INTRODUCTION

The Vijayanagara Empire, founded by Harihara and Bukka with the material support and spiritual blessings of Vidyārāṇya in 1336 A.D., flourished for nearly three and a half centuries. The empire, originally possessed of a limited area and meagre resources, was considerably expanded by Kumāra Kampaṇa, Harihara II and Devaraya II and reached the zenith of its power and prosperity under Krishnadevaraya. This development was felt a great menace to their own safety by the Sultāns of the Deccan. They united together and administered a severe blow to the Vijayanagara Empire by beheading Rāmarāya the de facto ruler on the famous battlefield of Bāκṣa-Tangaḍi (1565). Undaunted by the terrible loss sustained by them in 1565 the rulers of the Aravidu Dynasty - especially Venkaṭapatiṇīya II - made strenuous efforts to revive the glory of Vijayanagara. Though they could not revive the glory of the days of Krishnadevaraya and Rāmarāya, they at least succeeded in postponing the extinction of the Vijayanagara empire by a century more.

The Vijayanagara empire at the heyday of its prosperity extended almost over the whole of South India.
The Vijayanagara emperors ruled over large parts of the Telugu, Tamil and Kannada speaking areas. The dynastic history of the Vijayanagara rulers was written during the early part of this century by Robert Sewell and Rev. Henry Herns. In writing the dynastic history of the Rayas of Vijayanagara Robert Sewell made use of the chronicles of Paes and Munis whereas Father Herns depended largely on other Portuguese sources.

The late M. Somasekhara Sarma with whom I had the rare privilege of working as a colleague on the teaching staff of the Department of History, Andhra University, had suggested to me that I might undertake a study of the history of the Telugu speaking areas under the Vijayanagara rulers with special reference to the feudal families that flourished then and the important forts and rajas in that region. Such a study, Mr. Somasekhara Sarma believed, would throw further light on the history of Vijayanagara.

The Telugu speaking people under the Vijayanagara rule were inhabiting, roughly, the area covered by the modern districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittor, Nellore and Guntur. Sometimes the Rayas might
have lost the northern portions of their empire including the fort of Udayagiri to the Gajapathis of Orissa but that was only a temporary loss. Soon the lost territories were recovered under a more energetic ruler. The Telugu speaking areas in the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittoor and Bellary districts under the Vijayanagara rule came to be known as "Bayalasima" i.e. the territory of the Bayas.

The most important forts in the Telugu speaking area of the Vijayanagara empire were Udayagiri, Penugonda, Gutti, and Candikota. Each fort along with its adjoining territory was looked after by a governor appointed by the emperor. Besides the governors of forts there were the feudal chiefs who administered the fiefs granted to them by the Naya. The feudal fief was known as "amaram" or "nayankara" and the feudal lord as "Nayak" or "Amaranayaka".

In the Bayalasima area, these Amaranayakas belonging to various families came into prominence in the days of Vijayanagara and played a prominent part in the annals of South India. Some of these feudal families were: Maṭla, Velugōti, Pemmasani, Nandyāla, Gobburī, Jupalli, Jīllēla and Dāmerla. The Amaranāyakas belonging to these various feudal families can be described as the pillars on which the administrative system rested.
In these "Studies" I have attempted to reconstruct the political history of two important forts - Ulayagiri and Gandikota during specified periods under Vijayanagara rule and also the history of the Matla and Pemmasani chiefs. The events leading to the transfer of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penugonda after the fateful battle of Baksasand-Tanganji (1565) are discussed in Chapter IV. In the last chapter 'The Telugu Country under Vijayanagara Rule', the successive stages by which the Hayas of Vijayanagara conquered and occupied the Telugu country upto the river Krishna from the Reddis of Kondavidu and the Gajapathis of Orissa are discussed. Besides a critical evaluation of the administration of the Telugu country under the Hayas with special reference to the Nayankara system is made.

It has been my endeavour to give a complete account of the contribution of the Matla and Pemmasani families to politics, religion and art during the Vijayanagara period. But the source material is quite limited and on account of this difficulty, it has not been possible to give a complete picture of the achievements of each chief in all these fields. The chiefs of these families became famous in the
history of South India because of the active part they played in Vijayanagara politics. There were some occasions when they profoundly influenced the fortunes of the imperial family. For instance with the support of Pemmasani Yara Timmanayudu, Ramaraya succeeded in destroying Salakaraju Tirumala and setting up his own nominee Sadasiva on the throne. Hence, while writing the family history of these chiefs, it has become inevitable to refer in extenso to Vijayanagara history. It is not possible to reconstruct the history of Matha Ananta without giving a description of the Vijayanagara politics under Venkatapatiraya II.

