LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. "Ativirarama Srivallabha Pandya and his times" - Ayvuk Kovai (proceedings of the 13th conference seminar papers of the All India University Tamil Teachers Association), Annamalainagar, 1981 (In press).

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THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF KELADI RULERS: A REVIEW

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One of the most important feudatory families which rose to power under the Vijayanagar rulers and who finally established themselves as an independent kingdom was that of the Nayakas of Keladi. Although the capital of the Keladi Kingdom was changed twice, first from Keladi to Ikkeri during the reign of Cauḍappa in A.D. 1511-12 and then from Ikkeri to Bednur during the reign of Virabhadranāyaka in A.D. 1639, and for some time in Bhuvanagiridurga in the reign of Cennammājī, it was still called the Keladi Kingdom. The inscriptions also refer to these chieftains as the Keladi Nayakas.

The main purpose of this paper is to re-examine the views of scholars who have discussed the chronology and genealogy of the Keladi rulers. The sources on which the problem will be examined consists mainly of the epigraphs and the two major literary works, Keladintavijayam and Śivatattvatratnākara and also the Portuguese, Dutch and English records.

Chauda Gauda (A.D. 1499—A.D. 1540)

The first member of the family and founder of the dynasty who rose to eminence was Cauḍa Gauda, hailing from a village called Pāḷiyabayalu near Keladi, in Shimoga district of Karnāṭaka State. According to Keladintavijayam and Śivatattvatratnākara, Cauḍappa was the founder of the Keladi Kingdom. The Keladintavijayam places Cauḍa's installation as the Chief of Ikkeri on Magha Śu. 3 of the year Siddhārthi, Śaka 1422, corresponding to 8th January 1500 A.D.°

As Cauḍappa's strength increased, Kṛṣṇadevarāya summoned him to his court and sent him to quell the rising of Śabars and others in the east. After his successful mission Cauḍappa was granted eight māganis of Keladi, Ikkeri, Perbayal,

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Yelagajale, Mōdür Kelise.............and Lātavadi. Finally he conferred the title of “Nāyaka of Keladi State” on Cauḍappa (Keladinēpavijayam and Śivatattvavadānākara affirm that the title of Nāyaka was conferred on Cauḍappa but this is not corroborated by any epigraphical evidence. The only inscription recording a grant of land made by him in A.D. 1506 does not mention him as Nāyaka but as Keladiya Cauḍa Gauḍa. An inscription in the Kalaśēvara temple at Kalasa, Mudgere taluk dated in the year (Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Śrāvaṇa Suddha 5) A.D. 1516 issued during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya which mentions an expedition of Bhujabala Mahārāya (“Busbalrao” of Nuniz) into Tulu Rājya and his camp at Mangalore to quell a rebellion of his feudatories in the area does not refer to Cauḍa. Probably he was a feudatory ruler enjoying autonomy, right from an earlier period.

An inscription of Sadāśivanāyaka, Cauḍappa’s successor refers to the following:

It states that Keladi Devagauḍa’s son was Gōpagauḍa and his sons Cauḍagauḍa and Bhadragauḍarasa associating Cauḍappa with the title arasa denoting his rulership.

Rice and Lakshminarayana Rao give a different story regarding Nāyakaship. Both the brothers Cauḍappa and Bhadra rebelled against the Tuluvá King Vira Narasimha in the general confusion of the period. The two brothers were seized and imprisoned at the capital. When the brothers offered their services to put down a rebellious chief successfully, the king appointed Cauḍa as the chief of Keladi.

