KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA

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To my Teacher
Prof. FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.
PREFACE

This short monograph on the Origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara is the result of my study of the subject during the last six months. It is practically a reprint of two articles which I contributed to the Madras Christian College Magazine of 1929-30. I am grateful to the Editor, Dr. A. S. Woodburne, M.A., Ph.D., for kindly allowing me to reprint them in book-form. I take this opportunity of offering my thanks to Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastri AVL., M.A., for having kindly permitted me to borrow a Kanarese manuscript from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, on which my first essay, 'Kampili', is based. The second essay, 'Vijayanagara', sums up the result of a series of discussions which I had with my esteemed friend Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, whose profound knowledge of South Indian epigraphy enabled me to solve several difficult problems. In fact, the second essay may be truly said to be the result of our joint labours. I tender my hearty thanks to him for having unreservedly placed at my disposal whatever information he possessed on the subject.

Purasawalkam

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Kampili

The Muhammadan chroniclers such as Ibn Batuta and Barni mention the Kingdom of Kampili in connection with the southern conquests of Muhammad bin Tughlak, the mad Sultan of Delhi. What they tell us regarding this kingdom is not much.

(1) Ibn Batuta says:

Sultan Tughlak had a nephew, son of his sister, named Bahman-d-din Gusata, whom he made the governor of a province. This man was a brave warrior, a hero; and when his uncle was dead he refused to give his oath to the late Sultan's son and successor. The Sultan sent a force against him; there was a fierce battle, and the Sultan's troops gained a victory. Bahman-d-din fled to one of the Hindu princes, called the Rat of Kambla. This prince had territories situated among inaccessible mountains, and was one of the chief princes of the infidels.

When Bahman-d-din made his escape to this prince, he was pursued by the soldiers of the Sultan of India, who surrounded the rat's territories. The infidel saw his danger, for his stores of grain were exhausted and his great fear was that the enemy would carry off his (Bahman-d-din's) person by force. He sent some one to conduct him thither (to the kingdom of a neighbouring Hindu prince). Then he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lighted. Then he burned his furniture, and to his wives and daughters, he said, 'I am going to the, and such of you as prefer it do the same.' Then it was seen that each one of these women washed herself, rubbed her body with sandal-wood, kissed the ground before the rat of Kambla, and threw herself upon the pile. All perished. The wives of his nobles, ministers and chief men imitated them, and other women also did the same.

The rat, in his turn, washed, rubbed himself with sandal, and took his arms, but did not put on his breastplate. Those of his men who resolved to die with him followed his example. They saluted forth to meet the troops of the Sultan, and fought till every one of them fell dead. The town was taken, its inhabitants were made prisoners, and eleven of the sons of the rat were made prisoners, and carried to the Sultan who made them all Messengers. The Sultan made them serve, and treated them with great honour, as much for their illustrious birth as in admiration of the conduct of their father.

(2) Barni mentions Kampili as one of the countries which Muhammad bin Tughlak had conquered.

In the course of twenty-seven years, a complete sarg, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords made him prevail over the dominions of several kings, and brought the people of many countries under his rule in Hindustan, Gujarat, Malwa, the Mahratta (country), Tiyang, Kampila Dhar-Samudra, Ma'har, Lakhnauti, Satt-gaw (Chittagong), Sandri-gaw, and Trinut.

Again, speaking of the rebellions against Sultan Muhammad in the South, he says:

About the same time one of the relations of Kanya Nalk, whom the Sultan sent to Kambla, apostatised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambla also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus.

(3) According to Firishta:

Baab-e-sood-Deen, the king's nephew, a nobleman of high reputation, known more generally by his original name, Koorsheep, possessed a government in the Deccan called Sagar. He began to turn his thoughts towards the throne, and gained over many of the nobles of his principality to his interest. Through the influence of these chiefs and by the great riches he had acquired, the power...
of Koorsheasip became so formidable that he attacked some chiefs who continued firm in their allegiance to the king, and obliged them to take refuge in the fort of Mamlo. The king, having intelligence of this report, commanded Khwaja Jehan with many other officers, and the whole of Guzerat forces, to chase the rebel chief. When the king's army arrived before Dewgur, they found the troops of Koorsheasip drawn up in order of battle to receive them. After a gallant contest, the rebel and his troops were defeated, owing to the defection of Khuram Brahman, one of his principal officers, who, with his whole division, went over to the royal army during the engagement. Koorsheasip fled to Sagar; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Kampili, in the Carnatic, and took refuge in the dominions of the raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Muhammad Tughlak, in the meantime, took the field, and arriving soon after at Dewgur, sent from thence Khwaja Jehan with a force against Koorsheasip and the Raja of Kampili. The royalists were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgur, Khwaja Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and gained a victory, in which the Raja of Kampili was made a prisoner, but Koorsheasip fled to the court of the Ilah Dew, who, fearing to draw the same misfortune upon himself as the neighbouring raja had done, seized Koorsheasip, and sent him bound to Khwaja Jehan, and at the same time, acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Delhi. ¹

(4) In addition to the references contained in the writings of the Muhammadan chroniclers, we have an account of the Muhammadan conquest of the kingdom of Nagundym from the pen of the Portuguese traveller and merchant Nuniz. It has been shown by Sewell that Nagundym (Anegundi) of Nuniz is the same as the kingdom of Kampili of the Muhammadan writers, and that Togao Mamede is Muhammad Tughlak. ² The following is his description of the fall of Nagundym.

And, determining to make war on the King of Bisnaga, and to reduce him under his rule, he (Muhammad Tughlak) passed out of the lands which he had newly gained, entering into those of the King of Bisnaga, which at that time were many . . . he passed the river Dorsar, which forms the boundary of the territories of Ballagate, and those of the King of Bisnaga, which river he passed in basket-boats: without finding anyone to oppose the passage . . . And from the river which that king of Delly passed in basket-boats to that city (Nagundym) was twenty-five leagues, all being open country (campo); and in them, it seemed good to him to pitch his camp, that his people might drink of the water in the plain (campo) along the length of the river. At that time, there was great drought by reason of the summer season, and the waters of the few little lakes that were in the plain would not suffice for ten days for his troops; horses and elephants, without drying up; and for that reason he halted some days by the banks of that river; till rain fell in the fields and lakes, enough for such a large army as he had brought with him. And when the time came, he raised his camp and brought his army to a halt in sight of that city of Nagundym.

And the King of Bisnaga, seeing his great power, and how many troops he had brought with him, determined to abandon the city . . . And he fled for shelter to a fortress called Cipamata, which was by the bank of the river, and which contained much provision and water; but not enough for the sustenance of so many people as he had with him, as many as fifty thousand men. Therefore the King chose five thousand men with their property and took refuge in the fortress; and for the rest he bade them betake themselves to another fortress of his in another part of his kingdom.

And being sheltered in the fortress, after he had taken order about his provisions, he was beset on all sides by the King of the people of Delly . . . over which siege little time was spent, because the people that were inside the fortress were numerous, and in a little space had consumed their provisions.

Then the King of Bisnaga, seeing the determination of the soldiers of the King of Delly that they would never leave the place without making an end of those whom he had with him in the fortress, made a speech to them all, laying before them the destruction that the King of the troops of Delly had caused in his own kingdom . . . Then he said that already there remained to him of his kingdom and lordship, nothing but that fortress, and the people that were in it, and so he asked them to arm themselves, and die with him in battle, giving their lives to the enemy who deprived them of all their lands.

All of them were very pleased, and glad at this, and in a short space were all armed . . . At this time they were all standing in a large open space which was before the citadel, and there by the hand of the king were slain over fifty of his wives, and some sons and little daughters; and the same was done with their own hands by all who had wives and sons that could not fight.

When these nuptial feasts, so admired of all, were fulfilled, they opened the gates of the fortress, and their enemies forthwith entered, and slew all of them except six old men who withdrew to a house. These were made captive and were taken before the King of Delhi, and the King asked them who they were and how they had escaped, and they told him who they were; at which the King greatly rejoiced, because one of them was the minister of the kingdom, and another the treasurer, and the others were leading officers in it.

After the death of the (Hindu) King, he (the Sultan) stayed in that fortress for two years. The King sent to collect his people, leaving in this fortress the strongest in the Kingdom, abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances; and he left for captain and governor of the Kingdom Kinhuyu Nely, a Moor, and with him he left many troops.

The king having departed to his own kingdom... those who had escaped to the mountains, with others who, against their will through fear had taken oath of fealty for their towns and villages, rose against the Captain Meliquy Nely; and came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying the taxes that had been forced on them. And Meliquy Niby... sent quickly to him (the Sultan) to tell him how the land was risen against him, and every one was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side; and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case... All the Councillors decided that the King should command the presence of the six men whom he held captive, and that he should learn from them who was at that time the nearest of him, or in any way related to the Kings of Hinnaga; and this question done, no one was found to whom by right the Kingdom could come, save to one of the six whom he held captive, and this one he who at the time of the destruction of Hinnaga had been minister of the Kingdom. He was not related by blood to the kings, but only was the principal judge; but (it seemed) good that His Highness should give the Kingdom to that one. And this advice pleased the King and them all.

At once the six captives were released, and set at liberty, and many kindnesses and honours were done them, and the governor was raised to be king and the treasurer to be governor... And when the Captain Meliquy Niby became aware of this, he was very pleased and contented, and delivered up to him (the new King Deorolo) the fortress and Kingdom as the King his lord had commanded; and making himself ready with all speed he departed, leaving the land to its proper owner.1

What we learn from the above extracts regarding the Kingdom of Kampili is not much. We are informed only of the circumstances under which the Kingdom was destroyed by the Muhammadans. The protection which the Raya of Kampili, offered to Bahau-d-din the rebellious cousin of Muhammad Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi led to the outbreak of war between the two states. The war lasted at least for one year during the course of which no less than three expeditions were sent against the Raya. On the first two occasions, the Muhammadan troops were defeated, but on the third, they were completely successful. The Raya who was defeated was forced to take refuge under the strong walls of the fortress of Anegondi; but as the place could not be held owing to the shortage of provisions, he was obliged to despatch Bahau-d-din to the Court of Baljala Deva, king of Dwaramudra; and abandoning Anegondi he repaired with a body of 5,000 selected troops to Crynamata, the strongest fortress in the kingdom. The Sultan's forces pursued him thither; and once again, he had to shut himself within a stronghold, surrounded by the forces of the enemy. However, when he discovered that the fall of Crynamata was inevitable, he put to death his wives and children, and persuaded his followers to do the same. Then, sallying out of the citadel, they rushed upon the besiegers and perished upon their swords.

According to one account, eleven sons of the Raya who survived their fellows were taken prisoners. However, they were released when they embraced Islam, and entertained in the service of the Sultan. But, according to another account, those that survived the Raya were only old men. One of them was the minister,

1 SEWELL: Forgotten Empire, pp. 292-99.
another the treasurer, and others the officers of the Rāya. These were kept under custody.

Crynamata became a provincial city; and Meliquy Niby was appointed as its governor with a strong garrison to support his authority; but soon Meliquy Niby discovered that the whole country was up in arms against him, and that he had little, or no power at all. He communicated the information to his master at Delhi, who, accepting the advice of his counsellors, set at liberty the six men whom he held captive, and appointed the minister, who, by the way, was a relation of Kanhaya Nāyak of Warrangal, as the king of Ānegundi, and made the treasurer his minister. And after taking an oath of allegiance from them, sent them to their kingdom with a body-guard.

