



**Indian  
Historical  
Researches**



**SOUTH INDIA UNDER  
THE  
VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE**



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA  
INDIAN HISTORICAL  
RESEARCHES

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**SOUTH INDIA UNDER  
THE VIJAYANAGAR  
EMPIRE**

The Aravidu Dynasty

HERAS H.

Vol. 30 (i)



COSMO PUBLICATIONS

22 cm

954  
J 39  
v-30. Pt-I

First Published 1927  
This series 1987

COMPUTER  
C.6747

*Published by*  
RANI KAPOOR (Mrs)  
COSMO PUBLICATIONS  
24-B, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj,  
New Delhi-110002 (India)

*Printed at*  
M/S Mehra Offset  
New Delhi

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
CALCUTTA-700010  
Acc No 50003  
Date 12.6.89

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Frontispiece.

Stone representation of Rama Raya's head.  
(By kind permission of the Curator, Bijapur Museum.)

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## PREFACE

FATHER H. HERAS, S. J., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has already distinguished himself in promoting knowledge of the history of Central and South India by two original papers in the *Indian Antiquary* on "The Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh" and on the "City of Jinji." He has now set himself to elucidate the history of Vijayanagara in the time of its fourth and last dynasty, that is, during the period 1542-1770 of the Christian era—a period but lightly touched on in Mr. Sewell's well-known history of Vijayanagara—*A Forgotten Empire*.

The period is, however, a very important one in the story of Hinduism, and it covers also that of the rise of European power in India—Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English—and of the struggles of the various European nations for supremacy, ending in the final victory of the English over all others. It was further a period of great Jesuit activity and of the general spread of modern European Christianity in South India. These considerations alone attest the value of its exhaustive study and the interest it cannot fail to arouse in all European students of the Indian Empire.

It is, however, a period of great difficulty, owing to the constant and varying struggle between Hindu Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan on the one hand, and on the other of never-ending local difficulties of fighting caused by the Vijayanagara system of governing through Viceroys, who were practically independent kings in their restricted territories and appeared as such to visiting Europeans, while the representatives of European powers took sides and joined in the general *melée*. History thus appears as an almost hopeless jumble of local struggle, and indeed it

requires no small research to put together the pieces of the puzzle, so that the reader has before him an intelligible account of the happenings at a period of Indian history of the first importance to those who would understand the conditions of to-day.

This great task Father Heras has undertaken, to my mind in the manner in which it should be undertaken. He goes into the causes which led to the conditions that brought the last Vijayanagara Dynasty—the Aravidu—into existence, and then writes up the history of it from original unpublished documents, as well as from the books on the subject, and in a long appendix he gives the unpublished documents themselves in their original languages. History cannot be more fairly presented.

Such is the method of Father Heras in attacking his subject and in this first volume we find that he commences with an account of the reigns of the last rulers of the Third Dynasty—the Tuluva—so as to show how the Aravidu family stepped quietly into its place in the person of the Aravidu minister, Rāma Rāya of Sadāsiva Rāya, the last Emperor of the Third Dynasty. He then gives an account of the administration of Vijayanagara under Rāma Rāya, the maintenance of Hinduism, and the foreign policy, especially as regards the Portuguese. As regards Rāma Rāya's clever and tortuous dealings with the Muhammadan powers of the Decan, a whole chapter is devoted to them.

Father Heras then harks back to South Indian History to explain the early Telugu invasions of the Tamil country, ending with the establishment of Visvanātha Nāyaka as Nāyak (king) of Madura and the story of his successors—introducing incidentally the doings of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit leaders. This is followed by an account of the Nāyaks of Tanjore, Jinji and Ikeri (the very name of which last once great city has since disappeared from the general Indian maps), and of the Rājas of Mysore and other

Euodatory Chiefs, including the obscure and curious Queens of Bhatkāl and Ullāl.

These minor considerations bring us back to the struggle between the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara and the Deccani Muhammadans, ending with their victory at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, the execution of Rāma Rāya and the end of the Tuluva Dynasty. This brings the Aravidu Tirumala, Rāma Rāya's brother, to the Vijayanagara throne and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda, giving the death blow to Portuguese commerce in India. His short reign thereafter was necessarily a time of confusion and trouble and constant struggles with the Muhammadans to the North of him. He was succeeded by Sri Ranga I, who kept the capital at Penukonda and fought back the Muhammadans. Under these rulers three Viceroyalties were established respectively over the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries, to the story of which Father Heras devotes two chapters, with details of Portuguese interference with their affairs.

History then deals with the affairs of Venkatapatideva Rāya (Venkata II), still at Penukonda, and with his struggles with his feudatory chiefs, and also with the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura, giving an account of that feudatory dynasty. At this point comes in the story of Father Roberto de Nobili and his unusual behaviour, of which one is glad to have an orderly account.

Venkata II had further many dealings with the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Jinji, the Kanarese Viceroy, the Rāja of Mysore, the Nāyak of Ikeri, and other chieftains, in which the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Jesuits were mixed up. Besides describing these Father Heras gives us an account of the dealings of Venkata II directly with the Portuguese, Dutch and English of the day, and a separate account of the Jesuits at his Court.

The volume then goes into minor, but yet important matters such as those of painting at Venkata II's court, especially by Jesuit Fathers, his family affairs and literary activity under the first Aravidu sovereigns. Finally the volume winds up with a most valuable chapter on the struggle of Sri Vaishnavism with other Hindu sects.

The above very brief *resumé* of Father Heras's first volume is sufficient to show what it covers and how the writer has kept the many conflicting items of history apart, so that they can be absorbed by the student without confusion of mind.

R. C. TEMPLE

## CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
33	4	Mamidipudi	Mamidipundi
50	7	manya,	manya—
54	36	Kaauj	Kanauj
75	10	Ibrahim	Ibrahim
102	23	in the woods escaping	in the woods
188	30	Portuguese	Portuguese <sup>9</sup>
328	note 3	Ibid., p. 243	S. Krishna- swami Aiyan- gar, <i>Sources</i> p. 243.
481	line 18	and then to proceeded	and then pro- ceeded.



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## INTRODUCTION

**THE** History of the Aravidu Dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire is the history of the Telugu domination over the Tamil and Kanarese people. No doubt the whole of Southern India was under the sway of Vijayanagara prior to the 15th century. But the former rules of the Tamilians had been either retained, as in the case of the Cholas of Tanjore, or restored, as in the case of the Pandyas of Madura, as feudatory kings under the powerful Telugu Empire. Now, when the star—once so bright—of Vijayanagara was on the wane, many of the old native rulers were replaced by Telugu chiefs, destined to become the founders of the royal dynasties of the South after the setting of the imperial glory. The same fate befell most of the rulers of the Kanarese country, though several of the old native chieftains survived.

To study the history of this dynasty without relating the events that turned those Telugu Nayaks first into feudatory kings and then into independent sovereigns, would be to mutilate the history of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara. Consequently we propose to deal with the whole history of the South of India, excepting Malabar, from the second half of the 16th century until the middle of the 18th, when the last representative of the old feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara disappeared with the usurpation of Haidar Ali.

It is needless to insist on the importance of this period in the general history of India. Between the dates just mentioned, the already flourishing Portuguese commerce in India met its death-blow by the first appearance in the southern seas of the Danish, Dutch, French and English traders. Deccani Muhammadans, Marathas and Mughals successively invaded the South, and shook to its very foundations the

venerable Empire of Vijayanagara. It was also during this period that Vaishnavism was firmly established in the South as a result of the onslaughts on Jainism and Saivism, after the preaching of Ramanujacharya. Finally the successors of St. Francis Xavier, who preached Christ's Gospel on the Fishery Coast at the close of the third dynasty, were actively spreading the Catholic Doctrine, at one time protected by the very Emperors, Nayaks and other chiefs, at another persecuted by them ; and one of these missionaries, Fr. R. de Nobili, founded at this time the famous Madura Mission among the high caste people, the effects of which it is impossible to pass over in silence in a general history of the country.

As to the contents of this first volume, I must justify my starting with the alternation of the reign of the two as monarchs of the third Dynasty. The end of the Tuluva Dynasty and the beginning of the Aravidu Dynasty are not marked or separated by any great fight or tremendous *coup d'etat* that puts before our eyes the latter and announces the extinction of the former. The Aravidu family, connected by marriage with the reigning Tuluva Dynasty, became increasingly powerful after the demise of Achyuta Deva Raya. Hence we have selected this event for the beginning of our narrative.

Thus we shall see the first appearance of the three representatives of the Aravidu family in the political world of Vijayanagara, and we shall be able to understand thoroughly the causes of its rise to power, even before the total extinction of the preceding dynasty. For, the real founder of the Aravidu Dynasty is certainly not Tirumala ; his brother Rama Raya, some years previous to the so-called Talikota disaster, had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne, which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

Therefore this volume will contain the history of the reigns of five Monarchs of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

Venkata I, hitherto simply called Venkatadri, whose early death provoked the seizing of the capital by Rama Raya and his brothers ; Sadasiva Raya, who saw patiently the rising of Rama Raya as well as his sudden fall in the national calamity at Raksas-Tagdi ; Tirumala, who finally succeeded in establishing the Aravidu family on the throne of Vijayanagara ; Ranga I, whose short reign witnessed the increased power of the Muhammadans, who were constantly menacing the northern frontier of the Empire ; and finally, Venkata II, known hitherto as Venkata I, the most illustrious sovereign of this Dynasty, who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nayaks in the South, caused the Rajas of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and the fine arts throughout his vast dominions. The civil war that followed his death hastened the decay of the Empire.



# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

In any historical work, the author, besides the sources from which he has gathered his information, must have consulted many works either directly on the subject, or referring to it in some way. Hence the two parts of this Introduction : I. Contemporary Sources. II. Literature.

## I CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Naturally the *sources*, in order to have the necessary authority demanded by modern history, must be contemporary. This word however has a comprehensive meaning. Under it those works or documents are also contained which, although not strictly contemporary, bear nevertheless such a stamp of antiquity and authority that they are unquestionably accepted as historical sources. Such are also those works which are based on ancient contemporary documents. In fact if history is written as it should be, it is not always possible to draw the line between sources and literature.

These sources may be unpublished or published :—

### 1. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

#### A. From the *Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona. *Poona Persian Poem* (P.P.P.)

We have given this name to a manuscript Persian Poem belonging to the collection of the *Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.

It is a volume measuring 8 × 4 inches, richly bound in leather, with gilt patterns on the front cover; the binding however is badly worn. It contains 49 loose leaves of thick Daulatabadi paper sprinkled with gold, *i.e.*, 98 pages numbered with Sanskrit characters in pencil, beginning from the last page of the Persian manuscript. These pages are much damaged and worm-eaten. All bear the stamp of the Mandala. Between these and the cover both at the beginning and the end there are four leaves of an inferior kind of paper, a little whiter, containing some Persian writings which have no connection with the subject of the poem. There are 12 full-page coloured paintings, some of which are reproduced in this volume by the kind permission of the Honorary Secretaries of the Mandala. Each painting is covered with modern

white paper. On the first page of the volume there is the seal of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah. Its inscription runs as follows: *Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi—1132 (A.H.)* This seal is half obliterated as well as the following lines in Persian written on the same page: *Book of praise of Hassan (sic), King of Deccan. With 14 pictures, 49 leaves and 4 pages unwritten.* In the upper left corner there was another seal now totally effaced, which might perhaps be the seal of one of the Ahmadnagar Sultans. Moreover on the same page two small square seals may be seen, bearing the following inscription: *1350 Puran Chand.* Three other impressions of this seal are found in one of the last blank pages of the manuscript.

The poem begins on page 2 with an introduction headed by a beautifully painted pattern; in the middle of which, on a golden field, we read the following common inscription: *In the name of God, the generous, the merciful.* Besides this introduction the poem contains 11 cantos, the last of which is unfinished. The titles of these cantos are as follows:—

- I. Praises of God.
- II. Praises of the Prophet.
- III. The Virtues of the Lord.
- IV. The Beginning of the Reign of Hussain Nizam Shah.
- V. The Beauty and Nature of Humayun Shah.
- VI. The Marriage of Hussain Nizam Shah and Humayun Shah.
- VII. The Durbar of Hussain Nizam Shah who admires the Beauty of Humayun Shah.
- VIII. Praise of love and lovers.
- IX. Hussain Nizam Shah musters an army against the infidels and marches on Bijanagar.
- X. Hussain Shah's fight with Rama Raja, King of Bijanagar and his victory.
- XI. Return of Hussain Shah, from the war with the infidels and conquest of Bijanagar, to Ahmadnagar and his passing from this abode of destruction to the eternal abode.

The writing is done in very black Indian ink and with extraordinarily beautiful penmanship. The verses are always enclosed within a rectangular blank and gold border, which leaves a margin of about an inch. The verses of the introduction are underlined with gold; occasionally there are some



verses written in the margin. The poem was suddenly interrupted and left unfinished but the three last pages are already bordered, waiting its completion.

The poem was, no doubt, written by a Court poet of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, the history of whose reign is the argument of the poem. Though begun perhaps during his own reign, it was certainly continued during the beginning of the reign of his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, while his mother Bibi Konzah Humayun was governing on his behalf for three years<sup>1</sup>. This is proved by the fact that there is a full canto in honour of the Sultana. Such an extraordinary piece of flattery would be unintelligible, unless written while she was the ruler of the state. Now from the fact that the last canto of the poem is abruptly cut short (so much so that even the death of the Sultan—the account of which is promised in the heading of the canto—is not narrated) we may safely conclude that the work was suddenly interrupted during the political upheaval caused by the Regent's imprisonment. The poem itself is of very little historical importance; the paintings are much more interesting.

This copy of the poem was, no doubt, intended for the library of the Sultan himself, as the richness of its execution clearly shows. When Ahmadnagar fell into the possession of the Mughals, the manuscript went, either at once or some years later—perhaps during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719—1748), whose seal appears on the first page—to Burhampur, a place which at times was the capital of the Mughal Deccan. There it was found in the possession of a private person by the late Mr. Pandurang Narasinha Patvardhan of Poona, who forwarded it to the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala.

I owe the English Translation of the three cantos of this poem, published in *Appendix A*, to Mr. Mohamed Kazem Nemazi, B. A., Professor of Persian in our College.

B. From the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim.

*Moncoes do Reino*. These volumes measuring 10 × 6 inches as a general rule contain letters both from the Kings of Portugal to their Viceroy or Governors of Goa and from the Viceroy and Governors to the Kings. Occasionally other documents are found referring to the subjects mentioned in those letters. The King's letters are always originals, with

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 195-6 and 207; *Ferishtah—Briggs*, III, p. 250-3.

the autograph signature of the monarch himself, and sometimes still bearing his royal seal. At times two or three copies of the same letter, all signed by the King, may be found; they were sent in duplicate by different vessels in order to prevent their being lost on such a long and perilous voyage. The Viceroy's letters are always copies—first copies most likely—made from the original before it was sent to Portugal. A few of the Viceroy's letters are merely drafts. In this volume use has been made of letters belonging to seven different volumes; they will be found in *Appendix B*. As a general rule, only extracts referring to the subject of this history are reproduced.

### C. From the *Archives of the Society of Jesus*

Much use has been made of the Jesuit documents to illustrate the history of the Mughal Empire, specially during the reign of Akbar. But they have been studied very little by South Indian Scholars. Mr. G. H. Nelson, in *The Madura Manual*, and Prof. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar in his *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, are the only authors who have used the Southern Jesuit's letters in their works. But unfortunately they knew these letters only through the work of Fr. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, in which these documents appear in a French translation, which is far from accurate. Fortunately through the kindness both of Very Rev. Fr. J. Planchard, Superior of the Madura Mission, and of Fr. J. Castets, in charge of the Archives of the Mission, I was allowed to see and copy a number of photographs of Jesuit letters from Southern India, the originals of which are preserved in Europe. These documents are of three different kinds:—

(a) *Litterae Annuae*. These are the official letters sent annually from every Province or Mission to the General of the Society of Jesus residing at Rome. While narrating the state of the Mission they occasionally give precious information about the civil conditions of the country. Sometimes also, specially in later years, a detailed account of the civil conditions of the country in which the missionaries are working is given at the beginning of the letter.

(b) *Private Letters*. These are not official letters but are those addressed either by the Provincial or by the Missionary Fathers to the General of the Jesuits or to other Fathers in Europe. All these letters, both official and private, are originals. Of their historical value Mr. Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 6-7, speaks very highly.

(c) The only other document which has been made use of in the present volume is a protest sent to the King of Spain and Portugal against the Jesuits of the South, and specially against those working at Chandragiri. The document photographed is only a copy of the original memorial. It is published at the end of *Appendix C*.

Space does not allow of a full description of all these Jesuit documents. As mentioned above, I have only worked upon their photographs, and no scale is given from which to deduce their real size.

#### D. From the *Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore*

By the kindness of the Most Rev. Mgr. A. Teixeira, Administrator Apostolic of the Mylapore Diocese, and of his Secretary Very Rev. Fr. Carvalho, I was able to collect only a few documents from the Diocesan Archives. The oldest of them seem to have been destroyed during the deprivations of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. The two documents published in *Appendix D* are not of great importance. Both are copies made in relatively modern times. Their size is 12 x 6 inches.

#### E. Other MSS

(a) *Obras varias Manu-Scriptas: Que comprehende todas as que constao do Index desde (sic) Tomo 1<sup>o</sup>*. A Volume 12 x 9 inch. containing copies of documents connected with Portuguese history, most likely from the originals in the Torre do Tombo. Leaves are only numbered, not pages. The book belongs to the Satara Museum of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasins, to whose memory I am highly indebted for his extreme kindness.

(b) The Very Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, M. A., late President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, put into my hands copies of some MSS. relating to the early history of Bangalore. These MSS. are preserved in the Royal Palace of Mysore. One of them has no heading at all. The other is entitled as follows:—

*Memoir of Bangalore MS. written in 1728, collected at Bangalore in February 1807 and literally translated from the original Maratha by Soobbarao, Brahmin.*

(c) Use has also been made of the poem *Sahityaratnakara* of the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. It bears the No. 10291.

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#### (a) Works

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**A. C. Burnell**, The Villappakkam Copper-Plates. (*Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 371).

**J. F. Fleet**, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. (*Ind. Ant.*, IV-XX).

**T. A. Gopinatha Row**, M.A., Soraikkavur Plates of Virupaksha; Saka-Samvat 1308. (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 298-306).

Dalavay-Agragharam Plates of Venkatapatidevamaharaya I, Saka-Samvat 1508. (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 159-187).

Srirangam Plates of Mummadi Nayaka: Saka-Samvat 1280. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 83-96).

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*Note.*—The author and the publishers regret to present this work to the public without diacritical marks. Such marks were used throughout the MS. but the printer of the body of the book was not able to supply them. They request the readers, therefore, to be lenient in their criticising this fault, which a second edition will, so they hope, not be guilty of.

## CHAPTER I

### THE REIGN OF VENKATA I

**SUMMARY.**—1. Vijayanagara at the death of Achyuta Raya.—2. Enthronement of Venkata I.—3. Some notes on his reign and person.—4. Tyranny of the Regent Salakam Timma Raju.—5. Murder of the King and other members of his family.—6. Usurpation by Salakam Timma Raju.—7. Rama Raya's war against the Regent.—8. Rama Raya enters the capital.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Basatin-us-Salatin*. 3. Couto, Correa. 4. *Achyutarayabhyudayan*, *Varadambika-Parinayam*, *Vasucharitramu*, *Svaramelakalanidhi*, *Ramarajiyamu*, *Narasabupaliyamu*, *Annals of Hude Anantapuram*.

THE splendour of the Vijayanagara Empire that characterised the reign of the famous monarch, Krishna Deva Raya, and was happily maintained by his half-brother and successor Achyuta Raya<sup>1</sup>, suffered a sudden, though brief, eclipse at the latter's demise<sup>2</sup>. At this time, to quote an anonymous contemporary author, the Sovereign of Vijayanagara "ruled

1. Although in a copperplate grant of the year 1556 Achyuta is called the son of Krishna Deva Raya, Sewell, II, p. 4-5, there can be no doubt that both were sons of Narasimha Raya, but by different wives: Nagala was the mother of Krishna, and Obambikadevi the mother of Achyuta, as testified by both the Unamanjeri and the Kadaladi plates of Achyuta, the British Museum plates, and the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 148; XIV, p. 312; IV, p. 3; XIV p. 230, and the Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz, Sewell, p. 367.

2. No worse description of Achyuta's character stands recorded than the one left by Nuniz: "The King Chytarao, after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty and, on account of this, the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations; for he has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews". Sewell, p. 367. Sewell, p. 166 naturally agrees with his

over numberless people, and could raise an army of a million or a million and a half soldiers; so that all the neighbouring kings and princes were his vassals, thus making him master of untold wealth. There was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry; for he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants, and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they came from both Arabia and Persia"<sup>1</sup>. In addition, its rivers produced gold, while diamonds and other precious stones were found in its valleys. Vijayanagara was until then the same city and the same Empire that fired the admiration of the Persian Ambassador, Abdur-Razzak some years previously, when 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"<sup>2</sup>

The last date of Achyuta available from lithic records is A. D. 1541-42 (Saka 1463)<sup>3</sup>. We may suppose that he died towards the end of 1541, judging from some inscriptions of Sadasiva relating to the middle of the following year 1542, as

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chronicler. And even Krishna Sastri states that Nuniz's descriptions may not be altogether far from the truth (*A. S. I., Report for 1908-9*, p. 187). On the other hand we find in an inscription of the Sundararajaperumal temple at Valarpuram that Achyuta 'took all countries', (27 of 1911), and we know from two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram of his brilliant campaign in Travancore, from the King of which he received tribute, the acquisition of Tinnevely ending with his marriage to the daughter of the Pandya King, (49 and 50 of 1900). How then can the opinion of Nuniz be reconciled with these military exploits? From Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 177-8, we learn that the Portuguese, who were such good friends of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, turned into foes as soon as his successor ascended the masnad. Is not Nuniz's condemnation of him a tacit apology for the Portuguese enmity?

1. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav., I, Historia del principio & progreso de la Compania de Jesus en las Indias Orientales dividida en dos partes*, pp. 61-62,

2. *Elliot, History of India*, IV, p. 105,

3. 21 of 1900,

well as from the events of the intervening period which we are about to narrate. In the Vitthala temple of Vijayanagara, there are two records mentioning King Achyuta Raya and Chikkaraya, his heir <sup>1</sup>, viz., his son Komara Venkatadri alias Chikka Udaiyar who, according to the Tamil poem *Achyutaraya-bhyudayam*, had been anointed in Vijayanagara as his Crown Prince while his father had been crowned Emperor after Krishna Raya's demise <sup>2</sup>. The contemporary Sanskrit poem *Varadambika-Parinayam* says that Venkatadri was installed Yuvaraja by his father on "observing with satisfaction the character and achievements of the Prince" <sup>3</sup>. Two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram relate that three years after the beginning of the victorious campaign of Achyuta in the South, this King, accompanied by his queen Varadadevi-Anmal and Prince Komara Venkatadri, entered the city of Kanchivaram <sup>4</sup>. Tirumalamba, the authoress of the *Varadambika-Parinayam*, ends her work, by praying god Venkatesa "to preserve her patron Achyuta, his Queen Varadamba and the Prince Venkatadri" <sup>5</sup>.

2. This prince Komara Venkatadri or Chinna Venkatadri, whom we shall henceforth refer to as Venkata I, was the one who succeeded his father Achyuta at the end of 1541 <sup>6</sup>. We know that his mother's name was Varadadevi-

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1. 4 and 5 of 1904. The *Varadambika-Parinayam* describes the youth of this son of Achyuta. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 158.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 172

4. *M. E. R.*, for 1899-900, paras 70-77.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.

6. The inscriptions that record the succession of Venkata I are to be seen in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; VII, p. 89; IX, p. 340, v. 27; XIV, p. 230 and 353; *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186; *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154; Sewell, II, p. 12, 81 and 248. Much confusion has been created as to the succession after Krishna Deva Raya's death. Several authors state that his nephew, the child Sadasiva, was appointed Sovereign, but his uncle Achyuta on coming from the South took the throne, which was not restored to Sadasiva until

Ammal<sup>1</sup> or Varadambika<sup>2</sup>; but we do not know exactly the age of the new King, although we can positively state that he was not yet of age, since his uncle Salakam Timma Raju, brother-in-law of the late king<sup>3</sup>, took over the regency of the Empire<sup>4</sup>. Correa states that the heir of Achyuta was a child<sup>5</sup>. The Regent was very ambitious and of weak intellect, and at times absolutely irresponsible<sup>6</sup>.

Achyuta's death. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 88; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 353; Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions of Vijayanagara, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 12-3; Subramian Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 300. Did this confusion arise from the short reign of Venkata I, so long forgotten, or perhaps from the fact of the appointment made by Krishna Deva Raya of his six-years-old son Tirumalayadeva Maharayar as his Crown Prince (139 of 1896; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ma, 6 and 82) who dying soon after, as Nuniz narrates, (Sewell, p. 359), again left the throne vacant? After carefully reading Nuniz, I am more inclined to the latter view.

1. Sewell, I, p. 182.

2. *Varadambika-Parinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170.

3. He was married to a sister of Achyuta, according to Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 276. The *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 51, says he was the son of the daughter of the Rai. I suppose that this Rai must be Narasimha.

4. He is called Bhoj Tirmal Ray by Ferishta, III, p. 81, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 51, and Uche Timma Rao by Couto, VI, p. 382. Sewell, p. 182, note 3, thinks that the uncle, that Correa speaks of was Ranga, Sadasiva's father: we know the Regent's name from the Telugu poem, to which we shall refer later.

5. "Neste tempo aquecco que morreo o Rey de Bisnoga, de que nom ficou herdeiro, somente hum filho menino". Correa *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 247.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 81, says that he was 'deemed almost an idiot', and Couto, l. c., adds that 'he was mad as it is declared in his very name, since Uche means mad in Canarese'. The three accounts of Ferishta, Correa and Couto contain several palpable falsehoods, but many details coincide in a marked degree with those we know from other sources; while the narrative of Ferishta, although located some years earlier in his history, openly refers to facts which happened at Achyuta's demise. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*

It appears that, early during the ceremony of the coronation of the King, something unusual happened regarding the rites <sup>1</sup>. The nobles, and specially two Queens of Krishna Raya, Chinna-devi and Tirumala-devi, wanted to have their Sovereign free from any tutelage. Rama Raya and his brother Tirumala, close relations to the imperial family, were to be the ministers in charge of matters of government. But Salakam Timma Raju, who had been treasurer of the court <sup>2</sup> and whose ambition did not allow him to divide the government, earnestly opposed this project <sup>3</sup>. Two parties were thereupon formed <sup>4</sup>. But the Regent, holding the supreme power, tried to confine in prison the two brothers and those who were most opposed to his own schemes <sup>5</sup>. They, however, on being made aware of his intentions fled from Vijayanagara, together with many other nobles. Some of these started to assume independence in their own provinces <sup>6</sup>. Rama Raya and his two brothers escaped to Gutti, according to the *Svaramelakalanidhi*, and to Penukonda, as the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Annals of Hanc Anantapuram* relate <sup>7</sup>.

3. It is evident that these nobles rebelled against the Regent but not against the young Emperor. All <sup>8</sup> the contemporary inscriptions and grants highly extol the latter's qualities: in a grant of his successor Sadasiva, King Venkata is called 'the treasury of wisdom' <sup>8</sup>; again he is called 'an abode  
 XLIX, p. 291-2, calls the Regent Ram Raj. This is another sign of the great confusion of the Muhammadan writers on this period of Vijayanagara history.

1. It is asserted in the *Vasucharitramu*.

2. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 3.

3. *Annals of Hanc Anantapuram*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 178. These facts are narrated as having happened at the death of Krishna Deva Raya; but this is an evident mistake. Cf. Correa, l. c.

4. Correa, l. c.

5. *Annals of Hanc Anantapuram*. l. c., *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*. p. 190; *Vasucharitramu*, o. c., p. 216.

6. Correa, l. c.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, ll. cc.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

of learning' in another grant of the same, dated 1561<sup>1</sup>; in the same grant he is also mentioned as 'famous for valour'<sup>2</sup>; and in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva he is said to be 'like the flower-arrowed Kama' and 'to rule his kingdom well'<sup>3</sup>. In a copper-plate sasanam of Vijayanagara he is simply said to have 'reigned gloriously'<sup>4</sup>, which sounds as an empty boast, when said of a Monarch who died so young. But judging from the grief of his subjects at the time of his death we can conclude that he was an able and promising youth: he died soon 'owing to the ill-fortune of the people', as we read in a grant of Sadasiva of 1545<sup>5</sup>; or 'to the ill-fortune of his subjects'<sup>6</sup>; or 'owing to the bad luck of his subjects'<sup>7</sup>.

4. In the meanwhile Salakam Timma Raju was ruling the Empire most tyrannically, spending foolishly such large quantities of money from the royal treasury that his subjects could not stand him any longer<sup>8</sup>. Then the Queen Dowager, Varadadevi-Ammal, begged Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur to come to her rescue and to secure the kingdom for her son, promising him immense riches in return for this favour<sup>9</sup>. The Sultan set out for Vijayanagara; but on the road he was met by emissaries of Salakam Timma, who made him lavish presents as the price of his retreat<sup>10</sup>. The Queen Mother was then left alone in the hands of the ambitious minister, and it was probably this time that saw the most abominable crime committed by Salakam Timma.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30

4. Sewell, II, p. 12, 81.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186

7. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 340, vv. 28-30.

8. Couto, l. c.

9. "E por elle tomar este trabalho. lhe pagaria toda sua despeza, e lhe daria mais hum conto de pardaos d'ouro." Correa, l. c.

10. Correa, p. 247-8.



5. It is clear from original sources that Venkata I's reign did not last very long: 'he soon died'<sup>1</sup>, 'he died after a short time'<sup>2</sup>, 'he soon went to the city of Indra'<sup>3</sup>, he 'before long ascended to Indra's abode'<sup>4</sup> are the phrases used to announce his demise. We do not know the exact date of his end; but since there is an inscription of Sadasiva corresponding to July, 1542, we cannot suppose that the reign of Venkata lasted more than half a year. About the kind of death the unfortunate Sovereign met with, the statement of Correa gives full details: Salakam Timma, in order to strengthen his position and avoid any danger of civil or foreign war in favour of his royal nephew, caused Venkata to be assassinated together with two of his uncles and one of his cousins<sup>5</sup>. The aim of Salakam Timma was quite clear: to extinguish the whole of the royal family, excepting his own person: one of his victims was most likely Ranga, the father of Sadasiva and uncle of Venkata; Sadasiva himself was no doubt one of the intended victims, but he fortunately escaped the violence of the blood-thirsty Regent. Ferishta relates that Venkata was strangled by his uncle<sup>6</sup>. Even a damaged inscription on the Garuda-mandapam of the Chennakesavasvamin temple at Markapur records this family crime by stating that Timma 'sinned against his lord'<sup>7</sup>.

1. Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3.

3. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, v. 30.

4. Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.

5. Correa, o.c., p. 276. The murder of Venkata I was already known to Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 88; Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty*, A.S.I., Report, 1908-9, p. 195, and Subramiah Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 300. The two brothers of Achyuta were, according to Correa, murdered in a fortress where they were imprisoned by Achyuta. This fortress was Chandragiri, according to Nuniz. See Sewell, p. 316.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 83.

7. 164 of 1905. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, p. 201, does not speak of the murder of Venkata I. It only says that he was imprisoned and then the Regent usurped the throne.

6. Salakam Timma, supposed to have no rivals at all, at once seized the throne of Vijayanagara; and although the death of Venkata was 'much regretted', as we read in a copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva<sup>1</sup>, nevertheless the nobility of the capital submitted as he was a member of the royal family. But soon being unable to endure his tyranny and oppression, they became disaffected and began to plot against him<sup>2</sup>. One of the cruelties which most alienated his subjects' feelings is narrated by Correa: Salakam Timma, in dread of the influence of the chief nobles, summoned them to court, seized them treacherously as soon as they reached the city, and caused their eyes to be put out. Some only of the first arrivals were caught; the rest went back in great anger to their homes, and started to intrigue with their neighbours in order to put an end to the unbearable tyranny<sup>3</sup>.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was one of those whose help they sought for the moment. They urged him to depose Salakam Timma, promising him their assistance and offering him the crown of Vijayanagara if the country could be freed from that dreadful tyrant<sup>4</sup>. But the usurper, obtaining intelligence of their designs, also despatched an embassy with a sum of six lakhs of huns and many precious gifts to the Bijapur Sultan, soliciting him to march to his assistance, and promising in return to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay down another sum of three lakhs of huns for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by this offer, and finally moved by the advice of the old general Asad Khan, left his capital and arrived at Vijayanagara without opposition: Timma himself went to fetch him and conducted him into the city and seated him on the royal throne and ordered rejoicings

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1. Sewell, II, 12, 81.

2. Ferishta, l.c.

3. Correa, p. 276-7. This author says that only two of the nobles were treacherously mutilated by the Regent.

4. Correa, p. 277. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX p. 202, states that the Sultan of Bijapur proceeded to Vijayanagara of his own accord.

for seven days. Some of the nobles acknowledged him as Sovereign<sup>1</sup>: they were evidently the intimate friends of Salakam.

7. But the majority of the Grandees of the kingdom joined the three brothers Rama Raya, Tirumala and Venkatadri to work out the salvation of the country<sup>2</sup>. These three great chiefs, from the day on which they fled from the capital, had seen that their army had grown after the capture of the forts of Penukonda, Adavani (Adoni)<sup>3</sup>, Gutti, Gandikota and Kandanol) Kurnul<sup>4</sup>. Now Rama Raya and the confederate nobles sent letters to Salakam Timma feigning the sincerest contrition for their rebellion and assuring him of their future allegiance. But, since the Muhammadans, who were introduced even into the capital of the Empire, were its most dangerous enemies, and since their stay in the country could have none but evil consequences, they asked the usurper to order the Sultan of Bijapur back to his own dominions. Timma being, after the subjection of the nobility, no longer in need of the Mussulmans, requested the Muhammadan army to return home after receiving fifty lakhs of huns, according to the conditions previously settled upon. Moreover, magnificent presents were made to the Sultan, among which Ferishta mentions twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses. Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet entered his dominions when Rama Raya and the confederates hastened towards Vijayanagara in order to put Salakam to death and thus to avenge the murder of his predecessor<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 83; Correa, p. 278-9. Both accounts confirm each other, though they do not agree in some details. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, p. 202, does not mention the sum of money sent by Salakam to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Moreover, it states that the usurper fled from Vijayanagara on the approach of the army of Bijapur, and even quotes a letter of Asad Khan to Salakam Timma Raju inviting him to return to his capital.

2. Ferishta, l.c.

3. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216; *Annals of Hanve Anantapuram*, l.c.

4. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 181.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 83-4; the *Basutin-us-Siddin*, p. 51-2, gives the amount of 44 lakhs of huns as the sum given Ibrahim by Sala-

Neither Ferishta nor Correa mention any battle between Rama Raya and Salakam Timma; and the former even seems to suppose that the bribes Rama Raya made among the troops of Vijayanagara opened to him the gates of the city<sup>1</sup>. But the Telugu poem *Narasabupaliyamu* says that the valiant general 'waged war and destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma'<sup>2</sup>; and in the *Ramarajiyamu* we read that he 'defeated the armies of Salakam'<sup>3</sup>; and the *Svaramelakalanidhi* states that he 'conquered the traitors to the kingdom'<sup>4</sup>; and the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* record that Rama Raya and Tirumala, along with Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnalapuram, delivered the attack upon the forces of Salakam. They were helped by additional forces from Kandnavol (Karnul) and Gadwal. The battle did not last long. The *Annals* do not mention Rama Raya's bribes to the officers of Salakam; but this inference may also be drawn from their assertion that "his officers, thinking that he was only a shepherd who wanted to snatch away the kingdom as he was rich, deserted in a body"<sup>5</sup>. This desertion by the officers might have been caused by Rama Raya's bribes. After this action Rama Raya became the lord of the capital: the bribes that Ferishta speaks of became very useful on this occasion. Perhaps the final victory of the confederates was due to them. Salakam Timma and his relatives did not leave the city to defend their rights in a pitched battle, for the inscription of Markapur mentioned above informs us that Rama Raya kam Timma, on this occasion, but adds: "according to another account not 44 but 80 lakhs of huns were given the Sultan." The *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l.c., say that the Sultan of Bijapur remained at Vijayanagara until Rama Raya came with his army and that Barid Shah, Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah were likewise helping the usurper. This seems only intended to extol the valour of Rama Raya who dared to fight against all these chiefs allied with the usurper. Ferishta does not say a word about this alliance.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 84.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 224.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

'subdued at Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara) Timma..... and the whole of the Salakam family' <sup>1</sup>.

About his end, Couto only says that his subjects killed him <sup>2</sup>, and the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Narasabupaliyamu* state respectively that 'Rama finally killed' <sup>3</sup> or 'destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma' <sup>4</sup>. The same is recorded by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri <sup>5</sup>. Finally, the *Annals* record that 'he was killed in the fight' <sup>6</sup>. But Ferishta, whom I trust more on this occasion on account of the detailed account he gives, relates these events as follows: "Bhol Tirmal Ray, finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and, becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails that they might be of no use to his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through, and came out at his back; thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies" <sup>7</sup>. Correa agrees with this Muhamadan writer, and even says that before dying Salakam said that he wanted to die as a king of Vijayanagara <sup>8</sup>.

8. When the Queens of Krishna Raya heard of these happy events they ordered the nobles to hand over the city to Rama Raya and Tirumala, and their order was accordingly carried out <sup>9</sup>. Rama Raya was received in the imperial city

1. 164 of 1905.

2. Couto, o.c., p. 382.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 216.

4. Ibid., p. 224.

5. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 52.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 178.

7. Ferishta, o.c., p. 84-5. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 364. The above mentioned Telugu poems, in order to eulogize the virtues and might of Rama Raya, represent him as the destroyer of his rival. This is a usual practice among poets.

8. "Eu moyro Rey de Bisnega". Couto, p. 282.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 178. The mother of Venkata I is not mentioned on this occasion. Was she also one of the victims of Salakam Timma?

of Vijayanagara as the liberator of the country. " He saved the Karnata (Vijayanagara) Empire from destruction by making war on and destroying the traitor Salakaya Timma", sings Bhattu Murti in his *Narasabupaliyamu* <sup>1</sup>. Probably on account of this triumph over the tyrant Salakam he was thereafter called 'the Protector of the Karnata kingdom' <sup>2</sup> or 'the Protector of the fortunes of the Karnata kingdom' <sup>3</sup>. And, perhaps even from this time onwards his deeds were 'sung by Vidyadhari women to the accompaniment of their lutes, which they made resonant by striking with their nails', as we read in the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II <sup>4</sup>.

The subsequent attempts of Rama Raya to save the Empire will be narrated in the following chapter.

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1. Ibid., p. 225.

2. Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30.

3. Sadasiva's grants, 1561 and 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 17.

## CHAPTER II

### SADASIVA RAYA AND HIS REGENI RAMA RAYA

**SUMMARY.**—1. The family of Sadasiva.—2. His coronation as Emperor of Vijayanagara.—3. The mythical and historical ancestors of the Aravidu family.—4. Rama Raya and his family. 5. The family of Tirumala and Venkatadri.—6. Previous deeds of Rama Raya.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda. 3. Couto, Correea. 4. Travels of Caesar Frederick. 5. *Vasucharitramu, Rama Raya Charitra, Svaramelakalanidhi, Narasabupaliyanu, Balabhagavatam, Ramarajyanu.*

THE events recorded at the end of the preceding chapter are supposed to be merely the preliminary steps taken by Rama Raya to save the country. The young Prince Sadasiva had survived the bloody tragedy of the imperial family in which Venkata I was the chief victim. So Rama Raya's first care, after defeating Salakam Timma, was to instal this last representative of the Tuluva family on the glorious throne of his ancestors. Accordingly he marched from Vijayanagara at the head of his army, sword in hand, to rescue Prince Sadasiva hidden in the fortress of Gutti<sup>1</sup>.

The unfortunate Prince, who was about to be fetched by Rama Raya to be anointed as Emperor of Vijayanagara, was supposed to be the son of Krishna Deva Raya, according to Couto<sup>2</sup>; or the son of Achyuta Raya as given in an inscription of Hassan<sup>3</sup>. But we now know of several inscriptions of the time of Sadasiva that call him son of Ranga Raya or Ranga

1. *Svaramelakalanidhi*, according to Mr. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty. A. S. I., Report, 1911-2*, p. 178, note 2.

2. Couto, VI, p. 382.

3. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 228, 129; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 353; 104 of 1906; Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canaruse Inscriptions*, p. 28, pl. 246.

kshitindra and of Timmamba<sup>1</sup>. According to some Bhatkal inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, Ranga-kshitindra was a son of Isvara-Narasimha and brother of Krishna Deva Raya but by a different mother. The founder of the third dynasty married three wives: Tippajidevi, who was his Queen; Nagala, the mother of Krishna Deva Raya; and Obambika, the mother of Achyuta Raya<sup>3</sup> and Ranga-kshitindra<sup>4</sup>, and hence grand-mother of Sadasiva. His father Ranga had probably been one of the victims of the tyranny of Salakam Timma, as we have pointed out in the preceding chapter. By the author of the *Svaramelakalanidhi* Sadasiva is given at this time the appellation of 'helpless'<sup>5</sup>. That seems to connote a tender age. Indeed a contemporary anonymous chronicler of Golconda says that 'the heir to the throne was a child in arms'<sup>6</sup>. Caesar Frederick only says that he was 'very young'<sup>7</sup>. The same is implied by the probable fact that he was not yet married at the time of his coronation; for there was no queen at his side, as we know from a grant we shall quote a little further on. Hence what seems to us quite reasonable, and not inconsistent with the truth, is the statement of Couto who says that Sadasiva at the time of his installation was a little more than thirteen years of age<sup>8</sup>. Correa affirms that he was about sixteen<sup>9</sup>. Ac-

1. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; Krishna-puram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30; Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186; Copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell, II, p. 12. 81.

2. Cf. Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty. A. S. I., Report, 1908-9*, p. 193, note 8.

3. Achyuta's grant, 1537, Sewell, I, p. 30, 207.

4. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3. Cf. Kielhorn, p. 89, 530.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 381.

7. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93.

8. Couto, l. c., p. 382.

9. Correa, l. c., p. 281-2.



According to this author, Sadasiva and his eldest brother were living hidden 'towards the kingdom of Orissa', probably in the Telugu country. When they were found by Rama Raya's diligence, the eldest brother was crowned as king of Vijayanagara. This happened at the time of Salakam's usurpation. But the new sovereign often was out of his mind on account of an unknown disease. So, by the nobles' accord, and with his consent, his youngest brother was raised up to the masnad. This was Sadasiva, who, it seems, was crowned at Tirupati, where he received a great deal of money, both from the nobility and from the treasury of the temple for the war intended against the usurper. The present given him by the Brahmins of Tirupati was 'a hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces.' From thence they advanced against Vijayanagara. It was then that Sadasiva stopped at Gutti while Rama Raya and his army advanced against Salakam.

2. On his return from Gutti, the coronation of Sadasiva took place at Vijayanagara. Achyuta Raya was also crowned twice, according to the *Achyutarayabhyudayam*: first at Tirupati and then at Vijayanagara, just as Sadasiva had been<sup>1</sup>. According to some inscriptions, Rama Raya alone installed him on the jewel throne and anointed him<sup>2</sup>. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva record that Rama Raya made the ministers instal Sadasiva<sup>3</sup>; but there is no doubt that both Rama Raya and the ministers participated in the ceremonies of the installation of the young King. This is stated in several grants of the said Sadasiva<sup>4</sup>. Now the first ministers were, no doubt, Tirumala and Venkatadri, the brothers of Rama Raya, but probably some others too are meant: the Bevinahalli grant of

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 158.

2. Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Ranga III's grant, 1644-5, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154; Copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell, II, p. 12, 81; *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 196.

3. British Museum plates of Sadasiva. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3.

4. Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 186.



Sadasiva gives the names of several of his ministers<sup>1</sup>; another, named Venkatesvararaja, is mentioned in an inscription at Enamdala<sup>2</sup>. In an inscription of the Bhairavesvara temple at Mopur mention is also made of the Mahamandalesvara Timmayadeva Maharaju, son of Narasingayadeva Maharaja and grandson of Avubhaladeva Maharaja of Nandyala<sup>3</sup>. Another grandson of the same by a different father, Chinna Avubalesvaradeva Maharaju, is also called Mahamandalesvara in an inscription of Gandikota<sup>4</sup>. Finally, Ramabhatlayya, son of Bhutanatha Brahma-jyoyisalu, is also said to have been a minister of Sadasiva<sup>5</sup>.

The solemn act of the coronation and anointment of the descendant of the great Isvara-Narasimha, nephew of the most glorious Sovereign of Vijayanagara, Krishna Deva Raya, was the occasion of much joy on the part of the inhabitants of the capital; "and the tears of joy", says one of his grants of 1558, "shed at the time of his coronation-anointing flooded the earth so as to make her appear as the queen who was anointed with him"<sup>6</sup>. Rama Raya seating Sadasiva on the precious stone (the throne inlaid with precious stones), holding an umbrella over his head<sup>7</sup>, 'restored once more the Empire of Vijayanagara to its ancient glory'<sup>8</sup>.

Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva-rayadeva (for that is his full imperial title as given in the inscriptions<sup>9</sup>) was recognised by everyone throughout his vast dominions as the real Emperor of Vijayanagara. We have inscriptions from every corner of the Empire which show that he was proclaimed

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 212-3. Cf. 348 of 1905.

2. 415, Ap. B of 1916.

3. 498 of 1906.

4. 485 of 1906.

5. 60 of 1915.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 183.

7. Inscription on a stone called Vay in the temple of Madava-swami at Vijayanagara, Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions Found among the ruins of Vijayanagara, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 35.

8. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.

9. 399 and 381 of 1904.

the Rajadhiraja of the whole of Hindustan south of the Tungabhadra<sup>1</sup>. Some Rajas of the Karnatic however, who depended on the Emperors of Vijayanagara, did not pay homage to the new Emperor at once; since Ferishta tells us that in the year 1544 "the Karnatic was as yet by no means in a settled state, many of the dependant Rajas being still in revolt"<sup>2</sup>. This is shown also by the *birudas* attributed to him in the same inscriptions: Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva Raya Deva-Maharaya receives in them the following titles due only to the Imperial Majesty: The great Emperor, the great King, the glorious great King, the King of Kings, supreme Lord of Kings, the supreme King, the famous, the valorous, the famous for valour, the brave and puissant<sup>3</sup>.

We do not know when the coronation of Sadasiva took place; but it must have been during the first half of the year 1542, since his earliest inscription hitherto known bears a date corresponding to July 27, 1542<sup>4</sup>.

3. Now after having seen the young Sadasiva crowned and anointed by his Regent and chief minister Rama Raya, whose object was to establish firmly among his subjects the authority of the Aravidu family, it is worth while to give an account of the latter's ancestors as well as of his brave deeds before he reached the height of his power.

The family pedigree of Rama Raya may be found, with very few discrepancies, in almost all the grants of the Sovereigns belonging to his family<sup>5</sup>. This vamsavali invariably con-

1. Even the Malayalam country was one of the States from which the Emperor of Vijayanagara received tribute; but the Maharajas of Kulam refused to pay it except when compelled by the imperial armies, as we shall see further on.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 94.

3. Visvanatha's inscription seven miles from Madura, Burgess, p. 108-9; Banasankari Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 67; Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, 1547-8, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 42.

5. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3 ff; Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ibid.*, IX, p. 329 ff; Bevinahall grant of Sadasiva. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 331; Kanuma grant of Sadasiva,

tains two sections: one mythical, the other historical. By the former they claim to belong to the Lunar race, through Buddha, Pururavas and several other Puranic heroes; and this is the reason why Venkata II in the Vilapaka grant professes to be Atreyagotraja, a descendant from Atri, the Moon's father. Nevertheless not all the names given in this section are mythic; there are also some historical persons named among the Aravidu family just to exalt its nobility, as it was also done by the kings of the preceding dynasties. Such are Nanda, the representative of the old Dynasty of Pataliputra overthrown by the Maurya Chandragupta; and Chalikyā, through whom the Aravidu Emperors boast connection with the Chalukyas; and lastly Bijjalendra, who represents the Kalachuris.

The historical pedigree starts with Tata Pinnama, 'at whose sight the enemies were frightened' and whose son Somideva  
 Ibid., p. 343; Sadasiva's grant, 1545, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Mj., 60; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ibid.*, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186; Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva, Butterworth, I, p. 98 ff; Rama Raya's grant, 1554, *M. A. D.*, 1923, p. 125 ff; Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 254; Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.*, XII Tm., 1; Maredappalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 327; Arivili-mangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ibid.*, XII, p. 356, Copper-plate inscription of Venkata II, 1589, *M. A. D.*, 1921, p. 31; Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270 ff.; Dalaway Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 185; Venkata II's grant, 1586, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 225; Venkata II's grant, 1613, *Ibid.*, p. 231; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 296; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 299 ff.; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Mangalampac plates of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 27-31; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 251-2; Karnata grant of Venkata III, 1636, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 123; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 129; Copper-plate grant of Venkata III, 1634, Burgess, IV, p. 186 ff; *M. E. R.*, 1891, p. 6; Utsur grant of Ranga III, Butterworth, I, p. 46; Kallakursi grant of Ranga III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 153. Some information on the Aravidu family pedigree is also to be found in the following poems: *Vasu Raja Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 295; *Rama Raja Charitra*, *Ibid.*, p. 269; *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190; *Narasabupaliyamu*, *Ibid.*, p. 224; *Vasucharitramu*, *Ibid.*, p. 216; *Balabhadgavatam*, *Ibid.*, p. 204.

captured seven forts during the course of a single day<sup>1</sup>; then comes Raghavadeva, called brave and heroic, who was the father of Pinnama, 'the lord of Araviti-pura', from whose time we see the members of this family most closely connected with State affairs; Araviti Bukka, his son, who married Balambika, is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Saluva Narasimha', the founder of the second dynasty. Bukka then was one of the generals and ministers of Narasimha, who supported this usurper, when he put on his head the crown of Virupaksha, in 1485-6<sup>1</sup>. He could not have died very early, since he is recorded to have been one of the generals present at the enthronement of Krishna Deva Raya, in January, 1510. Bukka's son Rama Raya, who espoused Lak-kambika, is called 'a great warrior' and 'conqueror over Sapada's army'. Sapada is understood to be the Sultan of Golkonda. The *Rama Raja Charitra* says expressly that by the aid of his brother Venkatapati, and two chiefs of the same family, Venkatadri and Tirumala, he subdued Gutti, Penukonda and other places and defeated the King of Golkonda<sup>2</sup>. The Maredapalli grant of Ranga I records that Rama Raya captured the forts of Avanagiri and Kandana-volu (Karnul) and put to flight Kasappudaya. According to the poem mentioned above he had five sons: Sriranga, Channa Venkatapati, Timma or Tirumala (who distinguished himself in the service of Krishna Deva Raya), and lastly Venkatapati. Of these, the first, Sriranga became the father of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva Raya.

Sriranga, according to Rama Raya's grant, 1554, 'defeated many enemies'. We know from Ferishta that he was one of the ministers of Krishna Deva Raya, and was succeeded in this place by his son Rama Raya<sup>3</sup>. Accordingly in an

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, p. 47.

2. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 81. He calls Rama Raya's father Timraj. In two inscriptions of Penukonda, Rama Raya is called the son of Tirumalaraja. 333 and 335 of 1901. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 353, agrees with them. But we cannot doubt this point at present after the study of

inscription at Karnul he is called Mahamandalesvara Ramaraju Peda Sriranga-deva Maharaju<sup>1</sup>. Sriranga married Tirumalambika and had three sons by her: Rama, Tirumala and Venkatadri. The *Narasabupaliyamu* gives him five sons: Kona, Timma, Rama, Yeratimma and Venkata<sup>2</sup>. We can admit the existence of these five brothers; but the first two had already disappeared from the stage before the other three exerted any great influence in the governing of the state. We shall proceed to describe the family and the deeds of these three brothers.

4. Rama Raya, also called Kodanda Rama, was the eldest of the three brothers. In the grants of Sadasiva, Rama is always called Sadasiva's brother-in-law, the husband of his sister<sup>3</sup>; whilst in several poems and in an inscription of Venkata III as well as in Ferishta, Couto and the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, we read that Rama Raya's wife was a daughter of Krishna Deva Raya<sup>4</sup> and Queyroz even affirms that she was the only daughter of this Emperor<sup>5</sup>. The *Narapativijaya* says that her name was Tirumalambika<sup>6</sup> and the *Annals of Hande Anan-*

the records mentioned in note 5, p. 17. More startling is the opinion of Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 55, note, who calls the father of Rama Raya, Virappa Nayak.

1. 156 of 1905.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 254.

3. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ibid.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30; Bevina-halli grant of Sadasiva, *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1545, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ibid.*, IX, Cp, 186; Sadasiva's grant, 1556-7, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

4. *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190; *Rumarajiyamu*, *Ibid.*, p. 184; *Rama Raja Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270; Venkata III's inscription, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; Ferishta, III, p. 81; Couto, o. c., p. 382; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 51. Correa, o. c., IV, p. 282, says that the wife of Rama Raya was a sister of Krishna Deva Raya.

5. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 332. Sewell, II, p. 252, who gives the same name, says that she was the youngest daughter of Krishna Raya.

*tapuram* state that her mother was Queen Tirumala Devi<sup>1</sup>. We cannot reject these latter authorities, although the former seem at first sight more weighty: one of them gives the name of Rama Raya's wife, and their statement agrees with the title 'Aliya' (son-in-law)—a title often given to Rama Raya. We are not allowed to suppose two different wives, one a daughter of Krishna Raya, the other a sister of Sadasiva; because we know the names of all the wives of Rama Raya and this distinction is never made. We prefer the explanation given by Prof. F. Kielhorn: "The two statements", he says, "would in my opinion be best reconciled by taking the word *bhagini* of the present inscription to denote a cousin of Sadasiva, a daughter of his paternal uncle Krishnaraya"<sup>2</sup>. This seems more probable; for it is known that, in the Kanarese country, words denoting relationship are used loosely.

The *Ramarajiyamu* informs us that Rama Raya also married Appalamba, the daughter of Peddanandi Raju of the Jillella family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma, the daughters of Timma of the Pochiraju family<sup>4</sup>. As to Rama Raya's sons, the Kondyata grant of Venkata III and the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III state that "from the famous king Rama Raya there sprang five sons, who were able to protect the world, who followed the path of policy, and who longed to grant the desires of the crowd of wise men"<sup>5</sup>. These five sons are also mentioned in the aforesaid *Ramarajiyamu*. The first two are Krishnaraya or Krishnapa and Peda Timmaraja; they were the sons of Tirumalamba<sup>6</sup>. Peda Timma became a victorious general against the army of Nizam Shah, and was probably the one whose grant is recorded in an inscription of Bollavaram, Cuddapah District, under the name of 'Papa Timmayyadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya Timma Raya'<sup>7</sup>

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 178.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4.

3. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 48, note 1.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. c.*, p. 184.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 147.

6. They are also mentioned in the *Narapativijayamu*. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 332.

7. Sewell, I, p. 124; Rangacharya, I, p. 618, 492.

By his second wife Appalamba, Rama Raya had no sons. The third, Kondamma, gave him two, Konda and Timma. Of these Konda became governor of Anegundi and Timma held a like office in the fortress of Raichur. I suppose that this Timma was the one whose grant is also commemorated in another inscription of Nidujuvvi, Cuddapah District, under the name of 'Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya' <sup>1</sup> Finally, by Lakshamma Rama Raya begot Sriranga Raya, the old Ranga IV, mentioned in an inscription of the Nellore District under the title of Rama Raya Srirangarajayyadeva Maharaja <sup>2</sup>. We shall speak of him at greater length in another volume when referring to the reign of one of his sons, the future Venkata III <sup>3</sup>.

Besides these five sons, Rama Raya had some daughters. For the anonymous Muhammadan chronicler of the history of Golkonda, a contemporary of these events, mentions two sons-in-law of the great Minister of Sadasiva. One was Jotumraj, the general deputed by his father-in-law to the conquest of Dewurconda and Indraconda <sup>4</sup>; and the other Buswunt Raj, the governor of the forts of Nandyal and Kalgur (Karnul) <sup>5</sup>.

5. The second brother of Rama Raya, Tirumala, called also Timmaraya in an inscription at the Chandeswari temple at Hampi <sup>6</sup>, married Vengalamba <sup>7</sup>, the sister of

1. Sewell, o. c., p. 125.

2. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94. The *Rama Raja Cheritra* gives only three sons of Rama Raya with different names: Peddvenkata, Venkatapati and Rama or Kodanda Rama. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270. Cf. Ravenshaw, *Collection of Various Inscriptions*, l.c., p. 19. According to the information given by the Raja of Anegundi to Mr. Sewell, Rama Raya had only two sons, Krishna Raja and Tirumala Raja. Sewell, II, p. 252.

3. The descendants of Rama Raya, as given in the *Ramarajiyamu* may be seen in the adjoining pedigree.

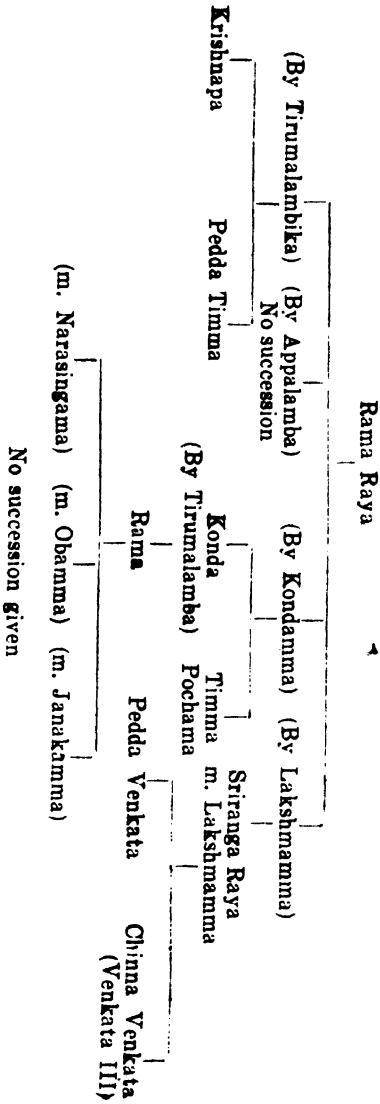
4. Ferishta, III, p. 408.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 453.

6. *M. A. D.*, 1900, p. 39. Ferishta, III, p. 135 and 242, as well as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 397 and 418, call Tirumala, Yeltumraj.

7. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 342; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Venkata III's inscription, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnawami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.





PEDIGREE OF RAMA RAYA'S FAMILY

Sadasiva<sup>1</sup> Was this so-called sister of Sadasiva also a cousin of this monarch? We do not dare to affirm it. We shall only say that Tirumala had also married a daughter of Krishna Raya by his Queen Chinna Devi<sup>2</sup>. "As the four Vedas, Sama and the others, were produced from the mouth of the Creator", says the Utsur grant of Ranga III, "so four sons of immeasurable glory were born to Tirumala"<sup>3</sup>. From another grant of Ranga III, 1645, as well as from the *Ramarajiyamu*, we know the names of these four sons. They were Raghunatha; Sriranga, the future Ranga I; Rama Raya, and Venkata Deva Raya<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, we know one of his sons-in-law, Nagarajayyadeva Maharaya. He is mentioned by Sadasiva in one of his inscriptions at Vontinitta, Cuddapah District<sup>5</sup>.

We have very little information concerning the family of the third brother Venkatadri. In the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have married two wives, Rangama and Krishnama, of whom he begot two sons, Rangappa and Rama<sup>6</sup>. In the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II he is said 'to have shone on earth resembling Lakshmana in beauty'<sup>7</sup>. Later on we shall speak of his exploits as a great general.

Siddhiraju Timma Raju, a nephew of Rama Raya, in his poem *Paramayogi Vilasam*, informs us that his mother Konamamba was the sister of the three brothers spoken of

1. On account of these marriages of Rama Raya and Tirumala with ladies of the Tuluva Dynasty, the monarchs of the Aravidu family considered themselves legitimate successors of the Tuluva Emperors.

2. *Annals of Hancé Anantapuram*, l. c.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 21.

4. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60; *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 213-4. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 453, mentions one Nursiqg Raj, nephew of Rama Raya. He was perhaps an unknown son of one of these brothers.

5. 411 of 1911.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

7. Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 18. In the village of Maranapalli there is an inscription, probably of his, in which he mentions Rama Raya. Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 5.

above<sup>1</sup>. Another sister of theirs is mentioned in the *Narasabupalyamu*: her name was Lakkamamba; she married Oba Raja of the Pochiraju family and by him had a son named Narasimha, who was the patron of this poem<sup>2</sup>.

The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives a short account of the life of Rama Raya before the latter entered the service of the great Emperor, Krishna Deva Raya. We cannot brush aside the authority of this writer, since he was a contemporary of the events he narrates and perhaps an eye-witness for those events which occurred in the capital of Golkonda: "When the late King (Sultan Kuli Qutb Shah) marched towards the Vijayanagara territories", says he, "and reduced some districts on the confines, he was unwilling to leave a Muhammadan detachment there; he, therefore deputed Ramraj, a Hindu of noble family, to be in charge of the districts while he himself returned to Golkonda. Three years afterwards Ramraj was expelled by some of Adil Shah's troops which, having been sent out on a plundering expedition, had invaded and laid waste the estates in question. Ramraj fled to the late Sultan Kuli Qutb Shah, who, considering his flight a proof of his cowardice, ordered him instantly to quit the court. Ramraj, thus disgraced, took the route of Vijayanagara, and entered the service of Krishna Raja, who shortly afterwards forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in-marriage"<sup>3</sup>.

Couto states also that Rama Raya was a great general in the army of Krishna Deva Raya and was actually ruling as Governor in the province of the Badaguas and Teligas<sup>4</sup>. He means by this, no doubt, the Telugu country from which the Badagas invaded the South of India<sup>5</sup>. This piece of information refers already to the reign of Achyuta, because Correa says that when Rama Raya went to the Court at the time of Achyuta's death, he had come from Paleacate (Pulicat) where he was the 'great Lord'<sup>6</sup>. Pulicat was probably at that time

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 211.

2. *Ibid*, p. 225.

3. *Ferishta*, III, p. 380.

4. *Couto*, VI, p. 382-3.

5. See Chapters VI and VII.

6. *Correa*, o. c., p. 280.

the capital of his governorship. According to the *Ramarajiyamu*, he had also been Kalyana Puravaradhisvara, ruler of the city of Kalyani, probably Kalyandrug, in Anantapur District <sup>1</sup>.

Mr. Sewell is inclined to see in Rama Raya and Tirumala those two relatives of King Achyuta to whom the whole government of the Empire was so completely handed over, that the King himself dared not do anything against their wishes: "He (Achyuta) has never done anything", says Nuniz, "except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews" <sup>2</sup>. This seems quite probable; because Fr. Queyroz says that Krishna Deva Raya in his last days put the reins of government into the hands of his son-in-law Rama Raya and the military affairs into those of his brother Tirumala. But before dying he ordered Rama Raya to enthrone his brother Achyuta after his own demise. He did so, and continued ruling the Empire under Achyuta Deva Raya <sup>3</sup>.

In another chapter we shall speak of Rama Raya's campaign in the south. When taking possession of the government of the state after the crowning of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is called an 'ornament of the Kshatriyas' <sup>4</sup>. His long career of unbroken successes had been a preparation for the great task lying before him: he could dare to take upon his shoulders the rule of that great Empire which was menaced by internal and external foes. The success of Rama Raya in this enterprise was temporary. Although 'he resembled Ramabhadra in appearance, and possessed prosperity and majesty' <sup>5</sup>, he was to die in battle after having seen the defeat of his army by the irreconcilable enemies of his country.

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.

2. Sewell, p. 367.

3. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308-9.

4. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, VV. 23-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hu, 7.

5. Kondyata grant of Veukata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 148.

## CHAPTER III

### ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

**SUMMARY.**—1. Rama Raya, Regent of the Empire.—2. First stage of his rule.—3. Wise activity of the Regent and his two brothers. 4. Second stage: Sadasiva imprisoned.—5. Rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri.—6. Elevation of the members of the Aravidu family.—7. Preparation of the forthcoming stage.—8. Third stage The usurpation of Rama Raya.—9. His rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara.—10. Conditions of the State Finance.—11. Maintenance of Hindu cult.—12. Religious offerings of the subjects. 13. Alms to the Brahmins.—14. Jurisdiction affairs.—15. Agriculture.—16. The barbers.—17. Other public affairs.—18. State of the capital.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda. 3. Couto, Correa. 4. Travels of C. Frederick. 5. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, *Ramarajiyamu*, *Svaramelakalanidhi*, *Prapannamritam*.

SADASIVA was on account of his age unfit to manage the State affairs. Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that 'Rama Raya assumed the office of Protector'<sup>1</sup>. The Muhammadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rama Raya describes him as<sup>2</sup>Regent of the puppet Sadasiva. Accordingly all power was vested in Rama Raya, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* recorded some years later<sup>3</sup>. The only fact on which all the authors who have written on Sadasiva's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers. But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing. "Ramraj", he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne"<sup>3</sup>. Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have

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1. Ferishta III, 381.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

3. *Ibid*,

closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadasiva's reign, and discern not two but three different stages in the Regency of Rama Raya.

2. During the first stage Rama Raya is nothing but Regent on behalf of his Sovereign; even the influence of Sadasiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadasiva 'gave orders to Rama Raya, saying'; and then Rama Raya makes a grant according to the King's orders<sup>1</sup>. The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8, at Podili, Nellore District, in which Sadasiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara "under the orders of Sriman Mahamandalesvara Aliyagama-rama Rajayyadeva Maharajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom"<sup>2</sup>. Finally in 1549 by order of Sadasiva, Rama Raya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri<sup>3</sup>.

The titles given to Rama Raya at this time are *Mahamandalesvara*, minister<sup>4</sup>, 'agent of Sadasiva'<sup>5</sup> 'agent for the affairs of Sadasiva's kingdom'<sup>6</sup> or at most 'ruler of the great Karnata Kingdom'<sup>7</sup>. No other trace of higher authority can be gathered from the records of the first years of his governorship.

In the meanwhile Sadasiva mostly resided at the capital. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions<sup>8</sup>. In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant, and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant "in the vicinity of the god Vitthalesvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river" viz., at Vijayanagara<sup>9</sup>.

3. From the very beginning the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the State affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadasiva in 1558 exalts the virtues of Rama Raya as

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 110.

2. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7.

3. Rangacharya, II, p. 1051, 17.

4. 472 of 1906; 5 of 1900.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126; Rangacharya, II, p. 1073, 199.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk., 13.

7. Sadasiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

8. Butterworth, II, p. 921-2.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, v. 43; p. 231, vv. 43-45.

a ruler, 'possessed of valour, liberality and mercy'<sup>1</sup>; moreover he is said to be 'versed in politics'<sup>2</sup>, or 'well versed in politics'<sup>3</sup>, 'skilled in politics'<sup>4</sup> conversant with politics<sup>5</sup>, and to have 'studied politics'<sup>6</sup>. One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast Empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation of his two brothers in the minister-ship; the administration of justice was assigned to Tirumala while Venkatadri took over the supervision of the State finances<sup>7</sup>. Several inscriptions justify the statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahamandalesvara Tirumalarayadeva Maharasu granted to some person the village of Kotanahalli together with its hamlets<sup>8</sup>. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jangamayya, the *Dalavay* or general of Timmaraja, younger brother of Rama Raya".<sup>9</sup>

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule; this was Udayagiri, called 'the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara'<sup>10</sup>, owing its proximity to the Muhammadan frontier. Formerly it had almost always been governed by Princes of the Royal family, as Viceroys on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri<sup>11</sup>, and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office<sup>12</sup>; however, he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Sangam, the governor of Udayagiri was

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 15.

3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

5. Kuniyur Plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

7. Couto, VI, p. 383.

8. *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Butterworth, III, p. 542.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 242.

12. Butterworth, II, p. 867.

Chivvakkaluri Bayacha Rajayya <sup>1</sup>, who ruled on behalf of Tirumala. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6? <sup>2</sup> His appointment at that time was not due to his brother, but either to Achyuta or to the ministers of the latter.

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rama Raya was at all times exemplary: an inscription of Kalamalla records the remission of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala with the permission of Rama Raya <sup>3</sup>.

As to Venkatadri, the *Ramarajiyamu* mentions the town of Kandanol, Karnul district, as the seat of his government <sup>4</sup>. Accordingly in 1547 he remitted the tax on the Brahmins in the villages of Kanala, <sup>4</sup> Damagatla <sup>5</sup> and Bannum <sup>6</sup>. These places are all situated in Karnul district. This probably was in the first stage of Rama's governorship, for we find Venkatadri governing the Chola country during the second stage.

Rama Raya, shortly after Sadasiva's coronation, showed his prudence as well as his decision, in an event related by Correa. Once when marching against the Sultan of Bijapur, a number of captains and nobles, discontented with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate, that they might proceed to a new election. Rama Raya apparently agreed, and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be held. Then he assembled them in the royal palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. Once the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates of the palace were shut; the insurgent nobles were then seized by the partisans of Rama Raya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain; others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes <sup>5</sup>.

1. Rangacharya, II, p. 113, 477.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 95.

3. 380 of 1904.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

5. Rangacharya, II, p. 964, 532.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 947, 395.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 945, 388.

8. Correa, IV, p. 439.



4. Some years later, probably as soon as the King was old enough to assume the government of the Empire, Rama Raya put him in prison<sup>1</sup> and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick states that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto blames Rama Raya alone. Couto's statement seems to be more probable, for it explains the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri to which reference will be made later. Sadasiva's prison was, according to Couto, a strongly fortified tower with iron doors and surrounded by sentries; nevertheless, his treatment while there was such as befitted a king<sup>2</sup>.

Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadasiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof; because even supposing he was imprisoned at Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still at Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give, and on account of the events subsequent to the disaster at Raksas-Tagdi. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch King Sadasiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge. <sup>A</sup>

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552; and since he subsequently states that Sadasiva remained in this prison thirteen years<sup>3</sup> before the beginning of the third stage of Rama Raya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second stage was

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93; Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 289; Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques, Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

2. "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey moco, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey; mas com todas as despezas, gastos, e apparatus que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre". Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king, says: "C'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l'egard des descendants de Sovaji renfermes a Satara, et d'Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

in 1550, and lasted till 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate Sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year<sup>1</sup>. This was the only occasion for them to realize that there still was at Vijayanagara a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty seated on the jewelled throne. But, as a matter of fact, Sadasiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rama Raya, who was practically the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rama Raya on an equality with that of Sadasiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadasiva and Rama Raya'<sup>2</sup>. Another inscription of Dasandoddi, dated 1554, states that "Badme Maluka-Odeya granted one village which he had been presented with by Sadasiva and Rama Raya"<sup>3</sup>. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva (1551) gives both genealogies, that of Sadasiva and that of Rama Raya, in detail<sup>4</sup>. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later, in 1554-5, Mangala Timmoja Kondojugaru, 'having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king' obtained a grant according to his petition<sup>5</sup>. In 1557 the same Mangala Timmoja made a grant to the god Bhire, in order that merit might accrue to Rama Raya<sup>6</sup>.

5. But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on a level, the influence of Sadasiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire are three members of the Aravidu family, Rama Raya and his two brothers. 'They ruled at their pleasure as they liked', says Frederick<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkatadri rebelled against the authority of their brother at the beginning of this stage, say about 1551, presumably because they disliked Rama Raya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other

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1. Frederick, Purchas, o. c., p. 93.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 54.

3. *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210.

5. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1.

7. Purchas, o. c., p. 93.

reason can be given for this disagreement between Rama Raya and his brothers. Precisely one year before, in 1549-50, Tirumala had requested and obtained from Sadasiva the Mamidipundi grant<sup>1</sup>: his gratefulness towards the sovereign was no match for the audacity of his brother.

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda; and although some authors consider his narrative untrustworthy<sup>2</sup>, we cannot but admit its truthfulness considering the fact that in his own day several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here.

“ During the absence of Ramraj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijapur against that of Ahmadnagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timraj and Govindraj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence, not only usurped the control of Adoni, but, collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Ramraj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own strength; and he, being unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah immediately despatched Qabul Khan, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Ramraj. On reaching Vijayanagara, Ramraj ordered his own troops into the field; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khan and Bijly Khan, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary forces, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months; when, being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara. Ramraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital; whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khan

1. Butterworth, I, p. 102, v. 62.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. I., Report, 1911-2*, p. 176.

'Ain-ul-Mulk'" received permission to return to Golkonda, where the King honoured him with the title of 'Ain-ul-Mulk'"<sup>1</sup>.

The pardon so graciously granted by Rama Raya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out—"by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives"<sup>2</sup>. On the first point we shall touch in the following chapter; but this is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

6. In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Kochcharlakota-sima<sup>3</sup>. Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made, while Sadasiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and 'Tirumala ruling at Kondavidu'<sup>4</sup>. This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadasiva, that is by Rama Raya in the name of Sadasiva, as we are informed by Ranga, son of the same Tirumala in one of his grants dated 1565-6<sup>5</sup>. But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondavidu. We frequently find him in Vijayanagara; for instance, an inscription at Munelli, Badvel Taluk, shows that Tirumala in 1557-8 was in the capital ruling the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva<sup>6</sup>. In a copper-plate grant of the same year, Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahipati Yerramanayaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the villages of Gutti, Tadpatri, Vellalura, Singanamala and Siyyada<sup>7</sup>. In 1552 he made a gift of ten villages to the temple of Chennak-savaraya of Markapur, Karnul<sup>8</sup>. This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala took personal charge of the Government of the State, whenever Rama Raya was absent for war or on business. He had an agent at Gudur, of whom we

1. Ferishta, III, p. 397-8.

2. Ibid., p. 381.

3. 156 of 1905.

4. Butterworth, II, p. 952-5; Rangacharya, II, p. 786, 354.

5. Ibid., p. 946-50.

6. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

7. *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

8. 156 of 1905.

have two charitable edicts of the years 1555-6<sup>1</sup> and 1559-60<sup>2</sup> respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatadri ruled the country around Tiruvaiyar near Tanjore in 1559<sup>3</sup>. A year or two before the disaster of Talikota, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom", and in this capacity to have conferred the government of Barakura-rajya (Barkur) on Sadasivaraya-Nayaka, the founder of the Ikkeri Nayaks<sup>4</sup>.

One of the relations of Rama Raya elevated by his power was his cousin Vitthala<sup>5</sup>. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadasiva in the southern country and Ceylon<sup>6</sup>. In another chapter we shall speak at length of his activity in the territory of his Viceroyalty. A nephew of Rama Raya, Kondaraja, was also exalted. He was the grand-son of Peda Kondaraja, the brother of Rama Raya's father, Ranga<sup>7</sup>. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahamandalesvara Komara Kondarajayyadeva maharasa"<sup>8</sup>. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Badami<sup>9</sup>. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadasiva, recorded in the British Museum plates, for fostering the cult of Vishnu. The grant had been requested by Kondaraja from Rama Raya<sup>10</sup>. In 1558, Sadasiva made another grant on the application of Rama Raya, Kondaraja having again made the petition<sup>11</sup>. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Koneti Kondarajadeva to the spiritual preceptor<sup>12</sup>. Jillela Rangapatirajayyadeva Maharaja, related to the Aravidu family on his mother's side,

1. Butterworth, I, p. 458-60.

2. Ibid., p. 456-8.

3. 256 of 1894.

4. H. Krishna Sastri, o. c., p. 179.

5. *M. E. R.*, 1911, p. 86; 1912. p. 82 ff.

6. 129 of 1905.

7. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4, vv 125-40.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, I, p. 19, 12.

9. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 2.

11. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

12. *M. A. D., Report, 1920*, p. 39.

was also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahamandalesvara and governor of Ramadurgam-sima, where he had an agent called Amarinayani Vengala-Nayaningarū<sup>1</sup>. A nephew of Tirumala, and probably also of Rama Raya, is called in 1554, Mahamandalesvara Madraju Nagappadeva Maharaju<sup>2</sup>. Moreover Rama Raya "was so generous", according to Manucci, "that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record on golden plates...The fame of this Emperor's liberality spread far and wide, and many men of different nations entered his service, principally foreigners"<sup>3</sup>.

7. This elevation of relatives had in view not only the strengthening of his present power but the preparation of the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coup d'etat*; for such indeed was the imprisonment of the sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual presentation of the puppet Emperor, coupled with rumours purposely spread by the agents of Rama Raya about the supposed demise of the sovereign, were quite enough for everybody to acknowledge Rama Raya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara, seeing that he was practically the sovereign, and also the closest relative of Sadasiva, although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage, which prove that this final step was long contemplated: in 1551 in the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is already given the title 'King of Karnata'<sup>4</sup>. The same is the case in another grant of Sadasiva of the year 1556-7<sup>5</sup>. In 1554 Mangala Timmoju Kondojugaru calls himself a feudatory of Rama Raya without mentioning Sadasiva at all<sup>6</sup>. In the same year Rama Raya himself made another grant to some Brahmans in the same form as the old grants of

1. 445 of 1911.