SOURCE MATERIALS:

The source material used in these "Studies" can be divided into three categories, viz., (I) Mackenzie Manuscripts and Local Records, (II) Inscriptions and (III) Literature.

I. MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS AND LOCAL RECORDS:

The Mackenzie Manuscripts have been named after Colonel Colin Mackenzie who got them prepared at a huge
expense of money and labour. He came to India in 1780 as an engineer on the Madras Establishment of the East India Company and served in several capacities until he rose to the position of Surveyor-General of India in 1816. He breathed his last in 1821 in Calcutta.

Even when he was in England, Mackenzie was interested in Oriental Studies and Research. When he came to Madras on his first appointment, he found ample scope to prosecute his oriental studies further. He was deeply interested in Indian History and literature. During his stay in India, he collected various manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, maps and plans bearing on the literature, religion, history and manners and customs of the people of South India in as many of the languages as were current in South India, besides numerous additions from Ceylon and Java.

The method Colonel Mackenzie adopted in collecting historical material was this. He appointed one Pandit each for the four languages - Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Marathi - and sent them to those areas where these languages were spoken to collect historical material. The duties of these Pandits were: (1) to go to each village and to write
down its history on the basis of the information supplied by the Karanams and Munsiffs who maintained the records of the village. These historical narratives of the villages prepared by Mackenzie's Pandits are known as Kaifiyats.

(2) to collect palm-leaf manuscripts from the villages,
(3) to prepare copies of the inscriptions found in each village (4) to prepare pictures of beautiful buildings fit to be considered as specimens of architecture and sculpture (5) to write descriptive accounts of Mathas and caves situated in the forests near the villages that they visited.

The Pandits sent out by Mackenzie were paid decent salaries besides travelling and maintenance expenses. To ensure that they worked regularly without deceiving him, Mackenzie arranged that they should send him copies of their diaries once in every week. Under the patronage of Mackenzie, the Pandits prepared Kaifiyats in many languages of South India but those in Telugu are more numerous than others. It is not known exactly how much money he spent on the collection of these materials. But when he died in 1821 in Calcutta, the Marquis of Hastings, then the Governor-
General of India, purchased, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, the entire collection on behalf of the East India Company from the widow of the deceased for 10,000 pounds. A portion of this collection as well as several volumes of manuscript translations were sent to England in three batches. But the remaining portion consisting of the manuscripts and palm-leaf-tracts in the languages of South India were transferred from Calcutta to Madras.

The Mackenzie manuscripts formed the nucleus for starting a separate library for Oriental manuscripts. To the Mackenzie manuscripts were subsequently added the collections of Mr. C.P. Brown of the Madras Civil Service and of Dr. Leyden a great traveller and linguist. All these manuscripts are preserved to-day in the Tamilnadu Government's Oriental Manuscripts Library located in the Madras University Buildings, Chepauk, Madras.

The Mackenzie manuscripts were prepared by the Pandits of Colonel Mackenzie between 1782 and 1818. Most of these were written on Kondapally rough paper. When they were getting destroyed by ravages of time,
Mr. C.P. Brown who realised their precious value, got many of them copied. These true copies of Mackenzie manuscripts, prepared under the direction of Mr. C.P. Brown are known as Local Records. To-day it is very difficult to go through many of the Mackenzie manuscripts. But the Local Records, which are true copies of the Mackenzie manuscripts, are in a very good condition and can be made use of for historical research.

The Local Records contain very useful information about the history of Vijayanagara in general and the amaranāyakas in particular. In the reconstruction of the political history of the Mayagiri rājya and Gaṇḍikōṭa information recorded in the knāfiyats has been made use of. But for the most valuable material preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts, the reconstruction of the history of the Maṭla and Pemmasāni chiefs could not have been possible since the information supplied by the other sources is very limited. The knāfiyats of Chiṭṭi-vēli, Siddhavatam, Gaṇḍikōṭa and Tēdipatri containing very useful historical source material are of inestimable
value in reconstructing regional history during the Vijayanagara period. The Local Records contain traditional and legendary accounts regarding the early history of the place and the chiefs who ruled over them. But when we come to later Vijayanagara history i.e. from the days of Krishnadevaraya, these accounts are based upon genuine historical material which is otherwise supplemented by inscriptions and literary sources. Hence the information supplied by the Kaifiyats is taken as a very valuable source in the reconstruction of some aspects of Vijayanagara history in these "Studies".

