The Vijayanagara Empire was divided for the sake of administrative convenience into various provinces known as rāiyas. Of all the rāiyas in the Telugu area, Udayagiri played a prominent part because of its strategic importance and also because it was a bone of contention between the Rāyas and the neighbouring powers viz., the Reddis of Kondavīgu and the Gajapatīs of Orissa. The province of Udayagiri, generally speaking comprised all the area which to-day forms part of the Cuddapah District, a major portion of the Nellore District and the Southern portions of (i) the Cumbum Taluk of the Ongole District and (ii) the Nandyāl Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Udayagiri rāiva was so carved out as to centre round the fort of Udayagiri and so the word 'durga' was also added to the name of the province. In some inscriptions the province is referred to as Udayagiri rāiva and in others as

Metal Images of Krishnadévaráya and his queens Tirumaladévi and Chinnadévi in the court-yard of Sri Venkaṭēswara temple, Tirumala(Tirupati), Chittor District.
2. Bastion on the northern side of the Udayagiri Fort, Udayagiri, Nellore District.
Udayagiri durga. Because of its importance, Udayagiri is referred to in inscriptions as the first fort or the chief fort (Tel. Modalidursamu) of the empire.

The Udayagiri seems to have come into existence soon after the Vijayanagara Empire was founded and was governed by princes of whom the first appears to have been Kampana (I), son of Sangama I. From the Kodavaluru epigraph dated 'Saka 1268 (1346 A.D.) it may be inferred that Kampana I, assisted by his mahapradhana, mudrachidda Savanna Odyanalu, was ruling in the Nellore District. There is a piece of evidence in the Mackenzie manuscripts to show that the country around Nellore was ruled by Kampana. The names of rulers who administered Nellore successively are given in the following order in a Chātyu verse preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts, viz., Tirukaladēva, Tikkanāyakā, Manasa Siddhana, Dādi Nāgana, Manumagaṇḍa Gōpāla, Swarnadēva, Gōpīnātha, Śri Ranga, Moppadi,

3. NDI, Part II, No. 28, P. 789; Another epigraph (NDI, Part II, No. 29, P. 791) from the same place records a gift of Savanna Odyanalu. A third epigraph (L.B. Vol. 45, pp. 236-37) near the Buggabāvi at Udayagiri dated in Saka 1264-65 records a gift of Kampana to a deity.

a Mussalāman, Tikkona, father of Sangama. The Chātuvyāsa verse may be assigned to the later half of the fourteenth century since it was addressed to king Sangama of Nellore who was no doubt prince Sangama II, son of Kampaña I of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. Kampaña I acted as the governor of Udayagiri from Saka 1266 (1344 A.D.) to 1270 (1348 A.D.).

Virūpana, son of Bukka I also appears to have governed Udayagiri rāja for some time before Saka 1266 (1344 A.D.). The term Udayagiri is frequently affixed to his name in inscriptions. Īḍagiri is another form of the word Udayagiri. The very fact that the word Īḍagiri is prefixed to his name clearly shows that he was intimately associated with Udayagiri in some capacity or other. Being a prince of the royal family, he could not have been associated with Udayagiri in any ordinary official capacity except as the commandant of the fort and governor of that province. The same Virūpana was appointed in Saka 1266 (1344 A.D.) as governor of Penugonda which was conquered by the Vijayanagar kings earlier. Evidently

5. E.C. Vol. VIII, Ti. 16, 28 and 37.
before his appointment as the governor of Penugonda, Virupanna held the post of governor of Udayagiri.

It is interesting to note that Virupanna is also known as Penugonda Virupanna. The word Penugonda was prefixed to his name because he was associated with the administration of that province in the capacity of a governor. So also the word Udayagiri was prefixed to his name because, for some-time, he acted as its governor. But, in the absence of epigraphic evidence, it is not possible to determine the period during which Virupanna was the governor of Udayagiri Rāiva. Probably, he governed Udayagiri Rāiva for a brief period before Śaka 1266 (1344 A.D.).

Kampana I was succeeded by Vīra Śri Savana Odeyalu who appears to have started his rule in Śaka 1270-71 (1348-1349 A.D.). According to an inscription at Kālahasti7 Vīra Śri Savana Udaiyar's 15th year corresponded to the cyclic year Śōbhakrit. His accession must therefore have taken place in Śaka 1270-718. So far five inscriptions, besides the

Kolahasti inscription, belonging to this ruler have been noticed. They are dated from Saka 1273 (1351 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.). They mention the Vijayanagara king, Vīra Śrī Savanna Odeya, Lord of the Eastern Ocean ruling at Udayagiri paṭṭana. Therein he is stated to be the son of Kampaṇa Odeyalu and Mangideviamma. It appears that he made all these grants in the capacity of the governor at Udayagiri paṭṭana and also as Lord of the Eastern ocean. Evidently the title "Lord of the Eastern Ocean" indicates that he was ruling over Udayagiri rāja, whose eastern portions extended up to the Bay of Bengal. He governed the province of Udayagiri from Saka 1270 (1348 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.).

In allotting a rule of 16 years from Saka 1270 (1348 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.), one obvious difficulty arises. The Bitragunta grant of prince Sangama II, son of Kampaṇa I and grandson of Sangama I


is dated in Śaka 1278 (1356 A.D.). He was evidently a brother of Vīra Śrī Savanna Oḍeyya. Sangama II is referred to as a king making donation of a village Bitragunta. If Vīra Śrī Savanna Oḍeyyalu ruled over Udayagiri Rājya from Śaka 1270 (1348 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.) how could it be possible for Sangama II to exercise his control over the same area in Śaka 1278? H. Krishna Sastri offers a solution to the problem when he writes:11, "Perhaps Savanna and Sangama II divided between them the Nellore and Cuddapah districts which must have formed the eastern portion of the Vijayanagara empire. But available facts point to the contrary. There was no division as such of the eastern portions of the Vijayanagara empire between the two brothers. There are some inscriptions12 in South India in the name of Vīra Śrī Savanna Uḷaiyvar. They are dated from the 4th year to the 10th year of his reign. These inscriptions vouch for his presence in