The new king whose name was Deorao arrived at the fortress of Crynamata. Meliquy Niby, handing him over the charge, departed speedily to the court of his master at Delhi. Deorao apostatized from Islam, and asserted his independence. The land of Kampili was lost to the Muhammadans.

II

This is all the information that can be gleaned from the Muhammadan chroniclers and the Portuguese writers, regarding the history of Kampili. They mention the kingdom only incidentally in connection with the Muhammadan conquest of South India; but they have nothing to tell us concerning its origin and growth; nor do they throw any clear light on the nature of the connection between the fall of Kampili and the rise of Vijayanagar. No information has been gathered so far from the Hindu sources. In fact, the Vernacular literature supplies us with a good deal of valuable historical information which demands careful investigation. We are fortunate enough to discover a few Kannarese, and Telugu manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library which describe the events connected with the rise and the fall of the kingdom of Kampili.¹ They are:

(1) Kumāra Rāmanā Charite by Gangayya.
(2) Bājjāla Rāyana Yuḍḍha or Parādāra Sōdara Rāmanāthana Kathe by a poet called Nānunjāda.
(3) The Kātiyat of Kampili.
(4) The Kātiyat of the Bhāṭṭar.

All these works are written in Kannarese; they contain much legendary and romantic material which is of great interest to a student of political history. The Bājjāla Rāyana Yuḍḍha (2) is the most satisfactory document, as it gives us a more sober account of the events, than either the work of Gangayya, or the Kātiyat of Kampili. The author Nānunjāda, son of Rāma, and grandson of Mādhava was a scion

¹ I take this opportunity of tendering my hearty thanks to Mahāmāhōpādhyāya N. Kuppuswami Śastri A.V., the curator of the Madras Govt. Or. MSS Library for having kindly lent me one of the MSS of the Library for study. I am also thankful to my friend Mr. K. Narsimha Rao, B.A., L.T., Vidwan, lecturer in Kannarese in the Madras Christian College, for having helped me in studying some Kannarese MSS.
of the family of Yadu. The Kāliyāt of the Bhaṭṭar gives us a plain, undorned description of facts pertaining to the history of Kumāra Rāma. The other two works are less trustworthy, and a certain amount of caution is necessary in making use of them.

In addition to these, we have a Telugu ballad called the Kumāra Rāmam KnKa which narrates the story of Kumāra Rāma, the son of Kumbhīni Rāya, the king of Ānegondi. The subject matter of this ballad is the same as that of the Kannarese works mentioned above; but its value as an historical document is very much inferior to theirs. Nevertheless it gives us useful information regarding certain topics.

There are only a few inscriptions belonging to the kings of Kampilī. Although they do not increase the stock of our knowledge, they establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that the dynasty of which the Rāya of Kampilī and his son were members is historical. We are confident that, when the epigraphical survey of the region surrounding Kampilī is completed, more inscriptions will be brought to light which will help us to study the subject more systematically.

III

The founder of the principality of Kampilī was one Mummaḍi Singa, a member of one of the feudatory families of Male Nāḍu. Having been worsted in a struggle with his kinsmen, probably for the possession of the sef, he had to run away from his native home. He repaired to the city of Dēvagiri, where he entered the service of the Yādava king, Rāma Dēva Rāya and served him faithfully for a long time. The discovery of a treasure trove made him wealthy; and he invited his friends and relations to go to Dēvagiri, and share with him his good fortune. On one occasion, while hunting, he saved the life of the king who was attacked by a ferocious man-eater. The king bestowed, as a mark of his gratitude, many favours upon him. Consequently, Mummaḍi Singa acquired much power and influence at court.

Meanwhile, a son was born to him by the grace of Sōmeśvara, the god of Kampilī; and he gave the boy, the name of Kampilā Rāya, one of the names by which the deity of Kampilī was known. The boy grew up, and Mummaḍi Singa gave him the education that was suitable for the son of a nobleman of the day. When he attained manhood, he was married to Harhari or Ariyāla Dēvi, the daughter of Gujala Kaṭṭi Nāyaka, one of the feudatories Rāma Dēva Rāya.

Then came the invasion of the Muhammadans from the north. The Sultan of Delhi sent a vast army under the command of his general Nemi or Nemi Mulck to subdue the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan and South India. Nemi laid siege to the fortress of Dēvagiri and captured it. King Rāma Dēva was taken prisoner, and
sent to Delhi. He then proceeded to the south of the peninsula and reached the ocean at Râmesvaram where he washed his bloody sword in its waters. Having thus accomplished his mission, he reached, the city of Madura, on his way to Delhi, where he overthrew the authority of the raja, and established a Muhammadan garrison to uphold the authority of his master. Then he continued his journey to Delhi.¹

When the Muhammadan army retired from the Deccan, Mummađî Singa who was much grieved by the imprisonment of his master Râma Déva Râya, left Dèvagiri, and moved southwards with all his followers. He entered the Malepantheṣa or Maleprânteyā nād, and reached a place called ‘Hâneya Dere’ where he built residences for himself and his followers.² He then paid a visit to the powerful chief of Râyadurg called Malla whom he pleased by offering valuable presents. Malla made him the dañâray of his old fief, to which he added twenty more villages, and bade him farewell. Mummađî Singa, greatly satisfied with the success of his mission, returned to ‘Hâneya Dere’ where he lived in peace for sometime.

Meanwhile, Râma Déva Râya breathed his last. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of the kingdom, the powerful Malli Déva, the son of a sister of Râma Déva usurped the throne. Mummađî Singa, did not recognize the authority of the usurper; and, placing himself at the head of several discontented nobles, he attacked Malli Déva and slew him in a battle. Thenceforward, he began to rule his principality as an independent chief.

Sînga Nâyaka died after governing his principality for a few years. Kâmpîla or Kâmpîla Râya, his son, was crowned king by his minister, Baîchappà. Soon after his coronation, by the grace of the god of Jaîtangî Râmesvarâ. Harihâra Dévi his queen-regnant gave birth to a son whom Kâmpîla named Râmanâthâ after the god. The prince was brought up with great care and affection by his parents.

On one occasion, Kâmpîla went a-hunting in the forests in the neighbourhood of his capital. After hunting in several places he entered at last the forest of the Hôsamale Dûrâ, and let loose his dogs upon a hare which rose up before him.

¹ Râmesvarasvam. Kâmpîla. Ōdâ. 8. 5 16-19.
² Kâmpîla. Ōdâ. 8. 5 16-19.
Instead of attempting to run away from the dogs, it turned on them, and bit them horribly. The king who witnessed the encounter between the hare and his hounds was so astonished at the unnatural behaviour of the former that he summoned his ministers and learned men and asked them to explain the meaning of it all. They attributed the unusual conduct of the hare to its environment, and advised the king to build a fortress there, which they said, an enemy could never take. The king examined the place, and, being satisfied with its strategic importance, summoned 12,000 masons, and ordered them to construct a fortress at a place called Mūrānēya Sandhi (the meeting place of three elephants), very near the river Tungabhadra. When the construction of the fort was completed, he named it Hosamad Durga, and transferred the headquarters of his government to that place. Having made it the chief place of his residence, he commanded all his nobles to do the same.

It was probably the possession of the impregnable fortress that roused the ambition of Kampila to make himself the overlord of the neighbouring chiefs. He was considerably assisted in his work by his youthful son Rāma who had already won distinction as a warrior by his remarkable feats of arms. Bahlappa was not only a wise minister but a brave soldier and capable commander. Being ably assisted by the prince and the minister, he found it easy to subdue his neighbours. At first, he captured Tōragal, Badāmi, Mulkal, and Hānagal. These conquests must have brought the whole of the doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra under his control. Next, the province of Kandānīlu nāḍu was subjugated. Then, the strong fortresses of Nīḍugal, and Penugopu submitted. The extent of the new principality as a result of these conquests, considerably widened, and it spread along both the banks of the Tungabhadra.

The policy of aggression and conquest which Kampila had adopted aroused the suspicion of Jagatāpi Rāya, the lord of Gunti. In course of a few months, a war broke out between the two kingdoms, in which Jagatāpi was defeated, and taken prisoner by prince Rāma. He was taken to Kummata where Kampila was then staying; but, as he agreed to pay tribute, he was soon set at liberty, and allowed to return to his capital. By this series of conquests Kampila became so powerful as
to excite the jealousy of his neighbours Vira Ballāla, the king of Dwarasamudra, and Pratāparudra, the king of Warrangal.

The rivalry of Vira Ballāla and Kampila soon led to the outbreak of a war between them. A detachment of the Hoyasala army raided certain places belonging to Kampila on the frontier. The people of the locality went to Kummaṭa, and complained against the Hoyasala king to prince Rāma, who, as yuvārāja, was governing the kingdom, on behalf of his father. Rāma, at first, obtained the permission of his father, to carry on a counter raid, and captured an important frontier fortress which belonged to Vira Ballāla. On hearing the fall of the fortress Ballāla began to prepare for an invasion of the kingdom of Kampila. He summoned Nārsālingaṇa Daṇḍayaka, his commander-in-chief, and asked him to summon all his forces to march against the enemy's country. Soldiers from Coorg, Majayāja, and Tūgala countries, besides a few squadrons of Muhammadan cavalry assembled at the Hoyasala capital. Then, the army, accompanied by Vira Ballāla, and his son, moved towards the eastern frontier, anticipating an easy victory.

The news of the Hoyasala invasion reached Kummaṭa, and the Rāya, acting on the advice of Kumāra Rāma, decided to meet the invader on the frontier. The forces of Kampila assembled at Anegondi, which stood on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra. When he completed his preparations, he marched at the head of his army against the enemy. He was accompanied by his foster son, Kāñcana, Kumāra Rāma, and his son-in-law Sangama. Having crossed the Bāḍur pass, Kampila pitched his tents in front of the enemy's camp.

Both sides prepared themselves for a battle on the next day. Kāñcana who was appointed as the commander of Kampila's forces, drew up his troops in battle order, and Nārsālingaṇa Daṇḍayaka did the same on his side. The battle raged fiercely for many hours. At last, the Hoyasala army, which was defeated with great slaughter, fled in panic. Then, it occurred to Vira-Ballāla that if they (the Hindu princes) continued to fight among themselves, the Sultan would be able to complete the conquest of the whole country. Therefore, he sued for peace. Kampila, was also willing to come to an understanding with Ballāla. As it was agreed that a peace should be concluded, fighting ceased completely. Sōma
Daquladhina, the minister of Balljala, and Balchappa, the minister of Kampila, conferred together to settle the exact terms of the peace.

The war with Balljala ended in a great victory to Kampila. The differences between the two monarchs appear to have been settled for a time at least. Kumara Rama, however, was not inclined to allow the matter to rest there. He appears to have entertained the idea of destroying the power of Balljala. There was a discussion on the subject between Rama and his father, in which the latter drew the attention of his son to their limited resources when compared to those of Balljala, and urged that in a struggle with him they were bound to be defeated. The father and son, however, could not come to an agreement. There sprang up a coldness between them. Rama swore that within a very short time he would break down the power of Balljala, and left the court of his father.