An inscription belonging to the times of Cauḍappa (A.D. 1506) mentioned above informs us that his only title was edeia-tnurari. There are two records which throw some light on the
reign of Caṇḍappā's successors. One of them is dated A.D. 1534 (§. 1456) mentions a certain Koṇḍappa Oḍeśāru as governing Bārakūrurajyā under the orders of a Saṅkanna Nāyaka. Another epigraph of Acyuta Rāya from Uppuru in South Kanara district dated A.D. 1535 (§ 1457) states that Manglūru and Bārakūr Rājyas were given to Saṅkanna Nāyaka who in turn gave them over to Koṇḍappa Oḍeśāru. Swaminathan suggests that Saṅkanna may have been a surname of Caṇḍa, as his grandsons were given the names of Doḍḍa and Cikka Saṅkanna and so it is right to think that Chauda ruled till A.D. 1535-1540 and that Sadāśiva ruled between A.D. 1540-1565.

**Sadāśiva Nāyaka (A.D. 1540—A.D. 1565)**

The earliest known inscription of Sadāśivanāyaka, son of Caṇḍa is dated A.D. 1544. Chitnis however says that Sadāśiva Nāyaka ruled from A.D. 1513 to 1563. Lakshminarayan Rao believes that Sadāśivanāyaka came to power in A.D. 1544-45 and ruled till A.D. 1565. He bases his view on a stone inscription from Hoysāḷa in South Kanara District dated A.D. 1563, last inscription of Sadāśivanāyaka. Vasanth Madhava in his unpublished thesis concurs with the view of Chitnis that he ruled from A.D. 1509 to A.D. 1565. The views of Chitnis and Vasanth Madhava that Caṇḍappā ruled upto A.D. 1513 seems to be based entirely on the literary works. The earliest inscription of Sadāśivanāyaka is dated A.D. 1544. It is quite possible that Caṇḍappā might have continued to rule upto A.D. 1535 or A.D. 1540 because he also had the title of Saṅkanna as opined by K. D. Swaminathan. Till more evidence is forthcoming the view of Lakshminarayan Rao may be upheld and so it may be concluded that Caṇḍappā ruled upto A.D. 1535-40 and Sadāśiva Nāyaka continued to rule upto A.D. 1565.

**Sadāśiva's Successors (A.D. 1565—A.D. 1586)**

It is held by Chitnis that DoḍḍaSaṅkanna Nāyaka, son of Sadāśiva Nāyaka ruled from A.D. 1563 to A.D. 1570. This view is supported by Keladinpavijayam—which records that immediately after the death of Sadāśivanāyaka, his eldest son Doḍḍa Saṅkannaṇāyaka succeeded to the rulership of Ikkeri.
According to Śivatattvaratnakara Sadasiva Nayaka conferred the title of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka on his younger brother Bhadrappa after the latter returned from his pilgrimage. Bhadrappa subsequently ruled for some time and nominated the elder of his two nephews Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa as his successor and the younger Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa as his heir-apparent. The rulership of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka is also supported by an inscription dated A.D. 1566 referred to as the ruler of Araga Rājya.

Swaminathan also surmises that this Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka was the title of none else than Bhadrappa, younger brother of Sadasiva Nayaka and that after his one year rule or death in A.D. 1567 he was succeeded by Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa Nayaka who continued to rule up to A.D. 1570 evidently because the earliest known inscription of Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa Nayaka, his successor is dated A.D. 1571 only.

Lakshminarayan Rao identifies Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka with Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa on the basis of copper plate grant of Venkatappa Nayaka I dated A.D. 1592.

The identification of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka is conflicting and it cannot be determined precisely due to lack of substantial evidence. Chitnis and Lakshminarayan Rao believe that Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa Nayaka who succeeded his elder brother Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa ruled from A.D. 1570 to A.D. 1580 and governed his kingdom some times jointly with his nephew Rāmarājā.