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is a pioneer in this direction, that is to say, he is the first among the Vijayanagara historians to make extensive but judicious use of the information supplied by the Mackenzie Manuscripts and Local Records in his Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara and in the Introduction to the Further Sources of Vijayanagara History. He has paved the way for young research scholars in Vijayanagara.
history to undertake regional studies with the help of the material supplied by the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Local Records. I am heavily indebted to him for the inspiration that I derived from his numerous contributions to Vijaynagara history. Whenever I differed from some of his conclusions in these "Studies", I did so with great reluctance and deep humility.

II. INSCRIPTIONS:

Epigraphic evidence is a very important source since it more often the contemporary and direct evidence. In reconstructing the political history of Udayagiri and Gandikota forts, epigraphic evidence is largely made use of. Inscriptions supply us valuable information regarding the governors appointed by the Rayas to rule over the forts. Epigraphic evidence also shows that sometimes a governor of a fort appointed a commandant to hold the fort on his behalf. For instance, Pemmasani Timmanayudu II was holding the fort of Gandikota on behalf of its governor Saliya Govindaraja. Pemmasani Yara Timmanayudu was holding the same fort on behalf of the Nandyula chiefs. This indicates that the governor of
the fort who had important civil and military duties entrusted the actual defence of the fort to a commandant who was holding it on his behalf.

Inscriptions sometimes supply information which has got to be examined judiciously and reconciled with information supplied from other sources. The contents of the Bitragunta grant of Sangama II dated Saka 1278 are critically examined and utilised in reconstructing the political history of Udayagiri rāja. Similarly, the evidence supplied by the Penugonda inscription dated Saka 1499 which refers to the attack on the Penugonda fort by the generals of the Sultān of Bijapur is carefully examined and made use of in the chapter on the Transfer of the Capital to Penugonda.

Inscriptions issued by the chiefs of the Matla and Pemasani families are dedicative or donative in character and do not give much information about their political history. These epigraphs are of some use in determining the time of the chiefs since they are dated in Saka era with the corresponding cyclic year. Epigraphs issued by the Amaranayakas also tell us over which Simha the particular Nayak was
ruling and by which Nāya it was granted to him. In some cases, the subordinate officers of the Nayak like the Kāryakarta are mentioned in the inscriptions. This indicates that the Nayak who had to supervise his military forces, besides attending the royal court at regular periods, appointed a secretary on his behalf to look after the administration of the Nayankara fief. The chief features of the provincial and local administration and the various territorial divisions obtaining during the Vijayanagara period are known to us from epigraphic evidence.

Though many of the inscriptions issued by the feudal chiefs are dedicative or donative in character, there are a few which give us very valuable information about the political and other achievements of these chiefs. For example the Sidhout inscription of Matla Ananta gives a complete descriptive account of his achievements and also incidentally refers to the glorious deeds of his father, Nllamm. It is a very valuable document rich in historical information. This epigraph is discussed very extensively in Chapter V.
Thus it can be seen that information supplied by inscriptions forms a very important source for historical research. Hence I depended on epigraphic evidence since it is most reliable and references from the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy and other works are cited wherever information supplied by inscriptions was made use of.

III. LITERATURE

Much light is thrown on the history of the forts and feudal chiefs and of Vijayanagara by the literature of the period which may be divided for the purpose of the present study into three classes: (A) Indigenous Works, (B) Muslim Chronicles and (C) Foreign Accounts.

(A) INDIGENOUS WORKS

The indigenous literature consists of chronicles, Prabhandas, Kavyas etc. Under this category, mention may be made of (1) Sālayabhūtyudayamu (2) Saravatīvilāsamu (3) Prabhodhanandrādayamu (4) Jujimini
1. Šaluva-bhūdayasya, a historical work written in Sanskrit by Bājānātha Dīnīma gives an elaborate account of the achievements of Šaluva Narasimha. It throws light on the relations between Šaluva Narasimha and the Gajapati and their struggle for the fort of Udayagiri.

2. Sasvativilāsa is a work on polity or Dharmaśāstra. Even though Pratāparudra Gajapati is said to be its author, it is now widely believed that Lolla Lakshmīdhara, a court-poet of Pratāparudra was its actual author and not Pratāparudra himself. It gives very valuable information about the Gajapati rulers of Orissa and their relations with the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. It states that Purushottama Gajapati captured Šaluva Narasimha alive in battle and the
latter concluded a treaty with him by surrendering
the fort of Udayagiri.