the Tamil country in some connection or other. It is a well known fact that Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I led several campaigns into South India beginning from 1362 A.D. in order to bring the Tamil country under the Vijayanagara rule. These campaigns finally resulted in the subjugation of the Sambuvarāya kingdom and the Sultanate of Madura. The presence of Vīra Śrī Savanna Oḍeyalu in the Tamil country can be explained in no other way except that he accompanied Kumāra Kampana in his South Indian Campaign on several occasions beginning from the fourth year of his reign. An inscription of Savanna from Tiru­vorriyur is dated in the 7th year of Vijaya. As we have shown already his accession took place in Saka 1270-71 (1348-49 A.D.) and the seventh year of his reign falls in Saka 1278 (1356 A.D.). This inscription which is in his name necessarily warrants the assumption that Savanna was in Tamil country in that year. Hence it may not be improbable to infer that Savanna Oḍeyalu


left for South India along with Kumāra Kampana to assist him in liberating that country from the yoke of the Muslims, having left the administration of the Udayagiri rāya in the hands of his brother Sangama II who acted for a temporary period as the governor of that province. While acting as governor Sangama II granted the village Bitrakunta in Śaka 1278 to Śrīkanṭhanatha.

The conclusion of H. Krishna Sastri that there was a division of the Vijayanagara empire under the early Sangamas and that Kampana I and Sangama II ruled over the Udayagiri rāya as independent princes cannot be accepted. The idea of Sangama II in the Bitrakunta grant was only to give the pedigree - his name, his father’s name and his grandfather’s name but not to indicate any facts of great political importance. Even in the inscriptions of Śrī Savanna Oḍeyalu the reigning emperor’s name is not given. Further he is also referred to as the "king of Vijayanagara". We know that during 1273 (1351 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.) there was no king by name Śrī Savanna Oḍeyalu sitting
on the throne at Vijayanagara. It only means that he was a prince belonging to the royal family ruling at Vijayanagara. Krishna Sastri says15 "..... But so much is certain that Sangama II held portions of the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts while his uncle Bukka I was governing at Vijayanagara. Sangama II can scarcely have been dependent on Bukka I as he would have otherwise referred to the latter as his overlord in his inscription. The fact that he represents his own father Kampana as the actual successor of Harihara I also suggests that he considered himself entirely independent of Bukka I. It is true that Sangama II held portions of the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts while his uncle Bukka I was ruling at Vijayanagara. The fact that he did not mention Bukka I as his overlord in the inscription need not necessarily show that he was ruling that area independently.

Hence it is not reasonable to conclude that Sangama II ruled independently in the Nellore region and that a collateral branch of the Sangama dynasty started ruling from Nellore. Further, it is not true to say that Sangama represents his own father Kampana as the actual successor of Harihara I. There is nothing in the inscription to indicate this. What Sangama intended to convey was only to give the genealogy of the Sangama dynasty before him; but not to give any idea of succession to the throne at Vijayanagara. Even if Kampana is referred to as the successor of Harihara I, it means that Kampana succeeded Harihara I as the emperor of Vijayanagara, but not to certain portions of the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts. Such a conclusion that Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Kampana to certain portions of the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts after the death or during the life time of the founder emperor cannot be drawn from the contents of the Biṭrakunṭa grant, since there is nothing in the grant itself indicative of that fact.
Vira Śrī Savanna Odeyar's rule at Udayagiri came to an end, as shown already, in Śaka 1286 (1364 A.D.) or a little later. An epigraph dated Śaka 1291 (1369 A.D.) mentions Bhāskara alias Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I who received the province of Udayagiri from his father. He was placed in charge of the Eastern country which he ruled from the fortress of Udayagiri. He was keenly interested in the improvement of agriculture and was responsible for the construction of a huge tank at Porumamilla which exists even today. He might have governed the province from Śaka 1286 (1364 A.D.) to Śaka 1299 (1377 A.D.). An epigraph dated Śaka 1299 (1377 A.D.) from Perusomula, Kolina-kunta Taluk, Kurnool District, refers to the grant of the village of Perusomula to a religious teacher by the Mahāmāndalaśvara Singappa Voḍeyar, son of Savanna Voḍeyar, on receiving initiation (vādēśa) from that religious teacher. The title Mahāmāndalaśvara was assumed by an official of high dignity.

and power during the Vijayanagara period. Singanna Voḍeyar was the son of Savanna Voḍeyar, Governor of the fort of Udayagiri from Śaka 1270 (1349 A.D.) to 1286 (1364 A.D.). He was a prince of the Vijayanagara royal family. Perhaps by the time Vīra Śri Savanna Voḍeyar died his son Singappa Voḍeyar was a minor and so the province was placed in charge of Bhāskara. Singanna, in all probability, received training under Bhāskara and was appointed its governor during the year or some time before Śaka 1299 (1377 A.D.). He had granted the village of Perusōmula to the religious teacher in the capacity of the governor of Udayagiri vāja of which Perusōmula was a part and parcel. He appears to have held the governorship of the province of Udayagiri upto 4 Śaka 1304 (1382 A.D.), in which year he was succeeded by Mahāmandalāśvara Vīra Dēvaraya Oḍeya, son of Harihararāya II. Singanna governed for such a short time because he was removed from that office by his uncle Harihara II who wanted to appoint his own sons and trusted officers as governors of the important provinces of the kingdom.
The foregoing discussion on the political history of Udayagiri rāya will yield the following tentative scheme of chronology for the governors of that province. We hope that fresh historical material on this subject will throw more light on this problem.