K. D. Swaminathan is however of the opinion that Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa Nayaka succeeded in A.D. 1570 his rule continued up to A.D. 1586. The earliest record of Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa is dated A.D. 1570 and the latest known record is dated A.D. 1580. Epigraphs of Rāmarājā, son of Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa range in dates from A.D. 1570 to A.D. 1586. The overlapping of dates of the two princes may be explained with the help of a lithic record from South Kanara dated A.D. 1577, which states clearly that Saṅkaṇṇa and Rāmarājā were ruling jointly over Guttī, Araga, Bārakuru and Mangaluru. Basing on these evidences Swaminathan concludes that these two princes ruled jointly.
till A.D. 1580. Though the latest available date for Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa above is only A.D. 1580, one finds inscriptions of his co-ruler Rāmarāja as late as A.D. 1582 and A.D. 1586. We can therefore conclude that Rāmarāja ruled jointly with his uncle till A.D. 1580 and there after independently till A.D. 1586. K. D. Swaminathan is of the opinion that Rāmarāja Nayaka successor of Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa continued to rule independently after the death of the latter in A.D. 1580. Earlier he was ruling jointly with his uncle from A.D. 1570 to 1580 as is clear from the evidence of an inscription dated A.D. 1573. It states that he was ruling Araga, Gutti, Bārakūru and Mangalūru under the orders of Śrīraṅga Rāya. Another inscription of A.D. 1573 records that Kalise in the Keladi Sime was conferred on Rāmarāja Nayaka of Keladi as Kanatci by the emperor. Lakshminarayan Rao corroborates the informations as given above. Vasantha Madhava refers to four inscriptions of Rāmarāja Nayaka from A.D. 1571 to A.D. 1586 which speaks of Rāmarāja as the ruler and he concludes that Rāmarāja Nayaka succeeded his father some time before A.D. 1571 and ruled upto A.D. 1586.

Venkataappa Nayaka I (A.D. 1586—A.D. 1629)

Epigraphs largely help us from the period of Venkataappa Nayaka I and hence there is not much controversy over dates of accession and death. As the earliest known record of this ruler is dated A.D. 1592, Lakshminarayan Rao places his reigning period between A.D. 1592 and A.D. 1629. Till A.D. 1613 Venkataappa Nayaka I acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata-raya I, the Vijayanagar emperor. This fact is borne out by an inscription of A.D. 1613 in which year he is stated to be ruling Tulurājya and Malerājya as a subordinate of Venkatapatidēva Mahārāya.

The inscriptive evidences are corroborated by the observations of the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle who visited Ilkēri in A.D. 1623. "This prince, Venkataappa Naicka", states Pietro, "was sometimes vassal and one of the ministers of the great king of Vidia Nagar . . . but after the downfall of the king . . . . Venkataappa Naicka remained absolute prince of the
state of which he was governor, which also being a good soldier, he hath much enlarged.

Chitnis however believes that Venkatappa Nayaka I succeeded his elder brother Ramaraja Nayaka in A.D. 1582 and ruled till A.D. 1629, while K. D. Swaminathan fixes the rule of Venkatappa Nayaka I between A.D. 1586 and 1629. He further says that Venkatappa was an associate of Ramaraja Nayaka since A.D. 1582 and assumed full honours as an independent ruler in A.D. 1586 (probably Ramaraja dying in that year the last known date for Ramaraja Nayaka). Vasantha Madhava is of the view that Venkatappa succeeded his brother Ramaraja Nayaka sometime between A.D. 1586 and A.D. 1592. Based on these evidences we can surmise that Venkatappa Nayaka I ruled from A.D. 1586—A.D. 1629.

Virabhadra Nayaka (A.D. 1629—A.D. 1645)

Virabhadra, grandson of Venkatappa I, succeeded him and ruled from A.D. 1629 to 1645—opinion shared by L. N. Rao, Chitnis and K. D. Swaminathan, but the latter agreeing with the date of accession only. The earliest inscription of Virabhadra is of A.D. 1629 which is also referred to as the first year of his reign in the Keladinravijayam. A copper plate grant of Virabhadra dated A.D. 1630 refers itself to the reign of Virappa Nayaka, son of Ramaraja Nayaka. Though this prince is mentioned in the Keladinravijayam under the name of Vira Odeya, he is not known to have ascended the throne, on the basis of this evidence L. N. Rao conclude that if the grant was genuine, he must have ruled jointly with Virabhadra. The latest date for Virabhadra is A.D. 1645 as recorded in the inscriptions and in Keladinravijayam. However V. Rangacharya opines that Virabhadra continued to rule till A.D. 1649 and quotes us inscriptions in support of it, recording a grant to Krishna temple in Udupi in that year.