3. *Prabodhachandrodayam* is a *kavya* written
by Nandi Mallayya and Ganaṭa Singayya and dedicated to
Ganga *pandri*, the minister of Basavabhūpala, the
governor of the fort of Udayagiri under the Gajapatis.
It furnishes information relating to the capture of
the fort of Udayagiri by Basavabhūpala. According to
this work, Basava, son of Təmmarāya of the Kanṭamaraṇa family, who is said to have been the adamantine gate
to all the forts of the Gajapatis, broke into the
fort of Udayagiri, in such a manner that he destroyed
the pride of all his wily foes, i.e., the Vijaya-
nagarā governor of the fort and his soldiers.

4. *Pillamarri Pīṇa Viṇabhadrā's Jaṁini*
*Bhūratamu* dedicated to Sāluva Narasimha and *Varāha-
purāṇamu* written by Nandi Mallayya and Ganaṭa Singayya
and dedicated to Narasa Nāyaka narrate the exploits of
Īsvara Nāyaka and his son Narasa Nāyaka who rendered
valuable services to Sāluva Narasimha in driving away
the Gajapatis from the south.
5. Krishnadvaraya in his Āmuktamālāyada enumerates the principles to be followed by a king in appointing provincial governors and commandants of forts. His political maxims are included in the chapter on the 'Political History of Gandikota'. Krishnaraya also narrates in this work the facts relating to the Kalinga campaign which was carried out in five distinct stages. Several other literary works — Allasani Peddana's Monucharitra, Bandi Timmana's Pārijātāpaharagama and Lukshminarayana's Sangīnasūrya-dayamuka — give us valuable information relating to the wars of Krishnarāya with Pratāparudra Gajapati, with particular reference to (a) the siege and capture of the forts of Uljayagiri and Kondavidu (b) the planting of the pillar of victory at Potnuru - Simhādrī and (c) the burning of Cuttack, the capital city of the Gajapatis.

6. Pāyavānakamu is a work (report) written by the agent (stānāpati) of Visvanādhanaṃyaka of Madura. The work is virtually a report of what happened at Vijayanagāra at the coronation of Krishnarāya and the years immediately following. It is difficult to say precisely
when it was written because it does not give any date. From the statement made by the stānāpati that he 'recorded in clear language the story of Krishnarāya as he heard it from others', it is quite obvious that he was not a contemporary of Krishnarāya. From the fact that its contents were versified by Kumāra Dhūrjāti sometime during the middle of the seventeenth century, it can be concluded it was written earlier that the middle of the seventeenth century. Besides describing various events connected with the reign of Krishnarāya, it also gives very useful information on the Ṛayankara system which is supplemented by the Portuguese chronicles of Nuhiz and Pas. It describes in detail the campaign of Pemmasāni Rāmalinga Nayaka against the three wazīrs.

7. Krishnarāyavijayamu written by Kumāra Dhūrjāti in the second half of the seventeenth century is a mere versification of the contents of Ṛayavāchakamun. The events connected with Pemmasāni Rāmalinganāyaka's campaign against the three Sultāns are graphically described in the verses of this work.
8. Chikkadevārayavamśāvalī, a chronicle of later Vijayanagara rulers gives us information about the transfer of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penugonda. It states that Tirumala changed his capital on account of constant attacks of the Muhammadans. It also states that this change was effected "a short time after the battle of Rākṣasī-Tangadi". This information enables us to know why and when the capital was transferred to Penugonda.

9. Vasucharitra of Rāmarājabhūṣana states that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khan. This refers to the attack on the fort of Penugonda by Māli Khān, the general of the Sultan of Bijāpur which was successfully repulsed by Savaram Chennappa, the commandant of the fort on behalf of Tirumala. This information is made use of in the chapter on the 'Transfer of the capital to Penugonda'.

10. Kakusthavijayamu is written by Maṭla Ananta, one of the greatest of the Amaranāyakas of the Vijayanagara period and the most distinguished
member of the Matla family. It gives us the genealogy of the Matla chiefs up to five generations. But, though this is a fine poetical work, the author has not given any information either about his achievements or of his predecessors.

