PART ONE

INTRODUCTION
Studies of small kingdoms and their rulers appear to be appreciated very little obviously because their history affords no scope for spectacular narrative. To many living in the present age with its complex political machineries of government and their puzzling problems, its breath-taking methods of warfare and their consequences, and their economic activities of an international character, the small kingdoms and their achievements might well seem insipid. But there cannot be sufficient reason for ignoring them if we really want true history of our past. It must be conceded that to those rulers and their surroundings the events of their days were as momentous as ours are to the present day. To judge and appraise the importance of a study of history of these small kingdoms from the present or spectacular points of view would go against the very objective of history.

History is not surely limited to the history of big empires and big emperors. And in the same way, sometimes big empires have had to depend for their stability and progress on the effective aid of their feudatories. The later history of Vijayanagara empire was closely connected with the history of its feudatories, the Nayakas. Leaving a study of these small kingdoms would be like missing many links in a long chain. Little events have sometimes played a great part in
shaping the history of big empires, and small personages have shown heroism of critical hours and stood by their masters.

So the history of South India during that period would be a maimed picture without an account of these small rulers, their political, social, economic, religious and other activities.

The "Nayaka" rulers of South India are the by-products of the provincial administrative system adopted by the Vijayanagara emperors. It provided for a feudal type of government in which the chieftains of small principalities were vassals of the sovereign emperors. In return for privileges of almost autonomous rule in their own territories, they were required to make certain contributions of specified sums of money annually to the central government. The main reason for the institution of this feudal type in Vijayanagara was not only the provision for the proper administration of an overgrown empire but also for the military strength of the empire to enable it to beat off the Muslim attempts to crush the Hindu kingdoms of South India. This feudal administration eventually led to the growth of small dynasties of rulers in tiny principalities and these rulers were known as the "Nayakas". Thus, for example, we have the Nayakas of Chitradurga, Harpanhalli, Rayadurga, Ikkeri, Madura and Basavapattana, all of whom played their part in the history of South India. A systematic study of the above-mentioned Nayakas is, therefore, a deep-felt desideratum. Research works have already been written on some of these Nayakas such as those of Ikkeri and
Madura. Much has been written on the Odeyars of Mysore as well, and now an humble attempt is made in the present work to analyse the activities of the Chitradurga Nayakas — political, social, economic and religious — with the help of all the available sources.

The Nayakas were sometimes known as Palegars. About the word 'Palegar' there are a number of views. Sir James Murray says, "Palegar is a term applied to an indefatigable race of petty feudal chieftains who existed in India and for whatever reason were looked upon as robbers, and plunderers and as an object of terror. The term is variously used in the Indian languages, in Kannada as Paleyagararu, in Marathi as Palegar, in Telugu as Palegadu and in Tamil as Paleikara".\(^1\)

According to another view the Palegars derived their names from their inhabiting the 'Pallams' or woods in the southern parts of Hindustan (the Deccan plateau), and they appear to have taken their rise from the old municipal regulations relating to the destruction of tigers and other ferocious animals.\(^2\)

The above view holds good for the extreme southern region. In Karnataka the word 'Palegar' is pronounced and popularly used as 'Paleyagararu', in which context Rice's explanation has to be deemed more acceptable. He says, "In

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2. *Comprehensive History of India, Civil, Military and Social*, I, p. 112.
the course of their conquest the kings of Vijayanagara reinstated some of the original rajas in their original ancient possessions on submitting to be tributary vassals to them as superior lords. They also appointed some of their slaves and servants, recommended by their fidelity and abilities, to manage tracts of uncultivated waste country, with instructions to clear away the jungles and to bring the lands into culture with a view of progressing population, the wealth of the State, and the prosperity of the land by good management. By the royal commands, these governors formed many 'Palyams' or 'Palepats', and new establishment cleared away the jungles, and recovered the country from the robbers and lawless bandits who infested it, and from the wild people of the hills. Those who established the Palyams under these sovereigns were distinguished by the title of Palaygars.

Rev. F. Kittel also gives the derivation of the word as follows: It is pronounced as "Paley-gara", and derived from the word "Palya" which means the village of hunters. According to him, a Palayagar was "a feudal chieftain, a revolted ryot setting himself up as a petty chieftain". So it is quite clear that the word "Palagar" derives its origin from the word "Palya" in Karnataka and not from the word "Pallum" which is

1. Rice, Mycra and Cores from the Inscriptions, I, p. 471.
As watchmen, these Palegars were most faithful and trusted. The Palegars made the best Police Officers, as they not only looked after the welfare and protection of their own people but protected all persons from the ravages of their rival chieftains paying tribute and became proprietors of lands.

Most of these Palegars were of the lower and hardier caste of the Bedar race, of the herdsmen and hunters. They assumed different names and titles like 'Nayakas', 'Gowdas' and 'Wadeyars' and rose to prominence as Rajas, when they found their opponents weak. The difference in the title held by these Nayakas, depended, only as a matter of principle, on the number of villages each had the command of. For instance, Wadeyars were the governors of 33 villages and the Palegars were the heads of 22 villages.

These Palegars were originally either public servants of government or renters of districts who revolted in times of disturbances. Some of them received their villages at first in 'inam' as a personal allowance for the support of their Rank. Some got them by usurpation. Some received their districts at the usual rent partly as a personal jagir

1. A Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency, IV, p. 120.
2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Naore, I, p. 40.
3. Ibid., p. 123.
and partly for the service of a body of horse and foot. Some were commanders of a body of peons paid in money, not by jagirs. Then they became renters of districts for a number of years during the time of confusion.

The Palegars that received their kingdoms from the Vijayanagara empire became independent after its destruction. The Chief among these Palegars were those of Tanjore, Madura, Ikkeri, Mysore and Chitradurga. Some of them could at all times command the services of a large number of their clans who were brave soldiers.

The Chitradurga chieftains received their kingdom in Holalkere, Hiriyuru and Chitradurga from the Vijayanagara emperor. According to the inscriptions, in A.D. 1588 Tirumal Raya of Vijayanagara granted to Kamageti Madakari Nayaka the Holalkere sine, as an "amarmagani". The Chiefs were 'Bedas' by caste, of the Kamageti Vamsa and claimed to be of the Valmiki gotra. They were styled Mahanayakacharya and had the distinctive prefix "Kamageti Kasturi".

