Bukkanna-Odeyar) mentioned in an inscription dated in 1381 A.D. at Tiruvaiyar, in the Tanjore District (*M.E.R.* 1894, No. 253) and the Sāyana-Odeyar of the Sendalai temple inscription dated in his 5th regnal year and in the two other inscriptions at Neyyadipakkam, North Arcot District, dated in his 15th and 16th years. An inscription of his dated in *Saka* 1304, or A.D. 1382, comes from Tirukkalkudi, in the Rāmnād District. It is possible he had territorial jurisdiction over parts of the present Madura District as well, after the conquest of the Pāndya country by Kampana II. Another inscription of his comes from Kangyam in the Coimbatore District and is dated in 1382 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 37; Appendix C. No. 241 of 1920).

Bukka I as a
literary
patron.

Bukka I appears in the pleasing light of a literary patron. In one record dated in 1344 A.D., we see him granting a village to one Nāchana-Sōma, a great poet and a linguist. He has been identified with the great Telugu poet Nāchana-Sōma. (*E.C. X.* Mulbagal 158). In another record dated in 1370 A.D., another gift is made to the same poet. In this inscription, he is spoken of as a poet in eight languages, though what languages these were is not mentioned. (*E.C. X.*, Goribidnur 45). His reverence for great teachers and authors like Vidyāranya, Chāunda-Mādhava, Kriyāsakti, his *kulaguru*, and probably others shows that he and his brothers realized the importance of learning. All these three scholars and teachers are mentioned both in inscriptions and in literary works. It was at Bukka's instance that Mādhavāchārya (Vidyāranya) is said to have written the *Vēda-Bhāshya* (*Vēdārtha Prakāsika*). The introduction is, according to the colophon, by Sāyanāchārya. (See *Sources of Vijayanagār, History*, 48). Sāyana wrote and named his work: *Mādhaviya Dhātuvritti*;

after his brother Mādhavāchārya. It deals with the roots of verbs in Sanskrit Grammar and is dedicated to Sangama, the son of Kampa I. Kampa I of Udayagiri was succeeded by his son in that office. Sāyana came of age and assumed charge. (See *ante*; also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 46-47). The poem *Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam* by Gangā-Dēvi, the queen of Kampana II, shows that high learning was not by any means confined to the male sex. This poem is in the form of a classical *Kāvya* conforming to the rules laid down in the treatises on poetics and contains lengthy descriptions of the seasons, the twilight, the rising of the moon and other topics common in *Mahākāvyas*. "The authoress writes," remark two competent critics, "in the Vaidarbhi style and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn direct from nature. She has none of the pedantry of grammar or rhetoric, which so largely spoils the productions of latter-day poets." She has modelled her style on that of the great poet Kālidāsa. Though she has adopted certain scenes and descriptions which are favourites with him, she has "transformed them at the mint of her imagination and invested them with a new significance." (*Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, IV-V).

During the reign of Bukka I, there appears to have been considerable literary activity in the Kannada country. Among the writers were Virasaivas, Brāhmins and Jains. This was the formative period for the Virasaiva cult. Bukka and his brothers, being strict Saivas and disciples of Kriyāsakti, were naturally drawn to the works of those Virasaiva writers. Chief among those were Gurudēva (about 1350 A.D.) who has commented on a number of *Stōtras* (or praises of gods and goddesses). But his best known work is a Sanskrit work called

Progress of
Kannada
Literature.

Virasaivāchāra Pradīpikai, which he states he wrote for one Siddha-Dēva, whose identity is not yet established. He appears to have been a great scholar in the *Vēdas*, *Purānas* and the *Upanishads* and claims descent from Mallikārjuna Panditārādhyā, who has been assigned to the 12th century A.D. Bhīmakavi who was a poet both in Telugu and Kannada translated into Kannada, in 1369 A.D., the *Basava-Purāna* which appears to be based largely on Pālikuriki Sōmanātha's Telugu work. Padmanānka, the author of *Padmarāja Purāna* probably lived in this reign. Nilakānta-Sivāchārya, the author of *Kriyāsāra*, which may be described as a hand-book of interpretation of Virasaiva doctrines and beliefs, also belongs to this period. The writing of works of this kind—*Basava-Purāna* and *Kriyāsāra*—shows the popularity which Virasaivism had attained at about this time. Its chief rival was the Jaina religion, which claimed quite a large number of poets during the period. Among these were Bāhubali Pandita, author of *Dharmanātha-Purāna* (1352 A.D.); Kēsava-Varna, author of commentaries on the *Gommatā-sāra* and *Amitagati Srāvākāchāra* (1369 A.D.); Manga-Rāja, author of *Khagēndramani-Darpana* (Circa 1360 A.D.); Abhinavasrutamuni, author of a commentary on Mallisēna's *Sajjana-Chittavallabha* (Circa 1365 A.D.); Madhura, author of *Dharmanātha-Purāna* (1365 A.D.), who was patronised by Mudda-Dandanātha, one of the generals of Harihara II (see below); Padmanānka, author of *Padmarāja-Purāna*, a work of high literary merit; and Ayatavarma, author of *Kannada-Ratnākaraṇḍaka* (Circa 1410 A.D.), which deals with the cardinal doctrines of the Jaina system. Many other poets—such as Nrisimha and others—appear to have flourished during this reign, but details are lacking about them. It is, however, fairly certain that the restoration of peace and order was heralded by literary effort.

With the return of peaceful times, trade too should have revived. The Nānā-dēsis (or merchants) continued their avocation, the change of dynasties not affecting them. Mahādēvarsa (or Mahādēvayya), the great Vaddavyavahāri, chief of both sects of Nānādēsis, is mentioned as preferring a request to Harihara I in 1355-1356, the last year of his reign, and Harihara I ordering his brother (*tamma*) Bukka I, the Yuvarāja (described as *Kumāra*, a common form of designating the Yuvarāja, equivalent to *prince*) to carry out certain public works in Singapatna, Chenganād. (*E.C. V. Arkalgud 68*). Sōvappa, the then chief minister of Bukka I, appears to have supervised their execution (leading a channel and bridging it) and made out a document (*patra-sāsana*) and gave it to Mahādēvarsa. This record is interesting as showing that the change of rulers did not affect the daily routine of administration to any extent.

Revival of trade.

An interesting side-light on the spread of Sri-Vaishnavism by its adherents from the Tamil country is thrown on the mention made in an inscription dated in 1376 A.D., in Bukka's reign, registered as Hassan 77 (*E.C. V*), in which mention is made of a reciter of Kamba's *Rāmāyana* and his sons, who appear to have visited the temple of Rāmachandra at Anugavalli, the modern Anugavalli, where the inscription has been found. Kamban was the first translator of the *Rāmāyana* into Tamil in 1185 A.D. (Srinivāsa Aiyengar, *Tamil Studies*, 54 and 343). He is known to have flourished between 1145-1205 A.D. Apparently it had already become highly popular with the Tamil speaking people everywhere. It is inferable from this record that there was a fairly large number of immigrant Tamil Brāhmins in the present Hassan District in the 14th century to attract a Tamil reciter of the *Rāmāyana*.

Religion: spread of Sri-Vaishnavism.

An estimate
of Bukka's
Rule.

Bukka's rule should, on the whole, be accounted a highly eventful one. If a record dated only two years after his death is to be believed, it should indeed have been a triumphant one. According to this record, Bukka I eclipsed in valour and glory all past and future kings. "When he was reigning," we are told, "the earth brought forth abundantly, all troubles ceased, the people were happy and wealth increased. Having conquered all the world, he built a splendid city called the City of Victory (*Vijayanagari*). Its fort walls were like arms stretching out to embrace Hēmakūta. The points of the battlements like its filaments, the suburbs like its blossom, the elephants like bees, the hills reflected in the water of the moat like stems,—the whole city resembled the lotus on which Lakshmi is ever seated. There, with the Tungabhadra as his foot-stool, and Hēmakūta as his throne, he was seated like Virūpaksha for the protection of the people of the earth." (*E.C. V*, Channarayapatna 256). It seems inferable from this not wholly poetic description of the city of Vijayanagar at the time Bukka was king that though it was founded by Harihara I with the aid of Vidyāranya and named after him Vidyānagara, it was enlarged and beautified, and perhaps all but transformed by Bukka I, his successor, and re-named, after his great victories over the Muhammadans, as Vijayanagara (or the City of Victory). This suggestion is borne out by another record coming from Shimoga (*E.C. VII*, Shikarpur 281) dated in 1368 A.D., in which Bukka I is said to have mounted "the great throne of the new Vijayanagara, which was like the principal jewel in the middle of the pearl necklace, the Tungabhadra, that encircled the Hēmakūta mountain, as if it were the throat of the lady earth." In Ganga-Dēvi's *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, a contemporary poem, we have an equally pleasing description of the city. There were, we are told in it, *gōpurās* (towers)

as tall as the peaks of the Mēru, beautiful gardens with hillocks and artificial baths. The river Tungabhadra served the city as a moat and it was also surrounded by lofty fortified walls. In Pampe (Hampe), described as a suburb of the city, was the temple of Dēva, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha. To the description of the city as given in the inscriptions and in Ganga-Dēvi's work we might usefully add another of the kingdom left to us by Ferishta in his work. Writing of about the same period (about 1378 A.D.), he says of the Vijayanagar and Bāhmani kingdoms:—"The princes of the house of Bahmanee maintained themselves by superior valour only, for in power, wealth and extent of country the roies (Rāyas) of Beejanuggur (Vijayanagar) were greatly their superiors." "The sea-port of Goa, the fortress of Malgaon (identified with Belgaum) . . . belonged to the roy (Rāya) of Beejanuggur, and many districts of Talghaut (Tulu country on the Malabār Coast) were in his possession. His country was well peopled and his subjects submissive to his authority. The roies (kings) of Malabār, Ceylon and other islands and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents." In the words of the *Vira-Kamparāya-Charitam*, the rule of Bukka I was so peaceful and productive of good to the people that people began to doubt, if it was not Manu himself who had incarnated in the form of Bukka! Apparently, his rule secured internal peace and contentment to the generality of the people. Such peace should have been welcome after the disorder and anarchy consequent on the invasions of the Muhammadans from the north.

It is now possible to fix the death of Bukka I in about 1376 A.D. As mentioned above, Hebbasuru Copper plates of Harihara II (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46) record a gift made by the latter in 1376 A.D., in order that his

His death,
1376 A.D.

father " might obtain union with Siva and through the removal of his sins acquire the favour of Paramēsvara," thus indicating his recent death. This should have occurred towards the close of 1376 A.D., as we have an inscription recording his rule in the month of June-July of that year. (*E.C. IX, Bangalore 132*). While in a later record (*E.C. IX, Anekal 29*), he is still represented as ruling the earth, it is, however, stated that his minister Nāganna-Vodeyar made a grant "in order that virtue, wealth, gratification of desire, and salvation might be" to Bukka I. Apparently, at the time the latter grant was made, Bukka I should have been seriously ill or expiring. The record registered as *E.C. IX, Bangalore 132*, is dated in *Saka 1290, Cyclic year Nala, Mithuna* month (*i.e., Āni* month) lunar fort-night, second day, Thursday, while the other record registered as *E.C. IX, Anekal* is dated in *Saka 1290, Cyclic year Nala, Ādi* month (*i.e., Kataka* month) 20. As *Ādi* comes after *Āni*, in all probability Bukka I should have died on some day in *Saka 1290, Cyclic year Nala*, corresponding to 1376 A.D., between the Tamil months of *Āni* and *Ādi* (*i.e.*, 14th June to 14th July and 15th July to 15th August). In fact, these two are the latest dated inscriptions so far discovered of Bukka I in the Mysore State. That he should have died in 1376 A.D. is further confirmed by an inscription from Nellore which states that *Saka 1322* (or A.D. 1400) was the 25th regnal year of Harihara II, son and successor of Bukka I. (*Nellore Inscriptions, II, Nellore No. 76, page 846*). The Agra-hāra-Bachihalli plates of his son Harihara II, dated in 1377 A.D., whose contents resemble *Yedatore 46*, seem to mention the actual date of his death. These plates record the grant of Bachihalli by Harihara II in order that his father Bukka I who, we are told, attained union with Siva on Tuesday the first lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phālguna in the year *Nala*, corresponding to

Saka 1298, under the asterism Uttaraphalguni, might, through the removal of his sins, obtain the grace of Paramēsvara and unsurpassed religious merit. It would seem to follow from these words, so definite and so detailed, that he probably died on a day in March-April, which corresponds to Phālguna, in the year Nala, Saka 1298 or 1376 A.D. It is interesting to note that among the very first of the donees mentioned in this grant was Sāyanāchārya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and his son Singana. Among others were the expounders of the *Vēdas*, Nāgābharana and Vāmanabhata. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 88).

On the death of Bukka I, Harihara II, his son, succeeded to the throne. He seems to have been known by the alternative name of Vijaya. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 68). Bukka's eldest son Kampana II was the lawful heir to the throne; but, as we have seen, he died in 1374 A.D., a couple of years before Bukka. Both by abilities and upbringing, he would have made an admirable successor to so energetic and great a sovereign as Bukka I. In view of the fact that Bukka I left as many as eight sons, excluding Kampana II, who predeceased him, it is, indeed, surprising that there was no dispute to the succession.

Harihara II,
1376 A.D.-
1404 A.D.

Certain records, however, indicate an attempt on the part of Virūpāksha II and his adherents to obtain the succession for him. As early as 1367 A.D., *i.e.*, ten years before the death of Bukka I, we find his minister Talkād Māvārasa making a grant "in order that Virūpa-Rāya might have a firm dominion." (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 34). Virūpāksha II was then ruler of the Āraga country. Apparently he left his provincial seat to the capital, Vijayanagar, in or about that year. It was during his absence that Mādhavarsa, the learned Chāunda-Mādhava,

No dispute
as to the
succession.

became governor of Āraga, for the record which mentions his rule is dated in 1368 A.D., the year following the departure of Virūpāksha II to the capital. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 6). This record, by the way, mentions a grant made on the occasion of "Vira-Virūpanna-Odeyar coming to the kingdom of the world." This, however, is a mistranslation, for the Kannada words in the original are: *Srī-Vīra-Virūpana-Odeyarige-prithvi-rājya-vāhantāgi*, which indicate that the grant was made "in order to secure the rule of the earth" to Vira-Virūpanna-Odeya. Nor did Virūpanna come "to the kingdom of the world" in that year, for Bukka I was still alive, nor become ruler of Āraga, for he had been in that province for a second time since 1362 A.D. The exact nature of Virūpāksha's mission to Vijayanagar is not mentioned, but that it was a political one may be readily imagined from this record. He appears to have been reconciled to his position as Viceroy of Āraga for we find him in 1370 A.D. making a grant to the Kalasanātha temple at Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 52). Then, we have a series of records ranging in date from 1377 A.D. to 1380 A.D., all found in the Āraga province, which fall into the reign of Harihara II. These indicate definitely that he continued as Viceroy of Āraga after Harihara II became king. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 28 and 125; *E.C.* VI, Koppa 30; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 114, 116 and 167). A couple of inscriptions, however, dated in 1377 and 1380 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 125 and 167) give him the full imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara*, etc., which would seem to show that he was then ruling over the Āraga province independently of Harihara II. This might be taken to indicate the friendly settlement arrived at in regard to his own position after the death of Bukka I. This saved an actual dispute as to the succession after Bukka's death and the evil consequences that might have followed it. That he

was fully reconciled to his semi-independent position as Viceroy of Āraga is clear from a number of records, which show him contentedly established in it during the years 1377 to 1380 A.D. The story of his rule over Āraga may be reconstructed from the extant inscriptions relating to his position both before and during the rule of Harihara II. The following are the records in question:—

Year	Charge	Reference
1342 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga ...	<i>E.C. VI, 327.</i>
1363 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga. He is said to be "ruling with a settled reign."	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 20 & 37.</i>
1377 A.D. ...	Do ...	<i>E.C. VI, Koppa 19.</i>
1377 A.D. ...	Ruling Āraga ...	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 28.</i>
1377 A.D. ...	Protecting Āraga. He is given all the imperial titles.	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 125.</i>
1378 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga. He is said to be "ruling with a settled reign."	<i>E.C. VI, Koppa 30.</i>
1379 A.D. ...	Do ...	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 114.</i>
1380 A.D. ...	Do ...	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 116.</i>
1380 A.D. ...	Do He is given all the regal titles.	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 167.</i>

In *E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 37 and 114*, he is called Vīra-Udayagiri-Virūpana-Vodeyar, which would indicate his previous governorship of the Udayagiri province. (See above). In *Tirthahalli 167*, he is spoken of as Vīra-Udayagiri-Virūpāksha-Rāya and it is said of him that he "was ruling the kingdom (of Āraga) in righteousness." It would seem from *Tirthahalli 116 and 167* that he

was in power in Āraga till then, *i.e.*, for about 18 years from 1362 to 1380 A.D. In 1381, Āraga was ruled over by Chikka-Rāya, son of Harihara II. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 31). He probably died in that year, for we have no more mention of him in the records of the period. If Virūpāksha had really attempted to succeed to the throne at Vijayanagar on the death of Bukka I, in 1376 A.D., he would not be so explicitly represented as ruling over the Āraga province from 1377 to 1380 A.D. Nor would he have been described as ruling his charge "in righteousness" if he had been guilty of an attempt at a revolution. The circumstance of his being given full regal titles (Tirthahalli 125 and 167) should, in the light thrown by the other records, be set down to the practice of assuming them by those members of the ruling family who governed their provinces more or less independently of the ruling sovereign, which appears to have been common at the time. As we know, Virūpāksha was ruling over his province in a semi-independent manner as indeed Kampa I did the Udayagiri-rājya. In Tirthahalli 125, above referred to, we see his own house-minister Rāmarasa making the grant of the village of Huttadahalli, re-naming it Hariharapura, among Brāhmins. Seeing that this grant is made in the very year of the accession of Harihara II and in his name, it must be understood to have been intended as a compliment to the new sovereign by the minister of his younger brother Virūpāksha. Such a grant by him is inconceivable if he had attempted an usurpation of any kind.

Period of
his rule :
29 years.

There can be no doubt that he began his rule in 1376 A.D., having normally succeeded to the throne without any trouble whatever. Yedatore 46 (dated in that very year) not only mentions the death of his father, which should have recently occurred then, but also describes Harihara II himself as ruling over the kingdom in full

regal splendour residing in the "great royal city of Vijayanagari." (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46). Another record dated in 1377 A.D., coming from Koppa, confirms this, inasmuch as it describes him as ruling the kingdom in that year. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19). A third record dated in 1377 (Pingala) from Shikarpur describes him as "ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom." (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 35). A fourth one from Tirthahalli, dated in the same year, speaks of his "increasing reign." (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 16). Other records dated in A.D., 1378, 1379, 1380, etc., show that he was already a reigning sovereign. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 113 and Bangalore 73; *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 112; *E.C.* XI, Davangere 34; *E.C.* XII, Sira 76 and Kunigal 43). Equally certain is his final year. He died, according to a Tirthahalli record, on Sunday the 30th August 1404 A.D., corresponding to *Saka* 1326, *Tārana* year, Masi Nabhasye 10, Sunday. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 129; *E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola, New Edn. 329=Old Edn. 126, which gives the week day as Monday). Almost the last grant dated in his reign was made some five or six months before his death. It is the one recorded in *E.C.* IX, Hoskote 160, dated in 1404 A.D. (*Saka* year not given; *Tārana* year; *Vaisākha* Suddha *purnima*; Thursday; Attanakshtra; *Sōma* grahanam). He accordingly reigned during a period of nearly twenty-nine years. The date 1399 A.D. given by Mr. R. Sewell as his last year has been long ago pointed out as wrong by Mr. Rice. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 49; Rice, *E.C.* VIII, Introd. 12, *f.n.* 2). There is, however, a record of a later date, which falls into the reign of Harihara II. This is dated in *Saka* 1328, Cyclic year *Vyaya* (*Pushya* suddha 10 *Makara-sankramana*), which corresponds to 1406 A.D. In this inscription, Harihara II is still described "as ruling the world." (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 66_a). This is one of those cases in which, owing to the uncertainty of the

regal position, donors preferred to continue the deceased king's reign rather than insert the name of a king of whose actual authority they were uncertain. This record would seem to indicate the doubts entertained in certain parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom on the death of Harihara, for there was, as will be seen below, a great fight over the succession. (cf. *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 59, dated in 1408 A.D., which, however, is a grant made "in order that merit be to Harihara," thus indicating his not very distant death).

**Insurrections
and Wars.**

The reign of Harihara II did not prove a peaceful one. There was trouble from across the northern frontier and there appear to have been insurrections in his own dominions to put down. Indeed, these disturbances seem to have been so far persistent during his reign that he is spoken of as having "again established the kingdom acquired by his father." As this description of his victories over his enemies occurs in an inscription dated in 1380 A.D., he should be presumed to have won the victories which ended in this great result not far anterior to that year. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43, dated in *Saka* 1302 current, Cyclic year *Raudri*).

**Rising in
Kōnkan
quelled, 1330
A.D.**

Among the first of the latter was a rising of the Kōnkanikas in or about 1330 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 152, dated in *Saka* 1301, Cyclic year *Raudri* and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 71). The Kōnkan, which formed the northern part of the Tulu country, had for its capital Bārūkūru. Here Harihara I had built a fort after subduing the Bairasu-Wodeyars, who had acknowledged his supremacy. Bukka I had apparently to put down an insurrection, for we hear of Sankapārya of the Kōnkanas being filled with fear on his (Bukka's) approach. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). Within a few years of Bukka's death, they again appear to have broken out in rebellion. Probably they

aimed to regain their independence. Sorab 152 apparently gives us the conqueror's version of the affair. Some base persons, it says, born in the Kōnkana country having risen against Mādhava-Rāya, the minister of Chikka-Rāya, son of Harihara II, the governor of Āraga, sent his son Baihappa-Odeya against them. Baihappa seems to have greatly distinguished himself in putting down this insurrection, as his title *Kōnkanapratishth-āchārya* (he who established the Kōnkana, i.e., re-established Vijayanagar sovereignty in it) would seem to indicate. His father Mādhava (*alias* Vira-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya) also claims the title of *Sapta-Kōnkana-dhūli-patta*, he who reduced the Seven Kōnkanas to dust. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 71). Sorab 152 states that the forces that Mādhava-Rāya sent under his son Baihappa-Odeya despatched many of the Kōnkanikas to destruction. Two other titles of Mādhava-Rāya, *Kadamba-Sūre-Kara* or plunderer of the Kadamba country and *Kadamba-purajane-pratipālaka* or protector of the people of the Kadamba country, suggest that, either in this expedition against the Seven Kōnkanas or on another occasion, his forces had to plunder the Kadamba country and on its people yielding, he took care to afford protection to them. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 71). Baihappa subsequently appears to have been rewarded with the governorship of the Kadamba province. He was still occupying that position in 1396 A.D. (*Ibid*). He should be differentiated from Baichappa who appears to have fought in his army against the Kōnkanikas and in fact "greatly distinguished himself" in it. (*E.C.* VII, Sorab 152). He died, we are told, "doing his master's service to the end and driving back the hostile force." This hero's death is recorded in the inscription quoted above. He is spoken of as a Jain in faith and as a celebrated resident of Uddhare, modern Udri, in the Shimoga District.

Revolts in the
Tundira,
Chōla and
Pāndya
countries put
down, Circa
1385 A.D.

Somewhere about 1385 A.D., there appears to have been trouble in the Tundira, Chōla and Pāndya countries. These had been subjugated by Kampana II, some ten years before, but apparently they had found their chance after his death in 1374 A.D. Virūpāksha II, a son of Harihara II, claims to have put them down once again and ruled as viceroy over them. (*E.I.* III, 224-230; *E.I.* VIII, 298-306). The grants mentioned in the Ālampūndi and the Soraikkāvūr plates, dated respectively in 1385 and 1387 A.D., which specifically assert his lordship "over these provinces," appear to have been made by him as the viceroy of the south. No details are as yet available in regard to the circumstances that led to their re-conquest by Virūpāksha II.

Conquest of
Ceylon, 1385
A.D.

To the same year (1385 A.D.) probably, Virūpāksha's conquest of Ceylon should be set down. (See *E.I.* III, 224-230). It is said that after the conquest of the island, which at the time was ruled over by Bhuvanaika-Bāhu V (1372-1406), Virūpāksha presented crystals and other jewels to his father Harihara II. The conquest may refer to the kingdom of Jaffna, which in the next century was tributary to the Vijayanagar Empire. (See H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 84-85).

Loss and
recapture of
Adōni, 1380
A.D.

The Bāhmani Sultān appears to have captured the hill fortress of Adōni, which was wrested back from him in or about 1380 A.D. by Channappa (or Vira-Channappa-Odeya), son of Mallappa (or Mallinātha), a brother of Harihara II. This exploit—for it appears to have been nothing less—of Channappa, who was in charge of Adōni, is described in a striking manner in a record of that year. The Muhammadans, it would appear, were swarming over the hill fortress and the kingdom, and Mallappa not only wrested back the *durga* but also the kingdom (*i.e.*, province) dependent on it and presented both as tribute

to Harihara II and received, doubtless by way of recognition, a kingdom for himself. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43). The kingdom thus received for himself was probably the Adōni province itself with capital at Adōni. This war should have occurred in the beginning of the reign of Sultān Mahmud (1378-1397 A.D.) and was probably the final phase of the campaign which Bukka I initiated by overrunning the Raichur Doab and investing the fortress of Raichur itself, which has been set down to 1378 A.D. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 47).

The Muhammadans, a little later, appear to have carried the war into the territories of Harihara II. In 1384 A.D., while the army under Bukka II was absent in Warrangal country, they advanced and attacked, it is said, Kottakonda, a place not yet identified. The *Mandalika* Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, the shelter of the good in Talkād, and terrifier of the Turukas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) fought the invading hosts as they were mounting up the fortress (?) and fell. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 15). It is to be presumed that he successfully beat off the Muhammadan forces. The inscription quoted is dated in the reign of Bukka II and as such it might be taken that the fight took place in the latter's province, *i.e.*, Mulbagal. Dated in the next year, 1385 A.D., is an epigraph in which a grant is recorded to a temple "for success to the sword and arm of the victorious universal emperor" Harihara II. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 93. This record is dated both in *Kaliyuga* and the *Saka* era. The *Saka* year corresponding to the *Kali* year 4487 is 1250. It ought to be 1308). Similarly, in another record, dated in 1388 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpet 17), we read of a local chief making a grant for the success of the sword and arm of his sovereign (Bukka II), who was ruling at the time from his residence at Mulavagal (*i.e.*, Mulbagal).

Attack on
Kottakonda
repulsed,
1384 A.D.

Reduction of
Goa, Circa
1391 A.D.

An event of even greater importance that occurred in Harihara's reign was the expulsion of the Muhammadans from Goa. (*J. Bomb. Br. R.A.S. IX, 227*). The fact is referred to in certain other inscriptions. In one dated in 1396 A.D., Vira-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya, the prime-minister of Harihara II, is styled *Gōvāpura-Varadhīsvara* or boon lord of Goa. (*E.C. VII, Honnali 71*). In this record, Mādhava-Rāya's son Baichana-Rāya is given the same title. Baichana was the governor of Goa. (*E.I. III, 119*). Apparently, father and son had filled successively the position of governor of Gōa (modern Goa). The conquest of Goa should have taken place between 1379 A.D. and 1396 A.D. (*E.C. VIII, Honnali 84 and 71*), for while in Honnali 84 dated in 1379 A.D. Madhāva-Rāya is given no title connecting his name with Goa, he and his son are given the identical title ("boon lord of Gōvapura") in Honnali 71 dated in 1396 A.D. Apparently the son had succeeded the father somewhere about 1391 A.D. In 1391 A.D., a copper-plate grant appears to have been executed by him in the name of his sovereign, Harihara II. A copy of this deed is now in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, having been copied in 1532 A.D., and translated into Portuguese. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 45, *f.n. 2*). As the grant was made in 1391 A.D., the capture of Goa should have preceded it, by how many years it is not possible to determine with the data so far available. The event may, however, be set down to Circa 1391 A.D.

Renewed war
against the
Muhamma-
dans, 1395
A.D.

There was a fresh war against the Muhammadans in or about 1395 A.D., when Sultān Mahmud was still the ruler of the Bāhmani kingdom. This war apparently ended in a victory to Harihara II for we see Baichappa-Odeya, son of Vira-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya, his prime-minister, claiming credit for it and assuming the title of

Rangini-pratāpa (or the glory of Rangini). The record which supplies this information comes from Honnali in the Shimoga District and is dated in *Saka* 1317, or A.D. 1395. It is inferable from this inscription that he should have displayed great valour at the battle of Rangini. From another record (a *vīrgal*) of the same year, which comes from Tiptur in the Tumkur District, we get a further glimpse of this battle. (*E.C.* XII, 44). We are told in it that Chennaya Nāyaka, of Mahāsāmantādhīpati Gōpaya-Nāyaka, died of the wounds received by him in the battle while wresting back Rangini from the Muhammadans. It appears to have been a hot and bloody battle, which ended in the breaking of the Muhammadan army and the loss of Rangini to them. (*Ibid*). As Baichappa's father Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya calls himself *Turaka-dala-vibhāda* (the destroyer of the Muhammadan army), he must be presumed to have been concerned—especially as Harihara's prime-minister—in the war against the Muhammadans. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 71). In this record, Baichappa, his son, is described as established in the Kadambarāja's throne, as boon lord of Gōvāpura, and as ruling the kingdom (his province) in peace and wisdom, protecting Chandragutti, Banavāsi, Kōnkana, Rangini and all the other kingdoms. This would indicate that we should search for Rangini in or about the Kanara District. The wars in which Adōni and Rangini fell are not related in *Ferishta*, which would indicate, from direct Hindu sources, the one-sided character of his accounts.

These two wars show that Harihara's relations with his neighbour the Bāhmani Sultān were not so satisfactory as might be imagined from *Ferishta's* account. His period synchronized partly with that of Mahmud, who ruled up to 20th April 1397, when he died, and

Fresh attacks
on the
Bāhmani
Kingdom,
1399 A.D.

partly with the reign of Firūz, who ascended the throne on 15th November 1397 and died on 24th September 1422. Harihara seems to have proved too strong for both Mahmud and Firūz. If Ferishta may be believed, there was only one war during the period covered by Harihara's reign, and it occurred towards the close of his reign. Harihara seems to have been the aggressor in it. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 76). With a view to reduce the forts of Mudkul and Raichur, which were then in the hands of Firūz, Harihara in 1399 A.D. crossed the frontier with 30,000 horse and a vast army of foot. He was, according to Ferishta, assisted by "his son." The Krishna river was in high floods and an advance party disguised as dancers and musicians got into the "Dewal Roy's" camp. His son was being entertained by a troop of dancers, one of whom pretending to amuse him, killed him. There was a tumult and in the confusion created by false alarms, the "Roy's" troops elected to stay in their quarters under arms. A part of the Sultān's troops crossed the river unattracted and before day-break, Firūz himself joined them with the rest of his army and assaulted the "Roy's" camp with great fury. The "Roy," grieved at the death of his son, fled with his army. The immense camp fell into the hands of Firūz, who pursued the "Roy" to the vicinity of Vijayanagar. Several actions were fought on the way in all of which Firūz is represented as having been victorious, the roads being "heaped up with the bodies of the slaughtered Hindus." Many prisoners were also taken from the surrounding country and among these were, it is said, many Brāhmans, who had to be ransomed off for "ten lakhs of hoons" (assessed at nearly £400,000). Negotiations followed and a treaty of peace was concluded about the middle of 1399 A.D., according to which the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before the war and each party was to refrain from molesting

the subjects of the other. This does not look, as Mr. Sewell rightly remarks, as though the Sultān had gained any material advantage, since the true boundary was always a matter of dispute.

Ferishta calls the king whom Firūz fought against as "Dewal Roy." As the year in which the war took place is given both in *Ferishta* and in the *Burhān-i-Maāsir* as 1399 A.D., we may take that it actually relates to the reign of Harihara-Rāya II. As Harihara-Dēva-Rāya was his full name (the *Pureoyre Deorao* of Nuniz), "Dewal Roy," the term used by Ferishta, may be taken as a shortened form of it, and not taken as meaning Dēva-Rāya I, as suggested in the previous edition of this work and as Bukka-Rāya II by Mr. Sewell. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 50-52). The "son" referred to in Ferishta's narrative should be Bukka II, sometimes referred to as Immadi-Bukka, in the inscriptions of the period. He is described in the records of the period as ruling with his father Harihara, but if he was the "son" who fought in this war, he was surely not killed in it, as he lived long after it, and in fact survived Harihara II and apparently engaged in the war of succession that followed Harihara's death in 1404 A.D. Either Ferishta's narrative is wrong or he mixes up the incidents of some other campaign. Nor is there any ground for the suspicion that any other "son" of Harihara II fell in this war or in any war against the Muhammadans during his reign. Ferishta's narrative seems also otherwise incredible, especially the suggestion that the "Roy" practically refused to fight though he had a large army and that he ran away from the field. The terms of the peace indicate a draw and that shows that Firūz cannot have had the uniform success he is credited with. Nor is this all. A record dated in 1397 A.D. in Harihara's reign seems to give the Hindu version of

"Dewal Roy"
of Ferishta
identified.

this war. (*E.C. V*, Belur 3). This contains a panegyric of a general named Gunda-dandanātha and the successes he achieved for his master. Incidentally we learn from it that into the flames of his valour the Turushkas (Muhammadans), among others, fell like moths. Dragging the elephant-like Paipa, Patheya (? Fatteh) and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he tied them up—we are told—in his stables like monkeys and besides them, seized by the throat, the two great tigers known as Jyēshta and Kanishta. He is said to have given all the spoils he obtained in his several wars to the king. He also set up, it would appear, pillars of victory in all the fifty-six countries, and restored the Belur temple, which Ganga-Salār, the Turushka from Gulburga, had come and burnt, and set up a golden *Kalasa* at its summit. Though the identification of the many Muhammadan names mentioned in this record is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible, there can be little doubt that it refers to the war that ended in 1379 A.D. and which is so elaborately described by Ferishta in his pages. If this be so, the war should have begun earlier and extended far beyond an attack on Vijayanagar. It should, in any case, have included the despatch of detachments against Belur and the surrounding country as well.

Examination
of Mr. Sewell's
views.

Mr. Sewell in writing of this war has remarked that it was fought at the close of Harihara's reign, that he should have been too old at the time and too much a lover of peace to engage in it and that it should have been left to Bukka II to fight out the enemy. This suggestion seems altogether inadmissible as it is confessedly based on the idea that Harihara II ruled only up to 1399 A.D. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 50). Harihara II, as stated above, ruled till 1404 A.D. and the many inscriptions of his period do not even distantly suggest

his retirement from the throne until he actually died. This being so, the war should be set down to Harihara's reign and not to that of his son Bukka II.

Judging from the lithic and other records available, Harihara's wars should have proved fairly successful. Indeed, the general impression created by them is one favourable to him and his generals. They appear to have stood out firmly against the invaders and given a good account of themselves. One record, the Nagasandra copper-plates, which testify to the recovery of Adōni (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43) begin their praises of Harihara II, with the words "victorious in the world, daily victor over his enemies," which, if not literally true, at least may be taken to be not wholly imaginary.

Harihara's
successes
proved.

There are a number of other wars mentioned in the inscriptional records of the reign (*E.C.* V, Belur 3 and 148) but confirmatory information is entirely lacking in regard to them. While the alleged successes claimed against a great many of the nations or countries mentioned in it (such as Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Saurāshtras, etc.) may be mere poetic embellishments, the war against the Āndhras, with whom Harihara II may be presumed to have been in contact by reason of the existence of the Udayagiri-rājya, may be held to refer to the putting down of some rising or other in that part of the kingdom.

Other Wars.

Among the generals and ministers who distinguished themselves during this reign may be mentioned a few. Among these Mudda-dandanātha holds a high place. He was, as we have seen, the prime minister of Bukka I. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256, dated in 1376 A.D.). It is said of Harihara II that he "inherited" from his father the wealth of the kingdom and the city together

Generals and
Ministers.

with this minister. He continued to hold the same position under Harihara II. He is praised at length in a record dated in 1382 A.D. (*E.C. V*, Belur 75). He is spoken of as a Yögandharāya in policy, and as a promoter of merit in the *Kali-yuga*. He is said to have seized alive and kept in confinement "thousands of prosperous rulers." He is also said to have founded "numerous agrahāras" and presented them to Brāhmins. He dug many tanks and protected the people as if they were "his own children." Trade seems to have flourished under his fostering care: Happy and contented merchants, farmers and agricultural labourers, the Holeyas being mentioned by name, led by the leading merchants of the capital city of Vijayanagar and the twenty-six towns where fairs were established, combined to honour him and allot the income derived from certain taxes. Apparently a meeting of all the people concerned was called for before the Virūpāksha temple, and having there assembled, they placed the diamond *Vaisanige* at the feet of the God, and entered into an agreement as to the dues they would pay—detailed at great length—on drugs, piece-goods, grains, and animals, among which are horses and female slaves. They also conferred on him, as Superintendent of the customs-revenue of the kingdom, the title (or honour) of *prithvi-settina* or Lord Mayor (of the State). The record which gives these particulars ends with a verse which is too remarkable to be omitted:—

"If a thousand horse-sacrifices and truth be placed in the scales, truth will greatly outweigh the thousand horse-sacrifices."

That is a tribute to Truth not merely in the abstract, but also in the daily life of the people. For the donors of the gift here are merchants and farmers who should have had a very high regard indeed for truth to have

thus put their hands and seals to their bond. Like his sovereign, Mudda followed the teachings of Kriyāsakti (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 58). In a record dated in 1379 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 34), Mudda is said to have founded the Mudda-dandanāyakapura (otherwise called Chikka-Hadaka), a place with a fine tank, and given it to Brāhmans. He is compared in this record to Sumantra, minister of Rāma, and is spoken of as "the illustrious councillor" who "daily by his policy bound down the hostile kings." He appears to have been in power from about 1378 to 1387. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 256 and Belur 63). Of Gunda-dandanātha, another of his ministers, we have a long account in a record dated in 1397 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 3). He is said to have restored the grants which Vishnuvardhana had made to the Kēsava temple and which had by lapse of time been greatly reduced. His successes in war have been mentioned above. Another was Kampanna (*Ibid*, Belur 52) who in 1381 A.D. repaired the Kēsava temple at Belur. He was in power between 1380 and 1382 A.D. He is spoken of as a "great minister." Vira-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya was another. He rose to be governor of Āraga and Gutti 36. In a record dated in 1379 A.D., he is styled "champion over the three kings," "destroyer of the Turuka army," etc. (See *E.C.* VIII, Honnali 84). In another record dated in 1396, he is also called reducer of the Seven Kōnkanas and boon lord of Gōvāpura, etc. (*Ibid*, Honnali 71). He appears to have been in power between 1379 and 1396 A.D. He should have reduced Goa between these two dates. He may be identified with Mādhavarāya, minister of Harihara II in 1391 A.D. (Kiēlhorn, *Southern List*, No. 471). His son Baichana-Rāya, who won fame at the battle of Rangini, has already been referred to above. He is referred to in Honnali 71, dated in 1396 A.D. He was governor of Gōva and many other countries, among which were the Kadamba

province which appears to have included Chandragutti, Banavāsī, Kōnkana and Rangini. A record dated 1399 A.D. mentions him as still ruling at Gōva. (*E.I.* III, 117). Another great minister was Mallapa-Odeyar, who also became governor of Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 313 dated in 1390). He was apparently the Mallappa-Odeya who was, in 1387 A.D., governor of Tulu, Haive and the Kōnkana countries with his capital at Bārakūr. (*M.E.R.* 190, Nos. 154, 156 and 164). He is probably identical with Mallana-Odeyar who was ruling over Haive, with his capital at Honavar in 1387 A.D. (*E.I.* III, 117). He is described as Mahāpradhāna in a record dated 1390 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 313). In 1390 A.D. one Malagarasa-Odeya was ruling the Mangalūrurājya. He is probably to be identified with Malagara of the Kāshmīra-kula who set up a golden pinnacle to the Bēlur temple in 1387 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 63). Sāyana, the regent of Sangama II, appears to have been a minister of Harihara II. (*E.I.* III, 117). In 1402-1403 A.D., just before the death of Harihara II, Āraga was administered by Vitthanna-Odeya, described as a Brahma-Kshatriya descended from the family of Sankappa—Rāyapa, two ministers of whom Sankappa attained great celebrity and is said to have been chief minister. Vitthanna was the son of Virūpāmba, identified with Virūpāmba, a daughter of Bukka I. He was also a disciple of Kriyāsakti. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 52 dated in 1403 A.D.). In a floridly written panegyric, apparently by himself, he indulges in a great deal of self-praise. He says he was ever beloved, versed in the sciences and arts, a mine of good qualities, bestower of the *hēmādri* gift, a proficient in music and poetry, and as one devoted to his father. (*Ibid*, Koppa 53 dated in 1403). He continued as governor during the reign of Dēva-Rāya I as well. (*E.C.* VIII, 70; *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 85 and Koppa 33). From 1378 A.D. to 1384 A.D. Dēpanna-Odeya was in charge of the Sadali-rājya,

which was previously under his father Nāganna. This province included a part of the present Kolar District. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 67 and 80, Sidlaghatta 112; Chikballapur 63; *E.C. IX*, Hospet 113). A record from Bagepalli, dated in 1391 A.D., mentions the great minister Mangappa-dannāyaka. He is, perhaps, the person mentioned in another record which comes from Chamarajnar. According to it, the Hoysala country was in the charge of Achanna-Vodeyar, who is described as the treasury of the right hand to the great minister Māgappa, dannāyaka. (*E.C. IV*, Chamarajnar 114 dated in 1398 A.D.). Bhavadūra-Odeya seems to have governed the country around Kurnool in 1386 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 257). Harihara II seems to have had a Jain minister named Baicha. His son Irugappa was a famous general of the time. Several records of his are known. Two of these dated in 1382 and 1387 A.D. (*E.I. VII*, 115) eulogise his *guru* Panditārya, who may be identified with Panditāchārya, the *guru* of Bhīma-dēvi, the Jain queen of Dēva-Rāya I. (*E.C. II*, Sravana-Belgola 337). Another record dated in 1385 states that he built the Kuntha Jinālaya at Vijayanagar. (*S.I.I* i, 156). This is evidently the temple known to-day as the Gānigitti temple at Hampi. An inscription dated in 1422 A.D. sets out in great detail his pedigree and records the grant by him of Belgola together with a grove and a tank built by him for Gommatēsvara. (*E.C. II*, Sravana-Belgola 253). The founder of the family was Baicha I, who was a general and minister of Bukka I. He had three sons of whom one was Iruga I. Both Baicha I and Iruga I were ministers of Harihara II and Bukka II. Mangapa, elder brother of Iruga I, had two sons named Baichappā (Baicha II) and Irugapa II, the donor in the Sravana-Belgola record. Apparently Irugapa lived down to the reign of Dēva-Rāya II. From other sources, we learn that he was a Sanskrit scholar and gave his name to the

metrical lexicon known as *Nānārtaratnamāla*, whose real author was his protege Bhāskara. (*S.I.I.* i. 156; and *E.C.* II, Introd. 64). His brother Baicha II was governing the Mangalūr-rājya in 1407 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 41).

Domestic
life.

Harihara II seems to have had at least two queens Pampā-Dēvi and Mēlā-Dēvi (or Mallā-Dēvi) and five sons. By his queen Pampā-Dēvi, he had a son named Bukka II. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). He is called Immadi-Bukka-Rāya in certain records. Mallā-Dēvi, the other queen, was, according to the Soraikkāvūr grant of Virūpāksha (Verse 5) dated in 1387 A.D., the *son's daughter* of Rāma-Dēva, identified with Rāma-chandra, the Sēvuna king. In the Ālampūndi grant of Virūpāksha, however, she is spoken of simply as belonging to the family of Rāma-Dēva. In the *Nārāyanivilāsa*, a work of Virūpāksha, she is described as the *son's daughter* of Rāma-Dēva, the verse in it mentioning the relationship, being found at the end of the Soraikkāvūr grant also. (See verse 17, *E.I.* VIII, 298-306). By Mallā-Dēvi, Harihara II had three sons, Dēva-Rāya I, Virūpāksha II and Chikka-Rāya. Another son of his, mentioned in only one record, is Kumāra-Kampa, who made in 1383 A.D., an easy ford for crossing the Tungabhadra on the way to Ānegondi. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 80). Probably he was another son of Mallā-Dēvi. He must be distinguished from Kampa, the minister of Harihara II, who is known from certain inscriptions. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnar 64 dated in 1380 A.D.; *E.C.* V, Belur 52 dated in 1381 A.D.). This fifth son of Harihara II may be called Kampa IV to differentiate him from other Vijayanagar princes who bore the same name before him. Bukka II appears to have been the eldest son. He probably ruled as co-regent with his father. Though in some inscriptions he is styled merely a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, he is

described in others in terms indicating an active rule as something more than a mere governor. Thus, there is one grant dated in 1380 A.D. which states that it is made in order that he "might exercise universal sovereignty." (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 49). Others plainly describe him as "ruling the Empire" (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 154 dated in 1382 A.D.), as "ruling a secure kingdom" (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 139 dated 1386 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6, dated in 1388 A.D.), or "ruling the earth." (*E.C.* X, Bowringpet 17 dated in 1388 A.D.; Mulbagal 74 dated in 1397 A.D.). In one record dated in 1388 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 20), he is even called Mahārājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara. His inscriptions begin from 1379 A.D. and continue down to 1417 A.D. or a period of thirty-eight years. His records have been chiefly found in the modern districts of Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, Kadur, Shimoga and Anantapur. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 108, 109, 154; Magadi 20; Anekal 49; Kankanhalli 98; Bangalore 71, 139; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6, 68; Bowringpete 17; Mulbagal 11, 74; *E.C.* XII Chiknayakanhalli 15; Tumkur 39; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 11; and *E.C.* VI, 25): He was apparently at first governor of the province of Nikarili-Chōla-mandalam which had Mulbagal for its capital; and then of Penukonda. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6 and 68 dated in 1385 and 1392 A.D.). He had by, Tippāmba, a son named Vīra-Bhūpati. He is probably the person referred to in *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 98 dated in 1391 A.D. and in *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 71 dated in 1394 A.D. Unfortunately the name, though mentioned in these records, is not decipherable. His father-in-law Malla-Odeyar is referred to in a record dated in 1391 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 68). His fight for the throne with his brother Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha II) will be found dealt with separately below. That Bukka II survived the civil war seems from a record of his dated in 1417 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 18).

A brother of Bukka II was Ōbala-Dēva-Mahārāya. (*M.E.R.* 1910, para 53). Virūpāksha was in charge of Tondamandalam, Chōla and Pāndya countries, which he is said to have reconquered. He is also credited with the conquest of Ceylon. (*E.I.* III, No. 32; also see above). Another brother of his was Dēva-Rāya I, who appears to have begun his rule in 1406-1407 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 32). He was viceroy of Udayagiri between 1382 A.D. and 1394 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, Kanigiri 23, page 668). A fourth son of Harihara II, Chikka-Rāya, is also known. The Ibām office copper-plates of Harihara II (dated in 1386 A.D.) refer to a grant by him to certain Vēdic scholars attached to the Srīngēri-matha, who were among the promoters of the commentaries on the four *Vēdas* connected with the name of Vidyāranya. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 54). He is also mentioned in certain lithic records as ruling over the Āraga kingdom between 1379-1381 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 31 and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 84). Nārāyana-Dēva-Odeyar and Vira-Channappa-Odeyar, sons of Mallinātha, brother of Harihara II, are also found mentioned in the records of his reign. Nārāyana-Dēva appears to have ruled over the Ummattur country. At least three copper-plate grants of his, dated in 1396 and 1397, are known. (*E.I.* VI, 327; *M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 52). He is mentioned also in a lithic record dated in 1400 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 97, in which his minister Chāma-Odeyar is mentioned as ruling the Arulahal kingdom). In a record dated in 1397 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narasipur 64), he is said to have visited the Marudvridhā (Kāvēri) and the Kapila and there made many gifts and established an *agrahāra*. He appears to have built another *agrahāra* at Kolattur near Channapatna and called it Pratāpa-Hariharapura and bestowed it on Brāhmins for the long life, health and wealth of his father (*i.e.*, uncle) Harihara II. (*Ibid*).

Vira-Channappa-Odeyar, brother of Nārāyana-Dēva-Odeyar, was the prince who re-took Adōni from the Muhammadans and presented it to Harihara II in 1380 A.D. (See above). One Bhōganātha-Dēva, described as a "son of Hariyappa-Odeyar-Dēva," is mentioned in an undated record which comes from Nanjangud. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 152). Who he was and whether he was connected with Harihara II is not clear. Mallinātha appears to have had another son, named Timmanna, who is referred to in a record dated in 1380 A.D. He is spoken of as a Mahāmandalēsvara. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 55).

Harihara, like his father, was a strict Saiva and a follower of Kriyāsakti. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 256). But he was like his father a most tolerant prince. His ministers came from the Brāhman and Jain communities. He is highly praised for his gifts to Brāhmins. "On his making the *hēmādri* gift to Brāhmins according to the rules, the gods," we are told, "forsook their pleasant abodes in paradise, and resorting to the *satrās* (alms-houses) of the *agrahāras* he established, dwelt unknown to him in their pictures on the walls." (*Ibid*). Apparently his munificence to the Brāhmins was untold gold and conveniences of boarding and lodging. He gave away the sixteen great gifts at various sacred places, and earned a reputation surpassed by few of his predecessors. The connection with the Sringēri-mattha appears to have been kept up during this reign. In an inscription dated in 1380 A.D., we see Channappa-Odeya, a nephew of Harihara II, who gallantly re-captured Adōni from the Muhammadans, making the grant, to ensure his own happiness, of an *agrahāra* to Vidyābhūshana-Dīkshita, son of Vēdamūr̥ti-Upādhyā and disciple of Vidyāranya. The latter was deeply learned in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*, the *Tantra*, *Tarka*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Kāvya*, *Purāna*, *Yagna-vidya* and the *Āgamas*. He re-named the village after

Religious
faith.

Vidyāranya and divided it among a number of Brāhmins. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43).

An inscription at Homma dated in *Saka* 1380 A.D. designates the village Sarvajna-Vishnupura, evidently so named after Sāyana-Mādhava's *guru* Sarvajna-Vishnu. (See *E.C.* IV, Chamarajnaragar 64 and *E.I.* III, 118). He was also the *guru* of his father Sāyana. From the Inām office copper-plates of Harihara II himself, we learn that he was the worshipper of the lotus-feet of Vidyātīrthēsa and that as he was a traveller in the path of *Dharma* and *Brahma* (Dharma-brahmādhvanyah), he had converted by his conduct *Kali* into *Krita-yuga*. He is spoken of as the "establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*." In 1386, the date of these plates, he granted in the presence of Vidyāranya certain lands or villages (the particular plate containing the grant part of the deed is missing) to certain scholars who are known to have helped the latter in the writing of his commentaries on the *Vēdas*. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 54). His son Chikka-Rāya is also said to have made a similar grant to the self-same scholars in 1381 A.D. (*Ibid*; and above). Chennubhatta, the author of *Tarkabhāsha-Vākhyā*, was also patronised by Harihara II. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 51). As stated before, Harihara appears to have visited the Mysore portion of his kingdom during his reign. To make the above grant, he probably visited Srīngēri in 1386 A.D., as the grant is said to have been made in the presence of Vidyāranya. There is evidence also that he visited Dōrasamudra at least twice in his reign—once in 1387 A.D. and again in 1392 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 154 and *Ibid* 1901, No. 151).

Harihara II,
as patron of
Kannada
learning.

Harihara II encouraged not only Sanskrit learning but also patronised Kannada. One record dated in 1386 A.D. speaks of him as *Karnātaka-vidyāvilāsa*, i.e., a cultivator of Karnātaka learning. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 34).

In his reign, there flourished in Mysore a poet named Narasimha, who composed the inscription registered as Malavalli 21 dated 1382. (*E.C.* III). He is spoken of as "a jewelled mirror to the face of good poets, of a voice like the roar of a lion; glorious as the rising moon." His minister Mudda-dandanātha was the patron of the poet Madhura, who was the author of the *Dharma-nāthapurāna*. Among other titles, this poet appears to have enjoyed the one *Madhura-Mādhava*, which indicates the excellence of his style. (See Narasimhachar, *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite*, New Edn. I, 426-33). There is hardly any doubt that in his reign a large number of Kannada poets flourished in the land and from their works, it might be inferred that both Jainism and Virasaivism claimed an equal number of adherents and popularisers in the language of the country. (See *Ibid* I, 426-447).

Penukonda, an important provincial capital, is spoken of in a record dated in 1403 A.D. as "the home of learning and wealth." (*E.C.* XII, Sira 95).

In this reign, there occurred, in the year 1390-1 A.D., one of the most devastating famines that Southern India probably ever experienced. Its severity, according to one record, dated in 1391 A.D., was so great that innumerable skulls were rolling about on the ground and paddy could not be had even at the rate of ten *nāli* per *panam*. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 54; No. 339 of 1906). The country affected most was the province in the charge of Virūpāksha II. The same famine is referred to by Ferishta who states that Sultān Mahmud of the Bāhmani kingdom, to mitigate its harms, engaged, on his own account, 10,000 bullocks constantly going to and from Mālwa and Guzerāt for grain, which was sold out to the people at a cheap rate. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 56).

Social conditions: a great famine in 1390 A.D.

Glimpses of rural life.

Occasional glimpses are also available as to the difficulties experienced by people in the rural tracts. A record, dated in 1384 A.D., refers to the breaching of a village tank near its sluice and the wail that there were no funds available to repair it. Lands under the tank went out of cultivation for a long time. The local temple authorities seeing the helplessness of the situation helped the villagers by selling a portion of the temple land and utilising the proceeds for repairing the breach in the tank. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Nos. 241 and 251 of 1906). Apparently the temple still continued to be the useful institution it was in the Chōla period.

Features of Local Taxation.

Taxation continued as of old. Taxes were, as ever before, many, though their incidence could not have been felt to be heavy. Thus in a record dated in 1396 A.D., we have the following taxes enumerated, besides the customs duties payable:—the artisan tax, loom tax, sale of branded cattle, marriage-tax, oil-mill tax, the *kudike* tax (tax on widow re-marriage), the furnace tax, the *savan-tike* and other taxes. (*E.C.* VII, Honnali 71). Some others are also mentioned in other records (for example, *E.C.* IV, Krishnarajapete 21 and 22 dated in 1402 A.D.):—Sugar-cane mill tax, goat tax, egg duties, baking tax, and the cooking tax. When grants of villages were made, the right to collect these taxes was made over to the grantees and they were to collect and meet the expenditure on the gods specified in them. (*Ibid.*) This was exactly what was in vogue in the previous periods of history and the changes in dynasties did not affect the ancient usages in these respects. Those who founded markets and fairs appear to have been allowed certain perquisites. Village dues, etc., were also conferred on private individuals as a sign of royal favour. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 76 dated in 1379 A.D.).

Evidence of interest shown by princes and princesses in providing facilities for improved supplies of potable water is not lacking. Thus in a record dated in 1388 A.D., when Bukka II was still a governor under his father and resident in Penukonda city, he provided for the supply of water from the Honne river to Penukonda. "In order that all the subjects might be in happiness, water being the life of all living beings," he gave an order in open court, it is said, to an eminent scientist and hydraulic engineer (*jala-sūtra*), one Singaya-bhatta, apparently a Brāhman, that he must bring the Honne river to Penukonda. Singaya-bhatta dug a tank, giving it the name of Pratāpa-Bukka-Rāyamandala channel, and conducted it to a tank, from which the supply to the city was obtained. This Singaya is highly praised in the records as an expert in the science of hydraulics, in divination, in alchemy, in speaking the truth (*E.C. X, Goribidnur 6*). In another epigraph dated in 1397 A.D., which also falls in the reign of Harihara II, we hear of Jommadēvi, grand-daughter of Bukka I (being the daughter of his daughter Virūpā-Dēvi) directing her minister to make a channel. He carried out the order as desired. A curious condition was laid on the contractors. If the water did not flow in the channel from where it started to Immadiyūru, apparently called after Immadi-Bukka II, where the tank was which had to be filled in by the supply, for the water being drawn from it, the contractors were to return the cash payment (130 *gadyāna*), the land allotted to them at the sluice of the tank, a horse and bracelets. Luckily the water flowed into the channel and there was no need to enforce the condition on them. (*E.C. X, Bagepalli 10*).

Improving
amenities of
life.

Besides "the great royal city of Vijayanagar," (*E.C. Chief towns
IV, Yedatore 46*), Dōrasamudra and Penukonda, the
of the
reign.

kingdom boasted of other towns like Udayagiri, Bankāpūr, etc. Kānchi is spoken of as a "suburb" of Vijayanagar, as it was a provincial capital, from where a prince of the royal family governed. A lithic record found at Mamballi, Yelandur Jāghīr, shows that it was known as Harihararāya-pattana after Harihara II. The epigraph mentions him and it belongs to about 1380 A.D. It records the remission of certain taxes to all the *nānā dēsis* (i.e., merchants) of Mamballi during his reign. Apparently it was an important mercantile centre during the period.

Modes of Warfare.

The period was one of incessant warfare and there were apparently developed many different kinds of fighting, especially when men engaged in single combat. A record *Virakal*—dated in 1403 A.D., which falls in this reign, mentions one of these, which is of some curious interest. The Mahānāyakāchārya—evidently the local commandant—having a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and the right foot in the *Sāmbrāni* fashion, one Chennappa fighting against Chanda-bova, in front of his master, in a battle at Nāgārjunakōte, died and went to the feet of the gods in the world of gods. Several persons joined and set up a *vira-stambha* in his name. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 42). The mode of warfare referred to here (in the phrase *Yedada-kāla chāchi balada-kāla sāmbrāni-rana*) seems to have been an unusual one and as such appears to have excited considerable admiration.

Death of Harihara II, 1404 A.D.

Harihara II died on the 30th August 1404 A.D. (see above) and his virtues, it is said in one record, dated in 1403 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 95), are sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pātāla, listening to which the serpents there are filled with delight. It adds that his fame was like an awning in the celestial abode (*svarga*). This inscription, which was composed a year

before Harihara's death, is significant as showing the great popularity that Harihara II, as the consolidator of the kingdom, enjoyed among his subjects. His many records show him as a vigilant sovereign and a wise administrator possessed of an active mind and of even more active habits. By the might of his arms, he put down insurrections and revolts, and kept the Muhammadans out from his kingdom, though they appear to have repeatedly given him trouble. As a donor of gifts to Brāhmins, he is spoken of highly; indeed one record styles him "the perfect donor." (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 34 dated in 1382 A.D.). He was the donor among others of the grants mentioned in the Hebbasuru copper-plates dated in 1376 A.D., the Agrahāra-Bachipalli plates dated in 1377 A.D., and the Ghattadahalli copper-plates dated in 1385 A.D. Other copper-plate grants of Harihara II come from the *Sringēri matha*. One dated in Saka 1306, Raktākshi year (or A.D. 1384), records a grant in favour of two disciples of Vidyāranya. The second one dated in Saka 1309, year Kshaya (1386 A.D.), records the grant, on the occasion of the death of Vidyāranya who died in that year, of a village named after him in the Āraga Province. The third dated in Saka 1318, year Dhātri, (A.D. 1397), records the grant of another village in the same province, to one Mādhavēndra of the Kausika-gōtra. The Gubbi plates, dated in Saka 1200, cyclic year Siddhārti, and attributed to him are palpably spurious. (See *M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 89). Another copper-plate grant which comes from the same place dated in Saka 1332, cyclic year Durmati, of which the Saka and cyclic years do not agree, does not add to our information, except the fact that Gubbi (Hole-Narsipur Taluk) was called Bukkarājēsvarapura and that the god Bukkarājēsvara was set up by Harihara, apparently in the name of his father. The intended date of the former is probably Saka 1302 (A.D. 1379) and of the latter 1304 (or A.D. 1381). He is repeatedly said to

have bestowed the sixteen great gifts and to have "filled the wise with wealth." Apparently his generosity earned for him a great reputation. (See *E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 134, dated 1397 A.D.). He appears to have encouraged Sānskrit and Kannada learning in a manner which seems to have endeared him to the generality of his people. No wonder he is praised as a "head-jewel of kings." (*E.C.* IV, Chamaraajagar 64).

Bukka Rāya
II and
Virūpāksha
II, A.D. 1404.
Dispute as to
succession.

On the death of Harihara II, there appears to have been a dispute as to the succession to the throne. (*E.I.* XII, 162; and *E.I.* XV, 14; *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 46). Bukka II, as the eldest son, succeeded to the throne, but he was apparently deposed by Virūpāksha II, his step-brother. Eventually, however, Bukka II seems to have got back the kingdom. His reign, however, proved a brief one, of little more than a year. His brother Dēva-Rāya, the eldest of the sons by Malla-Dēvi, seems to have succeeded him, Virūpāksha returning to his Viceroyalty of the Āraga province. The course of events that brought these revolutions is not clear from the inscriptional records. But there is some literary evidence which appears to throw a dim light on this obscure point. How Virūpāksha tried to get the better of his brother Bukka II and how he put to death all the competitors to the throne is told at length in the *Prapannāmrita* (Chapters 23 to 26), a Srīvaishnava work, which details the family history of the Tātāchāryas, the *gurus* of the kings of the Third Vijayanagar dynasty. It would appear from this work that Virūpāksha succeeded to the throne but his relations, envious of his success, attempted to assassinate him. He, however, managed to escape to the adjacent country and returning one night to Vijayanagar, with a large body of soldiers, killed the whole lot of them in their beds. Thus murdered, they all turned *pisāchas* (ghosts) and began to haunt the palace in which they had lived. Virūpāksha,

compelled to desert his palace, built another for himself, while the ghosts continued their existence in the old one, holding nightly *durbars* in it with brilliant lights and dances. At length, a couple of brothers—Brāhmins—who were descended from the close relations of Rāmānuja, the Vaishnava reformer, arrived on a visit to the capital, where, mistaking the palace where the ghosts held *durbars* for the king's real palace, entered it. Being well received, they eventually obtained absolution for the ghosts from their intolerable existence by the continued recital to them of the *Rāmāyana*, in which they were experts. (*E.I.* XII, 162 *et seq.*) This story would suggest that Virūpāksha, thus getting rid of his rivals, ruled the kingdom as supreme sovereign.

The above story appears to be a highly exaggerated version of what actually occurred. The inscriptional records relating to Bukka II, Virūpāksha II and Dēva-Rāya I in the period immediately following the death of Hariharā II, tell a tale wholly different from that narrated in the *Prapannāmrīta*. The more relevant of these records may be exhibited in one conspectus in the manner shown below :—

*Prapanna-
mrīta* story
examined.

It might be useful to add here that the story told by Virūpāksha in the *Prapannāmrītam* relates to Virūpāksha II (son of Hariharā II) and not to Virūpāksha III (son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Siddhālā-Dēvi) as mentioned in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Introd. 6. Mr. Gopinātha Rao, who also refers to the story, has correctly connected it with Virūpāksha II and not with Virūpāksha III. (*E.I.* XII, 162; XV, 14). The Editor of the *Sources* does not apparently count Virupanna or Virūpāksha, the son of Bukka Rāya I, and calls Virupanna or Virūpāksha II, son of Harihar II, as Virūpāksha I and Virūpāksha, the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Siddhālā-Dēvi, as Virūpāksha II. According to the Pedigree printed in this work, all the three princes of this name are taken note of and are styled Virūpāksha I, Virūpāksha II and Virūpāksha III respectively.

Inscriptional record	Saka Date	Equivalent A.D.
(1) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 11.	Saka 1326, Tārana year current, Kārtika Suddha 1, Wednesday.	1404 A.D.
(2) E.C. VI, Koppa 25 ... (Hale-Muttur copper-plates).	Saka 1326, Tārana year, Māsi Kārtika Purnima.	1404 A.D.
(3) M.A.R. 1937-08, Para 58 (General and Revenue Secretariat Plates of Bukka II).	Saka 1326, Tārana ...	1404 A.D.
(4) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 18.	Saka 1326, Tārana year, Kārtika - Babula 9, Monday.	1404 A.D.
(5) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 196.	Saka 1327, Tārana Mārgasira Bahula 13.	1404 A.D.
(6) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 23.	Saka 1327, Pārthiva year	1405 A.D.
(7) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 12.	Saka 1327, Pārthiva year, Srāvana Sudda 1.	1405 A.D.
(8) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 126.	Saka 1328, Pārthiva, Bhādrapada Ba.	1405 A.D.
(9) E.C. III, Mandya 23 ...	Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Jyeshtha Su. 5, Thursday.	1404 A.D.
(10) E.C. V, Hassan 133, (Handinakere Copper-plates).	Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Kārtika Krishnapaksha 10, Friday.	(5th Nov.) 1406 A.D.
(11) E.C. IX, Devanhalli 82 ...	Saka 1329 (Kaliyuga 4509), Sarvajit, Vaisākha Ba. 30, Sūryagrahana.	1407 A.D.
(12) E.C. X, Kolar 240 ...	Saka 1329 (a mistake for 1329), Cyclic year Sarvajit, Ādimadham).	1407 A.D.
(13) E.C. V, Hassan 18 ...	Saka 1333, Durmukhi year, Pushya.	1417 A.D.

Gist of the record	Remarks
<p>Bukka II was ruling in Vijayanagar protecting the <i>Varnāśramadharmas</i>. Bukka described as "Bukka-Rāya-Mahārāya." He makes the grant of Hale-muttur village by the banks of the Tungga in the Bellarāsthala of Karakala in the Araga kingdom.</p>	<p>This grant was made within fifteen days of assumption of royal authority—as per No. 1 above.</p>
<p>Grant by Bukka II of the village Nonavara <i>alias</i> Bnkarayapatna, in Humbaksthala in Maduvanhanādu, Araga, to Brāhmins. Virūpāksha II described as Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya and spoken of as in Vijayanagar protecting the <i>Varnāśramadharmas</i> and ruling over the empire in peace.</p>	<p>This record is dated 24 days after No. 1 above. It shows Virūpāksha had also proclaimed himself king within less than month of Bukka II proclaiming himself as king.</p>
<p>Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya was in the city of Vijayanagar protecting all the <i>Varnāśramadharmas</i> and ruling the earth.</p>	<p>This record is dated 1 month and 4 days after 8 above.</p>
<p>Mahārāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya was in Vijayanagar protecting the whole empire in peace and wisdom.</p>	
<p>Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Bukka Mahārāya was in Vijayanagar ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.</p>	<p>This is exactly 10 months from the assumption of sovereignty by Bukka II.</p>
<p>Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Bukka Mahārāya was in the city of Vijayanagar protecting the <i>Varnāśramadharmas</i> and ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.</p>	<p>This is about 1 month and 16 days after No. 6 above.</p>
<p>Bukka II was ruling the kingdom of the world.</p>	<p>This is dated 7 months after No. 7 above.</p>
<p>Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya Sri Virūpāksha gifted on the occasion of his coronation Handinakere village to Brāhmins.</p>	<p>The village granted is called <i>Coronation agrahāra</i> in the Kannada part of the grant. It was renamed Dēvarāyapura.</p>
<p>When Mahāmandalēsvara Virapratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, as master of four oceans, was seated on the throne ruling a secure kingdom, a grant was made at the time of the solar eclipse.</p>	<p>This grant was made a year after No. 8 above.</p>
<p>When Bukka Mahārāja-Udaiyar, son of Harihara II, was ruling the earth, a private grant was made.</p>	<p>As corrected, this grant should have been made three months after No. 10 above.</p>
<p>Mahārājādhirāja Bukka Mahārāya made a grant to god Mangala.</p>	<p>This grant having been made in 1417 A.D., Bukka II should have been alive and not dead, as the grant is said to have been made by him.</p>

From a consideration of the above records, it seems to follow that an attempt was made by the three brothers, Bukka II, Virūpāksha II and Dēva-Rāya I to ascend the throne on the death of Haribara II. If there was a revolution, the succession of kings was probably as follows:—Bukka II, Virūpāksha II, Bukka II once again, and then Dēva-Rāya I. That at any rate is what may be gleaned from the above tabulated records. All the three appear to have been at Vijayanagar at the time of their father's death and each appears to have styled himself king, though Bukka II, as co-regent, had earlier, during the life-time of his father, publicly used the imperial titles since 1330 A.D. (See *ante*). That he lived down to at least 1417 A.D. is clear from Hassan 18 which is dated in that year. The suggestion of Mr. Gopinatha Rao that his reign "did not last long," and that "he must have died a little before, or on the Friday, which was also the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika in the year Vyaya, Saka 1328" is therefore baseless. (*E.I.* XV, 14). He also quotes *E.C.* III, Malavalli 19 to testify to the restoration to sovereignty of Bukka II some days before Srāvana Su. 1, Pārthiva, Saka 1327. Malavalli 19 mentions no Saka date and does not mention Bukka II; it gives the date as Pārthiva year, Bhādrapada Ba. 7 So, (*i.e.*, Sōmavāra.). This date Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Kārtika month, Krishnapaksha 10th *tithi*, Friday, is the date of the coronation of Dēva-Rāya I as given in Hassan 133 (see above), but that date cannot be held—in the face of Hassan 18—to settle the date of the death of Bukka II. Nor is Mr. Rice's suggestion that "Bukka's reign was a very short one, of little more than a year," nearer the mark. Bukka II lived for over a decade after Dēva-Rāya's coronation and apparently was ruling—judging from the imperial titles given to him in Hassan 18—more or less independently of his brother Dēva-Rāya I, the ruling sovereign. Though

he appears to have stayed at Vijayanagar for 2 or 3 years from 1404 to 1407, he did not succeed in his attempt at becoming king. Then, as regards Virūpāksha II, he appears to have assumed the royal titles after his arrival at Vijayanagar on his father's death. He seems to have used them between 1404 and 1405 A.D. during which period Bukka II also used them. (See table above). In his Soraikkāvūr plates, dated in 1387 A.D., when his father was still alive, he styles himself "Śrīmān-Mahāmandalēsvara," *i.e.*, as merely a governor, when about the same time we find Bukka II appearing in his public records with the full imperial titles. In his Ālampūdi grant, dated in 1385 A.D., Virūpāksha II, appears similarly as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara*. He is spoken of in the Soraikkāvūr plates as the lord of Tundira, Chōla and Pāndya countries; as having weighed himself against gold at Rāmēsvaram; made gifts of a thousand cows and as the establisher of the *Vēda-mārga*. He is also said to have gilded the *Vimāna* of the temples at Srirangam and Chidambaram. From the Ālampūdi grant, it is learnt he conquered Ceylon as well, probably its northern part, including Jaffna. (See above). All these conquests of his are mentioned by him in a literary work of his referred to below. In this, he is further said to have made the *Shōdasha mahādānas* or the sixteen great gifts, and as one who revelled in all kinds of knowledge. From this work it is inferable that Virūpāksha II should have been a Sanskrit scholar of some note. The work in question is a drama in five acts called *Nārāyanīvilāsa*, which should have been written by him after his conquests which are mentioned in it. (See S. Seshagiri Sastri, *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Mss.* (1898) No. I. 6). How long after, it is not possible to determine. As no inscriptions of his dated after 1405 A.D. have so far been discovered, it might be inferred that he died sometime after that year. As his inscriptions

dated in the years 1404-1405 A.D. all come from the Araga country in the Shimoga District, it is possible that his last titular charge after he left Vijayanagar was the Viceroyalty of that province. The regal titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara* which appear in them show that he should have assumed them as sovereign of the empire to which he laid claim on the death of his father. That he could not have been anything more than a mere candidate for the sovereignty just like his other brother Bukka II is clear from the mention of Dēva-Rāya's *Coronation* as sovereign in 1406 A.D., in Hassan 133, whereas the *Coronations* of these two brothers, who also laid claim to the position, are nowhere mentioned. If they had, as a matter of fact, succeeded to the throne, the fact would have oozed out in the inscriptions of Bukka II and Virūpāksha II. At the same time, there is little doubt that both these brothers should have had adherents enough at the capital city and in the Empire to champion their causes and that they pretended successfully for a time they were sovereigns, *de facto* if not *de jure*, may also be conceded. Hence it is that in the inscriptions of the period, each is described as the ruling sovereign at Vijayanagar and as in possession of a secure kingdom. That the death of Virūpāksha II about 1405-1406 A.D. made it easier for Dēva-Rāya, as the eldest son by Mallā-Dēvi, to succeed to the throne as against his half-brother Bukka II, son of Pampā-Dēvi, who eventually had to yield to him, is also inferable from the quiet manner in which Bukka II settled down to rule over a part of the kingdom, more or less independently for nearly ten years after his supercession. The story of the "bloody" revolution detailed in the *Prapannāmrīta* in which, according to it, Virūpāksha put to death all his relations and succeeded to the throne of his father, seems, accordingly, a picture greatly overdrawn. For one thing, none of the brothers appears to

have suffered as the result of the dispute as to the succession. There is no whisper in any of the many inscriptions dated between 1404-1407 A.D. of a fratricidal fight for the throne. The dispute did not apparently end in any civil commotion or war, much less a "bloody" fight ending in the extirpation of all the opponents of Virūpāksha II as depicted in the *Prapannāmrita*. The story as told in it was intended more probably to enhance the service rendered by the Tātāchārya family and the efficacy of the *Rāmāyana* as a work of religious merit and the greatness of the two brothers who repeated it to exorcise the ghosts in possession of the Royal Palace than record sober history. Indeed, the original Tātāchārya (his real name was Srisailapūrna), who was the maternal uncle of Rāmānuja, is said in a memorial verse (*taniyam*, in Tamil) to have explained the *Rāmāyana* in twenty-four different ways to Rāmānuja.

According to Nuniz, the Portuguese Chronicler, Harihara II was succeeded by his son "Ajarao," which name no doubt is a shortened form of *Virūpāksha-rāya* pronounced commonly *Virūpāchirāya*; *cha* and *ja* being interchangeable, the name would become *Virūpāja-rāo*, which would in turn become *Ajarāo*. Nuniz says he inherited "the kingdom on his father's death" and that "he reigned forty-three years, in which time he was always at war with the Moors." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 301). Though the duration of rule mentioned for him by Nuniz is plainly wrong—even counting Virūpāksha's rule as governor of the Tondaimandalam, Chōla and Pāndya countries, which may be set down to Circa 1380 A.D.—there can be no doubt that by "Ajarao" he means "Virūpāksha-Rāya" II. For he sets down to "Ajarao's" credit, the conquest of Goa and Chaul and Dabull and Ceilla (*i.e.*, Ceylon) and all the country of Charawandell (*i.e.*, the countries forming the

Nuniz's
Ajarao
identical with
Virūpāksha
II.

Chōlamandalam in its most glorious period, which included the Tondaimandalam, Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms)". Of the "Charamandell," he states that it "had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom." We know from other sources (see above) that Harihara had to re-conquer the country and that Virūpāksha II re-took the provinces of Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya. Nuniz's reference to the capture of Goa, Chaul and Dabull should be taken to refer to the conquests effected by Harihara II through his generals as has been referred to above. Virūpāksha II is further credited by Nuniz with the doing of "many other things" which are not recorded by him in his chronicle. In view of the fact that Nuniz's account of Virūpāksha's doings is confirmed by contemporary inscriptions, there can be no justification for the suggestion of Mr. Sewell that by "Ajarao" Nuniz "means two kings, Bukka II and his successor Dēva-Rāya I," though he himself has to admit that "the period covered by their combined reigns was only fourteen (? seventeen) years and not forty-three." (*Ibid.*, 51). Nuniz assigns to Virūpāksha the improvements of Vijayanagar City and its fortifications. He writes :—

"This king made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagumdyam (Anegondi) which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the king desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself by great boulders; and according to story he threw in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the king's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there are many in the

kingdom ; and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city that it increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*. By means of this water, they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river they say the King spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money."

This description shows that Virūpāksha should have extended that city and added to it further lines of fortification, protecting it by additional walls and towers. But his greatest work of public utility was the construction, doubtless, of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river, and the formation of an aqueduct fifteen miles long from the river to the city. Mr. Sewell identifies the channel with the one which to-day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city and calls it "a most extraordinary work." "For several miles," he says, "this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India." (*Ibid*, 51-52). No wonder, it emptied the treasury which Harihara II had left behind him. There is, however, some doubt whether these improvement works were carried out by Virūpāksha II or Dēva-Rāya I. While Nuniz sets them down to "Ajarao" in the earlier part of his narrative, (*Ibid* 301), at its end (*Ibid*, 302) he states that "this king" who was responsible for these public works "left a son at his death called Visarao," who has been correctly identified with Vijaya-Rāya, the son of Dēva-Rāya I, who, as Nuniz states, succeeded his father and ruled for six years. These latter details make it doubtful if Virūpāksha II was at all responsible for these works. The duration

of his stay at and rule from Vijayanagar was far too short for such public works, involving perhaps many years of labour.

Dēva-Rāya I,
1406-1422
A.D.

Dēva-Rāya I, as we have seen, ascended the throne on Friday 5th November 1406 A.D. and ruled up to 1422 A.D. (See above; *M.E.R.* 1906, Appendix B. No. 345; also Kiēlhorn's *Southern List*, No. 480). Up to his coronation, he appears to have been in charge of the Sira province, which probably included Mulbagal also. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 1406). This record is dated in Saka 1323, Vyaya year, Asvija *Su.* 10, Thursday. As Hassan 133 gives us the date of his coronation as Saka 1323, Vyaya year, Kārtika, Krishnapaksha, Dasami, Friday, it is evident that he was in charge of Sira up to 45 days from the date on which he was crowned. What contributed to his crowning in preference to his two brothers is not clear from the available records. His previous charge of Sira, however, would indicate that he had been treated as the crown-prince in his father's days, though Bukka II had also been in Mulbagal as Viceroy from 1388-1397 (Bagepalli 17 and Mulbagal 74). That his eventual occupation of the throne was not left undisputed is proved by the attempt made on his life after his coronation (see below). He had the alternative names of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Praudha-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 49 and 74 dated in 1429 and 1412 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Chintamani 39 dated in 1407; and *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 83 dated in 1415). His inscriptions, like those of his predecessors, have been found in every district of the present State of Mysore.

War against
the Bāhmani
Sultān,
Firuz Sbāh,
1406 A.D.

Almost immediately on his coming to the throne, if Ferishta may be believed, war broke out with the Bāhmani kingdom. The story of this war fills many pages of that great historian, though there is only the

barest indication of it in the inscriptional records of this king, which generally represent him as ruling a secure and peaceful kingdom. The circumstances which brought it about are thus detailed by Ferishta:—

“There resided in the town of Mudkal a farmer, who was blessed with a daughter of such exquisite beauty (called Portal) that the Creator seemed to have united all his powers in making her perfect. Hearing of her beauty and accomplishments, Dēva-Rāja resolved to marry her, and sent valuable presents to her and her parents by a Brāhman. The parents were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune, and displaying the rich gifts before the girl, showered on her their congratulations. But the beautiful virgin, to their great astonishment, refused to receive the gifts, and observed that “whoever entered the harem of Beejanuggur was afterwards not permitted to see her nearest relations and friends; and though they might be happy to sell her for worldly riches, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to eternal absence from them even for all the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur.” This declaration was accompanied with affectionate tears which melted her parents; who, rather than use force, dismissed the Brāhman with all his gifts, and he returned, chagrined and disappointed, to Beejanuggur.”

The royal lover now became mad for the possession of the girl, and resolved to obtain her by force. On the plea of making a tour, he went towards the Tungabhadra, and suddenly crossing it with a select body of troops, he hastened by forced marches to Mudkal. In the excess of his passion, he had omitted to let the parents of the girl know the object of the expedition. They, therefore, in common with all the country, fled on the approach of the army to the most distant parts for shelter. Foiled in their object, the troops returned in disgust, and committed depredations in the country through which they passed. Firūz Shāh resolved to be revenged for this inroad on his territories. Unable to effect anything against the Rāja's capital, he laid waste all the adjacent country, and

the hostile camps remained in each other's presence for several months. A hostile demonstration was made against Bankāpūr, which surrendered, though an attempt on Adōni, "the strongest possession of the enemy" was foiled apparently by the Hindu Governor in charge of it. At last, a humiliating treaty had to be concluded by Dēva-Rāya, by which he was to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultān, cede the fort of Bankāpur and pay a large sum of money as indemnity.

"Preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties. For forty days communication was open between the city and the Sultan's camp. Both sides of the road were lined with shops and booths, in which the jugglers, drolls, dancers and mimes of Karnātaka displayed their feats and skill to amuse passengers."

The bridegroom sent valuable presents to Vijayanagar, from which, after the expiration of seven days, the bride was brought forth with a rich portion and offerings from the Rāja, to the Sultān's camp. What followed is thus described by Ferishta :—

"Dewul Roy having expressed a strong desire to see the Sultan, Firoz Shah, with great gallantry, agreed to visit him with his bride, as his father-in-law. A day being fixed, he with the bride proceeded to Beejanuggur. On the way he was met by Dewul Roy in great pomp. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced, and then threw them to be gathered by the populace. After this, the inhabitants of the city made offerings, both men and women, according to their rank. After passing through a square directly in the centre of the city, the relations of Dewul Roy, who had lined the streets in crowds, made their obeisance and offerings, and joined the cavalcade on foot, marching before the princes. Upon their arrival

at the palace gate, the Sultan and Roy dismounted from their horses and ascended a splendid palanquin, set with valuable jewels, in which they were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom; when Dewul Roy took his leave, and retired to his own palace. The Sultan, after being treated with royal magnificence for three days, took his leave of the Roy, who pressed upon him richer presents than before given, and attended him four miles on his way, when he returned to the city. Sultan Firuz Shah was enraged at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzzul his Commander Oollah that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This declaration being told to Dewul Roy, he made some insolent remarks, so that, notwithstanding the connection of family, their hatred was not calmed."

The girl who had been the innocent cause of the war was sent for and married to the Sultān's eldest son Hassankhān, who proved an impotent and pleasure-loving youth, and was later blinded and ended his days at Fīrūzābād. (Briggs II, 382-86, Scott I, 85-86).

In 1417 there was war again, in which Dēva-Rāya inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sultān. The Muhammadans besieged for two years Pangul, 70 miles north-east of Adōni, but they were eventually obliged to raise it by the breaking out of a pestilence among Fīrūz's men and horses. Many of his nobility deserted the camp and fled to their *jāhgīrs*. Dēva-Rāya now saw his opportunity and helped by the Rāja of Warrangal marched against the Sultān with a vast host of horse and foot. A great slaughter of the Muhammadans followed, and the dominions of Bijāpur were laid waste with all the treasured resentment of many years. These reverses killed Fīrūz Shāh. He died in 1422 A.D. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 95). Āhmed Shāh, his successor, resolved to take revenge on the Hindus, who had now been driven

War renewed,
1417 A.D.=
1419 A.D.

back. He desolated the possessions of Vijayanagar, slaughtering women and children without mercy. Whenever the number of slain came to twenty thousand, he halted for three days and made a feast. The Hindus, in desperation, formed a plot against him, from which he escaped by a hair's-breadth. Terms were then agreed to, and he retired to his own country, the capital of which he shortly removed from Kulbarga to Bidar, a hundred miles to the north. This part of the war, however, actually falls into the reign of Vijaya Rāya, the next king, where it will be further referred to. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 66-70).

Date of the
War.

Mr. Sewell, believing that Dēva-Rāya I lived only till 1412 A.D., has set down the above war to Dēva-kāya II. This, however, is a mistake, as it is now definitely ascertained that Dēva-Rāya I lived up to *Saka* 1344, Cyclic year Sārvari or A.D. 1422. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 80 and *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 24). These two wars are but slightly reflected in the many inscriptions of Dēva-Rāya I. If one record, which contains a panegyric of his reign, can be believed (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23, dated in 1410 A.D., four years after the first war), it would seem as though he had never suffered any defeat at all. "When he went forth to war," it says, "the dust raised by the hard hoofs of his troops of horse produced, like the great serpent, an eclipse of the sun, while his enemies bathed in the river of blood drawn forth by the clouds of his arrows went to *mukti* (i.e., absolution)." If this inscription and the Parachur grant referred to below may be taken as testifying to the truth, the treaty of peace, involving the humiliation of a marriage alliance with Firūz, seems an overdrawn picture. Nor was there any need for such a treaty, for Adōni was not captured by the enemy, who had been, even according to Ferishta, beaten off from

the fort walls, Fīrūz himself being badly wounded by an arrow. Moreover, Dēva-Rāya appears to have had only one daughter, whose husband Dēvarasa is referred to in a record dated in 1436 A.D. (*E.C. IV*, Chamarajanagar 22). That being so, the story of his giving away his daughter to Fīrūz seems unfounded, at any rate not substantiated from the inscriptional records so far discovered of his reign.

Either in the first war of 1406 or the second one of 1417, or in both, prince Rāmachandra-Odeya, a son of Dēva-Rāya I, entitled Yuvarāja in the Parachur grant of Dēva-Rāya I, greatly distinguished himself. It is said of Rāmachandra in this grant that "he subjugated (hostile) kings, was the lord of Udayādri (Udayagiri) City (and) by his skill vanquished the Mussalman king," probably Fīrūz Shāh Bāhmani. (*Nellore Inscriptions I*, Copper-plate No. 1). It should be noted that the date of the grant which yields this information is Saka 1312, or A.D. 1390-1391, which evidently is the date of the original grant made by Dēva-Rāya I, which was subsequently confirmed by his son Rāmachandra-Odeya. This confirmation should have taken place long after the original grant. (See also *Ibid I*, 1 and III, Appendix I, 1469).

Part played
by Rāma-
chandra-
Odeya, son of
Dēva-Rāya.

Apparently in the early part of his reign, a dastardly attempt was made on Dēva-Rāya's life. Details are lacking though the lithic record which mentions the quelling of the plot states that it was organized by "some ungrateful wretches who besieged the main entrance (into the palace) of the glorious and powerful Dēva-Rāya with sharp swords (in hand)." The minister who found out the plot and suppressed it was one Lakshmana or Lakshmīdhara, who is said to have set up the image of Ganapati "in a natural cavern on the southern side of

Attempt on
Dēva-Rāya's
life.

the Mālyavat hill which was situated to the east of the Pampā-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampe)." The lithic record which supplies this information is now set up in one of the *man-tapas* on the road between Krishnāpura and Hampe. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 245, *f.n.* 6 and authorities quoted therein; Inscription No. 38 of 1888-1889, mentioned therein, however, furnishes no particulars). Lakshmana, who thus heroically saved the king, was a nephew of Mādhaba, who subsequently became famous as Vidyāranya. (See above). He is described as one of the five sons of Singale, a sister of Mādarasa and Sāyana, "the first minister in this (*i.e.*, Dēva-Rāya's) family." There can be little doubt, as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that the reference here is to the famous Vēdic scholars Māyana-Mādhaba and his brother Sāyana, author of *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi* and other works. Apparently they had a sister of the name of Singale, whose son was Lakshmana, the saviour of Dēva-Rāya's life. The name "Mādarasa" doubtless suggests the Saiva teacher Chāunda-Mādhaba, who, as we have seen, was also known and referred to in certain inscriptions as Mādarasa-Odeya. But the mention of Sāyana's name seems, however, to indicate that the person referred to is Māyana-Mādhaba. The "ungrateful wretches" who tried to assassinate the king may have been the adherents of the two other competitors to the throne, Virūpāksha II and Bukka II, who, as we have seen, were both living at the time.

Construction
of a dam across
the Haridra at
Harihar, 1410
and 1424 A.D.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya I, a dam across the Haridra at Harihar was under his orders put up by a Brāhman named Bullappa, son of Jagannātha, in 1410 A.D. As the Brāhmans and the temple of Harihara were benefited by it, the former compensated him with the grant of a piece of rice-land from the one-third portion to be irrigated by it which had been made over to them under the orders of Nāgappa (or Nāganna-

dannāyaka), the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya. Bullappa himself is described as a minister, while his father Jaggannātha is also so spoken of. Apparently they were in immediate charge of the country round Harihar. It was decreed at the time of the grant that the cost of the annual repairs to the dam should be borne by the temple and the Brāhmins attached to it in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third as they had been allotted the lands under it in that proportion. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23 and 29). The dam, however, burst in 1424 A.D., two years after Dēva-Rāya's death. Nāganna-Dannāyaka, then minister under Dēva-Rāya II, and both the temple and its attendant Brāhmins were in great distress. Ballarasa prevailed on Chāma-nripāla, son of Rōppa-Dēva, Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, to rebuild it. Generous man that he was, he handed in the requisite money to Ballarasa, saying, "You have the dam built in my stead." Chāma-nripāla is praised, as he deserved to be, in the record and is styled "gandaragūli." He is incidentally said to have been a generous man, fierce in war, skilled in the four modes of policy, fond of singing and as a protector of right (*dharma*). Ballarasa, who got him to undertake the restoration, is, in this record, described, as a Brāhmin of the Kamme-kula and as a skilful engineer, who with "energy" built the dam and "led from it the shining channel." (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 29).

Among his ministers was Nāgappa-Dannāyaka, who is described in a record from Domlur dated in 1409 A.D. as his right hand. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 115). From certain other records dated in 1410 and 1424 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23 and 29), he appears to have been the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya I, and after him of his grandson Dēva-Rāya II. He assisted in the coronation of Dēva-Rāya I. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 345).

Generals and
ministers.

In the year of the coronation and probably in honour of it, Nāgappa made a grant, under the orders of Dēva-Rāya I, to the temple of Talakantadēvi, at Dānavalapādu in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B. No. 345). In a record dated in 1416 A.D., he appears to have been raised to the position of *Mahāpradhāna* (or Chief Minister) and to be administering *Muluvāyi-rājya*. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 7). Another was *Bomme-Dannāyaka* mentioned in a record dated in 1407 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 95). A third was *Antappa-Dannāyaka*, who may be the *Anantaratsa-Odeya* who was minister of Bukka I and who built the fortifications of Penukonda. The great minister *Iranna-Dannāyaka*, was in 1415 A.D. in authority near *Bannurghatta*, modern *Bannerghatta* near Bangalore. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 85). *Narasimhadēva-Odeya* was minister of the Penukonda province during this reign. An epigraph dated in 1409 A.D. credits him with the putting up of a new sluice to the west of the *Hampasamudra* tank. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 107). *Gōpanna* or *Gōpa-Chamūpa* was the Governor of *Nidugal-durga*. According to an inscription found on this hill, it is stated that *Gōpanna* built its fortifications. (See *E.C.* XI, *Hiriyur* 28 dated in 1410 A.D.; also *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 107). *Hirana-Dannāyaka-Odeyar*, described as a minister of *Dēva-Rāya I*, seems to have been in charge of the country round *Yalahanka-nād* in or about 1410 A.D. He granted *Dēvarāyasamudra*, named after the sovereign, for use in connection with what seems a *Pātasāle* or school. (*E.C.* IX, *Devanhalli* 12). *Vittanna-Odeyar* was the administrator of the *Āraga* kingdom. (*E.C.* VIII, *Shimoga* 70, dated in 1409 A.D. VI; *Mudgere* 85, dated in 1410 A.D.). He is described as the son of *Rājanna-Odeya*. (*E.C.* VIII, *Tirthahalli* 190, dated in 1407 A.D.). He was a *Brahma-Kshatriya*. (*Ibid.*, *Tirthahalli* 205 dated in 1410 A.D.; 144 dated in 1421 A.D.). His charge included *Āraga*, *Gutti* (*Chandragutti*), *Bāraikalūr*, and *Mangalūr*, in fact

what is called the Karnātaka country as far as the Western Ocean. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 33 dated in 1408). Over him apparently as Viceroy was Bhāskara-Odeya, one of the sons of Dēva-Rāya, for it is stated in the last record mentioned that Vittanna was governing under his orders. Vittanna appears to have administered Āraga when Virūpāksha II and Bukka II occupied the throne for a while before Dēva-Rāya I ascended it. Another minister of Dēva-Rāya I was Lakshmana or Lakshmīdhara who, as already mentioned, rescued his sovereign from assassination. The 18 *kampanas* of Āraga were, in 1409 A.D., under the charge of Viranna-Odeya, who in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, distinguished himself in putting down the Bēdar rebellion. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 26; *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). In 1423 A.D. Sirigirinātha-Odeya was in charge of the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 2 and 14). In 1415 A.D., Ummattūr was in the charge of Chikka-Devappa. (*E.C.* III, Nanjagud 178). The great minister Baiche-dannāyaka, who had been minister in the reign of Harihara II and had been entrusted with many private affairs by Bukka II, was apparently in charge of the Belur (or Hoysana) country in 1414 A.D. He erected a *dīpa-stambha* for the Krittika festival of lights and a swing for the swinging-cradle festival of the god at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 14). He also granted in about 1420 A.D., under Dēva Rāya's orders, the village of Belame (in Mepinād) to provide for the worship of the Gummatasvāmi of Belgola. (*E.C.* V, Manjarabad 58). In 1417 A.D., Virūpa-dannāyaka was in charge of Goa and Chandragutti provinces. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 37). In 1419 A.D. Gutti is said to be under Mahāpradhāna-Mallappa-Odeya, younger brother of Bāchanna-Odeya. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 288). Between 1413 and 1416 A.D., Bārakūr province was under Sankara-Dēva-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 120, 143, 147 and 172). Chandrasēkhara-Bhārathi-Odeyar of

Śringēri was the presiding *guru* during the time of Dēva-Rāya I. (*E.C.* VI, Śringeri 29, dated in 1416 A.D.). According to the inscriptions, he was *guru* from 1408 to 1416 A.D., being succeeded by Purushōttama-Bhārathi, who was *guru* from 1418 to 1451 A.D.

Personal
appearance.

In one record (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 70) dated in 1409 A.D., Dēva-Rāya is described as a "perfect reflection" (*bimba-pratibimba-bhūta*) of his father Harihara II. Whether this is meant to be taken as a metaphorical expression or in its literal sense, is not clear. If in the latter, he must have had an appearance strikingly like that of his father to be so described—just as an image in a mirror to the original.

Domestic life.

Dēva-Rāya seems to have had at least three queens; Malliyavve, mother of Vira-Mallappa; Dēmāmbika (Hēmāmbika, according to the Satyamangalam plates of Dēva-Rāya II). (*E.C.* III, 40), mother of Vira-Vijaya-Rāya; and Bhīmā-Dēvi, who was probably a Jain. The last of these is mentioned in a record, assigned to 1410 A.D., in which she is stated to have set up the image of Sāntinātha in the *maṅgāyi basti* at Sravana Belgola. She was a lay disciple of Panditāchārya. (*E.C.* II, 337). This Jain teacher was probably the same as Panditārya, who is mentioned as the *guru* of Irugapa, the general of Harihara II. (*E.I.* VII, 115). The names of two other ladies, who were probably also queens of Dēva-Rāya I, are mentioned in a couple of records found at the Hazar-Rāmasvāmi temple at Hampe, their names being Pampa and Annala-Dēvi, who presented certain gold vessels to that god in the year *Durmukhi* (which is perhaps the one which fell in A.D. 1415). As the two records are close together, they may refer to only one queen Pampa *alias* Annala-dēvi, who is not otherwise known. (See *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 82).