ll. Kumudavatikalayana written by Matla Kumara Ananta has not so far been published. Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma kindly supplied to me the copy which he had taken from the original manuscript preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. This work contains very useful information regarding the achievements of some of Matla chiefs. It refers to the capture of the fort of Siddhavatam by Matla Ellama. Matla Ananta's victory against the Qutb Shahi forces in the Penugonda campaign, his encounter with Ravela Koḍa and Venkaṭādri and his expedition against Virappa of Madura are mentioned in this work. This information corroborates the evidence supplied by the Sidhout inscription of Ananta. This work also refers to the heroic part played by Tiruwengalanaṭha in defending Gopālarāja of Kandanavolu against the attack of the Sultān of Bijāpur.
12. Abhishiktarāghavāsamu written by Madinmiṃṭi Venkaṭapati on the request of Maṭla Tiruvengalanātha was dedicated to the latter's uncle Venkaṭarāmarāja. This work also has not so far been published but important passages taken from it are published in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. In this work the genealogy of the Maṭla chiefs is given up to ten generations. There are references to the achievements of the Maṭla chiefs. It refers to Ananta's victory over the Qutb Shāhī forces in the siege of Penugonda and Tiruvengalanātha's campaign against the Sultan of Bijāpur on behalf of Kandanaḍava Gōpāla-rāja. Thus this work corroborates the information supplied by the Sidhout inscription and Kumudavatī-kalyāṇamu.

13. Ramarājyaśu written by Andugula Venkayya deals mainly with the chiefs of the Āraṇid dynasty. It refers to some of the campaigns in which the Telugu feudal chiefs played a prominent part. For example the Penugonda campaign in which Maṭla Ananta and others fought valiantly on behalf of
VenkatapatiRaya II is described in this work. In such cases, to trace the circumstances in which the feudai chiefs went to the rescue of the Raya in defending the empire, material supplied by RamaRajyam is very useful.

14. BalabharagiVatsamu, written by Doneru Konermatha, narrates the events leading to the death of Salakaraju Tirumala on the banks of the Tungabhadra. A connected account of the various campaigns, leading to the death of Salakaraju Tirumala, in which Pemmasani Xara Timmennayaka and China Timmennayaka played leading parts can be given with the help of the material supplied by this work.

15. Channamaraju Channamaraju in his Churuahandrodvayamu mentions one Pemmasani Timma-bhumendrana to whom VenkatapatiRaya gave some presents in appreciation of his services. He also mentions one Pemmasani Peda Viranripala who was saved by his minister Lingaya when an elephant suddenly attacked the palanquin in which he was riding. Chitrakavi Ananta kavi in his book IndumatiParipayamu
states that his patron Pemmasāni China Timmāṇāyuḷu was the commandant of the fort of Gāndikōṭa. The information supplied by these two works is utilised in reconstructing the history of the Pemmasāni chiefs.

(B) MUSLIM CHRONICLES:

1. Mahomed Kāsim Ferishta wrote his book Tārik-i-Ferishta under the patronage of Ibrahim Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur. Ferishta claims to have consulted many historical works and his work is thus a statement based upon all the evidence that he has examined. As the writer follows the bare narrative style without assuming literary ornament, his work is very valuable for a factual understanding of the eventful periods of South Indian History. He is not free, however, from the prejudices and prepossessions of his age and environment. In spite of protestations of impartiality, he reveals himself as a Muslim writer, with a whole mental make-up and social temper, inexorably formed by his faith. If he could attain to a very high degree of impartial judgement in appraising the mutual relationship of the Muslim Sultānates, he is, however, woefully deficient as a
historical writer in recounting of the relations of the Deccan Sultans with the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and their subordinate chiefs. Not only is he deficient but he displays his deplorable ignorance of the history of the Hindu kingdoms upon which he is nevertheless very eager to pass judgement, and through his mendacity is very transparent indeed.

In all these, Ferishta is a victim to imperfections which are but natural in any historian, for, these imperfections are but human. In spite of his errors, Ferishta still remains one of the most helpful and instructive of historians. The modern historian, if wary and judicious, may glean much historical truth from Ferishta. Ferishta is a contemporary historian—writing from personal knowledge and observation.

Ferishta deals with the relations of Bijāpūr and Vijayanagara. His narrative is very helpful in reconstructing the history of Vijayanagara with special reference to the wars between that Hindu kingdom and the Muslim Sultānates, in which the Amara-nāyakas distinguished themselves as supporters of the
Raya. Ferishta is indispensable. His Tārikh-i-Ferishta is translated into English by Jonathan Scott and John Briggs. Briggs' translation is more literal than that of Scott's and hence I made use of the former in this dissertation.