Colonel Wilks says that the Chitradurga Nayakas belonged to the Bedar or Boya race. They were the best watchman and marksmen. They ruled in the area of Holalkere,

1. Extracts from the old Gallery Records being Sir Thomas Munro's early Reports, Year 1862.
2. Wilks, I, p. 41.
4. Ibid.
Hiriyuru and Chitradurga from A.D. 1568 to A.D. 1779. In the latter part of the 17th century they were engaged in contest with Sante-Bennur and Harpanhalli, and extended their kingdom at the expense of the former. They frequently fought wars with Bidnur, with the Marathas as well as with the Mughals. Chitradurga made a prolonged defence against Hyder Ali who yet succeeded in capturing it in 1779 A.D. "mainly through the treacherous Mussalan officers". The army of Chitradurga served the master very loyally. To break up the Beda population Hyder Ali transported 20,000 of the inhabitants to people the island of Shrirangapattana, and all the boys of proper age he formed into regular battalions of captive converts, also known as Cheles.

Geographical Features

The town of Chitradurga is situated in 14 14 N.L. and 17 27 E.L. surrounded by a line of natural fortification. It is built on the north-eastern base of a dense cluster of rocky hills very extensively fortified. The cliff of this range of hills, striking and lofty, is sacred both to the Hindus and Mussalmans, containing a pillar and Shrine of Dhavalappa or Siddeshwara and called by Mussalmans the tomb of Subdullah. An interesting legend describes Dhavalappa as

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2. Ibid.
a debtor of Saadullah enjoining posterity that his debts should be cleared. The bodies of these were laid side by side and every "Kanika" or offering made to the tomb of Dhaveleppa went in liquidation of the debt due to the Mussalman saint. In this way, perhaps, the debt was cleared. 1

The Chitradurga area is rich in historical tradition, archaeological and antiquarian remains, legends and folklore. The historical value and the public interest of these relics have been greatly enhanced in recent years by archaeological excavations. 2

Mr. Bruce-foote described this tract of country as of singular beauty. The bold rocky hills which rise out of it in every direction are divided from each other by equally picturesque valleys. The road from Chitradurga to Hangal which skirts the south side of the line of the hills for the first five miles and for the next four passes, takes one through a scenery not easily forgotten for its skirting beauty, grand rocks and vegetation. 3


2. There are traditions associating parts of the Chitradurga area with legends relating to the Dwapara age, to the Mahabharata, to Bhima and Hidimbasura. Later, the tradition says, the country came under the sway of Chandrabhasa, the pious king of Kuntala. Lastly there is a copper plate grant of Bhimankatte Matha (now Tirthahalli) in the Shimoga district, supposed to have been made by king Janamejaya. The Mauryas were followed by the Satavahanas, the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana.

Sources

The sources which yield material for the history of Chitradurga may be broadly divided under two main heads, viz.,
(1) The Primary Sources, and (2) Secondary Sources.

The Primary Sources can be further divided under the following sub-heads: (a) Epigraphical Sources, (b) Copper-plate inscriptions, (c) Original Official correspondence in English, (d) Accounts of foreign travellers, (e) Numismatic Sources, (f) Chronicles and other literary Sources, and (g) Traditional Accounts.

(a) **Epigraphical Sources**, & (b) **Copper-plate inscriptions**;

The epigraphical and copper-plate inscriptions are by far the most important and authentic sources. The inscriptions relating to the Chitradurga rulers have been published mainly in the volumes of (a) *Epigraphica Carnatica*, (b) *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, (c) *South Indian Inscriptions*, and (d) *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*.

Most of the inscriptions have been found in the Chitradurga, Davangere, Challakere, Holalkere and Hiriyuru talukas in the Chitradurga district of the Karnataka State. The uses of inscriptions are manifold. They help us in fixing the date of the rulers, and in giving an account of political, social, and economic life of the times to which they belong. They give us details of revenue matters and various denominations of the coins. We get much information about the grant of lands to individuals, agrahares, mathas, etc.
Inscriptions also help us in fixing the extent of the Chitradurga kingdom.

(c) **Official correspondence in English:**

The next important source for the history of Chitradurga is the official correspondence in English. These comprise letters or reports written by the British to their higher authorities.

1. The accounts sent to J. Webbe by J. Spencer secretly to the government and to the President of the Commission in Malabar, and also by J. Spencer to Lord Clive, the Governor. These are included in the *Foreign Political Consultations* preserved in the National Archives of India, Delhi. These accounts shed much light on the relations of Chitradurga with the British. The letters deal with the history of Chitradurga, its relation with Hyder Ali, and also with revenue matters.

2. Instructions and orders given in the *Military Correspondence* preserved in the Madras Archives. These records describe the wars between Hyder and Chitradurga.

(d) **Accounts of foreign travellers:**

Quite a few references to Chitradurga are found in the accounts of notable foreign travellers like Alexander Hamilton, Peter Mundy and Pietro Della Valla. Buchanan, in his work *Journey through Canara, Malabar, etc.*, gives a detailed description of, and makes valuable comments on, the contemporary state of affairs. He had come to Chitradurga after it had fallen to Hyder Ali. But his keen observations and questioning have brought out a reliable picture of
Chitradurga. Buchanan writes about the types of the soil, and the quality of the land of Chitradurga. He was a keen observer and has noted down very minutely everything that he observed or noticed. Pietro della Valle has described the wars between Chitradurga and Bidnur, besides giving some interesting information about the Chitradurga rulers. An account of his travels was edited by Edward Grey in 1892.

(e) **Numismatic Sources**:

The coins unearthed in the Chitradurga area gives an idea of the currency, the unit of coinage, and its denominations circulating in the Chitradurga kingdom of medieval times. The reports of the Archaeological Survey of India also contain much relevant numismatic material.

(f) **Chronicles and other literary Sources**:

These sources are generally less authentic than either the inscriptions or the accounts of foreign travellers. But when subjected to historical criticism they yield fairly reliable material. Their reliability can be accepted especially when they are corroborated by other evidences. The most important of them are (1) the Kaladinripaviyayam, (2) Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani's History of Hyder Ali Khan, (3) the Hydernama and (4) some works of the late Shri Hullur Shrinivas Jois of Chitradurga.

The Kaladinripaviyayam was edited by R. Shamaasatry in 1921 with an introduction by A.R. Krishnasastry. Linganna, the author, is supposed to have completed his work some time between A.D. 1763 and 1804. The ancestors of this Linganna
Kavi appear to have been the court poets under the Keladi rulers. This work, unlike many others, contain fairly good historical information about the Keladi Nayakas. In the work the poet mainly gives a narrative of the Keladi rulers one by one. Incidentally he also speaks of the Chitradurga Nayakas. He calls the progenitor of Madakari Nayakas of Chitradurga Kasturi Timmappa Nayaka. This work is of much use for determining the genealogy of the Madakari Nayakas. Linganna also gives a description of wars between Chitradurga and Sidnur. These events many times corroborate other sources.