Rama then paid a visit to Warrangal with the object of securing the support of the Kakatiya king Prataparudra in his intended attack upon Balljala. He was treated with great honour, and he hoped that his host would join him in making war upon the Hoyasala; but when he broached the subject, Prataparudra declined to be a party in a war against Balljala, and this wounded the pride of the prince considerably. Thereupon, he began to behave insolently, and Prataparudra wanted to keep him under custody; but he managed to escape, and reach safely his father's dominions. He then assumed some birudas which were peculiar to the Kakatias, and this hastened the outbreak of the war between Kampili and Warrangal. Prataparudra invaded the kingdom of Kampila at the head of a large army. Singama Nayaka, the commander of his troops promised that he would bring Kampila bound in chains before his sovereign; but in the battle that ensued, Singama Nayaka was not only defeated, but was taken prisoner by Kumara Rama. He was brought before Kampila, who, however, treated him with much respect, and set him at liberty. Thus, the war with Prataparudra ended in a great victory to Kampila, who began to rule his kingdom, thenceforward, in peace, devoting himself more and more to the pleasures of the harem. The task of governing the kingdom was left in the hands of Kumara Rama, who began to learn his first lessons in the art of practical administration.

The fame of Kumara Rama as a great warrior spread far and wide. The people even of distant Delhi became familiar with his heroic deeds. The Sultan had a daughter of surpassing beauty, who, happening to see a portrait of Rama fell in love with him. The Sultan who was duly informed of this, approved of the choice of his daughter, and despatched envoys to the court of Anegundi demanding that Kampila should send his son to Delhi so that he might wed the daughter of the Sultan. Kampila suspecting the good intentions of the Sultan, declined to send his son to Delhi. The envoys returned to their master, and reported to him what had happened. This enraged the Sultan considerably, and he took a vow that he would bring prince Rama in chains to Delhi.
The Sultan opened, on one day during the tribute-paying season, a contest in archery to discover the skill of his nobles in shooting. The winner in the contest was to get a large sum of money as reward. All the noblemen of the court, including probably Nemi Mulk, joined the lists. When the contest began all the competitors save one, as was to be expected, failed to hit the target. The successful candidate Bahadur Khan carried away the prize. Seven large vessels containing money were presented to him by the Sultan who in addition raised him to the rank of a Malik.

This excited the jealousy of the other nobles, who fearing that Bahadur Khan might acquire much influence at court, and even usurp the throne, joined in a conspiracy to bring about his downfall. At first, they thought of murder, but they gave up the idea as it was risky. At last, they decided that the best course which they should adopt was to create enmity between the Sultan and Bahadur Khan. One of the conspirators, pretending to be a well-wisher of Bahadur, called upon him at his residence, and told him that although the Sultan rewarded him for his skill in archery, he was secretly planning his ruin; and advised him, if he desired to save himself, to leave Delhi as quickly as possible. Bahadur believed that his friend was speaking the truth. Therefore, he began to make preparations for his flight from Delhi with utmost secrecy. At first, he sent his family and treasure to Konkan; then, taking with him but two hundred retainers, he left Delhi and travelled southwards. His enemies who had been closely watching his movements reported the news of his flight to Nemi Khan and he lost no time in bringing the matter to the notice of the Sultan.

A strong military force was immediately despatched to bring back the fugitive to the court. Although the royalists overtook Bahadur Khan near the southern frontier, they were not able to capture him on account of his superior military skill. Therefore, he made good his escape; and crossing the frontier, he entered the dominions of Kampili Raya. He continued his journey to the city of Kummaṭa, where, after narrating his story, he begged the Raya to protect him from the wrath of the Sultan. Kampila at first hesitated; but when Kumāra Rāna urged that Bahadur who was homeless and helpless, should be protected, he gave him asylum in his kingdom.

The Sultan, having learnt that Bahadur Khan was living at Kummaṭa protected by the Raya and his son, sent an army under Nemi Mulk against Kampili, with instructions to capture the fortress of Kummaṭa, destroy the Raya with all his people, and bring Bahadur Khan to Delhi as a prisoner. The army marched southwards, and the rumour of the invasion reached Kummaṭa much earlier than the army itself. Kampila summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved to offer resistance to the Muslim army. Meanwhile, Nemi Khan marched southwards, perpetrating atrocious crimes all along the route. He reached at last Kummaṭa, and pitched his tents in its neighbourhood. Then, he sent envoys to Kampila demanding on behalf of his master that Bahadur Khan should be surrendered. The envoys urged that it would not be safe for him to excite the wrath of the Sultan further; and that if he were a wise man he would hand over the fugitive
to the servants of the Sultan. Kampili was firm in his resolve to fight unto the last, and he politely dismissed the envoys. Nemi Mulli then proceeded to invest the fortress closely, and the siege lasted for two days. On the first day, Kattana led a surprise attack upon the Muhammadan Camp; several people were killed and 2,000 horses were captured from the enemy. On the second day, Kumara Rama, placing himself at the head of a strong force, attacked the Muhammadan camp so fiercely that they were obliged to raise the siege immediately, and retire into the Sultan's territory.

The result of the first encounter between the Sultan's army and Kampili Raja was a clear victory to the latter, which he celebrated with great pomp after the departure of the Muhammadan army. A few days later came the salwa habba to celebrate which all the feudatory chiefs of the kingdom flocked to the capital. Ratnangi, one of the queens of Kampili climbed up to the terrace of her palace whence she could obtain an excellent view of the procession that was passing below in front of the royal palace. She saw several noblemen belonging to her husband's court, whose names she learnt from her maid. Among the crowd she perceived a handsome youth, and fell in love with him almost at once. On enquiry she learnt from her maid that the noble youth was none other than her stepson Prince Rama, the most famous warrior of the age, and the heir-apparent to the throne of Kampili. Although it was impossible for her to carry on a love intrigue with the prince, she could neither forget him nor kill her passion for him. She was only waiting for an opportunity when she could entice him into her residence and gratify her desires. Soon, the much looked for opportunity came. Kampili went a-hunting, and was absent from his capital for a few days. Kumara Rama who stayed behind joined his companions, and began to play football in front of the palace. The ball was seized by one of Ratnangi's maidsens who took it to her mistress. When some of his playmates, went into her palace requesting her to hand over the ball, she declined to give it to any one except Rama. He entered her palace to fetch the ball; but Ratnangi instead of surrendering the ball began to make overtures to him. He was horrified to hear the words which she uttered; therefore, he ran away from her presence precipitately. She was enraged at the way in which the prince treated her; and her love for him was changed into bitter hatred. She vowed to take vengeance upon him for the insult which he offered to her.

1: 34818 THE KAITYAY OF THE BHATTAR
When Kampila returned from the hunting excursion, Ratnangi complained to him that Rama violated her modesty and treated her as if she were a common woman. Kampila, who was enraged at the supposed shameful conduct of his son, summoned his minister Baichappa at once to his presence, and commanded him peremptorily to put his son to death. Baichappa discovered on enquiry that Rama was innocent, and feeling compassion for the fate of the young prince, he resolved to save his life by means of a subterfuge. He ordered the immediate execution of five condemned criminals, and produced their heads before the king, telling him that they were the heads of Rama and his four friends who killed themselves, as they could not survive the death of their beloved companion. The Rayas, who was stricken with uncontrollable grief when he heard the news of the execution of his son, dared not look at the heads, and ordered their immediate removal. In the meantime, Baichappa made careful arrangements for the concealment of Rama and his companions in an underground cellar.

The execution of Rama roused the indignation of the citizens of Kumma, and some of them had gone to the length of informing the Sultan by means of a letter. The enemies of the Rayas rejoiced at the death of their inveterate foe, the prince Rama. Most of them were ready to compass the ruin of the Kampili Kingdom, and they were either sullenly biding their time or openly hostile. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in Kampili due to the execution of Rama, the Sultan despatched an army against Kumma, to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. When the Muhammadans reached Kumma, the people of the city were stricken with panic, and they began to rail at their king for having put to death so unjustly the prince who could have saved them. The king himself remembered the heroic deeds of his brave son, and was filled with remorse. It was then that Baichappa brought the prince and his companions from their place of concealment, and the father and the son were openly reconciled.

The knowledge that Rama was once again in their midst to protect them from the attacks of the Muhammadans restored the confidence of the people; but the fortress of Kumma could not be held for long as it was surrounded by the enemy; it was inevitable that the fortress should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans sooner or later. Therefore, it was considered that certain precautionary steps should be taken to protect the families of the king, and of the fugitive Bahadur Khan. Kampili Rayas and his queen Harihara Devi together with Bahadur Khan and his family, went to Hosamaleodurga (Anecondi) escorted by a military force. With the exception of a small garrison, and all the important nobles who remained at Kumma to defend the fortress, the people of the city were also sent to the same place for safety. Rama and Kanta inspired the garrison to offer a stubborn resistance to the besiegers. They bore the brunt of the
fight; and the garrison encouraged by their example performed wonderful feats of valour. But they were overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy. It became gradually clear to the defenders, that the fate of the fortress was impending. Realising the gravity of the situation, Rama sent his foster brother Kâtaṇḍa to Hosemalechunga to inform his father about the imminent fall of Kummata. When Kâtaṇḍa told the Rāya what was taking place at Kummata, he was stricken with grief; but recovering soon from this fit of depression, he resolved to go in person to the place. Before they started Kâtaṇḍa having obtained permission to pay a short visit to his residence went thither and putting to death his wife and children, set fire to the house. He then returned to the royal palace, and joined the king's retinue in time to go back to Kummata. On their arrival at Kummata, Kâtaṇḍa found that the fortress could not at all be defended, and that they should either surrender or perish while fighting with the enemy. Of course the idea of surrender could not be thought of; and inspired by the courage of despair they began to make preparations for the final battle. The wives of Kummaṇa Sāma burnt themselves to death on a pyre specially made for the purpose.

A feast was celebrated; and the select band of warriors who determined to face the enemy in the final struggle, took a sumptuous meal, and having adorned themselves with their best clothes and jewellery, they sallied out of the fortress with drawn swords, ready to kill the enemy, or to die upon his sword. The encounter between the besiegers and the besieged was short but fierce. The attack of the Hindus shook the Muhammadan lines; but they were overwhelmed and cut to pieces. At the end only two remained, Kâtaṇḍa and Rama. The latter asked Kâtaṇḍa to surrender to the enemy, although he himself would not do so; but Kâtaṇḍa would not listen to this proposal; and leaving his brother behind, he rushed upon the ranks of the enemy and was killed at once. Rama followed the example of Kâtaṇḍa, and he was also killed. His head was severed from the trunk, and it was sent to Delhi where it was exposed upon the battlements of the imperial city.

The Kingdom of Kampili ceased to be independent and it was annexed to the Delhi empire. Kummaṇa became the seat of a Muhammadan garrison.1

IV

As we have noted already, what we know about the history of Kampili from the Muhammadan chroniclers and foreign travellers is not much. All the information which we can glean from them pertains to the final struggle with the

1 Kâtaṇḍa had his eyes on the kingdom, and thus determined to take it, but Kâtaṇḍa had other views, and thus determined to take it, but Kâtaṇḍa had other views.
Muhammadans in which the kingdom perished. But the Kumāra Rāmāna Charīte which is the subject of the present study describes the history of the kingdom from its foundation to its fall.