1) Kampaṇa I \[ Šaka 1258–70 (1326 A.D–1348 A.D) \]
2) Virūpanna
3) Vīra Śrī Savanṇa Šaka 1270–86 (1348 A.D–1364 A.D) Oḍeya
4) Sangama II Šaka 1278 (1356 A.D) \(\text{acting governor}\)
5) Bhāskara alias Bhavadūra Šaka 1286–99 (1364 A.D–1377 A.D)
6) Singanṇa Vodēyar Šaka 1299–1304 (1377 A.D–1382 A.D)

**PART -- II**

Devarāyaṇḍ, son of Harihara II was an able and energetic prince who assisted his father in carrying on the administration of the empire. Harihara II appointed him as the governor of Udayagiri rāya. A new chapter in the history of provincial
administration begins with the accession of Hari-
Hara II who after coming to the throne wanted to
consolidate his dominions. The kingdom of Vijaya-
nagara since its foundation was jointly admini-
stered by the five sons of Sangama. This arrange-
ment told very heavily upon its unitary character.
Further, the appointment of the sons of Kampa I as
governors of provinces was detrimental to the posi-
tion of the emperor. Harihara II having recognised
this defect removed his cousins from the governor-
ship of the provinces and appointed either his own
sons or trusted officials to administer them.
Under this system Kūmāra Kampaa, son of Bukka I was
succeeded by Virūpana in the Tamil districts.
Immadi Bukka was appointed as governor of Mulbagal
and, as the crown-prince, he was associated with
the emperor in the administration of the country.
Harihara’s minister and general Nādhavyamāntri was
appointed to rule over the Ārava-rāya and Banavāsi
country which was previously held by Mārappa and
Uddagiri-Virūpana. The chief or the first fort

of the empire, Udayagiri was placed in the hands of prince Devaraya who succeeded Mahamandaleswara-Singappa Vodeyar, son of Vira Sri Savanna Vodeya to that post.

Though Harihara II came to the throne in Saka 1299 there is no epigraphic evidence to show that Devaraya was appointed as governor of Udayagiri in that year. An epigraph dated in Saka 1304 (1382 A.D) in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II records a gift of land made while Mahamandaleswara Vira Devaraya Vodeya was governing Udayagiri. This is the first inscription to mention him as the governor of Udayagiri raja. He acted as the governor of Udayagiri raja from Saka 1304 (1382 A.D) to 1326 (1404 A.D). In Saka 1326 (1404 A.D) when Harihara II fell ill


20. According to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya "the name given to him (Prince Devaraya) as Governor of Udayagiri i.e. Vira Devaraya Vodeya and other similar names like Kampapa Vaiyar and Viruppappa Vaiyar seem to show that the Vijayanagara princes sent out as rulers of provinces assumed the title Vodeya or Vaiyar in Tamil which belonged to them originally as Hoysala feudatories while the higher title Maharaya or Mahareja was reserved for the reigning sovereign."
Devaraya left Udayagiri for the capital city Vijayanagara. Harihara II did not recover from illness and his death led to a civil war among the princes. Virupaksha I held the throne for a short time. But he was dethroned by Bukka II who ruled for two years. It was during these disturbances after the death of Harihara II that prince Devaraya, having come away from Udayagiri and being unable to secure the throne at Vijayanagara, set up his own rule at Penu-gondà nattana. An inscription dated Saka 1327 (1406 A.D.) from Tamallapalle registers the confirmation of the grant of a village by Mahamandaleswara Vira Devaraya Mahārāya ruling from Penugonda nattana. Ruling as he did from Penugonda nattana, as a rival claimant to the throne at Vijayanagara, he waited for a favourable opportunity, seized the throne and was crowned at Vijayanagara on Saka 1328, Vijaya, Kartika, 10, Friday.22

In a copper plate inscription dated Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.) Rāmachandra, son of Dēvarāya is referred to as Lord of Udayagiri. If Dēvarāya himself was governing at Udayagiri from Saka 1304 to 1327 how could it be possible for Rāmachandra to be the Lord of Udayagiri? Did Dēvarāya ever delegate his power as Viceroy to his son Rāmachandra; and if so what were the peculiar circumstances that forced him to delegate his authority to his son? In answer to this question it may be said, on the basis of the following facts, that prince Dēvarāya was preoccupied in fighting with his enemies on the northern frontier and hence having placed his son Rāmachandra in charge of the Udayagiri fort in or about Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.), he went to fight with his enemies.

The Velamas of Rāchakundā in alliance with the Bahmani Sultan raided the north-eastern frontier of the Vijayanagar empire. These attacks

---

had shaken the stability of the Vijayanagar empire on the north-eastern border. The Rāyas of Vijayanagara had to take some strong steps to achieve the stability of the north-eastern boundary of the empire. To achieve this object Harihara II deputed Devaraya as governor of Udayagiri in whose abilities he had confidence. Secondly to break the growing power of the Telamas he sent an expedition under Yuvarāja Imadi Bukka. But this expedition failed to achieve the objective. Since the object of the first expedition was not realised, a second expedition was sent out in Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.). From the Velugōṭivāri Vamsāvali, 24 we know that the Vijayanagara army led by Dandanātha Gundā marched into the Velama territory. But the leader of this expedition was killed by Peda Vedagiri, a son of Māda and a nephew of Anapota I. On coming to know of the disastrous fate of this expedition, Harihara was bent on taking revenge upon the Velamas. He directed the

24. Vamsāvali, Verse 100.
ablest of his sons, prince Devaraya, by that time governor of Udayagiri, to proceed against Telangana. Devaraya Qeya marched with his sixfold army to Alampura on the banks of the Tungabhadra sometime before Saka 1312. The results of this campaign are not recorded anywhere. But taking into consideration the confusion which prevailed in the Bahmani kingdom at that time it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Devaraya successfully led the campaign. Thus it can be seen that Devaraya was preoccupied in Saka 1312-1313 (1390 A.D.) in his campaign against the Velamna and the Bahmani Sultan. He personally marched into Telangana at the head of a huge force. So Devaraya entrusted the defence of the fort of Udayagiri and the administration of the province to his son, Ramachandra and left for the campaign. He appears to have come back in the same year. This explains how Ramachandra became the governor of Udayagiri in Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.). As Ramachandra

was acting as governor in the absence of his father he is referred to in the epigraph as "Lord of Udayagiri". In the capacity of governor he made the donation of a village. He had also a court-poet by name Dēvarājamiśra, who was the composer of the copper plate inscription in question. It was on account of Rāmachandra's association with him in the administration of Udayagiri and also of his having acted as governor of that province that Dēvarāya, after becoming emperor, appointed him as governor of Udayagiri.