We have two contemporary accounts of Hyder Ali, the Hydernama by an anonymous author, and Hyder Ali Khan by Kirmani. In these works we have a detailed account of the many phases of Hyder Ali's administration, his wars, and his manifold public activities. We find that very often there seems to be contradictions between the two. A critical observer will soon be impressed by the fact that the Hydernama is not only much more accurate as regards the date and events, but also seems to be much more reliable in its critical appraisal of Hyder Ali. According to Kirmani, Hyder's first attack on Chitradurga was on his way to Sidnur, which was conquered in A.D. 1759, but which, according to the Hydernama, took place on 18th January, 1763. The M.A.R.

also gives the same date "Saka 1664 Chitraphalu year Magha Sudha 5". Grant Duff also relates that Hyder captured Bidur in A.D. 1762. This date appears to be correct.

The second expedition of Hyder, as Kirmani would have it, took place in A.D. 1761, while the Hydernama places it in A.D. 1774. If the conquest of Bidur took place in 1763 A.D., and if this expedition against the Chitradurga Nayara took place after this capture, it can never be assigned to the year A.D. 1761. Moreover in A.D. 1763 Hyder was busy with the first invasion of Mysore by the Marathas under the Peshwa Madhavrao I and Grant Duff assigns this invasion to the year A.D. 1764 for the Peshwa returned to Poona in Saka 1687 Parthiv Samant Chaitra Sudha 2 (23rd March 1766). The second Maratha invasion took place in A.D. 1769 and there is no evidence to show that during this period Chitradurga was invaded by Hyder. The third invasion of Mysore, one of the causes of which was the non-recognition of the tribute, Madhavrao started in A.D. 1769 and a treaty was concluded in A.D. 1771. In A.D. 1773 Hyder sent his Captains

1. Annual Reports of Mysore Archaeological Department, 1830, p. 89.
4. Hydernama, p. 87.
7. Ibid., p. 90.
Ramappa Nayaka and Rangiri Kamarajah to suppress the Nayyars and the Moplas of Calicut, and in March 1774 A.D. he attacked Chitradurga. This is well borne out by Wilks, who, however, says that he conquered all places in September 1773 and February 1774.

It must be noted here that Kirmani often makes contradictory statements without giving any satisfactory explanation. For example, referring to the Maratha invasion of Mysore, he states that the Nayaka of Chitradurga was present with Hyder's army and consequently the Chief of Miraj plundered his territories encamping his forces near Hosadurga, one of his dependancies. Then again he mentions that Murar Rao, along with about four thousand horses together with the Nayaka of Chitradurga and his three thousand foot, had stationed himself near the "Sad. Gah" in the "Somar peenth" near the Mysore gate. Whether the Nayaka changed his sides so suddenly as a consequence of the Maratha invasion of Chitradurga or from any other reason, Kirmani never says anything. But it is impossible to accept this fact, because, according to the Maratha records, it is clear that the Peshwa Madhavrao actually made a pact with the Chitradurga Nayaka and no allusion is made to any coercive

2. Kirmani, p. 61.
3. Ibid., p. 203.
4. Sardesai (Ed.), Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, 37, pp. 155, 165 and 130.
measures levelled against the Nayaka.

About the capture of Bidnur Kiraani says that it might be said to be equal to the gardens of Paradise. The fertility of the country was, it was reported, the envy of Kashmir, while its beautiful fields and meadows gave delight to the heart of the beholder. This high-flown description of Bidnur is, no doubt, pleasing to the ear, but it is spoiled by exaggeration and by the suggestion at its end that such a country was not fit to be ruled by a "Rani" but only by a "just and distinguished" Chief like Hyder Ali—a statement which betrays his biased view.

Shri Hullur Shrinivas Jois of Chitradurga devoted himself to write the history of the Chitradurga Nayakas. He was responsible to establish the Museum of Chitradurga where presently his son Shri Pandurang Jois is working as Honorary Curator. I got some "Aithihasik Patras" (historical letters) written by Purnaiyya to the British Resident about the resurrected king of Chitradurga. These records often corroborate the records of the National Archives of Delhi.

Finally, there are the traditional accounts, which when corroborated by other sources, yield good material about the Chitradurga history. Otherwise their usefulness is very little as source material, for much of it depends upon legends and hearsay. The works which are mainly based upon

such traditional or legendary sources are:

1. *Chitradurgada Palaguraru* written by M.S. Puttanna, based on a copy of manuscript on Palmyra leaves, which was given to Puttanna by Chinnadasane Ramanna, a Shanubhoga of Sultanpur, then a taluka of Chitradurga district. Puttanna says in his book that "by virtue of the peculiarly influential position held by the ancestors of this person it may be presumed that they have made an accurate record of the events".

Another manuscript copy on paper kindly furnished to him by Basappa Nayaka, an aged descendant of the Chitradurga Palagars, describes the army rebellion and wars with Hyder Ali.

2. *Bakhar* written by Jampanna Nayaka, the brother of Dodda Madakari Nayaka edited by the late H.S. Jois of Chitradurga.

3. The *Bakhar* written by Yogedharak Shima Ji Pant soon after the fort had fallen. It is addressed to Shrimant Maharaj Shri Madhavrao Peshwa. This describes the attack of Hyder Ali on Chitradurga.

4. Another copy of the *Chitradurga Bakhiru* which is in two parts written by Shanubhoga Ramappa and copied by the late Shri H.S. Jois of Chitradurga. The first part describes the origin of the Chitradurga Nayaks and their wars with Hyder. The second part gives the description of the village communities.

All are written in Kannada. They, however, include
some material from the inscriptions and some from the Secondary Sources. It has to be noted that the account given in these works is not critical and completely accurate.

In October-November, 1972 I made a tour of the Chitradurga region collecting information about the Chitradurga Nayakas. During my tour I got much valuable information, which I have used in the relevant chapters of my thesis.

I have tried to make the details as accurate and authentic as possible in the light of the latest researches; and where no definite conclusion is possible, I have sought to indicate the different viewpoints in a detached spirit.
The Rise of the Madakeri Dynasty:

In the Vijayanagara times Chitradurga was the seat of Viceroyalty. The formidable fort of Chitradurga was in the hands of Bedar Palegars - the Madakeri Nayakas - at the time of the final disruption of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara. The successor of Ramaraya held a nominal sovereignty over the domains while the Nayakas (Palegars) held the real power all over the country. Though for all purposes these Chiefs were independent, yet they owed nominal allegiance to the empire of Vijayanagara.