According to the Story of Kumāra Rāma the Kingdom of Kampili was founded by one Mummaḍi Singa who was a feudatory of Rāma Dēva Rāya, the last Yādava king of Dēvagiri. There are two inscriptions of the time of Rāma Dēva in which Mummaḍi Singa is mentioned. In one of them he is represented as slaying Vīra-Chandarasa, a general of Rāma Dēva.

In the twelfth year of the prosperous reign of Vīra Rāmādēva (A.D. 1280), — the great minister, the Rāyadandāṭha, Pāṇḍi-Hanuma, Vīra-Chandarasa, having marched to Dēravāde, in Kurugādō-nāḍ, against Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, and fighting, having slain many men and horses, gained the world of Śiva.¹

In another inscription dated in the 32nd year of the same king (A.D. 1300), Khandeya Rāya, a son of Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka is said to have reigned the grant of the agrahāra of Harīhar which was formerly restored by Kṛṣṇa Kandara.²

Thus, it appears that Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka was an enemy of Rāma Dēva about A.D. 1280; but later he seems to have become the friend and feudatory of that monarch. These inscriptions establish Mummaḍi Singa's historicity, and his connection with Rāma Dēva.

We have definite epigraphical evidence to prove the historicity of his son Kampili Rāya. He figures in a few Hōyala inscriptions. We have also a short inscription of Vīra-Kampili Dēva, son Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, in the Vīrūpākṣha temple at Hampi (L. R. 46). He is mentioned by Iho Satuta, as the King of Kampili whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had slain. Moreover, he is referred to in the Telugu Bālābhāgavata as an enemy of Kuṭikantī Rāghava, one of the early Arāviṇḍu chiefs.³

According to the Kampili Śāsanagalu⁴, an inscription of Kumāra Rāma is found at a village called Vasavalli, in the neighbourhood of Kampili; but the text of the inscription is not available. There is a reference to Kumāra Rāma in an inscription of Saka 1354, according to which, one Puṭṭagaḍe, a subject of Dēvarāya Mahārāya, opposed a force which came to Koḷvali in Sakalige-nāḍ, and broke the army, and in battle with valour like that of Kumāra Rāmanātha covered with arrows took swargga by force.⁴

The extracts which we have cited above are sufficient to show that all the members of the dynasty founded by Mummaḍi Singa are historical persons; and so far as this point goes Kumāra Rāmāna Charīte is entirely trustworthy.

¹E. C. Vol. VII. Cl. 24. ²E. C. Vol. XI. Dg. 36.
³Mackenzie Mes. ⁴E. C. Vol. VIII. Tl. 23.
The kingdom was founded according to the poem after the capture of Rāma Dēva Rāya by the Sultan of Delhi. We know that this event had taken place in A.D. 1307. But Mummadī Singa did not assert his independence until he heard of the death of the Rāya in a battle. We know that Rāma Dēva Rāya who returned from Delhi did not die in battle; but Śankara Dēva, his son and successor, was slain by the Muhammadans in battle in A.D. 1312. The Rāya who, according to the Kumāra Rāmana Charite perished in battle, must be Śankara Dēva, and not Rāma Dēva. Therefore, the history of Kampili as an independent kingdom, must have commenced in A.D. 1312. We learn from Muhammadan historians that the kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 1327–28. It flourished only for a period of 15 years, i.e., from A.D. 1312 to 1327, during which it was governed by two kings Mummadī Singa and Kampili Rāya.

Its History: When Malik Kafur carried away Rāma Dēva as a prisoner to Delhi, Mummadī Singa left Dēvagiri, and retired with all his followers to Melenaḍ in the south. He halted at a place called Hāneya Dere where he built up habitations for himself, and his retainers. Hāneya Dere means 'Elephant's ridge', and it refers probably to a hill of that name in the neighbourhood of Kampili. Having established himself in this place, he paid a visit to Malla of Rāyadurga, to whom he offered his submission and obtained not only his old sīf but also twenty villages more. The most important event of his reign happened, after the death of Śankara Dēva. Malla Rāya of Rāyadurga who was the son of a sister of Rāma Dēva usurped the throne of Dēvagiri; but a large number of the nobles who were jealous of the growing power of Malla, did not recognize him as their king. Mummadī Singa who placed himself at the head of the discontented nobles marched against Rāyadurga, and killed Malla in battle. Then it was that he began to rule as an independent chief.

It is not at present possible to test the truth of statements of Kumāra Rāmana Charite by other evidence. But there is nothing that is improbable in them. Mummadī Singa appears to be a petty chief who asserted his independence taking advantage of the confusion caused by the Muhammadan invasions, and the death of Śankara Dēva. The principality of Kampili rose from the ashes of the Yādava kingdom of Dēvagiri.

We do not know when Mummadī Singa died; but we are certain that his death should have taken place sometime before A.D. 1324. It was in that year that Ulugh Khan carried away Pratāparudra II of Warrangal as a prisoner to Delhi. Kampila is said to have fought a battle with Pratāparudra in which he was victorious. This battle must have been fought before A.D. 1324, and Kampila was already king at that time.

There is the same uncertainty regarding his capital. There is no evidence to show that the town of Kampili was ever the capital of the principality. Throughout the poem, the fortress of Kummaṭa (the Cynamata of Nānīa) is referred to as the seat of Kampila's government: The Kalfyata of Kampili and the Bahūṭar agree with it on this point; but the Telugu ballad Kumma Rāmuni Katha tells us that the fortress of Vasavalli in Ānegoudi Sīma was his capital. Early in his reign, Kampila built a strong fort called Hosamaledurga among the hills on the bank of the Tungabhādra.
The story of the lure and the hounds which we usually associate with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara is also described in connection with the construction of Hosamaleadurga. There is sufficient evidence to identify this place with Anegundi. Both Nanjunda and Gangayya tell us that Hosamaleadurga was built at a place called 'Mārāne Sandhi' (ಮಾರನೆ ಸಂದ್ಹಿ) or the 'meeting place of three elephants' i.e. elephant shaped hills. According to the Baḷḷāḷa Rāyana Yuddha, it was at Anegundi where Kampili's troops assembled before they marched upon Baḷḷāḷa. Hosamaleadurga or Anegundi served as a second capital to Kampili. It was more secure than Kummaṭa. When the armies of Muhammad bin Tughlak were about to surround Kummaṭa, it was to Hosamaleadurga that the royal family, Bahadur Khan with his family, and all the citizens of Kummaṭa were sent for safety.

The reign of Kampili is a period of continuous warfare. It may be divided into four divisions:

1. His early conquests.
2. The war with Baḷḷāḷa III.
3. The war with Pratāparudra II.
4. The struggle with the Muhammadans.

1 His early conquests: At the time of his accession, the principality of Kampili was very limited in extent. It appears to have extended over a few square miles of land around Kummaṭa. Probably, the fortress of Rāyadurga was included in it. Soon after the construction of the Hosamaleadurga, he proceeded to conquer the neighbouring chiefs. At first, he captured the fortresses of Torngal, Bāḍāmi, Hāmgaḷ, and Mudakal, and subdued almost the whole of the Raichore Doab, which was annexed to the kingdom of Kampili. The fact of this conquest is confirmed by the evidence of Ferishta. The Bhamini Sultan, Majahid demanded that Bukka I should evacuate the whole of the Doab.

The Rāya replied by a counter-demand that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of Doab, since Raichur and Mudkal had always belonged to the Anegundi family.1

It is clear from this that Bukka I, who was a treasurer of Kampili Rāya recognized the Raichore Doab as a possession of the Anegundi family. Therefore, we need not hesitate to accept the statement of Kumāra Rāman Charite that Kampili conquered several fortresses in the Raichore Doab.

After establishing his authority firmly on the northern bank of the river, he proceeded to conquer the territory lying to the south of it. He captured Penugonda, and Nidugal, and subdued the whole of Kandaṇṭil-nāḍ. Next, Jagatāḷa Rāya of Gatti was forced to submit. This closes the period of his early conquests, so far as they are described in the Kumāra Rāman Charite; but the Kaliyat of the Bhaṭṭar gives us a list of the chiefs who were paying tribute to Kampili. Two chiefs, Gangarāja of Ghandi Kōṭa, and Sangama of Udayagiri are mentioned in it. It appears as if the authority of Kampili spread from the Western Ghats to the Eastern Ghats.

1 Sewell: Forgotten Empire, p. 40.
(2) The War with Ballâla III: The Ballâla with whom Kampili fought is Ballâla III. It is said in an inscription of 1330 that Ballâla III marched upon one Kapila Dēva at Doravâdi in Kuruvâdi. Kapila Dēva appears to have defeated Ballâla III, and killed one of his dependents called Kuruva Nâyaka. Kampili is also mentioned in another inscription of 1325 where in an encounter with a feudatory dependent upon the Hoyaâla King, either Kampili himself or some one connected with him is said to have been killed. As the inscription is fragmentary, the name of the person who was killed cannot be ascertained. We believe that Kapila Dēva of Nr. 19 is the same as Kampili of Tp. 24. As Kampili was alive until 1327-8 when he was killed by the Mussalmans, he could not have been the person that was slain 1325. These inscriptions bear ample testimony to what is said in the Kumâra Râmana Charite, and the Ballâla Râyana Yuddha.

(3) The War with Pratâparudra II: Pratâparudra II, the last Kâkatiya king of Warrangal is said to have invaded the territories of Kampili. It is said that his army was commanded by a Padmanâyak chief, Sûngama Nâyaka. This must be Sûngama I, the founder of the Râcheria family. Moreover, we have an allusion to this invasion in Sûnâtha’s Bhimâkhandam. A minister of Pratâparudra II, Annaya by name is said to have destroyed the pleasure gardens of Kûmmâtha.2

(4) The Struggle with the Muhammadans: We shall now describe the struggle of Kampili Râya with the Sultan of Delhi. The name of the Sultan is not mentioned anywhere, so far as we are aware; but we know it for certain that it was Muhammad bin Tughâk who destroyed the Kingdom of Kampili. The Kumâra Râmana Charite mentions two causes which led to the outbreak of the war between the Sultan and the Râya. (1) The Sultan’s daughter fell in love with prince Râma, the son of Kampili; he wanted that the prince should be sent to Delhi for the purpose of marrying his daughter. Kampili did not comply with the request of the Sultan. (2) A nobleman of the court of the Sultan called Bhaâdûr Khan, fled from Delhi owing to the machinations of the jealous courtiers of the Sultan, and took refuge with the Râya of Kampili. The Sultan who considered that Bhaâdûr Khan was a dangerous rebel, sent an army to capture him.