During the time of Harihara II the empire expanded considerably at the expense of the Beddi kingdom. Taking advantage of the weak rule of Kumāragiri and the internal dissensions in his kingdom, Prince Dēvarāya accompanied by his son Rāmachandra advanced with his armies and occupied a considerable portion of the territory in the south of the Beddi kingdom, i.e., Bapatla and Harasarao-peta taluks of the present Guntur district. The

successful occupation of this region by Devarāya is attested by the Enamandala record\textsuperscript{27} of Hari-
hara II in the Narasaraopeta taluk, and the Mūrkondapādu\textsuperscript{28} and the Paruchiru\textsuperscript{29} grants of Prince Devarāya and his son Nāmachandra, all dated in Saka 1322 (1400 A.D.). Thus Harihara II became the undisputed monarch of all the area south of the Krishna and the District of Bellore too.

On account of the continued absence of Devarāya from the provincial headquarters as well as on account of civil war and disturbed political conditions in Vijayanagara, after the death of Harihara, there was trouble in the Udayagiri rāya. The Reḍḍi kingdom was divided into two parts after the death of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. The northern half with Rajahmundry as its capital passed into the

\textsuperscript{27} ERI Coll., No.417 of 1915.
\textsuperscript{28} Mag. Mag. No.15-6-21.
\textsuperscript{29} N.D.I., Vol.I, C.P. No.1.
hands of Kātayavēma, brother-in-law of Kumāragiri Beḍḍī. The southern half with its capital Kondaḍavīḍu passed into the hands of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, cousin of Kumāragiri. The elevation of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma at Kondaḍavīḍu took place at about the time when Devarāya left for Vijayagnāgara because of his father's illness. Taking advantage of the absence of the provincial governor from the headquarters, the sympathisers and supporters of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma rebelled in Ulīyaṇagiri. The Local Records throw sufficient light on what happened after the departure of Devarāya. The Khīfiyat of Bukkapatṭanām states, "while Harihara II was reigning at Vijayagnāgara, Pradhadevaraya Odėya (Devarāya) was governing the province of Ulīyaṇagiri. Chennā-Beḍḍī, Annāreddi, and Mallāreddi, the Lords of Addanki in the East, having entered the district of Pulugula nādu with the army, caused much disturbance as a consequence of which several villages such as Singamanēyadipatīṭanam, Battalūru, Peda Bukkapatṭanām and Ginn-Bukkapatṭanām were
Dēvarāya Voḍaya marched from Vijayanagara at the head of an army and captured the fort of Udayagiri. He despatched a portion of his army to Chandragiri and Chennāreddī and others of Addanki were obliged to evacuate the district and retreat to the East. The people who left their homes owing to the violence caused by the invaders then returned and began to restore the village that had been destroyed. The Kaifiyat of Ghīṭṭivēli also refers to the same incident and corroborates the information supplied by the above Kaifiyat. While Pedā Rāya Voḍeyalu (Harīhara II) was governing at Vijayanagara his son Mahāmāndalēśvara Praudha Voḍaya (Dēvarāya) was governing the province of Udayagiri. Owing to the illness of his father Praudha Voḍaya was obliged to pay a

* Dēvarāya was evidently on a visit to Vijayanagara owing to his father's illness when the revolt occurred. He marched from there to deal with the rebels.

visit to Vijayanagara. Taking advantage of his absence at Udayagiri, Chennareddi, Annareddi and Mallareddi, sons of Perumallareddi, an younger brother of Vemareddi, the Lord of Addanki laid siege to the fort of Raghavidu and captured it. Proceeding southward they also annexed the district of Pottapi and Pulugulu. Praudha Dēvarūya, who ascended the throne of Vijayanagara sent his armies to Udayagiri when they marched into the two districts mentioned above and the Reddi chiefs were consequently obliged to retire to their country. 31

From the above passages it appears that when Dēvarūya left for Vijayanagara the Reddis attacked Udayagiri Rājya and captured the districts of Pottapi and Pulugulu. Was it a capture of only the two districts or was it a general attack on the fort and Rājya of Udayagiri?

Though it is not explicitly stated that the Reddis captured the fort, there is evidence to infer that it was occupied by them. In the Kaifiyat of Bukkapatnam it is stated that "Devaraya Voqaya marched from Vijayanagara at the head of an army and captured the fort of Wayagiri." Where was the necessity for Devaraya to capture the fort, if it was not occupied by somebody else? Evidently the fort was taken by the Reddis after his departure from Wayagiri at the time of his father's illness. Though Devaraya came to know of the loss of Wayagiri to the Reddis, he did not turn his attention to Wayagiri. Staying at Penugonda, he waited for a favourable moment to seize the throne for himself. After his coronation, he marched against the Reddis and captured the fortress.

How long did the kingdom of Wayagiri remain in the possession of the Reddis? In all probability it was captured by the Reddis in
Saka 1326 (1404 A.D) after the departure of Devaraya and it remained in their hands up to Saka 1335 (1413 A.D). The inscriptions of Mallareddi help us in fixing the dates. An inscription32 in the village of Attirala in the Cuddapah district runs as follows, "During the reign of Anavemareddi, Mallareddi, a grandson of Vemareddi made a grant of a field of 20 kuntas to god Karalaswaradēva of Lembaka, at the time of lunar eclipse, on Thursday su 15 of Jyeshta of the year Sarvajit, Saka 1329 (1407 A.D) for the merit of his father Annareddi. Another inscription of Mallareddi at Lembaka records33 "Mallu a son of Singamasetti of Vetaṇḍa gotra built the prākara of the Chennakēśava temple on su 11, Ashādha of the year Vijaya, Saka 1335 (1413 A.D) while Mallareddi the son of Annareddi was governing the

country. Evidently Mallareddi was exercising his control over Guddapah district which was part of Udayagiri rājya in these days from Śaka 1329 (1407 A.D) to Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D). It would not be unreasonable to conclude that he came to occupy that region immediately after the departure of Devarāya from Udayagiri in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D) and held it up to Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D) or a little later.