Dēva-Rāya's other sons were Bhāskara-Rāya, Harihara-Rāya III and Rāmachandra-Rāya-Odeya. Of his four sons, Vijaya-Rāya, the crown prince, succeeded him on the throne. Between 1406 and 1416 A.D., he was viceroy of Mulbagal-rājya (*E.C.* X, 175). In order that merit might accrue to him, a grant was made in 1406 A.D., by the Brāhmins of Gulganjihalli. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 59). Harihara III is known from certain inscriptions recording his gifts dated in 1420 and 1422 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, 114 and 159, Gundlupet 24). A copper-plate grant of his dated wrongly in *Saka* 1432 (which perhaps should have been *Saka* 1342), Cyclic year *Hēvilāmbi*, comes from Tryāmbakapura, Gundlupet Taluk, Taking the cyclic year as the year of the grant, its date would be 1417 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 59). He appears to have been governor of the Terakanāmbi kingdom, which comprised a part of the old Hoysala kingdom. (*Ibid*). The gift in Gundlupet 24, dated in 1422 A.D. above referred to, was apparently a grant made by Harihara III, immediately after Dēva-Rāya's death as it is specifically stated in it that it was made in order that his father "might attain with certainty to the world of merit." From another record of his, we learn that he seized the great city of Kareyapattana, situated to the west of the *abhinava* or new Jambudvīpa and that those in possession of it left it and emigrated to some other place. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriur 52, dated in 1428 A.D.). From the particulars given in this record, the capture of Kareyapattana should have occurred in 1417 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 28). Another record of his, dated in 1429 A.D., has been traced in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampe. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 83). Harihara III appears to have been in charge of the country on the banks of the Bhavāni and Vira Mallanna-Odeyar, his brother, of the Bomattina-kallu or Chitaldrug country. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 14; *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). In

a record dated in 1413 A.D., he is called Karnāta-Rāja. (*M.E.R.* 1910; App. B. No. 132 of 1909). His mother Mallayavve appears to have died in or about 1411 A.D. In order that she may attain to the world of merit, Mallanna-Odeyar made a grant of Kānchiganahalli, a village near Chitaldrug, (renamed Mallapur after her), in favour of the temple of Hidimbanātha. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 14). Rāmachandra-Odeya, another prince, seems to have been Viceroy of Udayagiri province in 1416 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, No. I, 1-7; and III App. I. 1469). He may be the Rāmachandra-Odeya, described as the son (*Kumāra*) of Harihara II, where probably the term "son" should be taken as indicating "grandson" (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 2). If so, he should have been in charge of part of Bangalore and the surrounding country. Some of his descendants seem to have ruled over the Udayagiri province after him. (*Ibid* I. No. 2; III, App. I, 1469). Prince Vira-Bhūpati-Udaiyar was a nephew of Dēva-Rāya I and the only son of Bukka II. His date ranges between 1409 and 1421 A.D. He was the patron of Chāundappāchārya, the author of *Prayōgaratnamāla*, who mentions this prince in the colophon to this work. (See *ante*; also *M.E.R.* 1905, Para 30).

A son-in-law of Dēva-Rāya I, of the name of Dēvarasa, seems to be mentioned in a lithic record dated in 1436 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 28), though the name of his wife—daughter of Dēva-Rāya I—is not known. Whether he is the same as the Dēva-Rasa mentioned in a record dated in 1407 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Heggadadevan-kote 60) and in another (*Ibid*, Heggadadevankote 62) also dated in 1407 A.D., it is not possible to determine. In the latter, he is described as an officer of the Customs Department.

Death of
Dēva-Rāya I,
1422 A.D.

From Gundlupet 24, a copper-plate grant dated in 1422 A.D., already quoted above, it has to be inferred

that Dēva-Rāya died in or about that year. From this and another record, a lithic inscription at Āraga (*Ā.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 14), the date of his death may be determined within certain narrow limits. Tirthahalli 14 records a grant by Sirigirinātha, the governor of Āraga when Dēva-Rāya I was still the ruling king at Vijayanagar. This grant was made in *Saka* 1344 (mentioned in words), cyclic year *Sōbhakritu* (current), and on Māgha *Ba.* 14, Monday, *Sivarāthri* day. This would be about February 1421 A.D. Gundlupet 24 records a grant by Dēva-Rāya II in order that his *father* (really his grand-father) "might attain with certainty to the world of merit." This grant was made in *Saka* 1344, (current) cyclic year *Sōbhakritu* and on *Sravana Su.* 15, Monday, at the time of a lunar eclipse which occurred on that day. This would have fallen in August of 1422. The death of Dēva-Rāya I should therefore have occurred between February 1421 and August 1422 A.D., nearer the latter date than the former, in view of the wording of Gundlupet 24. (From the fact that *Saka* 1344 and *Sōbhakritu* year agree, the date of Tirthahalli 2, which is given as *Saka* 1346 and coupled with the cyclic year *Subhakritu*, seems wrong, the more so as it is also dated in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I. As *Sōbhakritu* follows *Subhakritu* and as the cyclic may be taken as the correct year, the intended *Saka* year should be taken to be 1343. This would also make the record fall in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I. If the *Saka* year is indeed correct, then the Dēva-Rāya mentioned in this record should be Dēva-Rāya II).

On the death of Dēva-Rāya I, he was succeeded by Vira-Vijaya-Rāya. He was better known, according to the inscriptions of his period, as Vira-Bukka, Vijaya-Bukka, Vira-Vijaya, Vira-Bhūpati, Vira-Vijaya-Bhūpati, etc. He may be called Bukka III for purposes of history. He is mentioned in a record dated in 1418-1419 A.D.

Vira-Vijaya-Rāya I, Vira-Vijaya-Bukka III or Vijaya-Bukka, Bukka III, 1422-1424 A.D.

(*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix C. No. 126 of 1921). He was the donor of the grant mentioned in the Dandapalle plates dated in 1410 A.D. (See *E.I.* XIV 68). He is the "Visarao" of Nuniz. According to this chronicler, Vijaya-Rāya inherited the kingdom on the death of his father and lived for six years but "did nothing worth relating." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 302). Inscriptional records tell a different tale. A record from Shikarpur dated in 1422 (Subhakritu Āsvija Su. 5) states that he was ruling with security and peace from Hastināvati, i.e., Vijayanagar. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 93). Like this record, Kolar 178 and Ānekal 79 (*E.C.* X and *E.C.* IX both dated in 1422 A.D.—Kolar 178 gives the date Sakā 1344, Subhakritu, Āsvayuja ba 14 Wednesday and Ānekal 79, Saka 1344, Subhakritu, Bhādrapada Su. 1 Sōmavāra) describe him as the ruling king and give him the full imperial titles. It would seem to follow from these records that he succeeded his father immediately on his death. He was Viceroy of Mulbagal province, between 1403-1416 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 175 and Pavagada 88 and 96). A gift of his to the temple at Tiruvannāmalai is mentioned in a record dated in 1413 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Appendix A, 568). His great minister was Bayicheya-Dannāyaka-Odeya. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 178). He has been identified with Baicha II of the Sravana-Belgola record, mentioned above. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Page 247). Another Chief Minister of his was Annadata Udaiyār, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1415 A.D. from Tirukoilyūr. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 44; Appendix B. No. 355 of 1921). Srīgiri, one of the sons of Vijaya, was governing at Mulbagal in 1422, i.e., immediately after Vijaya himself left it to assume the sovereignty. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 15, Text). Another son Mahāmandalēsvara Vira-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeyar was ruling over Terkanāmbi province. He is said to have hunted a boar on his horse called *Pārvatinātha*, in 1425

A.D. (E.C. IV, Chamarajnagar 195), and in the same year made a grant to a *thakta* on his building a town in his (Pārvatirāya's) name. (*Ibid* 105). Vijaya's reign is referred to in a record dated in 1423. (E.C. VIII, Sorab 461). In another record dated in 1424 A.D., his reign is praised in a significant manner. This record speaks of "the growing kingdom of the mighty destroyer of the hosts of his enemies with the sword which adorned his long and powerful arms." In a record dated in 1425 A.D., in his son Dēva-Rāya's reign, he is spoken of as a "heroic" king and as "a rising sun to the lotus, the heart of the goddess of learning." He was either himself learned or proved himself a patron of learning. Other words are used in this record to indicate that he had eclipsed his enemies by his fame and prowess. (E.C. IX, Devanhalli 81). In his old charge, Mulbagal, he appears to have built as his "dharma" a fine temple dedicated to Prasanna-Virūpāksha, with its enclosure wall, *gōpura*, finial covered with gold, tank, *mantapas*, etc., and made provision for its decorations, illuminations, etc. (E.C. XI, Mulbagal 2). To this temple, the local Heggade-dēva, Lakkanna-dannāyaka and Mādanna-dannāyaka made a grant, in 1431 A.D., of six villages. A grant dated in 1436 A.D. mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Vira-Vijayarāja. (E.C. XI, Chitaldrug 81). This cannot refer to this Vira-Vijaya, as no imperial titles are mentioned. In an epigraph assigned to 1437 A.D. (E.C. III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 47) which falls in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, the latter's name is twice mentioned as, Vijaya-Vidya-Dēva-Rāya, *i.e.*, Dēva-Rāya, the son of Vijaya-Vidya-Rāya. The term *Vidya* is significant as confirming Vijaya-Rāya's love for learning referred to in another record mentioned above. (Devanhalli 81). This statement is also contained in the Haribar copper-plates of Dēva-Rāya II dated in 1426 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 104, Plate IV). In these plates, Vijaya-Raya

(who is called Vijaya-Bhūpathi) is praised as a great patron of letters and as a great scholar. It is said that he wiped out the tears of Sarasvati caused by the death of Bhōja. In another copper-plate grant of Dēva-Rāya II, dated in A.D. 1432, Vijaya (Bhūpati) is dubbed "the learned" while in a third grant, dated in the same year (1432 A.D.) it is mentioned that he gave the learned happiness at his Court. His learning was such that people looked upon him as Bhōja re-boru. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 100). Vijaya-Rāya appears to have died in or about *Saka* 1343 (= A.D. 1424-1425), in which year (*Krōdhi* year, *Magha Su.* 6) we have a grant for his eternal salvation made by his son Dēva-Rāya II. (The words used are: *ṇamma ayyagalige sāsvata sivalōka-prāptiyahantagi sa-hiranyōdaka-dāna-dhārāpūrva-kavāgi kotteragi*, etc. See text, *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 161. The Translation Part does not give this portion of the text). It would thus seem that he ruled as king in his own right for only two years and not six years as stated by Nuniz. His son Dēva-Rāya II seems to have been associated with him as co-regent from about *Saka* 1343 or A.D. 1422. (See *A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Para 247; also *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 160; and *M.E.B.* 1907, No. 158). Mr. Gōpinātha Rao suggests that the co-regency system was not customary among the Vijayanagar kings of the first dynasty and that therefore Vijaya "very likely ruled for six months computed from the date of his own accession to the date of his son's accession and not six years as mentioned by Nuniz who, he says, evidently entered *years* in the place of months." As the co-regency system is seen in the case of several kings of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, its existence should be presumed to have been as much customary among them as among the Chōlas, Hoysalas and other dynasties of the South. As regards the other portion of the argument, the fact that Vijaya's inscriptions have been found with dates up to and inclusive of

1424 A.D. and that his death occurred in or about the end of 1424 A.D. is conclusively against it. Certain later records dated in 1436 (*M.E.R.* 1906-1907, Para 55 and *E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 81) and 1450 (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 346), which mention Vijaya-Rāya, may be set down, as Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested, to Mallikārjuna, his grand-son, who might have been also named after him. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Paras 247-248). They cannot refer to the Vijaya-Rāya we are writing of as he died about 1424 A.D. The few records available for Vijaya-Rāya show that he ruled only for a couple of years after his accession and that he was a mighty destroyer of his enemies, if not actually a "hero" as is claimed for him, and that he was full of zeal for his ancestral religion and learning. All this seems rather to nullify the idea that he was the *raifaineant* that he is represented to have been by Nuniz.

The "enemies" referred to in Vijaya-Rāya's inscriptions can only be Muhammadans, for he does not appear to have been troubled with any other wars or insurrections in his own dominions. Owing to a miscalculation in dates, which made him assign the reign of Dēva-Rāya II to 1419-1444 A.D., Mr. Sewell has (*A Forgotten Empire*, 64 and 70-71) set down this campaign to his reign. As we know now that Vijaya was an active and warlike prince and that he actually ruled from 1422 to 1424 A.D., this war should be assigned to his reign. As his son, Dēva-Rāya II, was co-regent with him, during the period, he might also be taken to have been in the war. As to the war itself, Ferishta's account, as usual, makes it an entirely successful one for Āhmed Shāh. On Fīrūz's death in 1422, Āhmed Shāh succeeded him and opened his campaign by marching towards the Tungabhadra in the dry season of 1423 A.D. Vijaya-Rāya was assisted, according to Ferishta, by the king of

Āhmed
Shāh's
Campaign,
1422-1424
A.D.

Warrangal. The latter's troops, however, deserted him at the critical moment. Vijaya's camp was so suddenly attacked in the early hours of a morning that he was hardly able either to gather his forces or offer battle. As it was, he found it difficult to escape from capture. Āhmed Shāh, not caring to besiege the city, overran the open country, laying it waste and massacring the inhabitants, holding a festival each time 20,000 had been beheaded. The destruction of Hindu temples and colleges, says Ferishta, was so great that it drove the Hindus to such desperation that they took an oath "to kill the Sultān, as the grand author of all their sufferings." Five thousand of these people kept close watch on him through the aid of spies. They saw their opportunity when Āhmed Shāh was alone while on a hunt and they then attacked him and reduced him to such "an extremity of distress" that but for the timely help of one of his armour-bearers, who attacked the Hindus in their rear, they would have killed him. Thus escaping, Āhmed Shāh closely besieged Vijayanagar. The people were put to such great distress that Vijaya-Rāya was obliged to sue for peace. This was agreed to on payment of arrears of tribute alleged to be due. The money was sent laden on the best elephants available through the "son" of Vijaya-Rāya, who, it is said, was made to sit "at the foot" of Āhmed Shāh's throne, apparently to indicate the defeat Vijaya-Rāya had sustained. With this the war closed, and Āhmed Shāh returned to Kulbarga.

Inscriptional
records
confirmed by
Ferishta.

Such is the story of the campaign as told by the Muhammadan historian, who calls the Vijayanagar king, as before, "Dewul Roy." This can only be taken to mean "Vijaya-Rāya," who possibly was popularly known to Muhammadans as *Vijaya-Dēva-Rāya*, the last part of the name *Dēva-Rāya* being common to kings belonging to

almost every South Indian dynasty, including that of Vijayanagar. The inscriptions of Vijaya-Rāya, which refer to him as "the mighty destroyer of his enemies" and as having won reputation by his "heroic" deeds, should be taken to refer to the success that attended his arms against Āhmed Shāh's person and troops. As the result of the bravery displayed by Vijaya's troops, Āhmed Shāh had nearly been caught alive or put to death.

A noteworthy event that occurred about the close of Vijaya's reign was the complete destruction of the Warrangal kingdom. The king of Warrangal had helped Vijaya against Āhmed Shāh, who, after the close of his campaign against Vijayanagar, attacked Warrangal and destroyed it. Mr. Sewell has set down this event to December 1424 A.D.

Destruction
of Warrangal
Kingdom,
1424 A.D.

By his queen Nārāyanāmbika, Vijaya-Rāya had at least three sons, though the Madras Museum plates state that he had only two sons, Dēva-Rāya II and Srīgiri. (*E.I.* III, 307-308). These three were:—Dēva-Rāya II, who succeeded him; Vira-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeya, who was, as mentioned above, governing the Terakanāmbi province in 1425 A.D.; and Srīgiri-Bhūpāla, who was governing the Maratakanagara *prānta*, *i.e.*, the province over which Kampa II held his sway at one time. On the basis of the Satyamangalam plates, it has been suggested that he had, besides Dēva-Rāya entitled Prāudha-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, another son named Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who is described in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēva-Rāya II as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya. He is described in that grant as the "renowned younger brother" of king Dēva-Rāya II. (*E.C.* III, 36; *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 22; *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45; *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 487). He is said to have made king Dēva-Rāya's glory "resplendent" just as Mahēndra's

Domestic life.

was made "by his younger brother Upēndra (Vishnu)." (See *E.I.* III, 40). Mr. Venkayya has identified this Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya with Srīgiri-Bhūpāla of the Madras Museum plates, for the former is also said to have ruled over the province of Maratakanagara about the same time (1424 A.D.) as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). Mr. Rice, on the other hand, has identified Srīgiri with Vīra-Pārvali-Rāya-Odeyar (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 117), which identification should, however, be given up as they are said to have ruled over *different provinces* contemporaneously. As regards the other identification, that of Srīgiri with Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya of the Satyamangalam plates, Mr. Gōpinātha Rao has suggested that while it might be admitted that Srīgiri governed the Maratakanagara province about 1424 A.D., there is no ground for identifying him with Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya. He states that this supposition of the existence of a younger brother of the same name as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya rests on the authority of a *single* record, the Satyamangalam plates, and that numerous other records which give the genealogy of Dēva-Rāya II do not mention this younger brother of his. He further suggests that there was no such brother of king Dēva-Rāya II and that the erroneous belief in the existence of such a brother has been due to a mistake on the part of the engraver in copying the Satyamangalam grant, where according to him (in lines 35-36) the expression *pratāpa-Dēvarāyēna* has been written instead of *pratāpa-Dēvarāyasya*. He also adduces the reasons that two brothers of the same name of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya could not have co-existed, nor two brothers ruled the same province together nor two brothers even died in the same year, as would be the case if the existence of a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya II as independent from king Dēva-Rāya II were conceded. (See *E.C.* XV, 15-16). Each of

these arguments may be easily met. First, as to the remark that there exists only one authority, the Satyamangalam plates, which mention a second Dēva-Rāya, as the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II, there are the Chitaldrug plates of Dēva-Rāya II which mention the same younger brother and describe him as "the great archer Vijaya-Rāya (also) celebrated as Dēva-Rāya." This record should be taken to finally dispose of this objection of Mr. Gōpinātha Rao and should also be taken as incidentally explaining a number of inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1368 (A.D. 1446), the last year of Dēva-Rāya II, which refer to the reigning sovereign as Vijaya-Rāya-Mahārāya. (*M.A.R.* 1921, paras 62-63; also *M.E.R.* 1907, para 83; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 248.) The Vijaya referred to in the last of these authorities is none other than Dēva-Rāya, younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that he may have ruled along with his brother, the king, at the close of his reign). As regards the co-existence of two princes of the same name, there were, as we have seen above, actually two princes of the same name, Kampa II and Kampa III, co-existent in the reign of Bukka I. So there can be nothing inconsistent in the co-existence of two Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāyas as well. As to the remark that no other record besides the Satyamangalam plates mentions a younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II, named Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, this is erroneous as pointed out above. Apart from the Chitaldrug plates, such an argument as that adduced by Mr. Gōpinātha Rao cannot be considered conclusive in the matter more especially as the statement in the Satyamangalam plates is both explicit and definite, even a comparison being included to show how the younger Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya had won fame for the elder of the same name, just as Upendra had done for Mahendra. Moreover, in these plates the younger is mentioned as simply "Pratāpa-

Dēva-Rāya," whereas the elder is given the imperial titles of *kājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēsvara*, *Suratrāna* among Hindu kings, etc., which show a definite distinction drawn between the two. This would seem to indicate that wherever in the records of this period the name Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned without the higher imperial titles, it might have to be set down to the younger brother, especially in the Maratakanagara area (i.e., the North Arcot District). Mr. Venkayya has for this reason assigned the Singavaram record of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 22; Appendix B. No. 229) dated in *Paridhāvi* (=1432-1433 A.D.) to the younger brother and not to king Dēva-Rāya II. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has similarly remarked that inscriptions found in the North Arcot District mentioning Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya-Odeya may be provisionally taken to belong to the younger brother and not to the king. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Para 248 *f.n.* 5). Then as regards the objection that the conceding of two Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāyas would mean the conceding of two co-existing governors of the names of Srīgiri (of the Madras Museum plates) and Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother (of the Satyamangalam plates) over the Maratakanagara province, this, however, is not a valid objection as Srīgiri and Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger, may and should in that case, be taken as identical persons. As a matter of fact, as Mr. Narayanasvami Ayyar, the editor of the Madras Museum plates, has suggested, the name *Srīgiri* is another form of *Srīparvata* in the Kurnool District. "The God of the temple at that place," he adds, "is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet, the composer of the Madras Museum plates of Srīgiribhūpāla, into its equivalent of Srīgiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of

him makes it possible that Srīgiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II as the younger brother of the king." For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Srīgirindra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, he must be another brother of Dēva-Rāya II, not hitherto known, (*E.I.* VIII, 308). This is entirely in accordance with the surmise of Mr. V. Venkayya that "Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya might be another name of Srīgiri." (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). As a matter of fact, it might be safely affirmed that his real name was Srīgiri (or Mallikārjuna) and that the name of *Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya* came to be applied to him as a title because of the victories he won for his brother and probably in his name as is hinted in line 21 of the Satyamangalam plates, where he is described to have made the "glory" of his royal brother "resplendent" apparently in war. Moreover, we know that the name "Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya" had already been assumed by Dēva-Rāya I (see *ante*) and there could be nothing wrong in Srīgiri being made to appropriate it by the composer of the Satyamangalam plates. Another objection urged against the existence of a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, independently of King Dēva-Rāya II, is that both of them "died in the year Saka 1368, Kshayasamvatsara." In support of this statement, Dr. Kiēlhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 495 is quoted. The inscription referred to is *Sravana Belgola* (New Edn.) 328 (= Old Edn. 125), part of which is repeated in *Sravana Belgola* (New Edn., 330 (= Old Edn. 127). Dr. Kiēlhorn has suggested that this inscription (328) refers to Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. Both Mr. Rice and Mr. Narasimhachar, however, take these two records (Nos. 328 and 330) as referring to the death of king Dēva-Rāya II. The wording of these two epigraphs

also seems to support their view. (*E.C.* II, New Edn. Introd. 64; *E.C.* VIII, Introd. 12). Words such as "the abode of valour," "the matchless Dēva-rāt" appearing in it would be more appropriate to the reigning king than to his younger brother who was only a provincial governor. An inscription at Kodakani (*E.C.* VIII, 18) seems to confirm this view. This record is dated in *Saka* 1370 (or A.D. 1468) and refers to the "setting" (*i.e.*, end) of Dēva-Rāya II who is described as "Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya." The death of Prithuvi Setti mentioned in it should have occurred immediately after Dēva-Rāya's death though the grants made by his sons in memory of the occasion came two years later as recorded in the inscription. Both Mr. Rice and Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri agree in thinking that this inscription refers to the death of king Dēva-Rāya II and not to that of his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya of the Satyamangalam plates. That this view is the correct one is proved by the fact that the earliest records of Mallikārjuna—son of king Dēva-Rāya II—are dated in *Saka* 1368, Cyclic year *Kshaya*, the year of the death of Dēva-Rāya II and *Saka* 1369, Cyclic year *Prabhava* (A.D. 1447), *i.e.*, the year after *Kshaya* (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 107, Text; *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 239; *E.C.* XII, Pavagada 69) in which, according to *Sravana Belgola* 328, Dēva-Rāya II is said to have died. The year in which gifts were made by Prithuvi-Setti's sons was *Saka* 1370, *Vibhava* (A.D. 1449), which was again one year after Mallikārjuna succeeded to the throne. The Kodakani and the two *Sravana-Belgola* records can accordingly only refer to the death of king Dēva-Rāya and not to that of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, his younger brother. As a matter of fact, so far, no record has been discovered giving us any information as to the date of the death of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Srīgiri. If, indeed, the latter was the assassin of king Dēva-Rāya II and not

his nephew, as stated by Nuniz (see below), then he should have died between November 1442 and April 1443 A.D., i.e., he should have predeceased king Dēva-Rāya II by nearly four years. There is nothing inconsistent, therefore, in the suggestion that there was a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya independently of king Dēva-Rāya II during the latter's reign, that he was his younger brother as mentioned in the Satyamangalam and the Chitaldrug plates and that he was identical with Srīgiribhūpāla of the Madras Museum plates and Bowringpet 15 referred to below. The son of Vijāya-Rāya who is mentioned in the last mentioned record (E.C. X, Bowringpete 15) should have been, looking to the proximity of the place where the inscription has been found to Marataknagara, Srigiri. This inference is well supported by the text of the inscription which Mr. Rice has deciphered as follows :—*Srī-Vira-Pratāpa-Vijayabhūpati-rāya-mahārāya-kumāra-srīmān-mahā-mandalēsvara Srī-vīra*.....
*rigi*.....*yarū*, where the last words should probably be read as *Srī-vīra-srīgiri-yarū*. (See E.C. X, Bowringpete 15, Text, page 165). This shows that Srigiri was only a *Mahāmandalēsvara* or governor of Marataknagara and that the title *Srī-vīra-pratāpa* which commences the name of his father Vijāya-Bhūpati-Rāya, was also part of his own, as an inherited one. There are a few references to this Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya which may be noted here. In a couple of copper-plates of Virūpākṣa III, a Pratāpa-Mahipati (see the Sajjalur plates, E.C. III, Malavalli 121, dated in 1474 A.D.) and a Pratāpa-Rāya (See Srisailam plates, E.I. XV, 8, dated in 1476 A.D.) are referred to as his father, his mother in the one being called Simhala-Dēvi and in the other Siddhala-Dēvi. It now seems agreed that Simhala-Dēvi is a misreading for Siddhala-Dēvi. Both the copper-plates state that Pratāpa-Rāya mentioned in them obtained his kingdom from his elder brother (*Nijagrajat-prāpta*).

Mr. Rice's translation of this phrase as "elder sister" and the further suggestion that it "may perhaps refer to the princess married into the Bāhmani family" seem to lack foundation. (See *E.C.* III, Malavalli 121, Text and Translation and *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 116; also H. Krishna Sāstri in *A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 252, *f.n.* 5). First of all, there was no "elder sister" of his own known to the records of his reign; and secondly it is very doubtful, as we have seen, if Ferishta's account of giving away a daughter of his in marriage to Firūz is at all well founded. The question as to who this Pratāpa-Rāya, who was the father of 'Virūpāksha III, was, has been answered in two different ways. Dr. Kiethorn identifies him with king Dēva-Rāya II. (*E.I.* V, App. II, 18a). So does Mr. Gopinatha Rao (*E.I.* XV, 15), who accordingly finds it impossible to understand who the elder brother of Dēva-Rāya II was who could have bestowed the kingdom on him, under what circumstances he did it, why such a gift is not mentioned in Dēva-Rāya's own grants but only in those of some of his successors and why such a gift of a part of a kingdom only (Ghanādri or Penukonda province only) long after he had ruled over the whole of the empire and died. These are the complications to which one is reduced by ignoring the plain wording of the Satyamangalam plates that there was a younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II of the name of Pratāpa-Rāya, or Pratāpa-Dēva-Mahārāya or Praudha-Pratāpa (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 121) and that he at first ruled over the Maratakanagara province and then over the Ghanādri province, to which he appears to have been later (some time after the date of the Singavaram record, 1432-3 A.D.) transferred by his elder brother, the king. It gets special mention in the records of Virūpāksha III because (1) Virūpāksha III was the son of this Pratāpa-Rāya, the younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya and (2) the Penukonda-rājya was, next to

occupying the royal seat, considered the most important province over which authority could be exercised. (On the destruction of Vijayanagar in 1565 A.D., it became the capital of the fourth Dynasty of kings). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seems accordingly quite correct when he suggests that the Pratāpa-Mahīpati of the Sajjalur copper-plates is "in all probability" the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II "referred to in the genealogical tables." (*A. S. I.* 1907-8, Page 252, *f.n.* 5). Another record which mentions a grant of his is a copper-plate *nirūpa*, which comes from Tumkur, dated in 1447 A.D. It refers to him as Mahāmandalēsvara Pratāpa-Rāya. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 52). Srīgiri *alias* Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya appears to have been governor of Chandragiri, in 1430 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1910; App. C. 173).

Vijaya-Rāya also left a daughter named Harima, who was married to Sāluva-Tipparāja, father of Sāluva-Gōparāja, who belonged to the family to which Sāluva Narasinga I, the usurper, belonged. (See below).

As mentioned already, Vijaya-Rāya died about the close of 1424 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Dēva-Rāya II. (See above). The date is given by Tirthahalli 161, *Krōdhi* year, *Māgha Sudda* 6, which would fall in February 1425 A.D. As this is the date of a grant made after his death, the death may be presumed to have actually occurred about the close of 1424 A.D.

Death of
Vijaya-Rāya,
1424 A.D.

Dēva-Rāya II ascended the throne in 1424 A.D. He was known by a number of names among which are Immedi-Dēvarāya (or Dēva-Rāya II), Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, Praudha-Dēva-Rāya, Abhinava-Vira-Dēva-Rāya, Dēvarāya-Gajabēntekāra, etc. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 240 dated in 1442 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 177; *I.A.* XX, 303). Among his titles was the one which called him "who took all countries." (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 53). His

Deva-Rāya II,
1424-1446 A.D.

records have been found in large numbers in almost every part of Southern India including every district of this State. During his reign, the kingdom reached the height of prosperity and its fame, if not its authority, spread to distant lands. The empire enjoyed the blessings of peace. We do not indeed hear of any wars with the Bāhmani kingdom until well over half the period of Dēva-Rāya's reign.

A Bēdar in-
surrection
suppressed,
1427 A.D.

What appears to have been a rather bloody insurrection raised by a Bēdar chief in the Āraga province was put down under the royal orders. It is narrated at some length in a Nagar record. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). This inscription is, however, wrongly dated in *Saka* 1149, Cyclic year *Sarvajitu*, Māgha Su. 10, Sunday. *Saka* 1149 corresponds to 1227 A.D., which is an impossible date for Dēva-Rāya I or Dēva-Rāya II. That the *Saka* date is wrong is thus certain. Equally certain is the fact that it cannot be *Saka* 1249, which would fall in A.D. 1327, which is impossible for Dēva-Rāya I, who is specifically named as the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagar. If we take the *Saka* year as 1349, it would fall in A.D. 1427, which would suit Dēva-Rāya II, as we have lithic records for him from at least 1424 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Sorab 565, etc.). Taking the inscription as one dated, therefore, in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II (not Dēva-Rāya I as stated by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in *E.I.* XV, 14), we have to note that it occurred during the period that Viranna-Odeyar was chief of Kāmpelu-maloge and the other 18 Kampanas of Āraga. From the mention of this chief, it may be inferred that the insurrection occurred in his division and that its leader belonged to it. Then, as regards the insurrection itself, it is stated that Boleya Mummeya Nāyaka, a leading man of the division, having slaughtered people all over the country and carried off (many as) prisoners, was causing many and great

disturbances and famine in the kingdom. The king being anxious about the disturbances thus created, gave an order saying, "The Bēda must be brought to proper order." Viranna-Odeyar, raising an army, marched against the Bēdar. According to his orders, the chiefs of Anevari-nād assembled a large number of horse and foot and the people of the surrounding *nāds* also collected their forces and presented themselves before Viranna-Odeyar. Viranna addressing the assembled chiefs and men said: "We are not breakers of the word we have given; Vira-pratāpa-Harihara-Mahārāya's great minister Gundappa-Dannāyaka gave us the title of champion over the three kings (*mūvara-rāyara-ganda*). So that this title shall be sung (in song), in such manner will I break and put down the Bēda's force." Thus saying, Tiriki-ganda (one of Viranna's chiefs), taking sword and shield, broke and put down the hostile force, slew and knocked down the leaders, and himself gained *svarga* (heaven). His wife committed *sati* with him. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). With the leaders "knocked down" and the "hostile forces put down," the insurrection was quelled.

Āhmad Shāh, the Bāhmani Sultān, died early in February 1435 and was succeeded by his son Alā-ud-dīn III. Alā-ud-dīn's first act was to despatch a powerful army under the command of his brother Muhammad Khān against Dēva-Rāya II. Muhammad laid waste the country and Dēva-Rāya was, it is said, "glad to procure peace by giving twenty elephants, a great sum of money and two hundred female slaves skilled in music and dancing, besides a valuable present to Muhammad Khān." Muhammad, shortly after, rebelled against his brother and was, according to Ferishta, befriended by Dēva-Rāya II in his action. Though he took a number of places, he was utterly defeated by the Sultān's forces. Alā-ud-dīn,

Bāhmani invasion, 1435
A.D.

however, forgave him and conferred on him the fortresses and territories of Raichur.

Settlement of
Muhammad-
ans at Vijaya-
nagar as
soldiers,
Circa 1435
A D

An interesting passage in Ferishta makes mention of the steps taken by Dēva-Rāya II as to why the Bāhmani Sultān and his forces should be successful against his kingdom and forces, though his own kingdom was larger in extent and better populated and his own forces more numerous than his neighbours. After due consultation in a general council of his advisers, he took steps to induce a settlement of Mubammadans at his capital by allotting them *jāgīrs* and erecting a mosque for their use. He is said to have commanded that "no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion." He also ordered, it would appear, that a copy of the *Korān* should be "placed before his throne, on a rich desk, that the Mussalmans might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence, without sinning against their laws." He is also said to have made "all the Hindoo soldiers learn the discipline of the bow; in which he and his officers used such exertions that he had at length two thousand Mussalmans and sixty thousand Hindoos, well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances." (Scott, *Ferishta* I, 118; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 72).

Attempt on
the life of
Dēva-Rāya II,
between
November
1442 and April
1443 A.D.

Abdur Razaak, the Persian Ambassador to the courts of Calicut and Vijayanagar, gives an account of the attempt that was made on Dēva-Rāya's life in or about the end of 1442 A.D., or the beginning of 1443 A.D. Of this "extraordinary and most singular occurrence" as he calls it, he gives a long account from which the following is taken:—

"The king's brother, who had had a new house built for himself, invited thither the monarch and the principal

personages of the empire. Now, it is an established usage of the infidels never to eat in presence of each other. The men who were invited were assembled together in one grand hall. At short intervals the prince either came in person or sent some messenger to say that such or such great personage should come and eat his part of the banquet. Care had been taken to bring together all the drums, kettledrums, trumpets and flutes that could be found in the city, and these instruments playing all at the same time, made a tremendous uproar. As soon as the individual who had been sent for entered the above mentioned house, two assassins, placed in ambush, sprang out upon him, pierced him with a poignard, and cut him in pieces. After having removed his limbs, or rather the fragments of his body, they sent for another guest, who once having entered this place of carnage, disappeared.....In consequence of the noise of the drums, the clamour, and the tumult, no one was aware of what was going on. In this manner, all those who had any name or rank in the State were slaughtered. The prince, leaving his house all reeking with the blood of his victims, betook himself to the king's palace, and addressing himself to the guards who were stationed in that royal residence, invited them with flattering words to go to his house, and caused them to follow the steps of the other victims. So that the palace was thus deprived of all its defenders. This villain then entered into the king's presence, holding in his hand a dish covered with betel-nut, under which was concealed a brilliant poignard. He said to the monarch: 'The hall is ready and they only wait your august presence.'

"The king, following the maxim which declares that eminent men receive an inspiration from heaven, said to him, 'I am not in good health to-day.'

"This unnatural brother, thus losing the hope of enticing the king to his house, drew his poignard, and struck him therewith several violent blows, so that the prince fell at the back of his throne. The traitor, thus believing that the king was dead, left there one of his confidants to cut off the monarch's head; then going out of the hall he ascended the portico of the palace, and thus addressed the people: 'I have slain the king, his brothers, and such and such emirs, Brāhmins, and vizirs: now I am king.'

"Meanwhile his emissary had approached the throne with the intention of cutting off the king's head, but that prince, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, struck the wretch with it with so much violence on the chest that he fell upon his back. The king then, with the help of one of his guards, who at the sight of this horrible transaction had hidden himself in a corner, slew this assassin, and went out of the palace by way of the harem.

"His brother, still standing on the steps of the hall of council, invited the multitude to recognise him as their king. At that moment, the monarch cried out, 'I am alive. I am well and safe. Seize that wretch.'

"The whole crowd assembled together, threw themselves upon the guilty prince and put him to death.

"The only one who escaped was Danaik, the vizir, who previously to this sad event had gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon. The king sent a courier to him to invite him to return, and informed him of what had just occurred. All those who had in any way aided in the conspiracy were put to death. Men in great numbers were slain, flayed, burnt alive and their families entirely exterminated. The man who had brought the letters of invitation was put to the last degree of torture....."

Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, also gives an account of this attempted assassination, though he states that it was directed, *not* against "Deorao" (Dēva-Rāya II) who is named by him, but against his "son who inherited the kingdom." The following extract from his *Chronicle*, however, shows that the incident referred to by Abdur Razaak and Nuniz should be the same; only as Abdur Razaak was personally in India at the time, he must be taken as the more reliable authority. Nuniz writes:—

The king was killed by treason by the hand of a nephew whom he had brought up in his house like a son, who thus caused the death of the king. (Abdur Razaak relates the same story, and fixes the event as having taken place between November 1442 and April 1445 A.D., "while he was at

Calicut)". The nephew resolved to marry, and for the feasts at his wedding he prayed the king, his uncle, that he would command that he should be attended and honoured at his wedding by the king's own son; and the king, for the love that he bore him and the pleasure that he had in honouring him, bade his son make ready with his following, and sent him with the ministers and captains of his court to attend and honour the wedding of his nephew. And he, making all ready, as soon as they were in his house, being at table, they were all slain by daggers thrust by men kept in readiness for that deed. This was done without any one suspecting it, because the custom there is to place on the table all that there is to eat and drink, no man being present to serve those who are seated, nor being kept outside, but only those who are going to eat; and because of their thus being alone at table, nothing of what passed could be known to the people they had brought with them. And after he had killed the king's son with all the captains, the minister set out to ride as if he were going to bear a present to the king, and as soon as he arrived at the gates of the palace, he sent a message to the king saying that he was there, and had brought him a present according to custom. (This seems to imply that the nephew of the king had been one of the twenty ministers (*regedor.s*) mentioned in the chronicle). And the king being at that time at leisure and amusing himself with his wives, bade him enter; and as soon as he was come to where he stood, he presented to the king a golden bowl in which he had placed a dagger steeped in poison, with which he wounded him in many places; but the king, as he was a man who knew how to use both sword and dagger better than any one in his kingdom, avoided by twists and turns of his body the thrusts aimed at him, freed himself from him, and slew him with a short sword that he had. And this done he ordered a horse to be saddled, and mounted it, and rode holding his nephew's head in his hand; and he took the road to the latter's house, apprehending that treason might have been wrought and fearing that his son might be dead. And as soon as he arrived, he beheld the treason in every deed, and how wicked a deed his nephew had done; seeing that his son and his principal captains were dead, and that the traitor would have prevailed against himself had he had the power. In great wrath the king commanded his men to inflict dreadful

punishments on all found guilty of this treason, and indeed many who were not so. He himself remained grievously wounded with the poisoned wounds and he lasted only six months, and these ended, died of the poison carried on the dagger.

According to Abdur Razaak, the attempt was made by the king's brother; while according to Nuniz, it was a nephew that made the attempt. Nuniz states that the king died six months later, whereas Abdur Razaak declares that he was presented to the king about December 1443, *i.e.*, some 12 to 13 months after the event. There can be no doubt that Abdur Razaak should be believed, for Nuniz is wrong in other details. Razaak says that the assembled crowd fell upon the "guilty prince and put him to death." Who was he? Was it Vira-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeya, governor of Terakanāmbi, or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of the king, who is mentioned in the Satyamangalam and the Chitaldrug plates? If he was the latter, as suggested by Mr. V. Venkayya and as seems probable, because it was he who rose to be governor of Penukonda as well and probably aspired to be king, then he should have died about 1423 A.D. Apparently, he had organized a conspiracy and had placed himself at its head. If Nuniz's statement that it was a nephew who made this attempt, then he must have been a son either of Vira-Pārvati-Rāya or of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who has been identified with Sṛīgiri of the Madras Museum plates' inscription. We, however, know of no son of Vira-Pārvati-Rāya or of Sṛīgiri, other than Virūpāksha. As the latter long survived king Dēva-Rāya II, he could not have been the assailant, more especially as we are told that he was killed by king Dēva-Rāya II. Nuniz's narrative rather mixes up the events of different reigns at about this point and as it was put together over a century after the time they actually occurred, there is some excuse for him. It must, there-

fore, be conceded that Abdur Razaak is right when he states that the arch-conspirator was the king's "brother." So far as our present knowledge goes, the suspicion should rest on Srīgiri, who was both an able and an ambitious prince, and might have coveted the throne at a time when Mahāpradhāna Lakhanna-Dannāyaka was absent from the capital.

Immediately following on the attempted assassination and taking advantage of the confusion caused, Allā-ud-din, the Bāhmani Sultān, sent out an expedition against Dēva-Rāya II. He made a demand for "seven lakhs of *varāhas*," apparently thinking that the time was opportune then to crush once for all his enemy. Dēva-Rāya returned a spirited answer in the negative and prepared for war. According to Abdur Razaak, who mentions this war, Lakhanna-Dannāyaka "set out on an expedition (apparently a counter move) into the kingdom of Kulburga" and took many of the enemy as prisoners and retraced his steps. Evidently the two armies met on the frontiers and retired to their respective homes. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 75). Ferishta also describes this war but states that it was a wanton attack on the part of Dēva-Rāya II. This, however, seems a gratuitous assertion, as it is most unlikely that Dēva-Rāya would have indulged in a war so soon after the treacherous attack on him. He could not have been well prepared for it, as all his nobles and generals had been lost to him. Abdur Razaak's version seems, accordingly, the more reasonable one. Ferishta states that two of Dēva-Rāya's sons were engaged in this war, one in the siege of Bankāpur and another in the siege of Raichur and that the latter was wounded in action and fled towards Bankāpur, the siege of which was raised by the former. It would appear that actions were fought in the space of two months between the two grand armies and that in the

Fresh
Bāhmani
invasion, 1443
A.D.

first of these, the death roll was heavy on both sides. Ferishta adds that the Hindu having the advantage "the Mussalmans experienced great difficulties" and that in the last action "the eldest son of Deo Roy was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zumaun, which event struck the Hindoos with a panic, and they fled with the greatest precipitation into the fortress of Mudkal." It would seem to follow from this that Dēva-Rāya II lost his eldest son in this war. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 75-76). Peace was then agreed to between the two parties, Dēva-Rāya agreeing to pay—according to Ferishta—the usual tribute and the Sultān promising not to molest his territories, a promise which he kept.

Invasion of
Ceylon, 1443
A.D.

According to Nuniz, "in his time, the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Puleacate (Pulicat) and Peggu (Pegu) and Tennacary (Tennaserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him." Parākrama Bāhu VI (A.D. 1412-1468) of the Kotte dynasty was then the ruling king. Not only Singhalese poems of the time speak of the people of Jaffna as Kanarese but also Valentyn mentions an invasion of the Kanarese, *i.e.*, of the Vijayanagar forces. Though it is uncertain whether this was the occasion or the result of the conquest of Jaffna (see H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 92), there seems little doubt that Nuniz is correct when he definitely states that tribute was levied from Ceylon. Lakkanna-Dandanāyaka, one of the chief ministers of Dēva-Rāya II, has been identified with the "Danaik" who is said to have gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, p. 58). As the conquest of Ceylon has been attributed to Virūpāksha II (son of Harihara II) in or about 1385 A. D., the conquest mentioned in this reign, may be a reconquest of the northern part of the island, with which Lakkhanna-Dannāyaka's visit to Ceylon was apparently connected. This voyage

was, according to Abdur Razaak, not so much to Ceylon as to its "frontier." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 72). Closely connected with this campaign was the expedition to Adriampet (Adhirāmpattanam) in South India, occasioned, according to Valentyn, by the seizure of a Ceylon ship laden with cinnamon. (H. W. Codrington. *A Short History of Ceylon*, 84). As at the time the "voyage" to the Ceylonese "frontier" had been undertaken by Lakkhanna-Dannāyaka, the attempt to assassinate Dēva-Rāya is said to have taken place, by reason of which Lakkhanna himself was saved from murder like the rest of his compeers, the re-conquest of Ceylon should have occurred between November 1442 A.D. and April 1443 A.D. when the attempt on Dēva-Rāya II appears to have been perpetrated.

Dēva-Rāya had at least two wedded queens. Of these, DomesticLife. Ponnala-Dēvi bore him a son called Mallikārjuna, who was also known as Vijaya-Rāya II, Immadi-Dēva-Rāya and Immadi-Praudha-Dēva-Rāya. The other queen, Bhīmā-Dēvi does not appear to have had any issue. If Ferishta's account of the war of 1443 A.D., is correct as to details, the eldest of his sons should have died in the action at Raichur. If so, he must be an unnamed son probably omitted by the genealogists. His younger brother Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, governor in succession of Mulbagal, Maratakanagara and Penukonda, appears to have had, by his queen Siddhala-Dēvi, a son named Virūpāksha III. (See above). Mr. Venkayya has suggested that as Mallikārjuna's father's name has been given, twice in *Gangadāsapratāpavilāsa*, a dramatic work, as Pratāpa-Dēvarāja, without any royal titles, he might have been the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the governor, and later adopted as son by king Dēvi-Rāya II. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 47). This suggestion, however, does not appear to be well founded, for it is stated in one or

two records that he was born to king Dēva-Rāya II by the grace of the god Mallikārjuna of Srīparvata, *i.e.*, Srisailla in Kurnool and that he was so named after that god. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65 dated in 1455 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1907—08, Para 61, quoting the Trayambakapura plates dated in 1447 A.D.). He must be taken as the Dēva-Rāya III, who, it has been suggested by Mr. Sewell, succeeded king Dēva-Rāya II, the more so as both the names are mentioned in certain inscriptions as alternative names of the same king (as in *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65) and the earliest records of Mallikārjuna come immediately after 1447 and 1449 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 67; *E.C.* VI, Koppa 44). In Nagar 68, dated in 1463 A.D., he is called Imunadi-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya and Nagar 69, dated in the same year, specifically states that Mallikārjuna “was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya.” So, it has to be conceded that the suggested Dēva-Rāya III is none other than Mallikārjuna himself. As suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, he must also be the *Pina Rao*, a term which is the exact Telugu equivalent of the Kannada sobriquet *Chikka Rāya* (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 252, *f.n.* 5), which was usually applied to the crown prince. As we have seen, Nuniz has erroneously stated that an attempt was made on his life instead of on that of his father, king Dēva-Rāya II. (See *ante*). He has also, by a slip, mentioned that Dēva-Rāya was succeeded by Pina Rao and then by his son whose name he has failed to fill in in his *Chronicle*. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 304). He makes Virūpāksha III, the son and successor of this last unnamed king, who according to inscriptions, succeeded directly to Mallikārjuna himself. Virūpāksha III, as we have seen, was the nephew of king Dēva-Rāya II. He should be distinguished from Virūpāksha IV, the son of Mallikārjuna. (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). As the inscriptions of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III overlap in their dates, it is possible that Virūpāksha III

was co-regent of his cousin or tried to supplant him, *i.e.*, Mallikārjuna, the reigning king. (See below). That no other king *intervened* between the reigns of Dēva-Rāya II and Mallikārjuna is further clear from the fact that Nagar 65 definitely states that Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya had a son named Mallikārjuna and then adds:—"On the death of his father, Immadi (Praudha)-Dēvēndra became king of the world," Immadi-Praudha-Dēvēndra being, according to what precedes in the record, none other than Mallikārjuna himself. This fact is made perfectly plain by Nagar 67 which states in so many words that Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II, "was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya," a statement that is fully confirmed by the inscriptions of Mallikārjuna following immediately those of king Dēva-Rāya II.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, Vira-Pāndya-Dēva was governing Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 42 dated in 1440 A.D.). He has been identified with the Vira-Pāndya who set up the colossus at Karkala in the South Kanara District. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, p. 250, *f. n.* 2). Rāyanna-Odeya, son of Baichapa-dandanāyaka, was ruling the Āraga kingdom. The people of Āraga and Holeya-Honnur made a grant in favour of the *Sattrā* and other works of merit he established at Kūdali. (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 71 dated in 1431 A.D.). His son Srigirinātha-Odeyar is said, in a record of 1427 A.D., to be also governing over the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 27). Apparently, he succeeded his father in the charge of this province. He continued in charge as late as 1433 A.D. In 1424, Goa and Chandragutti were governed only by one Tryambaka-Dēva. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 565). Six years later, they were in the charge of Handiya-Rāya, son of Arasappa, styled the Treasurer. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 40). In 1448, Irugappa-Odeya was the governor (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 489) while two years

Generals and
ministers.

later—the last year of Dēva-Rāya II—we find Mallarasa-Odeya in charge of them. (*Ibid*, Sorab 495). Mangalūr-rājya was under Nāganna-Odeya in 1425 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 25). In 1429, it was under Dēva-rāja-Odeya of Nāgamangala. (*Ibid* No. 23). He built in 1429 A.D., the Hosabasti at Mudabidare. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 28). He was evidently a Jain. Bārakūr-rājya was, in 1425 A.D., administered by Narasimba-dēva-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 171). It was, in 1431 A.D., in the charge of Chanarasa-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 148). In 1429, Perumāle-Dannāyaka was minister. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 28). As he is mentioned in inscriptions found in the Mangalūr-rājya, he was presumably in charge—either independently or jointly—of that province. But the most famous ministers of Dēva-Rāya II were Singanna-Dannāyaka and Lakkanna-Dannāyaka. Lakkanna, as we have seen above, was known as the Lord of the Southern Ocean. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that he might have been in charge of the southern province “perhaps the Rājagambhīra-rājya.” (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Page 249). As this rājya is now identified with Padavīdu, this suggestion of Mr. Krishna Sāstri cannot be justified. He appears to have been in office from 1428. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 104). In 1430, he was in charge of Mulbagal and Tōkal provinces. (*E.C. X*, Bowringpete 72). He and his brother Mādanna-Dannāyaka, called Heggadedēvas, are frequently mentioned as in power between 1431 and 1433 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Mulbagal 2 and 96 and Bowringpete 87). In 1440, Mādanna is said to have obtained a victory. They are described as the sons of Vommayamma and of the Vishnuvardhana-gōtra. (Mulbagal 96). It is possible that they were descendants of the last Hoysala king. They built a temple in 1431 A.D., at Virūpākshapura, in the Kolar District called Prasanna-Virūpāksha and provided for it an enclosure wall, towers, golden finials, a Manmatha

pond, *mantapas*, *agrahāras*, a *matha* for mendicants and for decorations and illuminations. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 2 and 96). In 1432 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Malur 3, also Malur 1, the *Saka* date of which (1438) is, as Mr. Rice has pointed out, wrong and should be 1352) Lakkanna and Mādanna handed over charge of the Tekal province to Sāluva-Gōparāja. It is specifically stated that this handing over of Tekal was under the orders of king Dēva-Rāya II. Lakkanna's last year accordingly in Mulbagal was 1432-33 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 87). He was evidently transferred to the Tundira province for we find him making grants in the present South Arcot District. Thus he made gifts for the merit of his brother Mādanna at Pirānmalai, in the present South Arcot District, in 1438 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 141). In 1440 A.D., we see him making gifts in the Bārakūr-rājya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 128). It is possible he had been transferred to that province about that time. Lakkanna was, as we have seen, the Dannaik, who, owing to his absence on his Ceylon expedition, escaped the general massacre. His expedition to Ceylon may have earned for him the title of "Lord of the Southern Ocean." (See above). He seems to have issued a copper coin in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1904-1905, p. 58). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seems correct in identifying Lakkanna and his brother Mādanna with the Lakkanna Nāyaka and Mattana Nāyaka, who appear in the list of Nāyak rulers of Madura given by Mr. Nelson. They come in that list between 1404 and 1451 A.D., which is obviously wrong, as Lakkanna did not leave Mulbagal-rājya till 1432 A.D., and then we see him at Bārakūr in 1440 A.D. It may be that he was in the Pāndya (or Madura) province after 1440 A.D. (See *A.S.I.*, 1907-1908, page 249, *f. n.* 14). Singanna-Dannāyaka appears with Lakkanna in certain records. Singanna appears to have been in charge of Bārakūr-rājya in 1436 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 109). Associated

with him was Arunapa-Odeya. (*Ibid*). This Arunapa-Odeyar was evidently in charge of Mulbagal province in 1444 A.D. (*E.C. X*, Bowringpete 11). Göparāja, who became governor of Tēkal province in 1431 A.D., was the son of Tippa-Rāja-Odeyar, (*E.C. X*, Malur 1 and 3) who was the husband of Harima, elder sister of Dēva-Rāya II. (*E.C. XI*, 29). Tippa-Rāja is described in the inscriptions quoted above as *Mahāmandalēsvara*, Kathāri-Sāluva, Tribhuvani-Rāya, establisher of Sambu-Rāya, subduer of the southern Suratrāna, etc. Gōpa-Rāja restored in or about 1431 A.D., the Tekal fort, the older one built by Ballappa-Dannāyaka and Singi-Dannāyaka, minister of Ballāla-Rāya (whose identity is not clear) having gone to ruin. Gōpa-Rāja, it is said, built both the inner and the outer fort and erected the *Rāja-gambhīra* bastion in it. The title "Establisher of Sambu-Rāya" given to Tippa-Rāja and the name "Rāja-gambhīra" given to one of the bastions in the new fort show that they were taken from a Sāluva who took a prominent part in the restoration of the Sāmbavarāya who was defeated by Kampana II. (See *ante*). This ancestor must be Sāluva-Mangi who, according to the *Sāluvābhyudaya* and the *Rāmābhyudaya* accompanied Kampana II in his campaigns against Sāmbuvarāya and the Muhammadan Sultān at Madura and who was honoured with the title of Sāmbuvarāya-sthāpanāchārya. (*Ibid*). After building the bastion, Gōpa-Rāja and his son Tippayya (evidently named after his grandfather Tippa-Rāya) had tigers seized and brought and hunted them at it. This bastion is called the "indispensable or urgency bastion," (*Arasarada Kottala*) and it was built, it is said, close to the *mantapa* facing the god Varadarāja in the fort. The object of this tiger hunt on the occasion of the restoration of the fort is not clear. The work of restoration was carried out by Singa-Rāja, the minister of Gōpa-Rāja (*E.C. X*, Malur 1 and 3). This

Singa-Rāja was the son of Mallanna-Rāja and is credited with the transportation in 1431 A.D., of the image named *Ganda-bhērunda*, which was on the Māragandankatte, west of Dūdanahalli in Pāla-nād, to the door of the *gōpura* in front of the *mantapa* facing the god Varada-rāja at Tekal, (Malur 3). This Singana has to be distinguished from Singana, the Brāhman agent of Tippa-Rāja, who is highly eulogized in a record of 1430 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 29). One Gururāya is also mentioned as having been the Chief-minister of Dēva-Rāya II. Chandrakavi mentions him in his poem *Virūpūkshasthāna*, a poem descriptive of Vijayanagar, written at the express orders of Gururāya. Chandra Kavi speaks of Gururāya as a new Bhōja-Rāja in his love for arts and science and says that he was entitled the *Rāya-Bhandāri Nārāyana* (Royal Treasurer Nārāyana). He also states that Gururāya commanded him, who was proficient in eight languages—to write a poem on the Lord of Pampa. (Narasimhachār, *Karā-Kavi* II. 81). This Gururāya is, however, not known to inscriptions. Dēva-Rāya II had another minister Mangappa-Dannāyaka, who made a grant by the personal order of the king to the Sōmadēva temple at Sankara-Samudra, (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 127, dated 1431 A.D.), in order that long life, health and increase of wealth may be to Dēva-Rāya.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, the city of Vijayanagar had attained the zenith of its glory. Foreign travellers were attracted to it, some of whom have left descriptions which give a lofty idea of its wealth and magnificence. |

Fame of
Vijayanagar;
descriptions
by foreign
travellers.

The Italian Nicolo Dei Conti was, if not the first European to visit it, was, at any rate, the earliest whose description has come down to us. He appears to have been at Vijayanagar in 1420 or 1421 A.D. He calls it

Nicolo dei
Conti's
account, 1421,
A.D.

Bizenegalia, apparently the Italian form of the name. He says:—

“The great city of Bizenegalia is situated near very steep mountains. (He is apparently referring, as Mr. Sewell has pointed out, to the confused and tumbled mass of rocky hills, some rising to considerable altitude). The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city, there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.”

Of the inhabitants of the city, he says that they marry “as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their husbands.” “Their king,” he says, “is more powerful than all the other kings of India.” His statement that the king had “12,000 wives,” of whom 4,000 followed on foot wherever he went seems an obvious exaggeration. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 84-85).

Abdur
Razaak's
account, 1443
A.D.

Abdur Razaak, the Persian ambassador, arrived at the city at the end of April 1443 and stayed till 5th December of the same year. While still at Calicut, he received a special invitation to visit the city. He calls the city *Bidjanagar*, though in Sir Henry Elliot's *History* (IV. 103 *et seq*) it figures as *Bijanagar*. The following is an extract descriptive of the city from the latter:—

From our former relation and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the writer Abdur Razaak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men. In the whole of Hindustan there is no *Rai* more absolute than himself, under

which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brāhmins are held by him in higher estimation than all other men.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer walls there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one-half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the top of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes.

The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others; in it is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazaars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace, or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazaar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazaars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers

of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers. (See also Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 90-95, where a slightly different rendering is given).

Dēva-Rāya II
holding his
Court.

Abdur Razaak describes the king's elephants, the mint and the governor's residence, which was guarded by 12,000 soldiers. Then follows a pen-picture of king Dēva-Rāya II himself as he held Court in the Palace from which the following is taken :—

“The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by most imposing attributes of State. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water, and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin, and he was rather tall; on his cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing.”

He adds :—

“If report speaks truly, the number of the princesses and concubines amounts to seven hundred.”

This is considerably below the “12,000 wives” mentioned by Conti. Apparently the most wild ideas seem to have been entertained in this respect by foreign travellers. Then follows a description of the brilliant scenes Razaak saw on the Maharnavami day at the king's palace and an account of the Throne on which he saw Dēva-Rāya seated. This throne was, he says, “of extraordinary size” and “made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value.”

Literary
Progress.

The reign of Dēva-Rāya II is one of the brightest in the literary history of Kannada. Among the poets who made his reign famous were some Virasaivas who have attained to great celebrity. Mahālinga-Dēva, the author

of *Ēkōttara-Shatsthala* and *Shatsthala-Vivēka* was one of these. He composed his works for the benefit of his disciple Jakkannārya, who was apparently a general of Dēva-Rāya II. As he is spoken as *Vīrasaiva-ganā-chārya*, his fame as a writer and teacher must have been great. Another was Lakkanna-Dandēsa, identical with the general Lakshmana-Dandanātha, the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya II. From the particulars he gives of himself and his position under king Dēva-Rāya II, there is no doubt whatever that the general was an eminent poet in Kannada. He wrote the *Sivatatva-Chintāmani*, a work of great philosophical merit and literary charm. In describing his work, he speaks of it as the *Sūtra* of the *Vīrasaiva-siddhānta-tantra*, the fundamental *Sūtra* of all the *Vēdas* and *āgamas*, etc. Another notable poet of the period was Kumāra-Bankanātha, the author of *Shatthalōpadēsa* and other works and the *guru* of Jakkannārya himself was a great poet and a greater patron of Virasaiva writers. It has been remarked by Gubbiya Mallanna, in his *Vīrasaivāmruta-Purāna*, that he spent his incalculable riches in the production of Virasaiva works. Chāmarasa, the author of the well-known work *Prabhulingalīle*, and his brother-in-law Kumāra-Vyāsa, the author of the Kannada *Bhārata* (the first ten cantos) also lived during this reign. Stories are told in certain later works, e.g. in the *Kathāsūtra-Ratnākara* of the *Bhairavēsvara-Kāvya* (1672 A.D.), *Gururāja-Chāritra* (about 1650 A.D.), *Chōra-Basava-Charitra* (1763 A.D.), etc., that Kumāra-Vyāsa and Chāmarasa both produced Kannada versions of the *Bhārata*, but that Kumāra-Vyāsa getting jealous of Chāmarasa's version, which was the better of the two, prevailed on his wife to destroy it, that Chāmarasa would not be consoled at the loss he had sustained and that on the inspiration of lord Siva himself, he wrote another work—*Prabhulinga-Līle*—which was so very much

admired that king Dēva-Rāya gave up the idea of honouring Kumāra-Vyāsa and honoured instead Chāmarasa and himself adopted the Virasaiva faith. Closely connected with this story is the other one that Chāmarasa described to the king that Kumāra-Vyāsa's *Bhārata* dealt with *dead men* while his own was devoted to the lives of those who had lived *eternal lives*. This tale, however, is attributed in the *Kathāsūtra-ratnākara* as occurring in a disputation between Jakkārya and *Vandyāchārya*, the Vaishnava *guru* of Dēva-Rāya. These stories, told in varying ways, have had considerable vogue, but seem to lack foundation. They, however, suggest that the poets Jakkanna, Kumāra-Vyāsa and Chāmarasa were contemporaries and lived in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II; that Kumāra-Vyāsa's work attained great reputation and that Chāmarasa wrote his own work, the *Prabhulinga-Līle*, by way of a counter literary production from the Virasaiva school of poets; and that the latter work acquired an equally good reception at the royal court and the literary public. There can be hardly any doubt that the *Prabhulinga-Līle* has been amongst the most famous Virasaiva works known and its translation into the two other Dravidian languages (Tamil and Telugu) shows the great popularity it enjoys among the Virasaivas throughout Southern India. Kumāra-Vyāsa, to whom the destruction of his rival's version has been attributed, produced a version of the *Bhārata*, which for its diction or melody has few rivals in the whole range of Kannada literature. There is not a household in the Kannada country which has not a copy of it. It is today the one Kannada work which is read publicly to large audiences, like the Sānskrit epics, throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is no wonder that the Virasaivas should have attempted to produce a work which could vie with it in popularity. The fact that Chāmarasa's work has attained to the celebrity it

has shows that it possesses merits of a high order not merely as a mere literary effort but also in the epic character of its contents. It is composed in a lofty narrative style of poetry, its diction is elevated and its descriptions pertain to the exploits of religious heroes. Other poets of the period, mainly belonging to the Virasaiva sect were Kallamathada Prabhudēva, author of *Lingalīlā-Vilāsa-Charitra* and other works, who is said to have belonged to Vijayanagar city. Srī-girīndra, who has written a commentary on Jakkanārya's *Ēkōttara-Sthala*; Karasthalada-Nāgidēva, author of a *Tripadi* named after himself; Maggiya-Māyidēva, author of *Anubhava-Sūtra* and other works; Gurubasava, another equally voluminous writer, who was the author of *Sivayōgānga-bhūshana* and other works, and was styled *Virasaiva-sthāpanāchārya*; Baththalēsvara, who though a Virasaiva, wrote a version of the *Rāmāyana*; Chandra-kavi, the author of *Virūpāksha-Sthāna* and other works; and Kalyāna-Kīrti, who was a Jain and wrote the *Gnāna-Chandrābhūdaya* and other works. (See on the whole subject, R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka Kavicharite* II, 43-86). The strength and character of the Virasaiva writers indicates the influence they should have wielded in the kingdom in Dēva-Rāya's time.

The patronage that Dēva-Rāya seems to have extended to poets and authors generally seems to have attracted to his court literary men from other parts of the country. We have, for instance, an account of the visit that Srīnātha, the famous Telugu poet, paid him at Vijayanagar. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 60-62, and V. Prabhākara Sāstry, *Chātupadya-manimanjari*, 115-138). Srīnātha, to whom are attributed the stray verses in which the story of his visit is given, mentions that he was received in the Pearl Hall of the Southern Ruler, *i.e.*, the king of Vijayanagar, and was bathed in gold coins, *dināras* and *tankas* (*Kanakābhishēka*), the conventional

way in which eminent poets were honoured by kings in olden days in India. At Dēva-Rāya's court, in the presence of Chandrabhūshana Kriyāsakti, he is said to have triumphed over the Gauda poet Dindima-Bhatta, in token of which the latter's bell-metal drum (*Kanchu-dhukka*) was broken and himself dubbed with the title of *Kavi Sārvabhauma* (or *Kaviratna*), i.e., world poet, or king of poets. Srinātha was the court poet of the Reddi chiefs of Kondavidu and was the author of the *Srunqāra Naishadham*, *Kāsikhandam* and other well known works. He is said to have visited most of the kings and chiefs of his time and the many stray (*chālu*) verses attributed to him describe his peregrinations, not infrequently in a spirit of gentle raillery, if not satire. His poetry is famous for its easy flow, melody and beautifully turned similies. He was a Vira-saiva in his religious faith, which should have commended him to king Dēva-Rāya II. Other Telugu poets patronised by Dēva-Rāya II were Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka Charitramu* and his son Jannainantri. Jakkana dedicated his work to one Siddhamantri, who, it is stated by him, was greatly honoured by Chāmanāmātya, a minister of Dēva-Rāya II. (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 63-64). Dēva-Rāya II was apparently a good judge of caligraphy for we are told that he presented one Ambamantri with a gold style in recognition of his superb writing. (*Ibid* 65).

Gopa Tippa—the grandson of Harima, the sister of Dēva-Rāya—who, we have seen, governed over Tekal, with his father Gōpa-Rāja (*E.C. X*, Malur 1 and 3 dated in 1434 and 1431 A.D.), was a Sānskrit scholar. Among his works are *Kāmadhēnu*, which is a commentary on Vāmana's *Kāvya-lankāra Sūtra*; *Tāla-Dīpika*, a work on music devoted to the determining of the different ways of keeping time; and a work on dancing to which reference is made in his two other productions.

Hindu society showed visible signs of stiffening about the middle of the 15th century. With the downfall of the Chōla, Pāndya and Hoysala empires and the inroads of the Muhammadans, the tendency for caste to crystallize into water-tight compartments appears to have increased. Hence the praise given to the Vijayanagar kings of this period—1336 to 1486 A.D.—as maintainers of the *varnāśrama dharma*. The instinct of self-preservation drove the Hindus to knit themselves together against the Muhammadans, who showed no kindness of spirit in their dealings with them or their most cherished religious and social beliefs. Still, the free right to marry between Brāhmins and Kshatriyas, seems to have been in full force, as we hear of the existence of Brahma-Kshatriyas in this period as well. (See *ante*). Since the restoration of amity between the Srīvaishnavas and Jains in 1368 A.D. by Bukka-Rāya I, there appears to have good feeling between them. Religion still dominated the every day life of the people. Gifts to Brāhmins—learned Brāhmins, poets and men who lived lives approved by society—were still in vogue. Learning, indeed, was held in such high esteem that grants to those pursuing learning were as common as ever before. The re-establishment of worship and the restoration of festivals in the temples after the driving out of the Muhammadan invaders had added not only to the popularity of the first kings of the First dynasty but also had added immensely to their power with the masses. Such good feeling towards themselves, neither kings nor ministers would have failed to notice nor use to their fullest extent. The result was social progress was retarded, while religious feeling had stirred up men's minds against the foreign invaders who could neither respect another's religion nor sympathize with its social code. Therein lies—as it seems—the root of a problem that is still agitating the public mind in India. But in the time of Dēva-Rāya II,

Social life in
the Middle of
the 15th
Century.

the first step was taken by him to invite Muhammadans to settle in the land as friendly neighbours. He showed the better way—by meeting their very religious susceptibilities in regard to making their obeisance before him. He even went to the extent of ordering that nobody should molest them and even granted them *jāgīrs* and erected a mosque for their use in the capital. (See *ante*). That is not merely toleration; it was brotherliness in religion and in social conduct. No wonder that Dēva-Rāya succeeded in winning the goodwill of his Muhammadan recruits and through them improved the efficiency of his army in certain directions. We have not only the evidence of Ferishta in this connection but also of contemporary inscriptions. (For example, *Seringapatam* 15 dated in 1430 A.D. states that Dēva-Rāya II had 10,000 Turushka horsemen in his service. *E.C.* III).

Among social customs the one that had persisted through ages—the practice of *sati*—continued unabated during the whole of this period of Vijayanagar rule. Instances of it abound in the inscriptional records, quite apart from what Nicolo dei Conti and Abdur Razaak state in this connection. (*E.g.*, Inscription dated in 1410 A.D. found at Bandanike, *M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 115: *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 37: *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 484 dated in 1410 A.D.; Sorab 467 dated in 1412 A.D.; Sagar 8, dated in 1410 A.D.; Sagar 36, dated 1419 A.D., etc.). A social custom which was found to be inconvenient was the practice of bargaining for marriage, which appears to have been already common in the Padaividu (*i.e.*, the Tundira) Province. The Brāhmins of the province, among whom were Karnāta, Tamil, Telugu and Lāta, signed a compact that marriages among them should be concluded only by *kanyādāna*, *i.e.*, gift of the bride. (*S.I.I.* I-82). The tax on marriage was remitted in regard to all classes in the village of Ballālapura in

1462 A.D. This is one of those vexatious taxes that had been levied in Chōla times, if not indeed long anterior to it. Royal sport apparently consisted in the hunting of tigers and elephants. An example of the former is afforded in the tiger-hunt conducted by Gōpa-Rāja, the nephew of Dēva-Rāya II, and his son Tippayya at Tekal. (See *ante*; *E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 3). Dēva-Rāya himself is specially distinguished in inscriptions by the title *Gajabētekāra* or *Gajabētekāra*, or the elephant-hunter. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this title has a direct bearing on the legend *Rāya-Gaja-Gandabhērunda* which appears on the obverse of certain copper coins of Dēva-Rāya II, the reverse containing the figure of an elephant. If a royal title is to reflect this legend, Mr. Krishna Sāstri thinks it probable that the Tamil translators who rendered *Gajabētekāra* into *Gajavēttai-Kand-aruliya* (*i.e.*, who was pleased to witness the elephant hunt), misunderstood the import of the title. In his opinion, the complete form of the title would be, if it is to correspond to the legend on the coins, *Rāya-gaja-bētekāra*, (which is found in *E.C.* X Mulbagal 147) or rather *arirāyagaja*. He, however, admits that the title *gaja-mrigaya-vihāra* assumed by Virūpāksha-Rāya in a record dated in 1467 A.D., (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 20) points definitely to the fact that the title *gajabētekāra* was, in his reign, understood in the sense of "Elephant-hunter." Abdur Razaak gives an interesting account of the mode of capture and the treatment of elephants at Vijayanagar at the time of his visit. This sport of elephant hunting should accordingly have given occasion for the coining of this title in Dēva-Rāya's time. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, P. 250).

Foreign trade seems to have been well developed in the Vijayanagar kingdom during this reign. We learn from Srinātha's *Haravilāsamu* that his patron, apparently

Foreign trade.

a Vaisya by caste and profession, imported valuable articles both by land and sea, and supplied them to the ruling chiefs of the time. Among the goods imported by him were camphor plants from the Punjab, elephants from Ceylon, horses from Ormuz, musk from Goa, silks from China, etc. His customers included the kings of Vijayanagar, the Bahmāni Sultāns, the Gajapati rulers of Orissa and the Reddi chiefs of Kondavīdu. (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 37-38). This merchant of the Telugu country was evidently like Kunjanambi of the Malayāla country who had settled himself at the Hoysala court in the 13th century. (See *Hoysalas* under *Sōmēsvara*). Srinātha is confirmed by Edoardo Barbessa, who travelled in 1516 A.D., or about seventy years after the death of Dēva-Rāja II. He describes Vijayanagar as an active seat of trade in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar. (See below under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāja*).

Religious
faith.

Dēva-Rāja II seems to have been a devout, but tolerant Saiva. He is said to have made the *tulāpurusha* and other great gifts and ruled the kingdom in peace and wisdom. (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 71 dated in 1431 A.D.). A curious gift made by him is mentioned in a record (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 15) dated in 1430 A.D. It is that of a golden cow adorned with jewels along with an *agrahāra* to Brāhmans. He caused a Jain temple to be built in 1426 A.D., in the capital. This temple appears to have been situated not far away from the king's palace. (*S.I.I.* i. 82).

Death of
Dēvarāja II,
1446 A.D.

Dēva-Rāja died on Tuesday, the 24th May 1446. (*I.A.* XXV, 346; *E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola 328, which gives the date as *Kshaya* near and Vaisākha month; and *E.C.* II Sravana-Belgola, 330). An inscription dated in 1448 A.D. states that one Prithuvi-setti, the head of the

Chandragutti 18 Kampāna, who was apparently devotedly attached to him, on hearing of his death, went secretly to Kodakani and in the presence of the god Rāma, is said to have "gained the feet of the god," i.e., died. (*E.C.* VIII Sorab 18). This *hari-kari* should have been performed by him shortly after he heard of his sovereign's death, though the gifts mentioned in the inscription might have been made a couple of years later (in *Saka* 1370, *Vibhava* year, *Māgha*, *ba* 11). From this record and from the words used in *Sravāna-Belgola* 328. ("matchless *Dēvarat*," etc.) it might be inferred that *Dēva-Rāya* II had proved himself a popular king. Sorab 18, indeed, states that on his "setting," he became "a *mahārājaka*" or demi-god. That his death was deeply lamented is further testified to by the composer of the inscription which has been thus translated by Dr. F. Kiēlhorn in appropriate dismal terms:—

"In the evil year *Kshaya*, in the wretched (month) second *Vaisākha*, on a miserable Tuesday, in a fortnight which was the reverse of bright, on the fourteenth day, the unequalled stores of valour (*pratāpa*) *Dēva-Rāya*, alas! met with death." (*I.A.* XXV. 346).

The question to whose death this inscription refers—whether to the death of king *Dēva-Rāya* II or his younger brother *Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya* (*alias*) *Srigiri*—has been discussed above. There is confirmatory evidence from another source to show that he died in or about 1446 A.D. In the *Triyambakapura* copper-plates of his son *Mallikārjuna*, which record the grant of a village in the *Hoysala* country by *Mallikārjuna* to certain *Brāhmins*, there is a verse, from which we have to infer that his father, *Dēva-Rāya* II, should have recently died at the date of the grant. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 61). The verse in question is as follows:—

Pitryuparatē śrīmān dhī (mān) punyavatām varah !
Immadi-Praudhadēvēndro divyātātra nripāgranih !

Mallikārjuna,
1446-1487
A.D.

Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II by his queen Ponnalā-Dēvi, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He was also known as Vijaya-Rāya II, Immadi-Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, Immadi-Dēva-Rāya and Dēva-rāya-mahārāya. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65; Tirthahalli 206, etc.; also *ante*). He may be styled Dēva-Rāya III for purposes of history. Like his father, he bore the title of *Gajabēntekāra*. (See *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206, where it is stated that the name of *Gajabēte-Dēvarāya-pura* was given to a village gifted by him in the Āraga province in 1463 A.D.). According to one record dated in 1447 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Devanballi 38), it is probable that he was known also as Virūpāksha, though his full name is given as *Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya*. It is possible that Virūpāksha was an additional name of this king, though it is not by any means clear whether *Dēva-Rāya* is the shortened form of *Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya* or *Immadi Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya*, etc. He is said to have been born through the favour of the god Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri, *i.e.*, Srīsaila, in the Kurnool District. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65). Hence the name Mallikārjuna, which is the name of the deity presiding over Srīsaila. The exact length of his reign is not known. There is a Tiruvonnainallūr record of his dated in Saka 1407, *Visvāvasu* (=1455 A.D.) in which he is called Kumāra-mallikārjunarāya. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 48, App. B. No. 473 from Tiruvonnainallūr in the South Arcot District. The suggestion that he may be another and a "later" Mallikārjuna, made in this report is corrected in *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 39). The latest mention made of his reign is in a record from Tiruttalu in the present South Arcot District, (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 39; also App. B. No. 422) dated in Saka 1409, *Visvāvasu*, corresponding to A.D. 1487-8. The statement made by Mr. Gōpinātha Rao that he "appears to have died in the year Saka 1387 *Vyaya* Samvatsara" (=A.D. 1465) is,

therefore, untenable. (He cites no authority for the date mentioned by him. The coronation of Virūpāksha took place, according to the Srīsailam plates in Saka 1388, *Pārthiva*; from this, it might be presumed that his father might have died in *Tārana*, the preceding cyclic year and not in *Vyaya*, the succeeding cyclic year). Apparently, a revolution occurred in or about Saka 1388 (=A.D. 1466) when Mallikārjuna was apparently superseded by Virūpāksha III, his nephew (son of the brother of king Dēva-Rāya II), the donor of the grant mentioned in the Srīsailam plates. (*E.I.* XV. 8-24). Though superseded as sovereign, he appears to have continued to rule, apparently as a rival sovereign with Virūpāksha III for at least another twenty-one years (from 1466 to 1487 A.D.). The total length of his rule, so far as at present known, is about 41 years. (1446 to 1487 A.D.). When exactly he died is not yet known. He must have been, equally with Virūpāksha III, swept away by the usurpation of Śāluva Narasimha-Rāya.

Almost immediately after his accession to the throne, Mallikārjuna had to meet a formidable invasion of his capital which, according to the Sanskrit drama *Gangā-dāsapratāpavilāsa*, was jointly undertaken by the Bāhmani Sultān (apparently Alā-ud-dīn) and the Gajapati king of Orissa (identified by Mr. Venkayya with Kapilēsvara, A.D. 1434-5 to 1469-70 A.D.). An alliance between these two monarchs, with a view to their mutual benefit, had been in existence for some time. The effect of it was to check Vijayanagar aggression on the East Coast, which, as we have seen, had extended up to at least Kondavidu, where was stationed a Vijayanagar viceroy. Some time before the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, an extension of territory appears to have been effected by the conquest of Vinukonda in the present Guntur District. This appears to have become the head-quarters of

Invasions of
Vijayanagar,
1446 A.D. and
1469 A.D.

a governorship in Dēva-Rāya's reign. (S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 17, pp. 55-6). Though there is no inscriptional confirmation of this assertion made by Vallabharāya, the author of *Kridābhirāmam* (see V. Rangāchārya, *List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, 846-7; *M.E.R.* 1913, App.), it may be conceded that he is stating an actual fact that he was the Vijayanagar governor of Vinukonda. Such advance could not apparently go unchecked. The combined invasion of the Bāhmani Sultān and the Gajapati king of Orissa was probably the result of such extension. There were evidently two attempts made by these two kings—once against the capital itself, in 1446, immediately on the death of Dēva-Rāya II and again, about 16 years later, in or about 1462 A.D. on the dominions of Vijayanagar, the objective being apparently Kānchi and the surrounding country. The *Gangādāsa-pratāpavilāsam* suggests that there was an earlier attack of these two kings—earlier than the accession of Mallikārjuna—but that it had been repulsed. Taking advantage of the youth of the monarch, they seem to have renewed their attack immediately on his accession and besieged Vijayanagar City. Mallikārjuna is said to have sallied forth from his capital, like a lion from his den, and “routed the enemies so thoroughly that the two allied kings just escaped with their lives.” (See *M.E.R.* 1906 Para 47; 1907, Para 56 quoting Professor Eggeling's India Office Library Catalogue VII. 1610; see also Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 25-26). Of this defeat sustained by Sultān Alā-ud-dīn (not Ahmiad Shah as mentioned by Mr. Venkayya in *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 47), Ferishta makes no mention whatever; nor indeed does he tell us anything between the years 1443 and 1458 A.D. That the defeat was actually inflicted there can be no doubt. In a record dated in 1450 A.D., Mallikārjuna is spoken of as *Tuluk-*

kadala Vibhādan i.e., the destroyer of Muhammadan forces. This may be taken to refer to the successful opposition he offered to the combined forces of the Gajapati and Bāhmani kings. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 39; App. C. 154 of 1919). Alā-ud-dīn died in 1458 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Humayun, a prince of "cruel and sanguinary temper." He besieged Dēvarakonda (in the Guntur District) but was driven off with ignominy. He died in 1461 A.D. and was succeeded by Nizām Shāh, who made room after a short reign, to Muhammad in July 1463 A.D. The death of Alā-ud-dīn and the internal disputes that subsequently arose in the Bāhmani kingdom left Kapilēsvara to look solely to himself for his conquests in the south. Undaunted, he seems to have made a further effort at conquest in or about 1462 A.D. in the country around Kāncbi. This expedition of his against the Tundira (*i.e.*, Tondamandala) province of Vijayanagar seems reflected in contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous lithic inscriptions found in that area and in the dramatic romance called *Kanji-Kāvēri Pothi*. (S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 6). Apparently, the commotion created by this expedition was great. Thus, a record dated in 1473 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III, refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan (*i.e.*, the Orissa king) and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Siva temple of Jambai in the South Arcot District for ten years. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 93 of 1906). Another record, dated two years earlier (A.D. 1470-71) during the reign of Sāluva Narasimhadēva-Mahārāya also refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan about "8 or 10 (years) ago," and to the Vishnu temple at Tirukoilūr getting out of repair in consequence. From these records, the inference is plain that there was a fresh invasion of Kapilēsvara, the king of Orissa, into the Tundira province of the Vijayanagar kingdom about

1462-3 A.D. Kapilēsvara, we know from other sources, spent the whole of his reign in warring with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar or with the Muhaimmadan kings of the Bāhmani dynasty or in suppressing internal revolts." (*J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, i; also *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 56). An inscription of Kapilēsvara, dated in 1465 A.D. recording a grant near Kondapalli, in the present Guntur District, has been found at Bezwada. This grant should have been made after the expedition he led against Tundira. (*I.A.* XX, 390; see also Rangāchārya, *List*, II, No. 60).

Levy of
illegal
exactions
stopped, 1446
A.D.

A record of 1446, *i.e.*, of the very first year of Mallikārjuna's reign, shows that illegal exactions had to be stopped by the new king. It would appear that the ministers "in the kingdom had been taking presents (by force) from all *raiya*s belonging to both the right-hand and left-hand classes at the commencement of each reign. As a result of this extortion, all the *raiya*s had been harrassed and had run away to foreign countries." Worship and festivals ceased in temples; the country became full of disease; all people (that remained) either died or suffered. Mallikārjuna ordered, through his ministers, the immediate cessation of this levy, thus relieving the poorer people from a burden which apparently had become well nigh intolerable to bear. (See *M.E.R.* 1906-7, Para 55; *A.S.I.* 1907-8, p. 247, *f.n.* 1).

Pāndyan
occupation
of Kānchi,
Circa
1469-70 A.D.

About the time Kapilēsvara invaded the Vijayanagar territory from the north-east, a Pāndyan king, of the name Bhuvanaika-Viran Samarakōlahalan, appears to have led an expedition against Kānchi from the South. As we have seen, the Sāmbavarāyas ruled over Kānchi as the feudatories of the Pāndyas, and Kampana II on his conquest of Rāja-Gambhīra-Sāmbavarāya and the capture of Padaividu, invaded the Pāndyan kingdom and

drove out the Muhammadan Sultān (identified with Nasir-ud-din Dainaghan Shāh) whom he killed. The Vijayanagar occupation of the Pāndyan Kingdom was disputed in the reign of Harihara II, who is said to have reconquered the country. Virūpāksha II, as mentioned before, accomplished this re-conquest and became its governor with the Tundira and Chōla countries. The Pāndyans seem to have next got a chance at the time Mallikārjuna came to the throne. In the confusion caused by Kapilēsvara's repeated invasions, Bhuvanaikavīra, the Pāndyan king, should have tried his luck at the re-capture of Kānchi, which had been lost to the Vijayanagar prince Kampa II. Bhuvanaikavīra should have been an intrepid prince and powerful enough to re-assert Pāndyan rule over such a distant province as Tundira, whose capital Kānchi was. That he was an active prince is proved not only by this attempt at the re-capture of Kānchi but also by the active rule he appears to have set up in his own kingdom. Many coins of his containing the telling legends of *Samarakōlāhalan* and *Bhuvanāikavīra* on their reverse and the figure of a kneeling Garuda on a fish—the Pāndyan emblem—show that he should have attempted to regain a little of the ancient glory that belonged to his royal House. (See *M.E.R.* April 1890, Para 2, App. No. 25). His coins are still popular in the Madura bazaar, which shows the vogue they should originally have had. As an inscription of his dated in 1469 A.D. and recording two villages in the Pāndyan country and called after himself (as *Samarakōlāhalanallūr* and *Bhuvanāikaviranallūr*) has been found in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kānchi, it has to be inferred that he was in actual possession of that city for some time after its conquest. Seeing that his inscription is dated in 1469 A.D., his occupation of it cannot have been long anterior to that date.

Massacre of
Muhamma-
dans at
Bhatkal,
1469 A.D.

In 1469 A.D., the Muhammadans at Bhatkal, who at the time had monopolized all the coast trade and upon whom the Vijayanagar kings had to a large extent depended for the supply of horses required by them, sold all that they imported to the Muhammadans of the Deccan. King Virūpāksha II, enraged at this conduct, ordered his feudatory at Honawar "to kill all these Moors as far as possible and frighten the rest away." The result, according to Barros, who relates the story, was that there was a terrible massacre in which 10,000 Muhammadans lost their lives. The survivors fled and settled themselves at Goa, thus founding the city which afterwards became the capital of Portuguese India. Barros does not mention the king who ordered this massacre, but Nuniz supplies the missing name, when he states that "Goa, Chaul and Dabull" were lost to Vijayanagar in the reign of "Verupaca," who has to be identified with Virūpāksha III. The ordering of this massacre is entirely in keeping with the character of Virūpāksha III as we know it. Though Purchas states that this massacre took place in 1479 A.D., Barros seems to be correct when he sets it down to 1469 A.D. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 99).

The massacre
avenged, 1469
A.D.

Shortly afterwards—about the middle of 1469 A.D.—Mahmud Gawān, the minister of Muhammad, the Bāhmani Sultān, led an army to the west and after a fairly successful campaign, attacked by land and sea Goa, then a Vijayanagar possession, and captured it. This loss of Goa in Virūpāksha's reign is duly chronicled, as mentioned above, by Nuniz. This probably is one of the wars referred to by Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who visited the Bāhmani kingdom between 1468 and 1474 A.D. Referring to Mahmud Gawān, entitled Mallik-al-Tijār, he says he had been fighting the Kofars (Hindus) for twenty years, being sometimes beaten but mostly beating them." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 103).

Virūpāksha, however, did not fail to attempt the recapture of Goa from the Muhammadaus. Ferishta tells us that in 1472-3 A.D., the Vijayanagar governor of Belgaum (called *Balgoan* by Ferishta), instigated by his king, marched to retake Goa. On hearing this, Muhammad Shāh immediately marched an army against Belgaum, which is described as "a fortress of great strength, having round it a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach, defended by redoubts." The place was taken, and we have to presume that the diversion had its effect. The name of the Vijayanagar governor of Belgaum is given by Ferishta as "Perkna," by Briggs as "Birkana" and by Major King as "Birkanah" and five other variants of it are also known. Mr. Sewell has suggested that the real name was Vikrama. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 100).

Virūpāksha's attempt to retake Goa, 1472-3 A.D.

Though thus foiled in his attempt, Virūpāksha's successor, Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya appears to have made another attempt to re-capture Goa in or about 1482. It was the last year of Sultān Muhammad's reign and just before his death, he planned, according to Ferishta, an expedition to relieve Goa, which, he adds, had been besieged by a Vijayanagar army sent there by Sewaroy (probably Narasimha-Rāya, meaning Sāluva Narasimha, the usurper). But Muhammad Shāh's death put a stop to the despatch of the projected relieving force. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, quoting Major King's *Burhan-i-Maāsir*).

Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller, visited Kuldurga between 1468-1474 A.D. Whether he visited Vijayanagar personally or not is not ascertained. He has, however, left a description of the capital, which, on the face of it, seems to be based on *hearsay*; it is so far correct as might be expected in the circumstances. He calls the Hindu kingdom *Chenudar* and *Benudar*, which

Athanasius Nikitin's description of Vijayanagar, Circa 1474 A.D.

Mr. Sewell thinks are variants of the name *Vijayanagar*, called farther on as *Bichenegher*. He states that the Hindu king possessed 300 elephants, 100,000 infantry and 50,000 horse, as against Sultān Muhammad's 900,000 foot, 190,000 horse and 575 elephants. It cannot be surprising that with this enormous army, Muhammad and his minister Gawān were always fighting against the "Kofars" *i.e.*, Hindus. Nikitin thus describes Vijayanagar city:—

"The Hindu Sultan Kadam (probably Karnatic, the name by which Vijayanagar was ordinarily known in those days) is a powerful prince. He possesses a numerous army and resides on a mountain at Bichenegher, (*i.e.* Bijanagar or Vijayanagar). This vast city is surrounded by three forts and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful jungle, and on the other a dale; a wonderful place and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible; a road goes right through the town and as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 105).

The "Hindu Sultan Kadam," which seems a literal rendering of the phrase *Karnātaka Hindu suratrāna* of the inscriptions, who was in power between 1468 and 1474 A.D., was Virūpāksha III, as the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha had not yet been accomplished.

Famine in the
Deccan, 1475
A.D.

There was a terrible famine in the Deccan in 1475 A.D. It is said to have lasted for two years. Parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom should have suffered from it as the Telugu country, now forming part of the Kistna and Guntur, appears to have been ravaged by it. How far it extended into the interior and whether it affected any part of South India proper is not known. The people of Kondapalli (in the present Guntur District) rose in rebellion, killed the Muhammadan governor and invited aid from the king of Orissa. Sultān Muhammad advanced in person for the relief of the place. The Orissan army

retired; Rajahmundry fell and Muhammad Shāh advanced on the Orissan king, who made peace with him. The reduction of Kondapalli was followed by the destruction of its temple and the raising of a mosque on its site.

Muhammad next secured the Telingana country and "resolved on the conquest of Narasing-Raya," apparently the usurper Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya. Ferishta describes him thus :—

Sultān Muhammad's war against Narasimha, Circa 1480-1481 A.D.

"Narasing was a powerful Rāja possessing the country between Carnatic and Telingana, extending along the sea-coast to Matchilipattam (Masulipatam), and had added much of the Beejnuggur territory to his own by conquest with several strong forts." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* 101; Scott, *Ferishta* I. 167).

The *Burhān-i-Maāsir* states, differing from Ferishta in this matter, that Narasimha had forestalled Sultān Muhammad at Rajahmundry. He and his large army, however, fled before Muhammad. After occupying Rajahmundry, he marched on Kondavīdu, the seat of a Vijayanagar governor, and from there "after its conquest, advanced on Malur, a possession of Narasimha, towards the kingdom of Vijayanagar." This place has been identified by Mr. Rice with Malur in the Kolar District, which, considering the statement of Ferishta that it was reached immediately after Kondavīdu, seems impossible. (See *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 117). The *Burhān-i-Maāsir* also describes Narasimha as one "who owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagar." It adds that he "had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanara and Telingana and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar." Muhammad, on his march towards Vijayanagar, heard of the opulent city of Kānchi

March on Kānchi and its capture, 1481 A.D.

(*Kunchy* of Ferishta and *Gani* of the *Burhān-i-Maāsir*) and its gold-plated walls and roofs ornamented with precious stones. His cupidity was kindled and he made a forced march on it with 6,000 cavalry and sacked it. On his march back, he is said to have taken Masulipatam, which was in Narasimha's hands. Mr. Sewell thinks the capture of Kānchi "exceedingly improbable" as the distance to be covered was 250 miles, and the way lay "through the heart of a hostile country." (Sec A *Forgotten Empire*, 101, f. n. 4).

Fall and dis-
memberment
of the
Bāhmani
Kingdom,
1489 A.D.

Within a couple of years of the revolution at Vijayanagar, which ended in the subversion of the Sangama dynasty and the establishment of the Sāluva dynasty in its place, the Bāhmani kingdom fell as the result of internal troubles and civil wars. The cold-blooded murder of Mahamud Gawān, his famous minister, by Sultān Muhammad in 1481 A.D., so disgusted his adherents that the great nobles fought among themselves and thus came out of the dismembered kingdom the five independent principalities of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Berar and Bidar. The first of these, with which our history will be principally concerned, was founded in 1489 A.D.

Domestic
Life.

Mallikārjuna appears to have had six sons. Three of these were Virūpāksha IV, Dēva-Rāya IV (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206) and Rājasēkhara (*E.I.* III, 36; *M.E.R.* 1892, Para 9) though the last of these is usually shown as "unnamed" in the genealogical tables. Dēva-Rāya IV appears to have been born in or about 1463 A.D., the date of Tirthahalli 206 wherein it is mentioned that Mallikārjuna made the gift of a village "at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva-Rāya." Mr. Rice thinks that the occasion was the name-giving (*nāmakarna*) ceremony of Dēva-Rāya, a son of Mallikārjuna. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has, however, suggested that as "we do not know of any son

of Mallikārjuna of that name," it is "more likely that the author omitted to repeat the word *tanayasya* a second time for the sake of metre." He, therefore, inclines to the belief that the occasion "would be the birthday of Dēva-Rāya, a grandson of Mallikārjuna," whom he would identify with the *Padea Rao* of Nuniz, (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 251, *f. n.* 10). There is, however, no reason whatever to read the word "son" as "grandson" in this record and interpret the Dēva-Rāya mentioned in it as a grandson named Dēva-Rāya of an unnamed son. Nor is it necessary to suggest, as Mr. Gōpinātha Rao has done (*E.I.* XV 17), that the record "does not mention what name was given to the child," when it specifically states that the name-giving ceremony was of the king's (*i.e.*, the donor's) son Dēva-Rāya, *i.e.*, the child who was dubbed Dēva-Rāya is actually mentioned as such. (See *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206). There is no need for these forced interpretations as we now know that Mallikārjuna lived as late as 1487 A.D. (see above) and that Dēva-Rāya, the son named in the Tirthahalli record, would have been in that year, (*i.e.* 1487 A.D.), about 23 years of age, if he was living in that year. The further suggestion that we do not otherwise know of a Dēva-Rāya as a son of Mallikārjuna, and so he must be taken to be his grandson, is easily explained on the basis that neither of the sons of Mallikārjuna succeeded him on the throne and so it cannot be regarded as otherwise than natural that we do not hear any further of this Dēva-Rāya, the son of Mallikārjuna. We now come to Virūpāksha IV, the first named son of Mallikārjuna. He appears to have had two sons. One of these was Praudha-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1903, App. A, No. 593 of 1902 dated in 1486 A.D.). The Praudha-Dēva-Rāya of the Parnapalle record of 1476 A.D. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 97), may have to be identified with this prince, if the existence of this alleged

record is proved to be true hereafter. He has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with the *Padea Rao* (Praudhadēvarāya) of Nuniz, in whose time the Sāluva usurpation is said to have taken place. Nanja-Rāja-Odeyar was another son of Mallikārjuna. He is referred to in certain inscriptions found in the Mysore District, as *Mahāmandalēsvara*. His records bear the dates 1488 A.D., 1491 A.D., 1492 A.D. and 1494 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 53; 113; 102, 100, T.-Narsipur 67 and Nanjangud 101). He is probably the person whose name has been read by Mr. Rice as "Mallikārjuna's son Junjana-Rāya." As Mr. Rice says the copy from which he abstracted the contents was a "very corrupt" one, the name may have been wrongly read. (See *E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 51 and *f. n.* 1; Translation, page 69). As Sāluva Narasimha's usurpation was complete about 1487 A.D., it is not surprising that Nanja-Rāja is described as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara*. (Nanjangud 102 and T.-Narasipur 67). Similarly, another son of Mallikārjuna, who apparently ruled over a portion of the Mysore District, was Parvatayya. He is also described as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara* in a record dated in 1494 A.D. It is evident that these two brothers accepted without demur their respective subordinate positions under Sāluva Narasimha. His sixth and last son Dēpanna Vodeyar is mentioned in a record dated in 1484 A.D. (*E.C.* IV Chamrajnagar 127). He is described in it as *Mahāmandalēsvara* the Srī-Vīra-āneyabēntya Immadi-Rāya-Vodeyar Kumāra (*i.e.*, son of Immadi-Rāya-Vodeyar, the Elephant-hunter). He made a grant of Haradhanalli to the great god of gods, the god Anilēsvara, probably the god in the Divya-lingēsvara temple at Haradhanalli, Chamrajnagar Taluk.