The first cause may be brushed aside as imaginary. The second was the real cause which led to the outbreak of hostilities between the two kingdoms. The Kaâliyat of the Bhâtâr lays great stress on this. At the beginning of the first expedition, the commander Nêmi demanded in the name of his master, that Bhaâdûr Khan should be surrendered. If the Râya handed over the fugitive, he promised to retire from the Râya’s territory. Again, when, Nêmi met the Sultan at the end

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1 E. C. viii. Nr. 11.
of the first campaign, the Sultan asked him to go back and bring Bahadur Khan as a
prisoner. Lastly, during the last campaign, when Kumara was about to be
surrounded by the Sultan's army, Bahadur and his family were immediately removed
to a place of safety, so that he might not fall into the hands of the Sultan's soldiers.
All these indicate that the cause which led to the outbreak of the war was the
protection which Kampil was offered to Bahadur Khan. According to Ibn Batuta and
Ferishta the war had its origin in the protection which the Rāya of Kampil offered
to Bahauddin Guhsnap or Koorsnap. We propose to identify Bahadur Khan of the
Kumara Rāma Charite with Bahauddin Guhsnap of Ibn Batuta, and Koorsnap of
Ferishta. This identification shows the agreement between the Hindu poem and the
Muhammadan Chroniclers regarding the cause of the war.

The commander who was placed in charge of these expeditions is invariably
called Nemi, Nemi Khan, or Nemi Mulk, whose achievements are enumerated by
Nanjunda at some length. He conquered Mātra and made the rāja a prisoner; he cap-
tured Dēvagiri and imprisoned Rāmadēva; he marched as far as the Southern Ocean
in the waters of which he washed his bloody sword; he overthrew the Hindu rāja of
Madura and established a Muhammadan garrison there; he slew Hammira, and
captured Rantambhor after a siege lasting for seven or eight years. These, in fact,
were the achievements of the famous Malik Kafur, the commander-in-chief of Sultan
Allanuddin Khilji. It seems reasonable to suppose that the name Nemi was given,
at first to Malik Kafur. It appears to be an abbreviated form of Kālanēmi, the
name of a famous Rakshasa warrior. In fact, the Mussalians are constantly re-
ferred in the Kumara Rāma Charite as Dānavas, and the Sultan as Dānāvadhipa.
It may be of interest to note in this connection, that in certain Telugu poems Malik
Kafur is referred to as Kāla Yavana.

Malik Kafur, as we know, died in a.d. 1316 and he could not have commanded
the expedition against Kampil in 1327. Therefore, the Nemi who destroyed the
kingdom of Kampil must be a different person, whose real name, according to the
Muhammadan chroniclers is Khwāja Jehan. It seems reasonable to suppose that
the Hindus who conferred the name of Nemi on Malik Kafur transferred it to every
Muhammadan general who invaded South India.

Nemi according to the Kanarese records, is said to have led two expeditions
against Kampil. He was defeated and driven away from the territories Kampil on
the first occasion; but during the second campaign, his success was complete.
He not only defeated Kampil, but slew him and all his relations thereby putting an
end to the dynasty itself. This account is supported by Ferishta.

Muhammad Toghli, in the meantime, says he, took the field, and arriving soon after at
Dewgut, sent from thence Khwāja Jehan with a force against Koorsnap and the Raja of Kampil.
The royalets were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgut, Khwāja Jehan

1 'Afterwards in the year of Śilīvāhana Sāgartam, one thousand two hundred and forty-six
corresponding with the year of the era reckoned from the destruction of Gōla (Qultan)
two hundred and twenty-seven, agreeing with the Rājputārī year, when one named
Parākrama Pāṇḍu was reigning. Atb Sultan Mulk, and one called Nemi came from Delhi in
the north, and taking Parākrama Pāṇḍu captive, they sent him to Delhi, and conquered the country.'

We learn from Nuniz that the Raja who was at Nagundy, at the commencement of the Muhammadan invasion, abandoned it in spite of its natural strength, and took shelter in a fortress called Cryanmata (Kummaña) with five thousand chosen men. It must be noted here that the city of Nagundy (Ānegondi) according to Nuniz, was not at all besieged by the Muhammadans, and that the king abandoned it voluntarily. The Kailiyyat of the Bhaṭṭar informs us that when the Muhammadan army was marching against Kummaṇa, acting upon the advice of Rāma, the Rāya with his family accompanied by Bahadur Khan and his family, retired to the fortress of Hosamale (Ānegondi) as this place was supposed to offer greater security, but when he was informed later, of the impending fall of Kummaṇa, abandoning Hosamaledurga he hastened thither. Therefore the chronicle of Nuniz seems to be in close agreement with the Kailiyyat of the Bhaṭṭar on this point. All our authorities are unanimous in telling us that the Rāya, and his followers killed their women and children, burnt their houses, and after celebrating a feast, sallied out of the fortress and perished at the hands of the enemy. There are, however, two important points on which our authorities differ. Perishta and the Kailiyyat of the Bhaṭṭar tell us that the Rāya of Kampili was alive after the destruction of Kummaṇa; but Ibn Batuta, clearly states that the Rāya was killed; and Nuniz agrees with him. If the Rāya were alive in A.D. 1335, the Sultan would not have made one of the Rāya’s ministers king of Ānegondi. We are of opinion that greater value should be attached to the account of a contemporary than to those of later writers. Again Bahadur is said to have perished at Kummaṇa in the fight. On this subject, that Muhammadan Chroniclers, whose authority cannot be questioned, unanimously declare that he was sent away from the scene of warfare to a place of safety.

Lastly, according to the Kailiyyats of the Bhaṭṭar and Kampili, the Kingdom of Kampili was annexed to the Delhi empire, and Kummaṇa became the seat of a Muhammadan garrison. This statement is borne out by the evidence of Barni and Nuniz.

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2 Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p. 293.
Vijayanagara

The origin of the great medieval Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara is still shrouded in mystery. Sewell said, thirty years ago, that two brothers of the Kuruba caste who were men of strong religious feeling serving in the treasury of the king of Warrangal fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323, and took service under the rajah of Anegundi. In 1334, the chief gave shelter to Bahauddin, nephew of Muhammad of Delhi, and was attacked by the Sultan. Anegundi fell, and the Sultan retired, leaving Malik as his deputy to rule the state. Malik found the people too strong for him, and eventually the Sultan restored the Hindus raising to be rajah and minister respectively the two brothers who had formerly been minister and treasurer. These were Harihara I ("Hakka"), and Bukka I.

The theory of Sewell is based on a number of conflicting traditions which he attempted to harmonize; but it has not been accepted by several writers, as in their opinion, it is not satisfactory. Some of them, after an examination of inscriptions, have arrived at the conclusion that the founders of Vijayanagara were originally the subordinates of Vira-Ballala III, the last Hoyasala king of Dwârasamudra, and that they asserted their independence sometime after the destruction of Dwârasamudra by the troops of Sultan Muhammad of Delhi in A.D. 1327.

Mr. Louis Rice is of opinion that there is reason to suppose that the founders of the Vijayanagara dynasty may have been chiefs under the Hoysalas. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri asserts that Harihara I and Bukka I were subordinates of Ballala III. He tells us, while enumerating the subordinate feudatory families that rose to independence on the death of Ballala III, that the Hoysala chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I were already growing in power. Speaking of the change of the capital of Ballala III from Dwârasamudra to Tiruvâvañapâlai he observes, "Perhaps, the change of the capital of Ballala III from Dôrasamudra to Tiruvâvañapâlai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I." He adds further, "subsequent to the destruction of Dôrasamudra by the Muhammadans, Harihara I, and Bukka I perhaps began slowly to grow in power, and about A.D. 1340 they had acquired sufficient importance to build forts and attract the notice of the foreign travellers, though they were not still in a position to assume the titles of independent sovereignty. In fact, there is strong reason to believe that prior to A.D. 1346 by which time, perhaps, Ballala had died, there was no attempt made by Harihara and his brothers to declare their independence."

Dr. S. K. Iyengar informs us that in 1328-9 Ballala III went farther afield from Dwârasamudra, and laid the foundations of the city generally called

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1. The Forgotten Empire, p. 21.
VIJAYANAGARA

Hosaṇṭaṇa or Virḍapākhyaṇaṇa which ultimately became Vijayanagar. He believes further that "the five brothers to whom the inscriptions ascribe the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar" were employed by Baḷḷaḷa in commanding "this impenetrable barrier of garrisons" to stem the tide of Bhamini invasions and keep it within its limits.

Mr. Satyānādhān goes a step further, and asserts that "the officers of the last two Baḷḷaḷas who were associated with them intimately in their last struggles carried the war to victory by persistent efforts. Among a number of these officers... stood out a group of five brothers... It may be said with justification that the acquisition of the province of Madura by the empire of the Hōysalas marks the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar... The province of Madura was therefore one of the earliest acquisitions that transformed what was the kingdom of the Hōysalas into the empire of Vijayanagar."

The following points emerge from the above extracts:

1. The founders of the empire of Vijayanagar were five brothers, the vassals of Baḷḷaḷa III, who, in order to bar the southern advance of the Deccani Muhammadans, employed them to command the garrisons along his northern frontier.

2. After the destruction of the city of Dōransanudra by the Muhammadans in 1327, Baḷḷaḷa transferred his capital to Tiruvāṇkālmálai in the south, laying at the same time the foundations of a new city called Hosaṇṭaṇa on the banks of the Tungālaṇḍra. This new city 'ultimately became Vijayanagara.'

3. Taking advantage of the retirement of Baḷḷaḷa III to the south subsequent to the destruction of Dōransanudra, the five brothers acquired so much power and influence that they attracted the attention of foreign travellers.

4. They served the last two Baḷḷaḷa's in their wars against the Muhammadans of Madura; and after the death of Baḷḷaḷa III, they succeeded in destroying the Madura Sultanate, an event which 'transformed what was the kingdom of the Hōysalas into the empire of Vijayanagar.'

5. They asserted their independence after A.D. 1346 'by which time, perhaps, Baḷḷaḷa III died.'

Of these conclusions, only the first two are important, and the other three are corollaries which follow from them. Therefore, it is not necessary to examine all of them, and we shall confine our attention to the first two in the following section.

II

The conclusions of the writers whose views we have cited above are based upon faulty premises. The method which they have employed in the investigation of the problem is not at all satisfactory. Their work is one sided, as they depend entirely upon epigraphical evidence, ignoring more or less completely, the Muhammadan chroniclers, and Portuguese travellers. Their study of the inscriptions

1 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 171.
2 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, pp. 181-183.
3 The Nāyakas of Madura, pp. 3-4.
is neither exhaustive nor systematic, their assumptions are baseless, and identifications untenable.

All the writers mentioned above declare unanimously that the five brothers who founded the empire of Vijayanagar were vassals of Balla III. This is a gratuitous assumption for which we find no support in the inscriptions. We ask whether these writers can cite a single inscription, contemporary or later, in which the founders of Vijayanagar are described as the dependents of Vira-Balla III or any other Hoyasala prince. There is nothing, so far as we are aware, either in literature or popular tradition which establishes a connection between the Hoyasalas and the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. Nor can we find evidence in support of the proposition that Balla III appointed the five brothers to command the garrisons along his northern frontier. It is true that in 1352 A.D., 'three Hindu chieftains,' Horalt, Kapras, and Kampraz were governing the territory extending to the south of the Bhumini kingdom from the Konkan coast to the east of Bijapore. It is also true that Marappa and Muddappa were ruling Male and Mullagala Rajyas respectively; but we fail to understand how 'this impenetrable wall of garrisons under the five brothers' can be described as protecting the kingdom of the Hoyasala 'on its northern side.' The Hoyasala kingdom which perished in 1343 or 1344 required no protection on its northern frontier some eight or nine years after its extinction. It may, however, be pointed out that these five brothers were still holding in 1352, the territory which Balla III placed under their command about 1328. This is untenable. The dominions of Balla III never extended beyond the northern boundary of the modern Mysore State. The Konkan and the Male Rajya were included within the dominions of the Yadavas of Devagiri. After the death of Sankara Deya in A.D. 1312, they passed into the hands of the Rajas of Kampili between whom and Balla III there had always existed enmity. We learn from the inscriptions that at least there were three wars between Balla III and Kampili in all of which the latter appears to have been victorious. Therefore, it could not have been possible for Balla to have won any territory to the north of the Tungabhadra during this period. The kingdom of Kampili was destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1327, and was annexed to the empire of Delhi. After this, Balla III could have had no opportunity of conquering any territory in the north, not to speak of posting any officers to command the garrisons in the territory between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna.