Devarāya I, sometime after his accession to the throne, launched an attack on the Reddi kings to recover his lost territory. He not only succeeded in recapturing territories in Udayagiri rājya but also annexed part of the territory held by the Reddis. It is not known whether any administrative arrangements were made by Devarāya I immediately after recapturing the fortress of Udayagiri. At any rate he could not have left it entirely in the hands of his officials.
particularly at a time when the growing power of the Reddis of Kondavidu was a great menace to the stability of the province of Udayagiri. An inscription dated in Saka 1338 (1416 A.D) from Dädireddipalli in the Kanigiri taluk, Nellore district records that in the reign of Śrimān Mahārājādhirāja Bājaparamesvara Chatussamudrādhīśvara Śri Virapratāpa Devarāya Mahārāya of Vijayanagara and in the Vice-royalty of Śri Rāmchandra Rāja Odēyalu, son of Devarāya at Udayagiri, Bhūvinayaniṅgaru, son of Kattiga Kaṅtināyaniṅgaru constructed a tank named Gāngasamudrām in the name of Gāngināyaniṅgaru, his younger brother. From this epigraph it may be inferred that Devarāya appointed his son Rāmchandra as the governor of Udayagiri after recapturing it from Mallāreddī in 1413 A.D. Rāmchandra might have governed Udayagiri rāya from 1413 A.D. to 1416 or a little later.

During the latter part of the reign of Devarāya I there was some trouble in the western part of Vārayagiri rāja. Atobala Dēva Chōda Mahārāja, son of Āpratimalla Gaṇapati Chōda Mahārāja of the Āpratimalla family holding sway over the country in the neighbourhood of Pushpagiri raised the standard of rebellion. An epigraph dated Saka 1342 (1420 A.D.) Flava belonging to this chief records a gift of land to God Bhaīrayadēva. According to the Kaīfiyat of Hanumagundam, Pratīha Dēvarāya, the king of Vijayānagara and his son Vijayadēvarāya had both waged a fierce war upon Atobala Chōda and defeated him. As a result of this war his capital city was destroyed and some of the merchants of the place migrated to other countries, whereas a few settled down in a hamlet which was erected. The Kaīfiyat of Pushpagiri

records that Vijayarāya, son of Praudha Dēvarāya, the king of Vijayanagara came to this part (Pushpagiri) and having defeated the Malla chiefs began to rule the country. Thus Vijaya another son of Dēvarāya I, appears to have been an energetic prince who assisted his father in suppressing some formidable rebellions of the kingdom, though Nuniz says that he did nothing worth relating.38

In the epigraphs after Saka 1338 (1416 A.D) there is no information to show that the princes of Vijayanagar royal family ruled over Udayagiri as governors. The chiefs in the Udayagiri rājya during the time of Devaraya I do not seem to have been controlled by any governor appointed by the emperor. But at the same time they acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor. This is attested by the references to Dēvarāya in many of the inscriptions belonging

to the subordinate chiefs ruling in the Cuddapah and Nellore districts. A few instances may be cited. Mahāmandalēśvara Viśva Aubola Dēva Chōḍa Mahaṅāja in two of his inscriptions refers to Devaraya Mahārāja, his queen, Dēma-ammagāru and the crown prince, Vijaya Bukka-rāya. In one inscription Panta Mailāra is referred to as a valiant lieutenant of Devaraya in battle. In another he is referred to as 'a dependent chief' of Devaraya and devoted adherent of the king.

The accession of Vijayarāya to the throne in Śaka 1344 (1422 A.D) marks an important stage in the decline of the fortunes of Udayagiri rājya. The stability of the province was already shaken during the last days of the reign of Devarāya I. The succession of a ruler

41. Sewell: Lists of Antiquities, C.P. No.87
to the throne at Vijayanagara and the invasion of a strong and powerful king like Kapilēśwara Gajapati proved ruinous for the Udayagiri raśva. Vijayaraya's successors Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna do not seem to have taken any important and effective steps to safeguard the chief fort on the northern boundary. There is no reference in the inscriptions belonging to this period to any governor of Udayagiri.

Evidently the practice of appointing princes of the royal family to the important post of governor of a raśva was given up after Dēvarāya I. After Rāmchandra, son of Dēvarāya I, who figures as governor of Udayagiri in Śaka 1338 (1416 A.D), there is no mention of any other governor at Udayagiri in epigraphs.

The period between Śaka 1338 (1416 A.D) and 1438 (1514 A.D) forms one of the dark chapters in the political history of Udayagiri raśva. The Velamas of Rūchakona, on account of repeated invasions of the Bahmani Sultāns,
were forced to migrate from their native country to Velugodu in the Nandikotkur taluk and they occupied the country around that place. These people came into conflict with many chiefs in Udayagiri rāja in trying to expand their power. The most important chief who opposed the expansion was one Pōlēpalli Bukkarāja, the commandant and ruler of the fort of Gandikōṭa. He was a famous kēhātrīva chieftain and a subordinate of the king of Vijayanagara. He was attacked by Pina Singama and Annama, sons of Peda Singama. Annama was killed in a battle at night by Bukkarāja. His younger brother, Singama, sent his galant brother-in-law Jūpalli Kondā to capture Bukkarāja who shut himself in the fort of Pedachōdu. Kondā entered the fort and having promised Bukkarāja protection, brought him to their camp. 42

42. Vaṃśāvalī, p. 84, Verses 146-7.
The fort of Udayagiri was captured by Kapilāswara Gajapati during the weak rule of Mallikārjuna. The fort of Udayagiri, according to Sālavābhuyudayam, was in the hands of Kapilāswara when Sālava Narasimha ascended the throne of Chandragiri. According to Prabodhachandrodādayam, a contemporary work, Basava, a son of Tammarāya of Kaṇṭamaraṇa’s family, who is said to have been the adamantine gate to all the forts of Gajapati, broke into the fort of Udayagiri in such a manner that he destroyed the pride of all his wily foes.  