A double
revolution,
1466 and 1486
A.D.

During the reign of Mallikārjuna, there was a double revolution, which ended finally in the supplanting of the

Sangama Dynasty by the Śīluva Dynasty. The first revolution appears to have been led by Virūpāksha III, son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, *alias* Vijaya-Rāya, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Vijaya-Rāya had been, as we have seen, co-regent of his brother in the last year of his reign. This should have afforded Virūpāksha a convenient reason to try his fortune against the legitimate heir Mallikārjuna. His revolution should have occurred before 24th October 1465 A.D., corresponding to Saka 1388, Cyclic year *Pārthiva*, the date of the Śrīsailam Plates. These plates record a grant by this Virūpāksha to the Śrīsailam temple on the occasion of his coronation when he was seated upon the throne of his ancestors (*pitryam simhāsanam*), thus testifying directly to the fact that Mallikārjuna, the reigning king so far, had been successfully superseded by him, so successfully indeed as not to be counted among the kings who had preceded him on the throne. The suggestion is complete that he came in by a revolution and not by succession. This inscription further states that Virūpāksha (III) was Śiva himself reborn under the name Virūpāksha to Pratāpa-Rāya and his queen Siddhala-Dēvi, and that he obtained the kingdom by his power (or by the prowess of his own arms, *nijapratāpadadhi gatyā*), and that having conquered his enemies with his sword, he reigned with happiness. This statement of his winning the kingdom by his own prowess is confirmed in two other records dated in 1472 and 1474 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 60 and *E.C.* III, Malvalli 21). Among the *birudas* (titles) given for him are:—“the conqueror of the *Suratrāna*” (apparently a reference to the defeats he, probably with his cousin Mallikārjuna, inflicted on Alā-ud-din, the Bāhmani Sultān, in 1446 A.D. as above mentioned); “he who drove the Āndhra king” (this is undoubtedly a reference to the unsuccessful invasion of Vijayanagar by the Orissan king Kapilēsvara,

as detailed above); he who was Suratrāna among Hindu kings (see Nikitin's description below); "Tri-rāja-bhujagōnnata"; "who was a lion to the elephants, the enemy kings"; "who produces fear in the minds of his enemies," etc. It is clear from this inscription that Virūpāksha III and his party should have had put to death a number of persons belonging to Mallikārjuna's party and perhaps even drove them out of the capital and carried out his coronation as king. These are probably the deeds of prowess he refers to in certain of his grants. (See above). Who all fell in this confessedly sanguinary civil warfare it is not clear. That Mallikārjuna himself escaped is now evident from the discovery of his records dated many years after this incident, in fact dated as late as in 1485 and 1487 A.D. Apparently he condemned himself into banishment from the capital. As regards his six sons, Virūpāksha IV is mentioned in a record of 1483 A.D., from Gangaikonda-chōlapuram in the present Trichinopoly district; Dēva-Rāya IV in a record, dated in 1463 A.D.; Rājasēkhara in records dated in 1479 and 1480 A.D.; Nanjarāja-Wodeyar in records dated from 1491-1495; Parvatayya in records of the same period. This shows that not only Mallikārjuna but all his sons survived the revolution.

Is the Virūpāksha of the *Prapannāmrītam* the Virūpāksha who compassed this revolution?

There are one or two points to notice in connection with the first revolution. The editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* has identified Virūpāksha III, (see No. 27, *Prapannāmrītam*, pages 71-73; also Introduction pages 6-7) who accomplished this revolution with the Virūpāksha of the *Prapannāmrītam*, who, as already stated, has to be identified with Virūpāksha II, son of Harihara, who was a competitor for the throne with his brothers Bukka-Rāya II and Dēva-Rāya II in 1404-5 A.D. (see *ante*). The statement made in the *Prapannāmrītam* that out of gratitude for relieving him from the trouble

of the ghosts, Virūpāksha gave up his sign-manual on his seal of *Srī Virūpākshā* and substituted for it *Srī Rāma* (*Sources of Vijayanaṅgar History*, Introduction, 6; Text, 73) is contradicted by the Srīsailam plates, which record a grant by Virūpāksha III immediately after the revolution, on which we might naturally have—if he indeed was the Virūpāksha in question—expected the use of the new sign-manual. But it bears actually the old sign-manual of *Srī-virūpāksha*. (*E.I.* XV, No. 2, page 25; See *Text*, Line 90).

Nuniz's account of this double usurpation is a tangled mass of detail, which, however, has not been corroborated by contemporaneous inscriptional records. Nuniz thus narrates the story of the first revolution which, he says, ended in the murder of Verupaca, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha IV (see *Pedigree* at the end of this section), the great grandson of Dēva Rāya II, and his unnamed elder son, at the hands of his own (the latter's own) younger brother:—

Nuniz's
account of the
affair.

“On the death of this king succeeded a son named Verupacarao (Virūpāksha-Rāya). As long as he reigned, he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, and never showed himself either to his captains or to his people; so that in a short time he lost that which his forefathers had won and left to him. And the nobles of the kingdom, seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, Chaull and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm. This king in mere sottishness slew many of his captains. Because he dreamed one night that one of his captains entered his chamber, on the next day he had him called, telling him that he had dreamed that night that the captain had entered his room to kill him; and for that alone he had him put to death. This king had two sons already grown up, who, seeing the wickedness of their father and how he had lost his kingdom, determined to kill him, as in fact was done by one

of them, the elder, who was his heir; and after he had killed him, when they besought him to be king, he said, "Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood;" which was done, and the younger brother was raised to the throne. And when they had entrusted the kingdom to him he was advised by his minister and captains that he should slay his brother, because, as the latter had killed his father so he would kill him if desirous of so doing; and as it appeared to the king that such a thing might well be, he determined to kill him, and this was at once carried out, and he slew him with his own hand. So that this man truly met the end that those meet with who do such ill deeds. The king was called Padeearao; and after this was done he gave himself up to the habits of his father, and, abandoning himself to his women, and not seeking to know aught regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city.

"One of his captains who was called Narsyngua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force.

"He wrote, therefore, and addressed the captains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it was for them not to have a king over them who could govern properly, and how it would be no wonder, seeing the manner of his life, if the king soon lost by his bad government even more than his father had done.

"He made great presents to all of them so as to gain their goodwill, and when he had thus attached many people to himself he made ready to attack Bisnaga where the king dwelt. When the king was told of the uprising of this captain Narsyngua, how he was approaching and seizing his lands and how many people were joining him, he seemed unmindful of the loss he had suffered, he gave no heed to it nor made ready, but,

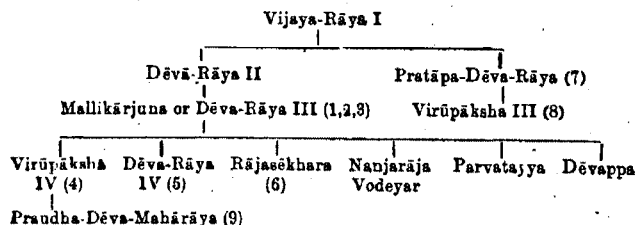
instead, he only ill-treated him who had brought the news. So that a captain of the army of this Narsyngua arrived at the gates of Bisnaga, and there was not a single man defending the place; and when the king was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be. Then the captain entered the city, and the king only said that it could not be. Then he even entered his palace and came as far as the doors of his chamber, slaying some of the women. At last the king believed, and seeing now how great was the danger, he resolved to flee by the gates on the other side; and so he left his city and palaces, and fled.

"When it was known by the captain that the king had fled he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city and of the treasures which he found there; and he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsyngua. And after that Narsyngua was raised to be king. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsyngua."

The differences disclosed by a comparative study of the data made available by contemporary inscriptional records and those furnished by Nuniz writing about a century after the events to which they relate happened cannot be put more graphically than by the two following tables:—

Comparison between epigraphic data and Nuniz's account.

ACCORDING TO EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS.



- (1) Tirthahalli 206.
- (2) *M.E.R.* 1902, 570.
- (3) *M.E.R.* No. 37, dated 1465 A.D. from Kānchi.
- (4) *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 83 of 1892, dated in 1483 A.D. from Gangaikonda-chōlapuram. *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 53, No. 898 of 1909, dated in 1485 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1922, re-examining *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 101, dated in 1469 A.D.

(5) *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206, dated in 1463 A.D. The full name given in the record is: Dévarāya-Mahārāya-Virūpāksharāya-Prouda-Dēva-Mahārāya which Dr. Hultsch has interpreted (correctly, I think) as Prouda-Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha-Rāya IV and the grandson of Dēva-Rāya III. (See *M.E.R.* 1908, Para 15).

(6) 1479-1480, 1486-67 (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 9, *E.I.* III, 36). Rājasēkhara is mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 42: Appendix C. No. 121 of 1921 dated in 1470 A.D.

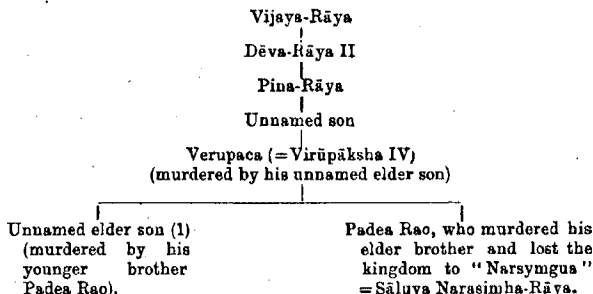
(7) Dēva-Rāya mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1890, No. 39, dated in 1470 A.D. as the father of Virūpāksha and identified wrongly by Dr. Hultsch with Dēva-Rāya II.

(8) Mentioned in Srisailam plates, *E.I.* IV, 8, dated in 1465 A.D., as the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and *M.E.R.* 1890, No. 39, dated in 1470 A.D., as the son of Dēva-rāya identified by Dr. Hultsch wrongly as Dēva-Rāya II. (See *M.E.R.* 1890, Para 2 and 1892 Para 9), *M.E.R.* 916 Para 61 and Appendix C. No. 269, dated in 1471 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 49 and Appendix C. No. 210 of 1921, dated in 1471 A.D.

(9) *M.E.R.* 1903, Para 15, Appendix A, 593 of 1902 from Anbil. His vassal Sāluva-Sangama-Dēva Mahārāya mentioned in records dated 1481 and 1486 A.D. which come from Anbil.

M.E.R. 1903, Para 15, Appendix A. 593 and 594. In the earlier record he omits to mention his sovereign's name; but in the later one he mentions it.

ACCORDING TO NUNIZ'S CHRONICLE, 305-6



(1) Nuniz says that "Verupaca" had two sons already grown up, the "elder" of whom, he says, murdered his father and was in turn murdered by his "younger" brother. (Nuniz's *Chronicle*, 305). Mr. Sewell in summarising Nuniz on page 97 of his book, by a slip, says that "Virūpāksha was murdered by his eldest son who in turn was slain by his younger brother, Padea Rao," thereby suggesting that "Verupaca" had more than two sons, which is not covered by Nuniz's authority.

Examination
of differences
between the
two sets of
data.

A close examination of the above two tables will show that while according to Nuniz it was Virūpāksha IV, the great-grandson of Dēva-Rāya II, who proved himself a vicious and wicked ruler and was put to death by his

elder son, who was in turn put to death by his younger brother, who in turn lost the kingdom to Sāluva-Narasimha, according to the inscriptions (see Srīsailam plates, the Sajjalur plates—Māvalli 121—and Sagar 60), it was *Virūpāksha III*, nephew of Dēva-Rāya II, who superseded Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II, and celebrated his coronation ceremony in or about 1465-6 A.D., when Mallikārjuna was still alive. It would seem to follow from this that Mallikārjuna was either let off with his life or escaped "the powerful arms," as it is suggested in the Srīsailam and the Sajjalur plates of Virūpāksha III. Secondly, according to Nuniz, there were a series of murders—of father, son and a brother—before the kingdom was lost to Sāluva-Narasimha; but according to the inscriptions of the period, found in widely different parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom, there seem to have been none such. The murders, if any, should have been perpetrated, so far as the first revolution was concerned, before the coronation of Virūpāksha III, which took place in 1465-6 A.D. Mallikārjuna, his chief rival, was, as we now know, alive up to at least 1487 A.D.; Virūpāksha IV, his eldest son, was, according to an inscription, alive up to 1483 A.D.; of the latter's younger brothers, Dēva-Rāya IV was alive in 1463 A.D. and Rājasēkhara, some of whose records dated in 1469, 1479 and 1487 A.D. have come from Ambur and Tiruvannamalai, was alive up to at least 1487 A.D.; Nanjarāja and his two younger brothers also escaped and bore rule long after in parts of the Mysore District. (See *ante* Mallikārjuna under *Domestic Life*). We also know that Dēva-Rāya IV was an infant in 1463 A.D. and as such could not possibly have fallen into the hands of Virūpāksha III and even if he had been secured, his murder would not have encompassed anything for Virūpāksha III as the infant's father and elder brother were at liberty; not only was Praudha-

Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha IV, alive up to at least 1486 A.D. but also is represented as ruling, one of his subordinates Sāluva-Sangamadēva-Mahārāja making a grant in his reign mentioning him as the ruling king. It would thus seem that not only Mallikārjuna but also his two sons and his grandson Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, in other words, he and all his direct descendants, were alive for many years after the coronation of Virūpāksha III. From these data, the inference seems possible that Virūpāksha's revolution prevented the succession of Mallikārjuna's sons to the *sovereignty*, though there is evidence to show that all his six sons and his grandson Praudha-Dēva Mahārāya bore rule—probably as local governors—in the old Tundīra and Chōla and Mysore countries from where their inscriptions came. Mallikārjuna also seems to have ruled over parts of the same countries including the modern Coimbatore from where many of his later records come. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 41; see *M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 45 and references to records therein.)

Brief
enumeration
of the
differences.

As between the testimony of Nuniz and the testimony of the inscriptional records of the period they deal with, the latter has undoubtedly to be preferred. The following reasons may be urged against the acceptance of Nuniz's story:—

(1) His narrative gives no details as to names, and is confessedly one made up from the memory of his informants, who appear to have gone wrong; (2) his statement about successive murders is not confirmed by any of the inscriptions so far discovered; on the other hand, all of them indicate that the persons alleged to have been murdered—*i.e.*, Virūpāksha IV and his brothers—were living for many years after the coronation of Virūpāksha III; (3) his account confuses the life-stories of the two Virūpākshas of the period—Virūpāksha III, son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and nephew of king Dēva-Rāya II and Virūpāksha IV, the eldest son of Mallikārjuna,

and attributes to the latter's sons the first revolution whereas according to the Srisailam and the Sajjalur plates and Sagar 60, it was actually Virūpāksha III who "by his prowess" managed to dethrone Mallikārjuna and got his coronation celebrated at Vijayanagar.

In view of every one of the sons of Mallikārjuna surviving the revolution of Virūpāksha III, it has to be presumed that the revolution effected by him was a bloodless one, so far at least as the immediate parties were concerned though not unaccompanied by deeds of cunning which the composers of the Srisailam and the Sajjalur plates have described as deeds of prowess. There is, however, an element of truth in Nuniz's account, which deserves to be noted. The statement made by him that "Padea Rao," the last son of Virūpāksha IV, lost the kingdom to "Narsymgua," *i.e.*, Sāluva Narasimha (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 306-7) may be true in this sense that he was *possibly* the last direct lineal descendant of the Sangama dynasty who was probably entitled to the throne, which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya usurped from Virūpāksha III in or about 1485 A.D., the supplanting being virtually completed in that year.

That this is as nearly as may be what actually occurred in connection with the first revolution and how this first revolution led to the second revolution by which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I came to occupy the Sangama throne will be clear from a consideration of the inscriptional records of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha III and Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I, the usurper. These are set out below, in chronological order, in Tables A, B and C. These tables will indicate the position much more clearly than any explanatory glosses on the records themselves.

The story of the two revolutions as indicated in epigraphic records of the three sovereigns.

TABLE A.

INSCRIPTIONS OF MALLIKARJUNA.

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
1	E.C. VIII, Nagar 68.	1441-2 A.D.	Refers to a death in a (?) local fight in the reign of Immadi-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāja at Vijayanagar, "protecting it in righteousness."
2	E.C. VII, Shikarpur 240.	1442 A.D.	Raising the siege of a village in the reign of Rājādhirāja Rāja Paramēswara Virapratāpa Immadi-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāja (i.e., Mallikārjuna).
3	E.C. VII, Shikarpur 36.	1445 A.D.	Records a <i>sati</i> when Immadi-Dēva-Rāya was ruling a peaceful kingdom.
4	M.E.R. 1925-26, Para 38, App. C. No. 251.	Saka 1368 Kshaya (A.D.1446)	Registers a remission by a local ruler in the reign of Mallikārjuna, son of Vira-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāja.
5	E.C. VII, Shikarpur 239.	1447 A.D.	Records a <i>sati</i> in the reign of Rājādhirāja Paramēswara Vira-pratāpa Mallikārjuna Mahārāja.
	E.C. XII, Pavagada 69.	1447 A.D.	Grant by Mallikārjuna, called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, who was so called because he was "double of his father in valour." The gift was of a village re called Dēvarāyapura in Rāyadurg Kingdom. The donee is said to have been the author of <i>Bhāshyābhāṣā</i> and proficient in all kinds of learning. He was examined by the king in an assembly of the learned and all the learned men were, it is said, pleased with him.
6	M.E.R. 1907-1908, Para 61 (copper plate record).	1447 A.D. Saka 1369 Prabhava Year.	The record states <i>inter alia</i> that Mallikārjuna was so named because he was born by the favour of God Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri and mentions the grant of a village in the Hoysala country to certain Brāhmins. It was renamed Pradhā-Dēva-Rāya-pura after himself.
7	E.C. VI, Koppa 32.	1448 A.D.	Records a grant made when Mahārāja-dhirāja Rājaparamēswara Vira-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna Mahārāja was in Vijayanagar maintaining the <i>Varmasramadharmas</i> .
8	E.C. VIII, Sorab 473.	1448 A.D.	Records a death in a raid in the reign of Mallikārjuna, son (<i>Kumāra</i>) of King Dēvarāya II.
9	E.C. III, Seringapatam 11.	1448 A.D.	Records the grant of a village belonging to Kannambādi by Mallikārjuna, also called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, to a Brāhmin named Dēvara Bhatta.

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
10	E.C. VIII, Nagar 67.	1450 A.D.	When (Immedi) Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya was in Vijaya, royal city of many countries, protecting all the country in his own right (<i>Svadharmadattu</i>) a grant of certain insignia of office was made in favour of Chidbōha Bhārati by Bhōgaradhana-vālapurusha, descended in the line of Suresvarāchārya, disciple of Sankarāchārya.
11	E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 220.	About 1450 A.D.	A grant in the time of Immadi-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya.
12	E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 155.	About 1450 A.D.	A grant by Srīgirimalla Odeyar, Governor of Araga, in the reign of the victorious Mahārājādhīrāja Vira-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna at Vijayanagar, ruling a secure empire.
13	E.C. IV, Hunsur 125.	(?) 1450 A.D.	Records a grant by Mallikārjuna Odeyar.
14	M.E.R. 1921, App. B. No. 524 of 1920, Lithic inscription at Gōpināth Temple at Pattisam, Kumbakōnam Taluk.	1450 A.D. (S ka 1372 Promodūta).	Records gift of land by Sāluva Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārāya.
15	E.C. VI, Koppa 44.	1451 A.D.	Records a grant when Mahārājādhīrāja Vira-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, was in Vijayanagar upholding the <i>Vandaramadharmas</i> .
16	E.C. VIII, Sorab 566.	1451 A.D.	Refers to a <i>Sati</i> Chandragutti Province in the reign of Mahārājādhīrāja Vira-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna-Rāya.
17	E.C. IV, Hunsur 96.	(?) 1452.	Records a grant by Hamparasa, of the customs, in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna.
18	E.C. VIII, Sorab 167.	1454 A.D.	Refers to the setting of a <i>Viragal</i> in the Governorship of Treasury by Lingappa-Vodeyar of the Chandragutti Province during the reign of Mallikārjuna Mahārāya.
19	E.C. III, Malvalli 66.	(?) 1454 A.D. (Prabhava)	When Srīman Mahārājādhīrāja Mallikārjuna Mahārāya was ruling the Kingdom of the world, (Record incomplete.)
20	E.C. VIII, Nagar 65.	1455 A.D.	States that to King Praudha-Dēva-Rāya II and Ponnala-Dēvi was born, through the favour of God Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri, a son called Mallikārjuna. On the death of his father, Immadi (Praudha)-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) became the king of "the world. He is termed "powerful" and "Chief of Kings."

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
21	<i>E.C. IV, Nagamangala 91.</i>	1457 ...	Records a grant to a temple in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja-Vira-Pratāpa-Mallikārjuna-Rāya-Mahārāya.
22	<i>E.C. V, Hassan 16.</i>	1458 A.D.	Grant by order of Mahārājādhirāja Ariraya Vibhāda, captivator of the women of Kuntala (Kuntala), Mallikārjuna-Mahārāya.
23	<i>E.C. III, Seringapatam 89.</i>	1458 A.D.	When Mahārājādhirāja Vira-Pratāpa Immadi-Praudha-Dēva-Rāya called Mallikārjuna Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, Timmanna-Dannāyaka who was the lord of Nāgamangala and Chief Minister of Mallikārjuna erected a <i>mantapa</i> for feeding Srīvaishnava Brāhmins and provided for the maintenance of the dining hall by the grant of two villages with the permission of Mallikārjuna.
24	<i>E.C. III, Seringapatam 133.</i>	1453 A.D.	States that Timmanna-Dandanātha became minister of Mallikārjuna or Immadi-Dēva-Rāya. With the permission of Mallikārjuna, Timmanna's wife made a grant of two villages for the Goddess Lakshmi, at Mēlkōte.
25	<i>M.E.R. 1920, App. C. No. 212 of 1920.</i>	Saka 1381 Pramathi (A.D. 1459).	Records a grant of land for daily worship in a temple, in the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara Vira-Pratāpa-Kumāra-Mallikārjuna. (Four other inscriptions in the <i>M.E.R.</i> 1920. App. C. Nos. 216, 231, 234 and 236 dated in the cyclic years Promodūta, Prabhava, Prabhava and Prabhava respectively mention the reigning king as "Mallikārjuna-Rāya" or "Mahāmandalēsvara Mallikārjuna-Rāya").
26	<i>E.C. III, Mandya 12.</i>	1459 A.D.	Records a grant by Mahārājādhirāja Sri Pratāpa Mallikārjuna and his chief minister Timmanna-Dannāyaka while at Fenugonda on business connected with Narasinga's Kingdom, <i>i.e.</i> , Province (Apparently Narasinga was then governing over the Penukonda province). It is stated in this record that Mallikārjuna was at the time "ruling the Kingdom in peace" from Penukonda.
27	<i>E.C. Mandya 69.</i>	1459 A.D.	Similar to Mandya 12, and dated in the same year. The grant mentioned in it was made by Mallikārjuna while on a visit to Penukonda with his chief minister Timmanna on business connected with Narasinga's Province.

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
28	<i>E.C. VIII, Sagar 2.</i>	(?) 1460 A.D.	Refers to the time when Mallikārjuna was king at Vijayanagar.
29	<i>E.C. VIII, Sorab 562.</i>	1461 A.D.	Refers to a local fight in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Mallikārjuna-Rāya.
80	<i>E.C. X, Bowring-pete 24.</i>	1462-3 A.D. (Saka 1395 Chitra-bhānu.)	Records an exemption from certain taxes in favour of a temple when Sriman Mahārājādhirāja Mūru-Rāyara-Gauda, etc., Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya (II), was on the throne, granted by one Tamma-iragattur of Muluvāyi, who was apparently a subordinate of Kattari-Saluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeya, the future usurper.
31	<i>E.C. VIII, Tirthehalli 206.</i>	1463 A.D.	Records the grant of a village in the Araga province made by Mallikārjuna, named Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva-Rāya.
32	<i>E.C. VIII, Nagar 69.</i>	1463 A.D.	Refers to a grant in the reign of the "Great King" named Mallikārjuna, who was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, by the king himself while at Vijayanagar. The grant was made by the king on his birthday (under his natal star).
83	<i>E.C. IX, Doddaballapur 51.</i>	1464 A.D.	Records a grant by the Mahānāyaka Nanja-Rāja-Odeyar (wrongly read as <i>Jurjana Rāya</i>), son of Mallikārjuna, "the great Ganda-bhērunda to the three kings."
34	<i>E.C. IX, Kankanhalli 36.</i>	1465 A.D.	Records a grant to the God of Sriparvata when Mallikārjuna was ruling the Kingdom.
35	<i>E.C. X, Bowring-pete 18.</i>	1465 A.D. (Pārthiva)	Records the grant of certain levies (tribute money for sacred ashes and revenue from forced sales) which were levied for the palace from the temples of the Muluvāyi Province, to the temple of Syāyambhunātha at Madaivala, in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna-Rāya Mahārāya. This grant, it is said, was made according to the order of Vira-Singa-Rāya-Odeyar (apparently a shortened form of or a mislection for Narasinga-Rāja-Odeya, the future usurper). The inscription being incomplete, it is not clear what position he held under Mallikārjuna.
86	<i>E.C. III, Malavalli 64.</i>	1465 A.D.	Records the restoration of the Arkēvara temple at Malavalli and the erection of a <i>jalandara</i> for the God on the date mentioned while

TABLE A.—*concl.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
			Rājādhirāja Vira-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya was promoting the increase of his kingdom. (The name <i>Dēva-Rāya</i> is read in place of the usual <i>Immedi Dēva Rāya</i>).
37	E.C. IX, Devanhalli 66.	1467 A.D.	Records a Kodagig grant in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vira-Pratāpa Dēva-Rāya (i.e., Mallikārjuna).
38	E.C. IX, Magadi 44.	1475 A.D.	Records the setting up of a pillar when Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya (i.e., Mallikārjuna) was ruling all the empire.
39	E.C. VIII, Tirubhalli 153.	About 1490 A.D.	Refers to a grant made out of a grant made by Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya in the name of Narasimha Bhārati-Odeyar—the grant having been made before the eyes of Purushōtama-Bhārati-Odeyar, in the presence of God Vidyāsankara, at the feet of Narasimhēvara. (This refers to a grant carved out of a grant by Dēva-Rāya II).
40	M.E.R. 1921-22, Para 48; App. B. No. 473.	Saka 1407 Visvavasu (A.D. 1485).	Registers the grant to the Kaikolans of Valudailambattu-rāja in the Kānchi province, certain privileges, in the reign of Kumāra Mallikārjuna.
41	M.E.R. 1925-26, Para 39; App. B. No. 423 of 1925.	1487 A.D. (Saka 1409-Visvavasu).	Records a royal charter, issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēvarāya-Mahārāya, "who instituted the elephant hunt," in favour of the Kaikolans of the Kānchi province in response to their representation to Aranyalatta-Nāyinar, the king's minister.

TABLE B.

INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRŪPĀKSHA III.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
1	E.C. IX, Devanhalli 38.	1447 A.D. Cyclic year Prabhava. (Lithic inscription at Dharmapura, Devanhalli Taluk, on a stone north of the Tirumala-Dēva Temple.)	Records a grant when Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēvara, master of the four oceans, Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling a secure kingdom. (This is the earliest inscription known of Virūpāksha, which Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri remarks "could not be explained otherwise than by supposing that the king (presumably Mallikārjuna) was also called Virūpāksha.")

TABLE B—contd.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
2	E.C. V, Belur 135.	1466 A.D. ...	A grant by Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virapratāpa Virūpāksharāya-Mahārāya of Hebbalur village to God Channakesava of Belur.
3	E.C. V, Arkalgud 41.	1468 A.D. ...	A grant made in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virapratāpa Chakravarti Virūpākshadēva.
4	E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 143.	1468 A.D. ...	Refers to the setting up of a <i>Viragal</i> in the Araga Kingdom during the Governorship of Dandanāyaka-Odeyar, the great minister, in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha-Mahārāya who was in Vijayanagar ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.
5	E.C. III, Serin-gapatam 139.	1468 A.D. ...	Mentions Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara Virapratāpa Virūpāksha-Mahārāya as governing the kingdom of the world.
6	E.C. X, Mulbagal 20.	1468 A.D. ...	Records that when Mahārājādhirāja Gajabēte-Kāra, Virapratāpa Virūpāksha-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the world, one Muluvaī Hariyappa remitted <i>in order</i> that <i>dharma</i> might accrue to Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar (doubtless the usurper Sāluva Narasimha), certain fixed rent due to him from a local City merchant, on condition that he daily presented two betel leaves for God Sōma of Mulbagal as long as the sun and moon exist.
7	E.C. X, Mulbagal 147.	1469 A.D. (Virōdhiyear)	Incomplete. Records that when Sriman Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāya Vibhāda and Gajabēte-gāra Virūpāksha-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, some Mahāmandaleśvara did something (probably made a grant).
8	M.A.R. 1907-1908, Para 62.	1469 A.D. ...	Records a grant in his reign to the God Dāmōdaraperumāl at Bannerghatta.
9	E.C. XII, Gubbi 23.	1470 A.D. ...	When Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virapratāpa-Virūpāksha was ruler of the world, and his great minister Singappa-Dannāyaka was administering the kingdom (called <i>Sri-rājya</i>) mahāsāmanta Kalaru-Nāyak's mother Kallarasiyamma renewed the whole temple of Sidda Mallikārjuna at Sampige, Gubbi Taluk.

TABLE B—contd.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
10	E.C. X, Mulbagal 253.	Saka 1388, Cyclic year Vikāri, which do not agree. Saka 1388 falls in Cyclic year Vyaya and would be A.D. 1446; and Vikāri in Saka 1392, or 1470 A.D. If the Cyclic year may be taken as the guide, the date 1470 A.D., may be accepted as correct.	Records a grant by Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar (i.e., Śāluva Narasimha) when the Mahā-Rāja, lord of the eastern and western oceans, Gajabekara, Virūpāksha-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
11	E.C. III, Serin-gapatam 86.	1471 A.D. ...	Mentions Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Mahārāya, also subduer of hostile kings, etc., as governing the kingdom of the world.
11a	M.E.R. 1921-22, Appendix B. No. 481 of 1921, Lithic record at Tiruvennai-nallūr, South Arcot District.	1471 A.D. (Saka 1393) Vikriti Kumbha See pratāna Monday Uthiram.	Records the gift of certain taxes for maintaining certain services at the temple and mentions Śāluva Narasimha Dēva Mahārāja.
11b	M.E.R. 1921, Appendix D. No. 120 of 1921, Lithic inscriptions at Ayyapālyam, Ārni Division, North Arcot District.	1471 A.D. (Saka 1393, Khara).	Registers the remission of taxes and the grant of privileges to those who colonised Narasimha Tirupati founded by Īsvara Nāvaka, the agent of Śāluva Narasingarāya I.
12	E.C. VIII, Sagar 60 (Yiduvani stone-inscription at the Yiduvai i Pārsvanātha-basti, Sagar Taluk).	1472 A.D. ...	Records a grant at the time of Solar eclipse to a Pārsvanātha temple built by Parsagauda, who was devoted to "gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning," at Iduvane in Hebbaval-nād, in the present Sagar Taluk, in the reign of "the great Virūpāksha-mahārāya," Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara, glory of the Īsvara-kula, refuge of the world, favourite of the minds of earth and fortune, who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess. (The phrase is not concluded but may be filled in from other records such as Sajjalur and Srisailam).

TABLE B--concl'd.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
13	<i>E.C. Bowring-pete 19.</i>	1474 A.D. ...	Records a grant when Mahārājādhirāja Rajaparamēsvara Vira-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Rāya was ruling the kingdom to God Syayambhūtha at Madivāla by Linganna-Rāja, the officer of Bethamangala, in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmaudalēsa Medinimira-Ganda Kathāri Sāluva Narasingarāja-Vodeyar.
14	<i>E.C. III, Malvalli 121.</i>	1474 A.D. ...	Mentions a grant of "the celebrated Virūpāksha" who was Siva himself reborn. Rājādhirāja; king of the world; great in making gifts; fountain of mercy; who had acquired by his own prowess the kingdom; who had obtained obedience from every part of his dominion; who had conquered every enemy on the battle-field; who shone in the world as a true hero; the holder of titles such as Mūru-Rāyara-Ganda; Parārāyara-bhayankara; Hindu-rāya-Suratāna, etc. Later on, in the praportion, he is spoken of as king Virūpāksha who was <i>Karnātesvara-rāya-Kunjara</i> (chief among the chiefs of the Karnāta). He is also described as the son of Pratāpa-Mahipati and Simhala-Dēvi (a mislection for Siddhala-Dēvi).
15	<i>E.C. VIII, 527.</i>	1475 A.D. ...	Records the purchase of lands for the Kasurkappa temple God in Edunad, in Chandragutti Province, when Virūpāksha-Rāya was in Vijayanagar ruling the kingdom.
16	<i>E.C. V, Channarayapatna 163.</i>	1478 A.D. ...	A grant by Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vira-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-mahārāya when he was in the residence of Hastināvati (Vijayanagar) ruling a peaceful kingdom.
17	<i>E.C. Bowring-pete 69.</i>	1478 A.D. ...	Incomplete. Mentions that when Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksharāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, etc.
18	<i>E.C. X, Mulbagal 104.</i>	1485 A.D. ...	Seems to record a grant by one Linganna when Virūpāksha-mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world—but the significant words occur, "in the administration of Narasimha-Rāja-Vodeyar" (i.e., Sāluva-Narasimha). The words used are: <i>Virūpāksha-mahārāyeru prithivi-rāyam qeyutam giralu Narasimha-Rāja-Vodeyara pālaneyalu</i> .

TABLE C.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SALUVA-NARASIMHA-RĀYA I.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
1	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1904, Appendix B. No. 253, Lithic Inscriptions at Tirumala Venkatesaperumal temple.	1456 A.D. (Saka 1378, Dhātri.)	Gift of a village to the temple by Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya, son of Gundaya-Dēva-Mahārāya.
2	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1917, Appendix B. 762, Lithic inscription at Gōvinda Rāja Perumal Temple at Lower Tirupati, North Arcot District.	1457 A.D. ...	Records that Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva Mahārāsu ordered certain procedure to be adopted with regard to distribution of food in the Tirupati Hill and other temples and refers also to the feeding houses controlled by him at Tirupati.
3	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1918, Appendix B. 270, Lithic inscription at Timmakottai, Mannargudi taluk.	1466 A.D. (dated in Vijaya, Saka 1388.)	Records a gift of land by Vira-Narasinga-rāya-Nāyaka (<i>M.E.R.</i> 1918, Appendix B. No. 346, undated, which mentions the same chief, may also belong to him).
4	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1919, Appendix C. No. 53, Lithic inscription at Nōchchikulam near Kuni-medu, South Arcot District.	1466 A.D. (Saka 1388, Vijaya.)	Gift of land for offerings, festivals and a flower garden at Munnini by Tammarao, agent of Annamarasayya, <i>avagaram</i> of Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyar.
5	<i>E.C. X.</i> , Kolar 23.	1467 A.D. ...	Records a grant by Mahārājadhīrāja Mandalēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāyarāya-mahārāsu for the God of Bayirava of Sihatti. By this grant, he restored the villages given by Rājendra-Chōla and Vira-Ballāla and in his own name he offered "new trays of offerings," including a <i>Chattra</i> for feeding daily 215 Brāhmins which, he says, "we have carried on."
6	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1921 22, Appendix B. No. 371 of 1921, Lithic inscription at Tiruvadi, Cuddalur Taluk, South Arcot District.	1469 A.D. (Saka 1391, Khara, Vajshaka Su. 10.	Mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya. Records the gift of taxes of a village by Timmnāyaka, agent of Annamarasayya, the <i>avagaram</i> of the king.
7	Do ...	1469 A.D. Vikriti (expired) and Khara (current).	Gift of land by Timmnāyaka, agent of Annamarasayya, the <i>avagaram</i> Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya for burning lamps in the temple.

TABLE C—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
8	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix C. No. 166. Lithic inscription at Brahmadesam, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. (Saka Virodhi year, Kartika 8.)	Mentions Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya and records gift of land by Servai-Nāyaka, agent of Annamarasaya, Minister.
9	M.E.R. 1919, Appendix C. No. 4. Lithic inscription at Sembudu, Ginjee Taluk, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. Vikriti Masi 21 (Saka year not mentioned but it should be 1392.)	Registers a gift of taxes by <i>avagaram</i> Annamarasayyar for worship and repairs to Sundarēsvarasvāmi temple at Sembudu made on the Sivarātri day. Narasinga being, according to <i>Jainini Bhāratamu</i> , deeply devoted to it.
10	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 374. Lithic inscription at Tiruvandar Kōil near Pondicherry.	1470 A.D. (Vikriti, Phalgunā Su.ḍi. pratam. The Saka year is not mentioned but should be 1392.)	Mentions Narasinga rāya and Tammināyaka, agent of Annamarasa, chief minister of Narasinga I.
11	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix C. No. 172. Lithic inscription at Brahmadesam, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. (Saka 1392, Vikriti, Punguni 2.)	Mentions and records Narasinga-Mahārāya's grant of certain local taxes for maintaining 40 lamps in the temple by Annamarasa, the <i>avagaram</i> (i.e., <i>avasaram</i>) or agent of the king.
12	M.E.R. 1921-22, Appendix C. No. 8. Inscription at Abhirānēsvara temple, Tiruvāmāttur, South Arcot District.	1471 A.D. (Saka 1393, Vikriti Arpasi 15.)	Mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyār and the grant of certain taxes for restoring the village and the temple, long lying deserted, in the name of Narasinga-Rāya, by <i>avasaram</i> Annamarasaya, his agent.
13	E.C. IV, Nagamangala 79.	1472 A.D. (Nandana.)	Records the setting up by one Chikka-Allappa-Nāyaka of a Dipamāli-Kamba (pillar) in front of the Lakshmi-Kāntha temple in Devalāpura, Nagamangala Taluk, which had been granted to him by Mahāmandalēsvara, Mēdinimisaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Narasingayya Dēva mahā-araṣa.
14	E.C. IV, Nagamangala 59.	1476 A.D. (Durmuḱhi.)	Records a grant by Srīman mūvarurāyaraganda-bhērunda Narasinga Dēvaru and Nāga Nāyakaru (i.e., Sāluva Narasimha and another).

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
15	M.E.R. 1925, Appendix B. No. 357 of 1925. Lithic inscription in Iswara temple at Papanköil, North Arcot District.	1477 A.D. (Vilambi adi 21. No Saka date given, it should be Saka 1399)	Mentions a grant of land to the temple by one Mugappa vadari-Rāmaia-Nāyakar for the merit of Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyar.
16	E.C. IX, Channapatna 158.	Saka 1400, Vilambi year (= A.D. 1478).	Records a grant to a <i>matha</i> by Varadarāja-Dēva-Nāyak of the village of Chakkalur, Channapatna Taluk, "in order that <i>Dharma</i> may be to the Mahāmandalēsvara, <i>Mēdinimisara-ganda</i> , Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar.
17	M.E.R. 1921-22, Appendix B. No. 408. Lithic record at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District.	1478 A.D. (Saka 1400, Vilambi Su. Paurṇima Friday Chitra).	Mentions Sāluva-Narasinga-Dēva Mahārāya. The agent of his, <i>Malavay</i> Iswara, constructed a car for the God and instituted certain festivals and made also gifts of land to it on behalf of his brother.
18	E.C. IV, Heggaddevankote 74.	Saka 1400, Pingala year, which do not agree. Saka 1400 falls in Vilambi. If Saka 1400 is the intended date, then it would be 1478 A.D.; but if Pingala year is intended, it would be Saka 1419, or A.D. 1497. There is now no doubt that Sāluva Narasimha I was still alive in 1497 A.D. (See Nos. 13 and 14 below in this Table).	Records the grant of two villages to God Bānēsvara of Magge in Bayalnād by Tipparasa-ayya, the minister of the house-hold of Sri-Prithvi-Vallabha Sriman mahāmēdini-miseyara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya mahārāya. It is added:—"We have made this grant in order Narasinga-Rāya-mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years." (<i>Narasinga-Rāya-mahārāyariḡe-Sivira-kālasthira-rājya-āgabē-kendu Kotter</i>).
19	M.E.R. 1921-1922, Appendix B. No. 370 of 1921. Lithic Inscription at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District.	1479 A.D. Vikāri (Saka date not given but should be 1401).	Does not mention Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Dēvamahārāsa, though he was the supreme person in power. Gift of a village for burning perpetual lamps in the bathing hall and in the mahā-mandapa for offerings, made by the agent of Narasa-Nāyaka.

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Sl. No	Authority	Date	Contents
20	E.C. IX, Kan- kanhalli 8.	1481 A.D. ...	Records the grant as a <i>pura Dharma-Sāsana</i> the village of Chikka-Manalvadi, by the <i>Mahā-mandalika</i> , <i>Mēdini-misara-ganda</i> Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeyar. The place is stated to belong "to our Province of Channapatna" (<i>namma Channapatna rājyakke Saluva</i> , where <i>rājya</i> has to be understood as "Province," and not literally as "Kingdom," as translated by Mr. Rice).
21	M.E.R. 1921— 1922, Appen- dix B. No. 450. Lithic Inscrip- tion at Tiruvennai- nallūr, South Arcot District.	1482 A.D. (Saka 1404, Plava, Cbitrai 14).	Mentions Mahāmandalēswara Narasinga-Dēva Mahārāja and refers to the heavy taxes imposed on the shepherds in charge of temple cattle and their consequent migration to other places. Their reduction by Aramvalatta Nāyanar, agent of Narasa-Nāyaka.
22	E.C. IV, Naga- mangala 59.	1484 A.D. (Krodhi).	Records the grant of a village to the Chunekana-Bhairava temple by Virūpāksha-Dēvanna, minister of the house-hold of Mahāmandalēswara, <i>Mēdini Misara-ganda</i> Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar.
23	M.E.R. 1910, Appendix B. No. 318 of 1909.	1484 A.D. ...	Records the finding of a village on a hill at Tirukkachehar for the merit of king Narasinga-Rāya and Nāganna-Nāyaka, the foremost of his servants.
24	E.C. IX, Magadi 32.	1484 A.D. ...	Records the grant of a village to one Ganga-Vodeyar when Mahā-mandalēswara, <i>Mēdini-Misara-ganda</i> , Kathāri-Sāluva, Narasinga-rāja-mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the world.
25	E.C. XII, Maddagiri 86.	1485 A.D. ...	Mentions Vira-Vira-Narasinga Dēva's minister (his name illegible).
26	M.E.R. 1923, Para 78, Appen- dix C. No. 112. Lithic record in <i>Sivatsi- har</i> , Chingle- put District.	1485 A.D. Saka 1407, Parabhava Magha Suddha Madras Uttiram).	Mentions Narasimha-Dēva-Mahā-Rāja, son of Gunda Rāja-dēva Mahārāja. Records the remission of a tax on the village for providing for offerings in it.
27	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 710 of 1917. Lithic Inscription at Kamapuram, Anantapur District.	1485 A.D. September 9 Friday (Saka 1407, Visvasa. Asvigaba).	Records the gift of a village by a subordinate of Narasimha-Rāya I. He mentions its conversion into Narasimbabudhi after the king.

TABLE C—concl'd.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
28	E.C. XII, Tumkur 54.	1486 A.D. ...	When Rāja-Paramēsvara Fraudapratāpa-Narasīnga-Rāya, seated on the diamond throne in Vidyanagar, was ruling the earth, by his order a <i>Gaudike</i> (headship) was granted.
29	E.C. IX, Nelamangala 47.	1469 A.D. (Saumya year).	Records the grant by the people of Kalesale to Kumbala Sidderevodeyar the village of Talakere, in the Nelamangala Taluk, "in order that <i>Dharma</i> might be to the Mahā-mandalesvara, Mēdini-Misara-ganda, Narasiuga-Rāya-Mahārāya.
30	E.C. X, Bowringpete 14	1489-1490 A.D. (Saumya year).	From the uneffaced portion of the inscription, it is inferred that it records a grant by Sriman Mahāmandalesvara Kathāri-Sāluva at Rāmasāgara, Bowringpete Taluk.
81	E.C. XII, Kunigal 11.	1493 A.D. ...	When (Narasīnga-Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the earth. (Rest effaced).
32	E.C. III, Mysore 88. Lithic inscription at Hanchi, Varakod hobli, Mysore District.	1496 A.D. (Saka 1418, Nala, Asvayuja, Su 12 Śū.)	Narasanna-Nāyaka, the Mahā-pradhāna of Mēdini-Misara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasīnga-Rāya, made a grant of Hanchi belonging to Melapur for the God Agastēsvara at the junction of the Cauvery and the Kapila rivers. It is added that <i>pradhāni</i> Narasanna-Nāyaka, in accordance with a <i>nirūpan</i> (order) of Narasiuga-rāya, granted, on the occasion, to Chikkanna, the Hebbarava who was the son of the <i>Sthānika</i> of the Agastēsvara temple, 70 <i>honnu</i> as <i>uvachāra</i> , (i.e., <i>upachāra</i>), or courtesy gift.
33	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917. Lithic Inscription at Agali, Madak-sira Taluk, Anantapur District.	1497 A.D. (Saka 1420, Pingala, Chaitra Su-di 15, Saturday).	Records a grant to the temple at Rāmesvara by Kāchapa-Nāyaka II who had gone to that place with Narasimha-Nāyaka. Kāchapa Nāyaka held the Rāyadurgachāvadi, which included all the surrounding country, as a fief from Narasiuga-Rāya-Mahārāja and Narasanna-Nāyaka.

Note.—There are a couple of inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1555, *Vibhava*, corresponding to A.D. 1663, in the reign of Narasimha-Rāya I, who is spoken of as *Vira-Narasimha Rāya* in them. They both came from Tiruvennainallūr, South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Appendix B, 470 and 492 of 1921). They confirm the grants of *Sarvamānya* villages made to a temple. The date mentioned in them is too late for Narasimha-Rāya I. As remarked by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, the date may refer to the copy made in that year of an earlier grant made originally in the reign of Sāluva-Narasīnga-Rāya I.

From the above inscriptional tables certain well-grounded inferences are possible. First, as to Mallikārjuna and how he lost his throne at Vijayanagar. Mallikārjuna apparently began to rule—according to his records—as co-regent with his father from about 1441 A.D. That he did rule as co-regent with his father has to be conceded, not only because there are inscriptions dated in his reign five years before he ascended the throne, but also there is one record dated in 1450 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 67) which actually states that he was then *ruling in his own right*, which would seem to indicate that he was as co-regent, ruling *not* in his own right but in virtue of his father's. As his inscriptions range in date from 1441 to 1487 A.D., so far as at present known, he should have reigned both from Vijayanagar and from another place, which is not so far known, for about 46 years. Having succeeded his father Dēva-Rāya II in 1446 A.D., he seems to have gone on well enough up to about 1459 A.D., when we find the first signs of restlessness on the part of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I. He was then probably governor of Penukonda having been transferred from Mulbagal, where his cousin Gōpa, son of Tipparāja, brother-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II, was ruler of the country round Tekal. (See *ante*): Two inscriptions (*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59) mention a visit paid by Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmanna-Dannāyaka, on business—it is stated in them—connected with the affairs of Narasinga's province. It should be noted here that these two records have been greatly misunderstood because the term *rājya* mentioned in them has been, under a misapprehension, translated by Mr. Rice as "kingdom." That it should be understood as meaning nothing more than "province" is evident from a very large number of other inscriptions in which the word is similarly used. Moreover, Narasinga, had not, at the period of these records, yet

A study of the above inscriptional tables A, B and C. Table A: Mallikārjuna.

revolted against his sovereign. Apparently the first beginnings of his assertion of independent authority were visible and Mallikārjuna and his minister visited Penukonda, where apparently some overt act against imperial authority had occurred, and, without doubt, set right matters. That this should have been so, might be inferred from numerous records dated in the names of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha III and Narasinga-Rāya I himself, ranging from the date of these records (1459 A.D. and 1485), when Narasinga-Rāya I became the actual sovereign, Virūpāksha III being a mere raifaineant. The affair on which Mallikārjuna and his minister visited Penukonda in 1459 A.D. cannot be construed as the revolution itself, for *after* the visit to Penukonda, Mallikārjuna is described as ruling from Vijayanagar. This position continued from 1460 A.D. onwards up to the last inscription known of Mallikārjuna's reign, dated in 1487 A.D., though his rule as from his throne at Vijayanagar wholly disappears from 1466 A.D., the date of his supersession by Virūpāksha III. That the Penukonda "business" of 1459 A.D. cannot have been the final act in the revolution effected by Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I is further confirmed by the fact that at that time the first revolution of Virūpāksha III had not yet taken place, for it came off only in 1466 A.D. But the date of this Penukonda "business" is, however, important as indicating that Narasinga's influence was growing apace. Thus in 1462-1463, we have a grant by a subordinate of his named Tomma-Irugattur of Maluvāyi, his gubernatorial province. (*E.C. X*, Bowringpete 24). That he had not yet broken off from his allegiance is proved by a record dated in 1465 A.D., in which we find registered a grant "in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna" at the express orders of Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeya. (*E.C. X*, Bowringpete 18). Apparently he was still governor of Mulbagal province at the time of this grant. Dated in

the same year, we have another record which definitely indicates that Mallikārjuna, the reigning king, was still holding on to his position at Vijayanagar. Indeed, he is stated in this record to be "promoting the increase of his kingdom." (*E.C.* III, Malvalli 64). What exactly he was doing to promote the "increase" of his kingdom, there is no means of knowing. As we know that Virūpāksha's revolution came off in the succeeding year (*i.e.*, 1466 A.D.), it is possible he was taking steps to counteract the evil influences against him and trying to ward off the blow that was being aimed against him by his cousin.

Turning to Virūpāksha III, a reference to Table B above will show that inscriptions in his name are, except for one record, found dated from 1466 A.D. to 1485 A.D., *i.e.*, during a period of nineteen years. The single excepted record is dated in 1447 A.D. and is an unique one in character. It is a lithic record, coming from Devanhalli, Bangalore District, and registers a grant in the reign of *Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya*, who is described in it as ruling a secure kingdom. Mr. Krishna Sāstri remarks of this record that it "could not be explained otherwise than by supposing that the king (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna, who was in 1447 A.D. the ruling king) was called Virūpāksha." Since the surname *Dēva-Rāya* is also used as part of the name, this might be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the use of "*Virūpāksha*" in this particular record. But a more probable and at any rate a little more convincing explanation seems to be that in 1447 A.D.—the year succeeding the death of *Dēva-Rāya II*—there was doubt in the public mind as to who would succeed him, whether Mallikārjuna, his son, or Virūpāksha, his nephew. This record might have mentioned the latter in anticipation of his coronation. If this be so, there was trouble in

Table B:
Virūpāksha
III.

the air already in regard to the succession, in the very first year of Mallikārjuna's accession. Quite apart from what is stated in the Srisailam plates, dated in 1466 A.D. about his coronation, with the aid of his own prowess, which is confirmed by the Sajjalur plates (1474 A.D.) and by Sagar 60 (*E.C.* VIII) dated in 1472 A.D., we can see from the range of his records, both as to date and as to territories covered by them, that he should have become king in or about 1466. As both are mentioned *directly* and *definitely* in both sets of records as kings—with all the imperial titles—they must be construed as having been kings coterminously during the whole period that Virūpāksha lived, *i.e.*, up to at least 1485 A.D., up to which date his records have been found. As the last known record, so far, of Mallikārjuna, is dated not many years later (*i.e.*, 1487 A.D.), it might be inferred that they lived and ruled together, tolerating each other, probably in different parts of the country. As there are no inscriptions *dated after* 1466 A.D. mentioning that Mallikārjuna ruled from *Vijayanagar* (see Table A above) though there are several records mentioning that Virūpāksha III ruled from *Vijayanagar* (see Table B above), it might be suggested that Mallikārjuna had been driven away from his capital from about 1466 A.D. and that Virūpāksha III was the effective occupant of it from that date. The terms "great" (Sagar 60 dated in 1472 A.D.), and "celebrated" (Malvalli 121 dated in 1474 A.D.) applied to Virūpāksha show that after his usurpation of royal power, he proved himself an intrepid and active prince and that he won renown by his wars. He thus came to be known as "subduer of hostile kings" (Seringapatam 86, dated in 1471 A.D.), "a true hero," "Hindu-rāya Suratrāna" (*i.e.*, the Hindu Sultān) and "Karnātēsvara-rāya Kunjara," *i.e.*, chief among the chiefs of Karnāta, (Malvalli 121 dated in 1474 A.D.). Narasinga-Rāya,

(i.e., the future usurper Sāluva Narasimha) appears in Virūpāksha's inscriptions as well from about 1468 A.D., i.e., some ten years later than in the records of Mallikārjuna. He is mentioned in the same Mulbagal province in which we find him in the records of Mallikārjuna from 1462 to 1465 A.D. (See above). Thus in a record of Virūpāksha III dated in 1468 A.D., we have a grant made by one Muluvāyi Hariyappa "in order that *dharma* might accrue to Narasinga-Rāya-Odeya," doubtless the future usurper. (*E.C. X*, Mulbagal 20). In another record dated in Virūpāksha's reign in 1470 A.D., we have a grant by Narasinga-Rāya himself (*E.C. X*, Mulbagal 253); while in a third record, dated two years later, in 1472 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III, coming from the same province of Mulbagal, we have a grant by the local officer of Betamangala, "in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara-Mēdini-Misara-ganda Kathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar." This shows the growing influence of Narasinga-Rāya. Apparently he took advantage of the existing disunion between the two rival kings and improved his own position. Finally we have in a grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in 1485 A.D. and coming again from Mulbagal, the significant statement made that the gift is bestowed when Virūpāksha (III) was ruling the kingdom of the world and "in the administration of Narasimha Rāya-Vodeyar," i.e., Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya. (See Table B above for the exact Kannada words used). It would seem to be clear from this record that while Virūpāksha III was "reigning," the actual "ruling" (*pālāne*) was that of Sāluva Narasimha.

How he came to acquire this predominant position in the counsels of the empire, so as practically to oust the ruling sovereign Virūpāksha III, we get glimpses of from the records dated in the name of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I

Table C:
Sāluva-
Narasinga-
Rāya I.

himself, from the year 1467 A.D. onwards. While as we have seen above, there is a record dated in 1468 A.D. registering a grant, mentioning the name of the ruling king Virūpāksha III, but being made for the accruing of *dharma* to him, we have in the previous year (*i.e.*, 1467 A.D.) a grant made by himself *without mentioning the ruling king's (Virūpāksha's) name*, in the self-same province of Mulbagal. In this he styles himself *Mahāmandalēsvara-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāyarāyya-Mahārasu*, which though it begins modestly with *Mahāmandalēsvara* ends in the right royal style of *Rāyarāyya-Mahārasu*. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 23). His power had so far increased within the next five years (1467 to 1472 A.D.), that though we have a couple of records, dated in 1470 and 1472 A.D. (see above) mentioning the ruling king's name in the grants made by him or by his subordinates, there are others in which the name of the ruling king is omitted and his own prominently mentioned. Thus, in one record dated in 1472 A.D., a village is granted to a temple by a subordinate chief in which there is no mention of Virūpāksha III but it is stated that the village had been granted to him (the donor) by *Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-Mīsara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasingayya-Dēva mahā-arasu*. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79). This description is very much like the one contained in the record of 1467 A.D. quoted above. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 23). Similarly, from a record dated in 1476 A.D., we see that he makes a grant in his own name (*Srīman-Mūvaru-rayara-ganda-bhērunda Narasinga-Dēva*) without mentioning Virūpāksha's name. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 89). The other grants included in Table C above, dated in 1478 (*E.C.* X, Channapatna 158), 1478 (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74), 1481 (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8), 1484 (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59), 1484 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 32) and 1485 (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 36) are very similar in character.

While they mention the name of Narasinga-Rāya, they omit all reference to the reigning king Virūpāksha III. In one of these (Heggadadevankote 74), the grant is by Tipparasayya, the Minister of the Household of Narasinga-Rāya, and he states specifically why he makes the grant (two villages to a temple in Bayanād, modern Wainād). He says:—"We have made this grant in order that Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya may have a secure reign for a thousand years." (For the words used in the text, see Table C above, No. 5). The usurpation should have been nearly complete even in name, so far as this record is concerned, for it refers to Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I as "Sri-prithivi-vallabha," etc. In the record of 1481 A.D., above referred to, we have the interesting statement that the village granted by Narasinga-Rāya belonged to his province of Channapatna (*namma Channapatna rājyakke saluva*, etc.). In the record of 1484 A.D., another Minister of the Household of Narasinga-Rāya, by name Virūpāksha-Dēvanna, is mentioned. So far, he has been all but uniformly termed a *Mahāmandalēsvara* or a *Mahāmandalika* and *Vodeyar* (as in *E.C. IV*, Nagamangala 79 and *E.C. IX*, Kankanhalli 8), though also styled in some cases as *Mahā-arasu* and in one record (Heggadadevankote 74) even styled *Sri-prithivi-vallabha*. Still, it must be confessed, the usurpation, even according to his own inscriptions, was not yet an accomplished fact. In 1484 A.D., it was scintillating this way and that way; for which reason, he is in one record, dated in that year, called *Mahāmandalēsvara* and *Vodeya* (*E.C. IV*, Nagamangala 59), and in another, dated in the same year, though described as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, is styled *Narasinga-Rāya-Mahā-Arasu* and spoken of as *ruling the kingdom of the world*. This is nearly analogous to the description we have in a record dated in the next year (1485 A.D.) in the reign of Virūpāksha III, where the latter is said to be the *reigning*

king, though the actual *rulership* (*pālāne*) was in the hands of Narasinga-Rāya. (See above). A record dated in 1486 A.D., takes us directly to the next—inevitable it would seem—step. This record does not of course even whisper the name of Virūpāksha but describes Narasinga thus:—When *Rājaparamēsvara Praudhapratāpa Narasinga-Rāya, seated on the diamond throne in Vidyānagara was ruling the earth*, by his order, a *gaudike* (headship of a village) was granted, etc. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54). Though the usurpation was thus complete in 1485 A.D., still the provincial subordinates, in issuing grants, though they dated them in his rulership, appear to have stuck to the more humble style of *Mahāmandalēsvara* in referring to Narasinga. (See *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 47 dated in 1489 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 14 dated in 1490 A.D.). This, however, ceased in 1493 A.D., when he is spoken of as *Mahārāya* and described as *ruling the kingdom of the earth*. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 11).

Is the story of the flight of Padearao applicable to Virūpāksha III.

It will thus be seen that the story of the first revolution which ended in the coming into power of Virūpāksha III as told in the inscriptions, is not reflected in Nuniz's *Chronicle*. Similarly, the story of the second usurpation which resulted in the establishment of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I as told by Nuniz is not borne out by the inscriptional records. In the latter case, however, it is just possible that round one or two facts popular legends had grown up by the time of Nuniz with the consequence that we have a story referring to the subversion of the Sangama dynasty which is all but a perversion of the actual facts. While it is not true—so far as the inscriptions of the period are any guide to us—that Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya displaced Padearao, the younger son of Virūpāksha (IV), there is scarcely any doubt that barring Virūpāksha III, whom he actually supplanted,

Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha IV, was the last lineal descendant in the Sangama line whom he could be legally considered to have displaced in usurping the kingdom, after the flight—taking Nuniz to be correct in this particular—of the last *reigning* king. The last reigning king according to the inscriptions of the period was Virūpāksha III and so the story told by Nuniz of Padearao seems a faint echo of what probably occurred in the case of Virūpāksha III himself. We do not hear any more of him after 1486 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54). If really the story told of the flight of Padearao is applicable to his flight from the palace in the face of the advancing army of Narasinga, he should have proved himself a craven and not the brave soldier that he is described to have been twenty years before, when he himself drove Mallikārjuna out of the capital and installed himself king. The inscriptions which describe this incident speak of the “deeds of prowess” done by him, and so prepare us for the belief that he would, like other kings who thought they had done dark deeds to get to the throne, at least have the redeeming feature of putting up a brave fight when it came to yielding his position or at least dying on the battle-field boldly opposing the enemy. Virūpāksha, if Nuniz’s account of Padearao is at all applicable to him—and it could not, so far as the testimony of the inscriptions go, apply to anybody else—did not play the part of a Macbeth, who, we are told, murderer though he might have been, cried out, when he heard the enemy was advancing against him:—“Blow, wind, come, wrack! At least, we’ll die with harness on our back” or like a Richard III, who, though he proved himself no less bloody in the methods he adopted for seizing the throne, had yet the martial instinct strong in him to exclaim when the crisis came, “A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!” Virūpāksha’s exit was apparently an inglorious one, indeed, no better

than that of a coward unworthy of the throne he had seized.

Ministers,
Provincial
Governors
and Generals.

There is nothing to show that in the earlier part of his rule (1446 to 1466 A.D.) Mallikārjuna was not loyally served by his ministers and provincial governors. A general of note who subsequently appears to have become the chief minister during his reign was Timmanna-Dannāyaka, who is referred to in terms of high praise in certain records of the period. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 89 and 133 both dated in 1458 A.D.; Seringapatam 97 of about 1458 A.D., and Mañdya 12 and 59 both dated in 1459 A.D.). He was a Srī-vaishnava Brāhman and both he and his wife did many acts of piety and charity at Mēlkote. (See *M.A.R.* 1907, Para 31). He is spoken of as the great lord of Nagamangala, the ornament of the Lohita family, son of Singana and Sitāmbika, establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*, restorer of Yādavagiri (*i.e.*, Melkote) devoted to the lotus feet of Yadugiri-Nārāyana (*i.e.*, the god Nārāyana at Mēlkote), bestower of the *tulāpurusha* and other great gifts. He was the son of Mahāprabhu Singanna. In 1458, he and his wife Rangāmbika made certain gifts which are registered in the first two of the four inscriptions mentioned above. His wife had, as a mark of devotion for the god at Mēlkote, erected a *mantapa* with a large pond, and presented a palanquin set with jewels and all other kinds of gifts. At the place where the *mantapa* had been put up (see under *Sculpture* for a description of the pillars of this *mantapa*), a bank having been grown up and being unsightly, Timmanna bought the ground and established therein a *matha* endowing it in such a manner that twenty-four Srī-vaishnava Brāhman learned in the *Vēda* might be fed daily in it. With the permission of Mallikārjuna, he granted two villages in the Hoysala province for the maintenance of this charity. He also bought lands yielding 400 *pagēdas* annually and

left it in trust with the Rāmānuja-jiyya for defraying the annual expenses of the *malha*. This Jiyyar was also made responsible by him for the daily distribution of food for the offerings to be made to the goddess Lakshmi in the (Mēlkote) temple, and for the salaries due to the servants. A careful administrator, he also left the instruction that if any funds were left over with the Jiyyar, he was to use them "for whitewashing, sweeping and keeping the place clean." He also confirmed the Jiyyar and his disciples in priestly succession in possession of the trust properties, so that the charity may be carried out *in perpetuum*. In the same year, his wife made a grant of two villages, with the sanction of Mallikārjuna, for the goddess Lakshmi. These two villages, like the two above, were situated in the Kuruvankanād-Venteya, included in the Mēlkote-Rājya, which apparently was another name during the period for the Hoysalarājya (or province). In 1459 A.D., Timmanna accompanied Mallikārjuna on his visit to Penukonda, on business connected with that province, then in charge apparently of Sāluva-Narasinga I, the future usurper and founder of the Sāluva dynasty, and was incidentally instrumental in providing for certain other temples at Belatur. (Mandya 12 and 59). From the latter of the two records which furnish this information, it is clear that Mallikārjuna visited the Nāgamangala country, referred to in it as the "dannāyaka's country," apparently by way of a compliment to his faithful minister. In the Mysore part of his kingdom, Mallikārjuna had three of his sons, Nanjarāja-Odeyar, Pārvatayya and Dēvappa, in charge of tracts of country. (See under *Domestic life*). During the greater part of his reign, the Mulbāgal province was in the charge of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya, above referred to. He eventually usurped the kingdom, driving out Virūpāksha III, who had himself usurped the throne from Mallikārjuna. His usurpation was completed about 1485-1486 A.D. (See

below). He appears to be mentioned in a record dated in the reign of Mallikārjuna in 1465 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18). In a record coming from Kāvēripākkam, in the present Chingleput District, dated in 1469 A.D., three years after Virūpāksha's usurpation of the kingdom, we hear of a gift "for the merit of Narasinga-Rāja-Udaiyar." This and many other records of a similar kind seem to indicate that Virūpāksha's usurpation was not recognized, at least for a time, in all parts of the kingdom, grants being dated in the reign of the exile king. From an inscription dated in 1485 A.D., which comes from Tiruvonnainallūr in the present South Arcot District, we have reference to a Aramavalartta-Nāyanār, who was evidently a subordinate of Mallikārjuna. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 48; App. B. No. 473). He was apparently in charge of Valudilambatta-Rājya, evidently a part of the old Tundira kingdom. He had his head-quarters at Conjeevaram. According to tradition, he was a minister of Krishna-dēva-Rāya. It is possible he served also in the reign of Mallikārjuna. (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 39; App. B. No. 422 of 1925). A person of the same name was the donor of a village, in the reign of Krishna-dēva-Rāya, for meeting the cost of maintaining a *matha* built by himself and others. (V. Rangacharya, *List of Madras Inscriptions*, I, No. 532). Another subordinate of Mallikārjuna in the Tamil country was a scion of the old Chōla dynasty, named Mahāmandalēsvara Vikramasōla-Dēva-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1446-47 A.D. from Kilappalavūr, in the Trichinopoly District. He is spoken of as Uraiur-Puravaradhēsvara. He was probably ruling over the tract of country round about Kilappalavūr which went by the name of Uttungatunga-Valanādu. (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 38; App. C. No. 251). According to an inscription dated in 1450 A.D., Srīgirinātha-Odeya was in charge of the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 155). He may be

identified with Sirigirinātha-Odeya of the Brahma-Kshatriya family, already referred to. He is the same person mentioned in another record dated in 1449 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 32, see Text, as the translation does not mention his name). During the period of the usurpation of Virūpāksha III, Āraga was first under Dēvappādannāyaka. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirtbahalli 143). He was in power in 1466-7 A.D. He was the son of Srīgirinātha. In 1470 A.D., Singappa-Dannāyaka held the office of minister to Virūpāksha III. (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 29). The kingdom of Vijayanagar is called in this record *Srīrājya* or the fortunate kingdom. About 1449 A.D., Chandragutti was being administered by Bayichanna-Udaiyār, son of Tryambakadēva-Udaiya. In 1488 A.D., he raided Uli-genād to settle a boundary dispute. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 475).

From a copper-plate grant dated in 1447 A.D., we have a glimpse of Mallikārjuna as a literary patron. (*E.C.* VI, Pavagada 69). In that year, he honoured Ādityārya, a Brāhman learned in the *Vēdas*, *Sāstras* and the *Purānas* and in the six systems of philosophy, with the grant of a village, renamed Dēvarāyapura after himself, in the Rāyadūrga province, in recognition of his scholarship. It is stated that he was the author of a work named *Bhāshyabhūshā*, which apparently was a work of merit. It is added that the scholar was examined by the king in a learned assembly in all branches of learning, and that all the learned men were pleased with him. The recipient was of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* and the son of one Virūpāksha. The point to note is that the grant was not made to him without a test of his learning conducted openly in an assembly of learned men presided over by the king himself. It has to be presumed that the king was capable of following the discussions conducted before him. (See below under *Literary Progress*).

Mallikārjuna
as a literary
patron.

First signs of the growing influence of Sri-Vaishnavism.

During this reign, we have the first signs of the growing influence of Sri-Vaishnavism, which under the Sāluva, Tuluva, and Karnāta dynasties became so powerful in the whole of Southern India. We have seen above, the grants obtained by Timmanna-Dannāyaka, the chief minister of Mallikārjuna, for the Mēlkote and other temples, as also a grant by Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya dated in 1467 A.D. for the maintenance of a dining-hall intended for the feeding of a number of Sri-Vaishnava Brāhmins at his expense. Gōparāja, governor of Tekal province, was another member of Sāluva family, who showed a predilection for Sri-Vaishnavism. (See *E.C. X*, Malur 1 and 2).

Forced abdication of Mallikārjuna and its effects.

How long exactly Mallikārjuna survived his forced abdication is not yet determined. The latest inscription mentioning him is, as already remarked, dated in 1487 A.D. Seeing that that is the year of the actual abdication also of Virūpaksha III and the usurpation of Sāluva Narasinga I, it might be tentatively assumed that Mallikārjuna did not live long after that date. Though the two revolutions which ended in the supplanting of the Sangama dynasty by that of the Sāluva did actually take place, the true causes that led to them are still shrouded in mystery. While Nuniz's account of murders on murders stands unsubstantiated, his story of Virūpaksha's flight in sight of Narasinga's army may contain an element of truth in it. That is all that we know of the incidents that led up to Sāluva Narasinga's coming into power. Narasinga as a powerful subordinate saw his opportunity and helped himself to the throne without compunction. (See below). Of the effects of the revolution wrought by him, there can be no doubt. It prepared the way for still another revolution which ended in the supercession of his own short-lived dynasty, which had to make way for the Tuluva dynasty, which revived the glories of the empire once again for another half a century longer.

Before concluding the history of the Sangama dynasty, a brief review of the social, religious and rural conditions which prevailed during the century and a half it held sway practically over the whole country south of the Krishna, except for a part of the West Coast and the extreme Eastern sea-board, may be added. During this period, foreign aggression in the shape of repeated Muhammadan invasions and the iconoclastic spirit they invariably exhibited made people realize that social order and religious practice would ever be in danger if they did not agree in sinking their differences and hold fast under the rule of one of their own kings. The signal success which attended the first kings in effecting a silent revolution in their favour is evidence of the common feeling that should have animated the generality of the people of the time. The kings that followed them may not have been uniformly successful in their wars against the foreign aggressors, but it is historically correct to state that during the one hundred and fifty years they ruled, they managed to keep them at bay. If Ferishta is to be wholly believed, they managed to do this by buying them off more frequently than by beating them on the field of battle, though, as we have seen, the stories told by Ferishta are not beyond criticism. He is frankly too partial and it has been proved beyond cavil that where the Hindus were successful he has been as silent as he has been eloquent when they were defeated. However this may be, the threatened disruption of society was avoided and the Hindus continued as a social group by themselves during the period. The frequent praise bestowed on the kings of this dynasty as those who maintained the *Varnāśramas* should not be taken literally but in the more restricted sense that they made social order prevail for the common good. It was apparently a political precept of the times that social law and order should be enforced even at the sacrifice of individual

Survey of social, religious and rural conditions during the Sangama Period, 1336-1486 A.D.
(i) Social Life.

liberty. Caste, however, had not attained the rigidity of a later age; even the highest caste admitted of admixture. The existence of Brahma-Kshatra rulers, directly connected with the royal house, in Āraga, throughout the whole period, shows that such intermingling was not merely tolerated but was in vogue as a sanctioned custom. Brāhmans were still in the army, as generals and commanders. The case of Chāunda-Mādhava, the Upanishadic scholar and gallant soldier who won the whole of the West Coast as far as Goa, is a notable case in point. The times were such that for the defence of the country and religion, of home and hearth, anybody would have been welcome into the army. As a matter of fact, we find a continuance of the old martial spirit of the Chōla and the Hoysala periods still rampant in the land. Memorials to those who fell fighting valorously in fights against the enemy continued to be put up. The *virgals* of this period were not restricted to those who fell in mere cattle raids. These raids do not appear to have been as frequent as in the olden days, but frontier fights were apparently common enough. Devotion to kings was, we see, still personal. Instances have been quoted above (see for example the reign of Dēva-Rāya II) to illustrate this point. *Hari-kari* was not thus an unknown virtue. Among women, the performance of *sati* was as much a social as a religious custom. The foreign chroniclers and travellers have left rather exaggerated accounts of this rite, but there is hardly any doubt that it had great vogue in the times we are writing of.

(ii) Religious life:
(a) The faith of Haribara and his followers: Saivism of the Pāsupati school.

The kings of the first dynasty were ardent but tolerant Saivas, who kept well with all forms of faith current in the country. They attained great fame by checking the Muhammadan advance which was destructive of social and religious order. The expeditious manner in which they restored peace, renovated the destroyed

temples and provided facilities for re-commencing worship in them won for them the affection of the people at large. Their grants to temples were numerous and in many cases munificent. Harihara I and his brother were disciples of Kāśivilāsa Kriyāsakti, who was probably a Pāsupata. Mārāpa mentions him in a grant of his dated in 1347 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). Kriyāsakti was also the *guru* of the learned minister and general Mādhava, who mentions him in a grant of his dated in 1368 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281). He is described as "a manifest incarnation of Girisa," *i.e.*, Siva, in the latter record; in the former, it is said that "he attained such fame that he was himself Triyambaka," *i.e.*, Siva. He was probably the inspirer of the compilation *Saivāgama-Sāra-Sangraha*, issued jointly by Mārāpa and Mādhava. It is significantly described as containing the commandments of Triyambaka and given to the world out of love for mankind. (Sorab 375). There can be no question that the minister was deeply devoted to his *guru* and it was at his instance that he performed the great Saiva rite described at length in Shikarpur 281. Harihara II was also his disciple for he claims him as his *Kulaguru* in a record of 1378 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 253). It was with his permission (he is styled *Srimad Rājaguru Mahāmandalāchārya Vānivilāsa Kriyāsakti*) that Harihara II made in 1379 A.D. the munificent grant of the district of Gadag, consisting of 66 villages, mentioned in the Dambal plates, to the Siva and Vishnu temples of Gadag and to a number of learned Brāhmins made up of poets, astrologers, singers of Sāma hymns and experts in the Sāstras. Among these were two from the Srīngēri *math* called Srīngēri-bhatta and Vidyāsankara-bhatta. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Paras 105-6; and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 30). He has been identified by Mr. R. A. Narasimhachār with Chandrabhūshanadēva-Odeyar, who is mentioned in an

inscription found at Vagata in Hoskote taluk, dated in 1377 A.D. (E.C. IX, Hoskote 129). He is described in it as the worshipper of Syambhu-Triyambakadēva of the Southern Vāranāsi (i.e., Vagata) and as *Mandalāchārya-Samsiddha-Chakravarti, Ācharyavarya, Abhangarāhuttarāya*, etc., titles which show that he should have been a great religious teacher. The title of worshipper of Triyambakā is also given to Kriyāsakti in Sorab 375 and other inscriptions. Vagata is called in the above quoted record as *Bhāgīrathapura* and *Southern Vāranāsi*, which is well worth remembering in connection with this suggested identification as Kriyāsakti is called in the Shikarpur record "Sivaguru Kāsilāsa." At the end of the Vagata record, further, the name of a *Sthānika* of the name of Kriyāsakti-dēva is given, which is significant. As we know that the Pāsupatas were strong in many parts of Southern India, from early times, and had settlements in different parts of this State, and in several of the districts of the present Madras Presidency, we may take it that Kriyāsakti was a teacher from Vagata, who became celebrated as the *guru* of the first Vijayanagar kings. He is mentioned as the *Kulaguru* of Kampana II, son of Bukka, in the *Vīrākamparāyacharita*. In an inscription dated in 1389 A.D., we find Immadi-Bukka, son of Harihara II, making a gift with his permission to the god Vidyāsankara set up in the name of Vidyāsankara, the predecessor and *guru* of Vidyāranya at Srīngēri. (E.C. X, Mulbagal 11. The text and translation of this important record require to be revised). Kriyāsakti belonged to the Saivāgama school, while the Srīngēri *matha* belongs to the Advaita school of thought. It is entirely in keeping with the catholicity of the Saiva school to be tolerant towards other faiths and it is no wonder therefore that Kriyāsakti was a consenting party to the grant to the *matha* founded by the great Advaita teacher Sankara. The Vagata inscription above referred to,

it is interesting to note, records the gift of certain lands to the local Vaishnava temple of Varadarāju by Kriyāsakti himself. Bukka I, a disciple doubtless of Kriyāsakti, was equally tolerant. His reconciliation of the Jains and Vaishnavas shows that he looked beyond the mere forms of faith. His declaration that the "Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one body; they should not be viewed as different" should be regarded as one of the most famous in the religious history of this land. Since that mid-fourteenth century fiat, there has been no whisper of a fight or difference between the two faiths. How long Kriyāsakti lived is not clear. In the Harihar plates of Harihara II, dated in 1398 A.D., he is referred to as *Rājarājaguru* Kriyāsakti-Dēva, and in a manner indicating he was still alive and being "worshipped" by Harihara II, his royal disciple. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 99). Remembering that the earliest reference to him is in 1347 A.D., it is not impossible that the Kriyāsakti of Mārāpa's record of that year was the same as the Kriyāsakti of the Harihar plates of Harihara II dated in 1398 A.D. The period covering these two records is just 50 years, during which period one *guru* might have been in office. The Kriyāsakti mentioned as the *guru* of Vithanna-Odeyar, governor of Āraga, in a record dated in 1403 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 133) may also be the same person. As he is there termed "*Kriyāsakti-guru-manīsvara*," he might be taken to have been an aged ascetic at the time. But it is a question if the *Kāsiivilāsa* Kriyāsakti, the *guru* of Mādhava-mantri mentioned in the Shikarpur record and other inscriptions, is identical with the *Vānivilāsa* Kriyāsakti of the Dambal plates. Probably the latter was the nominated disciple of the former. However this may be, it seems inferable that there were other *gurus* who came after Kāsiivilāsa Kriyāsakti and continued in the position of Royal *gurus* to the successors of

Harihara II and his brothers. Thus in the reign of Vīra-Bhūpati, who issued the Dandapalli plates (*E.I.* XIV, 68) there is mention made of a Kriyāsakti-Dēsika. Vīra-Bhūpati's period was between 1409 to 1424 A.D. He founded a village called Kriyāsakti-pura after his *guru* in the Mulbāgal province which he governed. (*Ibid.*) Then, in the reign of Dēva-Rāya, we hear in the literary writings of the Telugu poet Srinātha of a Chandrabhūshana Kriyāsakti, in whose presence he carried on a public disputation with the poet Dindima. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 30). Singanna-Odeya, grandson of Kampana I, is stated in a record dated in *Saka* 1299, Cyclic year *Pingala* (=A.D. 1377), as a disciple of Ākāsavāsi Sāmavēdiguru and to have received from him the initiation of Bhuvanēsvari. (*M.E.R.* 1918, App. B. No. 681). The epithet *Ākāsavāsi* has been considered to be a variant of *Ākāsamukhin*, which denotes a class of Saivas who always keep looking at the sky (*i.e.*, dwelling mentally in it). Apparently, Singanna's *guru* belonged to this class. In an inscription dated in 1417 A.D., in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I, one Vairāgya Sivāchārya Dakshinā-Mūrti-Dēva is mentioned as the *Rāja-guru* or royal-preceptor. Whether he was connected with Kriyāsakti is not clear. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 162). The exact relationship of the Pāsupata (or Lakulāgama) school to which Kriyāsakti and his disciples seem to have belonged to the Virasaiva school is not yet clearly made out. But there seems no doubt that the Virasaivas built on the foundations of the Pāsupatas and later absorbed them. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain how, for instance, those who are described as the disciples of Kriyāsakti are also claimed as Virasaivas.

(b) Connec-
tion with
Srīngēri
Matha and its
effects.

Though strict Saivas—in fact, in literature they are called Virasaivas—the kings of this period kept close touch with the *matha* at Srīngēri founded by

Srī-Sankarāchārya, the great Advaita teacher, with which their own success, especially in the earlier days, was not a little connected. They encouraged them by generous grants from time to time, up to the days of Mallikārjuna, in whose reign a grant is recorded: (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 153, dated in 1480 A.D.). If it was through the aid of Vidyāranya that Harihara I and Bukka I founded the kingdom and its capital, it was through the aid of the latter that Vidyāranya and his brother were enabled to get the commentaries on the *Vēdas* written up. (See *ante*). One of the most affecting chapters in the history of this dynasty of kings is the friendly—nay, affectionate and devoted—regard that it bore to the Srīngēri *matha* during the whole period it existed. The good feeling was mutual and should have meant no little for the maintenance of social and religious order in the land, for the influence that the *matha* wielded in both spheres of life was by no means insignificant. As the result of this mutual regard, Vēdic scholarship and Sanskrit learning generally received considerable impetus under this dynasty of kings. The personal and practical interest that they evinced—the *Saivāgama-Sāra-Sangraha* was a work of Mārāpa, a brother of Harihara I—in the propagation of Vēdic faith and learning was, indeed, so great that it is no wonder that it inspired the literary effort of the period which is to-day the rock-bottom of the Brāhmanic faith. The revival of Brāhmanism, indeed, may be taken as completed contemporaneously with the end of the first Vijayanagar dynasty.

Beyond minor construction work and repairing and restoring of ancient works, neither the kings nor the people of this period appear to have added to the architectural or sculptural riches of the country. The primary reason was, there was a sufficiency of structures of this type for use in the country; the secondary cause

(c) Lull in temple architecture and sculptur

should have been the need to find funds for carrying on the work connected with those already existing before thinking of adding to them. The work of maintenance should have been greatly added to by the sanguinary warfare of the times, which meant attacks on temples and other religious edifices, which, in the eyes of the aggressive invaders, were symbols of idolatrous beliefs which they were as religiously to shun as their opponents were to venerate and keep to. The work of restoration fell on successive kings, generals or provincial rulers, whose piety took this turn.

(d) Temple renovation and maintenance how met.

In the last resort, it fell on the local committees or trustees (*Sthānikas*, as they were called) who depended on the yield from the endowments in their charge. Sometimes kings remitted the taxes on certain adjoining villages—as was done by Mallikārjuna once for meeting the cost of the repairs of a temple. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 76; App. C. 102). Royal control and authority, however, still counted for much in regard to the augmenting of their revenues. Thus temple precincts (*madaiivilāgam*) were subject to royal control. Its free colonization might be conceded by royal sanction, as was done by Mahāpradhāni Sōmappa, the minister of Kampana II in 1361 A.D., in favour of the Nāgēsvara temple at Serkāḍ, in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922, App. B. Nos. 203 and 204). Even then, the grant may be a qualified one, *i.e.*, taxes may be imposed and collected, though not by the king's officials, and handed over to the temple for its benefit. It is clear from this record that the king had the power to dispose of the taxes payable by the settlers. Among these taxes were the following:—*Sērkadamai*, *tarikkadamai*, *ayan* (tax on share or profit), tax of a *panam* on each house or house site (*manai*) and portal entrance (*vāsal*), *virpanam* (tax on sales), duties on oil-mills and duties levied on the shepherds.

Trustees managed temple funds; and leased or farmed out the various taxes to local people for lumpsum amounts. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 41, App. C. No. 45). (c) Temple management, etc.

Grants for the support of dancing girls attached to the temples continued to be made. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 45 dated in 1493 A.D.). But there is reason to believe that these "dancing girls" had ceased to be the institution they had been intended to be in the Chōla period. A record dated in 1470 A.D. calls them actually "god's *basavis*," which indicates the lower position to which they had been relegated. The higher conception of *service* had apparently ceased to inspire them. (See *E.C.* XII, Gubbi 29). Gifts of human beings—father and son for instance—were not infrequently made to temples "free from all assessments," *i.e.*, free from the obligations and public duties which they would otherwise have to do, for carrying out certain specified duties fixed by the donor. Among these were:—maintaining perpetual lamps in the temple, carrying the images of gods in processions, etc. (*M.E.R.* App. B. Nos. 312 and 313 dated in the reign of Virūpanna-Vodayar, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha II). The royal dues from temples were often excused. Among these are mentioned *Vibhūti-kānikkai-honnu* (tribute money paid for sacred ashes) and *Kadāyada-huttuvali* (revenue from forced sales). These were levied on behalf of the Palace from all the temples, though occasionally the revenue derived from these sources from any Province was made over to a particular temple in order that merit might accrue to the ruling sovereign. Such a release was made in favour of the Svayambhūnātha temple at Madivāla in the Kolar District in the reign of Mallikārjuna. (See *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18 dated in 1465 A.D.). The levy of dues of these kinds on temples appears to have been general throughout the empire and the harsh manner in which they were collected was one of the causes of the Sāluva revolution. Thus, an

inscription dated in 1427 A.D., in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II refers to an edict which excused the levy of all such dues except the *Vibhūti-kānikkai* in the case of the more famous religious centres like Conjeeveram, Kālahasti, Tiruvorriyūr, etc. These remitted dues were, however, to be collected and deposited into the treasuries of the respective temples and utilised for their benefit. That such remission in favour of the temples was common from the early days of the empire seems to be evidenced by a record dated in 1430 A.D., in which instances of such remission from the days of Hariyappa Dandanāyaka and others are quoted. Srīgiri-Vodeyar, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II, on the representation of certain Mahēsvaras of a Siva temple at Kālahasti, restored the concession in favour of that temple. The tax in this case was a levy of one *panam* on every loom levied for meeting the expenses of the god. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 45; App. C. No. 207). Where such transfer of right took place, the temple appears to have collected the tax from the Kaikōlans (or weavers) and credited the dues to its own treasury. It had, however, to see that the levy was a just one; else strikes took place and the temple suffered. Thus, we are told in a record of the reign of Harihara II that the Kaikōlars who were tenants of the temple migrated in a body "without paying the dues to the temple, deserted the premises and left it in ruins." A compromise followed and they were induced to return, reopen their looms and agreed to pay the settled assessments to the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 63; App. B. No. 354). When villages were granted as *dēvadāna*, i.e., gift for the use of temples, care was often taken to see that the rights of proprietorship assured to them did not include the right to disturb the existing tenants and their heirs. *Dēvadāna* grants of this kind were called *Kudinin-ga-dēvadāna* (literally *dēvadāna* leaving out the tenants' rights). (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App.

C. No. 32 dated in 1445 A.D.). The record which furnishes this information also details the several taxes and contributions realized from *Dēvadāna* villages. These taxes could not, in the aggregate, have been heavy in their incidence, for we are told that in this particular case their total annual value was but 12 *pon*. This suggests that the rate of assessment adopted should have been extremely low. (*Ibid*; for another list of taxes levied, see *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 5; App. C. No. 230 dated in 1443 A.D.; also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 67; App. B. No. 323 of 1917 dated in 1390 A.D.).

As remarked above, during the period the first dynasty ruled, toleration was not merely a social but also a political necessity. It had nearly been dignified into a virtue. Besides the existence of the religious sects—Jain, Smārtha, Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, Mādhva, Vīrasaiva, etc.—the advent of the Muhammadans and the close contact they had established with the Hindus opened the eyes of the latter to grow even more tolerant amongst themselves. The treatment accorded to Muhammadan settlers by Dēva-Rāya II at his capital may be taken as typical of the general attitude of Hindus towards Muhammadans at the period. The sweet reasonableness that made him meet their susceptibilities in every possible way shows a fine sense of scruple which deserves a word of praise. It was not merely social courtesy or religious toleration that he showed by his conduct but also political virtue of a high order. Virtue of this kind could have been evolved only by practice in the past of toleration in his own sphere, both by the king and his subjects. The tolerant spirit of the times is seen in the singularly liberal minded invocation of the God Kēśava at Belur which identifies him with the chief object of worship in every sect, orthodox or heterodox. "He whom Saivas worship as Siva, the Vedāntins as Brahma, the Eanōdhas as Buddha,

(f) Toleration in religion, a political necessity and a virtue.

the Naiyāyikas skilled in proof as Kartta, the followers of the Jaina *sāsanas* as Arhat, the Mimānsakas as Kurma—that god Kēsava ever grant your desires.” (*E.C. V*, Belur 3 dated in 1397 A.D.). The attributions which follow are even more striking. “The Kēsava of Vēlapuri,” it is said, “gives sight to the blind, raises up the poor to royal dignity, causes the lame to be the swiftest of the swift, makes the dumb as eloquent as Brihaspati, the barren to be filled with offspring,—the granter of all desires alike to the dwellers in the land and to those from other countries.” These noble sentiments, remarks Mr. Rice, “seem clearly to indicate a contact with Christian teaching.” There is, however, no evidence for this suggested “contact.” There breathes in this description of Vishnu not merely tolerance, but also the essential universality of Vaishnavism.

(g) Differences between right-hand and left-hand castes not due to religious but political causes.

The differences between the Idangai and Valangai (Left-hand and Right-hand castes) led sometimes to serious results. In the reign of Virūpāksha II, son of Harihara II, these two classes came into violent conflict and there was apparently some loss of life on both sides. A settlement was come to and the vanquished party promised to supply the sacred thread to the other party as a part of the settlement. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 47; App. C. No. 185 of 1921). What exactly led to these recurring fights is not known. That the kings of the time could not have encouraged them is inferable from the fact that they took no cognizance of the differences that were alleged to exist between them. A record of Vijaya-Bhūpati, son of Dēva-Raya I, dated in 1418 A.D., ordered, for instance, that both the classes at Tiruvannāmalai should enjoy the same privileges. (*M.E.R.* 1903; App. A. No. 564 of 1902; see also *M.E.R.* 1920, Para 47). A record dated in 1446 A.D., in the reign of Vijaya-Rāya II (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna) registers a settlement regarding the

the taxes to be paid by these classes, which numbered on either side 98 distinct castes. These taxes seem to have been obviously of an oppressive character, so much so that the people even forsook their homes. The king ordered the extortion to be stopped and the direction was made applicable "to the whole country." It is possible that this tax was a particularly heavy one, perhaps of set purpose. The ministers who were charged with the collection at the commencement of each reign seem to have made it an exemplary tax to keep these classes out of harm's way. (See *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 55; *M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 46). There is no doubt that these classes were not slow in finding out that neither the king nor the religious head could bring about reconciliation between them. They accordingly agreed, according to a record dated in 1430 A.D., without any reference to these authorities, that mutual agreement should regulate their social conduct. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 36; App. C. No. 253 of 1926). An interesting parallel to this kind of social reform is found referred to in a record which comes from Padavīdu, according to which several sections of the Brāhmins of the Padavīdu province comprising the Karnāta, Tamil, Telugu and the Lāta Brāhmins signed an agreement that marriages among their families shall be conducted only as Kanyādāna, or free gift of the bride, and that no money should be paid or received as bride-price. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 36; *S.I.I.* I, 82; *A.S.I.* 1907-1908). In an earlier record from Vriddhāchalam, in the South Arcot District, dated in 1429 A.D., of the reign of Dēva-Rāya II (*M.E.R.* 1918; Para 66; App. C. No. 92 of 1918), we have another instance of the illegal exactions from the members of the Idangai and Valangai castes and their meeting together in the local temple and deciding that they should resist the demands on them, since the king's officers had joined the *Jivitas*, who had oppressed them. They went so far as to agree that none

of these castes "should give them (the Kaniyālans and the Brāhmans who collected the taxes) shelter and that none born in the country should write accounts for them or agree to their proposals." If any one proved a "traitor" to this settlement, "he should be stabbed." Another record dated in the same reign, but coming from a village in the Tanjore District, confirms this resolution to resist illegal exactions on the part of the tenants generally. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; App. C. No. 216 of 1917). This record makes it clear that the cause of the trouble was that the taxation was not commensurate with the yield of the crop but levied unjustly. The remedy in such cases was to desert the lands and "to run away." In the present instance, this would have proved ineffectual, for the record shows the tenantry were not united. The record states that as the taxes were levied "unjustly, we were bound to run away. Then we realized (it is added) that because we of the whole country (*Mandalam*) were not united in a body we were unjustly (dealt with)." Then we have the declaration of their final resolve: "Hereafter we shall but pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully." The record then sets out the rates of taxes to be paid on the wet and dry produce of lands; on the produce of trees such as jack, areca, palmyra, plantains, sugar-cane; on red-lotuses, *artemesia*, castor plants, sesamum, turmeric, ginger, etc.; and on the professions of fishermen, potters, weavers, barbers, washermen, oil-mongers, toddy-drawers, and painters. (See also in this connection *M.E.R.* 1918, 68; App. C. No. 91 of 1918).

(iii) Rural
life: Village
Assemblies.

The Village Assemblies which functioned so actively in the Chōla period began to show signs of decline under the rule of Vijayanagar kings. The decay, however, was not general. Thus, in the time of Harihara II, they appear

to have been in working order in the Tanjore District. A record dated in 1405 A.D. states that the assembly at one place consisted of 4,000 members. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; App. B. No. 217 of 1917). This *membership* could not have helped the smooth conduct of business. An inscription dated in 1386 A.D. makes mention of a village assembly not only confiscating lands belonging to a private party for some fault committed but also ordering their grant to the local temple. (*M.E.R.* 1926, para 35; App. B. No. 509).

Among the several taxes and dues realized from the village by the king during the period were :—*Arasapēru*, *talayārikkam* (dues payable to the village watchman), *purambu*, *dannāyakarmāgāni* (contribution to the military commander), *vettivari*, *inavari*, *tarippanam*, *tōttappurain* (tax on gardens), *ayam sekkukadamai* (tax on oil mills), *ēriyin-avasaram* (tank dues), *nirūpachchambadam* (pay of the Royal order carrier), *darsana-kānikkai*, *pattaya-kānikkai*, *tarana-kānikkai*, and *Kōttaimāgāni*. The exact significance and incidence of these dues are not known. But it seems that their collection may be made over to the temple by Royal edict. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 41; App. B. No. 510 of 1921 dated in 1389 A.D.).

Rural rates.

Though the period of rule covered by Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha (1446-1486) was a disturbed one, it was not lacking in literary activity. The period is again one noteworthy for the number of Virasaiva writers who flourished in it. Thus Bommarasa, who has been assigned to about 1450 A.D., was the author of *Saundara-Purāna*, which is a Kannada version of the life of the Tamil Saiva saint Sundarar, who probably flourished during the 8th century A.D. He has been reckoned among the sixty-three saints revered by Virasaivas. He is reckoned as one of the four great saints known to

(iv) Literary progress.