2. 161 of 1905.

3. Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, III, p. 97.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, v. 30.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

6. Rangacharya, II, p. 1098, 379.

the Emperors of Vijayanagara. In the beginning, it invokes Ganesa and the Boar, the sportive incarnation of Vishnu. Then it proceeds to trace Rama Raya's pedigree from Buddha and the Pururavas, and speaks of the deeds of Rama Raya and his brothers, without mentioning Sadasiva at all, and says finally: "while having uprooted all the enemies, Rama Raya ruled over the earth as famous as Baratha and Bagiratha" <sup>1</sup>.

8. A rule of thirteen years had made the power of Rama Raya in Vijayanagara sufficiently strong; rumours were probably spread about that Sadasiva was dead. Then the ambitious Regent took for himself the title of King. "After Sadasiva's death"; says Anquetil du Perron, "Rama Raya was nominated King" <sup>2</sup>. It seems probable that a real ceremony of enthronement took place in the capital; for C. Frederick expressly says that Rama Raya 'sate in the Royal throne, and was called the King' <sup>3</sup>. Even Manucci, in 1688, called Rama Raya 'Emperor of Narsinga' <sup>4</sup>. And probably new *Pagodas* were at once struck with his name. We do not know of any coin of Rama Raya bearing such an early date but we are aware of coins struck with his name on the eve of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The famous *Gandikota Pagoda* gives the name of Rama Raya and the date 1565, and has on the obverse a figure of Vishnu standing under a canopy <sup>5</sup>.

From this date, some time in 1563, the ceremony of showing the Emperor to his subjects was discontinued. But the three brothers used to go once a year to his prison-like palace in order to do homage to him as their sovereign <sup>6</sup>.

The epigraphical evidence on this point is more than sufficient. A copper-plate record at Devarayadurga of 1562-3 says that Rama Raya reigned supreme at Vijayanagara <sup>7</sup>. A private grant of the same year mentions Rama Raya as 'ruling the

1. *M. A. D.*, 1923, p. 125-7.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

3. Frederick, l. c.; *Gubernatis*, o. c., p. 290.

4. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97.

5. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.

6. Couto, VI, p. 383.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 44.

Empire', and does not mention Sadasiva<sup>1</sup>. An inscription in Krishnarajapet Taluk records a grant made 'while the Rajadhiraja Raja-Paramesvara Vira-pratapa-Maharaya Rama-Deva-Raya-aiyyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda'<sup>2</sup>. There is still another inscription, dated 1565, (the same year as the battle of Raksas-Tagdi) that gives Rama Raya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadasiva at all; it is a grant made "when the Master of Kuntala (Karnata), lord of the throne of Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara), the Rajadhiraja Raja-paramesvara Virapratapa Vira Rama-Deva-Raya maharaya, seated on the jewell throne, was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom"<sup>3</sup>. Even in an inscription of 1581, during the reign of Ranga I, Rama Raya is called Rajadhiraja<sup>4</sup>, and in another of Venkata III, 1639, he is recorded to have 'governed the whole world'<sup>5</sup>. Along with the lithic records, Anantacharya in his poem *Prapannamritam* calls Rama Raya 'Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Krishna Raya'<sup>6</sup>.

Now, if the Hindus, who were under the Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadasiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rama Raya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder if Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speaks of the latter as the sovereign of the rival Empire<sup>7</sup>. When detailing the so-called battle of Talikota, we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rama Raya on the battle field. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* speaks always of Rama Raya as the Vijayanagara sovereign, but under the name of Sadasiva

1. Ibid., Tk. 44.

2. Ibid., IV, Kr, 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date, 1543, and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Ranga I or Venkata II. Nevertheless even a forgery proves that Rama Raya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.

3. *Ep. Carn*, VII, Ci, 62.

4. Ibid., IV, Kr, 15.

5. Ibid., III, Nj, 198.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 117, 118, 131, etc.



Raya<sup>1</sup>. Faria y Sousa speaks of Cidoca (Sadasiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara), but in 1559 the only king of Vijayanagara known to him is Rama Raya<sup>2</sup>.

9. The following information, given us by his Minister and favourite Ramayamatya Todaramalla in his *Svaramelakalanidhi* probably refers to this time: "He had a palace called Ratna Kuta", says he, "constructed by his minister Ramayamatya; and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans"<sup>3</sup>.

Rama Raya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature. "Seated within this Palace (Ratna Kuta)" says Ramayamatya, "he spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts"<sup>4</sup>. Accordingly, a grant of Venkata II, 1589, informs us that Rama Raya took great pleasure in music on the vina and in singing<sup>5</sup>. With these years is probably associated the trip of Rama Raya with his Guru Tatacharya, the son of Srinivasa, to the fortress of Chandragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the Sastras<sup>6</sup>. These last years of Rama Raya spent in leisure, are also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later. "After this division", says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on"<sup>7</sup>.

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole Government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last

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1. Only twice Rama Raya is called by his own name 'Rama Raj' in this work; *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 7, and p. 101. That Rama Raya himself is meant by the name Sadasiva Raya is proved by this fact, that Sadasiva Raya is said to have been beheaded after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.

2. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189 and 327.

3. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XIII, Cy, 39.

6. *Prapannamrtam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202.

7. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 99.

days preceding the battle of Raksas-Tagdi<sup>1</sup>. The titles given him at this time are Mahamandalesvara Ramaraya-Yaram-Tirumalarajayyadeva-Maharaja<sup>2</sup>. The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondavidu; and it was then probably that Rama Raya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends, appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Ramayamatya, thus enabling him to grant many agraharas to Brahmins<sup>3</sup>. At the poet's death, Siddhiraju Timma Raju, another nephew of Rama Raya, was appointed in his place<sup>4</sup>.

Tirumala combined the office of Minister with the Governorship of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country<sup>5</sup>. We know an inscription of his, dated 1564, allowing Chinna-Bomma Nayaka of Vellore to make grants to the temple of that place<sup>6</sup>.

In the new order of government, Venkatadri was Commander-in-Chief of the army<sup>7</sup>. The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the choice had not fallen on the wrong man. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior'<sup>8</sup>, and in the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have been 'a veritable Arjuna on the battlefield'<sup>9</sup>.

Now after having described the three stages of the government of Rama Raya, we may turn to consider some of the Government affairs.

10. It seems that during the reigns of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta, the sources of revenue were finally fixed and reduced to a regular form. The judicious system of accounts and the management introduced were instrumental in gradually improving the revenues without oppressing the subjects of the

1. *M. E. R.*, 341, Ap. B, of 1816.

2. Anquetil du Perron, o.c., p. 165.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 190.

4. *Paramayogi Vilasam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 211.

5. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 69-75, Nos. 43-8.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

7. Anquetil du Perron, I. c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 19.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. *Sources*, p. 222.

Empire. Hence, the State finances were by no means impoverished when Rama Raya began ruling. The Nayaks and other feudatory chiefs regularly sent to the court their annual tribute, still realising that the Empire was strong enough to obtain payment by force if necessary; but many of these same chiefs acted otherwise when they saw the Empire defeated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.

II. One of the first and most important matters the Government took in hand was the maintenance of the Hindu cult. Sadasiva himself and his Minister Rama Raya were the first in encouraging their subjects to foster the national religion, as the lithic records and the copper-plate grants of his reign prove. No doubt, several gifts recorded in these monuments are presented by Sadasiva himself, and not precisely by his Minister, even during the second period of his reign, when he was in prison. "When Sadasiva was seated in the jewelled throne ruling the kingdom of the earth", we read in an inscription of 1557, "he, sending for a copy of the stone sasana at the temple of the god Vitthala, set up in the righteous administration of Aliya Rama Raya, found that according to that sasana, Krishna Deva Maharaya in the year 1519 having granted the customs dues in certain villages, and these not being sufficient to provide for the offerings, which had fallen into abeyance, Sadasiva Raya...made a grant of taxes for the god Bhire."<sup>1</sup>

But the majority of these religious grants, although made on behalf of Sadasiva, were probably ordered by Rama Raya. We read for instance that the old temple of Bhairava in Nallacheruvupalle was enlarged and beautified by Sadasiva in 1544<sup>2</sup>; that he exempted the god Gopalakrishna from tax<sup>3</sup>; that he made a grant of a village to the temple of Markapur in the very year of his accession<sup>4</sup>; that the village of Pudur was given to the god Sachchidananda<sup>5</sup>, while three other villa-

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1.
  2. Sewell, I, p. 127.
  3. Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 65.
  4. Sewell, p. 86.
  5. Rangacharya, I, p. 584, 93.

ges, including Pulupatum in Pottapinadu and some land in Vontimitta, were granted to the Kodandaramaswami temple of the same place<sup>1</sup>, and a grant of many villages was made to the Krishnapuram temples for the worship of Vishnu<sup>2</sup>. The village of Kagallu, surnamed Timmasamudra, Hindupur Taluk, was likewise given to the temple of Mallikarjuna<sup>3</sup>; and that of Kosanepalle, Jammalamadugu Taluk, to the Chernuri-sima for the festival of Tiruvengalanatha<sup>4</sup>; and the one of Puliyangulam to the goddess of Srivilliputtur, Ramnad<sup>5</sup>; then the pagoda of Durga at Koduru was allowed to levy contributions from the pilgrims towards the annual festival of the deity<sup>6</sup>. Finally Aliya Rama Raya granted the village of Gadigareju to the gods Siddhesvara and Bhojesvara<sup>7</sup> and made some grants for festivals<sup>8</sup>. Of the same Rama Raya is the following edict, by which he provides a good income in perpetuity for the festivals of Sri Ranganatha's temple: "The income which is derived from sundry articles in the villages situated in Udayagiri durgam, which belong to us and were formerly attached to (the temple of) Sri Raghunayakulu, should be utilised for always providing daily offerings, worship with lights and miscellaneous offerings in the temple. While speaking these pleasant words, we have presented, on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse, with libation of water and gift of gold, this endowment to the accountant in the temple of the deity, to last as long as the sun and moon endure"<sup>9</sup>.

12. The example of the throne was followed by the subjects. During the reign of Sadasiva new temples were erected, and others enlarged and richly adorned. Amarinayani Vengala-

1. 412 of 1911.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 67-9.

3. 84 of 1912.

4. 410 of 1904.

5. Rangacharya, II, p. 1181, 178-L.

6. *Ibid.*, I, p. 574, 7. In the *M. A. D.* 1920, p. 39, there are two other religious grants of Sadasiva.

7. Rangacharia, II, p. 963, 520-521.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si, 31.

9. Butterworth, III, p. 1363-5.

Naraningaru, the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Jillella Rangapatirajayyadeva-Maharaja, repaired the central shrine and the sugnasi of the Viresvara temple of Rayachoti<sup>1</sup>; one Desantari Narasingadasa vastly improved the Parthasarathiswamin temple at Triplicane, Madras<sup>2</sup>; Jangammya, dala-way of Tirumala, erected a temple in 1545<sup>3</sup>; Gutti Tirumalarajayya erected a mantapam in the Chennakesava pagoda at Mannur<sup>4</sup>; Tima Ranga dedicated a building called Ranga Mantapam or public resting place, with 25 partitions, to the god Mahadeva Deva at Vijayanagara<sup>5</sup>; Chinna Aubalaraja erected a pagoda at Arakata-vemula Agraharam, placed there the image of Gopala Krishna Deva, and granted hamlets of the above agraharam and an allowance of 31½ pagodas on the tax of the Gandikota Durgam, to the aforesaid god Gopalakrishna Deva<sup>6</sup>; Aubala-rajayya installed the metal images in the villages of Veludurti, Cuddapah, and granted twelve pagodas for offering food to Chennakesava Perumal<sup>7</sup>; Rachirajadeva Maharaja of the lunar race of the atriya-gotra, set up an image of Sir Madanagopala, constructed a temple and performed the consecration ceremony and made certain gifts of land for providing sacred food and all means of enjoyment to the deity<sup>8</sup>; Jakkannaganda constructed several lamp-posts for the service of the temple<sup>9</sup>.

Moreover, various villages and lands were given to different temples by the feudatory chiefs or by private people: Chinna Timmanayadu, son of Pemmasami Nayadu, granted the village of Venamalachintala to the god Tiruvengalanatha at Tadpatri<sup>10</sup>;

1. 445 of 1911.

2. 239 of 1903; *M. E. R.*, 1904, para. 25.

3. *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.

4. 605 of 1907.

5. Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 35.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 617, 487.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 616, 484.

8. Rangacharya, II, p. 1131, 604.

9. *M. A. D.*, 1924, p. 83.

10. Rangacharya, I, p. 607, 397.

Nage Nayaka, son of Mahanayakacharya Raiakote Aravinda Nayaka gave the village of Gottakunte to Bairayagauda's son Tammayagauda, for the service of daily worship of god Sriranganatha at Yaldur<sup>1</sup>; one Gundurti Pappayya granted three villages to the goddess in Velpucherla, Cuddapah<sup>2</sup>; Nandyala Tirumayyadeva granted to the god Chennakesava some land in Nandapadu<sup>3</sup> and the village of Kodur<sup>4</sup>; another of his subjects granted 30 kuntas of land for planting a nandavanam (flower garden) for the god Tiruvengalanatha<sup>5</sup>; Gangayya Raja and Chinna Timmaraja, son of Aubalaraja, gave 30 puttis and 16 tums of land to the gods and brahmins of the village of Vellala, Proddatur<sup>6</sup>; Venkataya and his brother Appayya disposed of their land to the god Chennakesava in Vanipenta<sup>7</sup>; Chinna Timmaraja, son of Konda Raja, gave a village to the god Ahobala Narasinha<sup>8</sup>; Nagarajayya granted to the god Raghunayaka of Vontimitta the village of Gangaperuru<sup>9</sup>; Tirumalarasu gave some land to the god Varadaraja<sup>10</sup>; the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Avubalesvaradeva-Maharaju made a gift of land to the temple of Raghunayakalu of Ghandikota<sup>11</sup>; to the same temple another gift was made by Nandyala Timmayadeva Maharaju<sup>12</sup>; the same chief built the village of Potladurti, Cuddapah, and granted it to the god Chennakesava<sup>13</sup>; Vobalaraju, son of Nandyala Abubalaraju, gave the piece of land to the Suamyathasvamin temple of Nandalur for the

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1. *M. A. D.*, 1924, p. 84-5.
  2. *Rangacharya*, I, p. 606, 3<sup>rd</sup>2.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 612, 440.
  4. *Ibid.*, p. 612, 443.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 649, 831.
  6. *Ibid.*, p. 629, 594.
  7. *Ibid.*, p. 628, 591.
  8. *Ibid.*, p. 627, 581.
  9. *Ibid.*, p. 660, 914.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 652, 853.
  11. 485 of 1906.
  12. 486 of 1906.
  13. *Rangaacharya*, I. p. 616, 480.

god's ablution, out of his 'Nainkarum' <sup>1</sup>; Papa Timmayya-deva Maharaja granted a village to the Venugopalaswami temple at Bollavaram <sup>2</sup>; Immadi Basavanayadu gave 15 tums of dry field to the god Tripurantaka <sup>3</sup>; lands were also given to the dancing women of Tiruvannamalai for temple service <sup>4</sup>. Finally in a Kanarese book of the Mackenzie Collection there are various copies of inscriptions of grants of land made in the reign of Sadasiva to the temple of Chinna Kesava <sup>5</sup>.

Many gifts in money are likewise recorded in the inscriptions of Sadasiva's reign : a chief granted a tax to the Somesvara temple at Peddamudiyam <sup>6</sup>; Vipravinodi Viramushti Virappa granted the allowance he had been receiving from the village to god Visvesvara <sup>7</sup>; Vipravinodi Siddhaya granted the allowance due from the agraharam Brahmins for the festival of Chennakesava Perumal <sup>8</sup>; Virupana Nayaka presented 50 varahas to the temple of Mallikarjuna-deva at Kambaduru <sup>9</sup>; the Viramushti people granted away their allowances in the village to the god Visvesvara <sup>10</sup>; the Vipravinodins made a gift to the Chennakesava temple at Kalumalla <sup>11</sup>; to the same temple another gift was made by Rachiraju <sup>12</sup>; the jugglers granted the allowance of Valamore to the god Chennakesava <sup>13</sup>;

1. 605 of 1907.

2. Rangacharya, I, p. 618, 492.

3. Ibid., p. 617, 485.

4. Sewell, I, p. 207.

5. *Chinna Kesava Swami Sasana Patra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 344. We cannot cite here all the gifts presented to the temples during Sadasiva's reign : we wanted only to give a specimen of the offerings. More grants of land will be found in 27 of 1900; 61, 63, 78, 81, 82 of 1915; Rangacharya II, p. 976, 603; p. 766, 160; p. 977, 610-A and 610-F; p. 853, 64; p. 1130, 599.

6. 349 of 1905.

7. Rangacharya I, p. 601, 326.

8. Ibid., p. 601, 327.

9. 94 of 1913.

10. Rangacharya, I, p. 601, 325.

11. 379 of 1904.

12. 376 of 1904.

13. Rangacharya, I p. 633, 632.

some Vipravinodins granted their local allowance of two villages to the same god in Vanipenta<sup>1</sup>; the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmaraja Kondayadeva Maharaja made a gift of the proceeds of certain taxes collected in the village of Jillala to the temple of Virabhadradeva of the same village<sup>2</sup>; Chinna Timma Raja and Kondaraja granted a tax to the deity of Virabhadra pagoda at Idamadaka<sup>3</sup>; Papatimmaraja granted his own share of taxes of Bollavaram-petta, Cuddapah, to the daily ceremony of the Gopinatha temple of the same village<sup>4</sup>; the Vipravinodins gave away to the deity the annual allowance they had been receiving from a village<sup>5</sup>; Rangapa Rajayyadeva made a grant to the god Sri Raghunayakulu of Chadaluvada<sup>6</sup>; the Vipravinodi Brahmins gave away the annual fees they had been receiving from the Brahmins of Chamalur to god Chennakesava<sup>7</sup>.

13. The generosity of the King did not forget the Brahmanic precept of giving alms to the Brahmins. In 1545 he made a grant to some Brahmins<sup>8</sup>; the village of Govinda-Vamapuram was given by him to a Brahmin<sup>9</sup>; two years later two other villages were also given to several Brahmins<sup>10</sup>. It seems he had a special predilection for learned Brahmins. A grant of the village of Kanuma to several learned Brahmins was recorded in 1548<sup>11</sup>; the Bevinahalli village was given to

1. Ibid., p. 628, 592.

2. 471 of 1906.

3. Rangacharya, I p. 620, 515.

4. Ibid., p. 618, 493.

5. Ibid., p. 606, 384.

6. Ibid., II, p. 786, 354.

7. Ibid., p. 589, 144. Other private grants to different gods in the reign of Sadasiva may be found in Butterworth, II, p. 867-8; p. 868-70; p. 946-50; p. 952-5; III, p. 1175-8; *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 108; Sr, 149; IV, Ch, 121; Ch, 202; Ng, 26; VII, H1, g; XI, Hk, 113; X, Gd, 52; 72 and 58 of 1915; Rangacharya, II, p. 931, 254; p. 247, 396; p. 964, 531; p. 1113, 478.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

9. Rangacharya, I, p. 557, 347.

10. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 52. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 877, 5.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 43-57.



several Brahmins 'who are well versed in the Vedas'<sup>1</sup>; from 1544 to 1546 three villages were granted in perpetuity 'with gift of gold and libation of water as an agrahāra' to Chinna Koneti Tiruvengalanathayyagaru, a Brahmin of Ongole, son of Srimad Tallapaka Tirumalayangaru, called in two inscriptions 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas'<sup>2</sup>, and in a third one 'the establisher of the school of the Vedānta'<sup>3</sup>. All these grants were most probably made by Sadasiva himself because all, excepting one, the date of which is quite doubtful, belong to the first period of his reign. But none is positively assigned to the other periods during the time of his imprisonment. From this time we know only of a grant made in 1554 by Rama Raya himself to some Brahmins<sup>4</sup>.

We have found only a few private grants to the Brahmins in Sadasiva's time. A not very rich gift was made to some Brahmins of Krishnarajapet Taluk<sup>5</sup>; then a grant of 5 puttis and 13½tums of land to the learned Brahmins of Pandilapalli<sup>6</sup>; lastly another grant for daily feeding three Brahmins<sup>7</sup>; such are the private donations to the Brahmins during this reign. On the other hand, the Brahmins met on several occasions with serious difficulties created specially by the Muhammadans not only in the recently conquered towns but also in the old territory of the south. In 1555 the Brahmins of Ahobilam granted some lands to a local chief, probably in payment of their protection against the Muhammadans<sup>8</sup>.

14. Various quarrels over jurisdiction arose between neighbouring villages during this reign. In 1553 Rama Raju Konappa-deva Maharaja, probably Sadasiva's Regent, settled a water

1. *Ibid.*, p. 231, vv. 43-5 and p. 216.

2. Buterworth, III, p. 1131-2; II, p. 784, 343; p. 930-1.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 783, 337; p. 921-2.

4. *M. A. D.*, 1921, p. 125-7.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr, 79.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 615, 467.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk, 55. Other grants may be seen in Rangacharya, II, p. 914, 51, p. 926, 212; p. 927, 227; p. 950, 421; p. 979, 629, and p. 980, 633.

8. Sewell, I, p. 101.

dispute between two villages of Anantapur District<sup>1</sup>; in 1555 the village boundary stones were set up in Peddamallepalli in the same district, through the influence of Dasappa Nayadu, no doubt to finish a dispute between this village and a neighbouring one<sup>2</sup>; for the same reason and about the same time the limits between Vijaya Bukkarayapuram and Brahma-  
napalli were measured and definitely established<sup>3</sup>.

15. Agriculture was not greatly fostered during Sadasiva's government. We know of a canal dug in the village of Pottapi; but this was done through the generosity of Varadarasu and Tellamarasu who gave sixty kuntas of land for that purpose<sup>4</sup>. Another irrigation canal called Antarangakalva was dug in the same village by the munificence of Varadayya, a Matla chief<sup>5</sup>. The only occasion in which the name of Sadasiva is associated with any agricultural work is when in 1551 he made a grant free of rent to the salt dealers of Molakalmuru Taluk for the the removal of the saline earth<sup>6</sup>.

16. No other subjects of Sadasiva got more inscriptions about themselves than the barbers<sup>7</sup>. The origin of this predilection of the King and his Minister for the barbers was, it seems, the skill of one of them named Manggala Timmoju Kondajugaru or Kondoja of the town of Badavi<sup>8</sup>. As far as we know, he was the barber of Rama Raya, who was much pleased with his skill in shaving the ghin<sup>9</sup>; the Minister introduced him to the Sove-

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1. 327 of 1901.

2. Rangacharya, I, p. 29, 199.

3. Ibid., I, p. 602, 338.

4. Ibid., I. p. 653, 860.

5. 434 of 1911.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 8 and 9.

7. The importance of the barbers in the religious life of the Hindus in the south of India is so great that many rites and ceremonies could not to performed without them. Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 301, who once attended the sacred fair of Tirupati, says that every pilgrim to the Tirupati hill had to have his head shaved. The barbers were sitting under some large trees and hiding themselves behind the heaps of hair.

8. Sadasiva's inscriptions at Badami, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65

9. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty*, A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 198, note 5.

reign himself<sup>1</sup>. This was the beginning of that series of rewards bestowed upon him and all his fellow-workers. Early in 1545 Rama Raya, already pleased with Kondoja's work, remitted to him the caste tax, customs-dues and other taxes payable by barbers<sup>2</sup>; then Sadasiva's agent in Shimoga District, following the example of the Regent, granted to the same man the Chanagiri Barbers' tax<sup>3</sup>. In 1554 Kondoja 'having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king, obtained a royal decree exempting the barbers from taxes'<sup>4</sup>; in the following year he obtained the remission of forced labour, birada, fixed rent and other taxes for himself and his family throughout the four boundaries of the kingdom<sup>5</sup>; then, by order of Sadasiva, Rama Raya granted another gift (illegible in the inscription) to the lucky barber<sup>6</sup>. About the same time an agent of Sadasiva at Gudur issued a charitable edict to the same 'to last as long as the sun and moon exist'; and in order to drive home the importance of the reward, ended his donation with this warning: "Those who cause obstacles to it, will incur the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin"<sup>7</sup>.

Timoja Kondoja was not the only favourite barber of Rama Raya. A record from Hirekerur states that Rama Raya was pleased with the work done by the three barbers Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja. Hence, he exempted them from all taxes<sup>8</sup>. Another inscription of Badami speaks again of Kondoja and two other barbers, who are not easily identified with the two mentioned above: "These three men Timmoja, Kondoja and Bhadri having propitiated the King", etc.<sup>9</sup>.

The friendship of Rama Raya and Sadasiva with Kondoja and the four other barbers was the cause of their benevolence towards all the barbers of the Empire: An inscription of 1545

1. Butterworth, II, p. 664-6; *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 6.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk, 13.

3. *Ibid.*, XII, Tp, 126.

4. Butterworth, II, p. 664-6.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 6.

6. *Ibid.* XI, Mk, 11:

7. Butterworth, I, p. 420-2.

8. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c.

9. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65.

says that Rama Raya, being pleased with the barber Kondoja, exempted the barbers of the country (Tumkur District) from caste-tax, customs and all other imposts whatever<sup>1</sup>; then, on account of Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja, Rama Raya requested Sadasiva to extend the privileges granted to them to all the barbers throughout the kingdom<sup>2</sup>, and, because of Timmoja and the other two, Sadasiva allotted a tax as a manya, grant to the barbers of the village of Ulabi<sup>3</sup>. Subsequently all the barbers of the Empire were the recipients of many favours from the central Government. In 1546 Sadasiva states, in an inscription in the Chitaldroog District, that he and Rama Raya have "given up to the barbers tax, fixed rent, forced labour, birada, customs, toll for watchmen; these and other dues, free of all imposts"<sup>4</sup>.

Then Sadasiva himself remitted the tax on the barbers of Utukur<sup>5</sup>, and Rama Raya granted the same favour to the barbers of the Karnataka country<sup>6</sup>, Gundlaunta<sup>7</sup>, Nagamalahine<sup>8</sup>, the three simas of Cuddapah<sup>9</sup>, Ghandikotasima<sup>10</sup>, Tallamarapuram<sup>11</sup>, Utukur<sup>12</sup> and Battepadu<sup>13</sup>.

The other Ministers and feudatory chiefs followed the example of the King and his Regent. Timmaraja, probably Tirumala Raja, remitted the tax on the barbers in several villages<sup>14</sup>: the Mahamandalesvara Tirumalayadeva Maharaja

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126.

2. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c.

3. *Ind Ant.*, X, p. 65.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 110.

5. Rangacharya, I, p. 657, 890.

6. 318 of 1905.

7. Rangacharya, I, p. 593, 184.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 601, 322.

9. 399 of 1904.

10. 514 of 1906.

11. 472 of 1906.

12. Rangacharya, I, p. 651, 851. In *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hr, 29 mention is made of another grant of Rama Raya to the barbers in 1544. cf Rangacharya, II, p. 924, 192; p. 1073, 199.

13. Rangacharya, II, p. 1051, 17.

14. Rangachariar, I, p. 626, 568; II, p. 915, 69; p. 968, 563; p. 978, 612; p. 979, 624.

of Yeragudi exempted from taxes the barbers of Kalamalla <sup>1</sup>; Rama Raya Vitthalesvara, the cousin of Rama Raya, relieved of certain taxes the barbers of Penukonda <sup>2</sup>; Guruvaraja and Chinna Singaraja <sup>3</sup> released from taxes the barbers of Bommavaram <sup>4</sup>, Obasamudram <sup>5</sup> and Pottappi <sup>6</sup>; Timmayadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the barbers of the whole of Ghandikota-sima and three villages belonging to the Indranatha temple <sup>7</sup>, Pendlimarri <sup>8</sup>, Bondalakunta <sup>9</sup>, Lingala <sup>10</sup> and Nallapalli <sup>11</sup>; Nagarajaya Devamaharaja did the same with the barbers of Jonnavaram <sup>12</sup>, and Ramarajayya Pinnaraju Garu with those of Chinna Mudiya <sup>13</sup>, and even a private man issued in 1847-8 a charitable edict for the barbers of Podili <sup>14</sup>.

17. Nor were the barbers the only persons who received such favours from the throne; other people were also exempted from payment of taxes or other tribute: Thus Rama Raya exempted the Karnams of Nindujuvvi from their taxes <sup>15</sup> and Timmayadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the jugglers of Lingala <sup>16</sup>.

1. 381 of 1904.

2. 340 of 1901.

3. This chief is called otherwise in other inscriptions: Chinna-sunga. Chinna Singarasu Choda Maharaju.

4. Rangacharya, I, p. 636, 658.

5. Ibid., p. 638, 677.

6. Ibid., p. 652, 858.

7. 318 of 1905.

8. Rangacharya, I, p. 581, 70.

9. Ibid., p. 588, 136.

10. Ibid., p. 612, 438.

11. Ibid., p. 602, 331.

12. Ibid., p. 660, 915.

13. Ibid., p. 589, 145.

14. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7. Other grants to the barbers will be seen in Rangacharya, I, p. 612, 438; II, p. 915, 69; p. 949, 421; p. 961, 499; p. 1098, 379; p. 1133, 616.

15. Rangacharya, I, 614, 458.

16. Ibid., p. 613, 450. Achyuta Raya had already given up the marriage tax throughout his kingdom (1540), and other chiefs had done the same after his example. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Hk, 111.

During the reign of Sadasiva in 1554 the outer petha of Bagur, Chitaldroog District, which was in ruins, was rebuilt and name Krishnapura, after the name Ere Krishnappa Nayaka, the founder of the Belur family. Special inducements were held out to settlers in the new petha, such as freedom from taxation for one year and confirmation of the exclusion of old claims if they took possession <sup>1</sup>. We are not told what those claims were about, but we venture to suppose that they were jurisdiction quarrels with neighbouring villagers.

The weakness of the royal power and authority was the immediate cause of the downfall of the Empire in the disastrous battle of Raksas-Tagdi and of the subsequent calamities of the Sovereigns of the fourth dynasty. But the glory of Vijayanagara remained apparently as fresh and brilliant as ever during the whole reign of the puppet king, as the successful campaigns we shall relate in the two following chapters will show. An inscription in the Shimoga District on the eve of the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi informs us that the Empire was in extent 'one lakh and twenty six thousand provinces' <sup>2</sup>.

18. The capital was still the wonder of its visitors and even more than before, on account of the new buildings erected during Sadasiva's rule. We know, for instance, that a splendid palace was constructed for Rama Raya. Caesar Frederick, who visited the city one year after the great battle that caused its ruin, was impressed with the magnificence of the huge buildings and wide streets. His description deserves our attention because it shows us what the city was like during the reign: "The circuit of the City is foure and twentie miles about, and within the wals are certaine Mountaines. The House stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I have seene many Kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this Bezeneger". "The apparell that they use in Bezeneger", he continues, "is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person,

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 112.

2. *Ibid.*, VII, Ci, 62.

with long Hats on their heads, called Colae (kullayi), made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold " 2.

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1. Purohas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 97-8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

## CHAPTER IV

### FOREIGN POLICY

**SUMMARY.**—1. Conquests of Sadasiva and Rama Raya.—2. Their campaigns in the Karnatik and Ceylon.—3. Previous relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese, specially during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya.—4. The Portuguese intend to plunder the temple at Tirupati.—5. The treaties of alliance between Sadasiva and the Portuguese.—6. Text of the treaty of 1547.—7. Expedition of Rama Raya against Sao Thome, in 1558.—8. Trading in Sao Thome.—9. Trade between the cities of Goa and Vijayanagara.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, Barros, Couto, Faria y Sousa.—4. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier—5.—Travels of C. Frederick.—6. *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I.—7. *Sivatattvaratnakara*.

WHEN studying the relations of Sadasiva with foreign nations, the flattery associated with the inscriptions and grants of the old Hindu Sovereigns is noteworthy. In a Tamil inscription at Madambakkam we are told that that Sadasiva 'took every country'<sup>1</sup>. A grant dated 1546 goes so far as to state that "he subdued all the enemies in Suragiri (Penukonda) and brought the whole land from Setu to Himadri into subjection to his commands"<sup>2</sup>. But this eulogy is probably inspired by the fact narated in the beginning of the second chapter, when the young Prince was rescued by Rama Raya and placed on the throne of Vijayanagara after the defeat and death of the usurper Salakam Timma. The early date of the inscription suggests this suspicion. That the Kamboja<sup>3</sup>, Bhoja<sup>4</sup>,

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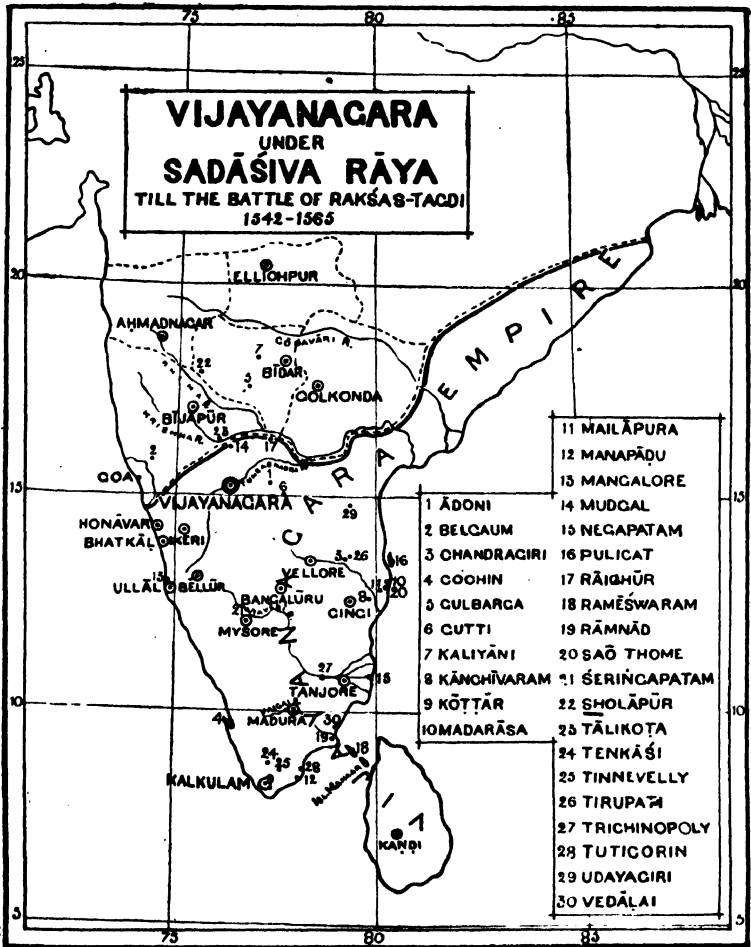
1. Rangacharya, I, p. 397, 685.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

3. One of the sixteen pre-Buddhist kingdoms in the North of India, probably in the Punjab, mentioned in the *Anguttara-Nikaya*, I, 213.

4. Two Kings of Kaauj were called Bhoja, Mihira Bhoja (c. 840-90 A. D.), and Bhoja II (c. 908-10 A. D.). In Malwa there was one famous king of the Paramaras named Bhoja (1018-60 A. D.). Moreover, there was in the 4th and 5th centuries a tribe of Bhoja, in Betar, whose sovereigns belonged to the Vakataka Dynasty.





II. The Empire of Vijayanagara under Sadasiva Rāya.



Kalīnga<sup>1</sup>, Karahata<sup>2</sup> and other kings acted as servants for his female apartments<sup>3</sup>, is even a less trustworthy boast, more akin to an exaggerated reproduction of the inscriptions of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya, who are represented as being attended by the kings of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga<sup>4</sup>. It seems, however, that the king of Orissa, one of those conquered by Krishna Deva Raya, acknowledged the sovereignty of Sadasiva, as we may deduce from the grant of 1558 of Timma Raja, described as son of the king of Orissa<sup>5</sup>.

On the other hand, we cannot doubt that many neighbouring Rajas and petty chiefs were brought under the control of Sadasiva, since we have the authority of the Muhammadan chronicler of Golkonda for stating that Rama Raya strengthened his power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours<sup>6</sup>. The supreme Minister is called, in an inscription of the time of Venkata III, 'an ocean of valour'<sup>7</sup>, a praise that appears confirmed in several grants either contemporary or of latter date, which specify, to some extent, the heroic deeds of the Regent. It is said in the Vellangudi Plates of Sadasiva that Rama Raya 'destroyed his enemies who were a pest to the world'<sup>8</sup>; the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II state that he had 'slain in battle his enemies, who were a scourge of the earth'<sup>9</sup>; the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III affirm that he 'killed in a battle all dangerous enemies in the world'<sup>10</sup>; and a grant of Ranga III, dated 1645, records that 'all his

1. The Chalukya kingdom of Rajahmundry.
2. I was unable to identify this kingdom.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186.
4. About 1533 Luigi Roncino, in the account of his travels through India, wrote that the Emperor of Narsinga, or Vijayanagara, "had 200 kings under him". *Gubernatis, Storia*, p. 127.
5. Sewell, I, p. 75.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 381. Cf. Correa, IV, p. 438.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, III, p. Nj, 198.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-8.
9. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 14.

enemies, the thorns of the world, did the heroic Rama Raya slay in battle' <sup>1</sup>.

2. Who were these chiefs that were defeated and killed by Rama Raya? Ferishta relates that Rama Raya 'had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatik to his yoke' <sup>2</sup>. The whole Canara country south of Vijayanagara was the original Karnatik of those days. The *Sivatattvaratnakara* of Keladi Basavabhupala confirms the statement of Ferishta in the description of a campaign planned by Rama Raya in the present Shimoga District. It says that the Regent sent Sadasiva Nayaka, the influential chief of the Keladi family, to subdue the barbarian Nayakas of Chandragutti; the strong hill-fort was successfully captured by Sadasiva and the Dasyu-nayakas thereafter acknowledged the Emperor of Vijayanagara <sup>3</sup>. Accordingly, he is said in one of his inscriptions to be ruling over Araga <sup>4</sup>, the capital of one of the early Viceroyalties of Vijayanagara, comprising some districts of the present kingdom of Mysore and the Canara country from Goa to Mangalore <sup>4</sup>.

Rama Raya's expeditions into the kingdom of Travancore will be dealt with in another chapter; but we must here observe that Sadasiva is called 'the conqueror of all countries and Ceylon' <sup>6</sup>, and in another inscription he is said 'to have looted Ceylon' <sup>7</sup>, which probably refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, as we shall narrate later on. No other traces of this campaign of Sadasiva in Ceylon have come to our knowledge; but the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda supposes that Ceylon was under the

1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60. These phrases cannot be ascribed to the Muhammadans exclusively, because Rama Raya was finally killed in battle by them.

2. Ferishta, l.c., p. 125.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 195.

4. *M. A. D.*, 1923, p. 83.

5. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 621-2.

6. 129 of 1905.

7. 451 of 1905.

sway of Vijayanagara, when, in narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, he says "that Rama Raya summoned all his dependants from the banks of the Krishna as far as the Island of Ceylon" <sup>1</sup>.

3. Of the relations between Rama Raya and the Portuguese we have quite authentic information. But for the better understanding of their intercourse, it will be convenient to narrate briefly the relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese from the time of their first appearance on the shores of India. To begin with, it seems that the origin of these relations must be looked for as far back as about 1507, when the first Portuguese Governor, Dom Francisco d' Almeida made the acquaintance of Timoja. This Timoja was practically and in effect the commandant of the Vijayanagara fleet entrusted with the task of waging perpetual war with Goa; which city had been captured some years before from the power of Vijayanagara by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur <sup>2</sup>. When the Bijapur Sultan died in 1510, Timoja persuaded Affonso de Albuquerque, the then Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in the East, to attack Goa, a former possession of the Hindu Empire. In doing this, Timoja took advantage of the tender age of the new Sultan Ismail Adil Shah <sup>3</sup>. This enterprise was completely successful; and Timoja, who was then called the most faithful ally of Portugal <sup>4</sup>, helped Albuquerque by land when the city was taken—so much so that the Sultan of Bijapur despatched a messenger to Vijayanagara complaining that Timoja had given his aid to the Portuguese fleet in the capture of Goa <sup>5</sup>.

Before the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had sent a

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1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 413-4. When Luigi Bartherma visited India, in 1507, Ceylon, or at least some of its kings, acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Gubernatis, o. c., p. 295. Faria y Asia Portuguesa, c, p. 183, says that in 1517 the three largest kingdoms of Asia were Siam, China and Bisnaga.

2. Danvers, Report, p. 4; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, I, p. 213-4.

3. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 136.

4. Ibid., p. 136-40.

5. *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, II, p. 100-11. Cf. Danvers, *The Portuguese*, I, p. 193.

Franciscan Friar named Frey Luiz to the court of Vijayanagara, to get the Emperor's assistance in attacking the city of Calicut by land whilst the Portuguese operated by sea, with a view to avenging the violation of his promise by the Sovereign of that place<sup>1</sup>. It appears also that Frey Luiz invited Krishna Deva Raya to become a Christian and the Sovereign gave no negative answer to the priest's request. In an anonymous letter of a traveller written in Venice to *ser Zuane di Santi*, dated November 10th, 1511, and kept in the *Biblioteca Magliabecchina* of Florence, we read the following words: "It seems that King Narsinga was very near becoming a Christian<sup>2</sup>." Frey Luiz remained at Vijayanagara, and was finally murdered there in 1511 by a Turk, it seems, by order of the Sultan of Bijapur<sup>3</sup>. Albuquerque gives this piece of news to his Sovereign in a letter of April 1st, 1512, as follows: "At Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) one Rume (Turk) murdered Frey Luiz; there is nothing extraordinary in this event"<sup>4</sup>.

The result of this legation of Frey Luiz was an Embassy from Vijayanagara that reached Goa in the following year 1511. Both the *Commentarios* and Faria y Sousa, that give this information, do not mention the name of the ambassador nor the nature of his business with the Viceroy. But we are sure that this was the origin of the official friendship between the two powers. In the anonymous letter mentioned above it is stated that "the King of Narsinga (Vijayanagara) has sent ambassadors in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the King of Portugal; on the other hand, this King has done the same, for he also wished to establish this alliance"<sup>5</sup>. Moreover Krishna Deva Raya proposed, no doubt, through his ambassador to the Viceroy, his desire of getting horses

1. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 233; Laftau, o. c., I, p. 262-3

2. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 383-4.

3. *Commentarios*, III, p. 46.

4. From Affonso de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Goa (?), April 1, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 32. Cf. Heras. *Early Relations Between Vijayanagara and Portugal*. *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 67-9.

5. *Commentarios*, III, p. 41-2.

6. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 384.

from Arabia and Ormuz, of which he was in much need for his campaigns against the Muhammadans<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact the second Ambassador sent by Albuquerque to Vijayanagara, Gaspar Chanoca by name, was charged to inform Krishna Raya that the Viceroy would willingly send him all the horses available at Goa, rather than to the Sultan of Bijapur<sup>2</sup>.

The success of this Embassy encouraged the lucky Emperor; and in 1514 he sent another Legation, at the head of which, was one Retelim Cherim (Cheti), Governor of Bracelor (Basrur) who offered the Viceroy £20,000 for the exclusive right of buying 1,000 horses. The ambassador was kindly received by Pero Mascarenhas, Captain of the fortress, and an escort went specially to meet him; but Albuquerque courteously declined the offer on the ground that such a privilege would destroy trade<sup>3</sup>. In spite of this, Vijayanagar and Goa remained as friendly as ever. For when in 1515, Krishna Deva Raya captured the fortress of Rachol, among his soldiers there was also a detachment of Portuguese soldiers under Christovao de Figueredo; who rendered great assistance in the storming of the fort<sup>4</sup>. The Hindu Sovereign was so grateful to the Portuguese on account of these events, that subsequently, perhaps in

1. Cf. *Commentarios*, III, p. 46.

2. From A. de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Goa (?), April 1, 1512, -Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 33.

3. From A. de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Cananor, November 27, 1514, Costa, o. c. p. 51; *Commentarios*, IV, p. 139-41; *Cartas de Simao Botelho*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 343

4. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 196; Barros, p. 433-43; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 320-1. I do not know why Mr. Sewell, p. 334-5 identifies Rachol with Raichur; perhaps because of Ferishta, III, p. 49, who represents the river Krishna as flowing in its neighbourhood. But I rely more upon the Portuguese historians who placed this city in the vicinity of Goa. Faria y Sousa, after relating the defeat of the Bijapur Sultan, says: "Ruy de Mello, who was then at Goa, seeing the Idalcao (Adil Khan) discouraged on account of that disaster and perhaps distracted while thinking how to recover from it; and besides knowing that many people were fighting and robbing the mainland (*la tierra firme*) around: he seized it at the head of two hundred and fifty

the following year, he presented the Portuguese Viceroy with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift<sup>1</sup>. This friendship between both powers still subsisted in the year 1526, since Faria y Sousa affirms that Lope Vaz de Sampayo in that year forgave a rebel city because it belonged to the territory of Vijayanagara<sup>2</sup>.

4. But after the death of Krishna Raya, and when Sadasisa became King, the old alliance was no longer respected, at least by the Portuguese. Faria y Sousa narrates that in 1544 the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa thought of sending a fleet of 45 ships under 27 captains to the eastern coast to plunder the temple of Tremele (Tirupati)<sup>3</sup>, "that is in the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)", in which, it was said, heaps of

cavalry and eight hundred Kanarese foot-soldiers" (l. c., p. 199). This writer, whose work appeared a whole century after these events, supposes Rachol located in an island, since he speaks of the *terru firme* around. How could it be Raichur, in the centre of the Deccan? Moreover, we know that Krishna Deva Raya, probably in the following year, gave the whole territory of Salsette, which had belonged to Bijapur just a little before, to the Portuguese for ever; and no other conquest of Salsette is mentioned in the old chronicles but this. Finally Anquetil du Peron, l. c., p. 197, says clearly that Krishna Raya conquered the fortress of Rachol, that is in the island of Salsette and refers to 'La Fitau, *Conquete des Portugues dans le Nouveaus Monde*, I, p. 587, and Botero, *Della Relatione*, I, p. 304-6. (Rome, 1595)'. During the Viceroyalty of Nuno da Cunha, the Sultan of Bijapur sent two expeditions to Salsette in order to recover Rachol, but both failed. Cf. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia-Oriental*, II, p. 237.

1. Correa, II, p. 658.

2. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 246.

3. Tirupati was known to the Portuguese under the name of Tripati or Trepeti. Tremele, a corruption of Tirumala, sounds like Trepeti; and although the distance of twelve leagues from St. Thome given by Faria y Sousa is not suggestive, nevertheless the likeness of the name and the celebrity of that temple in the whole of southern India, inclines me to identify the place that Martim Affonso de Sousa contemplated plundering with Tirupati. Even Thevenot *Travels*, p. 92, wrote, in the second half of the 17th century that "the famous Pagod of Trapety...is not far from Cape Comory."



gold and riches were stored. But the fleet did not achieve its purpose.

The aim of this expedition was suddenly changed, and some temples of the kingdom of Travancore were plundered instead of that of Tremele. Correa says that the reason of this change of plan was because the governor had been informed that his purpose was known at Vijayanagara, and accordingly many soldiers had assembled at Tirupati to resist the Portuguese attack <sup>1</sup>.

5. Nevertheless two years later the friendship was renewed by a treaty of February 26, 1546. The Emperor of Vijayanagara swore eternal friendship to the King of Portugal, confirmed the donation of the territories of Salsette and Bardez, and promised that he would never wage war against those Provinces <sup>2</sup>. And in the following year, Rama Raya on behalf of Sadasiva dispatched to Goa another ambassador, who was one of the most famous captains of his army, with a remarkable train of nobles and servants to confirm specifically this treaty of alliance. He went to Goa via Ancola (Ankola) whence he was fetched by two sloops sent there from Goa <sup>3</sup>. The then Governor of Goa, Dom Joao de Castro, caused a great reception to be given to the ambassador. He was received by the Governor in a big hall with great pomp; and after the usual salutations, the ambassador gave the Governor the credentials of his King along with some precious jewels as royal presents. Nothing else was done that day, but on the next they had a long talk. The ambassador told the Governor that "the King, his Lord, was desirous of having perpetual peace and friendship with the Governor; and that they were always ready to do everything for the Portuguese, provided it was just and honest, because the Kings, his predecessors, had

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 135; Correa, IV, p. 300 and p. 324-8; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 548.

2. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 116. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 50. To crown this treaty Garcia de Sa, Governor of Goa, concluded on August 22, 1548, another treaty with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who renewed the agreement, by which the territories of Salsette and Bardez were to be the property of the King of Portugal for ever. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 51.

3. Correa, IV, p. 601.

always fostered this mutual peace and friendship with the former governors." The Governor replied that "he greatly appreciated the King Sadasiva Raya's desire to be a friend of the King of Portugal, his Lord. But as he, the Governor, was just then about to leave for some of the fortresses of his dominions, he would, in order to finish the business of the legation as soon as possible, be much pleased to depute the *Veedor de Fazenda* (Finance Member) and the Secretary, to treat with the ambassador on the matters concerned, and to come to a mutual agreement; for he was very pleased to give all pleasure to the King of Vijayanagara".

6. On the following days, the ambassador met the two officers appointed by the Governor more than once, and the result of these meetings was the following treaty:—

"Both parties, the King of Portugal and the King of Vijayanagara, oblige themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other; and, when called on, to help each the other with all his forces against all kings and lords of India, Nizam Shah always excepted.

"The Governor of Goa will allow Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagara, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur nor to any of its parts; and the King of Vijayanagara will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports on quick and proper payment.

"The King of Vijayanagara will compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast, to send their goods through Onor (Honavar) and Barcelor (Basrur) wherein the King of Portugal will send factors who will purchase them all; and the Governors of India will be forced to send the Portuguese merchants there in order to buy them. On the same way, the King of Vijayanagara will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the kingdom of Adil Shah from any port or town of his own; and his merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbours of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, where they will be quickly purchased by the Governors of India, not to cause them loss. <sup>1</sup>

1. Sewell, p. 187, note, misunderstood this term of the treaty, which on the other hand is not given in full.

"All the cloths of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Adil Shah, out either to Ancola or to Onor (Honavar); and in the same way the Governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, China silks and all other kinds of goods which come from the Kingdon; and he, the King of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them.

"The King of Vijayanagara will allow no Moorish (Muhammadan) ship or fleet to stop in his ports; and if any should come, he will capture them and hand them over to the Governor of India, whosoever he may be.

"Both parties agree to wage war with Adil Shah; and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagara, except lands to the West of the Ghats, from Banda to the Cintacora river, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa, and will remain attached forever to the crown of Portugal"

On September 19th, 1547, the Governor Dom Joao de Castro, being now back at Goa, gave his signature and oath to all the items of this treaty; so too did the ambassador of Sadasiva; then the treaty was published and announced throughout the city with much rejoicing by a flourish of trumpets. Dom Joao de Castro gave the ambassador a rich present of several beautiful horses and precious cloths for his Sovereign, and some other gifts for himself. Freire de Andrada in his *Life of Dom Joao de Castro* says that the league was intended by Rama Raya to secure assistance from the Viceroy against his neighbour the Sultan of Bijapur, who, "understanding the Governor's resolution retired his inland garrisons, as if avoiding the blow of the first invasion, endeavouring to weary out the State with a sudden and incursive War"<sup>2</sup>. This state-

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1. Botelho, *O Tombodo Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios* p. 255-7; Couto, VI, p. 372; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189. The treaty, or rather a copy of it, is preserved in the *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 118. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, l. c.; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 102.

2. Freire de Andrada, *The Life of Dom Joao de Castro*, p. 226-7.

ment of Freire de Andrada is confirmed by a letter of Dom Joao de Castro himself to King John III, dated December 16th 1546. According to it the Vijayanagara Sovereign wanted an alliance to wage actual war with Bijapur. Castro agreed to all the terms proposed by the ambassador, but was not ready to commence a campaign against the Sultan of Bijapur, with whom an alliance had recently been made <sup>1</sup>.

Another legation of Vijayanagara to Goa in 1549 is mentioned by Faria y Sousa <sup>2</sup>, but no details are given. It was undoubtedly intended to revive the old friendship.

7. We have no more information about the intercourse between the two nations until 1558, when a war suddenly broke out, on Rama Raya marching with an army against the Portuguese of St. Thome. A forged account of the discovery of the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas in the neighbourhood of the old Mailapura <sup>3</sup>, was the cause of a Portuguese settlement in the eastern coast of Vijayanagara, in the year 1522 <sup>4</sup>.

1. "Ha 25. de Junho me mandou El rey de Bisnaga hum Embaixador escreuendo-me muito apertadamente, que quizesemos eu e elle fazer ha guerra ao Ydalcao, e leuantar Micalé (sic) Rey dondome muntas (muitas) razoens pero (sic) iso. Eu me escuzei de ho faser per caso das pazes que ora nouamente tinha feito come o Ydalcao, e certos contratos; porem lancei munto (muito) de sua amizade, e lhe ofreci a minha pera de da uolta que tornase da guerra de Combaya nos tornassemos a escreuer e uisitar pera entao tratar-mos de muntas (muitas) cousas que pertencio ha elle e a mim. Eu lhe concedi algumas das cousas que me mandou requerer, e com ellas e minha resposta se tornou o embayxador muy contente" *Obras Varias Manu scriptas*, fol. 42.

2.- Faria y Sousa, II, p. 216.

3. Mandelslo, a traveller and a native of Holtstein, who visited the Coromandel Coast in 1639, says that Mylapore was once the capital of the kingdom of Narsinga. He was, no doubt, misinformed by the Portuguese of the place who, believing in the existence of the old King of Mailapura, a contemporary of St. Thomas, thought he was one of the old kings of the Empire of Narsinga or Vijayanagara. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

4. We cannot admit the authenticity of the account of the finding of St. Thomas' Tomb by the Portuguese in 1517, as given by Faria y Sousa I, p. 222-4, and by Fr. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente*

It was an appreciable distance from Mailapura, known to the Portuguese as Meliapor, to St. Thome, although we believe that Faria y Sousa was wrong in stating that the distance between

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*Conquistado*, I, p. 152. It obviously presents all the elements of a forgery. The inscription of the supposed tomb: "When Thomas' founded that temple, the King of Mailapura granted him the rights over the goods which arrived at the city, that was ten per cent," evidently shows the intention of the Portuguese merchants to reclaim those rights given to one of their ancestors in the faith of Christ by the Sovereign of the place. 2. The very find of the relics and their description as white bones, next to a broken lance, may be regarded as the most barefaced imposture, because there is no doubt that the holy remains of the Apostle were removed to the city of Edessa, in Syria, before the 6th century, as stated by St. Gregory de Tours in his book *De Gloria Beatorum Martyrum*, a work revised in 590. Cf. Migne, *PP. LL.*, LXXI, p. 733. Another account states that his stick was also found next to the relics. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 13. 3. The fact that his relics were put into a China chest or into a silver box, according to others (Cf. *Historia Chronologica*, l. c.) and hidden next to the altar, but never subsequently discovered, clearly shows that the forgery was carefully concocted to explain the fact of the empty tomb carved by their care. 4. The account of the martyrdom sounds like a pious legend of the middle ages, as well as the story of King Perumal of Ceylon going to adore our Lord in the manger at the request of the Indian Sybil. 5. Finally, the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is supposed to have been brought over from Palestine by the aforesaid King Perumal, is another unmistakable sign of the forgery of this narrative.

When St. Francis Xavier passed through St. Thome, in 1545, he was told that the body of the Apostle was kept in the place, but from his own letter we may conclude that he did not believe it: "Ay en Santo Thomae mas de cien portugueses casados: ai vna iglesia mui deuota, y todos tienen que esta alli el cuerpo del glorioso Apostol". (There are at St. Thome more than a hundred Portuguese all married; they have a very devout church and all think that the body of the glorious Apostle is lying there). *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 387. The famous Dutch traveller Nieuhoff passed through St. Thome in 1662, and while describing the city, he says: "Here yo see

the two cities was seven leagues <sup>1</sup>. Around the so-called tomb of the Apostle, the Portuguese built a small city not independent but subject to the King of Vijayanagara; "which Citie, (St. Thome)", says Frederick, "although it be not very great, yet in my judgement, it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies" <sup>2</sup>

Although the reasons given by Fr. Sousa for the founding of the city are two, *viz.*, the devotion to the Apostle, and the convenience of that locality for trading with the natives of the east coast of the Vijayanagara Empire <sup>3</sup>, nevertheless the main purpose of the settlement was commerce, just as was that of the other Portuguese settlements in India; and, even in this, they were not allowed to build any fort, as William Finch, a

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also the famous church of St. Thomas: this Apostle, *as the Portugueses pretend, being buried here*". (Italics are mine). Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 198. Finally Mandelslo, who was at St. Thome during the same century, heard from the Portuguese another legendary account of the preaching of St. Thomas and his martyrdom at St. Thome, which may be read in his *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

1. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 224.

2. Purchas, o. c., p. 109. In a letter of one Fr. Froes to Fr. Quadros, both Jesuits, dated Goa, November, 1559—one year after Rama Raya's expedition—we read the following lines: "Os enuilamos," says Froes, "las copias de ciertas prouisiones que un rey antiguo de Bisnaga, gentil, suscribio en fauor de la casa del glorioso Apostol S. Tomas sobre ciertos.....que alli dijo, las cuales copias enuio aqui el P. Cipriano algunos meses antes de su muerte" *Nuovi avvisi dell' Indie*, f. 101 v. Were these *prouisiones* any grant of Rama Raya to St. Thomas' church made on this occasion? The fact is that Manucci speaks of it some years later: "Up to this day", said he in 1688, "the Portuguese preserve one of these plates for a gift to them, by the said Ram Rajah, of the city of Sao Thome." *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97. Was this goldenplate grant of Sao Thome made by Rama Raya when the Portuguese first settled in the place or after the expedition we are going to relate? Or was it perhaps a forgery of the Portuguese themselves? The inscription on the memorial stone in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, according to which it was built by the Franciscan Friar, Fr. Pedro da Atougia in 1516, must be rejected as not authentic. Cf. Davison Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, I, p. 289-90.

3. Sousa, I, p. 153, 36.

traveller of the beginning of the 16th century, informs us <sup>1</sup>. The town grew very rapidly; St. Francis Xavier, in one of his letters to the Jesuits of Europe dated Malaca, November 10th, 1545, says that in Sao Thome "there are more than one hundred Portuguese, all married" <sup>2</sup>.

Against this Portuguese town, in the vicinity of Mailapura, marched Rama Raya in the year 1558, and the motive of this expedition was this. The Franciscan Friars, who from the beginning were established at St. Thome and at Negapatam, caused several Hindu temples to be desecrated and the idols destroyed, building in their stead many Christian churches and chapels. In the year 1542, they had built at Negapatam two churches, one dedicated to St. Francis and the other to Nossa Senhora da Saude, and about three thousand people had embraced the Catholic Faith <sup>3</sup>. The Jesuits who came shortly after, followed the example of the Franciscans. The Brahmins naturally represented these facts to the Regent of the Empire, who took no action against the Portuguese, because, no doubt, of the necessity of their friendship to obtain horses for war purposes <sup>4</sup>. But, on this occasion a Portuguese fidalgo, a traitor to his nation and faith, whose name is not given in the Portuguese chronicles, invited Rama Raya to proceed against the Portuguese town, the inhabitants of which were 'most rich' he said, and from whom he would be able to get more than two millions of gold pagodas. Rama Raya was in need of money, on account both of the frequent wars with the Muhamadans and of his imperial designs. This invitation he soon accepted; and after collecting an army of more than five hundred thousand soldiers and a great deal of ammunition, set out from Vijayanagara towards Sao Thome.

We fortunately have a short contemporary description of the town and population of Sao Thome at the time of Rama Raya's attempt. The anonymous author of the life of St.

1. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 182.

2. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 387.

3. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas* p. 86.

4. The account of Sewell, p. 193-4, is not accurate.

Francis Xavier quoted above says that Sao Thome "is a very rich and noble city, inhabited by Portuguese, who, being tired of the hardships of military life, retired to that place, wherein they found great convenience and opportunity for earning their life. Thus the city was formed which, besides the wealth and food that the land produces, is nicely fitted for trading and sending its goods to any part of the world" <sup>1</sup>.

When the news of the approach of Rama Raya reached the inhabitants of the city, Pero de Taide Inferno, a noble merchant from Goa, who happened to be in Sao Thome at the time, assembled all the chief men of the town, and tried to persuade them to resist Rama Raya and his army; an enterprise he thought pretty easy as the enemies were short of cannon. Moreover they had the additional advantage of the sea. But most of the inhabitants of the town thought otherwise, because the town being in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, they were not allowed to offer resistance to their Governor and Regent of the Empire; and further, they were unable to stand a long siege. This annoyed Pero de Taide, who at once left the city and made for Goa in a ship that had just then come from Bengal.

Four of the principal inhabitants of the town were then deputed to receive Rama Raya even before he reached the place; they were to welcome him and offer him a present valued at about four thousand *crusados*. The Regent was delighted with this gift from the Portuguese. In the meanwhile the streets of the city were decorated, and the windows and balconies festooned with rich-coloured cloth.

When Rama Raya came within sight of the city he encamped on a vast plain, and dispatched several of his captains with orders to bring to his presence all the inhabitants of the town, men and women, old and young, bond or free. When they came they were entertained by his order in a separate place, while other captains were sent to the city to search for all the riches of the town; these were brought over to him, all furniture not excluded. Couto says that the value of the whole property of the inhabitants of Sao Thome would not have reached the sum of a hundred thousand *pardaos*. Rama Raya was furious on realiz-

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1. M. H. S. J., *Mon. Xav.*, I. p. 59.



ing that he had been deceived by his friend, the Portuguese fidalgo, and determined to inflict a severe punishment upon him. But the shrewd fidalgo made good his escape from the army. He was finally found in the town of Caleture, at a distance of six leagues. Brought before the Regent, he was put to death and trampled on by elephants.

Then Rama Raya decided to send the citizens back to the town after exacting a tribute of a hundred thousand pagodas; half to be given at once, and the other half a year later. Fifty thousand pagodas were paid down to him on the spot, and he took with him five of the chief citizens as hostages for the other half. Then, before leaving, he caused all the property to be returned to their owners. A silver spoon was found missing. Such diligent enquiries were made by his command, that the spoon was finally discovered and returned to its owner. This episode is mentioned by the two chroniclers who relate the history of this campaign<sup>1</sup>

Rama Raya at once left for his capital. On reaching Vijayanagara he released the five hostages and sent them back to Sao Thome, in recognition of their services during the retreat. Such was the end of the expedition, which would have been fatal to the town of Sao Thome if the advice of Pero de Taide Inferno had been followed<sup>2</sup>.

8. This was only a passing cloud brought on by the cupidity of Rama Raya; for the intercourse between Vijayanagara and Portugal continued in the following years as friendly as ever. Caesar Frederick, who was an eye-witness of the trading of the Portuguese in the city of Sao Thome at the end of the reign of Sadasiva, says to this effect: "It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seen the lading and unloading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe: it is a place

1. With these details, given by both Couto and Faria y Sousa the account of Fr. Quicyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, does not agree. According to it Rama Raya robbed the Catholic Church of St. Thomas (p. 309) and even stole the very relics of the holy Apostle (p. 310).

2. Couto, VII, p. 54-60; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 327-8; Lafitau *Histoire des Deconvertes*, II, p. 553-4.

so dangerous, that a man cannot be served with small Barkes, neither can they doe their business with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certain Barkes (of purpose) high which they call Masadie, they be made of little boards ; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste, all that they are able to row out against the huge waves of the Sea that are on that shore untill that they carrie them to the ships : and in like manner they lade these Masadies at the ships with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Bark into the Sea to keep the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrown, but there can bee no great losse, because they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandise they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme" <sup>1</sup>.

The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier quoted above informs us that Sao Thome traded specially with the kingdoms of Pegu and Bengal : with the first in gold and sealing-wax, and with the second in eatables, particularly sugar. The trade of Sao Thome was also famous throughout Portugal for the beautiful cloths of different kinds coming from the Coromandel Coast. In the month of September they used to send to Malacca a ship laden with these coloured cloths, for which they obtained yearly great quantities of money <sup>2</sup>.

9. Trade continued to flourish between Goa and Vijayanagara itself. In 1585, the Italian traveller Philipppo Sassetti sent from Goa to Giambatista Strozzi, at Firenze, the following information on the Portuguese commerce between both cities previous to the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. He says that before

1. Purchas, o. c., p. 109.

2. M. H. S. J., *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 59.

that disaster, Vijayanagara "had such great traffic going through its streets that it was beyond imagination, and that there dwelt in it very rich people not as rich as the people of our country but as Cresus and other rich of days gone by. Large quantities of goods that came from our possessions via Alexandria and Soria were then consumed, and all the cloths and linen, which were made in such a large quantity, could be disposed of there. The traffic was so great that the road going from here (Goa) to that town was always as crowded as the roads leading to a fair, and the profit was so sure that the only trouble was to bring the goods there. Anything that was carried there by the merchants after a fortnight of walking, was sold there with a profit of 25 or 30 per cent. Besides they came back with other merchandise, and what a merchandise! diamonds, rubies, pearls. In these things the profit was even greater<sup>1</sup>. And finally the tax on the horses that came from Persia to go to that kingdom yielded in this town a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty thousand ducats"<sup>1</sup>.

There were always Portuguese merchants at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that they used "to sleepe in the streets, or under Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night"<sup>2</sup>. The same traveller gives a list of the different kinds of cloths and other goods that

1. A letter of Simao Botelho, Veedor de Fazenda, to the King of Portugal, dated Cochin, January 30th, 1552, confirms this information of the Italian traveller; "O visorei", says he, "detremina mandar hum aluaro mendez ourivez, que dizem que entende em pedraria, que de la veo o anno passado, a bisnaga (Vijayanagara), asi para vemder algumas joias das que se ouuerao em ceilao, por non serem pera mandar a Rainha nosa senhora, segundo a todos qua pareceo, e poderem se vender por muito mais em bisnaga, por serem da laya que eles muito costumao e ystimao, porque sao topazios e olhos de gato, e tambem pera do dinheiro disto se averem alguns diamaes bons pera vosa alteza: o aluaro mendez promete fazer nisto grandes servicos, e pede que lhe faca merce de feitor da pedraria; la o devem de conhecer se he ele para ysto; e avendo laa de ir alguem, .milhor he portugues que estrangeiro, e comtudo ha d ir com ele hum homem honrado, e de confianza, for scripvao. *Cartas de Simao Botelho*. Linia Teiner, *Subsidios*, p. 39.

2. Purchas, o. c., p. 98.

were commonly sold at Vijayanagara by the Portuguese merchants : "The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets : and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of gold." <sup>1</sup>

Of all these goods, the horses from Arabia and Persia were the merchandise most profitable to Goa, as they were absolutely necessary to the imperial army. Again the author of the life of St. Xavier mentioned above, who was a contemporary of these events, says that "this King (of Vijayanagara) is on friendly terms with the state of His Highness (the King of Portugal) on account of horses. For all the horses that are sent to his country from Ormuz pass through Goa, and as both cities belong to His Highness, he cannot get them if the Viceroy of India is not pleased ; and this is the reason why all the Portuguese do safely go from Sao Thome to Goa, that is, they cross one hundred and fifty leagues, almost all of which belonging to him" <sup>2</sup>.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

2. *M. H. S. J. Mon. Xiv.*, I, p. 63.

## CHAPTER V

### RAMA RAYA AND THE DECCANI MUHAMMADANS

**SUMMARY.**—1. Policy of Rama Raya with the Muhammadans of the Deccan.—2. First encounter of Venkatadri with Ibrahim Adil Shah.—3. Bijapur and Ahmadnagar against Vijayanagara and Bidar.—4. Successful campaign of Rama Raya against Ahmadnagar.—5. Bijapur attacked by Vijayanagara, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda.—6. Capture of Kaliyani by Vijayanagara from Bidar.—7. Friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah.—8. Last expedition of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur.—9. First campaign of Vijayanagara and Bijapur against Ahmadnagar.—10. Second campaign. Siege of Ahmadnagar. Depredations of the Hindus in Muhammadan territories.—11. Rama Raya's intervention against the pretensions of Abdulla Adil Shah to the throne of Bijapur.—12. End of the friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah.—13. Rebellion of the Naigwaris against the Sultan of Golkonda fostered by Rama Raya.—14. Concerted plans of the Muhammadans against Vijayanagara. Rama Raya's preparations.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*.—2. Couto, Faria y Sousa, Souza.—3. *Ramarajiyamu, Vasucharitramu, Annals of Hande Anantapuram.*

THE policy of Rama Raya in his relations with the Deccani Muhammadans was that of a shrewd diplomatist of the modern type. He always tried to keep his opponents divided so as to weaken their power. To attain this, he used to ally himself now with one, now with another sovereign, for the purpose of waging war against the rest; so that during the twenty three years of his rule, he successively made war against all the Sultans of the Deccan, and always returned home victorious over the followers of the Prophet.

The *Vasucharitramu* states that "the Nizam (of Ahmadnagar), Kutupasahi (Kutb Shah of Golkonda) and the Sapada (Adil Shah of Bijapur) fled to the forests before his march" <sup>1</sup>. And in the *Svaramelakalanidhi* it is said that with his brothers'

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.

aid he 'conquered all Parasikas', that is the Muhammadans <sup>1</sup>. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that "the dust raised by his armies appears like smoke that drives away those gnats", *vis.*, the Muhammadans <sup>2</sup>. And probably also his wars with the Mussulmans inspired the statement of the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II that "Rama Raya had slain in battle all his enemies" <sup>3</sup>.

2. The struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans started early in the reign of Sadasiva, almost on the very day of his coronation. Ferishta says that when Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur heard of the revolution that took place in Vijayanagara to dethrone the usurper Salakam Thama Raju, and of the subsequent election of Sadasiva as Emperor of Vijayanagara, he thought it a good opportunity, and despatched Asad Khan with the bulk of his army to reduce the important fortress of Adoni. No sooner did this news come to Vijayanagara, than Rama Raya likewise sent his brother Venkatadri with a strong force to relieve the fort, which was on the point of surrendering. On his approach Asad Khan raised the siege and moved towards him. A sharp engagement ensued and the Muhammadan general, finding that he was likely to have the worst of the action by reason of the vast superiority of the enemy, retreated in good order, followed by Venkatadri at a distance of about twenty one miles. In the evening Asad Khan encamped, and Venkatadri, with a view to obstructing further retreat, halted likewise at a distance of about eight miles. On the following day before sunrise, Asad Khan with four thousand chosen horse surprised the camp of Venkatadri, whose self-confidence had thrown him wholly off his guard against this manoeuvre. The Muhammadans penetrated the Hindu tents before the alarm was given. Venkatadri had scarcely time to make his escape, and left his treasures, family and elephants in the hands of the victors <sup>4</sup>.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 16. Rama Raya's campaigns against the Muhammadans are recorded in the *Rama Raya Cheritra*. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268.

4. This defeat is perhaps the one referred to by Correa, IV, p. 440.

At daybreak Venkatadri collected his scattered troops, and drew them up as if to give battle; but seeing Asad Khan prepared to maintain his advantage, and growing apprehensive of the consequences to his wife and children, he declined battle, and retiring some miles away, pitched his camp there. From thence he wrote to Rama Raya, told him of his disaster and requested reinforcements. The Regent at once sent supplies of men and money, and gave out his intention of carrying on the war. He privately informed his brother, at the same time, that he had reason to think Ibrahim Adil Shah had not been induced to besiege Adoni of his own accord; but that he suspected the zemindars of that quarter had urged him to make war, and that many of Venkadri's officers were likewise secretly in the enemy's interest; therefore, he finally advised him to exercise prudence, by making peace with the Mussulmans for the moment and obtaining the release of his wife and family from Asad Khan.

In consequence of this advice, and having procured the mediation and influence of Asad Khan himself by means of a heavy bribe received for this purpose from his brother Rama Raya, Venkatadri made overtures to Ibrahim Adil Shah for peace. This was at once granted. The terms of peace were settled to the satisfaction of both states. Ferishta does not specify these terms. After this, Asad Khan joined his master, the Sultan, and proceeded to Bijapur whilst Venkatadri retired to Vijayanagra after the rescue of his family <sup>1</sup>.

3. But not long after he had reached the capital, Ibrahim Adil Shah, invited by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, entered whole-heartedly into a confederacy with him against Bidar and Vijayanagara. It was then agreed that the Ahmadnagar Sultan should invade the country of Anir Barid Shah, and leave the Sultan of Bijapur unmolested in any attack he might choose to make on the territory of Vijayanagara. This scheme was soon carried out. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kandahar, whilst the Bidar Sultan, unaware of the secret treaty formed between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, left a strong garrison to defend Bidar and fled to his old ally Ibrahim Adil Shah, by whom he was seized and kept

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 85-7.

prisoner. The Sultan of Bijapur then marched to the south to accomplish the second part of the treaty. Ferishta says that he succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindu state of Vijayanagara<sup>1</sup>; but we are sure there is great exaggeration in this statement, because, for one thing, we are not aware of any territorial loss to Vijayanagara about this time and, secondly, because we find Rama Raya engaged in a war with Ahmadnagar, subsequent to these events.

4. Rama Raya perhaps suspected that the real promoter of the war waged by Adil Shah was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Hence he left Bijapur alone and, being resolved to establish division between these two allies, marched against Burhan Nizam Shah. To reach his dominions, however, he had to cross the states of Golkonda and Bidar; so, to be prepared for any emergency, the Regent divided his army into three sections. Rama Raya took command of the section sent to attack the Sultan of Golkonda; his brother Tirumala was at the head of the troops despatched against the Sultan of Bidar; and Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnapuram was sent with the rest of the army against Ahmadnagar<sup>2</sup>. The actions in this war are recorded in the Hindu poems: the capture of the city of Kaliyani, a pitched battle between the Muhammadans and the Hindus, and the sack and destruction of the city of Ahmadnagar. The *Vasucharitramu* does not give any information about the capture of Kaliyani, which belonged to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar<sup>3</sup>; but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* give a short but precise account of the battle. It seems that the three sections of the army were again united that day, while the three Sultans had likewise joined their forces. The battle resulted in a tremendous defeat for the allies; the three Sultans fled from the battle-field after seeing the rout of their troops, while the Hindu army followed in

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 387.

2. It is evident from the sources that we shall refer to that the object of the campaign was the defeat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, the war against the other two Sultans being a necessary means to reach Ahmadnagar state.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.



pursuit in the course of which Hande Hanumappa Nayudu took Burhan Nizam Shah prisoner <sup>1</sup>. After such a disaster the city of Ahmadnagar could not resist the might of the victorious army. It was probably then that Rama Raya captured the capital of the Nizam Sultans, razed it to the ground and sowed castor seeds there, a fact recorded in the *Ramarajiyamu* <sup>2</sup>. On account of this victory, Rama Raya is given in the same poem the title of 'Destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmadnagar' <sup>3</sup>.

After this Burhan Nizam Shah, now in the hands of Rama Raya, was forced to repudiate his alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur <sup>4</sup>. This was the main object of the Regent of Vijayanagara for the time being. As a result of this, Burhan Nizam Shah was promptly set at liberty.

5. And he kept his promise to Rama Raya very faithfully; because Ferishta informs us that at the end of 1543 or in the beginning of 1544, that is shortly after these events, Burhan Nizam Shah appointed Shah Tahir ambassador to the court of Jamshid Qutb Shah of Golkonda, in order to make private overtures to induce him to form a league with Rama Raya of Vijayanagara against the state of Bijapur <sup>5</sup>. The pretext given by Nizam Shah was his desire to recover from Bijapur the five districts he had been compelled to relinquish to Adil Shah, probably in his previous alliance. The three princes agreed to wage war against Bijapur: Rama Raya was to attack the Bijapur territories on the South, the Sultan of Golkonda on the East, while Nizam Shah, with his own army and with troops of Ali Barid and Kwaja Jahan, was to invade them on the North-East. Shortly after he entered the Bijapur territory, laid waste many districts, and on more than one occasion defeated the troops of Adil Shah. In the meanwhile the Golkonda Sultan entered Bijapur on the East, seized the whole district of

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1. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l. c.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

4. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, p. 216. I differ from the opinion of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who thinks that the Ibharum mentioned in the poem is Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 230.

Kakni, in which he built a strong fort, occupied the whole country up to the walls of Gulburga, and laid siege to the fortress of Etgir, near the city of Sagar. Finally Rama Raya deputed his brother Venkatadri to reduce the fort of Raichur; and he defeated the Sultan near the river Bhima, and drove him from the field. This action is recorded in the *Narasabupaliyamu* <sup>1</sup>.

The kingdom of Bijapur, thus attacked simultaneously by three powerful armies, was really at stake. Ibrahim Adil Shah at once sent for his best counsellor, Asad Khan, who was in Belgaum, and asked his advice. This experienced general suspected that the Sultan of Golkonda was the real enemy who had instigated the others to hostility; and that if he could be removed, the rest would be easy. He therefore advised that peace should be concluded with him, by resigning the five districts dependent on Sholapur—which had furnished the pretext for the war. At the same time he recommended that separate overtures should be made to Rama Raya, offering him presents to propitiate his friendship. He stated finally that when free from the attacks of these two enemies, Asad Khan would himself undertake the chastisement of Qutb Shah, and promised that in a short time he would recover all the places the Sultan of Golkonda had taken from Bijapur.