Basava’s father Tammarāya figures as the ruler of the fort of Udayagiri in two inscriptions dated Saka 1392 (1470 A.D.). These two sources...

---

KAPILĀŚWARA’S CONQUEST OF UDAYAGIRI:

43. Prabodhachandrodādayam, 1:16. In this passage Basava is described as an impregnable gate that safeguarded the forts of the Gajapati. This may be taken to indicate that, Basava, probably as the commander of the Gajapati’s forces, was defending his forts and none of the enemies could break open the gates of the Gajapati’s forts and enter into them. But Basava, when he accompanied Kumāra Kāmsīravīrā Mahāpātra in the southern campaign, broke into the fort of Udayagiri and destroyed the pride of his wily foes i.e., the Vijayanagara governor of the fort of Udayagiri and his soldiers.
of information show that Basava actually conducted the campaign and his father Tammaraya was appointed as the commandant of the fort. Hence it can be inferred that Basava and his father Tammaraya assisted the Gajapati in capturing the fort of Udayagiri and as a reward for their services, the Gajapati appointed Tammaraya as the commandant of the fort of Udayagiri. Perhaps Tammaraya and his son Basava, who accompanied Kumāra Hemvīra Mahāpātra, son of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, in his southern expedition, helped him in capturing the fort. When was the fort of Udayagiri captured? An inscription dated in Saka 1382 (1460 A.D) on the top of the Udayagiri hill recording the construction of some temple and gifts made to it by Tammaraya, shows that, by that time the fort of Udayagiri was already captured by him and his son on behalf of the Gajapati. Kapilēśvara appears to have

appointed Tammarāya as ruler over a portion of Wayagiri rāja. Basavarāya, son of Tammarāya ruled Wayagiri as a subordinate of the Gajapati and earned for himself the titles Raparanga Ehairava, Rasika Sīkhamani etc. Therefore, the fort was taken by Kapilēswara Gajapati in Saka 1382 (1460 A.D) and it remained in his possession until Saka 1393 (1471 A.D) when Saluva Narasimha captured it.

The area south of the Krishna covered by the Guntur, Ongole and Nellore districts which formed part of the Vijayanagara Empire was annexed to the Gajapati Kingdom. Kapilēswara made his own administrative arrangements to rule over the area. He appointed his grandson Dakshina Kapilēswara Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra as viceroy of the southern provinces with head-quarters at Koṇḍavīḍu.

45. See Dr. R. Subrahmanyam: The Śūrṇavamsi Gajapati of Orissa, (Waltair 1957), p.44.

46. Panchatantram of Dūbagūtra Nārāyaṇa Kavi and Nasikētāṅkhyānamu of Duggapalli Dugganna, cited by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, op.cit., p.44.
Virūpāksha II who succeeded Mallikārjuna was a weak king. He made no effort to reconquer the territories lost to the Oriya king. In the words of Hunis "he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women and to fuddle himself with drink."

The defence of the empire during his time fell on the shoulders of Sāluva Narasimha, the ruler of Chandragiri. Sāluva Narasimha appears to have made himself master of the east coast upto the river Krishna, sometime before Saka 1393 (1471 A.D.). Before proceeding upto the southern bank of the Krishna, Sāluva Narasimha must have conquered the fort of Udayagiri.

According to Pillalamarri Pina Veerabhadra's Jaivini Bhāratamu, Sāluva Narasimha deprived the Oddiya* who invaded his kingdom of his own accord, captured the fort of Vālādurgamu (Udayagiri) and having gone to Penugonda destroyed the.


* The word 'Oddiya' might have been employed by the author to refer to an Oriya chief.
According to Varahapuranamam written by Nandi Mallaya and Chanda Singhaya, Isvaranayaka, the general of Saluva Narasimha, conquered and reduced Udayagiri, Gandikota, Penugonda, Nellore, Googuchinta, etc. The poem further states that Isvaranayaka, at the direction of Narasimha, marched with a large army against the Yavanas (Muslims) of Baandakota and destroyed their cavalry completely near the town of Kandukur. The Saluvaabhorravayamam refers to a Kalingaraja who was captured by Saluva Narasimha. The fort of Udayagiri remained in the hands of Kantamaraju Tammaraya until Saka 1392 (1470 A.D.). In the opinion of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Kapileswara died on the banks of the river Krishna on 12th January, 1468. The country upto the river

48. Sources, pp. 86, 87.
49. Sources, p. 89.
* It is possible that Rajanaka Dinjima, the author of Saluvaabhorravayamam treated the defeat of Kantamaraju Tammaraya, the Oriya governor of the fort of Udayagiri, as the defeat of Kapileswara Gajapati.
51. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, op. cit., p. 67.
Krishna must have passed into the hands of Sāluva Narasimha shortly after the death of Kapileśwara. Kapileśwara appears to have come to the south to deal with his eldest son Hamvīra who rebelled against him and also to check the advance of Sāluva Narasimha. But on account of illness he retired to Koṇḍapalli and breathed his last there. In all probability Kapileśwara was captured by Sāluva Narasimha. Kapileśwara is said to have submitted to him and placed himself with all his dependents under the protection of his victorious army. Struck with deep remorse at the loss of prestige, Kapileśwara, according to tradition, died on the banks of the Krishna.

By Saka 1399 (1477 A.D) Sāluva Narasimha's authority extended as far as the South bank of the Gōdāvari and Koṇḍavīdu and Masuliṣṭa patṭam were included in his dominions.