Vijayanagara had left in its wake those powerful baronages (Chitradurga, Rayadurga, Harpanhalli, Bidnur, etc.) till the dominance of the Odeyars of Mysore, the Nayakas of Bidnur, and the Nayakas of Madura established a sort of balance of power in South India. And in this political arena the minor dynasties were also trying to set up their own independent principalities which carried on family feuds from generation to generation with increasing bitterness and animosity.

The Chitradurga family was of the Beda or Boya Caste. Corresponding with the Kiratas of the Sanskrit Writers such as hunters and mountaineers, as the name indicates, they belonged to one of the hill tribes who
lived by hunting and tending cattle. The accounts of their origin are somewhat confused but it appears that Bedar families emigrated from Jadicaldurga in the neighbourhood of the Shrine of Tirupati and settled at Nirmutadi near Bharamsagar about 1475. The son and the grandson of one of the leaders, named Hire Hanumappa Nayaka and Timmappa Nayaka respectively, took up their residence afterwards at Matti in the Hadadi Hobali of the Davangere Taluka. In 1568 the Vijayanagara king appointed Timmappa Nayaka as Nayaka of Hobalkere, afterwards as Nayaka of Hiriyuru and eventually of Chitradurga.

According to another account, Timmappa Nayaka came with a small body of armed men from a place called Madakeri below the ghats 10 gav distant from Tirupati and entered the service of the Palegar of Basavapattana. Some quarrel arose about a mistress that Timmappa Nayaka kept at Matti. He was forced to take refuge at Mayakonda, and on being pursued further he escaped to the jungle at Guntanur. Collecting a band of soldiers, he plundered all around and erected a small fort (Rangapattana) near Holiyuru. The neighbouring Palegars of Harpanhalli, Nidugal and Basavapattana, being much annoyed by his depredations, united against him and with the aid of some troops from Vijayanagara, marched upon Rangapattana. Timmanna Nayaka was then forced to retire to Chitradurga, where he was closely besieged.

On this occasion Timmanna Nayaka distinguished himself as the hero of a most extraordinary adventure, stealing into the camp at night, with the intention of carrying off the horse of Prince Salura Narasing Raya. Timmanna Nayaka accidentally roused the groom. Hastily hiding among the latter he lay quietly to escape observation. As luck would have it, a horse was being driven in by a groom, and a nail of the horse-shoe went through the hand of the hiding chief. The latter bore the pain without moving and when all was still, releasing himself by cutting off the hand which was pinned to the ground, he succeeded in carrying off the horse in triumph. This unexampled proof of fortitude, while it attached to him more closely his immediate followers, showed the besieging army that no intimidation would be effective with such an opponent. So a peace was concluded and Timmanna Nayaka was invited to Vijayanagara. And the sovereign expressed the greatest admiration for his courageous exploit. After successfully aiding the royal troops in an expedition against Gulbarga, he visited the capital and was rewarded with many honours.

Puttanna says that the sovereign honoured Timmanna Nayaka by presenting him with the golden Shankha (shell) and Chakra, a golden crocodile face, and a golden hand. This Matti Timmanna Nayaka founded the Madakari dynasty during

the declining days of the Vijayanagara Empire by his personal prowess. This brought him the nominal distinction of the Nayaka of Chitradurga.

According to the inscriptions, however, it is stated that in A.D. 1568 Tirumalaraya of Vijayanagara granted to Kamageti Madakeri Nayaka as an "amaragani", the Holalkere sime which he made over to his brother-in-law Gulliyappa Nayaka.

So this inscription relates in addition that Tirumalaraya gave the Holalkere sime to Madakeri Nayaka, not in A.D. 1565 as Rice states, but in A.D. 1568. We do not know on what basis Rice has made this statement, as he has not given any evidence to support it. An epigraph ascribed to the year A.D. 1556 states that "Mahamsandaleshwara Ramaraya Eradimma Raja's agent Kamageti Timmanna Nayaka granted a Sasan to the Tammadis of Hiriyuru, and the holders of temple and Brahan certain endowments."

From the similarity of names, these two Timmannas appear to be one and the same person. At this time Timmanna Nayaka was the Karyakarta (agent) of Mahamsandaleshwara in Hiriyuru, evidently before he became the amarnayaka of Tirumalaraya. The inscriptions revealing the grant of Holalkere from Tirumalaraya mentions that he was a person

2. MG, XI, pp. 116-17.
of importance calling him the great Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka. Therefore it may be concluded that Timmanna Nayaka by A.D. 1568 was master of Hiriyuru and Holalkere. Linganna Kavi, in his Keladi-Nripa-Vijayam, calls him Kasturi Timmappa Nayaka. 1

This Timmanna became the devotee of Sampige Siddeshwara. Timmanna constructed the temples of Sampige Siddeshwara, Doddamaleshwara, and Chikmalleshwara. A legend says that Sampige Siddeshwara appeared in person before Timmanna Nayaka and that there were seven Rasasiddas in Kinnuri Kallu all of whom foretold Timmanna Nayaka of his greatness, and presented him with a Dhalita (sword). 2

We could say that the historical truth about the rise of Timmanna to power seems to be as follows. Matti Timmanna Nayaka first established a small principality in Hadavanahalu in the Davangerre District, and subjugated the neighbouring territories by dint of his prowess and forethought and thus attracted the attention of the Vijayanagara emperor, and then founded his kingdom during the declining days of the Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1568. 3


2. The Rasasiddas, addressing Timmanna Nayaka as a son, told him "Aritu Nadeedare Arupattu Maretu Nadeedare Muru Pattu" - (The family of Nayaka would rule for six generations if they were wise, otherwise their dynasty would end in three) - Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, XXXI, 1940-41.

According to Kannada sources, Gulbarga showed enmity against the Vijayanagara kingdom. So the Sovereign ordered the Prince Salo Narasing Raya to attack Gulbarga. But after repeated efforts Salo Narasing Raya could not conquer it. Then the King of Anegondi requested Timmanna Nayaka to attack Gulbarga. Taking permission from the Sovereign of Vijayanagara, Timmanna attacked Gulbarga with 2000 men in A.D. 1581. The combined army conquered the fort within a short time. Hence Timmanna Nayaka was invited by the Sovereign and was rewarded with many honours.¹

Puttanna gives a different account of their origin. The Talavars of northern India, who were claiming descent from Valmiki, came to the South from Jadical-durga. Three Nayakas named Subbagadi Obanna Nayaka, Obanna Nayaka and Balla Nayaka came to the South from Jadical-durga with their family god Ahobala Narasimha. They visited the Virupaksha temple of Vijayanagara and there they met Kari Jois and Virupaksha Jois, who followed them in their next journey. The three Nayakas in their journey came to Bilichodu. There they came to know that the Jois of that city had no issue to succeed him. So they requested the Jois of that place to give up Joisship for Kari Jois and Virupaksha Jois. As they were living in the city, the family god whom they were carrying with them said in a dream that he wanted to live in the same place. So all the three settled there in the

¹. MSP, CP, pp. 13-14.
surrounding areas. Hire Hanumana Nayaka settled in Sagale village, Obanna in Sabbagadi and Timmanne in Matti village. Puttanna also gives his own version of the genealogy of the Nayakas.