Sivappa Nayaka (A.D. 1645—A.D. 1660)

Sivappa Nayaka ruled from A.D. 1645 to 1660 and this view supported unanimously by L. N. Rao, K. D. Swaminathan and
Chitnis. As Virabhadra had no sons, he placed the administration in the hands of his grand-uncle Śivappa Nāyaka and Venkatappa Nāyaka II, having crowned the elder of the two.

One of the Portuguese records of A.D. 1644 refers to a clash between the two and the epigraphs of Śivappa range from A.D. 1652 to A.D. 1659, the latest known date of Virabhadra is A.D. 1645.

The Cikkadevarāyavātavāloji informs us that Śivappa got his chief Virabhadra Nāyaka murdered.

Śivappa’s Successors

On the death of Śivappa Nāyaka his brother Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II ascended the throne in A.D. 1660-61 and ruled for a year, corroborated by the evidence of the Śivatattvaratnakāra and Keladinarajavījąjavam.

Added to this The Batavia Dagh Register also refers to Venkaṭappa and speaks of his relations with the Dutch. Further there are two inscriptions of this ruler dated A.D. 1560. Evidences regarding his short reign are meagre.

Lakshminarayan Rao and Chitnis mention that Bhadrappa Nāyaka, son of Śivappa Nāyaka and successor of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II ruled from A.D. 1661 to A.D. 1663. But Swaminathan differs from them slightly and fixes the date as from A.D. 1662 to A.D. 1664. Bhadrappa’s earliest inscription is dated A.D. 1662 and the latest known record of his is dated A.D. 1664 and since there is no grant of his beyond A.D. 1664, he must have died in that year. This is also confirmed by the English records which mention that Śivappa Nāyaka’s son Bhadrappa was killed by some Brahmins.

Chitnis assigns to Śomāśekhara Nāyaka I (the younger brother of Bhadrappa Nāyaka) a reigning period from A.D. 1661 to A.D. 1677.

Vasantha Madhava is of the view that Śomāśekhara Nāyaka I ruled from A.D. 1664 to A.D. 1672 basing his view on a Dutch record that Bhadrappa was poisoned in A.D. 1664. The last date for Śomāśekhara Nāyaka I was believed to be A.D. 1671.
But this view has been modified in the light of two inscriptions belonging to his reign dated A.D. 1674 and A.D. 1677\(^*\). Lakshminarayan Rao is however of the view that the reigning period of Sōmaśēkharā Nāyaka I extended from A.D. 1663 to 1677 because the earliest record of Sōmaśēkharā Nāyaka I is dated A.D. 1663\(^*\). Swaminathan holds his last date to be 1671\(^*\).

The conclusion seems irresistible, that Sōmaśēkharā Nāyaka I lived upto A.D. 1677 though the administration of the kingdom was being carried on by his wife Cennammājī from A.D. 1671 to 1677 in the name of her husband.

This also substantiates the view of Lakshminarayan Rao that Cennammājī had total reigning period ranging from A.D. 1661 to 1697, first jointly from A.D. 1661 to 1671 followed by a period of regency (A.D. 1671—77) and finally independently (A.D. 1677—97).

**Cennammājī** (A.D. 1672—A.D. 1697)

Although the independent rule of Cennammājī extended effectively from A.D. 1677 to 1697, (A.D. 1696 according to K. D. Swaminathan) she had made an independent grant as early as in A.D. 1661\(^*\).

The inscriptions of Cennammājī range in dates between A.D. 1672\(^*\) and A.D. 1695\(^*\).