Tamil hymnology. (See *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, 97-98; 382). The writing of the work of this kind shows the popularity that Virasaivism had attained at about this period. Next, mention may be made of Kallarasa, the author of *Janavasya*, which is said to be—by the poet—an amplification of the teachings of king Mallikārjuna to his queen in the matter of subduing men (in love affairs). This work is called alternatively as *Mallikārjuna-Vijaya*, the former of whose name indicates its character. There are references in it to Vatsyāyana and other authors dealing with *Kāma Sāstra*. The poet refers to his *guru* Kriyāsakti and praises him. This work affords a key to the nature of the causes which might have led to the downfall of Mallikārjuna. He apparently lost the kingdom owing to mad love adventures, which, curiously enough, Nuniz has attributed to his son Virūpāksha. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 305). Next we have the famous Tōntadasiddhēsvara, the author of *Shatsthala-gnāna-sārāmṛta*. He was the disciple of Gōsala-Channabasavēsvara of Hardanhalli in the Mysore District and as he resided in a garden on the banks of the Nagini near Keggeri, he came to be popularly known as *Thōntada* (garden) Siddhēsvara. He was sainted at Yedeyur, near Kunigal, where there is a temple dedicated (in his honour) to Siddhalingēsvara. He is one of the more famous Kannada Virasaiva poets. Many poems have been written sketching out the story of his life, which indicates the great popularity he enjoys among the Virasaivas even to this day. In some of these later works, he has been even spoken of as the incarnation of *Nirañjana-Gaṇēsa*. In the *Chennabasava-Purāna* of Virūpāksha Pandita, it is stated that he (Tōntada Siddhēsvara) lived in the reign of king Virūpāksha III, the usurper. This is confirmed by a record, assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1480 A.D. and by Mr. Narasimbachar to 1470 A.D., found in the Yedeyur Siddhalingēsvara

Kallumatha, in which he is described as "a primeval *bhakta*," "a primeval *Jangama*" and "a sun to the darkness *dvaita* and *advaita*." (E.C. XII, Kunigal 49). He was held in such high esteem even in his own days and subsequently that a *Purāna* of the name of *Virakta-Tōntadāryana-Siddhēsvara Purāna*, Sāntisa's *Tōntada-Siddhēsvara-Purāna* (1561 A.D.) and other works have come into existence. (R. Narasimhachār, *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite*, II. 97-100). Many of his disciples were great Virasaiva writers, among them being Gubbiya Mallanna, the well-known author of *Ganabhāshya-Ratnamāle* and *Vātulanatratike*; the two brothers Siddhalingēsvara and Doddalingēsvara, the former of whom appears to have written the *Jangama Ragale*, *Svatantra-siddhalingēsvara-vachana* and *Muktyānganēya Kanthamāla*; Gummalapurada Siddhalingēsvara, the author of *Shatsthala-Lingānga-Sambandha Nirvachana*, who calls himself the disciple of Bole-Basava, who was himself the direct disciple of Tōntada Siddhalinga; Mallikārjuna Kavi, who was the disciple of Gubbiya Mallanna and the author of *Svēthana Sāngṭhya*; Sānanda Sivayōgi, the commentator of *Vīramahēsvarāchāra Sārōddhara*. Nilakantachārya, the author of *Ārādhya-charita*, wrote under the patronage of Vīra-Nanjēndra-Vodeyar, a son of king Mallikārjuna, who is mentioned in a number of inscriptions as a Mahāmandalēsvara (E.C. III, Gundlupet 9 dated in 1489 A.D.; Nanjangud 102 dated in 1491; and Tirumakūḍlu-Narasipur 67 dated in 1494 A.D. See *ante*). He apparently governed over the Unmattūr country, now part of Mysore District. Kavilinga, the author of *Kavi-lingana pada*, was the court poet of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya. In writing of his patron, Kavilinga exclaims: "Is there any king who would raise his head at king Narasinga and live (after doing so)?"

Though there were other poets, some Jain and some Brāhman, during this period, they were hardly so

powerful as the Virasaivās. Perhaps the most noteworthy among the Jain poets of the time was Terakanāmbi Bommarasa, who states that his grandfather Nēmichandra won fame as a disputant at the court of Dēva-Rāya II. Bommarasa was the author of *Sanatkumāra-Charita*, and *Jivandhara-Sāngatya*, the latter being a work of considerable interest. Among Brāhman poets, the only name is that of Nārāyana-Kavi, who probably lived about 1450 A.D. He was the author of *Bhāgavati-Samhitārtha*.

Pedigree of
the Sangama
Dynasty.

A pedigree of the First or Sangama Dynasty, based on the materials gathered up to the end of 1927, is given below.

The Second (or Sāluva) Dynasty (1486-1499 A.D.).

The second
(or Sāluva)
Dynasty, 1486-
1499 A.D.
Sāluva
Narasinga-
Rāja or
Sāluva
Narasimha I,
1486-1497
A.D.

Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Odeya, the usurper, thus came into full sovereign power about the year 1486 A.D. He may be styled Sāluva Narasimha I. He ruled up to 1497 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Immadi-Narasimha entitled Dharmarāya. He may be designated Sāluva Narasimha II. He lost the kingdom to the Tuluva general, Narasa, who founded the Third or Tuluva dynasty about 1499 A.D. The Sāluva dynasty accordingly proved a shortlived one, having lasted only for about twelve years. The name *Sāluva* by which this dynasty is distinguished is, as pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, of Dravidian origin and means, according to Kannada and Telugu dictionaries, "a hawk used in hunting." Sāluva Mangu is said in the *Jaimini-Bhāratam* to have spread far and wide the renown of the title *Parapakshi-Sāluva*; or "a hawk to foreign birds" or "death to foreign kings." (See below.) The Devulapalli plates seem to justify the application of the epithet (*Sāluva*) to Narasinga, the usurper, by saying that he acquired the title by "smiting the crowd of (his) enemies

as a (hawk) (a flight of) birds." The editor of that record (*E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 3) has pointed out that according to tradition Narasinga's ancestors were known to have served as fowlers to the kings of Karnāta. This, however, seems a later invention for the intermarriage between the Sangama or Karnāta dynasty shows that they were not so low in social status as this ascription of service would seem to indicate. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has added the useful note that the *Sālvas* are mentioned as one of the traditional 56 tribes known to the *Purānas* and to Pānini, the Grammarian, who locates them in the south. The Tamils, however, considered them as "intruders" in Southern India and as the enemies of Vishnu. But though it is possible that the earlier members of this dynasty were Saivas—even Narasinga-Rāya, the usurper, was a devout observer of the *Sivarātri Vrata*—the later members, if not actually Vaishnavas, showed strong Vaishnavite leanings and were amongst the greatest donors of the time to Vishnu temples. (See below).

The Sāluvas, or Sālvas, appear to have been an ancient family of local chiefs ruling over parts of what is now the South Kanara District. They claim to be of the Lunar race.

Early history
of the
Sāluvas.

The names of several members of this family are found mentioned in connection with important historical events. A Sāluva Tikkama was, as we have seen, the general of the Sēvuna kings Mahādēva and Rāmachandra. (See *ante* under *Hoysalas* and *Sēvunas*). He claims to have invaded the Hoysala kingdom in 1276 A.D. and 1280 A.D., and to have plundered Dōrasamudra. (*Ibid*). He is said to have made additions to the Hariharēsvara temple at Harihara and to have remitted all the taxes of the *agrahāra* attached to it. (*E.C.* XI,

Sāluva
Tikkama,
1276 A.D.

Davangere 59, dated in 1280 A.D.). Whether he was connected with the Sāluvas of Sangītapattana referred to below or with the Sāluvas of the family to which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya belonged, there is at present no means of knowing. As the record which gives his name (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 59) uses also the variant *Sāleya*, Mr. Krishna Sāstri doubts if the family to which Tikkama belonged was Sāluva or Sāleya, which latter name occurs also in another fragmentary Kannada record. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 166, *f.n.* 6; *M.E.R.* 1907-1908, page 92). Then, we hear of Sāluva-Mangi or Mangu, who was a general of Kampa II, in his conquest of Sāmbavarāya, Srīrangam and Madura between 1363 and 1374 A.D. (See *ante*, under Bukka I). He will be further referred to below. Some ten years later, in 1384 A.D., another Sāluva general, a Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, seems to have been governor of Talkād. He was, as we have seen, killed in battle against the Muhammadans of Kottakonda. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 15; see *ante* under Harihara II). Whether he belonged to the section of the Sāluvas to which Sāluva-Manga belonged or to the Sāluvas of Sangītapattana, Sanskrit for Hāduvalli, situated in Tuluvadēsa (or South Kanara), it is not yet determined. According to certain inscriptions, the latter section appears to have been in power from about 1491 A.D. (if not from an earlier date) to about 1560 A.D., in a part of the present South Kanara District and to have professed the Jain faith. Though they thus seem to make their first appearance in history contemporaneously with Sāluva Narasimha I, the usurper of the Vijayanagar kingdom, it seems inferable despite the fact that they both traced their descent from the same common ancestor—both claim the Moon as their eponymous hero—they were independent of each other at the time we are writing of, *i.e.*, at about the middle of the 14th century and after. The Sangītapattana family

professed the Jain faith and belonged to the Kāsyapa-gōtra, while Sāluva Manga, Narasinga-Rāja and their ancestors followed the Brāhmanic faith and claimed to be of the Ātrēya-gōtra. Narasinga-Rāja, though probably a Saiva, was a great supporter of the Vaishnava faith. (See *ante* and *E.I.* IX, 330). These being the known facts, the family to which Sāluva-Manga and Narasinga-Rāja belonged should be treated as a different one from the Sangītapattana branch. This is the more probable one as Sāluva Narasimha and those who followed him in his branch affix to their names not only the sobriquet of *Sāluva* but also *Gunda*, who has to be identified with Gunda I of this branch. The latter name was apparently used to distinguish the members of this branch from the members of the Sangītapattana branch, who also called themselves Sāluvas. (See below).

The earliest member of the Sāluva-Gunda family known to inscriptions is Sāluva-Mangi or Sāluva-Mangu. He was, both according to inscriptions and literary tradition, the grandson of Vankidēva, apparently the progenitor of the family, who is praised in the *Varāhapurānam* as having won fame which spread far and wide, and the son of Gunda I, who, it is said, ruled from Kalyāna and captured Rāmadurga, the citadel of a Sapara chief. (See *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 32-34). Gunda-Rāja is said in the *Varāhapurānam* to have conquered many chiefs and set up pillars of victory at many places. He had six sons (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). Of these, only Sāluva-Mangu attained to military distinction. He appears to have left six sons of whom Gauta II was one. According to the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, he became a Vānaprasta and retired to the forests. He left four sons, of whom Gunda III (Gunda IV according to some authorities) and Tippa or Tipparāja, were two. Of these,

Sāluva-Mangu, great-grandfather of Narasinga-Rāja, the usurper.

Tippa became the son-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II, having married Harima, his daughter. His son was Gopa or Goppa, who with his father was in charge of the Tekal province. (See *ante*). On the other hand, Gunda III had two sons Timma and Narasinga, the latter being the usurper. It will thus be seen that Sāluva Narasinga, the usurper, was the cousin of Gopa, the grandson of Dēva-Rāya, in the female line, whereas Mallikārjuna, who was the last king in the regular line, was his son, and Virūpāksha III, who displaced him, was his nephew. It does not appear that Sāluva Narasinga was in any other way related to the Sangama dynasty of kings. Though not closely related to the former line, his family was undoubtedly connected with it by a marital alliance. The setting up of such a connection by the Sangamas with the Sāluvas might be taken to indicate that the latter were considered of fairly equal status with themselves. The problem of Narasinga's relationship to the old royal line which until recently was in doubt (see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 103) may now be taken to be "satisfactorily solved." Sāluva-Mangu, to whom both Narasinga and Gopa were related as great-grandsons, played, as we have seen, a leading part in the subjugation of Sāmbavarāya. (See *ante* under *Kampana II*).

His early
heroic deeds.

The Dēvulapalli plates of Immadi-Narasimha state that Sāluva-Mangu became most famous and was "a Mahēndra on earth, who vanquished a hero foremost in battle and seized the dagger (*kathārika*) from his hand." As suggested by Mr. Rāmayya Pantalu, this incident probably accounts for the title of *Kathāri* assumed by Mangu and his descendants. (*E.I.* VII, 83, *f.n.* 12). The Chākēnahalli plates (*M.A.R.* 1924, page 101) give a glowing account of him (Sāluva-Mangu). The following extract from it is too valuable historically to be omitted:—

“ Among these the most famous was Sāluva Mangidēva possessed of a character pleasing to the wise like the spring season to flowers.

He it was who in a hand-to-hand fight snatched away a sword (kathāri) from a warrior. He was therefore called Kathāri Sāluva, just as Siva is called Mahēsvara in consequence of his having destroyed Manmatha.

He it was who throwing his trumpet inside a fort of an enemy fetched it back after capturing the fort.

He it was whose fame for valour exhibited in uprooting a Sultān (a Muhammadan king) restored the south of India to life again.

He it was who was called the restorer of Sriranga in consequence of his having recovered it from Muhammadans and who made Sriranga his own abode.

He it was who acted, as he asserted, by slaying that Sultān of the South who took away thousands of Saligrāmās (fertile villages and stones of the name used in worship) from the learned and who caused his enemies to cry a kind of eighth gamut consisting of the ascending notes “ Rama, Rama ” in terror in battle.”

The Gorantala lithic record which is wrong in almost every other name it mentions, is quite correct when it refers to Kathāri-Sāluva-Mangi, whom it calls Mangidēva (II). The genealogy of the Sāluvas given in this inscription is, as has been well stigmatised by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, “ a confused attempt at inserting a plausible genealogy of the Sāluvas ” in it. (See *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 53). Narasinga-Rāja, the son of Mangi III, whom it mentions, may be, it has been suggested, an unknown son of Sāluva-Mangi. (*Ibid*).

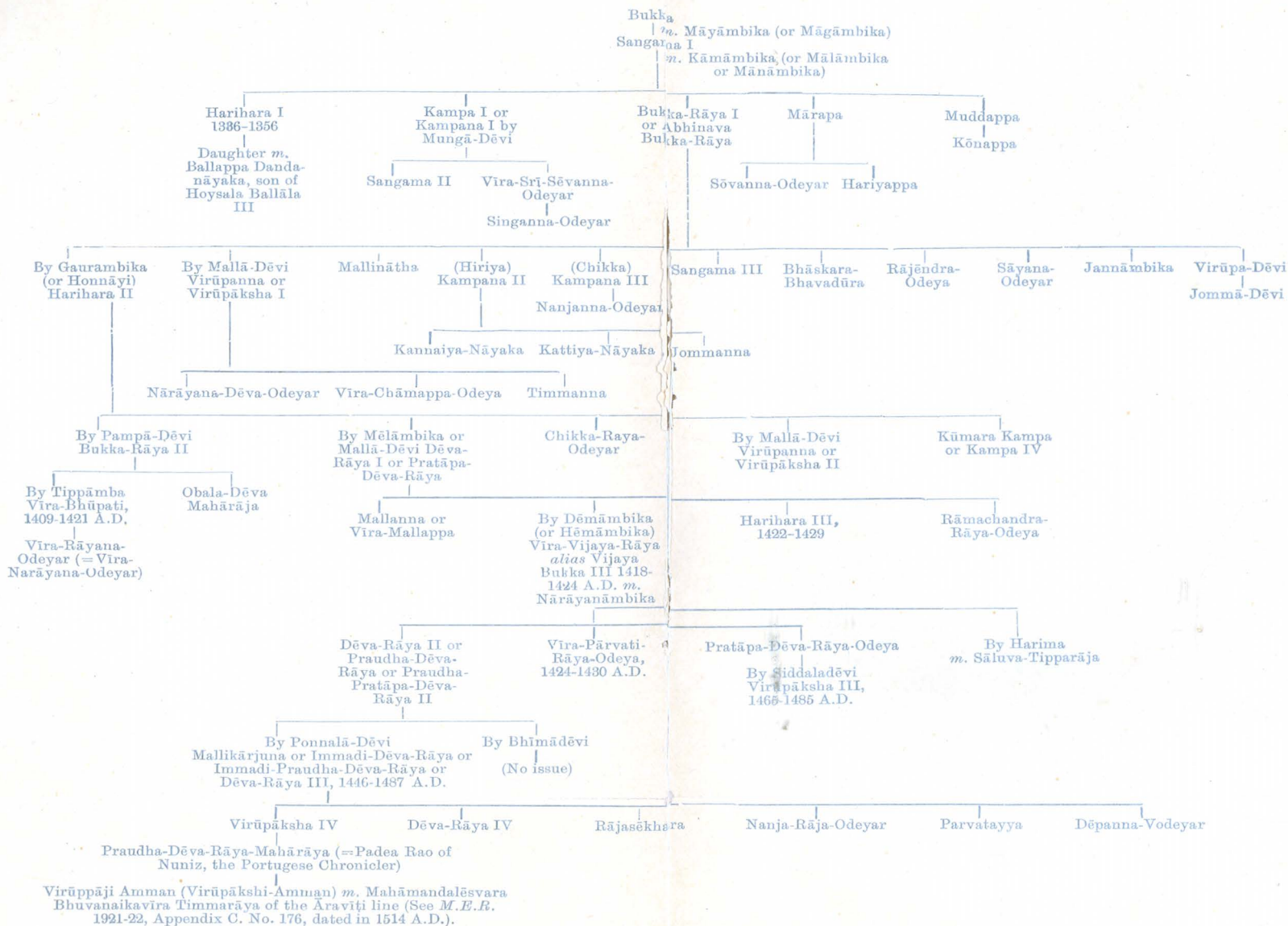
Sāluva Mangu was evidently one of the more prominent generals in command under prince Kampana II in his conquest of Tundira-mandala, Srirangam and Madura. According to the Telugu work *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* dedicated to Sāluva Narasinga, the usurper, his full name was Sāluva-Mangayya (Canto I, verse 33), or

His later
history.

Sāluva-Manga-Nripa (Canto I, verse 31). He was, according to it, one of the six sons of the chief Gunda, who attained to great fame by the heroic deeds he wrought. He was, we are told, a repository of good qualities as the ocean is of the different kinds of precious gems. (*Ibid* verse 31). Describing his conquests—which, as is usually done by poets, it does not mention in the chronological order, but just as it suits poetic needs—we are told that he opposed in battle the Sultān of the South, *i.e.*, the Muhammadan Sultān at Madura, which place is also mentioned, by killing whom he spread wide, it is said, the fame of the title *para-pakshi-Sāluva*, *i.e.*, “a hawk (*Sāluva*) to foreign birds,” *i.e.*, “death to foreign foes;” and that he restored to Samparāya his kingdom and obtained celebrity as “the establisher of Samparāya” (*Samparāya-sthāpanāchārya*). In the verse which furnishes us this information (*Ibid* verse 32), we get an idea of his determined spirit as a warrior. He also re-installed, it would seem, the image of god Srīranga in the temple at Srīrangam and presented to it 6,000 *mādas* of gold. The *Varāhapurānamu*, which calls him by the name of Sāluva-Rāju, whose identity is, however, quite clear, states that he routed in fierce battle the Muhammadan cavalry forces (*Parsika-turaga-dattamula*, *i.e.*, large Persian cavalry forces). Apparently, the reference is to his conquest of the Sultān of Madura, in which evidently the Sultān’s cavalry forces were in action. (See *Sources*, original text, page 83). It is necessary to remark here that Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, who refers to this work (*Jaimini-Bhāratamu*) in his account of the second Vijayanagar dynasty, its viceroys and generals (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 166-7), has so interpreted verse 32 as to make the re-establishment of Samparāya to come after, in fact as the result of the conquest of the Sultān of Madura and that the Sultān of Madura was made a feudatory of Samparāya. These statements, however,

PEDIGREE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KINGS—FIRST DYNASTY.

Revised up to 1927 A.D.



do not appear to be covered by the text. The conquests are not, as already mentioned, set down in chronological order, and we know from other sources that the conquest of Madura and the driving out of the Muhammadan Sultān from it took place *after* and not *before*, the conquest of Sāmbavarāya, the chief of Maratakanagara. So, the restoration of the latter could not have anything to do with the conquest of Madura and its Sultān. Turning to inscriptions, we learn from a record dated in 1363 A.D., which comes from Dalavānūr in the North Arcot District, that Sāluva-Mangumahārāja was a general of Kampana II. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 44; App. No. 52 of 1905). As we have seen already, Samparāya who was defeated by Kampana II and his generals was Venrumān Sāmbavarāya. Gangā-Dēvi, the queen of Kampana II, and the author of *Vīra-Kampa-Rāya-Charitam*, makes the defeated Sāmbavarāya die in the single combat he engaged in with Kampana II. It has been suggested that this is a poetic exaggeration she has indulged in and that as the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* states that Samparāya was restored by Sāluva-Manga, she must be taken to have magnified the victory obtained by her husband a greater one than it actually was. Inscriptions, however, enable us to harmonise the versions of Gangā-Dēvi and the author of *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*. The particular Samparāya who fell in the single combat was Venrumān (see *ante*); his son or other close relation of his—another Samparāya—was the person to whom the lost kingdom, was evidently restored. A certain Mallināthan Sāmbavarāyar is mentioned in a record of Kampana II from Kāvērīpākkam in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, App. No. 390 of 1905). As suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, he was perhaps the Sāmbavarāya who was restored by Sāluva-Mangu; if he was not, then it may have been another member of the family. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 166, *f.n.* 9). The re-establishment

of the Sāmbavarāya by Sāluva-Mangu would then be to a member of his family—son or other relation; much like the establishment of Yākūkbhān in the place of Shere Ali on the Afghan throne, when the latter fled on the approach of the British Army to Kabul during the administration of Lord Lytton. This is the only basis on which the narratives contained in *Vira-Kampa-Rāya-Charitam* and the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* can at all be reconciled. As regards the restoration of worship at Srīrangam, after the expulsion of the Muhammadans at that place, Mangu probably took an active part in it with Goppanārya and Kampana II himself (*E.I.* VI, 322 and *ante*) not only by aiding in the conquest of the place but also in the re-consecration of the image of the god in the temple and providing for the worship by a liberal money grant. The *māda* referred to must have been the Chōla coin *Mādai*. (See *ante* under *Chōla Coinage and Currency*). The Sanskrit poems, *Sāluvābhyudaya* and *Rāmābhyudaya*, the former by Rājanātha Dindima and the latter attributed to Sāluva Narasimha, the usurper, also describe these conquests of Sāluva Mangu and add that at Srīrangam, on the re-consecration of the image, he made not only a money grant but also a gift of eight villages representing, it is said, the syllables of the *Ashtākshara* and a thousand *Sālagrāmas* for use in the temple. The *Rāmābhyudaya* also mentions that after the conquest of Madura, Sāluva-Mangu proceeded as far as the banks of the Tāmraparni, where, it is said, he planted a pillar of victory. The *Prapannāmritam* (*Adhyāyas* 120-122) gives us an account of the part played by Goppanārya, another general, in connection with the re-capture of Srīrangam and the transference of the image of the god from the different places to which it had been taken for purposes of safety on the approach of the Muhammadans by Pillai Lōkāchārya and Vēdanta Dēsika, two well-known Srīvaishnava leaders. The

image had been, it would seem, successively removed to the Alagar temple, near Madura, thence through the Kērala country to Mēlkōte near Mysore, and from there to Tirupati, where it was for some considerable time. Goppanārya, a Brāhman, who was apparently in charge of Nārāyanapuram, took hold of the image from Tirupati, took it at the head of an army to Singavaram near Gingee, and from there brought it down to Srīrangam, on the recapture of the place from the Muhammadans. It is said it was he who expelled the Muhammadans from Samayavaram, another name for Kannanūr, the Hoysala capital, which had become the Muhammadan head-quarters on the conquest of Srīrangam by them. On the re-consecration of the temple, Vēdanta-Dēsika returned to Srīrangam and composed a verse in praise of Goppanna and his victory and had it inscribed on the walls of the temple. (*E.I.* VI, 322). In a Telugu work called *Āchārya-Sūktimuktāvali*, which recounts the sack of Srīrangam and the vicissitudes of its people and its god, it is stated that the death of the Muhammadan chief in charge of the place was caused by a courtesan of the place, who contrived to throw him down from the top of the eastern tower of the temple and killed herself subsequently by letting herself down from the western one. The descendants of this courtesan are said to be allowed certain privileges (the mention of her name on certain festive occasions, the grant of fire and rice from the temple store on the death of any one belonging to her family, etc.) even to this day in the temple for this act of devotion on her part. This work also duly mentions the subsequent part played by Goppanna and his colleague Singappiran and the transference of the image from Singavaram to Srīrangam. It gives the date of the consecration as *Saka* (? 1285) *Paridhavi* year, *Vrishabha* month, 17 tithi. (See on this whole subject *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 29-45).

His descen-
dants.

Sāluva-Mangu left, as we have seen, six sons, one of whom Gauta II (or Gautama II) had two sons, Gunda IV and Tippa or Tipparāja, of whom the latter was the brother-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II. Gunda IV or Gundāya-Bhūpati is highly praised in *Rāmābhyudaya*, a work attributed to Sāluva-Narasimha. (See below). Tipparāja and his son Gōpa ruled, as before mentioned, over the Tekal country and part of the present North Arcot District. Tipparāja had apparently another son, Sāluva Tippadēva, who is mentioned in a record dated in Saka 1364 or A.D. 1442-43. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 388 from Sattravāda). Tippa, as the grandson of Sāluva-Mangu, claimed the title of "the establisher of Sāmbavarāya," etc. (See *ante*). His son Gōpa or Goppa is also known from inscriptional records. (*Ibid*). The latter's son Tippa has probably to be identified with Gōpa-Tippa-Bhūpāla, who was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and the author of a commentary on the *Kavyālankāra sūtra* of Vāmana and *Kāmadhēnu* and *Tāla-Dīpika*, the latter a work on music. He states in the colophon to the former work that he was also the author of a work on dancing. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 62-63).

Other Sāluva
subordinates
probably con-
nected with
Sāluva-
Mangu.

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has collected together in his paper already quoted a number of references relating to other Sāluva chiefs who bore subordinate rule in Southern India. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 167 and authorities therein quoted). Of these, Sāluva-Sangamadēva-Mahārāja was probably a contemporary of Narasinga, the usurper, and a subordinate of Praudha-dēva-Mahārāja, son of Virūpāksha IV. (See *Pedigree of Sangama Dynasty, ante*). He is mentioned in a couple of records from Anbil, in the Trichinopoly District, as "the establisher of Sāmbavarāya," "a hawk to birds (*i.e.*, enemy) kings," "the conqueror of the Sultān of the South." (*M.E.R.* 1902, Nos. 593 and 594). Then we have mention of one

Sāluva Parvatarāja, son of Sāluvarāja, who, in 1465 A.D., built a *mantapa* in the hill temple at Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 251). Next comes Sāluva Sirumallaiyadēva-Mahārāja, son of Malagangayadēva-Mahārāja, who in 1450 A.D., made a gift of 1200 *panams* to the same temple. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 252). Then, again, we have Sāluva Erra-Kampayadēva-Mahārāja, who in 1446 A.D., made a similar gift. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 254). Then again, we have Sāluva Gōpa-Timmanripati or Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja mentioned in a record dated in 1463 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 59; 1903, No. 67). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seeks to identify him with Timma, a brother of Narasinga, the usurper. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, *Pedigree*, p. 168; see also *A.S.I.* 1907-8, p. 253, *f.n.* 11). He is said to have made rich gifts of jewels and villages to the temples at Srīraṅgam and Jambukēsvaram, near Trichinopoly. A still another was Sāluva Gōpa-Timma *alias* Tripurāntaka who, according to an inscription dated in 1468 A.D., set up a flag-staff at Rāmēsvaram, gilt with gold. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 89; 1897, No. 56). He is probably the chief whom Mr. Krishna Sāstri seeks to identify with Gōpa-Tippa, the Sanskrit scholar and author. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 253 and *f.n.* 11; and 1908-9, page 168). Finally, we have Timmarāja or Siru-Tirumalairāja, who made a grant to the temple on Tirumala in 1481 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1889, No. 57; 1904, No. 257). Mr. Krishna Sāstri suggests he was a son of Sāluva Sirumallaiyadēva. A Telunga-Rāya, described as a son of Samburāya of Kannadadēsa, is referred to in a record from Bapatla. (R. Sewell, *History of Antiquities*, I. 84). He is identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with the person of the same name mentioned in a record from Simhāchalam (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 167; see also *M.E.R.* 1899, No. 293) and with the Samparāyani-Telunga mentioned by the Telugu poet Srinātha. (*Ibid.*, *f.n.* 9).

Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya the usurper; also known as Sāluva Narasimha-Raya I.

Turning now to Gunda IV, the grandson of Sāluva Mangi, we have his two sons Timma, identified with Sāluva Gōpa-Timmanripati or Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja of the record dated in 1463 A.D. (see above) and his brother Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya, the usurper. The latter is also known to history as Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya I. He should be distinguished from his own son Immadi-Narasimha-Rāja or Narasimha-Rāya II; from his general Narasa-Nāyaka, or Narasana Nāyaka, sometimes also known as Narasimha whom it is better to style simply as Narasa; and the son of the last named, Vira-Narasimha. The last two were the first two kings of the third (or Tuluva) dynasty. (See below).

His birth and early history.

According to the *Rāmābhyudaya*, a work attributed to Sāluva Narasimha (Narasinga) himself and the *Sāluvābhyudaya* written by his court poet Rājanātha Dindima, he was born as the gift-son of his parents Gunda IV and Mal'āmbika. (See *Pedigree*). It would appear that the couple had no issue for many years and that they practised many austerities and prayed to god Narasimha at Ahōbilam, which may be identified with either the celebrated place of pilgrimage in the Kurnool District (*E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 1) or with Penna-hōbalam between Uravakonda and Anantapur which is famous for its Narasimha temple. (*Anantapur District Gazetteer*, 164). Pleased with their devotion, that god appeared to Gunda IV in a dream and foretold the birth of a son possessed of all virtues and destined to be a great king. After a while, a son was born to them whom they named Narasimha after the god at Ahōbilam. He was the Narasimha-Rāja I of history. The Chākēnahalli plates state specifically that he was born to his father when he was "in his old age." This may well be true, seeing that Gunda had no children for a long time, according to the story narrated above. (See *M.A.R.* 1924, Pages 97 and 101). Gunda is

said to have retired to the forests after installing his son in his own chieftainship. (*Sāluvābhyudaya* in *Sources*, Canto II, 92). Such is the story of Narasimha's birth as told by himself. It has to be remarked, however, that *Rāmābhyudaya*, to which we owe this story, though attributed to Narasimha I, appears to have been actually the work of Sōnādrinātha, son of Abhirāma and Rājanātha, the latter of whom was also known as Dindima Sārvabhauma. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pages 4, 83, 85). Even if the work was the latter's own, the story told of the birth of Narasimha may be presumed to have been derived by him from well authenticated sources.

The several stages in the early career of Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya (Narasinga, the usurper) are still obscure. Certain inscriptions show that he was in charge of parts of the present North Arcot and Kolar Districts. (See *ante*; also *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 253). He soon grew in power, owing to the weakness of the central government and became master of all the country between the Carnātic and Telingāna extending along the coast as far as Masulipatam. (See *ante*).

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
1	A. D. 1459	<i>E.C.</i> III, Mandya 12 and 59.	Visit of Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmanna Danuāyaka to Penugonda apparently then ruled over by Narasimha-Rāya I. Mr. Narasimhachar states in regard to these inscriptions, Narasimha-Rāya "sends away Mallikārjuna to Penugonda." This statement is not covered by these inscriptions. (See <i>ante</i>).
2	A. D. 1462	<i>E.C.</i> X, Bowringpete 24.	Mentions Mallikārjuna as reigning with Tirumalayanna dalapa (identified with Narasimha-Rāya's elder brother Timma) as administering the kingdom. (<i>Pātans</i> is the word used). Mr. Narasimhachar draws from this inscription the inference that Narasimha-Rāya "put" his brother Tirumalsiya

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
			"on the throne of Mallikārjuna." (M.A.R. 1907-8, Para 64). This statement is not covered by the language of the text of the inscription. As Bowringpete 18, dated 1465, refers to a grant made under the orders of Narasimha-Rāya in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna, Mr. Narasimbachar's inference seems unsupported. (See also Table A, ante, which shows a number of inscriptions of Mallikārjuna between 1463-1466 in which he is spoken of as still ruler.)
3	A. D. 1466	E.C. V, Belur 135.	A grant by Virūpāksha III, suggesting the supercession of Mallikārjuna by him in the sovereignty.
4	A. D. 1467	E.C. X, Kolar 33.	A grant by Kathāri Sāluva-Narasinga Rāya Mahārāsa without mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign.
5	A. D. 1468	E.C. Mulbagal 20.	A grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that <i>dharmā</i> might accrue to Narasinga-Rāja Vodeyar, s.e., Narasinga Raya I.
6	A. D. 1472	E.C. Bowringpete 19.	A grant made in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara Gundakathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar.
7	A. D. 1472	E.C. IV, Naga-mangala 79.	A private grant mentioning Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Rāja's name without mentioning the ruling sovereign.
8	A. D. 1476	E.C. IV, Naga-mangala 89.	Grant by Narasinga-Dēva without mentioning the ruling king's name.
9	A. D. 1478	E.C. IX, Chan-apatna 158.	A grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that <i>dharmā</i> may be to the Mahāmandalēsvara Kathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja Odeyar.
10	A. D. 1478	E.C. IV, Heggad-devankote 74.	A private grant without mentioning the ruling king's name in order that Narasinga-Rāja-Mahārāja might have a secure reign for a thousand years.
11	A. D. 1481	E.C. IX, Kan-kanhalli 8.	A grant by Mahāmandalika Kathāri Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar without mentioning the ruling king's name.
12	A. D. 1484	E.C. IV, Naga-mangala 59.	A private grant by the domestic minister of Narasinga-Rāja without mentioning the ruling king's name.

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
13	A. D. 1484	E.C. IX, Magadi 52.	A grant made when Mahāmandalēsvarā Kathāri Saluva Narasīnga-Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
14	A. D. 1485	E.C. Mulbagal 104.	A grant in the reign of Virūpāksha III in the administration (<i>pālāne</i>) of Narasīnga-Rāya-Odeyar.
15	A. D. 1486	E.C. XII, Tumkur 54.	The grant of a headship of a village made by order of Rāja-Parameśvara Praudha-Pratāpa-Narasīnga-Rāya seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth.
16	A. D. 1487	M.E.R. 1925-26, App. B. No. 424 of 1925.	A royal charter issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya. (The latest inscription of Mallikārjuna so far known, in which no regal titles are given to him).
17	A. D. 1493	E.C. XII, Kunigal II.	The inscription apparently records something as having occurred when (? Narasīnga-Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the earth.

According to the *Rāmābhyudaya*, he is said to have ruled over Katak (*i.e.*, Cuttack or the Orissa country) besides Kānchi, Kuntala (*i.e.*, the old Hoysala country), Chōla and Pundraka. According to the *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, he is said to have conquered the Tamil country, probably the Tundira country, of which Kānchi was the capital, to have deprived the Orissa king of his strength, *i.e.*, weakened his strength by taking back countries in his possession; to have captured the fort of Baladurgam, identified with Udayagiri, and to have gone to Penukonda, destroyed the Pikkillu and others. (See *Sources*, 85-86). The reference to the enemies at Penukonda suggests the reason why Mallikārjuna visited that place in 1459 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59; also *ante*). The same work *Jaimini Bhāratamu* states that Narasīnga-Rāya conquered many forts, chief among them being Bonagiri, more probably Bhuvanagiri, 4 miles north-west of Chidambaram in the South Arcot District, where there

was once a fort and not the place of the same name in the Haidarabad State as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (*E.I.* VII, 77, *f.n.* 9) and Ginjee, also in the present South Arcot District; Kongudhārāpuram, identified with Dhārāpuram in the Coimbatore District; and Penukonda in the Anantapur District. (*Ibid*, page 86). It was apparently the conquest of Penukonda which necessitated, as already stated, the visit of Mallikārjuna to that place in 1459 A.D. This work makes clear the point that the visit of Mallikārjuna was occasioned by the revolt of Narasimha-Rāya I and probably to prevent him from adding it to his usurped territories. (See *ante*). These and other conquests of Narasimha-Rāya I are referred to in the *Varāha-Purānamu*, a Telugu poem dedicated to Narasa-Nāyaka, one of his generals. Narasa's father, Īsvara-Nāyaka, was also a general of Narasimha-Rāya I. According to this poem, Īsvara was in high favour with Narasimha-Rāya I and was the chief commander of his forces. It is said that he was responsible for the conquest of a great many places, including Udayagiri; Huttari, probably Puttar in North Arcot District; Gandikōta (in the Cudappah District); Penukonda, Bagur, Beggalur (Bangalore), Kōvela (Chidambaram), Nellūru (Nellore), Kundāni (Salem District); Naragonda (probably Naragallu in the Chittoor Taluk); Āmūr (North Arcot District); Goduguchinta and Srīrangapattana, *i.e.*, Seringapatam. It is also stated that Īsvara, at the command of Narasimha, marched with a large army against the Yāvanavas, *i.e.*, Muhammadans of Bedandakōta, *i.e.*, Bīdar, who had apparently advanced as far as Kandakūr (in the Nellore District) and completely routed their cavalry at that place. (*Ibid* 87-88). Bīdar, as we know, became the capital of the Barid Shāhs after the break up of the Bāhmani kingdom in 1489 A.D. Apparently an attack of theirs on Udayagiri was repulsed by Īsvara. The fight at Kandakur is described to have been

a fierce one (*Bhīmasangara*) and the defeat inflicted on the invaders near the place was, it is said, a crushing one (*chakkaganarike*, which means *well cut to pieces*). Īsvara is given in this work the title of the *champion warrior against the Bedandakōta forces*. (*Ibid*, *Varāhapurānamu* in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 90). This fight at Kandakūr is referred to in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* where it is stated that Īsvara is said to have given "rise to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horse of the Yāvanavas of Bedandakōta." In the *Sāluvābhyudayam* also, the campaign against Udayagiri is mentioned. Narasimha's expedition on this occasion is said to have extended as far as Kalinga. As the result of a battle fought (probably at Kandakūr), the Kalinga ruler was put to flight. He reached his capital, which was next laid siege to. A breach was successfully effected and the Kalinga-Rāja surrendered. The mention of Kalinga suggests that the reference should be to the Orissa king, Kapilēsvara. In this poem, Narasimha-Rāya is also said to have defeated the Chōla king but, it may be taken as a conventional reference and no more as there was no such king at the time, unless it be the petty Chōla chief who did govern a petty principality in the South. There is, besides, a reference to his invasion, at the instance of a local chief called Kutavachalēndratatavāsin, of Nāgamandala, which, it has been suggested, may be Nāgarakhanda in the Shimoga District. But there is no inscriptional or other evidence to support such an invasion. The next conquest referred to is that of Penukonda, where it is said he was attacked by a Muhammadan army, the first mention of such an army at this place. There is no confirmation of this statement either available from any other source. Not only was the Muhammadan army defeated but the victory was such that Narasimha justified by it the assumption of the titles of, it is said, *Dharini Varāha* and *Saluvēndra*.

The extent of his kingdom.

His inscriptions are found scattered over the central and eastern parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom. As they are not found on the West Coast, it has been suggested that the Kalasa chiefs found their opportunity during the reigns of Mallikārjuna and asserted their independence for a time and extended their influence over the whole of that region. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 254, *f.n.* 7). In the south, the existence of inscriptions mentioning the Sāluva Chief Gōpa-Timma, grandson of Tippa and son of Gōpa-Rāja, dated in 1453 and 1466 A.D., at Srīrangam, Jumbukēsvaram, Kudumiyāmalai, Terukāttupalli and Tanjore, without reference to Mallikārjuna, the reigning sovereign (see *ante*; *M.E.R.* 1892 No. 59; 1903 No. 67; 1906 No. 378; 1897 No. 55; and *S.I.I.* II, No. 23) shows that that part of the country was in the occupation of the cousins of Narasinga, the usurper. From what has been narrated above (see reign of Mallikārjuna), Kapilēsvara, the king of Orissa, led an expedition against the Tundīra province in 1462-1463 A.D., apparently after occupying the Udayagiri province. That he was in effective occupation of the country as far as Kondapalli, in the present Guntur District, there can be no doubt as a grant made by him of a village near this place testifies to. It may be that he was even in possession as far as Bezwada, as the record mentioning this gift has been found at the latter place. (See *ante* under Mallikārjuna). Kondapalli was, however, soon lost to the Bāhmani Sultān. In 1475 A.D., following a famine that occurred in that year, the people of Kondapalli revolted against the Muhammadan governor and killed him and sent for aid from the king of Orissa. Kondapalli was retaken, as we have seen, by the Muhammadans, who, under Sultān Muhammad, about 1481 A.D., resolved on the conquest of Narasimha-Rāja, who had evidently made attempts to wrest back the lost territories. (See *ante*). From what Ferishta says, it is clear Narasimha-Rāja I

had occupied the country between the Carnatic and Telingāna, and along the sea coast as far as Masulipatām and had set up garrisons in most of the forts in this region. (See *ante* and Scott, *Ferishta* I, 167). Mahmud's advance had been forestalled by Narasimha-Rāya I at Rajahmundry, which, however, he lost to the enemy. Mahmud next took Kondavīdu and flushed with his successes, is said to have marched on Kānchi and sacked it. (See *ante*). On his march back, he attacked Narasimha-Rāya I again and expelled him from Masulipatām. It is possible, however, that Narasimha completely drove out from the empire proper the Muhammadans who—if we are to believe the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, a poem dealing with Narasimha's achievements by his court poet—had advanced so far as to occupy even Penukonda, at least temporarily. Following up his success in the empire proper, he might have made attempts, now successful and now unsuccessful, to extend his domain of influence even beyond the traditional limits of Udayagiri. The conflict at Masulipatām referred to by Ferishta and the invasion of Kalinga mentioned by the *Sāluvābhyudayam* seem to support this suggestion to some extent. In that case, the reference to his conquest of Penukonda which is so elaborately referred to in the poem referred to above, should have occurred in the period of the usurpations of Virūpāksha III of which we have no other evidence so far available. That shows the parlous position to which the Empire had been reduced during the reign of Virūpāksha III and if that be so, the encomiums poured on Narasimha-Rāya I by the author of the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, a contemporary writer, show the impression that even the limited success attained by him against the combined attacks of the Bāhmani Sultān and the Orissan king made on the people of the time. It does not seem, however, that Narasimha-Rāya ever wrested back the East Coast territories from

the Muhammadans even after he successfully accomplished the revolution and became king. Nor was he any more successful in his reconquest of Goa, which had been taken by Mahmud Gawān in 1469 A.D., and from whom he appears to have tried to retake it in 1482 A.D. (See *ante*). These deductions are entirely in accordance with what Nuniz gathered for his *Chronicle* about Narasimha-Rāya, whom he throughout calls "Narsymgua" (*i.e.*, Narasingā) the name by which he was best known even according to his inscriptions. (See *ante*, Table of Inscriptions). "After he was raised to be king," Nuniz says, "and was obeyed, he came to Bīsnagar, where he did many acts of justice, and he took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king." "He regained," he adds, "all the lands which the kings his predecessors had lost," and then remarks thus:—

"At the death of that King (*i.e.*, Narasimha-Rāya I), there remained three fortresses which had revolted from his rule, and which he was never able to take, which were these—Rachol (*i.e.*, Raichur) and Odegary (*i.e.*, Udayagiri) and Conadolgi (probably Kondavid, *dolgi* or Drug, standing for fortress, according to Mr. Sewell), which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom."

His Military
Tour of India
and Corona-
tion at
Benares.

According to the *Sālvābhyadayam*, Narasimha-Rāya seems to have made the traditional conquering grand tour of India, which the conception of a hero of a *Kāvya* is required to accomplish. As we have no reason to believe that the whole story related in the poem in this connection is a fiction, it is possible, judging from the circumstantial manner in which it is narrated, that there is some truth in it. Whether it took place after the usurpation or before it, it is not clear. It would, however, seem certain that a few at least of the conquests did take place prior to the usurpation while the rest may have been undertaken after it was an accomplished fact. They are

all apparently combined and woven into one single military march through the country to satisfy poetic needs. Leaving out of account the conventional conquests of the Chōlas, Pāndyas and even the Simhalas, the last of whom are said to have been anxious for his friendship, he is said to have visited, after his "conquest" of Kalinga, the south and incidentally probably Chidambaram, Tiruvānāmalai (the old Hoysala capital), Madhyārjuna (Tiruvīdaimarudūr), Kumbakōnam and then Srirangam and Jambukēsvaram. As we have seen, there were some of his cousins established in this part of the country and the fact that no wars are mentioned in this area, shows that they held the land more or less effectively and as his adherents. Then, he passed on to Madura and Rāmēsvaram. Thence he visited Anantasayanam (*i.e.*, Trivandrum), on the frontier of which country there is mention of fighting. The two Sabara chiefs, the dependents of a Bhindurāya, may have been among those who resisted him in his conquering tour. Then we have his conquest of Nāgamandala and Penukonda (already referred to) of which the latter appears to be historical. Next he is said to have invaded the territory of king Dasarna and taken it. This, however, is a pure poetic invention. He continued his march and reached the Himālayas, on which he set his (*Varāha* or Bear) seal. After further conquests in this region, he visited Benares, where in the temple of Visvēsvara he was anointed *Chakravarti* by the many kings present on the occasion. The gods approvingly showered flowers on him and joyously played music on the occasion. His visit to Benares may have been a fact and his coronation there, whether real or symbolic, might have been intended to obtain for him the religious sanction for, if not confirmation of, his usurpation, in order that the succession of his sons to the throne may not be disputed by the heirs of the subverted dynasty, of whom some at least may be

presumed to have been alive and even active. He is said to have returned south by way of the Narmada and visited Venkatādri (*i.e.*, Tirupati), where he presented to the god valuable ornaments. There are also in the poem descriptions of his hunting excursions in the Vindhyās, presumably imaginary, and of his court, which may be accepted as partially at least taken from real life. There are, besides, references to the personal life led of Narasimha, to his residence at Chandragiri, where evidently he kept his reserve army (*mūlabala*) and from where he appears to have paid frequent visits to the god on the Tirupati hill.

His
encourage-
ment of trade
in horses.

Narasimha-Rāya I seems apparently to have kept up a brisk trade in horses, encouraging the merchants as no predecessor of his seems to have done. What Nuniz says of him in this regard is worth quoting as it shows him in a peculiarly satisfactory light, both as a sovereign and as a military general careful of the equipment of his army:—

“He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz (*i.e.*, Ormuz) and Adeem (*i.e.*, Aden, in the Persian Gulf) into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardacs*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.”

The competition for horses as between himself and his Muḥammadan rivals should have been far too keen to have induced him to pay for them dead or alive.

As a literary
patron.

Narasimha-Rāya was evidently a great Sanskrit scholar. The poem *Rāmābhyudayam* which has been attributed to him may or may not be his work; the very fact that it was capable of being attributed to him would seem to

indicate that there could be nothing inherently inconsistent in the real author ascribing it to him. Whether he was only its putative father need not trouble us, for we know that he was undoubtedly a great patron of letters. Rājanātha Dindima, the author of *Sālvābhyudayam*, was his court poet. His work, which has been referred to above, contains much valuable historical matter and is conceived in the *Kāvya* style. It is an elaborate work specially designed to describe the achievements of Narasimha. Apart from its literary worth, which is by no means low, its merit as a work yielding important details about Narasimha and his forbears is great. Dindima Sārvabhauma, the son of Rājanātha, who was probably the real author of *Rāmābhyudayam*, was another poet of his reign. He calls the poem which he attributes to Narasimha by the name of *Mahānāta-kasyāgrajātakāvya*. It is said that it was composed by Narasimha in answer to a request from his court poets and scholars, who one day had demanded of him to display his scholarship by composing a poem on the life of Rāma. The poem is in the *Kāvya* style and is by no means a mere artificial production. It has many beautiful word pictures, though imaginary conquests are mixed up with the historical ones in a bewildering manner. Pillalamarri-Pinavīrabhadra, a well-known Telugu poet, dedicated his *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* to Narasimha-Rāya I. It is a literary work of acknowledged merit and the historical details furnished by it have been fully confirmed from independent contemporary sources. Pina-Vīrabhadra was also perhaps the author of two other pieces of stray verses entitled *Navaratnamulu* and *Saptāṅga-paddati*. The first of these consists, as its name indicates, of nine verses (called gems) of advice by the poet, in which the elements that go to make up kingship are described in simple, inimitable fashion. In the *Saptāṅga-paddati* are set out the seven constituents of kingship, which is

dealt with under the heads of *Rājya-paddati*, in which the essential requisites in a minister are described, *Kōsa-paddati*, *Rāshtra-paddati*, *Durgu-paddati*, *Bāla-paddati*, etc. These two poems give us an idea of the political notions of the time. (See Vētūry Prabhākara Sāstry, *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 34-41). Each verse, in both the pieces, ends with the *Makuta* line "*Gunda-bhūpāla-Narasimha-Mandalēndra*." There is internal evidence in them to support the inference that they were the work of a contemporary poet who was personally well acquainted with Narasimha-Rāya I and the circumstances under which he came to the throne. (In the 3rd verse of the *Navaratnamulu* as printed, the title *Rāyamalavaraganda* should be read as *Rāya-mūvaraganda*, which occurs in the Dēvulapalli and Bankankatte plates as *Mūrurāyaraganda*). Narasimha appears to have been liberal in his gifts to these, and probably other poets, who seem to have frequented his court. The *Sālvābhhyudayam*, in describing his residence in a fort on the Suvarnamukhi, states that he performed the great gift of *Suvarnamēru* during the *Sivarātri*. On this occasion, he heaped together all the tribute he received from his feudatories and distributed it among the scholars and poets present to receive it. (See Canto XI). From another part of the work (see Canto XIII), we learn that his patronage of the poets was a matter for praise even in contemporary times.

As a donor
of gifts.

Narasimha-Rāya I, as became his position, proved himself a great donor of gifts to temples, poets and others. From the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*, we learn, making due allowance for the hyperbolic language used by the poet, that he decorated the temples of Kānchi, Tirupati and Kālahasti with precious stones from the tributs received by him from his feudatories. It may be inferred from this statement that these three places were included in

his dominions, as, indeed, we know they were from other sources. From one of the verses (verse 5) included in the *Navaratnamulu*, addressed to him, he is styled *Sahjadāna-Sibindra*, which would indicate that in the easy, natural manner in which he gave away gifts he was like king Sibi of *Purānic* fame. His profuse gifts to poets, of whom apparently there were many attached to his court, has been dealt with above. An oblique reference to it is to be found in one of the verses (verse 7) included in the *Navaratnamulu*.

Among the more important of the titles of Narasimha-His titles.
Rāya were:—*Mēdini-mīsara-ganda*; *Kathāri*; *Sāluva* or *Sāluvēndra*; *Dharanivarāha*; *Sārvabhauma*; *Dharāvarāha* (boar of the earth); *Barbarabāha*; *Panchaghantānināda*; *Aivaraganda*; *Mūrarāyaraganda*; *Urvarāditya*; *Chauhattanalla*; *Chālukya-Nārāyana* and *Mēhana-Murāri*. The *Dēvulapalli* grant of Immadi-Narasimha, his son; which enumerates all these titles, explains some of them. Thus, when it refers to him as *Sārvabhauma*, it states that aided only by his sword, he defeated all his enemies and became an emperor. This probably refers to his usurpation of the kingdom after defeating *Virūpāksha* and may be taken to confirm the statement of Nuniz that he had won the kingdom "at the point of the sword." He became *Dharani-Varāha* (or the boar of the earth) by saving (i.e., uplifting) the earth from the ocean of wicked kings; *Sāluva* by suiting the crowd of his enemies as the hawk does a flight of birds; *Barbarabāha* (the rough armed) by killing his many enemies and by giving away innumerable gifts to the needy (there being a play on the word); *panchaghantānināda*, by ringing the bell five times daily in celebration of his five-fold victory against the five wish-bearing trees (*Kulpavrikshas*); *Aivaraganda*, by excelling the famous Pāndava brothers in truthfulness, strength, archery, personal beauty and

intelligence; *Mūrirāyaraḡanda* (a title borrowed from the kings of the first Dynasty) which signifies victories over the Chēras, Chōlas and the Pāndyas; *Urvarāditya*, by dispelling the thick darkness (his enemies), by the sunshine of (his) valour and thereby illuminating the earth; and *Chanhattamalla*, a hero possessed of four hands. It is of interest to note that of these titles the following are mentioned in the Telugu verses entitled *Navaratnamulu*:—*Kathāri-Sāluva*; *Rāyamūvaraganda* (in the printed text this is set down wrongly as *Rāyamalavaraganda*); *Rāyachanhattamalla*; and *Dharāvarāha*. He seems to have been known also as *Gajapatigalaminda* and *Gāvigōvala*. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69). The former was probably assumed by him on account of his success in battle against the Gajapati king Kapilēsvara, whose attack on Vijayanagar he beat off in the earlier part of the reign of Mallikārjuna. (See *ante*). In one inscription of his son, Immadi-Narasimha (II), Narasimha-Rāya I is called *Sāluva-Narasīnga-Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya*. Apparently the titles of *Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya* were applied to him because he had made good his position by the strength of his arms. (See *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 412, dated in 1504 A.D.).

Domestic
life.

Narasimha-Rāya appears to have had only one queen "the virtuous Srīrangamāmba" who was, it is said, "even as Ramā of Hari." (Dēvulapalli plates, *E.I.* VII, 84). She seems to have left two sons, though only one is known from inscriptions. This was Immadi-Narasimha or Immadi-Narasimhēndra (Dēvulapalli plates and Bankankatte plates, both dated in 1504 A.D.) or simply Kathāri-Sāluva-Immadi-Rāya-Mahārāya. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 42 and 45 dated in 1493 A.D.). The name of the other son is not known. He is mentioned by Nuniz, the Portuguese Chronicler, who too does not give

his name. According to Nuniz, this son, who appears to have been the elder of the two, was murdered before he could ascend the throne. (See below).

Certain expressions used in the Dēvulapalli plates suggest that Narasimha-Rāya I should have been a man of handsome personal appearance. His title *Mōhana-Murāri*, which appears in these plates and in the Bankan-katte plates (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, para 65), also suggests the same inference. Personal appearance.

Among the generals and administrators who served under Narasimha-Rāya may be mentioned one Nāgama-Nāyaka, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1484 A.D. as "the foremost of the servants of Narasinga-Rāya." (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 318), Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this Nāgama-Nāyaka may have been the father of Visvanātha-Nāyaka, who founded the Nāyak dynasty of Madura. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 165). Chitti-Ganganna, whose great-grand-nephew served Krishna-Rāya, was another. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 165, quoting K. Virēsalingam's *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, 210). In the *Rāmarājyam*, Āravīti-Bukka is described as *Sāluva-Narasimha-rājyapratishthāpanāchārya*, i.e., the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Ibid*; and *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, page 102). Īsvara, the Tuluva general, was another. Of his part in the bloody battle of Kandakūr, where he distinguished himself greatly in driving off the Muhamadan invaders, we have referred to above. His son Narasa (or Narasana-Nāyaka) was also a trusted general of Narasimha-Rāya I. (See *ante*). He became the founder of the Third or Tuluva dynasty of kings. (See below). Generals and Ministers.

Nuniz says that Narasimha-Rāya I ruled for "forty-four years." Seeing that the latest records of Narasimha-Rāya I Period of his rule, 1453-1497 A.D.

are dated in 1496 and 1497 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mysore 33 and *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917), his reign should have begun in 1453 A.D., which is not far removed from the earliest record of his reign, which so far as at present known is dated in 1456 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 253, dated in *Saka* 1378, *Dhātri*, year). Calculating from that year, his forty-four years would end in 1500 A.D., which would be about the year of the usurpation of the kingdom by Narasa, the Tuluva chief who was his general and chief minister. This would mean, as pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that Nuniz "did not count the rule in the interval of Immadi-Narasimha, which is proved by the Dēvulapalli plates and other lithic records." (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 254, *f.n.* 13). This suggestion, however, does not explain the whole position, for Immadi-Narasimha's last year of rule runs into February 1505 A.D. The hiatus of time to be thus covered over is five years, *i.e.*, from 1500 to 1505 A.D. Seeing that the earliest known inscriptional record, so far discovered, is dated in 1456 A.D., in which though Narasinga is styled "Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya" is referred to only as the "son of Gundaya-Dēva-Mahārāja," it is possible that he had not yet risen to the high eminence that he subsequently reached. The absence of his inscriptions dated before 1456 A.D. may be due to this cause. But it stands to reason to suppose that he was in 1456 A.D. fairly well established as to make a grant of the kind that he did make in it, whereas in 1453 A.D., Virūpāksha III was still on the throne. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 167). It is possible too that further discoveries may be made of his records dated in or about 1453 A.D., the year from which apparently Nuniz counts his reign. His actual rule over the empire, since the date of his usurpation, *i.e.*, 1486 A.D., was, however, only eleven years and these were of the utmost consequence to it. As the earliest record of Immadi-Narasimha (II), his son, is dated in

1492-1493 A.D., he was apparently co-regent with him from about that year. (See below.)

The following table of inscriptions shows succinctly the successive stages by which he rose from the position of a provincial governor to that of an Emperor. The date of his actual usurpation may be fixed in 1486 A.D. for the reasons already mentioned. (See *ante*). It will be seen from the inscriptions set out below that in 1456 A.D. he is first mentioned simply as Narasinga-dēva-Mahārāja, son of Gundaya-dēva-Mahārāja; then in a record dated in 1457 A.D., he is spoken of as Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva-Mahārasu; the title "Mahārasu" was apparently added as much because of his position as a member of a family of ruling chiefs (his father was a *Mahārāja*) as of his own personal status at the time as a *Mahāmandalika* or *Mahāmandalēsvara*, probably over the tract of country round about Chandragiri which included Tirupati. Next in 1459 A.D., we see him at Penukonda, where he seems to have given cause for offence necessitating, as we have seen, the visit of Mallikārjuna, the ruling king, and his chief minister. In 1466 A.D., however, Mallikārjuna was himself superseded by Virūpāksha III, who occupied Vijayanagar turning him out from it. Then begin a series of inscriptions dated from 1467 A.D. to 1485 (as many as nine are given in the table below) which show that grants were made in his name or by himself *without mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign*. During this period, he is spoken of as *Mahārasu*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāmandalēsvara*, *Mahāmandalika*, *Odeyar*, *Nāyaka*, etc. In 1484 A.D., he is described as "ruling the kingdom of the world" (*prithuvi rājyavum geyuttiralu*). In 1485 A.D., we have a grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III, the ruling sovereign, in which it is stated that the grant was made not only in the reign of Virūpāksha III but also in the rule or administration (*pālana*)

The course of
Sāluva-
Narasimha's
Revolution.

of Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar. In 1486 A.D., we see not only the full regal titles of *Rājaparamēsvara-Praudha-pratāpa* applied to him but also he is described actually as "seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth." Apparently the usurpation was complete in this year and Virūpāksha had been actually driven out from the throne and from the capital. In 1487 A.D., the next year, Mallikārjuna, the old fugitive king, disappears from the scene; possibly he died in that year, though we have no definite information as to this point. That, however, is the date of his last known record, so far discovered. Between 1486 and 1497 A.D., Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya probably ruled as king from Vijayanagar itself. During this period, however, in or about 1492 A.D., *i.e.*, within about seven years of his usurpation, he appears to have made his son Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya (II) as co-regent. In a record dated in that year, the latter is described as Dhammarāya-Mahārāya. (See below under *Immadi Narasimha* or *Narasimha Rāya II*). Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya appears to have died in or about 1497 A.D., in which year we have the last recorded grant of his reign.

The chief agents in the revolution and their methods.

His chief agents in effecting the Revolution appear to have been his chief minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) Annamasayya, his general Īsvara, the latter's two sons, Narasana-Nāyaka and Vira-Narasimha, and Āravīti-Bukka. The last of these, is not mentioned, so far as at present known, in any contemporary inscriptional records of Sāluva-Narasimha I. But he is frequently referred to in copper-plate grants and literary works of the time of the Āravīdu dynasty (of Vijayanagar kings) as the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha I. He is spoken of as *Sāluva-Narasimha-rājyapratisthāpanāchārya* in the *Rāmarājyamu*, and in the *Bālabhāgavatamu* he is described as the firm adherent of Sāluva-

Narasimha. (*Naranāthamani-sālva-narasingarāya-vara-sakhundai-Bukka-vāsu-dhēsadarē*). In the Arivilimangalam plates of Srīrangarāya II, dated 1577 A.D., he is mentioned as the establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Bukka-dharanīpati Smrutaha-ēna-Sāluva-Nrisimharājya--mapyēdhamāna-mehasā--sthīrīkrutham*). What exactly were the services he rendered are not mentioned or even hinted at in any of these different sources of information, though it is possible, from the language used in these authorities, that he was an active and firm adherent of Sāluva-Narasimha and took a prominent part in putting him on the throne. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 102 and 205, and *E.I.* XII, 340, 342, 350 and 356.) This Bukka is said to have been present at the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which may be set down to 1508-1509 A.D. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 129). This is quite possible as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's coronation took place within 24 years of the revolution which put Sāluva-Narasimha I on the throne. Next, as to Mahāpradhāni Annamarasayya, numerous inscriptions (included in *Table C* above) mention him as one of the prime agents of Narasimha. He appears to have been active in the service of Narasimha I from 1466 A.D. onwards. A record dated in that year calls him *avasaram* (or *avagaram* in Tamil), a term which seems to imply a special agent for carrying out expeditiously royal orders. Annamarasa had, in his turn, under him, a number of agents, some of whom are referred to in the records of the period, (see *Table C* above) and between them, the special agent and sub-agents, they appear to have travelled over different parts of the Empire removing illegal exactions, reducing taxes, restoring ruined villages, repairing temples that had gone to decay and providing for their offerings and festivals and making gifts in the name of their master. Thus, they seem to have reconciled the people to the new

regime, a policy that appears to have been continued by Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka, when they came into high favour with the new king. Thus we have a record of 1478 A.D., in which an agent of Īsvara, who is described as the *dalvai* (commander-in-chief of the army) of Narasimha I, constructed a car for the Tiruvadi temple and made grants of land to it. In another record, dated in 1482 A.D., we have one Aram-Valatta Nāyanār, an agent of Narasana-Nāyaka, reducing the heavy taxes imposed on the shepherds in charge of the cattle of the temple at Tiruvennainallūr, who had in consequence emigrated from the place, and inducing them to return to their village. In a record dated in 1496 A.D., Narasana-Nāyaka is described as *Mahāpradhāna* (E.C. III, Mysore 33) and makes a grant at the confluence of the Cauvery and the Kapila, according to the order (*nirūpa*) of king Sāluva-Narasimha I. In 1497 A.D., we have the last record, so far known, of Narasimha's reign registering (M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 719) the grant of a village in commemoration of their visit to Rāmēsvaram by Narasana-Nāyaka, his general and minister, and one Kāchapa-Nāyaka, apparently a subordinate of Narasana-Nāyaka.

TABLE OF INSCRIPTIONS INDICATING THE STAGES
IN THE REVOLUTION.

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
1	1456 A.D.	M.E.R. 1904, App. B. No. 253.	Mentions a gift by Narasinga-dēva Mahārāja, son of Gundaya-dēva-Mahārāja.
2	1457 A.D.	M.E.R. 1904, App. B. No. 253.	Mentions Narasinga-dēva-Mahārāja's orders regarding certain arrangements for feeding at Tirupati.
3	1459 A.D.	E.C. III, Mand. ya 13 and 59.	Visit of Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmauna Dannāyaka to Penukonda, apparently then governed by Narasinga-Rāya I. Mr. Narasimhachar regards these inscriptions as mentioning Narasinga-Rāya's "sending

Table of Inscriptions indicating the stages in the Revolution—*contd.*

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
4	1462 A.D.	E.C. X, Bowringpete 24.	away Mallikārjuna to Penukonda." This view is not covered by the language of the text of these inscriptions. (See <i>ante</i>). Mentions Mallikārjuna as reigning with Tirumalaiyanna-Dalapa (identified with Narasinga-Rāya's elder brother Timma); as <i>administering</i> the kingdom (<i>pālanai</i> is the word used). Mr. Narasimbachar draws from this inscription the inference that Narasinga-Rāya "put" his brother Tirumalaya "on the throne of Mallikārjuna" (<i>M.A.B.</i> 1907-8, Para 64). This statement is not covered by the language of the text of the inscription. As Bowringpete 18, dated in 1465 A.D., refers to a grant made under the orders of Narasimba-Rāya in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna, Mr. Narasimbachar's inference seems unsupported. (See also <i>Table A ante</i> , which shows a number of inscriptions of Mallikārjuna between 1413-1466 A.D., in which he is spoken of as still ruler).
5	1466 A.D.	E.C. V, Belur 135.	A grant by Virūpāksha III suggesting the supercession of Mallikārjuna by him in the sovereignty.
6	1467 A.D.	E.C. X, Kolar 33.	A grant by Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga Rāya-Mahārāsu without mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign.
7	1468 A.D.	E.C. X, Mulbagal 20.	A grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēvara Gunda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
8	1472 A.D.	E.C. IV, Nagamangala 79.	A private grant mentioning Mahāmandalēvara Narasinga-Rāya's name without mentioning the ruling sovereign.
9	1476 A.D.	E.C. IV, Nagamangala 89.	Grant by Narasinga-Dēva without mentioning the ruling king's name.
10	1478 A.D.	E.C. IX, Chanapatna 158.	A grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that <i>dharma</i> may be to the Mahāmandalēvara Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
11	1478 A.D.	E.C. IV, Heggaddevankote 74.	A private grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that "Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years."

Table of Inscriptions indicating the stages in the Revolution—*concl'd.*

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
12	1481 A.D.	E.C. IX, Kan-kanballi 8.	A grant by Mahāmandalika Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar without mentioning the ruling king's name.
13	1484 A.D.	E.C. IV, Nagamangala 59.	A private grant by the domestic minister of Narasinga-Rāja without mentioning the ruling king's name.
14	1484 A.D.	E.C. IX, Magadi 52.	A grant made when Mahāmandalesvara Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja was ruling the kingdom of the world.
15	1485 A.D.	E.C. Mulbagal 194.	A grant in the reign of Virūpāksha III and in the administration (<i>pālāne</i>) of Narasimha-Rāja-Odeyar.
16	1486 A.D.	E.C. XII, Tumkur 54.	The grant of a headship of a village made by order of Rāja-Paramēsvara-Praudba-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Rāja seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth.
17	1487 A.D.	M.E.R. 1925-26, Appendix B. No. 422 of 1925.	A royal charter issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāja-Mahārāja. (The latest inscription of Mallikārjuna, so far known.)
18	1493 A.D.	E.C. XII, Kuni-gal II.	Inscription apparently records something as having occurred when (? Narasinga-Rāja) Mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the earth.
19	1496 A.D. (Saka 1418.)	E.C. III, Mysore 33. Lithic Inscription at Hanchi, Varakod Hobli, Mysore District.	Narasana-Nāyaka, the Mahāpradhāna of Mēdini-misara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja, made a grant of Hanchi belonging to Melapura, for the god of Tirumakūdal at the junction of the Cauvery and the Kapila rivers. It adds that minister (Pradhāni) Narasana-Nāyaka, on the order (<i>niripam</i>) of Narasinga-Rāja, also granted to Chikanna, the Hebbāruva, who was the son of the <i>Sthānika</i> of the Agastēsvara temple, 70 honnu, as <i>uvachāra</i> (<i>upachāra</i>).
20	1497 A.D. (Saka 1420.)	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917, Lithic Inscription at Agali, Madak-sira Taluk, Anantapur District.	Records a grant to the temple at Rāmēsvara by Kāchappa-Nāyaka II, who had gone to that place with Narasana-Nāyaka. Kāchapa-Nāyaka held the Rāvadurga <i>chāvādi</i> , which included all the surrounding country, as a fief from Narasinga-Rāja-Mahārāja and Narasana-Nāyaka.

Part played by Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāja himself.

With the imperfect knowledge we possess of Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāja's rule, especially after his usurpation, for which we have, comparatively speaking, only a few

inscriptions, it is not possible to get a correct idea of the exact rôle that Sāluva-Narasimha himself played in the revolution. A careful examination of the records of the period, however, shows that the central authority at the capital gave way for reasons which are not quite clear. Apparently, Mallikārjuna, and after him, Virūpāksha proved themselves unworthy of the position they came to occupy. Muhammadan inroads as far as the capital began; parts of the Empire's territory came to be occupied by the Muhammadans or by the Orissan king; and the people should have experienced all the consequences of the frequent warfare of the period of forty years (1446-1486 A.D.). The administration especially in the provinces, during the period preceding the usurpation, appears to have grown lax to an unprecedented extent. Indeed, taxes seem to have been illegally levied and harshly collected, even the temples not being spared. Royal levies of an unjustifiable kind, such as *Vibhūti-Kanikkē*, etc., seem to have been made in them and these apparently caused such discontent as to require their express remission and wide publication of such remission to all concerned. People unable to bear these taxes and levies appear to have migrated to avoid the consequent trouble. Villages accordingly went to decay and with them the temples in them ceased to function and social retrogression began. There are not wanting records to testify to the fact that Sāluva-Narasimha took note of the existing weakness at the capital and the laxity in administration in the provinces and, in the areas he acquired control over, he appears to have gained the good will of the people by vigorously putting an end to the evils existing in them. (See *Table C* above). At the capital, Mallikārjuna, if we are to judge him from the teachings attributed to him in the *Madana-Tilaka* or *Mallikārjuna-Vijaya*, a literary work attributed to the Kannada poet Kallarasa, who states that his work is

based on Mallikārjuna's teachings to his queen, it is not impossible that he lived the life of a voluptuary and eventually lost the throne by reason of his mad love adventures. (See *ante* under *Literary Progress*). Virūpāksha III, who succeeded him, apparently proved no better. If there is any truth at all in Nuniz's account of his reign, once he gained the throne, he seems to have lost all vigour. Inscriptions afford us no direct clue in the matter but it is clear from the records of Sāluva-Narasimha I ranging from 1456 to 1486 A.D. that Mallikārjuna had practically yielded his throne into the possession of Narasimha. That a provincial governor like Narasimha should have been capable of issuing grants for years entirely ignoring the ruling sovereign argues a weakness in the central authority that is possible of only one interpretation and that is that it had practically ceased to function. The power was slowly gliding away from Virūpāksha III to Narasimha I and the end that overtook Virūpāksha III—his virtual expulsion from the throne at the point of the sword—was the consequence of his lapse from the high standard of life that he ought to have set to himself as the ruler of a great and populous empire. As one who had himself come to the throne by the aid of a revolution, it was the more incumbent on him to have been vigilant and vigorous as a ruler, but he appears to have given himself up to sloth and luxury which unmanned him to a degree that is all but incredible. Sāluva-Narasimha I, on the other hand, appears the very contradiction of Virūpāksha III, both in regard to the vigour with which he administered the territory under him and the determined manner in which he conducted the warfare against the invading hosts of the Muhammadans and the Orissan king Kapilēsvara. The part he took in beating off the attempt on the capital in the early part of the reign of Mallikārjuna is an indication of what he was capable of. His subsequent career

fully made good his early promise. He cleared, as we have seen, the country between Kānchi and Rājahmundry which had been invaded by the Dāhmanj king. The fight he put up at Rājahmundry against Muhammad Shāh in 1480 A.D., "with 7,00,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron," as the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* puts it, apparently confronted the invader with a situation for which he was not prepared. Though it is stated by this authority that Narasimha "fled like a craven on the approach of the army of Islam," it is not improbable—to put it at the least—that that description wholly ill-suits Sāluva-Narasimha I. Ferishta is not helpful to us in this connection, for he wrongly describes the forces that held Rājahmundry as *Muhammadan*, which even Mr. Sewell is compelled to admit is an error for *Hindu*. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 192). The more probable inference seems to be that Sāluva-Narasimha opposed the Muhammadan forces with vigour but that eventually he had to yield. The ill-success that attended him on this occasion, he appears to have more than made up in the crushing defeat he inflicted on the Bijāpur forces at Kandakūr, apparently a little later, though the exact date of this warfare cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty. The Bijāpur forces evidently advanced from Bīdar, the capital of the Bijāpur kingdom since 1423 A.D. (according to the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* and 1426 A.D., according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 588.) Both Ferishta and the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* do not refer to this defeat, though the *Varāhapurānamu* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu* mention it, though they locate the battle at two different places, the former at Gandikōta and the latter at Kandakūru. Both, however, agree in stating that Īsvara, the general of Sāluva-Narasimha, greatly distinguished himself in this war, by putting to the sword the Muhammadan forces almost to a man. He "gave rise," it is said in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu*,

“to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horses of the Yāvanas of Bedandakōta” (i.e., Bedadakōta or “the fort of Bedada,” which name is a corruption of Bīdar”). This reverse may be set down to 1481 A.D., about the time that Muhammad Shāh made his advance on Masulipatām. (See *ante*). Narasimha, as we have seen, also tried to re-take Goa from the Muhammadans. Indeed, about the year 1480 A.D., he had grown so powerful in the empire as to embolden the people of Kondavidu to revolt against the Muhammadans and call in his aid. As the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* says, they by “throwing themselves on the protection of Narasimharāya, had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islām.” The object of Muhammad’s invasion of the south was to subdue him. “The destruction of the infidels,” says the same authority, “was an object much to be desired as the infidel Narasimha who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all rulers of Telingāna and Vijayanagar, had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *nal-baha*” which were gifts of money to foreign troops to make them desist from plunder and devastation. (*Burhan-i-Maāsir*, see *I.A.* XXVIII, 288-289). Narasimha, it would also appear, “had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanara and Telingāna, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar.” (*Ibid.*). The growth in the power of Sāluva-Narasimha had apparently reached the ears of Muhammad Shāh and influenced him in deciding upon a campaign against him. We may not be far wrong in summing up the result of this campaign as on the whole an unsuccessful one to Muhammad Shāh, for it does not appear it led to any permanent addition to his territory, while Narasimha was left undisputed sovereign in his own

territories. Muhammad Shāh died in 1482 A.D., and his death proved the death-knell of the Bāhmani kingdom. The Bāhmani kingdom broke up, as we have seen, into five independent principalities in 1489 A.D. During the intervening period (1482-1489 A.D.), undisturbed by external troubles and well supported by his generals and ministers internally, Sāluva-Narasimha turned out Virūpāksha III from the throne and assumed the sovereignty. Thus was accomplished by him the revolution of 1485-6 A.D., which brought his own dynasty into power.

Sāluva-Narasimha I seems to have had, what seems, a peaceful reign of twelve years after his usurpation. Most of his wars appear to have been over before he came to the throne, though during the last few years of his reign, there were the usual frontier wars in the neighbourhood of the Raichūr Doab. Despite the fact that Mallikārjuna was alive for a couple of years after the *coup d'état* was accomplished by Narasimha I, we do not hear of any attempts on his part to regain the kingdom. If he had made any attempts, we should have had references to it in his own inscriptions or in the inscriptions of Narasimha I, more especially as the person displaced by Narasimha I was Mallikārjuna's own supplanter Virūpāksha III. His own personal popularity and the willing support he seems to have ungrudgingly received from his ministers and generals seem to have warded off at least for some years all such attempts against Narasimha I. Narasimha's records dated in the period subsequent to his ascending the throne are rather few (see *Table C* above) and their very paucity seems to indicate that there was hardly any opposition to his rule. The literary records of the period also seem to point to the same conclusion. They suggest his interest in poets and literary composition; in gifts to Brāhmins and in

His rule
between
1485-1497 A.D.

the decorating of the more famous temples and places of pilgrimage, such as Kānchi, Tirupati and Kālāhasti. (*E.I.* VII, 77, *f.n.* 10, quoting *Jaimini Bhāratamu*). In or about 1492-93 A.D., he seems to have appointed his son Immadi-Narasimha, as his co-regent. This fact is proved by numerous inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha, which begin from 1492 A.D., while his father was still king. (See below under *Narasimha* II). One of these dated in 1492 A.D. actually states that he ascended the throne surrounded by the angels and the learned and records a gift while seated on the throne. The circumstances under which he was raised to the throne are not clear, but it is possible that Narasimha I desired to make sure of his son's succession to the throne, while he himself was yet alive. Both Nuniz and Ferishta agree in stating that Narasimha I left two sons surviving him. According to the former, the elder of these fell in battle in 1493 A.D., while according to Nuniz, he was, after the death of Narasimha I, put to death by one "Tymarsaa" (Timmarsaa), a captain in the army, in order that Narasa (Narasana-Nāyaka) the general of Narasimha, may be charged with it and put to death. Nuniz also states that the younger son of Narasimha I was known as "Tamarao," and that he was raised to the throne by "Narsenague" (Narasana-Nāyaka) on the murder of the elder son, whose name, however, he fails to mention. There can be little doubt that "Tamarao," the second son referred to above, has to be identified with Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya (or Narasimha II), who, according to the inscriptions of the period, was also known by the title of *Tammarāya* or *Dharmarāya*. (See below under *Sāluva-Narasimha* II). According to the inscriptions, however, we know of only one son of Narasimha I and he was Immadi-Narasimha II. As this subject is further discussed below, it ought to suffice here if it is stated that Narasimha I appears to have raised his son

Immadi-Narasimha (II) to the throne while he was yet king and that he ruled jointly with his son for about four or five years.

Narasimha's position in his own dominions was so strong that Kāsīm Bārid, the King of Bidar, sought his aid against Yūsuf Adil Shāh, the first king of Bijāpur. In mentioning this request of Kāsīm Bārid, Ferishta states that it was preferred not to Narasimha I, but to the minister of his son, suggesting plainly that Narasimha I was not alive at the time. "The Roy being a child," he says, "his minister, Heemraaje, sent an army" and seized the country as far as Mudkal and Raichur. (Scott, *Ferishta* I, 190, 210; Briggs, II. 537 and III. 10. See also *A Forgotten Empire*, 111, *f.n.* 1 and 2). This suggestion of Ferishta seems wholly untenable as Narasimha I was still alive in 1489 A.D., and is accordingly set aside without comment by Mr. Sewell. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 111 and 113). The suggestion is, however, capable of explanation. The elder brother of Immadi-Narasimha, the son of Narasimha I, who was probably an young man at the time, had been perhaps just nominated co-regent and affairs conducted in his name as well. Probably Ferishta's mention of the young Roy is an echo of his accession to the throne as co-regent of his father. If this explanation proves acceptable, it will have to be conceded that his nomination to the co-regency should be set down to 1482 A.D., and that after his death in 1493 in the battle, as mentioned below, his younger brother Immadi-Narasimha was made co-regent. This would be in keeping with the result arrived at from a study of Immadi-Narasimha's inscriptions which indicate definitely that his co-regency began in 1492-3 A.D., the year of the death of his unnamed elder brother. Mr. Sewell has correctly identified the "Heemraaje" mentioned by Ferishta with Narasa (or Narasapna-Nāyaka), known also as

Occupation of
Mudkal and
Raichur, 1489
A.D.

Narasimha, which to foreigners would become *Simharaj*, and hence *Heemraaje*. (*Ibid*, 111). As Narasimha-Nāyaka was the chief commander of Narasimha's forces, he would naturally have undertaken the expedition.

Bijāpur
invasion, 1493
A.D.

The occupation of this territory proved, as usual, a short lived affair. In 1493 A.D., Ferishta states that Yūsuf Adil Shāh, hearing of dissensions at Vijayanagar, marched against Raichur, when Heemraaje, having settled these dissensions, advanced "with the young Roy" to that city. A battle followed in which, if Ferishta is to be believed, Heemraaje (*i.e.*, Narasimha-Rāya or Narasana-Nāyaka) was defeated; and the "young Roy" being mortally wounded in the action, died before he reached home. Heemraaje saw his opportunity and seized the Government of the country. The following two passages from Ferishta (*Briggs*, III. 13; *Scott*, I, 228) relating to this war may be set down here:—

"Heemraaje was the first usurper. He had poisoned the young Rāja of Beejanuggur, son of Sheoroy (Simha-Rāja-Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya I) and made his infant brother a tool to his designs, by degrees overthrowing the ancient nobility, and at length establishing his own absolute authority over the kingdom." (*Scott*, *Ferishta*, I. 228).

The other states:—

"The Government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family, in uninterrupted succession, for seven hundred years, when Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I) dying, was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not live long after him, and left the throne to a younger brother. He also had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconstancy, burned up the earth of his existence with the blasting wind of annihilation. Being succeeded by an infant only three months old, Heemraaje (Narasimha-Rāya, the Tuluva general Narasa), one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for great wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed

by all the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years; though, on the arrival of the young king at manhood, he had poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for keeping the regency in his hands. Heemraaje at his death was succeeded in office by his son, Rāmraaje (? Simharāj-Vira-Narasimha-Rāya), who having married a daughter of the son of Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha I), by that alliance greatly added to his influence and power." (Scott, *Ferishta* I. 262).

"In this interval, Heemraaje, having settled his dissensions, advanced with the young Roy at the head of a great army to Roijore, which struck terror into the army of Adil Shaw, for whose recovery earnest prayers were offered up by his subjects".....(The prayers were answered and the Sultān recovered).

"Intelligence arriving that Heemraaje had crossed the Tummedra and was advancing by hasty marches, Eusuff Adil Shaw ordered a general review of his army..... (and advanced, entrenching his camp a short distance from the Hindus). Several days passed inactively, till on Saturday in Regib 898, both armies drew out, and in the beginning of the action near five hundred of Adil Shaw's troops being slain the rest were disordered and fell back, but were rallied again by the Sultān. One of the Officers who had been taken prisoner and made his escape, observed that the enemy were busily employed in plunder, and might be attacked with advantage. The Sultān relished this advice and proceeded; when Heemraaje, not having time to collect his whole army, drew out with seven thousand horse and a considerable number of foot, also three hundred elephants. Adil Shaw charged his centre with such fury, that Heemraaje was unable to stand the shock. Victory waved the royal standard, and the infidels fled, leaving two hundred elephants, a thousand horses, and sixty lakhs of oons, with many jewels and effects, to the conquerors. Heemraaje and the young Roy fled to Beejanuggur, but the latter died on the road of a wound he had received by an arrow in the action. Heemraaje seized the government of the country but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out, which gave Adil Shaw relief from war for some time from that quarter." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 13; Scott, *Ferishta*, I. 252-262).

It might be presumed that as the result of the war, Mudkal and Raichur were re-occupied by Adil Shāh.

Story of disturbances at the capital, 1493 A.D.

The statement of Ferishta that "Heemraaje" (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyaka) seized the government of the country, but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out which gave Adil Shāh some relief from war from the Vijayanagar side is, however, difficult to understand as Narasimha I was still alive in 1493 A.D., and there is nothing to suggest that Narasana-Nāyaka had tried to overthrow him. Ferishta apparently has mixed up events of a later date with this war and suggested the lack of interest on the part of Narasimha in frontier warfare, after the recovery by Adil Shāh of Mudkal and Raichūr in 1493, to an attempt on the part of Narasana-Nāyaka and the consequent disturbances that arose at the capital immediately as a consequence of this war. If the death of the unnamed elder son of Narasimha I in this war is true, the installation of his younger brother Tammaya of Nuniz and the inscriptions should have followed immediately at the close of the war. That this might have actually so followed seems to be suggested by inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha which are dated in the year 1492-3 A.D. These do not, as the later records do, refer to Narasana-Nāyaka but mention only Immadi-Narasimha and state that he was ruling a secure kingdom from Vijayanagar. (See below).

An estimate of the rule of Sāluva-Narasimha I.

In judging of the rule of Sāluva-Narasimha I, it has to be admitted that he was, like some other usurpers the world has known, an able, artful and adventurous personage. From the comparatively small position of a governor, he rose to be the Emperor of a large Empire at a critical moment of its history. The campaigns of the Bāhmani Sultān and Kapilēsvara, the Orissan king, would, but for his vigorous opposition, have proved

disastrous to it. Though the Bāhmani Sultān was beaten back and his own kingdom fell a prey to internal dissensions, the Orissan king who joined him and advanced against the Hindu kingdom of the South was not forgotten. Krishna-Rāya, the son of Narasa, dealt, as will be shown below, the greatest blow that ever befell him or his kingdom. Narasimha I not only put back the invaders, but also carried out many reforms in the internal administration of the country. By his wise moves, he got the people on his side. He early discerned what indifferent rulers fail to note, that a people is the heart of a country. He set right the provincial administrators over whom apparently he exercised strict control. During his period, reduction of taxation, abolition of illegal levies and restoration of ruined villages and temples, evidently became the order of the day. The country should have enjoyed the benefits of a settled government for some years, especially during the post-usurpation period (1485 to 1497 A.D.). Narasimha I, though an usurper, appears to have used his opportunity well enough. He seems to have endeavoured to allay discontent in rural areas and promote actively the well-being of the people as a whole. Generous in his gifts to Brāhmins and temples, he was punctilious that his orders (as to feeding, for instance, at Tirupati) should be carried out according to the regulations laid down by him. If not a poet—he is, as we have seen above, credited with the writing of a poem—he was a patron of poets and learning. He travelled the country and knew it well and his grand tour of India, which is depicted to us in the *Sālvābhyudāyam*, is not a wholly fictitious picture drawn for us by the poet. He is described to us in this poem in the light of a hero. But the inscriptions present us with a more prosaic figure. As Rousseau has it, "the mask falls, the man remains and the hero disappears." His usurpation may be said to have served

its purpose. Its justification lay primarily in restoring order and good Government in the Empire and securing it against foreign foes who were bent on breaking it up. In both these respects, Sāluva-Narasimha should be declared to have succeeded. Talikota was, in one word, put off for another eighty years. The great point about him was that he did not evade the Revolution but forestalled it in the larger interests of the country.

A picture of his policy : Pina-Virabhadra's political maxims.

In the stray verses attributed to Pina-Virabhadra, we get a picture of Narasimha which seems not overdrawn. Though the form of polity portrayed for us in the pieces called *Navaratnamulu* and *Saptāṅgapaddhati* may be taken to be of general application to rulers of the time to which Sāluva-Narasimha belonged, the fact that each and every verse forming them is specifically addressed to Sāluva-Narasimha himself lends support to the view that it is of special application to his own case. In the *Navaratnamulu*, we have a picture of what a king should be to his subjects. We are told that the first essential quality of a true king is that, realizing that in the good wrought for others is his own good, he should not claim the good that is done by others as his own! Learning, modesty, the desire to be adventurous, to display a due sense of proportion in judging human affairs, love for fellow creatures; the doing of great deeds, the achieving of deserving fame, manliness, and a prosperous kingdom—these, then, we are told, are the marks (rather the ornaments) of a true king! Not only these; he should possess a versatile minister; if he possessed one such, he would find uses for his sword and for his deeds; if he found such uses for them, he would know how to strengthen his army; if he strengthened his forces, he would not long leave his enemies unchecked; and he who is victorious over his enemies is bound to rule undisputed over his kingdom! It follows from this,

remarks the poet, that the greatest protection for a successful king is a minister endowed with the genius of right thinking ! To appreciate music, to take delight in literature, to distinguish between man and man and object and object, to couple meekness with riches ; to punish the wicked, to reward the good ; to be devoted to Brāhmins, to be interested in others ; and to know the bard (who praises), the Brāhman (who prays) and the student (who struggles at his books) when donating—these, then, are the qualities that are requisite in a true king who desires to be reckoned wise, wealthy, powerful, able and generous ! Not merely that ; if good breeding is suffused with good qualities like gold that is brightened by gilding ; if exalted position is coupled to unequalled riches like *Kashiri* shining in its (own) colour ; if the charitably disposed person is also blessed with the sweet tongue like the sugar-cane which has come to ripe ; and if the great man (*i.e.*, king) attains to fame like the Sandal tree which has begun to flower—he will have distinguished himself among his compeers as one deserving of true praise ! Nay more ; in assemblies of people, in places where fiery horses are under examination, where serpents are exhibited, where food has to be partaken of, where medicines are administered to him, where he has to seek rest in sleep, where he goes a hunting, where he is invited to festivities, where music and dancing are on foot, where physicians are at work, where crowds are collected in street-corners, where people gather in large numbers to offer prayers in temples, where foreigners are admitted to audience, the king who is not unmindful of self-protection is the true king ! Not only this ; is God to be sought for by those good men who are truly devoted to their parents ? Is penance necessary for those great men who out of good feeling show kindness to all sentient creatures ? Is ambrosia needed by those blessed mortals who delight in the writings of good poets ? Are sacrifices required in

the case of those men of good deeds who have never for a moment deserted the path of rectitude and truth? Is Indra's abode of bliss wanted for those who desert not their consorts and whom they consider equal to their own lives? Then, again; it is not meet to render rich one's own brothers; to make the wicked occupy a high station; to put one's own cousins in charge of fortresses; to set the evil-minded to guard the treasury; to entrust the provinces to the cruel-hearted; to the obstinate should not be given the headship; to the cheat the duty of usher at the gate; to trust the man who has created distrust; and it is just to apply such remedies as may be needed where trust has been betrayed. And a word more; anger not with the sorcerer, the cunning man and the man who means well with the sovereign; declare not thy will to the man who is blind with rage, the determined aspirant, and to the wicked; mix not with the accuser, with one who delights in abusing others, and the person addicted to evil deeds; and have naught to do with the king's enemy, with the deceiver and with the cunning. To think of it, if any one foolishly and obstinately became inimical to the king who conducts himself agreeably to these principles, destruction surely awaits him!

Pina-
Virabhadra
the Machia-
velli.

Such are the qualities of a Prince as conceived by Pina-Virabhadra in his Address to his sovereign Sāluva-Narasimha I. Nick Machiavel had never a trick that Pina-Virabhadra did not apparently know. At least, Bacon's famous criticism cannot be applied to him; "We are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that wrote what men do and not what they ought to do." The "what they ought to do" looms large here, though it is fortunate that the one "ought" which Machiavel actually mentions is not unduly insisted on here. "War," he said, "ought to be the only study of a prince," where prince, as Edmund Burke has pointed

out, means "every sort of state, however constituted." Pina-Virabhadra was evidently well acquainted with the political philosophy of the time he lived in and his verses, ringing and flowing, leave the impression that he knew the king, to whom he addressed them, almost to a fault. Narasimha I should have not so much profited by them as found himself portrayed in them—at least in certain of them. The need for self-protection, for instance, on certain occasions and in certain places which Pina-Virabhadra stresses cannot be treated as engendering imaginary fears in a king—especially in the case of one who had himself gained the throne by a Revolution.

In his *Saptānga Paddhati*, Pina-Virabhadra enlarges on certain other topics of a kindred nature. Ms. copies of the verses forming this piece have scarcely ever been found complete. Hence we are at a disadvantage in writing of it. In one verse, descriptive of the minister, we have his qualifications mentioned to us. He should, we are told, be of good birth; attached to his duties; possessed of a mellifluous tongue; banishing sorrow, is fired with a zeal for adding to the exchequer: realizing the troubles of the people, is anxious to protect the people and keep them contented with the aid of his army; ever desirous of doing good deeds, brave in action, careful in making the king avoid the sins to which he is peculiarly susceptible, and always on the alert to neutralize the enemy's secrets; himself deep seated and anxious to advance the welfare of the people; who knows the occasion and the time for everything and who is ever inquiring about the country and protecting it against evil-doers—the person possessing such a minister as this is the king! Under acquisition of riches, we have the following:—

He who acquires riches by the strength of his own arms and expends it with care on objects worthy of attention, while day by day he keeps adding to his exchequer, such a (worthy) person is the king.

Next, we have the duties of kingship delineated to us:—

He who maintains without fail the order of *varnas* and *āśramas*, who makes the names of thieves and adulterers unknown: who protects places of worship and the property of Brāhmins; who gives attention even to a poor man's petition; who does not permit the strong to oppress the weak; who administers justice without remiss; who puts down insurrections and raiyats in fortresses; who sets down marks at the bounds of his realm and and of the places (included) in it; who strives to know every part of his kingdom as he does his own residence and proclaims his well-conceived commands throughout its limit—such a person who without vanity rules the country is a true king.

Then, as regards forts and fortifications, we have the following:—

Who fills in due season and in plenty water and fire-wood; who sees that the governors (of forts) keep in due repair the bastions, the curtains, the ditches and the implements of warfare; who stores paddy and other provisions without stint; who nominates honest persons to be in charge of the forts; who secures the guarding of the (fortified) city by men who instil the fear that it is impossible of attack by any one (however strong)—such a person who is sovereign over such well cared for forts is a true king.

Then we are given an idea of what is requisite in regard to the forces that should be maintained:—Who never postpones payment of salaries but meets them regularly on their due dates; who inquires whether the salaries paid have been disbursed to the parties concerned; who provides then and there for the treatment of the fallen on the battle-field and for their due protection afterwards; who pays particular attention to men with service and experience to their credit, men who aspire for (higher steps in the) service and who keeps his eyes on his main forces and on the farthest

forts in his realm—such a person who rules over a country as he rules over his own residence is a true king.

Whether Pina-Virabhadra intended it or not, there can hardly be any doubt that his seven essentials of a true kingship indicate the conception underlying Mediæval sovereignty in South India, a benevolent autocracy limited by practical wisdom and immemorial custom. Nor is there any suggestion that Sāluva-Narasimha I to whom these verses are addressed was to any extent wanting in any of the essentials enumerated. The main interest of the piece consists in providing us a picture of the rule of Narasimha I by a contemporary of his who did not idealise but described what he saw with fair accuracy. All that we know of Mediæval kingship from other sources confirms what Pina-Virabhadra has laid down in the political maxims he presented his sovereign with.

Value of the Poems for judging the nature of Narasimha's rule.

Two records, one of which comes from the Salem and the other from the Anantapur District, fix the probable date of the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I within certain narrow limits. (*M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 719 and *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 143 of 1915). The record from the Anantapur District is dated in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha I and in Saka 1420, Pingala, Chaitra *Su-di* 15, Saturday (=A.D. 1497, March 18, Saturday), while that from the Salem District is dated in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II and in Saka 1420, Kālayukta, Mēsha, *Su-di*, 15, Hasta, Sunday (=A.D. 1498, April 16, Friday). Sāluva-Narasimha I should, therefore, have died between these two dates, March 18, 1497 and April 16, 1498. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69, where the equivalent date for No. 143 of 1915 is given as April 6, Friday, 1498 A.D.) On this point, see *M.E.R.* 1916, App. G, page 103, where the point is discussed by Mr. L. D. Swāmikannu Pillai

His death, 1498 A.D.

whether the day mentioned in Kālayukta is current or expired. According to him, if it fell in the latter, the equivalent date would be 1497 A.D., Sunday, April 16. (Also *M.E.R.* 1918, App. E, page 123, where the A.D. equivalent for record No. 719 of 1917 is given). Another record (*F.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74) dated in Saka 1400, Cyclic year Pingala, Vaisākha *Su.* 5, points in the same direction. In this particular instance, however, the Saka and Cyclic years do not agree. If the Cyclic year may, as is generally the case, be taken as the intended year, then the Saka year 1400 has been wrongly given (possibly by the engraver) for 1419, which would refer the record to 1497 A.D., which is well within the limits, as we now know, of the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha I. This record is, as will be seen, dated in Vaishāka Suddha 5, which would fall between the middle of April and the middle of May, 1497 A.D. It is of interest to note that the grant registered in this record was made by the famous Tipparasayya, the household Minister of Sāluva-Narasimha I, in order that he (Narasimha I) might have a secure reign for a thousand years. (*Narasingarāyamahārāyarige sāvira-kālu sthira-rājjav āgabēk endu kottev*). It is possible that at the time of this grant, Narasimha I was seriously unwell and that his Minister of the Household made this grant praying to God Almighty that his sovereign lord might be allowed to recover and rule eternally. It is possible he recovered and lived at least a year longer, and then died, *i.e.*, about the date mentioned in the Salem record of his son. (See above). Tentatively, we may set down the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I to somewhere about the beginning of the year 1498 A.D.

