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A LITTLE KNOWN CHAPTER
OF
VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY

BY

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ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
6	5	दवरोजे	देवराजे
6	15	प्रेतापदवराजेन	प्रतापदेवराजेन
6	16	रिपुगोज	रिपुराज
6	19	Read संमा in brackets after	सन्मा at the end of l. 18, page 6.
7	6	गङ्गादास	गङ्गादास
8	22	called in thirteenth	called in the thirteenth.
11	9	referred to.	referred to,
		Foot-note report fo.	report for.
	1, l. 2.		
12	21	his elder brothers.'	his elder brother.'
12	last line.	Nijāgrajū . . . pārijāth.	Nijāgrajā . . . pārijāthah.
13	27	Virūpākshaiti	Virūpāksha iti
18	7	Padeo Rao of Nuniz	Padeo Rao of Nuniz,
18		'Add foot-note'	1. Asiatic researches, vol. xv, pp. 280-82.
19			'Delete foot-note'.
25	20	Nuniz statement	Nuniz' statement
28	22	elect to take to	elected to take to
30	27	affairs of Belgaum	affair of Belgaum
31	2	within showing the empire,	within, showing the empire
34	4	Narṣimh . . . Nrasimha	Nṛsimha . . . Narasimha
35	9	(dha) krit	(dh) a krit
47	17	July 29, 145.	July 29, 1485.
48	28	bean as Govrnors	began as Governors
65	5	genralissim	Generalissimo

Page	Line	For	Read
68	4	Adilshah	Adil Shah
68	16	' title dushta rāṇ mṛiga '	title ' dushta rāṇ mṛiga
68	17	Śārdula	Śārdula'
68	19	Kāvērim āsu	Kāvērim āśu
72	17	Kaundinya-gotra.	Kaundinya-gotra,
73	20	step brother	step-brother
73	26	Tulu-raj by	Tulu-rajya by
78	last line.	Maahraja,	Mahārāja,
84	(26)	Pramādechi	Pramādīcha
89	(46)	Dhārṇāthadāva	Dhārānāthadēva
89	(48)	Narasa Nyaka	Narasa Nāyaka
91	(57) Col. ii	arirya	arirāya.
	1. 3.		
	1. 4.	nḍu	nāḍu
	1. 5.	Kond	Konḍa
	1. 10.	Nykara	Nāyakara.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The substance of what appears in the following pages was delivered as a lecture before the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society with His Excellency Lord Pentland, P.C., G.C.I.E., in the chair. I was led to this particular investigation in the course of my lectures to the students of the Madras University by a contribution which Mr. Sewell made to the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in July, 1915. This contribution has reference to the period of usurpation, so called, A.D. 1486 to 1509. Mr. Sewell having been so kind as to ask for my opinion of his settlement of this question, I thought I had better take the opportunity and study up the whole period A.D. 1450 to 1509. The result is contained in the pages following. Forming as it does a study of a very important and hitherto little-known period of Vijayanagar History I thought it would be useful to put it in book form and make it available to the public. It is hoped that the book will be found useful by the reading public.

‘ KANCHIGRAHAM ’,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS.
23rd December, 1915.

S. K.

A LITTLE KNOWN CHAPTER OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY

Period A.D. 1450-1509

DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES IN THE SUBJECT

WE have already indicated that Dēva Rāya II died in all probability in A.D. 1448-9 (or Śaka 1369) and was succeeded by his son Mallikārjuna, in the same year. The accession of Mallikārjuna marks the beginning of decline, if not of Vijayanagar, at least of the dynasty that brought it into the prominent position that it occupied at the end of the first century of its existence. The following extract from Sewell's Vijayanagar will give an idea of the doubts and difficulties that beset the subject.

‘I have already stated that the period following the reign of Dēva Rāya II is one very difficult to fill up satisfactorily from any source. It was a period of confusion in Vijayanagar—a fact that is clearly brought out by Nuniz in his chronicle.

¹ A lecture delivered before the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society with His Excellency Lord entland in the Chair (19-11-1915).

A.D. 1449 is the last date in any known inscription containing mention of a Dēva Rāya and Dr. Hultzsch allots this to Dēva Rāya II. It may be, as already suggested, that there was a Dēva Rāya III, on the throne between A.D. 1444 and 1449, but this remains to be proved. Two sons of Dēva Rāya II, according to the inscriptions, were named Mallikārjuna and Virū pāksha I respectively. There are inscriptions of the former dated in A.D. 1452-3 and 1464-5, and one of the latter in 1470. Mallikārjuna appears to have had two sons, Rājasēkara, of whom we have inscriptions in the years A.D. 1479-80 and 1486-7, and Virūpāksha II, mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1483-4, three years earlier than the last of Rājasēkara.

Dr. Hultzsch, in the third volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 36, gives these dates, but in the fourth volume of the same work (p. 180) he notes that an inscription of Rājasēkara exists at Ambur in North Arcot, which is dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 1468-9. I have also been told of an inscription on stone to be seen at the village of Parnapalle (or Paranapalle) in the Cuddapah district, of which a copy on copperplate is said to be in the possession of one Narayana Reddi of Goddamari in the Tadpatri Taluk of the Anantapur district. This is reported to bear date Śaka 1398 (A.D. 1476-7), and to mention as sovereign 'Praudha Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar.'

Rājaśēkara's second inscription must have been engraved very shortly before the final fall of the old royal house, for the first certain date of the usurper Narasimha is A.D. 1490.

Amid this confusion of overlapping dates we turn for help to Nuniz ; but though his story gathered from tradition about the year 1535, is clear and consecutive, it clashes somewhat with the other records. According to him, Dēva Rāya II had a son Pina Rāya, who died six months after his attempted assassination ; but we have shown that Abdur Razak conclusively establishes that this unfortunate monarch was Dēva Rāya II, himself and that the crime was committed before the month of April 1443. Pina Rāya left a son unnamed, who did nothing in particular, and was succeeded by his son, 'Verūpāca', by which name Virūpāksha is clearly meant. Virūpāksha was murdered by his eldest son, who in turn was slain by his younger brother, 'Padea Rao', and this prince lost the kingdom to the usurper Narasimha.

MALLIKARJUNA, SUCCESSOR OF DEVA RAYA II

We have already pointed out that there is no need to assume a Dēva Rāya III at all, and the account of Nuniz cannot be regarded accurate in regard to the details of the history of the period. There are

a number of records of Mallikārjuna which make his position in respect of his predecessors clear. These further give the information that he had the name Dēva Rāya or more specifically Immaḍi Praudha (or Pratāpa) Dēva Rāya. Nagar 65 has it clearly

tayōḥ prāchīna puṇyānām paripāka viśēshataḥ
svīya janmāntraprāptā bhāgya bhōga phalāyahi
Mallikārjunadēvasya Śrīgirau sannivāsinah
Varōtta-kṛta-tannāma-kumāraḥ-samajāyata
pitariyuparatē śrīmān dhīraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ
Immaḍi (praudha) dēvendro rājābhūt jagatīpatiḥ.

‘to them (Dēva Rāya II and Ponnalā Dēvi) from the ripening of the merit of their good works in their previous lives, as the result of his own merits in a former existence, while the pair were in residence in the glorious hill of Mallikārjuna, the excellent son was born to whom was given the name of the God. When his father died, the valiant dutiful prince became king as Immaḍi Dēvēndra.’

tējo nidhēr ajani bhūmipatēr amnṣhmāch chrī Malli-
kārjuna iti prathitaḥ kumāraḥ
Śauryādhibhir guṇa-gaṇairadhikam cha tātāch cham-
santi-yam nripatim Immaḍi Dēva Rāyaḥ.

It is thus clear that Dēva Rāya II was succeeded after his death by his son Mallikārjuna and that he had the alternative name Dēva Rāya as well, because he was regarded twice as valiant as his father. He assumed also the special attribute of the father ‘the elephant-hunter’. As Mr. Sewell points out

Ferishta has no wars against Vijayanagar to record between the years A.D. 1443 and 1458, the date of death of Sultan Allaud-din of the Bhamani kingdom. With the death of this monarch, however, affairs in the Bhamani kingdom drift rapidly towards the disruption that was ultimately accomplished in the eighties of the fifteenth century.

GANGĀDĀSAPRATĀPAVILĀSAM

We gain, however, some light beating over the dark spot from an unlooked for source. In a drama known as Gangādāsapratāpavilāsam occurs a passage which may be rendered freely as follows :—

‘ While Pratāpa Dēva Rāya the Indra of Vijayanagar, with the various titles, usually ascribed to Dēva Rāya II, went to adorn the court of Indra (went to heaven or died), the throne of the kingdom was occupied by his son Śrī Mallikārjuna. Having heard this, the Sultan of the south and Gajapati made war upon him with an innumerable army of elephant, horse and foot. While they lay round Vijayanagar, Mallikārjuna quite unable to tolerate this sallied out of the fort, like a lion-cub from a mountain-cave upon a heard of elephants, and drowned the armies of Hayapati and Gajapati in the flood caused by his sword. Both the Gajapati and the Yavanapati fled each by himself alone back to his kingdom.’¹

¹ Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, part vii, p. 1610.

गङ्गादासप्रतापविलासनाटके द्वितीयेऽङ्के नाट्यकारः —
 आकर्ष्यताम्, पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरे हयपतिगजपतिनरपति-
 रायसुवर्णपुत्तलाङ्कितवामचरणबिन्दुदतोडराडम्बरे महाराजाधिराज-
 राजपरमेश्वरे राजकठारीतिनेत्रे राजगजबेटकारे रिपुराजगजगण्डभे-
 रण्डावतारे विजयनगरीपुरन्दरे श्रीमत्प्रतापदेवराजे महेन्द्र-
 सभालङ्कारे सति तत्कुमारेण श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन साम्राज्य-
 सिंहासनमधिष्ठितम्, तदाकर्ष्य दक्षिणसुरत्राणेन गजपतिना
 च पूर्वपराभूताभ्यामुभाभ्याममितहयगजपदातिभ्यां संभूयाभिषेणन-
 मकारि । विजयनगरमावृत्य स्थितं तावदसहमानो गजबलं भ्रगे-
 न्द्रशाव इव गिरिकन्दराद् विजयनगरतः श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजो
 बहिर्निर्गम्य निशिततरकरवालधाराजलप्रवाहवाहिनीपूरे हयपतिग-
 जपतिसैन्यमशेषममज्जयत् । गजपतिः स्वदेहमात्रावशेषः पलाय्य
 निरगाद् यवनपतिश्च । तदनन्तरं श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन रण-
 द्यूतविजितान् हयगजान् सकलमहीमण्डलकलावत्करकमलसात्कृत-
 वता तस्यामेववेलायां निजजनकेन श्रीप्रतापदेवराजेन दिव्य-
 रत्नरचितकटककुण्डलहारकनकदण्डचामरयुगलमौक्तिकच्छत्ररिपुरा-
 जगजगण्डभेरण्डनिजबिन्दुपदकहयगजनरपतिराजकविपुत्तलाङ्किते
 (तं) बिन्दुदतोडरं दत्वा निजकीर्तिजगङ्गाया भगीरथीकृत्य सन्मा-
 नितश्चिराद्बन्धरो (संभा)ऽनवद्यविद्याबलेन दिग्विजयाय यातः

संप्रति क्वास्त इति पृष्टम् । तदातदानीमेवोत्तरदिगन्तरालात्समाग-
 तेन केनचिद्वैतालिकेन महाराजस्य कीर्तिमाहिमाचलं कृत्वा द्वार-
 कायात्रां विधायाह्लादाबादनगरे गूर्जरसुरत्राणस्य महाद्वारे
 वामचरणे विरुदतोडरं निधाय सभाकोविदान्मूकीकृत्य षण्मासा-
 नुषित्वा ततो निर्गम्य पावाचलाधीश्वरं चम्पकपुरपुरन्दरं
 श्रीगङ्गादासभूवल्लभं द्रष्टुं समागतः । तत्र श्रीगङ्गादासभूवल्लभेन
 लोकोत्तर गवियोर्जितां कवितां विलोक्य सन्तुष्टेन बहुमानदानैः
 परितोष्य मच्चरित्राभिनयनाटकं भवता विधेयमित्युक्तः करोमीति
 स्वीकृत्य लोकोत्तरं नाटकमकार्षीत्, तदद्भुतमाकर्ण्य गङ्गादासभू-
 वल्लभो बहुकनकत्नैरापादतलमस्तकं तमापूरयत् । अस्य नाटक-
 स्याभिनयं कर्तुं कश्चिन्नाट्यकारस्समागच्छेदिति राजा चिन्तां करो-
 तीत्युक्ते श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन साधु कथितमस्मच्चिन्ता दूरीकृतेति
 बहुदानपुरस्सरं स वैतालिकः सन्मानितः (संभा) ।

तदानीं तदास्थानस्थितेन रिपुनाट्यकारवारणमदनिवारणपञ्चा-
 ननेन मया तदाकर्ण्य तन्नाटकमहं नाट्यरसिकोऽभिनेष्यामीत्यन्न
 सोत्कण्ठमागतोऽस्मि । तावन्मम भाग्यगुणेन महाराजोऽपि महा-
 कालमहामहोत्सवे कलाकुतूहलानि विलोकयन्नेव मन्त्रयनगोचरः
 समजनि । तदहं महाराजस्य युवराजत्वमारभ्य रूपकाभिनयाय
 नेपथ्याभिनयनाय गच्छामि । पश्यतु महाराजः । इति निष्क्रान्तः ॥

The following points deserve attention in this. The invasion of Vijayanagar took place as a result of the change of rulers. The Bhamani Sultan referred to as the southern Sultan, Hayapati (ruler of horse) and Yavanapati (Yavana ruler) and the Gajapati (ruler of Orissa) were allied against Vijayanagar. The subject of the drama springs out of an heroic episode in one of the wars of the Sultan of Guzerat against a Hindu chief of Pāvāchala feudatory to him.

Professor Eggeling refers this war to the war of A.D. 1449. The invasion must have taken place soon after the accession of Mallikārjuna and should have been in the years A.D. 1449 or 1450. There is absolutely no mention of this or any war at all in Ferishta at this period.

ORISSA INVASION

The history of Orissa at the time throws some light upon the uncertainty. The ruling Ganga dynasty of Orissa had reached the stage of inani-tion with the death of Narasing Rai Langora, as he was called in thirteenth century A.D. He was followed in succession by two lines called Ganga or Narasinga and Bānu. The last Bānu had been overthrown by the Muhammadans of Bengal who carried with them as prisoner the minister Kapilēśvara Bhowarbar. When the ruler died Kapilēśvara came to

the throne, according to the researches of Stirling and Mon Mohan Chakravarti in A.D. 1434-5. His reign which extended up to A.D. 1369-70 was one of constant war in the course of which he lays claim to having made various conquests among them Vijayanagar. In the inscription at a temple to Jagannātha in Katak District, he is referred to as 'Karnāṭajahāsasimha and Kaḷavaragajayī' the yawning lion to the sheep the Karnāṭa king and the victor over Kaḷavaraga (Kulberga).¹ In the inscriptions of this ruler examined by Mr. M. M. Chakravarti these titles are not assumed by him up to his nineteenth *anka* which is computed to be the same as his sixteenth year,² that is up to the year A.D. 1450. In an inscription of his forty-first *anka* these are assumed and the inscription from which the above are taken belong to about the same time, his thirtieth year or about A.D. 1465. It seems possible then that the statement in the drama Gangādāsapratāpavilāsam is founded upon fact. That is not all. The drama makes a further statement that these two allies attacked Vijayanagar, after the death of Dēva Rāya II 'to wipe off the disgrace of former defeats'. If this means anything at all, it is that the Rāya of Orissa had figured in the earlier wars of Allud-d-din against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1437 to 1443.

