Hamaraya had two brothers Tirumala and Venkaṭādri who assisted him in carrying on the administration of Vijayanagara as Chief Minister and Commander-in-chief respectively. Both of them accompanied him to the battle field of Rākṣasi-Tanḍādi and conducted the campaign taking charge of the right and left wings of the Hindu army. Immediately after the news of the death of Hamaraya was announced to Vijayanagara before the victorious Muslim armies could arrive there and with his wives, members of the royal harem and all other relatives and noblemen and with the Emperor Sadāśiva left the city of Vijayanagara and hurried to Penugonda. A great convoy followed them: One thousand five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasures in gold, diamonds and precious stones, coins of the
Empire, and other things of this kind, valued altogether at more than a hundred million sterling. Tirumala also carried away the famous jewelled throne of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara celebrated and mentioned in the inscriptions in every corner of the Empire.¹

With the command of all the treasures and the assistance of his brother Venkaṭadri and Immadi Jagadēvarao, Tirumala naturally aspired for the throne. But Pedda Tirumala, one of the sons of Rāmarāya who survived the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangadī was a powerful rival who had superior claims to the throne. He was born of Tirumalamba, daughter of Krishnapādēvarāya. As a grandson of the glorious emperor and the son of Rāmarāya he had definitely superior claims to the throne than Tirumala, his paternal uncle. Therefore Pedda Tirumala having strong claims to succeed his father naturally aspired for the throne. But Tirumala acted as the chief

¹ Gouto VIII, pp.92-93 quoted by Heras: The Āravidū Dynasty, P.222.
minister during Rāmarāya's rule and was closely associated with the affairs of the kingdom. He succeeded in gathering round himself all the powerful nobles of the kingdom. His brother Venkaṭādri must have assisted him, with his previous experience as commander-in-chief of the army, in turning the soldiers and the army to his side. The Empire of Vijayanagara, after the catastrophic battle needed a strong and powerful hand well experienced in the art of administration and definitely there was nobody better fitted to occupy the position of Emperor than Tirumala. So, Tirumala in defiance of the claims of his nephew Pedda Tirumala and with the assistance and co-operation of the chief nobles and the army, made himself ruler. The nobles acquiesced in his usurpation.

It is generally believed that Tirumala was the only brother who survived the battle of Mīkṣasi-Tangadī. But Ferishta says that Venkaṭādri escaped from battle to a distant
fortress. The Krishnapuram plates which are dated in 1567-69 A.D., i.e. two years after the battle of Nāksasi-Tangadī refer to Tirumala as having succeeded to the whole earth subsequent to the death of Kamarāya and state that Venkāṭādri his younger brother was "resplendent on earth" as a hero and a conqueror. From this statement it is quite clear that Venkatachadri escaped with life from the battle of Nāksasi-Tangadī and probably assisted his brother Tirumala who became de facto ruler of Vijayanagara and subsequently was associated with him in the administration of the country. In fact, according to Ferishta, it was Venkatachadri, who on behalf of his brother Tirumala and in the interests of the Empire of Vijayanagara, "sent humble entreaties to the kings" (Muslim Sultāns) to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother (Kamarāya) had wrested from them and the victors being satisfied, took leave of each other at Anchoore and returned to

their respective dominions". So, evidently Venkaṭādri survived the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi and stood firm by the side of his brother Tirumala in safeguarding the interests and stability of the empire which was shaken to its foundations by that catastrophic battle.

Tirumala, as we have noticed already, fled away from the battlefield with all his relatives and all the treasures that he could carry to Penugonda. Subsequently he changed the seat of government from Vijayanagara to Penugonda. When did Tirumala effect this transfer from Vijayanagara to Penugonda? It seems certain that Tirumala did not desert the city of Vijayanagara and transfer the capital to Penugonda, immediately after the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi.