Immadi
Narasimha
or Sāluva
Narasimha II,
A.D. 1493-
1506.

Sāluva-Narasimha I was succeeded by his son spoken of in his own records as Immadi-Narasimha or Narasimha II. His other names as appearing in his records

are Vīra-Dhammarāya, Bhujabala-Rāya-Immadi-Narasīnga-Rāya and Tammaya. He appears to have been co-regent of his father from 1492-3 A.D. Inscriptional records dated from 1492 to 1497 A.D. show that he ruled in his own name during these six years. But on the death of his father in 1497 A.D., when he began his independent rule, he was overshadowed by Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka, the Tuluva general. Narasa, as we have seen, was the Commander-in-Chief in his father's reign. Inscriptions dated from 1497 A.D. prominently mention Narasana-Nāyaka and show him in the light of Regent. (See *Table of Inscriptions* below.) For the greater part of his reign, Immadi-Narasimha does not appear to have been more than the titular sovereign of the Empire, all affairs being conducted by Narasana-Nāyaka who is actually described as *Kārya-Karta* or Agent. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 52 dated in 1499 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Malur 5 dated in 1499 A.D.). Narasana is even said in certain records to have been actually *ruling* the Empire (*prithvirājyam-pannum*) in the place of and as the agent of the king. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 143 of 1915). Other records mention the fact that Immadi-Narasimha was ruling under the protection of Narasana-Nāyaka. (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 97; Inscriptions at Bellur dated in 1498 A.D.). However put, it seems clear from the records of the period that Immadi-Narasimha was supported in his rule by Narasana-Nāyaka who conducted affairs in the name of the king. His rule might be correctly described as that of a Regent, for the inscriptions make it plain that his powers were coeval with those of the reigning king. On Narasana-Nāyaka's death about 1503 A.D., the grants again run only in the name of Immadi-Narasimha (see *Table* below) and there is nothing to indicate that Vīra-Narasimha came to occupy his father's position of Regent. But Immadi-Narasimha did not long survive Narasana-Nāyaka

and so the way was clear for Vira-Narasimha to occupy the throne, the two sons of Immadi-Narasimha not disputing the succession. They appear to have been quite content with minor positions in the outlying parts of the Empire.

Table of
inscriptions
of Sāluva-
Narasimha II.

The following is a table of inscriptions relating to the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II:—

Date	Authority	Contents
1. 1492 A.D., Śaka 1434, Paridhāvi, Kārtika Śu. dī 1. The Śaka and Cyclic years do not agree. Taking the Cyclic year as the year intended, it would be Śaka 1414 = A.D. 1492.	M.E.R. 1918, Para 70; App. B, 787.	Record mentions Vira-Dharmarāya-Mahārāya.
2. 1492 A.D., Śaka 1414, Paridhāvi, dark half of Phālguna, Sunday, 7th lunar day.	M.A.R. 1924, Chākēnahalli (Heggaddevankote Taluk, Mysore District.) Copper-plate grant (Similar to Bankakatte and Devulapalli grants, though it gives more information about Sāluva Maṅgi.)	Describes Immadi-Narasimha (II) as having ascended his throne surrounded by the <i>Sumanas</i> (the angels and the learned) and records the gift by him while seated on his throne at Vijayanagar an <i>agrahāra</i> (Chākēnahalli <i>aliq</i> Dēmasamudra) in the Makaravēntahaya.
3. 1492 A.D., Śaka 1414, Paridhāvi.	M.E.R. 1910. App. B. No. 736 of 1909. Lithic record at Purthukōil in Coimbatore District.	An incomplete record of Bhujabalarāya identified with Bhujabala-Immadi-Narasingarāya (II).
4. 1493 A.D. (Śaka 1414, Paridhāvi, Māgha Śu. 10) Sunday.	E.C. V, Mudgere 51, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records a private grant to the god Kalasanātha at Kalasa when Bhayirarasa-Vodeyar was governor of Kalasa province in the reign of Srīman Mahā-mandalēvara Paścīma-Samudrādhipati Kathāri-Sāluva Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya who was ruling a peaceful kingdom.
5. 1493 A.D. (Same date as Mudgere 54).	E.C. V, Mudgere 56, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records another private grant in which the same descriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II and his feudatory Bhayirarasa are given as in Mudgere 54.

Date	Authority	Contents
6. 1494 A.D. (Saka 1416, Pramādīcha Vayisākha <i>ba</i> 14).	E.C. V, Mudgere 50, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records another private grant, in which the same descriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II and his feudatory Bhayirarasa are given as in Mudgere 54 and 56.
7. 1493 A.D. (Saka 1415, Pramādīcha).	M.E.R. 1907, App. B. No. 516 of 1906.	Registers the grant of certain taxes to the Chennakesava temple at Muttukuru in the Cuddapah District by a servant of one Narasingarāyaningaru, a subordinate of Immadi-Narasingadēva-Mahārāya, son of Sāluva-Narasingadēva-Mahārāya, who is said to have been ruling at Vijayanagara.
8. 1494 A.D. (Saka 1416. Rākshasa, Bhādrapada Su. 10.)	E.C. IX, Hospet 23, Lithic inscription at Sivandpura.	Records that Jagapa, the agent of a Mahāpradhāna Gaude Dannāyaka made a grant (on the date specified) when Srīman Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-misara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva Sāluva-Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
9. 1495 A.D. ...	S.I.I. I, No. 115, Page 131.	Records grant of Immadi-Narasimharāya.
10. 1495 A.D. Rākshasa Māgha <i>Ba</i> 14, Sivarātri.	E.C. XII, Maddagiri 33. Lithic inscription at Nāgēnaballi.	Records a private grant by the sons of Mahānād prabhū Timmanna Gauda, who describes himself as the servant (<i>banta</i>) of Narasana-Nāyaka, the general of Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini Misara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva Sāluva-Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya.
11. 1495 A.D. (Saka 1417, Rākshasa Chaitra Su. 1).	E.C. IX, Bangalore 123, Lithic inscription at Gangadipura.	Records that when Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-Misara-ganda Kathāri Sāluva, Sāluva-Immadi Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world Mahāmandalēsvara Gode-Rāya granted, in order that merit might accrue to Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya, the village of Gangadiballi, renaming it Timmarājapura.
12. 1495 A.D. (Saka 1418, Rākshasa, Srāvana <i>Ba</i> 80), Eclipse of the Sun.	E.C. IX, Magadi 91, Lithic inscription at Kondahalli.	On the date specified, in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara Immadi-Narasinga Rāya, a grant was made for the offerings of the god Sankara of Mānugal.

Date	Authority	Contents
13. 1495 A.D. (Saka Ananda, Māgha Su. 1.)	E.C. IX, Dēvanahalli 66. Lithic inscription at Handrahalli, Būdigere Hobli.	On the date specified when Mahāmaudalesvara (Im-madi-Sāluva) Narasinga-Rāya Mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the world, a grant was made to Tim-manna-bhatta and other Brāhmins
14. 1496 A.D.	M.A.R. 1919, Para 89, Inscription at Varadarāja temple at Vāgata, Hospet Taluk.	A grant by Krishnarāya-Odeyar, <i>aliya</i> (son-in-law) of Mahāmandalesvara, Mēdinimisaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva Im-madi-Narasinga Rāya Mahārāja. (<i>Alia</i> here, perhaps, stands for <i>nephew</i> as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachār).
15. 1497 A.D. (No Saka date is given though the Cyclic year Pingala fell in 1419)	M.E.R. 1910, Appendix B. No. 743 of 1909. Lithic record at Furuthukōyil in Coimbatore District.	A much damaged inscription mentioning the king's name as Im-madi-Narasinga-Rāya (II).
16. 1497 A.D. ...	M.A.R. 1916, Para 102, Inscription at Kēsava Sōmanāth-pur, T.-Narsipur Taluk.	On a petition preferred to king Sāluva Narasimha II, he informed of it to Narasimha, son of Śvara, who ordered the restoration of the <i>agrohāra</i> of Sōmanāth-pur. The restoration was carried out by Nanja-rayā-Odeyar of the Ummattur family. Narasimha (<i>i. e.</i> , Narasana), son of Śvara, is described as one whose feet had been bowed to by kings. Narasa is said to have granted certain villages to the temple and certain <i>vrittis</i> to the Brāhmins of the place. By the way he is referred, he should have been more powerful than the king himself.
16 (a). 1497 A.D. ...	M.A.R. 1918, Para 106, Inscription at Rangauātha temple at Pankajanhalli, Chikunayakanhalli Taluk.	Records a grant by one Kencha, described as "the valiant arm of Narasa-Nāyak who was the son (<i>komāra</i>) of the Mahā-mandalēsvara Mēdinimisaraganda Kathār Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāja." (The Report thus summarises the contents of the inscription. But there seems to be some mistake here for, Narasa-Nāyaka was not the <i>komāra</i> of Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāja and it rightly states in the next sentence that he

Date	Authority	Contents
17. 1498 A.D. (Saka 1420, Kālayukta, Mēsha (Chaitra) Paurṇami, Hasta, Sunday.)	M.E.R. 1916, Appendix B. No. 148 of 1915. Lithic inscription at Paruttipalli, Tiruchengōde Taluk, Salem District.	was the father of Vira-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya). Mentions Dharmarāya-Mahārāya, son of Śāluva-Narasinga-Rāya, as the reigning king. Narasana-Nāyaka-Udaiyar is stated to be an agent of the king and said to be actually ruling for him. (<i>Prithvirājyam-paṇṇum</i>). Records the gift of a village to the local temple for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka by Vittamaṣaṣar, his agent.
18. 1497 A.D. ...	M.A.R. 1912-13, Para 91. Inscription at Uyyanhalli, Hoskote Taluk.	A grant in Maha-māḍini-miseyaraḡanda Kathāri-Śāluva Narasimha-Rāya varma-Rāya's reign by his house minister Tipparasa to the Rāma temple at Kottur.
19. 1498 A.D. ...	E.C. IV, 4 Hoskote 74.	Grant by his house minister Tipparasa for the merit of Narasinga-Rāya II.
20. 1498 A.D. (Srāvana month.)	M.A.R. 1913-14, Para 97. Inscription at Kannēvara temple, Bellur, Malur Taluk.	One Rāmeyyappa-Rābūta made a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, when Mahārājadhiraīya Rājaparamēvara Dhananivarāha Kathāri-Śāluva Śāluva-Immadi-Narasinga-Mahārāya was ruling the earth, for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka, for the God Sōmeya of Bellur <i>alias</i> Sri-Vishnuvardhana-Chaturvēdimangala,
21. 1498 A.D. (Mārgasira month.)	M.A.R. 1913-14, Para 97. Inscription at Kannēvara temple, Bellur, Malur Taluk.	On the occasion of a lunar eclipse, when Māḍinimiseyaraḡanda-Kathāri Śāluva Śāluva-Immadi Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the earth under the protection of Narasana-Nāyaka, an officer named Timmaya built a stone <i>mantapa</i> for god Sōmeya at Bellur and also had a car made for the use of the Sōmeya and Rāmachandra temples.
22. 1499 A.D. (7th year of reign).	M.E.R. 1914, Appendix B. 421.	Provides for the annual grant of bull-calves and repairs of a temple at Attur, Salem District.
23. 1498 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Ashāḍa Śu. 1).	E.C. IX, Channapatna 62. Lithic inscription at Kōdamballi, Virūpākshapura Hobli.	On the date specified, when the Mahāmandalēvara Māḍinimiseyaraḡanda Kathāri-Śāluva Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya's

Date	Authority	Contents
24. 1499 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Vai-gāsi-māsam, 5 <i>tī</i>).	E.C. X, Malur 5, Lithic inscription in Vardarāja temple at Tekal.	agent (<i>Kāryakartarāda</i>) Narasana-Nāyaka-Vodeya was ruling the kingdom of the world, one Timmarasa granted a village for the God Mallēsvara of Kōdamballi belonging to Channapatna in the Pōysananād. On the date specified, when Narasa-Nāyakan, the agent (<i>Kāryattukku Kartan</i>) of Sri n an Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Mēdini-misara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasimba-Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, a piece of land for providing offerings to the God Arulal-nādar was granted by one Rāma Rāhuta.
25. Undated, (? Circa 1499) (1499 A.D.)	M.E.R. 1908, Appendix C. No. 39 of 1908. Lithic inscription at Varichchiyūr, Madura District.	Records a gift in the reign of Immadi-Narasinga-Mahārāya for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka by the governor of Madurai-mandalam to the temple of Virabhadra at Varichchiyūr.
26. 1499-1500 A.D. ...	M.E.R. 1901, No. 166 of 1901.	Mahāmandalēsvara-Mēdinimisaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva-Immadi-Narasimba-Rāya Mahārāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, his chief minister being Narasana-Nāyaka.
27. 1499-1500 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti).	M.E.R. 1909, Appendix B. No. 89 of 1908. Lithic inscription at Tirupattūr, Rāmnād District.	Records in the reign of Immadi-Narasimba-Mahārāya, son of Narasimba-Rāya surnamed Dharmarāya, that the residents of Tirupattūr in the Madura District might enjoy their <i>brahmadāya</i> lands free of cesses.
28. 1499 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Mēsha, <i>Su di</i> Monday, Uttaram, Dvādasi.)	M.E.R. 1919, Appendix C. No. 25. Lithic inscriptions at Siva temple, Mārkanam, South Arcot District	Mentions Tammayadēva-Mahārāya-Virapratāpa Sāluva-Narasugayadēva-Mahārāya and records the gift of a salt pan to the temple.
29. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1422, Raudri), Both records dated in the same year.	M.E.R. 1904, Appendix A. Nos. 139 and 151 of 1903. Lithic inscriptions at Tirupattūr, Rāmnād District.	Record gifts of land in the reign of Immadi-Narasimbharāya for the merit of Tippa-rasa-Ayyan.
30. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1422, Durmati.)	M.E.R. 1910, Appendix B. No. 464 of 1909.	Mentions the reigning king as Virapratāpa Bhujabalarāya Immadi-Tammayadēva-Mahārāya and refers to Haresa-Nāyaka and to the

Date	Authority	Contents
31. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1444—which should be Saka 1424—for the Cyclic year Durmati, Simha, <i>Su di</i> 10, Monday, Hasta, is mentioned.)	M.E.R. 1914, Appendix B. No. 445. Lithic inscription at Kāmēśvara temple at Aragal village, Attur Taluk, Salem District.	founding of a village for the merit of Souya Viramarasa. Records a private grant to a temple in the reign of Dharmarāya, son of Sāluva-Narasingarāya.
32. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1423, Durmati.)	M.E.R. 1908, Appendix B. No. 615 of 1907. (Lithic inscription at Nandalur.)	Registers a grant in the reign of Immadi Narasingarāya-Mahārāya for the merit of Narasa-Nāyaka-Odeyalu. The king is mentioned as being at Vijayanagar in charge of the administration. (Narasa's usurpation was an accomplished fact at the date of this record).
33. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1424, Dundubhi, Uttarāyana Kumbha, <i>ba di</i> 4).	M.E.R. 1916, Appendix C. No. 47. Inscription on a pillar at Tirukkalkaddi, Rāmnād District.	The inscription states that Narasa-Nāyaka was governing the country on behalf of Narasinga-Bhujabala-Darmarāya.
34. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Rudhirōdgari, which is wrong).	M.E.R. 1914, Appendix B. No. 453.	Registers a grant in favour of three temple worshippers for the victory of Narasa-Nāyaka.
35. 1503 A.D. (Raudri, Saka 1422).	M.E.R. 1924, Appendix C. No. 212. Lithic inscription at Pirānmalai, Rāmnād District.	Mention, Immadi-Narasingarāya Dharmarāya and records the gift of a village to Brahmins for the merit of Tipparasar-Ayyan.
36. ? 1500 A.D. ...	E.C. XII, Tiptur 91.	Records a grant when (Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva-Mahārāya, seated on the (Vijayanagar) throne, was ruling the empire of the world.)
37. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1424, Durmati, Simha <i>Su di</i> , Dasami, Monday Srāvana).	M.E.R. 1919, Appendix No. 173. Inscription on a stone pillar at Chunnampet, Chingleput District.	Records a private gift of land for a <i>matha</i> by a Kannadiga.
38. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Dundubhi, Pushya <i>ba</i> 5).	E.C. III, Naniangudi 88. Lithic inscription at Ariyur in Hurada Hobli.	Records the grant of Aliyur (i.e., Ariyur, where the inscription is found) to the god Tirumalnātha (the deity of the temple where the inscribed slab is found standing) by Uradu Nāyaka the chief agent of Tipparasayya, the son of Timmarasavya, the head minister (<i>Sira pradhāna</i>) of Mahāmandalesvara-bba-shegetappuvara-rāyavaganda ari-rāya-Vibhāda,

Date	Authority	Contents
39. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Raudri).	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1918, Appendix C. No. 122. Lithic Inscription at temple, Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Kondanada-Kondukonda.... Kodararaya-gauda Rajadhiraja Raja-paramesvara Kathari-Saluva-Narasana-Nayakara, (i.e. Narasinga-Nayakara). Records gift of money and land to temple at Kugaiyur, South Arcot, for offerings by Annama-Nayakar in order that Bhujabala-Tammaraya might rule the earth.
40. 1524 A.D., Raudri (Saka year not given but should be 1424).	<i>M.E.R.</i> -1918, Appendix C. No. 123. Lithic inscription at Vishnu temple, Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Gift of land for worship and festivals by Perungondai Tammaya-Nayakar who repaired the <i>mandapa</i> , set up the stone pillar and pinnacle, built the surrounding wall and dug the tank. (The king's name is not given).
41. Contains two dates: (1) Portion mentioning Sriraman Maharajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri-Virapratapa Narasinga-Maharaya and his righteous rule in the presence of the god Virupaksha is dated in Saka 1424, which corresponded to Cyclic year (lost, but probably Rudhirodgari) Asvaja <i>ba</i> 30, Saturday (=A.D. 1502) (2) Date of a grant made in 1511 A.D.	<i>E.C.</i> VIII, Nagar 73.	Refers to the king appointing Nagarasanna and another to the governorship of Araga province.
42. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rakthakshi, Bhadrpada <i>ba</i> . 1).	<i>E.C.</i> III, Nanjangud 85. Lithic inscription at Ibjala in Kalale Hobli.	A highly damaged inscription recording apparently a grant in the reign of (Immadi) Narasinga-Deva-Raya-Odeyaru.
43. A.D. 1502 (Saka 1424, Rudhirodgari, Simbaravi).	<i>M.E.R.</i> 1924, Appendix C. No. 195. Lithic inscription in Mangainathesvara temple at Piranmalai, Ramnad District.	Mentions Immadi-Maharaya-Dharmaraya and records a gift of land by Eppuli Nayakar for offering and worship during the Tippasaryan-sandbi in the temple.
44. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhirodgari, Pushya <i>Su.</i> 13, Makara Sankranti.)	<i>E.C.</i> XII, Maddagiri 59. Lithic inscription at Haudarabalu.	Records the grant of Handarabalu village to god Tirumala by Tamme-Nayaka, son of Timme-Nayaka, as <i>dharma</i> in the name of Mahamandalasvara Medini

Date	Authority	Contents
45. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhīrodgāri, Chaitra 6a. 1 eo).	E.C. XII, Maddagiri. Lithic inscription at Hosakere.	misara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Immadi-Narasīnga-Rāya-Mahārāya. Records the grants of land by one Arasurāhuta, agent of Narasana-Nāyaka-Vodeya, who was the agent of Srimatu-Medini-misara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva Immadi-Narasīnga-Rāya-Mahārāya.
46. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhīrodgāri, Arpisi 15).	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix B. No. 368. Lithic inscription at Tiruvāndārkoil, near Pondicherry.	Mentions Narasīnga-rājadeva-Mahārāya as the reigning king and records that Arānvalita Nāyanar, an agent of Narasa-Nāyaka, bestowed certain privileges on the Kaikolans of three villages named in it.
47. (May) 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Raktākshi, Vaisākha).	M.A.R. 1907-1908, Para 65. Bankankatte (Tarikere Taluk) copper-plates similar to Dēvulapalli plates.	Record the gift of the village of Bankankatte re-named Sāluva-Sri-Narasīmha rāyābdi after himself, by Immadi-Narasīmha (II).
48. 25th August 1504 A.D. (Saka 1427, Raktākshi, Bhādrapada, full moon, Sunday, lunar eclipse).	E.I. VII, No. 8, 74 to 85; Dēvulapalli (Vayalpād Taluk, Cuddapah District) copper plate grant.	Records the grant of Dēvulapalli by Immadi-Narasīmha (II) to a Brāhmin on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Immadi-Narasīmha (II), praised by learned men, ascended his (i.e., his father's) throne, which rose on the Hēmakūta, the traditional name of the hill which adjoins the temple of Virūpāksha at Vijayanagar.
49. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Raktākshi, Vrischika amāvāsya, Wednesday, Vaisākha).	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix C. No. 118. Lithic inscription at Siva temple, Kugaivur, South Arcot District.	Gift of tax-free land to the temple by Eramanchi-Tulukana-Nāyakar. (King's name not mentioned).
50. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Raktākshi, Vrischika amāvāsya, Wednesday, Vaisākha).	M.E.R. 1918, Appendix C. No. 98 of 1918. Lithic inscription at Kugaivur, South Arcot District.	Gift of a village by Eramanchi-Tulukana Nāyakar to the temple.
51. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Raktākshi, Kārtika Su. 15, Guru. Eclipse of the moon).	E.C. X, Goribidnur 38. Lithic inscription on the wall of Sōmēśvara temple at Halkūru, Bommasandra Hobli.	On the date specified, one Linga-Vodevar built the temple of Sōmēśvara and provided for its offerings and festivals. At his instance, one Nanja-Rāya, apparently a local official, obtained from Vira Pratāpa-Narasīnga-Rāya (II), the grant of Halkūru for the god Sōmēśvara.

Date	Authority	Contents
52. 1504 A.D. ...	M.E.R. 1914, Appendix B. No. 412.	Restores a <i>dēvadāna</i> village (in Attūr Taluk, Salem District) to a temple which had lost it in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II. Calls him Dharmarāya, son of Sāluva-Narasimha-Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya.
53. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Krōdhana year, Phālguna Su.)	E.C. IV, Gundlupet 67. Lithic Inscription at Honakauhalli.	While the Rājādhirāja incarnate for the protection of the whole world (the son of) Narasauna (i.e., Sāluva-Narasimha I), his feet illuminated with the rays of the varied jewels in the crowns of prostrate kings,born for the bestowal of all the great gifts, exceeding in fame Sagara, Nala, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dundumāra, Mandhātri and other celebrated kings of old, seated on the jewelled throne of Vidyānagara, the Bhujabala-pratāpa-Narasimha Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the whole earth, in the course of bestowing the great gifts, among them, when bestowing the <i>Mahābhūtaghata</i> in the presence of God Sri-Ranganātha, in the middle of the two Cauverys, he honoured Ranganāthabhatta, versed in the six Darśanās, with the office of the <i>Āchārya</i> and as the gift on that occasion, he granted the village of Honakauhalli, in the Kudugunad, within the Terakanāmbinad, in the kingdom of Vira-Chikka-Rāya-Vodeyar, son of Dēpanna-Vodeyar and made it a rent-free <i>agrahāra</i> . The Chikka-Rāya mentioned was, as mentioned above, the Ummattur chief of the time. (1505 A.D.)
54. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, Maka, Su. di 3, Sunday, Mahā Sankrānti day).	M.E.R. 1914, Appendix B. No. 420.	Refers to setting of lamps in a temple in Attūr Taluk, Salem District. Mentions Tamaiya-Immadi-Narasāyaka, identified with Sāluva-Narasimha II.

Date	Authority	Contents
55. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, other particulars of the date undecipherable).	E.C. X, Mulba, al 242. Inscription on a rock of the Nirkunte, west of Chinuahalli.	Records apparently a grant by some person (the first part of whose name is Chinta) of Mulbagal in order that salvation may be obtained for (<i>vuttama..... agabek endu</i>) Srimatu-Narasinga Mahārāya and Narasinga-Nāyaka (both of whom had been dead by the date of the grant).
56. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, Kumbha, Sz. Dvādasi, Thursday Punarpūsam).	M.E.R. 1921-22, Appendix B. No. 380 of 1921.	Mentions Immadi-Narasa-Nāyaka, son of Narasimha-Mahārāya I. Registers the visit on the <i>dvādasi</i> day mentioned of the king to the temple at Tirukōyilūr and his making tax-free 3 villages bought by it from certain tenants who were unable to pay the taxes imposed on them. The king's Secretaries-Immadi-Narasayya-dēva and Viramārasayya-Pallava-rāiyan, to whom the king issued his oral orders, are also named in it.
57. 1506 A.D. (Saka 1428 expired. No further details of the date are given. It would seem that the record was set up after the death of Narasinga-Rāya II).	E.C. III, Malvalli 95. Lithic inscription at Mutuahalli.	The inscription records that while Sriman-Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-Paramesvara-Bhujabala-pratāpa Narasimha-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world from (his capital at) Vijayanagar, the Mahāmandalēsvāra Chikka-Rāya <i>alias</i> Malla-Rāja, the son of Dēvanna-Odeya of Ummatūr, possessing the title of Chikka-Rāya, made grant of Monamattahalli, renaming it Chikka-rājasāgara, exempt from all taxes, as an <i>agrahāra</i> to Alikonda-Nāga-Bhāta, son of Tirumala-Bhāta.
58. 1506 A.D. (Kshaya. Other details not decipherable).	E.C. IX, Hoskote 121. Lithic inscription at Jyōtipura.	On the date specified, when (.....) Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Immadi-Narasinga (Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, a private gift of land was made to the temple of Sōmēsvāra.

Revolution of
Narasana-
Nāyak, 1497
A.D.

It is clear from the above table of inscriptions that the usurpation of Narasana-Nāyak, the Tuluva general, should have occurred in or about 1497 A.D., the year in which Sāluva-Narasimha I died. Up to that year, his son Sāluva-Narasimha II was joint ruler with him and hence the name of Narasana-Nāyak does not appear in his records. Immediately Sāluva-Narasimha I died, Narasana-Nāyak, who distinguished himself in the great warfare of the last reign, asserted his power and practically usurped all the royal functions. Hence we find his name being mentioned uniformly with that of the reigning sovereign himself and grants were (see *Table* above) frequently made in his name and for his merit. This regal position he appears to have fully maintained until his death about 1503 A.D., when the records of Sāluva-Narasimha again begin to run, as mentioned above, in his own—single—name. How he came to occupy the supreme position or rather effectively usurp it, between 1497 and 1503 A.D., is not anywhere hinted at in the inscriptions of the period, which, however, leave no doubt that he did virtually exercise the full authority of a sovereign—being even described as wielding the emperor's powers over the realm. (*Prithvi-rājyam pannum*, etc.). The Portuguese traveller Nuniz and Ferishta throw some light on this rather obscure subject. The former, writing in 1535 A.D., *i.e.*, within about thirty-eight years of the incident (1497 A.D.), states that Narasimha I left two sons, who being too young to govern, he entrusted the kingdom to Narasana-Nāyak, his minister, asking him to raise to the throne whoever proved deserving of it. Both the princes were, however, murdered and Narasana-Nāyak himself seized the throne and held it, till his death. Here is Nuniz's story in full, too important to be omitted:—

“At his death, he left two sons, and the governor of the kingdom was Nasenaque, who was father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga; and this king (Narsymgua),

before he died, sent to call Narasenaque his minister, and held converse with him, telling him that at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule; also he said that all the royal treasures were his alone, and he reminded him that he had won this kingdom of Narsymgua at the point of the sword; adding that now there remained only three fortresses to be taken, but that for him the time for their capture was passed; and the King begged him to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it. And after the king's death, this Narsenaque remained as governor, and soon he raised up the prince to be king, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.

"At that time, a captain, who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narsenaque had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted and he thought that for this act of treason Narsenaque would be put to death. And he soon so arranged it that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for that purpose, and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narasenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late King's to be king, not being able further to punish this captain, because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Tammarao. He (Narsenaque) went out one day from the city of Bisnaga towards Nagumdym, saying that he was going hunting, leaving all his household in the city. And after he had arrived at this city of Nagumdym, he betook himself to another called Penagumdym, which is four-and-twenty leagues from that place, where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the King Tammarao of the cause of his going; relating to him the treason that that captain by name Tymarsa had carried out slaying his brother the king, and by whose death he (the prince) had inherited the kingdom. He told him how that the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother, that as this man had killed his brother, so he

would do to him in the same way, for he was a traitor; and he urged that for that reason it was necessary to punish him. But the king at that time was very fond of that captain, since by reason of him he had become King, and in place of punishing him he bestowed favour on him and took his part against the minister. And, seeing this, Narsenaque went against him with large forces, and besieged him, threatening him for four or five days, until the King, seeing his determination, commanded Tymarsa to be put to death; after which he (the king) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister, who greatly rejoiced. Narsenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.

"And after some days and years had passed, Narsenaque, seeing the age of the king how young he was, determined to keep him in the city of Penagumdy, with large guards to make safe his person, and to give him 20,000 cruzados of gold every year for his food and expenses, and himself to govern the kingdom—for it had been entrusted to him by the king his lord so to do. After this had been done, he told the King that he desired to go to Bisnaga to do certain things that would tend to the benefit of the kingdom, and the King, pleased at that, told him that so it should be; thinking that now he himself would be more his own master and not be so liable to be checked by him. And after he had departed and arrived at Bisnaga, Narsenaque sent the King 20,000 men for his guard, as he had arranged, and he sent as their captain Timapanaque, a man in whom he much confided; (commanding him) that he should not allow the King to leave the city, and that he should carefully guard his person against treachery.

"And after this was done, Narsenaque began to make war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted. At that time, it was proposed by some captains that they should kill the King, as he was not a man fitted to govern, but to this Narsenaque would answer nothing. After some days had passed, however, Narsenaque, pondering on the treason about which they had spoken to him, how it would increase his greatness and more easily make him lord of the kingdom of which he was (only) minister, called one day those same captains who had often proposed it to him,

and asked them by what means the King could be slain without its being known that he had a hand in his death. Then one man (later on we learn that this man's name was *Codemerade*, evidently a corruption for *Kondama Naidu*) told him that a very good way would be that he (the minister) should appear to be annoyed with him and should send to command his presence, which mandate he would not obey, and on account of this act of disrespect he (the minister) should ordain that some punishment be inflicted, and at this aggravation he would leave the city and fly to Penagundy to stir up the King against the minister. He said that after he had gained the good-will of the King he would so plot against him that he would render him disobedient; and that to give the King greater encouragement he would forge letters as if from captains which should contain the same counsel—namely, that he should leave that city where he was more a prisoner than free—and would point out to him that he alone was king and lord, and yet that the land was under the power of Narsenaque his vassal, who had made himself very strong and powerful in the kingdom and held him (the King) prisoner, and had rebelled. He would urge the King to secretly quit the city and betake himself to a fortress belonging to the captain who had sent him that letter, and that there he should prepare himself getting together a large following. And he would tell him that when the lords and captains came to know of his wish and determination they would act according to it, and would help him, and would come with him to fall upon Narsenaque, and would bestow upon him (Narsenaque) the prison in which he (the King) was now kept. So he would be king. (The captain further said) that after he had persuaded the King to this he would cause him to (leave the city), and while going out he would kill him, and that in this way Narsenaque should become king.

“Narsenaque was well pleased to listen to this treason and to hear of the evil deed which this captain planned, and he showed him much favour. The captain disappeared after some days from where Narsenaque was, feigning to have fled; and he came to Penagumdy, where in a few days his arrival was known; and he set about and put in hand all those things that had been arranged. Every day he showed the King a letter, one day from a captain of one fortress, the next

day another from another captain; and the King understanding the plots contained in the letters so shown, replied that the counsel and advice seemed good, and yet how could he resist the power of Narsenaque, who, besides being minister of the kingdom, had (possession of) all the horses and elephants and treasure, so that he could at once make war against him? "True it is, Sire, that which thou sayest," answered the traitor, "and yet he is much disliked by all the captains who raised thee to be king, and as soon as they shall see thee in Chaodagary" (Chandragiri, the capital of the kingdom in its decadent days) (which was a fortress which he had advised him to flee, being one which up to that time was independent), "all will flock to thine aid, since they esteem it a just cause." Said the King,— "Since this is so, how dost thou propose that I should leave this place, so that my going should not be known to the guards and to the 20,000 men who surround me in this city?" "Sire," he replied, "I will disclose to thee a very good plan; thou and I will go forth by this thy garden, and from thence by a postern gate which is in the city (wall), and which I know well; and the guards, seeing thee alone without any following, will not know that it is thou, the King, and thus we shall pass to the outside of the city, where I will have horses ready that will take us whithersoever it seemeth good to thee." All this pleased the King well, and he placed everything in his hands; and, seeing fulfilled all his desire, the captain spoke with those men who guarded that part of the garden by which he wished that the king should fly, and which was near the King's own houses (for into this garden the King often went to amuse himself with his wives, which garden was at that part guarded by a troop of 300 armed men) and to these men he spoke thus, saying to them:—"If he shall happen to see me pass by here on such a night and at such an hour, and if he shall see a man coming with me, slay him, for he well deserves it of me, and I will reward ye;" and they all said that that would be a very small service to do for him. When that day had passed, the traitor went to the King and said to him:—"Sire, do not put off till to-morrow that which thou hast to do to-day; for I have the horses ready for thy escape, and have planned so to escort thee forth that even thy ladies shall not be aware of thy departure, nor any other person. Come, Sire, to the garden, where I will

await thee." The King replied that his words were good and so he would do, and as soon as night was come and the hour arrived, the King went carefully out, and still more careful was he who for some time had awaited him; and he gave signal to the armed men, and as soon as he was come to the garden, he passed between two of them who were the guards and they threw themselves on the King and slew him, and forthwith buried him at the foot of a tree in the same garden. And this being accomplished without their knowing whom they had slain, the traitor gave them his thanks, and returned to his inn to make ready to leave the city and also so as not to give cause for talk therein. And the next morning it was found that the King was missing; and though searched for throughout all the city, no news of him could be heard, all the people thinking that he had fled somewhere whence he would make war on Narsenaque. And to Narsenaque the news was straightway brought, and he, feigning much sorrow at it, yet made ready all his horses and elephants in case the kingdom should be plunged into some revolution by the death of the king; although as yet he knew not for certain how the matter stood, save that the King had disappeared. And afterwards the man came who had killed the King, and told him how it had been done and how secretly he had been slain so that even the very men who had killed him knew not who it was; and Narsenaque bestowed upon him rich reward. And since there was no news of the King, and he holding everything now under his hand, he was raised to be king over all the land of Narsymgua." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 308-314).

The story is so circumstantially told that it is difficult to summarily reject it but the table of inscriptions of Narasimha II—who, both according to Nuniz and the inscriptions, was known as Tammarāya and as to whose identity, therefore, there can be no manner of question—shows that he *survived* Narasana-Nāyak by at least two to three years. So the story of his assassination told by Nuniz seems entirely incredible; it seems a later day embellishment of the *fact* of his usurpation of royal powers practically superseding Narasimha II in the administration of the country. It is certain that he did

so from the date of the death of Narasimha I to the date of his own death; it is certain also that he was all-powerful in the State during this period (1497 to 1503 A.D.) and that Narasimha II should have been nothing more than a mere puppet sovereign. His administration too should have been a vigorous one, one which should have kept at bay any who might have desired to back up the claims of Narasimha II. On the other hand, there were apparently military and civil officers--of the type of the alleged assassin of Narasimha II mentioned by Nuniz—who should have been only too ready to carry out his behests. Thus helped, he should have been all but the actual sovereign of the empire. The story told by Nuniz may be accounted an accretion to the legends that should have in after years grown up about Narsanna's powerful regime and practical usurpation of sovereign powers eclipsing the actual sovereign. A fact worthy of note in this connection is that while we have a contemporary record actually referring to the accession to the throne of Narasimha II, we have none so far relating to Narasana-Nāyak's accession. The records of both Narasimha II and Narasana-Nāyak uniformly describe the former as king and the latter as the administrator. There are, besides, a few minor discrepancies in the account of Nuniz which may be noticed. In the earlier part of the narrative, for instance, he states that Narasimha I requested Narasana-Nāyak "to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule," thus suggesting that they were far too young to assume the sovereignty immediately. This impression he confirms lower down when he mentions that Narasimha I admonished Narasana-Nāyak "to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it." But, later, in the narrative, he states that Narasimha II was old enough to have been married and to have

"amused himself with his wives" in the garden in which he was, according to Nuniz's story, done to death. The story of his having been a mere youth is thus wholly falsified, which is in accordance with what seems to have been the fact, if inscriptional records of Narasimha II may be believed. There may be elements of truth, however, in the story. Thus, he might, on the pretence of "carefully" guarding the person of the prince (Narasimha II) "against treachery," according to the death-bed injunction of Narasimha I, have transferred him to Penukonda and there kept him a close prisoner, thus literally "guarding" him with "care." He might have even tried to despatch him by the hand of an assassin. It is probable the attempt was actually made and the prince escaped and survived Narasana-Nāyak. Forty years later the story of the attempted assassination may have been told in a different way in the manner set out by Nuniz in his *Chronicle*.

Ferishta also refers to Narasa's usurpation. He states that Ādilshāh, hearing of dissensions at Vijayanagar—probably the dissensions which ended in the removal of Narasimha II to Penukonda there to be "carefully guarded" as Nuniz has it—advanced against Raichur and attacked it. The story of the fall of this place is separately told below, and it ought to suffice here to state that, according to Ferishta, *Hemraaje* (*i.e.*, Narasa or *Narasimharāja*, *i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyak, the Commander-in-Chief) marched against the invading forces "with the young Roy" to Raichur and there gave battle and that in that battle, the latter was mortally wounded and died before he could reach home, and that *Hemraaje* (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyak) seized the government and the country. The relevant passages are given below:—

"Hemraaje was the first usurper. He had poisoned the young Rāja of Beejanuggur, son of Sheeroy (Simha-Rāja-Sāluva Narasimha-Rāja I) and made his infant brother a tool to his

designs, by degrees overthrowing the ancient nobility, and at length established his own absolute authority over the kingdom." (Scott, *Ferishta*, I, 238).

The other states :—

"The Government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family, in uninterrupted succession, for seven hundred years, when Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I) dying, was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not live long after him, and left the throne to a younger brother. He also had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconstancy, burned up the earth of his existence with the blasting wind of annihilation. Being succeeded by an infant only three months old, Heemraaje (Narasimha-Rāya, the Taluva general Narasa), one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for great wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by all the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years; though, on the arrival of the young king at manhood, he had poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for keeping the regency in his hands. Heemraaje at his death was succeeded in office by his son, Ramraje, (? Simharāj-Vira-Narasimha-Rāya), who having married a daughter of the son of Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha I), by that alliance greatly added to his influence and power." (Scott, *Ferishta*, I, 262).

These passages tell a different tale. According to the version contained in them, one of the princes was poisoned by Narasana-Nāyak and the other, "an infant," was put on the throne and used as a "tool" in order to serve as "a pretence for keeping the regency in his own hands." This version gives Narasana-Nāyak a Regency of "forty years," which is wholly wrong and is apparently an echo of the long ascendancy of Narasimha I. *Ferishta's* account, written in 1607 A.D., over a century after the events to which it relates actually occurred, is naturally farther away from the truth than even Nuniz's is. It seems, as suspected by Mr. Sewell, a jumble of other stories that were current in his time and in the

time of Nuniz even. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 112, f.n. 2 and 3).

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that "Tymarsa" who, according to Nuniz, killed the elder son of Sāluva-Narasimha I may be the Timmarasa, son of Tribhuvana-kathāri-Bommayadēva-Mahārāya, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1505-1506 A.D., cyclic year *Krōdhana*. (*M.E.R.* 1908-1909, Para 68, Appendix B. No. 362 of 1908). From the number of known inscriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II dated in this identical year (see *Table of inscriptions* above), this inscription may also be taken to fall in his reign. If so, this Timmarasa, the alleged murderer of the elder brother of Narasimha II, could have been alive in 1505-1506 A.D., and therefore cannot have been put to death, as alleged by Nuniz, by Narasana-Nāyak, the Tuluva General, who, we have reason to believe, died about 1503 A.D. The story told by Nuniz is accordingly shown to be rather exaggerated. The greatest obstacle to the acceptance of his story is that Immadi-Narasimha was undoubtedly one of the two sons of Sāluva-Narasimha I referred to by him and that he lived up to 1505-1506 A.D., and was making grants up to the last year of his reign. (See *Table* above). He could, therefore, have not been murdered by Narasimha Nāyak, who, according to inscriptions, actually pre-deceased him.

The revolution effected by Narasimha-Nāyak may be set down to about 1499 A.D. Though he was in supreme authority from 1497 A.D., he should, according to the inscriptions, have reached the heyday of his power a couple of years later.

It is then that we hear of his being described as exercising almost supreme powers in the Empire. Though Narasimha-Rāya II survived him a couple of years or more, he had been no more than a puppet during

Date of
Narasa's
Revolution;
Circa 1499,
A.D.

tha greater part of his rule. Hence his supersession and the supersession of his Dynasty—for his sons did not succeed him—may be approximately reckoned in or about the year 1499 A.D.

Administra-
tion of
Narasana-
Nāyaka.

The idea that during the Sāluva usurpation there was misrule and anarchy in the country seems, from numerous records, a baseless one. On the other hand, it put down the tendency towards anarchy which manifested itself in the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III. The integrity of the Empire was maintained and renewed attempts were apparently made even to regain Goa and other lost territories. Narasana-Nāyaka as regent of Immadi-Narasimha appears to have administered the Empire with ability and vigour. There is evidence to believe that he did not allow it to suffer in extent. Inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha have been found in the Mysore State and in the Districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Trichinopoly and Madura in the Madras Presidency. Under him, Basakur was in the charge of Sādhāranadēva-Odēya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 166). Nagarirājya, including Haiva and Konkana, was governed by Sāluva-Dēva-Rāya-Odeyar, who, in 1500 A.D., made a grant for his own merit and another in 1502 A.D. for the longevity, health, wealth, kingdom and victory of Narasana-Nāyaka. Muktinādu, which included a part of the modern Cuddapah District, was conferred as a *Jāhgir* on Bokkasami Timmanāyanikgāru (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 516) who has been identified with "Timapanarque" in whom, according to Nuniz, Narasimha Nāyaka "much confided." (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 169). Pottapi-Nāridu, of which the capital was Ghāndikōta in the present Cuddapah District, was administered by Dēvinēni, son of Sāruappa Nāyudu. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Appendix B. No. 615). Maduraimandalam was, according to a record found at Varichchiyur in the Madura District, under a man who appears

to have been directly subordinate to Narasana-Nāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Appendix C. No. 39). This record is undated but there is no doubt that it belongs to about 1500 A.D., as it mentions Narasana Nāyaka. As a record dated in 1500 A.D. describes Ayyan Sōmaya Viramarasar as the "Lord of the Southern Ocean" (*M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 664), probably he was in charge of the Madurai-mandalam. According to this record, this Governor founded a village in that year for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka. The big title he enjoyed was probably not an empty one, for it seems likely that his jurisdiction extended beyond the seas into the northern province of Jafna off Ceylon. This would indicate that the Sāluvas did not lose the hold of Vijayanagar on this overseas province during the period of their usurpation. Tipparasa-Ayyan, who is mentioned in many records (see *Table* above), was apparently in charge of a good part of Southern Mysore, quite apart from his position of Household Minister of Immadi-Narasimha. (See below).

During this reign the Portuguese first arrived in India. Vasco da Gama set sail on July 8, 1497 and arrived close to Calicut on August 26, 1498. Owing to misunderstandings with the Zamorin's subjects, he failed to establish friendly relations with the Hindus. He was followed by Cabral, who reached Calicut on 13th September 1500. He quarrelled with the Zamorin and failed to open trade relations with the local people. In 1502, Vasco da Gama proclaimed the king of Portugal the lord of the seas and wantonly destroyed with all hands a large vessel having several hundred people on board near the Indian coast. He bombarded Calicut and massacred in cold blood 800 fishermen in the port under circumstances of brutal atrocity. He left in 1503, after establishing a factory at Calicut. He was followed by Lopo Soares, who arrived in 1504 and without any reason

Arrival of the
Portuguese
in India,
1498 A.D.

blockaded the port of Cochin, whose ruler had been friendly to the Portuguese and had on account of them suffered a war with his brother of Calicut. In 1505 A.D., the last year of Immadi-Narasimha's reign, Almeida was appointed Viceroy of the Indian Coast by the king of Portugal and he arrived in India with a large fleet and 1,500 soldiers. After a preliminary encounter at Honawar, he realized that peaceful commerce would prove more fruitful to the Portuguese than sanguinary wars. He soon came to hear of the existence of the great kingdom of Vijayanagar and the power of its king Narasimha. Almeida's son, Lourenco, received further information in 1506 about the state of the country inland from the Italian traveller Varthema and in consequence of this, Almeida asked king Narasimha to allow him to erect a fortress at Bhatkal, but received no reply from him. As we know that Narasimha II died about this time (see below), there is little surprise that Almeida had no ready response for his letter.

Attempt on
Goa, 1505-06
A.D.

We learn from Varthema, the Italian traveller, that a fresh attempt was made during this reign to re-capture Goa from the Muhammadans. It was being administered by a person named by him as "Savain," corresponding apparently to the Portuguese term "Sabaye," which Barros, the Portuguese historian, explains as derived from Persian *Saba* or *Sava*, and says that the Sabaye's son was Ādil Shāh. This seems untenable, while Burton's suggestion that it is a corruption of *Sipahdar* or military governor seems nearer the mark. But it is more probable that the word is a corruption for *Soubadār*, or "head of *Soubah*" or Province. Goa, on its capture by the Muhammadans, was apparently converted into a province and a governor appointed to it. He would be commonly known as the *Soubadār*, which the Portuguese would have shortened into *Sabaye*. However

this may be, Goa was not recovered by Narasimha's forces and it continued in Muhammadan hands for the time being. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 116-117).

We have an interesting description of the capital of the Empire as it was in the time of Narasimha II by Varthema, the Italian traveller already mentioned. He speaks of Vijayanagar as a great city, "very large and strongly walled." It was, he says, seven miles in circumference, well sheltered by "mountains" (*i.e.*, hills) and had "a triple circlet of walls." He describes it as a very wealthy and well equipped city, situated on a beautiful site, and enjoying an excellent climate. The king kept, he adds, "constantly 10,000 horsemen" and 400 elephants. Each elephant carried six men, and had long swords fastened to its trunks in battle, which description agrees, as Mr. Sewell points out, with what Nikitin, the Russian traveller, and Paes, the Portuguese traveller, state. The sparse clothing of the people, as may be expected, attracted his attention. "The common people," he writes, "go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle." Describing the king, he adds, "The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long. His horse is worth more than some of our cities on account of the ornaments which it wears." Apparently he must be referring here to the State horse, which was exhibited at the views held on the *Mahānavami* and other festival occasions. (See Paes' description in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 274 and 278). It may be inferred from the above that the Imperial capital was in a flourishing condition in the reign of Narasimha II and its magnificence had not been affected by the revolutions of Sāluva-Narasimha and Sāluva-Narasana-Nāyak.

Varthema's
description of
Vijayanagar,
1505 A.D.

The condition of the peasantry towards the close of the Sāluva usurpation seems to have been far from satisfactory.

Discontent
among the
peasantry.

An inscription dated in *Saka* 1423 (or 1501 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Immadi-Narasimha (II) shows that the Marava cultivators of the village in the present Raichur District had to sell their lands to the local temple in order to pay the taxes due by them on their holdings. They had no other means of discharging their dues, for it is significantly added, "it was the period of occupation of Kannadigas, *i.e.*, Karnātakas," the Sāluvas being a line of Karnātaka chiefs. Evidently the taxation imposed proved heavy and the peasantry felt the pinch. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 63; Appendix C. No. 50 of 1916). The discontent appears to have been general in the empire. Thus a record which comes from the Nityēsvara temple at Srīmushnam, in the present South Arcot District (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix C. No. 247), dated in 1426 (Rudhirōdgāri) or A.D. 1504, which also falls in Immadi-Narasimha's reign, though his name is not mentioned in it, states a local chief named Trinētranātha Kachchirāyan, surnamed Rahuttamindan, revised the rates of taxes "which had become exorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kannadigas. The cultivators, owing to the oppression, had dispersed and the *Svarūpa* scattered." Kachchirāyan ordered an annual measurement of lands and lowered the assessments on dry and wet lands and fixed the *araisaperu* payable according to the class of the community on which it fell and the *idaittarai* according to the nature of the animal (cow, buffalo or sheep) it was levied upon. (*Ibid.*). The Sāluvas appear to have inherited the system of over-taxation from their predecessors. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69 and instances dated in 1414, 1447 and 1464 A.D., quoted therein). At any rate, a record dated in 1482 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69; No. 103 of 1918), when the power probably centred in the hands of Sāluva-Narasimha I—Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka—to be identified with Parvatayya,

son of Mallikārjuna and therefore a cousin of Virūpāksha III—refers to the abrogation of different kinds of hard conditions imposed on the people of the Southern Pennār country. The effect of these injudicious and vexatious conditions was that the people were forced to leave the country. Some of these—determining the price of sheep by the price of ghee per measure, sugar-cane raised in a village to be pressed in it and not elsewhere, etc.,—show a laxity in provincial rule which undoubtedly should have caused considerable irritation in the rural areas. Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka removed the disabilities and allowed the people to go back to the old regulations in these matters. Evidently Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka sympathised with the people in their difficulties and made life possible for them by reverting to the ancient constitution. (See on this subject, *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69, for further information). He was probably the same as Parvatarāja-Nāyaka, who, according to stone inscriptions dated in 1465, built a *mantapa* in the temple on the hill at Tirupati. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 167.)

The unsettled nature of the times afforded an opportunity to Vīra-Nanjarāja-Udaiyar, of the Ummattūr family, to enlarge his dominions. Though an inscription dated in 1497 A.D. (see *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 102) shows that he was loyal to Sāluva-Narasimha II up to that year, a record of his dated in 1499-1500 A.D., on the eve of the usurpation of the Vijayanagar kingdom by Narasa, the Tuluva general, styles him *Mahāmandalēsvara* and states that he had established his kingdom on a firm basis (*sthīrarājya*). Apparently he had rebelled, covertly or overtly, and made himself independent and added to his territories. His principality should have comprised a large part of modern Coimbatore and Mysore Districts, in the former of which his records have been

Inroads of
Nanjarāja
Udaiyar, the
Ummattūr
Chief, Circa
1499 A.D.

found as at Avanāsi. (See *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 55; Appendix B. No. 200 of 1909, dated in Saka 1421 or A.D. 1499). His ancestors were the descendants of the chiefs of Dannāyakankōttai, who had ruled over the Terkanāmbi country and were the conquerors of the Nilgiris (*Nilagirisādāraka*). (*Ibid*). His minister was a certain Onnakkan Settiyar, a native of Emmarkal, in the Terakanāmbinādu. Though his successor Chikka-Rāya appears to have resumed loyal relations (see *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67, dated in 1505 A.D.), Nanjarāja's inroads brought on, as will be seen below, retribution in its wake. Either he himself or his successor was reduced by the great Krishna-Dēva-Rāya sometime before 1513 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 68; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 55; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 130; see also below).

**Ministers and
Generals.**

Chief among his ministers was undoubtedly Narasa, who practically was both Regent and Ruler, as we have seen above. One of his house ministers was Tipparasa, who made a grant in 1497 of a village to the temple of Rāma at Kittur. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 91). In the following year, he made another grant for the merit of his sovereign. (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74). A dependent of his made a grant to the Ranganātha temple at Haradūrpura in 1500 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 1913). He was apparently a highly influential personage of the times who made grants in the Ramnad District. In one record dated in the *Raudri* year (=A.D. 1500), we have reference to a gift tax-free land in Tipparasapura in Pirānmalai-sīmai by one Eppil-Nāyakar, for the merit of Ayyan-Tipparasa-Ayyan, to three Brāhmins for the recitation of the *Vēdas* in the Mangaināthēsvara temple at Pirānmalai, Tirupattūr Taluk, Rāmnād District. Another record in the same temple, dated in the same year, registers the gift of the village of Vēngikulam *alias* Tipparayapuram in equal shares to five Brāhmins by the

same Eppuli-Nāyakar for the merit of Ayyan-Tipparasa-Ayyan. The latter was evidently a Brāhman and the village was in all probability renamed after him by Eppuli-Nāyakar. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. Nos. 207 and 212). A *sandhi* called *Tipparasan-sondhi* was also instituted in the same temple in this minister's name and a piece of tax-free *sarvamānya* land was gifted for maintaining it for ever. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. No. 1951). One Mangarasaian, described as a Palace accountant, also figures in certain records of the period. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 78; Appendix C. No. 84, undated). Apparently he was an officer of the king deputed on royal duty now and again. Annama or Annamarasa-Nāyakar was another well-known minister of the period. He was apparently attached to the king, for we find him making a grant that he "might rule the earth." (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 122, dated in 1502 A.D.). He is referred to in certain records of Sāluva-Narasimha I as his *avasaram* or agent. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. Nos. 4 and 53 dated in 1466 and 1471 A.D.). Eramanchi-Tulukkana-Nāyakar appears in several grants, all of them dated in *Saka* 1426 (or A.D. 1504), in which he omits the king's name. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 118, No. 98). These two records speak of him as the chief who inspired fear in the Chēra, Chōla, Pāndya and Vallāla kings, who established the Yādavarāya, who was the enemy of Sāmbuvarāya and who protected in advance the prestige of the Sultān of Madura. The titles *Nāyakarāchārya*, *Naralōkaganda* and *Vanginārāyana* are given to him. According to another record of the same year (1504 A.D.), he restored the village of Pakkambādi to the temple at Aragalur of which it was a *dēvadāna*, but which had been subjected to the *Rājāgram-Kānikkai*. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. Nos. 412 and 420). As his father Timmappa-Nāyaka also receives the titles above mentioned, it is possible he had earned them by taking

part in the fight against *Vēngi* (Kalinga) king in the earlier part of the reign of Mallikārjuna. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has identified him with the Eramanchi-Timmappa-Nāyaka mentioned in the *Kōyilōlugu* as the person from whom one Uttamanambi obtained for the Srīrangam temple the grant of twenty villages. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 28, quoting *I.A.* XL. 142). Apparently he was a popular chief as we find his immediate subordinates making a grant for his health. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 28; Appendix B. No. 420.)

Kalasa was under Bhayirarasa Vodeyar, who, in a number of records, acknowledges the suzerainty of Sāluva-Narasimha II. (*E.C.* V, Mudgere 50, 54 and 56 dated in 1492 and 1493 A.D.).

As a donor of gifts.

Apparently Sāluva-Narasimha II was a great friend of the learned Brāhmins. His gifts to them were many and frequent. It is mentioned in some of his records that he was daily making the sixteen great gifts. (See Chākēnahalli plates quoted above). The Dēvulapalli grants ask "what is there that could not be made a gift of by the donor of a full *Visvachakra* and *Brahmānda*, which are two of the sixteen great gifts (*mahādāna*)?" (See *E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 12). Gundlupet 67, dated in 1504-5 A.D., bestows high praise on him as a donor of gifts. He is there described as having been "born for the bestowal of all the great gifts, exceeding in fame Sagara, Nala, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dundumara, Māndhatri and other celebrated kings of old," and he is said to have made, among other gifts, the *Mahābhūtaghata* gift in the presence of the god Ranganātha at the confluence of the two Cauverys (see *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67) to a learned Brāhman well versed in the six *Darsanas*, whom he honoured with office of *Āchārya*. His Chākēnahalli grant shows that he donated with discrimination. It states that, "as desired" by him, forty Brāhmins well

versed in *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, the *Rigveda*, the *Yāgas*, the *Sāma*, the *Purānas*, the *Smritis*, the *Tantras* and the *Mantras*, observers of rituals and other religious customs and ceremonies, were brought to his presence (at Vijayanagar) and the person who brought them, one Nāganāyaka, who was, it is said, "the essence of music, the life of literary taste, a mass of good conduct," etc., certifies that they "deserved" the king's proffered gift of an *agrahāra*. Nāganāyaka was evidently a generous and public spirited man of the times, "ever ready to serve gods and Brāhmins and to restore ruined tanks" and "a lion in valour" and "an Arjuna in winning victories." The tank at the place donated was, it is said, built by Nāganāyaka to the "order" of the king from the money "provided" by him. Narasimha was evidently brought up in the school of his father, who was noted for his public charities. The title or surname of *Dharmarāya* by which he was widely known, both according to Nuniz who gives the name as *Tamarao*, which appears to be a corrupted form of the title, and the inscriptions of the period, means literally "Lord of Donors," which might have been given to him because of his generosity. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 68; Appendix B. No. 89; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 54). Immadi-Narasimha apparently was no believer in "the evident insanity to live in penury in order that you may die rich."

Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya II was, according to his Dēvulapalli grant, both literally and in fact, the double of his father. He probably bore a striking personal resemblance to his father as did Dēva-Rāya I to his father Harihara II. The Dēvulapalli plates, indeed, declare that he so far excelled even his father, who was himself so noble in generosity, valour and other innumerable good qualities, that his name Immadi-Narasimha (Narasimha II) was literally true.

Personal
appearance.

Domestic life. Narasimha-Rāya II appears to have left at least two sons Narasimha-Rāja and Dēvappa. Narasimha-Rāja is mentioned in a record found on a rock at Elamburgi in the Bowringpet hobli, dated in Saka 1478, Cyclic year *Vijaya*, which do not agree. Taking the Cyclic year as the year intended, the date mentioned would fall in 1533 A.D. This would take us into the reign of Achyuta-Rāya, the successor of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which is not an impossible date for him. The Narasimha mentioned in this record is described to be the grandson (*pautra*) of Sāluva-Narasimharāja (I) which name appears in the corrupt form *Sālasajivamahārāja*. Narasimha-Rāja probably bore rule over a petty tract of country in the Mulbāgal province, which, as we know, was one with which Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I was closely connected for many years. (*M.A.R.* 1923, Page 9, Inscription No. 9). Dēvappa, the other son of Narasimha-Rāya II, is mentioned in a couple of inscriptions dated in 1493 A.D. found at Gaudragollipura in Honnavara hobli, Dodballapur Taluk. He is described as ruling over the Tippur-Sime "as a secure kingdom." (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 42 and 45). He made a grant to god Virabhadra of the Chanrapatna market in 1494 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 26, in which he is described as a Mahāmandalēsvara). A much defaced inscription found at Kālāpura, Kallamballi hobli, Sira Taluk, Tumkur District, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1495 A.D. (its date being not clearly visible), seems to refer to a third son of Immadi-Narasimha (II). He is referred to as Srīman-Mahāmandalēsvara. Srī Virachikka-Vodeyar. He was apparently in charge of a part of the Sira country and is said to have built a tank and made a grant of land for its maintenance. (See *E.C.* XII, Sira 103). An inscription dated in Saka 1428, Kshaya (*Srāvana su.* 5) corresponding to August 1506 A.D., gives him the full imperial titles of "Srīmad-rājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara-gajabēntekara

Mahāmandalēsvara Srī-Vīrapratāpa Srī-Vīra-Chikka-Rāya Odeyaru and states that Magani-sime was attached to this treasury. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 39). The Revolution of Narasa-Nāyaka and his undoubted influence should have put an end to any ambitions on the part of these sons of Narasimha-Rāya II.

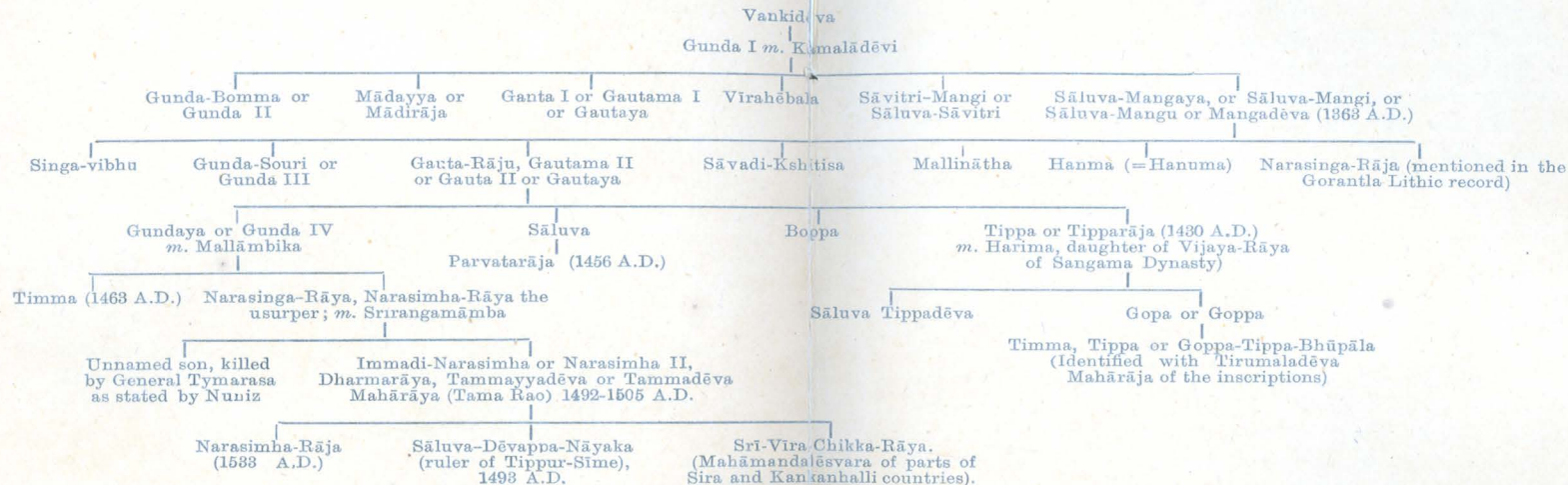
It may be now taken as settled that Sāluva-Narasimha II died in or about the beginning of 1506 A.D. Not only no inscriptions of his dated beyond that year have been found but also there is a record dated in that year which registers a grant for himself and Narasinga (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyaka), doubtless his chief minister, who were both dead at the time, for his spiritual merit or rather salvation (*uttamāgabēkondu*). (*E.C.* X, Mulbāgal 242). The date of this record is, so far as it could be made out, *Saka* 1427, Krōdhana year, dated in which very year we have two other records of Sāluva-Narasimha II. (See *Table of Inscriptions* of Sāluva-Narasimha II *ante*). The latest of these is dated in the month of *Kumbha*, bright fortnight, *dvādasi*, Thursday, Purnima. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. B. No. 330 of 1921). On this day, Narasimha II visited the Tirukōilyūr temple and made a grant to it. The equivalent of this date is A.D. 1506, February 5. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. E. Page 88, No. 330 of 1921). It would seem to follow from this that the Mulbāgal record (No. 242) may be later in date than this one and that Narasimha II might have died sometime later than 5th February 1506 A.D. This is confirmed by the record registered as *E.C.* III, Malvalli 95, which is dated in 1506 A.D., (*Saka* 1428, Cyclic year *Kshaya* (expired), which is the year following Krōdhana.) The astronomical details fixing the date of the grant are lacking and the wording seems to indicate that Inmadi-Narasimha (II) should have been recently dead at the time of the actual recording of this grant. Very

His death,
1506 A.D.

similar in terms is another record which is registered by Mr. Rice as (*E.C. VIII*) Nagar 73, which mentions two dates. It states that "at the time when Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Vira-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Mahārāya" was ruling the country in the presence of god Virūpāksha (*i.e.*, at Vijayanagar) and was protecting the kingdom in righteousness, he favoured Nāgarasanna-Nāyaka and another (probably Sōmanna) Nāyaka, with the governorship of the province of Āraga. This appointment was apparently made in *Saka* 1424 corresponding to Rudhirōdgāri. From what follows, it would seem that the king (Narasimha II) had evidently ordered these two provincial officers to make a grant of Malavur (present Malur in Nagar Taluk) to certain Brāhmins as an *agrahāra*. These two officers appear to have made the actual gift in the year Prajōtpatti (the *Saka* year is not mentioned though it should have been 1431, corresponding to 1510 A.D.). The record is in parts not decipherable but from the mention made in its latter portion, it would seem as though these two dignitaries mention the fact that the grant was made in accordance with the orders of both "Narasinga-Rāyaru (*i.e.*, Immadi-Narasimha II, the then ruling sovereign) and Narasanna-Nāyakaru (*i.e.*, his chief minister)," both of whom however should have been long dead at the time the grant was made. This is the reason, perhaps, why the record starts with recalling the time when Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Virapratāpa-Narasinga-Mahārāya was ruling in the kingdom, etc., and then mentioning the gift made. In this view of the matter, the second of the two dates given in the inscription is not in conflict with the specific suggestion made in Mulbāgal 242 that Sāluva-Narasimha II had died in or about the commencement of 1506 A.D. This is entirely in accordance with the records of Sāluva-Narasimha II so far found, which do not go beyond the year 1505 A.D. (*Saka* 1427, Cyclic year Krōdhana).

PEDIGREE OF THE SALUVA DYNASTY.

(Revised with the available materials up to 1927.)



Mr. Rice's interpretation of this record (Nagar 73) suggesting that the grant mentioned in it was made by the Āraga governors "with the approval of Narasinga-Rāya and Narasana-Nāyaka-Rāya" is not only not covered by its text, but also would suggest their existence at the time mentioned in it (*i.e.*, 1510 A.D.) which carries us into the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Confirmation comes from another source that Sāluva-Narasimha II could not have lived very much beyond the year 1505 A.D. The Rāmachandrapūr copper-plate grant, dated in *Saka* 1428 (Cyclic year Kshaya, Pushya *ma*, Monday), which records a grant by Vīra-Narasimha, son of Narasa-Nāyak, the general of Immadi-Narasimha II, is perhaps the earliest of his grants known. Vīra-Narasimha is referred to in it, as seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagar and ruling the kingdom. The date of this grant would correspond to a day in January-February 1506 A.D. This was evidently his first grant after he ascended the throne, made almost immediately after his assumption of royal powers; which should have occurred about the middle of February 1506 A.D. This inference is supported by another lithic record dated in the same Kshaya year (Srāvana *Su.* 5 which would fall in August 1506) when Chikka-Rāya, one of the sons of Immadi-Narasimha II, is said to have been ruling a part of the Kankanhalli country in the present Bangalore District. (See under *Domestic Life*).

The death of Immadi-Narasimha in 1506 A.D. ended the rule of the Sāluva Dynasty. Though it lasted but a nominal period of twenty years (1486 to 1506 A.D.), it was, under Siluva Narasimha I, assisted by his able Generals Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka, helpful in keeping up the Empire in the face of the Muhammadan invaders from the north. Narasimha II continued the traditions of his father, at first under Narasimha-Nāyaka, who was virtually Regent of the State, and after his

death apparently by himself, though probably with the aid of Vīra-Narasimha, the elder son of Narasimha-Nāyaka. This brings us to the achievements of the Tuluva Dynasty, of which Narasana-Nāyaka was the founder, and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the greatest representative.

Later Sāluvas

Mr. Rice has remarked that despite their late usurpation the Sāluvas appear to have been in favour with the Vijayanagar Kings of the Tuluva Dynasty. He states that Sāluva-Timmarasa was a distinguished minister under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C. III*, Nanjangud 195) and that in 1513 A.D., his younger brother Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja was appointed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the Terakanāmbi country, taken from the Ummattūr chiefs. Sāluva-Timmarasa is no doubt mentioned in records dated in 1519, 1521 and 1523, as the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C. III*, T-Narsipur 73, 42 and *E.C. IV*, Chamarajnagar 99). (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 153). But he and his brothers were Brāhmins and were called Sāluva by courtesy, as they were connected with Sāluva-Narasimha I and probably his son also. (See under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya* below). From 1520 to 1527, we have Kathāri-Sāluva Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka as the chief minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. He is described in other records as the right hand of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C. IV*, Hunsur 48 and Heggaddevankote 78 and 90); and in another record of about 1530 A.D., he is called as king Sāluva-Krishna-Dēva-nripati, and described as the sister's son of Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C. VIII*, Nagar 46).

Sāluvas of Sangitapura.

Contemporaneously with the Sāluva Kings of Vijayanagar, there ruled at Sangitapura (Sanskrit for Hadarvalli), situated in the Tuluva-Dēsa (South Canara), a line of chiefs who styled themselves as Sāluvas. Their exact relationship to the Sāluvas of Vijayanagar is not yet known. The Sangitapura chiefs were Jains by faith

and belonged to the Kāsyapa-Gōtra, while Narasimha I and his ancestors were Saivas though Narasimha showed strong Vaishnavite leanings, (see *ante*), so much so that they are described as disciples of the Vaishnava teacher Tātāchārya. (*E.C.* IX, 330, *f.n.* 8). Certain inscriptions which have been found in the Sagar and Nagar Taluks of the Shimoga District furnish the names of kings who ruled over the country round Sangītapūra. We have first Indra, then his son Sangi-Rāja, and then the latter's sons Sāluvēndra and Indigarasa, or Immadi-Sāluvēndra. They appear to have ruled between 1488 to 1498 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 163 and 164). Then we have Sāluva-Malli-Rāya, Dēva-Rāya, and Krishna-Dēva, down to about 1530 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46). In the reign of Malli-Rāya there lived a great Jain disputant and scholar named Vidyānanda, who, among other successes, achieved the one destroying the agent (*kārya*) of the Frankish (or European) faith at Srīranganager (identified by Mr. Rice with Seringapatam). The reference may be to the representative of the Catholic mission stationed at the place. He is also said to have been honoured by the Vijayanagar King Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, at whose Court he is said to have wiped out the professors of other creeds. He is said to have been the author of *Būdhēsabhavāna-nyākhyāna* (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46, assigned to about 1530 A.D.). In about 1560 A.D., the residence of this line of Kings seems to have been at Ksheinapura or Gerasoppe, after which the famous falls, take their name. In a record, of about 1560 A.D., mention is made of King Bhairava, whose younger brothers were Bhairava, Amba and Sālva-Malla, who, though the last, was the greatest. His sister's son (they appear to have followed the *Aliya santāna* law of the West Coast) was Dēva-Rāya, whose sister's sons, Sālva-Malla and Bhairava, were his Yuvarājas. Dēva-Rāya is described as ruling over the Tulu Konkana, Haiva and other

countries. (*E.C. VIII, Sagar 55*). The Sālva-Malla mentioned in the Mudabidare inscriptions (see *A.S.I. 1908-9, page 166, f.n. 7*) has probably to be identified with Sālva-Malla, the brother of Bhairava above named, and his (Sālva-Malla's) nephew Sālva-Dēva therein mentioned with the Dēva-Rāya also mentioned above. Channa-Dēvi of Bhatkal, who was a feudatory of Sadāsiva, the Vijayanagar King, was perhaps, as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, a later member of the same family. (*A.S.I. 1908-9, p. 166, f.n. 7*).

THE THIRD (OR TULUVA) DYNASTY.

The Third (or
Tuluva)
Dynasty,
1499-1570 A.D.

Distinguished
from the
Sāluva
Dynasty.

The Third (or Tuluva) Dynasty of Kings has been for long confounded with the second (or Sāluva) dynasty of Kings. Neither Mr. Rice nor Mr. Sewell distinguishes between these two different dynasties. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Chapter V, 106 *et seq.*, and Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 117-118). Mr. Sewell, indeed, does not recognize Immadi-Narasimha as having ruled at all, though, as we have seen above, he did, as testified to by numerous inscriptions of his reign. Even later writers, like Mr. Krishna Sāstri (*A.S.I. 1908-1909, page 164 et seq.*), treat the Sāluva and Tuluva as one branch and call it the "Second Vijayanagar Dynasty," which seems wholly unnecessary both from the point of view of accuracy and convenience. But recent research has made it possible to differentiate between the Kings of these two Dynasties, with the result that much of the history of the periods to which they respectively belonged has been classified to a large extent. While the second dynasty was connected by marriage with the first, the third does not appear to have been *directly* related to the second in any manner. Neither literary records nor inscriptions show that they were related to each other. On the other hand, their genealogies set out in their

respective records show they were descended from different progenitors and belonged to different families, though both of them claimed to be Yādavas. The fact that Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka closely identified themselves with the kings of the Sāluva line and often adopted the very same family titles has created the belief that they belonged to one and the same family. Thus in a record dated in 1502 A.D., which comes from the North Kanara District, Narasana-Nāyaka is described as *Mēdini-Mīsara Gandakattāri Trinētra Sāluva*. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 195 dated 1513 A.D. and *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A No. 32). This has given rise to the supposition that Timma of the Tuluva Dynasty (see *Pedigree* at the end of this section) is identical with Timma the elder brother of Sāluva-Narasimha I. But as has been apparently remarked by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, there is no evidence to show that Timma was "adopted by a chief of the Tuluva line." (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 166 *f.n.* 1). The confusion has been worse confounded by the first two kings of the Tuluva line (Narasa, Narasana or Narasimha and his son Vira-Narasimha) bearing the same name as the two kings that formed the Sāluva Dynasty (Sāluva-Narasimha I and Immadi-Narasimha). It is, however, clear from contemporary records and literature that these two sets of rulers belonged to different families and that they were entirely distinct from each other. As already suggested, these four kings may be thus distinguished :—Sāluva-Narasimha I, Immadi-Narasimha (or Sāluva-Narasimha II), Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka and Vira-Narasimha-Rāya.

Narasana-Nāyaka, as we have seen above, made himself all powerful in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II, and eventually usurped the kingdom. He is also known, in inscriptional records and in literature, as Narasimha or Vira-Narasimha-Rāya. He may be called

Narasana
Nāyaka,
Narasa, or
Narasimha,
or Vira-
Narasimha-
Rāya I.
1497-1503 A.D.

Vīra-Narasimha I. As he is mentioned as Timma-bhūpati in the Unamanjēri plates of Achyuta-Rāya, he may have been a local chief of some importance. (*E.I.* III. 151). To his ancestry we have many references. Timma, his grand-father, was evidently the progenitor of the family. (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). He is spoken of as the most famous of the chiefs of Tuluva. His son by Dēvaki was Īsvara, who was the general of Sāluva-Narasimha I. He is mentioned as his *dalavāyi* (Commander-in-chief) in a record of the latter king dated in 1478 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 49; App. B. No. 408; see also *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 32). His services to Narasimha I have been mentioned above. He was, as we have seen, the conqueror of many places including Udayagiri and drove the Muhammadans off Kandukur. (See above). His fame for liberality was, it would seem, "known from the Sētu (Rāmēsvaram) to Himāchala (Himālayas), from the eastern to the western ocean." His exploits are detailed at length in the *Varāhapurānamu* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, the former dedicated to his son Narasa and the latter to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his grandson. (See above). They are also set out at length in the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* by the poetess Tirumalāmba, who wrote in Krishna-Rāya's reign. His son by Bukkamāmba was Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka. When exactly Īsvara died and when his son Narasa came to his place as Commander-in-chief is not known. An inscription dated in 1478 (Cyclic year *Vilambi*) refers to him. (See above). Another record dated in 1482 A.D. (Cyclic year *Plava*) mentions Narasa-Nāyaka, his son. Probably Īsvara died making room for his son to succeed him sometime between 1478 and 1479 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 49; App. B. Nos. 403 and 450). Narasa's regency and practical usurpation of the kingdom have been narrated above. (See under Sāluva-Narasimha II). Numerous records mentioning him or his gifts will be

found collected together in the table of inscriptions included in the account of the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II. Some of these refer to his military exploits and conquests. He is spoken of in some of these as having quickly bridged the Cauvery though it was in full flood, crossed over it, and straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy. Then taking possession of Seringapatam, he is said to have made it his own abode. He is also said to have brought Tanjore under his power and set up a pillar of fame, his heroic deeds being praised in the three worlds which are described as "the palace of his glory." It is, besides, narrated of him that he conquered the Chēra, Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the lord of Madura, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati and other kings. He is further said to have imposed his commands upon all kings from the banks of the Ganges to Lanka, and from the eastern to the western mountains. He is also said to have bestowed "the sixteen great gifts" from time to time in Rāmēsvara and other holy places. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, Shimoga copper-plates of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya dated in 1513 A.D., whose description agrees with that contained in the Hampe inscription noticed by Dr. Hultzsch in *E.I.* I, 367; similar descriptions occur in the two Kudli Kallu-matha copper-plate grants, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 84 and 85 both dated in 1527 A.D.). The order of his conquests seems to be indicated in the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*. This poem states that Narasa went to Vidyāpuri (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar) and from there spread his fame in all directions. First he marched to the east (*i.e.*, the campaign against the Bijāpur Sultān and the Orissan king Kapilēsvara); then marched south and marched with his army along the sea-coast. He crossed the Tundira country and approached the territory of the Chōla chief, who had proved recalcitrant. He was evidently in charge of the country round about Tanjore, the old Chōla capital. Crossing the Cauvery,

Narasa awaited the advance of the enemy. The Chōla chief refusing a friendly settlement, gave battle. A severe fight ensued, in which the chief was taken prisoner by Narasa. The enemy's capital was entered. This should be Tanjore (Tianchyam), which is one of the cities stated to have been captured by Narasa in the copper-plate grants above referred to. The Chōla chief apparently escaped and fled to the sea-coast leaving all his wealth and people behind him. It might be added that in the *Pārijātāpahāranamu*, it is stated that the Chōla chief was killed by Narasa, which probably is the correct version, as we do not hear any more of him. Narasa then entered Madura, where he was presented by its sovereign with valuable presents. This, however, is not the version given in the copper-plate grants of his successors and in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*. As we have seen, according to the latter, he captured Madura after killing in battle its Marava ruler. The copper-plate records state that he captured the Pāndyan king Mānabhūsha. (See above). The *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* also states that he defeated a Kōnētirāja, who opposed him with his elephant hordes. He has been identified, with some degree of probability, with the Mahāmandalēsvara Kōnēri-dēva-Mahārāja, lord of Kānchipura, mentioned in a record dated in A.D. 1490-1, which comes from the Nāgēsvara temple at Kumbakōnam. (*M.E.R.* 1911, No. 259). He was apparently a Chōla feudatory, who probably put up a fight in favour of his chief during the war. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 259; see also *Sources*, 171 *f.n.*). From Madura, Narasa is said to have proceeded to Rāmēsvaram across the sea. While here, he made the many gifts already mentioned. From there, he marched to Seringapatam on the Cauvery. The chief surrendered and was, we are told, restored to his position by Narasa. (See above). Thence, Narasa advanced on Tumakur, probably Tumkur, and

Tarasangi. He next visited the sacred shrine of Gökarna on the West Coast and performed the *tulāpurusha* and other gifts. He then turned his attention to the north, where the Suratrāna (Sultān), perhaps Ādil Shāh, had garrisoned the fort Mānavadunga (Manuva or Manve) in Haiderabad (Deccan). Narasa is said to have defeated the Sultān and to have generously restored the city back to its ruler as soon as he submitted. After this, Narasa returned to the capital. (See *Sources*, 170-1). Dr. Hultzsch has expressed the doubt whether these exploits are rightly attributed to Narasa. (*E.I.* I, 362). It will be remembered that the exploit of crossing the Cauvery while high in flood has been set down to Sangama, the progenitor of the First Vijayanagar dynasty. Though this might be held to be a repetition from what has been called an "office copy" as it is doubtful if Sangama actually ruled (see above under *Sangama*), there can be no doubt that the exploit was actually Narasa's. It should have occurred early in his career, when he was still serving as one of the generals of Sāluva-Narasimha I. The many inscriptions of Narasa found in the Mysore District show that he was closely connected with it. Who the enemy at Seringapatam was whom he, under such extraordinary circumstances, at the time of high flood, had to fight and take captive, is not mentioned. Another peculiarity is that this exploit is mentioned in the records of his son Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and not in his own, though, as we have seen above, there are a great many of his found in the Mysore State itself. All the same, there is no reason why we should doubt the correctness of the statement, which is confirmed by the Telugu work *Pārijātapaharanamu* and the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*. The former work states that he exhibited (his skill) in swordsmanship to the Heuna (the original has Heyanēndra) ruler of Seringapatam. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 106-107). Among Narasa's other

exploits mentioned in the records quoted above, the fight against the brave Turushka, the Gajapati and other kings, is, perhaps, a reference to the part he took in the campaigns of his father Īsvara against Muhammadans at Kandakur and with Sāluva-Narasimha I at Rajahmundry and against the Orissan king Kapilēsvara. The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* states that he invaded the town of Vidyāpura (identified with Bijāpur) and captured it and the fortresses of Mānavadurga (Manvi). The latter conquest is also mentioned by the *Achyutarāyābhya-dayam*. (I. 29). In the battle that ensued at Mānavadurga, he is credited with the killing of the Muhammadan ruler of the place. (See *Pārijātāpaharanamu, Sources*, 107). Probably, he was its military governor and was in charge of its defence. Among those who helped Narasa in his contests against the Muhammadans was Srīrangarāja, father of Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, who became the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and a member of the Fourth (or Āravīdu) Dynasty of kings. (See below). His success against Mānabhūsha, the proud lord of Madura, as he is called in the copper-plate grants quoted above, is probably a reference to his fight against some Pāndyan king. Mānabhūsha has been identified with Mānakavacha, otherwise known as Arikēsari Parākrama-Pāndya, who ruled from 1422 to 1464 A.D. (*E.I.* IX, 330). Mr. Krishna Sāstri has, however, suggested his identity with Mānābharana, who was an earlier member of the family to which Mānakavacha belonged. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, p. 270, *f.n.* 4). The Pāndyan country was, as we have seen above, actually a province of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the time of Immadi-Narasimha (II). The latter's inscriptions show that he and his regent were actually supreme over every part of the Chōla country. The statement about Ceylon may also be correct, as the northern portion of the island was included in the lordship of the Southern Ocean. (See *ante*).

Nuniz also testifies to the fact that Narasa "made war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 310). His bestowing of the sixteen great gifts at Rāmēsvaram is confirmed by the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* also. (See *Sources*, 107). There can be hardly any doubt that as a general, he should have greatly distinguished himself and as a donor of gifts, he should have been as great as his father and his sovereigns Sāluva-Narasimha and his son Immadi-Narasimha.

Whether the story of his usurpation of the kingdom as told by Nuniz is true or not, there is reason to believe that he was virtually its ruler during the greater part of Immadi-Narasimha's rule. As we have seen, he was his *Kārya-karta* or Regent. There is no indication in the inscriptional records of his time that he ever ascended the throne, though the Nagaragere copper-plates, dated in 1505 A.D., in the period of his son, say that he ruled from Vijayanagar "seated on the jewel throne." (The actual words used are "*Vidyāranya-kritē pūrvam-Srīvidyānagarī-varē ratna-simhāsānāsine rājyam samyag apālayat*"). (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77). Similarly, the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* states in so many words that he did ascend the throne. (The actual words used by it are *Vādu . . . Vijayanagara bhadrasimhāsānasnudu*). It also styles him *Narasabhūmisvara*, i.e., king Narasa. (See *Sources*, 107). Probably these phrases ought, in the light of the evidence afforded by contemporary inscriptions, to be treated as the conventional descriptions of his *de facto* position as Regent of the Empire during the period of Immadi-Narasimha's rule. It is also as well to remember that the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* was written in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, some thirty years after Narasa's death, during the height of Krishna-Rāya's exceptionally prosperous rule.

His
usurpation of
the kingdom
Circa 1499
A.D.

Character of
his rule.

Narasa was evidently a vigorous, energetic and ambitious general. Fond of the battle, he was probably fonder still of the kingdom over which he was practically sovereign. By his strong and unbending rule, feudatories had been kept in awe and foreign enemies at bay. We hear of no attempt at foreign aggression during the period he was in charge of the kingdom as Mahāpradhāni of Immadi-Narasimha. His reputation stood so high with them indeed, according to the *Varāhapurānamu*, that his greatness was praised by the Bidar and Bijāpur kings. (*Sources*, 89-90). He was evidently an enlightened man of action.

As a patron
of letters.

He was apparently a great donor and a patron of learning and literary men. Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya, two Telugu poets, dedicated their work *Varāhapurānamu* to him. They state in this poem that two other poems (*Varalakshmīpurānamu* and *Narasimhapurānamu*) were also dedicated to him. Wilson, however, is wrong in making him the king to whom Bhattu Mūrti, the Telugu poet, dedicated his *Narasa-Bhūpāliyamu*, a work on rhetoric and prosody. (*Mackenzie Collection*, 301). The Narasa to whom this work was dedicated was quite a different person. He belonged to the Pochirāja family and was the son of Ōba-rāja, who married Lakkamāmba of the Āravīdu dynasty. (See *Sources*, 224-225).

Domestic life.

Narasa had at least three wives by each of whom he had issues. The first of these was Tippāmba or Tippāji, by whom he had a son named Vira-Narasimha-Rāya; by his second wife Nāgalā-Dēvi, he had a son named Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who became afterwards the greatest of his dynasty; and by his third wife Obambika, daughter of the Rāchirāja (see *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* in *Sources*, 172), he had two sons Achyuta-Rāya and Ranga, of whom

the former succeeded Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and Ranga's son was Sadāsiva-Rāya, during whose rule the kingdom began to decline. These four sons are known from inscriptions of the period. The story of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya being an illegitimate son of Narasa, by Nāgalā-Dēvi, who was an attendant or friend of the queen, is referred to below. Nuniz, however, mentions the names of five of his sons (*A Forgotten Empire*, 314) of whom *Basbabruo* or *Bhujabalarāya*, has been (correctly) identified with Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya, who bore the title of *Bhujabalarāya*, borrowed apparently from the Sāluva line of kings, (see above), another *Krismarāo*, which seems evidently a corruption of the name Krishna-Rāya; and then come *Tētarao*, *Ramygupa* and *Ouāmysyuaya*. Of these three names, *Tētarao* seems the Portuguese form of *Achyuta-Rāya* and *Ramygupa* for *Ranga*, his brother. The name *Achyuta-Rāya* would be pronounced *Chyuta-rāy* and thus might have been transferred into *Tētarao*, where the first syllable *Te* seems a copyists' error for *Chyat*. As regards *Ramygupa*, it is plainly *Rangappa* written phonetically in Telugu as *Rangappa*, which would become disguised *Ram(y)gupa*. Finally, as to the name *Ouāmysyuaya*, there seems little doubt that its last part *syuya*, is the Portuguese form of Siva; if so, the whole name (*Asiva* is the nearest English form for the Portuguese) should be held to be a highly corrupt transformation of *Sadāsiva*, the son of Ranga and the grandson of Narasa, who should have been reckoned a son as he was the grandson by a son, who himself appears to have died early.

An extraordinary story is told by Venkatārya *alias* Kumāra-Dūrjati, a Telugu poet, who lived at the Court of Chinna-Venkata of the Āravīdu dynasty about a hundred years after Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time, of an attempt made by Narasa, at the instance of his first queen Tippāji,

Plot to murder Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the second son: the story of Kumāra-Dūrjati.

to despatch Krishna-Dēva-Rāya while still a boy. The tale is set out in some detail in Dūrjati's well-known poem *Krishna-Rāya-Vijaya*, sometimes called also as *Krishna-Rāya-Charita*, a name by which it is referred by Wilson (in his *Mackenzie Collection*, 262-268). According to this poet, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the son of Narasa (or Narasimha) by Nāgamāmba, a friend or attendant of the principal queen Tippāmba. The latter, as became a step-mother, grew jealous of Krishna-Dēva's superiority as a boy over her son Vīra-Narasimha, and prevailed on her husband to order Krishna-Dēva to be put to death. The officer to whom this duty was entrusted being reluctant to fulfil it, applied to the Chief Minister, who undertook to secrete the prince till he could be produced with safety, and the king was told that his commands had been obeyed. In his last illness, the king was much afflicted for the death of his son—described in the poem as actually an incarnation of Krishna, the epic hero—on which the minister produced the prince, and Krishna-Dēva was declared his heir and successor. The minister delayed proclaiming him till he had secured the concurrence of the local chiefs and feudatories, which was duly obtained. Vīra-Narasimha, it is added, died of vexation on his brother being acknowledged as king.

The story as told by Nuniz the Portuguese, Chronieler.

This story of Dūrjati is apparently an echo of an attempt that appears to have been made on Krishna-Dēva's life by Vīra-Narasimha about the close of his rule. Nuniz, who wrote within twenty-five years of the alleged attempt, describes after local enquiries made at Vijayanagar, and narrates the following story:—

Before he died, he sent for Salvatimaya, (Saluva-Timma) his minister and commanded to be brought to him his (the King's) son, eight years old, and said to Sallvatina that as soon as he was dead he must raise up this son to be king (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom

ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisnarao (Krishna Rāya) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no differences in the kingdom. Salvatina said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Crisnarao, and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade him put out his eyes and made his son king. When he heard this, Crisnarao said that he did not seek to be king, nor to be anything in the kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a *jogi* (ascetic, recluse), and that he should not put his eyes out, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatina, hearing this, and seeing that Crisnarao was a man of over twenty years and therefore more fit to be king, as you will see further on, than the son of Busbalrao, who was only eight years old, commanded to bring a she-goat, and he put out its eyes, and took them to show the King, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as soon as the King was dead, his brother Crisnarao was raised to be the king, whose eyes the late King had ordered to be torn out.

There can be hardly any doubt that both Dūrjati and Nuniz refer to one and the same attempt, with this difference that Dūrjati attributes it to Narasa, the father of Krishna-Dēva, and Nuniz, to Vira-Narasimha his brother. As between these two authorities, Nuniz has to be preferred, for he wrote after personal inquiries on the spot within about twenty-five years of the incident, whereas Dūrjati wrote nearly a hundred years later at the court of Chinna-Venkata, when people could not have correctly remembered the details as to personalities. This inference is strengthened by certain other considerations. Vira-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya both appear, in inscriptional records, as simultaneously ruling. There might therefore have been a legitimate fear in Vira-Narasimha's mind as to the chances of succession of his own minor son whom Nuniz refers to, especially as against so promising a ruler as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It

seems, accordingly, likely that he might have encompassed the end of his son's would-be rival. Sāluva-Timma, his minister and subsequently the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as well, was quite equal to the occasion and saved him from an untimely and an unnatural end. It is probably on account of the evil story attaching to his name that Dūrjati himself does not count Vīra-Narasimha, in his poem, as having ruled at all. As Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was co-ruler with him, he omits all mention of him and makes Krishna-Dēva-Rāya directly succeed Narasa, his father. Similarly, the author of *Rāyavāchakamu*, a popular version of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's conquests, omits to count Vīra-Narasimha's reign. The version of Nuniz helps us to rescue the name of Narasa from an infamy that would otherwise have attached to his name.

His titles.

It is a somewhat interesting and notable fact that though he is referred to in many records, Narasa is not given in them any of the imperial titles. The common titles given to him are :—*Nāyaka*, sometimes *Odeya* and occasionally *Nāyaka Odeya*. (See *Table* above). Even the Nāgaragere copper-plates term him “king Narasa” (*Narasāvanipālakah*). These same plates tell us that he won by his valour the title of *Gajapati-rāyebha-gandabhērunda* (*gandabhērunda* to the elephant *gajapati*). It also adds that by conquering the mighty fierce Turushka king in battle, he gained the titles of *dushtarān-mriga-sārdūla* (a tiger to the deers, evil kings), as also other titles. (*E.C. X*, Goribidnur 77, dated in 1505 AD).

Death of
Narasa, 1503
A.D.

Narasa seems to have died in 1503 A.D. He is referred to as still living in a record dated in *Saka* 1424, Durmati, Bhādrapada month. (*M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 31). In another record dated in the same *Saka*

year but in the month of *Māgha* (i.e., four months later), Vira-Narasimha-Rāya is described as ruling from Vijayanagar. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 152). It is probable, therefore, that he died in the latter part of *Saka* 1424 corresponding to A.D. 1502-3. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, P. 171). This suggestion of Mr. Krishna Sāstri is confirmed by a record which comes from Sante-Bachahalli, in the Krishnarajpet Taluk, which directly mentions his death. This is a lithic inscription in front of the Nārāyana temple at the place, dated in *Saka* 1425, Rudhirōdgāri, *Mārgasira* *ba.* 10 and registers the grant of a village for the daily illuminations and offerings of the god Vira-Nārāyana at Bachahalli. The donor, one Gōpālārāya Nāyaka, who was evidently a feudatory of Narasa, specifically states that he made the grant at the time Narasanna-Nāyaka died in order that merit might accrue to him. (*Narasanna-Nāyakaru astamānavādāga avarigē dharmav agal endu*, etc.). It is possible, therefore, Narasa died on or about the date of this grant, which corresponds to Christmas Day, 1503 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, 64).

Narasa was succeeded in turn by three of his sons, born to him by three different mothers. The first of these was Vira-Narasimha (II) or Nrisimha, who is also called in a few records as "Bhujabala-Rāya," originally a title assumed by Sāluva-Narasimha I (see *ante*; and *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 462, dated in 1504 A.D.) and continued to his son. In at least half a dozen records of the latter's son, the title is applied to him. (See *Table* above). Nuniz, indeed, simply calls him *Busbalarao*, which is undoubtedly the Portuguese form of the title. The proposed identification of this name with "Basava-Rāya" has therefore to be given up. (Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, 110, 135). According to Nuniz, "he reigned six years," which seems correct if we take into consideration

Vira-
Narasimha II,
Bhujabala-
Rāya, the
Busbalarao of
Nuniz, 1504-
1509 A.D.

the fact that Narasa, his father, died in 1503 A.D. and Vira-Narasimha stepped into his shoes from about 1504 A.D. Inscriptions that might be undoubtedly set down to him range from 1505 A.D. to 1509 A.D., in the latter of which year Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his younger brother, was crowned. At about the close of 1505 A.D., or thereabouts, Immadi-Narasimha died; Vira-Narasimha's rule should be taken to have actually begun in 1506 A.D., and lasted down to 1509 A.D. From this point of view, he would have ruled in fact only for four years, though, counting from the date of Narasa's death, he would be taken to have been *de facto* ruler, as Narasa had been, for six years, the period mentioned by Nuniz.

Revolt of
subordinates
and
feudatories.