¹ *J.A.S.*, Bengal, vol. lxix, part i, pp. 173-190.

² *Ibid.*, vol. lxii, p. 90, *et seq.*

BHAMANI INVASION

Notwithstanding the silence of the Muhammadan historians in regard to this war, so much is clear that the death of Dēva Rāya brought on a Muhammadan invasion, possibly in concert with another by the ruler of Orissa with whom the Bhamani kingdom came into touch by the absorption of Telingana on the one side and the conquest of a large part of Gondwana by Malwa on the other. This seems the more likely from what Abdur Razak states about the previous war as a result of the attempt on the life of Dēva Rāya II. We have also to take it that Mallikārjuna had the best of it from the silence of the Muhammadan historians on the one hand, and on the other from the actual political condition at the time of the Bhamani Kingdom, and its relations with the neighbouring chiefs Hindu and Mussalman on the other frontiers. An alliance or a mere understanding to engage the attention of Vijayanagar would account for the appearance of Kapilēśvara of Orissa in the affair. It is this advance of Kapilēśvara that will have to account for the move of the Sāluva chief Narasinga from the middle region to the Telingana frontier.

BOTH POSSIBLE

Mallikārjuna then began well by beating off the enemy who threatened the existence of Vijayanagar, and seems to have gone on well enough for a few years. His rule must have lasted on to at least

1465 (Saka 1387). In 1459 (Saka 1381) we hear of Mallikārjuna 'ruling in happiness in Penugonḍa on business connected with administration (rājakārya) of Narasinga'. What is more than this he is said to have been there with his Daṇāyaka Timmaṇa. It is soon after this date that an invasion of the Coromandel region as far as Kanchi was successfully undertaken by Kapilēśvara, who has it in the inscription already referred to.

'Having made him (Gopīnātha Mahāpatra) the Commander-in-Chief, him who defeated the Maḷava king, who stood as a bar to the inroad of the Gauḍa king, the monarch Kapilēśvara enjoyed the Lakshmi (Śrī) of the Karnāṭa, levied taxes (tributes better) over the Khaṇḍa hill, and carried Kanchi by force.'¹

Kṛtvā samyati māḷavēndra-jayinam sēnādhinā
 thamtuyam,
 Gauḍēndrasya nitāntam—Utkala pathā-prasthāna-
 rōdh-ārgaḷam
 Śrī Khaṇḍādri payōdharō parikaram nirmāya
 Kānchiharah
 Sānandam Kapilēśvarō viharatē Karnāṭa rāja
 Śrīyā.

This invasion coupled with one upon Kanchi by the Pandyas in the year 1469² clearly indicates the causes that brought about the dismemberment of

¹ Jagannātha inscription of Kapilēśvara: verse 14; *J.A.S.*, Bengal, vol. lxix, part i, pp. 173-190. and Epigraphist's report for 1906-7, p. 55.

² Epigraphist's report for 1906-7, p. 56.

the Empire on the one side and the gradual ascent of Narasinga to supreme power on the other. The foreign invasion from distant Orissa through provinces directly under the Government of Narasinga, and the attempt in the remoter provinces to throw off allegiance indicate a clear decline of power at head-quarters. What was the part that Narasinga himself played in this? What could have brought about the feebleness in the ruling family?

VIRUPAKSHA, MALLIKĀRJUNA'S BROTHER AND SUCCESSOR

‘Virūpāksha should have succeeded to the throne in Saka 1387’ according to Mr. Krishna Sastri, who seems inclined to regard him as the son of Mallikārjuna. Virūpāksha’s dates range between A.D. 1466 and 1485. What is more, Mr. Sastri rejects Professor Kielhorn’s acceptance of Virūpāksha as the son of Dēva Rāya II by Simhaḷā Dēvi, and would regard him rather as the son of Dēva Rāya II’s brother, Pratāpa Dēva ‘who acquired the kingdom from his elder brothers.’¹ Both Mr. Sastri and the late Professor Kielhorn refer to the same passage² that Mr. Rice interpreted as referring to the Vijayanagar Princess married into the Bhamani family.

¹ Archæologist’s Annual for 1907-8, p. 225, note 5.

² Tasya (Vijayabhūpatēḥ) Nārāyaṇī Dēvyām prādhurāsīt
Yaśodhanah

Praudha prātāpa Vibhavaḥ Pratāpakhyō mahipatiḥ
Gunairanēkhairavanītalēsmin Virājamānah Sukṛtāpta kīrtir
Nijāgrajuprāptamanādirājyam Sādhikṛtārthi Vraja pārijath.

Mr. Sastri's interpretation would introduce an additional letter into the inscription for which, I am afraid, we have no warrant short of convincing proof that it is an error. Of such compelling need there is none such in this connection as Pratāpa Dēva did not rule at all and could not have obtained any *rājyam* from his elder brother other than those he governed at various places for his brother as did the various younger brothers before him. What is of importance in this connexion is Mr. Sastri takes this part to refer not to Dēva Rāya II but to his brother Pratāpa Dēva. This interpretation seems quite improbable, and would be altogether impossible without the modification of the reading he implies—'Nijāgrajā prāptam' will have to be read 'Nijāgrājatprāptam.' Even so the meaning would hardly suit the expressions in the rest of the passage. The Virūpāksha of this record must be regarded a brother of Mallikārjuna.

VIRUPĀKSHA, POSSIBLY A USURPER

The passage immediately following in the same record seems to let us into the secret of the trouble that brought the State low indeed in vitality at a time when forces were gathering round to try her strength to the utmost extreme.

Tasyām Śivahprādau abhūd guṇādhyō nāmnā
Virūpākshaiti prasiddhah,

Rājadhīrāja kshitipāla maulih vadānya mūrtih
karuṇaika sindhuḥ

Nijapratāpād adhigatya rājyam samasta bhāgyaih
parisēvyamānaḥ

Sangrāmatas sarvaripūn vijitya sammōdatē vīrā
vilāsa bhūmiḥ.

‘Śiva was born of her, of excellent qualities, known by the name Virūpāksha, king of kings the crown of rulers on earth, an incarnation of bountifulness, an unparalleled ocean of mercy. Having acquired the kingdom *by his own valour*, and being in the full enjoyment of all that is enjoyable, and having conquered all his enemies in war, he lives in happiness as the very hall of display for the goddess of valour’. The phrase, ‘Nijapratāpad adhigatya-rājyam’ having conquered the kingdom by his own valour seems to indicate forcible acquisition of the kingdom either from his elder brother or it may be from his young nephews. Is there any warrant for such an assumption from the known circumstances of the time?

We have already noticed that the danger from the Bhamani kingdom had ceased to be imminent after the attempt which Mallikārjuna is said to have foiled by his own effort. The danger lay more on the side of Orissa. Telingana had ceased to be a buffer for almost a generation. The country between Rajamandri and Warangal happened now to be the scene of active but almost of guerilla warfare. The chieftains of forts were giving trouble to the Mussalman governors of the Bhamani Sultans, whose affairs at home were anything but peaceful.

Kapilēśvara was an enterprising ruler and had come to the throne of Orissa with the support of the Muhammadan state of Bengal. About the time we have come to, he had reached the summit of his glory, and almost to the end of his reign. Malwa was making rapid advance on the side of Gondwana bringing Orissa on the one side and Ahmadnagar on the other as its immediate neighbour. In this posture of affairs, we need not be surprised if we see Śāluva Narasimha moving up from his province in the middle region towards the north where there was fighting to be done. This move on his part towards the most vulnerable frontier was an act of benefit both to his king and kingdom. What then is the significance of Mallikārjuna and his Daṇaika Timmaṇa's move to Penukonda on the business of Narasinga's kingdom? Was it jealousy of the rising power of the chief or was it the suspicion engendered by incapacity at head-quarters? It may be either or both. Whatever it was, it was about six years later that we come upon the change of rulers and Virūpaksha's accession possibly indicates the change at head-quarters of a stronger ruler instead of a weaker one with the result that Narasinga perhaps leaves the head-quarters severely alone. Kapilēśvara dies about the same time and is succeeded by Purushōttama whose rule covers the period 1469-70 to 1495-6. It is this ruler that led an army according to Ferishta in support of Rajamandri and Konḍapalli and marched as far as Kaulas. If Ferishta

is to be taken at his word the Orissa monarch was beaten back into his dominions and a treaty imposed upon him the terms of which, as usual, do not go very much beyond the demand for twenty-five elephants. On his return he reduced various fortresses among them Konḍapalli, and is then said to have gone against the dominions of Narasinga, of whom Ferishta has the following referring to A.D. 1477. 'Narasing Ray was a powerful Raja possessing the country between the Carnatic and Telingana, extending along the sea coast to Muchlypatam and had added much of the Bijanagar territory to his own by conquest, together with several strong forts. He had frequently incited the zemindars on the Bhamani frontier to rebel; and the officers on the borders, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to court, which had, at length, induced the king to attack him'.¹ This passage gives us an insight into what Narasinga was about and why he gradually moved himself northwards.

BHAMANI SUCCESSES AGAINST VIJAYANAGAR

Before this, however, Muhammad Shah II had made two successful attempts against Vijayanagar on the western side. The first was the taking of

¹ Brigg's Ferishta II, 398-9.

Goa by Muhammad Gawan in 1469 and the next was the taking of Belgaum in 1472. The first was brought about according to Barros as a reprisal for a massacre of the Muhammadans of Bhāṭkal for having sold horses to the 'moors of the Dekkan'. The King of Vijayanagar ordered his vassal chief at Honawar to 'kill all those moors as far as possible and frighten the rest away.' The survivors fled and settled in Goa. This loss according to Nuniz, along with that of the ports of Chaull and Dabull occurred in the reign of Virūpāksha.¹

These various operations between the years 1469 and 1481 give the impression that the Empire of Vijayanagar was in a bad way and one prominent man in it, at any rate, understood the need of united strength. That was Narasinga. Ferishta's description of the position of Narasinga and the mention in the Burhan-i-Máasir of Mālūr as a principal fort in his kingdom from which Kanchi was attacked, and the utter absence of any reference to the ruling power in all these transactions indicate a want of understanding between Narasinga and Virūpāksha which would warrant the inference that Virūpāksha perhaps came to the throne by means which did not commend themselves to the powerful Viceroys, and that he did not possess the qualities that a ruler at the time and in the circumstances of Vijayanagar should have had in ample measure. Narasinga was

¹ Sewell : A Forgotten Empire, p. 99.

seconded in all his efforts by another powerful general Narasa Naik, and the manner in which the former left all power in the latter's hands at his death in spite of his having two sons go to prove clearly that his usurpation had no unworthy motive leading up to it. Virūpāksha probably had sons, one of whom was Prauḍa Dēva Rāya, Mr. Krishna Sastri refers to as the Padeo Rao of Nuniz Rajasekara and Virūpāksha II being the sons of Mallikārjuna. These would be supported by the party of loyalists as against that of the usurping uncle and his children. With these explanations in mind the account of Nuniz will become clear in regard to its general trend if not in regard to all his details. The position then is this. Mallikārjuna died in 1465-6 or thereabouts and his half-brother succeeded] setting aside two nephews, Rājaśēkara and Virūpāksha. These naturally created a powerful party against him, and he was perhaps not quite worthy of the exalted position. He managed to go on, however, letting a succession of misfortunes befall the empire to the disgust of the more powerful generals and governors. It may be he died or was murdered by his son even, Narasinga exerting himself all along to keep the empire intact despite the attacks of the Bhamani sultans on the one side, and the Gajapatis of Orissa on the other. The Gajapati Prushōttama, the successor son of Kapilēśvara, claims to have captured Kanchi and taken among the prisoners the King's daughter whom he

married subsequently under romantic circumstances¹. The following account of Nuniz will now become intelligible.

NUNIZ ACCOUNT

' After his (Pina Rao's) death a son remained to him who inherited the kingdom and was called . . . and this king, as soon as he began to reign, sent to call his treasurers and the minister and the scribes of his household, and inquired of them the revenue of his kingdom, and learned how much revenue came in yearly; and His Highness had every year thirteen millions of gold. This king granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom; no law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of priests; and so the people suffer.

On the death of this king succeeded a son named Verupacarao. As long as he reigned he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, and never showed himself either to his captains or to his people; so that in a short time he lost that which his forefathers had won and left to him. And the nobles of the kingdom, seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, and Chaull, and Dabull, and the

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv, pp. 280-82.

other chief lands of the realm. This king in mere sottishness slew many of his captains. Because he dreamed one night that one of his captains entered his chamber, on the next day he had him called, telling him that he had dreamed that night that the captain entered his room to kill him ; and for that alone he had him put to death. This king had two sons already grown up, who, seeing the wickedness of their father and how he had lost his kingdom, determined to kill him, as in fact was done by one of them, the elder, who was his heir; and after he had killed him, when they besought him to be king, he said, " Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood ; " which was done, and the younger brother was raised to the throne. And when they had entrusted the kingdom to him he was advised by his minister and captains that he should slay his brother, because as the latter had killed his father so he would kill him if desirous of so doing ; and as it appeared to the king that such a thing might well be, he determined to kill him, and this was at once carried out, and he slew him with his own hand. So that this man truly met the end that those meet with who do such ill deeds. This king was called

Padearao ; and after this was done he gave himself to his women, and not seeking to know ought regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city.

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

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

THE EXPLANATION OF THIS ACCOUNT

In this extract the following points require to be noted. It was Pina Rao's son that is nameless. If Pina Rao is taken to stand for Dēva Rāya II, then the peaceful monarch who led a life of peaceful administration and pious benefaction would be Mallikārjuna, a not untrue characterization altogether. He was succeeded by his son according to Nuniz. There are inscriptions which indicate unmistakably that Mallikārjuna's son Rājaśēkara, succeeded, followed probably by Virūpāksha II. the

younger brother for whom we have a date A.D. 1499. This is the legitimist succession. Rājasēkara, however, seems to have been ousted at Vijayanagar by Virūpāksha the uncle while some of the provinces at any rate recognized Rājasēkara. Virūpāksha's unworthiness and cruelty which is quite understandable in his position brought on perhaps his death at the hands of his own son who made room, perhaps, for a younger brother who might well have been a Prauda Dēva Rāya as the grandson of Dēva Rāya II. Nuniz account would thus be reconciled with the information derivable from inscriptions if the possibility of error in regard to Virūpāksha being brother instead of son be admitted. There is absolutely no need to concede the accuracy of Nuniz in this particular and other facts need not be twisted to agree with his account.