4. F.E., p.206, Rice: Mysore and Coorg, p.120.
After beheading Kamaraya, the Muslim armies stayed on the battlefield for ten days plundering the Hindu camp and then proceeded against Vijayanagara and attacked it with great fury and vengeance. Vijayanagara, the city of victory, succumbed to Muslim outrages for a period of six months. During these months, "the efforts of the conquerors", according to the Anonymous Historian, "were directed to the plunder of the country and of the city", and Caesar Frederick states that they were "searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden." The loveliest city of the world was stripped naked and mutilated by iconoclastic violence. Palaces, temples, walls, statues, grand edifices, Narasimha monolith and all were razed to the ground.


7. The description of the havoc wrought in Vijayanagara is given by Ibrahim Zabiri in Basatin-us-Salatin, pp.103-4.
Never perhaps in the history of the world, writes Sewell, has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on a splendid city teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description. After looting and destroying the city for six months, the Muslim armies left Vijayanagara in or about August 1565 A.D.

"Tirumala returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Deccanese." Writes Aquentil du Perron. Robert Sewell attaches no importance to the return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara. But Father Heras is inclined to believe that "it signifies after the battle of Râkâsâ-Tângaḍi the ruler of Vijayanagara

8. F.E., p.208.
did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient gradeur; to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccani Muhammadans with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days; for Vijayanagara was the city of victory.10

But Tirumala does not seem to have been swayed by any such strong motives, as Heraš would make us believe, in coming back to Vijayanagara. His idea was never to make Vijayanagara the capital city again. He must have kept his harem and other members of the royal family in Penugonda and returned to Vijayanagara to deal with the Muhammadans. Venkaṭādri also must have accompanied him in this venture because, according to Ferishta, he was responsible for the understanding which

was later reached between the Rāya and the Sultāns. Caesar Frederick writes: "When the kings departed from Beejangar, this Tamaragio returned to the city and then began to repopulate it and sent word to Goa to the merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them and he would pay well for them... when by this means the saw that there were great store of horses brought thither unto him, he gave the merchants faire words, until such times as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the merchants to depart without giving them anything for their horses: which when the poornmen saw, they were desperate, and as it were made with sorrow and grief." 11 Sewell also narrates the same story 12 but opines that it occurred in Penugonda. Undoubtedly this incident took place in Vijayanagara because

Frederick says that he went there with the merchants. Whatever may be the sincerity of Tirumala in trying to reorganise the army with a view to revive the fortunes of the Empire, this episode, if true, throws a very bad light on his character.

Caesar Frederick says that Tirumala rested in Beejanuggar seven months. The purpose of this stay was, apparently to see how far the Deccan Sultans still retained their old bond of friendship and to find out how far he would be able to profit himself out of their mutual jealousies and rivalries. The troubles which broke out in Ahmadnagar after the death of Hussain Nizām Shāh and the accession of Murtaza Nizām Shāh who was a minor and the regency of the Dowager-Queen Khunzāh Humayūn gave ample scope for Tirumala to fish in the troubled waters. An invitation was sent by Kishwar Khān to the Sultan of Bijāpūr asking him to attack Ahmadnagar where
there was strong party in favour of the Sultan of Bijapur. Bijapur was quite ready to gain as much advantage as possible out of this situation. A war broke out in which the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was supported by Birar and Golconda. This was the most propitious time for Tirumala to strike gold out of this situation.

Tirumala fondly hoped that he could play off the Deccan Sultans one against the other. The Kings of Ahmadnagar and Golconda implored assistance of Tirumala against Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and requested him to become a member of the confederacy. Tirumala was quite willing to support Murtaza Nizam Shah as against the Sultan of Bijapur and marched at the head of a huge army to the banks of the Krishna to meet his
But the mother of Murtaza Nizām Shāh, Khunzah Humayūn who was acting as the regent during the minority of her son, demanded from Tirumala the sum of two lakhs of huns for aid to be given by the allies against the encroachments of the Sultan of Bijāpur on Vijayanagar territory. The Sultan of Gōlconda advised the Queen mother not to take such an impolitic step. But she persisted in her demand as a consequence of which Tirumala was almost on the verge of joining the Sultan of Bijāpur. The Sultan of Gōlconda advised Tirumala not to join such a powerful enemy as Ali Ādil Shāh and by common agreement both of them retreated to their own countries leaving Ahmadnagar to its own fate.