When Narasa died, Sāluva Immadi-Narasimha was still reigning as sovereign but as the latter did not long survive his minister (probably not more than two years) and died about 1506 A.D., Vira-Narasimha seems to have superseded the sons of Immadi-Narasimha and ascended the throne. When this event actually occurred is not clear. The Nāgaragere plates, dated in 1505 A.D., state that he obtained his father's kingdom while the Rāmachandrapur plates, dated in 1505 A.D., mention his being seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagar and making gifts. In both of these grants, however, the imperial titles are not attributed to him. The first record in which these are given to him is dated in 1508, though he is called still *Mahāmandalēsvara*, but in the Tekal record of the same year, the latter is omitted and the full imperial titles are given. This was apparently the signal for a revolt against the subordinates and feudatories of the kingdom. Nuniz, indeed, states that during his rule, which according to him lasted for six years, "he was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains; who in a short time were destroyed by that King, and their lands taken

and reduced under his rule. During these six years, the King spent, in restoring the country to its former condition, eight million gold *pardaos*." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 314). There could have been hardly any surprise at this universal revolt; for the Sāluva kings had been popular not only with the people but also with their feudatories and subordinates, some of whom had probably been their own nominees. Sāluva-Narasimha II had personally proved himself a highly charitable king, beloved by his subjects, so much so that he had been styled *Dharmarāya*. Even Narasa, strong and powerful as he undoubtedly was, did not openly declare himself king though he exercised royal powers, for fear of popular revolt, because of the favourable impression that Sāluva-Narasimha I had left on the country by his wise and vigorous administration. That was why, as we could well imagine, Narasa never crowned himself but was content to be *de facto* king. What would not have been tolerated in his case would hardly have been countenanced in that of his eldest son Vīra-Narasimha. Hence possibly the revolt of the chiefs and subordinates to which Nuniz refers and which seems to be confirmed by certain inscriptional records of the period. Thus we hear of an expedition led by Vīra-Narasimha (called *Bhujabala-Mahārāya* in the record) into the Tulu country against Immadi-Bhairarasa-Odeyar, governor of Kalasa-Kārakala kingdom, who was apparently one of those who had risen in rebellion. On Vīra-Narasimha encamping on the Bhavana channel of Mangalur (Mangalore), Bhairarasa took to flight and escaped from the country. He then took a vow that "if the army should go back" and he should return in peace to his country, he would repair the temple of Kalasanātha at Kalasa. The invading army retired, evidently without doing any harm to Bhairarasa, and he made good his promise. The record which furnishes us with this information is recorded on a

Its probable
cause and
suppression.

stone in front of the Kalasanātha temple at Kalasa, Mudgere Taluk, Kadur District. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 41). It is dated in 1516 A.D., in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, but it refers to a *past* event, which took place, as it records, in Vīra-Narasimha's reign. (See also *E.I.* IX, 174 and *A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 2). Vīra-Nanjārāja-Udaiyar, the *Mahāmandalēsvara* of Ummattūr, had, as we have seen, already grown impatient of control and had practically declared his permanent conquest (*śhīra-rājya*) of Terakanāmbi and the surrounding country. (*M.E.R.* 1908-09, Para 68; Appendix B. 315 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 55; App. B. No. 200 of 1909). He now appears to have given further trouble with the result that Vīra-Narasimha had to lead an unsuccessful expedition against him. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 4, quoting *Kongudēsarājakkal*). We have a glimpse of this in a Malvalli record dated in 1505-1506 A.D., in the reign of Immadi-Narasimha, in which the Mallārāja, son of the *Mahāmandalēsvara* of Ummattūr, is shown as bearing the royal title of *Chikkarāya*. Mr. Krishna Sāstri thinks that he had been "raised" to the position of the crown prince of the Vijayanagar kingdom. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 4). Similarly, other chiefs in the Mysore country showed a spirit of defiance of authority—for example, Mahāmandalēsvara Gōvanna-Odeya, who, in 1504 A.D., styled himself "the conqueror of the three kings," rescuer of the Nilgiri, and was holding Mudunakote (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 47) and Vīra-Narasimha appears to have proved unequal to the task of putting them down. The military tour undertaken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, soon after his coronation seems to be closely connected with this growth of insubordination on the part of local rulers and governors. The times were opportune for the Orissan king to push southwards as far as Kondavidu and Udayagiri which were integral parts of the Vijayanagar empire. The fact that Krishna-

Dēva-Rāya had to re-conquer these places shows that they had been lost to the empire during his predecessor's time. The statement of Nuniz that Vira-Narasimha had to spend eight million gold *pardaos* (i.e., pagodas) to restore peace shows the extent of the rebellion he had to contend against. It does not appear that despite this great expenditure, his efforts proved permanently successful, though it might be, as Nuniz says, he "destroyed" them, and took their "lands." The process of reduction should have taken much time also, though, if we are to believe the Nāgaragere and the Rāmachandrapur grants, dated in 1505 and 1506 A.D., he was already well served by his subordinates, for we are told in this record that the Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and other kings addressed him with such words as "Look on us, great king! Victory! Long life." This description, however, judging from its date and the mention of the Anga, Vāṅga and Kalinga kings, seems nothing more than a poetical exaggeration of the power wielded by Vira-Narasimha II. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64).

The inscriptional records of Vira-Narasimha are not many. The following is a list of those which might of a certainty be attributed to him :—

Table of
inscriptions
of Vira-
Narasimha II.

Authority	Date	Contents
1. <i>E.C.</i> X, Gori-bidnur 77. Nāgaragere Copper-plates	<i>Saka</i> , Krodhana (1505 A.D.)	States that Vira-Narasimhēndra obtained his father's kingdom and ruled it to the delight of his subjects according to the <i>dharma</i> and made the grant of a village renamed after himself in the Midigesi country included in the Fenukonda Province on the occasion of the founding of a temple.
2. <i>E.C.</i> VIII, Nagar 64. Rāmachandrapur <i>Math</i> Copper-plates.	<i>Saka</i> 1428, Kshaya (1506 A.D.)	Mentions Vira-Narasimhēndra as seated on the jewel throne at Vijayanagar and states that by his order Sōmanna-Nāyaka, governor of Araga, made a grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Authority	Date	Contents
3. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1892, Appendix A. No. 343 of 1892. Lithic inscription at Tādpatri, Anantapur District.	<i>Saka</i> 1429 (expired) Prabhava (1507 A.D.)	Mentions his minister Sāluva Timma.
4. <i>E.C.</i> IX, Bangalore 52. Lithic inscription at Marathalli.	<i>Saka</i> 1429, Prabhava (1507 A.D.)	Mentions Sri-Mahāmandalēsvara Sri-Vira-pratāpa Vira-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya. Apparently records a grant in his reign.
5. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1304, No. 389 at Prodnur, Cuddapah District.	<i>Saka</i> 1430, Vibhava (1508 A.D.)	Does not mention the name of the reigning king but records gifts made for the merit of Vira-Narasimha and his minister Sāluva-Timma by Sāluva-Gōvindarāja, probably the brother of Sāluva-Timma.
6. <i>E.C.</i> X, Malur 6. Lithic inscription at Tekal, Kolar District.	<i>Saka</i> 1430, <i>Sukla</i> (1508 A.D.)	Incomplete. Evidently records a grant when Mabarājādhirāja rāja-paramēsvara pūrva-dakshina-paschima-samudrādhipati Sri-Vira-pratāpa-Vira-Narasimha-rāya Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
7. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1925, Appendix B. No. 419 of 1925. Inscription at Chellur near Gudimallam, Chittoor District.	<i>Saka</i> 1481, <i>Vibhava</i> (1509 A.D.)	Records an irrigation agreement between three villages in the reign of Vira-Narasingayya-Mahārāya.
8. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1893, Appendix A. No. 342 of 1892. Lithic inscription at Tādpatri, Anantapur District.	<i>Saka</i> 1481 (expired) <i>Sukla</i> (1509 A.D.)	Mentions a grant by his minister Sāluva-Timma, to the Kāmēsvara temple at Tādpatri. Vira-Narasimha was still ruling at Vijayanagara at the time.
9. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1920, No. 601 of 1919. Lithic inscription at Conjeeveram.	<i>Saka</i> 1481 (1509 A.D.)	Records a grant for providing offerings to Saint Tirukkachchinambi at Kānchi in the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara Vira-Narasingarāya Mahārāya.
10. <i>M.E.R.</i> 1906, No. 501, Lithic inscription at Mopuru, Cuddapah District.	Lost	Records the remission of taxation for the merit of Vira-Narasimha and his minister Sāluva-Timma.
11. <i>E.C.</i> IX, Kankanhalli 56. Lithic inscription at Kanchanahalli, Kankanhalli Tk., Bangalore Dist.	Cyclic year <i>Srimuka</i> . (1513 A.D.)	Mentions Sri-Vira-Narasimha Vodeyar's reign and registers the grant of a village.
12. <i>E.C.</i> VI, Mudgere 41. Lithic inscription at Kalasa, Kadur District.	<i>Saka</i> 1438, <i>Dhātu</i> (1516 A.D.) dated in the reign of Krishna Dēva-Rāya.	Refers to an expedition led into the Tulu country by Vira-Narasimha (called Bhujabala Mahārāya) against Bhairasa, governor of Kalasa-Kārkala province.

From the above, it will be seen that the records of Vira-Narasimha II range from 1505 to 1509 A.D., and that he takes the highest imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-paramēsvara dakshina-paschima-samudrādhipati Sri-Vira-pratāpa Vira-Narasimha-rāya-Mahārāya* which are attributed in a record dated in 1508 A.D., though in one dated in 1507 he is still styled *Mahāmandalēsvara* coupled with the titles of *Sri-Vira-pratāpa Vira-Narasimha-Rāya-Mahārāya*. It seems possible that he actually began his independent rule, superseding the sons of Sāluva-Narasimha II, in or about the year 1506-1507 A.D., which agrees with what might be inferred from the inscriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II himself. The records, it will be seen, mention Sāluva-Timma as his minister. As we know that the latter was minister of Narasa and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as well, it is clear he was Chief Minister to three kings in succession, Narasa, Vira-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Sāluva-Gōvindarāja referred to in one of the above records has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri (*A.S.I.* 1903-1909, page 172) with *Guandaja* or *Gandaraje* mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Sāluva-Timma and as holding an important position in one of the provinces of the Empire. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 351 and 361, f.n. 1).

Vira-Narasimha II is described as having been "handsome" in appearance and as "equal to his father in liberality." (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64). He is said to have made many gifts "in Kanakasudas, in the temple of Virūpāksha, in the city of Kālāhasti, in Venkatādri, in Kānchi, in Srīsaila, Sōnāsala, Harihara, Ahūbala, Sangama, Sriranga, Kumbagōna, in the great Nanditīrtha, the remover of darkness (or ignorance), in Nivrittī, Gōkarna, Rāmasētu and many other sacred places. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64; see also *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77).

His personal appearance, gifts, etc.

Of these places, the first is Chidambaram, the second is at Vijayanagara, the third in North Arcot District, the fourth near Tirupati in the same district, the fifth is Conjeeveram, the sixth is in Kurnool, the seventh is Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District, the eighth is in the North of Mysore, the ninth is Kurnool, the tenth near Raichur, the eleventh near Trichinopoly, the twelfth in Tanjore, the thirteenth and the fourteenth in Kurnool District, the fifteenth in North Kanara District, and the sixteenth in the Madura District. (*Ibid*, Translation, Part 155). In this record, the Rāmachandrapur grant, which was one made in favour of Rāghavēsvāmi-Bharati of the Srīngēri *Math*, who is described as the expounder of the traditions of the *Mahābhāshya*, we have also a long list of the gifts made by Vira-Narasimha II, among which are *brahmāṇḍam*, *visvachakram*, *ghatam*, *udīta-mahābhūtakam*, *ratna-dhēnum*, *sāptambōdhi*, *kalpakshītiuhālātikam Kānchanam*, *Kāmadhēnu*, *svarna-kshmāyē-hiranyasvartham*, *tulāpurusham*, *gōsahsram-hēmasvam*, *hēma-garbhām*, *kanakakariratham*, *pancha-lāngaly*, etc. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77 dated in 1505 A.D.). These gifts should have cost much and no wonder that Nuniz describes Vira-Narasimha II as a great spendthrift. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 314).

His death,
1509 A.D.

Vira-Narasimha II appears to have died at Vijayanagar, of some illness, in 1509 A.D. (See *Chronicle of Fernae Nuniz*, in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 314; also *Table of Inscriptions* above). It was just before his death that he tried, with the aid of his prime minister Sāluva-Timma, to blind Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in order to secure the succession to his own eight year old son. The story of this unsuccessful attempt has been told above, but it may be added that history will adjudge Sāluva-Timma as a just and far-seeing Minister who, by his merciful

His attempt
to blind
Krishna-Dēva
Rāya.

conduct, saved for India one of its greatest rulers. What became of the "eight year old" son of Vira-Narasimha, there is no means of knowing, as inscriptions do not refer to him.

Neither inscriptions nor literary sources testify to the success of Vira-Narasimha's rule. Weak as a ruler, he was evidently unable to keep the governors in the empire under control. Already unpopular with them, his relations with them should have grown worse as he grew nearer to the close of his reign and endeavoured to put down Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by foul means. His gifts, profuse though they seem to have been, could not have helped to reconcile him to his subjects. He should have, judging from what Nuniz states, not only left an empty treasury to his successor, but also a country seething with discontent.

Character of
his rule.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next succeeded to the throne. It is possible that he was ruling simultaneously with Vira-Narasimha II long before his actual coronation. The *Rāya-Vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* do not, for instance, suggest that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya directly succeeded to the throne of his father Narasa, and do not recognise the reign of Vira-Narasimha II. Since we know from inscriptional records that Vira-Narasimha II did reign and that before Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was actually crowned king, the only manner in which we could reconcile the literary version with facts as ascertained from the inscriptions, is to suggest the simultaneous reign of both during the period covered by the reign of Vira-Narasimha II. There are a couple of records, dated in 1489 A.D. and 1499 A.D., dated in Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign, one found at Tenāli and another at Mādanūr, both in the present Guntur District, both recording gifts to temples in the name of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Sāluva-Timma, his

Krishna-
Dēva-Rāya,
1509-1530
A.D.

future minister. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, Ongole 71; *Ins. in Madras Presidency* II, Nos. 389 and 842). These records suggest that he should have been co-ruler with his brother before he himself regularly succeeded him in 1509 A.D. But as the dates (*Saka* and cyclic) mentioned in both of these records do not agree, they need not be considered further here. Though there is a record dated in 1513 A.D. (see *ante* Table of Inscriptions under the reign of Vira-Narasimha II, No. 11), which would suggest that Vira-Narasimha II died in that year, it is clear from his own inscriptions and those of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he should have died in or about 1509 A.D. According to Hampi inscription of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his coronation should have taken place on or about the 14th day of the bright fortnight of *Māga* in the cyclic year *Sukla*, in the expired *Saka* year 1430. Unfortunately, the cyclic year *Sukla* does not correspond to *Saka* 1430 expired, but to *Saka* 1431 expired. If the cyclic year be taken to indicate the correct year, then the date corresponds to 23rd or 24th January 1510. However, if the *Saka* year be taken as the correct year, the date of the coronation should have been February 4, 1509, the cyclic year being *Vibhava* and not *Sukla*, as mentioned in the inscription. (*E.I.* I, 370; *I.A.* XXIV, 205; and Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 120). It has been suggested by Mr. Krishna Sastri, that the coronation should have actually taken place sometime between the months of *Vaishākha* and *Kārthika* of the cyclic year *Sukla*, for the reason that we have an inscription of Vira-Narasimha indicating that he was still ruling in the month of *Vaishāka* of the *Saka* year 1431, *Sukla*, while a record dated in *Saka* 1431, *Sukla*, but in the month of *Kārthika*, shows that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was ruling on the throne at Vijayanagar. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, Pages 174-175; *M.E.R.* 1906, No. 491). It would seem to follow from this, that it is not the exact date of the coronation (*pattābhishēka*) but the

date on which the gifts, made on the occasion of the coronation, were actually engraved. In any event, it seems now clear that the coronation did take place between the months *Vaishāka* and *Kārthika* of the cyclic year *Sukla* (the period of time covered between these two months being just six months) while the recording of the gifts appears to have taken place in the month of *Māga* (the month mentioned in the Hampi record), which is just three months after *Kārthika*. The coronation ceremony appears to have been an impressive one. According to Kumāra Dhūrjati's *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, the coronation ceremony was attended by all the prominent feudatory chiefs, among whom were the following:—Āravīti-Bukka, the chiefs of Owk, Nandēla, Velgōdu, Budahal (Budēhal), etc. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 129).

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had an eventful and prosperous rule of nearly 21 years, his contemporary English sovereign being Henry VIII (1509-1547). He died about 1530.

Length of his reign.

The primary authorities for his reign are his own inscriptions which are several hundreds in number scattered all over Southern India, including every district within the present limits of the State, and literary works, both written by himself or by contemporary poets. Among the latter, may be mentioned Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu*, a work not mentioned in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, and Timmanna Kavi's Kannada *Bhārata*, all of which works are dedicated to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself. Among the former are *Āmuktha Mālyada* in Telugu and *Jāmbavati Kalyānam* in Sanskrit and there are also minor poems written by minor poets which will be found referred to under the head "*Literary progress*"

Authorities for the history of his reign.

below. There are also two Telugu works in particular, the *Rāya Vāchakamu*, which professes to be a contemporary work, and Kumāra Dhūrjati's *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, which was written by one Venkata-Rāya, surnamed Kumāra Dhūrjati (the younger Dūrjati), who lived at the court of Chinna Venkata, grandson of Rāma-Rāya, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Chinna Venkata was accordingly a scion of the Āravidu dynasty and was the younger brother of Pedda Venkata II who ruled about 1634-1636 A.D.

Date of his
birth, etc.

The exact date of the birth of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is not known. According to tradition prevalent in the Telugu country, he is said to have been born on Friday, the 12th of dark fortnight of *Pushya*, corresponding to *Saka* 1387. This, as remarked by Mr. Krishna Sastri, is a "very unlikely date," as it would make him about 45 years old when he was crowned. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 174, quoting K. Viresalingam Pantulu's *Lives of Telugu Poets*, 170). According to more reliable accounts (see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 158), Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was nearing that age when he died. According to another tradition, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have been born in *Saka* 1409, corresponding to A.D. 1487. This date appears nearer the truth as it is in agreement with the statement of Nuniz who lived at Vijayanagar during the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and wrote from personal knowledge that he was "over twenty years" at the time the unsuccessful attempt on his life was made by his brother Vīra-Narasimha II, which, as we have seen, was towards the close of the latter's reign. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 174 quoting *Lives of Telugu Poets*, 169; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 315). It would seem to follow from this that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya should have been born in or about the year 1487-88 A.D. If so, when he died in 1530, he should have been about 42 years old.

Both literary works and inscriptions testify in abundant detail to the extensive warfare in which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya engaged during the greater part of his reign. According to Nuniz, one of his first acts on the assumption of sovereignty was to send "without delay" his nephew—son of Vīra-Narasimha II—and his own "three" younger brothers to the fortress of Chandragiri apparently for being confined there. Nuniz also states that his nephew remained there till he died. After doing this "for his own safety," Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, it would seem, stayed in the city of Vijayanagar "for a year and a half without going outside of it, learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings." Among these he is said to have found one of king Narasimha I, in which he had desired that his successors should capture three fortresses which at his death had remained in revolt against him, and which he could not, in his own lifetime, take. These forts were those of Raichur, Mudkal and Udayagiri. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya determined on the conquests of these places. Whether the story of the reading of the testament of Narasimha I is true or not, there can be little doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya determined early in his career to punish, on the one hand, the Orissan king, who had made incursions into the Vijayanagar kingdom and had systematically joined the Muhammadans against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and on the other, to reduce, once and for ever, the northern debatable ground and annex it. Before we take up these conquests, it may be convenient to set down here in chronological order a few other events of no less importance.

Principal
events of his
reign.

Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor, sent an embassy to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at the end of the year 1509 A.D. to reduce Calicut by land while he himself would assault it simultaneously by sea. Though

Relations
with the
Portuguese,
1509-1510
A.D.

Albuquerque proposed that he would assist Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after the capture of Calicut, against his Muhammadan enemies of the Deccan, and promised to supply horses only to him and not to his enemies, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya thought it politic not to send any answer. Meanwhile, in 1510, Albuquerque captured Goa and made his triumphal entry into it in March 1 of that year. Immediately thereafter, he despatched another embassy to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya requesting him to grant permission to build a fort at Bhatkal for the protection of Portuguese trade. Bhatkal, about this time, was a favourite landing place, the road from it going northwards to Honawar, then inland to Bankāpūr, one of the more famous Hoysala capitals and a great trade centre, and thence to Banavāsi, the great Kadamba capital, in the present Shimoga district, and then, *via* Rānibeunur, over the plains to Hospet and Vijayanagar. Though Krishna-Dēva-Rāya received the embassy "solemnly," he did not grant the request, apparently because he did not desire to break out with Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur just then and was perhaps even anxious that the latter should retake Goa, from the Portuguese interlopers. At the same time, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, with a desire to maintaining friendly relations with the Portuguese, sent a message of congratulations to Albuquerque on his capture of Goa. Ādil Shāh, however, re-took Goa, Albuquerque receiving no aid from Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and evacuating the place, after mercilessly murdering the principal Muhammadan inhabitants in it. Ādil Shāh, however, was in November 1510 called off to Bijapur, owing to internal dissensions. Rasul Khān, his deputy at Goa, lost the place to Albuquerque, who re-entered it on December 1st most cruelly putting to the sword 6,000 Muhammadan men, women and children on the occasion. Rasul Khān made a desperate attempt to retake it in 1512, but failed. Immediately the news of

the recapture of Goa by the Portuguese reached Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, he sent ambassadors to Albuquerque to congratulate him on the event. He also permitted the Portuguese to build a fort at Bhatkal to protect their trade. It is not clear from the available evidence whether it was not the desire of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to get possession of Goa himself, if circumstances permitted. As will be remembered, Goa was an old Vijayanagar possession and had been lost by it to the Muhammadans in the reign of Mallikārjuna, and Narasimha I had tried to retake it in 1482 A.D., but without success. Since then, successive Vijayanagar kings had had their eye on the place. According to the report of Father Luis, the Portuguese priest who had been sent to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's court, it would seem that the Portuguese had been befriended by one Timōja (probably Timma-Rāja), apparently the Vijayanagar emissary at the place. Father Luis had declared that he could be no friend but a traitor, so far as the Portuguese were concerned, as he had, in conjunction with the chief in Gersoppa, promised Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, that he would take Goa before the Portuguese could fortify their possessions therein, if he sent a fully equipped army to seize the place. The recapture of the place by the Portuguese on December 1, 1510 prevented this design. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, made the best of what he could, of the event. He should have thought little of the Portuguese as a political power, and to kindle their cupidity as traders, while gratifying his own desire to secure horses for his intended conquests, he proposed to his ambassadors that Albuquerque should supply him horses in preference to Ādil Shāh of Bijapur. Albuquerque while pretending to be friendly with the Muhammadans, sent a civil message to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he was more inclined to provide him with cavalry mounts rather than his Muhammadan enemy. In 1514,

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made the tempting offer of £20,000 for the exclusive trade to trade in horses and renewed the offer once again a little later. On the first occasion, Albuquerque refused the offer, and on the second, having received a similar offer from Ādil Shāh, he informed Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he would exclusively supply him with all his horses, if he would pay him 30,000 cruzadoes per annum for the supply and send his own servants to Goa to fetch them. Albuquerque also proposed that he would aid the king in his wars if he was paid his military expenses. At the same time, he wrote to Ādil Shāh promising him the refusal of all his horses, if he would surrender to him in the name of the king of Portugal a portion of the mainland opposite the island of Goa. Before either of these proposals could be settled, Albuquerque died and nothing came of them. It will be seen, however, from the sequel that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya kept up his friendly intercourse with the Portuguese and not only imported horses through their agency, but made use of their engineering and skill in artillery in the development of his civil works and in the conduct of his military warfare.

Chronology of
the principal
events of his
reign.

The chronology of the principal events of the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is not by any means clear. The following may, on a fair consideration of all the known facts, be taken as a near approximation to the actual facts:—

1509 A.D.—His coronation at Vijayanagar. Building of the Ranganātha temple in front of the inner shrine of Virūpāksha temple at Vijayanagar and a *gōpura* there.

1509-11 A.D.—Stays peacefully at Vijayanagar studying the past history of the kingdom. Engaged in settling internal affairs and preparing for the wars that he had fixed his mind on.

1512 A.D.—Reduction of Sivasamudram and Seringapatam.

1512-13 A.D.—First expedition to East Coast against Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa and his Muhammadan allies. Capture of Udayagiri.

1513-14 A.D.—At the end of the Udayagiri Campaign, returns to Vijayanagar and begins building Krishnasvāmi temple. Endows the temple on the consecration of the image in it in 1514 A.D. Begins building the House of Victory, the Hazara Rāmasvāmi and the Vithalasvāmi temples at Vijayanagar.

1514 A.D.—Second expedition to the East Coast. Capture of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgūrjunikonda, Tangēdu, Kētavaram and other strongholds.

1515 A.D.—Capture of Kondavidu and its chief defenders Kēsavaṅṅra and Prince Virabhadra, son of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati King of Orissa. Gifts to Amarēsvara temple by the king and his two queens.

1515-16 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appoints Prince Virabhadra, governor of Male-Bennur *sīmā* in the present Davangere Taluk, Chitaldrug District.

1516-17 A.D.—Third expedition to the East Coast; visits Ahōbālam in the Kurnool District; encamps at Bezwada; remits taxes amounting to 10,000 *varāhas* in favour of Siva and Vishnu temples in the Chōla country. Besieges Kondapalli and reduces it, taking Prahara-sēna-siraschandra-Mahapātra, Bijjali Khān and others; capture of Anantagiri, Udrakonda, Wilaguda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvayi, Nalagonda, Kambhamettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri and other strongholds—all situate in the present Raichur, Nalgonda and Warrangal districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions; advances on Simhādri (modern Śimbāchalam) in the Vizagapatam District and Potnūr (modern Pottunūru in the same District); capture of Potnūr and planting of a pillar of victory there; flight of Pratāpa-Rudra from Potnūr; devastation of Oddadi (or Oriya country); destruction of Katakapuri (modern Cuttack); flight of Pratāpa-Rudra from Katakapuri; gifts to the Simbāchalam temple by himself and his two queens Chinna-dēvi and Tirumala-dēvi; marriage of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to Jagannōhini, daughter of Pratāpa-Rudra; conclusion of peace; cession of territories north of the Krishna to Pratāpa-Rudra; return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to Vijayanagar.

1517-18 A.D.—Visits on his way back to the capital, to offer worship, the temples of Kālāhasti and Chidambaram at both of which places he ordered the construction of big *gōpuras*, etc. Expedition against "Catiur," on the Coromandel coast, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

1519 A.D.—Gift of villages to Simhāchalam temple made by the Gajapati King in the name of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. These villages had been first obtained by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from King Pratāpa-Rudra, who transferred them to the temple on Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's behalf. Construction of the new town of Nāgalāpuram, modern Hospet.

1520 A.D.—Construction of a big reservoir close to Nāgalāpuram with the aid of the Portuguese Engineer Joao de la Ponte.

1520 A.D.—War against Bijapur Sultān. Siege and battle of Raichur. Annexation of the Raichur Doāb to Vijayanagar. Capture of Kulbarga and reinstatement of deposed Muhamadan prince on the throne.

1524-25 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya crowns Prince Tirumalaiya Dēva, as King (or co-ruler).

1525 A.D.—Prince Tirumalaiya-Dēva's death by poison at the hands of Timmanna-Dannāyaka, son of Sāluva-Timma. Sāluva-Timma, his two sons and his brother Gōvinda cast into prison and blinded. Death of Timmanna-Dannāyaka.

Circa 1525-26 A.D.—Ādil Shāh's attempts to retake Raichur frustrated by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

1529-30 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's preparations to take Belgaum. Sends ambassadors to Goa for obtaining help from the Portuguese in this connection.

1530 A.D.—Sudden death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Vijayanagar, while preparing his projected expedition against Belgaum.

Subjugation
of Ummattūr
Chief, Circa
1510-1512
A.D.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's anxiety to secure a steady and constant supply of horses was necessitated by the plans he was maturing, at about this time (December 1510 A.D.), for the conquest of the Orissan king and the Raichur Doāb. As a preliminary to the execution of this plan, he appears to have led an expedition against the Ummattūr chief who had practically asserted his

independence. The details pertaining to this warfare are not clear. The Ummattūr chief of the time was Malla-Rāya-Vodeyar, who bore the title *Chikka-Rāya*. How he came to possess this title and on what ground he claimed to possess the title of heir-apparent (*Chikkarāya-patta*) is nowhere indicated. (See *E.C.* III, Malavalli 95). It is possible that he was connected with the family of one of the sons of Mallikārjuna, the last king of the first dynasty who ruled over the Terakanāmbi country (see under *Mallikārjuna*) which the Ummattūr chiefs had subsequently claimed as their own, having established their permanent rule (*sthīrarājya*). In an inscription dated 1505 A.D., Chikka-Rāya describes himself as the Imperial Lord (*Chakrēsvara*) of Penukonda. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67). Such a claim could only have been made by a person who considered himself as a scion of the former ruling family. Chikka-Rāya was established on the island of Sivasamudram at the falls of the Cauvery. It was for this reason that he is referred to in the records of the period as the chief of Sivasamudram or Sivasamudram-*sime* which included a great part of the present Bangalore District. According to the report furnished by Father Luis to Albuquerque, about December 1510, it is inferable that Chikka-Rāya had rebelled about that time and had seized the city of Penukonda "saying that it belonged to himself by right." It was evidently to put down this rebel that, as Father Luis reported, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya "was getting ready a small, expedition of seven thousand men" against him. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 126). Father Luis added, in his letter, "that after he had taken the rebel, the king would proceed to certain places on the East Coast." This fixes the date of the expedition against Chikka-Rāya and shows that it was undertaken before his invasion of the East Coast country. The Amarāvati Inscription of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is the only record which refers to his

conquest of Sivasamudram prior to his capture of Udayagiri, thus confirming Father Luis' statements. There is other confirmatory evidence from foreign travellers and Muhammadan historians as to this fact. (*E.I.* VIII, 17-22). The Telugu poems *Pārijātāpaharanamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* also mention the capture of Sivasamudram, while the *Rāyavāchakamu* also furnishes a few details about it, though Nuniz does not mention it. According to the *Rāyavāchakamu*, the reduction of the Ummattūr chief was the first item in the tour of conquests undertaken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It calls the chief of Sivasamudram as Ganga-Rāya and states that the latter place was taken after a single day's fighting. The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (end of Canto II) adds the interesting information that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya pulled down the walls of Ummattūr and Sivasamudram, its citadel. The *Rāyavāchakamu* states that after the reduction of Sivasamudram and its being garrisoned by his own troops, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya proceeded to Seringapatam from where, after examining the fortifications and worshipping the god there, he marched on towards Ikkēri. What became of Chikka-rāya (? Ganga-Rāya) after the conquest is not known. He probably fell in the war. His son Virappa Vodeyar was evidently allowed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to rule over the Seringapatam country, as we have at least three records of his making grants, one of them under the orders of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as chief of Seringapatam. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 10 dated in 1516 and Mysore 5 dated in 1517 A.D.). But certain inscriptional records suggest that the province of Terakanāmbi was from about this time lost to the Ummattur chiefs. One lithic record dated in 1513 A.D. states that the Terakanāmbi country was bestowed on Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāya, brother of Sāluva-Timma, the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 3). A series of grants by Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāya, dated in

1522 and 1523 A.D., show that he was in charge of the Terakanāmbi province. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 1 and 35 dated in 1522 and Chamrajnagar 99 and 111 dated in 1523 A.D.). There are other grants of his dated in 1519 and 1521. (See *E.C.* III, T.-Narsipur 73 dated in 1519 and 42 dated in 1521). It has to be presumed that, with the defeat of Chikka-Rāya, Penukonda was recovered.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's invasion of Mysore is also referred to in a record from Mēlkōte dated in 1551 A.D. It refers to the invasion as an "avāntara," i.e., a calamity (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, Paras 43-44; 1907-8, Para 68). The Dodda Jātaka plates of Nāgamangala, dated 1512 A.D., record a gift by the king to a learned Brāhman in the person of Gangādhara of Sivaganga of a village called Hiri-Jattiga (modern Dodda-Jātaka, from where the plates come) and four hamlets adjoining, re-naming the village Chinnādēvipura, after Chinnā-Dēvi, one of his favourite queens. The grant was probably made after the conquest of Ummattūr, when the king was present in person in the Hoysala country, where the village granted is described to be situated. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 93). In 1517 A.D., another grant was made by the king, at the capital, in favour of god Gangādhara. (*Ibid*).

About the time the suppression of the political disturbances that gave rise to the invasion against Sivasamudram took place, Dēmarasayya, son of Kondamarasayya, apparently became (or was confirmed) Governor of Penukonda. According to a record dated in 1513 A.D., he was instrumental in getting the taxes on *Dēradāya* and *Brahmudāya* lands, which had been imposed during the period of political disturbances referred to, abolished. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 30). This shows that this abolition was a political move intended to win over the people. The remission was preceded by a big sacrifice at Penukonda, at which the remission was announced as a gift

at the time the final oblation was offered to Agni, the god of fire. (*Ibid*).

Attack on
Raichur
Fortress, 1512
A.D.

According to Ferishta, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have invaded in 1512 A.D. Ādil Shāh's territory and to have attacked the fortress of Raichur and taken it together with Mudkal. This, however, is not confirmed by Nuniz or by Father Luis who states that, after the reduction of the rebel chief who had seized Penukonda, the king was proceeding on certain places in the East Coast. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, however, suggest that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after the reduction of Sivasamudram, proceeded with his army towards the frontiers of Bijapur and captured a number of places and then advanced against the Orissan king, next proceeded against Ahmednagar and finally against Kulbarga. It is difficult, however, to say whether the order of narration follows the actual order in which the events occurred. If Nuniz is correct that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's first attack on Raichur was made in 1520 A.D., then the statement of Ferishta that there was an earlier attack in 1512 will have to be rejected. It is possible, however, that, as mentioned in the Telugu works above referred to, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya might have on his return journey from the Sivasamudram country taken a few places which lay in the Bijapur territories. These minor conquests might have been included in the narrative by the Telugu authors irrespective of the order in which they were taken.

Ministers,
Governors
and Generals.

The chief minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya practically throughout the whole of his reign was Sāluva-Timma, whom Paes calls *Temerasa* (i.e., Timmarasa) and Nuniz, *Sālvatinica*, *Sallvatina*, *Salvatimya*, etc. His full name appears to have been Sāluva-Timmayya, shortened in inscriptions into Sāluva-Timma. He was called "Sāluva"

because he served kings who bore that title, they themselves having taken it over from the kings of the Sāluva Dynasty. The story of how he averted the attempted assassination of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when he was yet a young man has been narrated above. Krishna-Dēva thus virtually owed to him his throne. Paes notes that "he brought up the king and made him king and so the king looks on him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him, he addresses him as 'Lord Salvatinica,' and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him." Because he was treated as "Appa" or "Father," *jī* being a mere honorific termination, he was commonly known in his own time and subsequently to the people as *Appāji*. The many stories of Rāya and *Appāji* (see a collection published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) refer to him and the great sovereign whom he served. He was evidently a Minister, head and ears above the contemporaries of his time. His political cunning, his capacity for work and his administrative skill was utilized to the fullest extent by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. A record dated in 1510 calls him "Tantra-Nāyaka" and as skilled in listening to instruction. He was Prime-Minister, Provincial Governor, and military leader. A popular Telugu verse quoted by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri speaks of him thus: The best of Kings, Krishnarāya, called you "Ayya," i.e., "Father," Oh! Timmarasayya! where is your equal? You are (surely) the sugar-cane bowed (god) i.e., Manmatha!" Apparently he was a handsome man, thus uniting good looks with extraordinarily great abilities. So high, indeed, was he considered to be in the estimation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, that in one record he is called Krishna-Dēva's "own body" and styled "Dharanivarāha." (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 183; *M.E.R.* 1897, No. 186.). He was a Brāhman of the Kaundinya *Gōtra* and son of Rāchaya and grandson of Vēmaya, (*E.I.* VI, 234). As will be seen from what follows, he took

part in the wars of the reign, accompanying the king and arranging for the administration of the conquered country. He was appointed Governor of Kondavidu on its reduction and it was administered in his name in succession by his nephews, Nādinla (who were also his sons-in-law,) Appa and Nāindala Gōpa. He also put down an attack on Kondavidu and settled the government of that country.

In a record dated in *Saka* 1443 (or A.D. 1521), he is entitled *Pratāpa-Sāluva-Timmarasayya*. It has been suggested that this title was given to him "on account of his heroic capture of Kondavidu in *Saka* 1437." (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. 433). As the king was himself in chief command at this seige, it would be more correct to say that this title was given to him for the splendid services he rendered to the king in reducing this fortress.

Gōpa was governor of Gooty and Appa of Sōlur-sīme in the present Mysore State. (*E.I.* VI, 112; *E.C.* IX, Magadi 11 dated in 1520 A.D.). Himself and his nephews were Sanskrit scholars. (See below). The king never did anything—declaring war or making peace—without consulting him. Whether it was the management of the nine days festival at the capital or the reception of the inhabitants of a captured city in the field, Sāluva-Timma had to do the preliminaries and put matters through. He was trusted implicitly by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and so, when he felt such trust had been betrayed in the matter of the poisoning of his little son, Tirumala-Dēva, the king's anger evidently knew no bounds, and he chastised him in a public manner and lodged him and his two sons, Sāluva-Timmanna-Dannāyaka and Gōvinda, in prison. For securing them, he sought the assistance of the Portuguese resident in the capital. According to Nuniz, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in open Court addressed him thus :—

" I held thee always as my great friend, and now for these forty years thou hast been Governor in this Kingdom, which thou gavest me ; yet I am under no obligation to thee for that, because in doing so, thou didst act in a way contrary to thy duty. Thou wert bound, since my lord, the king, my brother, commanded so, to put out mine eyes ; yet thou didst not carry out his will nor obey him, but instead thou didst cheat him and the eyes of a goat were put out, wherefore since thou didst not fulfil his command, thou wert a traitor, and thy sons with thee, for whom I have done so much. Now I have learnt that my son died of poison given to him by thee and thy sons, and for that ye are here all made prisoners."

So saying, he laid hands on them, and cast them into prison, where they stayed three years. Sāluva-Timma was, meanwhile, superseded in his position as Chief Minister and one Kondamarasayya took his place, Timmanna-Dannāyaka, his elder son, escaped from prison and was captured. He, his brother Govinda and their father Sāluva-Timma were next blinded, by order of the king, while Timmanna-Dannāyaka died. The charge of poisoning rests on the above statement of Nuniz and is indirectly confirmed by certain inscriptions, which do not mention the fact of poisoning but mention the prince, Tirumala-Dēva, in certain records dated 1524, after which there is no mention of him. (See above). Whether Sāluva-Timma was guilty as accessory either before or after the fact will probably be never determined. His previous probity, his love for Krishna-Dēva, his rescuing him from the assassin's knife and his eminent services did not stand him in good stead. *Similis simili gaudet* (like is pleased with like), goes the Latin saying. Nevertheless, History will adjudge that he deserved the sad fate that overtook him if the charge was really anything more than a mere suspicion. Krishna-Dēva's charge that he saved him *against* the injunctions of his brother, the King, creates an irksome feeling that he was acting on mere suspicion against his

minister, in the belief that he might have been actually connected with, if he had not connived at, his little son's death. The charge, however, is too direct to be thrown aside peremptorily, though it is just possible that Krishna-Dēva might have acted in a fit of anger. That he was subject to such "fits" is testified to by Paes who had known him personally and at close quarters. (See above). The fall of the great and aged minister is pathetic in the extreme, especially when we remember that he saved the world so distinguished a ruler as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

Sāluva-Timma had an younger brother, also named Govinda, who served for some time as Governor of Gooty and then became Governor successively of Kugaganād, TēraKANāmbi and the capital city itself. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 340; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 3; and *A Forgotten Empire*, 284). In a record dated in 1519 A.D., he styles himself *Mahāpradhāna* (Prime Minister) and in another dated in 1523 (? 1521), he calls himself *Sirapradhāna*. Another inscription of Sāluva-Govindarājayya, brother of Sāluva-Timma, dated in 1519 A.D., records a grant of land at Alakere in Yelandur Taluk for the merit of his sovereign. (*M.A.R.* 1916-17, Para 112). He also made a grant to the Virasaiva *matha* at Suttur in 1517 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 124, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 110). He continued as a minister up to at least 1538 A.D., when we find him making the grant of a village in Nanjangud taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 111). Sāluva-Timma appears to have had the assistance of a subordinate minister styled *Upa Pradhāna* in the person of one Somarasa, son of Mēlarasa (or Mēla-māmantri) of Chandra-giri who is mentioned in one record dated in 1518 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 186 of 1897). He is probably the same as Tippasoma mentioned in a record from Shimoga (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1) dated in 1513 A.D.

Sāluva-Timma was succeeded in the Premier's post by a person called "Ajaboissa" (Ayyapparasa) or "Ajarcatimapa" (Ayyapparasa-Timmapa), son of "Code-merade" identified with "Comdamara," one of the provincial chiefs mentioned by Nuniz. The latter, perhaps, stands for Kondamarasayya. Kondamanāyaka and Kondama Nāyudu would indicate his connection with the army. He was one of those who accompanied the King in the East Coast and Raichur campaigns. (See above). He was Governor of Udayagiri, from the time of its capture. He was a Brāhman of the *Bharadvāja Gotra*, and son of Timmarasayya (given as Vēmarasayya) in another record. That his parents were really Timmarasayya and Singāyamma (or Sangamāmbika) is confirmed by other records. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. 336; *M.E.R.* 1912, Page 80; see *Nellore Inscriptions* III, App. 1. pages 1475-6). He is referred to in some stray records as Kondapparasayya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, Kandakur No. 27, pp. 536-8, dated in 1514 A.D.; Kandakur No. 39, pp. 560-1; III Udayagiri No. 4, pp. 1333-34, dated in 1515; Kandakur No. 30, pp. 542-3 dated in 1520 A.D.; III Podili No. 36, pp. 1197-1200 dated in 1520 A.D.). He is generally styled in these records "Rāyasam Kondamarasayya," probably because he was at one time Secretary to the King. Nuniz states that Kondamarasa was the person who canvassed and carried out the death of the son of King Sāluva-Narasimha I at Penukonda. (See *ante*). His successor at Udayagiri was Ayyapparasu; one of whose records, dated in 1527 A.D., is known. (*M.E.R.* No. 209 of 1894; Inscription in Madras Presidency II, Nellore 350). An inscription dated in 1522 A.D. found at Dādikombu, near Dindigul, in the Madura District, shows that he had temporary jurisdiction over that Province at that time. He is stated in it to have issued orders to a certain Timmaya-Nāyakar to repair an ancient *anicut* and dig a

canal called *Kāvēri-Vallabhan*. (See *M.E.R.* 1894, App. B. No. 4; also *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 184, *f.n.* 2). From inscriptions found in the Nellore District, it is known that Kondamarasayya was the *Kāryakarta* (Agent) for Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Udayagiri province. He is said to have built the large tanks at Anantasāgaram and Kaluvāya in the Nellore District. After his transfer from Udayagiri about 1527-8 A.D., we find him governing Kondavidu as deputy under Rāyasam Timmarasayya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, Darsi 33; see also III, App. page 1476).

The Chōlasamudram record dated in 1517 A.D. supplies the interesting information about him that he was the grand-son of Srīpatyāchārya, the chief of Podatūru, a flourishing village in the Dravida country. He belonged, it is said, to the Udayagiri-Kannadiga sect and was the chief of fortresses like Penukonda, Udāyagiri, etc. He is spoken as the hero who actually accomplished for Krishna-Rāya the planting of the pillars of victory at Simhādri and Srīkūrmam and as a scholar who was acquainted with the curious writings prevalent in the fifty-six countries. This record shows he accompanied his sovereign in his campaigns against the Kalinga King, when, after defeating him, he planted a pillar of victory at Pottunūru. The other pillar of victory at Srīkūrmam mentioned in this record goes to confirm Krishna-Rāya's complete conquest of the Kalinga Kingdom, which, according to Peddana, ended with the burning of Cuttack. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. C. No. 87). Kondamarasayya probably died somewhere about 1525 A.D., for we have a grant in that year of Rāyasam Ayyapparasayya "in order that Kondamarasayya may attain bliss." He must have died by the time this record was engraved. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. C. 96). Ayyapparasayya was Governor of Kondavidu, as stated above, in the last days of Krishna-Dēva's reign. During Achyuta's time, he was Governor

of the Ghāndikota country. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 499 of 1907). He was also for a time the agent of the king in the Southern dominions about 1527 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 46; App. C. Nos. 286 dated in Kali 4628 and 290 dated in *Saka* 1449, Kali 4628, Cyclic year *Sarvajit*).

In 1530 A.D., one Chandrasēkharayya was governing the Śrī-Saila-Rājya as the representative (*avasaram*) of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*M.E.R.* 14 of 1915). Virabhadra-Mahārāya, son of Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa, was Governor of Maleya-Bennur-sīme in the present Mysore State. (See *ante. E.C.* XII, Davangere 107 dated 1516 A.D.). A grant by this prince for the merit of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, dated in *Saka* 1438, or A.D. 1516 A.D., has been traced in the Madaksira Taluk, in the present Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1918 quoting App. B. No. 74 which seems wrong). The province to which he was appointed was known as *Vīra Bhadra Rāyasīmai*. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 50; App. B. No. 466 of 1920 dated in *Saka* 1440 or A.D. 1518). One Bagnr Mallarasa or Mallarasayya, described as a "great minister" in certain records, is found mentioned in Chitaldrug dated in 1517 and 1518 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 70 and 73). Timmanna-Dannāyaka, son of Sāluva-Timma, was governing a part of the present Bangalore District, until shortly before his death. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 6 and 82, dated in 1524 A.D.). Vira-Immadi-Bhairasa-Vodeya was governing Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 39). His minister Sūrappa-Senabōva was manager of the Kalasa country in 1524 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 62). Mangalūru-Bārkakūru-rājya was governed by Ratnappodeya of the family of Baicha-Dandāhipa in 1512 A.D. and 1515 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 42 and 54 of 1901). In 1425 A.D., one Vitharasa-Odeya was in charge of this province. (*Ibid* No. 150). Sāluva-Immadi-Dēva-Rāya was governing the Haiva, Tulu and Konkana provinces from his capital at Gersoppe. Sāluva-Nāyakkar, a scion of another Saluva family, was in charge of the

Tiruvadi-Sime, identified with Tiruvādi in the present South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1897, App. B. Nos. 117 and 118 dated in 1526 and 1526 A.D.). A number of inscriptions found in the Chingleput and Madura Districts and the Pudukkota State refer to one Sellappa Vira-Narasimha-nāyakkān. These are dated in 1510 and 1515 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 426; 1901, No. 233; 1906 No. 309; 1908, Nos. 91, 92 and 361). Mr. Krishna Sastri has identified him with Vira-Narasimha entitled *Sāluva-Dannāyaka* mentioned in one epigraph found at Urattur in the Chingleput District and with *Sālvany* or *Salvanyque* mentioned by Nuniz as the ruler of a large territory bordering on Ceylon. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 384; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 185, *fn* 1). Apparently he belonged to the Sāluva family of South Arcot and was the person against whom Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya led an expedition. He was in charge of Tiruvadirāja, or modern Travancore. (See below). There should have been many other chiefs and Provincial Governors, whose names inscriptions do not record but are referred to, in the *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishnarāja-vijayamu*, though not in all cases by their names.

According to an inscription at Siddhalingamadam in South Arcot District, one Taranikka Mangarasaiyyan was governor of Tiruvadirāja in the Cyclic year *Srīmukha* (*Saka* 1436=1514 A.D.). (*M.E.R.* 1910, App. B. No. 426 of 1909). He is probably the Karnika Mangarasa, son of Hariyappa, a member of the Sāluva family, who is descended as Viceroy of the king in Tiruvādirāja. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 51; App. C. 13, dated in *Saka* 1435, or A.D. 1513; see also App. B. 307 and 319 and App. C. No. 184). This would suggest that Travancore formed a province of the Vijayanagar Empire at this period. Another was Sāluva Tirumalayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, of the family to which Sāluva Narasimha I belonged, who was governor of part of the modern Guntur

District (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 80, App. B. Nos. 754 and 756 dated in 1543 and 1544 referring to grants previously made to him in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by his minister Timmarasaiya). Trimbicara, who is mentioned as a provincial chief by Nuniz as having joined Krishna-Dēva-Rāya before the battle of Raichur, has been identified with Tryambaka-Udaiyar, son of Tipparasa-Udaiyar, the governor of Muluvaī country. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. Nos. 138 and 140 dated in *Saka* 1455 which is a mistake for *Saka* 1445 and *Saka* 1444 or A.D. 1522 and 1523). Another officer of Krishna-Dēva was Adappattu Vaiyappa Nāyaka, who is referred to in a record at Tiruppakuli (Chingleput District) dated in the Cyclic year Vishu (= *Saka* 1444) or 1523 A.D. Another subordinate was Mahāmandalēsvara Ālamandala Sarvayyadēva-Chōda-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a record from the Guntur District, dated in *Saka* 1445 or A.D. 1523. He was apparently a divisional governor in the Vinukonda-Sīma. Another feudal chief of Krishna-Dēva was Ādiyappa-Nāyakkar, who has been identified with Ādappanayque of Nuniz. He is probably the same as Adapi-Nāyaningāru, mentioned above. His brother Sīnappa-Nāyakkar was also a subordinate chief. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66, App. C. 246). Ādiyappa is called an officer of the door (*Vāsaḷ*). Apparently he was originally employed in the king's Palace. Allasāni-Peddana, the king's Poet Laureate, was also a provincial governor, having charge of Karivāchchi-sīma, included in the present South Arcot District. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 623 dated in 1442, Pramāthi, or A.D. 1520-21). A further reference to him will be found below.

A record dated in *Saka* 1440 or 1518 A.D. which comes from Piranmalai in the Rāmnad District discloses the name of another subordinate chief, Ponnambalanātha Tondaimānar, who, among other titles, claims the one of "he who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days."

Tiruvadi-Sime, identified with Tiruvādi in the present South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1897, App. B. Nos. 117 and 118 dated in 1526 and 1526 A.D.). A number of inscriptions found in the Chingleput and Madura Districts and the Pudukkota State refer to one Sellappa Vira-Narasimha-nāyakkan. These are dated in 1510 and 1515 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 426; 1901, No. 233; 1906 No. 309; 1908, Nos. 91, 92 and 361). Mr. Krishna Sastri has identified him with Vira-Narasimha entitled *Sāluva-Dannāyaka* mentioned in one epigraph found at Urattur in the Chingleput District and with *Sālvanay* or *Salvanyque* mentioned by Nuniz as the ruler of a large territory bordering on Ceylon. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 384; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 185, *f.n* 1). Apparently he belonged to the Sāluva family of South Arcot and was the person against whom Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya led an expedition. He was in charge of Tiruvadirājya, or modern Travancore. (See below). There should have been many other chiefs and Provincial Governors, whose names inscriptions do not record but are referred to, in the *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishnarāya-vijayamu*, though not in all cases by their names.

According to an inscription at Siddhalingamadam in South Arcot District, one Taranikka Mangarasaiyyan was governor of Tiruvadi-rājya in the Cyclic year *Srīmukha* (*Saka* 1436=1514 A.D.). (*M.E.R.* 1910, App. B. No. 426 of 1909). He is probably the Karnika Mangarasa, son of Hariyappa, a member of the Sāluva family, who is descended as Viceroy of the king in Tiruvādirājya. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 51; App. C. 13, dated in *Saka* 1435, or A.D. 1513; see also App. B. 307 and 319 and App. C. No. 184). This would suggest that Travancore formed a province of the Vijayanagar Empire at this period. Another was Sāluva Tirumalayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, of the family to which Sāluva Narasimha I belonged, who was governor of part of the modern Guntur

District (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 80, App. B. Nos. 754 and 756 dated in 1543 and 1544 referring to grants previously made to him in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by his minister Timmarasaiya). Trimbicara, who is mentioned as a provincial chief by Nuniz as having joined Krishna-Dēva-Rāya before the battle of Raichur, has been identified with Tryambaka-Udaiyar, son of Tipparasa-Udaiyar, the governor of Muluvaī country. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66 ; App. B. Nos. 138 and 140 dated in *Saka* 1455 which is a mistake for *Saka* 1445 and *Saka* 1444 or A.D. 1522 and 1523). Another officer of Krishna-Dēva was Adappattu Vaiyappa Nāyaka, who is referred to in a record at Tiruppakuli (Chingleput District) dated in the Cyclic year Vishu (= *Saka* 1444) or 1523 A.D. Another subordinate was Mahāmandalēsvara Ālamandala Sarvayyadēva-Chōda-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a record from the Guntur District, dated in *Saka* 1445 or A.D. 1523. He was apparently a divisional governor in the Vinukonda-Sīma. Another feudal chief of Krishna-Dēva was Ādiyappa-Nāyakkar, who has been identified with Ādappanayque of Nuniz. He is probably the same as Adapi-Nāyaningāru, mentioned above. His brother Sinappa-Nāyakkar was also a subordinate chief. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66, App. C. 246). Ādiyappa is called an officer of the door (*Vāsāl*). Apparently he was originally employed in the king's Palace. Allasāni-Peddana, the king's Poet Laureate, was also a provincial governor, having charge of Karivāchchi-sīma, included in the present South Arcot District. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 623 dated in 1442, Pramāthi, or A.D. 1520-21). A further reference to him will be found below.

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He was the chief of Arantangi in the Tanjore District, not far away from Pudukkōtai. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 43; App. C. No. 201). Another chief was Tirumala-Nāyaka, on whose behalf Sevvappa-Nāyaka, his Dalvai, made a grant in 1522 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 44; App. C. No. 145). This Sevvappa has been identified with Chevva or Chinna-Chevva-Nāyaka who later became the progenitor of Nāyak family of Tanjore. He is said, both in inscriptions and in literary works, to have become Viceroy by reason of his relationship with the Royal family. He had married a younger sister of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, brother of Krishna-Dēva. (*Ibid.*) Vīrayya-Dannāyaka-Udaiyar is described as a general of Krishna-Dēva in a record dated in 1511 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 40; App. C. No. 213). Arasaram Dēmarayya was governor of Ghandikōta-sīma. (*Ibid.*, App. C, Nos. 402-3 dated in 1526 A.D.). He was succeeded in the governorship of that fort in 1530 A.D. by Rāyasam Ayyapparāsayya (*Ibid.* No. 401), who, as governor of Udayagiri, commanded Ghandikōta as well. Vairava-Nāyanār Vijayālayadēva and his father Palli-Kondaperumāl, who affect many titles of curious interest, were chiefs in charge of portions of Tanjore and Rīmnaḍ. Their ancestors appear to have taken part in the ancient Chōla-Pāndya wars. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 14, 29 and 30 dated in 1522 and 1526 A.D.). One Lingarasu-Odeya was Viceroy of Barakuru in 1525 A.D. He was succeeded by Yatirāja-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1927, Para 83; App. C. No. 368).

Yatirāya-Vodeyar was governor of Barakur in 1526 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Page 24). Bēlūr was in the charge of one Singappa-Nayaka in 1519 (*E.C. V.* Bēlūr 59; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 118). Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja-Odeyar was governing Mugur. Grants made by him in 1519, 1521 and 1528 have been found in this State. (*Ibid.*). Timmanṇa-Odeya was in charge of Channapatna-sīme between 1513 A.D. and 1523 A.D. (*Ibid.*; see also

E.C. IX, Channapatna 1516). Various minor chiefs are mentioned in certain other records. (See *M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 98; *M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 93).

Immadi Basavappa-Odeya, entitled *Bhujapratāpa*, was another General of Krishna-Dēva. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. B. No. 457). Chandrasēkharayya was the Governor of Srīsailam during the period. His gifts to the temple there, are recorded in certain inscriptions dated in 1529 and 1530 (*M.E.R.* 1915, App. C. Nos. 15 and 14). As he calls himself the son-in-law of Dēmarasayya, he must have married a grand-daughter of Kondamarasayya, one of whose sons was Dēmarasayya, Governor of Penukonda (See Conquest of Ummattūr above). The record dated in 1529 states that Chandrasēkharayya installed stone-statues of Krishnarāya, Dēmarasayya and himself in the Mallikārjuna temple at Srīsailam, but these are not now traceable there. (*Ibid*, Para 48).

If the *Rāyavāchakamu* is to be believed, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after his capture of Sivasamudram, turned his attention to the occupation of certain parts of the Bijapur territory, including Raichur, Mudkal, Adoni and other places. In mentioning these places, the poem agrees with Ferishta, but it is doubtful, as already suggested, whether this part of the story is true, especially in view of what Nuniz definitely asserts in this connection. However this might have been, there is no doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next concentrated his mind on the driving out of the combined forces of the Gōlkonda and Orissa from his territories to the south of the Krishna. In mentioning this invasion of the East Coast, Nuniz mentions that he was drawn to it by what he read in what he calls the "testament" of "king Narsynga, whose minister his (Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's) father Narsenayque had been," in which he had left instructions that whoever might succeed him should capture the

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War against the combined Muhammadan Chiefs and Pratāpa-Rudra, King of Orissa. Capture of Udayagiri, Kondavida, etc., 1513 A.D.

three fortresses of Udayagiri, Raichur and Mudkal which had been "in revolt against him" and which "he had not himself taken, because time failed him." Seeing this testament, he adds, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya saw how badly his predecessors had acted in what had been enjoined on them and at once prepared armies to proceed against them, the first to be attacked being Udayagiri. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* indicate that the aggressions of the combined Gōlkonda and Orissan forces into the Vijayanagar territory south of the Krishna had increased rather than decreased during the decade that had elapsed since the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I. Though Īsvara beat off the Bidar forces from Kandakur and rivers of blood had run at the battle he fought, both the Muhammadan and Orissan forces appear to have taken advantage of the weak reign of Vīra-Narasimha II and re-occupied all the Vijayanagar territories to the south of the Krishna. The determined warfare of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to subjugate the Gōlkonda and Orissan kings shows the lengths to which these monarchs should have gone in their re-conquest of these territories. The two Telugu works named above, indeed, make specific mention of the atrocities that had been committed by them in the areas they re-occupied, after, apparently, what should have been some severe struggle, in which they should have met with obstructions from the local governors and people. Before sounding the war drum, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have made elaborate preparations. During the first year of his reign, he got the local governors to maintain the full contingent of their troops or pay a heavy fine to the State. He examined his treasury, the main head of the receipts and expenditure of the State, and the army and its accoutrements. With the aid of Sāluva-Timma, his able minister, he made the necessary arrangements for the early movement of the troops. To create an *esprit de corps*

among the leaders, he invited the nobles from the eighteen different provinces of his kingdom and stood a dinner for them, at which the details of what was being undertaken were doubtless driven home to them. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next ordered the army to advance thirty miles into the enemy's territory and gather from there men, cattle, sheep and goats so that they may not be available to the enemy. This done, and after due provision had been made for the protection of the capital, he set out with his minister, army leaders, troopers and men from the different parts of his kingdom. Thus began the war, which, commencing with the reduction, as above said, of Sivasa-mudram and the Bijāpur fortresses, ended with the defeat of the Orissan king in his own territories. As Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was finishing his task of occupying the deserted fortresses of Bijāpur, news reached that the three rulers of Bijāpur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Gōlkonda had invaded the territory south of the Krishna and had been guilty of different kinds of atrocities. They had ten thousand horses and a thousand elephants. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, angry with the news of the excesses of the enemy, sent for one of his generals Pemmasani Rāmalinga, who presented himself before the king, and engaged to lead the forlorn hope. With 80,000 men (so says the *Rāyavāchakamu*), he "marched to the battle as to a marriage." After a short fight, the enemies lost 4,000 horses; next fell 4,000 more. Rāmalinga contrived to cross over to the tents, whose ropes he cut and gave the alarm signal as promised. On this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's triumphal band struck and his grand army of elephants, 60,000 horse and 500,000 infantry, with the king himself seated on his elephant pressed forward. With this, the river Krishna rose in floods. The enemy's elephants could not bear the fierceness of the attack and the summer sun and fled to the river side and fell into the water. The troops followed suit, but most of them

lost their lives in the flood. Just a third of the combined army remained on the southern side of the river and they escaped as best they could on elephants, barges or otherwise. Most of the elephants could not be persuaded to leave the river and their mahouts fled for their lives, leaving the animals to themselves. The rout of the Muhammadan forces was thus complete and the booty was large. The enemy's many elephants, horses and camp equipage fell into the hands of the king and they were duly gathered in. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next held a court and received the congratulations of ministers, generals and court poets.

The whole of this part of the campaign is not even whispered in Nuniz's *Chronicle* nor in any of the numerous inscriptions of the period of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. But they are graphically set down in the two Telugu poems above-mentioned, and but for them we would have lost all knowledge of it. Apparently, there was an alliance between the three allied Muhammadan potentates and the Orissan king, patched up by the agents of the former—two of whom Venkōji and Dādōji are named in the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*--in order to put down the rising power of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. They had mutually agreed upon a definite course of action. According to this pre-arranged plan, got up largely through the aid of news obtained by means of espionage, which appears to have been in full swing at the time, the Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Gōlkonda and Bidar forces were to take the field in the earlier part of the campaign and aggressively carry on the warfare into the territories of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and if they suffered defeat, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was sure to cross the Krishna into the territories of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa, (1497-1540 A.D.) when he was to take the field against the Vijayanagar king and beat him back. With this plan in view, the Muhammadan monarchs had garrisoned

all their frontier fortresses and stored large quantities of provisions and ammunition in them. They had also issued strict rules in regard to the entry of strangers into their territories, a system of sealed passports being introduced. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who had doubtless a correct idea of what had been done by the combined Muhammadan chiefs, did not pursue them beyond the Krishna. Taking the advice of his ministers, he desisted from further action against them for the moment. While waiting for the cessation of the rains and the floods, he prepared himself for the reduction of the fortresses of Udayagiri, Kandakūr, Kondavīdu, Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunikonda in the possession of the Gajapati king. The two poems do not furnish us any information in regard to the capture of Udayagiri. Here Nuniz's *Chronicle* fills a useful rôle. Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya moved an army consisting of 34,000 foot and 800 elephants against it and laid siege to it. There were, according to Nuniz, only 10,000 foot and 400 horse in it, it requiring no more to defend it. The fortress being of great strength, it could not be taken except by being starved out. The siege is thus described by Nuniz :—

“The king laid siege to it for a year and a half, in which time he made many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress. The place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time; and in this place he made a broad road, and many others also, so that he could come close to the fortress. And he took it by force of arms, and in it captured an aunt (some say uncle) of the king of Orya, who was taken captive and carried off with all the courtesy that he could show her, having her liberty; and he took her along with himself.”

The “aunt” referred to, by Nuniz, as having been captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at this place was really

an "uncle." According to Kannada and Telugu inscriptions found on the Udayagiri hill, among the persons captured was one named Tirumala-Rautarāya (Rāhut-tarāya), which name has been misread "Tirumala-Rāghavarāya" and "Tirumala-Kantarāya." He is described in them as an uncle of king Pratāpa-Rudra. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41, of which the last two are dated in 1514 A.D.).

The fall of Udayagiri did not satisfy the king. He sent for Sāluva-Timma and bade him see how well he had fulfilled the testament of king Narasiṃha but added he was not "content with such a trivial victory, for he desired to go forward a hundred leagues into the kingdom of Orya." He accordingly ordered him to get ready provisions and pay fully the troops, their salaries.

Krishna-Rāya next tried his attention to Kandakūr, which fell. Then he pushed on to Kondavīdu and laid siege to it. The *Rāya-vāchakamu* states that it surrendered within 36 hours. But Nuniz's account is entirely different. Being an important city at the time of the Orissan king, he advanced to its relief with 1,300 elephants, 20,000 horse and 500,000 foot-soldiers. On this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya proceeded with the main army against him and a river separated him from the advancing Orissan forces. He sent word to the Gajapati king that he would retreat two leagues from the river, so that the enemy forces might cross the river unmolested and then join battle. The Gajapati king, without heeding the message, made ready to give battle. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on seeing this determination, forthwith himself crossed the river—about 12 miles off Kondavīdu, but not yet identified—with all his forces and elephants. There were many encounters in the crossing of the river and the losses on both sides were heavy. Despite this severe fighting and the opposition he met with, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya successfully crossed the river and on the bank

fought so bravely that he defeated the Orissan king and put him to flight. The enemy lost many horses and elephants. Next, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned back on the fortress, before which he had left a sufficiency of forces to keep up the siege and prevent the beleaguered citizens from fleeing to the coast. The pent-up forces offered a stout resistance and the siege lasted two months, at the end of which the fortress fell. It was evidently taken by escalading its walls. At Kondavidu, Krishna-Rāya captured the "celebrated Kasavapātra" who had opposed him. (*Manucharitramu* I, 37). The capture of this general who was evidently the defender of the place and prince Virabhadra who was with him is also mentioned in *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (Canto I). This poem further states, as a well-known fact, that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya having caught Prince Virabhadra—son of Pratāpa-Rudra—alive, with great kindness spared him his life. (*Karunāmati gāche jagatprasiḍḍhigan*). According to the Kondavidu and the Māngalagiri records (see *E.I.* VI, 230; 108), the capture of Kondavidu should have occurred on 12th day of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* in *Saka* 1437, corresponding to 23rd June 1515 A.D. In view of what is mentioned in certain other records found at Tiruvannāmalai, Kālāhasti and Amarāvati (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196; *M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 272), there were many others taken as prisoners of war besides Kasavapātra and Prince Virabhadra. Among these were Naraharipātra, the son of Kumāra Hammīra-Mahāpātra, evidently another Gajapati prince; Rāchirāja of Pusāpādu, identified by Mr. Krishna Sastri with the village of the same name, seventeen miles west of Bāpatla, in the present Guntur District; Batachandra-Mahāpātra of the west; Mallukhān and Uddandākhān of Rāchūru (Raichur), of whom the former has been identified with Kutub-Malka mentioned in the *Kalāpūrnodayamu* as having been defeated at Kondavidu by the

Nandyāla chief Nārapārāja, who was one of the generals of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 178 *f.n.* 4). Of the nobles and feudatory chiefs, Prince Virabhadra is referred to in these records as Virabhadrarāya and Virabhadrasēna and Kasavāpātra as Kasavāpātra of Janyāla. Apparently, these chiefs and nobles had all combined their forces at Kondavīdu and offered the utmost resistance possible. No wonder, too, that it took some months to take it. The presence of the two Muhammadan generals shows the close co-operation that existed between Ādil Shāh, King of Bijapur, and Pratāpa-Rudra, in this war. Prince Virabhadra subsequently became a provincial governor in the Mysore country under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and did not commit suicide, as stated by Nuniz. (See under *Ministers and Governors*). Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave the command of the place to his minister Sāluva-Timma, so that he himself might freely go forward in pursuit of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Orissan king. Sāluva-Timma, however, appointed one of his brothers to it. The *Rāyavāchakamu*, on the other hand, mentions one Kondamayya (identified with Rāyasam Kondamarasu) as being ordered to garrison the place. It is possible that Sāluva-Timma's brother was in administrative charge, while Kondamayya was in military command of the fortress.

The next place to be taken, according to Nuniz, was Kondapalli, which, though not mentioned by the *Rāyavāchakamu*, is confirmed by the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*. Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya rapidly took all the country that lay on his march and suddenly appeared before Kondapalli, when he was least expected there. That city was the capital of that part of the kingdom and was, adds Nuniz, the seat of all the local chiefs. The siege began and lasted three months, which shows the nature of the resistance offered. But the force of mere numbers told in the end where the force of arms

failed. In the fortress were found many people of high rank whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya took captive, "amongst whom was a wife of the king (of Orissa), and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom," all of whom he sent by road to Vijayanagar. We learn from Ferishta that the son referred to was Rāmachandra-Dēva. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, 354-371). Among others taken prisoners of war here and pardoned were, according to the Kālāhasti record, Prahararāja-Sirāschandra-Mahāpātra, Bodajanna-Mahāpātra and Bijjilikhān. Many transformations of the first of these names occur in other Tamil records (see *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 511; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196 and *M.E.R.* No. 1904. 125), but as Mr. Krishna Sastri has pointed out, there can be no doubt they refer to one and the same individual, Prahararāja, whose name in the form *Praharēsvara* occurs in the *Āmuktamālyada*, where he is spoken of as having been in charge of Kondapalli at the time it was besieged by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 179; *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto III, Colophon). Bijjilikhān was evidently a Muhammadan general either in the service of the Gajapati king or had been sent by the Kutabshāhi king of Gōlkonda to defend Kondapalli, which at that time was under the joint protection of the Gajapati and Gōlkonda kings (Sewell, *A forgotten Empire* 134), and there was a treaty subsisting between them at the time.

According to the *Rāyavāchakmu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, Vinukonda next surrendered. One Bhāskarayya (otherwise known as Rāmaya Mantri Bhāskara) was placed in charge of it. Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunikonda followed suit and were garrisoned by Virabhadrayya and Ayyalayya. Among other fortresses taken on this occasion were Addanki, Tangeda, Kelavaram and other strongholds, situate in the modern districts of Nellore and Guntur, some being then in the territories of the Gajapati king and the others in those of the

Kutbshāhi king of Gōlkonda. (Sewell, 132-136). To these, the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* adds others which Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks were taken in the next advance made by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 177, *f.n.* 8). According to the two Telugu works referred to above, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next marched into the territories of the Ahmadnagar (*i.e.*, Ahmadabad, Bidar), the ally of the Gajapati, before he proceeded further into the Gajapati's own kingdom. According to Nuniz, however, after the capture of Kondavīdu, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya "went forward a hundred leagues (*i.e.*, 300 miles) into the kingdom (of the Gajapati king) finding no one to bar his progress till he got to Symamdary," *i.e.*, Simhādri, modern Simhāchalam, near Vizagapatam town. It seems probable that the Telugu works are correct in their mention of a detour into the Bidar chief's dominions, before Krishna-Dēva-Rāya reached Simhādri. Apparently, he met little or no opposition after the fall of Kondavīdu, and this should have helped him to turn momentarily to disable the Bidar chief, especially as he would likely enough prove a thorn in his side if he proceeded further without inflicting a blow on him. Accordingly, to avoid being hemmed in between the Bidar and the Gajapati's forces, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya advanced on Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Bidar chief. The outskirts were easily captured and a pitched battle was fought outside the city, the enemy losing 2,800 of his cavalry. The victory was so complete that the troops which garrisoned the fort inside the city voluntarily evacuated it and retreated into the interior. The fortress was demolished and its site was ploughed and sown with castor-seeds—a just retribution, it would seem, for the atrocities committed by the Bidar forces in the Vijayanagar territories. This done, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned his attention to the Gajapati's dominions once again. His able minister, Sāluva-Timmā, was not for a further

advance, for fear of an attack on the flank. But Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would not desist his impetuous march. While descending the ghāt—the Eastern Ghāts—he was attacked by one Chitapra (Chitāp-Khān), who had in 1503 recovered Warrangal from the Muhammadans (See *M.E.R.* 1902, Para 7, Appendix B. No 108) and restored the Hindu dynasty, and had apparently been befriended by the Gajapati king. A severe fight ensued, Chitapra's forces were soon hemmed in between two detachments of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and practically annihilated. Chitapra lost 23,000 of his archers and 4,000 horse and was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya detached 30,000 of his own troops to guard the passes and marched on rapidly through the Gajapati's kingdom, conquering as he advanced, until he reached Pottunūri-Sinhādri, *i.e.*, Sinhādri near Pottunūru, both places being not far away from the modern town of Vizagapatam. He laid siege to the place, where apparently, according to the Telugu works quoted above, the Gajapati king had his palace. (Pottunūru has even now the air of a large deserted town about it and its mounds, if excavated, may throw light on its past. See *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, 228-229 and 230). It is mentioned in Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu* (l. 37) as one of the places occupied by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Local tradition confirms this statement. Nuniz mentions the name of the place Sinhādri as "Synamdary," which is identified by Mr. Sewell with "Rajahmundry," which is a patent error. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 319, *f.n.* 1). Nuniz describes it as a large city (local tradition states that it included in those days Bhogāpuram, close by) and adds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya halted in it for six months, waiting for the king of Orissa. He then writes:—

" He (Krishna-Dēva-Rāya) sent many messages to say that he was waiting for him in the field, but he never came. And

in this city, he did many works, and gave alms to the temples, and erected therein a very grand temple to which he gave much revenue. And he commanded to engrave on it an inscription which says:—' Perhaps when these letters are decayed, the King of Orya will give battle to the King of Bisnaga. If the King of Orya erases them, his wife shall be given to the smiths who shoe the horses of the King of Bisnaga.'

While the giving of "alms to the temples" has been found to be true, the erection at Simhādri of "a very grand temple" seems incorrect. The time of "six months" would have been insufficient for the purpose. The "very grand temple" referred to is probably the famous temple of Narasimha, from which the hill takes its name, to which, it is known, from inscriptions actually to be seen in it even to this day, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made handsome gifts. As regards the contents of the inscription engraved in the temple, no such record as is mentioned by Nuniz has been found in it. Probably Nuniz is referring to the pillar of victory which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have put up at Pottunūru, not far away from Simhādri. According to Allasāni-Peddana, the Court Poet, who, if we are to believe the *Rāyavāchakamu*, accompanied Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in this expedition of his against the Orissan king, this pillar of victory is said to have had engraved on it the titles and conquests of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*Manucharitramu* I, 38). This pillar, it would seem, was about the height of a palm-tree and was, it is stated, set up at Pottunūru with great assiduity by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya while he was at the place. It had on it engraved, says the poet, all the great conquests and titles of the king written in such a manner that the hosts of divine beings who got down from the high heavens to witness the festivals held in honour of the Lord of Simhādri read over afterwards what was engraved on it (the pillar) by applying again and again

the black-ink of discredit that the Kalinga king had sustained (by his cowardice in not meeting Krishna-Dēva-Rāya on the battle-field). Whether it contained the insulting injunction mentioned by Nuniz is more than can be said, in view of the non-discovery so far of the pillar itself at Pottunūru, which, however, has not so far been explored with the care that it requires. However this may be, the fact of a pillar of victory having been set up at Pottunūru must be conceded as it is not only mentioned by Nuniz and Peddana, the poet, but also in the *Āmuktamālyada*, the *Rāyavāchakanu*, the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, and numerous inscriptions found in different parts of Southern India. The inscriptions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya found in the Simhāchalam temple record his conquests and gifts by himself and his queens but mention neither the fact of his having set up a pillar of victory at Pottunūru nor his well-known *biruda Gajapati-Saptāṅgā-harana*, or "the destroyer of the army of the Gajapati king." The omission of the former may be due to the fact that the setting up of the pillar not far away at Pottunūru rendered it unnecessary to repeat it in the Simhāchalam records, while that of the latter might have been due to the fact that the *biruda* in question had not yet been invented, being indeed a product of the successes over the Gajapati king.

Nuniz, however, omits all mention of the events that should have preceded the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru. According to Allasāni-Peddana, among the places that were taken by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya on his march were Jammi (modern Jami), Gottam, Kanakagiri, Gautami (Gōdāvari, signifying Rajahmundry), Mādemulu (the hill regions) and Oddādi (Canto I, 37). The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* mentions that he devastated Vēlupukonda, razed to the ground Jallipalle, subdued Anantagiri and took Kambamettlu by surprise and struck terror into the mind of the Utkala king. (See

Canto I; also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 138 and 140). The places mentioned in *Manucharitramu* are, except for Kanakagiri, a fortified town in the present Raichur District, Rajahmundry, and Oddādi, not to be confused with *Vaddādi* in the Vizagapatam District, in the Vizagapatam District. Those mentioned in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* are mostly in the Raichur, Nalgonda and Warrangal districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The campaign evidently ended with the capture of Simhādri and Pottunūru and the setting up of a pillar of victory at the latter place. Though the poets Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi Timmana do not mention it, the capture of Pottunūru did not prove an easy affair. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* indicate in definite terms the tremendous odds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had to overcome before he succeeded in his attempt. It is clear from these two narratives that Pottunūru was the chief capital of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Kalinga king, on this side of the Langulya river. He had evidently concentrated all his forces there and had intended to oppose Krishna-Rāya here with the aid of his sixteen feudatories called Mahāpātras. Krishna-Rāya appears to have for once doubted the result of the struggle. He had been drawn far into the interior and he had no idea of what might befall him, if Pratāpa-Rudra won. A consultation followed and Sāluva-Timma, his chief minister, was equal to the occasion. He persuaded the Emperor that what could be won by a simple stratagem need not cost them a life. Sāluva-Timma hit upon the novel mode of despatching without delay chests full of gold and valuables to the sixteen Mahāpātras along with secret letters. The letters stated that the chests had been sent to them in accordance with the agreement between them and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and enjoined on them that they should act up to it and desert Pratāpa-Rudra during the battle. Some of these

chests of cash and valuables fell, as intended, into the hands of Pratāpa-Rudra's messengers, who took them to him. When he read the letters, he was, as expected, deceived into suspecting treachery and feared for his own safety. He therefore determined on flight and left stealthily his palace in the night and went a long distance northwards. On the morrow, the Mahāpātras heard of his flight and themselves left to their respective fortresses. The stratagem was thus completely successful. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya entered the city and taking possession of it, appointed his own guards over the Kalinga king's palace and the city. He followed this up by setting up the pillar of victory at the place. According to the *Manucharitramu*, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next attacked the hill regions and devastated it; reduced to ashes the Orissa country (Oddādi) and finally set fire to *Katakupuri*, which probably stands for Pūri, the famous capital of Cuttack. Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king, on this, in utter dismay ran for his life. (The text has the following:—*Mādemulu vrēlche noddādi masiyonarche katakupuri gālche gajarāju galagi paravan*). This version is supported by the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (Canto I) which refers to the fear engendered by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Utkala king who was in daily fear of his being attacked in Cuttack. (The text has *Katamunu ninka nanuchu nuthkula mahīshuda nudinammunu verachu nevvāniki nathadu rājamāthrunde Śrīkrishnarāyavibhūdu*). It would seem to follow from both these poems that Pottunūru was made the base for further attacks as far as the chief capital of Gajapati king, who after leaving Pottunūru had evidently sought shelter in it and was in hourly expectation of Krishna-Rāya's forces against it. On its burning and reduction by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, he seems to have taken to flight once again. The fact that Krishna-Rāya stayed for six months at Pottunūru shows that he was determined on the final subjugation of Pratāpa-Rudra.

That he did accomplish it then and did not come back again for it, on a fresh expedition, is made clear from the definite statement made by Nuniz that "after the king returned from Orya (*i.e.*, the Orissa country), he never again went thither." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 322.) Mr. Krishna Sastri takes a different view and states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya undertook another expedition to which the events set down above as having taken place after the capture of Pottunūru are ascribed by him. He has missed to note the very specific mention made by Nuniz that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya did not again pay any further visit to the Orissa country after he returned from the last expedition and he has accordingly by misapprehension suggested the identification of "Catuir," the place to which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next turned his attention, with "Cuttack." This point is referred to below. In support of his idea of a fresh invasion of Cuttack, he has sought the aid of the three records of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Simhāchalam temple. An examination of these three records, however, instead of supporting any such suggestion, yields a point against such a view. Two of these records are dated in *Saka* 1438, *Dhātri* (corresponding to 1515-16 A.D.), one recording a gift of jewels by the king, and the other, gifts of jewels jointly by the king and his two queens Chinnā-dēvamma and Tirumaladēvamma. The third record is dated in *Saka* 1441, *Pramādhī* (corresponding to 1519-20) recording the making over by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya of certain villages which had been made over to him by the Gajapati king. These villages should have been accordingly made over to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by the Gajapati king after the restoration of peace and the marriage of his daughter to his former enemy and then regifted by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the Simhāchalam temple. Such regifting need not necessarily have required the personal presence of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Simhāchalam, as is

presumed by Mr. Krishna Sastri, necessitating the further assumption of a fresh and "a regular raid on his capital." Such a suggestion has been necessitated by his proposed identification of Nuniz's "Catur" with "Cuttack" and seems wholly negatived by Nuniz's assertion that Krishna-Rāya did not again visit the Orissa country after he left Pottunūru on the conclusion of the last expedition. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, P.P. 179-181; *M.E.R.* 1900, App. A. Nos. 243-45.) The Chōlasamudram record, dated in 1517 A.D., states that Kondamarasayya followed the king in his invasion and it was he who heroically planted the pillars of victory at Pottunūru and Srī-Kūrmam. The getting up of the latter pillar is otherwise unknown and confirms the statement of Peddana that the burning of Cuttack was a fact and that after it a pillar of victory was also set up at Srī-Kūrmam, the capital of Cuttack. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 55, App. C. No. 87.)

According to Nuniz, after planting the pillar of victory at Pottunūru, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya went back to Vijayanagar, "where he rested some days." He then called for "the son of the king of Orya" (apparently Virabhadra) and asked him to show his skill in fencing by engaging with an expert in the art belonging to his court; the Prince, it is said, protested, "God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the royal blood," and saying this he slew himself. Pratāpa-Rudra, hearing this, grew suspicious of the fate of one of his wives who had been taken prisoner by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and opened negotiations with Sāluva-Timma, the minister of Krishna-Rāya, as to the best manner of bringing about peace and recovering her. Sāluva-Timma proposed that he should agree to give his daughter in marriage to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on which the latter "would restore him his wife and lands." This counsel was accepted and he sent ambassadors to Vijayanagar to arrange for the marriage. This over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya

restored Pratāpa-Rudra's queen and all the conquests north of the Krishna River. With this, the two kings "were friends" once again. Such is the story told by Nuniz. But the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* tell a different tale. According to these works, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said, while he was still at Pottunūru, to have sent for the minister of Pratāpa-Rudra and told him that he had invaded the country merely for victory and not for its permanent conquest, and that he was prepared to cede back the conquered area to his master and return to his own capital. This was made known to Pratāpa-Rudra, who returned to his capital, and apologised for having fought against Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The sixteen Mahāpātras followed suit and were duly forgiven. The marriage of Jagan-mōhini, daughter of Pratāpa-Rudra, with Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was next celebrated—it is made to appear that this was a voluntary affair on the part of Pratāpa-Rudra and not a condition of the treaty of peace as is made out in Nuniz's narrative—and the gifts to the son-in-law included valuable gems, ornaments, elephants, horses, etc., including the sixteen chests of treasure sent by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's minister to the sixteen Mahāpātras to deceive them. Pratāpa-Rudra also ceded to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the whole of the country south of the Krishna as the dowry of his daughter, which presumes that the entire conquered territory had been first returned to him by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as first promised by him. After the marriage was over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his own capital. A close examination of the two versions shows that while they disagree as to the place where the final treaty of peace between the two kings was concluded, they are entirely at one in regard to its main terms:—

(1) the marriage of Pratāpa-Rudra's daughter to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya;

(2) the cession by the latter of all his conquests to the north of the Krishna; and

(3) his actual evacuation of all ceded territories.

These may accordingly be accepted as the real terms of the peace which ended the war of conquest. It has been suggested that this marriage may have been one of the objects of the war against Pratāpa-Rudra. The idea underlying it was the desire to pay off an old score. According to a story in Orissa, Purushōttama, father of Pratāpa-Rudra, had claimed the hand of the daughter of the king of Kānchi, identified with the usurper Sāluva-Narasimha, which had been refused. He vowed to capture Kānchi and marry the girl to a sweeper. Kānchi was taken and Purushōttama determined on carrying out his threat. Before he could do so, the great festival of Dol Purnima occurred at Puri, at which Purushōttama had, according to an old-world custom, to act the sweeper before the god. While he was carrying out his duty, his minister brought the princess and placing her beside him, asked him to fulfil his vow by marrying her. Purushōttama, who had by now repented of his rash threat, accepted this solution of the difficulty. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have returned the compliment by insisting on marrying Purushōttama's grand-daughter. (J. Ramayya Pantulu's *Krishna-Rāya* in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, II, 215).

If we desire to picture to ourselves the successive expeditions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the East Coast, we may have to visualise it as follows with the aid of a map:—

The first expedition probably began in 1512 A.D., with Udayagiri as the objective. This covered the country almost due east of the capital, in what is now the Nellore District. This campaign appears to have been over by 1513 when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his capital and made grants to the two temples at Udayagiri as attested by inscriptions at

Udayagiri. One of these is dated 1514 A.D., cyclic year *Bhava*. Rāyasam Kondamarasayya became the governor of the province, and his grants are to be found in it. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 210; *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, II, No. 610). On his way back, Krishna-Rāya paid a visit to the god on the Tirupati Hill and had him bathed in gold (*Kanakābhishēka* with 30,000 gold pieces (*varāhans*) and made costly presents) on the occasion. Four inscriptions in Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil found at Tirumalai give a graphic description of his pursuit of Pratāpa-Rudra and his capture of Udayagiri. These are all dated in *Saka* 1436 and fix his return in 1514 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Nos. 53 to 55). Krishna-Rāya's return to Vijayanagar was marked in 1514 A.D. by the founding of the Krishnaswāmi temple in which he installed the image of Bālakrishna he brought with him from Udayagiri. This is marked by an inscription in that temple. The Ahōbālam and Srīsailam inscriptions combined together show that the king stayed at his capital for a short time only before starting against Kalinga. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. C. 64 dated 1515-6 A.D.; App. C. No. 18 dated 1516 A.D.). In the same year (1514 A.D.), he also began the construction of the House of Victory and the Hazara and the Vithalasvāmi and Rāmasvāmi temples at the capital. Inscriptions at these places show that they were begun in 1514 A.D. Nellore continued a Vijayanagar possession during the rest of the reign, as is attested to by inscriptions found in it mentioning grants made in his name. (*C.P.* No. 169 of Nellore dated 1515 A.D.). He should have counted the victory a great and memorable one to have thus commemorated it. The second expedition, which began about 1514 A.D., covered the country north-east of the capital, over parts of the present Kurnool, Guntur and the Kistna Districts. Many strongholds were taken and the campaign ended at Bezvada, from where Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his capital. The enemy was concentrated at Kondavidu, where he was severely beaten. Prince Virabhadra and general Kasavapātra were among those taken prisoners. The fall of Kondavidu occurred in 23rd June 1515 A.D. Inscriptions dated in Krishna-Rāya's reign found at Pētur in the Gudivada taluk, Kistna District; Mēduru in the Tanuku Taluk, Kistna District; and Srīsailam in the Kurnool District attest to the victories obtained by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in this campaign. The

first of these is dated 1515 A.D. and the second and third in 1516 A.D. Appayya and Gopayya, nephews of Saluva Timma, distinguished themselves in the war and were appointed to the charge of Kondavidu and Gooty respectively. (See *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, II, 234 D; 335 E; *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 18; *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 19). After his conquests, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, according to one of these records, visited the Amarēsvara temple at Dhairanikōta and made gifts there and then went to the Sriparvata where he constructed *mantapas* in the Car street. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 18). The visit to the Amarēsvara temple is also mentioned in an inscription dated in 1516 A.D. found at Tiruvannāmalai (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574), where also the king built various structures to commemorate his victories. (See below). After providing for the government and defence of the conquered area, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to Vijayanagar. The third expedition which began within six months of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's return to his capital in 1516 A.D. extended from beyond Bezwada, following nearly the modern Railway line as far as Cuttack, on the Mahānadi. It covered the present districts of Godavari, Vizagapatam, Ganjam and Orissa and was evidently intended to carry the campaign not only into the heart of the enemy's country but also to his very doors. This might be fitly called the Kalinga Campaign, in view of the fact that it aimed at the conquest of the Kalinga country and its ruler, who is so described in contemporary Telugu poems. (See, *e.g.*, *Manucharitra*, I. 38). So far Pratāpa-Rudra had evaded battle and his son and generals had been taken prisoners. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was, however, determined on his final conquest. Leaving Vijayanagar accordingly in 1516 A.D., he halted at Ahōbālam, in the Kurnool District, where he offered worship to God Narasimha there. From there, he passed on to Bezwada, at the end of *Saka* 1438 (A.D. 1516). Here he remitted, in the presence of the gods Anantasāyin and Mallikārjuna of the place, taxes amounting to 10,000 *varāhas* in favour of the Siva and the Vishnu temples in the Chōla country and directed that the order should be recorded in all the temples which received the benefit. The inscriptions referring to this grant are all dated in *Saka* 1439 or A.D. 1517, though they refer to what took place in *Saka* 1438 or A.D. 1516. Among the places where they have been found are:—Tirthanagari, Sēdamangalam

and Ēlavanasūr in the South Arcot District, Kannanur and Tiruppālathurai in the Trichinopoly District; and Tiruvisalur in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 288; *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 511; *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 125; and *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 74, the last of which fixes the limits within which the order was operative). This done, apparently a move to keep the people of these countries reconciled to his rule while he was away fighting outside of it, he went to Sri-kakulam near Masulipatam, where he worshipped god Sri-Āndhra Vishnu. It was while resting here that he received, as he tells us in his *Amuktamālyada*, the divine command to undertake that great work. Next, he resumed his advance and he fell on Kondapalli, where the chiefs and generals of Pratāpa-Rudra were collected with the generals of his ally the Kutb Shāhi King of Gōlkonda. The place was taken and the prisoners of war included one of the wives of the king, a prince and General Praharēsvara and others. These were sent off to the capital, and Krishna-Rāya marched on taking on his way many other strongholds until he reached Simhādri-Pottunūru, not far away from Vizagapatam. Here Pratāpa-Rudra awaited the arrival of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya evidently with his sixteen vassal-chiefs. A cunningly conceived and carried out stratagem created misunderstandings between Pratāpa-Rudra and his vassals and instead of giving battle they fled in opposite directions leaving everything before the enemy. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, jealous of honor in the hour of victory, respected the palace and put guards over it, while he took steps to pursue the enemy into Cuttack whither he had fled. The Orissa country was devastated and Cuttack was not spared. This done—apparently the campaign was a quick one—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his two queens then present at the place, made gifts to the Simhāchalam temple which are recorded in it in two inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1438, cyclic year *Dhatu* or A.D. 1517. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 243 and 245). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya also planted a pillar of victory at Pottunūru. This pillar has not been traced, though a stone called the *Rāchabanda* (King's Rock), alleged to be the pillar planted by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, is still pointed out at Bhōgapuram near Pottunūru. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presy.* III, 214). Besides the inscriptions at Simhāchalam, numerous other records attest to the conquests effected in this campaign. Among those are the records at Kālābasti, which he visited on his return

journey in *Saka* 1438 or A.D. 1516 and where he ordered the construction of a hundred-pillared mantapa and a big *gōpura* (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196); and at Chidambaram, which also he visited and where also he ordered the construction of the northern *gōpura*, said to be the best there. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 174; *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 175; *M.E.R.* 1913, No. 374).

To have carried three successive campaigns, ranging over a period of about four years and covering a country about 1,500 miles in length, and that hostile to him and disputing his progress at every stage, speaks highly of the careful organisation of resources, men and money, on the part of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. As the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* hints, all the vassal chiefs of the king appear to have joined in the prosecution of his great object of putting an end to the aggressions of the Gajapati king. (See *Sources*, 131, for a list of these vassal chiefs). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have personally commanded the expeditionary forces, ably seconded by Sāluva-Timma, who was evidently as great in war as in peace. Some inscriptional records, indeed, attribute the capture of Kondavidu to Sāluva-Timma and the king; nominating him to governorship seems to confirm this statement to some extent. A remarkable Mysore hero who apparently took part in the third and final campaign was one Dhananjaya, who is referred to in a lithic record which has been found at Bittugondanahalli, Hassan Hobli. (*E.C. V. Hassan* 13). This inscription is dated in *Saka* 1438, cyclic year *Dhatu*, or A.D. 1516, and registers the grant of Bittugondanahalli, renamed Dhananjaya-grāma as an *agrahāra* by a chief named Dhananjaya, who is described as the son of one Rāya-Odeya, who is spoken of as the son of Aliya-Timmarasa-Odeya. It would seem that Rāya-Odeya was a Dalavāyi in the army of king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and took part in the march from the banks of the Krishna at Bezwada against the Gajapati king and in the setting up of the pillar of victory (at Pottunūru and not on the banks of the Krishnavēni, as Mr. Rice has translated the passage). His son was Dhananjaya-Rāya-Odeyar, the donor of the grant, who apparently followed his father in the expedition and evidently greatly distinguished himself in the warfare of the time, and was on his return appointed the Amara-Padēya-Nāyaka of Hassan-*sthala*. His exploits during the march on Pottunūru from the banks of the

Krishna are thus described in a verse, which is an adaptation of one which occurs in a modified form in the *Bhōja-Prabandha* in connection with the deeds wrought by Asōka:—

“Where hast thou been wandering, Nārada? Here, in the earth, what is there wonderful? The oceans ran dry filled with the dust from Dhananjaya's victorious march; but why there was no fear for the smiter off of the wings of (mount) Mainaka was, because the waters were again filled up by the tears of the wives of the enemies of Nitasōka.”

Mr. Rice at the time he published this inscription, now nearly 27 years ago, did not—it is not by any means surprising—quite appreciate the meaning of what he called “this extraordinary verse,” which, he remarked, had “no apparent connection with the text except in containing the name Dhananjaya.” Knowing as we do now, the great war of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, in which Dhananjaya took part, we can see its real significance. Apparently he fought very hard and the nameless poet who composed the record compared him to Dhananjaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna), the great epic hero, to whom Sri-Krishna sang the famous *Gita*, and quietly appropriated, with but a few verbal changes, a famous verse from the work already named. The following is the original verse, as applied to Asōka, the great Buddhist Emperor:—

“Where hast thou been wandering, Nārada? Say, what is there wonderful in the Earth? Sambhu, the ocean, was turned to dry land by the dust from his victorious march; but it was filled up, the people in the Earth say, by the tears of the wives of his enemies, caused by their separation from their husbands bereft through Asōka.”

Dhananjaya, who appears as Nitasōka in the above-quoted verse, should have greatly distinguished himself to have deserved such a comparison. It cannot be all praise, without the smallest substratum of truth in it. Undoubtedly Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's expeditions against Pratāpa-Rudra seem to have been conducted on a scale commensurate with the genius of one who so successfully planned and executed the conquest of Raichur five years later.