ANOTHER THEORY

There is, however, another theory of this same transaction, the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha, which requires to be considered. This is the theory put forward by Mr. Narasimhachariar, the Mysore Archaeologist. The following is his theory in his own words.¹

‘This chief belonged to the Sāluva family. He was the real ruler of the Vijayanagar kingdom for nearly forty years from about 1455 to 1493, in

¹ Administration Report for 1908, p. 19.

which latter year he appears to have died, this being the earliest known date of his son Sāluva Narasinga II. The last four rulers of the first dynasty which he supplanted were kings only in name, the real power being held in his own hands. Thus, so far back as 1459 we see him sending away Mallikārjuna to Penugonḍa (Mandya 12 and 59), and putting in 1462 his own minister Tirumalayanna-daḷapa on the throne of Mallikārjuna (Bowlingpet 24). This Tirumalayanna may be his own elder brother Timma and identical with the Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahā-rajā mentioned in No. 23 of Vol. II of *South Indian Inscriptions*. This Timmaraja, son of Guṇḍaraja, makes a grant in 1463 (*Madras Annual Report* for 1904, No. 249) for the merit of his younger brother Sāluva Narasinga I. Again, in 1468, during the nominal rule of Virūpāksha, we find a grant made for Narasinga's merit (Mulbāgal 20) ; and in 1470 and 1472, during the same rule, we find Narasinga and his general Īśvara-Nāyaka, father of Narasa, making grants for the merit of each other (Mulbāgal 253 and Bowlingpet 104). In 1472 he is styled *mahā-mandalēśvara* (*South Indian Inscriptions*. No. 116). This title appears to have continued till 1484 in which year he is mentioned as ruling (Māgaḍi 32). Mulbāgal 104 mentions Narasinga's administration of the kingdom in 1485, naming at the same time Virūpāksha as the ruler. The usurpation of the throne most probably took place in 1486-7.'

CRITICISM OF THE THEORY

The first point to call for remark in this theory is that Mr. Narasimbachariar's interpretation of the records of A.D. 1459 can hardly bear the interpretation he puts upon them when the records merely say that Mallikārjuna and Daṇṇāyaka Timmaṇa were 'ruling in happiness in Penugonda in connexion with the administrative business of Narasinga.'¹ The record 24 of Bowringpet which specifically states that Mallikārjuna was on the throne while Narasinga's officer Tirumalayanna was in charge of the province concerned. This misunderstanding seems to be due to the peculiar Tamil expressions which are ordinary elipses. These are 'Mallikārjuna Rāyarśingādanattil' which can be rendered on the throne of Mallikārjuna though in this passage the construction requires the supply of a verb, as the locative 'on the throne' will otherwise be incomplete. There is no doubt that Sāluva Narasimha had an elder brother Timma who made a grant for the merit of his younger brother which, at the most can mean he held a province under him from the locality and other details connected with the grant. Nor can the exchange of courtesies indicated in the rest of the section be held to support the inference that Narasinga held any higher position than that of a powerful governor under Mallikārjuna. When Virūpāksha occupied the throne, however, the same

¹ Md. 12 and 59 of Saka 1381 already referred to.

binding obligation of allegiance was not felt for the monarch by the powerful chieftain, though the act of usurpation came later, only when there was no alternative left to save the empire from complete disruption and ultimate ruin. Such a statement of the general trend of affairs might have reached Nuniz correctly while there might have been errors in regard to details.

CONCLUSIONS DERIVABLE

Ferishta's statement coupled with the information derivable from the inscriptions would warrant the assumption that Narasinga was consolidating his provinces under the rule of Mallikārjuna. The accession of Virūpāksha probably by violence alienated his sympathies, as those of others. When matters grew worse under his sons Narasinga usurped the throne as a step necessary for the preservation of the empire though during the whole of his lifetime he seems to have had a nominal ruler. Nuniz statement in regard to a length of reign of forty-four years could be accounted for by taking it as the whole period of his influence and power as viceroy first, and then *de facto* ruler. This seems the trend of events indicated by the known facts and other assumptions seem hardly called for.

INFLUENCE OF ORISSA ON VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY

We have indicated above the trend of events which led to the overthrow of the first dynasty of

rulers at Vijayanagar by the Viceroy Sāluva Narasimha who ultimately took the empire into his own hands. The main influencing factor in this upward move of Narasimha was the power of Kapilēśvara Dēva of Orissa, as we have shown. This particular influence has to be investigated carefully to understand the real character of Narasimha's usurpation. King Dēva Rāya II died in 1448-9, and Sultan Allau-d-din II Bhamani died in 1457 according to the Burhan-i-Māasir. Kapilēśvara Bhowarbar became King of Orissa in 1435 and ruled on till 1470.

BURHAN-I-MĀASIR

According to the Burhan-i-Māasir again Telingana was reduced to subjection about the end of the reign of Ahmed Shah Wali Bhamani. It was in 1435, the year of accession of Kapilēśvara that Sanjar Khan, Governor of Telingana, comes into contact with the 'Uriya leader of the infidels of Telingana'.¹ The ruler of Orissa is already referred to as possessed of a very large number of elephants as against 150 which was all that the Bhamani Sultans had.

In the year 1457-8, Humayun the cruel laid siege to Dēvarakonda 'in the course of a jihād'. 'After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxviii, pp. 215-6.

Ray of Uriya (Orissa) who at the time was *chief of the infidels of that country*. He agreed to assist 'from greed of gain' and 'for the defence of paganism'.

Then came the invasion of the Bhamani kingdom by the Ray of Orissa, soon after the accession of the Sultan Nizam Shah in 1461.

In the year 1470, the queen-mother of the Bhamani Sultan, Makdumah Jahan died. 'In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingana and informed the Sultan that the Rāya of Orissa, who was the principal Ray of Telingana was dead'. There was a Bhamani invasion of Telingana in consequence in the course of which Rajamandri and Kondavid were besieged and taken before the year 1471.

In the year 1474 Wairagarh was invaded and taken from Jatak Ray. An army was sent against the southern Mahratta country.¹ In this same year 1474 and in the midst of these occurrences Khwajah Jahan Khwajah Mahammad Gawan informed the Sultan that the perfidious Perkatapah had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added: 'With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of *Kanara* and *Vijayanagar* and

¹ *Indian Antiquary* vol. xxviii, p. 237.

annex them to the dominions of Islam'. Belgaum fell in the course of this war. A famine broke out this year and lasted for two years, owing to a succession of failure of the monsoon.

'In the midst of these affairs' that is about 1475-6 the Ray of Orissa invaded Telingna and beat back Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri for safety to Wazirabad. The Sultan arrived with reinforcements and marched upon Rajamandri.

'When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Rajamandri, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel Narasimha Raya with 70,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narasimha Raya heard of the arrival of the Sultan's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elect to take to flight'. Rajamandri fell in consequence and its governor was enrolled among the Turki, Telangi and Habshi slaves!

In the year 1480 the Sultan laid siege to Konḍaviḍ to put down a rebellion 'of his subjects who, throwing themselves upon the protection of Narasimha Raya had altogether withdrawn from the allegiance to the rule of Islam'. Konḍaviḍ fell in time.

‘ After the conclusion of the affair at Konḍaviḍ agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sultan that the extensive plains are open only to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of Lāt and Manāt, and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired ; and as the infidel Narasimha—who owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagar had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *nal-bahá* ; therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this Narasimha had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanarah and Telingana and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar ’.

The Sultan then marched to Konḍaviḍ and advancing about forty farsakhs (about 136 miles, actual distance 270 miles) arrived within sight of the fortress of Malur, the greatest fort of the country. Narasimha in sheer terror made the usual presents and submitted without the least show of fight. Information then reaching him of the richness of the temple and city of Ganji (Kanchi) at a distance of fifty farsakhs (about 170 miles, actual distance in a straight line is 120 miles). Coming

up at the head of a select force he laid siege to the city on a date corresponding to March 12, 1481; and sacked it. He ordered an 'elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions'.

MURDER OF MUHAMMAD GAWAN

This was followed by the conspiracy against, and the murder in cold blood of Muhammad Gawan and all the evil consequences that flowed therefrom. It is clear from this narrative of the Mussalman historian, that thanks to the exertions of the Queen-mother Makdumah Jahan there was peace between the Bhamani kingdom and Malwa through the intervention of the Guzerat Sultan. Vijayanagar was simultaneously exposed to attacks in the front and in both flanks by the Bhamani Sultans and the Rajas of Orissa. Narasimha's activities were all in the east and there is absolutely no mention of his name in connexion with the operations in the west—either round Goa or in the southern Mahratta country—up to the year 1482. More than this Narasimha was able to maintain his position all along while in all the campaigns in the west the advantage lay clearly with the enemies of Vijayanagar perhaps because of inefficiency and mismanagement at head-quarters as is but too evident in the affairs of Belgaum.

During the period 1450 to 1482 Vijayanagar was subjected to recurring attacks of powerful enemies

from without, disputed successions and division of authority within showing the empire, on the verge of dismemberment. It was in this state of affairs that Narasimha's usurpation took place.

THE SĀLUVAS

Mr. Krishna Sastri writes, 'Neither the Telugu poems, nor epigraphical records tell us who the Sāluvas were from whom Narasinga and his ancestors traced their descent, what relation if any, existed between them and the Kings of the First Dynasty of Sangama, and what again was the connexion between the usurper Narasinga and his generals Īśvara and Narasimha (NarasimhaNāyaka), who, though calling themselves members of a branch of the Yadava dynasty which ruled over the Tuluva country (Tuluṽēndra) often identified themselves with the Sāluvas by adopting the very same family titles'.

SĀLUVĀBHYUDAYAM

The Sanskrit Kāvya 'Sāluṽābhyudayam', composed specifically to celebrate the deeds of Narasimha by a contemporary poet who calls himself Rājānātha Dinḍima, throws some light upon this obscurity. According to this work the name Sāluva was acquired as a result of the bravery exhibited by one of the rulers of this family, Sāluva Mangi, a hawk among men, to distinguish him from a brother of the same name. This work gives the usual genealogy of a pauranic character tracing the

descent of the family from the moon to Puru who exchanged his youth for the old age of his father. Then it refers to some rulers of whom so far nothing more is known, to one of whom, or to whose father, are given the titles, Chālukyanārāyaṇa Mōhana Murāri, Mēdinimīsaragaṇḍa because of their having been beloved rulers of the earth. Their names are Śāṇūramalla, Śighāṇamalla and Kavāri Rāya. A stanza (*śloka*) following explains the peculiar title Panchaghaṇṭānināda, much affected by the family as having been acquired by the exhibition, in unparalleled measure, of the five qualities of truthfulness, bountifulness, courage, learning and valour.¹ In this family was born Guṇḍa ' who killed in battle the Sultan who had got ready for the conquest of the world '. He had his residence in Kalyāṇapura and had for his queen Kāmalādēvi. This is the first historical man in the family, and his position at Kalyāṇi and the achievement against the Sultan noted above raised him to prominence. The Sultan referred to was probably Sultan Alau-d-din I of the Bhamani kingdom whose early wars were among the fortified cities of the Telingana frontier among which figures prominently Kalyāṇi, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas. The connexion with the Yadava is no more than the usual association of the name with the southern branches of ' the line of the moon. '

¹ Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii, p. 81, ll. 28-32.

Then come his six sons that are known from other sources among whom the most distinguished was the one known Sāluva Mangi. He went, with the permission of his brothers, southwards to make new conquests, although the south had already been conquered. He succeeded in killing the Sultan of the south. Finding that the Chola, Pandya and Kerala rulers had gone away in fear, he overcame Samubūvarāya and established him in his kingdom thus earning for him and his descendants the title 'Chamburāya Sthāpanāchāryah'. He conquered some important city in Guzerat and earned the title Gurjarīyaṭṭavibhāḍa. Having overcome every one he attacked as a falcon does the other birds, he and his descendants adopted the title Sāluvēndra. Having conquered all his enemies from Lanka to Mēru (Himalayas) he went to Śrīrangam and re-established God Ranganātha as before in the holy place and made large benefactions.

Ālankamāmēru ripūn asēśān
 Āśōṣayat Sāluva Mangi dēvaḥ
 Sadangavāṇimayatungaśṛṅga
 Śrī Rāgamōṅkāramayāgatōbhūt.

This work while making the statement that he made to the God a donation of one thousand *sālāgramas*, does not mention the gift of 60,000 Māḍas (half-pagodas of gold) that the Jamini Bhāratamu, mentions.

Among his sons, mention is made in this work of only one, Gauta to whom was born, like Abhimanyu to Arjuna, Guṇḍa.

This is Guṇḍa III of the genealogical table appended. To this Guṇḍa and his wife Mallāmbika was born as a result of the devotion of the pair to God Nṛsiṃh at Ahōbalam, Nrasimha who became known afterwards Sāluva Narasimha. Gauta having retired into the forests to spend the evening of his life in contemplation upon the divine, Narasimha ascended the throne of his fathers, meaning no more than that he succeeded his father as Governor at Chandragiri. He is persuaded to give up sorrowing for his parents' retirement from life, but to carry on with the accustomed vigour of his ancestors the work of administration during youth and manhood to retire when old age came on. Accepting this counsel of wisdom he sets out on a conquering expedition to get the world rid of his natural enemies, the avātara of the asuras, as he himself was an avatār of Viṣṇu.

He is urged on to take up this work at once as his enemies were likely to be careless considering his youth and the consequent want of hold upon the loyalty of his generals and the army. He is here shown to us in Chandragiri in contrast to Viṣṇu in Tirupati.¹

Tadiha sakalarakṣha sāvadānō
 Viharati sārṅgadarōhi Vēṅkaṭadrau
 Savidha bhuvi tadā hitāvanāyām
 Nṛipavaras Chandragirau ni

¹ (Sāluvaḥhyudayaṃ, Canto III, pp. 41-2).

His first expedition was against the ruler of Orissa whose territory he invaded. There is, of course, the usual Homeric battle, the advantage ultimately resting with Narasimha. The Orissa king is compelled to retire within the walls of his city which is laid siege to, in consequence.

Hatvāsiṣṭaiścha gajairagātpuram
Kalingrājō Yudhikandīthādharah
Sa śaila durgam tapanādhvarōh (dha) krit
Viśāla sālam bahuyantra sādhanam.

A breach was made and the fortress surrendered. After dictating terms of peace Narasimha returned obviously to Chandragiri.