13. But Syed Āli tells us that Tirumala sent one of his sons at the head of ten thousand troops upon the joint invitation of the Sultāns of Gōlconda and Ahmadnagar. Whether the army was led by Tirumala or his son it is quite certain that the Vijayanagara army proceeded to the banks of the Krishna to give assistance to the Sultāns of Gōlconda and Bijāpur against Āli Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur.

It was during these days that Tirumala stayed in Vijayanagara for some time possibly trying to repopulate the city and revive its splendour. But all his efforts must have failed disastrously. There was always the danger of Muslim attack and people were afraid of making any permanent settlement in the city of Vijayanagara. Whatever assistance might have been given by the king and whatever efforts he might have put forth, fear and uncertainty, invasion and destruction loomed large in the minds of the people. As long as that fear complex was deep rooted in the minds of the people it would be impossible for Tirumala to convince his subjects to stay on in the old capital. Moreover Tirumala did not show himself up to be such a strong and valiant warrior as Arishnadēvarāya or Kamarāya. His flight with family and relatives and with all the treasures to a distant land was still
green in their memory. What guarantee was there that he would not take to his heels if the Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda attacked him again jointly or severally. They had no faith in the new ruler. Except that he represented the great Hamaraya after the disastrous battle, he had no claims for greatness. If the people again made a bold attempt to settle down in Vijayanagara and to cooperate with Tirumala in reviving its past glory the king also must strive his best to protect the inhabitants. But Tirumala was by nature vacillating and he was not consistent either in his aims or policies. This dread of Muslim attack was as much a deterring factor to him as to the natives of Vijayanagara in making any permanent arrangements there. Moreover he must have been financially quite unsound because a major portion of the royal treasury was exhausted by the catastrophic battle. Any attack from the Muslims again would be sufficient to drive the ruler and the
people out of the city for a second time.
In fact Caesar Frederick tells that the final departure of Tirumala from Vijayanagara was due to another war with the Mohammedans. According to Chikkadēvarāyavamāvalī Tirumala changed his capital "on account of the constant attacks of the Mohammedans".

If the final departure of Tirumala was due to a Muslim attack from which quarter was that blow given? Evidently the Sultan of Bijapur, emboldened by the dissolution of the confederacy among the Sultans of Golconda and Ahmadnagar and Tirumala, wanted to extend his dominions in the South. Moreover Tirumala for having tried to give assistance to Murtaza in the previous campaign must be punished. Added to this the Adil Shāh was invited by Pedda-Tirumala son of Rāmarāya to

assist him in deposing Tirumala. Ali Ādil Shah conceiving this a favourable opportunity for extending his dominions towards the South moved with an army to Ānegondi, in order to place Timma, the son of Rāmrāj, on the musnad of Penugonda and to depose Tirumala, hoping by degrees to acquire for himself a portion of the territory of Beja-nuggar. Tirumala, forgetting the adamant demand made by the queen mother and regent of Ahmadnagar some time back, wrote both to her and Murtaza Shāh, for assistance. The queen mother luckily by this time changed her attitude. Unwilling to witness the aggrandisement of the Sultān of Bijāpūr and acting on the advice of Moolā Inaytoolla, she took her son with her and marched at the head of an army to Bijāpūr. Ali Ādil Shāh was compelled to retreat expeditiously from Ānegondy and returned to protect his capital, before which he found the Ahmadnagar army
encamped. Frequent skirmishes took place between the two armies, when at length the Queen mother deemed it advisable to return with her son to Ahmadnagar, without prosecuting hostilities any further.