But when we observe the names of the Nayakas and their original place, it seems that their original place was in South India and not in the North. Because the original place "Jadical-durga" sounds like a Dravidian term rather than a northern Indian term. So now it is found that the real progenitor of the Madakeri Nayakas was Hanumi Nayaka and the founder of Chitradurga dynasty was Matti Timmanne Nayaka.

About their family name, Rice says that the Madakeri is their original place. According to him, Timmanne Nayaka came with a small body of armed men from a place called Madakeri below the ghats, situated 10 gay distant from Tirupati. Puttanna says that this is the title given to Obanna Nayaka by the Vijayanagara Sovereign. MADAKARI means an intoxicated elephant. According to the I.H.R.C. proceedings article, he is called more properly Chitrakal Madakeri Nayaka, the name Madakeri appearing the correct form of "Medukori" Medagerre, Medhagerry, Mudgheri

1. MSP, CP, pp. 4-5.
2. Puttanna's genealogy on the last page.
It seems that Rice is nearer the truth in his explanation. Because if this title is given to Obanna Nayaka who was the successor of Timmanna Nayaka then the latter should not have had it as his title in the inscriptions. But we find Timmanna Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, was called Kamageti Madakeri Nayaka. The inscription shows that in A.D. 1568 Tirumaleraya of Vijayanagara granted the Holalkere sinee to Kamageti Madakeri Nayaka as anamangeni. And we know already that Timmanna Nayaka ruled till A.D. 1583.

Secondly, these Palegars were doing the duties of police officers or "Cawilgars" (Watchmen) in all important and fabulously wealthy Shrines and places of the locality. They were great believers of God. The temple of Tirupati, the resort of pilgrims in South India from the farthest limits of Hindu religion, is situated in an elevated basin in a valley surrounded by a crest of hills. Sacred precincts were guarded by four Palegars who were its hereditary Watchmen during the successive revolutions in the country. As Watchmen, these Palegars were the most faithfully and trusted,

1. Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, XVIII, pp. 310-11.
2. ibid, XI, pp. 6-7.
3. Ibid., p. 112.
they gradually reached the position of feudatories. Colonel Wilks says that these Palegars most of them were of the lower and hardier caste of the Bedar race of the herdsman and hunters.

It is also believed that the Palegar of Chitradurga must have come from the village called Madakeri. Inscriptions also throw light on this subject. All the inscriptions which are found in this area call them "Madakeri Nayakaru".

Timmanna Nayaka who was appointed as a ruler of Holalkere under Vijayanagara eventually became Nayaka of Chitradurga. At a later period he incurred the royal displeasure and was imprisoned at Vijayanagara where he died. Timmanna Nayaka built the Gopal Krishna temple at Holalkere, and Veerabhadra temple at Hiriyuru. When he became Nayaka of Chitradurga, he was married to Oduva Timmavva of Challalahalli, and built the fort, watch towers and the palace. He ruled from A.D. 1556 to A.D. 1583.

Who succeeded this Timmanna Nayaka? The difficulty of disentangling these Madakeri Nayakas was realised by Rice who observed that a large number of them bore the same

1. A manual of the Administration in Madras Presidency. VI, p. 120.
Epigraphs do not enlighten us on this point. One inscription of A.D. 1681 says that to Madakeri Nayaka, son of Obanna Nayaka, son of the Maha-Nayakachārya Kamageti Sagula Hanumi Nayaka Siddanna Gouda of Siddapura, son of Devappa of Kerre sold the Goudike which belonged to him for 200 varsha. Whether this Madakeri Nayaka succeeded Timmanna Nayaka it is not possible to say. Because there is no evidence to support this statement, although it may be said that probably no one except the ruling Nayaka of Holalkere and Hirlyuru was entitled to assume the ancestral title of Madakeri Nayaka.

But there is no doubt that this Madakeri Nayaka, mentioned as the grandson of Obanna Nayaka, belonged to the same line as that of the founder of the Madakeri Nayaka, for the inscriptions says that the grandfather of this person was called Sriman Mahānayakachārya - Kamagetiya Sagelaya Hanumi Nayakaraya Makkalupobannanayakara maga - Madakeri Nayakarige. If this Obanna was one of the sons of the first founder of the Madakeri Nayakas - Sagalaya Hanumi Nayaka, as the word chidan (Makkalu) applied to Obanna suggests, who was his other son? But this person fortunately as an inscription relates was no other than Timmanna Nayaka, who probably ruled (as an amarnayaka)

1. Rice, A, genealogy on the last page, 501.
3. Ibid.
sometime between the years A.D. 1581 and A.D. 1583. That is because Timmanna ruled possibly till A.D. 1583 as the inscription is ascribed to this year while it is said that in A.D. 1581 the son of Obanna Nayaka, the unnamed Madakeri Nayaka, purchased a plot of land. It is certainly possible that this Madakeri Nayaka did not assume the Nayakaship in A.D. 1581 as the inscriptions merely calls him Madakeri Nayaka, without any title, which would not have been the case if he had been the ruler. Therefore, it may be concluded that till A.D. 1583 Timmanna Nayaka ruled as Sovereign of Chitradurga. The Madakeri Nayaka who succeeded Timmanna Nayaka after A.D. 1583 appears to have been Sarjappa Nayaka, according to Linganna Kavi of Kaladi. This Sarjappa is most probably the name of the ruler who is called Madakeri Nayaka, the son of Obanna Nayaka and the grandson of Hanumi Nayaka, the founder of the Madakeri dynasty. As nothing is recorded of him, beyond the purchase of goudike for 200 varahas from Siddappa gouda, it is possible that either he had not reigned for a long time, if he reigned at all, or that he was not a prominent Nayaka, for if he had been so, his grants would certainly have been known. Of course, there is also the great possibility of his records not having been discovered yet.

1. EC, XI, p. 188.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
But Timmappa Nayaka had a son who occupied the office of the Nayaka in A.D. 1689 and made a grant to the Virabhadra temple in the Hosadurga Hobali.