He then started on a progress through his dominions. Leaving Chandragiri by way of Kālahasti, Narasimha moved towards the south. Sighting Tiruvaṇṇāmalai from a distance, he passed into the Chola country whose king had run away anticipating Narasimha, by the sound of his war-drum. Narasimha passed along by way of Tiruvaḍamarudūr to Kumbakonam. He took the road on the northern bank of the Kavery and went to Srirangam and Jambukēśvaram. Then he marched on to Madura wherefrom he proceeded to Ramēśvaram whence he returned to his capital again. Throughout this royal progress every ruler submitted and paid tribute, even the Ceylon King sending a respectful embassy. While he was back again at his capital at Chandragiri, Narasimha

invaded Nāgamandala on the advice of Kuṭavāchalēndratatavāsi [he or (they), that reside at the foot of the Western Ghats?] He left a garrison there and returned at leisure with the desire to conquer Prithugiri (Big mountain, probably the Himalayas). It was then that he was attacked by the Muhammadan army. He won a complete victory against them and showed to the world that he was indeed the Dharanīvarāha (the primeval boar, that reclaimed the earth from below the waters). Passing through Daśārṇa, he reached the Himalayas. He leaves his boar emblem (lāṇhana) on the face of the Himalayas, and returns by way of Kāśī (Benares) where he was anointed emperor.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL GLEANED FROM THE KĀVYA (EPIC)

The rest of the work being occupied with the ordinary epic embellishments need not detain us longer. Apart from the epic treatment, the historical facts that stand out are these:—that Narasimha had his head-quarters at Chandragiri with the Government of the province around it; in all likelihood Chandragirirājya was his ancestral government; that his first great war was against the Kalinga King; that he could make a peaceful claim to authority over all the south up to Ramēśvaram, and come in touch even with Ceylon (this has already been accomplished under Dēva Rāya II) and that his last war was against the Muhammadans. Unless

Kuṭavāchala should be interpreted Western Ghats and nāgaṃaṇḍala, Nagarakhaṇḍa or Kanara, there is no mention of any western portion of Vijayanagar, nor is there the least indication of his having had anything to do with Vijayanagar. Narasimha was solely the successor of Kumāra Kampana of Muḷuvāyi Mahārājya or of Lakkaṇṇa, ' Lord of the Southern Ocean ' under Dēva Rāya II.

NARASIMHA'S MOVE NORTHWARDS

It then appears clear that Narasimha from his ancestral capital at Chandragiri ruled over the southern provinces of Vijayanagar and kept them well in hand. When Kapilēśvara Gajapati moved southwards upon the coast part of Telingana immediately after the death of Dēva Rāya II, Narasimha had to move north to keep this rising power in check. Kapilēśvara's invasion of Vijayanagar was perhaps a diversion to draw Narasimha out of the way—Having beaten back Kapilēśvara he returned to the south made a progress through his dominions to see that all was right and went up to the Telingana frontier at the time when Kapilēśvara's vaunted invasion of Kanchi was undertaken sometime after 1457, the year of death of Sultan Alau-d-din II. It is this invasion that is referred in the records at Jambai near Tiruvaṇṇamalai and in Tirukkōilūr as the Oḍḍiyan-kalāpa about ten

years previous to the date of the records.¹ This was the occasion that called for the presence of Mallikārjuna and his minister Timma at Penugonḍa 'on business connected with Narasinga's kingdom',² a necessary precaution as a later Bhamani diversion along this line makes it apparent. His activity on this frontier proved so far successful that he was able not only to keep back the enemy of Kalinga who had taken possession of Telingana coast up to the Krishna, but even gain some advantages against the Muhammadans of Telingana.

The death of Kapilēśvara in 1470 gave a few years respite on this frontier, and when again the Bhamani Sultans began to be active elsewhere, that is, in the south and south-west of their territory Purushōttama Gajapati had settled matters to his satisfaction at home and was in readiness not only to imitate his father's example but improve upon it. Narasimha had to be alert on his side. In 1475-6 we find him strongly posted in Rajamandri as against the Bhamani Sultan, when he invaded Rajamandri in consequence of an invasion of the Telingana coast by the king of Orissa. In spite of the much vaunted boast of the Burhan-i-Māasir Narasimha was able to hold his own both against the Gajapati and the Bhamani kings, while matters go very much against Vijayanagar, probably because, as was indicated, Virūpāksha had succeeded and

¹ Madras Epigraphist's Report, 1907, Section 56, p. 84.

² Md. 12 and 59 already referred to.

began to mismanage at Vijayanagar to the disgust of the greater viceroys and governors, such as Narasimha himself. Narasimha's hold upon the Telingana frontier was still very firm. Konḍaviḍ revolted against the Muhammadans in 1480. Sultan Muhammad Shah II (1463 to 1482) went to Konḍaviḍ, and having suppressed the rebellion there, broke through the middle of the Vijayanagar frontier to the fort of Mālūr and then he conducted in person a raid upon Kanchi. The successful occupation of Mālūr and raid upon Kanchi indicate clearly the incapacity that had taken hold of the head-quarters administration at Vijayanagar on the one hand, and the success with which Narasimha held his ground in the east on the other. Five or six years from this date the usurpation of Narasimha takes place as related by Nuniz :—

NUNIZ STORY

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

He wrote, therefore, and addressed the captains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it was for them not to have a king over them who could govern properly, and how it would be no wonder,

seeing the manner of his life, if the king soon lost by his bad Government even more than his father had done.

He made great presents to all of them so as to gain their goodwill, and when he had thus attached many people to himself he made ready to attack Bisanga where the king dwelt. When the king was told of the uprising of this captain Narsyngua, how he was approaching and seizing his lands and how many people were joining him, he seemed unmindful of the loss he had suffered, he gave no heed to it nor made ready, but, instead, he only ill-treated him who had brought the news. So that a captain of the army of this Narsyngua arrived at the gates of Bisanga, and there was not a single man defending his place: and when the king was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be. Then the captain entered the city, and the king only said that it could not be. Then he even entered his palace and came as far as the doors of his chamber, slaying some of the women. At last the king believed, and seeing now how great was the danger, he resolved to flee by the gates on the other side; and so he left his city and palaces and fled.

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

beloved by the people, thence forward this kingdom of Bisanga was called the kingdom of Narsyngua.'

THE ORIGIN AND POSITION OF THE SĀLUVAS

It ought to be clear by now who the Sāluvas were from the account given of them in the Sāluvābhyudayam. They were a family of chieftains dispossessed of their ancestral territory by the rising power of the Bhamanis. They threw in their lot under Guṇḍa I and his son Sāluva Mangi with the five brothers who founded the Empire of Vijayanagar and co-operated heartily with them and their sons in expelling the Muhammadans from the south. They seem to have had their head-quarters at Chandragiri and appear to have been Vaishṇavas. The family must have been of sufficient distinction to become allied with the royal family in the person of Sāluva Tippa, an uncle of the usurper Narasimha. This Tippa had married the elder sister of Dēva Rāya II and his son Gopa was Governor of Tekal while his father's Government was a little further south. This Gopa's sons Tirumalairāya and Tippa were other distinguished members of the family. It is noteworthy that all these are found in the middle region where Sāluva Mangi must have carved out a principality for himself.

Rai Sahib Krishna Sastri has with commendable industry gathered all the Sāluva names together on

page 167 of the A.S.R. for 1908-9. It is clear from this list and other known instances that all those that assumed Sāluva birudas were not necessarily related, as various subordinate princes assumed not only well known birudas of a general character but even specific names of their sovereigns. Loyal governors and puissant generals of these Sāluvas seem to have assumed Sāluva birudas—as the particular instance of Śambuvarāya shows—

There is mention of a minister and general of Harihara II whose name is Gūṇḍa. He is credited with having conquered all the kingdoms, the conventional fifty-six, and the following specific achievements are also ascribed to him. 'Having conquered the Keralas, Taulavas, Andhras and Kūṭakas he seized their wealth and gave it to his king. Dragging the elephant-like Saipa, Patheya and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he confined them in his stables, like monkeys; and besides them seized by the throat the two great tigers known as Jyēshta and Kanishṭa'. He is further said to have planted pillars of victory in all the countries and by order also of Harihara Mahārāya restored the grants which Vishṇuvardhana Biṭṭi Dēva Rāya, ruler of the Hoysāpa country, had made for the God Channakēśavanātha, his family god, and which had by lapse of time been greatly reduced . . . and re-built with seven storeys the gopura over the doorway, which Ganga Salar, the Turuka of Kulburga, had come and burnt. It is likely that this Gūṇḍa was either the first or the second of the name in the Sāluva family, rather the first than the second as he is credited with no achievement of any kind in any of the various records available, but it is impossible to be certain about it in the absence of any definite indication of the connexion in the record in question. There is a striking similarity between this inscription and the Sāluvābhyudayam in regard to the actual deeds of valour.

INSCRIPTIONS CONFIRM THESE CONCLUSIONS

If now we turn our attention to the inscriptions we find, from their distribution and contents, they confirm the conclusions that have been drawn from the other available sources. Sāḷuva Narasimha comes prominently to notice pretty early in the reign of Mallikārjuna, though it would be hazardous to assert that he played any part in repelling the Kalinga-Bhamani invasion of Vijayanagar. He seems to have been helped almost from the beginning of his career by Timma, the Tuḷuva chieftain, but very much more by his son Īśvara and his son Narasa who ultimately became his trusted chief of the staff, Civil and Military. The achievements ascribed to Īśvara in the Varāhapurāṇam and the Pārijāthāpaharanam are deeds of valour that he did for his master and indicate where exactly Sāḷuva Narasimha had to do the most fighting. Contemporary inscriptions only echo what these Telugu works have to say. In the words of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, 'According to the Varāhapurāṇam Narasimharāya's first general Īśvara of the Tuḷuva family conquered the forts (1) Udyādrī (Udayagiri in Nellore), (2) Huttāri (probably Puttūr in Kārvēṭinagar), (3) Gandigōṭa, (4) Penugonḍa, (5) Beggalur (the reading of the manuscript is Bengulūru, i.e. Bangalore), (6) Kovela Nallūru, (7) Kundāni (in the Salem District, formerly capital of the Hoysāla

Vira Rāmanātha), (8) Goḍuguchinta, (9) Bāgūru, (10) Naragonḍa (probably Naragallu in Chittur Taluq), (11) Āmūru (Giḍ Āmūru or Āmūrdurga) (in Guḍiyāttam Taluq) and (12) Śrīrangapaṭṭana, and “destroyed the cavalry of the Yavanas of Beḍendakōṭa at Gandīkōṭa.” The Yavanas referred to here are the Bhamani kings who transferred their capital from Kulburga to Bider in June A.D. 1423, during the reign of Ahmed Shah. Referring to the same event, the author of the Telugu poem Pārijātāpaharaṇam says that Īśvara “gave rise to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horses of the Yavanas of Baḍandakōṭa”, but he transfers the same to Kanducūru. The Muhammadan historians do not of course refer to this event.’

The edition of the *Varāhapurānamu* brought out by Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu gives the reading Kandukūru and the manuscript copies¹ in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library confirm this reading. Kandukūru perhaps is the more likely place in this connexion. The places mentioned are distributed all over what became later the Karnatic Payeen Ghat, the southern portion of Mysore and the coast districts of Nellore, and perhaps even Krishna, in all of which fighting had to be done to beat off the Muhammadans. This could have been only in the sixties and seventies of the fifteenth century, consequent upon the invasion

¹ No. 304 of the revised Triennial Catalogue of manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library.

of Kapilēśvara about A.D. 1461-2. It is this series of wars that takes Narasimha gradually northwards to the frontiers of the Bhamani kingdom and Telingana where we find him according to Ferishta in A.D. 1477. Kapilēśvara's death before A.D. 1470 on the one side, and the change of rulers on the throne of Vijayanagar, left him no alternative in the one case, and gave him the opportunity for making himself independent in the other. Up to A.D. 1467 grants in which his name occupies a prominent place are found only in North Arcot and Kolar districts. In the seventies they extend from Tirukōilūr to Nāgamangala. A grant dated A.D. 1481 at Khankanhalli refers to 'our Channapatna province'. By about this time Śaḷuva Narasimha had become by far the most powerful and effective ruler of all the provinces of Vijayanagar below the Ghats, and the plain country of Mysore. The Malnad districts of Mysore and the West Coast comprising the Male Rājya and the Tuḷu Rājya, with the country round Vijāyanagar were the only provinces that were under the effective control of the head-quarters, the southern Mahratta country fast slipping out of the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagar since the fall of Goa and Belgaum. In other words it was only the territories under the control of Narasimha that were able to hold their own as against the enemies of Vijayanagar, the other portions fast passing into the hands of the Muhammadans or on the high road to disintegration.

Further the earlier inscriptions relating to this period acknowledge the suzerainty of Mallikārjuna. This formality begins to drop out in the sixties, and Virūpāksha's name appears but sparingly. Inscriptions after A. D. 1471 give him the full birudas. The combined result of these converging lines of evidence is that Sāluva Narasimha began as the Governor of Chandragiri his ancestral estate. The neighbouring governments having been in the hands of members of his own family he peacefully developed his resources to become a pillar of the empire when the empire was hard pressed by enemies on its most vulnerable frontier. This gave him the chance of advancing northwards up to the very frontiers of the Bhamani kingdom. When he saw the Imperial family losing its hold upon the provinces, he was able to hold the provinces well together after the disintegrating eruption of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, the effect of which had been felt even as far south as Tirukōilūr in the South Arcot District. When a change of rulers did take place and the throne happened to be occupied by an unworthy man like Virūpāksha whose folly cost the Empire Goa, and its possessions in the north-west, Narasimha could see clearly that the empire built up at such great cost of blood and brains was going to ruin. He let matters drift as he was not quite sure of the temper of the various viceroys and governors of first rank. He does not appear to have cherished ambitions of a personal kind, as it

would have been easy for him to have overthrown the empire any time after A.D. 1470. As Nuniz has it, he gave the best chance for the royal family on the throne to rehabilitate itself, and when he found there was no chance in that direction he had no alternative left but to take upon himself the responsibility of administering the empire. For at the time, the empire wanted a man of ability and initiative to keep it intact both from the disruptive tendencies within and the disintegrating shocks from the enemy without. It is under a supreme imperial necessity such as this that he appears, from all the evidence available to us, to have usurped the empire.

THE DATE OF THE FIRST USURPATION

The last record of Virūpāksha available to us is one dated Friday, July 29, 145.¹ The first in which Saḷuva Narasimha appears with the Imperial titles, Rājādhirāja, Rāja Paramēśvara, etc.,² is dated November 1, 1486. Between these dates, the actual usurpation must have taken place, there having been two sons of Mallikārjuna alive at the time not counting the prince that was set aside, a son of Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna's brother. The palace revolution described in Nuniz probably took place just a little before, and perhaps hastened the change of dynasty.

¹ Mulbagal, 104.

² Tumkur, 54.

THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION

This brings us to the next problem of the period, namely, the order and rates of the changes of rulers on the throne during the period A.D. 1485 to 1509. When Sewell wrote his work on Vijayanagar fifteen years ago it was not known that there was a double usurpation and that there were actually four rulers in succession who wielded the supreme power during this short period. The credit of the discovery of the second usurper actually belongs to the Mysore Archæologist Mr. R. Narasimbachar, and it is now generally taken that there ruled in succession Śaḷuva Narasimha, the first usurper, his son the second Narasimha, then the second usurper Narasa and his son Vira Narasimha who was succeeded by his half-brother Krishna Dēva Rāya. The matter is already obscure for lack of records bearing clearly upon a matter like this and the absence of mention of these except very casually and carelessly in Muhammadan histories, by the similarity of name, all of them are called Narasimha, and the still greater similarity of titles and birudas they assumed. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks there are some distinguishing marks to guide us through the tangle of names and titles in the contemporary grants which are, about ninety of them, tabulated in an appendix. The first two belonged to the family of the Śaḷuvas who began as Governors of Chandragiri and advanced in power gradually to become Emperors. The characteristic Śaḷuva titles and

birudas, either all of them or some at least, always precede their names. These titles were unfortunately assumed, either by way of compliment to the Sāluvas by their royal subordinates, or were conferred upon them as a matter of honour by the ruling Sāluva for the time being. The first usurper is known in these records as Sāluva Narasimha with one or more of the Sāluva titles which are many : Mēdinīmīsa-ragaṇḍa, Kaṭṭāri Sāluva, etc. The second of the four usually is Immaḍi Narasimha with these titles, and is often described as the son of Sāluva Narasimha. The records of Sāluva Narasimha as Emperor are not many nor widespread, but those of his son are found all over the empire in large numbers. He is also sometimes called Tanmarāya (the Tama Rao of Nuniz) written in Tamil, Tanmarāya the equivalent of Dharmarāya and occasionally we find the Sanskrit form as well.

The one that succeeded him on the throne is taken to be Narasa or Narasa Nāyaka of the Tuluva family and son of Īśvara Nāyaka. He is not ordinarily mentioned as Narasimha though in this style he is occasionally described. His son was known Narasimha with a combination of all the titles of his predecessors, the Sāluvas and Karnāṭas, but also even some, of the Hoysalas. The fashion was probably set by his predecessor on the throne Sāluva Narasimha II. While the above is the usual order of the succession no agreement has been arrived at in regard to the date of accession of each.

Mr. Sewell attempts a final settlement of this matter by a contribution he made in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1915, and sums up his thesis in the following words:—‘ Differing from some writers on the subject, I place the first usurpation by Narasimha as on some day between August 29, 1485, and November 1, A.D. 1486 ; his death and the accession of Immaḍi Narasimha as on some day prior to January 27, A.D. 1493 ; the second usurpation by Narasa Nāyaka, his death, and the accession of his son Vira Narasimha as during the interval between February 28 and July 16 (or August 14) of A.D. 1505. Vira Narasimha’s death and the accession of Krishna Dēva Rāya are known to have taken place on some day earlier than October 14 or November 13, A.D. 1509.’

NARASA NAYAKA

In investigating the problem of chronology suggested in this extract from Mr. Sewell’s article, it is necessary to consider the position of another chief who played a very important part in the changes that passed the empire on to Krishna Dēva Rāya ultimately. This was Narasa, generally regarded as the second usurper. We first find mention of his name in a record of A.D. 1482-3, when in all probability he came to occupy the position of foremost of Saḷuva Narasinga’s servants although that honour continues to be given to one Nāgama Nāyaka in A.D. 1484. His grandfather Timma is referred

to only in general terms, while his father Īśvara bore a valiant part in all the fighting that his master has had to do in the course of his ascent to power, as is but too clear in the extracts quoted above from the introduction to the Dēvulupalle plates of Immaḍi Narasimha edited by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, and in the Telugu poems Varāhapurāṇamu and the later Pārijāthāpaharaṇam. It is thus clear that the Tuḷuva Chief Īśvara rendered Yeomen's service to Sāḷuva Narasimha before he became Emperor. It was the turn of his son Narasa already distinguished in war at the camp of his father and the father's master, to become the pillar of the empire under Sāḷuva Narasimha the Emperor. What follows from Nuniz will explain the relative positions of Narasimha and Narasa clearly.

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

After he was raised to be king and was obeyed he came to Bisnaga, where he did many acts of justice; and he took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king. This king reigned forty-four years, and at his death left

all the kingdom in peace, and he gained all the lands which the kings his predecessors had lost. He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz and Adeem into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand pardaos, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.

At the death of the king there remained three fortresses which had revolted from his rule, and which he was never able to take, which were these—Rachol and Odegary and Conadolgi which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom.'

THE CHARACTER OF NARASIMHA'S USURPATION

This extract makes it clear that Narasimha's purpose in usurping the throne was not personal aggrandizement but the perpetuation of the empire built at such great pains by his predecessors in the second and remoter generations. Further than this it shows unmistakably that he was able to rehabilitate the empire already considerably dismembered except for the three fortresses of vital strength for the maintenance of that empire. When death came to him he had not quite fully discharged the duties that he took upon himself by the assumption of imperial power, but made the next

best arrangement, which again shows he had a more patriotic programme than the selfish greed of the ordinary usurper. In the words of Nuniz again ' At his death he left two sons, and the Governor of the kingdom was Narasenaque who was father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga ; and this king (Narasymgua), before he died, sent to call Narasenaque his minister, and held converse with him, telling him that at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule ; also he said that all the royal treasures were his alone and he reminded him that he won this kingdom of Narasymgua at the point of the sword ; adding that now there remained only three fortresses to be taken, but that for him the time for their capture was passed ; and the king begged him to keep guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the Princes, to whichever of them should prove himself the most fitted for it. And after the King's death this Narasenaque remained as Governor, and soon raised up the Prince to be King, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.' This testament of Saluva Narasinga reveals the true inwardness of the usurpation that took place in A.D. 1485-6. Narasinga's function, as he understood it, was to recover the lost portions of the empire of Vijayanagar and restore it to its past greatness and unity. He fell short of achieving this ambition as he was not

able to capture during his own life-time the three fortresses of Udayagiri, Konḍavīd and Raichore. He quite realized that the empire required a strong ruler and nominated his chief General Narasa as his actual successor and *de facto* ruler, and left the choice of an Emperor from out of his two sons to him.

NARASA, SUCCESSOR OF NARASIMHA IN ALL BUT NAME

It is thus clear that the real power passed from Sāluva Narasimha to Tuḷuva Narasa but there was to be a titular Emperor and this comparatively unimportant element complicates the problem which otherwise would have been far simpler, and easier of solution. It has already been pointed out that Sāluva Narasinga's usurpation took place some time between Friday, July 29, 1485, and November 1, 1486, on which date a record of his gives him the paramount titles of sovereignty. He ruled as Emperor for a period of about seven years. Nuniz term of forty-four years for his reign seems to include in it the whole term of his career, first as ruler of Chandragiri and then the Emperor of Vijayanagar itself, that is, practically from the date that Mallikārjuna ascended the throne of Vijayanagar. The first available records of Immadi Narasinga Rāya with the titles of paramount sovereignty happen to be dated January 27, A.D. 1493, and give him the style of designation 'Śrīman Mahāman-

dalēśvara, Paschimasamudrādhipati Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Yimmaḍi Narasinga Rāyaru.' He must have come to the throne sometime before this date.

BHAMANI HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

We must now turn our attention to the affairs of the Bhamani kingdom before making an extract from Ferishta which confirms this dating according to the inscriptions. Sultan Mahamud Shah II. returned from the great raid upon Kānchi and his return was the signal for the mischief to get afoot against the Khwaja Jehan Muhammad Gawan against whom suspicions had been aroused in the mind of the Sultan during his campaigning on the Telingana coast, as the outcome of the jealousy and prejudice against the minister. Muhammad Gawan was assassinated in A.D. 1481 and the Sultan himself died the next year leaving the throne to his young son who ascended the throne as Sultan Mahmud Shah.

At this time the party of the Turks had the ascendancy in the State as against the other two parties, the Dekhanis and the Habshis (Abyssinians). The Dekhanis at the head of whom stood Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, a Brāhman convert from Telingana, devised a plot and got rid of the most influential among the Turks by a general massacre of the Turki noblemen and officials in the capital. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri then became Malik Naib (the Prime Minister). There was naturally a rebellion of the

Turki governors in distant provinces, who attacked the capital at the head of their armies. The capital and the king were saved by the timely arrival of Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri the son of the Malik Naib. It was now the turn of the Habshis at court to gain the ear of the Sultan and the Dekhani Malik Naib felt himself in danger and fled for safety to the capital from Warangal where the king was at the time in the course of an invasion. This Malik Naib was killed by Pasand Khan with the sanction of the king. The Habshis got all the positions of power and influence in their hands and ruled in utter disregard of the Sultan who intrigued with the Turks in consequence. When the Habshis besieged the Sultan in the fortress, he was just able to save himself by the strenuous exertions of a handful of Turks. It was at this time that Kasim Barid Turk set up the standard of revolt, and having overcome Dilawar Khan Habshi who was sent against him, threatened the capital itself. His rebellion was the signal for other chiefs to rebel likewise. The Sultan finding it impossible to suppress the rebel Turks entered into a treaty with Kasim Birid giving him the rank of Mir-i-Jumla and making him the *de facto* ruler of the Dekhan. Various governors of provinces refused to recognize this arrangement with the prominent exception of Ahmad Bahri Nizam-ul-Mulk. The king could not dismiss Kasim Barid as the allied rebels demanded and war had to be continued. Kasim Barid was defeated and put to flight and the

rebel chiefs and allies returned each to his headquarters. From this time is dated the founding of the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bider and the overthrow of the Bhamani kingdom as such, and the date of this according to Ferishta would be previous to A.D. 1489, the Burhan-i-Máasir not having a regular date-scheme for this period.

The remaining period of Mahmud Shah Bhamani's reign which ended in A.D. 1518 is occupied with the continual struggles of the king to recover lost power. This took the form of his intriguing with the five chieftains in turn and trying various combinations.

All this ended only in making the four States other than Bider to consolidate their power and become independent of head-quarters even in respect of form. Vijayanagar was left all through this struggle for power and possession of the king, to deal with Bijapur separately and this course was made the easier by the jealousies of the three neighbouring states of Golkonda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

FERISHTA

Turning to Ferishta we have it that Yusuf Adil Shah and Mallik Ahmad Bary (Bahri) 'caused the Khootba to be read in their name in A.D. 1489 (A.H. 895)'. 'He wrested many forts from the governors of Mahmud Shah, and subdued all the country from the river Bheema to Bijapur. 'Kaseem Bareed Took (the *de facto* ruler under the Sultan) who had

himself entertained hopes of founding a kingdom at Bijapur, wrote to the Ray of Beejanagar that Mahmud Shah was willing to cede to him the forts of Moodkal and Rachore if he would wrest them from Yusuf Adil Khan, at the same time letters were addressed to Bahadur Geelany, who possessed Goa and Dureabar (the tract, which in the language of Dekhan is called Concan) inviting him to invade the country of Yusuf Adil Khan.

Timraj, the general of the Ray of Beejanaggar, having crossed the river Toongabadra, laid waste the country as far as Mudkul and Rachore, and Bahadur Geelany, reduced the fortress of Jumkindy. Yoosoof Adil Khan was too weak to repel these attacks by force. He accordingly made peace with Timraj, and expelled Bahadur Geelany from his dominions; but without attempting to recover Jumkindy, led his army, composed of eight thousand foreigners towards the capital against Kaseem Bareed'.

According to one account that Ferishta records the Adil Shah was defeated, had to make peace with his enemies and retire to Bijapur. It was then, 'On learning that dissensions prevailed in Beejanaggar, he marched to retake Rachore. On reaching the banks of the Krishna, Adil Shah fell ill of fever brought on by exertion in hunting, and was confined to bed for two months. 'In this interval Timraj, the minister having composed his disputes with the young Ray of Beejanaggar, advanced at the

head of an army to Rachore, which struck terror into that of Yusuf Adil Khan for whose recovery fervent prayers were offered up by his subjects.'

'Meanwhile intelligence was received that Timraj having crossed the Toongabadra, was advancing to Beejapur. Yusuf Adil Khan numbered his troops and found them to consist of eight thousand Doaspa¹ horse and two hundred elephants of all sizes'. Timraj won in the battle which was fought on a Saturday, in April, 1493, but his army engaged in plunder was put to flight by a charge of Adil Khan's forces which he rallied and brought into action on hearing that the Vijayanagar forces were engaged in plundering the camp. Timraj and the young Ray fled to Beejanaggar. The latter died on the road of wounds received in the action and Timraj seized the Government of the country; but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out, which gave Yusuf Adil Khan a respite from war in that quarter'.

'Dustoor Khan relates, that the victory was gained by the following strategem. Yusuf Adil Khan, after the disorder of his troops, sent a messenger to Timraj entreating peace and offering to acknowledge allegiance to the Ray for the country he held; upon which the minister and the Ray came, attended by three or four hundred followers and their principal nobility, to a conference in the field, when Yusuf Adil Khan fell upon them by surprise with his

¹ Double-horsed cavalry.

whole army and routed them, killing seventy persons of rank. Their troops alarmed at the death of their chiefs, fled and left the camp to be plundered by the victors'. Yusuf Khan then reduced Mudkul and Rachore, which added largely to his power and wealth.

It can be seen from the extracts above that all these transactions took place between the years 1489 and 1493. In spite of the blundering of Ferishta in regard to the name Timraj, it was the minister that figured in the earlier war consequent upon Kasim Barid's move against Adil Shah. In the battle itself it was the young king that figures with the minister who was able to advance after settling some dissensions that arose at head-quarters consequent on a new succession obviously. It must be noted that the young king, the misunderstanding between whom and the minister had to be composed before the general could advance, died of the wounds he received in battle in April, 1493.

NUNIZ

Let us now turn to Nuniz.

'At that time a captain who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narasenaque had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted, and he thought that for this act of treason Narasenaque would be put to death. And he soon so arranged it

that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for that purpose, and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narasenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late king's to be king, not being able to further punish this captain, because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Tamarao. He (Narasenaque) went out one day from the city of Bisnaga towards Nagumdym saying that he was going hunting leaving all his household in the city. And after he had arrived at this city of Nagumdym he betook himself to another called Penagumdim, which is four and twenty leagues from that place, where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the King Tamarao of the cause of his going ; relating to him the treason that that captain by name Timarasa had carried out slaying his brother the king, and by whose death he (the prince) had inherited the kingdom. He told him how that the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother, that as this man had killed his brother, so he would do to him in the same way, for he was a traitor ; and he urged that for that reason it was necessary to punish him. But the king at that time was very fond of that captain, since by reason of him he had become king, and in place of punishing

him he bestowed favour on him and took his part against the minister. And, seeing this, Narasenaque went against him with large forces, and besieged him, threatening him for four or five days, until the king, seeing his determination, commanded Timarasa to be put to death; after which he (the king) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister, who greatly rejoiced. Narasenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.'

These two accounts differ in essential particulars to such an extent that preferring either to the other would be a matter of considerable difficulty. According to Ferishta Timraj (which stands for Heemraj of Scott's translation and Narasa of the Inscriptions), had to act once at the instance of Kasim Barid and that must have been in behalf of Narasinga or Narasimha I, soon after A. D. 1489. The next time the Adil Shah marched against Vijayanagar having heard of dissensions in the city. The Adil Shah having fallen ill for two months, Timraj had time to compose the dissensions at head-quarters and march to meet the enemy. The battle was fought on a Saturday in April, A.D. 1493. The young king died of the wounds he received in the battle.