It is said that after the destruction of Durasmudra by the Muhammadans in 1328, Balla transferred his capital to Tiruvannamalai where he is said to have resided constantly during the last fifteen years of his reign i.e., from 1328 to 1343. At the same time, he is said to have gone farther afield from Dwaramudra and laid the foundations of the city generally called Hosapattana or Viripakahapattana which ultimately became Vijayanagar. Ibn Batuta tells us that the army of the Sultan, 'after the death of the ed of Kampili,' proceeded towards the country

1 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 171.
2 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 171.
of the infidel (Bajjala III) with whom Bahauddin had taken refuge and surrounded it. Bajjala III submitted to the Sultan, and surrendered the fugitive. Ibn Batuta does not mention any damage that was done to the city. There was no reason why the Sultan’s troops should have destroyed the city when the enemy offered no resistance. There is no truth in the statement that after this event Bajjala III transferred his capital to Tiruvaippalai. The following table throws some light upon the movements of the king from A.D. 1328 to 1340.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>Cyclic year, month, etc.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.C. ix. Ht. 124</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>Vibhava Śrāvaṇa Śa 15</td>
<td>Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>R. C. xi. Cil. 4</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>Vibhava Śrāvaṇa ba 10</td>
<td>Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>E.C. xii. It. 55</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>Vibhava Kārtti ba 10</td>
<td>Dūrasamudra</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>E.C. ix. Db. 14</td>
<td>1251</td>
<td>? Vibhava Śrāvaṇa ba 10</td>
<td>Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>E.C. ix. Dv. 80</td>
<td>1251</td>
<td>? Vibhava Kārtti Śa 3</td>
<td>Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>E. C. v. Ak. 66</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>Prasūna Āśva Śa 12</td>
<td>Vīrāpākṣapaṭṭaṇa</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>E. C. xii. Gb. 30</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>Prajapti Āśva ba 3</td>
<td>Vīrāpākṣa-Hosadurgga</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>E.C. ix. Cp. 71</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>Prajapti Kārtti Śa 1</td>
<td>Anugamendra</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>E. C. ix. Nl. 9</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>Sṛsti Mārg Śa 10</td>
<td>Hosadeśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rep. Epi 401/1919</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>Bhāva Tai 2</td>
<td>Cōṇjevaram</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>E. C. ix. Br. 110</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>Yuva, Māgh ba 1</td>
<td>Dūrasamudra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>E. C. iii. Tr. 83</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>Dhāru, Pūsh Śa 1</td>
<td>Dūrasamudra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>E. C. v. Ak. 183</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>Bahu, Vās Śa 2</td>
<td>Dūrasamudra</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>E. C. ix. Ht. 43</td>
<td>1262</td>
<td>Bahu Magh Śa 5</td>
<td>Vīra-Vījaya-Vīrāpākṣapaṭṭaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>E. C. ix. Br. 117</td>
<td>1262</td>
<td>Pramādi, Ashādha Śa 5</td>
<td>Dūrasamudra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>E. C. ix. Br. 31</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>Vikruma Kārtti ba 3</td>
<td>Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that Bajjala III who was staying for at least one year at Uṇḍāmalapatiṭaṇa left it in A.D. 1330, and did not return to it until 1341. During this interval of eleven years, he was constantly moving from place to place in the Mysore country, as the exigencies of the administrative work demanded. He appears to have reached Dūrasamudra at last in 1335, and he resided there for six years, excepting for a short time in 1339 when he visited a place called Vīra-Vījaya-Vīrāpākṣapaṭṭaṇa. It cannot be maintained that Bajjala III abandoned Dūrasamudra, after it had been destroyed by the Mūsalmans in 1327 and made

Tiruvanamalai is his capital. We believe that Dōrasamudra was the only capital of Bāljāla III until his death in 1343, and the other instein should be regarded as only places of temporary residence.

Of all the myths that have crept into the field of South Indian historical research in recent years, the myth of Bāljāla's foundation of Hosapattana-Virūpākshapattana-Vira-Vijaya-Virūpākshapattana-Virūpāksha - Hosadurga - Hosabeļa - Hampi-Vijayanagar is the most astounding. This city of many alleys is said to have been built by Bāljāla III in 1328–9 on the banks of the Tungabhadra opposite to the fortress of Anegundi. We boldly assert that Bāljāla III never built any city not to speak of Hosapattana etc.-Vijayanagar:

(1) His inscriptions which give us information on a variety of topics such as the repairs conducted in temples, the reconstruction of the capital, and the building of new mansions by the king, do not mention the foundation of any new city, not to speak of Hosapattana. Although the names of the several places where the king resided are mentioned in the inscriptions, Hosapattana is not one of them.

(2) Hampi which is said to be the same as Hosapattana, does not contain any inscription of Bāljāla III or his subordinates, although he is said to have resided there for some years. An inscription of Sōmēśvara, the grandfather of Bāljāla III which is found in the temple of Virūpāksha is said to prove that Hampi was included in Bāljāla's dominions. In our opinion, it proves nothing of the kind.

(3) From an inscription of Kampala Dēva found at Hampi, we learn that the Prasanna-Virūpāksha temple on the Hāmakōta Hill was built by him. Hampi must have been included in the territory of Kampala. It must have passed into the hands of the Sultan of Delhi after the fall of Kummāta in 1327. The troops of the Sultan, as we have noted, proceeded at once to Dōrasamudra which they besieged in 1328. Vira-Bāljāla III submitted to the Sultan, and surrendered to him the fugitive Bahuzzadin. He is also represented as transferring his capital to the distant city of Tiruvanamalai on account of his fear of the Muhammadans. How could such a person have had the courage to lay the foundations of a new fortress in the territory that legally belonged to the Sultan, and that under the very walls of Anegundi an important place in the province of Kampili? Would the Sultan who was still at Dēvagiri have treated this encroachment upon his dominion with indifference? For these reasons we are obliged to reject the theory which attributes the foundation of Vijayanagar to Bāljāla III.

What has been said above must have made it clear that Harihara I and his brothers were not the feudatories of the Hoyasalas, and that Bāljāla III had nothing to do with the building of the city of Vijayanagar. The causes which led to the establishment of the Empire of Vijayanagar are to be sought elsewhere, and we shall address ourselves to the task presently.

III

(1) The Origin: Having stated our reasons for rejecting the views of the Hoyasala school of writers, we shall now proceed to describe the circumstances

1 Arch. Survey, 1926.
2 L. R., 46.
under which the Empire of Vijayanagar, according to the evidence of the inscriptions, was founded. We learn from one of the earliest inscriptions of Harihara I, the first king of Vijayanagar, that he *conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean.* He was assisted in his work by his brothers, Kampanpodeyar, Bukkamapodeyar, Mudappodeyar, and Munappodeyar. Another inscription *tells us that Harihara together with his brothers*, was governing the earth from his capital, *the great city of Hastinip.* Of these five (brothers) Bukka was the chief, like Arjuna, the middle Pāṇḍava.* We have to infer, therefore, from these early inscriptions that the Empire of Vijayanagar was founded by Harihara and his brothers of whom Bukka was the most important.

Who were these five brothers? What were the circumstances which helped them in founding the empire? The inscriptions, no doubt, tell us that they were the sons of Sangama of the Yādava Kula: but they do not give us any information regarding their early history. According to the Rāja Kāla Nirgraha, a Sanskrit chronicle which was probably written at the commencement of the 17th century, Harihara and Bukka, the most important of the five brothers mentioned above, were holding the offices of the treasurer and the usher respectively at the Court of Pratāpa Rudra II of Warrangal. When Pratāpa Rudra II was defeated and made prisoner by the Sultan of Delhi, these officers fled southwards, and took refuge with king Rāmanathā of Kurn descent who not only gave them protection but appointed them as the guardians of his treasury. After his death they were made prisoners by the Muslim soldiers who took them to the Sultan. They were kept in prison for a while, but were subsequently released, and made the rulers of Karnāta which they began to govern, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan, from the city of Hastikōṇa, on the banks of the Tungabhādra. Later, they defeated King Bajjāla, and wrested from him his dominions.* Then, they laid the foundations of the city of Vijayanagar which became the capital of the biggest medieval Hindu Empire in South India.

The connection of the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, with Pratāpa Rudra of Warrangal is also referred to by Kēlaḍī Basava Rāja in his *Śīra Tatvā Ramāhara.* He informs us that Harihara and Bukka who were the treasurer and the usher respectively of king Vīra Rudra, being pursued by the Muhammadans came to the court of king Rāmanathā, and took service under him as the officers in charge of his treasury. The same author alludes also to their sojourn in Northern India. He tells us that they went on a pilgrimage to Northern India, unable to bear the sorrow caused by the captivity of Vīra-Rudra.*
The *Kedali Nṛṣaṇa Viṣaya* of Lingage refers to them as Northern Kshatriyas who, having migrated to the South, entered into marital relations with the people of the Kuruba caste. We understand from the Bājāla Rāyana Yuddha that Harihara and Bukka were in the service of Kambil Rāya, the father of Kumara Rāmanātha as the custodians of his treasury. The author, Nanjunda, while enumerating the various nobles and the officers at the court of Kambil, speaks of them as Bhanḍarāda Harihara, and Bhanḍarāda Bukkappa. The writers whom we have cited state definitely that Harihara and Bukka (the founders of Vijayanagar) migrated to the court of Kambil from Warrangal after the defeat and imprisonment of Pratāpa Rudra II by the Muhammadans. They were made prisoners, and taken to the Sultan who kept them under custody for sometime. He released them subsequently and made them the rulers of Kārpata. The trustworthiness of these statements is shown by Zia-ul-din Barni, a writer who lived at the court of Muhammad bin Tughlak. He tells us that the person 'whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampil)' 1 to govern the province on his behalf was, 'one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak', the king of Warrangal. He became, according to Nizam, the founder of the city of Bikaner. The Kanyā Nāyak mentioned by Barni is said to be a son of Pratāpa Rudra II. Therefore, on the evidence of the contemporary historian Barni, we are justified in asserting that Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Empire of Vijayanagar, were persons of Telugu extraction, probably related to the Kālīyan royal family of Warrangal.

(2) The relation with the Sultan of Delhi: The relations between the Sultan of Delhi and the founders of Vijayanagar is briefly described by Barni thus: 'About this time (A.D. 1346) one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak whom the Sultan had sent to rule the land of Kambala (Kampil) apostatized from Islam and stirred up a rebellion. The land of Kambala was thus lost.'