52. Sources, pp.90-102.
Narasimha must have spent all his energy in conquering the east coast up to the Godavari. But the sway of Saluva Narasimha over the region was not left unchallenged during this period.

Sometime before his death, Kapilēśvara crowned one of his sons Purushottama as his successor. But the eldest son Hamvīra who greatly contributed to the military success of Kapilēśvara aspired for kingship and applied to the Bahmani Sultān, Muhammad Shāh II, for help. Nizam-ul-mulk Hasan Bahry deputed by the Sultān with a huge force dethroned Purushottama and placed Hamvīra on the throne. But ultimately Purushottama defeated Hamvīra and forced him to bow before his feet. When Purushottama Ga-japati wanted to establish his authority in the Krishna-Godāvari delta, he was checked by Muhammad Shāh II who forced him to conclude a treaty of peace. Muhammad Shāh II got into his hands the fort and kingdom
of Rajahmundry. At this time Sāluva Narasimha who made himself master of the east coast upto Gōdāvari incited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel. Muhammad Shāh II entrusted the government of Rajahmundry to Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahry and Azam Khān and marched against Narasimha. First he marched against Kondavīdu the inhabitants of which country rebelled against him and transferred their allegiance to Sāluva Narasimha. When the people expressed their regret the Sultan pardoned them. From Kondavīdu the Sultan proceeded against Conjeevaram in Śaka 1403 (1481 A.D.). According to Tabaqāt-i-Akbari the Sultan on his way stayed at Nila­wara (Nellore) which stands on the direct route from Kondavīdu to Conjeevaram. The Muslim army on the way back was defeated at Kandukuru by Īswaranāyaka, a general of Sāluva Narasimha.

55. Ibid., III, p.50.
56. Sources, pp.89 and 106; K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration, Volume, pp.312-313.
The Sultan planned a double attack against Saluva Narasimha. He led an expedition personally against Masulipatam and its neighbourhood which was included in the domains of Saluva Narasimha. Secondly Yusuf Adil Khan and Fakr-ul-Mulk were despatched with an army of 16,000 troops towards Penugonda. The Sultan reduced Masulipatam with all the dependent country and returned to Kopdapalli. Ferishta says nothing about what happened to the two generals sent by the Sultan to Penugonda. According to Sāluvābhyaudolum, the fort of Penugonda was attacked by the combined armies of a Sabara chief and a Turushka king. Further it is stated that Narasimha who paid a visit to a sage inhabiting the Kāṟuvaṭhala proceeded from that place with his elephant force to Penugonda with the object of taking that fort. When he approached that fort he was obstructed by the armies of the Sabara and the Turushka

kings. The Varāhanapurāṇamu mentions Penugonda as one of the places captured by Sāluva Narasimha's general Īśvara Nāyaka. The Jaimini Bhūrataṇamu states that Narasimha destroyed the army of one Pikkillu (Fakr-ul-Mulk) and other enemies at Penugonda. The Muslim armies which laid siege to Penugonda were perhaps identical with the forces sent by Muhammad Shāh II under Fakr-ul-Mulk and Yusuf Ādil Khān. The Muslim armies penetrated into the heart of the Vijayanagara empire but they were defeated and driven away by Sāluva Narasimha's general, Īśvara Nāyaka.

After returning from Kanōhi the Sultan executed Gāwān in Saka 1403 (1481 A.D.) and he himself died at Bidar in Saka 1401 (1486 A.D.). Sāluva Narasimha, was thus lucky for the moment. Virūpāksha II was murdered in Saka 1407 (1486 A.D.) by his eldest son, who however did not like to come to the throne. His younger brother, Padanaro, was crowned but he too turned out to be a profligate.
Saluva Narasimha successfully usurped the throne and became the emperor but it took all his energy to establish the stability of the empire. In trying to enforce his authority Saluva Narasimha came into conflict with the amaranāyakas. He took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king and he regained all the lands which the king, his predecessor lost. The nobles rebelled against Saluva Narasimha when their vested interests were touched. Of the nobles who tried to defy his authority, the Sambeta chiefs of Pernipadu, in the Udayagiri rājya were the most important.

The Sambetas belonged to an important kshatriya clan in the Gandikotta sima of the Udayagiri rājya and held pāyankara

fiefs under the Vijayanagara emperors. They were under the control of the governor of Vijayagiri and also the commandant of the fort of Guḍḍikōṭa. An important branch of the family established itself at Peñipāḍu in the Pulivendala taluk of the Guddapah district. Sōmadēva and his son, Pinnaya, two important chiefs of the family, rose to prominence under Devarāya II. The former whom Devarāya II placed in charge of the fort of Kundavīḍu about Saka 1354 (1432 A.D.) came into conflict with the Velamas, as noticed already. Anapota and his cousin Linga I vanquished Sōmadēva and Pinnaya respectively. Pinnaya had two sons Gōpālarāja and Śivarāja. Gōpālarāja who was a subordinate of Mallikārjuna was ruling his family estates about Saka 1382 (1460 A.D.). He was succeeded by his brother.

59. L.R., Vol.18, p.34.
Śivarāja. Taking advantage of the disturbances at Vijayanagara just after the accession of Sāluva Narasimha the Sambeta chief Śivarāja, in defiance of royal authority, collected, in the sīmas in the neighbourhood of his own nāyankara fief, taxes which he appropriated for himself. Further one of his relatives, Vīra Narasimha Sambeta, rose in rebellion, plundered the neighbouring country and waylaid the merchants and the travellers passing along the highway. As soon as news of the rebellion reached Vijayanagara, Sāluva Narasimha despatched one of his courtiers, Vankara Kumāra Dhūli Basivi Nayudu against Vīra Narasimha and proceeded himself against Śivarāja. Dhūli Basivi Nayudu in obedience to the royal command left Vijayanagara with all his retinue and arrived at Kamalāpuram which he made his headquarters. He advanced upon Maddi Gundāla where Vīra Narasimha was halting and captured it after a fight. Vīra Narasimha fled to Udayagiri. Dhūli Basivi Nayudu returned to Kamalāpuram and
devoted his time in keeping guard over the great road and the villages in its vicinity.  
Sāluva Narasimha reached Peranipāḍu, twenty miles to the north of Cuddapah took the fort by assault and levelled the palace to the ground. Some of the defenders of the fort sought safety in flight; whereas the rest together with the families of the chiefs including the young and the old perished at the hands of the enemy.