These conquests on the East Coast made Krishna-Dēva-Rāya master of the whole of the Eastern sea-board up to about Bezwada. Beyond that point, the treaty of peace restored the *status quo ante*. As regards the governance of re-conquered provinces, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made suitable arrangements. To Udayagiri, he appointed Rāyasam Kondamarasayya, a number of whose grants dated in 1520, 1521 have been found at Kanda-kūr and other places in the present Nellore District (*Ins. in Madras Presidency*, II. 301, 594). To Kondavidu, he appointed Sāluva-Timma, who entrusted it almost immediately to his nephew Nāindla-Appa, who as Governor administered the Province. There is no doubt that he governed the province under the control of his uncle, the king's premier. (See *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 257 dated in 1521 A.D.; see also *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 242 dated 1520 A.D.). An inscription dated in 1515 A.D., which comes from Pērur in the Kistna District, states that that Nāindla Gōpa and Appa were brothers and nephews of Sāluva-Timma and greatly distinguished themselves. They obtained their offices from their uncle. Appa is said to have been the son-in-law of Sāluva-Timma. It is to him that the Telugu poet Mādayyagāri-Mallanna dedicated his poem *Rājasēkhara-Charitramu*. Gōpa, his brother, was the governor of Gooty. Gōpa's literary attainments are referred to below. But the possession of Kondavidu was not left undisputed by the Kutb Kuli Shāh, king of Gōlkonda. But to make the position clear, we may hark back a few years and sketch the history of its connection with the Kutb Kuli Shāh, the Sultan of Gōlkonda. He had, without provocation, taken several places (such as Rāyakonda, Dēvarakonda, etc.) in 1512 and had brought on, in 1513, an invasion of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Though the Muhammadan historian claims many successes (see Briggs' *Ferishta*, 354-371), there is no doubt that eventually he was

Settlement
of the
conquered
countries on
the East
Coast.

beaten off by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. At first, Kutb Kuli was successful. He defeated Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, so the Muhammadan historian records, at Pangal, and then marched on Kōvilkonda and took it. He next attacked Bellamkonda, but was stoutly defended by Sītāpati, Rāja of Kammamet (Kambampēta), who was eventually defeated. Most of the neighbouring Hindu chiefs rose to a man and called in Rāmachandra-Dēva, son of Pratāpa-Rudra, of Orissa, who held Kondapalli at the time and was ruling from there the surrounding country. Kutb Kuli, who had meanwhile returned to Gōlkonda, advanced with fresh forces and attacked Kammametta, which he took and put to the sword, every man, woman and child in the city. The Hindu chiefs, under Rāmachandra-Dēva, attacked him, however, at Palinchinur, where they were defeated. Kuli seized upon Kondapalli, Ellore and Rajahmundry. A treaty of peace between Kuli and the Orissan king fixed the Godāvāri as the Eastern boundary of Gōlkonda. Thus, Ellore and Bezwada passed into the hands of Kutb Kuli, who, however, had reckoned without his host in a third person, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya advanced to the rescue of the Hindus and Kutb Kuli marched to Kondavīdu. He was, however, forced to retreat, being attacked from Bellamkonda and Vinukonda. He reduced the first of these, though at great loss to himself. He then retired to Kondapalli. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya now attacked the Muhammadan garrison at Bellamkonda. Kutb Kuli now counter-marched, and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya raised the siege. Kutb Kuli next advanced on Kondavīdu and took it. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya detached a large force under "Seeva Roy" (probably Siva Rāya), his general and son-in-law. This induced Kutb Kuli to evacuate Kondavīdu and encamp on the banks of the Krishna. Seeva Roy occupied Kondavīdu. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next apparently engaged Kutb Kuli, whom he pursued. Kutb, however, defeated

him, says the Muhammadan historian, and he retired to Kondavīdu. He was followed by Kutb Kuli, who now invested Kondavīdu. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya yielded and agreed to become tributary. This story, if it relates to the wars of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (1514-1515) referred to in the account above given in connection with his second campaign against the East Coast countries, is a highly exaggerated and one-sided one. Even so, the Muhammadan historian has had to allow for the success attained by "Seeva Roy" against Kondavīdu. The above wars of Kutb Kuli cover the entire period of his twenty-one years' rule (1512-1534 A.D.) and it is probable that the occupation of Kondavīdu by the Vijayana-gar general "Seeva Roy" marks—this is no more than a mere guess, for it is difficult to reconcile the account of the Muhammadan historian with that told in the *Rāya-vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* and, more than these, in the inscriptions of the period engraved almost contemporaneously with the events as they occurred—its capture by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1515 A.D. The subsequent story of its re-capture could not have occurred until long after 1525 A.D. As we have seen above, Appa was governor until at least 1521 A.D. up to which there are records mentioning his grants. An inscription dated in *Saka* 1447 (or A.D. 1525) in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya has been found in the place itself. (*M.E.R.* 1890, page 2). This shows that it continued under his rule at least till then. It was probably about this time, if not five years earlier, that the attempt to retake Kondavīdu was made by the Muhammadans, as mentioned by Nuniz. Nuniz states that after the settlement of the "Catur" province, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya sent Sāluva-Timma, his minister, to Kondavīdu "to see directly to the land and its government." If the settlement of "Catur" occurred in 1518-19, the despatch of Sāluva-Timma to Kondavīdu should have come off in

about 1520 A.D. According to Nuniz, before Sāluva-Timma aimed at Kondavīdu, he met opposing his path, a Muhammadan General named "Mader Meluquo" whose identity it is difficult to establish, who, in that year, is said to have reduced Kondapalli and other places, on behalf of Muhammad Shāh Sultān. He had under him 69,000 men. Sāluva-Timma, with 200,000 men, "had very little fear of him." The Muhammadan General was not only defeated but his wife and son were all taken prisoners, while "the horses and elephants and much money and store of jewels," taken were all sent to king Krishna-Rāya. The prisoners were commanded to be put in prison, where, it is said, they died. Sāluva-Timma, who had meanwhile returned to the capital, "went back to his territories" and after he had stayed there some months and seen to its government and decided matters in dispute, returned to the King at Vijayanagar, by whom he was, we are told, "well received as being the principal person in the Kingdom."

According to a record found at Mālkapuram in the Kistna District, Kondapalli and other fortresses were apparently taken about 1531 A.D. by one Masanada Eli Kutumana Malka-Odeya, who is said to have reduced them on behalf of Muhammad Shāh Sultān, the Kutb Shāhi King. (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 151-152). This would seem to indicate that the provinces as far as the mouth of the Kistna continued in the dominions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the end of his reign, despite the attempt of the Kutb Shāhi king to retake it.

Reduction of
"Catur" on
the
Coromandel
Coast, 1518
A.D.

According to Nuniz, Krishna-Rāya prepared, after the conclusion of the peace with Pratāpa-Rudra and his marriage and the restoration of the territories beyond the river, for an attack on "Catur" which he describes as "the land of a Lord who had been in revolt for fifty years." In describing its situation, he adds that "this

land is on the Charamandel (*i.e.*, Coromandel) sides." Seeing that this campaign was undertaken after the conclusion of the peace with the Orissan and the marriage coupled with the restoration of his territories and looking to the situation of the country as described by Nuniz, "Catur" cannot be identified with "Cuttack" as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. Cuttack is on the Orissa Coast, while the place mentioned by Nuniz is said to have been on the Coromandel Coast. Considering that Nuniz further states that "one of the principal cities" in that country where the lord of the land was laid siege to by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was "surrounded with water," Mr. Sewell suggested the identification of the latter place with "Vellore in North Arcot, the old fort at which place is surrounded with a deep moat," this place, according to tradition, having been "captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from a Reddy Chief." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 321, *f.n.* 1). If this was the place besieged by the King, then the country of "Catur" may be modern "Chittoor," which is not far away from it. There is, however, no evidence so far that the chief of this "had been in revolt for fifty years," as narrated by Nuniz, unless he be identical with the chief Sāmbava-rāya, of Champakanagara (*i.e.*, modern Virinjipuram), not far away from Vellore. If the latter was the person, he had been subdued by prince Kampa and restored as long back as the middle of the 14th Century, *i.e.*, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. Vellore was, as a matter of fact, included in Padavur-kōttam, Padavur in the present Polur Taluk being Sāmbava-rāya's stronghold. (See *ante* under *Kampa*). No inscriptions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya have, however, been found at Vellore, though his inscriptions have been found at Virinjipuram, one dated in *Saka* 1432 (expired), cyclic year *Pramōdūta* (*i.e.*, 1511 A.D.) and another in *Saka* 1435 (expired), cyclic year *Srīmukha* (current), or A.D. 1535. (See *M.E.R.* 1887,

Nos. 51 and 52; also, S.I.I. I. Nos. 121 and 123, pages 132 and 133). Whether Vellore was the place besieged or not, there is no doubt that it was not Cuttack, as there was no need for a further expedition against it after the conclusion of peace with the Orissan King and as Nuniz specially adds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya never again went to the Orissan country after he returned from it at the close of his third and final campaign which ended in the attack on Cuttack itself. Whichever the place indicated by "Catur" (it may be, for instance, the Cuddalore country, where the town besieged may be Pālaiyam-kōttai, which is near the great Virānam tank and there is a large mud fort near it [see *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, 276]), there is no doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was bent on reducing it at any cost. Nuniz thus describes the siege:—

"Now at the time Crisna Rao attacked this City it was winter, for which cause the river that surrounded it was so swollen, and carried down so much water, that the King could do no harm to the place. And King Crisna Rao, seeing this, and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal (river) which had opposed itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. And this was done in a short time, since he had many soldiers and after the (new) water-courses were finished and brought to where the water should go he opened mouths in the river, the water of which very soon flowed out so that the bottom could be seen, and it was left so shallow that it enabled him to reach the walls of the City; and the river was thus diverted into fifty different beds. Inside the City were one hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand cavalry, who defended themselves and fought very bravely, but this availed little to prevent Crisna Rao from entering in a few days and slaughtering all of them. He found large treasures in this City, amongst others in ready money a million and six hundred thousand golden *pardaos*, besides jewels, and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the

capture of this land Crisna Rao divided it amongst many of his captains giving to each one what was necessary for him; and the chief who lived in the City and who was lord of the land was taken away captive and carried to Bisnagar, where he died in the King's prison." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 321-22).

By about the year 1520 A.D., Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had established peace at home and peace abroad. The rebellion at Seringapatam had been quelled; Pratāpa-Rudra had been humbled; and the Gōlkonda Sultān had been beaten and the country as far as the mouths of the Krishna retaken. A minor insurrection raised by the chief of Catuir had also been suppressed and his territory sequestered and divided among the nobles of the land. The Portuguese, on whom depended the supply of horses, had been befriended and they appear to have been as favourable to him as they were unfavourable to the hated "Moors." Internally, the large favours and gifts to temples and the abolition of unpopular taxation had won the good will of the people. Everything mentioned in the "testament" of Sāluva-Narasimha I had been fulfilled but the capture of Raichur and Mudkal, which still remained in the hands of the Bijapur Sultān. For forty long years they had been lost to Vijayanagar and even the efforts of Sāluva-Narasimha had not been attended with success. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had evidently set his heart on the reduction of these places and prepared for the campaign for at least a year since the subjugation of these places and when everything was ready, he was at a loss to find a ready reason for breaking the existing peace between the two countries. Sāluva-Timma, his astute minister, reminded him that as the subsisting treaty of peace had provided for the extradition of land-owners, debtors, revolutionary subordinates or criminals escaping into each other's countries and as there were many such land-owners and debtors, who were the king's subjects, and had sought refuge in the

War against
Bijapur, 1520
A.D.

Sultān's dominions, the king might demand their surrender, and on their not being delivered up by the Sultān, there would be good ground for breaking the peace.

Ostensible
cause of the
War. The
affair of "Cid
Mercar."

Now it so happened that one Cide Mercar (probably Siddi Marakkāyar), who had long enjoyed the confidence of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, had been entrusted by him with 40,000 *pagodas* for the purchase of horses at Goa, had left Vijayanagar, and failed to return to the capital within the expected period. It transpired that he had reached Pomda, within less than six miles of Goa, but from there had fled to Ādil Shāh, carrying with him the money he had brought. It was whispered that he had been sent for by Ismail Ādil Shāh, who had been induced, on the pretext that the Siddi was learned in the law and related to Muhammad, and put in charge of Dabull, to which place he repaired. On Krishna-Dēva-Rāya asking for his repatriation, Ādil Shāh protested he neither knew him nor had him near him. It was said that Siddi fled from the place, and had been murdered on the orders of Ādil Shāh, who had plundered him of the money. On learning this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya showed great indignation and held that the peace had been broken. He summoned a council of his great lords, to whom Ādil Shāh's letter was read aloud. As the reading of it concluded, the king declared that "without more ado they should make ready, since he was determined to take full vengeance." His councillors vainly advised that the amount was too petty for a war and that if even war was declared, the Siddi was sure "to keep well away from the army." On finding the king obdurate, they proposed that he should attack Raichur instead of Dabull, as the former had at one time belonged to Vijayanagar and had been lost to the Ādil Shāh and that if it was attacked, Ādil Shāh would be forced to defend it, and thus the

king would get an opportunity to take vengeance jointly both "on one and the other," i.e., on both Raichur and Ādil Shāh. The king considered this as sound advice and accepted it.

The affair of Siddi Marakkāyar was thus the proximate cause of the war against Ādil Shāh, though the true cause lay deeper. It was the desire to regain Raichur and Mudkal, which had originally belonged to Vijayanagar and had been lost to the Bijapur Sultān. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was thus not in possession of these two places when he went to war in 1520 A.D. This, at any rate, is the version of Nuniz, which seems both correct and natural. Ferishta, however, states that these two places were at the time in the possession of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and that Ismail Ādil Shāh moved his forces to "recover" them from him. As Mr. Sewell has justly remarked, Nuniz's version, which seems based on personal knowledge gained on the spot at the time the war took place, is entitled to greater weight than that of Ferishta, who wrote some sixty years later. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 151-154).

The true cause.

Simultaneously with his preparations for advancing on Raichur, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya took the precaution to notify his intended move to the Sultāns of Berar, Bidar, Golkonda and the Nizamshāh. This was done, says Nuniz, "out of great craftiness" and with a view "to reduce them to his side," for they hated Ismail Ādil Shāh as being "more powerful" than themselves. With whatever object done—it was doubtless a consummate political move—it had the desired effect, for they left Ismail to his fate. Some of these, indeed, even returned replies to the effect "that he was doing rightly and that they would assist him as far as they were able."

War notified to other Muhamma-dan Sultāns.

Advance of
the army to
Raichur.

Everything being, meanwhile, ready for the great advance, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya left his capital with an immense host in battle array. It was probably the month of February 1520, when the weather should have been intensely hot, while the route through the cotton plains to the battle-field was in the best of condition for the passage of troops, guns and baggage. Descriptions of the advance of his camp, of the great battle that followed at Raichur and how Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned what seemed a defeat into a signal victory and how he next turned his attention to the siege of Raichur and how he took and spared it should be read in the picturesque and animated narrative of the *Chronicle of Nuniz*, which could have been written only by an eye-witness of the events, so detailed is the story and so personal is the touch by which it is vivified. Kāma-Nāyak, chief of the guard, led the advance with 30,000 cavalry—archers, men with shields, musqueteers and spearmen—and a thousand horse and six elephants. After him went Trimbicāra (Triyambakarasa of Sivasamudram, Governor of Mālēnahalli-sīme) (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 25) with 50,000 foot and 2,000 horse and 20 elephants. After him went Timapanayque (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Timma, the Prime Minister) who had with him 60,000 foot, 3,500 horse and 30 elephants; and after him went Adapanayque (Adapanāyaningāru) with 100,000 foot, 5,000 horse and 50 elephants. Next came Condamara (Rāyasam Kondamarasayya, governor of Udayagiri province); next to him was Cornara (Kumāra), who had 80,000 foot, 2,500 horse and 40 elephants; after him came Ogemdraho (Govinda-Rāja, the brother of Sāluva-Timma), governor of the capital city, with one of his captains, who had 30,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 10 elephants. Then came three favourites of the king who had 40,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 15 elephants. The page who served the King with betel had with him 15,000 foot, and 200 horse, while

Comarberca (i.e., Kumāra Virayya of Seringapatam) had 8,000 foot, 400 horse and 20 elephants. The chiefs of Bankāpur and many other places made their way by other routes to the battle-field with 10 or 12 thousand men. The King had besides his guard of 6,000 horse, 40,000 foot, the pick of all his kingdom and 300 elephants. The army on the move should thus have numbered nearly a million men, including the camp-followers to be referred to below, the fighting men alone, numbering, according to Nuniz, at 736,000 with 550 elephants. The troops appear to have marched in eleven army corps, other troops from the interior districts joining them before Raichur. The troops were well accoutred, each after its fashion. The war elephants were fitted up with *howdahs* from which four men could fight on each side of them, the elephants being completely clothed and they having on their tusks knives fastened, well ground and sharpened, in order that they might do the utmost damage. Several cannon also were taken.

The camp was well provided with every requirement. Describing the camp followers, Nuniz writes:—

Nuniz's
description of
the camp
followers.

“I do not speak here of the washermen, who are numberless here—they wash clothes—nor of the public women, who accompanied the army; there were twenty thousand of them with the king during his journey. Any one can imagine the amount of baggage that such a large number of people would take. In the rear with the king, but always on the road in front of him, some ten or twelve thousand men with water-skins go seeking water, and place themselves along the road to give water to those who have no one to bring it to them; this is done so that none of the people should die of thirst. Three or four leagues in front of all this multitude go some fifty thousand men who are like scouts; they have to spy out the country in front, and always keep that distance; and on their flanks there are two thousand horse of the cavalry of that country. These are all bowmen, and they always advance on

the flanks of the scouts '.....' And with them a great number of merchants, besides many others who were already in advance with all supplies; so that wherever you may be you will at once find all you want. Every captain has his merchants who are compelled to give him all supplies requisite for all his people, and in the same way they carry all other necessaries."

Halt at
Malliabad.

The army thus formed and supplied, reached Malliabad, close to Raichur, where the King pitched his camp for resting awhile. Here his other forces from the interior joined him and then, at the appointed hour, the advance of the combined army was recommenced and the investment of Raichur began with Kāma-Nāyak, the chief of the guard, pitching his tents under its very walls, though the investment was a close one. The besieged, however, gallantly held 'out, the 200 heavy pieces of artillery they had with them helping them materially in keeping off the besiegers. At the end of three months, news arrived that Ismail Ādil Shāh had arrived with reinforcements.

Krishna-
Dēva-Rāya's
camp
described.

The King's camp lay to the east of the fort, where the fight was heaviest. The camp has been graphically described by Nuniz, who writes thus:—

"The tent of the king was surrounded by a great hedge of thorns with only one entrance, and with a gate at which stood his guards. Inside this hedge lodged the Brāhman who washes him and has charge of the idol that he always carries about with him, and also other persons who hold offices about the king's person, and eunuchs who are always to be found in his chamber. And outside this circle all around are his guards, who watch all night at fixed spots; with this guard are quartered the officers of the household; and from thence to the front were all the other captains in their appointed posts, according as each one was entrusted and ordered. Outside of all these people, in a camp by themselves, were the scouts of whom I have already spoken, whose duty it is to

patrol all night through the camp and watch to see if they can catch any spies. On the other side the washermen (who are those that wash clothes) were in a camp by themselves, and they were near to the place where they could best wash clothes.

"All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain's division has its market, where you found all kinds of meat, such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance; so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Bisnaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grains, Indian-corn, vetches (*munguo*, probably *moong*, green gram) and other seeds that they eat. Besides these things, which are necessities, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you wanted; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters. There were craftsmen also working in their streets, so that you saw they made their golden jewels and gewgaws, and you will find all kinds of rubies and diamonds and pearls, with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There were also to be seen sellers of cloths, and these were without number as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance. I do not know who could describe it so as to be believed, so barren a country is this Rachol and so sandy. It is a mystery how there should be an abundance of everything therein. Any one can imagine what grass and straw would be required each day for the consumption of thirty-two thousand four hundred horses and five hundred and fifty-one elephants, to say nothing of the sumpter-mules and asses, and the great number of oxen which carry all the supplies and many other burdens, such as tents and other things. Indeed no one who did not understand the meaning of what he saw would even dream that a war was going on, but would think that he was in a prosperous city. Then to see the numbers of drums and trumpets, and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike up their music as a sign that they are about to give battle it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and if it happened that a bird came flying along at the time when they made such a terrific noise it used to come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp, and

so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites, of which they caught many.

"But I cease to speak more of this because I should never finish."

Arrival of
Ismail Ādil
Shāh with
reinforce-
ments.

Ismail Ādil Shāh arrived with 120,000 foot, 18,000 cavalry and 150 elephants and a considerable artillery, by the aid of which latter he sought "to defeat the Rao of Narsynga," *i.e.*, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Having reached the river at the northern side, he pitched his camp and rested his troops, to see if Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would attack him there in his camp. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, did not move; he did not even indicate what he was going to do. Ankus Khān, one of the generals of Ismail, said that Krishna-Dēva "was only waiting for them to cross the river to at once fall upon them." Others said that he was "afraid" and was dispirited because of the memory of former defeats that had been sustained by his predecessors. The advice of these latter was to push forward and pass the river and offer battle. Ismail, impressed apparently by this counsel, mustered his troops and ordered them to get ready, as he desired to cross the river at once and advance to the attack. Ismail believed that his best course was to halt on the farther side and thence to send his troops to charge Krishna-Dēva's camp. He thought by so doing he would not be beaten and would not lose Raichur. "In this greedy resolve," as Nuniz terms it, he passed the ford to within nine miles of Krishna-Dēva's camp and he caused his own camp to be strengthened by large trenches, and commanded his artillery to take post in front, and he arranged the order of his positions and the manner in which they should behave if they were attacked by the enemy. His camp extended along the length of the river for the sake of the water, so that he might not be cut off from it by Krishna-Dēva.

Immediately Krishna-Dēva learned that Ismail had passed the river, he commanded all to make ready, but ordered that no movement should take place in his army till he should see how the enemy acted. When they brought him further news that the enemy had pitched his camp and strengthened his positions, he ordered a general advance of all his forces. He divided his army into seven wings. Kumāra-Virayya, the chief of Seringapatam, who was his father-in-law, begged the command of the van. He and his "thirty grown-up sons" were allowed to pitch their camp a league (3 miles) from the Ādil Shāh's tent. Krishna-Dēva next ordered all his troops to arm themselves, and at dawn of Saturday, the 20th May (1520), the day fixed for it "as a lucky day," he gave battle to the enemy. Nuniz describes the great battle in vivid language to which no summary could do adequate justice:—

The two armies get engaged in battle.

"Seeing that the dawn of Saturday was now breaking, the drums and trumpets and other music in the king's camp began to sound and the men to shout, so that it seemed as if the sky would fall to the earth; then the neighing and excitement of the horses, and trumpeting of the elephants, it is impossible for any one to describe how it was. But even if I told in simple truth it would hardly be believed, the great fear and terror that struck those who heard it, so that even those very men that caused the noise were themselves frightened at it. And the enemy on their part made no less noise, so that if you asked anything you could not hear yourself speak and you had to ask by signs, since in no other manner could you make yourself understood. When all in the camp had gone to the front it was already two hours after sunrise, and the king ordered an advance of his two forward divisions, with command so as to strike home that they should leave not one of the enemy alive; and this was forthwith done. They attacked the enemy so hotly that many of the king's troops found themselves on the top of the trenches that the Moors had constructed in the fields. The Moors were disposed as if they expected that the king would engage them all at once with

Nuniz's description of the battle of Raichur.

all his forces, and so it appeared to the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh) and to his officers; and for that reason he held ready all his artillery, waiting for the time when, owing to the adventurousness of their main body, his men must of necessity cause much slaughter in their ranks. Then he intended to bring up his artillery and destroy them. But, as soon as he saw the manner of their attack, the Ydallcao had to abandon the plan that had seemed to him best for their safety, and he commanded the whole of the artillery at once to open fire; which discharge, as it was very great, did much damage to the enemy, killing many of the horse and foot and many elephants, and it compelled the king's troops to retire. As soon as the Moors saw their enemies beginning to leave the field, they charged all amongst them, so that there did not remain one man in the saddle nor one who kept his face to the foe; but all the king's troops began to fly, and the Moors after them, slaughtering them for about half a league. When the king saw the way in which the troops fled, he began to cry out that they were traitors, and that he would see who was on his side; and that since they all had to die they should meet their fate boldly according to the custom. "Who ranges himself with me?" he cried. Immediately there thronged about him all those lords and captains that were ready to side with him, and the king said that the day had arrived in which the Ydallcao would boast that he had slain in it the greatest lord in the world, but that he should never boast that he had vanquished him. Then he took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of his pages, so that he might show it to his queens in token of his death, that they might burn themselves according to custom. Then he mounted a horse and moved forward with all his remaining divisions, commanding to slay without mercy every man of those who had fled. As soon as these last saw what a reception they received at the hand of their fellows they felt compelled to turn and charge the enemy, and their attack was such that not one amongst Moors was found to face them; for the Moors met them as men engaged in a pursuit all in great disorder. The confusion was so great amongst the Moors and such havoc was wrought (in their ranks) that they did not even try to defend the camp they had made so strong and enclosed so well; but like lost men they leaped into the river to save themselves. Then after them

came large numbers of the king's troops and elephants, which latter worked amongst them mischief without end, for they seized men with their trunks and tore them into small pieces, whilst those who rode in the castles (howdahs) killed countless numbers.

"The troops advanced thus, pursuing the foe, till the king reached the river, where, seeing the death of so many—for here you would see women and boys who had left the camp, their horses and men who through clinging one to another could not escape as there was so much water in the river—the king's troops stood on the bank, so that whenever a man appeared he was killed, and the horses that tried to clamber up by the bank of the river, unable to do so, fell back on the men, so that neither one nor the other escaped and the elephants went into the stream, and those that they could seize were cruelly killed by them. Seeing what passed, I say, the king out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains, so that each one withdrew all his forces." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 337-40).

Krishna-Dēva next advanced to the camp of Ismail Ādil Shāh and rested himself in his tent. His generals and commanders protesting against the taking of such repose, suggested the completion of the destruction of all his enemies. They suggested that, if he did not wish to pursue them himself, at least some of them might be allowed to do so. In any case, they urged that "it was not wise to cease from pursuit so long as day light should last." Krishna-Dēva, however, took a different view. He answered that many had died who were not to blame; and that if Ismail Ādil Shāh had done him wrong, he had already suffered enough; and moreover, it did not seem to him good, since Raichur yet remained to be taken, that they should go forward. They should rather, he urged, make themselves ready for its capture. He proposed that the siege had to be resumed and conducted henceforth in a new and better manner. Nuniz states

End of the
pursuit of the
enemy.

that Krishna-Dēva had persuaded himself that since Ismail had lost so many men and so much honour, and had lost indeed all his power, he would not wish to live any longer and that he must be dead on the field. This, however, was a wholly unfounded belief.

Flight of
Ismail Ādil
Shāh on an
elephant.

Ismail had not entered into the fight but had all the time remained with a select guard of 400 horse under Asada Khān. When Asada Khān saw how the soldiers fled and how completely they had been beaten, he cried out "Sire, if thou seekest to live, follow me!" and Ismail sought refuge on an elephant and escaped with him by a circuitous route, skirting the range of hills to the south. The whole of his camp and all that he possessed fell into the hands of Krishna-Dēva.

Salābat
Khān's
attempt to
retrieve the
fortunes of
the day.

Thus seizing the Shāh's camp, Krishna-Dēva commanded the spoil to be collected. It was found that five of the commanders of Ismail had been taken prisoners, those of the highest rank being found amongst the dead. Among the former was one Salābat Khān, who had been the commander-in-chief of the Shāh's forces. He had had for his body-guard 500 renegade Portuguese and with these he had made a valiant attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day. As soon as he saw that his army was defeated and was being furiously driven back towards the river, he strove to collect and form a body of men, but, so great was the onslaught and so terrific the slaughter, that he could not do it because "there was not one amongst them who thought of aught but to save himself." What followed is best told in Nuniz's own words:—

His defeat
and annihila-
tion of his
troops.

"And thinking it worse to be conquered than to die, he threw himself amongst the king's troops, slaughtering them, and doing such wonderful deeds that ever after he and his Portuguese were remembered, so much were their terrible strokes feared, and the deeds they did; so that they let them

pass on, and they penetrated so far amongst the troops that they found themselves close to the king's bodyguard. There the horse of Salabatacao was killed. In order to succour him the Portuguese did great deeds, and killed so many men that they left a broad road behind them which no one dared to enter, and they fought so well that they got another horse for Salabatacao. As soon as he was on its back he seemed like nothing but a furious wolf amongst sheep; but since already they were all so exhausted, so wounded all over, and so encircled by the enemy (for they were attacked on every point), Salabatacao was at length overthrown, and his horse with him. And as the Portuguese who tried to succour him were all killed, not one escaping, and he himself was wounded in many places, he was taken prisoner." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 342).

The result was decisive and the spoil was immense. The latter included 4,000 horses of Ormuz, 100 elephants, 400 heavy cannon, besides small ones, and 900 gun-carriages, etc., many tents and pavilions; besides sump-ter-mules and oxen and other beasts of burthen, for they were numberless and numbers of men and boys and some women even, "whom the King (Krishna-Dēva) ordered to be released." The losses on Krishna-Dēva's side numbered 16,000 and odd. He saw to the final disposal with "customary honours" of the dead, including the giving of much alms for the souls of those who had been killed in battle on his side, and then turned again upon Raichur, where he pitched his camp as before to prosecute the siege with vigour and determination.

The spoils of
the war.

Ferishta's account of the battle is somewhat different. According to him, Ismail crossed the river, after a drinking bout, and risked the battle and lost it. He agrees that Ismail escaped on an elephant and that nearly half of his troops perished in the battle, being harassed beyond all power of opposition by cannon shot, musquetry,

Ferishta's
account.

and rockets, while the survivors were lost in trying to escape through the river. (See Sewell, 301-02). Ferishta says that Sunjeet-Roy, the chief commander of the Vijayanagar forces, was among the slain on the King's side. The name is difficult to identify, but if it refers to Sāluva-Timma (Timma and Sanjiva are synonymous), then it is a mistake, for Sāluva-Timma was only one of the commanders in the battle, Krishna-Dēva leading the forces himself—and he survived the battle many years.

Siege of
Raichur
resumed.

The siege of Raichur was thus resumed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in person. The city was strongly fortified, with three walls of heavy masonry, each of these being packed with earth inside. On the highest point there was a fortress like a tower, very high and strong, at its top there being a spring of water which ran all the year round. The city was well supplied and there was no question of its being starved out. The defenders had no idea of yielding and had so far shown great spirit in foiling the attempts of the besiegers. When Krishna-Dēva-Rāya suspended the siege to advance against Ismail Ādil Shāh on his approach to the northern river, a sally had been made by the defenders with a small force, but it proved ineffectual, as the besiegers were as alert as the defenders. The siege promised to last long but the appearance on the spot of one Christovao de Figueiredo, a Portuguese dealer in horses, and his party of twenty musqueteers with their skill in the use of fire-arms, materially helped to shorten the period. Figueiredo had apparently just reached Vijayanagar with horses and having heard of Krishna-Dēva's advance on Raichur, hastened up with his little party to the latter place to meet the king. He was well received and accommodated in special tents, close to the King's own quarters. Krishna-Dēva appears to have taken "much pleasure in his company," and says "he was glad that he should

see the war and his great power." Figueiredo expressed a desire to see the city that was being besieged, but Krishna-Dēva asked him to desist from such an idea lest any disaster should befall him. Figueiredo assured him saying that the whole business of the Portuguese was war and the greatest favour that the king could do him was to grant the requisite permission to him to go and see how the siege was going on. Leave granted,

"Christovao de Figueiredo went close to the trench before the walls, keeping himself as much concealed as possible, and seeing how fearlessly the Moors exposed themselves on the wall, began, with the musqueteers whom he had brought, to open fire on them in such a way that he slew many, the Moors being careless and free from fear, as men who up to then had never seen men killed with fire-arms nor with other such weapons. So they began to forsake the wall (at this point), and the king's troops found an opportunity of coming in safety to it, and they began to destroy much of the masonry; and so many people collected on this side that all the camp was put in commotion, saying that Christovao de Figueiredo had entered the city with his Portuguese. This was told to the King. Those in the city could not understand what was going on, nor how these people came to be in the King's service, until they recollected how on the day of the other fight (*i.e.*, the battle of Raichur) the Portuguese had come, and then they considered themselves, lost. For by the aid of these men the King's people came without fear to the wall, where already it was damaged in many places, because the city had its cannon so high up that these could do no injury to the men who were at the foot of the wall. The wall was also filled up inside with earth, and there were no cannon in the breeches. The people of the city whom up to that time they had killed had been supplied with stones which they had flung on the besiegers from the top of the wall, and with musquets and arrows, so that even if the king's men were able to reach the wall at all they were at least wounded; but as Christovao de Figueiredo with the Portuguese prevented the enemy from appearing at all on the wall, the Hindus were unable to reach it at their ease.

.....The King's (Krishna-Dēva's) captains begged Christovao de Figueiredo to permit them one day to attack the Moors in his company, and he, in order to content the more honourable of them, went with them on those days. One day he divided his musqueteers into three companies and began to kill several amongst the Moors who showed themselves, in so much that none durst be seen; and then the King's troops began, in these three divisions, to attack the wall with many pickaxes and crowbars, and he sent to tell the rest that they should attack on their own account; and such was the result that the defenders of the city began to abandon the first line of fortification, and the women and children took refuge in the citadel. The captain of the City (*i.e.*, the officer in charge of the garrison and the defence), seeing the dismay that had spread amongst his people, began to turn them back with encouraging words, and with some of them betook himself to that part of the wall which he saw was most severely pressed, begging them that they would come back to the wall and not be afraid. He was answered by some that at that point were those Franks (*i.e.*, Portuguese musqueteers) who were helping, and that as soon as any one showed himself he was a dead man; and he, wishing to see for himself, where the Portuguese were, reached over with his body in front of one of the embrasures and was killed with a musquet-shot that struck him in the middle of his forehead. It was said by the Moors that Christovao de Figueiredo had killed him, and they took notice of him. As soon as the captain was thus killed, there was great lamentation in the City, and soon the wall was deserted, so that the men from the King's camp were left to do as they pleased with it, and they noticed the outcry that arose within and saw that there was no one defending the wall. They therefore retired to see what should happen, and left off fighting for that day." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 343-45).

The death of the Commander of the defending garrison filled it with dismay. On the morrow following his death, which was the twentieth after the great victory on the river bank, the City surrendered. The men carrying

the white flag, begging for the king's mercy, were, at his direction, received by Sāluva-Timma, his minister. They were assured of safety of person and property and were asked to return to the City. Krishna-Dēva promised to enter the City the next day, but meanwhile bade one of his Generals to take possession of it on his behalf. Before withdrawing, the assembled Muhammadans, pointing to Figueiredo, whom they observed there, said that the capture of the City was due to him, for, they said, "he had slain their captain, and with his people had killed many Moors, which caused the City's destruction." The king, casting his eyes on Figueiredo, adds Nuniz, "nodded his head, and turned to the people telling them to observe what great things could be effected by one good man."

On the next day, Krishna-Dēva rode in state through the City. Arriving at the citadel, he called for the leading citizens and said to them that "he would spare all their property, that they might freely act as they wished regarding both that and their persons, and those who wished to stay in the City might remain in their old state as before; and as for those who wished to depart, they might do so at once with all that they possessed." They all thanked for such "gentle treatment." Meanwhile, news reached him that the troops were robbing the City. He not only took immediate steps to prevent this, but also saw to it that everything taken was restored to its owners. Those who perpetrated the robberies were also "soundly chastised."

The news of the fall of Raichur and the great victory won by Krishna-Dēva became well known all over India. The Deccan Sultāns, while glad at heart that Ismail Ādil Shāh had had the punishment he deserved, were afraid of their safety. They were not only astonished at the capture of so strong a city as Raichur but also surmised at the greatness of Krishna-Dēva's power and army.

They sent envoys with letters and these were duly presented to Krishna-Dēva at Raichur. In these, they suggested that he should content himself with having defeated Ismail and should not wage further war. They also proposed that he should return to Ismail what he had taken from him. If he did not agree to these proposals, they said they would be compelled to join Ismail and speedily recover that which had been lost. Krishna-Dēva returned a manly and spirited reply. After thanking them, he said :—

“As regards the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh), what I have done to him and taken from him he has richly deserved; as regards returning it to him, that does not seem to me to be reasonable, nor am I going to do it; and as for your further statement that ye will all turn against me in aid of him if I do not do as ye ask, I pray you, do not take the trouble to come hither, for I will myself go to seek if ye dare to await me in your lands.” (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 349).

Krishna-Dēva stayed some more days in the City, making the necessary arrangements for its Government. After repairing its walls, he left sufficient troops to guard it, and as regards those who desired to leave the place but who had not the means to do so, he commanded that what was required for their journey should be given to them. He then departed to the capital, where, we are told, he was “received with great triumphs, and great feasts were made and he bestowed bountiful rewards on his troops.”

Here, we may take leave of Figueiredo, who played so important a role in the reduction of Raichur. He was, according to one authority, a factor at Vijayanagar, with horses and elephants, in 1517 A.D. He was evidently already well known to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when he joined him in his camp at Raichur; otherwise the friendliness displayed towards him, *even before he distinguished himself at Raichur*, would be inexplicable.

According to Paes, who wrote his *Chronicle* about 1520, he visited Krishna-Dēva at the new town of Nāgalāpuram with a number of his countrymen, who, Paes adds, were "all very handsomely dressed after our manner, with much finery." We also learn from him that "the king received him very well, and was complacent to him. The king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness. We were all so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us." The king also provided for the due reception and comfortable stay of Figueiredo and his friends at the capital, to which they were proceeding. Paes concludes with the remark: "The king said many kind and pleasant things to him, and asked him concerning the kind of state which the king of Portugal kept up; and having been told about it all, he seemed much pleased." It would seem that not long after the battle, Figueiredo was put in charge of the mainlands of Goa. He was several times in peril at the hands of the Muhammadans. In 1536, he was present at the battles which took place between the Portuguese and Asada Khān, the Governor of Belgaum, with whom he was on friendly relations. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 251, f.n. 1).

The festivities over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya moved on to the new city, where he found awaiting him an ambassador from Ismail Ādil Shāh himself. After about a month's waiting, he was asked to present himself and was duly received in audience. Ismail charged Krishna-Dēva through him, with having broken the long standing peace between the two countries, invaded his country and devastated it and he demanded reparation thereof, together with a return of the spoils of war and the restitution

Ismail Ādil Shāh's request for reparation and restoration of territories: visit of his ambassador at Nāgalāpur, 1520 A.D.

Krishna-
Dēva-Rāya's
terms.

Ismail's
reply and
evaaion.

Krishna-
Dēva's march
on Bijapur.

of Raichur. Krishna-Dēva replied that he would restore everything to Ismail as desired by him and would even immediately release Salābat Khān provided he "would come and kiss his foot." Thus was repaid, one might say, the insult that Ahmed Shāh Bāhmani had offered—if Ferishta is to be believed—to Dēva-Rāya II, whose son he ignominiously paraded through the market and streets of his camp and whom he made to sit at the *foot* of his throne! (See *First Dynasty* under *Dēva-Rāya II*). And thus does disgrace rankle in human breasts and human memories, regardless of time and regardless of consequence. The ambassador retired, and sent word to Ismail of what had occurred. He, not long after, sent a reply, saying that though he was ready to do joyfully what Krishna-Dēva desired, he did not see how he could go to his capital. On hearing this, Krishna-Dēva, bent as he was on Ismail eating the humble-pie, asked him to meet him on the confines of his kingdom, to which, he said, he would soon repair. The ambassador departed to induce his sovereign to reach the boundary to meet Krishna-Dēva, who forthwith moved on and reached Mudkal, not far from it. Ismail's men kept saying he was coming, but he never came! The truth was clear that he dared not meet Krishna-Dēva, who next camped at Bijapur with the determination of seizing him there, or putting him to death, "to avenge the affront that had been put upon him." He stayed many days waiting for him, but the water failing him, Krishna-Dēva left it for Mudkal. But the troops practically destroyed the city, almost all the houses being ruined for the sake of fire-wood, which was hard to get there. Almost the only building left standing was Ismail's palace, which Krishna-Dēva himself had occupied.

His return to
Mudkal and
Asada Khān's
treachery;
Salābat
Khan's death.

As soon as Krishna-Dēva reached Mudkal, he found Ismail had returned to Bijapur. Here, his general, Asada Khān, pretended to go himself as envoy to

Krishna-Dēva and settle terms according to his wishes. He was, however, a cunning and selfish man, and was more bent on securing the death of his rival Salābat Khān, now prisoner of war at Vijayanagar. On reaching Mudkal, he deceived Krishna-Dēva into the belief that Ismail would have yielded long before but for the conduct of Salābat Khān who had advised him, by letter, not to do so, for Krishna-Dēva really desired to slay him. His mind being thus inflamed by this plausible infamous liar, Krishna-Dēva angrily ordered that Salābat Khān should be beheaded. This was done as soon as the message arrived. Immediately the deed was done, Asada Khān felt insecure, lest his treachery should be found out. He attempted to obtain leave to go to get his master meet Krishna-Dēva on the border, but he was kept on by the king on the plea that he had something more to show him and to speak to him. But his behaviour betrayed him and his treachery was found out. Thereupon Krishna-Dēva ordered him to be seized, but when they went to search for him, they found he was already gone! He had fled one night and had told Ismail that Salābat had been put to death and that they had tried to kill him also but had escaped and that Ismail ought not to trust Krishna-Dēva. He then escaped to Belgaum, where he strengthened his position and refused to come when summoned by Ismail, for his villainy had been found out.

Discovery of
Asada Khān's
plot and his
flight.

Krishna-Dēva's fury knew no bounds, more especially as he found, when reaching the boundary of his kingdom, that neither Ismail nor his mother, as Asada Khān had told him, had arrived there. He now discovered that it had all been done to compass the death of Salābat Khān, who had charged Asada Khān with cowardice on the battle-field and had vowed vengeance on him if ever he obtained his liberty. Full of fury at what had

Krishna-
Dēva-Rāya's
advance on
Kulbarga and
restoration
of the
Bāhmīni
prince to
the throne,
1521 A.D.

happened, Krishna-Dēva advanced against Ismail's territory. Many places were taken and destroyed. At length, he reached Kulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bāhmini kings, which also he destroyed, and razed the fortress to the ground. The commander in charge was probably Ādil Khān, who is mentioned in the *Āmuktamālyada* (Verse 42). He was killed in the assault on the fortress and his head exhibited on a pole to his troops to induce their surrender. At Kulbarga, there resided the three sons of the house of Bāhmini, who had been held captives by the Ādil Shāhs. He proclaimed the eldest of these as king of the Deccan. The other two brothers he took with him, and gave each an annual allowance of 50,000 *pagodas*. Apparently this was an attempt on Krishna-Dēva's part to subvert the independent sovereignty of the five Sultāns, which proved abortive. As remarked by Mr. Sewell, there is no mention in Ferishta of this attempt at restoration of the original Bāhmini Dynasty by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, though there is a lithic inscription (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1015, Ongole 71) dated in *Saka* 1421, cyclic year *Īsvara*, which seems to countenance it. In this record, two unusual titles are given to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and there are *Ashta-digrāya-manōbhayan-kara* and *Yāvanarājya-sthāpanāchārya*. The former suggests that he had, by his wars and conquests, inspired fear into the kings of the eight different corners, an obvious poetical exaggeration for saying that he had overcome his enemies near about, while the latter definitely states that he established on the throne (of his ancestors) the Yāvana prince, in this instance the Bāhmini King's eldest son. There is ample authority for the position that the Muhammadans were also known as Yāvanas in India. The date of the above record is, however, wrong, for the *Saka* and Cyclic year do not agree. Taking the cyclic year as the date intended, we see it corresponds to *Saka* 1440 current, or A.D. 1517-18.

If so, the date of the grant should be set down to early in 1518 A.D., in which case, the restoration may have to be set down to a date slightly at least anterior to it. As a matter of fact, we know that the Bāhmini Sultān Mahmud II died in 1518 A.D., leaving three sons Ahmad, Alā-ud-dīn and Wali-ullah, the first of whom became Sultān in 1517 A.D., the second in 1521, and the the third in the same year; though in all cases only nominally. It is possible that the restoration of the Bāhmini prince was one object of the invasion of Kulbarga and that the prince actually put on the throne in 1521 A.D. was the second prince Alā-ud-dīn, though Nuniz describes him as "the eldest." If this inference is well founded, then, it will have to be presumed it was the second attempt at king-making by Krishna-Dēva, the first attempt having been made about the end of 1517 A.D., when the "eldest" son of the late king should have already been enthroned, according to the Ongolē record. This at least is the only way to reconcile Nuniz with what is stated in the inscription quoted above. Whether there was a war in 1517 A.D. against the Bijapur king, prior to 1521 A.D. in this connection, and whether there was a prior occupation of Kulbarga for the purpose of enthroneing the first prince in 1517 A.D., are points difficult to determine, though the *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* seem to countenance it. However this may be, there can be no question whatever that the invasion of 1521 A.D., mentioned by Nuniz, did actually take place, for it is mentioned in at least three other authorities—the two Telugu works above-mentioned and in Krishna-Dēva's own production *Āmuktamālyada*. The *Rāyavāchakamu* definitely states that Krishna-Dēva was actually called away from a visit to Tirupati, in his own dominions, to Kulbarga, from where he had news of disturbances by *Mlēchchas* (i.e., Muhammadans), that he turned back on it and quickly reduced it

(it is said in 3½ hours, an obvious exaggeration) capturing its commander and the entire garrison of 6,000 horse. He appointed, it is added, one Gujjari Kalyān Rāo as its Governor and then returned to Tirupati. (See *Sources*, original text, p. 127). The *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* also mentions the reduction of Kulbarga (*Ibid*, 132), while the *Āmukta-mālyada* yields the additional information that there was a bloody engagement at Kembāvi, situate on the way to Kulbarga and in the Raichur Doab area, (see *E.I.* XII, 291-2), with the Yāvanas, who were, it is said, entirely destroyed by Krishna-Dēva. (Canto V, colophon). With the return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from Kulbarga in 1521 A.D., the campaign against Ismail Ādil Shāh may be taken to have been ended.

Political
effects of
Krishna-
Rāya's
victories.

Here it might be convenient to note some of the more far-reaching political effects of the victories gained by Krishna-Dēva at Raichur and elsewhere against Ismail Ādil Shāh. Mr. Sewell has suggested that they quenched for ever the ambition of Ismail for any conquest in the south. So far, indeed, had his prestige and power been weakened that he had to seek for alliances with the neighbouring Muhammadan chiefs to seek to maintain them. These Muhammadan chiefs saw that their cause would be lost if they did not combine. It was such a combination that led to the eventual invasion of Vijayanagar and its destruction in 1565 A.D. In the Vijayanagar Kings, a new sense of pride and arrogance became visible, from now, and it made them overbearing towards their neighbours, with the result that it engendered a spirit of bitter hostility against them on the part of their neighbours, which hastened their eventual downfall. The effects on the Portuguese were equally great. With the destruction of Vijayanagar, Goa fell, never to rise again. The interests of the Vijayanagar kings and the Portuguese were so far dependent on each other's well-

being that it might well be said that Vijayanagar would have collapsed earlier than it did but for the Portuguese at Goa. The political prescience of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya irresistibly induced him to befriend them, and so delayed the onrush of the Muhammadans into the South of India and possibly Ceylon as well for another half of a century. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 155-156; Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 130-2).

There is at least one inscription (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23; No. 146 of 1903), which claims for Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the conquest of Ceylon. The same feat is attributed, as will be seen below, to his successor Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya in an inscription found at Tanjore. (See *M.E.R.* 1899-1900, Para 70). How far this ascription of the conquest of Ceylon to Krishna-Dēva is true cannot be stated. There were disturbances about 1521 A.D., in Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu VII (1509-1521 A.D.) being at war with the Portuguese in the land. He had called in the help of the Zamorin of Calicut but the war ended in what is known as "the sucking of Vijaya Bāhu" by his son and nephews and his dethronement. The island was divided between the three brothers, the eldest of whom Bhuvanaika Bāhu becoming king at the end of the war (1521-1550). It is not known if, in connection with these disturbances, Krishna-Rāya's aid had been called in by Bhuvanaika Bāhu, who in the division had all the seaports reserved to himself. (See H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 96-7). Nuniz states that the king of Calecu (Calicut) was a subordinate of Achyuta. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 374). If so, probably the help the king of Calicut gave in 1521 A.D. to Vijaya Bāhu of Ceylon, was considered as having been given by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his suzerain. We also know that in the days of Dēva-Rāya II (1424-1446 A.D.), his minister had gone on an expedition

Conquest of
Ceylon, circa
1522-3 A.D.

to the coast of Ceylon and had put down a rebellion that had broken out there. Apparently, parts of the northern part of Ceylon were included in the Governorship of Madura and the Vijayanagar kings called themselves kings of the *Dakshina Samudra* as well as *Pūrva* and *Paschima Samudra* (i.e., lords of the countries bordering on the Southern, Eastern and Western Seas).

Description of the capital by foreign travellers and merchants.

Of the magnificence of the capital, of its buildings, trade, etc., of the magnificence of the festivals celebrated therein, of the kingdom generally and its Government, we have interesting and detailed descriptions in the narratives of the Portuguese chroniclers, Paes and Nuniz, and in the account of Duarte Barbosa. Of these, Barbosa, who was a cousin of Magellan, the celebrated traveller, probably visited the city between 1504-1514, and finished his work in 1514. It was first published in 1524. Paes wrote his account about 1520 and records his personal experiences, while Nuniz, who stayed some years at Vijayanagar, as a dealer in horses, furnishes not only a history of the Vijayanagar kings up to about 1536 or 1537 A.D., when he wrote his *Chronicle*, but also has embodied in it his personal knowledge of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his successor Achyuta.

Duarte Barbosa's account, 1514 A.D.

Barbosa, in describing the kingdom, calls it the "Kingdom of Narasinga," after Saluva Narasimha I, the name by which it was best known among the Portuguese since the days of that king. He writes:—

"It is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships."

He appears to have reached Vijayanagar *via* Bhatkal, Dharwar and Nāgalāpūr, which appears to have been the usual route then for the travellers from the Coast to the

capital. Bhatkal was evidently the chief seaport of the kingdom. He says it had a large trade, its chief exports being iron, spices, drugs and myrabolans, while horses and pearls formed its important imports. As regards the two imports, he remarks that "they now go to Goa, on account of the Portuguese," who evidently, since their capture of the place in 1510 A.D., had managed to divert the trade to that place and into their own hands. Goa too was beginning to rear its head as a rival to Bhatkal. The governor of Bhatkal was a nephew of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who, Barbosa notes, lived in great state and called himself king, though "in obedience to the king, his uncle." He describes "Bijanangar," as he calls the capital, as a "very populous" city, well built on "level ground." He states that the king always resided in this city. "He is," he adds, "a gentile and is called Raheni," which last word is probably a corruption of the Telugu word "Rāyani-vāru," which may be rendered into "His Majesty." Then follows the following description:—

"He (the king) has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts.....There are also in this city many other palaces of great lords, who live there. And all the other houses of the place are covered with thatch, and the streets and squares are very wide. They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds... ..There is an infinite trade in this city.....In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Celani (*i.e.*, Ceylon), and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the kingdom of Narasinga and another in the kingdom of Decani (*i.e.*, Deccan). There are also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there, which are brought from Ormuz and Cael.....also silk-brocades, scarlet cloth, and coral.....The king constantly resides in the before-mentioned palaces, and very seldom goes out of them.....All the attendance on the king is done by women, who wait upon him within doors; and amongst them are all the employments of the king's house-hold; and all these women live and find room within these palaces, which

contain apartments for all.....This king has a house in which he meets with the governors and his officers in council upon the affairs of the realm. (This probably refers, as Mr. Sewell suggests, to the highly decorated building in the interior of a larger building which was surrounded by a lofty wall with watch-towers, which figures as "No. 29, Council Chamber" on the Madras Government plan of the Hampi ruins)... ..They come in very rich litters on men's shoulders..... Many litters and many horse-men always stand at the door of this palace, and the king keeps at all times nine-hundred elephants and more than twenty-thousand horses, all of which elephants and horses are bought with his own money..... This king has more than a hundred thousand men, both horse and foot, to whom he gives pay."

As Barbosa mentions the fact that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been at war with the Orissan king, it is possible, the time of his visit should have coincided with the return of the king to the capital after his conquests in the East Coast.

Paes' account,
1520 A.D.

Paes' account is a much more intimate one. His description shows a settled and orderly administration of the kingdom, despite the wars that the king had had to carry on against the Muhammadans across the northern frontier and on the East Coast and elsewhere, while the capital itself was, perhaps, at the height of its glory. His *Narrative* of the country, the people, and the king and his nobles, his palace and his methods of administration, and many other things should be read at length in the original, which, in its English version, forms part of Mr. Sewell's well-known work. According to him, the whole country was "thickly populated with cities and towns and villages" and "very well cultivated and very fertile." Rice, wheat, Indian corn, grains and "an infinity of cotton" are mentioned as its chief products. He notes that cows and oxen were held sacred, the former worshipped and the latter used as beasts of burden. The

kingdom extended from Bhatkal on the West Coast to Orissa on the East, about 348 leagues; and had a coast line of about 600 leagues—an ordinary league being equal to a *graos*, apparently a corruption of the Kannada word *gāvada*. Of the chief ports of the kingdom, he mentions seven on the West Coast, Amcola, Mirgeo, Honor (Honnavar), Batecalla (Bhatkal), Mamgalor (Mangalore), Bracalore (Barcelore) and Bacanor. At all these places the Portuguese had factories. Of these, the foremost was Bhatkal, which served as an emporium for the commerce of the country. It was connected *direct*, through fairly even country, with the capital, and the road to it had “many streams of water by its side, and because of this, so much merchandise flows to Batecala that every year there come five or six thousand pack-oxen.” Among the principal cities, he mentions one called “Darcha,” identified with Dharwar. In it, according to him, was a great rock-cut temple which won his admiration. The figures in it were so well made “that they could not be better done.” Inside the enclosure of this temple, “there is,” he says, “a stone like the mast of a ship, with its pedestal four-sided and from thence to the top eight-sided, standing in the open air.” He adds the remark: “I was not astonished at it, because I have seen the needle of St. Peter’s at Rome, which is as high or more,” a reference probably to the Egyptian obelisk at St. Peter’s. If the identification “of Darcha” is correct, as the existence of a rock-cut temple there is unknown, the possibility of the reference being to Bādāmi, which is not far away from Dharwar and is famous for its rock-cut cave temples, is strengthened.

Describing the city of Vijayanagar, Paes writes:—

“Before you arrive at the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other enclosures of the city, and this wall is a very strong one and of massive stone work..... At the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side,

which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside, there are two little temples;..... and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at. Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gate-ways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

"This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space than all the castle of Lisbon.

"Still going forward, passing to the other gate, you see two temples connected with it.....

"Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants and there you will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair, where they sell many common horses and nags, and also many citrons and limes, and orange, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street. At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken in such sort that the city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things..... On every Friday, you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the

very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.

"The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes; and the king has close to his palace a palm-grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish quarter is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit-trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks.....outside the first enclosing wall.

"The people of the city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and the elephants. "This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, indian-corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, *moong* (green gram), pulses, horse-gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors.....The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or else have to go by another way. There is much poultry....., many partridges, though they are not of the same sort or quality as ours.....All these birds and game animals they sell alive and they are very cheap.....Of other birds they give

more than you can count.....Then the sheep they kill every day are countless, one could not number them.....Then to see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of Povos (near Lisbon) are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one. For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*, and pomegranates, ten for *fanam*."

Describing the king's palace, Paes writes thus :—

"The palace is on this fashion : it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs ; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many door-keepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its door-keepers and its guards ; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (*terrea*) ; all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone ; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corridor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the

wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates, there were two circles in which were the dancing women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of stair-case of stone beautifully wrought,—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of, is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

"Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*casa*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine; and in the other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of State made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the wood work of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (? *soajes*),

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He appears to have reached Vijayanagar *via* Bhatkal, Dharwar and Nāgalāpūr, which appears to have been the usual route then for the travellers from the Coast to the

capital. Bhatkal was evidently the chief seaport of the kingdom. He says it had a large trade, its chief exports being iron, spices, drugs and myrabolans, while horses and pearls formed its important imports. As regards the two imports, he remarks that "they now go to Goa, on account of the Portuguese," who evidently, since their capture of the place in 1510 A.D., had managed to divert the trade to that place and into their own hands. Goa too was beginning to rear its head as a rival to Bhatkal. The governor of Bhatkal was a nephew of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who, Barbosa notes, lived in great state and called himself king, though "in obedience to the king, his uncle." He describes "Bijanangar," as he calls the capital, as a "very populous" city, well built on "level ground." He states that the king always resided in this city. "He is," he adds, "a gentile and is called Raheni," which last word is probably a corruption of the Telugu word "Rāyani-vāru," which may be rendered into "His Majesty." Then follows the following description:—

"He (the king) has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts.....There are also in this city many other palaces of great lords, who live there. And all the other houses of the place are covered with thatch, and the streets and squares are very wide. They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds... ..There is an infinite trade in this city.....In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Celani (*i.e.*, Ceylon), and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the kingdom of Narasinga and another in the kingdom of Decani (*i.e.*, Deccan). There are also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there, which are brought from Ormuz and Cael.....also silk-brocades, scarlet cloth, and coral.....The king constantly resides in the before-mentioned palaces, and very seldom goes out of them.....All the attendance on the king is done by women, who wait upon him within doors; and amongst them are all the employments of the king's house-hold; and all these women live and find room within these palaces, which

which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside, there are two little temples;..... and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at. Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gate-ways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

"This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space than all the castle of Lisbon.

"Still going forward, passing to the other gate, you see two temples connected with it.....

"Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants and there you will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair, where they sell many common horses and nags, and also many citrons and limes, and orange, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street. At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken in such sort that the city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things..... On every Friday, you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the

very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.

“The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large, as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes; and the king has close to his palace a palm-grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish quarter is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit-trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks.....outside the first enclosing wall.

“The people of the city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and the elephants. “This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, indian-corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, *moong* (green gram), pulses, horse-gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors.....The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or else have to go by another way. There is much poultry..... many partridges, though they are not of the same sort or quality as ours.....All these birds and game animals they sell alive and they are very cheap.....Of other birds they give

more than you can count.....Then the sheep they kill every day are countless, one could not number them.....Then to see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of Povos (near Lisbon) are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one. For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*, and pomegranates, ten for *fanam*."

Describing the king's palace, Paes writes thus:—

"The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many door-keepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its door-keepers and its guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corridor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the

wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates, there were two circles in which were the dancing women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of stair-case of stone beautifully wrought,—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of, is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

“Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*casa*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine; and in the other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of State made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the wood work of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (? *soajes*),

and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) it has plates of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses, and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another State jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais, resting on a support, were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts."

Again, writing of a visit paid by himself and his friends into the interior of the palace, Paes says:—

"On entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted, they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive." Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

"As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps

which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say "gilded," but "lined" inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are the pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the crossbars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it, I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone; this room is all of ivory, as well as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better,—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such. On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains. Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, *i. e.*, underneath some arches, where is the entrance into the palace, there is a little door closed with some padlocks; they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings.

"As soon as we left this house, we entered a courtyard as large as an arena for beast-fights, very well plastered, and almost in the middle are some pillars of wood, with a cross-beam at the top all covered with copper gilt, and in the middle four chains of silver links with hooks which are caught one into the other; this serves for a swing for the wives of the king. At the entrance of this courtyard on the right hand we mounted four or five steps and entered some beautiful houses made in the way I have already told you—for their houses are

single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although there may be other houses on top; the plan is good, and they are like terraces. There is a building there, built on many pillars, which are of stone-work, and so also is all the work of the roof, with all the rest of wood (*maneria*), and all the pillars (with all the other work) are gilded so that they seem as if covered with gold.

"Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars, a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red color on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from the sculptures. You must know that they make no use of this building because it belongs to their idol and to the temple. At the end of this is a little closed door where the idol is. Whenever they celebrate any festival of this idol, they carry it on a golden throne and put it underneath that canopy which is made for that purpose; and then come the Brahmans to perform their ceremonies there, and the dancing girls come to dance.

"Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot, was a chamber, where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones and the cross bars were covered with gold. Above this chamber was another smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber along the same corridor in front, was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below as all the rest. Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end, three caldrons of gold, so large that in each one they could cook half a cow, and with them were others, very large ones of silver, and also little pots

of gold and some large ones. Thence we went up by a large staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculptures on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; between one and another is an arm's length and a half, perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are great many beasts like elephants, and of other shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back, and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work, only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamines*), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms).

“The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of the dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

“At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better

to stretch and loosen the bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing, more graceful. At the other end, on the right, is the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 284-289).

The buildings so graphically described by Paes are all utterly destroyed, though there is no doubt, as Mr. Sewell has remarked, that "careful and systematic excavation would disclose the whole plan of the palace and that in the ruins and debris would be found the remains of the beautiful sculptures described." He adds that close behind the great decorated pavilion, from which, according to Paes, the king and the court witnessed the feasts described by him, and therefore close to the gate alluded to by him, are to be seen, even to this day, half-buried in earth and debris, two large stone doors, each made of a single slab. The stone has been cut in panels to imitate wood-work, and has large staples carved from the same block.

Nuniz's
description.

Nuniz's *Chronicle* is more historical than descriptive of the Empire or its capital. What he says of the administration of the former will be found in another section of this account. Though he does not describe the city of Vijayanagar as such, Nuniz's graphic narrative—especially of the camp that Krishna-Dêva-Râya carried with him on his advance against Raichur—gives an indication of the highly magnificent style of living prevalent among the royalty in his time, and the conveniences that should have been easily procurable at the capital. It fully bears out Paes' remark that it was "the best provided city in the world."

One of the earliest acts of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, immediately after his coronation, was the remitting, in 1510 A.D., or so, of the marriage tax. (See *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64, also see *A.S.I.* 1902-09, 182, quoting *M.E.R.* 1893, App. A. No. 343 of 1892, which is an inscription dated in *Saka* 1429 in Vira-Narasimha's reign). Sāluva-Timma and his brother Govinda seem to have had a good deal to do with the abolition of this tax. The two last quoted inscriptions mention Sāluva-Timma in this connection. The tax had had a wide vogue and it was remitted almost throughout the whole of the Empire in Ghanagiri-rājya (*i.e.*, Penukonda Province), Mulvāi-Mahārājya (*i.e.*, Mulbāgal province), Guttirājya, (Gooty province), Kandanavolu-rājya (*i.e.*, Kurnool province), Gāndikota-rājya, Siddhavatta, Siddāpura-sīma, Chandragiri-rājya, Nāgamangala-sīma, Maluvādu-Mahārājya, Rāyadurga, Melega-Bennur-sīma and other provinces and tracts. One record which registers this remission says that the tax was being paid from very early times, by both parties of all castes on the marriage of virgins. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 337 of 1904). Its abolition is also registered in a record which comes from Dodda-Malūru in the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64 dated in 1510 A.D.). Sāluva-Timma is in this record praised as "the great minister, the *tāntrā-nāyaka*," and as the person who remitted this tax. This would seem to indicate that he had had no mean hand in getting this odious tax removed when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was yet on the threshold of his career.

Remission of
taxation,
1510 and 1517.

The next remission of taxation was made in 1517 A.D., when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya ordered it from Bezvada, on the eve of his conquest of the Kalinga country. This was not a general remission of taxation, but a remission in favour of certain temples (Vishnu and Siva) situate in the Chola country. The amount of taxation thus remitted amounted in each case to 10,000 *Varāhans*. The taxes

remitted are specified to be those known as *jōdi*, *sūlavari*, *piravari*, *arasupēru* and other minor taxes which were payable to the King's palace. Apparently, the remission of taxes of the kings in the days of Sāluva-Narasimha I either had not been extended to all the temples in the Chola country which now received the remission, or there had been, since that time, re-imposition of these odious taxes once again during the interval. However this might have been, the remission, on the eve of the final expedition against the Kalinga king, shows that it was at least partly dictated by political motives. From whatever motives they were announced, they should have proved highly popular. - The fact that the order was directed to be recorded on stone in all the temples benefited by it shows that the enforcement of these taxes so far in favour of the palace, particularly in the regions in which the temples were situated, had proved a source of trouble. The utmost publicity was therefore sought to be given to the royal order of their remission in favour of the temples in these areas. The inscription which records this remission at Sēdamangalam, in the South Arcot District, defines the boundaries with which the temples which had the benefit were situated. These included temples in the present South Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, including practically the whole country between the Gadilam and the Cauvery. (*M.E.R.* 1903, App. B. No. 74; *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23, and inscriptions quoted therein).

A thoroughly complete list of all the temples to which the remission was extended are mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917 and 167, 184, 226, 235 and 251 of 1925. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 32).

Several more temples, both Siva and Vishnu, which received the benefit of the remission, are mentioned in a number of inscriptions found in the Māyavaram Taluk. - (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 32; App. B. Nos. 167, 184, 226,

235 and 251 of 1925). These give the most complete list hitherto known. In one of these, found at Tirukkadaiyur, one Kariyamānikya Bhattar Āpatsahāyar, is mentioned as having waited on Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Vijayanagar and got the order of remission ratified by him. This Āpatsahāyar is known from certain inscriptions to have been a Brāhman and to have pleased Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by his warlike deeds at the battle of Raichur. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 47 of 1906 dated in *Vrisha*, corresponding to *Saka* 1444 or A.D. 1521-22; *M.E.R.* 1925, App. B. 246 of 1925 dated in 1443, Cyclic year *Vikrama*, or A.D. 1520-21).

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was a patron of arts and literature. Among the great temples built by him, at least three are well known. These are the Krishnasvāmi, the Hazār Rāmasvāmi and the Vittalasvāmi temples at the capital. Both were built, according to inscriptions found in them, in 1513 A.D., after his conquest of Udayagiri and Kondavīdu. The Rāmasvāmi temple was probably close to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's palace and served as his private place of worship. Though begun in his reign, it seems to have been finished some years later. The interest of this temple lies chiefly in its sculpture, with which the frieze of its outer walls and the outside walls of the *Prabhavali*, inside the court, are replete. Of even greater interest are the series of scenes from the *Rāmāyana* cut out on two of the inside walls of a *Mantapa*, which is to the north of the main entrance and upon the walls of the courtyard adjoining it. Some of the most popular scenes are depicted on these walls, one of the most spirited being Rāma's shooting his arrow through seven trees at once to prove to Sugrīva his greatness as a warrior. The Krishnasvāmi temple is sculpturally less interesting but is noteworthy as a structure specially built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya for housing an image of Sri-Krishna which

As a builder
of temples,
etc.

he brought from a temple in the hill fortress of Udayagiri after its capture by him. A civil building of great interest erected by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the "House of Victory," as Paes calls it, the striking ruins of which lie to the east of the Rāmasvāmi temple. Paes states that it was built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on his return home from his victory over the Orissan king. This structure may accordingly be set down to 1516 A.D. What now remains of it shows that it should have been a work of great sculptural merit, which, with the temples built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, must have added to the architectural glories of his capital. It should have been a square erection at the bottom, if the square platform, which still exists, is any indication of its original shape and this should have had another erection on it, of what shape there is no knowing. The series of carvings that run round the platform are, with the exception of what is to be seen in the Rāmasvāmi temple, above referred to, "the most spirited" now to be seen at Hampi. Elephants, camels and horses alternate with wrestlers and boxers; scenes representing black-buck(?) shooting and panther spearing and girls dancing with much *abandon* in very diaphanous skirt are to be seen here. As far as is known, these mural carvings are unique in Southern India, and they have been compared by Fergusson with some of Layard's discoveries in ancient Nineveh. (See Fergusson, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, 65-66 and W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, under *Hampi*). The sculptures may be taken to indicate at least to some extent the life led by the people of the time in the great Empire. The Vithalāsvāmi temple was also begun by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1513 A.D., as his inscriptions in it show but the construction of this notable structure, though continued during the two succeeding reigns and even endowed by Krishna-Rāya and his queens, was neither finished nor consecrated. It exemplifies, accord-

to Mr. Rea, "the extreme limit in florid magnificence" to which the Vijayanagar architecture advanced. Earlier in his reign, about the end of 1509 A.D., on the occasion of his coronation, he built in front of the Virūpāksha shrine, in the great temple at the capital, a large Assembly-Hall (*Ranga-mantapa*) and a *gōpura* (or tower) before it. At the same time, he repaired the great *gōpura* of the temple. These facts are duly recorded in an inscription at Hampi quoted above. An unique monument that belongs to this reign is the monolithic statue of Lakshmi-Narasimha in the capital city, which, at present, is one of the most striking objects of curious interest amongst its ruins. As an inscription on the stone in front of it states, it was hewn by a Brāhman from a single stone in 1528 A.D., when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the ruling sovereign, granted it an endowment. (*E.I.* I, 393; IV, 3, *f.n.* 4). It is fully 22 feet high and is finished in great artistic fashion, every detail being worked out with care. The Lakshmi part of the image, sad to state, is almost all gone except for part of the one arm she passed behind the back. In the printed illustrations of this statue, the arm being not visible, it has been often mistaken for a mere image of Narasimha, which, of course, is not correct. (See *Bellary District Gazetteer*, under *Hampi*). (For the additions made to the older temples at Kālāhasti, Tiruvannāmalai, Srisaila, etc., by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, see below under *As a donor of gifts*).

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, did not content himself by merely beautifying the city by architectural additions. He also appears to have busied himself in bringing into existence certain works of public utility. He is said to have constructed, in 1521, the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel, both in the present Bellary District and both still in use and of great value to the country. Another immense work of interest

Public
works of
utility.

undertaken by him was the construction of a dammed-up lake at the capital, which he carried out with the aid of one Joao de la Ponte, a Portuguese Engineer, whose services he had obtained from the Governor-General of Goa. As Paes describes it as still under construction during his time, it might have been begun, as Mr. Sewell suggests, about 1520. Nuniz also mentions it. It burst once and was rebuilt by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, sixty human beings being offered to it by way of sacrifice. It was partly intended for purposes of irrigating lands below it and partly for supplying water to the new city of Nāgalāpura, built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in honour of Chinnādēvi, one of his favourite wives. (See under *Domestic Life*). The revenue yielded by the lands irrigated by it, in Nuniz's time, *i.e.*, within fifteen years or so, was "20,000 pardaos" (*i.e.*, *pagodas*).

Construction
of Nāgalā-
pūra, 1520.

The construction of the new town of Nāgalāpura and its beautification are referred to by both Paes and Nuniz. The former says that it was built in two years and that the king delighted in it "because it was made and peopled by him." Nuniz furnishes the information that Chinnā-Dēvi, the courtesan in whose name it was built, had been known to the king long before his accession to the throne. Sāluva-Timma, the minister, observing one day, his going secretly to her house, rebuked him and brought him back to the palace. On Krishna-Dēva-Rāya confessing the great love he bore for her and the promise he had made her to marry her after he became king, Sāluva-Timma arranged for his marriage with a princess of the "house of Narasinga" and kept both the newly wedded royal lady and Chinnā-Dēvi in a house, to which he added a lofty tower, in which he lodged the latter. Though he married other ladies, adds Nuniz, "he loved this one better than any others." He then states :—

"This king built a city in honour of this woman, for the love he bore her, and called its name Nagalapur and surrounded it with a new wall which is one of the best works that he has in his kingdom, and he made in it a street very long and very large with houses all of masonry. In order to people this town he ordered all the chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did. This town has one principal street, of length four thousand and seven hundred paces (about a mile and a quarter), and of breadth forty, which is certainly the most beautiful street it is possible to see; and he made and finished this town without stinting any expense on it. It now yields (*i.e.*, about 1536 A.D.) forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for things which enter into it." (*Ibid* 363).

Nāgalāpūr, the above mentioned town, has been identified with modern Hospet, and if this identification is correct, the "beautiful" street mentioned by Nuniz, which should doubtless have led towards the capital, is no longer existent. (*Ibid*, 363). Paes mentions the interesting detail that the king repaired to the new town (in 1520) after the Maharnavami festival, of which he gives a graphic description, and was "received by the citizens with great feasts, and the streets were hung with rich cloths, and with many triumphal arches under which he passed." The king also held here on the occasion a review of his troops. He also received here Christovao de Figueiredo and his Portuguese friends, who were desirous of seeing the Palace at the capital. (*Ibid*, 251, 284). Nuniz's story of the town being named after the "courtezan" Chinnā-Dēvi (*Ibid*, 362) and Paes' statement that "it bears the name of his wife for love of whom he made it" (*Ibid*, 246) seem to be not above suspicion. Apparently, their informants should have given them the current tale identifying it with the "courtezan." As it was generally known as Nāgalāpūr, the probabilities are that it was intended by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as a memorial to his mother Nāgalā-Dēvi.

The coupling of the "courtezan's" name which was Chinnādēvi and not Nāgalā-dēvi seems to have been a popular invention, which the two foreign travellers should have guilelessly believed in and recorded.

His Gifts.

The gifts which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made were extensive and in fact on a grand scale, beating probably all previous record in this connection. Grants to temples virtually began from the date of his coronation. In the year he was crowned, he built a *ranga-mantapa* (or Assembly Hall) in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpāksha temple and a *gōpura* (or tower) before it, besides repairing the great *gōpura* in front. On that occasion, he donated to god Virūpāksha a golden lotus, set with the nine kinds of gems and a snake ornament. Though the gifts were actually made and dated in *Saka* 1430 or 1509 A.D., the inscription recording their donation, which is to be seen on a tablet set up in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (see *E.I.* I. 361-71), is shown by the eulogy included in it to have been actually composed long after the conquests of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been completed. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, 175). After the capture of Udayagiri on 1574 A.D., he granted three villages to the different shrines there for providing offerings, etc., for them. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 203; also inscriptions of *Madras Presidency* Nos. 788-792). On his return from the capture of Udayagiri, in 1514, A.D., he visited the Tirumalai temple at Tirupati, and as a thank-offering, bathed the God there in gold with 30,000 gold pieces (*Kanakābhishēka* with 30,000 *Varāhas*) and presented a treble-stringed necklace and a pair of gold bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz. This is attested to by four inscriptions at the place in three different languages. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 53 to 55). On the consecration of the Krishnasvāmi temple at the capital in 1514 A.D., Krishna-Dēva-Rāya caused the

image of the God Bālakrishna to be set upon a jewelled *mantapa* and presented valuable jewels set with the nine kinds of gems, together with gold and silver vessels, besides the gift of nine villages free of all taxes, for oblations and offerings to the new temple. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 25 and 26). The two queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya seem to have made additional gifts of ornaments and villages to this and other temples at the capital. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 176, *f.n.* 6). After the fall of Kondavidu, considered impregnable at the time, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya visited with his two queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi, the famous shrine of Amarēsvara at Dharanikōta (Dhanakataka), and bestowed the munificent gifts of *tulāpurusha* (weighing himself against gold) and *ratna-dhēnu* (the cow of gems, a gift made by his queen Chinnā-Dēvi) and *Sapta-Sāgara* (the seven seas, a gift made by his other queen Tirumala-Dēvi). On this occasion, he also presented to the temple the village of Pedda Maddur for the merit of his father Narasa and his mother Nāga-Dēvamma and two other villages free of all imposts to 106 Brāhmins proficient in the *Vēdas*. He also presented two villages in the conquered country to his own domestic priest Ranganātha Dikshita. As all these gifts were made within a fortnight after the fall of the fortress of Kondavidu in *Saka* 1437 (*i.e.*, 1515 A.D.), they may be taken as thank-offerings for the signal success that had attended his arms. (*M.E.R.* 1897, No. 272, see also *E.I.* VII, 17; and the Tiruvannāmalai record above referred to). On his advance against the Kālinga country, he visited Ahōbalam, on December 21, A.D. 1515. He then presented to God Ahōbala-Narasimha there, a necklace, a pendant set with diamonds and an emerald, wristlets set with rubies, a golden plate, and 1,000 *Varāhas*. One of his queens also gifted a pendant, while the king added the village of Madura for providing offerings to the God. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 64 of 1915). Next he visited, on the

onward march, the temple of Āndhra Vishnu at Sri-kākulam. So far, no inscriptions of his, recording any of his grants or gifts at this temple, have been traced. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency II*, 891-2). At Simhāchalam, apparently after the fall of Potnūru and the flight of Pratāpa-Rudra, he and his two queens made gifts to God Narasimha. Two inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1438 (March-April 1517 A.D.) record these gifts, which included a number of jewels. Later, in 1519 A.D., two villages were granted to this temple in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1894, Nos. 243-45). The last of these grants was evidently made in his name, in 1519 A.D.; by the Gajapati king after Krishna-Rāya himself had returned to his capital. On his return journey from Potnūru, he and his queens halted at Rājahundry and distributed rich presents. At Kālahasti, in the Chittoor District, his charities took the permanent form of substantial additions to its temple in the shape of a hundred pillared *mantapa*, and a big *gōpura*, now known as the *Gāligōpura*. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196). Similarly at Tiruvannāmalai, in the North Arcot District, the following additions were carried out:—at hundred pillared *mantapa*; a sacred tank in front of the latter for celebrating the floating festival; a reservoir called after queen Tirumala Dēvi to supply water to this tank; a *gōpura* of eleven-storays; a smaller *mantapa* for resting the image when taken in procession on the seventh day of the annual festival; a sacred car for Vināyaka; gilding with gold the door and door posts of the gate called *Uttama Sōlan* and others; gilding the cornices of the temple with solid gold as also the pinnacle; digging a well for the kitchen in the Goddess's temple; and construction apparently renovation) of the central shrine. Besides these, gold and silver jewels, images, etc., were also presented to this temple. (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574). An inscription found in it dated in *Saka* 1438, Dhātu, corresponding to 1517 A.D., records these

donations. At Chidambaram, he built the northern *gōpura*, said to be the best there. (*M.E.R.* 1892, Nos. 174 and 175. (Mr. Krishna Sastri has suggested that most of the big *gōpuras* of the more famous temples in Southern India must have been built in the time of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as also the additions generally known as 100 or 1,000 pillared *mantapas*. The *Rāya-Gōpuras* (or the tower of the Rāya, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya being pre-eminently the greatest of the kings entitled *Rāya*) at the different shrines of the south may thus be set down to his munificence. It might be presumed, accordingly, that his charity was extended to almost every temple throughout the south of India. (*A.S.I.* 1903-9, page 181, *f.n.* 4). These gifts and grants do not, however, exhaust what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave away. They may be taken to be representative of the larger and more important of his gifts, made on memorable occasions, to commemorate his victories or as offerings made with a view to winning victories. His gifts to scholars, poets and religious teachers were probably equally generous. The Shimoga plates which record a gift dated in 1513 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1), refer to the kinds of gifts he gave away. These included, according to it, *Brahmāṇḍam*, *Snarna-mēru*, and other like gifts. He is said to have made these gifts again and again at Kānchi, Srīsaila, Tiruvannāmalai, Chidambaram, Venkatādri and other places, so as to add greatly to his glory. The Shimoga plates themselves record the gift of a village in the Srīranga kingdom, to one Visvēśvara, a highly esteemed teacher well versed in the *Srauta* and *Smārtha*, ever performing the six rites, free of all imposts. One set of the Kallur *matha* plates, dated in 1527 A.D. record a grant in favour of one Nārāyana-Yatīndra of the Kūdali Ārya *matha* (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 84) while another set from the same *matha*, record another grant in favour of Vyāsātīrta-Yatīndra of the Vyāsārāya-*matha*. The latter is also dated in 1527 A.D. (*Ibid*, Shimoga 85).

Vyāsarāya was a great scholar and logician and is known as the author of several works of outstanding merit on *Dvaita* philosophy. Another grant in his favour (Copper-Plate grant 13 of 1905) is dated in 1525 A.D. and records the gift of a village called Bettakonda, re-named Vyāsa-samudram after the donee and Krishnarāyapuram, after the donor. With this village was given Kandakūru, close to which is the big tank Vyāsasamudram. Vyāsarāya also figures as the donee in another record dated in 1523 A.D. of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Tirumalai, Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1887, No. 74). Apparently he was a great favourite with the king. A poet greatly honoured by him was Allasāni Peddāna, who sings that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave him many villages and *agrahāras* in whatever province of the empire he desired. (See *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161-2). Krishna-Dēva's *guru* was one Gōvinda-Rāja (or Gōvinda-Dēsika), who was the recipient of a grant in 1516 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 115, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1907-8, para 68). Venkata-Tatārya, a Sri-Vaishnava teacher of great eminence, who was highly honoured and made the head of all Sri-Vaishnavas in the Empire and directed to be shown the first honours in every public assembly, was given a charter to that effect in 1523 A.D. (See *M.A.R.* 1918, para 110). He was given the power to punish delinquents in regard to religious and social matters. (*Ibid.*)

Another great religious teacher who is said to have visited Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at his Court was Vallabhāchārya. The statement is made by Muralidhara-Dāsa in his biography of the great teacher, who has been independently assigned to the early part of the 16th Century A.D. Thus, it is possible he might have visited Vijayanagar in his travels down south. Krishna-Dēva received him, as might be expected, with great kindness and honour and showered a golden rain on him, by performing the ceremony of *Kanakābhishēka*. (See *Sources*, 154-55).

From about the end of the year 1521 to about 1524, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have engaged in no wars of any importance, which required his personal exertions. During these two years of quiet rule probably occurred his triumphal march through his Southern dominions, which are referred to in some detail in the *Rāya-vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*. By about this time, he probably had finished his *magnum opus* the *Āmuktamālyada*, which is referred to below. To this period too may, perhaps, be set down many of the literary and other colloquies that he is said to have held from time to time at his court, where probably assembled the principal wits and wags of the time. Of these last, despite the 400 years that have elapsed, popular tradition speaks even to this day in no uncertain voice in Southern India.

Period of
quiet rule,
1522-1524 A.D.

If the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* are to be believed, Krishna-Dēva's grand tour through his dominions should have been in the nature of a great triumphal march through it, to commemorate as much his victories over his enemies as to come into direct contact with the people of the vast area he governed and incidentally to visit the sacred places and rivers and temples that lay in them. At Tirupati, he is said to have performed the famous sixteen great gifts and presented to the god there many valuable jewels and much gold. He also had copper statues of himself and his two favourite queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi cast and set before the God of the place so that they might signify their constant worship of that deity, to whom Krishna-Dēva was deeply devoted. He next moved on to Kālahasti, where also he made large grants to the temple and caused to be built many choultries for the use of pilgrims. He then visited Vandisvara, a place not yet identified, and worshipped there. Next, going to the south he visited Alagar-Kōil, near Madura,

Triumphal
march
through his
Dominions.

Madura itself, Srīvilliputtūr, Karuvanallur, Sankarānārāyanar Kōil, Tenkāsi, Trikūtāchalam (Kuttālam), Agastyaparvatam (Podiya Hill, famous in South Indian history), Gajēndramōksham (which has not yet been identified), Sālivatam (Tinnevelly), Tōtādri (Vānamāmalai), Tirukkuranguḍi, Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin), Srīkandūr (Trichendūr), and Nava-Tirupati (near Ālvār Tiru-nagiri). He made specially valuable grants to God Sundarēsvarar and the Goddess Minākshi at Madura and to the Goddess Āndāl of Srīvilliputtūr, his great work *Āmuktamālyada* being closely connected with the latter deity. He caused to be built the big tank at Srīvilliputtūr and spent large sums in constructing the stone-*mantapa* at its centre. At Agastyaparvata, he built a new *gōpura* (tower) and at Tinnevelly the *Tāmra sabha*, a big stone-built assembly hall covered all over with sheets of copper. He also founded a village called Krishnarāya-Samudram, after himself, near Tinnevelly. He then went to Rāmēsvaram, and offered worship there. Crossing over in barges to Dhanushkōti, he is said to have washed the blood stains off his sword and performed thrice the ceremony of *tulābhāra*, or weighing oneself against gold and distributing it amongst those present. After a stay of three nights there, he turned back and is then said to have passed on to Gōkarnam. This place should be identified with the one of that name in the Shimoga District and not merely with the temple of Gōkarna on the Mahēndragiri, 33 miles south-west of Berhampore, in the Ganjam District, or the minor temples of that name in the Ongole and Tenālī taluks of Guntur or the temple of Tirugōkarnēsvara at Tirugōkurnan in the Pudukkōttai State. Here, he is said to have bathed in the river and offered worship to Gōkarnēsvara and Brihadāmba, the goddess and gifted to them many valuable jewels. He then reached Seringapatam, on the Cauvery, and there duly worshipped the Ādi-Ranganātha

there. From this place, he, on an auspicious day, set out to his capital, which he reached after a long absence. Here, he offered worship in the temples of Vitthala and Virūpāksha and, at a great *darbar* he specially held on the occasion, at which all his relations and others were present, he publicly honoured Appāji (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Timma), his great minister, seating him on a costly carpet and performing on him *Starnābhishēkam* and *Ratnābhishēkam* (poured from over the head pieces of gold and the seven kinds of precious stones by way of admiring love and veneration). He also presented Sāluva-Timma with many costly jewels and clothing which are duly chronicled in the *Rāyavāchakamu*. The other generals were also honoured on the occasion, each according to his merit. (See *Sources*, 117 and Text, 127-129).

There is scarcely any reason to doubt the general accuracy of this march through his territories and his visits to the holy places mentioned in connection with it. It is quite in keeping with Hindu custom and entirely at one with the spirit of the times. His honouring of Sāluva-Timma at the end of his grand tour, in a special public Durbar, shows the great esteem in which he held his services, both to himself and to the Empire. His tour through Southern India is referred to in several inscriptions at Conjeevaram (*M.E.R.* 1920, App. B. Nos. 478, 513 and 569), all dated in *Saka* 1436 or A.D. 1514. Halting at Kānchi, he visited the Varadarāja temple and presented the *Punyakōti Vimāna*, which he gilt with gold at a cost of 1,000 *varāhas*. The gift was made in the name of his parents and the fact is recorded in trilingual inscriptions.

At about the close of this period of happy and quiet rule, Krishna-Dēva appears to have had news of Asada Khān's projected attempt on the mainlands near Goa and prepared to forestall him by taking possession of it. It is only on some such hypothesis that we have to explain

Sāluva-Timma's attempt on the mainlands of Goa, 1523 A.D.

Krishna-Dēva's despatch of Sāluva-Timma about the close of 1523 A.D., on this adventure. This incident is mentioned by the Portuguese historian Barros, though there is no reference to it in Nuniz, whose account runs even into the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, the brother and successor of Krishna. At about this time and even afterwards, Krishna-Dēva was on the most cordial relations with the Portuguese and there was no reason why he should have risked a war with them, especially as we find him a few years after, in or about 1530 A.D., seeking their help against Asada Khān, who had played such a treacherous trick on him in canvassing the death of Salābat Khān, his rival. The probabilities seem to be that Krishna-Dēva, with a desire to foil Asada's attempt on the mainlands of Goa, sent his chief minister to attack them and recover possession, as they originally belonged to Vijayanagar. Sāluva-Timma, accordingly, advanced on Ponda, towards the close of 1523, with a small force, but was beaten back. Shortly afterwards, in April 1524, Asada Khān made an attempt and obtained possession of the mainlands. As has been stated above, Asada was in rebellion against Ismail Ādil Shāh and so he should have acted independently in this matter, perhaps in his own interest. It may be that it was intended to prevent Portuguese proving as helpful to Krishna-Dēva as they had been so far, the more so as he had reason to fear the effects of Krishna-Dēva's wrath on him for the vile treachery he had had the daring to play on him.

Installation
of Tirumala-
Dēva-Rāya,
infant son of
Krishna-Dēva
Rāya, as his
successor,
1524 A.D.

According to Nuniz, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after his return from his expedition against Kulbarga, nominated his infant son, aged six years, as his successor and adds that "he abdicated his throne" in his favour and "did obeisance to him." From certain inscriptions, it is possible to infer that the son referred to was Tirumala-

Dēva-Mahārāya and that the installation should have taken place about 1524 A.D. (See below under *Domestic life*). He should have been installed formally as *Yuvarāja* and even co-ruler, with a view to his becoming successor to his father. This was possibly done to avoid any dispute as to the succession on Krishna-Dēva's death, the more so as there were still living, but in prison, the son of Virā-Narasimha II and Achyuta-Dēva, the younger brother of Krishna. Shortly afterwards, in fact within eight months, the boy was poisoned, it is said, by Timmanna-Dannāyaka, a son of Sāluva-Timma. The king was evidently enraged and cast into prison Sāluva-Timma and his two sons, after formally addressing them in an open Assembly of his nobles. Nuniz says that in seizing them, he "called for aid from many Portuguese who were then in the country with horses," which testifies well enough to the esteem in which Sāluva-Timma should have been held at the time and the suspicion, if not fear, which he should have created in the king's mind as to the probable consequences of his act. Whether the great Sāluva-Timma deserved this fate, whether he was really involved in the treasonous act and whether the inquiries that the king, presumably, should have made before he decided to mete out this punishment and what followed it later, are questions that can only be raised but cannot be answered. Timmanna-Dannāyaka escaped from prison and raised, Nuniz says, a revolt against Krishna-Dēva. Krishna-Dēva sent Ajaboissa, his new Minister, against him. He was caught and brought before the king, who, ordering Sāluva-Timma and his other son Gōvinda-Rāja to his presence, directed that they should be led to the place of execution, and there blinded and put into prison again. This was done. Timmappa-Dannayāka died, shortly after, in prison and as to Sāluva-Timma, what became of him, is not known. The nature of the punishment inflicted on him would seem to indicate that the evidence against him

cannot have been of the irresistible kind and that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya may after all have acted on the urge of a sudden impulse and in a fit of "anger," as Nuniz plainly tells us, at the murder of his darling son, on whom he appears to have built all his hopes for the future.

Curiously enough there are a couple of inscriptions in the Magadi taluk, both of which refer to prince Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya, the infant son of Krishna-Dēva, and Timmanna-Dannāyaka, the son of Sāluva-Timma. The latter was apparently governing over a part of the present Bangalore District. Both of these records register grants to temples, one at Magadi and the other at Kalnūr. The earlier of these (*E.C. VIII, Magadi 6*) is dated in *Saka 1446, Tārana, Vaisākha Suddha 13*, which would correspond to a day in May 1524 A.D., and mentions a grant by Timmanna-Dannāyaka himself in order that merit might be to Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya. Both were evidently alive then and apparently on the best of terms. The other record (*E.C. VIII, Magadi 82*) is dated in *Saka 1446, Tārana, Mārgasīra Suddha 2, Sanivāra (Saturday)*. This would correspond to a day in December 1524 A.D. This record registers a grant by one Kōnappa Nāyaka, described as the bearer of the Ganges water to King Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, said to have been made by him in order that *dharma* might be to both Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya and Timmanna-Dannāyaka. Apparently both of these should have died between the months of May and December 1524 A.D., which just covers the period of "eight months," during which, as mentioned by Nuniz, the great festivities following the installation of the prince took place; at the end of which, the prince "fell sick of a disease of which he died."

Ismail Ādil
Shāh's
attempt at
Raichūr, 1525-
1526 A.D.

Not long after the blinding of Sāluva-Timma and his sons, Ismail Ādil Shāh made an attempt to retake Raichūr. Hearing of his advance, with his newly fitted up

army, Krishna-Dēva, without even telling any one, ordered his men to saddle a horse and he rode at full speed in the direction of Raichur, which place Ismail had already reached. Immediately, however, he came to know that Krishna-Dēva had arrived, he incontinently fled. Krishna-Dēva sent word to Ismail that he had already twice broken his word and that he had not fulfilled his promise of making submission to him in person. He also threatened him with another invasion with a view to reduce him to subjection and to retake Belgaum, which had been long lost to Vijayanagar and was then in the hands of Asala Khān, Ismail's former general. (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 361-2).

In view of the projected invasion of Ismail's dominions and the arrival of the rainy season, Krishna-Dēva returned to the Capital. He forthwith ordered the preparation of a large force of artillery. He had come to appreciate its use at Raichur and was therefore determined to make it a special unit in his forces. On the way up to Raichur, he had also purchased 600 horses from the Portuguese and had thus strengthened his cavalry. He also sent an ambassador to Goa to ask for the help of the Portuguese Governor against Ismail, who had proved himself equally obnoxious to him. Krishna-Dēva promised the Portuguese Governor (Da Cunha, who had become Governor in 1529 A.D.) that after taking Belgaum, he would give him the mainland adjoining it, which the Portuguese had always coveted. But while thus getting ready for the war, he fell ill of pains in the groins like his ancestors, and died.

Preparations for war against Ismail Ādil Shāh.

Death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, 1530 A.D.

During the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the country seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Barring the one or two internal revolts, Ummattūr and "Catur," which were probably put down by the king in person,

The state of the country during Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's period of rule.

there appears to have been, so far as is now known, no disturbances of the public peace. Paes bears testimony to the fact that the country was very fertile and well cultivated and that it was thickly populated. It appears to have been filled with tanks for conserving water for the use of man and beast. The big reservoir built by the king at Nāgālāpur, the new city erected by him, has been referred to above. It was both an irrigation tank and a tank for supplying' able water to the city. Cultivation was encouraged by the assignment of land, free of assessment, for the first nine years. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 244-5, and 363-6). Paes also notes that the country had a coast line of nearly 1,000 miles (three-hundred *graos* of coast, a *grao* being equal to about 3 miles) up to the Coromandel coast, from which it had a further coast line of another 600 miles. There were at least seven ports on the west coast alone; of these, Bhatkal was the most important. On the East Coast, though we have no definite information, the old-time ports of Kayal (Caullim of Nuniz), Devipatnam (Dapatao of Nuniz), etc., appear to have served the needs of that part of the country.

For administrative purposes, the kingdom was divided into a number of provinces, as in the preceding reigns, over which were chiefs, who held office either hereditarily or served as Governors sent out by the sovereign. Among subordinate chiefs who pretended to be "Kings" were those of Bankāpur, Gersoppa, Barcalur (Bucanor of Nuniz), Calicut (Calecu of Nuniz) and Bhatkal. A great many of the Governors appear to have been Brāhmans. They held their offices on a feudalistic basis. Nuniz gives a list of the more important of these as they existed in the time of Krishna-Dēva's successor. There is scarcely any doubt whatever that like Governors and chiefs existed in Krishna-Dēva's time as well, as we know they did so exist during the time of his predecessors. Some of the more important of these held charge of one or more

provinces, to which they nominated their own agents. Thus, Sāluva-Timma, his premier, held at one time so widely scattered provinces as the whole of Coromandel and of the cities of Negapatam, Tanjore, Bomgarin (probably Bhuvanagiri in South Arcot District), Dapatao (probably Devipatnam), Truguel (*i.e.*, Tirukōil, which is an old name of Chidambaram, the temple-town), and Caullim (*i.e.*, Kayal). His territories were large and they bordered on Ceylon. To these, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya added Kondavīdu, when it was taken, and appointed his son-in-law, Nādinla Appa, to it. Sāluva-Timma's revenue was 1,100,000 gold *pagōdas* of which he gave one-third to the king; from the balance he maintained himself and his force of 36,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 30 elephants, which could not have been impossible as he never maintained, as Nuniz notes, the whole force required of him. There were over two hundred Governors like him over the whole kingdom. They rendered their dues in September of each year, at the time of the Dasara, when they visited the capital. The king settled the revenue to be paid and the forces to be maintained by each Governor. The total land revenue was 120 lakhs, of which half was paid over to the king and the other half utilized for maintaining their troops. For this reason, Nuniz states, "the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical." Of the sixty lakhs of *pagōdas* received by the king, he did not spend more than twenty-five lakhs, the balance being "spent on the horses, elephants and foot soldiers and cavalry he himself maintained." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 373-4). If any of the chiefs or Governors did not pay in their dues at the appointed time, they were "generally punished and their estates confiscated." (*Ibid*). The Chiefs and Governors used litters and palanquins for purposes of travel. Nuniz furnishes the interesting information that litters could be used by those who were "cavaliers of the

highest rank" while the Governors and principal persons used palanquins. At the king's court, there were always 20,000 litters and palanquins. The officers of the king included first, the minister; then the treasurer; then came those who dealt with the King's private lands, the chief treasurer and commander of the Palace Guards, the treasurer of the jewels and the chief master of the horse. The king had his own Secretaries, who kept a diary of all that he said or gifted. Favours bestowed were sealed from aring of the king, which was usually with his minister. (*Ibid*, 375). Each chief or Governor had a representative of his own at the capital and he regularly transmitted for his information all that took place.