What the name of this chieftain was it is not possible at present to reveal although it is possible that the Prince may have been Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-I, who was alive in A.D. 1576 could not have ruled, as we know that Timmanna Nayaka certainly ruled till A.D. 1583. Records shows that Timmanna Nayaka reigned from A.D. 1556 till A.D. 1583, and that he was succeeded by Madikeri Nayaka (Sarjappa Nayaka?) according to Linganna Kavi, and the inscriptions of his time. Epigraphs also shows that Timmanna Nayaka had a son called Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-I, whose records date from A.D. 1576 till A.D. 1589. From these extant notices of rulers we may arrive at the following conclusions: First, that while Timmanna Nayaka lived his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-I could not have had the possibility of ruling as an independent king. He could only have ruled in the name of his father, or as Yuvaraja or joint ruler. Secondly, after the death of his father Timmanna Nayaka in A.D. 1583 -- for that is the last date of his reign known to us till now -- Rangappa-I may have reigned for six years longer, evidently in his own name. After him Sarjappa must have succeeded and ruled from A.D.

1. EC XI, p. 209. The authenticity of this inscription attributed to that year is questionable.
1590 till A.D. 1605 for in A.D. 1606 appears the first inscription of his son Chikkanna (Hiriyar)-I. That Rangappa-I could not really have ruled as Sovereign for the major part of his career, is known from Linganna Kavi who refers to Sanjappa as the ruler who succeeded Timmanna Nayaka.

Obanna Nayaka (A.D. 1584 - A.D. 1590), Madakari Nayaka (Sarjappa), Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-I (A.D. 1590 - A.D. 1605)

Timmanna Nayaka's brother Obanna Nayaka ruled from A.D. 1584 till A.D. 1590. He built a water tank in Hullur-sime, and another called Gundikere in Chitradurga.

In the reign of Sarjappa and Rangappa-I, Hanumappa Nayaka of Tarikere attacked the regions of Janucaldurga, Holalkere, Mayakonda and also surrounded the fort Rangapattana. Kasturi Rangappa came to Chitradurga with his wives. Hanumappa Nayaka was defeated by the Chitradurga army and was forced to surrender. He was imprisoned by Kasturi Rangappa-I at Chitradurga.

Harpanhalli also showed enmity at this time. But Kasturi Rangappa-I defeated the army and annexed part of the territory to Chitradurga.

Kasturi Rangappa gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnappa Nayaka, the son of Rangappa Nayaka of Sirer. As both daughter and son-in-law were living in the palace,

2. MSP, CP, pp. 15-18.
Krishnappa secretly planned to take the fort. But smelling this, Sarjappa killed a number of Sira soldiers and saved the fort. So Rangappa-I honoured him by giving him the title of "Gandugodali Sarja".

Revengefully Rangappa of Sira attacked Hiriyuru, with a cavalry force 12000 to 3000 strong. But he was defeated and killed in the battle.

At this time their possessions yielded a revenue of 65000 Durgi varahas. They extended the dominion principally eastward until they yielded 100000 Durgi varahas. These Nayakas were not independent. They were Karyakartas of the Vijayanagara Emperor.

The ruler who succeeded this Madakeri Nayaka (Sarjappa) appears to have been Chikkanna Nayaka or as he is styled in the Keladi-Nripa-Vijayam Hiriva Chikkanna Nayaka. Even this Hiriva Chikkanna Nayaka, as the epigraph evidence shows, was not independent at least till A.D. 1606. And therefore it can be said with some certainty that no ruler of the Madakeri family was independent until this year. This is because an inscription of this year describes Hiriva Chikkanna as the agent for the affairs (Karyakarta) of the Vijayanagara emperor Venkatapati. This epigraph

1. MSP, CP, pp. 16-19.
2. EC, XI, p. 18.
4. EC, op.cit.
also reveals that the agent for the affairs of the emperor had, like his masters, a similar agent, named Malli Sethi who managed the administration of Bilichodu sima. Hiriya Chikkanna is styled Mahanayakacharya - a title which connotes that he was no ordinary Nayaka and he was so called apparently, as he was an high official immediately, connected with the emperor. He is called 'Hiriya' by Linganna Kavi probably because there is in the Madakeri Nayaka family another person bearing the same name. This Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka had a brother called Immadi Madakeri Nayaka the agent for the affairs of the Vijayanagara emperor Ranga Raya in A.D. 1653. An epigraph says that he made a grant of Kadalegadu belonging to Hire Guntur magani in Chitrahalli sima as an agrahara. In this epigraph his ancestry is given as follows: "Immadi Madakeri Nayaka, son of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka, son of Madakeri Nayaka (Sarjappa?), son of the Mahanayakacharya Kamageti Obanna Nayaka.\(^1\) Here it may be noticed that the Chitrahalli sima (Chitradurga) is mentioned as "our Chitrahalli sima" foreshadowing the open declaration of independence when the last Vijayanagara emperor was living. This is evidently the Madakeri Nayaka mentioned by Linganna Kavi as having preceded Chikkanna Nayaka.\(^2\)

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1. \(\text{KC, XI, p. 24.}\)
2. \(\text{KNW, p. 180.}\)
Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka (A.D. 1606 - A.D. 1627),
Immadl Madakeri Nayaka, Rangappa-II (A.D. 1628 -
A.D. 1677)

Nothing is known about Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka except that he ruled from A.D. 1606 to A.D. 1627. About Immadl Madakeri Nayaka, we have to rely more on Kannada sources. Tarikere Nayaka attacked the Devapur fort which was in the possession of Chitradurga Nayakas. But Immadl Madakeri Nayaka defeated the Tarikere army at Horkere. He built the lower fort of Chitradurga and repaired the gates of the fort. He also built Basappana Buruja, Ramadev temple, and other forts at Godkere, Nannival, Aimangal etc. It is said that the Uchhangemma, the family goddess of the Nayakas, was brought to the fort and installed therein at this time. At the chief's death in 1677 his possession yielded a revenue of 100000 Durgi varahas. He divided the kingdom into different parts and appointed the Dalvayis to administer these divisions.

This Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka, according to Keladi-
Nripa-Vijayam, was succeeded by Hiriya Madakeri Nayaka. The name of this chieftain cannot be discovered in the Kanarese chronicle, but according to inscriptions, one Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-III is mentioned in A.D. 1628. Probably this epigraph shows the first signs of independence because it is said that in order that merit might accrue to the Srimān

1. MSP, CP, pp. 20-22.
Mahanayakacharya Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka, Ayya Taleda Kariyappa Nayaka gave the Ganji grant.  

Another grant of this same village was made by the same donor, Kariyappa in A.D. 1638 to Gadripalli Nayaka Swami for the same purpose.  