2. The Anonymous Historian of Gōlcoonḍa.

The Tārikh-i-Mohammed Qutb Shāhi is a work by an anonymous Qutb Shāhi writer. It is a compilation of Gōlcoonḍa history. It is evidently written by a person who was intimately acquainted with the court of Gōlcoonḍa. But the writer is a court-historian writing under the patronage of Mohammad Qutb Shāh. That fact must be taken into consideration when the authenticity of this history is to be accepted. This historian is naturally anxious to suppress facts that are discreditable to the Qutb Shāhis. For example, Mohammad Quli, the Sultān of Gōlcoonḍa, after raising the siege of Penugonḍa (in the reign of Venkaṭapatriyāy ī, II), commanded Afzal Khān, the governor of Konḍavīḍu to proceed with reinforcements to the rescue of the Muslim garrison at Gandikōṭa. The Anonymous Historian records that Afzal Khān was
successful in leading the Muslim contingents against
the Vijayanagara forces. But the Kaifiyat of Chitti-
vēli asserts that Matla Ananta under orders from
Venkaṭapatirāya II, attacked the Qutb Shāhī forces
under Afsal Khān and put them to flight. In this
case, the Anonymous Historian reveals his partiality.
But on the whole he is not so dogmatic as Ferishta.

The historical narrative of the Anonymous
Historian of Gōlconda is given as an appendix to
John Briggs' Translation of Ferishta's work. This
is of great value in describing the relations bet-
ween Gōlconda and the Vijayanagara rulers. The
Anonymous Historian describes in detail the sieges
of Penugonda in the reigns of Śrī Ranga Bāya I and
Venkaṭapatirāya II, respectively, one by Bījāpūr and
the other by Gōlconda. He gives an account of how
Ibrahim Qutb Shāh went to the rescue of the Bāya of
Vijayanagara when Penugonda was laid siege to by
Bījāpūr. Subsequently, Ibrahim's successor, Quli
Qutb Shāh delivered a severe attack on the fort
of Penugonda. During the course of these two
campaigns, naturally, many of the powerful Amaranā-
yakas fought on behalf of the Bāya. In order to know
the circumstances under which the Matla chiefs went
to fight on behalf of the Raya, the account of the Anonymous Historian is very useful.

3. Zahur’s *Muhammadnamah* gives an account of the Bijapur conquest of the Carnatic during the reigns of the Vijayanagara rulers, Venkatapatiraya III and Sri Ranga III, and incidentally refers to the capture of the fort of Gandikota by Mir Jumla on behalf of the Sultan of Golconda. It states that Muhammad Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur gave his consent to Mir Jumla to oust the Pemmasani chief from Gandikota. In other words, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda co-operated together, for sometime, in the subjugation of the Carnatic. Another Muslim writer, Khafi Khan also refers in his work *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, to the conquest of Gandikota by Mir Jumla.

(C) FOREIGN ACCOUNTS:

1. The most valuable of all the foreign accounts is the chronicle compiled by Muniz. His work appears to be a fairly accurate version of facts, and so far as it is based upon his personal knowledge, it
is thoroughly trustworthy. He gives a very detailed account of the Nayankara system, under Achyutadvaraya. The facts narrated by Nunis in this respect are corroborated by Paes. The Nāyavāchakam and the Krishnāyavijayama also corroborate the information supplied by Nunis regarding the Nayankara system.

2. Caesar Frederick in his itinerary refers to certain facts concerning the Nayankara system. He was astonished to see each Amaranāyaka circulating his own coinage within his fief. This system caused great hardship to foreign travellers like Caesar Frederick who moved from place to place very quickly. Duarte Barbosa, another foreign traveller, speaks of corporal punishment inflicted by the kings of Vijayanagara on the Amaranāyakas who were found guilty of any crime or who did not comply with their obligations. It is very significant because no other writer mentions about corporal punishment under Vijayanagara.

3. Tavernier, the French jeweller-traveller narrates in detail the siege of Gandikōta by Mirjumala
and the heroic and spirited defence put forth by its commandant Pemmasuni Timmanayu. He gives a description of the hill and fort of Gandikota and then tells us how the fort was captured by the Muslim forces. Jean Thavenot, another French traveller, who visited Gandikota, testifies to the fact that Mirumal captured the fort by treachery. The account of Thavenot is confirmed by the Knifiyat of Chittivilai.

4. The Jesuit fathers - Pimenta, Vico, Roberto de Nobili, Du Jarric - who visited the Vijayanagara dominions refer in their letters to some of the political affairs relating to the Baya and his subordinates. They are also made use of.

Besides the sources mentioned above, I have consulted the published works and articles relating to the history of Vijayanagara with special reference to the Telugu Country.