Ibrahim Adil Shah acted upon this advice, and peace was concluded separately with Burhan Nizam Shah and Rama Raya. Asad Khan then marched against Jamshid Qutb Shah, who was finally defeated in a severe action under the walls of Golkonda. Such was the end of the first campaign of the allies against Bijapur <sup>2</sup>.

But this peace did not last long. "Some time after this campaign", says Ferishta without recording the exact date, "Burhan Nizam Shah was instigated by the same Rama Raya to march for the purpose of reducing Gulbarga, and naturally Ibrahim Adil Shah moved from Bijapur to oppose him. After a campaign of several months, in which both armies lay inactive for a long period in sight of each other, with the river Bhima

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 92-4.

between them, the Nizam's army was totally routed with heavy loss" 1. Thus the purpose of the Machiavellian policy of Rama Raya was obtained: it was to weaken the Muhammadan power by fostering wars among the Mussulman Sovereigns.

6. During the following years Vijayanagara was not engaged in war with the Muslim powers of the Deccan. But about the end of 1548 or the beginning of 1549, Burhan Nizam Shah, as soon as he was made aware of the death of Asad Khan, the great general and counsellor of the Sultan of Bijapur, despatched ambassadors to Rama Raya, inviting him to a confederacy with the purpose of making another attack on the Bijapur dominions. Rama Raya was much pleased with the proposal, so dear to his heart, and accordingly presents and professions of good will were interchanged between him and the Ahmadnagar ambassadors. News of this alliance came to the ears of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who on that account treated the ambassadors of Vijayanagara resident at his court with marked disrespect; hence they quitted his capital with great indignation, without even taking any leave 2. On arriving at Vijayanagara, they told Rama Raya about the behaviour of Ibrahim Adil Shah after the league between Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar; and concluded by saying that had they not made their escape, they would probably have been put to death. Rama Raya, enraged at this affront, at once wrote to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar that as Ali Barid Shah of Bidar had preferred the alliance of Ibrahim Adil Shah to his, it would be desirable to take from him the fort of Kaliyani which had been recovered by him after the campaign narrated above.

We have two different versions of the siege of this fortress: the narrative of Ferishta and the minute account of the Hindu poem *Sivatattvaratnakara*. But neither does Ferishta say a word concerning the deeds of Rama Raya and the Hindus

1. Ferishta, III, p. 94-5.

2. This conduct of the Bijapur Sultan was a tacit reply to the treatment given by Rama Raya to his own ambassador who went to Vijayanagara for the tribute requested by Adil Shah, Correa IV, p. 601, relates that the Muslim ambassador was stoned to death by order of Rama Raya.

during this action, nor does the Hindu writer even mention the part taken in the capture of the fort by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar<sup>1</sup>. From both accounts we shall presently draw conclusions.

Both allies moved without delay towards Kaliyani. Burhan Nizam Shah was at the head of his troops; while Rama Raya, being unable for the present to command his own army, placed it under Sadasiva Nayaka, the Ikeri ruler. The Sultan of Bijapur sent his army against the Hindus to oppose their entry into his territory; but Ibrahim Adil Shah's forces were defeated and driven from the field by the valour of Sadasiva Nayaka, who captured the valuable spoils of the enemy's army. It seems that after this battle Rama Raya met his troops, and under the two chiefs, the Vijayanagara army proceeded towards Kaliyani.

The allies met under the walls of this fortress and, having surrounded it, effectually cut off all communications from without. Ibrahim Adil Shah himself then marched to relieve it and, advancing within sight of the allies, pitched his camp and entrenched himself. The allies, unwilling to raise the siege, also fortified their lines. The Bijapur Maratha horse were employed to block the roads leading to the allies' camp and to cut off their supplies; and they were so successful that they caused the greatest distress, through want of provisions to the Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar troops. A council of the nobles of the allied armies was held at this stage. Some of them proposed to raise the siege, and that they should retreat and make peace; while others recommended a sudden and vigorous attack on the enemy. Ferishta mentions two Muhammadans who supported this opinion, Shah Jafar and Qasim Beg; and we are sure that Sadasiva Nayaka was one of the Hindus who sided with them—encouraged as he was by the victory he had obtained

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1. It is very strange of Ferishta to say that Rama Raya was invited to this war by Burhan Shah, and to record their mutual agreement, and yet not speak at all of the Hindu chief while relating the happenings of the campaign; this shows Ferishta's hatred towards the Hindus. After a careful examination of both sources, it is evident that these two different accounts need reconciling.

a few days earlier over the Bijapur army. The latter opinion prevailed. The allies surprised at dawn the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Sultan himself, who was then in a warm bath, had scarcely time to make his escape, and to fly towards Bir and Parendā; while his troops were so completely surprised that they deserted their tents, baggage and artillery, all of which fell into the hands of the victors.

At the same time an attack was made on the fortress, which surrendered without much opposition. There is no doubt that Sadasiva Nayaka greatly distinguished himself in this final attack; but the achievements narrated by the author of the Hindu poem evidently bear all the signs of a poetic episode introduced to extol the figure of the old ancestor of the poet's chief. <sup>1</sup> The capture of the city of Kaliyani by Rama Raya is recorded, without of course mentioning the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II <sup>2</sup>; and in the *Ramarajiyumu*, the glorious Regent of the Vijayanagara Empire is given the titles of 'capturer of the fort of Kaliyani' <sup>3</sup> and 'ruler of the city of Kaliyani' <sup>4</sup>; from which we may conclude that Rama Raya remained in possession of the captured fortress.

7. In the following year, 1550, a sudden event took place that influenced for several years the relations between Rama Raya and the Deccani kingdoms. Jamshid Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda, had been for two years in a failing state of health. On this account his temper grew worse, his disposition become morose, and he put many persons to death on the most trivial charges. His cruelty excited the terror of his subjects; his two brothers, Haidar Khan and Ibrahim, fled to Bidar, where Haidar Khan, the eldest, died shortly after.

It happened that not long after the demise of Haidar Khan, somewhat before 1550, the Sultan of Bidar, Qasim Barid Shah, was engaged in a war with the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 233-5 and 102-3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 195.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 293.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 183.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Golkonda; and while in retreat before the advance of his enemies, he took advantage of the situation of Prince Ibrahim, but so far forgot the rights of hospitality as to attempt to seize the elephants and private property belonging to that Prince. The latter, discovering his intention, immediately left him, retreated to Vijayanagara and claimed the friendship of Rama Raya.

When Ibrahim reached Vijayanagara he was accompanied by Syud Hye, by an Abyssinian called Raihan, who bore the title of Hamid Khan, by a Brahmin named Kanaji, and by a few personal attendants. The Prince was received in Vijayanagara according to his rank, and treated with the utmost respect and attention. Rama Raya, whose power had at this time considerably increased by reason of the imprisonment of Sadasiva, realized at once that his friendship with the brother of the Sultan of Golkonda could be employed as a valuable means for attaining his political aims. Hence he assigned for the support of the Prince an estate, which was at that time possessed by Ambar Khan the Abyssinian, an officer in Rama Raya's pay. And this was precisely the cause of a singular duel, in which Ibrahim showed what a skilful swordsman he was.

It would appear that Ambar Khan, much enraged at the alienation of his estate, once met Prince Ibrahim in the streets of Vijayanagara and charged him with depriving him of it. Ibrahim replied that monarchs were at liberty to dispose of their own property, and that Rama Raya had chosen to give him the estate. The Prince proceeded on his way, whereupon the Abyssinian called him a coward for refusing to dispute his title with the sword. Ibrahim Qutb Shah warned him of his imprudence; but the Prince's coolness only added fury to the anger of Ambar Khan, who proceeded to abuse him all the more. At this the Prince dismounted and drew; the Abyssinian rushed upon him; but Ibrahim killed his antagonist. The latter's brother, standing by, insisted on taking up the cause, and he also fell a victim to his temerity. <sup>1</sup>.

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1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda instances another duel of Ibrahim Qutb Shah in the streets of Vijayanagara. Cf. *Ferishta*, III, p. 382. Perhaps both facts are the same, although some of the circumstances vary.

In the year 1550 Jamshid Qutb Shah died; and the nobles of the court elevated his son Subhan Kuli, a tender child <sup>1</sup>, to the throne, under the regency of Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk, at the request of his mother the Dowager-queen. The nobles however were not pleased with the appointment of the Protector, a man who had been exiled to Ahmadnagar by the late Sultan. They finally became so obstreperous that Mustafa Khan, the Prime Minister, immediately wrote to Ibrahim Qutb Shah at Vijayanagara, inviting him to court. On receipt of this letter his two friends in adversity, Syud Hye and Hamid Khan, advised him to proceed instantly to the capital and proclaim himself king. He also consulted his friend Rama Raya, who not only acceded to Ibrahim's wishes, but even offered to send his brother Venkatadri with ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to support him <sup>2</sup>. Ferishta says that Syud Hye and Hamid Khan advised the Prince to decline this large force, which might in his name effect anything to favour the views of Rama Raya, even the usurpation of Government, if it chose. But the *Narasabupali-yamu* states openly that Rama Raya 'helped him (Qutb Mulk, viz., Ibrahim Qutb Shah) to get back his lost kingdom' <sup>3</sup>. Knowing the tendency of Ferishta, we are inclined to believe that the Qutb Prince left Vijayanagara accompanied by Venkatadri's forces <sup>4</sup>; during the journey he was advised by his friends to dismiss the Hindu troops and he actually did so; perhaps on reaching the town of Pangul, where he was met by Mustafa Khan on whom he bestowed the office of Mir Jumla

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1. Ferishta says he was ten years old, but according to the anonymous chronicler he was seven.

2. We cannot admit the story of Ferishta who says that in the beginning Rama Raya "would by no means consent to his quitting his service to set up vague pretensions (as he termed them) to the throne of Golkonda." Such a statement disagrees with the character and policy of Rama Raya and with the subsequent events.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

4. The emphasis of Ferishta on this point is striking: "The Prince Ibrahim, therefore, having left Vijayanagara *without any Hindu auxiliaries proceeded*" etc. This emphasis strengthens my doubt as to his veracity in the matter.

and a dress of honour. Here he was shortly after joined by Salabat Khan, with three thousand foreign cavalry and many other officers who now deserted the infant King. On his arrival at Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah was enthroned without opposition; in consequence—says Ferishta—of the extreme popularity of his minister Mustafa Khan <sup>1</sup>.

8. After the last campaign of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur, apparently no peace was established; for as a matter of fact, by the end of the same year 1551 the Sultan of Bijapur began to make preparations for retaking the fort of Kaliyani. Burhan Nizam Shah, on receiving intimation of this design, sent ambassadors to Rama Raya, who agreed to meet him in the vicinity of Raichur in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing year. Rama Raya accordingly moved with a considerable force to that place, where it was resolved that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal should be conquered for Rama Raya, and that he should aid in reducing the city and dependencies of Sholapur and the town of Gulbarga. The allies took Raichur; and on its falling into their hands, the garrison of Mudgal also surrendered without opposition. Then Rama Raya left his younger brother Venkatadri with an army to assist Burhan Nizam Shah, and returned to Vijayanagara. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, with Venkatadri's aid, captured Sholapur in a short time, and having strengthened it returned to his capital. Ferishta, in the history of the Sultans of Bijapur, makes no mention of the purpose of the allies in conquering Gulbarga; but in the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar he states that Nizam Shah could not conquer the city, because he was abandoned by his Hindu ally. Possibly some misunderstanding arose between the Sultan and Venkatadri. The latter having left for Vijayanagara, Nizam Shah could not accomplish his desires, and as he died shortly after, his successor, Husain Nizam Shah, concluded peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur <sup>2</sup>.

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 327-9; Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta l. c., p. 380-3 and 392; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 4-5.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 104-5 and 235; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 78.



In one of these campaigns with Ahmadnagar, Rama Raya captured the fortress of Turkal <sup>1</sup>. This was the last expedition in which Rama Raya joined the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur. On account of all these campaigns he is said, in the *Narasabupaliyamu*, to have helped the Sultan of Ahmadnagar <sup>2</sup>; and in the *Ramarajiyamu*, he is called 'the terror of the city of Bijapur' <sup>3</sup>. But we shall presently see the Regent of Vijayanagara in close alliance with the Sultan of Bijapur against the Sultan of Golkonda.

9. This happened in the year 1555, when the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Husain Nizam Shah, and the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, met in the vicinity of Gulbarga, and Kutb Shah promised to aid the army of Ahmadnagar in capturing that fort. "The fort of Gulbarga", says Ali ibn Aziz, "although built on the plain, is yet very strong, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch full of water. It is so constructed that the walls cannot be damaged by artillery, for the ground at the top of the counterscarp of the ditch rises so high that all shot fly above the walls; while the depth of the ditch and the fact that it is always full of water prevent running." The old Bahmani capital was accordingly besieged after a while, but it resisted every effort of the allies for a whole month. Then at last, after two breaches had been effected, an assault was made in which, after the loss of many of the best officers of the Ahmadnagar army, the allies were repulsed. "The fighting before the fortress and in the breaches continued not only throughout the day, but for a whole month more. At length the garrison were reduced to great straits; and having no more strength to fight, sent a messenger to Adil Shah setting forth their desperate circumstances." The Sultan of Bijapur, to whom Gulbarga belonged, unable any longer to cope single-handed with the united forces of the allies, sent an ambassador with magnificent presents to Vijayanagara, to beg the aid of Rama Raya, who immediately marched in person at the head of his

1. *Ferishta*, III, p. 135.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 182

army to the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah. On the way he addressed the following letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, preserved for us by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, who perhaps saw the original in the archives of the court:—

“Be it known to Your Majesty, that it is now many years since the two courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar have been in constant state of warfare; and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that although every year each of these Sovereigns had been in the habit making a campaign on the other’s frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that Your Majesty (whose ancestors never interfered in these disputes) has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Husein Nizam Shah without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who has accordingly sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between our court and Your Majesty, we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you, to induce you to relinquish the offensive alliance which Your Majesty has formed; and by returning peaceably to your capital, show a friendly disposition towards both parties, who will afterwards conclude a peace, and put an end to this long protracted war.”

Such was the letter of Rama Raya to his old friend and protégé, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who also received letters from Ibrahim Adil Shah himself at the same time. “The letter and the news of Sadasiva Raya’s (Rama Raya’s) approach,” says the *Burhan-i-Ma’asir*, “reached Ibrahim Qutb Shah at the same time.” Then he heard also that Tirumala, the brother of Rama Raya, with a body of cavalry accompanied by some of the Bijapur officers, was laying waste the Pangal district. Accordingly the above mentioned work states that Ibrahim Qutb Shah at once violated the solemn treaty with Husain Nizam Shah and left Gulbarga for Telingana in the middle of the night. The news of his flight was brought to Husain Nizam Shah in the morning...[who] perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and so marched to Ahmadnagar”<sup>1</sup>.

1. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Ferishta*, III, p. 396-7; *Burhan-i-Ma’asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 101-2. The account of the flight of Ibrahim Qutb given in the work seems more reliable than the

After this, Rama Raya again helped the Sultan of Bijapur by sending him his brother Venkatadri with a considerable force to expel from the Bijapur territory Ain-ul-Mulk, who had rebelled against the Sultan. This chief was thoroughly defeated and, having fled to Ahmadnagar, was put to death by Husain Nizam Shah <sup>1</sup>.

10. Shortly after this meeting, in the year 1557, Ibrahim Adil Shah died and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah, then a youth. The new monarch, intent on adding to his dominions and repairing the losses sustained by his father, entered into close alliance with Rama Raya. But it happened that Husain Nizam Shah, suddenly taking advantage of the youthfulness of the Bijapur Sultan, invaded his dominions with a great force. Ali Adil Shah, unable to defend himself, evacuated his capital and, attended only by a small body-guard of one hundred horse, proceeded in person to the court of Vijayanagara.

It is mentioned by Ferishta that about this time Rama Raya had lost one of his sons; and that the young Sultan of Bijapur took the opportunity of offering him his condolence in person, thus hoping to get immediate reinforcements to oppose the victorious army of Ahmadnagar. Rama Raya received him with the greatest respect. The Sultan "with the kindest persuasion," says Ferishta, "prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning." The wife of Rama Raya, on this occasion, adopted the Sultan as her son; and at the end of three days spent in an interchange of friendly professions and presents, Rama Raya was induced to march with his whole army, accompanied by Ali Adil Shah, towards Ahmadnagar <sup>2</sup>. They at once invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, "with an army more numerous than the raindrops," says the *Burhan-*

narrative of the Golkonda chronicler evidently concocted to please the Sultan.

1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 110-1.

2. Ferishta relates that Ali Adil Shah left Vijayanagara alone and that Rama Raya did not attend him out of the city, for which the Sultan of Bijapur was offended and treasured up the affront in his mind. This is evidently a slandering statement of the Muhammadan writer against the Hindu chief, whose subsequent conduct cannot satisfactorily be explained if we grant the truth of

*i-Ma'asir*. They laid waste the invaded kingdom so thoroughly that for miles not a vestige of population was left. Husain Nizam Shah, declining any opposition in the field, retired to Paithan ; and after some time, purchased peace by giving the fort of Kaliyani to Ali Adil Shah. Nevertheless Sadasiva Nayaka, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagara, seems to have once been severely defeated by the Ahmadnagar army.

Now the allies had no sooner retired from Ahmadnagar than Husain Nizam Shah entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and marched to retake the fort he had just surrendered. Ali Adil Shah, on receiving intelligence of this league, again despatched Kishwur Khan and Abu Turab to Vijayanagara to solicit aid from Rama Raya, who marched at once 'with a mighty army' to join the Bijapur Sultan. Then the two Sovereigns sent a letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, calling upon him in pursuance of the late treaty to join them. Ibrahim Qutb Shah, however unwilling to act against Husain Nizam Shah, considered it politic not to incur the imputation of a breach of treaty, and thus perhaps draw on himself the vengeance of the allies. He accordingly joined them at the city of Gulbarga ; when the whole army including Ali Barid Shah, the Bidar Sultan, who had also joined the allies, marched to Ahmadnagar. The Vijayanagara troops laid waste all the towns and villages on their route. Husain Nizam Shah, unable to resist their united forces left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions in his capital and retired to Junar<sup>1</sup>. In the meantime, Ibrahim Qutb Shah wrote to him privately, informing him of the political necessity which had induced him to join the allies ; but at the same time he assured him that he would endeavour to assist him, and would do all in his power to induce his enemies to

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this statement. The *Narasabupaliyamu* states that Rama Raya left his kingdom to Adil Shah on his agreeing to pay him tribute. This information probably refers to this occasion. Cf. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda says that Husain retreated to Daulatabad. I prefer the authority of both Ferishta and Ali ibn Aziz, who wrote their works in Ahmadnagar itself.

retreat and abandon the war. He also made the same communications to the officer commanding the fort of Ahmadnagar, advising him to make every possible resistance, and to hold out till the last. The allies besieged the place with vigour for two months. The garrison were beginning to lose their spirits, when Ibrahim Qutb Shah with seasonable donations bought over some of the principal nobles of Vijayanagara and induced them to propose the return of the troops to their respective capitals; specially now that the rainy season was approaching and they were very far from Vijayanagara. Rama Raya, convinced of the truth of their remonstrances, consented to retreat; but Ali Adil Shah, who knew that the besieged were suffering from lack of provisions, had a conference with Rama Raya, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell. He promised to cede to him the district of Indgy if he would only continue the siege for a month longer. Ferishta states that the Sultan of Bijapur 'suspected the causes of the obstinacy of the besieged.' Rama Raya consented. The siege was prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile Ibrahim Qutb Shah permitted supplies for the garrison and a number of artillery-men from Ahmadnagar to pass through his camp into the fort. But the approaches of the allies were brought closer to the walls, and the speedy reduction of the fort appeared so certain that Ibrahim Qutb Shah was induced to try, if possible, to avert that extreme evil. He accordingly deputed his minister and commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan, to wait on Rama Raya, and to endeavour to persuade him to raise the siege; if he did not succeed in this, he was to inform him that the Golkonda troops had to return immediately to their capital. Mustafa Khan in his conference with Rama Raya made use of every argument he could devise in order to gain his end. He also engaged secretly, on behalf of the king his master, to cede the fort and district of Condapilli to Rama Raya, if the latter would return to his capital. This last motive was perhaps the most weighty. For Rama Raya immediately consented to retreat, and sent a message to Ali Adil Shah to that effect. The three Kings then retired to their respective capitals<sup>1</sup>.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 117-22; Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, l. c., p. 402-5; *Burh.in-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 104-6, 141-2.

But, in the following year 1558, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar deputed Maulana Inayatullah to Golkonda to effect a marriage-alliance with the family of Qutb Shah. It was agreed that the two Kings should meet the following year for that purpose in the neighbourhood of Kaliyani; and that after celebrating the proposed marriage, their armies should proceed to recover that fortress from the hands of Ali Adil Shah. Accordingly, at the stated period Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah collected their respective forces, and met at Kaliyani, where the former gave his eldest daughter Bibi Jamalli in marriage to Ibrahim Qutb Shah; and after one month employed in celebrating the nuptials, the Kings laid siege to Kaliyani. Ali Adil Shah upon hearing this proceeded to Vijayanagara, and again solicited the aid of Rama Raya, who marched with his army to his support. On the road he was joined by Ali Barid Shah of Bidar and Burhan Imad Shah of Berar, who had been invited by him to enter the confederacy. In the meanwhile the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda had marched, with seven hundred pieces of ordinance of different calibres and five hundred elephants, to within twelve miles of Kaliyani. It happened that they had scarcely encamped, when a violent storm came on which blew down all the tents, the rain pouring down in torrents; cattle and heavy guns, in particular, were rendered almost useless, for the latter were immovable in the heavy black clay on which the camp stood. At the same time, on the approach of the allies, Ibrahim Qutb Shah received intimation that Rama Raya, taking advantage of his absence, had sent his brother Venkatadri, accompanied by Jagdeo Rao and Ain-ul-Mulk, at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, to invade his southern districts. On receipt of this news Ibrahim Qutb Shah consulted Husain Nizam Shah. It was resolved that they should raise the siege of Kaliyani and return to their respective capitals<sup>1</sup>. Husain Nizam Shah however deputed Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah to Rama Raya to sue for peace. This was granted on the following conditions :—

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1. Ferishta here relates another siege of Ahmadnagar, but as the anonymous chronicler does not say a word about such a siege



रामराय विजयनगर  
 The king of Vijayanagara  
 who had brought  
 him to death had brought  
 much money.

Rama Raya of Vijayanagara.

(By kind permission of the Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.)





First, that he should cede the fortress of Kaliyani to Ali Adil Shah.

Secondly, that he should put to death Jahangir Khan, the commander of the auxiliary troops of Duria Imadul-Mulk, who had been extremely active against the enemy.

Thirdly, that Husain Nizam Shah should submit to pay Rama Raya a visit and to receive a pan or aromatic leaf from his hands in token of the superiority of the donor.

The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, to save his kingdom, accepted the terms, and fulfilled the second article by employing a band of assassins to put to death Jahangir Khan in his tent. "Thus," Ferishta says, "at the instigation of an infidel he murdered one of the faithful, and verified the proverb, that 'there is no faith in princes.'" Then he proceeded to the camp of Rama Raya, who rose on his entering his tent and took him by the hand. Husain Nizam Shah, who was very haughty, called for a basin and ewer and washed his hands as if they had been polluted by the touch of the Hindu Sovereign; who, according to Ferishta, on seeing that said in his own language: "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck"; and calling for water he also washed his hands; and such was the bad feeling which prevailed that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot. The treaty of peace was concluded by Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah on the part of Ahmadnagar and by Tirumala and Venkatadri on the part of Vijayanagara.

Ferishta relates that during these two expeditions of the Vijayanagara army through the territories of Ahmadnagar, the religious feelings of the Muhammadans were much excited on account of the damage done by the Hindu soldiers to their mosques and sacred objects. "The infidels of Vijayanagara,"

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during this second campaign, it may be a chronological mistake on the part of that author. The treaty of peace, the terms of which, as given by Ferishta, may be read somewhat lower down, must be placed after the second campaign; because neither Ferishta nor the chronicler of Golkonda speaks of any treaty at the end of the first. Moreover, such humiliating terms cannot be conceived at a time when the allies' armies were retiring from Ahmadnagar, not having captured this city.

says he, "who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Kuran. They committed the most outrageous devastations: burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in the holy places" <sup>1</sup>.

II. At about the same time, the intervention of Vijayanagara put an end to a long family dispute that had annoyed the Sultan of Bijapur. During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah the Prince Abdullah <sup>2</sup>, having effected his escape to Goa from the harsh treatment of his brother, was induced, by the advice of some of the nobility who attended him, to proclaim himself Sultan of Bijapur. One of those nobles was Asad Khan, the lord of the fortress of Belgaum, the most powerful subject of Adil Shah <sup>3</sup>. This chief entered into correspondence with the Captain of Goa, Dom Garcia, who was governing in the absence of Dom Martim Affonso de Souza, then in the South. Asad Khan offered to give to the Portuguese the whole of the Konkan that belonged to him if Garcia would dare to fetch Prince Abdullah who had retired to the kingdom of Gujarat, and set him up against the power of Ibrahim Adil Shah as the real Sultan of Bijapur. Dom Garcia was much pleased with this proposal and at once sent a letter to Cambay, in which Abdullah with the whole of his family reached Goa some time after. He was received as a king and entertained by the Captain in a magnificent house near the Jesuit College of St. Paul. Dom Martim Affonso de Souza reached Goa shortly after. Ibrahim Adil Shah at once

1. Ferishta, III, p. 120-1, 239-43 and 331; Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, I. c., p. 406-7. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* does not say a word on this treaty so humiliating to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar.

2. This Prince is always called by the Portuguese Meale or Meale Khan, and they call him nephew of the Sultan. I prefer Ferishta's authority in this case.

3. Ferishta states that the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda fostered the ambition of Prince Abdulla and invited Asad Khan to join him.

despatched ambassadors to him to renew the old friendship, and to ask for the expulsion of his brother from Goa. But, at the same time Asad Khan, too, sent his messengers to the Governor and renewed his old offer. There was hot discussion on this question in the Council of State. At last it was decided not to join the cause of Abdullah, on account of the old friendship with the reigning Sultan. But Ibrahim was not fully pleased. The presence of his brother at Goa was a continuous menace to him: so he wished Abdullah to be handed over to him; but as this prince was a guest of the Portuguese State the Governor promptly refused to do so. Again the Sultan insisted, and asked that at least his brother should be sent to some distant country where he could not endanger the peace of his kingdom. The Governor then agreed and Abdullah was sent to the fort of Cananor. It was then that the Sultan of Bijapur, on August 22, 1546, declared that the territories of Salsette and Bardez should be the property of the King of Portugal for ever<sup>1</sup>. But Abdullah re-appeared in Goa after a while; and although the Governor promised the Sultan to send him in exile to Malaca, this was never intended.

Some years after, while Dom Pedro Mascarenhas was the Viceroy, Burhan Nizam Shah, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, proposed to him to proclaim the unfortunate Prince at Goa Sultan of Bijapur, and to win for him the fortress of Penda. Nizam Shah was already meditating the ruin of his neighbour of Bijapur. This idea appealed to the Viceroy; and he at once ordered a majestic stage adorned with cloth of silk and gold, to be put up in the square in front of his palace. There in the presence of a great multitude of Portuguese and Goans and of many nobles of Bijapur, his partizans, he crowned with his own hands Prince Abdullah Adil Shah Sultan of Bijapur. The new King, as a mark of his thankfulness, resigned at once all his rights over the territories of Salsette and Bardez. After this ceremony, the Viceroy despatched an army of three thousand foot and two hundred horse to conquer the fort of Penda, which was then in possession of the real Sultan. The cavalry was

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1. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 6.

sent first under the command of Gaspar de Mello, Captain of Goa ; the rest of the army followed, led by the five captains : Fernando Martins Freire, Martim Affonso de Miranda, Dom Fernando de Monroy, Dom Antonio de Noronha and Sebastiao de Sa. The garrison of that fortress was unable to resist for long. Its surrender was communicated to the Viceroy after some days. He went there accompanying Abdullah Adil Shah with great ceremony. The new Sultan took possession of the fort, and set out at once to conquer the whole kingdom ; leaving in the fort a detachment of six hundred men under the command of Dom Antao de Noronha, while Mascarenhas returned to Goa where he died shortly after. Dom Francisco Barreto succeeded him as Governor in 1555, and continued the policy of his predecessor towards Abdullah. The King of Portugal was much pleased on hearing this news, as he wrote to that effect to the City of Goa in a letter dated Lisbon, March 20th, 1557<sup>1</sup>.

In the meanwhile Abdullah, aided by the Portuguese, was advancing triumphantly towards Bijapur ; so that even in this city many of the nobles openly declared themselves partizans of the new Sultan. Ibrahim Adil Shah had already died by this time, and his son Ali Adil Shah again sent ambassadors to Rama Raya begging his protection.

The Hindu chief sent him a body of fifteen thousand soldiers, with whom Ali Adil Shah so completely defeated his rival uncle that the latter had to flee and take refuge in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. But this Sultan of Ahmadnagar, who had concluded a treaty of peace with Rama Raya and Ali Adil Shah a little before, caused Abdullah to be imprisoned in the hills of Brula. After the demise of Burhan Nizam Shah, Abdullah was given his freedom at the request of the Sultan of Golkonda, and went back to Goa where he died. In 1611 a grandson of his, who had become a Christian, was still living in the same city<sup>2</sup>.

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1. *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. I, p. 42.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 98-100 ; Couto, V, 11, 8 ; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 251-2, 298 and 300 ; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p.72-7 ; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p.550-3. Some years before Rama Raya had requested

12. The second campaign of Vijayanagara and Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, which we have related just above, marks also the end of the friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda. "Although at times they had to espouse the cause of hostile powers", says Mr. G. Yazdani, "yet, owing to their friendship and mutual regard, they refrained from fighting against each other and effected a reconciliation between the powers whom they joined"<sup>1</sup>. But when Rama Raya despatched his brother Venkatadri along with Jagdeo Rao and Ain-ul-Mulk to invade the southern districts of Golkonda, the old friendship was considered broken for ever. Ibrahim Qutb Shah after retiring from Kaliyani deputed Mujahid Khan with a force to oppose them. An action took place in the neighbourhood of Torkal which lasted for several days; but it was not decisive. Rama Raya at the same time sent Sida Raya Timapa, chief of Kandbir, with fifty thousand horse, against Condapilly and Masulipatam; and his son-in-law, Jotumraj, with twenty thousand horse against Dewurconda and Indračonda; while his own forces were employed in plundering the neighbourhood of Golkonda. Several skirmishes took place near the gardens of the Sultan and the village of Bijwara. Four months were occupied in these operations, till Jagdeo Rao induced the Naigwaries of Pangal, Rovilconda and Ganpura to deliver up those forts to Rama Raya. At the same time Kasi Rao made over the keys of Indračonda.

The southern territories of Golkonda were then all attacked by the allies of Rama Raya. The Raja of Kandbir attacked Kondapalli; the Setupati and Vidiadri from Raja-

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the aid of the Portuguese Viceroy for defending the rights of Prince Abdullah against the Sultan of Bijapur. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 5, note. Laftau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 532-3, says that the Emperor of Vijayanagara requested by the Sultan of Bijapur offered a shelter to Prince Abdullah and his nobles. Some of these were killed and the Prince was retained as prisoner, though "traite avec la dignite qui convenoit son rang."

1. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in the Golkonda Tombs, Ep. Indo-Moslem.*, 1915-6, p. 23.

mundry attacked the fort of Ellore ; Chinnapa Naidu, Raja of Venkatagiri, and his two sons Nayanappa and Timma distinguished themselves in capturing the fort of Gandikota. The Sultan thus confined to his capital resolved to march out in person and attack the confederates at Tarpalli; when a messenger most opportunely arrived from Ali Barid Shah, one of the confederates, proposing that Ibrahim should send his minister, Mustafa Khan, to camp, in order to negotiate for peace. Mustafa Khan received secret instructions to conciliate Jagdeo Rao, without whose good-will he despaired of obtaining terms. Through his means Mustafa Khan held a conference with Ali Adil Shah, and was accompanied by him to the tents of Rama Raya, who agreed with reluctance to retreat to Vijayanagara, on condition of being allowed to retain the forts of Ganpura and Pangal. The confederacy now broke up, and the allies returned to their capitals<sup>1</sup>.

13. Ibrahim Qutb Shah then considered that his situation during the last war had been very grave. For the garrisons of all the forts in the kingdom were composed of Naigwaris; and when their chief Jagdeo Rao received the approval of Rama Raya in his rebellion against Ibrahim, they all became disloyal. The King resolved by degrees to reduce the power of the Naigwaris. His first step in this matter was the execution of Kasi Rao, one of their chiefs, who had been concerned in the late rebellion. Suria Rao, the commandant of the Naigwaris in the fort of Golkonda, discovering the Sultan's intention, entered into a plot with the chiefs of the other garrisons. It was resolved that, on a pre-arranged signal, when the King went out to hunt in the country, they were to secure all the forts, and Suria Rao was to seize the treasury of the capital and put all the Muhammadans to the sword. This plot was communicated to Rama Raya, who undertook to send a force to aid in the project.

Accordingly, when the hunting season came on, the Sultan gave orders for his troops and camp to be pitched on

1. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Ferishta*, III, p. 407-9. *Valugutivaru Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274 Cf. *Vadivelu, The Ruling Chiefs*, I, p. 490.

the plain. After some days he left Golkonda, at about two o'clock in the morning, to proceed to his camp and make his first move out. As soon as he had quitted the fort, the gates were closed, and the Naigwaris began to attack the Muslims. Two of the latter made their escape and informed the King of the circumstance. Ibrahim, on hearing this, gave orders to return to the capital and to attack the fort with the troops that were with him. The mutineers, at daylight, seeing the whole of the army around the fort, appeared upon the ramparts. They said they were willing to return to their duty if the King would have up his minister, Mustafa Khan, whom they accused of maltreating the Naigwaris of the out-garrisons ever since his accession to power: they added they were afraid that the same treatment might fall to their own lot. The King sent for Mustafa Khan, and related to him the state of affairs brought on during his administration. The minister replied that, if the Sultan thought his death necessary for the good of the state, he was ready to surrender himself into the hands of the mutineers. Ibrahim then refused to accede to the demand of the Naigwaris, who after some days, with Suria Rao at their head, were compelled to give in. Every one of them was executed, as an example to the disaffected Naigwaris in the other garrisons †.

14. All these expeditions and depredations of Rama Raya against the Muhammadan kingdoms, although they occasionally were temporary allies of his, finally caused every one of the Deccani Sovereigns to join in a common alliance to put an end to the unbearable arrogance of the Hindu Monarch. Such was the origin of the confederacy of all the Muhammadans of the Deccan against the Hindu Empire. The result was the so-called battle of Talikota, a battle that had such a dire influence on the future of Vijayanagara. We shall relate all these events in one of the following chapters.

Rama Raya, however, was not blind in his arrogance. He had long foreseen a future attack of the Muhammadan powers on his capital. In order to repulse this danger, early in the first year of the reign of Sadasiva he had constructed another

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 409-11.

bastion in the walls of Vijayanagara under the superintendence of Era Krishnappa Nayaka, the head of the Belur family, who obtained the title of bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag <sup>1</sup>. Moreover he had fortified the hills of the northern frontier in the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts, by erecting new forts and repairing the old ones built in the time of Krishna Deva Raya <sup>2</sup>. But all these preparations proved useless before the terrible onslaught of combined Muhammadan power.

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1. *M. A. D.* 1920, p. 38.

2. Cf. Gribble, *Manual of Cuddapah*, p. 87.



## CHAPTER VI

### EARLY TELUGU INVASIONS INTO THE SOUTH

**SUMMARY.**—1. Muhammadan conquest of Madura.—2. Vira Ballala III's war against the Muhammadans.—3. Foundation of Vijayanagara. Reconquest of Madura by Kumara Campana.—4. Restoration of the Pandyas. Expeditions of Harihara II.—5. Lakkana and Madana instal the Pandya heirs on the Madura throne.—6. Campaign of Narasa Nayaka.—7. Krishna Deva Raya's conquests in the south.—8. The King of Travancore invades the Pandya country.—9. Achyuta's expedition against Travancore.—10. Results of this campaign.—11. The Paravas of the Fishery Coast put themselves under Portuguese protection.—12. Nagama Nayaka and his son Visvanatha Nayaka.—13. Visvanatha's first Viceroyalty in Madura.—14. Nagama Nayaka's campaign against Vira Sekhara Chola.—15. Visvanatha reinstates Chandra Sekhara Pandya on the throne of Madura.—16. Second Viceroyalty of Visvanatha in Madura.—17. Visvanatha Nayaka appointed King of Madura.

*Contemporary Sources.*—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Pandyan Chronicle*; *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*; *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*; *supplementary MSS.*; *History of the Karnataka Governors*; *The Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*; *Description of the Karnataka Lords*. 3. Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i-Alai*; Travels of Ibn Batuta. 4. St. Francis Xavier's letters.—5. Nuniz's *Chronicle*; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*; Nieuhoff, *Travels*.—6. *Jaimini Bharatamu*; *Saluvabhyudayam*; *Ramabhyudaya*; *Achyutarayabhyudayam*; *Varadambika—Parinayam*.

IN reviewing the history of the Telugu domination over the South of India, the climax of which was reached during the fourth Dynasty of Vijayanagara, it is now opportune to give a brief account of the early Telugu expeditions into the southern dominions, which will enable us to understand better the subsequent military exploits of the Aravidu Emperors and their subordinate Telugu chiefs in those regions.

The city of Madura, which was the capital of the kingdom of the Pandyas several centuries before the Christian Era, had

fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the 14th century. In or about 1310, the Sultan of Delhi, Alau-d-din Khilji, sent an expedition to the South under the command of his Minister Malik Kafur, at the request of Sundara Pandya who had been driven from his kingdom by his rival half brother Vira Pandya <sup>1</sup>. When Malik Kafur arrived at the city of Madura, he found it empty. Vira Pandya had abandoned it on hearing of the approach of the Muslim army <sup>2</sup>. It seems however that Malik Kafur set out from Madura in pursuit, and at last succeeded in capturing Vira; for the *Pandyan Chronicle* and the *Supplementary MSS.* say that Paracrama-Pandyan-dever (Vira Pandya) was seized by the Muhammadans and sent to Delhi <sup>3</sup>. The Muhammadan historian says that after some months, Malik Kafur accompanied by his army returned to Delhi with all the plunder <sup>4</sup>. But we are sure that part of the military garrison remained in Madura; as the *Pandyan Chronicle* states that three years after the conquest of Malik Kafur, "all things were conducted in the Muhammadan manner; men were in dread of showing themselves to each other; all things were in strife and disorder". Subsequently several Muhammadan governors are mentioned <sup>5</sup>.

We may take it, however, that the native rulers of the South, some years later, defeated the Muslim usurpers <sup>6</sup>. For Ferishta informs us that in the year A. H. 727, corresponding to our 1327, the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad Tughlak, "subdued the whole of the Karnatik both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Oman", that is the Indian Ocean <sup>7</sup>. But it seems that the Muhammadan general who led this

1. Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i Alai*, Elliot, III, p. 88.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

3. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 33; *Supplementary MSS.*, *Ibid.*, p. 203.

4. Elliot, l. c.

5. *Pandyan Chronicle*, l. c.

6. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to R. Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 5, mentions a "temporary turning out of the Muhammadan garrison by the Malabar ruler, Ravi Varman Kulasekhara, in 1316."

7. Ferishta, I, p. 413.

expedition into the south, knowing the difficulties of the Sultan in the North, broke allegiance with the Sovereign and declared himself independent Sultan of Ma'bar. Ibn Batuta only says that "those parts (Ma'bar) were seized by the Sherif, Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah" <sup>1</sup>. We are told that this happened when he killed the lieutenants and agents of his sovereign, and struck gold and silver coins bearing his own name <sup>2</sup>. Now the earliest date of the coins of Jalal-ud-din is 1335, while coins of Muhammad Tughlak have been found in Madura bearing the dates of 1330, 1333 and 1334. We may conclude from these dates that the rebellion of the Sherif of Madura took place at the end of 1334 or in 1335. Ibn Battuta, who was the brother-in-law of the first Madura Sultan, states that Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah reigned for five years. Before his death he appointed one of his Amirs, Alai-ud-din, as his successor, who was, however, soon after accidentally killed by an arrow during a sally. He was succeeded by Qutb-ud-din, his brother's son; but he too was killed, in consequence of his bad conduct. Then another Amir of Jalal-ud-din was elected named Ghiath-ud-din, who married a daughter of the same Jalal-ud-din <sup>3</sup>.

2. The Muhammadan conquest of Madura naturally had very bad consequences for the Hindu population. *The Pandyan Chronicle* says that "the proper tutelary god of Madura went into the Malayalam country. Then the wall of the temple, the fourteen towers on it, and the streets inside were destroyed. The shrine of the god, the small choultry and the great choultry escaped" <sup>4</sup>.

The old Pandya rulers, enfeebled by previous internal dissensions, were unable to resist the fanatical power of the Muslims. But there was another Hindu Monarch in the South who ventured to uproot the followers of the Prophet from the soil; and although he did not succeed himself, yet he paved the

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1. Defremery, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, IV, p. 189.

2. Elliot, III, p. 618. There is one of these coins in the British Museum.

3. Defremery, l. c.

4. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., I, 35.

way for his successors, the Emperors of Vijayanagara, who finally obtained a triumphant victory over the Muhammadans. This monarch was the Hoysala King Vira Ballala III.

This sovereign, whose army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, had been at constant war against the Muslims. In one of his campaigns he even reached the southern point at Rameswaram. At the entrance of its bridge he set up a pillar of victory. <sup>1</sup>.

Ibn Batuta speaks of one of the battles that took place at Madura between Vira Ballala and Sultan Ghiath-ud-din in 1342. This was the last battle fought by the brave Hoysala Monarch. He says that Vira Ballala made an attack on the town of Cobban<sup>2</sup>, which belonged to the Madura Sultan and was garrisoned with six thousand soldiers. Having defeated them, he invested the town. "This was reported to the Sultan", says Ibn Batuta, "and the town was nearly lost. He then marched out with his forces amounting to seven thousand, every man of whom took off his turban and hung it upon the neck of his horse, signifying that they were bent upon death. They then made a charge upon the infidel king, while his men were taking their midday repose; and routed them thoroughly. The greater majority were killed; not one escaping except the cavalry and some of those who concealed themselves in the woods, escaping. The Sultan (*viz.* King Vira Ballala) was taken prisoner, his wealth seized, himself afterwards killed, and I saw his body hanging against a wall in the town" <sup>3</sup>.

3. Such was the glorious end of Vira Ballala III. His rival, the Madura Sultan, died shortly after and was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-din, whom Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar makes responsible for the murder of Vira Ballala <sup>4</sup>. We know several coins of some of his successors, during whose

1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mr, 82.

2. Lee. *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 193, reads Kiar Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 238, says that Cobban may be read Koppam, and identifies it with Kannanur-Koppam, a little north to Srirangam.

3. Defremery, *o. c.*, p. 195-8.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 186.

time the Madura Sultanate became every day more and more enfeebled. This period witnessed the separation of the southern provinces from the old kingdom of Madura. On the eastern coast particularly the extensive districts of Ramnad and Marava had given up all allegiance both to the Pandyas and to the Muhammadans <sup>1</sup>.

When the Hoysala Empire became extinct, as a result of this continuous fighting with the Muhammadans, five princes feudatory to that family retired northwards. They wished to oppose any Muslim invasion coming from the Deccan, in order to isolate the Muhammadans of Madura. Thus "through the influence of Vidyaranya, the Kingdom of Anaikhondi (Vijayanagara) was established" <sup>2</sup>. Prince Bukka, by the foundation of Vijayanagara, became "an elevator of the Hoysala Empire" <sup>3</sup>. This glorious event may be placed about 1340. The Vijayanagara Empire had inherited from the Hoysala Emperors the war traditions against the Madura Muhammadans, and faithfully carried them on.

One of the founders, Bukka, sent his son Kumara Kampana Odeyar towards the South in order to drive the Muhammadans from Madura <sup>4</sup>. We know from lithic records that this prince <sup>5</sup> conquered Tondai-mandalam <sup>6</sup>, took possession of

1. Wilson, *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandyas, The Madras Journal of Literature and Sciences*, VI, p. 199.

2. *Koyilolugu, Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 323. Cf. S. Srikantaiya, *The Hoysala Empire, Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 74; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 181; the same author in his *Introduction to Sathyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 1; Krishnamacharlu, *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire, Ind. Ant.*, LI, p. 233; H. Krishna Sastri, *The Hoysalas in the Chola Country, A. S. I., 1909-10*, p. 159.

3. *M. E. R.*, 1918, sec. 47.

4. Sewell, p. 27, and, after him, Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 48, say that Bukka conquered all the kingdoms of the South: but Nuniz, whose authority Sewell refers to, only says that "he conquered many lands which, at the time of the destruction of that kingdom, remained rebellious". Sewell, p. 300. Were these lands the southern kingdoms? If so, perhaps these words of Nuniz also refer to the conquest of Kampana.

5. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Sathyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 3, says that the local chronicles of Madura assign him the task of 'door-keeper of the last great Hoysala King, Vira Ballala.'

6. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 117; IV, Yl, 64, and Gu, 32. It seems that at Kanchivaram and Tiruvannamalai there are inscriptions confirming the same. Cf. Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 36.

the kingdom of Rajagambhira, (the Pandya kingdom) <sup>1</sup>, and captured a portion of the Ramnad zamindari. This is stated in two inscriptions of his in the old temple of Vishnu at Tirupullani <sup>2</sup>. The *Kamparayacharitam*, a historical poem written by Ganga Devi, one of the wives of Prince Kampana, informs us that, while proceeding to the South, he reduced the city of Kanchivaram, after defeating the forces of the Tamilian King Chanparaya and killing him in a duel. The poem likewise states that, in the battle with the Muhammadans previous to the capture of Madura, the Sultan ruling in the place was also killed <sup>3</sup>. The *Pandyan Chronicle* also gives a very interesting account of the conquest of Madura and of subsequent events. It says: "Kampanuduaver (Kampana Odeyar), a native of Karnata, having conquered the Muhammadans, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples, which had been locked up. He opened the god's temple at Madura, and obtained a personal view of the god. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut; the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandal wood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days, were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them in the evening of such festival days <sup>4</sup>. The general seeing this miracle was glad, struck his eyes, and with great piety made the customary offerings; he gave many villages to the temple and many jewels, and established ordinances for the regular performance of worship." <sup>5</sup>.

The *Supplementary MSS.* inform us that he removed the covering of sandal paste from the images of the Siva and Vishnu temples. Since the time of the Muhammadan invasion the performance of *pujas* had been discontinued <sup>6</sup>.

1. 18 of 1899. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 324, and *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 289.

2. Sewell, I, p. 301 and 302.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 23-4; *Ramabhyudaya*, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

4. Evidently these facts are exaggerated by the chronicler.

5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 35-7.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

The Hindu cult was likewise restored in Srirangam as a result of Kampana's campaign. In the *Prapannamrtam* it is related that when Gopnaraya, Prince Kampana's minister<sup>1</sup> and Governor of Jinji, learnt of the progress of his master in the Pandya country, he went to Tirupati, took with him the idols of the god Ranganatha and of his two queens, which had been sent there from Malabar and Mysore<sup>2</sup>, and proceeded to his own town of Jinji, where for a time he kept the idols in a rock-cut temple at Singavaram. Staying at Jinji he obtained information as to the strength of the Muhammadans, and at a favourable moment set out for Srirangam with his army. The Muslim forces were defeated by Gopana, who replaced the three images in their shrine at Srirangam, after re-consecrating the god and his two consorts<sup>3</sup>. Saluva Mangu, one of the ancestors of Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second Dynasty, was also one of the generals who took part in this expedition against the South. He was an intimate friend of Prince Kampana<sup>4</sup>.

As to the date of Kampana's expedition Dr. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar<sup>5</sup> puts it prior to 1358. Certainly, if the date of the inscription referred to by the learned Professor, and those of the above mentioned inscriptions at Ramnad are correct, we must perforce assign that early date to the military exploits of the son of Bukka I. But since this is not yet proved, we cannot explain how, if he and his successors were Viceroys in Madura, the Muhammadan Sultans could have struck money in the same capital. We have coins of the last Sultan Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, dated A. H. 779, which

1. 250 of 1901.

2. An inscription on the Ranganatha temple at Tiruvasi states that Gopnaraya himself recovered the images of Ranganatha and his consorts from the Muhammadans. 55 of 1892.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 35-6. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI p. 322-3.

4. *Jaimini Bharatam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 29 *Saluvabhyudayam*, *Ibid.*, p. 30 and p. 90; *Ramabhyudaya*, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

5. *South India*, p. 182.

corresponds to A. D. 1377<sup>1</sup>. And since we know that Kumara Kampana drove out of Madura the followers of the prophet, we think it reasonable to assign this final date for the completion of his conquest in the South<sup>2</sup>.

After his conquests Prince Kumara fixed his residence at Madura. He ruled all over the South as a semi-independent Viceroy. We know from epigraphical records that "he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne"<sup>3</sup>. His prime minister Somappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Melpadi<sup>4</sup> and at Achcharapakkam<sup>5</sup>. He was succeeded by his son Jammana Odeyar<sup>6</sup>, called sometimes Embana Udeiyar<sup>7</sup>, or Ommana Udaiyar<sup>8</sup>. It seems that his brother-in-law, 'Porkasa or Prakasa succeeded him, and he ceased to reign in 1404<sup>9</sup>. During this length of time the Emperors of Vijayanagara always remained the over-lords, as a Srirangam inscription of Harihara II, dated 1379 or 1399, evidently shows<sup>10</sup>.

4. One of the most transcendental acts of Kumara Kampana in the South was the restoration of the Pandya monarchs. He made inquiries concerning persons of their race and their respective rights. The result of these inquiries was the coronation of Soma Sekhara Pandya as the Pandya

1. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 82.

2. Mr. Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri-Vedanta-Desika*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XXIV, p. 308, states that the whole conquest of the South was over in 1365. The fact that the date assigned for the restoration of the sacred images to Srirangam was 1371-2, according to a local inscription, does not prove that the conquest was finished at that time, since such a restoration could take place before the final conquest of the whole country.

3. 18 of 1899.

4. Ibid.

5. 250 of 1901.

6. Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, 72.

7. Nelson, *Madura Country*, III, p. 82.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 325. Cf. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., I, p. 35-7.

9. Nelson, l. c., Sewell, II, p. 223.

10. 29 of 1890.



sovereign. The *Supplementary MSS.* mention fourteen of his successors until the conquest of Visvanatha Nayaka <sup>1</sup>.

These Pandya chiefs were probably content to be dependent on Vijayanagara. They maintained a modified subordinate authority in at least a part of their dominions. But when the dynasty founded by Kampana was tottering, they began to think of independence, and actually, more than once, it seems, tried to expel from their country the officials of the Emperors of Vijayanagara. There is good evidence of a successful Pandya inroad as far as Kanchivaram in 1469 <sup>2</sup>. This explains the subsequent military expeditions sent by the sovereigns of Vijayanagara from time to time.

The Alampundi Plate of Virupaksha informs us that this Prince, son of Harihara II, conquered the kingdoms of Tundira, Chola and Pandya in the beginning of his father's reign and brought the booty to him <sup>3</sup>. And this same Prince in his poem *Narayanivilasam* calls himself the governor of the Karnata, Tundira, Chola and Pandya Mandalas, and even claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon <sup>4</sup>.

5. Two officers of the Empire were again governing in Madura during the reign of Devaraya II. Their names were Lakkana and Madana. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives forty-seven years as the period of their governorship. In this case, the time of their rule lasted more than the reign of the aforesaid Emperor. We may take it, however, to be a mistake on the part of the *Chronicle*; since it is quite evident that the dates and especially the figures given are inaccurate. Probably Madana died before Lakkana or was deprived of his post earlier, because the *Chronicle* says that Lakkana, "having brought the children of a Pandya King by his (the King's) concubine, one Abirami, a dancing girl of the Kali temple, he crowned them, paid them homage, and delivered over the

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 205.

2. Cf. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gasetteer*, p. 49.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, p. 53, v. 6.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 53.

kingdom to them, they being children of the Pandya; and they reigned". Madana is not mentioned at all on the occasion of this ceremony, *viz.* the installation of the Pandya heirs on the ancestral throne by a representative of Vijayanagara. This perhaps means that their task in the South was either to subdue the country which had rebelled against the Pandyas, or to put an end to a family fight springing from a lack of legitimate offspring; for the Pandyas finally enthroned by Lakkana were the sons of a concubine. This fact would perhaps indicate that, from this time, the legitimate descent of the Pandya family was at an end. Some years later Achyuta Raya learnt from Nagama Nayaka that Chandra Sekhara Pandya, the King of Madura, who had been deposed by the Chola King, and whom he had to re-instate, also was an illegitimate heir of the Pandya kingdom<sup>1</sup>. The Pandyas raised by Lakkana to the throne were, according to the *Chronicle*, Suntara-tora-mavili-vanathirayer, Kaliyar-somanar, Anjatha-perumal and Muttara-satirumali-mavili-vanathirayer<sup>2</sup>.

6. The expedition led about a century later by Narasa Nayaka, the founder of the third dynasty, was supposed to be against a Pandya sovereign named Manabusha. This is based on the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva. Manabusha was probably allied with a chief of Nadu-nadu, Sundarattoludaiyan Mavalivanadarayan, who was in possession of the city of Madura<sup>3</sup>. Narasa Nayaka was then a great general of the army of Vijayanagara. The *Varahapuram* extols him as the generalissimo of all the forces of the Empire, and in great favour with king Saluva Narasimha<sup>4</sup>. But his expedition to the South was somewhat earlier, because the Pandya King Manabusha, who must be identified with Arikesari Parakrama

1. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. *Sources*, p. 320.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 37.

3. Gopinatha Rao, *Inscriptions of Later Pandyas*, T. A. S. p. 53.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. o.*, p. 87-8.

Pandya bearing the surname of Manakavacha<sup>1</sup>, ruled till about 1466. This date brings us up to the reign of either Mallikarjuna or Virupaksha, during which this general's glorious achievements in the South must be placed.

In the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, it is stated that the Pandya king and his confederates of the South were forced "to bear his commands (*viz.* Narasa Nayaka's) on their heads as flowers on their crowns"<sup>2</sup>. This clearly indicates a victory on the part of the Vijayanagara general. But the *Achyutarayabhyud.ayam* gives a full account of the campaign. According to it, Narasa Nayaka captured the fort of Manava (Manuva?) Durga from its Muhammadan ruler and gave it back to him. Laying a bridge across the Kaveri, he captured Srirangam and after defeating and killing the Marava ruler, finally seized the city of Madura. Then in another battle he defeated a chief called Konetiraja, who opposed him with his elephant forces,<sup>3</sup>.

It seems certain that there were many rebellious princes in the South at or about this time. The *Varadambika-Parinayam* gives a more minute account of the campaigns of Narasa, and more than once mentions kings defeated by him. Marching across the Tondai-mandalam Narasa approached the Chola kingdom, whose king had been opposing his troops and harassing the country, then crossed to the South of the Kaveri and awaited the arrival of the enemy who prepared to fight. But in the fierce battle that ensued Narasa imprisoned the Chola chief and took possession of his capital, probably Tanjore. Then the Vijayanagara general entered the town of Madura and was presented by its sovereign with valuable articles. He proceeded to Rameswaram across the sea. This means probably that the Pandya King declared himself tributary to Vijayanagara, with-

1. Cf Gopinatha Rao, o. c., p. 52, and *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 330. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Sathyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 7, says that the expedition took place in the period of the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 9-11.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 108.

out opposing the army of Narasa. But before reaching Rameswaram he had to defeat and kill the Marava ruler, according to the other poem referred to above. Thence he proceeded against Seringapatam. It was easily reduced, after constructing a bridge across the Kaveri which was then in flood. The Seringapatam ruler surrendered with all his relatives. Narasa forgave him and restored his kingdom to him <sup>1</sup>.

These vicissitudes of the Vijayanagara power and the power of the Pandyas over the kingdom of Madura are also mentioned in the *Pandyan Chronicle*, which states that before Krishna Deva Raya "the kings who ruled over the Mathurai-mandalam were for a part of this period of the Pandya race. In some portion of it, some of the afore-mentioned kings (of Vijayanagara) expelled the Pandyas and ruled themselves. During all this" adds the same chronicle, "twice they (the Pandyas) took refuge in other villages" <sup>2</sup>.

7. During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya we find a great expedition of this King, probably into the Tamil country. We say 'probably' because the town mentioned by Nuniz while narrating this campaign has not been hitherto identified. He narrates that, after having finished the war with the king of Orissa, Krishna Raya "made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charamandel (Coromandel) side. And he marched against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called....(Unfortunately there is here a blank in the original) and is surrounded with water".

"Now at the time when Crisnarao attacked this city," continues Nuniz, "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 Crisnarao, 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

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170-1. Cf. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., I, p. 37.

2. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., I, p. 32.

(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 Crisnarao from entering in a few days and slaughtering all of them. He found large treasures in this city, including a million and six hundred thousands pardaos in ready money, besides jewels and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the capture of this land Crisnarao 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 captive and carried to Bisnaga, where he died in the King's prison" 1.

The account of Nuniz is supplemented by a more recent but not less trustworthy work. In the beginning of the 19th century, Colonel William Macleod, acting Commissioner in Arcot, requested a learned man of Jinji, named Narayen, to write a history of the Karnataka country. Narayen making use of the old traditions as well as of the available documents, produced the *Karnataka Rajakal Sdvistara Charitram*. Section eight of this work is all devoted to the history of Jinji. There he narrates that during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, the Jinji country was divided among several petty chiefs who did not acknowledge the authority of the emperors of Vijayanagara. In order to reduce them, Krishna Raya sent a considerable army into the Karnatik, which is said to have consisted of 100,000 men, under the command of four chiefs named Vaiyappa Nayaker, Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaker, Vijaya Raghava Nayaker and Venkatappa Nayaker. The army encamped near

1, Sewell, p. 320-2.

Vellore. No battle or attack on the fort is there mentioned but the submission of all the chiefs of the surroundings seems to point to a victory of the imperial army. Narayen says that the chief of Chittoor and other petty rulers of the Tondamandalam country had an interview with Vaiyappa Nayaker, who seems to have been the generalissimo. One of the chiefs mentioned is Bomma Reddi of Calastri. On this occasion Vaiyappa fixed their rate of tribute. From Vellore the imperial army proceeded to Jinji. Here another meeting was held with the chiefs of the Chola mandalam, and their tribute was also settled. In the meantime, while in Jinji, he despatched the subordinate generals towards the South to levy tribute on the Pandya, Chola and Chera Kingdoms. They were respectfully received by the rulers of these kingdoms, and the tribute was paid. Krishna Deva Raya derived three crores of rupees from the eastern Karnataka. For the administration of these newly acquired dominions, he divided the whole country into three parts under three Viceroys. The first extended from Nellore to the river Colerun; this was placed under Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaker, who fixed his capital at Jinji. The second was the fertile country washed by the Kaveri river, and was governed by Vijaya Raghava, who resided at Tanjore. Finally the third was the whole country South of the said Kaveri river, and this was assigned to Venkatappa Nayaker, who eventually settled at Madura<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 39. Both expeditions, the one of Nuniz and this of Narayen seem to refer to the same event, for the aim of both was the same, *viz.* the subjection of the eastern Karnatik. After both expeditions the country was divided among the generals of Krishna Raya. Moreover Catur may be a corruption for Chittoor. Finally the first city that fell into the hands of the imperialists seems to have been, according to Narayen, Vellore. Now Sewell, p. 320, note, identifies the unnamed city captured by Krishna Deva Raya in Nuniz's chronicle with this city of Vellore: "The description of the town answers to Vellore in North Arcot, the fine old fort at which place is surrounded with a deep moat. According to tradition, this place was captured by Krishna Deva Raya from a Reddi chief". An apparent objection to the identification of these two campaigns may be the fact that the expedition mentioned by Nuniz was led by the same sovereign, who is not mentioned in Narayen's account. But if we consider that the capture of Vellore seems to have been omitted by the latter, we may also conclude that the fact of Krishna Deva Raya not being mentioned cannot afford a valid argument against our theory.

Moreover Paes says that Krishna Raya "has five kings, his subjects and vassals" <sup>1</sup>, and Nuniz gives a fuller information; "The kings who are subject are these," says he, "besides this king of Bengapor, namely the king of Gasopa (Gersoppa) and the king of Bacanor (Barkur) and the king of Calecu (Calicut) and he of Batecala (Bhatkal) and these, when they come to the court of Bisnaga, are not held in higher esteem than any other captains, either by the king or by the other nobles" <sup>2</sup>.

No more information concerning the south is given during the time of Krishna Deva Raya; but from a fact narrated in the beginning of the reign of Achyuta, we note that a rebellion took place in the Tamil country at the end of the reign of Krishna. This forced Achyuta to prepare a new expedition into the south on the first day after his coronation.

8. One of the subordinate governors of Krishna in the South, named Sellapa, had revolted against him. He was defeated by an imperial army, fled from his province, and took refuge in the kingdom of Travancore. What province was the one ruled by Sellapa is not quite clear; but it seems probable that Sellapa was the same ruler of the Chôla kingdom whom the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* speaks of a little later on <sup>3</sup>. Travancore was supposed to be at this time tributary to Vijayanagara, <sup>4</sup>. Its king not only received the fugitive under his protection, but made an alliance with him. Both invaded the Pandya kingdom, waged war against its ruler and drove him from his ancestral dominions <sup>5</sup>.

There had been occasional fights between Travancore

1. Sewell, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 374. Naturally Nuniz mentions only the king of Kanara who was in the vicinity of the Portuguese forts.

3. Canto VI, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 159.

4. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 81, while relating the history of the year 1506 says: "Aqui empieza el de Travancore, a que llamamos Grande, por ser mayor de los Malabares; y es sujeto al de Narsinga".

5. *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, canto IV, S. Krishna swami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 158-9.

and the Pandyas from the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the first half, Chera Udaya Marthanda Varma had captured all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevely side which, he said, had been taken from his predecessors by the Pandya king. This Chera Udaya often resided at Valliyur and Chera Maha Devi, in the newly conquered territories<sup>1</sup>. The *Balabhadragavatam* records the campaign of another Raja of Travancore against the Pandya kingdom in which he was aided by Chinna Timma, a Prince of the Aravidu family who received the title of Tiruvadi Rajyasthapanacharya<sup>2</sup>. The monarch of Travancore who received in his territory the insurgent Sellapa and afterwards invaded the Pandyan dominions, was Bhutala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) of the Tirupattur branch. He had previously exacted tribute from Ceylon, and used to keep a corps of three hundred female archers<sup>3</sup>. With the aid of Sellapa and taking advantage of the decease of the Emperor, which Nuniz speaks of,<sup>4</sup> Marthanda Varma overran a large part of the Pandya country consisting practically of the whole present district of Tinnevely<sup>5</sup>. The Tumbichchi Nayaka Kumaralinga, (1502-1535), whose rebellion is recorded in these years, probably joined the invaders against the neighbouring Pandya<sup>6</sup>. This unfortunate ruler was Srivallabhadeva, the son of <sup>7</sup>Ahavarama. He was unable to challenge the allies and retreated without giving battle to the enemy. No encounter is mentioned anywhere between these

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1. Shungoony Menon, *A History of Travancore*, p. 94  
S. Parameswara Aiyar, *Travancore and Vijayanagar*, C. C. M., XXII, p. 181.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 205.

3. Nagam Aya, *Travancore Manual*, I, p. 297.

4. Sewell, p. 336.

5. Nagam Aya, o. c., p. 295.

6. Cf. Rangachari, *The History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind. Ant.* XLIII, p. 189.

7. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates, Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 303, and *Inscriptions of Later Pandyas, T. A. S.*, I, p. 55-6. Rangachari, o. c. p. 190, thinks that the Pandya ruling at this time was Srivallabhu's father Ahavarama.



parties. But he appealed at the same time to the Vijayanagara Emperor for help.

When this news reached the capital, Krishna Deva Raya was probably near the last days of his life, and consequently nothing was said to him. But as soon as Achyuta Raya arrived from Chandragiri and was crowned at Vijayanagara, his minister informed him of the affairs of the Empire, and reported to him the rebellion of Sellapa and the war of the Travancore sovereign against the Pandya. Achyuta Raya consequently resolved upon making war against Sellapa and king Marthanda Varma, and ordered his brother-in-law, the Mahamandalesvara Salakaraja Chinna Tirumalayyadeva-Maharaja,<sup>1</sup> whom he appointed generalissimo, to be ready with his army to march southwards after some days.

9. The King in person commanded the expedition. Achyuta started from Vijayanagara after a while and went straight to Chandragiri in a few days. "There he stationed his troops," says the *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, which gives a full account of this campaign, "and went to Tirupati to worship the god at the place. He presented to the god a pair of earrings, a padaka<sup>2</sup> and a jewelled crown, and stayed there for a few days. He then went to Kalahasti, worshipped the god at the place and gave him large grants. From there Achyuta proceeded with his army to Kanchi. There the King weighed himself against pearls, which were distributed in charity. While at Kanchi, several forest-kings (or chiefs) waited upon him with tribute and presents. Accompanied by them, he proceeded farther south and went to Arunasaila (Tiruvannamalai). After worshipping the god of the place, he entered the Chola country and, after a few days march, reached Srirangam." Achyuta Raya did not proceed further; either lured to stay there by the pious and lonely character of the place, or persuaded by the generalissimo that in subduing and capturing such a miserable rebel as Sellapa his presence was unnecessary. So the poem mentioned above tells us that the Emperor remained at

1. 51 of 1912.

2. 'A jewelled medallion hung on the necklace and worn on the breast'. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 159.

Srirangam and his army went from there southwards under the command of Salakaraja Chinna Tirumalayyadeva.

After passing the city of Madura, the imperial army encamped on the banks of the Tamraparni. Thence Salaka Chinna despatched one of his subordinate officers to march against the confederates. The Travancore King with his army advanced against him near the mountains. There a great battle was fought. Having been defeated in this battle Marthanda Varma, with the remnant of his troops, approached the general, acknowledged his own defeat, and handed over to him the fugitive Sellapa. He also made him presents of elephants and horses. The general accepted these presents on behalf of his Sovereign and, accompanied by the King of Travancore, proceeded to Trivandrum, to worship the god of the place. Hence in a few days he returned to Srirangam, where the Emperor had stayed and was spending his time in the company of poets and scholars. The general presented to him the King of Travancore and the other prisoners, and submitted to him a report of the expedition. Achyuta ordered Marthanda Varma, who had invaded the Pandya territories, to be punished, and the Pandya King to rule over his ancestral territories. Thence Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara, marching along the Kaveri and passing through Seringapatam <sup>1</sup>.

10. The effects of this campaign greatly influenced the future of the South of India in its relations with Vijayanagara. The King of Travancore professed himself a tributary of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. We suppose this to be the punishment inflicted by Achyuta. We have this information from an inscription of Bhutala Vira Rama Varma at Suchindram in Travancore <sup>2</sup>. As to the Pandya King, he remained very grateful to Achyuta for restoring his old territory to him. An inscription at Kanchivaram states that, after this campaign the Emperor married a daughter of the Pandya King <sup>3</sup>.

1. *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, cantos V-X, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.s., p. 159-60.

2. 64 of 1896.

3. 49 and 50 of 1900; *M. L. R.*, 1900, p. 27.

This shows the latter's gratitude and his desire to cement the friendship between the Emperor and himself. With the aid of Vijayanagara, he "brought back the Pandya kingdom to its pristine glory". On account of that, in the Pudukkottai Plates of Srivalabha and Varatungarama Pandya, he is given the title of "*Pandya-rajyasthanacharya*" that is 'establisher of the kingdom of Pandya' <sup>1</sup>.

But he is not the only person who bears this title. Achyuta Raya himself is honoured with it in the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* <sup>2</sup>. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva also give the same title to the Nayaks of Madura <sup>3</sup>; most probably some of their ancestors took part in this campaign of Achyuta. But as a matter of fact, we know from other sources that Nagama Nayaka, the father of the first Nayak of Madura, was one of the generals in this campaign. It seems that he lived in Kanchivaram, while holding the military command over the Tondai-mandalam. He would therefore have been taken by Achyuta when the latter went to Travancore. For Nagama was naturally able to give first class advice, on account of his familiarity with the Tamil people and their language <sup>4</sup>. Nagama's son Visvanatha was also probably in the imperial army <sup>5</sup>. Another in the army was probably the powerful magnate called Nagappa <sup>6</sup>.

The *Pandyan Chronicle* records that the Viceroy of Madura at the time of the expedition of Achyuta was Aiyakarai Vai-

1. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 54.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 165.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

4. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 303, and *T. A. S.*, I, p. 56.

5. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 58-59; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 320; *M. E. R.*, 113 of 1988; 1905-6, App. A, copper-plate 14; 1909, p. 119. The *Tiruppanimalai* says also that Visvanatha defeated Tiruvadi in battle and compelled him to pay tribute. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates*, o. c., p. 303, thinks that Visvanatha was not in this campaign, but in some other later on, perhaps in that of Vitthala.

6. *M. E. R.*, 1900, p. 119.

yappa<sup>1</sup>. Very little is known of the Madura Viceroys previous to Nagama Nayaka and Visvanatha. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives a list of six of them from the time of Narasa Nayaka up to 1535<sup>2</sup>, reproduced by Nelson and Sewell<sup>3</sup>; the above mentioned Aiyakarai Vaiyappa appears ruling in the last period before Visvanatha's first rule, from 1530 to 1535, during which the expedition of Achyuta to Travancore took place. All seem to be Telugus excepting one, Narasa Pillai, a Tamilian, who ruled from 1515 to 1519. Pandit Subramania Sarma gives another name *viz.* Tirumal Nayaka as ruling in Madura before the re-establishment of the Pandyas by Visvanatha Nayaka<sup>4</sup>.

II. About the same time, when Achyuta and his generals were waging war with the sovereign of Travancore in favour of the Pandya king, several events took place in the Fishery Coast that occasioned many disagreeable encounters between the Nayaks of Madura and the inhabitants of that coast. Many influential Muhammadans had retreated there after their expulsion from Madura. They had practically become the ultimate owners of the pearl fisheries. Their tyranny over the poor Paravas, who for a long time had been the sole masters, was without limit. They would not allow the Paravas to fish without their permission, and they claimed the monopoly in dealing in pearls. The oppression of the Muhammadans had excited even the quiet poor people of the coast, when in 1532 a fight between a Parava and a Muslim occurred, from which the former emerged badly wounded and with one of his ears torn.

That was an unbearable offence to the whole Parava caste; who, after some days of secret plotting, suddenly attacked the Muhammadan quarters of Tuticorin and killed a great number of Muslims. The rest had to commit themselves to their little boats and fly from the city for their lives.

1. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, O. H. MSS. I. p. 137

2. *Ibid.*

3. Sewell, p. 385, note.

4. Subramania Sarma, *A Short History of the Pandya Kingdom*, p. 7.

The revenge of the Muhammadans was terrible.<sup>1</sup> They collected an army, made an alliance with all the petty rulers of the neighbourhood dependent on the Viceroy of Madura, and together advanced against Tuticorin by land and sea. The Nayaks of Bembar (Pedambur?) and Vaipar (Viranar?), far from joining this confederacy with the Muhammadans, even defended the Paravas' territories. The poor Paravas of Tuticorin and its vicinity were pitilessly massacred on this occasion. The persecution lasted for some considerable time.

It happened that a Christian Malabarian named Joao da Cruz, who had been in Portugal as an ambassador of the Zamorin of Calicut, found himself on the Fishery Coast at this time. He advised the Paravas that since they could not expect help from the Viceroy of Madura, as the past events showed, they must go to the Portuguese Captain of Cochin who would willingly help them. Accordingly, fifteen of the most influential Paravas, whom Fr. de Sousa calls *Patengatis*, accompanied by da Cruz proceeded to Cochin. The Captain of that place was then Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, who received them in a very fatherly way and promised to take up arms against the Muhammadans, and to take the Paravas under the protection of the Portuguese nation on condition of their all becoming Christians. To this they gladly consented, and being instructed in the Christian faith by Fr. Miguel Vaz, Vicar General of India, who was then at Cochin, they were baptized some days after<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 129-30; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 447-50; Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Societatis Jesu*, I, p. 489; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 533; Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 225 and 246. Cf. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 370; D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, II, p. 31. I have read in a recently published book the following: "The Paravas, the fisher-folk along the coast, were being rapidly converted to Christianity, and such conversions were interpreted as involving a change of allegiance of the inhabitants from their Indian rulers to the King of Portugal". No reference is there given to any historical source. How far it is from the truth, our narrative, based on contemporary sources shows. Nieuhoff, o. c., p. 225 says: "To shew their gratitude, they (the Paravas) received baptism immediately." He adds that 20,000 Paravas were then baptized. The right of the Portuguese

In the meanwhile a fleet came from Goa, commanded by the Governor-General, Dom Nuno da Cunha, who proceeded personally to chastise the Muhammadans. About this St. Francis Xavier wrote from Tuticorin to St. Ignatius ten years later; "When the Governor received this information, he went personally with his fleet to chase the Moors (the Muhammadans), and overtaking them, made a great slaughter. He dispersed all, and captured all their boats without exception, and even those which they had taken from the Christians of this country<sup>1</sup>. He gave back all these boats to the Christians. To those who had none nor means to acquire them, he handed over the boats captured from the Moors. It was certainly a great victory, and of happy remembrance. There are no Moors at all in that country at present"<sup>2</sup>.

John Nieuhoff while relating in his *Travels* the events of possession over the Fishery Coast proceeded from the fact that they protected from the oppression of the Muhammadans the poor folk, who were abandoned to their tyrants' hands by their rightful lord, the Nayak of Madura. Even if we suppose that the Nayak could not have defended the Paravas because he was at war with the Travancore king or with any other rebel, the right of lordship over the Paravas would still remain with the Portuguese. The Paravas had been abandoned by the Nayak of Madura and had willingly selected the Portuguese as their protectors and owners of their country. How the latter accomplished their task may be deduced from the following extract of a letter of a French Missionary of the South, Fr. P. Martin, who on the 1st of July, 1700, wrote from Caima Naiken Patty: "The freedom of trading with their neighbours, that the Paravas enjoyed under the Portuguese, was the cause of their being rich and powerful; but since they had been deprived of their protection, they have been again oppressed and reduced to an extreme poverty". Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, IV, p. 34. In the same letter Fr. Martin relates that the Portuguese protection was given on condition that they should become Christians.

1. When the boats were taken there were no Christians; St. Francis Xavier means those who became christians after the event.

2. From St. Francis Xavier to St. Ignatius, at Rome, Tutu-  
corin, October 28, 1542, in *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 275.

the year 1533, says: "After all the Nayak of Madura, having found means to get possession of this country, left the Portuguese in full possession of their jurisdiction over the Paravas and of the free exercise of their religion" <sup>7</sup>. If this is true, the Nayaks of Madura did not fulfil such an agreement, as we shall see in the following chapter.

12. We have already mentioned Visvanatha Nayaka and his father Nagama Nayaka, and now propose to deal with them in the rest of this chapter and in the following one.

Nagama Nayaka, a descendant of the Kasyapa gotra <sup>2</sup>, was born at Kanchivaram <sup>3</sup>. He had been Tosekhana Adhikari, or officer of the treasury <sup>4</sup>, and is said to have founded a village on the hill at Tirukkachchur for the merit of the king <sup>5</sup>. He was much in favour with the founder of the Saluva dynasty, and was called, in two different inscriptions, "the foremost of the servants of the Saluva King Narasimha Raya" <sup>6</sup>. His birudas may be seen in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva <sup>7</sup>. There is an inscription about him of the time of Saluva Narasimha in one of the gopurams of the temple at Virinjipuram. Another inscription at Chidambaram seems to mention him also <sup>8</sup>.

The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III say that Visvanatha was the fruit of the severe austerities and many virtues of his father, granted by the god Visvesvara <sup>9</sup>. We do not know whether among these austerities we must account the traditional pilgrimage of Nagama to Benares <sup>10</sup>. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, say that Visvanatha used to accompany

1. Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 246.

2. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49  
Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.

3. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 330

4. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 319.

5. 318 of 1909.

6. *Ibid* and 391 of 1912.

7. 48 of 1887.

8. 331 of 1913.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49.

10. *Mityunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 105.

the King in his hunting excursions when he was sixteen years of age, and relate, along with the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* and the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, that once he destroyed a wild bison that was advancing upon Krishna Raya, with a single stroke of his sword<sup>1</sup>. When already of age he was deputed by that Emperor to march against several princes of the north, who disputed their subjection as tributaries to the Emperor. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* say that these kings were the sovereigns of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Casmira and Nepala,<sup>2</sup> which is nothing but an empty boast. They were probably the Kings of Orissa and some petty Rajas of the surroundings. Visvanatha "having successfully warred against them", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "took them prisoners, appointed proper persons for the management of the conquered countries, and returned triumphantly to the Rayer, with the captives, elephants, camels, horses and all the treasure belonging to them. The Rayer was so well pleased with the bravery and success of Visvanatha, that he forthwith honoured him with distinguished tokens of approbation and favour, in bestowing on him all the banners or trophies which belonged to the refractory tributaries"<sup>3</sup>.