Why this grant of land of one village was repeated after a lapse of five years cannot be explained, unless we take it to mean that this village was confirmed or renewed, or the recepient might have been a second donee. Nevertheless, the reference to the name of Rangappa Nayaka shows that this chieftain had been surviving at that time. The name of the Nayaka missing in the epigraph dated A.D. 1655, must be this Rangappa-III. As will be shown presently this Rangappa Nayaka is recorded to have been ruling in A.D. 1660. The information that in A.D. 1665 he granted to Uruvakonde - Bommayya the revenues of the village Bommanahalli in the presence of two of his officers, shows the first clear signs of the assumption of independence, by the Nayakas of Chitradurga. Five years later the same chief still called the Mahanayakacharya Kamageti Kasturi Kasturi Madakeri Nayakarayya caused to be written and given to the Bagu Charanti Channa Basappadeva the four lands of Goudasamudra in the Bagursine free of impost.  

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2. Ibid., p. 123.  
3. Ibid., p. 86.  
4. Ibid., p. 86.
have been the ruler referred to in an inscription ascribed to the year A.D. 1672 which says that Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka constructed the Bharam Samudra fort. No mention of the Surerain is made in this inscription. That this Rangappa ruled at least nominally till A.D. 1690 is clear from a record which says that in the Salivahana Saka 1612 na promodatta Samvatserada Kartika-be. 14 lu Sriman Mahenayaka granted to Bhimabatta, a resident of Kasi, as a rent free grant for Kasi, the uppaligere village.

This being the case it is not correct to attribute grants of Baramanna Nayaka, the grandson of this ruler Rangappa-III, to the year A.D. 1683. 3

Kamageti Kasturi Chikkanna Nayaka-II (A.D. 1678 to A.D. 1699)

According to the Keladi-Kripa-Vilayam Hiriya Madakeri Nayaka was succeeded by these rulers: Madakeri Nayaka, Chikkanna Nayaka and Madakeri Nayaka. Epigraphs, however, point out that from A.D. 1628 to A.D. 1690 there was only one ruler who went by the name of Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.

Linganna Kavi is probably correct to a certain extent, because, although Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka is recorded to have ruled till A.D. 1678 a ruler named Kamageti Kasturi

1. EC, XI, p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Ibid., p. 39.
Chikkanna Nayakaraya in order that merit might accrue to his father made a grant of the Nagenhalli village as a rent free gift for the Ramanuja Sect.

This Chikkanna could never have been the Hiriya Chikkanna who was Karyakarta of the emperor Venkatapati in A.D. 1606, because Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa is recorded to have ruled after him. Therefore, it is possible that this was the son of Kamageti Kasturi (Rangappa-II) Nayaka and actually ruled in the name of his father who must have been quite an old man in A.D. 1690.

If Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-II survived till A.D. 1690 while the first inscription of his son Chikkanna Nayaka-II merely known as Madakeri Nayaka in the records is from the year A.D. 1678 and the first epigraph of Baramanna-I is dated A.D. 1700, then it may be concluded that this Chikkanna-II must have ruled in the intervening period as a subordinate till A.D. 1690, when his father was alive and afterwards in his own name, but not as an independent king. Now this Chikkanna-II cannot be identified with the Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka. The chief reason is because Chikkanna-II did not assume independence which was done only by his successor Baramanna-I, and what is more important, Baramanna-I was alive and made grant in this year in his own

1. EG, XI, p. 89.
2. Ibid., p. 80.
3. Ibid., p. 16.
It may be that the name of this unnamed Madakeri Nayaka, the son of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-II was Kamageti Kasturi Chikkanna Nayaka-II who made, as has been stated already, a grant in A.D. 1678. If this is accepted, then we may say that Rangappa-II must have ruled from A.D. 1678 till A.D. 1697. This identification is strengthened by an epigraph of Baramanna-I which says that this Baramanna-I was the son of Madakeri Nayaka and the grandson of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-II. We are certain that the ruler who preceded Baramanna-I was Kamageti Kasturi Chikkanna Nayaka-II known only as Madakeri Nayaka in the inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that this is the first inscription of the Madakeri Nayakas which refers to the "Crowned queen" (Pattada Chikkannammanavaru) of this ruler showing thereby that in the year A.D. 1700 the Nayakas of Chitradurga openly declared themselves independent.

The Kannada sources say that the Nayaka of Nidugal attacked the Sanekal fort which was in the possession of the Chitradurga Nayakas. The Chitradurga army defeated the Nidugal army and retained the fort (1675). The Palegar of Harpanhalli attacked the Fort Anaji and killed Bhoonappa, the general of the fort. Chikkanna Nayaka immediately went to Anaji from Sanikere and defeated the Palegar of Harpanhalli (1675).

1. EG, XI, p. 78.
Subedar Sherkhan of Harihar requested help from the Nayaka, as Shamsherkhan (of Hyderabad) wanted to attack his region. Shamsherkhan came with 6000 cavalry and 12000 infantry and attacked Harihar. So the Nayaka went to Baregudda with Sherkhan. This he effected by the following stratagem. Causing, on the approach of night, lights to be fixed to the branches of the trees and horns of the cattle at his encampment, near Batihill, and the musicians to play as usual on their instruments (Kahala, Vadya etc.) as if the army was still there, the Nayaka marched with nearly the whole force by a circuitous route and threw himself into the fort from the west and thus drove off the besiegers.

In 1679 Hanadullah Khan of Bijapur invaded this area. Harpanhalli was also attacked in the same year. Nayaka sent his army under the leadership of Dalavayi Chikkappa and Horake Nayaka, and attacked the Budihal fort. In the meantime the Nawab of Golkonda attacked the Ramgiri fort. So the Nayaka, withdrawing the army from Budihal, concentrated on the Ramgiri fort. Here the Golkonda army was defeated by the Chitradurga army. 1

In 1679 the Tarikere Palegar offered the hand of his daughter Hemavva, to Chikkanna Nayaka of Chitradurga through certain Bethur Timmannaji and Krishnappa. When the

1. MSP, CE, pp. 20-30.
CHITRADURGA STATE
(APPROX. EXTENT)
1568 AD. TO 1779 AD.
Chandrayudha was dispatched by Chikkanna, her father took it as an insult, and married another girl, named Sakamma to the weapon. Thereupon Chikkanna attacked the Tarikere Palayapat. The quarrel ended with the marriage of Hemavva and Chikkanna Nayaka.

The growth of Madakeri dynasty as an Independent Power:

Baramanna Nayaka-I

The open declaration of Sovereignty was made by Kamageti Baramanna. He calls himself 'arasu' (king) and makes a grant in A.D. 1700 for the god of the fort of Shinganagiri.