An important principality near Siddhavatam rose during the period of Sāluva Narasimha. When Mallikārjunarāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, Sambēṭa Venkataṭaja who was a descendant of Sambēṭa Konḍarāja, an officer in the service of Nalla Siddhi Chōla Mahārāja of Nellore, rose to power and established his

60. Knīṭyāt of Pattūrūpālem, L.R., Vol.9, pp. 348-49.
authority over some villages of the Siddhavaṭam taluk. When Sāluva Narasimha came to the throne, Guravarāja, son of Sambēṭa Venkaṭarāja, built a fort at Māchupalli, a village situated at a distance of four miles to the south-west of Siddhavaṭam and making it his residence ruled the country in the neighbourhood.62

Another individual who raised the standard of rebellion against the Sāluva king was the chief of Bommaṇāram, by name Sāluva Mallidēvarāja. Sāluva Narasimha marched at the head of his army and laid siege to Bommaṇāram. He caused a battery to be erected and opened fire on the walls of the fort which were destroyed in a short time. The inhabitants including women and children committed suicide by drowning themselves in a tank in front of the palace. Narasimhadēva Mahārāja

had the fort and the palace destroyed and marched his army to Udayagiri. Owing to the disturbances caused by this war and the pillage of the countryside, the citizens of that town deserted and migrated to other places. As a consequence of this, the village fell into ruin. 63

This rebellion occurred before Purushottama Gajapati's attack upon Udayagiri. On his way to Udayagiri, Sāluva Narasimha appears to have defeated this chief. The circumstances leading to the Gajapati occupation of the fort of Udayagiri during the latter part of the reign of Sāluva Narasimha may be narrated briefly as follows.

After Muhammad Shāh II, his son Mahmud II came to the throne in Šaka 1404 (1482 A.D.). He was not an able ruler and hence Purushottama Gajapati who succeeded Kapilēśwara Gajapati to the kingdom of Orissa wanted to recover the

63. *Kaifīyat of Bommavaram, L.R. Vol.17, pp.142-43.*
Godavari delta from the Mussalmans. He appears to have attacked Rajahmundry in or about Saka 1409 (1487 A.D). Purushottama's hold over the Godavari delta is proved by the provenance of his inscriptions in that area. A damaged copper plate from the Godavari district dated in Saka 1411 (1489 A.D) which records Purushottama's gift of the village of Ganti to Brahmins shows that the Godavari valley had passed into his hands sometime before that date.\textsuperscript{64} Purushottama crossed the Godavari and invaded the Kondavidiu country. An epigraph at Kondavidiu dated Saka 1417 (1495 A.D) records the king's edict abolishing the marriage tax which the people of the eighteen sects had to pay in Kondavidiu and Kandravadi and all other countries.\textsuperscript{65} A copper plate grant of Saka 1417 (1495 A.D) records the king's gift to Polavaram in the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{64} A.R.E., 1900, Part II, para 65.
  \item \textsuperscript{65} L.R., Vol. 42, Kondavidiu, pp. 323-4.
\end{itemize}
Ammanabrōli sīma to the temple of Lingōdbhava Mahādeva of Chadaluvāda on the banks of the Brahmagundi (Gundhalakamma). From these epigraphs it is clear that Purushottama effected the conquest of all the area north of the river Gundhalakamma before Śaka 1411 (1480 A.D.). Kondavīgu fell into his hands. The fall of Kondavīgu into his (Gajapati) hands was only a prelude to the capture of the fort of Udayagiri. Since it was regarded as the chief fort or the first fort of the Rāya of Vijayanagara, Purushottama wanted to capture it. Its loss would be a blow to the political prestige of the Rāya of Vijayanagara.

The information regarding the capture of the fort of Udayagiri is to be found in the Saraswativilāsam of Prataparudrav Gajapati. According to that work Purushottama Gajapati

made the Karṇāṭa king Narasimha a prisoner of war and again released him when, with plaintive words, he acknowledged submission; he also compelled the great foe, Haṁśīra, to bow before the foot stool of his lotus feet. 67 The Anantavaram copper plates also give us valuable information about this incident. Purushottama Gajapati struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, and Narasimha, the king of the Karṇāṭa country surrendered Udayagiri out of fear and thus released himself. 68 From the records it appears that Saluva Narasimha who came to defend the fort of Udayagiri was defeated by the Gajapati and taken captive, and later on released on offering submission. He concluded a treaty of peace with Purushottama Gajapati by ceding the fort of Udayagiri and its dependent territory. The information supplied by inscriptions is also corroborated

67: Sarasswati Vilasam, Adyar Library M.S., XIX, l.l.
According to him Odayagiri was one of the three forts which rebelled against Sāluva Narasimha and which he could not take back owing to want of time. Struck deep with remorse at the loss of the chief fort of the empire, Sāluva Narasimha breathed his last in or sometime after Saka 1412 (1490 A.D.). On his death bed Sāluva Narasimha requested his successors to capture the forts of "Rachol and Odegary and Gonadolgi" with their dependent territories which he could not subdue "because time failed him.

Odayagiri remained in the hands of the Gajapati up to Saka 1436 (1514 A.D.) when the Oriyas were driven away by Krishnadevarāya from all the territory south of the river Krishna.


70. Sāluva Narasimha's latest inscription (Epigr. Gall. No.269 of 1931-32) is dated 14th October 1490 A.D. The earliest inscription of his son Immadi Narasimha is dated 28th November 1491 A.D. (Mac.Mss. 15-4-30, p.234). So it may be concluded that he died sometime between these two dates.