INSCRIPTIONS

Turning to the inscriptions we find that the first record of Narasimha II is dated A.D. 1493 (Śaka

1414, Kolar 34) and the earliest in all probability were those dated January 27, A.D. 1493 (Mudegere 54 and 56). In these and others up to one of date Wednesday, September 25, A.D. 1493, Narasimha II, is referred to as ruling with various titles but without those distinctly characteristic of the ruling sovereign, namely, Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, etc. Records of December 18, A.D. 1493 (Dodḍaballāpūr 42 and 45) are the first in which these supreme titles appear before the name of Narasimha II, thereby indicating that he became the supreme ruler between September 25 and December 18 of A.D. 1493. These records seem to bear out Ferishta's account in all its details. Narasinga I, must have died either at the end of A.D. 1492 or the beginning of the following year, at any rate before January 27 of A. D. 1493. The general Narasa under the testament recorded by Nuniz, perhaps preferred Narasimha II, to his elder brother and nominated him. This would create an opposition and there would have been dissensions consequent upon this division among the powerful nobles and generals of Vijayanagar, the first prince himself actively declining to be set aside. Narasa composed the difficulties by accepting the elder brother for the time being, the younger having his own following in the provinces directly under Narasa. When the first prince died as a result of the wounds he received in the battle of April, 1493, Narasimha II, must have succeeded to the throne. Hence the

assumption of full royal titles in the records of December of that year.

It is just possible that the opposing faction tried to foist the blame for the death of the first prince upon Narasa and even poisoned the mind of the young king against him. It may also be that Timmarasa, the Tymarasa of Nuniz, was the man primarily responsible for this nefarious act. Narasa Nāyaka sought his own safety in retiring to Penu-gonda, and then marched upon the capital not to permit of repetition of the evils of incompetent rule in Vijayanagar. Information of these complicated transactions must have reached Nuniz through informants not remarkable for accuracy in regard to details as has been only too evident in respect of his account so far. It is quite possible that Ferishta lighted upon a correct record of these in the archives of Bijapur which must have had accurate information as the Adil Shah made the movements of his army depend upon information furnished by his intelligence department.

NARASIMHA II

Narasimha II came to the throne between the months of September and December, 1493, his elder brother having died in the course of the year not by assassination but as a result of wounds he received in battle. Whatever was the actual nature of this succession, the real power was actually in the hands of Narasa Nāyaka, according to the testament of

Sāḷuva Narasimha I and the actual needs of the empire at the time. As Mr. Krishna Sastri says, 'In the records of Immaḍi Narasimha the place of honour is generally given to Narasaṇa-Nāyaka who is invariably referred to, either as a *generalissimo* in charge of the whole army of the Vijayanagar kingdom or as an agent managing the State affairs for Immaḍi Narasimha from the capital Vijayanagara. Records of the latter are found distributed over the Cuddappah, Anantapur, South Canara, Trichinopoly and Madura districts of the Madras Presidency, and the Mysore State. Under orders of the "Lord" Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, the province of Bārakūr was at the time governed by Sādharaṇade (va) Voḍeya, Nagira-Rājya which included within it Haiva and Konkana was in charge of the Mahamandaleśvara Sāḷuva Dēva Rāya Voḍeya who in Śaka 1422 made a grant, for his own merit, to the temple of Dhārēśvara in the Kumpta Taluka of the North Canara district, *and in Śaka 1424, made another gift to the same temple for the "longevity, health, wealth, kingdom and victory"*, of Mēdinī Mīsara Gaṇḍakattāri, Trinetra-Sāḷuva Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, son of Yīsarappa-Nāyaka (i.e. Īśvara). It is this particular statement in the particular record that has been laid hold of to warrant the inference that before Śaka 1424 or A.D. 1502 Narasaṇa Nāyaka superseded Immaḍi Narasimha on the throne. We have seen already that Mr. Sewell calls this inference into question from the chronology point of view. In the

words of the epigraphist himself, "The fact that a local chief named Dēvarasa-Voḍeya, who had previously made a gift to the temple at Dhārēśvara in the Bombay Presidency for his own merit, supplemented it in A.D. 1501-2 by another endowment for the merit of Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, may be taken to show that the second usuapation (i. e. the usurpation by the Tuluvas) of the Vijayanagara sovereignty was accomplished in A.D. 1501-2 or immediately before that date."¹ This reasoning has nothing to support it. There are numbers of records in which various officers of Sāḷuva Narasimha made grants for his merit and he himself returned the compliment to some, among whom was Narasa himself. Dēvarasa-Voḍeya making a grant for his merit first and for the merit of Narasa a few years after, it may be on a particular occasion when he received signal honour or approbation, or when Narasa was on a victorious campaign, cannot be made to bear this weighty inference. The very records are against it. There is not a single record of Narasa giving him the titles of sovereignty, except the Sāḷuva titles which are ascribed to him and which he perhaps assumed as an honour to the ruling family or which were conferred upon him out of regard for the very loyal service he rendered to his master and his sons during a life-time. A glance down the list of inscriptions appended will show that such grants were made for the merit of Narasa Nāyaka while

¹ Epigraphist's Report for 1905-6, p. 85, para. 58.

Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya was still ruling. In this connexion No. 445 of 1913 has been drawn into service to support this contention because of the expression "in order that *svāmi* Narasa Nāyaka may be victorious". *Svāmi* (Lord) does not imply necessarily ruler. Every one is *svāmi* to his servants. No. 357 of 1912 has been brought in also to prove that the second usurpation so called took place in A.D. 1501-2, on the strength of the expression "Svāmi Narasa Nāyaka went to Śivalōka (died)". There is nothing in it to indicate that this was the great general and what is worse for the case, there are grants of subsequent dates in which he is indicated as unmistakably alive. No. 395 of 1912 is a grant by an agent of Narasa Nāyaka. There is so far no definite piece of evidence that Narasa usurped the throne setting aside Immaḍi Narasimha who made the Dēvulappalle grant of A.D. 1504 and whose name is mentioned in various other grants up to, and even beyond A.D. 1505 in which year in all probability Narasa Nāyaka died, as Goribidanur 77 and No. 177 of 1913 would seem to indicate clearly. The first is a record of Vīra Narasimha, son of Narasa, and the second records a gift by king Vīra Narasimha for the merit of his father Narasa Nāyinigāru. That Narasa was ever the sovereign on the throne of Vijayanagar seems thus to rest upon no foundation of fact.'

NARASA, *DE FACTO* RULER

He was, however, the *de facto* ruler from A.D. 1493 to 1505 and kept the Empire from breaking up by putting down internal rebellions on the one hand and keeping out the Adilshah on the other. His actual achievements are described in the copper-plate grants of his sons in some detail and the following is from some of them :—

‘Damming up the Kavery in full flood, he crossed over and capturing his enemy alive, seized his kingdom and taking possession of Śrīrangapaṭṭana, erected there the pillar of his fame.’¹

‘Having conquered Gajapati Rāya, he won by his valour the title Gajapati Rāyēbha-Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa (a two-headed eagle to the elephant Gajapati Rāya). Having conquered the mighty fierce Turushka king in battle, he gained the “title dushtā rāṇ mriga” Śārdula (a tiger to the deer, wicked kings). Having defeated the Madhura king Mānabhūpa in

‘¹ Kavērim āsu badhva bahuḷa-jala-rayām tām vilanghyaiya Śatrum.

Jivagrāham grihītva samiti bhuja-balāt tam charājyam tadiyam

Kṛitva Śrīrangapūrvam tad api nija vaśe paṭṭanam yō babhāsē.

Kīrti stambham nikhāya tri-bhuvana bhavana stūyamānāpadānah.’

(Gundlupet 30, Epigraphica Carnataka, vol. iv, Part II.)

battle, he forced the Pandya, Chola, Chera and other kings to pay tribute.'¹

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S FINDINGS

Having come so far we are face to face with the statement made by Mr. Krishna Sastri 'In the copper-plate grant from Dhārēśvara noted already, Sāḷuva-Narasana (i.e. Narasa) Nāyaka, son of Yīśva-rappa (Īśvara) Nāyaka, is referred to as still living in Śakas 1424, Durmati the month Bhādrapada, whereas in a record from Bārakūru,² dated in the same Śaka year Durmati, but in the month Māgha, we are informed that Vīra Narasinga Rāya was ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara. Consequently, we have, perhaps, to infer that Narasa died in the latter part of Śaka 1424 and left his son Vīra Narasimha to succeed to the throne.'

CRITICISM OF THE FINDINGS

We have not in the Epigraphist's published list the detail here given from No. 152 of 1901, but we

¹ Jitva Gajapatim Rāyam birudam prāpa sāhasāt
Gajapatyākhyā Rāyēbha gaṇḍa bhērunda ityamum
Pratāpōgram Turushkēndram yuddē jitva parāk-
ramāt

Duṣṭa rāṇ mriga Śārdūla ityādi birudān agāt
Madhura vallabham Māna-bhūpam nirjitya sam-
yugē.

Karadīkritvān Pandya-Chola-Cherādi bhūpatim.

(Gōribidanūr 77, Epigraphia Carnataka, vol. x.

² Epigraphist's Collection, No. 152 of 1901.

³ A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 171.

have no reason to call the Epigraphist's statement into question in regard to the fact. The inference, however, seems quite unwarranted. Nos. 57, 59, 60 and 61 of the appendix, all of them imply that Narasa Nāyaka was alive later than the date given above, and hence the Vīra-Narasinga Rāya said to have been ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara must be Immaḍi Narasimha who, about this period, got into a fancy for other titles than those that were his own. No. 63 of the appendix gives the Hoysala title Bhujabala to Śaḷuva Narasimha I ; No. 57 gives the titles specially applicable to Dēva Rāya II to what appears to be Narasaṇṇa, that is, the general Narasa ; No. 68 calls Narasaṇṇa chief among the officers of Vidhyānagara simbhāsanārūḍa Bhujabala-pratāpa Narasimha who was then on the throne of Vidhyānagara or Vijayanagar. This is of date March 10, 1506, according to Sewell.

Narasa Nāyaka then did not die in A.D. 1502, nor was Immaḍi Narasimha set aside by him as far as the evidence available can take us. Narasa, the general-in-chief and regent died as such in 1505 as was already indicated and was succeeded in his position by his son who assumed the supreme titles in Maḷavalli 95 of date December 15, 1506, so that it is clear that for some time after the death of his father he went on in subordination, however nominal, to the titular monarch for the time being.

Immaḍi Narasimha's records are found as late as 1507 (75 and 76 of appendix) and then cease. It is

only some of the copper-plate grants of Narasa's sons that credit him with having occupied the throne of Vijayanagar, but they do this honour even to his father Īśvara, who could not have had any occasion for doing so. Nuniz's story about the setting aside of Immaḍi Narasimha and his subsequent murder during the life-time of Narasa is not supported by any evidence from these records. His chronology need not, therefore, be attached the importance that it has been accorded. The probabilities are that Vira Narasimha, son of Narasa set him aside completely and even got rid of him in the manner described by Nuniz and believed to be supported by the Muhammadan historians.

VIRA NARASIMHA, THE SECOND USURPER

Of Vira Narasimha Rāya, Narasa's son and successor, Nuniz has :—‘ And this king left at his death five sons ; one was called Busbalrao, and another Crismarao, and another Tetarao, and another Ramygupa and another Ouamysyuaya.

And this Busbalrao inherited the kingdom at the death of his father Narasenaque and reigned six years, during which he was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead the whole land revolted under its captains ; who in a short time were destroyed by that king, and their lands taken and reduced under his rule. During these six years, the king spent, in restoring the country to its former condition, eight million gold *pardaos*. This king

died of his sickness in the city of Bisnaga; and Mr. Krishna Sastri says, 'We have not on record many inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimharāya. Those mentioned by Mr. Sewell have not yet been critically examined. Three records from Bārakūru (South Canara), Tāḍpatri (Anantapur) and Jambai (South Arcot) mention a few of Vīra Narasimha's subordinates. These were Basavarasa-Oḍeya ruling the Bārakūru-rājya, the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Rāmayasola-Mahārāja, one of the Uraiṃ Cholas of the Solar race and Sāḷuva Timmarasa, the *mahāpradhāna* of the king. At Rāmēśvaram near Proddatūr (Cuddappah) is a record dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava, which does not refer to any ruling king, but mentions gifts made to the temple of Rāmayadēva by Sāḷuva Govindarāja, son of Rāchirāja of the Kaundinya-gōtra. Āpastamba *sūtra* and the Yajus-*sākhā*, for the merit of Vīra Narasimha Rāya and Sāḷuva Timmayya. On Friday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Viśāka in the Śaka year 1431, Śukla, Vīra Narasimha Rāya was still ruling at Vijayanagara, when his *mahāpradhāna* Sāḷuva-Timmayyangāru made a grant of a village in Gutti-rājya to the temple of Rāmēśvara at Tāḍiparati. This Sāḷuva Timmayya, of whom more will be said in the sequel, is the famous minister that played so prominent a part in state politics during the reigns of Vīra Narasimha Rāya and his successor, the great Krishna Rāya. Sāḷuva Timma's parentage, as given in the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription shows that Sāḷuva

Govindarāja of the Rāmēśvaram and Mōpūr records must have been identical with the Gaundaja or Gandarajo mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Saluva Timma and holding an important executive function in one of the provinces of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Before going into the reign of Krishnarāya it may be useful to see what copper plates and Nuniz have to say about Vīra Narasimha. The former praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts at various sacred places, such as Rāmēśvaram, Śrīrangam, Kumbhakōṇam, Chidambaram, Śōṇāśila (Tiruvannāmalai), Kānchi, Kālahasti, Śrīśaila, Ahōbala, Mahānandi, Nivritti, Harihara and Gōkarṇa. But Nuniz says that during the six years of his rule Busbalrao was always at war; for as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains; and that about the time of his death, in order to secure the throne for his own son, he issued the cruel order that the eyes of his step brother Krishna Rāya should be put out. Whatever the estimate of Nuniz may be of Vīra Narasimha's character he seems to be certainly right when he says that the whole land revolted on Nārasa Nāyaka's death. In an inscription from the Kaḍūr district (Mysore), we are told of an expedition carried into the Tuḷu-rāj by Bhujabala Mahārāya (i.e. Busbalrao) in order perhaps to quell the rebellious feudatories of that province, one of whom at least, the Kalasa Karkala chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya is stated in the record to have

been quite anxious about the continuance of his petty estate.