This campaign occurred when Tirumala was staying at Vijayanagara. Having removed his family and relatives to Penugonda, he had rebuilt and fortified that fort. The four Deccan Sultans left Vijayanagara after halting there roughly for six months. Tirumala then left Penugonda and encamped in Vijayanagara for sometime to see what he could possibly do against the Sultans. On the eve of his departure he appears to have placed Savaram Chennappa as the Commandant of the fort of Penugonda. Under the orders of Tirumala, Chennappa built a dwarf-fort within the big fort, erected fort gates, added bastions, dug trenches etc., and lower

down the big fort, he renovated the already existing hill fort. The attack of the Sultan of Bijāpūr was made in two directions. An army under the command of the Sultan attacked the fort of Ānegondi. Simultaneously a contingent under Kishawar Khān (Kaśr Khān) was sent to reduce the fort of Penugonda. The absence of Tirumala and probably his brother Venkatādīrī from Penugonda did not materially affect the strength of the Hindu resistance. Savaram Chennappa was a valiant hero who scattered the Muslim forces near the walls of Penugonda. Kishawar Khān (Kaśr Khān) was utterly routed in action and fled away from Penugonda. 18 This occurred in the months of Pausha of the cyclic year Kṣaya corresponding to November-December, 1563.

The second attack on Vijayanagara took place in the month of Vaiśākha of the cyclic year Vīhbhaṭa corresponding to March-April 1568. The Sultan of Bijāpūr, having

settled all his differences with Ahmadnagar and Golconda moved against the fortress of Adoni which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of the Muslim rulers. This fort was by this time in possession of Kondamara, one of the principal officers of the late Hamara, who on the death of his master, had assumed independence.

Ankoon Khan was despatched on this service with eight thousand horse, a body of infantry and a considerable train of artillery. Several indecisive actions were fought on the plain till at length the chief shut himself up in the fortress, which though well supplied with stores and provisions, yet owing to the vigour with which Ankoon Khan carried on the siege, it submitted to his arms. Adoni was situated on the summit of a high hill and contained many ponds and fountains of clear and sweet water, with numerous princely structures. The Nayas of Vijayanagara, regarding it as impregnable had all contributed to
make it a convenient asylum for their families and it was fortified with eleven walls, one within another. So it appeared impossible for Ankoon Khan to reduce it by force. Evidently nothing but the close and the long blockade by Ankoon Khan could effect that object.19

The Sultan of Bijapur simultaneously dispatched an army under Mali Khan against Penugonda also so as to prevent any reinforcements coming from that fort. Mali Khan reached Penugonda and laid siege to the fort but Savaram Chennappa whom Tirumala placed in charge of that fort fought valiantly with the Muhammadans, defeated Mali Khan and drove away his forces.20 Thanks to Savaram

Epi. Coll., No. 336 of 1901.
Channappa, the fort of Penugonda was saved but the fort of Adoni which had been the stronghold of the Raya for the last three centuries, passed into the hands of the Mussalmans. 21

During the de facto rule of Tirumalna, Penugonda, the capital city was besieged twice by the Bijapur Sultan—one under the command of Kishwar Khan and for a second time under Mali Khan. The Penugonda inscription dated Šaka 1499 refers to both these generals of the Bijapur Sultan. In Telugu language in which the inscription is composed, Kishwar Khan is mentioned as "Kasar Khan" and Mali Khan as "Mālikhānmuḍu". The language of the inscription is quite clear and refers to the two generals who are known to us from Muslim histories. But H. Krishna Sastri depending upon a wrong reading of this inscription writes ..... he (Savaram Chennappa) defeated