### 13. On account of these military exploits of the young

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1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* o. c., p. 107; *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, o. c. p. 321; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor o. c., II, p. 7. Sewell, p. 327, note 3, says that the Nayaks of Madura "descended, so Barradas tells us, from the 'Page of the betel' of the King of Vijayanagara"; but on p. 230 referred to by Sewell, Fr. Barradas does not say anything of the kind. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 44, relying upon Barradas's misgiven testimony, supposes that when Nuniz tells us that the "page who served the king with betel, had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants" he is dealing with the early career of Visvanatha. That may be so; but as far as the ancient authorities show, we cannot accept such a statement. Hence we are not able to affirm that he was present at the battle of Rachol.

2. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 107

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.



Visvanatha, he "was honoured on earth as the foremost of of great heroes". This is stated on the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III<sup>1</sup>. These exploits were the beginning of his illustrious career in the South as Viceroy of Vijayanagara and founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* records three different periods of his viceroyalty<sup>2</sup>. According to the *Pandyan Chronicle*, Visvanatha's rule in Madura lasted two years and four months<sup>3</sup>. This must be a reference to the first period of his governorship; the copyist, after copying at length the first, probably forgot the other two, and passed straight to the reign of Visvanatha's successor. The other two periods must be counted within the length of 26 years assigned to him by the *History of the Karnataka Governors*<sup>4</sup>; thus the second period will extend from his appointment as Viceroy of Madura, after the deposition of his father, to the demise of the old Pandya, when he took royal rank. The third period will date from this, ending with the accession of his son.

As to the first period of his rule, there is no doubt that he was in charge of the government of Madura as early as 1535. This is borne out by an inscription of this year already calling him 'Visvanatha Nayaka'<sup>5</sup>. This inscription at Tirupattur, Ramnad, records a gift of the village of Varagunaputtur for the merit of Visvanatha Nayakkar, son of Nagama Nayakkar<sup>6</sup>. It seems that there were at Madura at this time, the Mavali Vanada Rayar chieftains, who had been in the country from the time of Kumara Kampana<sup>7</sup>. The Padmaneri grant of Venkata II,<sup>8</sup> and the Vellangudi plates

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49.

2. Cited by Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 46.

3. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.

4. Taylor o. c., II, p. 26.

5. 113 of 1908. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 218, and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 18 put also in this year the beginning of Visvanatha's rule.

6. 113 of 1908.

7. Cf. Rangachari, l. c., p. 219.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 58-59.

of the same monarch<sup>1</sup> inform us that Visvanatha defeated their head Vanada Rayar, and that this was probably the occasion when the newly appointed Viceroy expelled this Vanada Rayar from Madura and its surroundings for alleged plotting against the Empire.

We know nothing further of the first viceroyalty of Visvanatha in the South, nor of the reason of his removal. Probably his removal encouraged the Chola king in his ambitious projects against the Pandya. This was the indirect cause of the final return of Visvanatha to rule over the Madura kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

14. The King of Tanjore was then Vira Sekhara Chola, who was entertaining the ambitious project of extending his territory and authority. He seized the opportunity of the removal of Visvanatha from the city of Madura, to invade the Pandya country; and marching at the head of a formidable army against its sovereign, Chandra Sekhara Pandya, defeated him, thus establishing his rule over both the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms. Having now been deprived of his kingdom Chandra Sekhara effected his escape, together with his son, and fled to Vijayanagara to inform the Emperor of his distress<sup>3</sup>.

1. Ibid., p. 320.

2. The fact that it has always been taken for granted, that Visvanatha's rule was never interrupted, has created much confusion and started many theories to explain his first appointment to the viceroyalty and his war against Nagama Nayaka.

3. The sources of this and the following number are the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 319-23; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, O.H. MSS., II, p. 9-15, and several other documents to which we shall refer in the course of our narrative. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* mentions Krishna Deva Raya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara at the time of this and the following wars, and Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar follows this opinion in his *History of the Nayaks*, p. 44-9; but I am sure that the Emperor was then Achyuta Raya, and not merely in the beginning of his reign. When the latter ascended the throne the king of Travancore had just entered the Pandya country, taking possession of some of its forts and cities. No mention is then made of

Achyuta, in great anger, summoned his general Nagama Nayaka, and ordered him to muster an army and march to the South, to chastise the refractory Chola and to reinstate the Pandya on his throne. Accordingly Nagama Nayaka set out against Vira Sekhara Chola, and defeated and killed him near Tanjore. He then proceeded to Madura and drove out the garrison stationed there by the Chola<sup>1</sup>. Nagama Nayaka then offered the kingdom to the dispossessed Pandya. But the old Chandra Sekhara considered himself unable to rule over so turbulent a province (for there was not perfect order throughout the country, and several villages had not sent their revenues regularly to the treasury). So he answered that, since he had no legitimate son to succeed him as king, he would be content if Nagama Nayaka should rule the kingdom and give him an adequate allowance. Nagama closed with the Pandya's proposal. But later on, finding the allowance too

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Visvanatha, who must have been in Madura according to the *Tanjavuri Charitra*; and although it seems possible that Visvanatha was in that expedition, some authors think that he did not take part in it at all. Cf. p. 117, note 5. Even supposing this, how could Visvanatha tolerate the incursions of the Travancore sovereign into the territories belonging to his jurisdiction? Moreover, after the execution of Vira Sekhara Chola the Tanjore country was annexed to Madura; and Visvanatha was ruling for a time over the Chola and Pandya countries till the appointment of Sevvappa as Nayak of Tanjore. Nevertheless, if we suppose these events to have occurred in Krishna's reign, after the extinction of the Chola dynasty, another Chola appears in the reign of Achyuta invading the Madura country. Cf. above, No. 11. All these difficulties disappear at once if we suppose a mistake on the part of a copyist while writing, or a subsequent wrong addition. The other sources do not give the name of the emperor. As to the date of these events, it is evident that the war of the Chola against the Pandya took place after the removal of Visvanatha, and that was after two years and four months of administration; hence we cannot suppose that the war of the Chola was prior to 1539. Therefore, the appointment of Visvanatha as Viceroy of Madura in this second period took place at the end of Achyuta's reign.

1. This conquest of Madura is also mentioned by the *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, I, p. 205.

meagre, he considered his agreement with Nagama as already broken, and again fled to Vijayanagara and informed Achyuta that Nagama Nayaka, instead of restoring him to his throne, had usurped it himself. The Emperor at once despatched an imperial mandate reprimanding Nagama for his conduct, and commanding him to restore the kingdom to the Pandya. This order was entrusted to the Pandya himself, who was thereupon dismissed.

In the meanwhile Nagama had established order in the South, and brought under subjection many refractory places which had not rendered submission to any ruler for a considerable time. An inscription at Tittagudi, South Arcot, refers to a dispute between two factions in that village which had lasted for several years, and which had been finally settled by the agent of Nagama Nayaka<sup>1</sup>. This valiant general, on receiving the order, wrote back to his sovereign saying that the Pandya, after he was re-installed had, till then, no hope of bringing back all the parts of his kingdom under his control. Specially "five illegitimate sons of his grandfather who had taken to themselves the title of Pancha Pandavas, and were possessors of Kayattaitur with the neighbourhood, had given him great trouble, and would continue to do so if he held the kingdom"<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the Pandya was content to wait till the whole province came under subjection, if he would receive a pension as a maintenance. This pension had already been handed over to him. Nagama added that if the kingdom were once more given to the Pandya, the Emperor would not be able to collect even the quit-rent from the province. Finally Nagama stated that he himself had spent, in addition to the money belonging to the treasury, a large sum out of his own sources in order to re-conquer that country<sup>3</sup>.

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1. 6 of 1903.

2. *Genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam*, Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p. 376.

3. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates, Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 304, says that the tradition of Nagama Nayaka's rebellion cannot be upheld; and Sathyanatha Aivar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 50, also tries to defend

On receiving this despatch Achyuta was thoroughly roused to anger, and calling all his counsellors and generals together, asked which of them would immediately march against Nagama Nayaka and bring back to him that rebel's head. The whole assembly heard this demand in silence. Thereupon Visvanatha Nayaka rose up and approaching the Emperor said :

"If you will give me leave, I will go and bring it to you."

"What," replied the Emperor in great fury, "will you go and join your father?"

But Visvanatha peacefully answered :

"As I eat your food, your service is my duty, and before the service of my master, make light the duty to my father : as you command I shall act, and in no other manner."

Accordingly after extolling Visvanatha's loyalty to his own person, the Emperor gave him permission. Visvanatha collected an army at once and set out for Madura with his own contingent of two thousand horse and six thousand infantry.

15. When he reached the territory of Madura he halted in one of the districts ; and from thence sent word to his father, announcing that at the command of the Emperor he had come with a great army to force him to obedience, should he refuse to restore the territory to the Pandya. Both the *Tanjavuri Charitra* and the *History of the Karnataka Governors* here describe Visvanatha's father as a real rebel, who waged war with his own son and was defeated. We cannot admit this story. It stands in evident contradiction with the previous conduct of Nagama and with the subsequent events in the court of Vijayanagara. This episode is evidently a concoction of the poet, thrust into this narrative for dramatic effect.

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him. Really the conduct of Nagama, as related hitherto by the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, cannot be called rebellion at all ; he acted as the most faithful servant of the Emperor. If Achyuta sent an army against him, it was due to a temporary access of fury stirred by the strange and perhaps criminal accusations of the Pandya. But the *History of the Karnataka Governors* describes Nagama as a real rebel chief, making partisans among those who came with him,

I am sure that, after receiving his son's letter, Nagama Nayaka proceeded to meet him; and that this meeting between father and son was the solution of the misunderstanding between Achyuta and his general.

Visvanatha then went to Madura, and by the special command of Achyuta, reinstated the Pandya on his ancestral throne. The old king was so overcome with joy at this event that the *Description of the Karnataka Lords* puts in his mouth the following words addressed to Visvanatha :

"Your father once settled the difference between me and the Chola by vanquishing him, and now you have overcome your father on my behalf and have given me the kingdom; what fair return shall I make you? As my family is diminished, and I have no heir, the Chola after my death will take forcible possession of my kingdom. You therefore are my adopted son, and to you I wish the kingdom to descend after me." <sup>1</sup>.

After this he conducted him to the temple of Minakshi, where, in the presence of the goddess, he had him invested by the Pattar, or chief Brahmin, with the crown, dagger, sceptre, seal and fish-umbrella, just as if the goddess herself had delivered them to him. <sup>2</sup>.

This ceremony over, Visvanatha, accompanied by his father and Chandra Sekhara Pandya, returned to Vijayanagara. The Emperor was much pleased with Nagama's submission; and when the general related the series of events and the whole of his transactions with the Pandya, Achyuta expressed his anger at the latter, but was appeased by Visvanatha. Then the Pandya himself, in the presence of the Emperor, said that, even at that stage, he had no objection to give over his kingdom to Visvanatha according to the agreement.

Some days later the Emperor summoned both the Pandya and Visvanatha before him. He asked the Pandya whether, as he had no heir to succeed him, he still adhered to the agree-

1. Accordingly the *Tiruppani-malai* states that Visvanatha saved the Pandya. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 109; *The Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*, *Ibid.*, p. 117.

ment by which he gave the kingdom over to Visvanatha. Chandra Sekhara Pandya replied that he had absolutely no objection to it; whereupon the Emperor informed Visvanatha that he would appoint him the Viceroy of the Pandya country.

16. Visvanatha left Vijayanagara for Madura at the head of a large army. On reaching the capital of his new viceroyalty, he devoted himself earnestly to the task of repairing the fort, by building eight gates and seventy-two bastions<sup>1</sup>. He likewise built the fort of Trichinopoly, after exchanging this place for Vallam, which was given to the newly appointed Nayak of Tanjore. He built in this new place a double-walled fort around the city and dug out an extensive ditch in front; then he erected dwelling houses inside and caused a teppakulam, or sacred tank, to be dug. He built a palace, had the jungle-wood on both sides of the river Kaveri cleared away, laid out new fields for tillage, and engaged new inhabitants to cultivate them<sup>2</sup>. He also ordered the restoration of the temples of Minakshi and Sundaresvara, adding new structures as enlargements to the old temples. One of these improvements was to throw down the small Pandya fort which surrounded the temple<sup>3</sup>. Instead of this he built "an extensive double-walled fort."

In these enterprises he was considerably helped by Ariyanatha Mudaliar, his prime minister, of whom we shall speak at length further on, and by Kesavappa Nayaka, the commander of his forces.

We cannot say how long the period of this second viceroyalty of Visvanatha in Madura lasted; we may only affirm

1. *Description of the Karnataka Lords*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 111. This was really one of the first acts of Visvanatha on his arrival at Madura; because from the account of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam it is evident that he lived for more than twenty years after the erection of these bastions. Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 376-8.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, *Ibid.*, p. 15-7.

3. Sewell, I, p. 293, says that "the sanctuary of the great temple is attributed to Visvanatha Nayaka".

that it lasted but a few months. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* says expressly that "as the Pandya was very old, he lived for only a few months and died. Then Visvanatha became the sole ruler of the Pandya and Chola kingdoms". The other chronicles seem to agree with this statement. Therefore it appears probable that when this event took place, Achyuta was still reigning in Vijayanagara.

17. On the demise of Chandra Sekhara Pandya, the Emperor summoned Visvanatha to the court in order to appoint him King of the Madura country. A durbar was probably held on this occasion; and it was then that Achyuta solemnly before his court bestowed the Southern Kingdom upon Visvanatha :

" All that country was, as you know," said the Sovereign, " under your father's control : and now, as there is no heir to the throne, through defect of posterity to the Pandya ; and seeing that you, in a public emergency, killed the wild buffalo, and by offering it to the Goddess Durga, prevented the occurrence of public calamity ; moreover, as you conquered several northern Rajas when they revolted and refused to pay tribute, making their countries to become fully our own by right of conquest ; and besides when your father disobeyed our commands, you considered the right of your sovereign as entitled to precedence over those of your father and brought him here ; further, as you must remember, when we formerly gave you a throne like our own, we promised you also a kingdom. And since the Pandya adopted you, as his adopted son, giving you the kingdom and the seals, the government will be yours. Therefore now be the King of the Madura country " <sup>1</sup>.

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1. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 13 and 109.



END ASIATIC SUBJECTS "AL" 100



Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura.  
*Pudu Mandapa, Madura.*

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NAYAKS OF MADURA

**SUMMARY**—1. Idea of the Nayakship of Madura.—2. Erection of the Palaiyams.—3. War against the five Pandyas.—4. Officers of Visvanatha. 1 His minister Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.—5. Rama Raya Vitthala appointed Viceroy of the South. His campaign of 1544 against Travancore.—6. St. Francis Xavier stops the Telugu army.—7. Consequent friendship between St. Xavier and the Travancore ruler.—8. Peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara.—9. First expedition of Vitthala to the Fishery Coast.—10. Vitthala's Viceroyalty in the South. Relations with Visvanatha Nayaka.—11. Campaign of 1549 against Coromandel. Murder of Fr. Criminali.—12. Campaigns of 1551 and 1552.—13. A combined attack with the Muhammadans of Calicut against Punney Kayal in 1553.—14. Conflict of Travancore and Vijayanagara on the Fishery Coast.—15. End of Vitthala's Viceroyalty. A criticism of it.—16. An expedition of Visvanatha against Punney Kayal in 1560.—17. Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka I and death of Visvanatha. A criticism of his reign. His relations with the Empire.—18. Krishnappa's wars against Tumbichchi Nayaka and the King of Kandi.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Taylor's Telugu Manuscripts, *Singhala dvipa Catha*.—3. Letters of St. Francis Xavier, *Selectae Indicarum Epistolae*.—4. *Processus de Sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii, Chronicon Societatis Jesu*.—5. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*; Bartoli, *L' Asia*; Du Jarric, *Thesarus*; Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*; Tursellini, *De Vita Sti. Francisci Xaverii*; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*.—6. Couto, Faria y Sousa.

THE foundation of the Nayak kingdom of Madura was laid by the Emperor Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagara towards the end of his reign, when Visvanatha Nayak had become "the master of the kingdom of Madura", as the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II read<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly his full title was to be in time

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320. I do not know why the date 1558-9 is assigned for the foundation of the Nayak or semi-independent rule in Madura. This theory invented by Nelson, *The Madura Manual*,

to come "Maharaja Mahnie Raja Sri Visvanatha Naayane Ayelugaru". The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva inform us that his Queen was named Nagama <sup>1</sup>. His kingdom extended from Urrattur and Valikondapuram in the North to Cape Comorin in the South, and from Coimbatore, Erode and Dhara-puram in the West to Remeswaram and the sea in the East <sup>2</sup>.

It has been asserted that "the Nayak regime developed first into a governorship which become hereditary, and then into what was practically a hereditary monarchy" <sup>3</sup>. This is incorrect. Visvanatha was, after Chandra Sekhara Pandya's death, appointed by Achyuta real King of Madura, subject to the empire. This subjection practically consisted only in the payment of an annual tribute of 30 to 45 laks of rupees <sup>4</sup>. The Pandya King himself had nominated him his successor, as he had no legitimate offspring; and Visvanatha himself wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pandyas. One of his coins, in the Bangalore Museum, shows on the obverse a sceptre between two fishes, the racial sign of the Pandyas, and above them the Tamil legend, *Pandiyar*; on the reverse it bears the name *Visvanatha*, in Tamil-Grantha characters. <sup>5</sup>

2. One of the first acts of Visvanatha after taking possession of his new kingdom was to divide it into *Palaiyams* or counties, for the better administration of the country and to repay the faithful services of many of his officers who had help-

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p<sup>t</sup> 87, and followed by Sewell and his successors, is perhaps concocted to explain the appointment of Vitthala as Viceroy in the South in 1543-4. When the time of his governorship was over, then, they suppose, Visvanatha's rule began. But the above mentioned chronicles say that the Pandya died a few months after Visvanatha's expedition against his father, and that Visvanatha was then appointed king. To my mind the foundation of the Nayakship dates from the last year of Achyuta Raya.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

2. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 117.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 90.

4. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laersio, Madura, August 30, 1611  
Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p. 124.

5. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 325  
No. 16.

ed him in his former campaigns. There is no doubt that this was one of the first deeds of Visvanatha after his accession to the throne ; because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* records that the reign of Visvanatha lasted twenty-six years after this settlement <sup>1</sup>. The towns and the villages belonging to each of these Palaiyams were specified from the beginning, in order to avoid quarrels among their petty lords. These Palaiyams were held in military tenure, and the *Palaiyakaran*, or Polegar as he was afterwards called, was responsible for the defence of each of the seventy-two bastions of the Madura fort : the very title of *Palaiyakaran* shows the basis which the power of these chieftains rested upon, because it means 'a holder of an armed camp'. The Palaiyakarans were theoretically at the disposal of their sovereign <sup>2</sup>.

Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar seems to question the number of Palaiyams created by Visvanatha <sup>3</sup> ; but the said *History* categorically states that Visvanatha "divided the whole of the countries acquired into seventy-two Palaiyams".

Again the same *History* shortly after : "In case of attack or siege, these seventy-two Palaiyakkarans were each one to have charge of a particular bastion with a connected portion of the wall, and to defend the same with his retainers against all assaults" <sup>4</sup>. One of the Mackenzie MSS., translated and published by Taylor, gives a *List of the seventy-two Palaiyams appointed to guard the bastions of the Pandyan Capital*, as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayaka. They are divided into nine sections, of which the first contains the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore), and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai. "These three last," says the list, "are like adopted children of the Madura government". Then the second section, without heading, contains the Palaiyams of Ayalur-Nainar, Turaiyur-Rettiyar, Iluppur, Kulattur, and Kattalur ; and thus, successively, the third section numbers eight counties attached to the Manapadu Taluk ; the fourth gives the names of

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1. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 21.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 58.

4. Taylor, *l.c.*

fourteen attached to the Dindigul Taluq; the fifth has thirty nine, the rulers of which were called Kamban Gudalur Rajas; the sixth contains one attached to Koyambutur; then in the seventh come two Palaiyams attached to the Salem District; and finally two more, the Mannimai Palaiyam and the Raja Palaiyam, each forming a separate section by itself <sup>1</sup>.

Although the system was not completely new, inasmuch as we find some Palaiyakarans in the southern country before the enthronement of Visvanatha <sup>2</sup>; nevertheless to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defence of the capital, to which they had to pay their tribute annually. Moreover, the fact that Tamil and Telugu chiefs were indiscriminately appointed Palaiyakarans, was supposed to foster the necessary union for establishing a lasting peace between both the subjects and their foreign rulers. This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on, the central power, Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the Palaiyakarans.

3. The first of these troubles came soon after. In the country lying to the south there were five kings who had been tributaries to the Pandya. These now joined together and refused to pay tribute to the new foreign ruler at Madura. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* <sup>3</sup> does not say who these five kings were. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* call them merely "five independent princes of the South, who acknowledged no earthly superior" <sup>4</sup>. But according to the *Genealogical Narrative of the House of Appiya Nayak, the Palaiyakaran of Kannivady*, (one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection), they were collateral

1. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 161-3.

2. Cf. ch. VI, No. 9.

3. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 17.

4. Ibid., p. 111.

descendants of the ancient Pandya race<sup>1</sup>. Who, then, were these five collateral descendants of the Pandya family? Mr. Rangachari seems inclined to believe that this uprising was headed by the Pandya of Tenkasi himself, Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal<sup>2</sup>; the other four Pandyas being four of his close relatives, who perhaps shared with him the honor of royalty<sup>3</sup>. But it seems to us more probable that the chief of this rebellion was the brother and predecessor of Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, named Perumal Parakrama Pandyaadeva, alias Kulasekharadeva. He was crowned in Tenkasi in 1543, and his Singottai inscription of three years later calls him "the unrivalled hero of the world, the light of the Chandra-kula, the lord of the three worlds"<sup>4</sup>. These titles, so unusual in the inscription of the Pandyas of those days, do certainly bespeak a man who refused to acknowledge any earthly superior. In this case, the rebellion of Perumal Parakrama Pandyaadeva with his four partners in the throne took place after the year 1546; and if we suppose that he was the Pandya finally killed by Visvanatha, we must place the war at about 1552, since his successor was crowned in 1553.

On receiving the news of this revolt, Visvanatha sent his prime minister against the five Pandyas; but this officer 'was not strong enough to meet them', says the *History of the Kar-*

1. Ibid., p. 168. Subramania Sarma, *Short History of the Panyya Kingdom*, p. 9, says that they were sons of Chandra Sekhara Pandya and Kamestri.

2. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind Ant.*, XLIV, p. 37

3. It seems that there were five Pandyas actually ruling together from the most ancient times. The *Mahavanso*, ch 82, v. 23 speaks of the five fierce Tamil tyrants routed in open battle by Vatta Gamani of Ceylon in about 200 B. C. Cf. *The Mahavanso* (Translation of L. C. Wijesinha), p. 229; Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *New Dates on Pandya Kings, Ind. Ant.*, XLII, p. 166. According to the last Pandya ruler of Madura all the Pandyas of Tenkasi were illegitimate descendants of the former Pandyas. Cf. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 322.

4. *T. A. S. I.*, p. 104.

*nataka Governors* <sup>1</sup>. The Pandyas were in the fortified town of Kayatattur, and for some time successfully resisted the Madura army. Ariyanatha and the Palaiyakarans who were with him were defeated, and "they actually retreated in disgrace to Madura" <sup>2</sup>. Visvanatha himself then went in person with the rest of the army to meet those insurgents. The war was carried on for the space of six months, but the five Pandyas could not be reduced: "a great many men on both sides fell", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "and the lamentations of the families of the deceased, alike in the camp and the country around, being heard by Visvanatha Naicker, he reflected within himself how many families were absorbed in grief merely that he, a single person, might enjoy undisturbed prosperity; and, in consequence, wrote a letter to the five opponents, which he sent by a herald; of which letter the contents were the following:—

'You are five persons, and I am one: for our sakes so much grief and lamentation is caused. Let it not be thus; but, withdrawing the two armies and restraining all attacks, let a stone pillar be erected midway between both armies, and an agreement be written and placed in it; then advance and meet me alone in personal encounter; if I conquer you, than you must depart with nothing more than the garments you wear; relinquishing your countries with all treasure and appurtenances to me; and if I am conquered, than I give up to you, in like manner, my country and all my possessions. Let a solemn vow to this effect be made, and let the agreement be recorded in a copper-plate and placed on the stone pillar; after which we will engage in combat at its foot and decide the question between us".

The reply of the five Pandyas was as follows:—

"For you being one, to meet us five together, would not be equitable; but one from among us will come, and do you come and meet him".

The valiant Visvanatha did not want to be defeated by the chivalry of his five opponents; accordingly the Madura Sovereign answered to this effect:—

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 17.

2. *Genealogical Narrative of Appiya Nayak*, *Ibid.*, p. 108.



“ You, being five persons, are at the head of five countries, which I, being one person, have come in order to subjugate to myself alone ; and therefore it is quite right that all five of you should meet me at once.”

“ They however would not consent ”, adds the said *History*, “ but selecting the bravest of their number, clothed him in body armour, and mounting him on horseback, being duly furnished with a sword, they conducted him to the appointed arena of combat”.

The fight did not last long. When both Visvanatha and the Pandya champion were ready, the former invited the Pandya saying:—

“Do you strike first”.

The Pandya did so, but Visvanatha parried the blow with his sword. The Pandya then bade Visvanatha strike, but the Madura ruler declined, and three times bade the other strike. The Pandya champion did so. Then Visvanatha Nayaka, addressing his rival, said :—

“Now, for the rest, take good care”

And he “struck the king, cutting him into two pieces, falling to the ground”, says the *History*. \*

The victory of Visvanatha over the Pandyas was decisive<sup>1</sup>. The four kings gave their countries to the Madura Sovereign, according to the agreement, “and departed as emigrants, or solitary wanderers into other lands”<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, we hear no more about the institution of the Five Pandyas as in former times ; so we may suppose that the victory of Visvanatha marked the end of it. Nevertheless, the appointment of a member of the Pandya family as subordinate king in Tinnevely, was politically the best means

1. It is very strange that Wheeler, *History of India*, IV, pt. III, p. 574, in the *Hindu Annals compiled from the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, after saying that Visvanatha defeated and slew his Pandya opponent, states: “After this Visvanatha died upon the field of battle, and a monument was built to his memory”. It cannot but be a misunderstanding of the text, because the *Mityunjaya MSS.* state likewise that Visvanatha “conquered the five independent Princes of the South, who acknowledged :o earthly superior”. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 111.

2. Taylor, *o.c.*, p. 17-21.

to establish union between Tamilians and Telugus; and accordingly we find several Pandyas ruling at Tenkasi after this event. It was probably then that Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, the younger brother of Perumal Parakrama Pandya-deva, was crowned in 1553 "in the presence of the lord of the Universe at Tenkasi" <sup>1</sup>. He took on this occasion the title of Vira-vel, a title suggestive of a subordinate rank <sup>2</sup>, probably to the king of Madura. His son Ativirarama Pandya Alagan, who is mentioned together with Visvanatha in an inscription of 1558 <sup>3</sup>, also took on his coronation day, in about 1564, the name of Sivala-vel, <sup>4</sup> which has the same connotation. In their inscriptions there are no boasts like those of Perumal Parakrama Pandya-deva, whose defeat had been a good lesson for the Pandyas. Neither Vira-vel nor Sivala-vel thought any more of rebellion and war, but devoted themselves to poetry and literature. The former, according to the inscription of his coronation, "feeling that flower garlands would all fade away, put on a garland of verses in the *venba* metre sung in praise of him by the poets" <sup>5</sup>. Was this not a fruit of the experience of his brother Perumal Parakrama, whose glory and pride faded suddenly before the sword of Visvanatha Nayaka ?

4. In these and other affairs of administration Visvanatha was aided, no doubt, by the agents he had throughout his dominions. According to an inscription of 1550, one of these agents, named Uddandar, remitted certain taxes due to the king, for offering cakes daily to the God for the merit of Visvanatha <sup>6</sup>. According to another inscription at Kiranur (Madura) Kalahastiyappa Mudaliyar, Visvanatha's minister, granted the village of Kondarinji Karanur as a free gift to the Brahmins <sup>7</sup>. In the genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam, this chief is said to have exercised the office of fouzdar, or

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1. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 105.

2. *Ibid.*, and p. 57

3. 273 of 1908.

4. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation, *Ibid.*, p. 106.

5. *T. A. S.*, I, 105.

6. 609 of 1916.

military chief and collector of revenue, during the time of Visvanatha <sup>1</sup>.

His son, Krishnappa Nayaka, was also a great help to Visvanatha in the government of his state. He is often mentioned in the inscriptions of his father's reign. This fact proves the importance and influence of the Crown Prince at the court of Madura. According to an inscription of 1546, in the kitchen of the Bripadamba temple at Devikapuram, North Arcot, Surappa Nayaka made a gift of ghee to the temple for Krishnappa's merit<sup>2</sup>; in 1550 the latter is mentioned along with Chinna Bomma Nayaka<sup>3</sup>; in 1553 he granted a piece of land for worship and for repairs in the Tyagarajasvamin temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevely<sup>4</sup>; in 1555, his agent Ekambara Mudaliyar granted another piece of land for a flower garden of a temple<sup>5</sup>; and two gifts of land made by him in 1562 to some temple are also recorded<sup>6</sup>.

But the most efficient of his officers was his Dalavay and Pradhani, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, "his second in power", according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*<sup>7</sup>. His *Biographical Notice*, translated by Taylor, is full of marvellous accounts, but contains nevertheless several facts that appear historical. He came from the Kanjivaram district, according to the *Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*<sup>8</sup>, and was presented to the Emperor at Vijayanagara by Nagama Nayaka; later on, he aided Visvanatha in his campaign against his father<sup>9</sup>. The importance of Ariyanatha in Madura was so great, that an inscription of 1560 records the grant of twelve villages by Visvanatha, "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu" and "Mandaraputtaneri Ariya Nayaka Mudaliyar"<sup>10</sup>.

1. Rangacharya, II, p. 1023, 265-E.

2. 391 of 1912.

3. 417 of 1905.

4. 497 of 1916.

5. 530 of 1916.

6. 121 of 1894; 494 of 1916.

7. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 111.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

9. *Biographical Notice*, Taylor, *o. c.*, II, p. 113-5; *Royal Line of the Karnataka Lords*, *Ibid.*, p. 117.

10. Sewell, II, p. 2, 10.

5. In the meanwhile several events had taken place in the South. In the West, the king of Travancore had withheld the tribute due to Vijayanagara; and in the East the Portuguese, who had taken possession of the Fishery Coast to protect the Paravas, were becoming more and more firmly established. Visvanatha, in the first years of his reign, was engaged in the two-fold task of regulating the administration of his kingdom and subduing the rebellious chiefs of his dominions in the South. Hence he was unable to meet those new emergencies. In these circumstances Rama Raya thought it reasonable to send an army from the imperial court under a valiant general to defend the interests of the Empire, which were then at stake. Such was the origin and the purpose of the expedition of Rama Raya Vitthala to the South <sup>1</sup>.

It was formerly supposed that Vitthala was the son of the Regent Rama Raya himself <sup>2</sup>; but it has been proved that he was only his cousin <sup>3</sup>, and the son of Ramaraja Timmaya <sup>4</sup>. It seems that before his appointment in the South, he had held in Penukonda some kind of authority over that fort and city, in view of the fact that he remitted certain taxes there <sup>5</sup>. He was also, according to Mr. Rangacharya, the one who exempted the barbers from taxes in Namala Dinnah, Cuddapah <sup>6</sup>; but in the year 1543 he was appointed generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagara to conduct a great expedition to the South,

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1. Mr. Rangachari, *Ind. Ant.*, XI, III, p. 231, supposes another inroad of the Travancore king into the Pandya territory; but he does not notice that the inscription he points out as a proof of his statement is dated 1546 and Vitthala's expedition had taken place two years before. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 17, states also that the Travancore sovereign "had established himself so far successfully in the South that he held Kayal on the Fishery Coast in his possession and appointed a Viceroy", but he does not prove his statement. I think sufficient reason for such an expedition the fact that the tribute was not paid by Travancore.

2. Cf. for instance Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 229.

3. *M.E.R.*, 1911, p. 86; 1912, p. 82.

4. 250 of 1910.

5. 346 of 1901.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 601, 322.

having for its object a firm establishment of the authority of the Empire in its most distant corners <sup>1</sup>.

The first country that Vitthala invaded was Travancore. Its king was then Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Kerala Varma, alias Unni Kerala Varma, who had ascended the masnad a little earlier <sup>2</sup>. Visvanatha Nayaka offered Vitthala every facility for carrying out his enterprise, possibly gave him some detachments of his own army, and most probably himself joined the Vijayanagara troops; because it is recorded in the Tamil chronicles that Visvanatha subdued some chiefs of Travancore and levied tribute from them in the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara <sup>3</sup>: Fr. Bartoli and Fr. Sousa also mention the Madura Nayak at the head of this expedition <sup>4</sup>. Krishnappa, his son, was most likely in the expedition too; since he is described in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva as a man "who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadiraaja (Travancore) of the seven parts of his kingdom" <sup>5</sup>. With Vitthala also went to Travancore Prince Chinna Timma, his brother <sup>6</sup>, spoken of in the *Yadavabhyudaya Vyakhya*, as having planted a pillar of victory in token of his conquests in Travancore, near the moun-

1. 146 of 1896; *M.E.R.*, 1899-1900, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

2. Cf. S. Paramesvara Aiyar, *Travancore and Vijayanagar*, C.C.M., XXII, p. 188; Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297. St. Xavier in his letters calls him *Iniquitribirim* (*M.H.S.J.*, *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 314, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345 and 349), a name that clearly sounds like a corruption of Unni Kerala Varma. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p. 64, says *In quitribirim* "stands for Enakku Tamburan, meaning Our Prince. This is vulgar Tamil; but from the words of the Lord's Prayer in Tamil, which Francis gives in one of his letters, it appears that Francis spoke the vulgar Tamil of his fisher converts on the coast; and they, in their rude speech, would call the Maharaja Enakku Tamburan."

3. 17 of 1912. Cf. Nagam Aiyar, *o. e.*, p. 316.

4. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L'Asia*, I, p. 128; Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

6. 250 of 1910.

tains of Malaya (Malabar) <sup>1</sup>. He had been, it seems, governor of Chandragiri <sup>2</sup>. An inscription of Sadasiva of 1542, at Tindivanam, records the gift of a village for the merit of the Mahamandalesvara Ramaraja Chinna Timmayyadeva Maharaya <sup>3</sup>. Another inscription at Narasingapuram, Chingleput District, refers to a remission of taxes by a certain Sankara Nayaka Linganayaka, in 1545, for the merit of Chinna Timmayyadeva Maharaja <sup>4</sup>; this was done during the governorship of his brother over the South. Sadasiva Nayak of Keladi was likewise probably in this expedition; in the *Śvatattvaratnakara* he is said to have defeated the Keralas or people of the Malayalam country and to have planted a pillar of victory on the spot <sup>5</sup>. An inscription of Tiruvidaimarudur also mentions a Brahmin of this place named Tiruchchrambala Bhattan, who "joined Vitthala's army and continued to fight on his side from Anantasayanam in the South to Mudugal (Mudgal) in the North." After the war he was rewarded with two villages <sup>6</sup>.

After halting with his army at Madura, Vitthala set out for Travancore in the beginning of July accompanied by all these chiefs. Nagam Aiya says that St. Francis Xavier in one of his letters states that the army of Vitthala entered the territory of Travancore through the Aramboly (Aruvaymoli) pass <sup>7</sup>. I could not find this letter in the critical edition of that missionary's letters. This, however, seems to be the actual tradition in Travancore, that through that pass the army of Vitthala invaded the country. Fr. Sousa only says that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, that divide Travancore from the Coromandel Coast <sup>8</sup>.

1. Rangacharya, I, p. 402, 717.

2. 33 of 1905. Other records of Prince Chinna Timma will be found in Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 60 and 70; p 976, 608.

3. 250 of 1910.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 210.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

6. 140 of 1895.

7. Nagam Aiya, o. c., p. 297.

8. Sousa, o. c., p. 142. Fr. J. Mahe, S.J., Superior of St. Mary's High School, Madura, writes to me as follows: "I think Fr. Souza means

6. When news of this inroad reached Travancore, all the people grew extremely frightened, and a great number of the inhabitants of the villages of the South emigrated northwards carrying with them all their belongings. "I went *via* the Cape by land to visit these miserable Christians, who were coming, persecuted and plundered by the Badagas", says St. Francis Xavier, an eye-witness of these events; "it was indeed pitiful to see them; some had nothing to eat; others had become blind on account of their age and hardships; many were married men, and their wives brought forth their children while *en route*, and there were many other pitiful things; had you seen them you would, I am sure, have pitied them even more than myself. I ordered the poor people to assemble at Manapar (Manapadu)"<sup>1</sup>.

Unni Kerala Varma collected an army from all his dominions and was ready to encounter his enemies. When they were approaching the capital he was made aware of the fact that the Telugu army was not only more numerous but also more formidable than his own, on account of their cavalry and equipment. According to Fr. Sousa, the Brahmin Chronicles of Travancore relate that the King at this juncture called Xavier to where he was and asked him for help, since the independence of his kingdom was at stake. Perhaps the Sovereign expected to make an alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of St. Francis; but the holy missionary, who was engaged only in spiritual affairs, answered that the only help he was able to offer him were his prayers, since he was a missionary and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise.<sup>2</sup>

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that same pass in the passage (of Nagam Aiya) you refer to. That is the only way to Travancore on that side, with the way round by Cape Comorin. Across the hills of Papanasam, near Ambasamudram, there is a way which was probably in good use formerly, for there is there an old fort on the top of a high hill very visible from our property close by." This was likely the way followed by the army of Vitthala on this occasion. Cf. Ramanatha Ayyar, *The Aruvaymoli Pass or the Open Gateway of Travancore*, *J. I. H.*, IV. p. 19-20.

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapar, August 1st, 1544, *M.R.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 330.

2. Souza, o. c., p. 142-3.

In the meanwhile, Vitthala's army was advancing triumphantly through the Travancore country, and before it the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes to seek refuge in the forests. But when the army was only two leagues North of the village of Kottar<sup>1</sup>, the vanguard stopped suddenly, unable to take another step further. The officers who were in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on, and then they learnt the reason of that sudden halt. "A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us", they said, "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once"<sup>2</sup>. The officers of the army, and among them perhaps Visvanatha and Vitthala themselves, could realize then that the fact was true; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army, in gigantic form and dignified countenance,<sup>3</sup> barring the way to the capital. Such an order the valiant commander could not disobey, and accordingly the troops were ordered to retreat. Thus was Travancore saved from the invasion of the Vijayanagara army through the prayers and at the request of St. Francis Xavier<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Kottar, known to Ptolomy under the name of *Kottiare Metropolis*, and a town of importance in the Chola period, is a suburb of Nagircoil at present. Fr. P. Martin in a letter to Fr. Le Gobien, dated Camia Naioken Patty, June 1, 1700, records the tradition of fifty six years later that pointed out Kotate (Kottar) as the place where this event took place. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, III, p. 18.

2. These words are taken from the eldest testimonies of note 4, infra. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148, who relates the fact (as also does Fr. Souza), puts in the mouth of Xavier a short invective against the troops, which sounds more like one of the speeches of Livy's heroes than words of the sainted missionary.

3. These details are given by Souza, o. c., p. 143.

4. This fact, however extraordinary, cannot be denied by critical and impartial history. True, St. Xavier himself does not say a word of it; but this is his way in all his letters—never to mention a case which may be interpreted as a miracle or as something marvellous. But the authorities on whom our narration is based are too numerous and too weighty not to be admitted by impartial historians. We will enumerate them here:—

A. *Processus de sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii Faite Prim(a) e secund(a)*. Manuscript in the Archives of the Society of



7. It seems that when Unni Kerala Varma was informed by eye-witnesses of the retreat of the Vijayanagara troops at the command of Xavier, he had already set out from his capital Kalkulam, five leagues West of Kottar, and was ready with his army to meet the enemy at any moment. When subsequently the missionary reached the royal camp, the King himself proceeded to receive him and embraced him most affectionately; and after having thanked him, addressed him as follows:

“ They call me the Great King (Maharaja), but hereafter they will always call you the Great Father. ”

Jesus. This volume in folio contains the processes made in India on the life and miracles of Xavier for his beatification and canonization. The first part of the volume deals with processes made at Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malaca, in 1556 and 1557, at the request of the King of Portugal Joao III, by the local ecclesiastical authorities. In the process of Cochin the witness, Francisco Mansilhas, a Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, who had worked with Xavier both on the Coromandel Coast and in Travancore, gave evidence of the fact as narrated above. Considering that the process was held only twelve years after the event, his statement is of exceptional value. The same is declared by Thomas de Gouvea in the second part of the volume, which is a summary of the processes of Cochin, Tuticorin and Kalkulam made in 1616 and 1617.

B. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142-3. The authority of this work has already been declared. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

C. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 148. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

D. Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*, p. 31. See *Bibliographical Introduction*. Fr. Guzman gives a concise narration of the fact, but suggests that the invading army was of Moors (Muhammadans).

F. Bohours, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, p. 145-8.

G. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Campagna di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p. 128. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

H. Tursellini, *De Vita S. Francisci Xaverii*, l. II, c. XI, p. 109. This is one of the earliest Jesuit authors, who wrote towards the end of the 16th century; the first edition was published in 1594; his work is a compilation of the early traditions of the Society.

I. Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, II, 17. It also represents the early tradition of the Society of Jesus; its first edition appeared in 1600.

Accordingly, the King issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom commanding all his subjects to give that title to the Father in the future, and also to obey him as if he were

J. Acosta, *Rerum e Societate Jesu De rebus Indicis Commentarius*, p. 7.

K. Maffei, *Vita de S. Francisco Xaverio*, l. II, c. 2. Several other modern authors have admitted this fact:—

L. Brou, *Saint Francois Xavier*, I, p. 256.

M. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, I, p. 214.

N. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*. p. 64, regards this fact as a story: "The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him, is told in *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143". Neither in *Oriente Conquistado*, nor in any other of the above mentioned authorities mention is made of the crucifix in Xavier's hand. This is an invention of Mackenzie.

O. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 298, says as follows: "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger; a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand; and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore." The detail of the crucifix must have been taken from Mackenzie. The fact that no battle is mentioned in the Hindu inscriptions and poems between the forces of Vitthala and the Travancore army confirms also the extraordinary event narrated above. It was a war without a formal battle.

P. D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 130. The author, though an Anglican clergyman, says: "A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah's force inferior in number, went out to meet the invaders; but Xavier resolved, if possible, to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe and exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "I forbid you in the name of the living God, to pass further. Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace." Astounded by this apparition the superstitious multitude broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable it is not impossible; and there must be some foundation for it, as the Rajah, grateful for this heroic deed did all in his power to further the interests of Xavier and his mission".

Q. Astrain, *Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Asistencia de Espana*, I, p. 469-70. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

the person of the King himself<sup>1</sup>. Xavier does not mention these honours given by the Maharaja. But the extraordinary friendship between Unni Kerala Varma and Xavier which can be gathered from his letters abundantly proclaims the King's gratitude.

At the end of August, news was spread that a Portuguese had captured a servant of the King and brought him over to Tuticorin. Xavier in his letter to Mansilhas dated September 2nd, 1544, evinces his interest in ascertaining the truth of this fact, on account of his friendship with the King, who had just then kindly entertained another Jesuit Missionary, Fr. Francisco Coelho : and then he adds: "For God's sake write to the Captain (of Tuticorin) on behalf of myself, saying that I beg him most earnestly not to order nor permit, in any way that any injury be done to the Hindus who belong to the kingdom of the Great King, since they are such great friends of ours"<sup>2</sup>. On the 7th of the same month he wrote again to Mansilhas: "(Fr. Coelho) wrote to me besides that Iniquitriberim was sending me an *olla* through three or four of his servants, who being somewhat fatigued, were taking some rest in Manapar; and that by these *ollas* he requested me to go there to meet him, since he wishes to speak with me on certain points of great interest to him. Something else is written to me by Iniquitriberim, viz. that the Christians residing within his kingdom are quite safe, and he will always

R. S Parameswara Aiyar, l. c., p. 190.

S. Mr. S. A. Ramanantha Ayyar in his learned article on *The Aruvaymoli Pass*, l. c., p. 18, states that the retreat of Vitthala's army before Xavier "is perhaps reminiscent of a diplomatic mission, which this friend of the Travancore King 'Iniquitriberin' accomplished, and which stayed the punishing hand of the imperial Viceroy from committing much slaughter and shedding much innocent blood." We cannot support this view. The details given by the sources are so many and so characteristic that the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case.

1. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p. 127.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 2nd, 1544, *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 338.

protect them" <sup>1</sup>. It was not at all strange that Unni Kerala Varma should want to speak with Xavier on certain points of great interest to him, seeing that Xavier was the saviour of his kingdom.

This friendship with the King was used by Xavier to protect the poor people who had fled at the approach of the army of Vijayanagara and taken refuge in the rocky islands South of Cape Comorin. "I am going", he says, "with twenty boats of provisions to succour the Christians who are on the rocks near the Cape of Comorin. They fled from the Badagas, and are now dying of hunger and thirst" <sup>2</sup>.

8. But the war was not over. A treaty had to be made between Travancore and Vijayanagara. Unni-Kerala Varma was the first to send an ambassador to Vitthala to open pourparlers to establish peace firmly. Xavier took an active part in sending this envoy to the Telugu general at Tuticorin. "Iniquitriberim" says he in a letter of the 19th of August, "sends a Brahman along with a captain to make peace with this people. I do not know what they will do; they are at present here, and will soon leave by sea" <sup>3</sup>. Again he wrote on the following day to Mansilhas: "This Brahman now goes there with despatches for the Badagas

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichandur, September 7th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 343.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Virandapatnam, June 23rd, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 327. Cf. another letter from Xavier to the same of June 30th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 328. The text of the first is as follows: "Eu me parto para o Cabo de Comorim com vinte tones ou embarcacoens de mantimento a socorrer aquellos pobres christaos, que com medo dos badegas infieis, seus inimigos so meterao pelo mar, e estao dentro d'elle postoa pelas pedras e penedos do Cabo aosol, padecendo grandissima fome e sede e morrendo alguns com ella, que he para haver grandissima piedade." Both Souza, *o. c.*, p. 141, and Du Jarric, I, p. 144, were mistaken in placing this expedition of Xavier to the Christians of the Comorin Cape, after the invasion of the Fishery Coast; for it took place a little after, about the end of July or begining of August. After Souza and Du Jarric several authors have committed the same mistake. See for instance, *Historia Chronologica dos Prelados e Fundacoes Ecclesiasticas, O Gabinete Litterario dos Fontainhas*, I, p. 112.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 333.

and for their King Betermemal (Vitthala) <sup>1</sup>. For God's sake try to give him at once a boat to go to Tutycurim"<sup>2</sup>.

The making of this peace was by no means an easy task. At that time the army of Vitthala had invaded the Coromandel Coast, as we shall see later on; and the Vijayanagara General was busily engaged in subduing both the Portuguese and the Paravas. Then the terms of Travancore were perhaps not easily accepted by the powerful cousin of Rama Raya. This delay was perhaps the cause of the alarming rumours spread through Travancore in the month of September of the same year; rumours that we find echoed in one of Xavier's letters: "They say that Beterbemaο (Vitthala) is going full speed by sea to encounter king Iniquitriberim (Unni Kerala Varma) and to fight with him" <sup>3</sup>.

Peace was also delayed through the demise of Unni Kerala Varma, who must have died soon after the Vijayanagara invasion; for an inscription of his successor Bhutala Vira, of the year 1547, is found at Suchindram <sup>4</sup>. There is another inscription of his and of the same year in the Nelliappa temple at Tinnevely itself <sup>5</sup>. Mr. Rangachari believes that this inscription proves another inroad by Travancore into the old Pandya territory <sup>6</sup>; but it seems to us that these inscriptions may mark the date of the final peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara. The King of Travancore on the occasion went perhaps

1. Such is the name given by Xavier to the Viceroys vitthala, and this is the only place in which he is called king by him; in the other five cases in which he speaks of him, he calls him a captain. The spelling of the name is differently given in each case: Betebumar (*M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.,* 1, p. 340), Betimunal (*Ibid.*), Betermeal (*Ibid.*, p. 342), Beterbemaο (*Ibid.*, p. 344), Beterbemal (*Ibid.*, p. 944) besides the form given above.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 20th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 335.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 10th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 344.

4. Inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, Trivandrum. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 304.

5. 120 of 1894.

6. *Ind. Ant.* XLI, p. 231.

personally to Tinnevely to sign the treaty. By this treaty the district of Tinnevely was ceded for ever to Vijayanagara, which in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Finally the Travancore sovereign capitulated, and promised payment of an annual tribute; and moreover made arrangements for the celebration, in the Vishnu shrine at Suchindram, of the day of Rohini, the natal star of Vitthalesvara Maharayar<sup>1</sup>.

It was beyond doubt on this occasion that Rama Raya, the powerful Regent of the Empire, gave the Tiruvanidesa to Visvanatha as an amara-nayakam<sup>2</sup>.

Such was the end of the war with Travancore. One of the two objects Rama Raya had in sending Vitthala to the South was already attained.

9. As to the other, it seems that the Fishery Coast was invaded by the Badagas<sup>4</sup> even before the retreat of their

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1. Inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao of Trivandrum, l. c.

2. 64 of 1896.

3. 17 of 1912.

4. Badagas or Badugas is the name given by St. Xavier and the old Jesuit writers to the soldiers either of Madura or of Vijayanagara. This was another corruption of the name *Vaduquer*, northener, given to the Telugus because they came from the North. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297, says that St. Xavier in one of his letters dated March, 1544, describes the Badagas as 'tax gatherers' and 'lawless marauders'. But I could not find such a description among the letters of Xavier in their critical edition, *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I. The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier, quoted above, after describing the city of Vijayanagara, adds as follows: "These people, called Badagas, although having the same complexion and qualities as the rest of the people of India, are stronger and more powerful in war; because they are rich people and have much cavalry, and their behaviour is more showy than that of the others. And they have all the cities and villages surrounded with brick or stone walls, with bastions here and there as in our fortresses." *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I. p. 62. Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indivarum*, I. p. 144, describes the Badagas as follows: They are "wild and cruel people, naturally, fond of stealing, coming from Bisnaga, foes of everybody, but specially of Christians." This last note given by almost all the early Jesuit writers needs

army from Travancore. St. Francis Xavier informs us in a letter dated September 7th, 1544, that when he was at Trichendur, Tinnevely, in the beginning of June, of that year, he heard "of a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Betermeal (Vitthala), and they (*viz.* the insurgents) wanted likewise to capture the Christians of the Cape of Comorim"<sup>1</sup>, that is the Portuguese and the Paravas who were under them.

The latter, after returning from Cochin in 1532,<sup>2</sup> had received some slight instruction in the Christians faith and were baptized by Fr. Michael Vaz, Vicar General of India, and by several other priests who had come from Cochin<sup>3</sup>. Then the Portuguese established themselves in Manapadu, Punnei Kayal, Tuticorin and Vambar, and took over the civil and

some explanation, since it might be misunderstood. The Telugu soldiers and their generals had nothing against the Christians as Christians. Both the Nayaks of Madura and the Emperors of Vijayanagara tolerated and received respectfully into their capitals the Jesuit missionaries. The Telugu armies that invaded the Fishery Coast were so often sent against the Christians, because the latter had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and these had taken possessions of the Coast that belonged to Vijayanagara. Now Madura wanted to retain as her dominion that rich shore. The motive of this first invasion was a little different, as related above. These Badagas must not be confused with the agricultural caste of the Nilgiris, also called Badagas. Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 1, p. 62-124.

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7th, 1544, l. c. Xavier calls Christians of the Comorin Cape all the Christians of both Travancore and Coromandel.

2. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 9.

3. Souza, o. c., I, p. 130. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Satyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 13, supposes that St. Xavier converted the Paravas. Again the same is supposed in p. 123, note 43. I have been told that the Paravas themselves maintain they were converted by Xavier. Cf. Castets, *St. Francis Xavier's Indian Mission*, p. 7-12; Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p. 6. But it is historically evident that the majority of the Paravas were Christians from 1533 or 1534, when St. Xavier was not yet in India. Xavier went there

criminal jurisdiction of the whole of the coast. Their principal settlement was Punnei Kayal <sup>1</sup>.

On the 3rd of August, Xavier was sure that the army of Vitthala would overrun the Fishery Coast: "I sent one Father there", he writes from Manapadu to Mansilhas, "in order that the boats might be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion should offer itself; for I feel sure that they will attack and capture these your Christians" <sup>2</sup>. The first news of the invasion of the army of Vitthala reached Xavier's ears on August 19th, while at Manapadu. At the end of a letter written on that date he says: "I am given a letter of Guarim just now, in which he informs me that the Christians have fled to the forest, since the Badagas have robbed them of their property, stabbed two men, one a Christian and the other a Hindu" <sup>3</sup>. But most of the Paravas, embarking on their miserable boats, sought refuge in the small islands that face the Comorin Cape, leaving their country to the fury of their enemies. Those islands were inaccessible to the Madura soldiers on account of the frequent sand-banks separated by canals known only by the fishers of the coast. But this was certainly not an ideal place for the unfortunate refugees, from the lack of good drinkable water and of trees and vegetables of all kinds <sup>4</sup>. St. Xavier, in another letter of September 5th, tells us that Punnei

precisely to accomplish their instruction in the faith. In one of his letters, dated Tuticorin, October 28th, 1542, he says: "We are going through the villages of the Christians, who became Christians about eight years ago. There are no Portuguese in these places, because the soil is not fertile at all and very poor. When arriving at any of these villages, I baptized all the children who are not yet baptized; so I have baptized a great multitude of infants, *quid inter dextram and sinistram intersit ignorantes.*" *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav., I. p. 273.* The last remarks of Xavier show that the adults were already baptized at the time of his arrival.

1. Cf. *Tinnevely Manual*, p. 43.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 3rd, 1544, *ibid.*, p. 331. Cf. p. 332.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, *ibid.*, I, p. 333.

4. Souza, l. c.; Du Jarric, l. c.



Kayal was one of the cities attacked by the Badagas, while the house and boat of the Portuguese captain of the place were set on fire; and that the aforesaid captain fled to the islands with the rest of the inhabitants of the coast <sup>1</sup>. Tuticorin was also swept away by the Badagas <sup>2</sup> and was probably made the temporary residence of Vitthala, since the ambassador of Unni Kerala Varma was sent there <sup>3</sup>. In the two above-mentioned letters Xavier orders Mansilhas, who was instructing the Paravas in the North of the coast, to make a collection among the rich people of those places, to succour the poor Christians of the islands who were dying of hunger and thirst; he particularly urges him to carry there many casks full of water; the more, he says, the better. He was at Punney Kayal on August 21, and he wrote from there to Mansilhas that "the Badagas had left the place for Cabecate" <sup>4</sup>.

We are not aware how long the army of Vitthala stayed on the Coromandel Coast; both Souza and Du Jarric say it remained there quite a long time, though it never reached the villages of the North <sup>5</sup>. We suppose that one of the reasons why Vitthala retreated was the recovery of his brother-in-law, which took place, no doubt, before he returned to Madura.

10. After these two campaigns in Travancore and in Coromandel, Vitthala remained in the South for a period of about twelve years, until 1558, as Viceroy of the southern country <sup>6</sup>. According to an inscription at Koiladi, he "was granted the whole country", *viz.* the South, by Sadasiva <sup>7</sup>. We know of one of his inscriptions at this time in the old temple of Perumal at Madura itself, in which he is called Rama Raya

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 341.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 340.

3. Cf. above No. 8.

4. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Punnei Kayal, August 21st, 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 337.

5. Souza, l. c.; Du Jarric, l. c.

6. 129 of 1905; *M. E. R.*, 1899-1900, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

7. 273 of 1901.

Vittaladeva Maharaya <sup>1</sup>. His authority was acknowledged in the whole Madura kingdom as far as Coimbatore and the South of Salem District; for we know that the old Kongudesa was under his sway <sup>2</sup>, and he is said to have levied tribute even from Ceylon <sup>3</sup>.

The epigraphical records acquaint us with two of the officers of Vitthala during his governorship of the South. One was Ramappa Nayak, his agent at Kalakadu, in 1552 <sup>4</sup>; and the other was Timmapa Nayaka, son of Basavana Nayaka. This Basavana Nayaka, made three grants to the Kudal Alagar temple at Madura for the merit of Vitthala <sup>5</sup>. In fact Basavana himself is, in an inscription at Tirukkurungudi, Tinnevely, said to have been an officer of Vitthala <sup>6</sup>.

The relations between Visvanatha Nayak and the Viceroy Vitthala must have been those of cordial friendship and mutual understanding; but pending the discovery of new inscriptions this question remains without a satisfactory solution. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar supposes that Visvanatha and his son Krishnappa Nayaka were subordinate to Vitthala <sup>7</sup>; perhaps his statement is based on an inscription of 1550, in which Visvanatha is called the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raya Vitthalayadeva Maharaja, for whose merit he presents a gift of a *devadana* hold of land <sup>8</sup>. But this only proves the friendly relations between the two chiefs.

The sphere of action of Vitthala was quite different from that of Visvanatha. The latter, as a ruler, had to administer his kingdom, and occasionally to subdue the rebel Palaiyakarans or other chiefs under his authority. But the aim of Vitthala was to re-conquer Travancore and Coromandel for the

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1. Sewell, I, p. 292.

2. 5 and 27 of 1906.

3. 129 of 1905; *M.E.R.*, 1905, p. 60. The date 1536 is evidently wrong.

4. 428 of 1916; 129 of 1905.

5. 557, 558 and 559 of 1911.

6. Rangacharya, III, p. 1472, 237.

7. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 14.

8. 599 of 1916. In the inscription 721 of 1915 Visvanatha is again called the agent of Vitthala.

Empire. There was no need of subordination to each other. Each could fulfill his aims independently. Nevertheless Visvanatha helped Vitthala in his expedition against Travancore, as well as in some of the expeditions against Coromandel. The relations between Vitthala and Visvanatha may be compared to those between the Agent of the Governor General and the Raja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days. And perhaps not to interfere in the matters of Visvanatha's Government, Vitthala spent a great deal of time during his viceroyalty in the city of Trichinopoly<sup>1</sup>. An inscription of 1545 at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly, records that under the orders of Ramaraja Vitthalaraja, Timma, his younger brother, made a grant to the god on the said hill Ratnagiri<sup>2</sup>. Another of 1544 at Tiruvidaimarudur, Tanjore, refers to a gift of two villages to the Mahalingasvamin temple by Vitthala<sup>3</sup>. Again in 1546 he made another gift to the Ranganatha temple of Koviladi, Tanjore<sup>4</sup>. The action of the Viceroy over the the South was only opposed, as far as we know, by a young chief of the Chola country named Solaga, who became later on notorious for his cruelties<sup>5</sup>.

II. During the time of his governorship Vitthala led several attacks against the Portuguese and their protégés the Paravas on the Coromandel Coast. These expeditions have not been narrated hitherto by any author of Indian History. We now propose to fill up this gap with the information given in the old Jesuit chronicles and Portuguese histories<sup>6</sup>.

1. 273 of 1901.

2. 191 of 1914.

3. 140 of 1895.

4. 273 of 1901.

5. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c., note, doubts the identity of the Viceroy Vitthala Raja opposed by Solaga and the nephew of Rama Raya. Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 647, says that Solaga was eighty years old in 1597; hence he was thirty in 1547 during the viceroyalty of Vitthala over the South.

6. The sources consulted for the narration of the following raid of 1549 are these: Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 163-5; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 451-5; Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Soc. Jcsu*, I, p.

The Portuguese possessions on the Coromandel Coast extended as far as Rameswaram; and between one and two leagues away from this famous town, in the village of Vedalai<sup>1</sup> on the frontier of the kingdom of Marava, they built a mud fort in which there was always a small garrison under a captain. Correa informs us that the Governor of Cochin went to inspect the fortress of Beadala, (Vedalai) near the sand-banks of Chilao (Ceylon)<sup>2</sup>.

In the year 1549 there was at Vedalai a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one Joao Fernandes Correa whose rapacity provoked an attack from the Badagas. He dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rameswaram, perhaps the most celebrated in the whole of southern India. Thus the pilgrims had to pay toll to the Portuguese; in consequence of which the alms received by the Brahmans of the temple at Rameswaram went on dwindling day by day. Accordingly the Brahmans, who were as covetous as the Portuguese captain, appealed to Madura, probably through the Setupati of Ramnad who was in charge of the causeway leading to Rameswaram; and the result was the Badaga invasion.

We have no knowledge as to whether Vitthala came over again to attack this fort; but we do know that six thousand soldiers appeared suddenly before Vadalai<sup>3</sup>, among whom were some Muhammadans who easily made alliance with the Telugus against their former slaves. The Portuguese captain, seeing that it would be impossible to resist so large a force with such ammunition as he had, retreated towards the sea and

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145-6; *Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier, M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 137-8; *Chronicon Societatis Jesu, M. H. S. J.*, I, p. 470; Nieremberg, *Varones Ilustres de la Compania de Jesus*, II, p. 137-8. Other documents will also be cited in the course of our narrative.

1. Bedala or Beadala say the Jesuit Chroniclers. About the location of Vedalai see Dessal, *Ou a cte martyrise le Ven. Antoine Criminal Soc. Jesu.*

2. Correa, IV, 6, p. 324.

3. Fr. Alphonso Cypriani wrote from Sao Thome, December 3rd, 1549, that there were only 15 Portuguese in Vedalai against five or six hundred Badagas: *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, p. 86.

with his garrison sought refuge in the islands of the coast. A great number of Paravas did the same, but their small boats could not receive the whole population.

Fr. Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit, who had been appointed Superior of the missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast on St. Xavier's departure to Japan in May of the same year, was then in Rameswaram, instructing in the faith some Paravas who had been baptized shortly before<sup>1</sup>. On hearing that the Badagas were appoaching Vedalai, he fled there to protect his Christians. He transported many in their frail craft. He was invited to do the same; but refused to do so until every one of his flock had left the village. From the landing place he walked to the small chapel of St. Vincent where many of the Christians had taken refuge: but before reaching it he encountered two detachments of Telugu soldiers, who however did not molest him. Then a third detachment arrived; and one of the solders in the rear, a Muhammadan on horse-back, pierced his left side with a lance. The father fell down, but getting up after a while walked again towards the chapel. There he met some other soldiers who finally be-headed him and, raising his head on the top of a spike, placed it afterwards as a sign of their valour over the door of the chapel<sup>2</sup>. Some Paravas were also murdered on this

1. Souza, Du Jarric and others do not mention the name of this place; but the following authorities record that it was Ramanacor or Rameswaram: Annual letter of the Goa Mission announcing the murder of Fr. Criminali, dated Goa, June 19th, 1549, *Litterae Indiarum nunc primum editae* (Florentiae, 1877), XXIV, para 15; Letter from the Bishop of Goa to the Queen of Portugal, Goa, October 25th, 1549, Massara, *Del P. Antonio Criminali* (Parma 1899); Letter from Fr. A. Gomez, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa to the King of Portugal, *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXII, p. 102; *Chronicon S. J., M.H.S.J.*, I, p. 470. Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 627; Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis*, p. 212-4.

2. The Dutch traveller Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 245, relates likewise the tragic death of this missionary. He says that the head and garments of Criminali were at last triumphantly carried by the soldiers to their temple at Trichendur. Fr. Criminali is supposed to be the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus. Certainly he

occasion, and others reduced to captivity. The chapel as well as the fort was razed to the ground, and the trench dug by the captain was filled up. The Jesuit chronicles conclude their account by saying that the soldiers went finally to Rameswaram to pay a visit to the temple. Probably on account of this and other similar expeditions, we read in the *History of the Karnataka Governors* that Visvanatha protected the pilgrims who used to go to Rameswaram <sup>1</sup>.

12. But two years later, at the end of 1551, peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Vitthala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle; but the Paravas, appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp after some days, succeeded in rescuing him. This valiant action of the Christians provoked another incursion of the Badagas. On reaching the sea-shore, they saw only the rafts of the Paravas at a distance carrying with them the Portuguese Jesuit, who died soon after as a result of the hardships of his captivity <sup>2</sup>.

At this time, however, it appears evident that quite a good number of villages of the Fishery Coast, if not all, had promised to pay an annual tribute to the Nayak of Madura to obtain freedom from future molestation by occasional incursions <sup>3</sup>. This tribute consisted in the catch of

died for the sake of the Christians, but it seems that the reason of his murder was not hatred of the Christian faith. These expeditions of the Badagas had a political reason; and beyond doubt his murderers supposed that he was one of the paranguis or Portuguese, against whom they were waging war. Those remarks are not calculated to detract in any way from the virtue of Crimali. St. Xavier, writing to St. Ignatius from Cochin, on January 14th, 1549, described him as follows: "Antonio Crimali is now in Comorin with six others belonging to the Society. He is a holy man indeed, believe me, and just born to be the apostle of this country. I beg you to send here many like him, of whom you have plenty there, I am sure". *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 482-3.

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.

2. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 174; Du Jarric, I, p. 459.

3. Souza, *o. c.*, p. 175.

one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would amount to about ten thousand *pardaos* <sup>1</sup>.

Now it happened in the year 1552 that one of the nobles of the kingdom of Travancore, with a strong detachment of soldiers, invaded several villages of the South of Coromandel near Cape Comorim, pillaging the poor villages and capturing some of them. The rest of the inhabitants, who were all Christians, appealed to the Nayak of Madura, their protector; this was naturally an inducement to Visvanatha, who accordingly, proceeded at once with his army against the villages belonging to the Malayalam noble, entered them by surprise and ravaged them. On hearing this the Travancore Maharaja became furious; and since he could not oppose the forces of Madura, joined forces with Vitthala and overpowered the poor Christians of the villages who had appealed to Visvanatha. The combined army arrived in the silence of the night, and a great slaughter of people took place before dawn; one of the victims was a Portuguese Missionary, Luis Mendez, a Lay Brother of the Society <sup>2</sup>.

13. But Vitthala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of Coromandel; the Portuguese were still the lords of the pearl fisheries and were practically in possession of the whole country. His object was to crush them completely. And since on former occasions they had always escaped by sea, he made an alliance with a Muhammadan pirate named Irapali (...Ali), a subject of the Zamorim of Calicut; so that now, while the Muhammadans attacked the Coast by sea, Visvanatha Nayak with the Telugu troops would attack the Portuguese by land <sup>3</sup>. The place for launching the assault was Punney Kayal, the capital of the Portuguese settlements of the Fishery Coast, with a garrison of 50 soldiers <sup>4</sup> under captain Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho.

1. Couto, VII, p. 249.

2. Souza, o. c., p. 175; Du Jarric, o. c., p. 459.

3. No mention is made here of Vitthala. I am inclined to believe that the appellation 'Vichuva, Capitao dos Badagas' must refer to Visvanatha Nayaka, because this chief is called Vizuva Naiche by Fr Bartoli, *Dell, Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, VII, p. 161. Cf. *infra* No. 16.

4. Seventy, according to Couto and Faria y Souza.

Accordingly at the end of June of the year 1553, the Muslim fleet took up a position in front of the Coromandel Coast ; it was composed of some galleons and forty sloops. A small village called Mugel, formed just a year before, was the first to be attacked ; twenty fishing boats and many Paravas were captured. From there they went straight to Punny Kayal; and on the first of May five hundred Muhammadan soldiers landed on the shore but were valiantly repulsed by the fifty soldiers of the place. The standard-bearer, one Antonio Franco de Gusmao, attacked the standard-bearer of the Muhammadans, an Abyssinian soldier, and after capturing his standard killed him on the spot. On seeing the defeat of his detachment the Muslim chief who was on board his galleon came with reinforcements. But the Portuguese soldiers considered themselves unable to resist the horde of Muhammadan combatants who numbered fifteen hundred. Almost all the Portuguese retreated. But Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, their captain, left alone with seventeen of his men, stood where he was till he was convinced by his men that he ought to retreat to the town, where behind the brick walls of the fort they could better resist the attack of the enemies. They did so ; but on reaching the town, were all captured by the soldiers of Vitthala, while the Muhammadans took possession of the town itself together with the fort. Irapali issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast announcing the end of the Portuguese rule, and inviting all to become the disciples of the Prophet unless they preferred to feel the edge of the Muhammadan sword.

When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of that settlement resolved to avenge the offence to the Christian name and the national honour. Gil Fernandez de Carvalho offered to lead the forces against the Muslims. He was given a huge galliot, three lighters and one sloop. After three days, with one hundred and seventy men, they left Cochin and arrived before Punney Kayal where the Muhammadan fleet was lying a little to the north at Calecare. They went there, but could not cross the sand-bank at the mouth of the harbour owing to an unfavourable wind ; one of the lighters, however, commanded by Lourenco Coelho, attempted to cross



and ran aground. As soon as the Muhammadans who were anchored between the sand-bank and the shore saw this, they surrounded the boat and a great fight ensued. This lasted the whole day, the Portuguese being determined not to surrender to the enemy; by evening all of them had been slaughtered, and many of the Muhammadans had likewise perished, among them Irapali himself.

This unfortunate action took place within sight of the Portuguese Commander, who could not go to Lourenco Coelho's assistance on account of the wind. Accordingly he retreated to a small neighbouring island, where he found another Portuguese boat going to Negapatam which made up for the loss of the first. Then an envoy of a Marava chieftain reached the place, and promised Gil Fernandez to attack the Muhammadans at Calecare while the Portuguese attacked them by sea. After a few days the wind changed; and on the fifteenth of May in the morning the two fleets met before Calecare. The Muslim forces outnumbered the Portuguese, but by evening all the Muhammadan galliots had been captured by the valiant Portuguese. Not a few of the followers of the late Irapali escaped by swimming; but the Marava chief, who was on the lookout, slaughtered many while the Portuguese took the rest.

After this glorious victory Gil Fernandez at once opened pourparlers with Vitthala for the rescue of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children, the fifty soldiers of the garrison and the Jesuit Father Enrique Enriquez, who happened to be at Punney Kayal at the time of the combined invasion of Vitthala and Irapali. A hundred thousand fanams were demanded as a ransom for Captain Coutinho and his family. Gil Fernandez found himself unable to accede to this; so he sent a secret message (through a Muhammadan of great influence who was a very good friend of the Portuguese) to Rama Raya at Vijayanagara asking for the favour of the captive's liberty. An order finally came to Vitthala to hand over the captives to Gil Fernandez. This was done in Tuticorin; Vitthala however demanded from Captain Coutinho the sum of a thousand

pardaos, which were partly given by the Christians of the Coast <sup>1</sup>.

14. It was probably after this expedition that the whole of the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Nayak of Madura; for we do not read of any other inroad of Vitthala on the Coast of Coromandel. On the other hand we know that in the year 1558 Vitthala led another attack into the kingdom of Travancore; probably because its King, who was still Rama Varma, had again refused to pay his annual tribute.

The Vijayanagara general invaded the Travancore territory with an army of six thousand soldiers. The Travancore sovereign was not able to oppose this force, since his own army consisted at most of a thousand soldiers. Rama Varma despatched an envoy to Fr. F. Perez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who was the Superior of the Travancore missions and resided at Calculam (Kalkulam), begging him to pray much to God for the success of his army. Fr. Perez promised to do so, and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted; at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army, and that while engaging in battle all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done, and the Telugu soldiers, on hearing the roar, retreated panic-stricken and were pursued by the Malayalams who slaughtered many of them <sup>2</sup>.

Fr. Souza says that this standard was afterwards kept in the Royal Treasury, and at the end of his narrative makes the following remark: "I do not say anything else

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1. Sousa, o. c., p. 177-80; Du Jarric, o. c., 459-60; Couto, VI, pt. 2, p. 456-65; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 270-1; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 719; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, VII, p. 143-6; Laftau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 522-4.

2. This fact may be explained naturally. Fr. Sousa supposes it to be a miracle. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J., St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling, who travelled through Travancore in 1924, informs me that this banner cannot be found in the Maharaja's treasury, but the Syro-Christians of Travancore keep the tradition of this victory won under the banner of the name of Jesus to this day.

on this Kingdom, because I have found nothing else in the MSS" <sup>1</sup>.

15. Was Vitthala killed in this retreat of his army from Travancore? We are not aware of it; we only know that no other mention of Rama Raya's cousin is made either in the Hindu inscriptions or in the western chronicles. Anyhow this year, 1558, marks the end of his governorship in the South <sup>2</sup>.

Vitthala's aim was only partly attained. The defeat of his army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom. As to the Fishery Coast, the Portuguese remained there as powerful as ever; the only point conceded was the annual tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Madura Nayak, but the Paravas did not acknowledge any lords other than the Portuguese; if they paid such tribute to Madura it was only in order to get rid of the incursions of the Telugus on to their own shores. Caesar Frederick, who passed through the Fishery Coast in about 1567, says that "the Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey; and who so will may go to fishing, paying a certain dutie to the King of Portugall, and the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paul (Jesuits) which are in that Coast" <sup>3</sup>. The Vijayanagara General had therefore not yet succeeded in gaining supreme power.

Although the success of the expedition of Vitthala was not so great, still apparently on account of this campaign Rama Raya is flattered in the *Ramarajiyamu*, with the title of 'Planter of Pillars of victory at Cape Comorin and on the banks of the Bhima' <sup>4</sup>.

16. The end of the viceroyalty of Vittala was not the end of their troubles for the Paravas of the Fishery Coast; because in the year 1560 Visvanatha, the Nayak of Madura, again invaded the country, demanding the catch of two days' fishing

1. Souza, o. c., p. 188.

2. According to Souza, o. c., p. 193, Vichuva (Vitthala) was still in the South in 1560. But his account on this occasion is not trustworthy, as contradictory to other Portuguese sources.

3. Purchas, X, p. 105.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.

as the tribute due to him. The vanguard of his army, headed by a Deccani captain named Melrao, reached Punney Kayal some day in the month of August, early in the morning. They set fire to all the houses they could. But it happened that at the time there was in Punney Kayal a strong detachment of soldiers, who had come to the Fishery Coast some days before under the command of Dom Duarte de Menezes, a Portuguese noble. On learning the cause of the revolt, Dom Duarte immediately proceeded with his forty soldiers to encounter Melrao and his army. The fight was long and indecisive. Meanwhile the whole population was able to take refuge in the mud fort which overlooked the river. Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho, who was still the captain of the fort, set out to drive the enemies out of the town. They were on the point of succeeding in this enterprise. For Dom Duarte de Menezes had gallantly killed Melrao and had put to flight the rest of his enemies. But just then the main body of the army commanded by Visvanatha Nayaka himself appeared on the scene <sup>1</sup>.

Neither Menezes nor Coutinho were able to resist the enemy, and so started a slow retreat towards the fort, which was reached by Coutinho after he was wounded. Then at high-tide all the women and children were embarked on several sloops that came up the river near which the fort was built. Finally, as the fort was very weak and the enemies very numerous, it was decided to surrender it; accordingly all the men boarded a sloop and Coutinho surrendered the fort before he embarked. But the tide being on the ebb, so that no ships could sail away, all were captured by Visvanatha after a stout resistance. Thereupon the whole town was sacked and destroyed.

A fortnight of captivity followed. When this was over Coutinho proposed to the Madura Nayak to pay a thousand fanams as every one's ransom. Visvanatha agreed, and accordingly all were set free, excepting the Jesuit Missionary Fr. Joao de Mesquita, who was retained as hostage, while Coutinho was to visit Tuticorin to collect the price of their liberty. In the meantime, an opportunity for escape offering itself, Fr. Mes-

1. Couto and Faria y Sousa call him *Bisminaique*.

quita took advantage of it and finally reached Tuticorin safe and sound <sup>1</sup>.

We hear no more of Visvanatha's expeditions against the Paravas and the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast. From this we may conclude that Coutinho finally paid the price agreed upon, and that perhaps even the Paravas consented to pay him the catch of two days' fishing, as demanded. Moreover at the end of the same year the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, built a fortress on the opposite island of Manar, to which the inhabitants of Punney Kayal were transferred, in order to secure them against the incursions of Visvanatha Nayaka <sup>2</sup>. The Madura ruler vainly tried to impede the realization of the Viceroy's scheme. <sup>3</sup> In 1597, Fr. Nicolao Pimenta visited this new settlement: "We passed that Cape (of Rameswaram)", he writes to Fr. General C. Aquaviva, "and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the Ilc Manare, and having visited the Churches in the Island, passed the River and went by land to the Pearle-fishing" <sup>4</sup>. At the end of the century the fortress built in Manar was in a ruinous state. It was restored and fortified again through the diligence of the Jesuits working among the Christian Paravas of the Fishery Coast <sup>5</sup>. The Dutch traveller John Nieuhoff, who passed through Manar in 1662, says that "this city as well as its castle call'd Ragu acknowledge the Portuguese for its founders, the castle being built for their better security against the attempts of the Naik or Nayk, lord of the circumjacent country" <sup>6</sup>.

17. This was perhaps the last campaign of this valiant general. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* inform us that during his life-time he caused his son Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka to be anointed <sup>7</sup>.