**Cennammājī’s successors** (A.D. 1697—A.D. 1763)

Basavappa Nāyaka I, the adopted son of Cennammājī ruled from A.D. 1697 to A.D. 1714\(^*\) is also the views of Chitnis and Vasantha Madhava. The earliest inscriptions of Basavappa is dated A.D. 1697\(^*\) and the latest known date for him from epigraphs is A.D. 1714\(^*\). Swaminathan however places his accession in A.D. 1696, while Lakshminarayan Rao says that his rule began in A.D. 1702.

Sōmaśēkharā Nāyaka II, son and successor of Basavappa Nāyaka I ruled from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1739, to be more specific from A.D. 1715 to 1739\(^*\). Lakshminarayan Rao however says that Sōmaśēkharā Nāyaka II ruled from A.D. 1722 to A.D. 1737 (A.D. 1714—39) and here we have to note that Lakshminarayan...
Rao is silent about the intervening period (from A.D. 1714 to 1722). The earliest record of Somaékhara is dated A.D. 1698 besides his sannads ranging from A.D. 1698 to 1706 all those issued during the reign of his father in the capacity of a joint ruler.

Basavappa Nayaka II succeeded his uncle Somaékhara Nayaka II in A.D. 1739 and ruled till A.D. 1754. But Swaminathan places the end of his rule in A.D. 1755. The earliest known inscription of Basavappa Nayaka II is dated A.D. 1740 and of his successor Cenna Basavappa Nayaka in A.D. 1755.

Cenna Basavappa adopted son and successor of Basavappa Nayaka II occupied the throne in A.D. 1754 and ruled nominally till A.D. 1757, while all power was exercised by his adopted mother Virammaji. After the so-called murder of Cenna Basavappa narrated elsewhere Virammaji continued her de facto rule till A.D. 1763 placing Somaékhara Nayaka III as a nominal ruler on the throne. With Haidar's invasion and occupation of Bednur in A.D. 1763, the strong and influential Keladi Kingdom became a part of Mysore territory after an independent and glorious rule of nearly two centuries.

References

1. The views of the scholars on the above problems are found in the following publications (Abbreviations used subsequently for books are given in brackets):
   (a) Chitnis, K. N., Keladi Polity, Dharwar, 1974. (K.P.)
   (b) Dikshit, G. S., Keladi Nayakaru, Dharwar, 1975. (K.N.)
   (c) Jois, Gunda, Keladi Samsthana, Bangalore, 1972. (K.S.)
   (d) Kodad, S. B., Keladi Raíya, Delhi, 1978. (K.R.)
   (e) Swaminathan, K. D., The Nýakás of Ikkéri, Madras, 1957. (N.I.)
2. Keladinrpavijayam, pp. 7-8. (K.N.V.)
3. Ibid., Canto I, p. 28
4. K.N.V., pp. 18-26; If Chauḍappa's installation took place on this date the Vijayanagar king was Saluva Narasimha II.
6. E.C., VI, Mg. 41.
11. Ibid., No. 487 of 1928-29.
13a. K.N.V., p. 29.
14a. E.C., VII, Sk. 255.
16. Ibid., No. 283 of 1931-32.
20. Śivatattvaratnakara, Kallola V, Taranga 9, Verse 9. (S.T.R.)
21. E.C., VIII, Ng. 1 to 4; MAR, 1923, No. 73.
22. Ibid., Sb. 55.
27. E.C., VIII, Ti, No. 5.
32. E.C., VII, Sh. 2; M.A.R., 1938, p. 208; Ibid., 1923, p. 105; Rice Mys. II, p. 432; KNV., p. 70.
33. N.I., p. 40.
35. M.A.R., 1923, 107; KNV., p. 93; E.C., VII, Sh. 2; KNV., p. 71.
36. V.S.C.V., p. 263.
37. E.C., VIII, TI. 40; KNV., p. 106.
40. P.H.K., p. 119; E.C., VI, Sr. 11; M.A.R., 1925, No. 35; E.C., VIII, TI, 81.
41. N.I., p. 87; However K. D. Swaminathan criticises Chikkadevaraya Vamtiwani by stating that Shivappa Nayaka and his nephew Virabhadra Nayaka were closely related and the latter had helped Virabhadra to maintain himself the Ikkeri throne and so he concludes that Shivappa was not a usurper.
42. N.I., p. 102.
45. N.I., p. 108; (Foster: English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 343). Even the Dutch sources state Bhadrappa was poisoned, Batavia Dagh Register, 1664, p. 325.
46. K.P., p. 20.
47. V.S.C.V., p. 265 (Both according to Rice and KNV); P.H.K., p. 123, Foster op. cit., 1661-64, p. 343-344. The English records are wrong in reporting the death of Somaşekhara Nayaka I, on the other hand from other sources we are in a position to know that Bhadrappa died in A.D. 1664.
50. E.C., VIII, Tl. 92; K. D. Swaminathan basing his view on a record of A.D. 1671, believed to be the latest record of Sōmaēkhara Nāyaka I, places his reigning period as from A.D. 1664 to 1671.