The Mussalman Governor at Goa, according to the Italian traveller Varthema, was at war with Narasimha of Vijayanagara, about the year A.D. 1506. The Ummattūr chiefs in the eastern part of the Mysore country must also have grown powerful, if they had not actually revolted, and must have held permanent rule (*sthirarājya*) at Terkanambi (Gundlupet Tāluka) and the surrounding country. Other petty chieftains of Mysore also cannot have kept the peace ; else, as we shall see in the sequel there would have been no necessity for Krishna Rāya to have gone on a victorious tour immediately after his coronation to put down these petty rulers. For the same reason, too, we may not be far wrong if we infer that the Gajapati king had carried his influence far into the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom and had held the fortresses of Konḍaviḍu and Udayagiri which were situated in the Karnāṭa country. The Muhammadan kings of Bijapur also could not but have found the Tuluva usurpation by Narasaṇa Nāyaka, or rather, by his son Vīra Narasimha Rāya a favourable opportunity to pounce once again on their natural enemies, the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara.

GENERAL REBELLION AT VIRA NARASIMHA'S ACCESSION

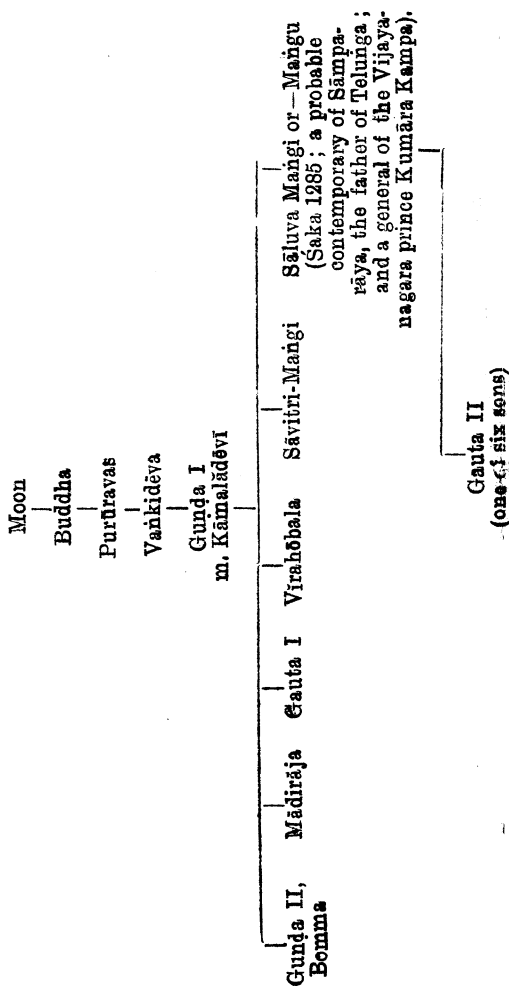
From these extracts it is clear that Vīra Narasimha's accession was the signal for a general rebellion in the provinces probably because of the innovation to set aside the titular ruler Immaḍi Narasimha. He was able to regain for the empire some at any rate of the rebel provinces, though he left some to his successor to bring under allegiance. Vīra Narasimha thus succeeded to power sometime in A.D. 1505 and to the position of Emperor perhaps some time after, giving rise to the series of rebellions of the more distant provinces. The short period of his rule did not permit of his bringing all of them back to their allegiance, and he had to bequeath to his successor not only the empire but also the responsibility of keeping it from dismemberment by rebellion within, and by the ceaseless advance of the last great Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra whom we hear of about this time in possession of Udayagiri.

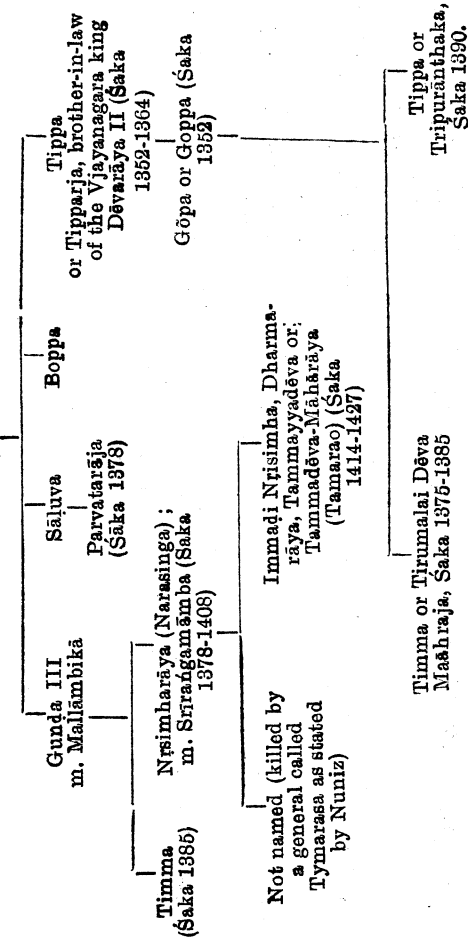
CONCLUSIONS

Our investigations then lead us to this conclusion in regard to the second part of the problem we set to ourselves in the extracts from Sewell with which we began the enquiry. Sāluva Narasinga's usurpation took place in A.D. 1485-6 as the inevitable result of misrule and usurpation in Vijayanagar before him. He took upon himself the responsibilities

from no unworthy motives of personal greed or even mere dynastic ambition. Far rather the dominant motive seems to have been the preservation of the empire from dismemberment. He passed this motive and his real power and his responsibilities to his veteran general Narasa, who carried out loyally what was bequeathed to him, the command of power and the responsibilities involved in this, by placing on the throne the son of his master but carrying on the administration himself to the day of his death in A.D. 1505. His son Vira Narasimha succeeded to his power immediately and to the throne a little later to the detriment of empire which could be preserved from dismemberment only by the indomitable energy and the effective warring of his successor brother King Krishna Dēva Rāya who came to the throne about the end of the year 1509.

Pedigree of the Saluvas





APPENDIX

- (1) Śaka. 1378. Dhātṛi. Tirumalai (Tirupati) Narasingadēva Mahā- Gift of Ālipuram in Vai-
A.D. 1456. 253 of 1904. rāja, son of Gundaiya- kunda Valanādu (a sub-
dēva Māharāja. division) of Chandragiri
rāja.
- (2) Śaka. 1381. Pramā- Kāvrippākkam. 392 Mallikārjuna, son of Gift for the merit of
thin. A.D. 1459. of 1905. Virapratāpadēva Mahā- Narasingarāja Uḍaiyār;
rāja, refers to Mahasabhai
of Kāvrippākkam.
- (3) Śaka. 1385. Subhānu, Tirumalai (Tirupati) Tirumalaisidēva Mahā- Gift for the merit of
A.D. 1463. 249 of 1904. rāja, son of Gundarāja Narasingarāja Uḍaiyār.
- (4) Śaka. 1388. A.D. 1466. Kolar 33. Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Nara- Restores grants of Rājēn-
drachola and Vira Beḷ-
lāḷa.
- (5) Śaka. 1389. Sarvajit. Tirumalai (Tirupati) Narasingadēvaiya Mahā- Gift of five villages to
A.D. 1467. 250 of 1904. rāja Uḍaiyār, son of the temple.
Gundaiyadēva Mahā-
rāja Uḍaiyār.

- (6) Śaka. 1393. Jyēṣṭha. No. 59 in the same place
Śukla 15 Śukra- gives the first title Me-
vāra Sōmōparāga dinī *mīṣegarāganda*.
(Eclipse of the
moon), A.D. 1471.
- (7) Śaka. 1398. expired, Repairs to the outer wall
Vikrta. A.D. 1471. and the gopura by An-
namarasa.
- (8) Śaka. 1394. Nandana. Gift of land for the merit
A.D. 1472. of Śāluva Narasimha-
rāya.
- (9) Śaka 1400. Viḷambi. A number of Voḍeyars
Chaitra, Śu 10. A.D. made a grant for the
1478. merit of Narasinga.
- (10) Śaka 1403. Plava cur- 'Namma Channapaṭnada
rent. Jyēṣṭha, Śu. Rajyakke', Our Chan-
10. A.D. 1481. napaṭna Province.
- (11) Śaka 1408. A.D. 1481. Anbil, 594 of 190 2.
Śāluva Sangama dēva
Mahārāja.

(12) Śaka 1405. Śōbhakrit (expired) ought to be current, A.D. 1482, 83 or 84 (S).	Gaṅgaikondaśōla- puram 83 of 1893.	Virūpāksharāya.	....
(13) Seems Śaka 1405. Śō- bhakrit, A.D. 1483.	Tiruvakkarai, 318 of 1909.	Sāluva Narasiṅga Rāya I.	Mentions a N ā g a m a Nāyaka foremost of his servants.
(14) Śāka (1404?) Śōbha- krit, A.D. 1482-83 (S).	Tiruvakkarai, 198 of 1904.	Narasingadēva.	Narasa Nāyaka, an agent of the <i>King</i> , renewing revision of a tax.
(15) Śāka 1406. A.D. 1484.	Māgaḍi 32.	Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Nara- siṅga.	....
(16) Śāka 1406. Saumya (wrong) A.D. 1484.	Tirukkachchūr, 318 of 1909.	Sāluva Narasiṅga Rāya I.	Mentions a Nāgama Nāya- ka foremost of his servants.
(17) Śāka 1407. Visvā- vasu, Śravana ba 2, Adivara (?) Friday, July 9, 1485 (S).	Mulbāgal 104.	Virūpāksharāya Mahā- rāya ruling, under the Government of Nara- siṃha Raja Voḍeyār.	....
(19) Śāka 1408. Parābha- va. A.D. 1486.	Anbil, 593 of 1902.	Dēvarāya Mahārāya Vi- rūpāksharāya Pauda- dēva Mahārāya.	Gift of land by Sāluva Sangama.

(20) Śaka 1408. Parābhava, Kartika Sukla 5. Nov. 1, 1486 (S).	Tumkur 54.	Śrīmad Rājadhirāja Rāja Paramēvara prauda-pratāpa Narasingarāyaru Vidhyānagarādali Vajrasimhāsana-rūḍhar āgi prithivīyam āluva rāyara appaṇeyalu.	....
(21) Śaka 1412, A.D. 1490.	Bowringpet 14.	Kaṭṭāri Śāluva.	....
(22) Śaka 1414, (?) A.D. 1493.	Kolar 34.	Immaḍi Narasimha.	Refers to Narasingadēva Arasugalu, son of Ohikka Timma Arasugalu. Immaḍi is obliterated.
(23) Śaka 1414, Paridhavi, Māgha.Su. 10, Sunday, Jan. 27, A.D. 1493.	Mudgere 54.	Śrīman Mahāmandalēvara Paśchimasaṃudrādhipati kaṭṭāri śāluva yimmaḍi Narasīnga Rāyaru.	....
....	Mudgere 56	(Same as above)	....
(24) Śaka 1414, Paridhavi. A.D. 1493.	Pūrattukōvil 736 of 1909.	Bhujabalarāya.	....

- (25)
Śaka 1415, A.D. 1493,
Wed., Sep. 25.
Gōribidanūr 80.
Immaḍi Narasiṃha with
only Mahāmandalēś-
vara.
Gift by Kēśava Nāyaka
for the merit of Immaḍi
Narasīnga Rāya Mahā
rāya.
- (26)
Śaka 1415. Sarvajit
by mistake for Pra-
māchi Pushya
Śukla 10, Dec. 18,
1493.
Doddapallāpur. 42 &
45.
Śrīman Mahārājadhī-
rāja, Rāja Paramēś-
vara, Medimmisara-
ganda, Kaṭṭāri Sāluva.
Sāluva Immaḍi Rāya
Mahārāya with su-
preme titles, (Grant on
Makarasankarānti.)
Prince Sāluva Dēvappa
Nāyaka, Governor of
Tippur.
- (27)
Śaka 1415. Prama-
dhin by mistake for
Pramādhīcha?
A.D. 1493.
Muttukūru Cuddap-
pah District 516 of
1906.
Sāluva: Immaḍi Nara-
singa Rāya Mahārāya,
son of Sāluva Nara-
singadēva Mahārāya.
The king is said to have
been *ruling at Vijaya-
nagar*. Gift of taxes
in Muttukūru to Chan-
akēśava temple by a
servant of *Narasanaḍi-
ningaru* a *subordinate*
of the king.
- (28)
Śaka 1414. (?) An-
anda, Pushya, ba-
5 (ought to be
Śaka 1416. Jan. 15,
1495.) (S).
Immaḍi Narasiṃha
Mahāmandalēśvara
Medinī misaraganda
kaṭṭāri Sāluva Immaḍi
Narasīnga Rāya Mahā
rāyarū.
Refers to Narasingadēva
Arasugaḷu, son of
Chikka Timma Arasu-
gaḷu.

(29) Śaka 1416. Pramā- dīcha Viśśaka bahula 14. A.D. 1494.	Mūḍegere 50.	Śrīman Mahāmandalēs- vara Paśchimasaṃud- rādīpati Yīmmaḍi Narasingarāyaru.	....
(30) Śaka 1416. Ānanda, Māgha, Su. 1. Jan. 27, 1495. (S).	Dēvanhalli 66.	Śrīmanmahāmandalēs- vara..... .....agreswara..... Narasingarāya Mahā- rāyaru prithivirājyam geyyuttiralu.	....
(31) Śaka, 1416, Ānanda, Jyēṣṭha, ba. 8. May 29, 1494 (S).	Kuṇigal 26.	Śrīman Mahādalēs- vara Mādini Miśara- ganda Kaṭṭāri Saluva Sāluva Immaḍi Rāya Mahārāyara Komāra Sulliriya Dēvappa Nayakaru.	....
(32) Śaka 1416. (error for 1417) Rākṣhasa, Chaitra Su. 1. A.D. 1494.	Hoṣkōṭe 23.	Immaḍi Narasingarāya without any royal titles.	....

(33)

Śaka 1417. Rākshasa,
Māgha, bahula 14,
Sivarātri, Jan. 14,
A.D. 1496.

Maddagiri 33.

Srīman Mahāmaṇḍalēś-
vara Mēdinimisara-
gaṇḍa kaṭṭāri Sāluva
Sāluva Immadi Nara-
singa Rāyaru Sēnēthi
pathi Narasanna Nāya-
kara baṇṭa, etc.

....

(34)

Śaka 1417 Rākshasa
Chaitra, Su. 1. A.D.
1496.

Bangalore 123.

Immadi Narasinga Rāya
without any royal
titles.

Grant by Anantayyadeva
Mahā arasu for the
merit of Immadi Nara-
singa.

(35)

Śaka 1418. Rākshasa,
Māgha, ba. 30. Feb.
13, 1496 (S).

Kolar 1.

Dharma Mahāmaṇḍalēś-
vara.....
Sāluva Yimmadi Nara-
singarāya Mahārāya.

Grant in eclipse of the
sun.

86

(36)

Śaka 1418. Rākshasa,
Śravaṇa ba. 30, A.D.
1496.

Māgadi 31.

Grant for the merit of
Immadi Narasinga.

....

(37)

Śaka 1418. Nāla, Ās-
vyūja Su. 12, A.D.
1496.

Mysore 33.

Mēdini misra gaṇḍa kaṇ-
thi (kaṭṭāri?) Sāluva
Narasinga Rāyara
Mahapradhana Nara-
saṇṇa Nāyakaru.