1. Couto, VII, p. 249-55; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 343-4; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia de Gesu, L'Asia*, VII, p. 160-2. 164-5.

2. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 348.

3. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 318.

4. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 207.

5. From King Philip III to the Viceroy, Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601, Ap. B, No. XX.

6. Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*. p. 199.

7. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 117. Cf. 121 of 1894.

The latter's wife was Lakshamma,<sup>1</sup> or Lakshmyambika<sup>2</sup>. We do not know exactly the date of this memorable event in the history of Madura which marks the end of the reign of the Nayak founder. Mr. Rangachari places the accession of Kumara Krishnappa in 1562<sup>3</sup>; but according to Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar the date 11th of Tai, Rudhirodgari corresponds approximately to the 25th of January, 1564<sup>4</sup>. Anyhow it seems quite certain that Visvanatha's demise occurred shortly after the coronation of his son; so much so that there are suspicions that the anointing of Krishnappa took place at the death bed of his father. Hence we are inclined to believe that Visvanatha's renunciation occurred in 1563, since the first inscription we know of the reign of Krishnappa corresponds also to this date<sup>5</sup>.

The founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura proved a valiant warrior and a skilful administrator. The Palaiyakan system was developed by him in the South. This system, though somewhat defective as fomenting ambitions and weakening the central power, was nevertheless a definite progressive step towards the modern federation of states. In this respect Visvanatha Nayaka's administrative system was far in advance of his age. In his rule he was energetic and practical; he is called "the best skilled in putting down disputes": in his presence Timmappa Nayaka, the King's agent, settled some disputes between the two parties of the inhabitants of Kondakai<sup>6</sup>.

Knowing that agriculture is one of the best sources of wealth, Visvanatha fostered it with great interest by the creation of extensive water-courses which he ordered to be

1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 67-79.

2. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 60-61; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 320, vv. 53-98.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 81.

4. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68.

5. 17 of 1912. Sewell, II, p. 201, thinks that Visvanatha died in December, 1563.

6. Burgess, p. 108-9; Rangacharya, II, p. 1177, 166.

opened in Madura <sup>1</sup>, in Trichinopoly <sup>2</sup>, and in Tinnevely <sup>3</sup>; and in this way the rivers communicated with the fields. Thus he fertilized extensive districts <sup>4</sup> and laid out new fields for tillage and brought new inhabitants to cultivate them <sup>5</sup>. His interest in the progress of agriculture is also shown by the fact that he once dispatched his minister Ariyanatha to inspect the agricultural improvements of the District of Tinnevely <sup>6</sup>. The progress in agriculture increased the number of inhabitants; hence many new villages were built by Visvanatha's order in these three districts, while the old ones were repaired and beautified <sup>7</sup>.

Hinduism was also fostered by "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu", as he is called in a grant of 1560 <sup>8</sup>. Visvanatha was a very staunch Hindu who carried from Vijayanagara to Madura the statue of the goddess Durga, and as soon as he reached his capital, restored and enlarged its temple. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* informs us that he also built the temple of Srirangam <sup>9</sup>; but since we know that Srirangam already existed before the conquest of Visvanatha <sup>10</sup>, this must have reference to the enlargements carried out by his order. As a matter of fact, the *Srirangam-Koyil-olugu* records that Visvanatha made to the god Ranganatha gifts of several golden vessels, costly ornaments and pieces of land to the extent of three lakhs of pons <sup>11</sup>. The *Tiruppanimalai* also mentions several of his gifts to the god Sundaesvara of Madura <sup>12</sup>. Moreover he erected many new temples in

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, p. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 15, 17, and 21.

8. Sewell, II, p. 2, 10.

9. Taylor, o. c., p. 17.

10. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

11. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305.

12. *Ibid.*

Tinnevelly <sup>1</sup> and in other parts of his dominions, and along with them the usual mandapams and connected places <sup>2</sup>. Similarly in many parts of his dominions he built agraharams or Brahman streets <sup>3</sup>.

We know also of a grant made by him for the religious service of a mosque: in 1560 he gave a plot of land in the Ramnad District to Mullamakudam Mullaperoja (Mullha Pheroz?) for the maintenance and lighting of a mosque for the use of fakirs <sup>4</sup>.

As to Visvanatha's attitude towards the Empire, he was always as faithful a subject of the Vijayanagara Emperor, as when he went to wage war against his father. In 1535, during his first viceroyalty, he is called an officer of Achyuta <sup>5</sup>; and though already a king, he calls himself 'the agent of Sadasiva' <sup>6</sup>. In 1558 he is called also 'the agent of Ramarajadeva Maharaja' <sup>7</sup>. In 1560 he makes a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of the same Aliya Ramarajayyan <sup>8</sup>. In 1561 an inscription records a gift of his son Krishnappa Nayaka to the Tinnevelly temple and mentions the same Rama Raya <sup>9</sup>. From all these inscriptions and grants we know that Visvanatha's relations with the Empire were those of a faithful tributary king to his overlord.

The fact that Visvanatha struck coins in his own name <sup>10</sup> does not prove that he ever broke allegiance with the Emperor; since all the provincial rulers of the Empire had independent coinage, as it is testified by Frederick in his travels

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o.c., p. 21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15, 17, and 21.

4. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 28.

5. 113 of 1908; *M.E.R.*, 1909, p. 119

6. Burges, p. 108-9.

7. 385 of 1916.

8. 622 of 1915.

9. 28 of 1894.

10. Cf. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins, Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 325, Nos 14-16.



through South India <sup>1</sup>. Nor is it to be supposed that the development of the Palaiyam administrative system was intended to create a new empire in the South which would rival one day the empire of the North. Such ambitious intentions were far from Visvanatha's mind. We must admit, however, that Visvanatha's system of government paved the way for the future rebellions of some of his successors, and was responsible for the treason of Tirumala Nayaka.

18. The first trouble proceeding from this system arose shortly after Visvanatha's death in the beginning of Krishnappa's reign. One of the Palaiyakarans, a certain Tumbichchi Nayaka, an old man of great influence (as is shown by his being mentioned along with the Emperor Achyuta in an inscription of Ramnad <sup>2</sup>), rebelled against the Madura Nayak, captured several towns for himself and built a fort which he called Parambai-kudi (Paramakudi). Krishnappa Nayaka could not at this juncture make use of the services of his minister and general Ariyanatha, who had gone northwards to assist the Empire against the Muhammadans <sup>3</sup>. But with great speed he himself marched against the rebel, overthrew him in battle, took possession of the whole of his country, and put Tumbichchi to death. Then two of the sons of the rebel chief appeared before Krishnappa, and kneeling down at his feet implored his clemency: the Nayak gave them the fort of Paramakudi together with the adjoining pettah, and some villages around which constituted a small Palaiyam, and appropriated to himself the whole of Tumbichchi's territory <sup>4</sup>.

Not long after this Krishnappa was obliged to wage another war in Ceylon against the King of Kandy, probably to exact the tribute he refused to pay to the Empire <sup>5</sup>. The

1. Purchas, X, p. 99.

2. 398 of 1907.

3. Cf. Ch. IX, No. 3.

4. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o. c., p. 23; *Singhala dwipa Raja Ratha*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 278; this work erroneously calls Tumbi Nayaka king of Ceylon.

5. This was the real cause of the war, not the bitter words of the king of Kandy against Krishnappa on the occasion of Tumbi-

*Singhala dvipa Catha* states that the Madura Nayak along with fifty-two of his Palaiyakarans embarked for Ceylon at Navapashana and landed at Manar. Before invading the Kandy territory Krishnappa sent a conciliatory message to the King demanding his tribute. But Jayawira the Sinhalese Sovereign rejected it, and despatched an army of forty thousand men under four ministers and eight governors to oppose the invaders. The two armies met at Puttalam, where the army of Kandy was defeated and routed by the general Chinna Kesava Nayaka with twenty thousand men. Among the prisoners there were two ministers, five chieftains and other influential people of Ceylon. The poem says that these captives in vain urged their King to yield. But the Kandy sovereign, collecting an army of sixty thousand Sinhalese and ten thousand Kaffirs (Portuguese?), marched against the Madura King. In the bloody struggle that ensued eight thousand Kaffirs and about as many Sinhalese were slaughtered, while the King of Kandy himself lost his life in the engagement. His corpse was taken with due honours to his capital <sup>1</sup>.

Krishnappa Nayaka could not remain long in Ceylon, since the administration of his kingdom required his presence in the capital. The poem upon which we base our account says that he remained in Kandy only three days. He treated the family of the deceased King with great kindness and sent them to Aurangam, the old capital of Ceylon; and, after appointing his brother-in-law, Vijaya Gopala Nayaka, his Viceroy in Ceylon, returned to Madura <sup>2</sup>. This appointment was doubtless only temporary, as we do not hear of any subsequent vicerealty. Vijaya Gopala's purpose was to arrange the chchi's execution. Visvanatha Nayaka had also waged war in Ceylon. Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa, writing to King Joao III on the 6th of December, 1546, mentions this war made by the Madure, *vis. de* Nayak of Madura, then Visvanatha Nayaka, against the King of Conde (Kandy). Castro sent forty soldiers to protect the latter against the incursions of the Nayak. *Obras Varias Manuscriptas*, fol. 113. I could not find any other trace of this war.

1. No mention is made of this defeat in the Ceylon chronicles. The numbers of combatants are, no doubt, exaggerated.

2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III p. 183-6.

administration of the country and to procure the regular payment of the tribute.

This conquest of Ceylon was probably the last important event of the South during the reign of Sadasiva. His inscription of 1564, in which he records having plundered Ceylon, refers probably to the expedition of Krishnappa Nayaka<sup>1</sup>. In the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, he is said to have "acquired the overlordship of the South"<sup>2</sup>, a title which he deserved on account of these two successful wars.

1. 451 of 1905. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320, vv. 53—98.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, JINJI AND IKERI, THE RAJAS OF MYSORE AND OTHER FEUDATORY CHIEFS

**SUMMARY.**—1. Foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore.—2. Sevvappa Nayaka's reign.—3. Foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji.—4. Foundation of the Nayakship of Keladi-Ikeri.—5. Sadasiva Nayaka and his successors.—6. The Rajas of Mysore.—7. Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka. Foundation of Bangalore.—8. The chiefs of Bellur and Chitaldroog.—9. The kingdom of Honavar annexed to that of Bhatkal.—10. Treaty between the Portuguese and the Queen of Bhatkal.—11. Bukkadēvi, Queen of Ullal, and the Portuguese. Erection of a Portuguese fort at Mangalore. Other petty states in Karnataka.—12. The Rajas of Udiripikonda, Venkatagiri and Vellore.—13. Other minor chiefs.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra, Rukmini-parinaya, Sahithyaruthna-karakaviyam, Jaimini Bharatamu, Keladi Raya Paditti, Sivattavaratnakara, Keladi Arasu Vamsavali, Valugutivaru Vamsavali.*—3. *Tratados (Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon).*—4. Faria y Sousa, Barros.—5. C. Frederick.

It is not yet known for certain when the Chola kingdom of Tanjore first came under the subjection of Vijayanagara. It seems that Prince Kumara Kampana Odeyar conquered the Tanjore territories when sent against the Muhammadans of Madura by Bukka I<sup>1</sup>. Since that time the Chola Princes were supposed to be under the sway of the Telugu Emperors in the same way as the Pandyas of Madura. On the southern wall of the big temple of Tanjore there is an inscription of Deva Raya II, of the year 1455<sup>2</sup>, and in two other temples of the same city, *viz.* that of the Alagesuvara Pillaiyar, in the southern fortification, and that of the god Rajagopal in the North Street, are to be seen two inscriptions of Achyuta Raya corresponding to the years 1532 and 1539 respectively<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

2. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 118.

3. Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayak Princes*, p. 1.

It is precisely this Prince to whom the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore is attributed. According to the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, the Chola country was ruled by Visvanatha Nayaka from Madura as a subordinate of the Emperor of Vijayanagara; but on the occasion of the wedding of Murtimambal (the younger sister of his wife Tirumalamba) with Sevvappa, Achyuta appointed the latter sole Viceroy over the Chola country, which was given him as the *stridhana*, or dowry of his bride<sup>1</sup>. The date of this important event is not yet ascertained: the first inscription of his that we know of is on a stone pillar in the Samusaru mosque, near the Tanjore Railway Station; it corresponds to the year 1549<sup>2</sup>. But this was not the first year of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, for Achyuta Raya had probably died at the end of 1541. Now, we know from the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* that Tanjore was governed by Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, even after the death of Chandra Sekhara Pandya when the former had already been appointed King of the southern throne<sup>3</sup> (and this could not but have happened at the end of Achyuta's reign<sup>4</sup>). Hence we must assign the same year 1541 as the probable date for the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship.

According to the epic *Rukmini-parinaya*, the parents of Sevvappa Nayaka were the sudra Timma or Trimmapa Nayaka and Vayyamba<sup>5</sup> or Bayyambika<sup>6</sup>. It seems that Sevvappa's father and grandfather and other elders of his family were generals under the kings of Vijayanagara<sup>7</sup>, and that he himself had been a valiant general; for the epic *Sahithya-rathnakarakaviyam* states that he became master of Tanjore by his own prowess<sup>8</sup>, *i. e.* by his prowess he won Achyuta's sister-in-law, and with her the kingdom of Tanjore as her dowry.

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 323; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p. 176.

2. Cf. Kuppaswami Sastri, *o. c.*, p. 4.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *l. c.*

4. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 1.

5. *Rukmini-parinaya*, III, 34. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343, note 3.

6. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 284-5.

7. Cf. Kuppaswami Sastri, *o. c.*, p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*

2. We know very little of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, who was equally subject to Vijayanagara with Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura. His works of public utility are about the only things regarding which we have any information. He built for instance a big tank outside the Tanjore fort which was destined to feed the Sivaganga tank inside it, in order to supply the inhabitants of the capital with water <sup>1</sup>. The name it bears to the present day reminds the one of its builder : it is called Sevvappaneri. The new Sivaganga fort of Tanjore was also built by him <sup>2</sup>. Besides he enlarged and beautified many temples throughout his dominions. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* records that Sevvappa built many towers, mantapas and prakaras (compounds) to the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Vrddhachalam <sup>3</sup>. The *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam* mentions a big tank dug by him outside the temple of Tiruvannamalai as well as the eleven-storeyed gopura of the same temple <sup>4</sup>. A strange fact is that in 1549 he granted a piece of land for the maintenance of fakirs. This is recorded in the inscription of the aforesaid Samusaru Mosque at Tanjore <sup>5</sup>.

The relations of Sevvappa with the Portuguese were very friendly. Several Portuguese merchants had in the beginning of his reign, or perhaps even earlier, settled in a small village on the coast near Tanjore called Nagapatam. To quote from the anonymous life of St. Xavier, "they were greatly favoured by the lord of that country who is a very powerful Captain of the king of Bisnaga" <sup>6</sup>. Encouraged by this show of favour, more and more Portuguese established themselves there as years went on. They built several

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1. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam*, canto III, v. 3 (Raja Sarfoji's Library, Tanjore, No. 10291); *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 323.

2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, l. c.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam*, canto III, v. 6.

5. Kuppaswami Sastri, o.c., p. 4.

6. *M. H. S. I., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 59. This powerful lord can be no other than Sevvappa Nayaka, who was the contemporary of St. Xavier.

good houses, and the former village was converted into 'half a city'. There was no Portuguese authority in the town, since it was supposed that it belonged to the Tanjore Nayak; but every three years the Portuguese Viceroy, or Governor, used to send a captain to administer justice among his subjects. Negapatam became after a few years a very rich and noble city<sup>1</sup>. It contained two churches, one dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health (Nossa Senhora da Saude)<sup>2</sup>. Caesar Frederick who visited Negapatam in 1567 calls it "a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the Country and part Gentile"<sup>3</sup>.

Sevvappa's reign lasted a considerable time; we shall again speak of him when dealing with the reign of Ranga I.

3. We do not possess very good information about the foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji. According to the above mentioned work of Narayan, the *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitram*, the first Raja of that place was Ananta Kon, who about 1200 A. D. became the founder of the Shepherd Dynasty. At the end of the 14th century an army of Vijayanagara defeated the Raja of Jinji, named Kobilingam, and took possession of the country around<sup>4</sup>. This expedition must be the one of Kumara Kampana; because during Kampana's campaign in the South we find his general Gopnaraya at Jinji as governor of the country.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have had jurisdiction over the South as far as Chidambaram, for according to the *Guruparampara Sri Vedanta Desika*, taking advantage of an internal commotion in Chidambaram, compelled Gopnaraya of Jinji to re-place there the image of Govinda Raja<sup>6</sup>. Later on, probably at Gopnaraya's death, the Jinji country was delivered to Narasinga

1. Ibid.

2. *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 86. It is recorded that in the very first years of the Portuguese occupation of Negapatam, about three hundred-Hindus were baptized.

3. Purchas, X, p. 108.

4. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 39.

5. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

6. Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 132, 64.

Udiyar to be held as a fief: he accepted it with the promise to send an annual tribute to the emperor <sup>1</sup>. Then we find Vala Krishnappa Nayakkan mentioned as Raja of Senji (Jinji); his son Vala Venkatapati Nayakkan in 1464, during the reign of Rama Deva Maharaya (?), drew up a document recorded in an inscription at Jinji <sup>2</sup>. According to Prof. Srinivasachari this Vala Venkatapati probably was the one who persecuted the Jains of the neighbourhood in 1478 <sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, Jinji was subsequently lost to Vijayanagara; for the *Jaimini Bharatamu* informs us that Saluva Narasimha conquered Jinji during his campaign in the South <sup>4</sup>.

Leaving aside the conquest of the whole of the Tamil country during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, which has been previously narrated <sup>5</sup>, we shall mention here Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, who seems to have started the line of the Nayaks of Jinji, dependent on the Vijayanagara sovereigns, just after that conquest. His rule lasted till 1521. Many buildings of the Jinji fortress are attributed to him, such as the fortifications at the top of Rajagiri, the granary in the lower fort and the Kalyana Mahal. The enclosure of the present fortress, with the impressive bastioned wall and ditch, enclosing the three mountains, seems also to have been his work. He founded many pettahs around the primitive town <sup>6</sup>. He was, it seems, succeeded by one Achyuta Vijaya Ramabhadra Nayaka, who ruled over Jinji during the reign of Achyuta Raya. In a ruined temple at Chandragiri, near the palace, an inscription of this monarch records a gift by Achyutaraya Nayaka, governor of Jinji <sup>7</sup>.

As to the reign of Sadasiva, an inscription on the South wall of the central shrine in the Venkataramaswamin temple at

1. Taylor, l. c.

2. Sewell, II, p. 9; Rangacharya, I, p. 172, 359.

3. Srinivasachari, *The History of Gingee*, p. 7 - 8.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 86.

5. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 7.

6. *The Mackenzie MSS.*, I, p. 353 (Madras Oriental MSS. Library)

7. 244 of 1904.



Jinji mentions the name of the Nayak of Jinji at this time, without stating whether he was a relation of the governor Achyuta or not. This inscription records a gift of land made by King Sadasiva, and another gift made by Surappa Nayaka, for the merit of Sadasiva, who is entitled Vira Pratapa Maharaya. Both these gifts were made in 1550<sup>1</sup>. The drama *Bhavana-purushottama* by the famous poet Ratnakheta Srinivasa Dikshita gives some information about this Surappa, at whose court the poet lived. Surappa's father had been Pota Bhupala who had married Vengalamba, and by her got Surappa Nayaka besides two other sons, Divakara Nayaka and Bhairava Nayaka<sup>2</sup>.

4. We pass now from the East to the West of the Empire, *viz.* to the old Karnataka country<sup>3</sup>; and the most important subordinate state we find there at this time is that of Keladi, afterwards called of Ikeri. There are diverse opinions concerning the origin of its Nayaks<sup>4</sup>. Their ancestors, according to the *Keladi Raya Paditti*, their family chronicle, had originally been hereditary *gowdas* or chiefs of five or six villages in the neighbourhood of Keladi<sup>5</sup>. We know from the *Sivatattvaratnakara* that a person named Basava or Basavappa, according to the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, a husbandman<sup>6</sup> of the Sudra caste<sup>7</sup>, married a woman of the same name, and that by her he had four sons. After the death of Basava and the first two children, his widow gave birth to two posthumous sons who were named Chauda and Bhadra. On one occasion, when Chauda

1. 240 of 1904. There is another inscription at Jambai, South Arcot, probably belonging to the same chief: 104 of 1906.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 272, note.

3. The present word Kanara is but a corruption of the word Karnataka, made by the Portuguese. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189, says: "This kingdom of Charnataca (or Canara which is a corrupted form made to shorten the name) had no Sovereign till the year 1200;" and speaking shortly after of the city of Visajanagar (*sic*) he says that Visnaga is likewise a corruption of it. Cf. V. B. Alur, *The Karnatak and its Place in Indian History*, *Q. J. M. S.* IX, p. 33.

4. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.

5. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p. 379.

6. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

7. Sewell, II, p. 177.

was ploughing his land, his ploughshare is said to have struck considerable buried treasure. With it he managed to become the headman of the village, and as such, he collected a small company of soldiers. The then king of the country, who was probably Krishna Deva Raya <sup>1</sup>, on hearing of this, sent for Chauda. Krishna Deva Raya was much pleased to hear his story; and knowing the personal character of the Keladi man, appointed him governor of Pulla-desa with the title of Keladi Chaudappa Nayaka. Chaudappa had two sons, Sadasiva and Bhadra <sup>2</sup>. He died soon after; but not before he had appointed Sadasiva his successor.

Sadasiva proved a very fine governor. The poem says that "the people were happy under him." On hearing of his achievements Rama Raya, the Regent of Vijayanagara, called him to the court in order to employ him in the wars against the Muhammadans. Rama Raya was at the time engaged in some business that required his presence in the capital; so he put Sadasiva at the head of his army, which, in alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, was to attack the Bijapur fort at Kaliyani. We have already narrated the achievements of Sadasiva during this campaign <sup>3</sup>. He was also despatched against some rebellious chiefs of the Karnatak <sup>4</sup>. He overran this country as far as Kasargod, and captured the forts of Barakura, Mangalura and Chandragutti <sup>5</sup>. Perhaps it was on account of these

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1. I suppose that this is the reason of the confusion existing even in the contemporary sources about the creator of the Nayakship of Keladi-Ikeri. The *Keladi Raya Padlitti* affirms that its institutor was Krishna Deva Raya (Buchanan, l.c.) and the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* says that it was Achyuta Raya (Wilson, l.c.). But the real royal Nayakship of Keladi was not founded till the time of Chauda's son, Sadasiva Nayaka, who was appointed by Emperor Sadasiva.

2. It seems that the first of these two brothers took the name of Sadasiva, as Sadasiva Raya favoured him so much. The *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* for instance, calls him Chaurapa. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

3. Cf. Ch. V, No. 6.

4. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

5. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 433.

campaigns that one of the titles of the Nayaks of Ikeri was *Kote Kolahala*, disturber of forts <sup>1</sup>. Sadasiva was also sent against the Sultan of Bidar. Him he captured (along with seven constituents of his royalty) and brought as a present to Rama Raya, who gave him the title of *Satrusaptangaharana*, captor of the seven constituents of royalty of his enemies. Further, he joined an expedition against Travancore <sup>2</sup>, and conducted another against two chiefs named Yadava and Murari in the country of Jalihalu, whom he defeated and brought as prisoners to his sovereign. The Emperor gave him the title of *Yadavamu-rari Kotikolahala* <sup>3</sup>. And it was probably then that his dominions were enlarged by the grateful sovereign, who thus caused the foundation of a Nayakship similar to those of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, although the title had already been given to his father by Krishna Deva Raya.

5. After this series of campaigns, Sadasiva Nayaka retired to his capital. An inscription of 1554 records that Sadasiva Nayaka purchased a piece of land for the Brahmans <sup>4</sup>.

But soon a new expedition was led by him against the governor of Bankapura, named Madarasa, who had considerably enlarged his dominions and was regarded as a menace. Madarasa was captured and led as prisoner to the Emperor <sup>5</sup>. Then Sadasiva erected several forts in the strategic points of his dominions, to provide against any eventuality: to wit, the forts of Keladi <sup>6</sup>, Beakul <sup>7</sup> and Chandragiri, South Kanara <sup>8</sup>. He also built the temple of Isvara at Ikeri <sup>9</sup>. Upon him, later, was conferred the governorship of Barakura-rajya by Venkatadri, who was then 'ruling the whole kingdom' <sup>10</sup>.

1. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 156.

2. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 5.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 194-6.

4. Rangacharya, II, p. 850, 21.

5. *Sivatattvaralnakara*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 196.

6. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p. 381.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

8. *Ibid.*; Sewell, I, p. 258.

9. Buchanan, o. c., p. 380.

10. 168 of 1901; *M.E.R.*, 1911-12, p. 179. It was at this period when the whole government was on the shoulders of Tirumala and Venkatadri. Cf. Ch. III, No. 9.

After this turbulent and successful career Sadasiva Nayaka, being too old to govern, bestowed upon his brother Bhadrappa Nayaka the title of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka and anointed him governor in his stead. Then Sadasiva "retired to the forests in the evening of his life," says the *Sivalattvaratnakara*<sup>1</sup>. Sewell puts the end of Sadasiva's reign in the year 1576<sup>2</sup>; but this date is obviously wrong, since his second successor was deposed by Rama Raya. We may say however that this event took place during the last years of Rama Raya, some time after 1560; because the reign of Bhadrappa Nayaka did not last long: the aforesaid poem says only that he "ruled for some time"<sup>3</sup>. He is said to have transferred the capital from Keladi to Ikeri<sup>4</sup>. Before his death he nominated the elder son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, as his successor, and the younger Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, as the heir-apparent<sup>5</sup>. There had been to Sadasiva by different mothers<sup>6</sup>.

Dodda Sankanna Nayaka's rule was, it seems, of short duration. All we know of him is that he was deposed by Rama Raya for putting a Jangama priest to death. Rama Raya then made the former's brother, Chikka Sankanna, Nayak of Keladi in his stead<sup>7</sup>. It appears that Dodda Sankanna set out on a pilgrimage to the holy places of India from Rameswaram to the Himalayas, and lived in retirement for the rest of his days<sup>8</sup>. An inscription of Sadasiva Raya, bearing a wrong date, mentions Ramaraja Nayaka, grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayak of Keladi<sup>9</sup>. This Ramaraya Nayaka must have been a son of one of these two brothers.

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.

2. Sewell, II, p. 177.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.

4. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.

5. *Sivalattvaratnakara*, l. c.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

7. *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 333.

8. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 433.

9. 131 of 1901.

6. The Keladi Nayaks of Ikeri were not the only rulers of the Karnataka country which were tributary to the power of Vijayanagara. Many petty states were formed or were then being formed. Of these we shall also give a brief account. The one that in due course became most important was the state of Mysore.

This country had come under the sway of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya. This monarch had crushed a refractory chief of those surroundings, the Ganga Raja of Ummatur, and had captured the strong fort of Sivasamudram and the city of Seringapatam. After this all the country had submitted to him<sup>1</sup>. The origin of the Rajas of Mysore is traceable to a legendary source. A grant of Kanthirava, of 1657, gives the genealogy of his family from Vishnu through Brahma, Atri, Indu, Buddha, Pururava and other heroes down to the historic founders of the family settled in the Karnataka country<sup>2</sup>.

These were two young Kshatriyas of the tribe of Yadava, Krishna's tribe, named Vijaya and Krishna, who, according to tradition, had left Dvaraka in Gujarat to establish themselves in the South<sup>3</sup>. Their enterprise in rescuing the daughter of the Wodeyar of Hadana from the hands of the chief of Carugalli seems more a poetical figment than a historical fact. The truth is that Vijaya was fortunate enough to attain the chieftainship of one or two towns that proved to be the basis of the future aggrandizement of the family. We have no knowledge of the date of Vijaya's arrival in the South<sup>4</sup>.

Nothing is definitely known of his descendants prior to the 16th century when Chama Raja is mentioned as succeed-

1. *Madras Journal*, XIV, p. 39.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 92.

3. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 31; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 361.

4. P. Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p. 4. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 362, says that he ruled from 1399 to 1423. About the first settlement in the South of the Mysore ruling family, there is no agreement between Wilks and the *Palace History*. Cf. S. Krishna swami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 275-6.

ing in or about 1507<sup>1</sup>. Another Chama Raja<sup>2</sup> is said to have built in 1524 a fort at Puragary, which was thereafter called Mahish Asur, commonly pronounced Mahishasur and now contracted into Mysore. Since that time the chiefs of this family used to reside there<sup>3</sup>.

We hear of no intercourse between them and the court of Vijayanagara at all. This means that these petty chiefs rendered at the time the submission due to the imperial power. In these days there was no viceroy of Vijayanagara at Seringapatam: the whole country was directly subject to the Emperor. We know of a gift of land belonging to Seringapatam made by Rama Raya, to whom it had been granted by Sadasiva in 1550. No viceroy or agent of either Sadasiva or Rama Raya is mentioned in this document<sup>4</sup>.

7. More powerful than the Raja of Mysore at this time was the Prabhu of Yelahanka. The family of these chiefs had come to the Karnataka country from Alur, a village near Kanchivaram, and settled down at Avati in the vicinity of Devanahalli, 25 miles North-East of the present Bangalore. One member of this family, in 1418, established himself at Yelahanka, 9 miles North of the same city, and began to style himself *Yelahanka Nadu Prabhu*, Lord of the Yelahanka country<sup>5</sup>. This title was kept up by his successors. They ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagara Emperor paying tribute to him as long as their power lasted.

The most famous among the Yelahanka Lords was Kempe Gowda I, son of Kempanacheya Gowda according to an inscription near his statue in the Sivaganga temple. He commenced his rule in 1513. He had been favoured by Krishna Deva Raya, from whom he received the villages of Ballapura, Devanahalli and Hoskote<sup>6</sup>. But his successful career began

1. P. Krishna Row, l. c.

2. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 332.

3. Wilks, o.c., p. 34.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, My, 50.

5 This chief seems to have been called Jaya Gowda. Cf. Narasimiah, *The Founder of Bangalore*, p. 11.

6. *M.A.D.*, 1922, p. 15.

during the reign of Achyuta Deva Raya in 1537, when Kempe Gowda founded Bangalore in the place of the old village of Sivanasamudram by erecting a mud fort<sup>1</sup>. The Emperor appreciated the enterprise of the Yelahanka chief, summoned him to his court, and granted him the enjoyment of twelve hoblies or groups of villages, yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas. On returning to his estate he beautified the new city and made it his capital. He built in it the Vishnu and several other temples, and endowed them with grants of villages, lands and agraharas for their perpetual worship.

Nor were these the only temples erected by him in his dominions. The inscription running near his statue in the Sivaganga temple describes him as a very pious man: "Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the god Gangadhara-swami". Accordingly many of the temples round about Bangalore claim to have been erected by our hero. The Lakshamma's temple at Koramangala, the Somesvara Channigarayaswami temples at Halsur, and the Gavi Gangadhara-swara temple at Gavipur, as well as the Kempambudhi tank near it, along with the rest of the village and its large lake, are some of the works due to the piety and munificence of Kempe Gowda. He also enlarged and beautified the shrines of the sacred hill of Sivaganga where his statue is shown to this day.

Such increase of power made him covet independence, and was also the cause of his disgrace with the Emperor. His ambitious purpose was shown when he exceeded the powers of a feudal chief by establishing a mint without permission of the Vijayanagara sovereign, where he coined the Bhire Deva pagodas. This happened probably at the beginning of the reign of Sadasiva Raya, when several chiefs of the Karnataka country rebelled against the central power, as stated by Ferishta<sup>2</sup>. Rumours of Kempe Gowda's proceedings reached the court, and he is said to have been sent for by Rama Raya; but it seems more probable that he was defeated

1. The new town was called Bengaluru after a hamlet of this name in the surroundings. Cf. Narasimiah, o.c., p. 13.

2. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

and captured by a general of Vijayanagara, perhaps by Sadasiva Nayaka of Ikeri, who, at about the same time, conducted an expedition against some rebel chiefs of Shimoga. The fact is that Kempe Gowda on reaching Vijayanagara was cast into prison at Anegundi, on the other side of the Tungabhadra; and that his territory was confiscated and added to that of Jagadeva Raya.

After remaining in confinement for five years, Kempe Gowda was released in or about 1563 through the influence of his friends; and after the payment of a heavy fine his possessions were restored to him. After he had returned from the metropolis, he abolished the family custom of amputating the two ring-fingers of the marriageable females of his household, because he considered it incompatible with his dignity as *Prabhu* of the country. He lived five years more after his release, and died in 1569, one year after Tirumala's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara <sup>1</sup>.

8. Bellur was another of the petty states of Karnataka. Its chief at this time was Era Krishnappa Nayaka, who appears to have been enfeoffed by Krishna Deva Raya in 1524 <sup>2</sup>. He was the son of Baippa Nayaka and Kondamma <sup>3</sup>. The great influence he enjoyed at the court of Vijayanagara is proved by epigraphical records: when Sadasiva remitted the taxes to the barbers in 1546, Rama Raya at once informed Era Krishnappa Nayaka of the execution of the King's order <sup>4</sup>. He enjoyed the dignity of 'bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag' <sup>5</sup>. He is given the titles of 'Sindhu Govinda, champion over adulterers, terrible with his white ensign, boon lord of Maninagapura' <sup>6</sup>, a place not yet identified <sup>7</sup>. Finally, when in

1. The best account of the Lords of Yelahanka is the one of Mr. B. Puttaya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, published in the *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 724ff.; it is a compilation of the information given by both tradition and documents hitherto available.

2. Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XI, p. 329.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

4. *Ibid.*, Hk, 110.

5. *Ibid.*, Dg, 18 and 39; *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 88.

6. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, V, p. XXXIII. In 1535-6 these titles were given to Tirumalaraya of Udayagiri. Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 95.



1554 the outer petha of Bagur was rebuilt by Sadasiva's order, it was named Krishnapura, after Era Krishnappa Nayaka <sup>1</sup>. Both Sadasiva and Krishnappa Nayaka are mentioned together in an inscription at Hassan <sup>2</sup>.

We know but little of his achievements. A Kanarese inscription of 1543 in a temple at Badami refers to the construction of a bastion by Era Krishnappa Nayaka, under the superintendence of Kondaraja <sup>3</sup>. In 1561 he made for the merit of his parents a grant of the Kadaji village in the Bilichodu-sima for ghee, the chatra and other necessary offerings to the god Harihara, with exemption from customs-dues, watch and other privileges <sup>4</sup>. From one of the Kanarese books of the Mackenzie Collection we know that one of his daughters was named Venkatama <sup>5</sup>.

We are not aware of the date of Krishnappa Nayaka's death. We know only that in 1576-7 the head of the family was his son Venkatadri Nayaka <sup>6</sup>.

The chief of Chitaldroog was another of the petty Rajas of Karnataka. During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, Timmana Nayaka, a Telugu from the neighbourhood of Tirupati, visited Vijayanagara and was invited to join the expedition against the Deccani Mussulmans. When the campaign was over he was rewarded with many honours. At a later period, however, he incurred the royal displeasure and was imprisoned at Vijayanagara where he died. His son Obana Nayaka was appointed Nayak of Chitaldroog during the reign of Sadasiva <sup>7</sup>.

9. From the Portuguese chronicles we know of other feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara in the Karnatik, near the coast of the Arabian sea. The earliest relations of the Portuguese with these chiefs began with the King of Onor

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 112.

2. Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90, 533.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64; *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 38. Cf. Ch. III, No. 6.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

5. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yd, 59.

7. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 501-2.

(Honore), the present Honavar'. We do not know his name, but have information that in 1506, when the first Viceroy Dom Francisco d' Almeida was in Anjediva, on the coast of Kanara, the King of Onor sent ambassadors to him in order to seek his friendship. Later, however, Dom Francisco went from Anjediva to Onor and not being well received, burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. The Indians defended the ships valiantly, and during the encounter the Viceroy was wounded by an arrow. The city nevertheless was captured; and its governor named Timoja, an influential person who owned many of the burnt ships, in an interview with Dom Francisco, excused the King for what had happened and offered vassalage to Portugal on his behalf<sup>2</sup>. Affonso d' Albuquerque, in a letter written in 1512, writes to King Dom Manoel that "the King of Onor gives him a tribute of more than one thousand pardaos. Nevertheless", says Albuquerque, "he aids the Sabayo (the Sultan of Bijapur) against us and has always his ambassador at the latter's court"<sup>3</sup>.

This kingdom was afterwards annexed to that of Bhatkal either during the reign of Sadasiva or a little earlier; for when Caesar Frederick passed through Onor in 1567, this city was "in the kingdom of the Queen of Bartacella", (Batecala or Baticala, Bhatkal.) The same traveller says that "there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there"<sup>4</sup>.

10. The kingdom of Bhatkal was visited by the Portu-

1. In this and other similar cases we keep to the denomination of King applied to the petty chiefs of Kanara. Pietro della Valle, II, p. 216, speaking in 1623 of Venkatappa Nayaka, *King of Ikeri*, says: "Who in my judgment, should rather be called a Regulus or Royolet, although the Portugals and Indians give him the honour of a Royal title, being he hath in effect neither State, Court, nor appearance, befitting a true king."

2. Barros, II, 267-83; Faria y Sousa, I, p. 77-8; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 282.

3. From Affonso d' Albuquerque to Dom Manoel, Goa, April 1st, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 32.

4. Purchas, X, p. 101.

guese early in 1502. Vasco de Gama, on passing by the city of Bhatkal, gave orders to land at that famous port, and noticing that the natives were making attempts to prevent the landing of his soldiers, took the offensive. On learning this, the King of Bhatkal despatched some Muhammadans to offer his submission. The Portuguese accepted it on condition that the Turks should not be allowed to trade there, that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to sail from thence to Calicut. The King accepted these terms, and offered an annual tribute of 1,000 loads of common rice for the Portuguese soldiers, and of 500 loads of superior rice for the officers; excusing himself at the same time for not giving more, as he was only a tenant of the Emperor of Vijayanagara to whom the country belonged <sup>1</sup>. The Italian traveller Corsali, while visiting the place in 1517, wrote likewise to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici that "the king of Narsinga was the lord of it (Bhatkal)" <sup>2</sup>.

The tribute promised to Vasco de Gama was faithfully paid, it seems till about 1540. The sovereign of Bhatkal at that time was a valiant woman whose name is not given. Her predecessor, perhaps her husband, had died at Vijayanagara sometime before <sup>3</sup>. She defied the Portuguese power by withholding the customary tribute of rice, and by giving shelter in her dominions to some pirates who were infesting that sea and disturbing the Portuguese trade.

That was the reason why the first act of Martim Affonso de Sousa, after he assumed the reins of government in 1543, was to raise a force of 2,000 men, with which he proceeded in a fleet of seventy ships to chastise the haughty Queen of Bhatkal.

On reaching the port, Martim Affonso demanded the tribute and the surrender of the pirates' vessels. The Queen made several excuses; but the Governor landed at once with a contingent of 1,200 men, which he divided into two battalions, putting Fernao de Sousa e Tavora at the head of one, and him-

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1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 81-2.

2. Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 117.

3. Correa, IV, p. 252.

self taking command of the other. At the same time he ordered 20 vessels of light draught to sail up the river to attack the city by sea. The governor marched with his force through a palm-grove. Here he was met by a body of the enemy who, notwithstanding their gallant opposition, were driven to the gates of the city. The Portuguese entered the town in pursuit, and the struggle that ensued in its streets lasted for many hours. It seems that the Queen herself went personally to her soldiers and encouraged them to defend her rights. But by night the Portuguese were in the possession of the city.

The next morning the Portuguese soldiers, whilst plundering the town, disagreed among themselves as to the division of the spoil, and tumult reigned supreme. The enemy who had retired to a neighbouring hill perceived the commotion, and fell upon them in such numbers that they fled in disorder, and took to their ships in such panic that several were drowned. The governor, incensed with fury, ordered a fresh attack to be made the next day. The city was burnt and the country laid waste; so much havoc was caused throughout the land by this final action of Martim Affonso de Sousa that the Queen, no longer able to resist, submitted and made peace under the terms proposed by the Portuguese Governor <sup>1</sup>.

This treaty was finally signed on September 17th, 1548, during the reign of Sadasiva, when Garcia de Sa was Governor of Goa. According to the treaty the Queen undertook to pay the annual tribute previously promised, as well as all arrears. She likewise promised not to permit pirates' ships to leave her territory; and in case of her failure to restrain them, she made herself responsible for any damage they might cause to the Portuguese.

II. Another feudatory state of Vijayanagara in the Karnataka country was that of Ullal. In 1530 the Portuguese under the command of Nuno da Cunha had crossed the river of

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1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 117-20; Correa, IV, p. 257-62; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 289.

2. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 130. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 51. See the text of this treaty in Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 242-3.

Mangalore, which flowed through the Ullal territory, and destroyed the stockade and the fortified positions with the purpose of punishing a rich merchant of that place, who was in league with the King of Calicut against them <sup>1</sup>. This time the war was not supposed to be against the Queen of Olala (Ullal). She either paid tribute to Portugal then, or was bound to do so shortly after; for in the year 1556 Dom Alvaro de Silveyra was sent at the head of several vessels against the Queen for refusing to pay the ordinary tribute. The city of Mangalore was plundered on this occasion and a gorgeous Hindu temple destroyed. The Queen then accepted the terms of the Portuguese captain.

Nevertheless ten years after, either the same Queen, or her successor, again refused payment of all tribute. The name of this Queen, according to the Portuguese chroniclers, was Bucadevi Chantar (Bukka Devi Chauhar). Pietro della Valle, who met this Queen in the course of his travels through India, corrupts her name even a little more: according to him she was named Abag-devi-Ciantru <sup>2</sup>. The Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha, with a fleet of seven galleys, two galliots and five smaller vessels, carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, proceeded to Mangalore, determined to erect a fort there, and bring about the submission of the Queen.

The fleet anchored in the bay where both the cities, Mangalore and Ullal, are situated. The Viceroy then landed his men in six battalions on January 4th, 1567. But that night, while the Portuguese, quite unconscious of danger, were supping in their camp, the enemy sallied forth in a body of 500 men, followed by another of 1,500, and fell on them so suddenly that for a time they were helpless and thrown into great disorder. Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, one of the generals, who held an advance post, received the brunt of the attack; and though he fought well, he lost several men. He was finally relieved by Dom Luiz de Almeida and the enemy were driven off.

The next day the Portuguese assaulted the city, and after

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1. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 283-4.

2. Ibid., II, p. 301-2.

3. Della Valle, II, p. 311.

they had forced their way into it, set it on fire and cut down its grove of palm-trees. The Queen fled to the mountain. Of the Hindus 500 were slain, and of the Portuguese troops about forty. The Viceroy then laid the foundations of the fort, giving it the name of Sao Sebastiao, because the first stone was laid on that Saint's day and in commemoration of the then reigning King of Portugal. By the middle of March the fortress, with a church and other buildings, was completed. The Viceroy gave the command of the fort to his brother-in-law, Antao Pereira; and having left there a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition for six months, returned to Goa. Later on, during the government of Dom Luiz de Atayde, Bukka Devi sued for peace; which she purchased at the cost of an additional tribute, and a payment of ready cash <sup>1</sup>.

Frederick, who passed through Mangalore a few months after this attack, states that "there is very small trade, but only for a little rice" <sup>2</sup>.

In the neighbourhood of Barcelor (Basrur), the old Barace of Ptolomey, near the mouth of the Kundapur river, there was another chief, called by the Portuguese King of Cambolim (Gangolly), subject to Vijayanagara <sup>3</sup>. Frederic mentions also the Queen of Gargopam (Gersoppa), near Honavar, as "tributary to the King of Bezenegar (Vijayanagara)." The city of Ancola belonged to her <sup>4</sup>. In 1540 the King of Gersoppa most likely that Queen's predecessor, had acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Portugal, to whom he promised to pay a thousand sackfuls of rice every year <sup>5</sup>.

12. Turning now to the centre of the Empire, we find in the North the petty state of Udiripikonda. Its first Raja seems to have been Timma Nayadu. From an inscription in the Pennahobalam temple at Udiripikonda we know that he was

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1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 435-8; Dos Santos, o.c., II, p. 292; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 597-9.

2. Purchas, X, p. 101.

3. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469 and 474.

4. Purchas, X, p. 99.

5. Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 257-8; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 92.

living in 1556. He seems to have done much to improve the fortifications of his capital. Perhaps, he had been appointed Raja by Krishna Deva Raya after a campaign, as a reward for his services during the war. His son Narasa Nayadu enlarged the fort by building a new bastion, surrounded the village with a mud wall, and built for himself a palace in the village and another on the top of the hill. The Udiripikonda family reached during his reign the climax of its prosperity. He was succeeded by his son Vemala Nayadu, in whose time the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi took place <sup>1</sup>.

In the North-East corner of the Empire there was another petty state, that of Venkatagiri. The Valugoti family of its Rajas was at this time subject to Vijayanagara. One of them, Pedakondappa Nayadu, as well as his brother, Gene Nayadu, with the latter's two sons, Nayanappa and Timma, distinguished themselves against the Mussulmans in the reigns of Krishna Raya, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva <sup>2</sup>. In the Virabhadresvara temple in the village of Macherla, Guntur District, there is an inscription of 1554 recording a gift of the village of Lingapura to the temples of Viresvara and Ishtakamesvara, at the said village of Macherla, by the Queen of Komara Timma-Nayaningaru of the Recharla-gotra and Velugoti family, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Virapratapa Sadasivaraya Maharaya <sup>3</sup>.

Turning now southwards, we come to the present North Arcot, and here we find the Rajas of Vellore. The ruling family was one of the most influential in the whole of the Empire, and one of its members was destined to create a great deal of trouble in the reign of Venkata II <sup>4</sup>. The chief

1. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 165. The information is taken from one of the Mackenzie MSS.

2. *Valugutivaru Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274. The Bobbili Zemindari was at this time depending on the Venkatagiri Raja. Cf. Maha Rajah Sri Rao Sir Venkata Swetachalapati, *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari*, p. 13-7.

3. 584 of 1909.

4. Cf. Ch. XV, No. 11.

contemporary of Sadasiva was Chinna Bomma Nayaka, whose earliest known inscription is dated 1549<sup>1</sup>. We do not know at what time his father Chinna Virappa Nayaka died<sup>2</sup>. He was very likely ruling some time along with one of his brothers; for an inscription of Sadasiva of the year 1550 mentions Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka and Chinna Bomma Nayaka, as the chiefs of Vellore<sup>3</sup>. His influence at the court of Vijayanagara is beyond question. The grant of the village of Arambaritti to Jvarakandesvara, the Lord of Vellore, made by Rama Raya at the request of Chinna Bomma, proves it conclusively<sup>4</sup>. He was still ruling after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, because on February 5th, 1567<sup>5</sup> he obtained three grants from the Mahamandalesvara Tirumala who was then the governor of the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva<sup>6</sup>: we know from these inscriptions that Bomma Nayaka's jurisdiction extended over the villages of Arapakkam, Ariyur and Sadupperi, all in the vicinity of Vellore. From other inscriptions of the time of Ranga I, we learn that he exercised jurisdiction also over Sattuvachcheri, Samanginellur and Perumai<sup>7</sup>. During the reign of Venkata II we shall deal at length with his son Lingappa Nayaka: after those events Vellore became the capital of the Empire.

13. The names of many other chiefs of petty states may be found on going through the inscriptions of the reign of Sadasiva; the greatest number is in Cuddapah District. An inscription of Cuddapah itself records that a feudatory of Sadasiva erected a stone mandapam and planted a garden near it<sup>8</sup>. Another states that Ellappa Nayaka, a feudatory of Sadasiva, granted to the god some land in the village of Chintakommadinne<sup>9</sup>. Ramarajayya Pimmaraju Garu, a

1. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 84, 57.

2. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.

3. 417 of 1905.

4. 39 of 1887.

5. *Of. Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 132.

6. 37, 38 and 44 of 1887.

7. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 73-5, 47-9.

8. Rangaacharya, I, p. 578, 33.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 577, 22.



feudatory of Sadasiva, exempted the barbers of the village of Chinna Mudiyaṃ from taxes <sup>1</sup>, The Mahamandalesvara Maharaya of Yeragudi remitted taxes on barbers at Kalamalla, with the permission of Rama Raya <sup>2</sup>. One Narayana, son of Tirumala Raja of Bhojanapullah, gave two tums and six mundas of land to Brahmans for the maintenance of the watershed <sup>3</sup>. Finally Nandyal Aubalaraja, son of Mahamandalesvara Singarayadeva Maharaja <sup>4</sup>, feudatory of Sadasiva, granted some land to the god Tiruvengalanatha <sup>5</sup>; and again gave half a kunda of dry field in Cuddapah to the deity <sup>6</sup>. It seems that he was succeeded by his grandson Nandyala Timmayyadeva Maharaju, who claims to be the grandson of Nandyala Avubalaraja when making a gift of a village to the temple of Ragunathadeva on the Gandikota-durga <sup>7</sup>. He also, as feudatory of Sadasiva, built the village of Potladurti and gave it to the god Chennakesava <sup>8</sup>, granted some lands to the gods and Brahmans of the village of Nellala <sup>9</sup>, gave the god Chennakesava of Kodur some lands in Nandapadu <sup>10</sup> and Kodur itself <sup>11</sup>, granted the rent of a village for meeting the expense of ceremonial <sup>12</sup>, gave the dues of the village of Koppulu to learned men <sup>13</sup> and remitted the tax on the barbers of Bondalakunta <sup>14</sup>, Lingala <sup>15</sup>, Nallapalli <sup>16</sup>, and Gandikota-sima <sup>17</sup>.

1. Ibid., p. 589, 145.

2. 381 of 1904.

3. Rangacharya, I, p. 587, 129.

4. 106 of 1905.

5. Rangacharya, I, p. 578, 36.

6. Ibid., p. 578, 38.

7. 486 of 1906.

8. Rangacharya, I, p. 616, 480.

9. Ibid., p. 629, 594.

10. Ibid., p. 612, 440.

11. Ibid., p. 612, 444.

12. Ibid., p. 574, 8.

13. Ibid., p. 580, 60.

14. Ibid., p. 588, 136.

15. Ibid., p. 613, 450.

16. Ibid., p. 602, 331.

17. 318 of 1905. Some relations to these chiefs are mentioned in 81 of 1915 and Rangacharya, II, p. 964, 534-537.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI

**SUMMARY.**—1. Project of a league of the Deccani Muhammadans against Vijayanagara.—2. Reconciliation between the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. The Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar join the alliance.—3. Rama Raya's preparations against the Muhammadans.—4. Description of the two armies.—5. Advance positions near the river Krishna.—6. Order of battle in the two camps.—7. First action: Venkatadri's attack against Ali Adil Shah, and Tirumala's against the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar.—8. Second action: Engagement between Rama Raya and Husain Nizam Shah. Muhammadan retreat.—9. Third action: The last effort of the Muhammadans. Treachery of two Muslim captains of Rama Raya.—10. Capture and execution of the Hindu ruler.—11. Flight of the Hindu army.—12. Plunder of the Hindu camp.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Basatin-us-Salatin*.—2. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—3. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Maratha and Kanarese accounts of the battle.—4. Poona Persian Poem, *Ramarajiyamu*, *Chikadevaraya Vamsavali*, *Jangama Kalainyana*.—5. Couto, Faria y Sousa.—6. C. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.

IN one of the preceding chapters we said that the arrogance of Rama Raya was responsible for the Muhammadan alliance which culminated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They disliked Rama Raya for interfering in the Muslim kingdoms: especially in the last campaigns their pride had been insulted, their religious feelings despised and their independence threatened by the Hindu Monarch<sup>1</sup>. The natural consequence of this was the Muhammadan league:

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1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268, says that "the Hindu records state that on going to an audience of the Raja, the envoy of Ibrahim Adil Shah passed on his way some wine intended to be given to menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of this unclean animal to the Raja, the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and

According to both Couto and Ali ibn Aziz, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar who promoted this alliance among the Deccani kingdoms, spurred on by his hatred towards Rama Raya, who had often laid waste the territories of his realm <sup>1</sup>. But Ferishta says clearly that "Ali Adil Shah resolved to curb his insolence (Rama Raya's) and reduce his power by a league of the faithful against him". The first idea, then, of such an alliance came from the Sultan of Bijapur, and was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers; for having discussed this point in an assembly of his counsellors, two of them, Kishwar Khan Lary and Shah Aboo Turab Shirazy, represented "that the King's desire to humble the pride of the Raya of Bijanagar was undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic, but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Ramraj, collected from sixty seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force, against

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asked him how he could hold them as unclean when he fed upon fowls, which picked out grains from the ordure of swine. He took an opportunity of showing him the fact. The insult roused Ibrahim Adil Shah to arms." Wilson is mistaken at least in referring to Ibrahim Adil Shah as the Sultan of Bijapur who was present at the so-called battle of Talikota. It was his son Ali Adil Shah.

1. Couto, VIII, p. 28-9; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, I, p.143. It seems however that Husain Nizam Shah was the most prominent in the battlefield among the four Sultans. Naturally the P.P.P. does not mention any other Sultan; according to the poet, the army of Ahmadnagar alone fought against and defeated Rama Raya. See Ap. A. A Marathi MS. of the Mackenzie collection refers to the pretext for commencing this campaign against Vijayanagara, as follows: "While Rama Rayalu was ruling, a Mahomedan Fakir came (to Ane-gundi) and bathed in a sacred pool; and being taken while doing so, was carried before the ruler, at whose command the Fakir himself, and two others of his class, were beaten and allowed to escape barely with life. They went to Delhi (a word often loosely used for Mohamedan) and represented that if Vijayanagara were not taken, the Delhi ruler was no Mussulman. In consequence of this incident preparations were made to go against Vijayanagara, which was captured." Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 691-2.

which no single king of the Mussulmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success”.

2. Accordingly, by the Sultan's command, Kishwar Khan took the necessary measures to effect a general league. The first step was to send an envoy to Golkonda to sound Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and to propose to him, if found prudent, the afore-said plan. The Golkonda Sultan at once fell in with the views of Ali Adil Shah, and even offered to bring together Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who were in perpetual disagreement on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur <sup>1</sup>. With this view he deputed Mustafa Khan, one of the ablest nobles, of his court, to the courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Husain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah and forming some family connection between them if possible, in order to perpetuate the alliance <sup>2</sup>.

On reaching Ahmadnagar Mustafa reminded its Sultan “that during the times of the Bahmani princes the whole strength of the Mussulman powers was united under one king, which maintained the balance against the force of the Raya of Bijanagar; that now, though the Mussulman dominion was divided, yet policy required that all the princes of the faithful should unite in restraining the increasing power of their common enemy. He observed that the authority of the Raya of Bijanagar, who had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatic to his yoke, required to be checked; and that his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam, in order that the people of their several dominions, who should be considered as being committed by the Almighty to their care, might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels” <sup>3</sup>.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 123-4.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 123, says that Mustafa Khan was directed first to Bijapur, but I here prefer the authority of the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, l. c., p. 413. Moreover, no satisfactory reason is forthcoming for his journey first to Bijapur, since from Bijapur the first idea of the league went out to Golkonda.

3. Ferishta, l. c., p. 124-5; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant., L, p. 143-4.*

The mission of Mustafa Khan proved eminently successful. Husain Nizam Shah was moved by his reasons; and shortly afterwards plans were laid for the reconciliation between both Sultans. Husain Nizam Shah was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Ali Adil Shah, and with her the fort of Sholapur as her dowry. In return, the Sultan of Bijapur was to give his sister Falah Bibi Hadya Sultana to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Prince Shahzada Murtaza, afterwards Murtaza Nizam Shah<sup>1</sup>. Couto adds here that Husain Nizam Shah gave Ibrahim Qutb Shah another of his daughters as wife<sup>2</sup>. These family unions were only a sanction of the league calculated to reduce the power of Rama Raya; for this purpose it was resolved to march against him at the earliest practicable moment.

Mustafa Khan then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Mowlana Inayatullah, the ambassador of Nizam Shah. There the political treaties and marriage agreements were drawn up and naturally confirmed by the most solemn oaths. The marriages were celebrated with great pomp, and nuptial rejoicings were held in both the cities of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar<sup>3</sup>.

Were the other two Deccani Sultans invited to join this league? Faria y Sousa speaks only of the three above-mentioned Sultans, Nizamaluco (Nizam Shah), Idalxa (Adil Shah), and Gutubixa (Qutb Shah)<sup>4</sup>. The same only are mentioned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*<sup>5</sup>. But Ferishta, although he does not mention the

1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 125; Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda Ferishta, l. c., p. 413; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144; Couto, VIII, p. 89. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 192, incorrectly speaks of the bride of Prince Murtaza as the daughter of Adil Shah. Both Muhammadan historians say that she was his sister.

2. Couto, l. c.

3. Ferishta, l. c., p. 125-6; Couto, l. c.

4. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.

5. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144. The Maratha account of the battle gives six names of sovereigns allied against the Hindus on this occasion. The first mentioned is Akbarshah Padsha. Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara, Account of the Second Conference of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona, 1914, p. 170.

Sultan of Bidar when relating the making of peace and alliance, nevertheless goes on to say that Ali Barid Shah was making active preparations for the campaign against Rama Raya, as the other three Sultans were doing <sup>1</sup>. Frederick also mentions four, *viz.* Dialcan (Adil Khan), Zamaluc (Nizam Shah), Cotamaluc (Qutb Shah), and Viridy (Barid Shah)<sup>2</sup>. Anquetil du Perron states likewise that "Bisnagar was plundered by the four kings of the Deccan and the Concan"<sup>3</sup>. But Couto says that the Izamaluco (Nizam Shah) invited four other kings to join the alliance, *viz.* Idalxa (Adil Shah), Hebrahe (Burhad Imad Shah, of Berar?), Cotubixa, (Qutb Shah) and Verido (Barid Shah)<sup>4</sup>. According to this authority all the Deccani Sultans were united to this holy campaign against the infidels. Yet the *Basatin-us-Salatin* says that the Sultan of Berar did not join the other Sultans on account of his hatred for Husain Nizam Shah <sup>5</sup>.

3. Rama Raya soon heard of the intentions of the Muhammadan Sovereigns, and lost no time in making preparations to oppose their united forces <sup>6</sup>. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us that Rama Raya on this occasion summoned "all his dependents and Rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon" <sup>7</sup>. One of the Princes summoned was the Nayak of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka. This prince, who had shortly before succeeded his father Visvanatha <sup>8</sup>, did not proceed himself in person to the North to aid the Empire, for his kingdom was not yet entirely subdued. But he sent his prime Minister and great

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 126 and 246.

2. Purchas, X, p. 92.

3. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Reserches Historiques*, l. c., p. 166. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309, mentions also four, but instead of the Sultan of Bidar he puts here Melique, the petty lord of Dabul in the Konkan.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 88.

5. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 95.

6. Couto, VIII, p. 19.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 413.

8. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 17.

general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar with a large force <sup>1</sup>. One of the chiefs who accompanied Ariyanatha to the North for the defence of the Empire was Basavaraja, as we know from the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya <sup>2</sup>.

While he was thus preparing for the attack, Rama Raya was the recipient of an embassy from Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur demanding restitution of Etgir, Bagrakot, Raichur and Mudgal, which had at different times been wrested by the Vijayanagara sovereigns from their neighbours of Bijapur. This was supposed to afford Adil Shah a pretext for breaking with Rama Raya, who "as was expected," says Ferishta, "expelled the ambassador with disgrace from his court; and the united sovereigns made this circumstance a plea for hastening on their preparations to crush the common enemy of Islam" <sup>3</sup>.

4. Both the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* state that the four Sultans finally met at the fort of Sholapur <sup>4</sup>; but the statement of Ferishta locating the place of their meeting in the plains of Bijapur seems more probable <sup>5</sup>. Such is also the view of Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, who affirms that the Sultans marching towards Bijapur finally encamped in the vicinity of Talikota, where they were generously entertained by Ibrahim Adil Shah <sup>6</sup>. On December

1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 115. Prof. Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68. thinks that Ariyanatha arrived at Vijayanagara a little late.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 161-164.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 126. The Maratha account introduces Ali Adil Shah protesting against the war with Vijayanagara; the other Sultans sent him the following message: "Please allow us passage through your territory. You should also join us with your army." Ali Adil Shah, duly honouring the envoy, replied as follows: "As I call myself a friend of Ram Raj, I am sorry I cannot help you." Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar, Account of the Second Conference of the B.I.S.M.*, Poona, 1914, p. 170. Afterwards however the Sultan of Bijapur appears by the side of the other Sultans against his old friend.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 413; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L. p. 144.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 126.

6. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 96.

26th, 1564, they started for the South. The Portuguese authors record that the allied army contained fifty thousand horse and three thousand foot<sup>1</sup>. The anonymous chronicler mentions several of the Muslim generals in charge of the detachments of this army; Mustafa Khan from Golkonda; Mowlana Inayatullah from Ahmadnagar, and Kishwar Khan from Bijapur<sup>2</sup>. Rifat Khan was also in the army of Golkonda; he had been summoned from the South where he boasted of having reduced part of the country<sup>3</sup>. Of these Mustafa Khan, whose real name was Kamal-ud-din Husain (Mustafa Khan being only a title), was as excellent a general as he was a shrewd politician and diplomatist, and was one of the foremost warriors of the Muslim world of those days. The beautiful Tughra inscription over the Makki gate of Golkonda still displays the titles bestowed upon him by the Sultan in token of the royal satisfaction and as a reward for his services to the state<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* several Maratha detachments had joined the Muhammadan army<sup>5</sup>. This seems certain; for shortly after we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur<sup>6</sup>. The anonymous chronicler mentions six of the officers of this Mahratta cavalry: Yeswunt Row, Bhoj Mul Naig, Dew Naig, Buswunt Row, Viswas Row and Koli Row<sup>7</sup>.

On the other hand the Hindu army, according to Ferishta, consisted of seventy thousand horse and ninety thousand infantry<sup>8</sup>, but the anonymous chronicler gives higher figures, *viz.* one hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand infantry<sup>9</sup>; and both Couto and Faria y Sousa, while agreeing

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1. Couto, VIII, p. 89; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432. The P.P.P. says that "on account of the Arabian horses and of the intoxicated elephants, the desert and the fields became black". Ap. A.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

4. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in Golkonda Fort, Ep. Ind. Musl.*, 1913-14, p. 48-9.

5. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 418.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 413.



as to the number of horse, state that the footsoldiers were more than six hundred thousand <sup>1</sup>. Rama Raya and his two brothers were at the head of this formidable army. The so-called Emperor of Vijayanagara was then a very old man : according to Ferishta he was seventy <sup>2</sup>; the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* says he was eighty <sup>3</sup>; but the Portuguese authors, who seem more reliable on this point, on account of their frequent intercourse with the court of Vijayanagara, state that he was in the 96th year of his age <sup>4</sup>.

1. Couto, VIII, p. 89 ; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146.

4. Couto, III, p. 90; Faria y Sousa, l. c.; Sewell, p. 203, agrees.

The Maratha account gives interesting details of the proceedings of Rama Raya on the eve of his departure from the capital. " He then went to his own harem, spent some time with Sathyabhamabai, the chief Queen, and presented many rich jewels to her. Then he went to another of his wives whose name was Devachintamani Trivegal. Her company gave him great pleasure and he made presents to her. Then he came to the drawing room of his third wife, Mana Mohini Nijaswarapi. She tried to please him in different ways. He ordered sundry fruits from his orchards and presented them to his wives. (There is here a list of 20 different kinds of fruits). Then he visited the chamber of his mother Chandrasala. She waved many jewels over his head that evil may be warded off. He then explained to her the state of affairs, how the four kings had made a common cause in attacking him and how the temples, alms-distributing houses, and the existence of the Brahmans was threatened. He therefore intimated to her the plan of repulsing and punishing the enemy. He then fell at her feet and asked for her leave. She did not like the idea and said: "We have not hurt the Muhammadans, but even then they are all coming united. It would be better to negotiate with them". He, not approving of her advice, went away. Whereupon she consented in order to please him. Afterwards he took rest during the night in his chambers. There he dreamt that somebody was depriving him of his ear-jewel and his throne and that he was being pulled down. At once he caused all the astrologers and fortune-tellers of long standing to be summoned and related his dream to them. They consoled him by saying that the enemy would be warded off, and that he would be long-lived and rule over his kingdom. He then presented them with costly cloths as well as coco-nuts. He also distributed 5,000 huns among the Brahmans". Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 171-2.

5. Rama Raya soon sent his brother Tirumala with twenty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants and one hundred thousand foot to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and defend all the passages of the river. He also sent his second brother Venkatadri with another equally large army. He himself next followed by slow marches with the rest of the forces of his dominions <sup>1</sup>. According to the Maratha account "horses, elephants, camels, stores, cattle, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses and corn stores all these were also brought to the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Every man in Vijayanagara (every one having his own horse) was ordered to join the army" <sup>2</sup>.

The Muhammadan armies, having passed the town of Talikota, which wrongly gave its name to the battle <sup>3</sup>, were laying waste the Vijayanagara territory to the North of the Krishna <sup>4</sup>. Tirumala and Venkatadri had encamped on the South bank of this river, where they had constructed field fortifications and strenghtened them by cannon and rockets <sup>5</sup>. The allies on reaching the Krishna, found that the only known ford was already occupied by the Hindu army, and despatched scouts to explore the river, hoping to find another fordable passage for their troops; it was not long before they

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 127. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 96-7, compares Rama Raya's army to a locust cloud, and states that the total number of his soldiers were one lakh of horse and five lakhs of foot-soldiers. There is a slight difference in these numbers as given in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144: Venkatadri's army: 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 100,000 foot. Eltamraj's (Tirumala's) army; 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 200,000 foot.

2. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172.

3. Talikota is twenty five miles North of the Krishna. This is the reason which inclined me to change the appellation of this battle. History must be accurate even in these minor details.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 89. Both the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 97, describe the battle as having taken place on the banks of the Krishna. Only Ferishta, III, p. 246, says that the allies had crossed the Krishna and the fight occurred near the river Hukery, twelve miles South of the Krishna.

5. Ferishta, l. c., p. 127. There was no fort there, as Sewell, p. 201, supposes.

fully ascertained that the only safe ford was just in front of the Hindus.

“On obtaining this information”, says Ferishta, “the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross; in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, thus enabling the Muhammadans to return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired ford without interruption. Agreeably to this plan the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively; which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manoeuvred along the opposite side of the river. The allies on the third night suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity that, during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted and crossed the river without opposition”. Husain Nizam Shah was among the first to cross the river. On the next day the vanguards of both armies met some miles South of the Krishna <sup>1</sup>, in the neighbourhood of the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which combined give the word Raksas-Tagdi <sup>2</sup>.

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 127-8; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 145; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 97-8. Sewell, p. 199, note 2, says that this place was probably “the plains about the little village of Bayapur or Bhogapur on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal.” Ferishta, III, p. 247, while narrating the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, says: “The kings of the Deccan made overtures to him (Rama Raya), promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace; conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army. Ramraj however refused to listen to any accomodation.” This statement seems inconsistent with the whole account of the battle and its preparations, and with his own narrative. It is evidently intended to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement.

2. Patwardan, *The Battle of Raksas-Tagdi, The Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, IV, p. 72. Raksas-Tagdi is mentioned both in a Kanarese, and in the Maratha account. Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 176; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *The Bakhair of Ram Raj, Indian Historical Records Commission, Poona Session*, p. 57.

6. In the meanwhile, Rama Raya had joined his army and despatched to the vanguard a body of Rachevidas (of the Rachevadu race) <sup>1</sup> under a captain of their own, to reconnoitre the surroundings <sup>2</sup>; and these were probably the force met by the Muslim vanguard. According to the Maratha account there was a fierce exchange of arrows from both sides; and both parties suffered heavily, but the Muhammadan vanguard was forced to retreat <sup>3</sup>. Rama Raya was having his dinner when news suddenly came that the enemy was approaching and was almost within sight; and that between the vanguards of both armies an engagement had taken place <sup>4</sup>. The Hindu chief, "though somewhat astonished at their activity", remarks Ferishta, "was by no means dismayed" <sup>5</sup>, but mounting a horse with juvenile agility he put his troops in battle array <sup>6</sup>. He entrusted his right wing to his brother Tirumala, and his left wing to his younger brother Venkatadri, while he himself commanded the centre. Two thousand elephants, trained and armed, and one thousand pieces of ordnance were placed at different intervals of his line <sup>7</sup>. The Muhammadan writer says that the infantry of Vijayanagara used to go into battle

1. They belonged to the Northern Circars, in the present Nellore District, and were very brave and fearless soldiers.

2. Couto, VIII, p. 90. These captains, according to the Maratha account, were named Bisalaya Naik, Trivengallappa Naik and Kartik Virappa Naik. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 176.

3. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 177.

4. Couto, l. c. This engagement is probably the one spoken of in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., 146, when it is stated there that "Ikhas Khan first charged the enemy with his Khurasani horse and slew large number of the infidels."

5. Ferishta, III, p. 128. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., with evident fauity, says just the contrary: "When Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya) heard of the passage of the river by the Muslims, which seemed to be a presage of their success, he was much perturbed and alarmed."

7. Couto, l. c.

8. Ferishta, l. c. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193, supposes that Venkatadri was commanding the right wing and Tirumala the left one.

"quite naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil, to prevent their being easily seized" <sup>1</sup>.

The allies likewise drew up their army in order of battle. Ali Adil Shah took over the command of the right wing to oppose Venkatadri; the left was entrusted to Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Ali Barid Shah, in front of Tirumala's wing, while the centre was led by Husain Nizam Shah. Each of these three divisions erected twelve standards, in honour of the twelve Imams, before proceeding to the attack. Ikhas Khan, an officer of Ahmadnagar, was posted with a force of mounted Khurasani archers in advance of the centre. The gun-carriages, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, were drawn up in front of the line of Husain Nizam Shah; there were altogether six hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibre, placed in three lines of two hundred each. In the first line were the heavy guns, the smaller were in the second, while the third line consisted of swivels; the whole was commanded by Chalabi Rumi Khan, distinguished officer from Asia Minor, who had served in Europe. The elephants were placed at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being armed with sharp sword blades <sup>2</sup>.

Before the battle, Tirumala and Venkatadri tried to persuade their aged brother Rama Raya to leave the superintendence of the army to them. His advanced years made his position precarious in battle. But Rama Raya could not be induced to change his mind; and with the valour of a man of thirty, he despatched them back to their respective wings <sup>3</sup>. It was probably on this occasion that he addressed his brothers and generals and "encouraged them to make a resolute stand against the Muslims, saying that he had attained the age of

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 137. The description given by Paes of the Vijayanagara soldiers refers to the great parade before the King. Their dress was as magnificent on that occasion as it was scanty on entering a battle. Cf. Sewell, p. 275-9. The paintings of the P.P.P. reproduced here represent the foot-soldiers killed during the battle covered only with a short loin cloth.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 128 and 247-8; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146 and 193.

3. Couto, VIII, p. 90.

eighty years (?) without having disgraced himself, and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Raya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death" <sup>1</sup>. Then Rama Raya mounted a litter of state, called *sing'hasun*, in spite of the entreaties of his officers, who felt that he would be much safer on horseback. "But", said he, "there is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge; this is not war" <sup>2</sup>.

7. It was noon <sup>3</sup> when the two armies advanced and soon joined battle <sup>4</sup>. The left wing of the Hindu army, under the command of Venkatadri, was the first to attack its opponent the Sultan of Bijapur <sup>5</sup>. Venkatadri had always been a help-mate to his brother Rama Raya on the battlefield, 'verily as Lakshmana was to the epic hero Rama', as the Kondyata grant of Venkata III says <sup>6</sup>. He was 'a great hero' according to the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III <sup>7</sup>, and 'a veritable

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 128-9; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 99. According to the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 145, Rama Raya and his brothers on approaching the Muslim army "were terrified and decided not to fight on that day, but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the field, and Hussain Nizam Shah and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight, to allow the armies of Islam time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle". The P.P.P., says also that "when that infidel (Rama Raya) heard that the army (of Ahmadnagar) was approaching, the world became dark to his eyes". Ap. A. This conduct of Rama Raya is not consistent with the narrative of Ferishta and other authorities. This passage is an evident concoction of the author in order to represent the Vijayanagara ruler as a cowardly warrior.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 128; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 146.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 120.

5. Couto, VIII, p. 91; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 129.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 157.



Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The Hindu Army. First engagement.  
 Rama Raya in upper right corner, (P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)





Arjuna in the battlefield' according to the *Ramarajiyamu* <sup>1</sup>. This great general was the first to attack the Mussulman force. "The infidels," Ferishta remarks, "began the attack with vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery" <sup>2</sup>. Venkatadri had under his command two hundred thousand infantry, twenty five thousand cavalry and five hundred elephants <sup>3</sup>; and with this force he fought valiantly, inflicting great loss on his enemies. The *Ramarajiyamu* records that Venkatadri "in a pitched battle dealt destruction to the combined troops of the Nizam, Adil Khan and Qutb Shah, and drove away all the three chiefs from the field" <sup>4</sup>. The second part of the sentence sounds like a poetical exaggeration, but points, nevertheless, to the success of Venkatadri's army over that of Adil Shah <sup>5</sup>. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* agrees with this when affirming that Ali Adil Shah 'left the position allotted to him' <sup>6</sup>.

After Venkatadri had opened the attack, the action became general <sup>6</sup>. On the right wing of the Hindu army, Tirumala, at the head of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand infantry and five hundred elephants, was likewise successfully opposing the combined armies of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar <sup>7</sup>. Both he and his eldest son, Ragnate Raje (Raghunatha), distinguished themselves by their heroic conduct and mercilessly slew hundreds of Muhammadans <sup>8</sup>. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* openly declares that "the left of the allies under Ibrahim Qutb Shah was beaten back" <sup>9</sup>. Raghunatha had previously defeated the armies of Nizam Shah near the

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 119.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 247.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

5. The *Narasabupaliyamu* speaks also of the military achievements of Venkatadri in a pitched battle against Adil Shah. If the Bijapur poem refers to this battle, it is quite certain that the Sultan was driven from the field. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

6. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

8. Ibid., p. 247. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 102, Tirumala was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur.

9. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193.

river Krishna and had driven them to the North of the river <sup>1</sup>. But as Couto records both father and son had at last to retire from the battle field for both were dangerously wounded <sup>2</sup>. The Portuguese chronicler does not say what these wounds were, but C. Frederick informs us that "Timaragio fled in the battle having lost one of his eyes" <sup>3</sup>. Raghunatha's injuries are not recorded anywhere, but since no mention of him is found afterwards, and it is known that he was not alive at the time of his father's death, we may suppose that he died as the result of the injuries received in this battle.

8. When the news of this event reached Rama Raya's ears, the valiant chief, realizing that the issue was much beyond his expectations, was incensed with fury; and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times '*Gorida! Gorida!*' (Garuda! Garuda!) <sup>4</sup>, with his men charged the allied army. The wings commanded by the Sultans of Bijapur, Golkonda and Bidar, soon broke before the indomitable fury of the old Hindu King and his Rachevadu soldiers. Then the Hindu army charged straight to the centre of the allied army, which was led by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with ten thousand horse under his command. But the attack of Rama Raya was so unexpected and effective that the Nizam's army retreated about half a league, with the loss of more than two thousand of its men. Here the Rachevadu soldiers proved the bravery of their race; for seeing their Sovereign engaged with the enemy they dismounted in great haste; and rushing to his defence slew many Muhammadans.

1. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216. This action must have occurred before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, because Vijayanagara never recovered the territories to the North of the river

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91.

3. Purchas, X, p. 93.

4. "Que he o seu idolo das batalhas, como nos o fazemos ao apostolo Santiago." Couto, VIII, p. 91. According to the Maratha account this horse was called Amritanidhan. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172. The exaggerated account of the

But the field was not yet clear of the enemy<sup>1</sup>. Adil Shah returned to battle, with his soldiers, to check the advance of Rama Raya. In the meanwhile the Sultan of Ahmadnagar collected his dispersed forces, and was back again on the battlefield before the engagement between Rama Raya and Adil Shah was over<sup>2</sup>. Then several detachments of the Hindu army were sent against the Nizam's troops. In the first lines of the latter's army there were now two thousand Iragi and Khurasani archers under Ikhlas Khan, drawn up to conceal the artillery that lay behind in charge of Rumi Khan. "These kept up a heavy discharge on the enemy (the Hindus) as they approached, and fell back as the Hindus advanced, till they were close to the heavy battery, which opened upon them with such effect that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss"<sup>3</sup>. "In fact," says Ali ibn Aziz, "Ikhlas Khan and Rumi Khan were the heroes of the day"<sup>4</sup>.

"At this phase of the fight," continues the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "Husain Nizam Shah ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. The pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Deccan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without

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P.P.P. is full of oriental imagery and worth copying: "On account of the noise the beasts of the desert took to flight. When they were arrayed for the battle, even the devil fled away from their excessive clamour. The two clouds (of soldiers) began shouting and the two seas of fire came into tumult. And such was their shouting that on account of its dread the devil became mad. The trampling of the horsemen broke the ribs of the bullock (that supports the earth). The black cloud started shouting and the shining of the fish (that supports the bullock) reached the sky. The clamour was such that it reached the sky and even deafened the ears of the angels." Ap. A.

1. This retreat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar is, of course, omitted in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*; but it is also recorded in the Maratha account. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*. l. c., p. 180.