51. E.C., VIII, Tl. 118.

52. E.C., VIII., Tl. 46—The independent grant dated A.D. 1661 of Cennammāji (it must be noted) falls in the reign of Bhadrappa Nāyaka, the elder brother of Sōmaēkhara Nāyaka I, regarding whom inscriptions supply us with the dates ranging between A.D. 1661-1663. How the queen could make a grant in the reign of Bhadrappa? We have to surmise that Sōmaēkhara also began to rule in A.D. 1661 and was co-regent with his elder brother up to A.D. 1663 (earliest known date E.C., VII, Sk. 27) and the queen ruled jointly with her husband right from the commencement of his rule—see K. D. Swaminathan, N.I., p. 118; P.H.K., p. 125. The view of Vasanta Madhava fixing the commencement of Cennammāji’s rule in A.D. 1672 seems to be based on an English record of the same year which refers to the murder of Sōmaēkhara I; but it is difficult to accept the opinion because there are inscriptions of Sōmaēkhara dated A.D. 1674 and A.D. 1677. It is very likely that Sōmaēkhara Nāyaka I continued to rule nominally till A.D. 1677 and died a natural death in the same year. Cennammāji evidently acted for her husband during this period because he was mentally deranged. It is very likely that the English factors must have taken the extreme stand giving the entire episode the colour of a murder; until further evidence is forthcoming the view of L. N. Rao can be supported.


57. V.S.C.V., p. 269.
58. N.I., p. 144.
59. E.C., VIII, Ng. 32.
62. Buchanan: Journey through Madras, etc., p. 127; Public Department Diary, 1757, No. 30 B, p. 453: “The younge Raja of Bidnūre has been murdered by his mother on 17t July”. The Ḥaidar Nama states that Cennabasavappa was treacherously strangled by the neck during the act of shampooing through a professional athlete and this is confirmed by Wilks: History of Mysore, I, p. 503. There is a Kannada novel entitled Cannabasavanayaka written by Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (Jeevana Publications, Gavipuram, Basavangudi, Bangalore) which brings into prominence the leading characters in the story, Virammāji, Cennabasava Rāja, Rāma Candūr and Lingappa.
63. Virammāji was a shrewd queen and allowed her adoptive sons no power and she was in amour with one Nimbaya, mean person which had become a public scandal and for this Cennabasavappa Nāyaka remonstrated her against his ways. For this reason he was caused to be murdered by the queen by being strangled in bath by a jāttī, a professional athlete who used to shampoo him; see K. D. Swaminathan N.I., p. 151.
64. For the tragic end of Kejadi rule—see K. D. Swaminathan N.I., p. 162.

*I am thankful to Dr. G. R. Kuppuswamy, Lecturer in the Department of History and Archaeology, Karnataka University, Dharwar for his suggestions.
## Chronological Chart
(The dates are in A.D. only)

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<tr>
<th>Rulers Name</th>
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<th>L. N. Rao</th>
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