Criminal justice was administered in a rough and ready manner. The punishments were heavy and though in keeping, perhaps, with the spirit of the times, they look to modern eyes as somewhat primitive. In this respect there appears to have been a falling off from the standards set up by the local assemblies of Chola times. The account of what he heard and probably saw is of great interest:—

"For a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if a great one, he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin, he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence, his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who became traitors are to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they may commit, he (the King) forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murderer unless the death was the result of a duel. For a great offence done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishment but they have

others more fanciful; for when the king so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him (*i.e.*, the King), that if you told a man on the part of the king that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on the back all day till you released him, he would do it." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 383-4).

It would seem from what Nuniz states that Brāhmins were altogether exempt from capital punishment. In extreme cases, they were blinded and imprisoned at the pleasure of the king. (See *Ibid*, 361).

The military consisted of foot-soldiers, cavalry, elephants, and artillery. There is no mention of chariots, so frequently referred to in the *Purānas*. The foot-soldiers, cavalry and elephants were maintained by the feudal chiefs and governors from their income and brought up for service as required. The *quota* to be maintained by each chief or governor was apparently settled by the king in person, probably in consultation with his Prime Minister. The king, accordingly, could assemble large forces whenever he required them. Seeing that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was able to put on the field nearly a million for the subjugation of Raichur, the statement of Nuniz that his successor maintained six lakhs of foot-soldiers and 24,000 horse, both paid for by his chiefs and governors, cannot be any exaggeration. The king had on his own account many horses in his stables, as many as eight or nine hundred, and four or five hundred elephants. These and the servants who had work to look after them ate up a good part of his revenue. Nuniz states that the king spent 2,000 *pagōdas* a day on the animals and the attendants together. Of the latter, there were in Achyuta's time, he adds, 6,000, some of whom received 1,000, 500, 300 and 100 or less *pagōdas* a year. This shows that they were paid salaries ranging from about Rs. 300 to Rs. 30 a month in modern currency. Of

course, the purchasing power of money was considerably higher than what it is to day. These 6,000 apparently formed the Palace guard, for, elsewhere Nuniz states that the king had "continually fifty thousand paid soldiers amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belonged to the palace guard," which latter included two hundred horsemen who daily rode with the king. (*Ibid*, 381). He had also 20,000 spearmen and shield-bearers, 3,000 men to look after the elephants, 1,600 grooms to attend to the horses, 300 horse trainers, and 200 artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and washermen, who wash clothes. He paid these "daily," giving them the allowance at the gate of the palace. "To his six thousand horsemen, the king supplied the horses and the provisions required for their upkeep; and horses with the king's mark were replaced, at the king's cost, by the chief master of the horse, on production of the skin of the dead horse containing the mark. The king, to meet replacement requirements, annually bought 13,000 horses of Ormuz and country breed. After taking the best Persian horses, he sold the country breeds to his governors and chiefs at five per 1,000 pagodas, whereas he himself bought at 12 or 15 per 1,000 pagodas. The transaction, which was put through during the Dasara, when the chiefs paid their dues, thus always ended in a profit to the king, who never took out anything for the purpose from his own treasury.

Though his primary strength lay in his infantry, Krishna-Rāya appears to have taken infinite pains to improve the cavalry by a system of continual purchases of superior Persian (*i.e.*, Arab) horses through the Portuguese. In view of their superior strength in infantry, Vijayanagar Kings called themselves "*Narapatīs*," *i.e.*, lords of men; called the Orissyan king "*Gajapati*," he being strong in elephants, while the Muhammadans were styled, "*Asvapatis*," because they were superior in

cavalry. In an inscription dated in 1515 A.D. (E.C. XII, Kunigal 25), Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is, for instance, described as a "thunderbolt weapon in crushing the mountains of his enemies, *Gajapati*, *Asvapati*, Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya."

The use of elephants in warfare continued practically unchanged. Nuniz's description shows that each war elephant carried a *howdah* providing seats for four persons, who fought from above, while the elephant made itself formidable by reason of the sword that was tied up to its tusks.

The use of artillery at the battles of Kondavīdu and Raichur shows that it had been adopted by about this time as a useful weapon of war. The siege guns employed at these places indicate some acquaintance with their utility. In preparing for the invasion of Belgaum, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had commanded the getting up of a large artillery force, which shows that the use made of it at Raichur had carried conviction to his mind. It is probable that the quick reduction of Kulbarga was due to this weapon of warfare.

Apart from siege guns and like implements, the only weapons used at the time by soldiers were arrows, swords, muskets, daggers and spears, with all of which, according to Nuniz's description, they were thoroughly conversant. (For an interesting poetic description of the use of horses, elephants and infantry in warfare and the enormous dust, raised by them, see Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu*, I, 42; see also for further references, I, 43-44; IV, 120 and V, 106 and 107 for the enormous number of elephants possessed and used by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in warfare).

Nuniz paints a rather distressing picture of the state of the peasantry in Krishna-Rāya's time. He suggests that the land being rented, "the common people

Condition of
the
peasantry.

suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical." Elsewhere he writes:—

"All the land belongs to the king, and from his hand the captains (*i.e.*, governors and chiefs) hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord; and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the King."

Apparently Nuniz could not have been correctly informed, for "nine-tenths," the figure mentioned, would have meant very much more than the customary portion, one-sixth part, and such an exaction, we know, would have meant not merely the ruination of the peasantry but also trouble to the King. (See under *Sāluva Narasimha I* and the causes that led to his revolution). Nor is the statement that the King owned the land even theoretically correct. Kings in India never asserted ownership over land; they only claimed a fixed share of the produce, apparently as a return for the services rendered by them to the State. They had, besides, their own private dominions which they owned like their subjects. The revenue from these lands helped them to restrict their demands on the lands owned by their subjects. Apart from this, there is reason to believe that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would have been the last to tolerate oppression of the peasantry. He abolished, as we have seen above, the marriage tax throughout his dominions. Virabhadra abolished it in the Lingadahalli country, in the Male-Bennur Province, "for the merit" of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his own father Pratāpa-Rudra. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 107 dated in 1516 A.D.; see also *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 79). In a record dated in 1515 A.D., Chāmarasa, who belonged to Krishna-Dēva's revenue department and remitted the same tax, is highly praised for the concession shown. The prayer goes forth, may he obtain "the reward of giving away a thousand cows, a crore of virgins (in marriage, a meritorious deed),

performing a crore of horse sacrifices, and with eight sons and abundant wealth rule all the Empire." The remission of this tax extended to all classes in the Empire and was apparently felt to be one of the most vexatious ever imposed. (See *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64, dated in 1510 A.D.) Sāluva-Timma, the chief minister, was apparently responsible for this remission in the very beginning of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign. He is praised in the last mentioned record as a great minister, "*Tantra-Nāyaka*," skilled in listening to instruction. It is evident he was not merely approachable but also amendable to public opinion, in matters affecting the welfare of the people at large.

Paes, who writes "we were so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us" and so should have seen him from very near, describes him thus:—

Krishna.
Dēva-
Rāya's
personal
appearance.

The king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage." (*Narrative of Pass in A Forgotten Empire*, 247.).

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is represented by Paes as having lived by himself inside his Palace, visiting the queens only on occasions. Commands to the royal ladies were communicated through Chamber-women, through the eunuchs, some of whom were great favourites. One of these, the latter, slept not far away from the king and received large salaries. (*Ibid*, 249).

Allasāni Peddana, the Court Poet, describes Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as a great athlete, who by regular physical

exercise had a well-built body set with firm limbs and firm joints. (*Manucharitramu* VI, 121). This is confirmed by Paes' description of his daily routine of duties:—

“This king is accustomed everyday to drink a quartilho (three-quarter pint) of oil of gingelly before daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil; he covers his loins with a small cloth, and takes in his arms great weights made of earthenware, and then, taking a sword, he exercises himself with it till he has sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestles with one of his wrestlers. After this labour he mounts a horse and gallops about the plain in one direction and another till dawn, for he does all this before daybreak. Then he goes to wash himself, and a Brähman washes him whom he holds sacred, and he is a great favourite of his and is a man of great wealth: and after he is washed he goes to where his pagoda is inside the palace, and makes his orisons and ceremonies, according to custom. Thence he goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths right up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted; it has on each side two figures of women very well made. In such a building he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom, and govern his cities, and his favourites talk with them. The greatest favourite is an old man called Temerseah (*Säluva-Timma*); he commands the whole household, and to him all the great lords act as to the king. After the king has talked with these men on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another; nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabayas*) and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he, to whom the king desires to speak, raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them, is that they put their hands joined

above their head as high as they can. Every day they go to make the salaam to the King." (*Narrative of Paes, 249*).

His sitting in state at the palace, on the occasion of the great *Dasara* festival, is thus portrayed by Paes:—

"There (on the dais of the throne in the Palace) the king sits, dressed in white cloths all covered with (embroidery of) golden roses and wearing his jewels—he wears a quantity of white garments, and I always saw him so dressed—and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of State. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes, coloured, the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them." (*Ibid, 269-70*).

Paes states that annually, on the occasion of the *Dasara*, his feudal subordinates brought and paid him a million and five hundred thousand gold pardaos (pagodas). He also mentions the great treasury maintained by the Vijayanagar Kings of old and how Krishna-Dēva daily added to it in his own time. He writes:—

His enormous wealth and treasury.

"The previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million pardaos, without taking from them one pardo more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives.....; from this you will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed." (*Narrative of Paes, 282*).

The existence of secret treasuries of the kind mentioned by Paes are well known in other parts of India, as for example, in Kashmir, to which reference has been made by Sir Walter Lawrence in his recently published book of memories. (See *The India We Served*, Messrs. Cassel & Co., 1928).

His hunting
excursions.

A vivid description of the royal hunt as it should frequently have been followed in the days of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is to be found in Peddana's great work. (*Manucharitramu* IV, 14-64). Apparently it was a well-organized affair, assisted by foresters and others. Evidently the hunting grounds were filled with preserved game. Those joining the hunt were evidently well dressed and arrayed and there were well-caparisoned horses, the many parts of their saddlery and other equipment coming from such widely distant parts as Ormuz, Shiraz, Gujerat, Paitale, etc. (*Ibid* IV, 28). The animals pursued included, among others, the wild boar, described as "tuskless elephants." The hunting dogs used, seem to have been called after fond and familiar names, but with a rustic air about them. Some of these names were:—Puliyadu (Tiger), Būchigōdu (Frightener), Asura-Pōtula-Rāju (King of Demons), Janumantigādu (Hanumanta), Chāngaluva (Chengalva), Sivāngi Bhairavudu (Bhairava, a name of Siva), Kaththera (Scissors), Sampagi (Sampangi), Vendigundu (Silver Bullet), Mallela-gudī (Floral Poker), Vāyu-Vēgi (Swift-as-Air), Chitilingadu (Little-Linga), Sālavadu (Sāluvudu), Vatsanābhi, Yēkalamula-Mitti, Gabbi, etc. (*Ibid* IV, 32). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was followed (see *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*) by Allasāni Peddana and other court poets on his excursions and invasions. What Peddana describes in his work of the hunt may accordingly be taken as depicted from real life. He shows a close knowledge of the characteristic qualities of horses and the animals pursued in the hunt. The very life-like scene he paints

for us indicates that it cannot be a mere poetic invention. Only an actual eye-witness could, in any case, have described so effectively the hunters partaking or packing of the results of the chase. (See K. Venkataramana Rao's *Introduction to Manucharitramu*, XI, Ananda Press edition).

Complaints for redress were preferred to the king either at the royal chamber or while he was out riding. Nuniz states that on the latter occasion, the complainant took the shaft of a spear and tied a branch to it and going along (the road) cried out. He then adds:—

Police and redress of grievances.

"Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain (*i.e.*, general or provincial ruler as the case may be), one of those who go with him, to do at once what the suppliant wants. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at Court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thieves be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land."

Whether the wizards were "powerful" or not, there can be no doubt that there were "very few thieves in the land." That speaks as well of the people of the country as of the government to which they were subject. The punishments being exemplary, they should have proved more than deterrent in the few cases they were inflicted.

The division of society into castes was in full vigour, though its occupational basis was never felt or allowed to

Religion and society.

be of a binding character. Thus, the Brāhmin followed not only his traditional occupation of teacher and priest, but also those of the soldier and the administrator. Paes, indeed, writing about 1520 A.D., states that there were among Brāhmins, not only priests and lettered men, but also officers of the towns and cities in the service of the king attending to government work; others were merchants and still others lived "by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds." (See *Narrative of Paes in A Forgotten Empire*, 245). He describes them as vegetarians. "They are all married," he adds, "and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brāhmins are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few." (*Ibid*, 246). Nuniz writes in nearly the same vein. "The most of them," he says, "never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake, the kingdom is carried on." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 390). The only other class of people mentioned by Nuniz are "Telumgalle," of whom he says that "when these die, their wives are buried alive with them." He must be referring to the caste known as Telaga, which in Madras Presidency to-day numbers about 4 lakhs of people, commonly classed under Kamma. Allasāni Peddana mentions the four castes under the names of *Viprulu* (Brāhmins), *Rājulu* (Kshatriyas), *Mōtikirātulu* (Vaisyas) and *Nālavajātivaru* (Sūdras). (See *Manucharitramu*, Canto I, 50). The cow was greatly venerated. "These people," remarks Nuniz,

“have such devotion to cows that they kiss them every day.” Paes, likewise, adds, “you must know that in this land they do not slaughter oxen or cows..... They worship the cows, and have them in their pagodas made in stone, and also bulls; they have many bulls that they present to those pagodas and these bulls go about the city without any one causing them any harm or loss.” Sri-Vaishnavism was in the ascendant, the king himself apparently being a follower of it, though by no means a bigot. His court poet Allasāni Peddana was also of the same persuasion. From the encouragement given to Vyāsa-Rāya of the *matha* of the same name, Sad-Vaishnavism of the Madhwa's school should have also received an impetus during this reign. In the temples, the system of attaching sets of dancing girls to them was in common vogue. They were the debased descendants of the *devar-adiyāl* of the early Chōla times. (See under *Chōlas*). According to Paes, they followed the processional gods with music to the temple and they were summoned for all the festivals at the king's palace. (*Narrative of Paes in A Forgotten Empire*, 262). At this place, they performed dances before the assembled audience and the king sitting in state. “Who can describe to you the great riches,” he exclaims, “these women carry on their persons?—“collars of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on their feet. The marvel should be otherwise, that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city (Vijayanagar) who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos* (pagodas), and I believe this from what I have seen of them.” (*Ibid*, 270). Allasāni Peddana in describing them says

that they excelled in learning and dancing. (L. 50). The rite of *sati* appears to have been common and is well testified to both by Nuniz and by the finding of *sati* stones, raised as memorials to those who had practised it. Nuniz, indeed, gives a long and detailed description, which, in the main, is quite correct and he starts it by saying, "the women have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, 391-93). This was the custom, he adds, throughout all the country, including kings, "except with that caste of people called Telugas, amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his (or her) own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband." (*Ibid*, 393). With this evidence, there is little reason to doubt the existence of this rite in Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time. (See, however, J. Ramayya Pantulu, in *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, 217). Animal sacrifices were common while human sacrifices seem to have been not unknown. Both Paes and Nuniz mention that for the large reservoir built near the town of Nāgalāpur by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, "the heads of sixty men" and "of certain horses and buffaloes" were cut off. (See *Narrative of Paes in Ibid*, 245). Nuniz states that the men were "his prisoners" who "deserved death." (*Chronicle of Nuniz in Ibid*, 365).

Enquiries
into temple
affairs.

The king enquired into the grievances of worshippers against temple servants. A rather interesting story of how Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's attention was directed to the irregularities committed in the temple at Tiruvalur and how those responsible for them were dismissed by him is told in the Tamil *Nāvalar Charitai*, which, though not

old in itself, perhaps, sets down a tradition which might be old in itself. One at least of the verses ascribed to one Kumāra Sarasvati professes to have been sung on the king's successes over Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa, and his marriage with the latter's daughter, while three others narrate the story of the mischief wrought by temple servants and the misery they had reduced themselves to. The unique part of the story is that the people who complained against delinquents trained a parrot to recite the poem to the surprise of the king. (See *Sources*, 155-56).

As regards the fighting quality of the troops, Paes Fighting quality of the troops. speaks very highly. "These troops are always ready," he says, "for duty, whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains (*i.e.*, provincial chiefs or governors) labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries." In the grand annual review of troops he witnessed, "there were," he says, "the finest young men possible to be seen or that could ever be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward." Paes also mentions the fact that the King had "continually a million fighting troops," of which, he says, 35,000 were cavalry in armour. He saw the king march from the capital, to a place on the East Coast, with "fifty captains (chiefs) with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry." "To terrify his neighbours, he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which, he is the most feared king of any in these parts." Despite this, the kingdom was not, he adds, depleted of its men; "it is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man." (*Narrative of Paes in A Forgotten Empire*, 280).

Paes gives a long description of the accoutrement and clothing of the King's troops as he saw in Krishna-Dēva's

reign. It is far too lengthly to quote here. He also mentions the Muhammadan contingent that was part of the army of the time. Of them, he says specially that "one must not forget them." They had, he says, "their shields, javelins, and Turkish bows with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles and I was much astonished to find amongst them, men who knew so well how to work these weapons." (See *Narrative of Paes*, 277-8).

Festivals and
amusements.

There could have been no lack of amusements in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The grand panoramic description furnished to us of the *Navarātri* (nine-days' festival as he calls it) at the capital by Paes, the Portuguese trader, should have made life pleasant and cheerful for the common people, who should have thronged to it annually to witness the displays held on the occasion. (*Narrative of Paes*, 265-279). The spectacle of the grand *darbar* held by the king in the palace, the wrestlers' matches, the dancing of the women, the torch-light displays in the evenings, mock-battles on horse-back, the throwing up of rockets and other different sorts of fires, the march past of triumphal cars belonging to the provincial governors in the order of their status, of horses, the rear being brought up by the State horse, of the younger maids of the palace quaintly dressed with gold vessels containing little lamps in them, and of elephants trained to make their obeisance to the king—all these should have added to the gaiety of the occasion. Of course, the festival gave ample opportunity for the sacrifices of numerous buffaloes and sheep, the last day of the festival being marked by the slaughter of "two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep." The close of the festival was marked by a grand military review by the king, which was evidently the grandest spectacle of the season. Paes

again and again testifies to its unique impressiveness and grandeur. He writes:—

“Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me by the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost.”

Then, again, he writes, lower down:—

“Thus accompanied, the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world were collected there.”

Describing the return journey of the king, reviewing the troops, he writes:—

“Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision and that I was in a dream.” (See *Narrative of Paes*, 277-9).

Paes was a much travelled man and one who could be presumed, from his *Narrative*, to have seen much of the world. His account of the spectacle he saw before him would seem to show that he could not have seen anything like it in his own native country, perhaps then reckoned one of the most advanced in Western Europe.

The drama and the comic opera (*prahasana*) appear to have continued as favorites with the masses. These

were in great requisition in spring time (*Chaitra*). Thus, Krisbna-Dēva-Rāya himself is credited with the writing of a drama, called *Jāmbavatikalayāṇam*, from the prologue to which we learn that it was enacted before those assembled to witness the *Chaitra* festival of god Virūpāksha at the capital. (See *Sources*, 142-3). From a lithic inscription from the Kurnool District, dated in 1514 A.D., we learn of the staging of a drama called the *Tāyikundanātaka*, the chief female part being taken by a dancing girl. They were rewarded for the labours by the grant of a piece of land. (*M.E.R.* 1916, 66; App. B. No. 558 of 1915).

Position of
women.

Women appear to have not merely been learned in some cases, but also proficient in arms. Nuniz states that there were 4,000 women in the king's palace. Some were dancers, others were palanquin-bearers of the queens and others again were domestic servants. Communication with the queens was entirely through these maid-servants. There were also among women, those who could wrestle; besides astrologers and soothsayers. The king had also women in his service who wrote "all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the (Palace) gates, and others whose duty it is to note all the affairs and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the king are well versed in music." (*Chronicle of Nuniz*, 382). The king's cooks were all women and they prepared food "for no one save for the king alone." He concludes by adding: "It is said that he (the King) has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women." Though this description occurs in connection with the account of the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, there is little doubt that it is applicable to the reign of his predecessor as well. (*Ibid.*, 383). Evidently, then, there were women servants,

musicians, dancers, soldiers, accountants, judges and historiographers. Apparently, they pervaded almost every department of activity in the life of the nation.

The chamber maids of the Palace appear to have taken a prominent part in the nine-days' festival of which Paes gives a graphic description in his *Narrative*. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 273-4). Their rich dress and heavy jewellery, the latter so heavy indeed that many of them could not support them and women had to accompany them "assisting them by supporting their arms," are set out in great detail by him. A peculiarity mentioned by him is that these maids appeared on the occasion of the festival in male head-gear. (*Ibid*).

A distinguishing feature in the character of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was his love of literature and patronage for poets. Himself a man of great learning, there is little surprise that he was a warm friend of the learned. His knowledge of Sanskrit was, perhaps, as profound as that of Telugu, while probably he knew Kannada well enough to encourage writers in that sweet tongue. At his court gathered the greatest poets and wits of the time. Whether the particular *ashtadikgajas* (or eight great poets) usually mentioned flourished at his court or not, there is no reason to doubt that the most celebrated of the period received his personal encouragement. Among the galaxy of stars of the first magnitude that surrounded him, Allasāni Peddana was undoubtedly the greatest. He was not a mere scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu; he was something more. He was that more rare bird, a true poet gifted with imagination. He struck a new vein in Telugu poetry. He brought into existence the romantic school—a school unknown to the ancients. Hence the title of *Āndhra Kavita-pitāmaha* "Brahma to Telugu Poetry" (see *Manucharitramu* I, 15 or) "Father of Telugu poetry." Though he derived the elements of his plot from

As a patron of literature.

the *Mārkandēya-Purāna*, he did not slavishly follow it out to the end or content himself with a mere translation of it. He diverged [from it as none else had dared before and treated his subject in a manner at once pleasing to the ear and satisfying to the heart. Even what he borrowed, he forged afresh in the mint of his own imagination. He outrivalled his master Srīnātha, himself a poet of great merit and power of delineation. Though not a dramatic piece, his work, the *Manucharitramu*, may be easily (and has been) dramatised very easily. His poetry is suffused with brilliant epigram, graceful descriptions, and wonderful music. It has become, so to speak, the touchstone of all poetry since his time. He was the author of another work *Harikathāsāramu*, which is known only in a fragmentary form. His work bears internal evidence that it could not have been written before the war against Kuburga (about 1518 A.D.) and the reinstatement by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya of the Bāhmani prince to the throne of his ancestors. The latter event is referred to by Peddana in his work in a verse (Canto III. 141) in which he praises Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as one who carried out with determination the restoration to the throne of the Yāvana King. (*Yāvana Kshōnīthava-sthāpanānāmandībhūta-Krupākātāksha*). The title of *Yāvanasthāpanāchārya* is given to him in a lithic record dated in *Saka* 1421, Cyclic year *Īsvara* (which do not agree, as *Īsvara* falls in *Saka* 1440). Taking the Cyclic year as the one intended, the restoration, which is historically a fact—as it is mentioned by Nuniz—ought to have taken place before 1518 A.D. (See above). In another verse he calls Krishna-Dēva the “Saviour of Kulburgi and Cuttack” (*Katburgi-Kataka-Khītirakshaka*) because he restored the territories of both these kings. (*Manucharitramu*, Canto II, 81). Peddana also refers to the conquest of Udayagiri, Kondavīdu, and Pottunūru

and to the sack of Cuttack; also to the defeat of Vira-Rudra, the Gajapati king; to the capture of Kāsavapātra; the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru; to his infantry, cavalry and elephant forces; to the capture of the queens of king Pratāpa-Rudra; to his queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi; to his immense riches; to his greatness as a donor of gifts; to his unrivalled knowledge of the arts; to his patronage of learned people; to his untarnished fame; to his titles of *Rājādhirāja Vīra Pratāpa* and *Rājaparamēsa, Mūrurāyaraṅḍa*, etc.; to his being the lord of the Kannadarājya; to his bearing the burden of the Hindurājya (as opposed to Muhammadan kings of the north); to his great learning, in which he is compared to Bhōja of ancient fame; to his ardent faith in Vishnu (i.e., Vaishnavism); to the great beauty of his personal appearance, etc. (See Introductory verses in *Manucharitramu* in Canto I, 11-42 and Colophons at the end of Cantos I and VI). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya seems to have been deeply attached to this poet. If a stray verse attributed to the latter is to be believed, Krishna-Dēva not only accepted the dedication of this work to himself but also he carried on his shoulders the palanquin containing the poet through the streets of the capital city before the dedication ceremony took place in the Palace in open Durbar; then wherever he saw the poet on the street, he stopped his elephant and assisted him with his own hand to a seat in the *howdah*; he presented him with villages and *agrahāras* in whatever province the poet wanted; he put on to his legs the poet's anklet of merit, saying to him, "you alone deserve it"; and he called him with the fond title of "Father of Telugu Poetry." This verse has always been accepted as a genuine one uttered by the poet himself, and what is stated in it has been confirmed from independent sources. Thus the grant of villages and *agrahāras* to him

wherever he sought for them has been proved to be correct by certain records. We learn from a lithic record found at Anniyur, in the Villupuram taluk of the present South Arcot District, dated in 1520-21 A.D., that he had been appointed Governor of Karivāchisīma. (*M.E.R.* 1916, para 66; App. B. No. 623). The inscription registers the gift of a village and land by *Āndhra-Kavita-pitāmaha* Peddirāja, son of Allasāni-Chokkarāja, to the temple of Varadarāja-Perumāḷ, which was completed and consecrated by himself at Annūru, the present Anniyūr, where the inscription is still to be seen. Annūr apparently seems to have been named after himself. As Annūr is described in the record as being situated in Karivāchi-sīma, which had been bestowed on the poet as a *nāyankara* (fief) by the king, it might be inferred that Karivāchi-sīma included the country round about it, which would be identical with a good part of the present Villupuram Taluk. This record adds a little more to the information we have about Peddana. While his Colophons merely state that he belonged to the sect of Nandavarika Brāhmīns and that he was the son of Chokkayā-mātya and a disciple of Sathakōpayati, it is mentioned here that he was of the Vasishta *gōtru*, *Āsvalāyana-sūtra*, and *Rik-sākha*. He claims to have composed the four different classes of poetry known to Telugu—*āsu*, *chitra*, *garbha* and *bandha*. Examples of the first two classes are known, though of the last two, none have come down to us. He was apparently a devoted Srī-Vaishnava in religion and the founding of the Varadarāja temple fully confirms this statement. Sathakōpa-yati, through whose blessings he claims to have obtained the poetic gift, was evidently a Vaishnava teacher of the times, named after the famous *guru* who bore that appellation. This Satagōpa-yati may be the Srī-Vaishnava *guru* mentioned in a record dated in *Saka* 1482, *Kālayukta* (1560 A.D.), coming from Dayyamdinne, Adoni Taluk,

Bellary District. This registers a gift of tolls from the *agrahāra* of Dayyandinne (*alias* Krishnāpura) in favour of the *matha* of Parānkusa Srī-Satagōpajīyamgaru, a Srī-Vaishnava teacher who held the titles of *Sarvatantra-svatantra* and *Ubhayavēdāntāchārya*. The donor was Srīrangarāja, who is spoken of as a relation of *mahāmandalēsvara* Srīrangadēva Srī-Venkatādri-rājayyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1916; App. B. No. 534). If this Satagōpa-yati was not the identical *guru* of Peddana, his predecessor may have been his *guru*. The *agrahāra*, which bore the alternative of Krishnāpura, was probably a grant by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the patron of Peddana. Another gift of a village to Peddana by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned in a record from Melpādi in the Chittoor District. It is dated in *Saka* 1441, or 1519 A.D., and describes the poet with the title of *Andhra Kavipitāmaha*, a mistake for *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha*. His father's name is given and he is spoken of as of Nandāpuri, *i.e.*, of the family of Nandavarikas, who are, according to tradition, supposed to have radiated from a place called Nandāpuri in the Bellary District. Three-fourths of the village of Tanaippūndi gifted to him was reserved by him to the God of the place and was subsequently given away by Peddana and converted into jewels and articles of service for the Goddess. (*M.E.R.* 1921, para 50; App. C. No. 105). Two other inscriptions mentioning gifts to and by Peddana, which come from the Kokatam in the Cuddapah District, are both dated in *Saka* 1440, *Bahudhānya*, or A.D. 1518. They do not materially add to our information about him beyond registering the fact that the village of Kokatam had been granted to him as a *Sarramānya* and he had in his turn granted different pieces of land in it to the Gods Sakalanātha and Chennakēsava Svāmi in that village in the presence of God Mallikārjuna on the banks of the Krishna at Bezwada. Apparently he should have done this in or

about 1518 A.D., the date when the gifts were registered. (*M.E.R.* 1927, Para 82; App. B. Nos. 715 and 716). It will have thus been seen that at least four records are so far known recording gifts by Krishna-Dēva to Peddana and by him, in his turn, to certain temples. These gifts pertain to lands in the present South Arcot, Chittoor and the Cuddapah Districts. Of these, the Cuddapah ones are dated in 1518 A.D., the Chittoor one in 1519 A.D. and the Anniyur one in 1520-1, the last being the latest in date. The Cuddapah records do not mention the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha*, while the two others do. Both Krishna-Dēva and Peddana lived ten years longer and it is possible that there were other grants to him and by him which may yet see the light of day. Much is not known of Peddana, not even his birth-place. But that he was well versed in Sanskrit lore and in Telugu and that he was held in high respect (much as a *guru*) by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is conceded on all hands. His poetry is mellifluous to a degree and it was until recently, in the absence of other authentic records like the inscriptions that are being daily unearthed now, the sole means of keeping green the memory of, perhaps, the greatest Hindu Emperor the South of India has known. From every point of view, the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha* bestowed on him by the king was well deserved; he was not a mere innovator but an enricher of the Telugu language and literature. His place has been permanently fixed with those who have been styled the *Kavithrayamu-vāru*, the great trio to whom the language owes its existence as a literary dialect.

Another poet who flourished at Krishna-Dēva's Court was Nandi-Timmayya, the author of *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, who dedicated that poem to Krishna-Dēva. His work affords glimpses into the history of the period. Sāluva-Timma, the Chief Minister of the king, added to his other eminent qualities, the one of a commentator.

He was evidently a *homo multarum literarum* and his work leaves the impression that he knew much more than the evidence he has left us of his scholarship. His work, called by himself *Bāla-Bhārata-Vyākhyā*, is a commentary on Agastya's *Champu Bhārata*. In the colophon, he describes himself as *Pradhāna-Sakalā-gama-pārāvāra-dandanāyaka*, i.e., Chief Minister and Commander-in-chief and one who had dived deep into the *Āgamas*. His two nephews Nāindla Appa and Nāindla Gōpa were both interested in literature, the former as a patron and the latter as a scholar. To Appa, was dedicated *Rājasēkhara-Charitramu* by Mādāyagāri-Mallana. In this work, we have a very full and interesting account of the genealogy of Appa, from which it would seem that his ancestors, like himself, had taken a prominent part in the administration of the country, since the time of Sāluva-Narasimha I. Appa was married to Tirumalāmba, a daughter of Sāluva-Timma. Mallana's work is written in a simple and chaste style and is of great interest from a historical point of view. Appa's brother, Gōpa, wrote both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He was the author of a commentary (*Vyākhyā*) called *Chandrika* on Krishna Misra's famous drama, the *Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya*. In the colophon to this work, Gōpa describes himself as the son of the elder sister of *Dandanāyaka* Sāluva-Timma, in the place where authors usually mention their father's name. This would seem to indicate the reverence and respect he paid to his maternal uncle. From the philosophical and historical points of view, the *Chandrika* is a work of more than ordinary value. In the *Krishnārjunasamvādam*, a Telugu poem in the *Dvipada* metre, Gōpa shows what he could accomplish in the popular tongue. He describes himself in this poem as the son of Timma-Dandanātha, brother-in-law of Sāluva-Timma. Apparently, his father was a Commander of forces. Sāluva-Timma himself is spoken of as *Sāmrājya Dhurandhara*,

a title well befitting one, who, more than any other person, was the guide and friend of Krishna-Dēva in his acts, civil and military. From this poem, we learn that Gōpa, when Governor of Kondavīdu, built the enclosure walls, the tower, and palatial buildings for god Rāghava (*i.e.*, Rāma) at that place. He also claims to have covered the temple with paintings and presented to the God there the good village of Maidavōlu, with processional images for the celebration of the festivals. These statements are confirmed by the bilingual inscription found on a pillar in the Kondavīdu temple dated in *Saka* 1442, or A.D. 1520. (*E.I.* VI, 230-39; *M.E.R.* 242 of 1892; also 255 of 1892 found at Kaza and 257 of 1892, at Mangalagiri, both inscriptions on pillars and in Sanskrit and dated in *Saka* 1443 or A.D. 1521. All these give a list of the gifts of Gōpa to the temples concerned.). An assistant of Gōpa, and one who appears to have walked in his footsteps in the matter of endowing the Siva temple at Kondavīdu, was Dēsayāmātya, the author of *Panchika*, a commentary on the *Mahimnastuti*. He was a student of Lolla-Lakshmīdhara, a profound and versatile scholar and voluminous writer of the time. Lakshmīdhara was the author of the Kaza and Kondavīdu inscriptions referred to above. (See *E.I.* VI, 117 and 233). He has also several works bearing on Astronomy, Astrology, Mantrasāstra, the *Shaddarsanas* and law. He appears to have been the real author of the legal work *Sarasvatī-Vilāsa*, usually attributed to Pratāpa-Rudra, the King of Orissa, against whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya carried on successive campaigns. Lolla, indeed, claims it as his own work in the colophon to his commentary on Sankara's *Saundaryalahari*. He was also part author of the encyclopædic work known as *Jyotish-Darpana*. (See *Sources*, 151-2).

Many poets are spoken of in current tradition to have frequented Krishna-Dēva's court and to have been duly

rewarded by him. But the rewards were usually preceded by tests, some of them provided by the king himself. These tests involved the carrying out of feats in which he heartily joined and took a prominent part. A favorite method of his was to set down a half-finished verse and to ask the poet to complete it in a particular manner. One of these stories—they are many—relates that Krishna-Dēva was so taken up with the cleverness of a poetaster who was also a consummate player of the game of chess, that he gifted to him Koppalu, a village which he renamed Krishnarāyapuram. The story is told in stray verses which are still popular. Quite a number of little poems praising Krishna-Dēva and his many qualities of head and heart have come down to us and these are repeated with great fervour to this day. (See V. Prabhakara Sastry, *Chātupadya-Munimanjary*, 150-62, for a collection of these verses). Among the many other Telugu and Sanskrit poets who are said to have flourished at his Court, but who might really have lived later, are Tenāli Rāmakrishna-Kavi, Bhattu-mūrti, Appalāchārya, Fregada Rāju-Narasa-Rāju, Rādhā-Mādhavakavi, etc. The dates of these are doubtful but there are grounds for believing that Krishna-Dēva encouraged *literati* generally at his Court and the reputation he left behind him in this respect is something far too remarkable for words. Verses on verses in Sanskrit and Telugu by different unknown authors could be easily quoted to show the esteem, regard and affection in which his memory was held by poets long after he ceased to live. Such praise and such glorification bespeak the vivid realities of a bygone age. (*Ibid*, 159-160).

A Kannada poet who received considerable encouragement from Krishna-Dēva was Timmanna-kavi, who wrote the latter half of the *Bhārata* in Kannada. He was the son of one Bhāskara-kavi and undertook the work at the instance of the King. As already stated, he

has given an account of Krishna-Dēva's ancestry in his work and the fact that it is dedicated to god Venkatēsa and Krishna-Dēva shows that the poet was really patronised by the King. Timmanna adds in his colophon that it was specially composed to "render permanent the great fame of Krishna-Rāya, the son of King Narasa. (See R. Narasimbachārya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, II, 189). This work is known also as *Krishna-rāja-Bhārata* and in the colophon it is called *Karnātaka-Krishnarāya-Bhārata-Kāthāmanjari*). Among other Kannada poets of this period were Gubbiya Mallanna, the famous author of *Vira Saivāmrutha-Purāna*, and *Bhāva-chintāratna*; Virūparāja, author of *Tribhuvanatilaka*, which relates the story of a Saiva devotee called Chēramānka; Nanjunda, identified with the Chengalva; and Nanja-rāja, who wrote the work known as *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, which is devoted to narrating the life of Kumāra-Rāma, the son of Prince Kampa of the first Vijayanagar Dynasty, though the particular Kampa referred to in this poem is not known. He may be a son of Kompa II, of whom not much is known. (See *ante* under *First Vijayanagar Dynasty*; also *Pedigree* at the end of that Section). Vyāsa-Rāya, Ōduva-Giriya, Chēramānka, Murigiya-Sāntavira, and Lingamantri, the author of *Kabbigara Kypidi* were other poets who flourished in this reign, though the last seems to have actually lived through some part of the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. (*Ibid*, 215). Of these, Vyāsa-Rāya was an eminent logician and Vēdāntin and author of a number of philosophical works bearing on the controversial parts of the *Dwaita* system as expounded by Sri Madhwāchārya. He was evidently a great favourite of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, whom he is said to have relieved of the necessity of occupying the throne, by himself occupying it at a specially evil moment, and vacating it, afterwards, for the King. The story will be found told

elsewhere in this work. (See *Vol. V*). He was also the author of many hymns which are highly popular to this day. These bear the dedication "Krishna," being sung in this god's name. Krishna-Dēva is known to have repeatedly honoured this saint. Among the grants made to him, at least three are known, dated in 1511, 1523 and 1527 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920, para 45; App. B. No. 370 dated *Saka* 1433, or 1511 A.D.; *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 153, dated in 1523 A.D.; and *E.C.* VII, 85, dated 1527 A.D.). His religious *Guru* was Brahmanya-tīrtha and his educational preceptor was Sripādarāya of the *math* of the same name at Mulbāgal. He was the head of the Vyāsarāya *math* at Sōsale and his life by a contemporary poet Sōmanātha-kavi by name, has been just published. (See *Vol. I* of this work, chapter on *Religion*). Other grants to Vyāsa-tīrtha by the King include one dated in 1516 A.D., granting 3 villages in the Chennapatna sīme. (*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 90). Another village was granted to him in 1520 A.D. This village (Jakkaranjanhalli) was renamed Krishnarāyapura and was situate in the Perinkūte-rājya while another village, called Kamērmēdigu, gifted in the Kundkagiri-rājya. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 107). Another great religious teacher who was honoured by Krishna-Dēva was Visvēsvara, son of Mādhavārādhyā, to whom he made a grant of the village of Yedatore, renamed Krishnarāyapura, between the Tunga and the Bhadra, S.-W. of Benkipura (modern Bhadravati). The king is said to have made the grant "surrounded with all manner of men and officials." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, dated in 1513 A.D.). In this record, Krishna-Dēva is described as a "King whose wealth was praised by the needy throughout the world, whose gifts are the support of the company of great poets." In another record, we are told that "his generosity (was) praised by the learned." (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 94, dated in 1511 A.D.).

A poet of some eminence and the official composer of the grants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time was Sabhāpati, who lived through the reign of Achyuta as well. He belonged to the famous Dindima family of Mullandram, near Arni, in the present North Arcot District, and produced without stint the uniformly florid descriptions, we meet with in copper-plates, of his patron's reign (*e.g.*, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, 84 and 85; *E.C.* V, Hassan 6; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 30; *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 132; *E.C.* III, Mandya 55; *M.E.R.* 1923, App. B. No. 683, etc.). He was evidently the Court Poet in Sanskrit as Peddana was in Telugu. His son and grandson successively occupied the position after him (*e.g.*, *E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 39 and Shimoga 83; and *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60, etc.). Another member of the family was Rājanāthakavi, who produced the two works *Sāluvābhyudayam* and *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*. Arunagirinātha, who was a nephew of Sabhāpati and father of Rājanātha, was the author of a comic interlude called *Sōmavālliyōgānandaprahasana*. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, para 78; also *I.A.* XLVII, 134; *Sources*, 108 and 53).

Krishna-Dēva could not have been so great an admirer and patron of poets and done so much to influence literature and literary excellence but for the fact that he was himself something of a true poet. He appears to have been a finished Sanskrit and Telugu scholar, and if even a tittle of the stories told of his literary judgment is true, he should have been both a wit and a poet of high order. In the introductory part of his poem *Āmuktamālyada*, he states, without any reserve whatever, that he had already written in Sanskrit the following works:—*Madālasā-charitram*, *Satyāvādūprīnanam*, *Sakalakathāsāra-Sangrahaṃ*, *Sūktinaipunī-gnāna-chintāmani* and *Rasa-manjari*. While on a visit, on the eve of his march on the Kalinga king, to the temple of Āndhramadusūdana at Srikākulam, near Masulipatam,

he had a dream in which he was commanded by the God in that temple that he should write a poem in Telugu. He had so far written many delicious poems in Sanskrit, and so there could be no difficulty in composing one in Telugu. That would be to the delight of the God, the subject set for the purpose being the wedding of Āndāl, a well-known one in Srī-Vaishnava religious history. Telugu was chosen by the God because He himself presided over the Telugu country; the country itself was Telugu; the King who ruled over it was a Telugu, *i.e.*, because he ruled over Telugu people; his subordinate chiefs were of Telugu origin; and of all the languages (of the south), Telugu was the best. Krishna-Dēva states that he undertook the writing of the work in accordance with the command and as directed, he dedicated it to God Venkatēsvara of the Tirumalai hill at Tirupati. The poem in question afterwards came to be known as *Āmuktamālyada* or *Vishnu-Chittiyamu*, a work in five cantos. It narrates the story of Periyālvār or Vishnu-Chitta, the sixth Ālvār, who is said to have initiated the king of Madura in the Srī-Vaishnava faith. Vishnu-Chitta found a damsel in a *tulasi* (*osimum sanctum*) bush and named her Sudikuduta, adopted her as his daughter and married her to God Srīranganātha at Srīrangam. In canto IV of the work, the story of Periyālvār's success over the Saivas at the Pāndyan capital is concluded, while as subsidiary to it, the life of Yamunāchārya, another Vaishnava hero who had also won victories over the Saivas at the same Court, is also graphically painted. This canto in fact may be said to be devoted more to Yamunāchārya's story than to Vishnu-Chitta, who, rather anachronistically, is described as having come after Yamunāchārya. Both according to Srī-Vaishnava tradition and history, as ascertained from epigraphic and other data, Vishnu-Chitta probably belonged to the middle of the 9th century A.D., whereas Nāthamuni, the

grandfather of Yamunāchārya and a disciple of Nammāl-vār, lived probably in the 10th century A.D., so that Yamunāchārya himself should have lived still later. This apart, the stories are told in an impressive manner, the scenes being laid partly in Madura and partly in Srivilliputtūr, in the Tinnevely District. Yamunāchārya is represented as a Brāhman youth, who, after his conversion of the Pāndyan king, married the latter's sister, and ruled over a part of the kingdom that was transferred over to him. He is then represented as a *Brahma-Kshatriya* and rescued from the kingly position by Sri-Rāma-Misra, a disciple of Pundarikāksha, who himself was a disciple of Nāthamuni, the grand-father of Yamunāchārya. How Yamunāchārya hands over the kingdom to his youthful son and with what words of political wisdom, is told by the royal author in a manner that is particularly interesting, as the political wisdom attributed by him to Yamunāchārya may, in part at any rate, be set down to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself, as this part of the work seems more autobiographical than biographical (see Canto IV). This aspect of the work is considered separately below. The poem has been sometimes described as that of Allasāni Peddana, written by him in the name of the king. (See Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 281). But recent opinion is decidedly against this view, which seems to have been at one time held on grounds which will not bear critical examination. There are many tangible reasons why it cannot have been written by Allasāni Peddana but only by the King, whose name it bears. They are the following:—

(1) Allasāni Peddana does not claim it as his own, while the King fully does so. We know that in certain cases a name is called after a certain king, and the poet who composed it has, in some other work, claimed it as his own. This has not been done in the present instance. (2) The assertion that

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was a scholar neither in Telugu nor in Sanskrit is one that has never been made by any one acquainted with the history or tradition of the times during which he lived. (3) The fact of his having been the author of several Sanskrit works, most of which unfortunately have not so far come down to us, has not been denied. (4) No competent critic conversant with the writings of Peddana would bring himself to subscribe to the theory that he could have been the author of the *Āmuktamālyada* as well. The style of *Manucharitramu* is entirely different from that of *Āmuktamālyada*. There is in the *Manucharitramu* a musical flow of language, though often intermixed with Sanskrit *samāsas*, which is missed in the *Āmuktamālyada*. On the other hand, there is in the *Āmuktamālyada*, a simplicity and elegance of language, mainly derived through use of homely Telugu words, which we do not usually associate with the poetry of Peddana. Peddana's descriptions are short, crisp, suggestive, and onomatopœic; whereas what we find in *Āmuktamālyada* is something different. The description of rain as appearing, for instance, in the *Manucharitramu* (IV, 11-12) has only to be compared with the one as we find it in the *Āmuktamālyada* (Canto IV, 76-136) to make sure of the difference in the authorship of these two poems. Unlike *Āmuktamālyada*, what little is known of *Harikathāsāramu*, the other undated work of Peddana, makes it clear from its very diction that it can only be Peddana's. Apart from these reasons, there is a certain humility displayed in the reproduction of the verses of other poets in the introductory part of the *Āmuktamālyada* which is noteworthy. Here, those descriptive of the king's meritorious and martial deeds and his genealogy and royal qualities are taken from the poems of contemporary authors and not written by himself. Such a departure from well-established usage would be meaningless in the case of an author other than a royal poet and

would not have suggested itself to a person who wrote for the king. Similarly, there is observable a certain dignity in the concluding colophon verses which, quite unlike what we find in other authors, are in metrical form and give us barely the name of the author and his royal position with a bare, but pointed, reference to some martial deed of his. A far greater reason in support of the position that the work could have been written only by the king is the existence of nearly 80 verses in Canto IV (205 to 286) dealing with *Rāja-nīti* (Politics) which is too practical to have been written by any one else. The poem, accordingly, has to be treated as a genuine work of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself and not that of his Court poet Peddana.

The historical value of this work has been referred to above. Its merits as a literary production are equally great. It would take too much space to refer to these here and it ought to suffice if it is stated that it is not only an elegant poem but it also well fulfils the conditions laid down by classical writers for a real *Prabhanda*. While the moral it teaches is beyond dispute, the altruism of its hero is brought out in inimitable style when the royal author makes him revert to his humble occupation of garland-maker to the God, on his return to Srivilliputtur, after his great victory at the Pāndyan capital. And this, despite the wonderful tempting golden mansion into which his humble cottage has been converted by Divine command! (See Canto IV, verses 35-38).

The story of Āndāl, the daughter of Vishnu Chitta, to which Krishna-Dēva's poem is devoted, is one of the most entrancing in the whole of Sri-Vaishnava literature. Her original name was Kodai, and though described sometimes as the daughter of Periyālvār (*i.e.*, Vishnu-Chittan), she was probably a fondling brought up by the saint. She is said to have been in her short life a *virgin* ministering to the temple at Sūrangam and Tirumalirum-Solai. Her contributions to the *Nālāyiraprabandham*

consist of 173 stanzas, of which the *Tiruppāvai* has been considered her finest poem. Her poems are devoted to the exposition of the life story of Śrī-Krishna, the epic hero. In her *Varanamayiram*, she describes the dreams of her marriage with Vishnu, and this song is now regularly recited at the marriages held among the Śrī-Vaishnava Brāhmins. She is so popular with the masses that her worship has eclipsed that of the local deity at Srivilliputtur, all the more important festivals there being celebrated in her honour. (See M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, 323-4). A curious inscription on her shrine at this place, dated in 1453 A.D., records a grant by a local Bāna chieftain called Uranga-villi-Dāsan. The record, however, registers the gift of a village in the name of the God Ranganātha himself, who is represented to be making the gift of a village for festivals while seated on his cot at Srīrangam (or Vadepungovil at Srivilliputtur), being pleased with her devoted love for him. The peculiarity of this record is that most of the preliminary portion is in the words of her own songs (*Tiruppāvai* and *Nāchchiyār-Tirumoli*), which describe her love for her divine lord. (*M.E.R.* 1927, para 89; App. B. No. 577 of 1926.)

Āndāl was also known by the names of Gōda-Dēvi and *Sūdikkodutta-nāchchiyār*. The latter name means "the lady who gave garlands of flowers after wearing them" and is thus accounted for:—Periyālvār used to prepare garlands of flowers for the god Vatapatrasāyi of Srivilliputtūr, but in his absence, Āndāl, his daughter, used to take up the wreaths of flowers intended for the god, wear them in her locks and placing herself before a mirror, admire herself with a view to make sure if she would, in that decorated condition, be a proper match to the Lord whom she always regarded as her would-be husband and master, taking care, however, to put them back in their place afterwards. One day, Periyālvār, noticing this

desecration of the holy garlands, scolded the girl and refrained from taking them to the temple as usual. But the god appeared to him in a dream and told him that the garlands which, according to him, were polluted, were all the more acceptable to him by reason of the sincere devotion of the wearer. On account of this, she is called *Sūdikkodutta-nāchchiyār* in Tamil and *Āmuktamālyadu* in Telugu. The latter has been chosen by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya for the name of his poem.

His views on
Politics.

The greatest interest, however, of the work lies in the glimpse it affords us into the Science of Politics which guided Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the governance of his vast Empire. The concluding part of the IV Canto deals with this subject (IV, 205-286). It is distinctly autobiographical in character. It ostensibly professes to set out the political advice that Yamunāchārya gave to his young son, when he abdicated in his favour. As remarked already, Yamunāchārya came long after Nādamuni (10th century), being his disciple's disciple, though Krishna-Dēva-Rāya makes him posterior in date to Periyālvār. The importance of his date will be seen when it is stated that the politics he is said to have taught to his son is far too advanced for his age. Krishna-Dēva's practical knowledge of administration,—civil and military,—is seen to great advantage in almost every verse of this part of the poem. It covers almost every aspect of royal duties and has to be taken, in certain parts, as setting out the prevailing practices and notions of the time. It might be taken as what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would himself have wished his own son—the youth who was so cruelly put to death in his eighth year—to learn from his practical experience and knowledge. The following is a short summary of the teaching put into the mouth of Yamunāchārya for the benefit of his son :—

- (1) Unceasingly labour at all times (of the day and

night) to protect the people. Redress the grievances of those who come and complain of the troubles they have been put to.

(2) The prosperity of the king who bears at his heart the welfare of his subjects will be wished for by them. You should not say, "Of what use is such a wish of his subjects for his own prosperity?" "For, if all his subjects unanimously wish for the prosperity of their sovereign, will not the God who is in them all bless the attainment of their desire?" The sovereignty of the king should be obeyed throughout his realm, just as the shepherd or the forester is able by the mere show of a stick to command respect.

(3) To the commands of forts, only well-bred and well-disposed Brāhmans should be appointed (for they alone can defend it against odds).

(4) If you appoint a man to a high post and then lower him in dignity, he will not think of his previous low position (and reconcile himself to his lowered status) but will think ill of the sovereign. So, you should raise people step by step according as they deserve such preferment.

(5) If you have a mind to appoint the following among Brāhmans to any offices (of trust and responsibility), give up the idea:—those of a low order; those who live amidst out-castes (outside the village); those who are unlettered (or unproficient); cowards; liars; cheats; those who are not afraid of notoriety; foreigners and those destitute of virtue.

(6) Do not employ those Brāhmans who have entirely given up their traditional avocation, and have been brought up at the doors of Sabaras (i.e., foresters). Did not, in ancient days, one such impure Brāhman, for a single meal, show his (petulant) temper against his protector? (The story of this is told in the *Kājadharma* section of the *Sānti-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*).

(7) Would not the (seven) limbs of Government be strengthened if a king obtained, at his own request, the services of a learned Brāhman, with knowledge of the science of politics, and aged between 50 and 70 years, free from disease and passions and descended from a family which had already seen service under the ancestors of that king? (It is suggested that only such a Brāhman is fit to be appointed as Minister).

(8) A king under the sway of a Minister, destitute of good qualities, is like a person who finds it impossible to wear on

his body a pearl as big as the *cucubris maxima*. Being unable to control him, and overcome by mental anxiety, that king will find himself in the hands of such a Minister. In circumstances of this nature, it is best for the king, having regard to the aid he can derive from his army and his wealth, to think out matters for himself and act, with due regard to propriety, whether he eventually succeeds in the work or not.

(9) Instead of entrusting a big work to one person, if it is given to many, they would, one beside the other, work at it and quickly accomplish. If, on the other hand, a task that requires many to accomplish it, is allotted to few people, its achievement would be impeded and the attendant difficulties manifolded.

(10) Wealth alone cannot accomplish anything for a king. He primarily requires the active friendship of great and good employees; to secure them he should be generous, merciful, and truthful and always show a genuine regard for friendship.

(11) A well-filled treasury and cavalry and other troops will prove of no avail to a king who has no good men to serve him. On the other hand, have you not heard that they will prove useful to your enemy, on the destruction of your own kingdom, for the absorption of other kingdoms into his own?

(12) Though the co-operation of Kshatriyas, Anghrijas (Sudras) and the rest should be sought (by a king), he will find it helpful to seek out those Brāhmans, who, from time immemorial, served under kings and made such service their means of livelihood, and employ them under him; for such Brāhmans will, with due regard to their customary duties, stand by the king even on critical occasions, though the odds may be tremendously against them.

(13) Do not employ a collector of revenue for the management of (charities) given over to temples, Brāhmans, and the like. If you do so, you would be tempting him to make up the losses in the collections from these sources, which would mean your own ruin (for money given away ought not to be taken back.) It would be best to have a single man told off for looking after these charities, for even if he misappropriated a little from the revenue resulting from them, he alone would suffer for it.

(14) A king who means business should, in the first instance, like the cultivator who runs up the hedge and then prepares the soil by turning upside down the roots in it, either by pretended friendship for the enemy or by the use of force, make the country his own and then think of driving out from it the enemies within it.

(15) Speak not harshly to the aboriginal across the frontier, for you are likely to turn him away from you (and thus lose the opportunity of knowing valuable secrets); think ten times before you speak to him. Even if you suspect him to be a liar, leave him alone in the opinion that you have not understood him.

(16) The Yerukulas (a forest tribe) have made their haunts on hills and in dense forests in various parts of the kingdom and are giving trouble to people round about. It would be mutually advantageous to allot the country adjoining their abodes to those chiefs who have been driven away from their strongholds and have immigrated into this kingdom. (The suggestion is that it would not be bad if the power of the immigrant chiefs was broken in their attempts to subdue these dangerous Yerukulas; nor would it be bad, if the power of the Yerukulas were broken up by the immigrant chiefs. Either result would prove advantageous to the State.)

(17) If the aboriginals across the border are many and strong, they are likely to prove irksome to the people in the kingdom. They should, accordingly, anyhow be brought under control, their fear being laid at rest. Being ill-cultivated people, with them disbelief, belief, anger, half-heartedness, extreme unfriendliness and unbounded co-operation are possible, even by reason of very insignificant causes. You ask, "How is that?" (Here is an example).

(18) When a Bōya came to another Bōya with the bow in his hand, he was conducted into the dining hall and there, provided with milk and rice. There, espying the boiling jute in the pot on the oven and mistaking it for boiling meat, which had not been served to him, he said unto himself that he had been deceived and that therefore he would upset it all and when his host turned up to show him the way out, he would kill him. If the host, however, while taking leave of him said unto him, "Would the jute on the oven be spoiled, if I tarried further with you," would not the guest, understanding his mistake, allow him to go?

(19) These aboriginal tribes, because they ate milk and rice, would not thereafter go against the truth they had uttered to you; similarly, if they mistook a thing, they would not think of the pettiness of the thing, but would think harshly of you.

(20) To subdue the aboriginal tribes, truth is the best weapon (*i.e.*, speaking the truth will prevail with them); to win over enemy kings, their ambassadors should be rewarded; to keep the infantry in a friendly spirit, the regular payment of their salaries should be ensured; to keep contented the cavalry forces, service should be enlivened with gifts.

(21) Never entrust the protection of precious horses and elephants in their respective stables to the lords (who are accustomed to ride and enjoy them and are not likely to know their sufferings) but only to a good and tried horseman or elephant-keeper.

(22) In an assembly, when a great personage propounds a proposition, it is usual for another, out of jealousy, to say "No" and hotly controvert it; you (*i.e.*, the king) should feel the position, and see to the propriety of things, and conduct the assembly to its successful end, without disputing the position taken up by either of them. Afterwards, if you ponder the matter well, you will find that adopting the suggestion of the person, who at first spoke *bona fide*, will be attended with success.

(23) As some ministers, looking to the nature of the enemies outside and to the helplessness of the king, dependent as he was on themselves, would, in carrying out their royal duties, encourage those inside the kingdom, and openly endeavour with the aid of a few, to enmesh him in their own net, he should try and rule without seeking the assistance of such wicked ministers.

(24) Such wicked ministers would see to it that those under their control got what they wanted while others failed to secure what they desired. They will falsify the king's promises, and declare, "Though told a thousand times, the King is like this, a promise-breaker," and make others neither trust him nor come near him.

(25) As when the inner heat has been lessened by the effect of cold, and the human body goes down in vitality, a strong doze of good medicine applied from without restores

strength to it, so if a new and powerful minister is appointed, he will nullify the mischief of such wicked ministers.

(26) Will not a wise and brave king who has at his command a well-filled Treasury, and well-equipped cavalry and elephants standing ready for his aid in his stables, shake off the evil influences of wicked ministers?

(27) If one morsel of food is lessened in the case of even one man (employee), they are ready to curse the king for it. Is there a single friend to the King? Yet the King ought not to say to any one, "I will not provide for you." Though he may not believe in some people (or in their faithfulness), he should act sympathetically towards them.

(28) If you show that you do not feel distressed at the ill-deed of one man, you will learn the behaviour of many. Have you not heard that when King Pānchāla showed to a great Muni, numerous cows for a painful sacrifice, that Muni declared that his elder brother would not feel distressed at the sin involved in the deed but would go on with the sacrifice—just as though I passed by a fruit, seeing it lying on an unclean ground, my elder brother (*i.e.*, a typical person anxious to grab at anything) without the slightest touch of feeling, devoured it? This is how we should learn (*i.e.*, by way of inference). Is it (humanly) possible to examine every thing that occurs (in this world)?

(29) When you have skilfully won success over an enemy who had intended evil against you at a moment critical to you, you would shine well if you spared his life. What fear is there from a cobra whose fangs have been removed? Such an enemy (whose life has been spared) would trust in you (*i.e.*, not forget your kindness).

(30) For developing the financial resources of the State, an increase in its area is necessary. But if its area is found to be too small and it is impossible to increase it, then if the tanks and channels in it are increased, and the poor cultivating raiyat is assisted by concessions, both as to cultivation and as to division of the produce, in developing his resources, it would help to augment both the prosperity and the wealth of the State.

(31) There is no chance of prosperity to a king, even though he had the territories composing the seven islands, who is served by officials, who, when his subjects are, out of disgust,

leaving his territory, do not recall them (by wise words) but, like the jackal in the field, say that it is best to annex their cattle and grain and treat (the materials in) their houses as so much desirable firewood.

(32) A King should divide his income into four parts (and use it as follows):—One part, he should use for the double purpose of gifts and for meeting his personal needs; two parts he should use for maintaining his fear-inspiring forces; and the fourth he should divert into his over-flowing Treasury. When the income is so utilized, this (mode of finance) would help him to look through the eyes of his spies, in the direction of enemy kings, his own ministers and other subordinates, and put an end to thieves in his own dominions.

(33) If a king's well-paid Police force does not with celerity bring to justice a thief, but allows him to escape from the prison, and on his escape, substitutes for him another (in the fear that it might be punished), would it not, as in the story of the stout merchant who was sent to the gallows, bring discredit to the king?

(34) A king should learn three out of four parts of a matter by the exercise of his own talents; the fourth part, which has been hid from him, he may learn from his (any of his numerous affectionate) friends. A wise king, who acts thus with good sense and without passion, is never likely to impose cruel punishments for any evil that might befall him and is sure to reign long.

(35) Like the Bhallooka (bear), at the top of the tree, which, while it has one eye shut and sleeping, has the other open and wide awake, a king should, while he is enjoying life or wandering away (from his kingdom), have his eye on his enemies.

(36) Because of their indestructible learning (learning is always held to be indestructible) or because of the indestructible faith he has in them, the King who gifts away cash and villages to *Sanyāsins* (ascetics) and *jatadhāris* (mendicants) and the like, will only make them, in their variety, to break the rules of their respective orders. By such breaches in their respective orders, the kingdom would be overrun by famine, pestilential diseases, and increase in infantile mortality. Towards these, (i.e., ascetics and mendicants), veneration ought to suffice. The sin resulting from not gifting

(cash and villages) to these ascetics and mendicants would do no harm to the king. He need have no fears in this respect.

(37) Listen! towards offenders, you should show clemency thrice. In the case of an offender whose liberation would mean trouble to you, before sending one to catch him, prepare the means (lit. arms) which should end him. (This is to suggest that in the case of a miscreant whose liberation would mean mischief to the State, any show of clemency would be misplaced.)

(38) Though the king is himself a great hero, he ought to put up with the valorous words of other heroes. If he does so, he will find that their enthusiasm (in his service) will increase (to his benefit). In this (practical) world, true heroes will find it meet to tolerate true heroism in their equals.

(39) A king should so rule his kingdom that he develops the increase of trade at his ports in horses, elephants, precious stones, sandal-wood and other sweet-smelling substances, pearls and the like. He should afford protection, with due regard to the propriety of their racial or caste scruples, to those immigrating into his kingdom owing to (the prevalence of) famine, pestilence, and wars in other countries. He should appoint only those who wish him well (i.e., those in whom he has implicit confidence) for supervising pleasure gardens, cattle-pens and mines.

(40) Until the opportunity arrives for it, a king should keep his anger against the offender (offending enemy) under control; but like the bowman who observes his prey and then draws his bow with all his might and lets it go on it, he should, when the moment for attack offers itself, swoop down on him, and crush him.

(41) Against a wicked enemy, a king should lead his forces for some days in a slow (and cautious) manner—he should march like the waters, which flow down slowly until they gather volume from behind and then discharge themselves with great velocity—move slowly until his contingents join him on his advance (against the enemy). If that enemy is strong, he is bound to flee back (for his life) by the (warm) reception he receives from the King's forces; if he is found, through (the agency of) spies, that he is a weakling, the king

should (boldly continue his) advance against him (and his forces) and surround (or encircle) him.

(42) When, without regard to their prior friendliness, the enemy king displays distrust in his own feudatories, and they are smarting under such suspicion, the king (who is anxious to improve his own position) should secretly send a word of encouragement to them, together with precious stones and jewellery and by the use of *Bhēda* (sowing of dissensions, one of the four modes of giving effect to foreign policy) make the enemy king to collect oppressive taxes from his subjects, take counsel with worthless fellows, and cede portions of his territories (to his neighbours). He (the king who is anxious to improve his own position) should, at the same time, avoid these (prevent these evils taking root in his own soil).

(43) When a king is in danger of losing his kingship (by reason of internal dissensions), he would do well, even by ceding half of his dominions, if he desired it, to an enemy-king, and by the aid of his unfailling (or everlasting) friendship, prevent danger to his own sceptre. Is not the fear of the loss of one's (kingly) authority greater than that inspired by the serpent?

(44) Why say a thousand words! a king must, by every means possible, ferret out the secret enemies in his kingdom and suppress them and move about as freely in his territories as he would in a bevy of ladies. If he cannot achieve this much, what is his kingdom for? Is not his kingship then but for the acquisition of sorrow? (The suggestion is that it is a king's duty, if he has regard for his own welfare, that he should make short work of his internal enemies).

(45) For seizing hold of the strong enemy king, who, out of fear, refuses to set his feet on your soil, it is no good exerting too much when it is more meet to induce him to slip himself into your hands. Is not the fisherman on the banks who has caught his big prey and is trying to gently draw it off by alternate loosening and dragging the rod the best example of this (policy)?

(46) A king should not possess the following qualities:— the inflicting of incommensurate punishment (on offenders); unskilful examination of fortifications; failing to afford an enemy scope for further negotiations; ruining a foreigner who, thinking of the ill done to him in his own country, is on a

visit to him trusting in him; discussing things with an amiable minister in a manner ill-understood by him; associating with people bearing ill-will towards him; treating trustworthy people as untrustworthy; yielding to flattery, freely to admit such people as are unworthy of being so admitted in circles where counsel is being taken; forgetting to punish a person who has freely divulged (State) secrets; sleeping over serious happenings though they are occurring before his very eyes; inconstancy towards those deserving of respect; associating with low and wicked people; being slave to lust, gambling and the like; and obstinacy.

(47) When a king is overcome by the three (well-known) kinds of evils, he should expend large sums of money (for their propitiations) on feeding, sacrifices and offerings, (through the agency of Brāhmans, Gods, and Fire in which oblations are offered). (The three kinds of evils referred to are mentioned by Vriddha Vasishta to be those sent down by the gods, those which have their origin in the earth, and those which are related with the heaven).

(48) A king should see that high dignitaries of the State and their subordinates are increasingly antagonistic to each other. By so doing, he would make it impossible for them to hide their good and bad qualities. Friendship between them would be the cause of sorrow (to the king). Being liked by the king, as celebrities, as those of equal status, and as those getting interested in being known as the upholders of the kingdom, those (higher dignitaries) would never wish ill to the king (if they were kept away from their subordinates). (The suggestion is that it is the duty of the king to make the higher officials of the State to look to him as the fountain of everything and thus keep them away from conspiracies and the like which might be attended with ill unto himself).

(49) A king should never go on a mission by himself. (To achieve his object), it would be meet if he ennobled another and sent him on it. A strong enemy is never overcome by a weak king. If the person thus ennobled (for being sent on the intended mission) is not endowed with treasure, territory (for governance), elephants, horses, and good sense, he would prove useless. If so ennobled, a person belonging to a caste other than the Kshatriya and the orders following it, would hold fast. (But) such a person should be one devoted to the king;

(and if he is so), he should be given the governance of a fortified territory with (the requisite) troops (to defend it). (The suggestion seems to be that only Brāhmanas should be appointed as Governors of provinces and not Kshatriyas and others as the latter are likely, at a convenient opportunity, to subvert the king's authority).

(50) You should grow thick the forests on your frontiers, but in the middle of your own kingdom, you should cut them down to pieces so that you may not be troubled by thieves (who might likely find shelter in them).

(51) To look at a critical eye on the actions of petty (frontier) hill (or forest) chiefs is like trying to wash the dust off an earthen wall. If you display anger against them, you never hope even to get into contact with them. If they are won over (as they can and ought to be) by means of honest words and gifts, they would prove useful for invading the territories of the enemy (who is beyond the frontier). They would prove also useful for plundering the frontier territories (if they are kept in good humour). To a king, to think of looking after every (conceivable) matter, to think of taking into consideration every (conceivable) fault of his (countless) subjects and to think of punishing an innumerable number of his subjects (for such alleged faults) is illogical (*i.e.*, impolitic and unwise).

(52) You should honour those merchants and others who come from distant islands (*i.e.*, countries) to trade in valuable elephants and horses with gifts of villages (in your territories) and at your capital with well-built houses, so that they (might be induced to settle in them) and daily wait on you. By such gifts and by offering them surcharged prices (*i.e.*, prices which would cover their profit over their cost and expenses), you should see that they (*i.e.*, elephants and horses) do not reach your enemy and that you make these (importing merchants) your own good friends. (This doubtless reflects the policy followed by Krisbna-Dēva-Rāya with the Portuguese merchants who usually supplied Arab mounts to him in preference to his northern Muhammadan enemies).

(53) A king should converse with good humour with the envoys and ambassadors from countries beyond his frontiers while they are being received in audience by him. He should speak of (civil) matters on hand and matters relating to the

forces (literally, sword) with precision so that those near him might understand him clearly (so that they might act on the instructions given). He should realize that speaking like that (clearly and precisely) in a friendly spirit to his own subordinates is not a mistake (*i.e.*, not against his dignity as a king).

(54) A king should not soon take into his confidence for purposes of consultation one whom he has but recently ennobled (and appointed to high office). If he did so, such a new man, enthusing over the successful manner in which he had won the confidence of the king, would, with great pride, speak of it to his friends, with the result that though the work in hand has been accomplished, it would end in disaster. Not only that; that newly made dignitary (who could not keep the secret) would also be ruined. Therefore such newly ennobled dignitaries should not be soon taken into the king's confidence.

(55) That King will sleep with his hands on his chest (*i.e.*, soundly and at ease) if he appoints to fortified places rightly disposed, well-read, good-mannered, brave, and prosperous Brāhmins of ancient descent and takes the necessary measures for keeping them in their places for their lives and through them obtain rare and valuable articles (for his use); if he, without deviating as much as an ant's space (*i.e.*, to the smallest extent) from his spoken word, grants to his feudatories the territories he has promised them; if he, without unduly burdening his subjects, raises a good revenue and puts into his Treasury the difference between his receipts and his moderate expenditure; and if he with the aid of such treasure, by the knowledge he has gained, learning through the agency of his spies, of the weakness of a neighbouring prince, swoops down at the right moment on his territories, as the eagle does on its prey, and enters and occupies it, without getting himself or his forces injured but inflicting heart-rending injuries on the bodies of the forces of his enemies.

(56) Whenever the King's receipts are spent on the purchase of elephants and horses, on their feeding, on the salaries of well-trained forces, on the worship of Brāhmins and gods and on the maintenance of his own dignities and upkeep, such expenditure shall not be considered as waste.

(57) At no time should a king offer a challenge to his enemy. When he goes on a war, he may not be able to

accomplish his object within the time fixed for it. Such an object might be realized by him at a later opportunity. Such a king (who puts forth a challenge), is he a man of action or a man of wisdom (literally, propriety)?

(58) If a king attacks his enemy in such a manner as to force him into a difficult position (so as to make retreat impossible for him) and beats him on the field of battle, his strength would be lessened, and his forces would be compelled to seek rest in heaven (*i.e.*, die in large numbers) and their forts and other places would be reduced by the use of different kinds of armaments and occupied.

(59) When a king has taken into his confidence a person and obtains his advice once or twice, it is likely that he will be sent for again and again because he has given friendly advice to him; but such a man, fattening himself on the wealth and other things of which he becomes the recipient (from the King), might begin to do things which might not prove in the public interests. It is the duty of the King to inquire through his reporters about the private character of such a person.

(60) When a chief on the frontier proves unfriendly to the king but friendly to the enemy (across the border), if it is possible to put him down by an attack it would be well to lead such an attack against him and finish with him. If it seem that it would be difficult to put him down by such an attack, then it would be advantageous to convert him into a friendly chief. When a chief across the frontier is found to be unfriendly and becomes an implement for use by the enemy beyond the borders, then, of what use can he prove to the King, except that he would be guarding the fort (across the frontier) in his own interests? (The suggestion is that a buffer State should be used in a manner useful to the King and not without regard to his own interests).

(61) You should conquer the territories and forts of your enemy; if their women fall into your hands, you should treat them as if they were born in your own family (*i.e.*, as your own daughters); and utter not harsh words to their envoys and ambassadors for negotiations for peace may have to be undertaken (through them).

(62) Even if you are tempted with the gift of gold as high as the Himālayas, you should only send your troops to occupy

and not personally proceed against the territories of Mlêchchas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) which are inhabited by people addicted to dissonant customs, which abound in waters poisonous to life, which are full of impenetrable hills and thick forests infested with diseases.

(63) A wicked but clever man will converse sweetly (with the king) and attain his personal ends; he will serve the king when he is enthusing over his own happiness. When he discovers even slightly that the power of the King is slipping away from him, he will desert him. A King who is desirous of distinguishing the good from the bad should be like an indifferent person.

(64) (a) The King should bring together the physicians and after getting tested his seven pulses, should obtain (from them) medicines compounded of gold and the like substances agreeable to his system and with moderate food and drink, with good physical exercise, and with (recurring) oil-baths put down (subdue) the evil humours in the body and nourish it. He should also by these means put the nervous system in good order, drive away evil symptoms in it, strengthen the different organs and limbs, protect its mid-regions with great care and thus so improve it by the testing of the pulses (as required) as to enhance without fear (of death) his life-time. By this means, he will be enabled to live a steady and uniform life (of happiness) and rule over his State associated with its seven limbs (*Saptāngas*).

The above verse bears a double interpretation: one personal to the King's health and another to his kingdom and its prosperity. The first has been given above and the other is given below:—

(64) (b) The King should bring together the wise of the kingdom and with their aid, and with the discriminate use of treasure, train them in such a manner that the strong enemy can be put down with ease. He should examine the irregularities appearing in the different castes of the people and set them right. By means like these (reform of the individual citizen and the caste to which he belongs), the King will be helped to strengthen the fortresses in his territory and the forests in its mid-portions, so that he might be enabled happily to rule for ever the State, embellished with the seven limbs (*Saptāngas*).

(65) The King would excel if he devoted the morning to the company of those who come to wish him good health, physicians and astrologers; a little later to the company of ministers, feudatories, collectors of revenue, *kayathas* (those in charge of royal work); the after-noon, to the company of *Jettis* (who engage in carrying out massage), cooks and kitchen attendants, hunters (who usually supply animal food to the royal household); the third part of the noon, to the worship of the family gods, to the reception of revered persons, *dharmādhikāris* (who are in charge of public and religious charities), ascetics (in charge of religious foundations) and to the company of such others; after meals, to (the frolicsome fun) of buffoons, to *Paurānikas* (*i.e.*, expounders of religious works), poets, and such others; the evening, to the company of reporters (or spies) and songsters, and the night to sleep and to the company of his beloved queen.

(66) There are (usually) three kinds of persons about the King—well-wishers, those who are neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers, and those who are ill-wishers. These will be described below.

(67) Physicians, astrologers, learned people, poets and *Purōhitas* (family priests) are well-wishers; those who are engaged in the duties of the collection of State revenue and the like are neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers; and those who endeavour to get back from the Treasury the amounts they have had to pay into it (as justly due to it) are gross ill-wishers. These (last) being as described, it is the duty of the King to remember what they are endeavouring to do and act accordingly (*i.e.*, in a manner adapted to the neutralization of their endeavours).

(68) It would be in keeping with the dignity of a King to amaze a fit donee, after careful examination (of his suitability), by presenting him with numerous gifts at the same time, as you see everything (you want) together in a dream or as the jack tree brings down its fruits simultaneously, and that even before he asks for them or others, seek to make mention of him.

(69) As the ceremonies to be performed for the satisfaction of one's ancestors and the Gods are matters worthy of careful inquiry at the hands of those proficient in them, you should, as imbued with filial piety, see that your ancestors reach the highest heavens by gifting what they desire to those

who are learned in the Śāstras, who are of good habits and suitable age, and are deeply devoted to Vishnu.

(70) (As the protection of Brāhmanas is the duty of Kshatriyas), the gifts that the King gives are for the protection of the Brāhmanas; and as the knowledge that everything has its origin in God Nārāyana and that everything one has is a gift from Him, is for one's own protection, you should most earnestly seek salvation at His feet. You should recall (the saying) that at the end of his reign, a king avoids the hell. As it is impossible to attain salvation otherwise, you should seek this only way to it.

(71) Oh! King, remember that it is only the fear of punishment that makes the wife respect her lord, keeps the sexes apart, each in its own line, that compels people to repress their passions (for the public good), that induces the lower orders to obediently work in unison with those above them and that secures to the king himself the services of a dutiful and loyal servant. (This would seem to suggest that it is the prime duty of a king to provide for meting out suitable punishment to delinquents in his kingdom).

(72) Like the man, who, wonderful to relate, after killing, becomes a dispenser of justice; after commingling with his wedded wife, a bachelor; after uttering falsehood for other's good, a votary of truth; after partaking of food (only twice as prescribed in the Śāstras), an observer of the fast; after turning away from the linguist (agreeably to the directions of elders), a hero; and after gifting profusely (to the deserving), a rich man: you should learn to realize the subtleties of the *Dharma*.

(73) The spy, a (foreigner) resident at the King's capital, the reporter who is in touch with foreign spies, and the man who has no sign whatever (*i.e.*, of nationality, religion or race) on him, would never enter such a profession (the profession of a spy) without the certain idea (in his head) that he would get more than he desired from the King and thus (help himself to) become rich.

(74) The King can win the merit acquired by the (prescribed) fasts only by the unlimited use of gift. He should take seasonal massages, baths, meals, sandal and other pastes (for the body), clothing and flowers.

(75) The King's dinner should ever be replete with sweet

and agreeable dishes; a short time after mid-day or at any time after that, dinner should prove healthy to a King.

(76) When the King has equal regard to *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, it would be a matter for satisfaction if *Dharma* preponderates over the other two kinds of duties, as it would be like the water, which had been obstructed from going to the paddy-field, being allowed to flow freely into it.

(77) You should (ever) wear on your body a shining precious stone; and (not only that), a King should have for each of the seven days in the week an appropriate ornament set with precious stones.

(78) No King should (ever) say (or think), "They say that this is kingship; after what length of time are we going to have salvation from it?" The *Vēdas* declare that one should do what is possible and not attempt what is impossible. (The suggestion seems to be that if a King, following, according to the knowledge vouchsafed to him, the *Dharma*, acts (in the public interests), and in the discharge of his duties inflicts punishments on offenders, he does not incur any sin whatever).

(79) Manu, Yama and others attained celebrity as persons imbued with *Dharma* only by reason of their having found out and punished many offences. For the sake of guarding over the people Brahma, gives birth, in the phase (*amsa*) of Indra and the other protectors of the eight corners of the world, to Kings, who, being trained agreeably to what is stated in the ancient *Vēdas* about *Vīrāt* and *Samrāt* and rendering themselves thus the equal of Indra and the other (great) Gods, endeavour to bear the burden of the sovereignty of the world and redress the grievances (or sorrows) to which it is subjected. If they do not do this much, would they be living justifiable lives? Are not even those thievish lords also loving their lives who enrich themselves by levying exactions, by the use of force, from imprisoned women and numerous others belonging to foreign princes? (That is, there are Kings and Kings, but he is a King who has regard to the *Dharma* and maintains it, irrespective of whether it shall benefit him individually or not).

No king should feel (or say), "Why all this fatiguing differentiation" about his (primary) duty of protecting the kingdom (according to *Dharma*). If you ask "How is this?", I shall

tell you. Formerly, in the *Krita* Age (*i.e.*, in the Age of Truth), Sahasrabāhu, the son of Kritha-Viryā, in ruling this world which he had conquered by the force of his own arms, used to divine there and then and present himself, fully accoutred in his arms and armour, before every person, whoever he might be, in every island or other part forming his kingdom in the very town where he was, at the very street corner he was standing, on the very day, at the very moment he was thinking of doing it and give the requisite command as to it (literally, punish him). But you will see that this (omniscience) is not possible, in this last (or Kali) Age, (*i.e.*, in this Age of Evil), for Kings who are mere mortals, and who are blessed with but limited strength (literally, troops). Why say that this (observation) is applicable only to the Rājanyas (*i.e.*, Kshatriyas only)? Are the Brāhmanas of this Age blessed with the capacity which their ancients possessed? One Brāhman (*i.e.*, Agastya of yore) kept down in the palm of his one hand all the waters of the ocean? One Brāhman, (again), created another world as an answer to Brahma's (creation)? (The reference here is to Visvāmitra). One (other) Brāhman (again) overcame by the use of his (simple) *Brahmadandam* (the ascetic's stick) the Brahmāstra (the weapon so-called the most powerful of its class) of Brahma. "Such ascetic virtues are not to be seen (to-day, in this Age) amongst us (mortals). What is the use of any effort on our part (when we are such incapables)?" So saying, could Brāhmanas give up, as far as may be possible for them, to live up to their standards of action? Are these Brāhmanas (of to-day), though they are of capacity inferior, when compared to their ancestors (of ages ago), not exemplars (in life) and (thus) fit for reverence to Kshatriyas and the orders coming after them? This being so, you should, as a man of prudence, agreeably to the judgment vouchsafed to you and without disregarding what you have heard (from the tales told in the *Itihāsas* and *Purānas*) and seen (in your daily life), protect the virtuous and punish the wicked. If you, without pride, do this much, leaving the burden of the impossible on God Nārāyana, all the objects you have in view will be as being in the palm of your hand (*i.e.*, attained). "How is that?" you might ask. (Here is the answer). A King who has been anointed to the throne should fix his eye on the *Dharma* and rule (leaving the consequences to themselves). Even the births of Varuna, Kubēra, Agni,

Dhananjaya, Indra and other Gods have been the results of action (sacrificial and other) begun in their many recurring births. (The suggestion is, even such Gods had to go through the process of rebirths as the result of their imperfect acts before they could attain perfection and be transformed into Gods). As the (mortal) world depends for its existence on the practice of *Dharma*, you should resolve on carrying it out, and pay off the debts you owe to the Rishis, the Gods and your ancestors and attain celebrity among your equals (of being a follower of the *Dharma*) and rule the Kingdom. So saying, Yamunāchārya anointed his son to the throne.

The above exposition of *Rājanīthi* is put by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya into the mouth of Yamunāchārya at the time the latter installed him on the throne. It might be taken to represent his own opinions, *mutatis mutandis*, in regard to the politics of his own time and there is not a little in it to confirm this view. It might be suggested that this might be taken as what he would have advised his own youthful son, the unhappy Tirumalaiya-Dēva-Mahārāya, when he crowned him Yuvarāja. However this may be, this part of his great work is interesting, first because it indicates Krishna-Dēva's political ideas and secondly because it shows the changes that the science of politics, as applied in actual practice, had undergone in his time in the south of India. The ground covered by Krishna-Dēva is large. It might, however, be remarked that it deals with the king and his duties under certain well-recognized heads:—

(a) The King's primary duties of affording protection to all his subjects and redressing their grievances are first stressed as all important.

(b) The mutual dependence of sovereign and subjects is then pointed out. The remark is added that this mutuality should not be spoken of lightly.

(c) The principle of obedience on the part of subjects is spoken of as all important.

(d) At various points is set down as a matter of practical

precept that only well-disposed Brāhmins should be appointed as Governors of forts, while those of the impure variety should be discarded. The policy underlying it is stated to be that if Kshatriyas are appointed to them, they might think of subverting the King himself. (This is entirely in accordance with what we know from the inscriptional records of Krishna-Dēva and from the *Chronicles* of the Portuguese writers. His Provincial Governors and nominees to forts taken from the Kalinga King were invariably well-trying Brāhmins who kept to a high standard of conduct in their own community, such as Sāluva-Timma and his brother Gōvinda, Kondamarasayya, etc).

(e) In the selection of the Premier, he insists on the selection of a Brāhmin between the ages of 50 and 70 years. Among other qualifications required are said to be learning and worthy knowledge. A minister who cannot be controlled is described as a danger to the King; he is compared to a pearl of the size of a *cucubris maxima*, too big to wear, though a pearl. Though full of learning and otherwise excellent, he might prove impossible from a practical point of view. Ministers should, he adds, be well supported by others to help them to carry out expeditiously their duties. Elsewhere it is added that the King should speak to those around them (such as ministers) in a manner that could be clearly understood by them. A competent staff is thus considered a *desideratum*. It is suggested that mere wealth can do little for a King unless he has, by its discriminate use, secured the help of others for carrying out his work. So important are good men that even a well-filled treasury and unlimited forces are said to be useless in their absence. Indeed, it is remarked that they might prove useful to the enemy!

(f) The separation of the administration of religious and public charities from that pertaining to ordinary revenue work is said to be a great necessity as otherwise missapplication of funds relating to such charities might result from their combination.

(g) The suggestion is made that the conquest of a country should be completed before the secret enemies resident in it are dealt with and exterminated. Conquest is thus divided into external and internal, the former being the reduction of the enemy king and the complete occupation of his country and the latter, the suppression of stray secret followers of the

conquered enemy, who might be a fresh source of trouble if they were not exterminated from it. Such extermination should, according to Krishna-Dēva, follow the complete conquest of the country.

(h) Friendly dealings are adumbrated in the case of forest, aboriginal and frontier tribes, as their help would mean much in knowing of the designs of the enemy beyond them.

(i) The chief of the buffer State is to be dealt with as a friend in case he is strong; if he is weak, he is to be conquered.

(j) The settlement of immigrant chiefs on territories contiguous to those occupied by aboriginal chiefs is recommended, as they are likely to neutralize each other's power and thus leave the king alone. It is suggested that such aboriginal tribes should not be allowed to be too strong, as they are likely to be moved by trivial things to take serious steps, to the disadvantage of the king. But he insists that the only correct policy with them is absolute truthfulness in all dealings with them. Enemy kings are easily won to friendship by honourable treatment of their envoys and ambassadors. Elsewhere it is added that the latter should always bespoken to in sweet accents.

(k) The charge of elephants and horses should, he says, be given only to soldiers and not to lords, who take pleasure in them only to ride them.

(l) It is said that as every one is apt to blame the King for any deficiency, the King has really none whom he can call his friend. The suggestion is that the King should not allow any discontent to exist—in the army or elsewhere.

(m) As regards administration, it is remarked that a large territorial extent is necessary for obtaining good revenue. If, however, the extent is small, even that small extent of territory should be artificially developed by increasing the works of public utility in it such as tanks, channels, etc., in it, so that the poorer cultivator may maintain himself and thus be the means of enriching the State. (This was actually the policy of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as indicated in excavating the tank at Nāgalāpur and opening up channels even in his distant provinces, as Kondamarasayya did in the distant Madura Province). If cultivators leave the State in despair, there is, it is urged, no hope for a King, even if he conquered the seven islands mentioned in the *Purānas* if he does not in a friendly

spirit try and bring them back into his State. (The abolition of taxation sanctioned by Krishna-Deva is in keeping with this view).

(n) A division of the revenue is next suggested. Divided into four parts, one should be set apart, he says, for charities and personal expenditure of the King; another, for the maintenance of horses; and two more should be lodged in the Treasury for undertaking conquests, etc. Elsewhere it is mentioned that money spent for the purchase of elephants and horses and their upkeep, on Brāhmans and the Gods and on himself for the maintenance of his dignity, is not wasted.

(o) The qualities to be possessed by a King are thus described:—a personal knowledge of affairs; a desire to know from those around him that which he does not know already about affairs; a quiet demeanour and a good temper; merciful in meting out punishment; wakefulness, while asleep or otherwise; sparing in giving gifts to ascetics and the like; readiness to forgive his subjects, at least thrice before he punishes them; readiness alike to put an end to an obstinate enemy when once he has been caught; and turning the glad eye to the boastful enthusiasm of his own soldiers.

(p) Special mention is made of the duty of the King in regard to the development of ports, wherefrom elephants, horses, pearls, precious stones, sandal-wood and the like are imported or exported. Such development, it is said, should enhance the trade of the State.

(q) The King is also to provide suitable facilities for the settlement of foreign immigrants who reach his territory on account of famines, epidemics, wars, and the like in their own countries.

(r) The charge of public gardens, mines, cattle-pens and the like ought to be given to his personal friends.

(s) As regards the mode of conducting warfare, it is suggested that nothing should be attempted until the opportunity offers itself, and immediately it does, he is asked to crush his enemy down. In conducting a campaign, the army, it is said, should slowly march down, being joined by contingents and then, with the army thus strengthened, the king may swoop down on the enemy. It is elsewhere stated that before he does this, he should have learnt of the enemy's condition from his "reporters." If the enemy is strong and shows a

disposition to attack, he will be induced to turn back by the reception he receives from the forces; if he is weak, it is best to encircle him and finish him off. In another part of the work, it is suggested that if the enemy is found to be weak, his territory should be invaded suddenly as a hawk does on its prey and capture in one advance. When an enemy is beaten, if his ladies fall into the King's hands, they should be treated as daughters born in his own family; and their ambassadors should be treated with mellifluous words, so that negotiations for peace may not be impeded. If the enemy's feudatories seem to be against him, they should be won over by the secret despatch of presents, etc., by which *Bhēda* (or differences) would be created between the King and themselves. (This was done by Krishna-Dēva at Pottunūru in his war against the Kalinga King). But if the King is, on the other hand, troubled by internal enemies, he would do well to make peace with the enemy outside, even by ceding half of his territory to him, so that a good ally might be secured and trouble from outside vanishing, he might be enabled to deal freely with the enemies inside. He should so put down these latter, that he is able to breathe freely in his own territories, just as he would in a group of ladies. A strong enemy is best caught by skilful management, as a good fisherman catches a big fish by the movement of his rod. (This would seem to typify the steps taken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to secure the person of Ismail Ādil Shāh). The enemy should be so beaten that he is left no escape and his territories and forts should be captured, it is said, by all kinds of implements of war. (This was what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya actually did at Raichur). It is, however, suggested that, except in the one case suggested, no surrender of territory by cession should be allowed to the enemy; nor the levy of oppressive taxes on the subjects; nor even the taking of advice from men of straw. (This was actually the policy of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself. The most oppressive taxes, like the marriage and other taxes, were abolished under his orders and his ministers were men of eminence and learning). The King is warned against advancing *personally* into territories poisonous to his health. He is advised to send only his forces against them. He is not to send challenges to his enemies, for their conquest may take time and may not be capable of accomplishment as desired by him. He is to

conserve the forest on his borders, while reducing them in the middle parts of his territory. He is not to deal harshly with frontier chiefs—it would prove like washing the dust off a mud wall. They are better kept as friends by the king keeping up to his words with them, by presents of vehicles, etc. He should not take a new feudatory into his counsel, as he is likely, out of mere vanity, to betray his secrets. He should keep an eye on adventurers and prevent them from making capital out of him for their own personal ends. With such he is to pretend as if he were an ignorant rustic. As regards spies, it is said that they should be paid well as they are not likely to take up that work without the ambition of making riches out of it. He should keep his superior and subordinate staffs at antagonism with each other, so that he might not be allowed to hide their good and bad qualities. He is to treat with special care those who import and sell elephants and horses for the King's use. He is to provide good houses for them to reside in at the capital so that they might be induced to wait on the King. The prices paid to them should be such as to allow them a profit. These steps, if taken, would enable the king to divert the sale of these valuable animals from his enemy to himself. (This policy was actually in force in Krishna-Dēva's time. He gave special treatment to Portuguese horse-dealers in his time. Figueiredo lived in a special house and he and his friends were received by the King at Nāgalāpur under special conditions and the purchases of horses from Nuniz and others appear to have been both frequent and profitable to them. See Paes' Narrative in *A Forgotten Empire*, 251-2).

(t) Detailed instructions are given as to the care of his body and the manner in which he should spend his time from morning till night, the kind and the quantity of food he should take and the jewels he should wear which are sufficiently indicated in the text as translated above. The King's environment is then described under the heads of well-wishers, ill-wishers and neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers and he is recommended to deal skilfully with each of these in the appropriate manner. Gifts should, it is said, be made spontaneously and handsomely to a fitting person, without request or suggestion from the outside. The worship of the Gods and ancestors should be provided according to the *Sāstras* while gifts are

intended to protect Brāhmins; the need for self-realization—that his own redemption depends on God Nārāyana—should be understood by the King. The proverb that “At the end of his rule, there is Hell,” for a King is quoted to drive home the lesson that the King should not forget his dependence on God for his own protection.

(u) The King, it is added, should not draw back to use *Danda* (i.e., punishment), for the coherence of Society depends upon its use. The keeping of the sexes apart from each other, the good feeling of the wife towards the husband, the control of the passions (on the part of the subjects), the co-operation of the lower orders with those above them, and the obedience of the King's servants depend on the fear it (*Danda*) generates in each of these. The King, however, though seemingly replete with contrary qualities—merciful while killing, commingling with his queen at the prescribed time and living a bachelor during the rest of the time, etc., (see above)—has to conduct himself in a manner to strike wonder in the hearts of his subjects.

(v) Finally, it is remarked that *Dharma* should predominate in his actions, though he should have regard to all the three kinds of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. No King should think that Kingship is a means of acquiring sin and as such, to be shunned. For, it is added that the *Vēdas* declare that the King should attempt only what is possible and not that which might prove impossible. Punishment does not mean sin; it is a necessary evil. Manu and others attained to fame by its use. Unless Kings are born and do their duties efficiently, would mankind survive the evils that overtake them? They are, therefore, in the *amsa* of the governors of the eight directions and discharge their duties for the good of mankind. Why all this argument; have there not been even wicked kings who have made money out of imprisoned wives and others and lived their lives at ease and gone? If you say so, it involves the argument of turning back on your primary duties. Did not in olden days Sahasrabāhu, the son of Kritavīrya, come down with punishment on every one simultaneously, wherever they might be, where they tried to do an evil deed and put them down? This may not be possible for the Kings of to-day with their limited means. Then, again, in ancient days, one Brāhman held in the palm of his hand the

waters of the oceans, another created a new world equal to that of Brahma and a third overthrew the Brahmāstra by the use of his ascetic rod. Such miracles are not possible to-day for Brāhmins, but, on account of lack of such ability, can they give up their duties or what they can accomplish within their limited means? On account of such lack of ability, have they ceased to be teachers to Kshatriyas and others? Therefore, according to your abilities, you should carry out your duty of protecting the good and punishing the wicked, leaving the rest of the burden on God Nārāyaṇa. If you do so, you will gain all that you might desire. You should, however, remember that the crowned king should always bear in mind that he should fix his eye on *Dharma* as an end in itself and carry out his duties. The worlds depend upon *Dharma* for their existence and as such, it is incumbent on a King to have always regard for it.

The poet Allasāni Peddana in describing the rule of Svārūchishamanu has summed up the ideal of Kingship of his time in the single aphorism: "that king ruled over his subjects with kindness as if they were his own children." (*Prajalām Prajalatla-aresam Kripā-matin*) (*Manucharitramu*, VI. 117). That is nearly what Asōka did as set down in the Borderers' Edict:—"All men are my children, and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and in the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity." Both in the Edict and in the *Manucharitramu*, there is the identical play on the word *Praja* (*Prākṛit, Paja*) which means both "Subjects" as well as "Children." That was the ancient Indian ideal aimed at by kings, wherever monarchy prevailed, and the doctrine survived into the middle ages and even later. The very first verse in the *Rājanīti* as propounded by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in his own work is confirmatory of this view, though he stresses the duty of protection a little more. "You should," he says, "ever prove an untiring protector of your subjects; when they complain, listen to them and redress their grievances."

The ideal of
Kingship.

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; unfailling 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