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91-2.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 248; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193; Couto, VIII, p. 92.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour" <sup>1</sup>.

This was probably too much for the old Hindu ruler, who now dismounted and sat similarly "on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls". But not to discourage his troops with his weakness, he ordered his treasurer to give some money to them, and "to place heaps of money around him that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction; rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose". The Hindus, inspired by this generosity, recovered from the panic produced by the discharge of the Nizam's artillery, and charged the right and left wings of the allies "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder; and Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah began to despair of victory, and even to prepare for retreat" <sup>2</sup>. This account of Ferishta, who also states that "the two flanks had already fallen back" <sup>3</sup>, agrees not only with the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, which says that "the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable" <sup>4</sup>, and with the Hindu chronicles, which say that two divisions of the Muslim army had been defeated <sup>5</sup>, but also with Faria y Sousa, who writes that "Rama Raya almost defeated his enemies" <sup>6</sup>. The *Basatin-us-Salatin* relates this tremendous havoc in the Muslim army as follows: "The Muslim slain were piled in heaps over heaps, and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army. The infidels showed their superiority and valour" <sup>7</sup>.

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1. Ibid.; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 101. According to this authority, Husain Nizam Shah had in the camp several of his wives and concubines; at this point he placed eunuchs next to every one of them, with the special command of killing them should the battle take a bad turn.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 248.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

5. Cf. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 142.

6. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.

7. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 101.





Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The Defeat of the Hindu Army.  
(P.P.P.)

*By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandal, Poona.)*

9. Hussain Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre <sup>1</sup>. The commander of the artillery, Chalabi Rumi Khan, had provided bags of copper money to lead off with, should the enemy close ; and these proved so destructive, that upwards of five thousand Hindus were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns before they retreated". The confusion of the Vijayanagara army then grew enormous : Kishwar Khan Lary, an officer of Bijapur attached to the centre of the Muslim host, charged with five thousand cavalry and routed the centre of the Hindu line <sup>2</sup>.

And then, at the height of all the confusion, there was a movement in the Hindu army that decided the fate of the day. Two Muhammadan generals who served under Rama Raya, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the last charge of Kishwar Khan Lary, turned their backs on their lord, and went over with their troops to the cause of Islam. This treason, recorded neither by Ferishta nor by Ali ibn Aziz, explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle. We are made aware of it by C. Frederick, who heard the account of the whole action one year later when he passed through Vijayanagara : "These foure Kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans): and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the foure kings which were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields ; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres ; because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King and made disorder in his Armie, that as as-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

2. Ibid., p. 248.

tonied they set themselves to flight" <sup>1</sup>. Anquetil du Perron records likewise that "the king, abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs, perished" <sup>2</sup>.

Who were these two Mussulman generals who so treacherously deserted the Vijayanagara army? Their names are found nowhere, but I suspect that one of them was that Ain-ul-Mulk whom Rama Raya used to call his brother <sup>3</sup>, and at whose request Sadasiva granted the village of Bevinahalli to the Brahmans <sup>4</sup>. He seems to have come from a family of traitors. His father, mentioned also in the aforesaid grant as 'the chief Ainana Malukka,' was beheaded for treason at Bijapur in 1553, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah <sup>5</sup>; and it was perhaps then that his son "offended Ibrahim Adil Shah, left his service and entered that of Ramraj" <sup>6</sup>. As a matter of fact we find one Ain-ul-Mulk in the army of the Sultan of Bijapur in the subsequent wars with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar <sup>7</sup>.

10. The desertion of these generals threw the division of Rama Raya into chaotic confusion <sup>8</sup>, in the course of which he himself was wounded <sup>9</sup>. On seeing this, the old Sovereign again mounted his state litter to retreat from the battlefield; but the bearers, panic-stricken at the approach of a furious elephant of the Ahmadnagar army, ran away, abandoning their Monarch

1. Purchas, X, pp. 92-3. According to the Maratha account the final cause of the defeat was the surprise of the Hindu camp by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This treason, not mentioned by Sewell, is recently recorded by Krishnamacharlu, *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, *Ind. Ant.*, LII, p. 11.

3. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Ferishta*, III, p. 381.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 231, vv. 64-68.

5. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur*, p. 53, and Ch. V, No. 9.

6. *Ferishta*, l. c.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 133; Anonymous chronicler, *Ibid.*, pp. 419, 427, etc.

8. *Ferishta*, p. 129. "The soldiers refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions". *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103.

9. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c.; Couto, VIII, p. 92.



in the middle of that tremendous turmoil <sup>1</sup>. Rama Raya then attempted to make his escape on foot; but just when he was dismounting from the litter he was overtaken by the elephant, who seized him with his trunk <sup>2</sup>. The venerable prisoner was then conducted to Chalabi Rumi Khan <sup>3</sup>, who just was going to kill him when one Dalpat Rai, a Brahman general of the Hindu army, cried out: "Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Divan Barid; for he is Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya)" <sup>4</sup>. Rumi Khan on hearing this brought the prisoner into the presence of Husain Nizam Shah <sup>5</sup>. Ferishta, Ali ibn Aziz and the P. P. P. say that the Ahmadnagar Sultan ordered his head to be instantly cut off <sup>6</sup>; but Couto relates that Husain Nizam Shah beheaded him with his own hand exclaiming:

"Now I am avenged on thee! Let God do what he will to me!" <sup>7</sup>

1. Ferishta, III p. 129.

2. Ibid., p. 249. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 193, relates that the capture of Rama Raya took place when he was riding on horseback.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 130. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103, Rumi Khan himself was riding the elephant that seized Rama Raya.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., pp. 193-4, says also as follows: "They therefore straitly bound the chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizam Shah".

6. Ferishta, III, p. 249; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194; P. P. P., Ap. A.

7. Couto, l.c. The *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103, depicts here an incredible scene: "Nizam Shah was much pleased with the capture of Rama Raya, caused him to sit down before him and asked him: 'How are you?' and 'How do you feel?' Rama Raya could not speak, but pointed out to his own head saying: 'This was destined'. On this point Akim Hasan Beg of Dabris, who was a favourite of Nizam Shah and the confidant of his Court, hastily came forward and told him that this was not the time for talking, saying: 'Send him immediately to the gallows of retribution (kill him), otherwise Adil Shah who claims to be his son, will cause great disturbances and will snatch Ram Raj from your hands'. Accordingly Ram Raj's head was severed from his body".

"His mischievous head", says All ion Aziz, "was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse" <sup>1</sup>. Moreover the P. P. P. relates that Rama Raya's head was stuffed with straw <sup>2</sup>.

Husain Nizam Shah then caused Rama Raya's head "to be placed on the point of a long spear, that his death might be thus announced to the enemy" <sup>3</sup>.

The death of Rama Raya on the battleneld is also recorded in the Hindu contemporary sources. A grant of his brother Tirumala, 1568, says that when Sadasiva "was governing the kingdom of the world, the Mahamandalesvara Aliya Rama Rajayya Deva-Maha-Arasu having, by the action of kings, suddenly set," (died), etc. <sup>4</sup> In another similar grant of Tirumala it is said that Rama Raya, "owing to the action of the kings of the Turukas (Turks, i. e. Muhammadans), having set" (died), etc. <sup>5</sup> The Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

2. P. P. P., Ap. A.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 130. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c. Briggs, Ferishta, l. c., note \* says that "the real head (of Rama Raya), annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious Muhammadans of Ahmadnagar on the anniversary of the battle, for the last two hundred and fifty four years, by the descendants of the executioner, in whose hands it has remained till the present period". This was written in 1829. Since then no remains in Ahmadnagar of such a head can be traced. The Maratha account states that Rama Raya's head was sent to Benares. Ghandorkar, o. c., p. 181. In the Museum of Bijapur there is a stone representation of Rama Raya's head. M. J. Bird, *On the Ruined City of Bijapur*, J. B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 376, says as follows: "The only other thing that formerly attracted notice at the citadel was the stone representation of Rama Raya's head. It was on the right of the gate at entering; but having been removed from there by the Raja of Sattara, was lately thrown into the ditch". As a matter of fact it seems to have been thrown into the Taj Bauri; for when it was subsequently cleaned out this head was discovered in the mud at the bottom. Cf. Cousehs, *Bijapur*, p. 9, note 2. The sculpture is photographically reproduced in the frontispiece of this volume.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 7.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 6.



Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The execution of Rama Raya.  
(P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)



Varatungarama Pandya say that "in Vidyanagari the famous Rama Raya was killed by his enemies"<sup>1</sup>. The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that "in one of his invasions against the Yavana kingdoms of the North he lost his life"<sup>2</sup>. Rama Raya's death is also mentioned in the *Krishna Raya Rajya aleda vivara*<sup>3</sup>. Finally his defeat and death are given in the *Jangama Kalajmyana* in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son, staunch devotees of Siva<sup>4</sup>.

II. When news of the capture of Rama Raya reached Ali Adil Shah, this affectionate Sultan, who sometimes called Rama Raya his father, proceeded to where Husain Nizam Shah was, in order to save the life of the old Monarch; but before he reached the spot his old friend had been beheaded, to the great sorrow of the Bijapur Sultan<sup>5</sup>.

The noble head of Rama Raya was soon raised on the top of a pike, according to the Nizam's orders; and this was the cause of the flight of the Hindu army. "The Hindus", says Ferishta, "according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from<sup>6</sup> the field"<sup>6</sup> towards Vijayanagara<sup>7</sup>. They were pursued by the Muhammadans. "Husain Nizam Shah," says Ali ibn Aziz, "pursued the fugitives; and so many were put to the sword that

1. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 161-164.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

3. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*. n. 345.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

5. Couto, VIII, p. 92; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194. One of the paintings of the P. P. P., reproduced here, shows the Sultan of Bijapur begging for Rama Raya's life before Husain Nizam Shah. Ali Adil Shah is there represented as far too advanced in years. The Hindu accounts say generally that Rama Raya was beheaded by Adil Shah, and speak of him as having performed a meritorious action in saving Rama Raya from the disgrace of captivity. Cf. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 142. See for instance Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 104. Maratha account, Chandorkar, o. c., p. 181.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 249; Maratha account, Chandorkar, l. c., p. 181.

the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies" <sup>1</sup>. "The river", according to Ferishta, "was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities", he continues, "that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit" <sup>2</sup>.

What was the fate of Venkatadri, the youngest brother of the deceased Raya? Frederick says that both Venkatadri and his brother died <sup>3</sup>, and Couto <sup>4</sup> and Anquetil du Perron <sup>5</sup> agree with the Italian traveller. But Ferishta definitely asserts that Venkatadri "escaped from the battle to a distant fortress" <sup>6</sup>. The *Ramarajiyamu* seems to confirm this, while stating that "the combined armies of Nizam (Nizam Shah), Yedulakhana (Adil Shah) and Kutupusahu (Qutb Shah) altogether gave up the hope of capturing him" <sup>7</sup>. Finally, the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, dated at least two years after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster, speak of Venkatadri as still alive; they say that he shone on earth as a hero and a conqueror <sup>8</sup>. Probably the fact that he retired to that distant fortress was the cause of the belief that he was dead. Which fortress this was, it is difficult to say: Chandragiri, near Tirupati, would have offered him a safe refuge; it is distant, indeed, from the Mussalman realms, and considered as one of the strongholds of the Empire; Krishna Deva Raya had imprisoned there his three brothers and his nephew, as soon as he was enthroned, according to Nuniz <sup>9</sup>.

12. The victorious Muhammadans did not pursue the Hindus up to the walls of Vijayanagara. Their bloodthirsty pursuit perhaps extended over some leagues, but then they

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105. The anonymous chronicler agrees, *Ibid.*, p. 414; but the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., says that the number of the slain was nine thousand.

3. Purchas, X, p. 93.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 91.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. Accordingly Sewell, p. 180, seems to suppose that Venkatadri died also at Raksas-Tagdi.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

7. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 330.

9. Sewell, p. 315-6.



Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The retreat of the Hindu Army.  
Tirumala Raya in upper left corner. (P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)





returned to the battlefield and halted some time over there. Couto says they halted only three days<sup>1</sup>, but the anonymous chronicler, who is more reliable, expressly states that "the allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action"<sup>2</sup>, and Ali ibn Aziz agrees to his statement<sup>3</sup>.

All the riches of the Hindu camp fell into the hands of the Muslims. "The victors," says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched"<sup>4</sup>. "The plunder was so great," adds Ferishta, "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use"<sup>5</sup>. The Maratha account states that the treasures Rama Raya had brought to the battlefield were valued at 12,357,411 huns<sup>6</sup>. Among all these jewels the Muhammadan writer mentions only "necklaces which had been brought into the treasury (of Ahmadnagar) from the plunder of Ramraj, composed of valuable rubies, emeralds and pearls". These necklaces became later on the cause of one of the mad excesses of Murtaza Nizam Shah<sup>7</sup>.

This tremendous disaster to the army of Vijayanagara took place on January 25th, 1565<sup>8</sup>.

1. Couto, VIII, p. 92.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.

3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105, the Sultans lived for 20 days in the battlefield.

4. Ibid.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 104. "The army became rich in wealth and jewels." P. P. P., Ap. A.

6. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172.

7. Ibid., pp. 264-5.

8. Ibid., p. 414. The date given by the anonymous chronicler seems the most reliable. Ferishta does not give the exact date. The one assigned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146, corresponds to January 7.

## CHAPTER X

### THE END OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY

**SUMMARY.** 1. Influence of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi on the history of the South of India.—2. A criticism of Rama Raya and his rule.—3. Tirumala succeeds Rama Raya as Regent of the Empire.—4. The Vijayanagara court flies up country.—5. Triumphant entry of the Muslim Sultans into the city of Vijayanagara.—6. The sack of the city.—7. Departure of the Muhammadans.—8. Return of Tirumala and the court.—9. The imperial palace at this time.—10. Intercourse between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.—11. Sadasiva under the Regency of Tirumala.—12. Tirumala transfers the capital of the Empire to Penukonda.—13. Previous history of this place.—14. Further information about the city of Vijayanagara.—15. The abandonment of Vijayanagara deals a death blow to Portuguese commerce in India.—16. Muhammadan conquests in the North of the Empire.—17. Internal state of the Empire.—18. The Krishnapuram grant at Srirangam.—19. Murder of Sadasiva.—20. An estimate of his reign.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.** 1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Basatin-us-Salatin*.—3. Couto, Correa, Faria y Sousa.—4. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—5. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Poona Persian Poem.

THE battle of Raksas-Tagdi is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in the South of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion. Impartial history acknowledges its influence centuries after, since it paved the way for the Maratha cavalry of Sivaji and his successors, fostered the ambitious ideals of Aurangzeb and his Nawabs, and attracted the ambitious Haidar Ali to overthrow the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The glorious Empire of Vijayanagara, faithful trustee of the inheritance of the Hoysalas for two centuries and a half, was now seriously menaced by its secular opponents, the Muslim powers of central India. Perhaps this action would mark the end of its existence, but for a new family of fresh and

vigorous blood, that succeeded in saving the imperial crown from the midst of that turmoil of death. The Empire of Vijayanagara thus lasted another century. Such was the destiny of the Aravidu family.

Nevertheless, Vijayanagara never wholly recovered from that tremendous blow; the foundations of this marvellous Empire, which was the wonder of both merchants and travellers, were deeply shaken, and its star never rose again to the zenith of its sky. "The Kingdom of Vijayanagara," wrote Ferishta at the close of that century, "since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour" <sup>1</sup>. The victory meant for the Muhammadans the immediate recovery of all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Qutb Shah by the efforts of the deceased Rama Raya, as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us <sup>2</sup>. Accordingly the P. P. P. states that "with the falling of the head of the infidel (Rama Raya), you may say the day of resurrection appeared" <sup>3</sup>. The Deccani Sultans were elated at their good fortune. Hence farmans with accounts of this important victory were sent at once to their several dominions and to the neighbouring states <sup>4</sup>. Ali ibn Aziz says that these letters "were sent to all parts of the world" <sup>5</sup>.

2. The death of Rama Raya, as it had been welcomed with great joy and exultation by the allied Sultans, so was, no doubt, a great and irremediable loss to the Hindu Empire. The chief of the Aravidu family had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Timma Raju and maintained the lustre which had belonged to it during the time of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya. That chief's indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India. His reputation is indeed clouded by his usurpation of the throne and by the imprisonment of Sadasiva. But perhaps

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 415.

3. P. P. P., Ap. A.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 130.

5. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ep. Ind.*, L, p. 194.

even this fact was due more to the incapability of the young puppet sovereign than to his own ambition. From this point of view, his usurpation provides a special sidelight of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the Empire.

As a matter of fact, the inscriptions and grants of that time have nothing but praise for Rama Raya and his government. While having uprooted all the enemies," we read in a grant of 1554, "Rama Raya ruled over the earth, as famous as Bharata and Bagiratha"<sup>1</sup>. "This heroic Rama Raya," the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III state, "resembled by his great fame Bharata, Hanu, Bagiratha and other kings"<sup>2</sup>. He is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, to have "ruled the earth with justice after having destroyed his enemies"<sup>3</sup>; in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, to have been "endowed with valour, nobility and kindness"<sup>4</sup>; and in one of his grants of 1561 he is noted for valour, generosity and mercy"<sup>5</sup>. His generosity towards his subjects seems to have become proverbial: Manucci extolled it a century later<sup>6</sup>, and the aforesaid Vellandi plates of Venkata II affirm that "he surpassed even the shining tree of the gods in his gifts"<sup>7</sup>.

The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* gives an interesting account of the career of Rama Raya just before the battle in which he met his end. It runs as follows: "Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya) was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagara for the length of his army and for his power, and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions. It possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagara with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120,000,000 rials; and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom a long time"<sup>8</sup>.

1. *M. A. D.*, 1923, pp. 125-7.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-18.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.

6. Cf. Ch. III, No. 6.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-18.

8. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143. Ferishta, III, pp. 4, also speaks of the 60 sea-ports of the Vijayanagara Empire.

3. Five sons were born to Rama Raya by his four wives<sup>1</sup>; but none of them was destined to succeed his father in the difficult task of ruling over the Empire. Tirumala, Rama Raya's brother, who had been his prime minister during the last stage of the latter's life, was naturally the one man able to take over that responsibility, and he actually did so. Whether he was appointed by the King, or whether it was the result of circumstances and more in the nature of a self-nomination, we do not know; but from the Krishna-puram plates of Sadasiva<sup>2</sup> and from the two Tirumala's grants of Holalkere, mentioned, in the preceding chapter, we know that Tirumala succeeded his brother in the regency of the Empire<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, in another inscription of Sadasiva, Gutti Tirumalayyadeva Maharaja, of the Aravidu family, is stated to have been the prime minister of the King<sup>4</sup>. The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records, too, that after the death of Rama Raya "his younger brother, Yera Timma Raja, then made himself ruler"<sup>5</sup>. If we are to believe this statement, Tirumala appointed himself the Regent of the Empire.

4. What were his first steps on this rough road to save the Empire from a Muhammadan invasion? It seems that when the first news of the defeat and execution of Rama Raya reached Vijayanagara, nobody thought of anything else but of hurrying to escape either certain death or ignoble slavery. Tirumala with his relatives, his wives and those of his brothers and sons, the ministers and nobles of the Empire, the generals and soldiers together with their Emperor Sadasiva, who then for the first time appeared in public after six years of rigorous imprisonment<sup>6</sup>, left the city of Vijayanagara a few hours later<sup>7</sup>. A

1. Cf. Ch. II, No. 4.

2. Cf. a little further on No. 18.

3. Cf. p. 214, notes 4 and 5.

4. 412 of 1911.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

6. A circumstance only given in Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 93.

7. The Maratha account says that "the mother and the wives of Rajbhuwar (Rama Raya), as soon as they came to know this untoward incident (the defeat and execution of the Hindu chief), set fire to the palace." Chandorkar, l. c., p. 181. If this is true, the palace referred to must be the zenana, since the palace of the King was seen and described one year later by C. Frederick. Cf. No. 9.

great convoy followed them: one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and precious stones, coins of the Empire, and other things of this kind, valued altogether at more than a hundred millions sterling. They also carried away the famous jewelled throne of the kings, celebrated and mentioned in the inscriptions in every corner of the Empire <sup>1</sup>.

According to modern authors this convoy, as well as the noble retinue which preceded it, made for the fort of Penukonda <sup>2</sup>; but nothing of the kind is said in the original contemporary sources. Ferishta does not speak of this retreat; Frederick only remarks that they "fled away" <sup>3</sup>; Faria y Sousa mentions no destination at all; Couto alone gives a hint, so long forgotten, which is the real solution of this problem. "They," says he, "with all this outfit left for the interior, and stored everything in the palace of Tremil; for it was very well fortified on an impregnable mountain, at ten days' distance from Bisnaga" <sup>4</sup>. Now, where was this palace of Tremil? We cannot offer a satisfactory answer, but it seems to us that the circumstances mentioned by the Portuguese author,—viz. that it was a fortified up-country place, standing on the top of an impregnable mountain and ten days distant from Vijayanagara, and that its name was Tremil,—cannot be applied to any other spot but to the temple on the Tirumala hill at Tirupati <sup>5</sup>. Its shrine of

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 92-3; Faria y Sousa, II, pp. 433-4.

2. Cf. for instance Sewell, p. 206; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 120.

3. Purchas, l. c.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 93.

5. The Jesuits who lived at the court of Venkata II called the temple of Perumal, at Tirupati, the temple of Perumal or Primal. See Ap. C, No. VIII. Is not this a corruption similar to that of Couto? Even Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 42, writes Tremul instead of Tirumala. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 4 and note 3 of p. 60. But the best proof is given by Correa, IV, p. 282, who evidently speaking of Tirupati says that "the temple of Tremelle, that is the chief and richest house of the whole Kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), is in the port of Paleacate (Pulicat)." (So the Portuguese believed). Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 304, likewise calls Tremel, this famous Hindu temple: "Um pagode tem estes gentios da India, a que chaman o

Sri Venkatesvara Perumal, surrounded by three stone walls on the top of the holy hill Tirumala, 2,500 feet high, might easily be called by the Portuguese writer the impregnable palace of Tremil. Moreover, Correa states that the sovereigns of Vijayanagara had a house or palace at Tirupati<sup>1</sup>, and Sadasiva himself in the beginning of his reign used to go to the sacred fair held there<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand we recognize that its distance from Vijayanagara does not agree with the ten days' journey given by Couto; but for a man who never travelled through the country, one or two days more does not make much difference. Indeed it would not be at all strange that the first monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty took shelter for a while, in those days of distress, in the same country where his successors settled finally: first at Chandragiri, just at the foot of the Tirumala hill, and then at Vellore.

5. After the departure of the Emperor and the nobility from the capital, no garrison remained within its walls to defend it against any attack. And Couto says that then the Bedues "who are jungle people" pounced down on the helpless city, and in six different attacks looted all its houses, carrying away numberless precious things left by the nobles in their hasty flight<sup>3</sup>.

pagode de Tremel, mui nomeado, assim pela muita riqueza, e thesouro, que dizem ter, como por ser casa de muita romagem dos gentios, en que se acham ordinariamente cada dia infinitos, que ali vem de diversas partes e reinos, e muito mas no dia da festa do dito pagode". According to this, Sadasiva retired to where he had been first crowned. Cf. Ch. II, No. 1.

1. Correa, IV, p. 300.

2. Ibid., pp. 302-3.

3. Couto, l.c. Couto does not say that the Bedues entered Vijayanagara on the day following the departure of the Emperor, nor that their six attacks all occurred on the same day. I cannot trace where Sewell, p. 207, takes this information from. Were not these Bedues the Bergies whom Ferishta III, p. 141, speaks of as people living around Vijayanagara? Their chief at the end of this century was Handistan Nayaka, of whom we shall again speak when discussing the reign of Venkata II. Most of them were finally put to death by the Sultan of Bijapur. Ibid., p. 142.

But this calamity was nothing in comparison with the one which befell the unfortunate city some days after.

The four Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan<sup>1</sup>, after the ten days' rest on the battlefield, proceeded towards Vijayanagara with all their troops. Ferishta relates that they halted in the city of Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra river, while their advanced armies penetrated to Vijayanagara itself<sup>2</sup>. This was done, no doubt, to prepare the great triumph, described by Frederick, of the four Kings on their entry into the capital of their enemy<sup>3</sup>. From Anegundi they crossed the river by the bridge built some years previously by Rama Raya, the piers of which can still be seen in the centre of the river. As soon as they reached Vijayanagara, the temple of Achyuta Raya stood before them with its high entrance gopuram, at the end of the so-called dancing girls' street; but turning to the right, and passing in front of the temple of Kodanda Rama, they followed the way paved with large granite slabs that runs by the river side, until they reached the end of the broad bazaar of Hampi, just at the foot of the tremendous monolythic Nandi that watches silently over the first steps leading to the top of the abrupt ridge on the left. Here the state procession was probably arranged first; the soldiers, then the captains; the prisoners next, and finally the four Sultans riding on elephants or on horseback; and it is not even improbable that the head of Rama Raya was carried aloft before the Kings, on the top of a long spear, and shown to the terrified inhabitants of that desolate city. The gorgeous cavalcade, probably did not reach the Pampapati temple; but turning to the left, started the ascent of the rocky hill crowned by the two small shrines where the colossal statues of Ganesa were once worshipped. After a while they entered the enclosure of Krishna's temple, a fine specimen of the architectural work of Krishna Deva Raya: the road turns then to the right and on reaching the plains the victorious sovereigns of the Deccan passed before the shrine containing the huge monolythic statue

1. Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 92.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

3. Frederick, l. c.



of the god Narasimha, which was mutilated by their soldiers shortly after. Subsequently, they entered the citadel, where the Sultans took up their residence either in the enclosure of the royal palace or in the Danayak's enclosure; the zenana enclosure was also probably reserved for their wives.

6. The Mussulman sovereigns spent six months at Vijayanagara<sup>1</sup>. During this time their troops were occupied in plundering the city and its surroundings. "The efforts of the conquerors," says the anonymous chronicler, "were directed to the plunder of the country and of the city"<sup>2</sup>; and Frederick states that they were "searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden"<sup>3</sup>. The booty was enormous. Couto and Faria y Sousa state that Ali Adil Shah got from the spoil a diamond as large as a hen's egg, and this was affixed to the base of the plume on the headdress of his favourite horse; he also got another diamond not so large but very uncommon, besides a multitude of jewels and precious things<sup>4</sup>.

Was this sack so destructive as it has been supposed? I regret to say that Mr. Sewell, whom we may rightly call the pioneer historian of Vijayanagara, has completely misdescribed the state of Vijayanagara as caused by the Muhammadans during those six months<sup>5</sup>. More than three centuries have

1. Anonymous chronicler, *Ferishta*, III, p. 415; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 106; Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p. 93; Couto, VIII, p. 93. Faria y Sousa II, p. 432, says that they were at Vijayanagara five months only. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194, states that they remained at Vijayanagara four months only.

2. *Ferishta*, III, p. 414. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. *Purchas*, X, p. 93.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 93; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 433. Probably several pearls and precious stones the Sultan of Bijapur got from the sack of Vijayanagar were finally presented to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, after the peace concluded between the Deccan and Prince Khurram in 1617. Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 399-401.

5. Sewell, p. 207, says: "They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing *now remains* but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood." (Italics are mine). How can it be supposed that the destruction we see at present is the effect of the plunder of the Muhammadans only?

elapsed since those memorable days, and time is as sure a destroyer as man. His statement is perhaps founded on the Muhammadan authors, who seem to give a picture of a most tremendous havoc. Ferishta says: "They plundered, rased the chief buildings to the ground and committed every species of excess"<sup>1</sup>. The anonymous chronicler states that "the conquerors were directed to the destruction of the stone buildings"<sup>2</sup>, and Ali ibn Aziz relates that during their stay they were busy "destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country"<sup>3</sup>. I do not doubt that many a temple was desecrated in those days, that many idols were partially broken or completely destroyed, or that several shrines were, perhaps, razed to the ground by the fanatical iconoclasts; but I cannot admit Ferishta's saying, that the chief buildings were razed to the ground, for the simple reason that the chief buildings of the capital of the old Hindu Empire may be partly seen even now. The huge imposing basements both in the royal enclosure and in the zenana; the partly destroyed gopurams of the Vitthalaswami, Krishna and Achyuta Temples, of which only the brick-work has partially disappeared; the beautiful well-kept gopuram of the Pampapati temple at Hampi, one of the first the invaders saw on their coming from Anegundi; even the two small shrines of Ganesa between the Hampi temple and the one of Krishna, of which not a stone has crumbled down after three centuries, are manifest proof of the exaggeration in Ferishta's statement. His religious prejudice against the idols and the temples of the *unbelievers* made him suppose things done in the imperial city of which its invaders were never guilty.

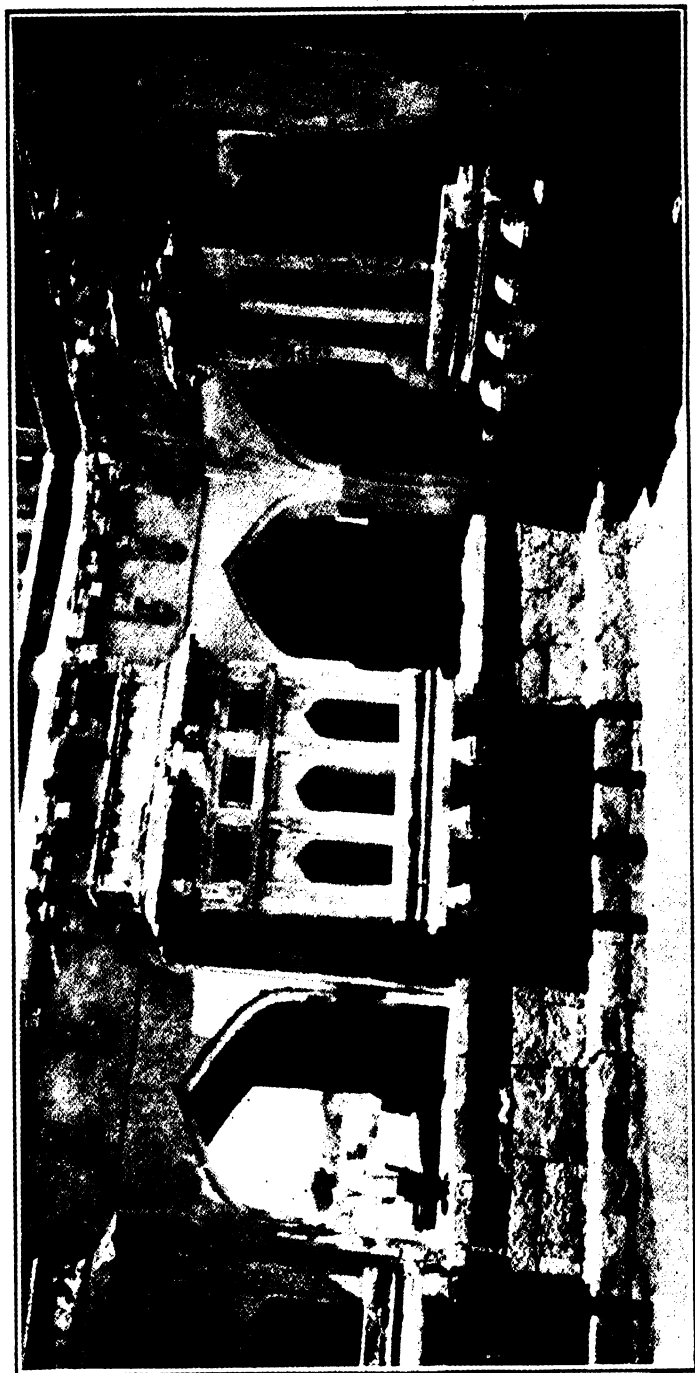
I feel sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days, because they are not, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples. The huge Narasimha was mutilated, no doubt, at the time, since it is not in the power of centuries to cut off such big limbs as that idol's. Two images, nevertheless, inexplicably escaped the general des-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 414.

3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 194.





Vijayanagara. Hindu-Muslim bath.

truction ; they are the above mentioned statues of Ganesa. As to the temples, the crumbling of the brick-work of the gopurams, the falling in of the ceiling slabs and the consequent shaking of the whole building, are things that require no help from any iconoclast invader. Time does it more quietly and more easily than any human agency can.

Moreover we must admit that several edifices of the city were destroyed by the invaders, partly while searching for treasures and partly by order of Husain Nizam Shah, who set on fire a number of houses, according to the information given by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact we have often found traces of a conflagration while going through the ruins.

Besides, the poor inhabitants of the city, who had taken refuge in the valleys of the surroundings, were diligently searched for by the Muslim soldiers ; and when found, tortured till something was exacted from them<sup>2</sup>.

7. Anyhow the Mussulman sovereigns did not intend to destroy Vijayanagara. Their long six months' stay within its walls seems to demonstrate their purpose of retaining the city for themselves. Another fact, which has never been pointed out hitherto, tells the same story : their construction of new buildings in the old Hindu capital. There are still at Vijayanagara five or six buildings (such as the bath on the east side of the royal enclosure, the so-called elephants' stable, the lotus-palace in the zenana, the small building at the opposite corner of the same enclosure, the tower house in one of the corners of the Danayak's enclosure and the octogonal pavilion on the road to Hampi), that do not belong to the old Vijayanagara style, but to a new school that marvellously combines both Hindu and Muslim styles, the latter predominating. Moreover, the ancient Hindu structures of Vijayanagara were built without mortar : the basements of the royal enclosure, the walls of both the city and the different enclosures and the ruins of the temples show their mortarless construction. But for building the edifices in question mortar was used, and such mortar as has gloriously

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1. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 106.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

defied the destructive inclemency of the weather for three centuries and a half. Now, speaking of the buildings of Bijapur, and specially of the flat ceiling of the famous Ibrahim Rauza, Mr. H. Cousens, in his monumental work on *Bijapur*, says: "The whole secret of the durability of the masonry of those days is the great strength and tenacity of the mortar" <sup>1</sup>. Such was the secret of the masons of Bijapur. For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the buildings mentioned above were the work of the Deccani Sultans during their sojourn in the capital of the Hindu Empire. My opinion is confirmed by the following words we read in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*: "After this (the battle) they (the Sultans) devoted their attention to Vijayanagara and raised mighty and lofty buildings" <sup>2</sup>.

Yet six months after their triumphal arrival, that is, at the end of July or at the beginning of August of the same year 1565, they, with their respective armies, left Vijayanagara. "They departed to their own kingdom," Frederick relates, "because they were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie" <sup>3</sup>. But before leaving, they received an embassy which ought to have been for them the cause of immense joy: "Venkatadri," says Ferishta, "who escaped from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties to the kings, to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had wrested from them" <sup>4</sup>. By whose authority did Venkatadri make such an overture? No doubt by Tirumala's. If the distant fortress to which Venkatadri escaped was Chandragiri, as we have supposed; and if the palace of Tremil, where Tirumala and Sadasiva took refuge after the battle, is in upper Tirupati, as we have pointed out as probable in the beginning of this chapter, both brothers could have communicated with each other on important state matters; and Venkatadri could have opened these pourparlers with the Muhammadan sovereigns, as generalissimo of the Vijayanagara army on behalf of his brother, the new Regent of the Empire.

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1. Cousens, *Bijapur*, p. 72.

2. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105.

3. Purchas, X, p. 94.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

Misunderstandings among the four Sultāns and among their respective generals, that had probably arisen during these six months, hastened their departure. Both the Golkonda chronicler and Ali ibn Aziz, as well as Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, refer quite clearly to this disagreement among them<sup>1</sup>; and the wars that ensued soon after, and of which we shall speak a little further down, confirm our supposition. Nevertheless, no public manifestation of this mutual enmity was then given. They went together as far as Raichur, where they "took leave of each other and returned to their respective dominions"<sup>2</sup>. The anonymous chronicler informs us that before leaving Vijayanagara, the four Sultans deputed three of their generals, Mustafa Khan, Maulana Inayatullah and Kishwar Khan "to attack Mudkal (Mudgal) and Raichur, which places were easily reduced"<sup>3</sup>.

8. Vijayanagara was thus abandoned by its own conquerors; and soon after, its natural lord again entered its gates. Tirumala "returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Dekanese," says Anquetil du Perron<sup>4</sup>. Mr. Sewell seems to attach little importance to the Regent's return; but to my mind it is one of the outstanding events of those days. It signifies that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the ruler of Vijayanagara did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient grandeur; to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccani Muhammadans, with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days: for Vijayanagara was the City of Victory!

No inscription at Vijayanagara records this second stay of Tirumala within its walls after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi<sup>5</sup>. But fortunately we have an account by an eye-witness of this return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muhammadans. C. Frederick, who had seen it with his

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1. Ferishta, III, pp. 414-5; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 194; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp. 109-10. Cf. Scott Waring, *History of the Maharattas*, p. 40.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 414. Cf. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 196.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.

5. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 181, note.

own eyes, describes the royal palace as invested with no less splendour than before the Muslim invasion; and he relates an episode relating to Tirumala, which is quite characteristic of that ruler. It is worth while to quote it in his own words:—

“When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it; and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them; and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants, that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell (of Raksas-Tagdi) or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words, until such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses: which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe”<sup>1</sup>.

This episode clearly shows the determination of Tirumala to continue the war with the Muhammadans. For which purpose he was in need of horses and money; that was why, after obtaining the horses, he refused to make any payment to the poor merchants. This fact discredits Tirumala's character in the light of impartial history; a ruler who oppresses his foreign benefactors in order to carry out his designs is not a ruler but a tyrant.

9. Frederick goes on to say that he “rested in Bezeneger seven months”<sup>2</sup>. His description of the imperial palace again proves that the Muhammadans did not raze to the ground

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1. Purchas, X, p. 94. This fact is also narrated by Sewell, p. 209, but as having occurred in Penukonda. No doubt it took place at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that he went there with the merchants.

2. Ibid.



every chief building in the city, as stated by Ferishta. "I have seene many Kings Courts," says he, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger; I say for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports. First when you goe into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day; and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court; and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lessor Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe businesse and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day"<sup>1</sup>.

10. The return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara, and his attempt to repopulate this city, must have coincided with the attack of Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, in which even the Sultan of Golkonda took some part. Husain Nizam Shah had died shortly after his retreat from the Hindu capital; and his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, although young, became very unpopular on account of his excesses; so that before the end of the same year 1565, or perhaps in the beginning of 1566, Kishwur Khan wrote privately to the Sultan of Bijapur, inviting him to attack Ahmadnagar where there was, he said, a strong party in his favour. Such was the origin of this war in which Golkonda and Birar supported the Sultan of Ahmadnagar<sup>2</sup>. This was an ideal opportunity to enable the energetic Regent of Vijayanagara to carry out his plan.

And such was the luck of Tirumala that, shortly after, he himself was invited to interfere again, like his brother Rama Raya, in the destiny of their opponents. For Murtaza Nizam Shah, in order to be revenged on Ali Adil Shah, "sent an

1. Purchas, X, pp. 97-8.

2. Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, pp. 416-8.

envoy to Golkonda," says the anonymous chronicler, "inviting Ibrahim Qutb Shah to form an alliance against the king of Bijapur : while at the same time an envoy had been previously despatched for the same purpose to Ahmadnagar by the king of Golkonda, proposing that they should march to the river Krishna, when Yeltumraj (Tirumala), the brother of the late Ramraj, might be invited to join with his forces, when they could all proceed to the reduction of Bijapur. After reaching the Krishna, the kings of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar wrote to Yeltumraj, requesting him to become a member of the confederacy".

This was an excellent chance for Tirumala to recover the countries taken by Ali Adil Shah from Rama Raya, which he expected would be restored by the allies to Vijayanagara; he also seized this opportunity to enfeeble his enemies by fostering war among them, following the Machiavellian policy of his late brother. But at the same time he received another despatch from the Queen Dowager of Ahmadnagar, Khunzah Humayun, who was ruling over the kingdom during the minority of her son, demanding from him the sum of two lakhs of huns for aid to be given him by the allies against the encroachments of the Sultan of Bijapur. Tirumala, very much astonished at the Queen's demand, sent a message to the Golkonda Sultan informing him of the circumstance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah promptly deputed a person to Ahmadnagar to express to the Queen his surprise at this unexpected demand, remarking that "it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs, to make demands of money on Yeltumraj, instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men, and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking". Khunzah Humayun, instead of acting on this advice, persisted in her demand, and even accompanied it with threats. Tirumala could not tolerate this; accordingly, he not only refused to pay the money, but set out from his capital against the allies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah did not expect such an unfavourable turn of events; and fearing the power of the Hindu army, dispatched an envoy to Tirumala, advising him to retreat to his country, and promising

that his own troops would also move simultaneously. On the following day, both armies struck camp and retreated to their own countries <sup>1</sup>.

II. It seems quite certain that Sadasiva did not come back to Vijayanagara with the Regent of the Empire; the contemporary sources do not give any information on this point, and from their silence we may deduce that he probably remained in the palace of Tremil, Upper Tirupati, or that perhaps he was transferred to the neighbouring fortress of Chandragiri. Frederick merely says that Tirumala "had in prison the lawful king" <sup>2</sup>. This statement is confirmed by the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, which states that Tirumala governed "setting aside the nominal sovereign Sadasiva" <sup>3</sup>. We know from these testimonies that Sadasiva's imprisonment did not end at the death of Rama Raya. Tirumala, who had probably formerly rebelled against his brother on hearing of his sovereign's imprisonment, now followed the same policy himself. Chandragiri was a splendid prison for a king; and since the only place where we find Sadasiva hereafter is Srirangam, where he made the Krishnapuram grant, we may reasonably suppose that he never went back to the North of his Empire. Venkatadri who was probably at Chandragiri, might have been his jailor; or perhaps this office was filled by the third son of Tirumala, Venkata, the future Venkata II, who seems to have governed a portion of the Empire during the reign of Sadasiva <sup>4</sup>, and during the reigns of his father and of his brother Ranga I, had been their viceroy at Chandragiri, and was at this time, according to an inscription of Markapur, of 1467, already one of

1. Ferishta, III; pp. 418-20. The chronicler says that Tirumala marched to Penukonda; he seems to ignore the fact that the Regent was at Vijyanagara at this time, as we know from the sources mentioned above. This campaign of the Golkonda Sultan against the Sultan of Bijapur is mentioned, too, in the Telugu poem *Tapatisamvaranam*. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 238; and hinted at in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp. 113-4.

2. Purchas, X, p. 97

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

4. *M.E.R.*, 1905-6, para 49.

the ministers of the Empire<sup>1</sup>. In the year 1567 he made a grant to the Puranist Parankusan Lakshmanaiya<sup>2</sup>. Another of his gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1568<sup>3</sup>.

Tirumala therefore was the sole ruler of the Empire. We know of several grants made in his own name without any mention of Sadasiva at all; such was the one given in 1567, as recorded in an inscription close to Siva's temple at Kanda-kuru, Cuddapah<sup>4</sup>. One year later he granted Holalkere as an *amara-magam* to the great Kamagetti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka<sup>5</sup>. In another similar inscription of the same place, the donee is called Maha-nayakacharya; and it is further stated that he made over the village to his brother-in-law, Gulliyapa Nayaka, as an *umballi*<sup>6</sup>. In the same year he made two grants to the temple of Vishnu at Khairuwale<sup>7</sup>. Then the fort villages granted to Jvarakandesvara "the lord of Vellore", at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka, were the gift of Tirumala alone<sup>8</sup>. Occasionally, however, some grants of Sadasiva are found among the inscriptions of those days; one, for instance, of the year 1567 comes from Ahobilam, Karnul<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes both the sovereign and the Regent are mentioned in the inscriptions, showing the subordinate office of Tirumala: for example, during the reign of Sadasiva, Tirumala, under his orders, made a charitable grant to the barbers of Battepadu, Udayagiri, and exempted them from taxes<sup>10</sup>; the Krishnapuram plates, of which we shall speak a little further on, are another instance of the same. But we know two inscriptions in which Sadasiva and Tirumala are placed on the same level. The one states that

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 187.

2. 163 of 1905.

3. 240 of 1897.

4. Sewell, I, p. 132.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 7.

6. *Ibid.*, 6.

7. Sewell, I, p. 93.

8. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 12.

9. Sewell, I, p. 101.

10. Butterworth, I, pp. 217-8.

during the reign of Sadasiva, by his command and by order of Tirumala Rajaya, a private person gives a grant to a god for cars and festivals<sup>1</sup>; the other is a Telugu copper plate of Komarunipalli, Cuddapah, which records that in the reign of Sadasiva and Gutti Tirumalayya, the fourteen villagers of Utukuru district gave to Lakkanayadu lands and fees at three *panams* for a marriage in these villages<sup>2</sup>. In 1569 one Chinnapanayaningaru declares himself subject to Tirumala, while no mention of Sadasiva is made<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, it seems that the Regent never took imperial titles until after Sadasiva's death<sup>4</sup>.

12. But Tirumala's stay at Vijayanagara did not last very long. Anquetil du Perron states that "not long after he transferred his court to Panegorde" (Penukonda)<sup>5</sup>; and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records that "after a short time he changed his capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda"<sup>6</sup>. But Frederick gives the date of this important event: "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for the ill success that the people of Bezeneger had.. the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde" (Penukonda)<sup>7</sup>. We must say here that the transfer of the capital to Penukonda could not have taken place in the beginning of this year 1567, because this traveller went to Vijayanagara in the same year<sup>8</sup>, and spent six months in that city<sup>9</sup>, without witnessing the departure of Tirumala, of which he was made aware later on. Now if we suppose that

1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Gd. 52.

2. Rangacharya, I, pp. 580, 58.

3. 166 of 1905.

4. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 180.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l.c.; p. 166.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

7. Purchas, X, p. 97. Not in Saka 1493, immediately after his usurpation of the throne, as H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, p. 181, says; the inscriptions and grants are not the only sources of information.

8. Purchas, X, p. 92.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

his return to the city after the departure of the Muhammadans occurred at the end of 1565 or the beginning of 1566, (since the enemy had left either in July or August) we must admit that Tirumala spent about two years at Vijayanagara.

What was the motive of his final departure? Frederick seems to attribute it to another war with the Muhammadans<sup>1</sup>; and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says clearly that he changed his capital "on account of the constant attacks of the Muhammadans"<sup>2</sup>, which naturally baffled all attempts on the part of the Regent to repopulate the city.

Now, we know from Ferishta that about that time, Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur led his army against the Hindus of Vijayanagara and Anegundi. The Hindu chief then applied for relief to Khunzah Humayun, the Regent of Ahmadnagar, who herself marched at the head of an army, accompanied by her son, against the dominions of Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah was compelled by this sudden attack to retreat from Anegundi to defend his own country<sup>3</sup>. The Muhammadan writer does not mention any action between the two armies. But we feel sure that some fighting ensued; and it was probably in the course of this war that Tirumala's minister, Chennappa Nayadu, defeated the Muslim general Rambikesaru Khanu (Kishwar Khan?), as is recorded in an inscription at Penukonda<sup>4</sup>.

Nevertheless, this war showed the Hindus that life in the capital was insecure on account of the proximity of the Muhammadan possessions; the few inhabitants who had come back to repopulate the city retired to a more secure place; and Tirumala was obliged to abandon the old capital for good. This however betrayed a certain faintness of heart on the part of the Regent of the Empire. He had returned to Vijayanagara, after the retreat of the Muhammadans, as an enterprising hero and worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and of his brother Rama Raya; but now, giving up possession of the old capital in favour of Penukonda was equivalent to retiring

1. Cf. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 290.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

3. Ferishta, *II*, pp. 131-2 and 251.

4. 341 of 1901.

from the front line to the second post of the Empire, and at the same time to abandoning all hope of victory over his enemies. Vijayanagara was giving up its offensive lines, and retreating to a position of defence.

13. The new capital of the Empire of Vijayanagara deserves some notice here. Penukonda was a hill fort, three thousand feet high, in the South of the present Anantapur District; "eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger (Vijayanagar)", in the words of Frederick. The town is situated at the foot of a hill which gives its name to the place: Penukonda means 'big hill'.

Kriyasakti Wadeyar, an ancestor of the Rajas of Bellur, is said to be the founder of the fort of Penukonda<sup>1</sup>; but its main fortifications were built or enlarged during the reign of Bukka I. According to an inscription of 1354 on the eastern side of the northern gate of the fort, Bukka entrusted the province of Penukonda to his son Vira Virupana Udaiyar, by his wife Janema Devi; and during the rule of this Virupana over Penukonda, the fort was enlarged and fortified by his minister Anantarasa Odeyaru<sup>2</sup>. Subsequently, when Narasa Nayaka deposed the last representative of the Saluva dynasty, Immadi Narasimha, the unfortunate young prince was first confined and then, according to Nuniz, murdered in Penukonda by the usurper<sup>3</sup>. This was one of the favourite towns of Krishna Deva Raya, who, according to tradition, made it his residence for some time<sup>4</sup>. We read in an ancient inscription that Penukonda is a god-built city and that no man could possibly boast of taking its surrounding fortifications<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Kriyasakti Wadeyar*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345.

2. 339 of 1901.

3. Sewell, p. 308.

4. Cf. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 191. In an inscription of 1543, Rama Raya is said to be ruling the Empire of the world in Penukonda. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr, 79. This is probably a spurious inscription, since it represents Rama Raya with imperial titles, "seated on the jewelled throne," which was unusual in the first days of Sadasiva's reign.

5. 341 of 1901.

Such was the place selected by Tirumala for the capital of the Empire. The Muhammadans were not likely to shake again the throne of the Telugu Empire as long as it was lodged within such a fortress, especially after the Regent himself had repaired its fortifications, under the direction of Chennappa Nayadu<sup>1</sup>. Penukonda was to be, according to him, a worthy successor of the old capital, the second *City of Victory*. And it seems probable that it was called at this time *Vijayanagara-Penukonda*, because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* begins as follows: "Vizianagaram-Penu-Kondaipatnam was for many years the capital of the Rayer"<sup>2</sup>.

14. The transfer of the capital to Penukonda was the cause of the abandonment and destruction of Vijayanagara. Two inscriptions of Tirumala, of the following year 1568, describe the city as 'destroyed and in ruins'<sup>3</sup>. We cannot believe that the buildings of the city were in a ruinous state only a year after the departure of the court; the above mentioned inscriptions refer, no doubt, to the moral body of the citizens, to the *Civitas*, not to its buildings. Anquetil du Perron expressly says that "the town of Bisnagar, being abandoned, became the dwelling of wild beasts"<sup>4</sup>. And Frederick in his memoirs wrote: "The Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts"<sup>5</sup>. Orme records that at the end of the 16th century, "the city of Bisnagar was part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore (Bijapur)"<sup>6</sup>. Accordingly when Filippo Sassetti passed through Vijayanagara in 1584-5, he found a Muhammadan Governor there, as a letter of his, dated Goa, November 9th, 1585, relates<sup>7</sup>. But at the close of the century

1. 336 of 1901.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 3.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 6 and 7.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

5. Purchas, X, p. 97

6. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 61.

7. Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 202.



Ferishta wrote: "The city itself.....is now totally in ruins and uninhabited" <sup>1</sup>.

The information of the Muhammadan writer, however, is not up-to-date; because a servant of the East India Company passed through Vijayanagara in that year and found inhabitants there: hence the city was not yet totally destroyed. A letter of Peter Floris to Mr. Tho. Aldworth at Surat, dated Mislopatam (Masulipatam), June 17th, 1614, gives this information: "Yesterday arrived here a fellow who calleth his name John, saying, he come sent from you with letters from Sir Thomas Smith our Governor, brought by land; and that he hath been but thirty three days from you, or the next day that you did send your letter per this peon; and coming to Barampur (Burhampur) in company of a certain English merchant John Bednall, and one Thomas Lock with one Frenchman whom he did leave at Barampur; and this John coming from Barampur (Burhampur) towards Bagnagar (Bisnagar) was robbed by the way, by his own report, of a camel, a horse, six fine clothes, a hundred pagodas in money and other apparel. So coming to Coulas, he did send back two servants for Barampur and one for Surat; but he himself came to Bagnagar, where he did meet with a certain gentile, being a goldsmith, an old acquaintance of mine, who did take him into his house and did write me of it what is passed with this John". And a little later he adds: "Because he tells me that the English merchants from Barampur will be here within this ten or twelve days, I have been content to write Attmachan and Malicktosuer in Bagnagar in his behalf, to see if they can get his stolen goods again," etc. <sup>2</sup>. It is quite evident from this letter that at the beginning of the 17th century there were still some inhabitants at Vijayanagara. And in the middle of the same century Timma or Tirumala, a nephew of Ranga III, by his brother Venkatapati, built there the lofty eastern gopuram of the temple of Virupaksha <sup>3</sup>.

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

2. *Letters Received by the E. I. C.*, II, pp. 60-1.

3. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 311.

15. Nevertheless, the ancient populous capital of the Empire had become a small village, showing only in its temples and palaces the past grandeur which was crumbling away little by little. Its decay was the first death-blow to Portuguese commerce in India: "From that time onwards", says Couto, "the inhabitants of Goa have been on the decline" <sup>1</sup>. And Filippo Sassetti, in the above quoted letter, says also that the traffic between the two cities had completely perished, and gives the following instance to illustrate the great loss that this entailed to Portuguese commerce: "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats; and the present revenue does not reach even six thousand" <sup>2</sup>.

For the King of Portugal, this news was naturally most disappointing; for precisely on February 27th, 1568, a few months after the departure of Tirumula from Vijayanagara, he wrote from Lisboa to Dom Luiz de Taide (d'Ataide) as follows: "If the merchandise that comes from Cananor, Cochin and other places, to be sold in Narsinga (Vijayanagara), passes through Goa, the revenue derived from the tariff duties on them will be a great service to me" <sup>3</sup>. The Portuguese sovereign was never to see the finances of his "*state of India*" increased by the commerce with Vijayanagara; the Portuguese trade in that city had perished for ever.

16. The departure of the Court from Vijayanagara to Penukonda naturally encouraged the secular covetousness of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda; that confession of the weakness of the Hindu government was a tacit invitation to them to seize the territories North of the Empire. Accordingly Ali Adil Shah, in the year 1568, captured the fortress of Adoni, which "was fortified with eleven walls, one within another, so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force" <sup>4</sup>. It was

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 93-4.

2. Gubernatis, o. c., p. 202. See Ap. B, No. VI.

3. *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, p. 14.

4. Ferishta, III, pp. 134-5.

then that Malik Rahiman Khan was appointed first Mussulman governor of Adoni ' 1

But the campaign most calamitous for the Hindu Empire was the one led by Rifat Khan, the Golkonda general, in the North-East corner of the Empire, which wrenched for ever that province from the central power. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives a detailed account of this expedition, which is sometimes rendered somewhat obscure by his lack of geographical knowledge.

This general had before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi reduced part of the country surrounding Rajamundri and, after the rupture of relations between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, was sent again to that province to accomplish its reduction. But before capturing the city of Rajamundri he had to take the two forts of Pentapur and Rajpundi, which were in the possession of a chief called by Ferishta Setupati. The first was taken by storm without much opposition; and Setupati and his family made their escape through the woods to the fortress of Rajpundi. After some days the Muhammadans followed them thither; whereupon Setupati fled to Rajamundri and took refuge in the Court of Vidiadri (*sic*), the Raja of that place. After the capture of Rajpundi Rifat Khan invested Rajamundri. After a siege of four months his artillery began to produce some effect on the walls, and made a breach of nearly fifty paces in one of the curtains. At this stage the Raja surrendered the fort on condition "that Vidiadri and Setupati, with their families, should be permitted, after evacuating the fort, to proceed whithersoever they chose without molestation". Accordingly Vidiadri proceeded to Krishnacota and Setupati to Vijayanagara, and the campaign was over by the end of 1567 2.

In the following year Rifat Khan was directed to conquer the old kingdom of Orissa, which was under Vijayanagara from the time of Krishna Deva Raya; and this was likewise successfully accomplished not very long after. Vijayanagara had lost that country for ever 3.

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1. Cf. Sewell, I, p. 103.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 421-3.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 423-6.

17. What was the interior state of the Empire in the meanwhile? Both Couto and Faria y Sousa relate that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the whole territory of Vijayanagara was divided among the sons and nephews of Rama Raya<sup>1</sup>; and several modern authors have blindly followed their statements<sup>2</sup>. But we know from epigraphical records that there was at that time no such break up of the empire: the members of the Aravidu family remained as united as ever. That explains why the anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier, who wrote his book a little later, writes to this effect, after narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi: "Nevertheless the king of this country was not so much knocked down, for he is still very rich and powerful; and he possesses a large state, and has quite a good number of elephants and great cavalry and infantry"<sup>3</sup>.

In particular, Ferishta supposes that Venkatadri had rebelled against his brother and taken over the reigns of government<sup>4</sup>; but this is inconsistent with the fact that he is highly praised in the Krishnapuram grant, in language which would never have been used in speaking of a rebel. His stay at Chandragiri, which we think very probable, would by no means mean a break in the allegiance between the two brothers<sup>5</sup>. The Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, who was already at that time king at Penukonda, states expressly that he was "respected by his younger brothers"<sup>6</sup>.

Nor can the following extract of the same writer be understood in a general sense: "The country has been seized by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district"<sup>7</sup>. Of which Sewell's opinion is

1. Couto, VIII, p. 93; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 433.

2. "Different members of the family settled in Penukonda, Chandragiri, Vellore, and some returned to Anegundi". Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 269. "Two members of the Vijayanagara family established themselves, the one at Penukonda and the other at Vijayanagar". Gribble, *Cuddapah Manual*, p. 88.

3. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 62.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

5. Cf. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 142.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

nothing else but a replica: "The nobles", says he, "began to throw off their allegiance, and one after another to proclaim their independence. The country was in a state of anarchy" <sup>1</sup>. Ferishta spoke probably of the feudatory chiefs of the North of the Empire, adjoining the Muhammadan possessions; but his statement cannot refer to the states of the South, which we know from the Krishnapuram plates to have been on friendly terms with the imperial power.

It seems, indeed, that several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses. We know of several of these defections in the North from the same Ferishta. The governor of the fortress of Adoni, one of the main officers of the late Rama Raya, was one of them <sup>2</sup>; Velappa Raya another of Rama Raya's attendants, likewise assumed independence at Bankapur, Dharwar, and even compelled the Rajas of Jerreh, Chundraguti and Karur to become his tributaries <sup>3</sup>; Trukal too was soon lost to the Empire <sup>4</sup> it had fallen into the hands of Venkutti Yesu Ray (Venkatayasu Raya) an officer of the Bijapur government, who retained it for himself, throwing off his allegiance with the Sultan <sup>4</sup>.

Perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance in the South was the chief of Kalasa-Karkala, South Kanara; although it appears probable that he already enjoyed some sort of independence, ever since the time of the overthrow of the Saluva family <sup>5</sup>.

18. Precisely in the year 1568, the Emperor Sadasiva made a tour through the South of his Empire and received the

1. Sewell, p. 209.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 134.

3. Ibid., p. 136.

4. Ibid., p. 135.

5. H. Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II, Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 127. Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 21, says that in 1565 Vira Chama Raya Wodeyar, of Mysore, set up as an independent Sovereign. No trace of such rebellion may be found in the original sources. We hope to show further on that the independence of Mysore commenced several years later.

homage of many feudatory chiefs, and of Krishnappa Nayaka, the ruler of Madura among them. The reason for this journey might have been to make an imperialistic propaganda, by showing to his subjects the person of the Emperor, imprisoned so many years ago. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva show him to us "on the banks of the sacred river Kaveri, in the presence of the god Ranganatha" <sup>1</sup>. Here Tirumala, at the request of Krishnapapati (Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura), himself respectfully begged Sadasiva Raya to make a gift of the village of Krishnapuram and nine other neighbouring villages to the god Venkatesa. Sadasiva, who is called here 'the respected of the learned man', surrounded by his staunch friends, the priests, the followers of the imperial retinue, all kinds of learned men, and finally the ambassadors of his feudatory chiefs, who had come to acknowledge him on behalf of their respective lords, joyously granted the aforesaid village with gold and pouring of water <sup>2</sup>.

The information afforded by this grant is of more than passing interest. To see Sadasiva Raya three years after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi surrounded by the ambassadors of his subordinate chiefs of the South, acknowledged by the powerful Nayak of Madura, requested to do a favour by the very Regent Tirumala, is a scene very different from the dark pictures drawn by some authors. The Empire was not yet split up <sup>3</sup>.

19. This was, however, one of the latest grants of Sadasiva. There is another of his inscriptions belonging to the same year, in Tinnevely district <sup>4</sup>, and another of the following year 1569, in Coimbatore <sup>5</sup>, and besides two other inscriptions of the year 1570, one in Madura <sup>6</sup>, and another

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 44-45.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 341, vv. 70-96 and 102-4.

3. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao and Rao Sahib T. Raghaviah seem to suppose "that Sadasivaraya ended his days in Srirangam". *Ibid.*, p. 330. There is no reasonable ground for such an opinion.

4. 64 of 1908.

5. 15 of 1910.

6. 403 of 1922.

in Nellore<sup>1</sup>, recording facts which occurred during the reign of Sadasiva. But at this time the unfortunate Sovereign had already met his end, as we shall see in the following chapter: the news of his death, however, had not reached the distant corners of the Empire.

What sort of death did Sadasiva meet with after his twenty-eight years' rule? "Tirumala", says Mr. Sewell, "murdered his Sovereign Sadasiva and seized the throne for himself"<sup>2</sup>. Messrs. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri seem to admit the culpability of Tirumala in Sadasiva's death<sup>3</sup>.

It seems, indeed, beyond doubt that Tirumala is more or less responsible for this murder; but whether he committed it himself is not so clear. According to Frederick, "the sonne of this Temiragio had put to death the lawful King which he had in prison"<sup>4</sup>. But Anquetil du Perron states that "His (Tirumala's) son murdered the son of the ancient King of Bisnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father"<sup>5</sup>.

From these two extracts it seems quite evident that the one who committed that murder was not Tirumala, but one of his sons; there is no contemporary authority that attributes such a crime to Tirumala. Nevertheless, the common juridical test '*cui bono*' points to him at least an accomplice and abettor. Whether the murdered man was the king himself or his son is not so evident. As a matter of fact it seems that Sadasiva had a son named Vitthala Raya, who made a grant to a temple as recorded in a copperplate of Tirukarangudi, Tinnevely<sup>6</sup>. The fact is that the two above-mentioned authorities have not the same value: Frederick was probably still in India, when this abominable crime was perpetrated; while Anquetil du Perron travelled through the country one century

1. Butterworth, II, p. 868-70.

2. Sewell, p. 212.

3. Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District, Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94; H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 179.

4. Purchas, X, p. 97.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

6. Sewell, I, p. 315.

later. Frederick's authority seems therefore more reliable. Hence we may venture on the assertion that Sadasiva Raya was murdered by one of the sons of Tirumala<sup>1</sup>.

It is not an easy task to decide precisely which of the sons of Tirumala was the author of this regicide. Of his four sons we know that the eldest, Raghunatha, preceded his father to the grave; and since we hear nothing further of him after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, in which he was dangerously wounded, it is reasonable to suppose him dead at this time. The other three, Ranga, Rama and Venkata were still living. If Sadasiva was kept prisoner in the fortress of Chandragiri, Venkata being his jailor, we must conclude that the future Venkatapati-raya II, the most glorious monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty, was responsible for the death of the last representative of the Tuluva family. Anquetil du Perron seems to confirm our supposition; since he, speaking of Venkata II, says that "he caused Sadasiva's son to be murdered"<sup>2</sup> and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisnagar"<sup>3</sup>.

20. The Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva says that he was "the best of the Kings"<sup>4</sup>; and in an inscription in the Madavaswami temple at Vijayanagara he is called "the fortunate, the great king of kings, Paramesvara, happy, famous and heroic"<sup>5</sup>. We cannot but smile at such brazen flattery, after having so carefully surveyed the whole of his reign. Though we must really admit that we do not sufficiently know Sadasiva as a king, because he had always

1. What was the fate of Sadasiva's son is not known. Perhaps, he died before his father's assassination, perhaps he was imprisoned for life, perhaps he was only a natural son, since we hear no word at all of the Queen of Sadasiva. According to the *Satsampradayamuktavali* Sadasiva had a daughter, who, having become possessed, was exorcised by the trustee of the Ahobala temple and agent of Rama Raya, Parankusa Van-Sathagopa-Jiyamgaru. Cf. Rangacharia, II, p. 971, 579.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

3. Ibid., cf. Ch. XV, No. 5.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 104, v. 70.

5. Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions*, l. c., p. 35.



been merely one in name; still a nominal king is by no means entitled to the appellation of "the best of kings". As far as we can judge, he was not born to be a king at all, though Correa says he was "a sensible man and a great warrior"<sup>1</sup>. A real king, a heroic sovereign, he would even in his youth have found countless opportunities to break the bars of his prison and escape from his unlawful jailors. Sadasiva was unable to do so, and history can pass no better judgment on him than he happened to be a king of the type of those who closed the Merovingian dynasty of France.

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1. Correa, p. 282.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE SHORT REIGN OF TIRUMALA

**SUMMARY.**—1. Accession of Tirumala to the throne of Vijayanagara.—2. Dynastic propaganda through the Empire, revised through contemporary inscriptions and grants.—3. Rebellions of feudatory chiefs and Rajas against the Emperor.—4. Erection of the three Viceroyalties of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries.—5. Muhammadan conquests in the North.—6. Action of Tirumala against the invaders.—7. Sriranga appointed Yuvaraja. Death of the Emperor.—8. Tirumala's piety and wisdom.—9. Final criticism of the first Sovereign of the Aravidu Dynasty.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection.—3. Ferishta.—4. *Anonymous life of St. Francis Xavier*.—5. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—6. *Ramarajiyamu Vasucharitramu, Chikka-devaraya Vamsavali*.

THE assassination of Sadasiva Raya naturally led to the accession of the Regent as Emperor of Vijayanagara. When this event took place, Tirumala was a venerable old man: his eldest brother Rama Raya was ninety-six at the time of his death, 1565. Now if we allow only a ten years' difference between them,† Tirumala must have been close on ninety when the last representative of the Tuluva family was murdered four years later.

According to an apocryphal prophecy contained in one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection, Tirumala's coronation took place in Penukonda<sup>1</sup>. "At the coronation of this moon among kings", we read in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, "foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water poured out at donations, occupied the place of queen"<sup>2</sup>; while in two grants of Venkata II and in one of the same Tirumala, 1571, it is said that "at his anointing the earth was also so anointed as to appear as his crowned

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 98.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 16.



Tirumala Raya. Upper Tirupati.

*By kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology.)*



Queen" <sup>1</sup>; and in a grant of Ranga III, 1645, it is recorded that "the streams poured forth with gifts made by this most famous of kings at the time of his anointing to the throne, caused the earth to appear as if she also was so anointed" <sup>2</sup>.

It appears certain from these extracts that the Queen was not present at the ceremony of coronation, being probably still in the palace of Tremil, as a place safer from the Muhammadan incursions. Both the Tumkur and Budihala copperplates say that Tirumala's Queen was named Channadevi or Channamadevi <sup>3</sup>; but many other grants give the name of Vengalamba or Vengalambika, as the one belonging to the wife of Tirumala <sup>4</sup>. Probably Vengalambika had been Tirumala's first wife, since she is declared to be the mother of his four sons <sup>5</sup>; but it is not improbable that he should have lost her by his ninetieth year; on that supposition, Channamadevi was the second wife who sat beside him on the throne of Vijaya-

1. Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.* XII, Ck, 39; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 20; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60. For this ceremony the old jewelled throne of Vijayanagara was no doubt used. It had been carried to the palace of Tremil, and from there, probably on this occasion, was brought over to Penukonda to be used at the enthronement of the first king of the Aravidu dynasty. When later on the court was transferred to the Tamil country by Venkata II, the jewelled throne was probably transferred again to the East; anyhow it went back to Penukonda after more than half a century, because all the successors of Ranga III, so far known, were at Ghanagiri (Penukonda), as the inscriptions often record.

3. Tumkur copper-plates, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1; Budihala copper-plates, Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *A. S. I., Report, 1911-12*, p. 180, note 8.

4. Maredapalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328; Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 19; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 23; Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, vv. 20-2; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.* VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Karnakoti Pitha*, p. 82.

5. *Ramarajiyamu*, *Ibid.*, p. 213; *Vasuchivritam* *Ibid.*, p. 216.

nagara. A Telugu poem of Bhattu Murti, a poet at his court, speaks of Tirumala and his Queen sitting together, and compares them to the god Siva, and Tirumala himself to Sukracharya, the preceptor of the Asuras. The propriety of this comparison lies in the fact that "Siva is described in one of his forms as half man and half woman, and as having three eyes, the ordinary two and 'the eye of wisdom'. When Tirumala and his wife sat side by side they had only three eyes between them (Tirumala having lost one in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi). Sukracharya, the preceptor of the demons, is said to have only one eye, the other having been blinded by the god Vishnu when he took the form of a dwarf. Both Siva and Sukracharya are considered by Sanskrit writers to be omniscient, and are termed Sarvagña (all-knowing)"<sup>1</sup>. The flattery of the poet is as delicate as it is acute.

Now, when did the coronation of Tirumala take place? We have said in the preceding chapter that the inscriptions belonging to the year 1570, but recording facts that occurred in Sadasiva's time, were carved in the reign of Tirumala; because the year 1569 must be assigned as the year of Tirumala's accession, and of the foundation of the new dynasty. There is in Udayagiri an inscription of 1569, "while Tirumala seated on the diamond throne was ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara"<sup>2</sup>. The above mentioned apocryphal prophecy, which was probably written in 1630, also places the beginning of Tirumala's reign in 1569; but it must have been very near the end of the year, since the same document gives Tirumala only eleven months' rule and lays down the commencement of his son's reign in 1572<sup>3</sup>.

2. From this time onwards the inscriptions of Tirumala show him with imperial titles, as successor of the old Emperors of Vijayanagara. In 1571 he is stated to be "ruling the earth" with the title of Maharajadhiraja<sup>4</sup>. In 1571 he is called Virapratapa Tirumalayadeva Maharaya<sup>5</sup>. In the same

1. *Ibid.*, p. 221-2.

2. *Butterworth*, III, p. 1328-9.

3. *Taylor, O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 98.

*Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi, 10.

497 of 1905.

year a stone inscription from the Shimoga district calls him "the glorious king of kings, the great lord of kings, ruling the whole kingdom from his throne at Pehugundi (Penukonda) which belongs to Hampi-Hastinavati (Vijayanagara)"<sup>1</sup>. The Tumkur plates of the same date give him imperial titles as used by the old Emperors of Vijayanagara<sup>2</sup>. Finally in his Penuguluru grant, made in the same year, he is described "seated on his throne ruling the whole kingdom extending from the Sethu (Rameswaram) to the Sumeru, and from the hill of sunrise in the East to the end of the western mountain, eclipsing in fame and righteousness even Nriga, Nala, Nahusha and such others on earth"<sup>3</sup>.

His being anointed 'to the peerless and matchless sovereignty' is often mentioned as being that of the lawful founder of the dynasty, not only in his grants<sup>4</sup>, but even in those of his successors Ranga I<sup>5</sup>, Venkata II<sup>6</sup>, Venkata III<sup>7</sup>, and Ranga III<sup>8</sup>.

Accordingly, the pedigree of the Aravidu family and its connection with some of the ancient and most famous dynasties of India, whether true or forged, were propagated in those days throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, with a view to establishing the new Aravidu family firmly on the throne. Thus in the Madanagopalasvamin temple at Madura, Tirumala's pedigree is found engraved on thirteen stones<sup>9</sup>. Then in an inscription of Gurzala, Krishna District, he is called 'the most excellent in the family of Satyasraya and the gem of

1. *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb, 55.

2. *Ibid.*, XII, Tm, 1.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, v. 43.

4. Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.

5. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 16.

6. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 20; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 19; Venkata II's grants, 1587 and 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83 and XII, Ck, 39.

7. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15; Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198.

8. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

9. 510 of 1907.

the Chalukyas' <sup>1</sup>. And in the above mentioned Penuguluru grant he is said to be 'the foremost of the Chola family' <sup>2</sup>.

3. This propaganda in favour of his family's rights to the imperial throne would appear to suggest that his authority was in danger; and we find indeed that a good number of his subjects did not acknowledge him in the beginning of his rule—not on account of his ancestors, who had been several times connected with the previous dynasties, but because of the murder of Sadasiva.

The author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier quoted above, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala <sup>3</sup>, writes to this effect: "There were several wars over the question of the succession to the throne; for there was no more issue of the royal family, and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present" <sup>4</sup>. This fact is also recorded in a letter of Tirumala <sup>5</sup> to Velappa Raya of Bankapur, kept by Ferishta. The King complains that "most of the dependents of the house of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) had become rebels from their duty" <sup>6</sup>. But Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, gives us more details. While describing 'the place where they get Diamants', 'sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger (Vijayanagara)' he states that "it is many yeeeres agoe since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temaragio had put to death the lawful king, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great division

1. Sewell, I, p. 58.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

3. Cf. *M. H. S. J.*, *Mon. Xiv.*, I, p. XXIII-XXIV.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

5. Ferishta says Venkatañri, but this is an evident mistake. The one who was at Penukonda at this time was Tirumala. Anyhow the letter we are going to quote here would prove the same if written by Venkatadri.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 136.



in that kingdom" <sup>1</sup>. Again, Anquetil du Perron, after the account of the regicide, adds: "Many troubles sprang from these revolutions: the nobles refused to acknowledge the new king" <sup>2</sup>.

This was certainly a very difficult position for the new sovereign in his ninetieth year. On the one hand there was the Muhummadan menace on the northern frontier; on the other he suddenly saw many of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire rebelling against his authority. We do not know who these rebels were; but we may assume that the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore did not make any movement, because their first rebellion is mentioned as having taken place during the reign of Venkata II. It seems quite certain that the King set out without delay to subdue these disloyal chiefs, and actually received the homage of several of them. One of his grants of 1571 records that "he subdued and made his own the eighty-four durgas; he curbed the pride of Avahalu Raja, and showed his skill in conquering the Utkala king (Orissa), the chief gem in the garland, Araviti-pura, the Suratrappa of Urigola (Warangal)" <sup>3</sup>.

These were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience; but they were not all, for according to the apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection, from the year 1569 onwards, 'the country will be in great confusion then for five years' <sup>4</sup>. From this we conclude that the rebellion lasted until the first years of the reign of Ranga I, and was perhaps one of the causes of Tirumala's abdication.

4. One of its immediate results was beyond doubt the inauguration of a new system of government, which proved efficient for some years. Such was the division of the whole Empire into three viceroyalties to be distributed among the sons of the sovereign.

The Arivilimangalam plates <sup>5</sup> and the Maredapalli grant <sup>6</sup>

1. Purchas, X, p. 97.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.
4. Taylor, l.c.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 19.
6. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 328.

mention only one son of Tirumala, Ranga; the Vellangudi<sup>1</sup> and the Dalavay Agraharam plates<sup>2</sup> and the Vilapaka grant<sup>3</sup> give two names, Ranga and Venkata, as corresponding to two sons of Tirumala; three are to be found in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*<sup>4</sup> but the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III<sup>5</sup> and a grant of Ranga III, 1645<sup>6</sup>, along with the *Vasucharitramu*<sup>7</sup> and the *Ramarajiyamu*<sup>8</sup> mention four—Raghunatha, Ranga, Rama and Venkata. The eldest died probably after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and this is the reason why no reference to him is made in many of the preceding documents; while Rama was also overlooked in several of them, because he never ascended the masnad. Ranga and Venkata were the future Ranga I and Venkata II.

At this time Raghunatha was already dead. Hence the whole Empire was divided into three viceroyalties, and each of them placed under one of the three surviving brothers. The division was made on a racial basis, and followed the different peoples that occupied the territory of the Empire: the Telugu viceroyalty in the North, the Kanarese viceroyalty in the West, and the Tamil viceroyalty in the East and South<sup>9</sup>.

"Sri Ranga Raya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penukonda", says the *Chikkadevaraya*

1. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 300.

2. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 23 and 27.

3. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 270, vv. 20-22.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 18.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 216.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

9. None of the contemporary sources say that Tirumala appointed his four sons to the several governorships of the kingdom, as it has often been asserted. Raghunatha is not mentioned at this time, from which we conclude he was dead. Even in Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67, we read that "the Empire, about this time, was divided into six viceroyalties: 1. Andhra; 2. Karnata; 3. Madura; 4. Chandragiri; 5. Jinji; 6. Tanjore". Here the three great Nayakships of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji have been mixed up with the three viceroyalties created by Tirumala.