in the Pausha month (November-December) of Kshya (A.D. 1566-67) (the Muhammadan general) Rambi Kesarukhanu in the Vaisākha month (March-April) of Vibhava (A.D. 1568-9) he defeated Vambinamāli-Khānu and other (Muhammadan) generals (sardāru); and in the Mārgaśīra month (October-November) of Dhātji (A.D. 1576-7) he conquered Yadilā Śāhi who had come (to capture Penugonda) ... Rambi Kesarukhanu and Vambina Malikhanu must have been the generals of the united Muhammadan forces who, knowing that Tirumala with the puppet king Sadāśiva had taken shelter in Penugonda, must have pursued him and besieged the fortress, though no such immediate attack is mentioned by Ferishta. Among the generals who commanded the combined Muhammadan army at the time we find names like Kishawar Khān and Roomy Khān both of which may be found combined in the name Rambikāsar Khānu. Whom the other name Vambinamāli Khānu denotes I am not able
to say ..."22 These observations of H. Krishna Sastri contain two incorrect conclusions viz.,
(1) The two names Kishawar Khan and Roomy Khan are combined in the inscription in one name "Vambinamali Khanu". H. Krishna Sastri arrived at these conclusions by depending upon a wrong reading of the Penugonda inscription. The Penugonda inscription 23 in its correct form is edited in the South Indian Inscriptions. The words referring to the siege of Penugonda by the two generals are as follows: (1) Tel. "Ksya Samvatsara Pushyaamāśāna Vanchi Kasaru Kānuni Jayinchenu" (tr. conquered in the month of Pushya in the year Kshya Kasr Khan that came (to attack) (2) Tel. "Vibhava Sambatsara Vaishākha māsāna vanchina Mālikhānuqul modalya sardārulu jayinchenu". (tr. conquered in the month of Vaiṣākha in the year Vibhava Māli Khān and other sādhrs that came (to

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It can be seen from the Telugu text of the inscription given in the *South Indian Inscriptions* that the letters cannot be read as "Rambikēṣaru Khānu" and "Vambīnā mālikhānu". So the conclusion of H. Krishna Sastri that the names Kīshawar Khān and Roomy Khān were both combined in one name "Rambi Kēsaru Khānu" has no meaning. There is absolutely nothing in the inscription referring to Roomy Khān. Ferishta also makes no mention of any Bijāpur general Roomy Khan in this context. The inscription mentions only one general by name Kasar Khān during the first Penugonda campaign who can be identified with Kīshawar Khān. During the second campaign in 1568 A.D. the Muslim forces, according to the inscription, were led by Mālikhānu. He can be identified without any difficulty with Māli Khān. Hence the second statement of Krishna Sastri that "whom the other name Vambīnāmāli Khān denotes I cannot say" is based on a wrong reading of the letters in the Penugonda inscription.
During these two Penugonda campaigns victories were actually obtained by Savaram Chennappaṇṇaḥyudu. Though Chennappa offered stubborn resistance and inflicted defeats on the Bijāpūr generals with dogged perseverance, the Vasuḥaritramu states that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khān. Even though in the actual engagement victory was obtained by Chennappa, the credit goes in the name of the ruler. Ruling the empire under trying circumstances after the fateful battle of Mākṣasi-Tangadi, Tirumala succeeded in keeping the empire intact but for the loss of Mōni. It is asserted that Immadi Jagadeva Rao also must have played an important part during these invasions, but in the Vamanapurana quoted by DR.Venkata-ramanayya there is nothing to support this

conclusion.

The Muslim attacks on Anegondi and Penugonda showed that it would be no longer safe for the Baya to stick on to Vijayanagara. The capital city represented to the Muslims the glory that was Vijayanagara. It was most susceptible to their attacks. Tirumala was saved during the siege of Anegondi only by the timely intervention of Moortaza Nizam Shahn and the Queen Dowager. But for their assistance Anegondi itself would have fallen into the hands of the Muslims who would have converted that as the base of their operations against Vijayanagara.