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3 The Telugu origin of the kings of the Sangama dynasty is indicated also by stray references in the literature and inscriptions. The Kanarese writer Svaraṇa refers to Bukka I as 'Orugallu Bukka.' (Svaraṇa's *Kāḷījanāma*, v. 131, Or. Mus. Lib. 10-2-14, p. 156). Bukka I was the patron of the Telugu poet Nāchana Sōna, the author of *Uttara Harivamsa*. The book itself is dedicated to Hariharanātha which is taken to be a covert allusion to Harihara I. The similarity of the views of the king and the poet, regarding sectarian differences as revealed by a comparative study of *Harivamsa*, and the so-called *Rāmānujkacari Edicts* shows that the relations between them were very intimate. It is significant that the only vernacular poet whom Bukka ever patronised was a Telugu poet. We also learn from some of the inscriptions of the time (E.C. XII, Pg. 18, 72, 82 etc.) that several families of Telugu gowdas migrated to the Kanarese country and there is reason to believe that the migration was due to the initiative of the state. Again, Marapa, one of the five brothers who founded the Vijayanagar empire granted a village in Chamarajpet Rāya as an agrahāra to Telugu Brahmans who were dependent upon him. (E.C. VIII, Sh. 375). Lastly, Gānaga Devi, the daughter-in-law of Bukka I, in her *Mallarattiyam*, while offering the customary praises to the Sanskrit poets mentions, in addition to the great writers like Kālidāsa, Dandin, etc., some poets that flourished at Warrangal about the time of Pratāpa Rudra II. The names of these writers are Agastya, and Visvanātha. It is also very interesting to note that she speaks of a poet called Tikkarāja whose name is not known to the students of the Sanskrit literature. The Tikkarāja mentioned by Gānaga Devi is our famous Kavi Brahma Tikka, the author of the Telugu *Maha Bheṣaja* and *Niruṣṭhutatara Rūmāvaya*. These indications, although dim, point distinctly to the Telugu descent of the Sangama line of kings.

4 ELIOT AND DAWSON, III. P. 247.
VIJAYANAGARA.

It is clear from the above that Kampili formed part of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad before 1346. He sent one of the relations of Kanya Nàyak of Warrangal to rule it as his deputy: but he apostatized from Islam, and threw off the yoke of the Sultan in or about 1346.

NMia gives us more information. According to him, the person who was made the ruler of Nagundy (Anegundi) by the Sultan was Deorno, the minister of the old king of Nagundy whom the Sultan had slain some years before. With him was associated in the government of the province, the treasurer of the old king whom the Sultan had now raised to be the governor. He took from them oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals, and they were at once despatched and sent to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. Deorno with all his followers reached Nagundy safely; and Meliquy Niby, the Sultan's deputy in Nagundy, delivered up to him the fortress and the kingdom as the king his lord had commanded. 2

According to the Raja Kala NIRIYAYA, Harihara and Bukka, who had been kept in prison by the Sultan escaped from it by effecting a breach in one of its walls, on a dark and stormy night, but they were soon recaptured, and taken before the Sultan. That wise and virtuous monarch was very much pleased to hear of their capture. And, having made them, the rulers of Karnata, sent them thither with an army. The brothers who had thus been appointed by the Sultan to rule Karna 2a started on their journey with great joy and reached that land, after crossing the river Krishnaveni in boats. 3

It is obvious from these extracts that Harihara and Bukka, who had been taken prisoners at the time of the fall of Kummam, attempted to escape from the prison but were recaptured. The Sultan was, it is said, not only pleased with them but also appointed them as rulers of Karnata. This behaviour of the Sultan is very inexplicable. Probably, they obtained the Sultan's pardon by embracing Islam. The fact of their conversion to the religion of the Prophet, must have been one of the considerations which prompted the Sultan to send them to govern Karnata as his deputies. Meliquy Niby, acting in accordance with the instructions of his master, placed the administration of the province in their hands, and retired to Delhi. It was under these circumstances that Harihara and Bukka became the masters of the kingdom of Kambala, or Nagundy (Anegundi) which they began to rule as the subordinates of the Sultan of Delhi.

(3) (a) Extent of the Kingdom: It is not possible to define clearly the boundaries of the kingdom to rule which Sultan Muhammad sent the two brothers Harihara and Bukka. Probably, all the territory over which Kampaia ruled formerly passed into their hands. That at any rate seems to be the implication of a claim, which, according to Feraishta, Bukka is said to have made. When the Shamini Sultan Mujahid demanded that Bukka should evacuate the whole of the Raichore Doab, he replied, 'that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of the Doab, since Raichore and Mudkal had always belonged to the Anegundi family.' Further, he

1 Sewell: Forgotten Empire, P. 289. 2 Appendix A.
declared that "the Krishna river to be the true boundary." It appears from this that the founders of the Vijayanagar kingdom regarded themselves as the heirs of "the Arengundi family", whose territory comprised the whole of the doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra.

Nunis tells us that the Sultan of Delhi who had become the lord of all the country of Ballagate (the country above the ghats) passed the river Duree which forms the boundary of the territories of Ballagate, and of those of the king of Bissanga (Arengundi). The river Duree which is said to form the boundary between the dominions of the Sultan and those of the king of Arengundi seems to be an abbreviated form of Perudore or Hirendore, which is the Kanarese name for the Krishna. Therefore, it appears reasonable to suppose that in 1336 A.D. the kingdom of Harihara I was very limited in extent being practically confined to the Raichore Doab. It was probably for this reason that Gangâ Dévi refers to her father-in-law, Bubba az Kantala khânti pâla.

The same conclusion is forced on us by a study of the early Vijayanagar inscriptions. There are two copper plate grants of Harihara I dated in 1336 A.D.; and these are justly rejected as spurious. If we exclude these two, the earliest dated inscription is the Bâlami inscription of 1340 A.D. We do not find in the Hoyasala dominions even a single Vijayanagar inscription bearing a date anterior to 1342 by which time the whole of the west coast appears to have passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers. The Hoyasala inscriptions are found in 1343 in the Anantapur District, and the earliest Vijayanagar inscription belongs to a later date. It is clear, that the authority of Harihara I did not extend over the Hoyasala dominions until 1342 A.D. Therefore, his dominions before this date extended from the Krishna in the north to a line drawn across the peninsula along the latitude of Hampi in the South.

(b) The Capital: The first capital of Harihara I was the city of Arengundi. We understand from the chronicle of Nunis that Deora was ruling at the city of Nagundy (Arengundi), before he built Bionaga. The statement of Nunis is borne out by the inscriptions. Both the Kapalîr and Bestarabalgâ plates mention the city of Kunjerakôna as the capital. An inscription of Mârappa dated 1347 tells us that Harihara’s capital was "the great city of Hastini." In some of the inscriptions of Harihara II, it is referred to as Hastinâvati. According to the Râja Kala Nirjaya, Harihara I, was ruling at the city of Hastikôna, prior to the construction of the city of Vijayanagar. Therefore, the first capital of Harihara I was Arengundi which was also known by other names such as Kunjerakôna, Hastikôna, Hastini, and Hastinâvati.

4. The Struggle with Bajjâla III: A study of the inscriptions of the period reveals that between the years 1335 and 1340, Bajjâla III was in the Kanarese

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1 Sewell: Forgotten Empire, p. 40.
2 Madhuravijaya: Trivandrum Oriental Series.
3 Nellor District Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 18; E. C. Bg. 70.
6 E. C. VIII Sb. 375.
country constantly moving from place to place. We also learn that his sway was recognized all over his dominions, and that his authority showed no sign of decline. At the same time, the rulers of Vijayanagar were also active, and, towards the close of the period, their sway appears to have extended from Konkan to Cuddapah. The nature of the relations between the two powers cannot be definitely ascertained from the inscriptions. They, no doubt, allude to the constant fighting which Ballāla and his generals were carrying on along the northern frontier with some enemy whose name is not mentioned. The only enemy with whom Ballāla could have fought at this time along the northern frontier was the king of Vijayanagar. We learn for the first time from the Rāja Kāla Nṛpāya that Harihara and Bukka, attacked Ballāla III, soon after their return from Delhi, but were defeated; however, they renewed the attack, and succeeded not only in defeating Ballāla but wrested his dominions also from him.¹ The statement of the Rāja Kāla Nṛpāya is confirmed by the evidence of the inscriptions of Bukka I and his subordinates which allude to the wars which they waged against the Hōyasaśa. Mallinatha Voḍeyar, the son of Aliya Saṭyī Nāyaka claims to have acquired greatness over the Hōyasaṇa army.² Tippā Rāja probably a sāmanta of Bukka captured the fort of Uchchhānghī.³ The capture of Uchchhānghī is referred to in another inscription which also mentions that Tippana Voḍeyar and Teppa Naγaṇa, the saḥāpati of Bukkārāya were unwilling to give up Sesāvīr in the Hōyasaṇa country.⁴ Bukka is said to have 'freed from the enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dōrāsamudra, (and) ruled over an empire perfect in seven parts.'⁵ In an inscription of 1354 A.D., he is stated to have been ruling at Hosapitapura, 'after making the Hōyasaṇa kingdom an ornament to his arm 'i.e., after conquering it.' Putting the information contained in the Hōyasaṇa and the Vijayanagar inscriptions together, we draw from it the necessary inference that Ballāla III and the sons of Sangama were fighting with each other during this period.

The struggle between the two powers lasted from 1336 to 1343 A.D. This period of seven years naturally falls into two divisions:

(a) From 1336 A.D. to 1340: The struggle began in South Kanara. The city of Bārakāra is said to have been the capital of Ballāla III in the district. About 1336 A.D., Harihara I who was governing Konkan pushed southward and built a fortress at Bārakāra.⁶ Ballāla sent two of his generals, Baṭṭhappa Daṅgāyaka and Aţṭjayaśāhī in 1336, ⁷ probably to check the advance of Harihara, and prevent Bārakāra from falling into his hands. Harihara appears to have made a concentrated effort to capture the place in 1338 A.D. The attack was so vigorous that Ballāla's generals entertained the idea of abandoning the city altogether. Ballāla hastened to the place, and commanded Ankeya Nāyaka, his general in charge of operations 'to remain in Bārakāra'. When the general replied, 'I will stay, jīya', the king was so pleased with the answer that he granted him the village of

Aladahalji. Probably the Hoysala generals held the place until 1339. It is clear from this inscription that the Hoysala army at Barakur was in a desperate condition. The city must have been taken by Harshara soon after. The whole of Konkan was incorporated with the Vijayanagar Empire sometime before 1342. The actual date of the conquest of the west coast was probably 1340, when Ballala III retired to the southern part of his dominions.

Fighting was going on at the same time between the two powers in the Kolar district. The Hoysala army was placed under the command of Ballappa Damayaka, the younger brother of Dati Singeya Damayaka. We come across a series of inscriptions bearing the dates 1337 and 1339, which record the grants of certain private individuals made for the success of the sword and arm of Ballappa Damayaka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>E. C. x. Ct. 33</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>The great Pasayitta...Damayaka and the inhabitants of Periyamaju</td>
<td>For victory to the arm of the great minister Dati Singeya Navakar's younger brother Vallappadamayaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>E. C. x. Kl. 54</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>Devappar of Kojamalibhur</td>
<td>For the success of the sword and arm of Sri Pousana Viravalija Deva's son Periya Vallappadamayaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>E. C. x. Bp. 26</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>Four Subordinate of Ballappa Damayaka of Navaanjaleju</td>
<td>For the success of the sword and arm of Dati Singeya Navakar's younger brother Vallappadamayaka.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grants such as these show that the war in the Kolar district commenced in 1336, and it became fierce in 1339. It continued probably with great vigour until the middle of A.D. 1340 when Ballala III went from Durasamudra to reside at Umanalepatna, his southern capital.