*Vamsavali* <sup>1</sup>. The establishment of his capital at Penukonda took place later, when he was appointed Yuvaraja; but the capital of his viceroyalty seems to have been Udayagiri, in the heart of the Telugu country. "Making Udayagiri his residence," we read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, "he conquered Kondavidu, Vinikondapura and other forts, and began to rule at Penukonda" <sup>2</sup>. The same is recorded in the Maredapalli grant of Ranga I <sup>3</sup>, in the Vellangudi plates <sup>4</sup> and the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II <sup>5</sup>, and another grant of the same monarch of the year 1589 <sup>6</sup>. Another of the same Ranga, of 1576, says that when he was at Udayagiri he conquered the inaccessible fortress of Kondavidu, Vinukonda, etc.; and that he was, at the time of the inscription, residing with all the insignia of royalty at Penukonda <sup>7</sup>. It is quite evident from these grants that Ranga's rule at Udayagiri was previous to his rule at Penukonda. At this time and after the conquest of Kondavidu, he is also called governor of this place, when in that capacity he granted a village to a local temple <sup>8</sup>. \*

"The next brother, Rama", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing in peace the whole country from the Kaveri to the Sea (Arabian Sea), with his capital at the island town of Seringapatam" <sup>9</sup>. The country under Rama is specified in greater detail in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*. "His brother Rama Raya ruled the whole Kanarese country from his capital Seringapatam". <sup>10</sup> During the reign of Sadasiva, immediately

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 23-26.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v. 31.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 24-25.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cf. 39. Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh. 83.

7. 23 of 1911. One year previous to this grant, in 1576, Kondavidu had been granted by the same Ranga to a Brahman. *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

8. Sewell, II, p. 188.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Rama Raya seems to have been governor of the fortress of Penukonda <sup>1</sup>, and about that time he made a gift of the village of Kolagala to a certain Ramaraja Nayaka <sup>2</sup>. He is said to have previously defeated the Nizam Shah <sup>3</sup>; but his rule at Seringapatam has been noted as weak <sup>4</sup>. The times however were not favourable to the Kanarese Viceroy. I feel sure that many of the petty chieftains of the Kanarese country were in revolt against Tirumala and the new dynasty; several rebellions occurred there, too, after the accession of Sadasiva <sup>5</sup>. Rama's task was not at all easy, and his life was not to last long. During the time of his vicereignty, he constructed the math of Satyabhodarayalasvami at Penukonda, as recorded in a Kanarese inscription in the same place <sup>6</sup>. By his wife Narasingama <sup>7</sup> he had two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga <sup>8</sup>, whose great influence in the history of the Aravidu family will be traced in due course.

The Tamil country was under the third brother Venkata. "The last of the four brothers, Venkatapati", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Chandragiri, having under his authority many feudatory princes" <sup>9</sup>. Who several of these princes were, is mentioned in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*: "Venkatapati, the third brother, was the Viceroy of the Tundira (Jinji), Chola (Tanjore) and Pandya (Madura) countries with his capital at Chandragiri" <sup>10</sup>. We have no special information about his rule as Viceroy; his authority was above that of the three powerful Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, and was similar to that of Prince

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 183.

2. 15 of 1910.

3. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 213.

4. Cf. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67.

5. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

6. Sewell, I, p. 120.

7. *Ramarajiyamu*, l. c.

8. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 21; Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60; *Ramarajiyamu*, l. c.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Vitthala, the cousin of Rama Raya, during the time of his viceroyalty in the South.

This new administrative arrangement, inaugurated by Tirumala, was intended to meet the then urgent necessities of the Empire. The monarch, leaving the affairs of government in the hands of his sons, could devote himself to checking the advance of the Muhammadans on the northern frontier. The division being naturally made according to the three great different races of the Empire, a greater administrative success in each part could reasonably be expected; and the Viceroys being of the royal blood, and in this case sons of the Sovereign himself, the fear of rebellion was reduced, since they were bound to be very loyal to the Emperor their father. The only fear was that these viceroyalties being hereditary, the future viceroys, though related to the Emperor, would not feel that love which is natural between close relations, and the consequences would prove fatal to the Empire. But this apprehension was never realised, since the viceroyalties ceased to exist after half a century.

5. The Muhammadans, indeed, continued seriously to menace the northern territories. After the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala had delivered the territory from an invasion of Ali Adil Shah, by soliciting the aid of the Queen Mother of Ahmadnagar, Bibi Khunzah Humayun, who by marching an army into the Bijapur dominions had forced Ali Adil Shah to retreat from Vijayanagara <sup>1</sup>. But in the year 1569, the same Ali Adil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah met on the borders of their kingdoms, and came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other: the Sultan of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy Berar, and the sovereign of Bijapur should be permitted "to conquer as much of the dependencies of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of Murtaza Nizam Shah" <sup>2</sup>.

This agreement was fatal to the Hindu Empire. Ali Adil Shah set out at once to invest the fortress of Turkal, then in

1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 12. --

2. Ferishta, III, p. 135.

possession of Venkatayasu Raya, who surrendered after seven months of strenuous defence. Then the Sultan proceeded to reduce Dharwar, "one of the strongest of the forts in the Karnatik, and at that time in possession of one of the officers of the late Ramraj, who, though he paid annually a small tribute to Yeltumraj (Tirumala), had now acquired great power." The fortress, however, took six months to subdue. Then Ali Adil Shah turned his arms to Bankapur. Its Raja, Velappa Raya, who rebelled against Vijayanagara after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster<sup>1</sup>, "shut himself up in the fort, and detached his son, with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, to occupy the woods and passes, in order to harass the enemy as opportunity offered, and to endeavour to cut off his resources". At the same time, he sent a message to Tirumala asking for help. But the Emperor's answer carried unutterable despair to his heart; for Tirumala replied that "by his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels, and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penukonda and Chandragiri, the only places which the kings of Islam had left him. He advised him therefore, if money or jewels could purchase terms from the Muhammadans, to procure them on any conditions; but if he should find this impossible, he recommended him by all means to induce the neighbouring Rajas to espouse his cause, and to prevail on them to join his son with their followers, in order to harass the Mussulmans by cutting off their supplies and making frequent night attacks. He promised, moreover, to issue orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience". Accordingly, Velappa Raya prevailed on some chiefs to join his son; and they acted with such vigour "that grain became scarce in the king's camp", says Ferishta, "which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins, who did much execution... They entered the tents at night, and without mercy stabbed the soldiers while sleeping. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner: and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops, that they were near

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1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17.

forcing the king to raise the siege"; but the tactics of Mustafa Khan freed the camp of these night marauders, and then confidence was restored among the Muslim soldiers. The siege, however, lingered on for one year and three months. Velappa Raya surrendered at last after the demise of his son, on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects <sup>1</sup>. When this fort fell, Ranga I was already Emperor.

6. What was the action of Tirumala against the invaders of his Empire? We have read somewhere that territorially he left it at the time of his death just as it was before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi; but we have not anywhere discovered any source of information so optimistic about his reign. His great military prowess is extolled in many of the grants of his successors <sup>2</sup>; he is called 'the king of the powerful arm' <sup>3</sup> who 'defeated his enemies' <sup>4</sup>, 'conquered' or 'subdued hostile kings in battle' <sup>5</sup> and 'scorched hostile kings with the fire of his valour' <sup>6</sup>.

The *Vasucharitramu* relates that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khana (Khan). Incidentally the poem says that Tirumala "verily bestowed upon the hills of Penagonda (Penukonda) the *girisabhava* (the state of being the best of hills), by spreading thereon the skins of mad elephants and the skulls (of slaughtered soldiers)" <sup>7</sup>. This was probably the

1. Ferishta, III, p. 135-9. This campaign against Bankapur is also mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Colkonda, *Ibid.*, p. 432.

2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, vv. 44-62; Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 19; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

3. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257 vv. 44-62.

4. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 16; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 20.

5. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 15; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 19.

6. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

7. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I. c. p. 181.

occasion when Tirumala's minister, Chennappa Nayadu, distinguished himself by defeating the Muhammadans near Penukonda, as is recorded in a local inscription <sup>1</sup>.

7. It is generally asserted that Tirumala retired from the Karnata throne in favour of his son Ranga. But I cannot support this statement with any contemporary authority. The *Vasucharitramu* only says that "Sri Ranga was nominated Yuvaraja by Tirumala Raya and was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire"<sup>2</sup>. His appointment as heir-apparent does not imply his father's renunciation of the throne; nor is this implied by the second fact, which was probably contemporary with the first, *viz.* that he was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire. Tirumala no doubt felt that he was too old to rule so turbulent a country, and therefore appointed his eldest living son his heir-apparent and associated him in the government; it was then that Ranga 'began to rule at Penukonda'<sup>3</sup>.

This occurred probably at the end of 1571; but in the beginning of 1572 Tirumala, who was then ninety-two, passed away, according to the apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie Collection <sup>4</sup>.

8. The grants of his successors extol the virtues of the 'excellent' Tirumala, as he is called in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III <sup>5</sup>. The Penuguluru grant pronounces him "an ocean of praiseworthy qualities, the prosperous abode of unrestrained charities"<sup>6</sup>, "illustrious, distinguished for his prudence, the gifts from whose hands excelled even those of the tree of Indra, and who was a fountain of good qualities"<sup>7</sup>. He is said "to rule the whole earth with great glory and unequalled renown, like Hari (Vishnu) among the

1. 341 of 1901.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.

3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 23-26.

4. Taylor, l. c.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 73.

6. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-52.

7. *Ibid.*, vv. 177-178.



Trimurti" <sup>1</sup>, or "to protect the earth like Vishnu among the Trimurti" <sup>2</sup>.

Two qualities among the rest are selected for special praise: his piety and his wisdom. As to the first, the Penuguluru grant says that he is 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)' <sup>3</sup>. "This king," the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II inform us, "performed frequently all the *danas* mentioned in the *agamas*, such as the *kanaka-tuba-purusha* and the *upadanas* in the temple of Kanchi, Sriranga, etc., and at the sacred *tirthas*" <sup>4</sup>. He built temples and bathing-places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachala, Kanakshaba, Ahobaladri and other places <sup>5</sup>. In 1569, while 'seated on the diamond throne' and 'ruling the Kingdom of Vijayanagara, he made a grant to the god Anjaneya' at Udayagiri <sup>6</sup>. In the following year another was made "with pleasure and libations of gold and water, as a *sarva-manyu*, to Brahmans, of several *sakkas*, names, *gotras* and *sutras*, of the rich village named Penuguluru, with the two other villages, Yalanimapadu-Chennapalli and Konduru-Chennapalli, beautiful with gardens" <sup>7</sup>.

His wisdom is likewise acknowledged and highly praised by his successors: he is called 'wise' <sup>8</sup> and 'learned' <sup>9</sup>; and even in a Sadasiva's grant of 1558 he is said to be as

1. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357 v. 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p. 30, v. 19; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

2. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 317, v. 20.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 319, v. 27.

5. Tirumala's grant *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm. 1; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

6. Butterworth, III, p. 1328.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-52.

8. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 357, v. 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 19; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

9. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

'learned as Bhoja Raja' <sup>1</sup>. He was 'highly esteemed by wise kings' <sup>2</sup>. He sedulously patronised wise people and endeavoured to propagatè wisdom among his subjects. In order to commemorate the first death anniversary of his father, he granted the village of Jillellamuduku to a wise man, called Srinivasacharya <sup>3</sup>. Then, when he made the Penuguluru grant to Brahmans, the entire village was divided into 128 *vrittis* and given to Brahmans who were highly learned in the sastras and were masters in the Vedanta: one of the *vrittis* was granted for the study of the Rig-Veda and another for that of the Yajur-Veda <sup>4</sup>. At the end of this volume we shall mention his literary exploits; we shall here only quote some words of the Penuguluru grant mentioned already, which gives a beautiful description of the pious and wise Tirumala, "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants, and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the Vedas and are highly educated" <sup>5</sup>. Such was the company with which Tirumala loved to surround himself; the great warrior never lost sight of the claims of piety and the value of high education.

9. We cannot doubt that Tirumala had the most excellent qualities which must adorn a ruler; since he proved it when a minister during the reign of Sadasiva, and specially after the usurpation of his brother, when he was in charge of all state matters. He marvellously co-operated with Rama Raya for the welfare of the Empire, and the success they attained was due to the efficiency of both; the glory of the Empire of Krishna Deva Raya still illuminated the combined rule of Rama Raya and Tirumala. But after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi, and specially during his short rule as Emperor, he was too old to maintain the Empire in its pristine glory. The Muhammadan attacks on the northern frontier and the rebellions of the

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 42-62.

3. Rangacharaya, I, p. 639, 678.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

feudatory chiefs throughout the whole of the Empire were too much for the old Sovereign. He then thought of dividing his task among his sons, by creating the three Viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Seringapatam and Chandragiri; and as even that was not enough, he associated his eldest son in the government to share with him the conduct of state affairs. The weakness he showed in translating the court and capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda became clearer and clearer every year. The Muhammadans were continuously advancing and even reached the walls of Penukonda. Nor were the domestic revolts yet brought under at the time of his demise. Tirumala was not at all a successful monarch.

His usurpation of the throne may be easily justified. A pageant king like Sadasiva was a grave danger to the Empire at such a turbulent time; and if any relics of imperial power were to be saved, the removal of Sadasiva was a political necessity. Nevertheless political necessity never justified a murder; if Tirumala is responsible for the assassination of Sadasiva Raya, the first monarch of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara will always be blamed for having sprinkled the steps of his throne with the blood of his predecessor.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE EMPIRE UNDER SRI RANGA I

**SUMMARY.**—1. Enthronement of Ranga I. Retains his capital at Penukonda.—2. His officers. Subdues the rebellious chiefs.—3. Muhammadan invasion of Kanara.—4. First attack of Bijapur against Penukonda. Alliance between Vijayanagara and Golkonda.—5. Second attack on Penukonda. Ranga imprisoned by his enemies.—6. Third attack. Jagadeva Raya.—7. The Sultan of Golkonda invades Ahobilam.—8. The province of Udayagiri captured by the Golkonda troops.—9. Further Muhammadan inroads.—10. Ranga I's religious conduct.—11. His death. A criticism.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Ramarajiyamu, Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of Hande Anantapuram, Charuchandrodayam, Yayaticharitramu, Lakshimivilasam.*

SRIMAD Rajadhiraja Rajapamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Maharayalu <sup>1</sup> naturally succeeded his father Tirumala at the beginning of 1572. 'Ranga was installed in the kingdom of Penukonda', we read in the Utsur grant of Ranga III <sup>2</sup>; and in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III we find that he 'was crowned to the kingdom of Penugonda' <sup>3</sup>. As to the actual ceremonies of his coronation, a grant of Venkata II, 1587, informs us that he was 'anointed by his chief Brahmans' <sup>4</sup>; but the Mangalampad grant of the same records that he 'was installed according to the rules by the best of the Brahmans' <sup>5</sup>. Both grants mention the sovereign's munificence on this occasion; and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II even state that 'by the gifts made by this King at

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1. Such is the full imperial title given him in the inscriptions. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1098, 374.

2. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 23.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 19.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83.

5. Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 22.

the time of his coronation poverty was completely wiped out for good men" <sup>1</sup>. His queens were Tirumala Devi and Krishnamba <sup>2</sup>.

The statement has been made that Ranga transferred the capital of the Empire to Chandragiri <sup>3</sup>. This is not founded on any contemporary source. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II say that 'he made Penugonda his capital' <sup>4</sup>; and the Kondyata grant of Venkata III calls him the 'king of Penagonda' <sup>5</sup>. Moreover, we know of inscriptions of all the years of his reign, excepting two. They clearly state that he was ruling over the Empire from the hilly town of Anantapur. In 1572 certain inhabitants of Mannur, Cuddapah, gave away their annual fee from the village to the god Chennakesava, in the reign of Srirangaraya of Penukonda <sup>6</sup>; an inscription of 1573 says that that he 'was ruling at Penukonda' <sup>7</sup>; his Maredapalli grant was made in 1574 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra (in Penukonda)' <sup>8</sup>, and it states that he was residing at Penukonda <sup>9</sup>; again, another inscription of 1574 records that he was 'ruling at Penukonda' <sup>10</sup>; three inscriptions of 1575 speak of him as still 'seated in Penukonda' <sup>11</sup>; another of 1576 again commemorates the fact of his 'ruling at Penukonda' <sup>12</sup>; in 1577-8 he makes the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

2. Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39. Tirumala Devi is called Tirumamba in the *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 213; and Sewell, II, p. 252, calls the second wife Katamba.

3. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37; Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 21.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 126.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 643, 783.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XI p. 328.

9. *Ibid.*, v. 31.

10. 70 of 1915.

11. Butterworth, III, p. 1259-61; Rangacharya, II, p. 1143, 688; *Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

12. 23 of 1911.

Arivilimangalam grant 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra of Perunkondapura (Penukonda)' <sup>1</sup>; again, he is said to be 'ruling over Penukonda' in 1578 <sup>2</sup>; and in 1579 he is 'ruling the kingdom of the earth at Penukonda' <sup>3</sup>; this is also said of 1579-80, <sup>4</sup>; in 1582 he is 'seated on the diamond throne at the city of Penukonda' <sup>5</sup>; in 1582-3 he is said still to be 'ruling at Penukonda' <sup>6</sup>, and finally he is called 'Sri Ranga of Penukonda' and 'ruling at Penukonda' both in 1584 <sup>7</sup> and in 1585 <sup>8</sup>, the last year of his reign.

No inscription has hitherto been discovered stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri. What is more puzzling is an inscription of Podili, Nellore District, that records a grant of a village by a private person 'while Ranga was ruling at Vijayanagara', in 1575-6 <sup>9</sup>. We feel sure that the capital of the Empire was never removed again to the imperial city on the Tungabhadra. Two inscriptions of these same years, mentioned above record his *domicile* at Penukonda. He may have visited the ancient capital of his predecessors in the course of one of his expeditions against the Muhammadans, but this would not imply his 'ruling at Vijayanagara'; probably, the traditional capital was here mentioned out of the regard which the kings still cherished for that city.

2. Penukonda was therefore the town where Ranga I ruled in splendour with all insignia of royalty', to quote the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II <sup>10</sup>. Pemmasani Pedda Timmaraja seems to have been his minister <sup>11</sup>, or at least one of his

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 341.

2. Sewell, I, p. 100.

3. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9; Rangacharya, II p. 1098, 374; *M. A. D., Report, 1923*, p. 44.

4. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9.

5. Rangacharya, II, p. 1115, 491

6. Butterworth, II, p. 892-4.

7. Rangacharya, I, p. 153, 193; 70 of 1915.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 622, 534.

9. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-C.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

11. Cf. H. Krishna BASTRI, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I. c., p. 185

ministers, because in an inscription of 1581 Ranga mentions Megoti Timma Nayadu as his agent and minister <sup>1</sup>. Another who seems to have been in charge of the matters of government is Timmaya Mantri; for the author of the *Charuchandrodayam*, his cousin, says that he "was the right hand of the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya and was presented by him with elephants, horses, palanquins and umbrellas" <sup>2</sup>. His dalavay, or commander-in-chief, was one Obala in 1572 <sup>3</sup>; but nine years later, in 1581, Venkatappa Nayadu occupied this post <sup>4</sup>. Rayasam Venkatapati was also one of his officers: in his poem *Lakshmi-vilasam* he informs us that he got the name of Rayasam after his office in the court, which was despatch-writer, and he was the manager of the Secretariat of the Empire. He was much loved by the Emperor, who presented him with a village and gold jewels <sup>5</sup>.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri suspects that the whole of the West coast and its petty rulers had asserted their independence in the beginning of Ranga's reign <sup>6</sup>. He is probably right, because it is certain, in view of the above-quoted apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie collection, that the great disturbances and rebellions following the murder of Sadasiva lasted five years, *vis.* one year of Tirumala's reign and the first four years of the reign of Ranga. This was a trying task for the new sovereign to cope with; but it seems, he finally subdued the rebels. It is probably in this connection that his Maredapalli grant and Arivilimangalam plates inform us that he 'destroyed or reduced the Chaurasi-durga (the eighty-four hill forts)' <sup>7</sup>; the Arivilimangalam plates say moreover that he 'put to shame Avahaluraya' <sup>8</sup>, while the Maredapalli grant extols him 'as the vanquisher of Avahaluraya and the king of Utkala' <sup>9</sup>.

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1. 178 of 1913.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 241.

3. Rangacharya, II, p. 979, 630.

4. 178 of 1913

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230.

6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c. and note 3.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 20; XI, p. 328, v. 35.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 21-26.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, vv. 37-38.

Moreover the rebellions were not all confined to the West. Trouble also arose in the South of the peninsula. The country of Marava and its neighbours the Kallar tribes, had broken allegiance with the Empire; but Ranga, according to an inscription of Tindivanam, "subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar (tribes), inhabiting Kongu and Malai-nadu, and their treasures he distributed (among the poor)"<sup>1</sup>.

3. In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had not yet ceased attacking the northern frontier. In the year 1575, to safeguard his new possessions, Ali Adil Shah rebuilt the ancient fortress of Chandragutti, Shimoga District, which was built upon a lofty hill<sup>2</sup>. While here, he was invited by Shankar Nayak, probably one of those petty chiefs of Kanara who had rebelled against the new dynasty of Vijayanagara, to make a tour through his own country. "Ali Adil Shah", says Ferishta, "accepting the offer, left his army at Chandarguti, and with Mustafa Khan and four or five thousand men proceeded to the fortress of Karur (Kadur)." This place is situated in a mountainous country full of forests, and so difficult of access that most of the passes allow only one horseman to enter at a time. The king, disliking the appearance of the country, returned to Chandarguti, leaving all his possessions to the Nayak; but Mustafa Khan tried to make a virtue of his master's necessity, by telling the Nayak that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it; therefore, if he consulted his own safety, he would submit and pay tribute and induce the surrounding rayas to do the same. Shankar Nayak, by these representations, prevailed on Siva Nayak of Jerreh, the Rani of Barcelor (Basrur) and several other chiefs, to pay their respects to the Sultan, to whom they presented offerings of considerable value, and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their state robes from the Sultan, women's robes were prepared for Har Devi, Bhar Devi, the Rani of Barcelor and another Rani. But these they declined accepting, saying that, though women in sex, they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds; upon which the Sultan presented them with men's robes

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183-4.

2. Ferishta. III, p. 139.



and applauded their high spirit. After this the Sultan of Bijapur appointed a Brahman to superintend the revenue of the newly-acquired country, answering more or less to the modern districts of Shimoga and Kadur. <sup>1</sup>

4. Ranga could not render assistance to his rebel chiefs of the Kanara country against the Muhammadans. As a matter of fact, it seems that just at this time he was proceeding towards Chandragiri 'in the course of a royal tour' <sup>2</sup>. Ali Adil Shah, after his short campaign in the Kanara country, again joined the troops of Mustafa Khan and advanced towards Penukonda <sup>3</sup>. When Sri Ranga learnt this he rapidly returned to his capital <sup>4</sup>, but found himself unequal to the forces of Bijapur; so, perhaps even before he reached Penukonda, he despatched an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda demanding his aid against Adil Shah. The Golkonda Sultan "readily agreed to the overtures of Sri Ranga Raya," says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "promising him to oppose Ali Adil Shah, and to prevent him from making further aggression. Accordingly he detached his general, Shah Muhammad Anju, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of Adil Shah's dominions, while he prepared to move to the South in support of Sri Ranga Raya. On the Bijanagar frontier he was joined by Shah Muhammad Anju, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions. He was shortly afterwards met by Sri Ranga Raya; and their junction induced Ali Adil Shah to raise the siege of Bijanagar (*viz.* its capital Penukonda) <sup>5</sup> and to return to Bijapur" <sup>6</sup>.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 140-1.

2. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 231.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 141. Ferishta's following account of the attack of Penukonda is evidently out of place. I shall prove in due course that facts narrated here by the Muhammadan writer could not have taken place except during the reign of Venkata II.

4. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l. c.

5. The removal of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda seems to be completely ignored by the anonymous chronicler.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 435.

Such is the account of the retreat of Ali Adil Shah as given by the Mussulman writer; but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* provide us with some other details. Ranga had also summoned Hande Malakappa Nayadu, the governor of Bukkasamudram, and 'with the assistance of his troops fought with the Muhammadan invaders and routed them' <sup>1</sup>. This seems to imply that a battle was fought between the two armies; and it was probably then that 'Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijapura (Bijapur)', as we read in the *Narapati-vijayamu* <sup>2</sup>.

After this combined action the relations between Golkonda and Vijayanagara apparently became still more friendly. It was perhaps then that Fak-l Khan went with a large army as an envoy of the Sultan of Golkonda to the court of Ranga and took the latter to his sovereign's capital, where a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two monarchs <sup>3</sup>.

5. But not long after, probably in the following year 1576, the Sultan of Bijapur reappeared in the territories of Vijayanagara with a large army. Ranga set out from Penukonda to check this expedition. When the two armies met, a great battle ensued, in the course of which the Emperor Ranga unfortunately fell a prisoner into the hands of Ali Adil Shah; this mishap turned the tide against the Hindu army, which was beaten and routed by the enemy. The immediate result of this victory was the possession of the territories to the North of Penukonda, which never went back into the hands of the Vijayanagara Emperors. "On hearing about this defeat of Sri Ranga," continues the author of the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, "Hande Malakappa Nayadu, thinking that the Muhammadan fortunes were destined to rise and his master's to wane, transferred his allegiance to them and behaved obediently in their service. So they showed great favour to him, and bestowed upon him the lands formerly granted to him by the Vijayanagara sovereigns: Bukkapatnam in the Elamanchi country,

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. *Sources*, l. c. Cf. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183, note 3.

3. *Yayaticharitam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 236.

and Anantasagaram along with the hamlets under them, with the title of Padishah Vazir" <sup>1</sup>. This misfortune of Ranga justified a strange title given him two years before: in a grant of 1574, this sovereign is called 'Establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans' <sup>2</sup>.

More fortunate still was another chief who also fought in this battle against the Muhammadans. Sal Nayaka had, after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, become the leader of a band of freebooters, and succeeded in capturing Kandikere and Shettikere. Incidentally, he joined Ranga at Penukonda with a force, on condition of his conquests being confirmed. After the defeat of the Hindu army and the capture of their Emperor, he escaped to his own country with such plunder as he could secure, including, it is said, twelve elephants. Chiknayakanhalli was founded a while after, made the seat of his government and named after his brother; then Honnavalli, Turuvekere and Nonavinkere were added to his possessions. Such was the origin of the Hagalvadi chiefs, whose territory was finally annexed to Mysore by Chikkadeva Raya <sup>3</sup>.

6. Ranga I, probably, soon won his liberty by a heavy ransom; because the inscriptions of the following year 1577 show him 'ruling at Penukonda' <sup>4</sup>. But the attack on Penukonda was renewed that very year; unquestionably Ali Adil Shah was bent on destroying the new capital of the Empire, as he had helped in the destruction of the old. We are not aware whether Adil Shah was present at the siege of the fortress; the *Satyaparinayam* mentions only four generals of his army. Jagadeva Raya, the Sudra chief of Baramahal, was at the moment in charge of the defence of the city; he was closely related to the

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 231-2. Cf. Brown *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Sewell, II, p. 185.

3. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 165.

4. Cf. above No. 1. Nevertheless there is an inscription of this year in the Nellore district, in which Ranga appears as 'ruling at Chandragiri'. Butterworth, I, p. 399, note. Was his capture perhaps concealed by saying that he was ruling at Chandragiri, where his brother Venkata was perhaps governing the Empire on his behalf?

Emperor by his marriage with one of the latter's daughters <sup>1</sup>. The attack was more than once valiantly repulsed by this hero. One general, Sujata Khan, was slain in one of the actions; another, Chitta Khan, was captured; and the other two, Murtija Khan and Naru Khan, being successively defeated, the Bijapur army was forced to raise the siege <sup>2</sup>.

The Emperor rewarded Jagadeva Raya's services liberally. He gave him a large district which extended from Baramahal in the East to the western Ghats in the West. He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630, when it was captured after a long siege by the Raja of Mysore <sup>3</sup>. Perhaps Koneru Raya also distinguished himself on this occasion; because an inscription of 1579 records the fact that the Emperor Ranga gave two villages to him for services rendered in a bloody battle, and exempted them from all taxes <sup>4</sup>.

7. In the meanwhile the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, had broken the alliance made lately with Ranga; and having joined the Hande chief Malakappa Nayadu, who, as we have already noted, had been a traitor to the Empire, invaded and occupied the Ahobalam district. A local inscription dated 1584-5, from which we get this information, adds that the religious teacher, Sri Van Sathagopa Swami, then went to the Emperor Ranga; and "reporting to him the sad condition of the temple of Ahobalam and the surrounding country, requested him to recover the district from the Muhammadans and to restore the temples to their ancient glory. Thereupon the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya himself prepared to lead an army into the district in person and to drive out the enemy. But the High Priest said that he need not lead the expedition in person,

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1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 164, says that Jagadeva's daughter was married to Ranga, but he himself in his further work, *Mysore*, I, p. 356 and 357, affirms that he was the king's son-in-law. Sewell, I, p. 194 and II, p. 251, agrees.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 229.

3. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 22. This author, as well as Sewell, II, p. 251, assigned the year 1577 as corresponding to the date of this third siege of Penukonda.

4. *M. A. D.*, Report, 1923, p. 44.

but might entrust it to his subordinates, Kondaraju Venkataraju and Kondaraju Tirumalaraju who were designated by the god of Ahobalam in a dream, as the fittest persons to lead the attack and to restore the temples. The Emperor was struck with this ; and having presented the chiefs with jewels and titles, ordered them to march against the enemy. Then the chiefs started with their army along with the priest ; and having defeated the Hande chiefs and the other allies of Ibrahim, made vast additions to the temples and bestowed on the temples more than their former prosperity" <sup>1</sup>. This action is probably the one referred to in the *Lakshmiivilasam*, which states that Vanga I defeated the large armies of Qutb Shah and captured his royal insignia" <sup>2</sup>. And again the *Narapati-vijayamu* says that 'his sword split the bodies of the Golkonda warriors' <sup>3</sup>.

8. Soon, at the end of 1579 or beginning of 1580, the Golkonda troops entered the province of Udayagiri situated at the North-East of the Empire <sup>4</sup>. After crossing the Krishna they easily captured the forts of Inaconda, Cacherlacota and Cammum (Cumbum); but the fortress of Kandbir was not so easily taken. "Here Haidar-ul-Mulk", says the anonymous chronicler, "was informed that Kandi Timana, Mudna Chinna and Kasturi Ranga had collected a force of thirty thousand men, and were on the point of marching to attack him. He therefore deferred the siege of Kandbir and moved to meet them. The Hindu infantry poured in upon the king's troops on all sides from the woods; but they only rushed on to their own destruction. The Muhammadans gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy to the fort of Guram, which surrendered". The fort of Belamkonda and all the minor forts of the neighbourhood fell also into the hands of the Muhammadans ; and thereafter Haidar-ul-Mulk proceeded to Kandblr. "A long time was expended in

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233-4. Cf. 70 of 1915.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

3. *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 356. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 183, note.

4. Sewell, I, p. 137, has an inscription of a local chief of this province acknowledging Ranga I as his sovereign in the year 1579.

attempting to reduce this strong fortress without effect ; and Haidar-ul-Mulk found it necessary to apply for reinforcements to Golkonda, on which Ibrahim Qutb Shah appointed Syad Shah Tacki, known by the appellation of Amir Shah Mir, with a considerable detachment of Mughals and Persians, to proceed and to take the command from Haidar-ul-Mulk of all the forces South of the Krishna. On his arrival at Kandbir, Shah Mir made many attempts to carry the place by escalade, but invariably failed, till at length he resolved, whatever might be the loss sustained, to drag his guns up the hill to within a moderate distance of the walls. By this means part of one face was battered down, and an attack made one morning both at the breach and on the South gateway. The Hindus were prepared to receive the storming parties and fought desperately ; but they were driven back, though not without heavy loss on the part of the assailants. The fort was eventually taken through the exertions of the elephants, who forced open one side of the gate. The Muhammadans then rushing in took the place ; and Kapury Timraj, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramraj of Bijanagar, fell into the hands of the victors " 1.

The Aminabad inscription of Amin Mulk gives further information concerning this campaign. Besides the successive capture of the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangeda and Kondavidu, it specifies the taking of the fort of Udayagiri which was defended by Venkata Raju—probably the brother of Ranga and his successor to be—who was driven back to the South 2. It seems that one of the leaders of this expedition was a Maratha Brahman called Raya Rao, who was in the service of the Qutb Shah monarch ; he was the one who attacked Kondavidu, the governor of which place was assailed with bribes and surrendered in 1580 3.

It was probably at this time that Vemala Nayadu, second Raja of Udiripikonda, was defeated and sent away to Golkonda to serve the Sultan 4.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 436-8.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230-40.

3. Sewell, II, p. 188, who gives his information as taken from Telugu chronicles on Kondavidu.

4. Francis, *Amantapur Gazetteer*, p. 165. Information gleaned from the Muckenzie MSS.

Thus one of the provinces of the Empire that constituted the greatest part of the Telugu country, fell into the possession of the Golkonda Sultan, and was lost for ever to Vijayanagara. Nevertheless, even under the domination of the Muhammadans, inscriptions were carved, specially in the southern taluks, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Emperors. Naturally the Telugu folk preferred the rule of the Telugu sovereigns to the blood-thirsty sway of the followers of Islam <sup>1</sup>.

9. These were the last conquests of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. In the year 1580 Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was assassinated <sup>2</sup>; and in the same year Ibrahim Qutb Shah passed away and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah. This monarch attempted to conquer the fortress of Naldrug, but without any success. He was even deserted by one of his generals, Ali Khan Lur, who with his army and with the assistance of Mikar Tima, the son-in-law of Ranga Raya, wished to recover some of the fortresses of the province of Udayagiri for the Emperor of Vijayanagara. But his campaign was a most dismal failure. The anonymous chronicler says that Ranga I 'refused them his countenance or support' <sup>3</sup>.

The new Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, being a mere child, was under the regency of the Dowager Queen, the famous Chand Bibi; but she was soon confined by the minister Dilawar Khan, and this intriguer assumed the reins of government. "The first act of his power", says Ferishta, "after he found himself secure, was to detach Balil Khan with an army to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara). Balil Khan, after being joined by Arsappa Naik, Ray of Jerreh, marched against the fort of Shankar Naik, Ray of Carur, who refused to pay the tribute. One night during the siege, while visiting the batteries, Balil Khan had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a body of the enemy, and was carried into the fort, where he was confined in heavy chains. His troops, missing their chief, raised the siege and dispersed to various quarters. Balil Khan, after

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1. Cf. Butterworth, II, p. 892.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 142. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 221.

3. *Ibid.*, III, p. 447-9.

some time, by promises of great rewards, prevailed on his keepers and a seller of grass to assist in his escape; and he was carried out by the latter upon his shoulders, concealed in a bundle of forage. When he had gained a convenient spot he contrived to strike off his chains, and hastened with all expedition towards the Bijapur frontiers. Arriving in safety he procured a horse and proceeded to Bankapur, from whence he informed Dilawar Khan of his escape and requested to be supplied with another army to take revenge on Shankar Naik. But the Regent declined for the present to make any further attempts in that quarter" <sup>1</sup>.

This was the last attack of the Muhammadans on the possessions of Vijayanagara during the reign of Sri Ranga I. The result was not very satisfactory to him. "Most of the petty Rajas of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara)", says the anonymous chronicler, "had now bent their necks to the Muhammadan yoke" <sup>2</sup>. Of course, the Muhammadan writer speaks only of the Rajas of the North of the Empire, who were near the frontier of the Deccani states.

10. These military operations did not in any way interfere with the piety of the Emperor; for he was a staunch devotee of Vishnu, as we shall see in one of the following chapters. An inscription of 1572, just a little before he ascended the throne, in the Gopinatha temple of Srirangarayapuram, Guntur, records a gift of land to Ganga-deva Rameswara for worship by Prince Sri Ranga, son of Tirumala <sup>3</sup>. We know besides several other religious grants made by Ranga during his reign, in 1575-6 <sup>4</sup>, 1578 <sup>5</sup> and 1585 <sup>6</sup>. In 1573 his agent in Nellore made arrangements for a religious festival <sup>7</sup>; in 1581 the Dalavay Venkatappa Nayadu, under orders of Negoti Timma Nayadu, the minister of the king,

1. Ibid., p. 157-8.

2. Ibid., III, p. 453.

3. Rangacharya, I, p. 762, 130—B.

4. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6 and 1259-61.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch. 23.

6. Sewell, I, p. 92.

7. Butterworth, III, p. 822-33.



remitted several taxes due on the land owned at Bukkasagaram and Anantapuram by the temple of Chavudesvari <sup>1</sup>.

The inscriptions also record that some new temples and shrines were consecrated during Ranga's reign. In 1577 the image of Chennakesavaraya was set up in the village of Mogaluru, and a gift of land was made to the temple <sup>2</sup>. In 1580 the temple of Kesavasvami of Penukonda was solemnly dedicated <sup>3</sup>. Finally, a record from Tindivanam fixes the voluntary contributions to be paid by the principal inhabitants, "by the merchants whose business extended over the fifty-six countries and the eighteen districts", and by others who gathered together on each Wednesday-market held at Gidangil. These contributions were supposed to be needed to carry out repairs in the Tindisuramudaiya-Nayinar temple at Tindivanam <sup>4</sup>.

II. Ranga's latest inscription corresponds to the year 1584-5 <sup>5</sup>. In Ahobilam, Karnul, there is an inscription by a local chief in the reign of Sri Ranga of Vijayanagara at Penukonda, dated 1584 <sup>6</sup>. Another inscription by the same chief, of the following year 1585, mentions the name of Venkatapati of Vijayanagara as ruling in Penukonda <sup>7</sup>. Hence the inscription of Srimushnam, of the year 1586, stating that Ranga was still ruling in Penukonda, must be an evident mistake <sup>8</sup>. Ranga must have died in about the first half of the year 1585, and, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* informs us, 'without issue' <sup>9</sup>, *viz.* without male offspring; for the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda mentions a son-in-law of his, named Mikar Tima <sup>10</sup>, and Jagadeva Raya of Chennapatna probably married another daughter of the King <sup>11</sup>.

1. 178 of 1913.

2. Rangacharya, II, p. 1143, 688.

3. Sewell, II, p. 120.

4. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I. c., p. 184.

5. 237 of 1903.

6. Sewell, I, p. 101.

7. *Ibid.*

8. 262 of 1916.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

10. Ferishta, III, p. 448.

11. Cf. above No. 6.

Ranga I, who, according to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, 'was renowned in the eight regions' and 'had crossed the milk-ocean of policy' <sup>1</sup>, seems to have been the kindest and most obliging sovereign that had ever sat on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara. He 'was a *parijata* to dependants', says the Utsur grant of Ranga III <sup>2</sup>; this is more clear in the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, which states that he was 'the bestower of wealth on dependants' <sup>3</sup>. According to an inscription at Nagalapuram, Ranga granted several privileges to the five artisan communities <sup>4</sup>.

The public aspect of his life, as defender of the interests of the Empire, is not as bright as his private one. It is striking, indeed, to read in the *Ramarajiyamu* that Ranga "resuscitated the glory of the Karnāṭa Empire which had waned" <sup>5</sup>. This poetical flattery is nothing but an echo of the laudatory expressions which we find applied to him in certain inscriptions. In one at Elvanasur he is called 'the conqueror of all countries' <sup>6</sup>; and in another at Tindiyanam he is said to have 'received tribute from all countries and from Ilam (Ceylon)' <sup>7</sup>. In his own grants we also read some characteristically empty boasts, as the two following: in the Arivilimangalam plates he says that he has 'been praised by the kings of the Kamboja, Bhoja, Kalinga and Karahata countries' <sup>8</sup>; and in the Maredapalli grant he calls himself 'the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas' <sup>9</sup>. And even several years later the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 19.

2. Butterworth I, p. 46, v. 22. *Parijata* is a mythical tree of the Hindu Paradise.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 30, v. 28.

4. 620 of 1904. These five classes of artificers are also mentioned in another inscription of the year 1573, that records the remission of the taxes payable by them by the chief of the Budihal country, Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 8.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.

6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 183.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328.

states that he was 'honoured by the kings of the Bhojas and Magadhas' <sup>1</sup>. More inexplicable still is an inscription of Kanchivaram, dated 1574, which gives him the titles of 'establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans and destroyer of the Gajapatis' <sup>2</sup>. We cannot fathom the real meaning of this most original piece of flattery.

Now, if we consider dispassionately the reign of Sri Ranga I, we cannot but say that it is one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vijayanagara. The Mussulmans were not checked at all in their conquests within the boundaries of the Empire; in their depredatory expeditions they thrice reached the walls of Penukonda, and on one of these occasions even Ranga himself fell a prisoner into their hands. The territory to the North of Penukonda was already in the possession of Bijapur, and the Sultan of Golkonda had likewise taken possession of the province of Udayagiri; the only territory that was recovered by Vijayanagara was the country round Ahobilam in the Karnul district. We do not deny Ranga's good qualities and military prowess; we even admit that he perhaps deserved the appellation of 'long-armed brave king', found in a grant of Venkata III <sup>3</sup>, and borne out by the very fact of his imprisonment. But ill-luck dogged his footsteps. In managing his home affairs he was, it seems, more fortunate; but even here the subjugation of the rebel chiefs was only apparent, as the desertions to the Muhammadans prove. Even some of the rebellions that broke out during the reign of Venkata II were nothing but later manifestations of the same antipathy towards the new dynasty which had been created by the bloody event that had opened to its members the door to the throne.

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 153.

2. *Sewell*, I, p. 185.

3. Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE TAMIL VICEROYALTY

**SUMMARY.**—1. Venkata, the brother of Ranga II, Viceroy of the Tamil country.—2. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura. An estimate of his life.—3. Accession of Virappa Nayaka. Rebellion of the Palaiyakaran of Mavalipuram—4. His relations with the Pandyas and with Ranga I. First war between Madura and Vijayanagara.—5. Behaviour of Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore towards the Empire.—6. Beginning of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka.—7. Some information about Jinji.—8. Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore and Ranga I.—9. Other chiefs.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *History of the Karnataka Governors, Mrtyunjaya MSS.*—3. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra, Sahityaratnakara, Rukmini-parinaya, Bhavanapurushottama.*

BEFORE commencing the history of the successor of Sri Ranga I we shall give, in this and in the following chapter, an account of the two viceroyalties into which the whole Empire was divided after the death of Tirumala. We do not know whether, after Ranga was raised to the throne, he still kept the government of the Telugu viceroyalty, or whether a new viceroy was appointed. But we are rather inclined to believe that that territory was attached to the Tamil viceroyalty, both being under the governorship of Venkata, the youngest brother of Ranga. The above-mentioned Aminabad inscription relates that when the troops of Golkonda took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri, Venkata Raju was driven from the place<sup>1</sup>. If this Venkata is the brother of Ranga, as seems probable, his being found at Udayagiri would confirm our opinion.

Anyhow Venkata continued to rule over the Tamil country, his capital being Chandragiri. An inscription in the ancient temple of Triplicane tells us that during the reign of Ranga, Tirumala Nayaningaru, the general of Venkata of Chandragiri, made a gift of the villages of Sembiyam

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1 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 239-40.

and Nidambaram and a garden to the aforesaid temple<sup>1</sup>. Gobburi Tirumalal Nayakkar was no doubt another general of his army. In the year 1579 he gave a piece of land at Kunrattur to the temple of Talasayana Perumal at Kadalmallai in return for the services of the King's brother Venkatapatideva Maharaya<sup>2</sup>. It seems that during the time of his viceroyalty Venkata led a military expedition to Ceylon. Ranga I claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon<sup>3</sup>. But we are sure that he was too busy with the Muhammadans to spare the time to force the Ceylon sovereign to pay the tribute due to him. Now Venkata also boasts of having conquered Ceylon<sup>4</sup>, and since we do not know of any Ceylon campaign during the time of his reign, we may reasonably conclude that any such conquest took place only during his brother's lifetime.

2. The most important state subordinate to the viceroyalty of Venkata was Madura. Only a few months after the demise of Tirumala, the King of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka also died. The date given for this event by the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* corresponds to December 3rd, 1572<sup>5</sup>. He had been a capable ruler and a worthy successor of his father. His successful campaigns against Tumbichchi and the Raja of Kandi proved him also a valiant and resolute warrior. He thus checked for the rest of his reign the evil ambitions of the other Palaiyakarans. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva speak very highly of his qualities as well as of his deeds. Krishnappa Nayaka, according to them, was a King "of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kasyapa...who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified with truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; whose policy was like that of

1. 237 of 1903.

2. 255 of 1909.

3. *M. E. R.* 1904-5, para 35.

4. *Ibid.*, 1905-6, para 49.

5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 76.

Manu ;...on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Visvanatha, who was pleased with his devotion" <sup>1</sup>. The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III eulogize him, more than half a century after, stating that he was a ruler "who was renowned in the world, who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with his name (*viz.* who was a worthy namesake of the ancient Krishna), who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, whose disposition resembled that of Kubera, the lord of wealth" <sup>2</sup>.

Krishnappa Nayaka had founded two towns: one to the West of Tinnevely named Kadaiyam-Krishnapuram, and another to the East of Palamcotta called Krishnapuram after his own name. To this he seems to have devoted greater attention; for he built there a Saiva temple, a Vaishnava temple and many agraharas: he dug out a teppakulam, and furnished the town with all customary appurtenances <sup>3</sup>. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva give some more details; by his care "was built a temple at Krishnapura", they say, "which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and surmounted a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rangamandapa* raised on a series of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts. He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain, and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Vishnu set up there" <sup>4</sup>. Then in 1563 he made a gift of six villages and some lands to the same temple of Vishnu, (venerated there under the name of Tiruvengalanatha), 'for the merit of his father' <sup>5</sup>. Two years earlier he had presented a piece of land to the Nelliappar temple at Tinnevely <sup>6</sup>.

He seems to have continued his father's policy towards the Pandyas, as the title *Pandyakulasthapanacharya*, given him in

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

2. *Ibid.*, III, p. 254, v. 50.

3. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, p.

23.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, l. c.

5. 17 of 1912; *M. E. R.*, 1912, p. 76.

6. 121 of 1894.

the Krishnapuram plates<sup>1</sup>, shows. His relations with the Emperor Sadasiva were those of loyalty, as the aforesaid plates prove: in them he is said 'to know the truth about duty'<sup>2</sup>; and his influence at the court of Vijayanagara is seen in every verse of their text. Then a damaged record of Sadasiva, belonging to the year 1568, also mentions Krishnappa Nayaka<sup>3</sup>; and another inscription by the same King, of the year 1571, records a gift for the merit of the son of Visvanatha and others<sup>4</sup>.

3. Krishnappa was succeeded by his two sons Visvanatha and Virappa, according to the *Pandyan Chronicle*<sup>5</sup>. But the former is never mentioned either in the inscriptions or in the *History of the Karnataka Governors*; from which we suspect that he died shortly after and that Virappa Nayaka remained the sole ruler<sup>6</sup>. He is called Vira-Bhupati in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II<sup>7</sup>. His queen was Tirumalambika<sup>8</sup>. An inscription at Goripalayam, Madura, on a pillar set up within the Muhammadan Masjid, declares that a considerable quantity of land was presented to the Mussulmans by Kuna Pandya, and that the grant was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka in 1573<sup>9</sup>. This is probably the earliest lithic mention of this King.

It was probably not long after his accession that Virappa had the opportunity of giving a proof of his resolute

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, l. c.

2. *Ibid.*

3. 64 of 1908.

4. 403 of 1912.

5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 38. The succession of both brothers is also confirmed by the statues of the Nayaks in the Tirumala's choultry at Madura. The third statue is that of Periya Krishnappa Nayaka, another name of Virappa, it seems. Cf. Nelson, p. 105. The inscription of the fourth statue, as much damaged, cannot be read: I suppose this statue represents Visvanatha. Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 212.

6. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 297, vv. 62-64.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 65-66; Vellangudi plates of the same, *Ibid.*, p. 320.

9. 77 of 1905; Sewell, I, p. 292.

character; "The king of Mavalipuram," says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "came with hostile intent, placed a fortified camp before Manamathurai and Kalaiyarcovil, and conquered some places in the Pandya country." This king of Mavalipuram was one of the Palaiyakarans belonging to the family of Mavali-Vanadarayar, of whose ancestors at the beginning of the sixteenth century we know several inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. The action of the Nayaka was swift and decisive: he at once set out from his capital, defeated the chief, conquered his kingdom, and annexed it to his own possessions<sup>2</sup>. That was a good lesson for the rest of his subordinates.

His rule over Madura was also distinguished by the buildings he constructed, some of which still proclaim his munificence. The southern walls of the Trichinopoly fort, as well as the fortress of Aruppakkottai, Ramnad, were built by him<sup>3</sup>. But his chief work was the *mandapa*, erected in front of the shrine of Sundaesvara, the presiding deity of the famous temple at Madura, which is supported on beautiful 'pillars of rare workmanship'<sup>4</sup>. It was completed in 1583<sup>5</sup>.

1. 109, 113, and 121 of 1903; 585 and 187 of 1902. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 143-4, is inclined to believe that the chief of Mavalipuram was the king of Mahavalipuram or Seven Pagodas.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25. One of the Palaiyakarans of Madura at this time was Kumara Ettappa Nayacker who had founded the city of Ettayapuram about 1567, shortly after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi. In one of the wars of the Nayaks of Madura, Kumara Ettappa helped the Madura Nayak; but he was treacherously killed during the war. The Nayak, who was probably Virappa Nayak, out of regard for the deceased chief, conferred Kalugumalai on his family and granted the title of Aiyar to his successor. Ketchila Ettappa Nayacker Aiyar, Kumara Ettappa's successor, was a great warrior and an intrepid rider. He defeated the Setupati of Ramnad and captured from him some insignia of royalty and two state horses. Madhava Rao, *The Ruling Chiefs*, I, p. 597.

3. Ibid. Cf. Rangaohary, *The History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91, note 30.

4. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv 67-79; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 288.

5. Rangaohary, o. c., *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91.



This was not the only act of devotion towards that temple. He also presented the goddess Minakshi with a *kavacha* or mantle 'made of gold and set with rare gems.' He also made the sixteen *Mahadanas*, beginning with *hemasva* <sup>1</sup>.

4. His relations with the Pandyas continued on the same good terms as during his father's life. The copper-plates of Sri vallabha and Varatungarama Pandya record the gift of the village of Pudukkottai by a certain Tirumala Nayaka, with the approval of Virappa <sup>2</sup>.

His subjection to the Vijayanagara overlords is clearly shown in the epigraphical records in the first years of his reign. In 1577, 'during the reign of Sri Ranga Raya,' Virappa Nayaka made a gift of land for the merit of his father Krishnappa Nayaka to a temple of Krishnapuram, as stated in a local inscription <sup>3</sup>. In the following year Virappa Nayaka, who calls himself 'an agent to the King,' made a gift of land to a temple in Sermadevi for conducting certain festivals <sup>4</sup>. And in the year 1579, a record of Ranga in the Appar temple of Sermadevi, Tinnevely, mentions Visvanatha Krishnappa Virappa Nayaka as his feudatory <sup>5</sup>.

But somewhat before 1583 a war broke out between the Nayak and Venkata of Chandragiri, the Viceroy of Vijayanagara. What was the cause of this rupture of relations? The success of Virappa against the Mavalipuram chief perhaps excited his ambition, and he consequently refused to pay his tribute to the Emperor. This was invariably the cause of all the following wars between Madura and Vijayanagara. Nor do we groundlessly attribute the same cause to the first of these wars <sup>6</sup>. We are made aware of it by the Pudukkottai plates

1. *Ibid.*, and Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 62-64. About his acts of devotion, see *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 161.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 61-88.

3. 16 of 1912; Sewell, I, p. 310.

4. 663 of 1915.

5. 187 of 1895.

6. The tribute paid by Madura to Vijayanagara was, according to Barradas, 600,000 pagodas; Sewell, p. 230. Fr. A. Vico writing to Fr. A. Laerzie from Madura, August 30, 1611, states that the annual tribute was of six to ten million *franes*; Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p. 124. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308, says: "O Naique de Madura le paga sinco centos pr. ano."

of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya. They speak only of the final battle between the two armies: Venkataraja himself was at the head of his 'huge army', one of his officers being Basavaraja, a Telugu chieftain who had also been present at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi<sup>1</sup>. Achyutaraya, the Tanjore Nayak, had also joined Venkata against Virappa. The army of Madura was commanded by Tirmularaja, who, in the same plates, is called the right hand of Virappa. He "employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots." This Pandya document states that Tirumularaja killed Basavaraja in the battle of Vallaprakara, and defeated Venkata's army. "The armies of Viraraja", it says, "were destroyed, but that of Achyutaraja fled away. Tirumalairaja collected all the horses from the battlefield"<sup>2</sup>. We may admit the first fact, but the defeat of Venkata's troops is a figment of imagination. How can we explain the fact that Virappa Nayaka himself acknowledges the authority of the Vijayanagara Emperor in the beginning of the reign of the same Venkata, a few years later? These plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalairaja, at whose request the Pandya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkottai. We are sure that Venkata obtained a victory over his enemies on this occasion. This implies also the payment of the tribute due.

5. Passing from Madura to Tanjore, we find again in the old Chola capital the venerable person of Sevvappa still ruling over his kingdom, and making extensive grants to many temples during the considerable period of his peaceful rule<sup>3</sup>.

Sevvappa Nayaka's attitude towards the Empire seems to have been that of a faithful vassal. There is an inscription in

1. Cf. Ch. IX, No. 3.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 61-67 and 161-164. If the date of these plates is correct, and there is no ground hitherto for reasonable doubt, we must place this battle during the time of Venkata's viceroyalty in Chandragiri. It is very strange that Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, o. c., does not mention this rebellion of Virappa Nayaka at all.

3. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *es*, p. 323.

the Vallalgotpuram in the Arunachalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai, in which the names of both the Emperor and the Nayak's son are to be seen together. It deals with the remission of certain taxes in the villages belonging to the temple. This was done by order of Achyutappa Nayaka, Sadasiva still reigning <sup>1</sup>. Again, in the year 1566, one year after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and during the reign of his father, Achyutappa Nayaka made a gift of the village of Tiruveshkalam to several shrines of the Tirumalasthanam, for the merit of Tirumala Raya, then the Regent of the Empire <sup>2</sup>. Finally one year later, an inscription of Sadasiva at Tiruvannamalai records the remission of taxes in the villages belonging to the temple by order of Achyutappa Nayaka <sup>3</sup>. This policy of Sevvappa continued unchanged during the reign of Ranga. In 1574, at the request of Sevvappa Nayaka, Ranga I granted the village of Arivilimangalam to the Madhva guru, Vijayindra Tirtha. The grant had been made by Prince Achyuta, but now the formal sanction from the Vijayanagara Emperor was obtained <sup>4</sup>.

6. Further, these inscriptions show that during the last years of Sevvappa's rule, his son Achyuta took a prominent part in the government of the state. He was actually made Yuvaraya some time before the death of his father <sup>5</sup>, most probably before 1577; because there is an inscription of this year in which Achyuta appears as actually ruling over the whole kingdom. Sevvappa's last inscription is of the year 1572-73; it refers to the son of Timmappa Nayakkar of the chaturtha gotra <sup>6</sup>. Achyutappa's first inscription is dated 1577; it is found in the southern outer wall of the second gopura of the temple of Brahathesavaraswami in Tanjore, and records that Achyutappa Nayaka gave some land on perpetual free tenure to goldsmiths <sup>7</sup>.

1. 567 of 1902.

2. 259 of 1913.

3. 567 of 1902.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 27-44. Cf. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 53-4.

5. *Sahityaratnakara*, canto III, v. 14.

6. 497 of 1907.

7. 22 of 1897. Cf. Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 5.

His Queen was named Murtyamba <sup>1</sup>, and his minister and general was the famous Govinda Dikshita <sup>2</sup>, a very learned Kannada Brahman, of whom we shall speak at length when dealing with the literature of this period. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* says that Achyutappa 'ruled the kingdom in peace and prosperity for a considerable period' <sup>3</sup>. During his time, the *anicut* across the Kaveri was repaired and flights of steps at various places along its course were put up, as for example at Mayavaram, Kumbhakonam, Tiruvidaimarudur, etc. <sup>4</sup>. We shall speak again of Achyutappa when we come to the reign of Venkata II.

7. Going northwards, Jinji offers us no better information at this period than during the reign of Sadasiva. According to the drama *Bhavanapurushottama*, Surappa Nayaka was still ruling at Jinji during the reign of Ranga. He seems to have helped the Emperor of Vijayanagara, either Triumala or Ranga I, to repulse one of the Muhammadan invasions; for which he is given the title of 'the firm establisher of the throne of Karnata'. He founded the villages of Surasamudra, Peta-samudra and Vengalambapura, calling them after himself, his father and his mother respectively <sup>5</sup>. Such is the slight information we get about Jinji at this time.

8. During the time of Ranga, the chief of Vellore was still Chinna Bomma Nayaka, of whom we have previously spoken <sup>6</sup>. We find him mentioned several times by the Emperor himself: one of the latter's inscriptions records the gift of the village of Perumai, North Arcot, by Krishnappa Nayaka, his feudatory, at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka to the 'Jvarakandesvara shrine at Vellore' <sup>7</sup>. Two other inscriptions mention the donation of the villages of

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1. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, 285.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Rukmini-parinaya*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 272, note.

6. Cf. Ch. VIII, No 12.

7. 43 of 1887.

Sattuvachcheri and Sampanginallur under the same terms <sup>1</sup>. Chinna Borima Nayaka is again mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ranga I of 1578 at Devikapuram, North Arcot <sup>2</sup>. In 1582 he was still living, since an inscription of his at Adaipalam records that Appaiya Dikshita constructed the temple of Kalakanthesvara <sup>3</sup>.

Some other members of this family are occasionally mentioned in the lithic records of those years. An inscription of Ranga, of 1578, at Devikapuram registers a gift made to the temple for the merit of Agastyappa Nayaka of Vellore <sup>4</sup>. Another of the same, of the year 1583, at Tindivanam, South Arcot, records that Virappa Nayaka, son of Pappau Nayaka of Vellore, who was apparently the governor of Padaividurajya, ordered that toll should be levied according to a fixed scale on all the articles brought into the market at Gidangil on Wednesdays, and that the proceeds should be spent on the repairs of the Tintrinisvara temple <sup>5</sup>.

9. Some other chiefs of the Tamil country are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of those years: first one Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka, who built the wall round the Srimushnam temple <sup>6</sup>; then one Achyutappa Nayaka, son of Bayyappa Nayaka, who established a shrine for the goddess in the temple of Adivarsha Perumal of Srimushnam, besides making several other gifts to the same temple <sup>7</sup>; finally one Kanchi Paparaju, who gave some land to the Reddis at Kottapalli in 1585 in the reign of Sri Rangā Raya of Penukonda <sup>8</sup>.

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1. 41 and 42 of 1887.
  2. 399 of 1912.
  3. 395 of 1911.
  4. 399 of 1912.
  5. 30 of 1905.
  6. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 73.
  7. *Ibid.*
  8. *Rangacharya*, I, p 622, 534.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

**SUMMARY.**—1. Government of Rama, Viceroy of Seringapatam. Rama is succeeded by his sons Tirumala and Ranga.—2. The Nayaks of Ikeri.—3. Chamraj Wodeyar and Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.—4. Dealings between the Queen of Gersoppa and the Portuguese as to the possession of Honavar.—5. War between the King of Tolar and the Portuguese. Capture of Basrur.—6. The Portuguese defeat the Nayak of Sanguicer.—7. Dom Luiz d'Ataide settles some differences between the Queen of Ullal and the King of Bangher.—8. The Nayaks of Bellur.—9. Other chiefs.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Faria y Sousa.—3. *Ramarajiyamu*, *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, *Sivatattvaratnakara*.

WHEN Ranga I ascended the throne, the Kanarese viceroyalty was under Rama, the third son of Tirumala. It has been said that his rule at Seringapatam was weak, and that on account of this the local chieftains rebelled<sup>1</sup>. Now we have previously spoken of the rebellion of several chiefs of the Kanara country, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Aravidu family, the head of which did not spare bloodshed in order to ascend the throne. This, not the weak rule of the Viceroy<sup>2</sup> was the origin of the rebellion. Nevertheless if his government was really weak (though of this we have no established proofs) we may naturally suppose that this was the ultimate cause of the rebellion. The *Ramarajiyamu* only tells us that Rama 'defeated the troops of the Nizam Shah'<sup>3</sup>. Whether this victory was obtained during his viceroyalty or previously to that time, we are not in a position to ascertain. The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III praising Rama's generosity state that his 'deeds put to shame the celestial trees'<sup>3</sup>.

One of his agents was named Dantikanti Lingappana, who in the year 1577 repaired the *bund* across the stream

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1. Richards, *Salcm Gazetteer*, p. 67.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, ¶. 21.

Bhogavati, on the West side of the Mallikarjuna temple on the top of a hill near Srisailam, Karnul <sup>1</sup>. We know from this inscription that Rama was still living in the year 1577; but his death must have occurred shortly after, because the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that 'Rama Raya died after a short time' and soon after Tirumala's death <sup>2</sup>.

Rama had married Narasingama and had by her two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, who must have been quite young at the time of their father's death; for when the throne was vacant some years later after the demise of their uncle Ranga I, they were still considered too young to rule the Empire, as we shall see later on. On this occasion both brothers jointly succeeded their father in the viceroyalty; but probably on account of their tender age, its administration was left in the hands of their Dalavay, Remati Venkatayya <sup>3</sup>.

2. No reliable information is extant concerning the Nayaks of Ikeri during this period. Sewell says that the reign of the second son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Chikka Sankana Nayaka, lasted till 1603, in which year he retired from government <sup>4</sup>; and it seems that the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* of the Mackenzie collection agrees with this statement <sup>5</sup>. He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga, of 1570 <sup>6</sup>. According to the *Sivatattvaratnakara*, he once defeated and routed the Bijapur general, Majjhula Khan, who had attacked him with a number of horses and elephants. He likewise vanquished Bhaira Devi, Queen of Gerasappi (Gersoppa) and other chiefs in its neighbourhood, getting much wealth from them <sup>7</sup>. No more information is hitherto available about the Keladi Nayaks before the accession of Venkatapati, of whom we shall

1. 43 of 1915.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aivangar, o.c., p. 202.

3. *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid., p. 213; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 21; Vilapaka grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 126. Cf. Ap. C, No. 5.

4. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Ibid., p. 202.

5. Sewell, II, p. 177.

6. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*. n. 333.

7. 170 of 1901.

speak when dealing with the reign of his namesake the Emperor.

3. As to the neighbouring state of Mysore, nothing worthy of mention occurred until 1571. In this year Heri Chamraj succeeded to the government of the state. He was probably one of those princes of Kanara who did not pay homage to the new dynasty on account of the murder of Sadasiva. It is stated that he evaded payment of his tribute to the Viceroy of Seringapatam, and obtained permission to erect works, ostensibly for the purpose of keeping away wild hogs from destroying crops; but no sooner were the works erected, than they were converted into barriers against the collectors of the royal tribute, who were ignominiously expelled from Mysore. These measures rendered him obnoxious to Rama at Seringapatam, and led to an attempt to seize his person while performing his devotion in the temple of Ranga, at the very court of the Viceroy; but as the Raja was previously warned, the attempt failed. Emboldened by his successful resistance, he continued with impunity to withhold all payment of tribute.

Heri Chamraj Wodeyar died childless in 1576, after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by a cousin of the elder branch of the family, named Bettad Wodeyar, son of Dodda Chama Raja Wodeyar<sup>1</sup>. The new Mysore Raja had no capacity for government. He was brave, but wild, thoughtless and imprudent. Accordingly in the short space of two years he had thrown the finance into such disorder, that the elders of the family thought it necessary to depose him and to install his younger brother Raja Wodeyar<sup>2</sup>; but the latter declined the appointment on the ground that the financial state of the country was in too hopeless a state for him to try to mend it. The treasury was empty; the total arrears of tribute due to the viceroy of Seringapatam amounted to 5,000 pagodas. But his way was smoothed by a contribution from the members of the royal family, and thus he started his rule in 1578<sup>3</sup>.

1. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 157, and TN, 116.

2. He is supposed by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 280 and p. 286, to be his cousin.

3. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 279.



Raja Wodeyar, who may be taken to be the real founder of the dynasty of Mysore, began gradually to subdue all the lesser chiefs in his neighbourhood. Once the chief of Carugalli, a relation of the family, attempted to seize Mysore by surprise, and accordingly appeared suddenly before it; but he was thoroughly defeated by the action of Bettad Wodeyar, and his estate subsequently annexed to Mysore. Shortly after, in passing to the court of Seringapatam accompanied by his usual retinue and band, he met the petty chief of Kambala going to court, also attended by music. The Mysore chief inquired whose retinue it was, and on ascertaining it, ordered his own music to stop. On his arrival at Seringapatam he was asked why he had not come to the court with his usual state. And it is said that he answered:—

“Music is no distinction, if my inferiors are also allowed to use it”.

On hearing this insinuation, the Raja of Kambala, incensed with fury, made some outrageous remarks.

“Let us meet”, replied Raja Wodeyar, “and determine the superiority, and with it the right to the music.”

In vain did the viceroy try to appease them. The next day Raja Wodeyar marched against Kambala, defeated its chief and captured the place.

These annexations formed from the first a part of the policy of the dynasty of Mysore, and continued to the time of Chikka-deva Raya. We shall see the same Raja Wodeyar, during the reign of Venkata II, taking possession of the very capital of the viceroyalty, Seringapatam. The aim of Raja Wodeyar was obvious: to become the supreme lord of the Kanara country <sup>1</sup>.

4. The Portuguese chronicles supply us with abundant information about several petty chiefs of the Kanara coast, some of whose sea-ports were gradually taken by the successors of Albuquerque. Several of these petty rulers had, as we have seen during the reign of Sadasiva, been compelled to consent, against their will, to pay an annual tribute to the viceroy of Goa. One of these was the Queen of Guarcopa (Gersoppa), named Bhaira Devi <sup>2</sup>, who a little after, by the instigation of

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 35-8.

2. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, 8. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 339.

some of the rulers of Malabar, refused to pay the promised tribute <sup>1</sup>. In order to chastise such contumacious conduct the Viceroy, Dom Luiz de Ataide, sailed thither in November, 1569, with a fleet of more than 130 ships and about three thousand Portuguese and Indians. Having entered the river Onor, which flowed through the possessions of the sovereign of Gersoppa, he succeeded in landing 2,300 men; but not without opposition on the part of the enemy. The city of Onor (Honavar) was by nature very strong; for it was built on the top of a rocky hill near the sea-shore, and was well fortified. The Queen was there herself with five hundred soldiers and several pieces of ordnance and ammunition. The Portuguese, notwithstanding, commenced to ascend the hill in the face of a shower of bullets; and as soon as they reached the summit, the enemy along with their Queen deserted the city and retired inland. Onor, which contained much wealth and many fine buildings, was first plundered and afterwards reduced to ashes. The fort was then attacked, and after four days' bombardment, the garrison surrendered upon condition of being allowed to march out without arms. The Portuguese then occupied the fort, and Mass was said there on St. Catherine's day, November 25th. Jorge de Moura with 400 men was left in command <sup>2</sup>.

At the end of the same year, the Queen of Gersoppa manifested her desire to come to terms with the Viceroy <sup>3</sup>; but in the meanwhile she was secretly making preparations to carry on war against the invader of her possessions. On receiving this information, Captain Luiz de Mello burnt many of her towns and laid waste the country around <sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless the Viceroy was not without anxiety about Honavar, as the enemy had endeavoured to annihilate the Portuguese, and to effect by treachery what they had failed to do by force. The Queen or her generals bribed some Kanarese, who were there in the service of the Portuguese, to poison them with the fruit of the Stramonium, which "has the effect", says Faria y Sousa, 'when eaten, of making men forget all things, and of rendering

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 472.

2. Ibid., p. 474-5.

3. Ibid., p. 480.

4. Ibid., p. 481.

them insensible even to their wounds". The treachery was discovered, and the conspirators hanged over the walls as a warning to those who had bribed them. That was the cause of open hostility ; but at about the same time a galley and three other small vessels with some picked troops entered the port of Honavar to relieve the fortress <sup>1</sup>.

It happened after a while, in the beginning of March, 1570, that Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur prevailed upon the Queen of Gersoppa to declare war against Honavar. He was then attacking Goa in alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut, and thus wanted to weaken the Viceroy's forces by division <sup>2</sup>. She collected an army of 3,000 men which, in conjunction with 2,000 soldiers of the Bijapur Sultan, invested Honavar. News of this further attack reached the Viceroy in July, 1570. He immediately despatched Antonio Fernandes de Chale with command of two galleys and eight other vessels, and such troops as the vessels could accommodate. In five days Antonio Fernandes reached Honavar, and having joined the commander of the place, Jorge de Moura, fell upon the besiegers, driving them back with great loss. The latter fled in panic, and nearly all their cannon fell into the hands of the Portuguese <sup>3</sup>. As subsequent to this action no other mention of this Queen is made in the Portuguese chronicles, we must take it to imply her subjection to them <sup>4</sup>.

1. Ibid., p. 481-2.

2. Ibid., p. 500.

3. Ibid., p. 511-2

4. In the narrative of Archbishop Menezes' travels there is an account of an idol-procession annually celebrated in this city of Gersoppa. "Faz se hua grande procissam, & acode a ella muita gente de todas as partes do Canara : na qual uay hum Pagode (idol) metido em certas charolas ricamente lauradas, o qual se poem em hu carro muyto concertado, em q. uao seruindo alguns Bramenes, & offerecendolhe offertas. Diante do carro uao muitas bailadeiras cantando, as quaes todas sao mulheres publicas, q ganhao em suas deshonestidades pera o Pagode (idol), and das rendas delle se sustentao, viuendo em casas ao redor delle, como em casa publica, & destas andao sempre acopanhados os Pagodes (idols) grandes da India q tem rendas, & sao como seruidoras suas...O carro te hua pontas agudas que cortao como naualhas, e em quanto a procissam uay andando acodem muitos que ve offerecer suas vidas ao Pagode (idol), & depois de se asentarem de joelhos, & fazerem sua reuerencia muy profunda se lancao no chao de fronte do carro, & assim uay passando por cima delles, & os vay espedacando, nos quaes elles te por sanctos, como nos aos martyres". *Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispa de Goa*, p. 126, back.

5. For a similar refusal to pay the tribute, Dom Luiz de Ataide, after attacking Honavar at the end of 1569, despatched a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of Pero da Silva e Menezes to wage war against the chief of Tolar. The Viceroy was anxious, it seems, to seize the fort of Barcelor (Basrur), which belonged to that King. Accordingly the first place to be attacked was this fortress. Basrur rivalled Honavar in natural strength and position; but the Viceroy had made arrangements with the commander whereby he was to betray it to him. Accordingly the commander of Basrur delivered up the fort to Pero da Silva at night; and the Portuguese rushing into the town slaughtered and captured more than 200 of its inhabitants. But the ruler of Tolar, informed of this treacherous surrender, advanced the same night, accompanied by the neighbouring King of Cambolim (Gangolly). They were easily repulsed, since their joint force consisted only of 1,500 men; but they reappeared on the following night reinforced by 5,000 more soldiers. After a hot engagement, in which both parties suffered heavy losses, the Portuguese came to the conclusion that the fortress was untenable; so they quitted it with the honours of war, taking with them twenty cannon and a great quantity of ammunition and arms <sup>1</sup>.

But the Viceroy wanted the fortress at all costs, and after some months proceeded himself to take possession of it. The landing was very difficult, indeed, as the Portuguese were opposed by a force of 11,000 men; but after some hard fighting the Portuguese captured some of the outworks. This so dismayed the defenders that those in the fort abandoned it into the hands of the invaders. The two rulers of Tolar and Gangolly mentioned above, joined forces again and made another attack by a very dark night. But the commander of the fort, Pero Lopes Rebello, with 400 men, was ready to receive them. Within a short time the Hindu army lost 300 men; and the two rulers, despairing of success, concluded a treaty of peace by which they bound themselves to pay a greater tribute than before. The Viceroy held, before leaving, an interview with those rulers as well as with the Queen of Gangolly; after which

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469-70.

they parted on terms of great friendship. Then the Portuguese constructed a new fortress in a more convenient place between the city and the mouth of the river, which was finished within two months. Antonio Botelho was appointed its commander <sup>1</sup>.

The building of this fortress roused the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the Portuguese. In 1571 an army of six thousand Hindus appeared suddenly before its walls. Ruy Goncalves da Camara, the commander, having sent to the Viceroy for assistance, made preparations for a regular defence. Five ships came immediately to his relief; and then twelve others followed under the command of Dom Jorge de Menezes, who on arriving at Basrur found all was safe, thanks to the timely arrival of the first five ships <sup>2</sup>.

Nothing worth relating about Basrur is found in the years that followed. But we shall return to Basrur and Gangolly in the next volume.

6. In the neighbourhood of Honavar stood the fortress of Sanguicer, which had belonged to the Queen of Gersoppa. But one of her captains had seized the fortress for himself and styled himself the Nayak of Sanguicer. He fortified the place and defied the power of the Portuguese, protecting the pirates who infested the coast, and doing great damage to the Portuguese trade. To put an end to his insolence, Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas was sent there in the year 1584, with orders to destroy the fort. Dom Giles carried with him a fleet of fourteen sail and 300 men from Goa; but his own vessel ran aground between the reefs and would not float again. He was immediately attacked by the enemy from the shore. The rest of his force could not send him assistance. He was unable to retreat and was massacred there with all his men. The expedition thereupon retreated <sup>3</sup>.

But Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had been recently appointed Viceroy, at once decided to avenge the death of Dom Giles; and having in the meantime received an ambassador from Adil Khan, entered into negotiations with him for that purpose. He also wanted to put down the piracy that existed along

1. *Ibid.*, p. 476-7; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 293.

2. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 564-5.

3. *Ibid.*, III, p. 8.

the coast of Kanara. It was agreed that Rosti Khan, the Governor of Ponda, should assist with 40,000 men by land, whilst Dom Jeronimo de Mascarenhas should attack the Nayak by sea. The attack was so well combined and carried out that the Nayak's forces were entirely routed. The Nayak fled to the woods for safety. Thence he sent an envoy to implore mercy, and promised to submit to any conditions provided he were restored to his power and his territories spared. Arrangements to this effect were accordingly concluded, and the invading armies then retired <sup>1</sup>.

7. Things were not yet settled at Mangalore. The Portuguese fortress stood between the possessions of the Queen of Ullal on the South and those of the ruler of Bangher on the North. Between these two there existed an ancient discord which was very prejudicial to Portuguese trade. Dom Luiz de Ataide went himself to Mangalore in 1569 to settle these disputes ; his reception was better than he had anticipated. After an interview with these two rulers their differences appeared completely settled <sup>2</sup>. Very likely it was then that in order to establish peace more firmly between the two states, the Queen of Ullal married the King of Bangher, 'more for honour's sake than anything else,' says the traveller Pietro della Valle, who personally knew the Queen Bukka Devi Chautar <sup>3</sup>. Of this capricious union, which was the cause of many a romantic adventure, we shall speak later on.

8. In Bellur, Krishnappa Nayaka was still the head of the Balam family in the beginning of Ranga's reign. In an inscription of 1578 he acknowledges king Ranga as ruling sovereign <sup>4</sup>. But not long afterwards he was succeeded by his son. A Bellur Kanarese inscription of Sri Ranga I, of July of the same year, records a grant by Krishnappa Nayaka's son, Venkatadri Nayaka <sup>5</sup>. This Venkatadri or Venkatappa, in an inscription of 1576, is called the champion of adulterers, <sup>6</sup>.

1. *Ibid.*, III, p. 22-3.

2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 479.

3. Della Valle, II, p. 313.

4. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 220.

5. Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90, 536.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yd, 59.

9. The inscriptions mention several others of the minor chiefs of the Kanarese country. In the village of Hattiyangudi, South Kanara, four grants by an Udaiyar chief, between 1570 and 1576 are recorded <sup>1</sup>. In 1573 the chief of the Budihal country, Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu, who acknowledged Ranga I, remitted taxes payable to the five classes of artificers <sup>2</sup>. Finally a grant of a Nandyal chief in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda is recorded in the year 1584 <sup>3</sup>.

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1. Rangacharya, II, p. 851, 42-45.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 8.
3. Sewell, I, p. 102

## CHAPTER XV

### VENKATAPATIDEVA RAYA II

**SUMMARY.**—1. Election and coronation of Venkata II.—2. Transfer of the seat of Government to Penukonda.—3. A note on Venkata's Guru Tatacharya.—4. Officers of Government. Administration of the Empire.—5. Renewal of rebellion among the feudatory chiefs.—6. Re-transfer of the capital to Chandragiri. Previous history of this place.—7. Venkata II at Chandragiri.—8. The nobles of Venkata's court.—9. Account of Tirupati.—10. Devotion of Venkata to this temple.—11. Rebellion of Lingama Nayaka of Vellore. Venkata takes possession of this city.—12. Triumphant return to Chandragiri.—13. Transfer of the capital from Chandragiri to Vellore.—14. Feudatory chiefs.—15. Donations to the temples.—16. Irrigation works.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro—4. Anquetil du Perron.—5. Ferishta.—6. *Ramarajiyamu, Prapannamrtam, Raghunathabyudayam, Bahulasvacharitam, Charuchandrodayam, Valugati-varu Vamsavali, Venkatesvara Mahatmya, Venkata Giri Mahatmyam, Venkatesvara Prabandha Saila Mahima, Chandrabhanu Charitram.*

"AFTER Sri Ranga Raya had reached the region of Vishnu, his brother Venkatapatideva Raya, born of the same mother, ascended the throne and ruled the earth with justice". Thus the Vellangudi plates<sup>1</sup> announce the inauguration of the reign of Tirumala's fourth son, Srimat

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI., p. 319, vv. 31-35. Cf. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302. Nevertheless there is ground for doubting that this succession was immediate. An inscription of the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailem, Karnul, records a fact 'in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virapratapa Ramarajayyadeva Maharaya, son of Vira Tirumalayyadeva Maharaya' 43 of 1915. This was no doubt the third son of Tirumala, who had been Viceroy of Seringapatam. Moreover a Kumbakonam grant of Venkata II, 1590, mentions one of his brothers, Tirumala Deva Raya or Srideva Raya (a wrong name) and states that 'he reigned for a short time'. Sewell, II, p. 3. Was this brother the same Rama? Then the Jesuit letter, which we shall quote latter on, says the following:—"After the demise of this Prince's father, viz. Rama, the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is to the one who is ruling at



Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Venkata-patideva Maharaja. This, his full imperial title, is given in an inscription at Atmakur, Nellore <sup>1</sup>.