....

- (38) Śaka 1420. Pingala Heggadeḍevanakōṭe
 Āsvyūja ba 5, A.D. 95 and 96.
 1498.
- Narasanna Nāyakaru Ya-
 rama Nāyakaru gave a
sutra guttage of 30 ga of
 land.
- (39) Śaka 1419. or 20
 (by mistake 1400)
 Pingala Vaiśāka
 Śud 5 (See Hg. 97
 for correction of
 date) 12th April,
 A.D. 1498.
- 74 Narasingarāya Mahārā-
 ya with royal titles as
 below :—
 Svasti Samasta bhuvan-
 āsrayam, Śrī-prithvi-
 vallabha Śrīman Ma-
 hāmēdini miseyara-
 ganda Kāṭhāri Śāluva
 Narasingarāya Mahā
 Rayara Maneya Pra-
 dhāna Tipparasayya.
- Do. 386 of Śāluva Narasimha Nā-
 yiningaru.
- Narasa Nāyiningaru is
 spoken of as a partner
 (pampu) with the Śālu-
 va Immaḍi Narasinga
 Rāya (in the sovereignty
 of Vijayanagar).
 Does *Pampu* mean *part-
 ner* or *Commissioner*.
- (40) Śaka 1420. Kāla-
 yukti, A.D. 1498.

(41)

Śaka 1421. Siddharti
Vaikāśi 5, A.D. 1499.

Mālar 5.

Śrīman Mahārājadhīrāja
Rāja Paramēśvara
Mēdini Misaraganda
Kathāri Sāluva Nara-
simharāyar Kāriyattu-
kkukkattan āna Nara-
sa Nāyakkan.

....

(42)

Śaka 1421. Siddharti
current pushya ba
11, Makarasank-
ranthi, Dec. 28 (?)
A.D. 1499.

Heggadevanakoṭe
59.

....

Grant of Sagare and
another village to the
Brahmins, etc., of the
locality by Sivasasa-
mudrada Tipparasa
with the permission of
Narasanna Nāyaka
whose jāgir Bayānādu
containing these vil-
lages was.....

88

(44)

Śaka 1421. Siddharti,
A.D. 1499.

Manigarakere, 166 of Immadi Narasinga Rāya.
1901.

Gift of land.

(45)

Śaka 1421. Siddharti,
A.D. 1499.

Tiruppattūr, 89 of Sāluva Immadi Nara-
simha Mahārāya, son
of Narasimha Rāya.

Brahmadeya declared free
of cess.

- (46)
Śaka 1422. Siddhār-
tin, A.D. 1500. (Copperplates... Lang
Kan, Poona) 31 of
1905-6). Mahāma n d a l e ś v a r a
Sāluva Dēvarāya Vode-
yar ruling Nagira
Rājya, Hayiva, Tuḷu,
Konkana and othes
districts. Gift to Dharnāthadāva
of Dhārśvara.
- (48)
Śaka 1422. Raudra,
Karkātaka śudi, 7
Friday Attam, A.D.
1500. Devikāpuram, 355 of
1912. Gift of land for the merit
of Narasa Nāyaka by
Tirumala Nāyaka and
Iśvara Nāyaka, sons of
Ettappa Nāyaka.
- (49)
Śaka 1422. Raudra,
A.D. 1500. Pirāṇmalai, 139 of Immaḍi Narasimharayā. Mentions Eppuli Nāyaka.
- (50)
Śaka 1422. Raudra,
A.D. 1500. Pirāṇmalai, 151 of Saḷuva Immaḍi Nara-
singa Raya. Gift of land for the merit
of Tipparasa by Ep-
puli Nāyaka.
- (51)
Śaka 1422. Durnati,
A.D. 1501. Neṭuṅguḷam, 664 of Virapratāpa Bhuiabala
Rāya Immaḍi Tam-
mayyadēva Mahāraya. Refers to Narasa Nayakar
and to the founding of
a village for the merit
of Somayya Virama-
rasa, lord of the south-
ern ocean.

- (52) Śaka 1423. Durmati, Nandalur, 615 of Śāluva Immadi Narasīnga Raya Maharaya, son of Śāluva Narasīnga Raya Maharaya. Records a gift for the merit of Narasa Nayaka Voḍeyar.
- (53) Śaka 1423. Āsavyūja, 1502 October 1 (Sewell). Narasīnga Raya Mahārāya's time. The grant appears to have been for the merit of Narasīnga Raya Narasaṅga Nayaka, etc.
- (54) Śaka 1424. (Given by mistake as 1444) Durmati. Simhaśūdi 10 Monday hasta, A.D. 1502. Āragalur, Salem Dt. 445 of 1913. Ammana Nayaka's grant of *Adimāikkāśu*'s from the kaikolas, and a female servant 'in order that Svāmi Narasa Nayaka may be victorious.'
- (55) Śaka 1424. Durmati. Chauḷikere, near Bārakur, 152 of 1901. Basavarasodeyar, Governor of Bārakūru Rājya.
- (56) Śaka 1424. Durmati (current apparently). A.D. 1501-2. 32 of 1905-6. (Same as 31 of 1905-6 above.) Mahāmāṇḍalāśvara Śāluva Narasimha Nayaka. Gift to the same temple as 46 above by Dēvarasa Voḍeya for the merit of the King. The title Medinimīsara, Gaṇḍakattāri, Trinētra Śāluva are assumed by the King.

(57)

Śaka 1424. Dundhubi,
Pushya, ba 5, A.D.
1502.

Naujanagūḍu 88.

... ha Mandaleśvara
bhashege tappu-
ryara-gaṇḍa arirāyā
vibhāḍa kanda nāḍu
konḍu koṇḍa (nāḍu)
koḷḍa rāyara gaṇḍa
rājādhirāja rāja Para-
mēśvara kadaha ...
(Sā) luva Nara .. na
Nāyakara Maneya śira
pradhāna Timmara-
sayya Tipparasayyana
Śira pradhāna Ūraḍu
Nāyakaru, etc.

Gift of land as a dēva
dāna free gift.

(58)

Śaka 1424. Rudirōd-
gāri (seems wrong
by about a year or
two) A.D. 1503.

Same palace as above
450 of 1913.

Tamarāya, son of Saḷuva
Narasinga rāya.

A grant similar to the
above and for the same
purpose.

91

(59)

Śaka 1425. Rudirōd-
gāri. Chaitra, ba.
1. Sōnavāra, A.D.
1503, March 13 (Se-
well).

Maddagiri 106.

Śrīmatu mēḍini misara-
gaṇḍa kaṭṭāri Saḷuva
Yimmadi Narasinga-
rāya Mahāyara Kār-
yakke Kartarāda Nara-
sa Nāyakka Voḍeya
Karyakke Kartar, etc.,
agent of Narasa who
was himself agent or
Commissioner of Im-
madi Narasinga Rya.

....

167 of 1913 is the same as above almost.

- (60) Śaka 1425. Rudirōd-
gāri. Śravana Śu.
di. 15 Monday, A.D.
1503. Panem, Nandyal Tq.
166 of 1913.
- (61) Śaka 1425. Rudirōd-
gāri. Mārgaśīra ba
10, A.D. 1503. Krishnarājapet 64.
- (62) Śaka 1425. Rudirōd-
garin. A.D. 1503. Brahadāmba temple
at Devikāpuram
357 of 1912.
- Honnappa Nyūdu, son of
Bokkasam Dēva ppa
Nyūdu granted for the
merit of the King and
Narasa Nāyanaingāru
land in the village of
Panem, etc.
(Donors same as that of
165 of Śaka 1431 of
Krishna dēva).
- Gopalara....varuNarasana
Nāyakaru astamanā-
vādāga avarigedharma-
vagalendu, etc., gave a
vritti (for the merit of
Narasa Nāyaka when
he should die).
- Gift of land and a house
in the village of Kaitasa
to a certain Samara-
pungava Dikshita for
the merit of (Svāmi)
King Narasa Nāyaka
who went to Śivalōka
(...died), by his subordi-
nates Tirumalai Nāyaka
and Śēvara Nāyaka.

- (63)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi.
Simha. Śu. di. 13,
A.D. 1504.
Āragal, Salem Dis-
trict 412 of 1913.
Dharmarāya, son of
Sāluva Narasinga Bhu-
jabaladēva Mahārāya.
Restoration of village to
the temple by Eraman-
chi Tulukāna Nāyaka.
- (64)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi,
Kārtika, Śu. 15,
Thursday eclipse of
moon. (Week-day,
Wed. eclipse did
not occur), A.D.
1504.
Gōribedanūr, 38.
.....
Virapratāpa Narasinga
Rāya made a grant of a
village.
- (65)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi,
kanni. ba. di. 1.
Wednesday—āsvati
(Wed., 25th Septem-
ber, 1504).
Dēvikāpuram N. Ar-
cot, 395 of 1912.
Immaḍi Narasiṃha
Tammayya deva Mahā-
rāya.
Gift of land, etc., by
Tirumalai Nāyaka (son
of Eṭṭpa Nāyaka) *agent*
of *Narasana Nāyaka*.
- (66)
Śaka 1426. A.D. 1505,
February 2, Sunday
(Sewell).
Dēvikāpuram, 396 of
1912 of same date.
Immaḍi Narasiṃha
Rāya Mahārāya, son
of Sāluva Narasiṃha
Rāya Mahārāya.
.....

- (67) Śaka 1429 (6 ?) Rak-
tākshi, Mīna, bah.
di 10, Friday Utti-
ram. Uttirāḍa in
1505, February 28
(Sewell). Devikāpuram, North
Arcot, 354 of 1912. Saluva Immadi-rāyadēva
Mahārāya, son of
Narasingarāya dēva
Mahārāya. Registers right of plough-
ing (Ulavu kaniātchi).
- (68) Śaka 1426. Krōdhana
(current). Phālguna, Feb. 23,
— March 10, 1506 (S). Bhubhala pratāpa Nara-
simha Mahārāya. Seems to refer to Nara-
saṃpa as chief among
the Officers of Vidhyā-
nagara simhasanārūḍa-
bhujabala etc.
- (69) Śaka 1427. Krōdhana,
A.D. 1505. Narasingarāya (rigu)
Narasa Nayakanigu
vuttama vagabekendu,
(that merit may accrue
to Narasingarāya and
Narasa Nayaka).
- (70) Śhiva bhāgyē Śaka-
syābdē (Śaka 1427.)
Krōdhana Nabhō
māsē paurnīma,
śravana, Arka
vāsarē, Sunday 24th
Gōribidanūr 77. Viranarasimhendra, son
of Narasa. States that Narasa son of
Īśvara Bhūpala ruled
efficiently the kingdom
seated on the jewelled
throne in the excellent
city of Vidhyānagara

asterism, full moon
Aug. to Sep. of
Krōdhana. A.D.
1505, July 16 or
Aug. 14, A.D. 1505
(Sewell).

(71)

Śaka 1428. Krōdhana,
A.D. 1505.

Panem, Nandyal Tq. Vīra Narasimha rāya.
171 of 1913.

Gift by the king for the merit of his father Narasa Nāyiningaru.

(72)

Śaka 1428. Kshaya
(by error 1427), A.D.

Jyōtipura,
121.

Hoskōte Katṭāri Sāluva, Sāluva
Immadi Narasinga.

•
•
•
•

1505.

(Possibly the Śaka year was correct and name of the year wrong).

(73)

Śaka 1428. Kshaya.
Dec. 15, 1506. (S).

Malavalli 95.

Srīman Mahārājādhipati
Rāja Paramēś-
vara Bhujabala pra-
tāpa Narasimha
Mahārāyaru Vijaya-
nagariyalli Prithvi-
rājyam Geyyuttir
kalāgi (ruling the
earth with the titles
above, in Vijayanagar).

•

built of old by Vidhyā-
raṇya.

- (74) Śaka 1429. Kshaya, Pushya. Ravivāsarē. Darśe suryō-parāgē, (eclipse of sun) Jan. 13, 1507 (S).
Nagar 64.
Vira Narasimha Rājāsīmhasya Vira Śrī Narasimhendra bhupālasya (of Vira Śrī Narasimha Bhūpala, son of Vira Nṛsimha Rājasimha).
....
- (75) Śaka 1429. Kshaya, Panguni. 2, mīna, su, di. 5. Attam, Sunday, A.D. 1507.
Marudādi N. Arcot, 412 of 1912.
Vira Narasinga dēva Maharāya son of Sāluva Narasingadēva Maharāya.
....
- (76) Śaka 1429 (expired) Prābhava, A.D. 1507.
Jambai, S. Arcot, 94 of 1906.
Vira Narasinga Raya, son of Sāluva Narasinga Rāya.
Gift of land by Ramayya Śōla Maharaja, son of the Urayūr Śōlayya Pottayya Śōla-Mahārāya of the solar race and Kaśyapa gōtra.
....
- (77) Śaka 1429. Parābhava māgha. su. 1, Jan. 3, 1508 (S).
Bangalore 52.
Virapratāpa Vira Narasinga Raya Maharāya.
....
- (78) Śaka 1430. Ap. 5, Mālor 6. 1509 (S).
Vira Narasimha with royal titles.
Reference to a Hyosala chief.

- (79) Śaka 1480. Vibhava, Kumbe, śu. di. 7, Friday. A.D. 1508. Āragal, Salem Dt. 408 of 1913. Kumāra Vīra Narasiṃha Bhujabala Vasanta rāja. Eramanchi Timmappa Nayaka's son Tulukāna Nāyaka provided a car for the Kamīśvara temple at Āragalūr.
- (80) Śaka 1430. Vibhava. A.D. 1508. Proddutūrū, 389 of 1904. Records gift by Śaḷuva Gōvinda for the merit of (the king ?) Vīra Narasiṃharāja, his father Rāchiraja and Śaḷuva Timmayya. The donor built the prakara wall and a maṇḍapa of the temple.
- (81) Śaka 1430. Sukla, Mīna śu. di. 7, Thursday Visaka, A.D. 1509. Āragal, Salem Dt. 427 of 1913. Krishnarāja with Śaḷuva titles. Eramanchi Tulukāna Nayaka built a car, etc.
- (82) Śaka 1431. Pramōdha. Chaitra śu. di. 15. A.D. 1509. Panem, Nandyal Tq. 165 of 1913. Krishnadēva. Grant of Badhigāḍu to Paṇikēsvara.
- (83) Śaka 1431. (expired) Śukla. May 14, 1509(S). Tāḍpatri (Tel.), 342 of 1892. Mentions the minister Śaḷuva Timma.

- (84) Śaka 1431. Śukla, Pulivendla 491 of Virapratāpa Krishnakārtika, Oct. 1906. 14—Nov. 13. A.D. 1509 (S).
- (85) Śaka 1432 (expired) Tiruppanangādu, 240 Krishnadēva Maharāya Pramōdha. A.D. 1511. son of *Ganda kattāri Sāluva vanya Vēṭṭai-kandaruṭṭiya Narasa Nāyaka Udayār*. ..