It is significant to note that there is no evidence to show that Tirumala returned to Vijayanagara, after the departure of the Muslim armies, with all the members of the royal family. He must have left all of them in the fort of Penugonda which was strongly fortified and commanded by Savaram Chennappa.
He must have felt that members of the royal family should not be made to stay at Vijayanagara because that place was likely to be attacked by the Muslims at any time. Therefore no significance need be attached to the second stay of Tirumala at Vijayanagara. The fact that no inscription at Vijayanagara records this second stay of Tirumala within its walls after Hākṣa-Tangaḍi shows that Tirumala himself might not have regarded the stay as very important and therefore, did not consider it worthwhile to record it in any inscription at Vijayanagara.

Hence it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Tirumala transferred his capital from Vijayanagara to Penugonda sometime after the attack of the Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr on Anagondi. That Tirumala did not stay for long at Vijayanagara and transferred his capital to Penugonda is proved by more than one source of information. Anquetil du
Perron states that "not long after he transferred his court to Panegorde (Penukonda)". The Chikkadēyarāvavamāvālī states that "after a short time he changed his capital from Vijayanagara to Penugonda". Though these sources do not mention the date of Tirumala's final departure to Penugonda, Caesar Frederick furnishes the date: "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for all the ill-success that the people of Bezeneger had ....... the King with his court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde" (Penugonda). The phrases "not long after" and "after a short time" used by Anquetil du Perron and in Chikkadēyarāvavamāvālī should be taken to refer to the period of time spent by Tirumala

27. Quoted in The Āravīḍu Dynasty, p.235.
in Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muslim army. This "short time" could be six months as recorded by Caesar Frederick or even a little more.

Caesar Frederick records several facts connected with the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangadī and the subsequent history of Vijayanagara. When he states that the king and his court went to Penugonda in 1567 A.D., there is little evidence before us to dispute the accuracy of this statement. Moreover, the information supplied to us by Anquetil du Perron and Chikkadāyavāyavāvālī lends support to the theory that Tirumala's second stay at Vijayanagara did not extend beyond the early months of 1567 A.D. Therefore it may reasonably be concluded that Tirumala must have effected the transfer of capital from Vijayanagara to Penugonda during the early part of 1567 A.D.

The city of Vijayanagara having been abandoned became the dwelling of wild
beasts. According to Caesar Frederick "The city of Vijayanagara is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty and there is dwelling in them nothing but Tigers and other wild beasts".  

Ferishta writing at the close of the seventeenth century observes: "The kingdom of Bejanuggur since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour; the city itself was so destroyed, that it is now totally in ruins and uninhabited, while the country has been seized on by the tributary chiefs".

Father Beras believes that the statement of Ferishta that "the city of Vijayanagara is now totally in ruins and uninhabited" is not based on a correct knowledge of the state of affairs in the city of Vijayanagara. He quotes a letter written from Hasulipatam dated 17th June 1614 from one Peter Floris, a servant of the East India

Company to Mr. Aldworth at Surat which gives the following information - "Yesterday arrived here a fellow who calleth his name John ... and this John coming from Barampur towards Bagnagar was robbed by the way, by his own report, of a camel, a horse, six fine clothes, a hundred pagodas in money and other apparel. So coming to Coulas, he did send back two servants to Barampur and one for Surat, but he himself came to Bagnagar, where, he did meet with a certain gentile, being a goldsmith, an old acquaintance of mine, who did take him into his house and did write me of it what is passed with this John."

Before making use of the contents of this letter one must see whether it refers to the city of Vijayanagara. There is nothing in this letter to support the identification of Bagnagar with Vijayanagara. The simple fact that a goldsmith and a few others like him lived in that city is not sufficient proof to show that the city

32. Quoted in The Aravidu Dynasty, p.239.
was prosperous and was inhabited by big population. Moreover the letter is dated in 1614 A.D. by which time the reign of Venkaṭapatiṛya II came to a close. We are concerned here with the condition of the city of Vijayānagara during the early months of 1567 A.D. when Tirumala transferred the seat of his government from that city to Penugonda. All available evidence points out that Vijayānagara, when compared to its former splendour and prosperity, was a deserted and forlorn city in 1567 A.D.