It would appear that Venkata's nephews, the Princes Tirumala and Ranga, who were governing Seringapatam, had a better established right to succeed their uncle Ranga I, being the sons of the third brother, the late Viceroy Rama; but a Jesuit letter of the year 1602, speaking of the Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam, says:—"After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom" <sup>2</sup>. According to this testimony the election of Venkata was made by the consensus of the Brahmans, nobles and warriors of the Empire, as implied by the expression 'the unanimous vote of all the classes'.

Venkata was then "anointed, according to the prescribed rules, by the spiritual preceptor of his gotra, the famous Tatacharya, who was the ornament of the wise, just as Rama was anointed by Vasishtha" <sup>3</sup>. On this occasion, the new king "poured forth gold from his hand like rain from a cloud" <sup>4</sup>.

present", etc. According to this testimony the election of Venkata followed, not the death of Ranga I, but that of Rama. Finally, according to the information supplied to Mr. Sewell by the then Raja of Anegundi, the brother whose rule was placed between Ranga and Venkata, (called also by him Tirumaladeva or Srideva), 'reigned for a short time'. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 252, note 4. We hope new discoveries will throw light on this point.

1. Butterworth, I, p. 264.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa December 21, 1602. See Ap. C, No. V.

3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

4. Venkata's II grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39. The following grants also describe Venkata's coronation: Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 24; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 297, v. 29; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 127.

“When thus”, continue the Dalavay Agraharam plates, “Venkatapatideva Raya assumed the sovereignty, Adishesha and other supporters of the earth were relieved of their burden ; and consequently, they having assumed the shape of Vrishasaila (viz. the Tirumala hills at Tirupati), are ever praying Venkatachalapati to grant a long reign to him” <sup>1</sup>. This transparent flattery of one of his grants shows that Venkata II was to be a worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and Rama Raya. He is called in another inscription, “the fruition of the religious merit of previous births of Sri Vengalamba” <sup>2</sup>. Fr. N. Pimenta, in one of his letters, mentions the pompous and incredible titles which were conferred upon him by his subjects : “The Husband of Subvast (that is) of good Fortune, God of great Provinces, King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings, Lord of all Horse-forces, Master of those which know not how to Speake, Emperour of three Emperours, Conquerour of all which he seeth, and Keeper of all which he hath overcome ; Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the World, the Vanquisher of Mahumetan Armies, Ruler of all Provinces which he hath taken, Taker of the Spoiles and Riches of Ceilan ; which farre exceedeth the most valiant men, which cut off the head of the Invincible Viravalalan ; Lord of the East, South, North, West, and of the sea ; Hunter of Elephants ; which liveth and glorieth in virtue Militarie. Which titles of Honour,” adds Fr. Pimenta, “enjoyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin Ragiv Devamagan Ragel, which now reigneth and governeth this World” <sup>3</sup>.

Two of this grants lay special stress on his extreme beauty. “His cheeks”, they say, “resembled the moon : he rivalled or eclipsed the god of love in beauty” <sup>4</sup>. Fr. Du Jarric seems to agree when he writes : “The King is quite handsome, although a little dark ; his eyes are big ; he is of a medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion ; he dresses quite nicely, and shows

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 23.

3. Purchas, X, p. 209-10. Cf. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 653.

4. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 27-39 ; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 33, v. 36.



Venkatapati Deva Raya II, Upper Tirupati.  
(By kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology.)



always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner" <sup>1</sup>. Venkata's statue at Tirupati confirms both descriptions: his big round eyes are specially remarkable

2. Venkata was at Chandragiri when his election took place. So naturally the ceremony of his coronation was performed there. This point is quite evident from the study of contemporary sources. Du Jarric says:—"A few years ago he was crowned, according to his predecessors' custom, at Chandegri (Chandragiri)" <sup>2</sup>. Anquetil du Perron states likewise that "he was crowned according to custom at Sehandegri, where he used to have his court (when Viceroy of the Tamil country)" <sup>3</sup>.

But not long after he removed his court to Penukonda, the capital of his two predecessors, whence he might rule over the Empire. "When the throne of Bijanagar", says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda; "devolved on Venkatapati, it appears that that prince...removed his seat of Government to the fort of Penukonda" <sup>4</sup>. Accordingly his grant of the year 1587 states that he 'established his throne in Suragiri (Penukonda)' <sup>5</sup>. This fact must have occurred in 1585, for in two inscriptions of this year Venkata already appears as 'ruling in Penukonda' <sup>6</sup>; and in 1589 he is shown 'seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (Penukonda)' <sup>7</sup>. How long this period of rule from Penukonda lasted is not yet ascertained, because the cause of Venkata's retreat to Chandragiri is misplaced by Ferishta; hence its date cannot be realized. Sewell points to the year 1592 as the date of Venkata's return to the Tamil country <sup>8</sup>. As a matter of fact, Venkata appears as 'ruling on the jewelled throne at Penukonda' in several inscriptions of the years

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1. Du Jarric, I, p. 662.
  2. Du Jarric, I, p. 655.
  3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.
  4. Ferishta, III, p. 454.
  5. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83.
  6. 71 of 1915.
  7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.
  8. Sewell, I, p. 150.

1593 <sup>1</sup>, 1599 <sup>2</sup>, 1603 <sup>3</sup>, 1605 <sup>4</sup>, 1608 <sup>5</sup>, 1609 <sup>6</sup>, 1610 <sup>7</sup>, and 1612 <sup>8</sup>. We know for certain that during several of these years. Venkata was actually ruling from Chandragiri; this would mean that either his subjects were not aware of the change of the capital, or the old capital of Tirumala and Ranga was mentioned out of respect, as Vijayanagara itself is sometimes occasionally mentioned.

3. While speaking of the coronation of Venkata, we have seen that the *pattabhisheka* ceremony had been performed by his family guru, Tatacharya or Tatayarya. We shall now give some particulars of this man who exercised so much influence on the rule of Venkata, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak frequently in the course of this volume. He was, according to the *Prapunnamrtam*, a descendant of the maternal uncle of the great reformer Ramanuja; and two of his ancestors had been the cause of the conversion of the Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism <sup>9</sup>. He was the son of Panchamata-bhajanam Tatacharya, according to the same poem <sup>10</sup>; but a copper-plate grant of 1590 in the Government Museum, Madras, states that he was 'grand-son of Etur-Tatayia, and son of Srinaivasa' <sup>11</sup>. He is styled 'the ornament of the wise' <sup>12</sup>. He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga I, along with the temple officer of Tiruppukkuli <sup>13</sup>. Again, the *Prapannamrtam* informs us that Venkata 'became a disciple

1. 377 of 1904.

2. Sewell, I, p. 134.

3. 236 of 1903; Sewell, I, p. 101.

4. 235 of 1903.

5. Rangacharya, I, p. 622, 535.

6. 67 of 1915.

7. 184 of 1913.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, II, TN, 62; XII, Si, 84; Butterworth, III, p. 1284-6.

9. Cf. Ob. XXVI, No. 6.

10. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 162 and p. 347.

11. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 54.

12. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, l. c.; Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 24.

13. 209, Ap. C. of 1916.

of the Srivaishnava teacher Lakshmikumara Tatacharya' <sup>1</sup>, this being his full name. Moreover, in the same poem we read that the King "entrusted the whole kingdom to his preceptor; and he himself led a life of retirement doing service to him, like Kulasekhara of old" <sup>2</sup>. The second part of this statement is absolutely false. Venkata II was certainly not an idle sovereign; he actually ruled (as we shall see further on) except during the last years of his life, when disabled by age and sickness he made over the cares of Government to one of his wives and her brother. Nay, we have further grounds for doubting even the veracity of the first part of the same statement. The whole passage sounds merely like a poetical exaggeration of a real fact. According to the above-mentioned copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum, Venkata, on December 27th, 1590, made the gift of a village (which he named Venkatapura) to the Srivaishnava teacher Tataya; the village was situated in the Konadu district which formed a subdivision of Uttukkadu Kottam <sup>3</sup>. Moreover, an inscription of the year 1600-1 at Tirunirmalai, Chingleput, shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples <sup>4</sup>; he was also the manager of the temple at Tiruppukkuli <sup>5</sup>, and the supervisor of the Vaishnava temples at Kanchivaram <sup>6</sup>; we know of an agent of his named Punyakoti-Aiyan <sup>7</sup>. According to tradition, Tatacharya was so famous for his virtues and talents that he was believed to have been born from the spirit of Vishnu <sup>8</sup>.

But Fr. B. Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, who personally knew *Se Tatachare*, as he calls the famous guru, testifies in one of his letters that 'he is unworthy of his post because of his vices'. It seems that he was specially

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants*, l. c.

4. 565 of 1912. He is again mentioned in the inscription 564 of 1912.

5. 208, Ap. C of 1916.

6. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 62.

7. 174, Ap. C. of 1916.

8. Cf. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 327.

lacking in continence, as "he had many wives at home", says Fr. Coutinho, "and is one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes" <sup>1</sup>. According to Fr. Coutinho, Tatacharya was a hypocrite of the Tartuffe type, who duped the people with scrupulous practice of infinite petty unsubstantial ceremonies, and forgot the essentials of the natural law. I cannot reject the testimony of such an eye-witness, who mentions the fact of the guru's many wives and who was not likely to derive any advantage from calumniating the King's preceptor in one of his letters to his Superiors in Europe.

4. Along with Tatacharya, the names of several ministers of Venkata have reached us, mainly through the contemporary poems. A Sidhout inscription of 1605 states that the chief Matla Ananta 'was like the right-hand of the Emperor of Karnata (Vijayanagara)' <sup>2</sup>; he was no doubt one of Venkata's chief officers, as is shown by this appellation and his achievements, which will be narrated further on. Tarigoppula Mallana, in his *Chandrabhanu Charitram*, says that his elder brother Tarigoppula Datta Mantri "was a minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Rayæ, son of Tirumala Raya.....All the members of the Emperor's court used to extol him for his patronage and helpfulness to them on various occasions" <sup>3</sup>. Another one, Tammaya Mantri, who, according to the *Charu chandrodhayam*, had been the right hand of Sri Ranga, 'was also the minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya' <sup>4</sup>. From

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1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607. See Ap. C, No. XVIII. This passage was published in *Relacam Annal*, of the years 1606 and 1607 (Lisbon, 1609), but without mentioning the name of Tatacharya; he is only described as the "high priest at whose feet the same king prostrates himself, and whose yearly revenue surpasses two hundred cruzades" (p. 106). Before being acquainted with the original of Coutinho's letter, I published a translation of the account of *Relacam Annal* in the *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, p. 13:7, under the title *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*; and in a note I already pointed out that the high priest referred to ought to be Tatacharya.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 241.



literature we gather likewise that Pemmasani Pedda-Timmaraja, who had also been a minister of Ranga I, continued to hold the same office under Venkata II <sup>1</sup>. The chief military officer of this Emperor was Gubburi Obarajaya <sup>2</sup>, who may perhaps be identified with Obaraja, the brother-in-law of Venkata, as mentioned in Barrada's account <sup>3</sup>, or his father-in-law, as stated both in the *Ramarajiyamu* <sup>4</sup> and in the Jesuit records <sup>5</sup>.

Now the Empire, although deprived of some of the northern provinces which had fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans, was yet possessed of vast territory. Fr. Du Jarric describes the Empire of Venkata as follows: "The kingdom of Bisnagar," says he, "contains the greatest part of India that lies to the south of river Ganges (sic). For besides the western kingdoms of Malabar, that depend upon it, as formerly the kingdom of Goa, there are several others towards the North, as Onor (Honavar) Battikala, (Bhatkal) and so on, that acknowledge the imperial authority. It has on the East two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, *viz.* from cape Comorin to the kingdom of Orixia (Orissa); and this length comprises the Coast of Coromandel and Meliapor or San Thome <sup>6</sup>.

The viceroy of Seringapatam and the Nayaks and feudatory chiefs were a great help to the Emperor in the administration of such an extensive Empire. But the country which was immediately subject to him was, it seems, divided into different administrative units. A grant of 1596 of the temple authorities of Kanchivaram gives a clue to this supposition; it states that this city is situated in the Chandragiri portion of the Tondaimandalam province of the country of Soramandalam <sup>7</sup>. According to this inscription, the smallest administrative unit was the so-called *portion* or district, which, if we must judge from the distance between Chandragiri and Kanchivaram, was

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 185.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 188-9.

3. Sewell, p. 223.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 243.

5. Du Jarric, I, p. 654. Cf. Ch. XXIV, No. 3.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 652.

7. Sewell, I, p. 179.

not very small; the next higher and larger administrative unit was the *province*, and the highest, the so-called *country*. We venture to say that during the time of the Tamil Viceroyalty two *countries* probably composed it, the Chola and the Pandya *countries*.

Venkata was indeed a very powerful monarch <sup>1</sup>. According to Du Jarric, "the neighbouring kings call him Emperor and king of kings, as he is the most potent of all the kings" <sup>2</sup>. Accordingly at the end of his reign he was called by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore 'Master of the four Oceans' <sup>3</sup>.

5. Nevertheless from the beginning of his reign, the new Emperor had to face great difficulties within his own dominions. There were among the petty chiefs fresh outbreaks of rebellion against Venkata, who was supposed to be the murderer of the late Emperor Sadasiva. "Before 1595," says Anquetil du Perron, 'the Naiques of Tanjore, Madurei and Gingi (Jinji) gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge as their sovereign one who had dethroned the legitimate King of Bisnagar' <sup>4</sup>. We shall speak later of the rebellion of these three powerful Nayaks; but we feel sure that, encouraged by their example, and even perhaps before them, many petty chiefs rebelled against Venkata. This is more than a mere supposition, because in the contemporary sources we find abundant evidence of the internal troubles during those years. Venkata is called in the Mangalampad grant 'the crusher of the pride of Avahaluraya' <sup>5</sup>, and 'the hero who punished kings who break their word' <sup>6</sup>. The Dalavay Agraharam plates, after speaking of his campaigns against the Muhammadans, style him "the only excellent conqueror of the Chaurasidurga, (who) terrified the hearts of the hostile kings in the eight quarters,...(who) was a destroyer of his enemies,...(who) was broad-armed like Adisesha, (who) was a bear to the earth, *viz.* the provincial chiefs,...a

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 653.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 116.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

5. Butterworth, I, p. 32, 27.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 33, v. 36.

Ramabadra in battle" <sup>1</sup>. These general remarks are a clear reference to the action of Venkata against the provincial chiefs of his Empire who 'broke their word' of faithfulness and allegiance to the imperial power. But there are also other and more pronounced testimonies.

Venkata is said in the *Ramarajiyamu* to have 'defeated some enemies at Nandela' <sup>2</sup>. Those enemies must have been the army of the chief Krishnama of Nandyal, into whose mind the faithful Matla Ananta 'instilled fear', according to the expression of the Sidhout inscription <sup>3</sup>. This means that this Anantaraja, one of Venkata's ministers, defeated on behalf of the Emperor, or even in conjunction with him, the Nandyala chief who had revolted against his sovereign. Matla Ananta's campaigns are likewise a recapitulation of these provincial revolts: "he killed on the battlefield the chief Ravelia Velikonda Venkatādri," we read in the same inscription; "he was the conqueror in the battle of Jambulamandaka (Jammalamadugu) and reduced the fort of Cuttack. He defeated the chief Kondaraju Venkatadri and captured from him the town of Chennur" <sup>4</sup>.

Along with the Emperor and Matla Ananta his right hand, the minister Tammaya Mantri, 'compelled recalcitrant chiefs to go to him (the Emperor) and accept his suzerainty', as it is stated in the *Charuchandrodayam* <sup>5</sup>. The Mahanayakacharya Harwati, son of Immadi Rangappa Nayaka, is also called a "subduer of chiefs who break their word" <sup>6</sup>. He must have aided his sovereign in subduing these rebellions. The same was done by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu and his relative Singama Nayadu, who in the year 1601 defeated Maharaja and Devalpupa Nayadu at Utramaltur, according to the *Valugutivaru Vamsavali* <sup>7</sup>. Velugoti's campaigns are also

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

4. *Ibid.*, Cf. *M. E. R.*, 1915-16, para 19; 1916, para 75.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. c.*, p. 241.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si, 84.

7. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274. Cf. Carr, *Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas*, p. 115, note c.

narrated in the *Bahulasvacharitam*. After defeating the Chief Davalu Papa at Uttaramalluru, he marched as far as Tirumala (Tirupati), defeated the mountain chiefs there and captured Chingapat (Chingleput). Outside the fort of Palembukota (Palemkota, South Arcot), he fought the chief Yatiraju and defeated him <sup>1</sup>. Finally Ragonatha, the heir-apparent of Tanjore, who had helped Venkata against the Muhammadans at Penukonda <sup>2</sup>, also lent his aid to the Emperor for the suppression of these rebellions. The *Ragonathabhyudayam* says that he waged war with the Murasas, a people in the North of North Arcot and the adjacent portions of the neighbouring districts. "Having defeated all these enemies", says the poem, "he brought all the territory and the fortresses of Karnata once more under the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya. After this victory the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya in public court acknowledged the great assistance of Raghunatha, and said that he was able to destroy his enemies only with the assistance of Raghunatha. He also honoured him with presents of horses and jewellery" <sup>3</sup>.

It appears that the rebellion spread all over the Empire and lasted several years. But the stout-hearted sovereign at last put it down, and was acknowledged by all his feudatories. This is the reason why he is said in some of his grants to have 'conquered the throne of Karnata by the strength of his arm' <sup>4</sup>, viz. though he was rightly crowned and anointed, his throne was hardly his as long as the revolts all over the Empire lasted. It was by the strength of his arm that he established it as firmly as he did. We read in Anquetil du Perron that Venkata "experienced how wrong was his elevation to the throne, but at last the Naiques were bound to submit to the tribute" <sup>5</sup>.

6. In or about 1592, on the occasion of the attack of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur, which will be narrated in the next chapter, Venkata went back to Chandragiri and

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305.

2. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. c.*, p. 285-6.

4. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 27-39.

5. Anquetil du Perron, *l. c.*, p. 166.

established there the capital of the Empire <sup>1</sup>. This action betrayed the weaker side of Venkata's character. He had hitherto strenuously fought against the hereditary enemies of the Empire; but now he felt perhaps the first signs of premature old age. Nevertheless we suppose that the main reason for this change was not the Muhammadan incursions, but a sort of home-sickness for the city where he had ruled many years as governor and viceroy of the Tamil country. Chandragiri was like a second birthplace to him; and thither he retired, when a premature old age began to weigh upon him, and rest became necessary.

Chandragiri had in ancient times been the stronghold of the Yadavas. One of its rulers, Toya-Yadava, entertained Ramanuja when fleeing from the Chōla country <sup>2</sup>. According to a palm-leaf book, once in the possession of one of the village officers, the founder of the town was the Yadava King Immadi Narasimha, who lived about A. D. 1000 <sup>3</sup>. According to local tradition, the Chandragiri fort had been built or at least enlarged by the Vijayanagara Emperor Narasimha Saluva, who made it the store-house of his treasures <sup>4</sup>. As a matter of fact the Portuguese used often to call it Narsinga, after the name of this sovereign. Since Krishna Deva Raya is occasionally called 'Raja of Chandragiri', it is likely that he either conquered or improved this fort, or even that he lived in it at times <sup>5</sup>. In that case the great Mahal, still standing at the foot of rocky hill crowned by the fortress, may have been built by that great Emperor; while to his brother and successor, Achyuta Raya, is attributed the smaller Ladies' Mahal <sup>6</sup>. The same Achyuta makes mention, in the copper-

1. Cf. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 75; S. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 185.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 85.

3. Sewell, I, p. 150.

4. Cf. Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p. 48.

5. Sewell, I, p. 139.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 150. For a description of these buildings see Chisholm, *The Old Palace of Chandragiri, Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 295-6.

plates of July 13th, 1532, of the 'kingdom of Chandragiri' <sup>1</sup>; and in another inscription of 1540 at Pushpagiri mention is likewise made of the general Timmarasayya, son of Somarasayya of Chandragiri <sup>2</sup>.

7. This was the palace which was for so many years the residence of Venkata, when Viceroy of the Tamil country. It was now to be the royal palace of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. A modern memorial stone over its central entrance, inscribed by a hand who had no knowledge of the more extensive sovereignty of Venkatapati Raya, records that the building was the 'Palace of the Rajas of Chandragiri' <sup>3</sup>.

The earliest reference to Venkata as 'ruling from Chandragiri' is dated 1602 <sup>4</sup>; but Fr. N. Pimenta, in the account of his tour through the South of India, made in 1597, says in speaking of Venkata that 'Hee now resideth in Chandragiri' <sup>5</sup>; and Fr. Du Jarric, in the course of his account of the arrival of the Jesuits in 1601, says that 'Chandegiri is the residence of the King' <sup>6</sup>; the same fact is recorded in two inscriptions of 1603 <sup>7</sup>, one of 1625 <sup>8</sup> and another of 1608 <sup>9</sup>.

Now there is an inscription of 1587, in which Venkata appears 'in the residence of Hampe-Hastinavathi (Vijayanagara), ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom' <sup>10</sup>; then another of 1602-3, which shows him seated on the diamond

1. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 51-2.

2. 302 of 1903.

3. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 227, says: "It still remains to know whether the king of Chandhergherri, to whom the Jesuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Timiragio, or of the rightful king of Bisnagar, murdered by Timiragio's son; but we believe of Timiragio."

4. Brakenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

5. Fr. Pimenta's letter, Purchas, X, p. 210.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

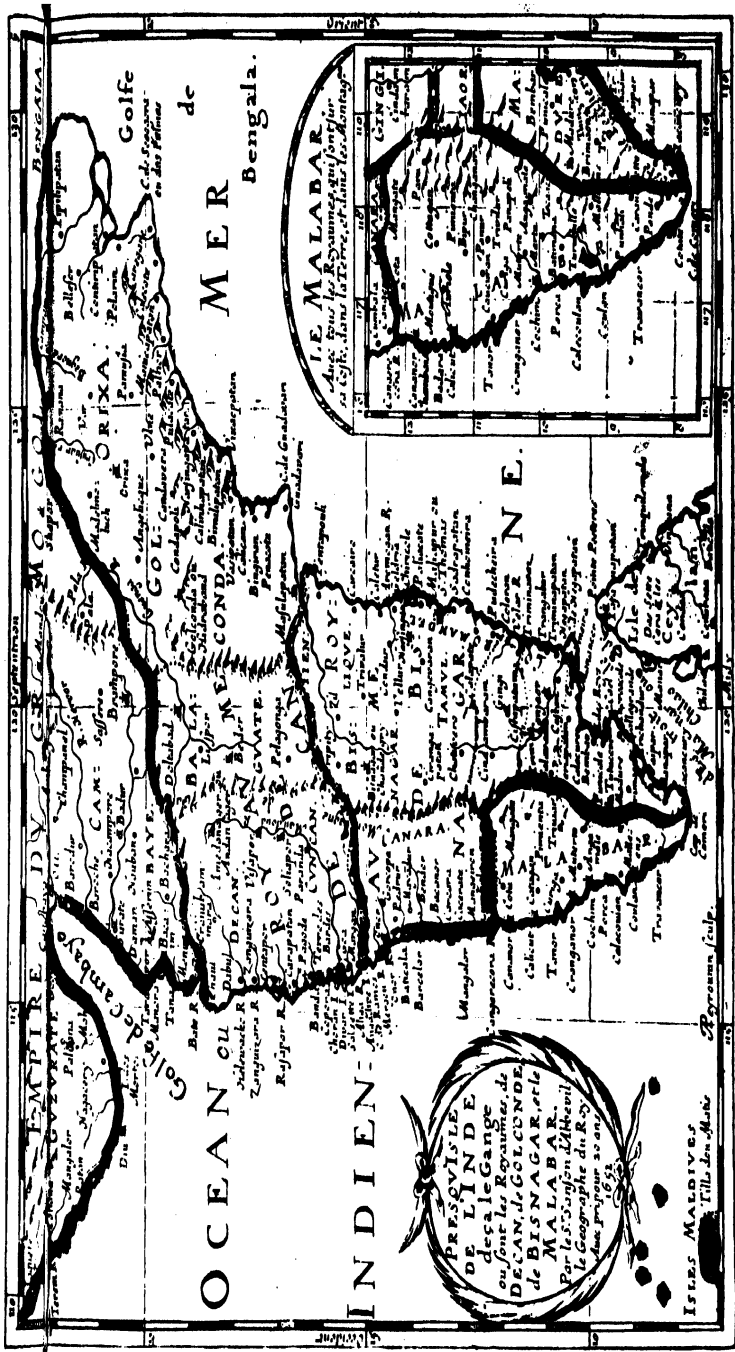
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 576, 16.

8. Siddhout inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248.

9. Rangacharya, I, p. 653, 863.

10. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Cm, 79.





XII. Map of India of Sanson d'Abbeville, 1652.



throne at Vijayanagara...ruling the kingdom of the earth' <sup>1</sup>; and even two more, of 1613 <sup>2</sup> and 1614 <sup>3</sup>, in which he is simply said to be 'ruling at Vijayanagara'. It is obvious to us that Chandragiri received also at this time the appellation of Vijayanagara, as Penukonda was likewise formerly called <sup>4</sup>. In the map of India by Sr. Sanson d' Abbeville, published in the year 1652, Chandragiri is marked as 'Bisnagar or Chandragiri' <sup>5</sup>. Moreover a traveller from Holstein named Mandelslo, who visited the Coromandel coast in 1639, says that the king 'resides sometimes at Bisnagar, sometimes at Narasinga' <sup>6</sup>. This must be respectively understood of Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire, and of Chandragiri, which was also called Narsinga, as already stated. This information is of great importance to us, because it seems to prove that the capital of the Empire was always called Vijayanagara, whether it was Hampi-Anegundi, or Penukonda, or Chandragiri, as at this time, or as some years after, Vellore.

8. At Chandragiri not a small coterie of nobles had naturally gathered round the Emperor. Fr. A. Laerzio, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar, who visited Venkata's court in 1603, writing to Fr. J. Alvarez at Rome in the following year, says : " Those nobles are very rich and powerful ; some have a revenue of five hundred thousand *cruzados*, some of six hundred thousand, and some of four hundred thousand " <sup>7</sup>. Fr. Du Jarric gives interesting information about one of the social institutions of the nobility at Chandragiri, corresponding more or less to our modern gymnasium. " The house fitted for this ", he says, " has a yard in the centre, the pavement of which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror ; there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed. One who would wrestle

1. Butterworth, I, p. 269-71.

2. 452 of 1916.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 157.

4. Cf. Ch. X, No. 13.

5. See plate XII.

6. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

7. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

strips himself. Then several strong and brawny youths called *geitas*, who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman; then they box, jump, fence and take other kinds of exercise with him, in order to strengthen him; and this they do until perspiration flows freely. Then the *geitas* cover the whole of the nobleman's body with sand, and massage him, and move his arms and legs in every direction as if they would disjoin his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, annointed and washed with warm water; and when dry, dresses himself. Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner, in order to be fit and healthy; thus men as old as seventy years look only thirty" <sup>1</sup>. Such is the description of the exercises taken in the gymnasium of Chandragiri, into which Fr. Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of St. Thome, was once admitted as a spectator.

9. After this re-transfer of Venkata's capital to Chandrgiri, his extraordinary devotion to the god Venkatesa at Tirupati was naturally revived, perhaps with greater zeal and ardour. The excellence of the rock of Tirupati, which we have several times spoken of, is sung in the *Venkatesvara Prabandha Baila Mahima*. The temple is stated to be near the famous mythic mount Meru, where the gods hold their assembly <sup>2</sup>. According to the legend, Vishnu himself once became incarnated here <sup>3</sup>. If we are to believe the Vaishnava literature, Tirupati, dedicated at its foundation to Vishnu, became later on a temple of Siva till the time of Ramanujacharya the reformer, who once more converted it into a Vaishnava shrine. To effect this he is said to have agreed with the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in it at night a conch and a discus, which are the insignia of Vishnu, and a trident and a small drum which are those of Siva; the temple was then closed; and on its being re-opened, it was found that the image had assumed the two first symbols. Accordingly Vishnu's cult was restored <sup>4</sup>. The great temple was built by one of the Yadava Princes in or about A. D. 1048.

1. Du Jarric, I p. 684-5.

2. Wilson, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, p. 589.

3. *Venkata Giri Mahatmyam*, *Ibid.*, p. 588.

4. *Venkatesvara Mahatmyam*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p.

Vishnu is worshipped there under five forms. Sri Venkatachala Pati, Malayapa or Utsavabari, Srinivas, Kolavu Bari and Venkata Toravar <sup>1</sup>.

"The city of Tripeti (Tirupati)", says one of the Jesuit letters, "is very large and beautiful; and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pirmial (Perumal), is for these heathens what Rome is to us. Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to this temple" <sup>2</sup>. The pilgrims, says another letter of Fr. Simon de Sa, "purge their sinnes by washing their bodies and shaving their heads and beards. The Idoll is in a cold hill compassed with fertile valleys abounding with fruits, none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are so tame that they will take meate out of ones hand. The people take them for a Nation of gods which held familiaritie with Perimal. They worship Perimal in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horse, Lion Hog, Ducke, Cocke" <sup>3</sup>.

10. The vicinity of Chandragiri to Tirupati fostered the special devotion of the Emperor for that holy place. Several of his inscriptions and grants of those years are more or less connected with Tirupati and the god Venkatesvara. On August 18th, 1598, Venkata, while at Tirupati, made a grant of a village to several Brahmans and re-named it Tirumalambapuram <sup>4</sup>. In the same year he made the Padmaneri grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa whom he invokes in the beginning of the grant <sup>5</sup>; the same is seen in the Dalavay Agraharam Plates <sup>6</sup>. Then a Tamil inscription around the Varadaraja shrine in the first prakara of the Srinivasa temple at Tirupati, dated 1606, records a grant by Venkatapati Raya to provide for offerings of rice to the god. <sup>7</sup>. Again

1. Ibid.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.

3. From Fr. Simon de Sa. Mylapore, November 20th. 1598, Purohas, X, p. 219.

4. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 54.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 46-48, and p. 296, vv. 1-3.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 41-66, and p. 185, vv. 1-3.

7. *M.A.D.*, 1920, p. 39.

in 1601-2 he made the Vilapaka grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa, at Tirupati <sup>1</sup>

The principal ceremony performed at Tirupati is at the time of the Durga Puja, about October. Fr. Coutinho, who happened to be there at this time, gives the following account of what he had seen: "At the Feast of Perimals marriage was such concourse of people, that that dayes offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King, Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a half. The Feast of Kowes was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them; for they hold Perimal to have beene the sonne of a Kow" <sup>2</sup>. Purchas does not give the full narrative of Coutinho, preserved in a letter of Fr. N. Pimenta: "The carr was drawn by ten thousand people," says he, "the King himself being one of the first. It was begun at the close of the day; but at midnight it started to rain and then the king retired; but the rest remained hard at their work till the carr was carried back to the place where it was taken from, two hundred and fifty feet in distance" <sup>3</sup>.

II. In the year 1603, while Venkata was residing at Chandragiri, the rebellion of the Nayak of Vellore took place. We have frequently spoken of the chiefs of Vellore, who had always remained faithful feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors. Chinna Bomma Nayaka was still living in the beginning of Venkata's reign; for in a Sanskrit verse by an unknown author he is called 'Viceroy of Velur, during the reign of Venkatapati Raya' <sup>4</sup>. The same authority describes the ceremony of bathing in gold, which Chinna Bomma Nayaka performed in order to do honour to the scholarship of Appaya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel <sup>5</sup>. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that this Nayak was not Chinna Bomma

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270.

2. Purchas, X, p. 222.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1602, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. C, No. V.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

5. *Ibid.*

himself, but his son and successor Lingama. This Lingama was the one who in 1601-2 obtained from Venkata II the Vilapaka grant: "With a libation of water (poured) over gold, the glorious King Vira Venkatapati Maharaya joyfully granted (the village of Vilapaka), sanctioning the request of the glorious Prince Linga, who was the renowned son of Prince Bomma of Veluru; who was the victorious grandson of prince Virapa Nayaka; who was ever devoted to the shrine of Vira at Sri Nellaturu; who resembled the sun (in conferring prosperity) on the lotus group, the hearts of scholars; who terrified the mind of prince Ballalaraya; who was engaged in establishing Mahadevas (lingas of Siva) and Mahidevas (Brahmans); who was the foremost of those who assert the priority of Siva; whose pride were the works (relating to) Siva; who was full of splendour; who, as the moon from the ocean, (rose) from the renowned Anakula gotra"<sup>1</sup>.

Not long after the concession of this grant, Lingama Nayaka rebelled against his Emperor<sup>2</sup>; we know not why. Was he one of those who refused to acknowledge Venkata on account of the murder of Sadasiva? From the Jesuit letter, which is the best source hitherto known for the history of this event, and from which we shall quote extracts as we go on, it seems clear that Lingama wished to form a small principality independant both of his immediate lord, the Nayak of Jinji, and of the Emperor himself. He was bold enough to defy both rulers, trusting no less to his immense wealth than to the strong fortifications which rendered Vellore all but impregnable.

Venkata, without any delay, despatched in the month of October, 1603, his Adelaraya (Dalavay) or commander-in-chief to storm the capital of the rebel chief. Who was then the Dalavay of his army? In the first part of this Jesuit letter there is no reference whatever to the proper name of this general;

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271. Lingama Nayaka had probably a brother called Nangama Nayaka, one of whose gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1603 in Malayappatu, North Arcot. 70 of 1887.

2. Anquetil du Perron, *loc.*, p. 170, assigns the year 1609 as the date of Linga's rebellion and destruction. Our sources written in 1606 says that the siege of the fort took place two months before January, 1604.

but we are informed by the *Bahulasvacharitramu* that Chenna, of the Kalahasti family, defeated Linga of Velur on the plains of Munnali (Minnal?) and captured the fortress of Vellore 'with its high fortifications and deep moat' <sup>1</sup>. We may conclude from this that Chenna Nayaka was the commander-in-chief of the army sent against Lingama Nayaka. Once he started on his march there, the Dalavay pretended to have lost his way on the first day, with the first object of marching so fast throughout the night as to reach Vellore unexpectedly before dawn. Unfortunately his plan fell through; for only his vanguard reached the neighbourhood of Vellore at the desired hour, early in the morning; but the bulk of his army lagged behind, and did not arrive till later, when the garrison of the town was ready to repel the attack. Accordingly showers of bullets were poured on Chenna and his soldiers just as he was preparing to storm the city, and he was finally forced to retreat. But with indomitable courage he invested the fortress, in spite of the rainy season which had already burst. The siege lasted two months. Then two officers of Chenna's army, who were on friendly terms with Lingama Nayaka, and even perhaps his relations (so suggests the Jesuit letter) were admitted into the fort to present their compliments to the chief. On returning to their camp, Linga, who seems to have been very kind and polite, accompanied his visitors a little way out of the gates of the fort. That was too golden an opportunity for the soldiers of Vijayanagara. Lingama was made prisoner and brought to Chenna's camp.

The siege nevertheless dragged on. Neither the sons of Lingama nor his generals were willing to surrender the fort, in spite of the imprisonment of their chief; while he, on seeing that all chances of escape were cut off, offered twenty laks to the Dalavay if he could abandon the siege of Vellore; of these twenty laks fifteen would be given in gold coins and the other five in pearls and other precious stones. But the commander-in-chief at once wrote to Venkata summoning him to come forthwith to Vellore, "saying that now was the time to fill the royal coffers and to extend his sway by the annexation of this most fortified town." The Emperor set out at once on January 9th,

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1. S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305.







1614, with an enormous army, besides a train of camp-followers and elephants, and hastened towards Vellore. Linga prostrated himself at Venkata's feet as soon as the Emperor reached the camp. In the meantime his sons kept up a continuous fire, and tried their utmost to prevent Venkata from entering the town. But at last Vellore fell, and Venkata with his Queen took lodging "in the marble palace of Lingama Nayaka, adorned with gold and precious stones" <sup>1</sup>.

12. Venkata remained at Vellore till the following month of May. Then, "after having extorted from Lingama Naichen a large number of precious stones and pearls," he "took him prisoner to grace his own triumph from the fortress of Velur to Chandegri" <sup>2</sup>. Fr. B. Coutinho, who was himself an eye-witness of this magnificent state procession, wrote an account of it in the aforesaid Jesuit letter which we shall quote here: "On May 27", he writes. "four hours after sunrise (*viz.* at about ten o'clock in the morning) this procession entered the town. The road through the middle of the city by which he had to pass was decorated with a big arch in the centre, and with very many carpets and hangings made of green boughs. But what added more dignity to the king was the fact that a large number of attendants in groups of three, dressed in gorgeous uniforms, were stationed at different intervals by the roadside; there were besides military bands with brass instruments and others with the vina and other classical instruments; these were followed by many other insignia, and finally by the royal standard itself, in which a golden lion and a golden fish were painted, thus showing Venkata's sovereignty over land and sea. This made the opening of the procession. Many

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII. The account does not say that one of the Jesuits accompanied Venkata's army on this occasion. Nevertheless this seems likely as the Jesuits were on good terms of friendship with the Emperor; moreover the detailed narrative of this campaign seems to be that of an eye-witness. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 228-9, also mentions the siege and conquest of Vellore by Venkata. Cf. Henrion, *Histoire Generale des Missions*, p. 187. Fr. Pimenta says only that Fr. F. Rocio went there after a while.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

horsemen came next among whom there was Obraias himself (Oba Raya) the King's father-in-law, and with him many other grandees adorned with gold ornaments and precious stones; at the end the King himself, accompanied by Connanaiche (Chenna Nayaka) riding a beautiful elephant, the body and the head of which were painted yellow and adorned with feathers and silk drapery<sup>1</sup>: the silk pillow on which the King sat was embroidered with gold thread, and he was himself covered with pearls and precious stones.....Being thus triumphantly carried, he was looking graciously on the crowd below...and having finally reached his palace, sat on the golden throne, where he received a present from the Adelaraya, the governor of the city, as it is customary. Then all the nobles presented their homage and left. We also (says Fr. Coutinho,) went there, and Fr. Francis Ricio offered the King a gilt drinking-cup of glass which he had kept for this occasion"<sup>2</sup>.

13. It is not on record whether Vellore was once more restored to Linga; but from the fact that he is no longer mentioned in the contemporary documents, we may reasonably conclude that Vellore was thereafter retained under the Emperor's immediate authority according to the advice of his Dalavay. Moreover, two years later, about the middle of 1606, Venkata established his court in the old city of Vellore<sup>3</sup>, an event recorded also in the *Ramarajiyamu*<sup>4</sup>. But he used to reside at times at Chandragiri<sup>5</sup>, and that is the reason why both cities are by the Jesuit Missionaries called 'royal'<sup>6</sup>.

The fort of Vellore, according to local tradition, was built

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1. The fact that Chenna rode on this occasion at Venkata's side goes again to bear out the supposition that he was the commander-in-chief of the victorious army.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar quoted above

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.

5. Cf. above No. 7.

6. No other change of capital of the Emperors of Vijayanagara is so far known, though some authors state that it was finally established at Ohingleput. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 120; Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 36, etc.

by one Bommi Reddi, or Naidu, a native of Bhadrachalam<sup>1</sup>, and converted by Narasimha of Viiavanagara into a place of residence<sup>2</sup>.

According to an inscription of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of 1582 at Adaipalam, the Vellore temple was constructed by Appaiya Dikshita<sup>3</sup>, but since we know that this temple existed earlier we must understand that Appaiya Dikshita's work was some enlargement of the same. The pavement round the building was laid by China Bomma Nayaka himself in 1549, for the merit of Macha Nayaka of Vellore<sup>4</sup>. In 1702 Fr. Maudit said that 'the fortress of Vellore was one of the strongest throughout the whole of the country'<sup>5</sup>. As a matter of fact this fort is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of military architecture in southern India, and fortunately it is still in a very good state of preservation.

14. We have already mentioned several feudatory chiefs of the time of Venkata, but to those we must add several other known through different sources. An inscription of Venkata of 1592 records the grant of a house for the location of a *matha* to Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram by Periya Errama Nayak of Punnarrur<sup>6</sup>. Venkatapati Nayaningaru, the grandson of Velugoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kummara Timma Nayadu, declares himself feudatory of Venkatapati Raya in an inscription of 1612<sup>7</sup>; in another of the same year he is said to be 'an Arjuna in war'<sup>8</sup>. In another of 1616, Narakampi Nayaningaru, likewise a feudatory

1. Cox, *North Arcot Manual*, II, p. 418.

2. Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely* p. 48.

3. 395 of 1911.

4. 60 of 1887. At Torudur, Tanjore, there is an inscription recording a gift of land to this temple in 1596. Sewell, I, p. 272.

5. From Fr. Maudit to Fr. Le Gobien, Caruvepondi, January 1st, 1702, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p. 310.

6. 61 of 1887.

7. Rangacharya, II, p. 1053, 36.

8. Butterworth, I, p. 246.

of Sadasiva, gave the hereditary privilege of worship in the temple of Kona Vallabharaya to one Kandagada Guruvayya<sup>1</sup>. The Venkatagiri Raja Pedda Yachama Nayadu, known as Yacha Surudu, got the Permadi country as a gift from Venkata II, and proved his loyalty to him in the following civil war<sup>2</sup>. Yachama Nayaka, one of the feudatories of Venkata, of whom we have previously spoken, was, it seems, amongst the most powerful chiefs of the Empire. the *Bahulasvacharithram* speaks of him as having received presents of elephants and horses from Nizam Shah, Adil Shah and Qutb Shah. He was highly esteemed by the people of the cities of Cuttack, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadnagar, Mahur, Shiraj, Kalamba, Manduva, Makkha, Bedandakota (Bidar), Hukumi and Mahishmati<sup>3</sup>. Finally, the Jesuit records mention another chief, named by them Paparagiu (Papa Raya), identified, according to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with the chief Davalu Papa who was defeated by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu at Uttaramaluru<sup>4</sup>. Fr. Simon de Sa, writing from Mylapor on November 20th, 1598, says that this chief "in one house kept three hundred Brachmans, and gave hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went on, or came from Tripeti<sup>5</sup>". Fr. Du Jarric, who calls him 'a powerful chief', mentions the same fact<sup>6</sup> and says moreover that "he placed his dwelling on the top of a very high mountain, encompassed by shady forests. The town was built all over the slopes of this mountain from the valley to the top<sup>7</sup>".

15. Venkata II appears to have been as generous as his predecessors to the temples and Brahmans for the maintenance of the Hindu cult. Being still Viceroy of the Tamil country, on June 24th, 1577, he made a gift of four villages

1. Rangachaya, II, p. 1049, 1.

2. Madhava Rao, *The Ruling Chiefs*, p. 490.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305-6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 305, note. Cf. above No. 5.

5. Purchas, X., p. 219.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 657.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 675. I cannot verify which city is referred to by Du Jarric; it must be between Mylapore and Tirupati.

to the temple of Chidambaresvara and Sivakamasundari-Ammal to provide offerings and sacred morning baths for the merit of Kondama Nayaka<sup>1</sup>. In 1588 he made a gift of 300 *pon* to provide 20 rice offerings to the god Chidambaresvara at Chidambaram, to be distributed among the begging devotees<sup>2</sup>. In 1593, for the merit of the above mentioned Kondama Nayaka, he declared that the four districts and the five villages and all others whose possession had been enjoyed by the temple of Chidambaresvara from early times, were now made tax-free. In 1603 he imposed a tax on the weavers of Tindivanam, the proceeds of which were to go to the local temple<sup>4</sup>. In 1604 he gave the village of Vengalambapuram to a number of Brahmans coming from several places<sup>5</sup>. The year 1607 witnessed a grant of Venkatta to the god Narasinga<sup>6</sup>. Lastly, in 1608 the Emperor regulated the festivals and the daily services in the temple at Alagiyasingar at Narasimhapuram<sup>7</sup>.

We also know of several gifts of the feudatory chiefs and other influential persons during Venkata's reign. In 1589 Madagani Basavareddi Kumarudu remitted the tax on the lands of the gods Mallikarjuna and Virabhadra at Vipanaganadla (Karnul)<sup>8</sup>. In 1592 Krishnappa Nayaka granted to the god Ramanujakuta two villages in the Gangaikonda-sima<sup>9</sup>. In 1593 Naga Reddi and other jugglers gave away the allowance which they had received for the bamboo play to the god Agastyesvara of Chadipirala<sup>10</sup>. In the same year Gangadhara Cholamaharaya granted land to the deities at Palagiri<sup>11</sup>. Rayanamantri Bhaskarayya gave the god Chennakesava a fee of one *kasu* for

1. 334 of 1913.

2. 385 of 1913.

3. 369 of 1913.

4. 31 of 1905.

5. Rangacharya, I, p. 461, 1146.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl, 145.

7. 243 of 1910.

8. Rangacharya, II, p. 961, 500.

9. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153, 191-B.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 610, 424.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 615, 465.

every bullock-load of salt, two *kasus* for one of cotton and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kasu* for other goods in the Gandikota district<sup>1</sup>. In the same year an iron lamp was set up in the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam, Karnul, for the merit of Mudiyaappa Nayaka, by a certain Chikaiya, son of a carpenter of Henjera<sup>2</sup>. In 1605, Chandra Sekhara Vodeyar made a grant to the family god and his dancing girls<sup>3</sup>. In 1609, a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big gopura of the Vira-Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, Karnul, and of two fly-whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu, for the merit of 150 headmen of their community<sup>4</sup>. In the same year, a certain Kala Vaiyyappa built a temple for Agarésva Udaiyar at Polichchalar, Madras, endowing it with a piece of land for the merit of the king Venkatapatiraya<sup>5</sup>. In 1614 Gangappa Nayaka, the governor of Srigriri-mandala, son of Venkatadri and grandson of Ganga, made a present of four villages in the Dupati-sima, Karnul, to the Chennakesa temple<sup>6</sup>. During this reign Matla Tiruvengala, the son of Anantaraja, built the gopura of the Govindaraja Perumal temple at Tirupati<sup>7</sup>.

16. Some agricultural improvements were effected during Venkata's reign, but none by himself. All are due to the enterprise of chiefs and of private persons. Venkatapati Nayanangaru, his feudatory, deserves special mention for his efforts to encourage irrigation<sup>8</sup>. In 1612 the grandson of Velogoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kumara Timma Nayadu, sent for Rudrappa, the ruler of Kulluru, Nellore, and asked him to construct the eastern weir of the Kullur tank, which he did<sup>9</sup>. It is further recorded that a certain Nayinappa

1. *Ibid.*, p. 620, 512.

2. 32 of 1915.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 23.

4. 67 of 1915.

5. 516 of 1913.

6. 286 of 1905.

7. *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 124.

8. *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 97.

9. Rangacharya, II, p. 1053, 36.

Nayaka, son of Krishnappa Nayaka, improved certain land in South Arcot by constructing a tank near it and digging wells<sup>1</sup>. Finally, one Polusani dug a well in the village of Sowadardinne, Karnul, in 1603<sup>2</sup>.

1. 388 of 1912.

2. Rangacharya, II, p. 918, 111. We know of the existence of a guild of merchants in the city of Aravidu during Venkata's reign. The merchants who formed this guild were devotees of Vasavakanyaka, followers of Bhaskaracharya and supposed to be the progeny of the celestial cow, born of its ears. 67 of 1915.

## CHAPTER XVI

### WARS WITH THE MUHAMMADANS

**SUMMARY.**—1. Venkata starts an offensive campaign against Golkonda immediately after his coronation.—2. Great victory of Venkata over Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah.—3. Beginning of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—4. The jagirdars of the Telugu country rebel against Golkonda.—5. Victory of the Raja of Kasimkota over Amin-ul-Mulk.—6. Second invasion of Kandbir.—7. Result of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—8. Siege of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur.—9. Embassy of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to Venkata II.—10. Further projects of Akbar on Vijayanagara.—11. Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur sends an embassy to Venkata II.

**CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.**—1. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro.—4. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—5. *Ramarajiyamu, Raghunathabhyudayam.*

A GRANT of Emperor Venkata, dated 1589, says explicitly that his campaigns against the Muhammadans were started 'immediately after' his coronation<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly the anonymous chronicler says that Venkata, in the beginning of his reign, 'made some incursions and invasions into the Golkondâ dominions'<sup>2</sup>. This policy marked the opening of a new era in the long-standing struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans. Since the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala, and after him Ranga I, had been satisfied with defending themselves against the followers of the Prophet. Ranga had only dared to expel the Muslims from Ahobalam and its surroundings<sup>3</sup>. But it seems that Venkata II, inaugurated his rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara with an offensive campaign which was successfully carried on some years later.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

2. *Ferishta*, III, p. 454.

3. *Cf. Ob.* XII, No. 7.



The Sultan of Golkonda, Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah, invaded the Vijayanagara territory, with the object of driving Venkata out of his dominions. He marched towards Penukonda "where he arrived without opposition," says the aforesaid chronicler, "and immediately commenced the siege". Venkata, who was at Penukonda, shortly afterwards deputed his minister Gobraj Tima (Govinda Raja Timma) and his general Pavia Chitti (Papaya Chetti) as Ambassadors to the Golkonda Sultan, "who, upon their making due submission, agreed to an armistice preparatory to negotiating terms of peace". The shrewd Sovereign decided to take advantage of this so-called armistice to prepare himself for a long defence. "The Hindus", the anonymous chronicler continues, "taking advantage of the absence of the Muhammadans from the vicinity of the fort, supplied themselves in three days with provisions for a siege; and on the fourth the famous Jagdeu Row (Jagadeva Raya), accompanied by Gulrang Setti, Manupraj and Pavia Samywar, at the head of thirty thousand musketeers, threw themselves into the fort"<sup>1</sup>. It is most likely that at this juncture Venkata requested Achyuta Nayaka of Tanjore to send the prince Raghunatha to his assistance. At his father's behest "Raghunatha started on the expedition followed by hundreds of tributary chiefs", says the *Raghunathabhyudayam*. He reached Penukonda in a few days<sup>2</sup>. When the King discovered these proceedings", continues the Golkonda chronicler, "he renewed the siege; but his forces made little impression. The rains were now approaching, provisions also were scarce in the camp; and aware that the inundation of the Krishna river would cut off all communication with the Golkonda territory, the King deemed it advisable to raise the siege"<sup>3</sup>. Thus does the Muhammadan writer conceal the humiliating defeat which was on this occasion inflicted by Venkata upon the army of Golkonda.

2. Reference is found to this action in different sources :

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1. Ferishta, l. c.
  2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 285.
  3. Ferishta, l. c.

and we cannot question their veracity, specially when we consider the account of the following victorious campaign of Venkata in the Udayagiri country, given by the same Muhammadan author. The above-mentioned *Raghunathabhyudayam*, relating only Raghunatha's exploits, states that "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda when they learnt of the arrival of Raghunatha with troops (a common poetical topic), while a few mounted horsemen opposed him. But they were easily defeated by the valiant Raghunatha, and were scattered as the Rakshasas were by Rama"<sup>1</sup>. This was only a partial victory obtained by one of the wings of the great army of Venkata. The Sidhout inscription of Ananta Raja also records that this chief 'displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammaddan Pachisa (Padischa) in the battle of Penukonda'<sup>2</sup>.

After careful consideration of all the sources, it seems that the Golkonda army, after having been repelled by the garrison of Penukonda, retreated northwards pursued by the Hindus. "Venkatapati Raya", says the *Ramarajiyamu*, "collected his army and drove the son of Ibharam (Ibrahim Qutb Shah, viz. Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah) who had invaded his territory, as far as Golkonda. He chased his army back and defeated it on the banks of the Pennar. The water of the river was crimson with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle"<sup>3</sup>. This battle was no doubt a remarkable event in the history of the Hindu Empire; for almost all the grants of Venkata make mention of it. The Vilapaka grant and the Dalavay<sup>or</sup> Agraharam plates, besides two other grants, state that the Muhammadan ruler was "forcibly deprived of troops, of horses and elephants, weapons, white umbrella, parasols, etc., at the head of a battle by the excellent soldiers of the army of this powerful (king)"<sup>4</sup>. The Vilapaka grant records moreover

1. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l.c.

2. *M.E.R.*, 1916, p. 148, para 78.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

4. Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39; Grant of 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Grant of 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

that the son of Malikibharama (Malik Ibrahim), Mahamandasahu (Muhammad Shah), reached his house in despair, reduced in lustre, and 'thus daily,' it ends ironically, 'makes his name significant (or famous)'<sup>1</sup>. It appears that there was more than one battle, because the Vellangudi plates say that Mahamandasahu was "defeated repeatedly by the army of this King, and used daily to return dejected from the battlefield after being deprived of his elephants, horses, arms and umbrella"<sup>2</sup>. The defeat of the Golkonda Sultan is again mentioned in both the Padmaneri grant<sup>3</sup>, and the Mangalampad grant of the Hindu Emperor<sup>4</sup>.

3. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda says that "the Muhammadan troops having been required to join the grand army against Penuconda, had left the district of Kandbir wholly unprotected". This was a magnificent chance for Venkata to recover part of the territory lost in the last war. It seems that even before the final defeat of Muhammad Shah, Venkata despatched a force to assist Kowlanada, the Raja of Udgerrydurg (Udayagiri), ordering him to plunder and lay waste all the territory as far as Kandir and the Krishna; and that the Raja sent his son-in-law, Wurias Ray, to carry this project into effect. After he had fought with the Muhammadans several times he was finally defeated by Afzul Khan and Ajda Khan, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded and taken prisoners, and all his camp-equipage".

In the meantime Venkata mustered an army of one hundred thousand men, the leaders of which were Yeltumraj, Gulang Setti and Manupraj, and set out to recover Gandikota from the hands of Sanjur Khan. Here the Hindus were daily harassed by sallies from the garrison; but they persevered in the siege till they heard that Murtaza Khan, with the main army of the Muhammadans, had captured the city of Karpa and destroyed its famous temples. Venkata, on being told of this, detached Yeltumraj and Manupraj with ten thousand cavalry to attack

1. Vilapaka grant, l. c.; grants of 1587 and 1589, ll. co.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vv. 31-35.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 297, v. 31.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 26

Murtaza Khan, and probably followed them shortly after with the rest of his army <sup>1</sup>.

As soon as the Sultan of Golkonda heard of this course of events, he despatched a force of five thousand horse under the command of Rustom Khan to reinforce Murtaza Khan. "Meanwhile", says the chronicler, "Murtaza Khan continued to defend himself for three whole months against the Hindus, whose numbers increased to such an extent that the Muhammadans found it impossible to give the battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies". Rustom Khan on arriving assumed command of all the troops, according to the Sultan's instructions. "On the day after his arrival", continues the Muhammadan writer, "he crossed a river in front of him, and imprudently encamped on a black clayey soil where the rain had fallen, but did not proceed to attack the Hindus. The enemy, having ascertained that a reinforcement had arrived, delayed also to engage the Muhammadans. At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or for some other reason which is immaterial, the Hindus dressed up a red bullock <sup>2</sup> with gilded horns, and having painted it with many different colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck, drove it towards the Muhammadans. Rustom Khan, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, became alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal. He galloped off to the rear in dismay, and caused a panic among his own troops <sup>3</sup>. The Hindus, observing confusion in the lines of the Muhammadans, took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Muhammadan cavalry, which constituted the strength of their army,

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1. Here the chronicle we are quoting says that 'after a severe action the Hindus were defeated and compelled to seek safety in flight. How can this be true when the same writer records immediately after the brilliant siege of the town by the Hindus, the distress of the Muhammadans, who required help from Golkonda, and the latter's final defeat?

2. Biggs thinks that the Pola festival is meant here.

3. Such cowardice could not be believed of such a general if the case was not narrated by the Muhammadan chronicler, Rustom Khan was, according to the chronicler, a notorious boaster.

unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but for Murtaza Khan, who, collecting a small party, forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahammadans; but all the camp-equipage was taken and a heavy loss sustained". The defeat of the Muhammadans on this occasion seems to have been very severe: the chronicler adds at the end of his narrative: "Rustom Khan was disgraced on his return to Haidarabad, by being dressed in female attire; after which he was banished from the kingdom" <sup>1</sup>.

4. At this time Amin-ul-Mulk, the Minister of the Sultan of Golkonda, sent officers to collect the taxes due to the Government by the different jagirdars. But those of the Telugu country were in hopes of throwing off the Muhammadan yoke with the help of the brave and fortunate new sovereign of Vijayanagara. Moreover the anonymous chronicler says that 'this demand had been so long deferred, that the jagirdars refused to pay the taxes demanded, and even invited the Vijayanagara sovereign to join them in opposing Muhammad Kuli's forces. As a proof of their intentions, they plundered the country belonging to Golkonda in the neighbourhood of Kandbir. These jagirdars were not all Hindus: both the Golkonda chronicler and the Aminabad inscription mention four out of these chiefs who rebelled against the Sultan; and of them, two were Muhammadans and two Hindus. The names given by the chronicler are the following: Alam Khan Pathan, Khan Khanan, Sabaji Maratha and Balla Row, which correspond to these given by the inscription: Alamakhanundu Khanakhana, Sabaji and Ballerayandu. This inscription states that there were other chiefs who joined the revolt.

When the dis-affection of these jagirdars was reported to the court by Etibar Khan, Amin-ul-Mulk himself volunteered to lead a force against the rebels, and after a while set out from Haidarabad at the head of ten thousand horse. On his arrival near Kandbir he was met by Kowlananda, the Raja of Udayagiri, who on account of his recent intercourse with

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 455-9.

Venkata, was believed to be the instigator of the rebellion. Accordingly the Muslim general seized the Hindu chief and ordered him to be hanged. This prompt measure alarmed the insurgents. They had an army of seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry and were strongly posted in the fortress of Ardinga; but now they shrank from an encounter with the army of Amin-ul-Mulk, and retreated to join the army of Venkata. The Golkonda general pursued them, but did nothing more than devastate and occupy their estates. Hence the Aminabad inscription states that Amin Malka crossed the river Krishna with a large Golkonda army, and drove away the enemies before him 'as darkness before the rising sun'. On returning to Kandbir Amin-ul-Mulk seized, a number of Naigwaries who had been the allies of the rebels and ordered about 200 of them to be executed. Nevertheless in spite of this drastic measure, the Muslim general was not able to put down the rebellion; and after his retreat to Haidarabad, no other authority was acknowledged in the Telugu country but that of Venkata, who was still with his army in the South.

5. One instance of this was afforded shortly after by the conduct of Makund Raj, the Raja of Kasimkotta. After having received the robe of instalment from the hands of Muhammad Kuli himself in Golkonda, this young prince attempted to seize the person of Birlas Khan, the Sultan's representative in the country. "Such outrages,; says the Golkonda chronicler, "called for the immediate interference of the King; particularly as the Raja, confiding in the valour of his troops and his native woods and mountains for protection, had not sent the annual tribute to the court".

Accordingly, Muhammad Kuli sent his general Mir Zain-ul-Abidin with a force to proceed against the Raja. "Upon his arrival near Kasimkotta the general deputed a person to Makund Raj, requiring of him to pay the arrears of tribute, and to promise greater punctuality in its future payment; but as they were too few to enforce their demand, Mir Zain-ul-Abidin wrote

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 460-1; Aminabad inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 240.

to court for reinforcements. The King immediately directed the Amir Jumla, Amin-ul-Mulk, to join the former detachment with more troops, and to assume the principal command. Amir Jumla was accompanied by Shankar Raj, the nephew of the late Bhaybalandar (the father of the young Raja). Makund Raj, alarmed at the serious preparations made to attack him, wrote to the neighbouring Rajas for assistance, as well as to Venkatapati, Raja of Vijayanagar, to induce him to take advantage of the moment and to detach a force to Kandbir, while he with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry engaged the King's army in the neighbourhood of Rajmundri". After a hard-fought battle, in which Shankar Raj was killed, the Muhammadans were defeated with the loss of several brave officers and men. The Raja on reaching Kasimkotta "put to death Birlas Khan and Ghuzunfur Beg, together with several other Muhammadans whom he inveigled into his presence" <sup>1</sup>.

6. In the meantime Venkatapati Raja, on the invitation of the Raja of Kasimkotta, again invaded the district of Kandbir. The Sultan of Golkonda, who was then defending the city of Ahmadnagar against the army of Prince Murad, Akbar's son, was informed of the intentions of the Vijayanagara Emperor. So he directed his army under Adil Khan Bungy or Bangush, accompanied by two hundred elephants and many guns, to oppose him. Adil Khan went straight to Kandbir with his cavalry, but was obliged to remain there sometime waiting for his guns. Venkata with his army of two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants, was still advan-

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1 Ferishta, III, p. 464-5. The Muhammadan writer says that the Golkonda forces were 'nearly defeated'; that the Muhammadans lost several brave officers and men, and that the Raja on reaching his city 'put to death Birlas Khan', etc. Nevertheless, he attributes this victory to the same Muslim army. The imposture is evident. To save the honour of the Muhammadans after describing their defeat, he proclaims an imaginary great victory obtained by them over the Hindus. If the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Birlas Khan, the Sultan's representative, when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda, it is impossible to suppose that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla, especially after his own army had been entirely routed by the army of Golkonda.

cing; but "finding that the King's troops had arrived, and that the army was very formidable, he thought it prudent to send ambassadors with rich presents to the King of Golkonda. The ambassadors had directions to proffer his excuse, by saying that the object for which he had left his capital and come towards Kandbir was merely to see the lake Camnum (Cumbum?). Orders were accordingly issued to Adil Khan Bungy to refrain from invading his territories, but to remain with the army at Kandbir as a corps of observation" <sup>1</sup>.

Such is the incredible account given by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, in his anxiety to conceal the defeat of the Golkonda troops. Is it not strange that Venkata, with the whole of his army of two hundred thousand foot and horse and one thousand elephants, dared not give battle to the Muslim general, with an army accompanied only by two hundred elephants, and an artillery lagging behind him? As a matter of fact the Muhammadan army that opposed Venkata was not at all formidable. The story of the ambassadors sent by the Vijayanagara Emperor and of his desire to see the lake Camnum is still more obviously the writer's concoction.

7. This becomes more than evident if we consider the version given in the *Ramarajiyamu* and the further history of the Telugu country during Venkata's reign. Both accounts show clearly the final success of the Hindu sovereign in the North-eastern corner of the ancient Empire. The *Ramarajiyamu*, for instance, shows us the Sultan of Golkonda 'as a suppliant seeking terms of peace' and settling finally with Venkata 'that the Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories' <sup>2</sup>.

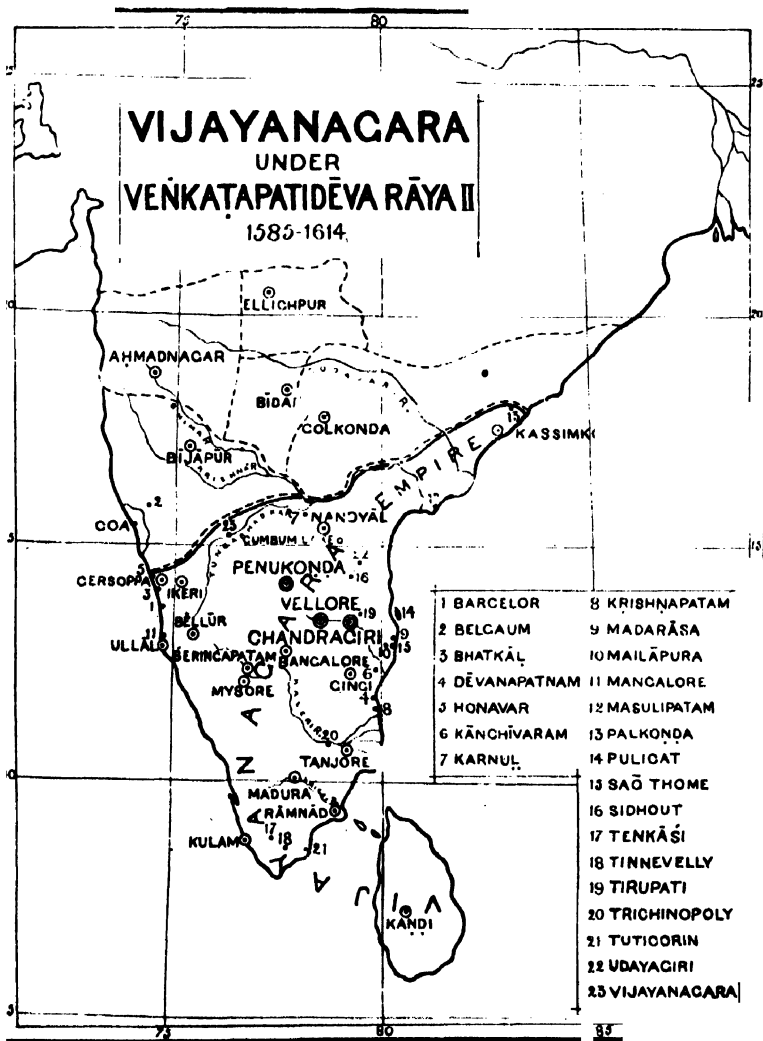
Nothing could have been more pleasing to the Hindu ruler. It meant the recovery of all the lost territories and the re-establishment of the old limits between Vijayanagara and Golkonda <sup>3</sup>. Hence the Vellangudi plates state that 'just as Rama

1. Ferishta, III, p. 466-8.

2. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 245

3. The Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, and the Mangalam-pad grant, Butterworth, I, p. 32, v. 28, state that Venkata defeated the king of Oddiya or Orissa. Probably the Sultan of Golkonda is meant in this passage.





XIV. The Empire of Vijayanagara under Venkata II



conquered the Rakshasas, this King defeated the Yavanas (Muhammadans)'. And the Dalavay Agraharam plates say that 'he was ruling the earth triumphantly after destroying the demons, the Yavanas'. Venkata's victories over the Muslim forces are again mentioned in other grants of his and those of his successors<sup>3</sup>.

Accordingly, numerous inscriptions of the following years acknowledge Venkata as the sovereign of the Telugu country. In 1586-7 while the first campaign was going on, two inscriptions proclaim Venkata the ruler of Udayagiri<sup>4</sup>. A similar inscription dated 1612 is found in Rapur, Nellore<sup>5</sup>. In 1514, the chief Marakampi Nayaningaru, in Nellore, declares himself feudatory of Venkata<sup>6</sup>. At the end of his reign, a village in Udayagiri which had been bestowed before by his father Tirumala was again granted by him to some one<sup>7</sup>, and there are besides two inscriptions of 1616, that mention Venkata as the ruling sovereign<sup>8</sup>.

A certain Sriman Mahamandalesvara Muddayoadeva Maharaja, son of Kondadeva Maharaja, seems to have been the governor of the Telugu country under Venkata and acknowledged the latter's suzerainty<sup>9</sup>. In 1602 he presented the village of Nandirayi, Nellore, to Sri Chennakesavaraya of Palnaru, for providing light, refreshments, incense, etc.<sup>10</sup>. But according to an inscription 1613-4 at Kandukur, it seems that the Muhammadans retained their sovereignty over the northern part of the district<sup>11</sup>.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.

2. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

3. Padmaneri grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, v. 29; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 127, grant of 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; grant of 1589, *Ibid.*, XII, Ck, 39. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 229, says that one of Venkata's title was this: '*Mahometa norum exercituum debellator*'.

4. Butterworth, III, 1365-7 and 1637-9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1284-6.

6. Rangacharya, II, p. 1049.

7. Butterworth, III, p. 1359-60.

8. Rangacharya, II, p. 1049, 1 and p. 1079, 263.

9. Butterworth, I, p. 269-71.

10. Rangacharya, II, p. 1056, 54.

11. Butterworth, I, p. 485.

8. No other wars between Golkonda and Vijayanagara are recorded in the Muhammadan histories. But in the meantime the Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, had sent several expeditions against the Kanarese country, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters. As a consequence of these incursions an alliance was made between Venkata and Burhan Nizam Shan of Ahmadnagar against Bijapur. Then Ibrahim Adil Shah again marched his army towards the South and laid siege to Penukonda<sup>1</sup>. According to Du Jarric, Venkata in this war against the Sultan of Bijapur, opposed his enemy with an army of seven hundred thousand infantry and forty thousand cavalry, besides five hundred elephants<sup>2</sup>. Ferishta relates that on the approach of the Sultan, Venkata entrusted the command of the place as well as of his army to one of his nobles and 'retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandragiri'. The Muhammadan writer does not tell us who this noble was, but we feel sure that he was no other than Mantla Ananta, called at that time 'the right-hand of the Emperor of Karnata'. The Sidhout inscription referring to him says that 'in the battle of Penukonda he destroyed the pride of the Muhammadan Padishah'<sup>3</sup>. This piece of information very likely refers to this action.

Ibrahim besieged the city investing it closely for three months. He was, it seems, determined to remain there, until he could either take it by storm or compel the besieged general to surrender. Ferishta relates that at the end of these three months the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provi-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 141, evidently misplaces this event, as we have previously pointed out. The ruler of Penukonda, Venkatadri, giving the command of the place to one of his nobles and retiring to Chandragiri, is a fact which cannot be placed in 1576-7, during the reign of Ranga I, precisely when this sovereign was made prisoner, or when his capital was so brilliantly defended by Jagadevaraya. Cf. Ch. XII, Nos. 5 and 6. The misplacement of a page of the MS. may explain this incongruence. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c. p. 185, and Dr. S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, before us, have acknowledged the anomalous occurrence.

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 653.

3. S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 249.

sions.' On this point, if we are to rely upon this writer's authority, Venkata "bribed Handiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four laks of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp". Accordingly, Handiatum deserted the army of the Sultan, who was consequently compelled to retreat to his own kingdom, "leaving Mustafa Khan to protect the frontiers" <sup>1</sup>.

9. Towards the beginning of the 17th century Vijayanagara was free from the Muhammadan attacks. The Jesuit letters are silent about the wars between Venkata and the Sultans of the Deccan, during the remainder of the former's reign. A great danger for those sovereigns was then rising in the North. In 1593, after the complete subjugation of the northern provinces, the Mughal Emperor Akbar had despatched an army under the command of Prince Murad and Khan Khanan, to start the conquest of the Deccan. They besieged the city of Ahmadnagar, which was bravely defended by the gallant Regent Chand Bibi. Ahmadnagar, however, fell into the hands of Sultan Daniyal, Akbar's third son, seven years later in 1600 <sup>2</sup>.

At the same time Akbar, while still before the walls of Asirgarh, sent an embassy to the Emperor of Vijayanagara <sup>3</sup>. The account of this embassy has never been published hitherto. The letter of Fr. B. Coutinho which gives this informa-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 141. It was probably not long after this event that Abdul Wahab was deputed by the Bijapur Sultan, with a powerful army to take the fort of Karnul. He invested the town, which was then governed by the last of its Hindu rulers, Gopala Raja, a grandson of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva. This chief stoutly defended the town, which was strongly fortified. He was assisted, it is said, by a force sent by his relation the Emperor Venkata. Gopala Raja, however, was eventually forced to yield; and he is said to have fled from the town through the northern gateway of the fort, still known as 'Gopal Darwaza'. Gopala's palace, even in its present ruinous state, shows to this day its ancient beauty and richness. Cf. *M. E. R.*, 1915-16, p. 44, para 26.

2. Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 266-72.

3. Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IV, p. 214, says that Akbar "captured several cities of the kingdom of Narsinga (called otherwise Bisnagar and Vidjia Nagaar)". I am sure that Valentyn's information was not good on this occasion. He also says that Akbar reached Goa and Calicoet (Calicut), which is certainly false.

tion is dated Chandragiri, August, 1600, and seems to have been written during the stay of the ambassador at the court. Fr. Coutinho does not give the name of the ambassador, but only states that 'he is a prudent and experienced man'. On reaching Chandragiri, since there was no building fitted for receiving such visitors, the official who was responsible for the entertainment of the ambassadors and their introduction to the King, asked the Jesuit Fathers to lodge him in their own house for two days. "We gave him a suitable place," says Fr. Coutinho, "where he is staying for a month. It is he who informed us of what our Fathers had done at Achebar's (Akbar's) court". The reason why the ambassador of Chandragiri stayed so long was that Venkata did not receive him in audience till he had waited twenty days, "as he (Venkata) had been warned by his councilors", says the aforesaid Jesuit, "not to trust Achebar; because, if those three Muhammadan kings of Abdenegan or Melique (Ahmadnagar), Dialcan (Bijapur) and Mussalepatan (Golkonda) were to submit to him, he would easily also bring the Bisanagara Empire under his sway. On hearing this, the King, they say, replied that his kingdom was in the hands of God, and that 'if He wishes to deprive me, he said, of my Empire, who will be able to stop Him? So much is certain, however, I shall never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan; should he come over here, war is sure to follow'".

At last Akbar's envoy was received by Venkata. He presented the Emperor with four horses and other gifts on behalf of his sovereign, but Venkata returned them to the ambassador; the sums of money he had brought as a present were also handed back to him by Venkata's order 'to defray his expenses'. Fr. Coutinho says nothing of the political affairs discussed by the Hindu sovereign and the Muhammadan ambassador; he only states that the latter was loud in his praises regarding the Jesuits at his Lord's court, who held them in great honour<sup>1</sup>. "The King in his reply," continues Coutinho, "said that he, too, was quite pleased with us. More-

1. The Jesuits who were then at Akbar's court were those of the third expedition, *viz.* Fr. Jerome Xavier, Fr. Manoel Pinheiro and Bro. Bento de Goes.

over, he added that he would give us a church, house and whatsoever we needed" <sup>1</sup>.

10. The suspicions aroused among the nobles at the court of Venkata were very well grounded. Fr. Jerome Xavier who was in Akbar's retinue when he was about to besiege the fort of Asirgarh in the kingdom of Kandesh, writes that "the purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms" <sup>2</sup>. And one of the secret purposes of the embassy to the court of Venkata was probably to examine the efficiency of his army and the strength of his fortresses, in order to enable Akbar to plan his intended campaign in the South. Fr. Xavier informs us that this was Akbar's method of ascertaining the enemy's strength. "And for this purpose, (*viz.* for conquering Goa), he very often sends some one of his courtiers to Goa with the title of ambassador. But it is understood that he is really a spy, sent in order to see either what the Portuguese are doing or what they are able to do; and he does this at the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal, in order to estimate how much wealth and how many people have come" <sup>3</sup>. The same kind of espionage was probably now employed in the court of Venkata. Hence Fr. Coutinho rightly suspected that the formidable army, headed by excellent generals which Venkata had assembled round him, was for no other purpose than "for driving back the army of Akbar, and garrisoning the northern cities and fortresses against the Mughal invasion" <sup>4</sup>.

After a while the fortress of Asirgarh too fell into Akbar's hands. <sup>5</sup> That event added fresh encouragement to the old

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. Cf. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.

2. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual.....en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 17; Du Jarric, III, p. 43.

3. Guerrero (*sic*), o. c., p. 29-34. Cf. Heras, *The Emperor Akbar and the Portuguese Settlements, Indo-Portuguese Review*, 1924, p. 20.

4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

5. Cf. Heras, *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh, Ind. Ant.*, LIII, p. 33-41.

Emperor's imperial ambition, which would not be satisfied until he had the whole of India under his feet; and accordingly four years later another embassy was despatched to Venkata's court, to get fresh information of the Hindu ruler's position. The annual letter of the Province of Malabar, of the years 1604—1606, informs us that the Jesuit Provincial could only be received by Venkata after some days, because there were at that time at Chandragiri several embassies waiting for the King's audience; and one of these legations was that of the Mughal Emperor<sup>1</sup>. Death suddenly cut short the warlike projects of Akbar in the following year.

II. Another embassy that the Jesuit Provincial found at Chandragiri in 1604 was one from Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur<sup>2</sup>. No other information is given about this legation; it means however that the two sovereigns, though formerly irreconcilable foes, became friends in face of the common enemy. And probably even Bijapur went to the length of inviting Vijayanagara to form a defensive alliance against the ambitious schemes of the Mughal Emperor, as she herself had been invited by the Portuguese Viceroy, with further instructions, to seek the co-operation of the other Deccani Sultans<sup>3</sup>. Such an alliance served no useful purpose; forty years later we see both Bijapur and Golkonda taking possession of the territories and fortresses of Vijayanagara; and subsequently the great-grandson of Akbar, Aurangzeb, also appears on the stage sweeping away the relics of those two Muslim thrones and obliterating the ruins of the Hindu Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Heras, *The Portuguese Alliance with the Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan*, B. B. R. A. S., I (N.S.), p. 125.

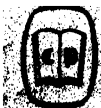












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