(6) 1340 to 1344: While the war was still going on along the northern frontier of his kingdom, Ballala was obliged to hasten to Tiruvannamalai, his capital in the Tamil country. His departure from Durasamudra must be attributed to the aggressive policy of the Sultan of Madura who began to attack the Hoysala kingdom in the South. The following facts must be noticed in this connection:

1. Ballala III performed the anointment of his son in 1340.
2. He left Durasamudra and went to reside at Umanalepatna in 1340.
3. Ahsan Shah, the first Sultan of Madura was murdered in 1340.
4. Allaud-din Udajji ascended the throne in 1340.

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1 E. C. V. Ak. 183.  
2 E. C. VIII Sb. 263.  
3 E. C. IX. Br. 111.  
4 E. C. IX. Dv. 54.  
5 E. C. IX. Dv. 54, and also Epl. Rep., 102-127.  
6 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 185.  
7 Ibid.
(5) Ballāla III led a mighty army as far as Rāmēsvaram where he planted a pillar of victory in 1341.  

We believe that the murder of Allauddin Ahsan Shah, and the accession of the fiery Allauddin Udānji to the throne of Madura were the causes of the departure of Ballāla III from Dōraamudra in 1340. The achievements of the new sultan are described by Ibn Batūta as follows: 'At the end of this time he (Allauddin Udānji) set out to conquer the infidels. He took a considerable amount of riches and ample spoils from them, and returned to his own state. The following year (1341) he led a second expedition against idolators, routed them, and massacred a large number.' It is evident that Udānji attacked the Hoyasala dominions to protect which Ballāla was obliged to hasten to the south. Therefore, he anointed his son, probably as king, and placing him at the head of the government of his northern provinces, he retired to the south for the purpose of prosecuting warfare against the Muhammadans with vigour. In 1341 he appears to have conquered the east coast as far as Rāmēsvaram where he is said to have planted a pillar of victory.

The inscriptions do not reveal any trace of warfare between the years 1340 and 1343. We know that Ballāla III died in the middle of 1342, and his son Vira-Virūpāksha Ballāla (IV) ascended the throne in 1343. Ballapa dhāmpāyaka appears to have been associated with him in governing the kingdom. Fresh warfare commenced, as shown by the following table, once again in 1343.

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>E. C. 9. Mr. 16</td>
<td>1343</td>
<td>A trustee of the temple of the Aruḷḷanuṭha Perumal</td>
<td>For the success of the sword and arm of Vaiḷappā-dhāmpāyakar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>E. C. Cr. 89</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>Vaiḍamudram Perumal</td>
<td>For the success of the sword and arm of Bhikkarṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>E. C. Iv. Hs. 114</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>Certain people of the village of Chappara-dāppalli</td>
<td>Set up a Vrakṣa in memory of some cowards who fell in the service of Ḍiriyappa-Voḍerar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some reason for believing that the authority of Ballāla IV was not recognized by all his subjects. An inscription 1343 mentions one Tenkana Rāya Rīrēya-dhāmpāyaka with the Hoyasala titles. It does not contain the usual reference to the name of the reigning monarch. We may infer from this that 'petty chiefs' dependent upon the Hoyasalas began to 'set themselves forth as supreme.'

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1 E. C. IX. Mr. 82.  
2 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. p. 235.  
3 The practice of the ruling king anointing his son and placing him in charge of certain provinces of the kingdom was not unknown to the Hoyasalas. Shēkēvara anointed his son Narāyana III as king, and placing him in charge of the northern provinces, retired to the South.  
4 E. C. VI. Kd. 75.  
5 E. C. VI. Cr. 109.  
6 E. C. IV. Hg. 112.  
7 E. C. IV. Intro, p. 25.
Balljala IV is not mentioned again in any other inscription. Perhaps, he was killed in battle soon after his accession. Ballappa-daŋñayaka, his commander appears in a new roll. He seems to have married a daughter of Harihara I in 1346. The authority of the king of Vijayanagar was firmly established all over the Hoyasala dominions by 1344. The Hoyasala regime is referred to as a thing of the past in 1346. This is confirmed by the evidence of another inscription of the same year, which records a grant made by Harihara, his brothers, relations, and officers to Vidyäñirithas when they assembled at Sríngéri, to celebrate the festival of victory, after the conquest of the earth from the Eastern to the Western Ocean. Another inscription of the time of Harihara II informs us that when Hiriya Hariyappa-Ojeyyar was ruling the earth in the Hoyasana country, he came along with his brothers, and son-in-law Billappa-daŋñayaka to Sríngéri to pay homage to Vidyäñiritha Srípāda in the year Pårthiva (1346). It is clear from this that the celebration of the festival of victory was directly connected with the conquest of the Hoyasana country.

5. The declaration of independence. The year 1346 is also important from another point of view. It was the year in which the king of Vijayanagar shook off the yoke of the Sultan of Delhi. We have already stated, on the authority of the chronicle of Nunix and the Rāja Kāla Nīnaya, that Harihara I was sent from Delhi by the Sultan to rule the kingdom of Anegundi as his deputy. He appears to have been nominally dependent upon the Sultan until 1346, when, taking advantage of the general unrest prevailing in the Deccan, he asserted his independence.

'Speaking of the year A.H. 744 which lasted from May 26. A.D. 1343 to May 15, 1344,' Ferishta says, 'Krishna Naig the son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Warrangale, went privately to Bilāl Dew, Raja of Carnatic, and told him that he had heard the Muhammadans who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of exterminating all the Hindus, and that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them.' Bilāl Dew convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and, resolved, first, to secure the torts of his own country, and then remove the seat of his government among the mountains.' Bilāl Dew accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called after his son, Beeja to which the word muggar or city, was added, so that it was known by the name of Beejanuggar.'

The 'Bilāl Dew' whom Krishna Nāyaka of Warrangal visited in 1343-1344 for the purpose of inducing him to join a rebellion of all the Hindus of the South against the Muhammadans could not be Balljala III. We know from the inscriptions that Balljala III was in the extreme south of the Peninsula fighting with the Sultans of Mādura. He was killed in 'the capture of Beriñi smiting the Turuka army' on the 8th September 1342.' Ibn Batūta who was in South India about this time tells us that Balljala was 'taken prisoner, and treated with apparent consideration; and whilst under promise of eventual release, all his riches were extorted from him. He was then

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1 E.C. X. Mi. 61.  
2 E. C. Br. 126.  
3 E. C. VI. Sg. I.  
5 Swell: The Forgotten Empire, p. 29.  
6 Brico's Ferrikkle I, p. 572.  
7 E. C. VI. Kd. 75.
murdered ... *1. Ballal III was dead at least some six months before the date of Krishnä Nāyak’s arrival in the south. Therefore, the reigning Hoyasala king at the time of his arrival, was Ballal IV. And he is only known by a single inscription of 1343. As we have already noted, his reign lasted only for a short period; and his power was not very great. The Hoyasala territory passed into the hands of the king of Vijayanagar in 1344. It is highly improbable that Krishnä Nāyak went to Ballal IV who had little or no power, ignoring the mighty king of Vijayanagar to help him in his projected scheme of expelling the Muhammadans from the south. We learn from the early Vijayanagar inscriptions that about this time Harīhara, Bukka, and their famous preceptor Vidyārāraṇya were engaged in building the city of Vijayanagar. It is very probable, therefore, that the monarch whom Krishnä Nāyak visited in 1343–44 was Harīhara I, the founder of the empire of Vijayanagar, and not Ballal III, who died in 1342.

Harīhara I, after transferring the seat of his government from Ānegundī to the new city of Vijayanagar joined Krishnä Nāyak, and they succeeded in overthrowing the authority of the Muhammadans in the south. The general unrest and the rebellious attitude of the Deccanī Mussalmans against the Sultan helped the Hindus considerably in achieving success. It appears from the writings of Barmī that the rebellions at Warrangal and Kampili were connected. He says, ‘while this was going on a revolt broke out among the Hindus of Arangal (Warrangal). Kanyak Nālk (Krishnä Nāyak) had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makhul, the adil-Wazir, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanyak Nālk whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampili) ... stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala (Kampili) was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus.’

These events must have taken place between A.D. 1343 and 1346. The meeting of Harīhara I, his brothers, relations, and officers at Srungēri in 1346 was intended not only to celebrate the victory over the Hoyasalas but also over the Muhammadans. The celebration of the festival of victory must be regarded as the formal declaration of independence by Harīhara I and his brothers.

1 South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. P. 239.
2 Elkot and Dowsen III, p. 247.
प्रतिस्मित बालों कुश्चिक्रया प्रसरणयोऽपसरणयोऽ
कुश्चिक्रया हारी वैर चन्द्रमीपते:
सुरक्षित सिरिन्य कोरन्द्रेश्वरेष्वरे तदा
समनाय सिय व बले राजायां कोशन्याने
तंत्रिके इहे पपाद्य आचारयुत्य परार्ष्टी
अच्छो हरिहरोत्तम कनिंचो बुक्षांस्यः
सुरण्य मन्त्रायोगी वीरे वयंक्त शास्त्री
राजीवाधं भर्तृपध्यो नेत्राज्ञोलिङ्गाकुदी
द्वारिष्ठ: समापति सुरणागन्धरीणे
प्रातःक्षा मन्त्रायोगी सुरणार्दिष्ठिनः
गुंहेरी भारती श्राव समस्यो ततः मुच्छोः
तयायन्नायुं कणार्दा द्रैशंमल विश्रुवुवादः
तानाज्ञोत्ती सीरे हण्ण भहिती तदा
उद्देश मुच्छायं कणार्देणि समागतो
ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठार्दाने परिवेक्ष्ठी विश्रुवुवादः
चनन्ने परिश्रावानु चुष्मानु मुरार्दिष्ठी
अतार्के परिश्रावानु समवानु हर्षण तदा
प्रतिस्मित तरंतु योगोरेणमांसः
विदोत्तेः सघारश चन्द्रमोलेरतंदा
विष्णुप्रदर्शन खोम महोशास्म महासामः
इतःप्रसन्नोग्न सुक्वरत्नकर्त्तनमयः
सबिद्यद्विलालेव बिधारप्रस्यादमयः
सिद्धांशणाकाले ते महविष्ट्यत नरस्यः
वपिर्म शूर्योत्तेवु तदाश्लयुद्धसूक्ष्मः
ततः विवारी कौशिक शेषपुत्री महविष्ट्यः
तथोः पुत्री वैराक वसन्तायो भविष्यति
पत्तार दृश्या कर्ने तथाव तर्थोपथः
VIJAYANAGARA

* Is this Mahândhâ'svara whose soldiers killed Kâmanâtha, the same as Sultan Muhammad?
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A book that is shut is but a block

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.