This Baramanna Nayaka-I came to the throne probably in A.D. 1700, and assumed for the first time in the history of Madakeri Nayakas, the full symbols of Sovereignty. It was as an independent king that he made a grant of land for the god of the fort Shinganagiri. In A.D. 1711 this Nayaka gave to his treasurer--Maranappa--the village of Goudamuktenhalli "in our kingdom". Three years later in A.D. 1714 he made a grant of the village of Pilekaranahalli for

1. This was a peculiar custom amongst the Chitradurga Palegars which continued till the reign Chikkanna Nayaka, known as that of marrying girl with the Chandrayudha, may be mentioned. This weapon took the place of bride-groom, who wedded the girl.

2. JMS. Vol. XXXI 1940-41.

3. EC, XI, p. 78.
4. Ibid., p. 144.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. Ibid., p. 133.
the services of the god Venkataramana of Chimmanagiridurga. In A.D. 1715 this same ruler devoted to Rangappa an officer of store granary the Vallanahalli village in the Bilichodu sime, in the kingdom he was ruling with all rights. He is recorded to have given away the village of Demalavanahalli in the Kadaganur sime in the kingdom that he was ruling, to the holy Raghunath tirth Shripad of Vyasarayamath. That this ruler was of the Valmiki gotra is mentioned in a record of A.D. 1718 in which he is stated to have given away the village "Haluvadhava" in the Durgi sime while ruling the kingdom. Hence again the reference to the independence of Chitradurga is made apparent.

The Bakhar written by Yogyadharaka Bhimaji Pant which is addressed to Peshwa Madhavrao gives an interesting legendary account about Baramanna's accession. While Baramappa Nayaka, originally at Bilichodu, was tending the goats in the forest and resting there, a cobra was spreading its hood on his head, like an umbrella. Maragindraiyya, head of the Marugi Mutt, observed this and predicted that Baramappa would become a ruler in three months, and so it happened. In gratitude he built Marugi Mutt on the hills.

1. EC, XI, p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 153.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 187.
This is the first chieftain of Chitradurga who came in direct contact with Marathas. The Kannada sources which trace the history of the Chitradurga chieftains give the following information about this episode. In the year Dhutu 1695 Santaji came with 20000 horsemen to fight against Kasimkhan, and Khan took refuge in the fort of Dodderi. Bharamanna Nayaka, the Chitradurga chieftain, sent an army under Kubitoni Venkanna and Holalkere Bharamanna to help Santaji. Kasimkhan died in the fort and Dodderi was captured by the Chitradurga army.

Khanzadkhan was a son of the late paymaster general Ruhullahkhan-I and great grandson of the empress Mumataj Mahal’s sister. With him had come some officers of the greatest influence and favour in the emperor’s personal circle. This Khanzadkhan was sent by Aurangzeb to assist Kasimkhan. So Kasimkhan wanted to welcome such a guest to his camp. So he brought out of his stores in the Adoni fort, his show articles, such as brand new Karnataki tents, gold and silver, China vessels of all kinds, etc. He sent his soldiers six miles ahead of his halting place, to be kept ready for himself and his guests, when they would arrive there at the end of the next day’s march.

But on the day doom overtook him in the person of Shanta Ghorpare who showed the highest tactical power in

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1. MSP, CP, pp. 24-25.
2. Mughal Administration, p. 325.
making his dispositions, and moving his scattered divisions, so as to ensure the perfect timings of their movements. The Nayaka of Chitradurga (Baramanna Nayaka-I) secretly communicated to Santaji all the vulnerable points of the Mughal arrangements and the shrewd Santaji was not slow to take full advantage of it. Thus the Mughals were ringed round by the enemies and cut off from all information.\(^1\)

An hour and a half after sunrise the first Maratha division fell upon the Kasimkhan's tent, and a great battle was fought and many soldiers were slain on both sides. Kasimkhan decided to go to the small fort of Dodderi 22 miles from east of Chitradurga. The soldiers lost their artillery, so in vain exertions for some hours they sat down in despair.\(^2\) Kasimkhan died in the fort.

After this incident the Nayaka was punished by Prince Bidar Baksha. In this battle he seems to have felt his heavy hand as he made humble submission, and promise of loyalty.\(^3\)

Baramanna Nayaka was forced to be an ally of Mughals and he cooperated with them in many of their campaigns. So this cooperation between the Marathas and Chitradurga appears to have ended soon.

Hundurao, the Maratha chieftain of Gutti, is stated

\(^1\) MA, p. 375. 
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 375-77. 
\(^3\) Sarkar, p. 246. (Aurangzeb)
as having invaded Chitradurga in cooperation with Rayadurga chieftain. Baramanna Nayaka defeated the invading army at Kothur with the assistance of Padadullah Khan of Sira, the Subedar of Mughal.  

This enmity between the Marathas and Chitradurga continued for sometime, for in 1707 A.D. Dhanaji is found raiding Chitradurga territory and he was bought off by Bharamappa Nayaka.  

In 1708 A.D. he conquered the Harpanhalli fort and defeated the Palegar. But as an act of generosity, he gave up the fort and returned to Chitradurga. But the Palegar of Harpanhalli did not keep the promise. He again attacked the fort of Holalkere and took it. In this way the Palegars of Harpanhalli and Raidurga troubled Baramanna Nayaka again and again.  

The Killedar of Baguru showed hostility towards the Mughals in 1719 A.D. As Baramappa Nayaka was an ally of Mughals after the Dolleri incident, he now went to help the Subedar of Sira, Durga Kooli Khan, and attacked Baguru. Baguru chief surrendered himself in the battle. For this help Baramappa Nayaka got the village Navinakatti from the Subedar of Sira.  

In 1748 Somasekhara Nayaka-II of Bidnur fought the

1. MSP, CP, p. 46.  
2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid.
battle of Mayokonda against Chitradurga. In this battle Baramappa Nayaka secured the alliance of Chandasaheb, who was released from the prison of Satara through the designs of Duplex; was marching South. But in the battle Mayakonda the Chitradurga army encountered with disastrous result that of Bidnur which was assisted by the forces of Raidurga, Harpanhalli and Savanur. Baramappa Nayaka was slain in the battle in single combat on elephants, by Somasekara Nayaka, Chandasaheb’s son fell at his side, and he himself was taken prisoner by the Bidnur troops.

After the fatal battle of Mayakonda (1748) it may be assumed that Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-III ascended the throne of the Chitradurga on the death of Baramanna Nayaka. An epigraph of A.D. 1756 clearly gives the relations between these two persons thus -- "the Mahanayakacharya Kamageti Kasturi Baramanna Nayaka’s son, Madakeri Nayaka’s son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka." This leaves, no doubt, about the family descent. From this it may be inferred that from A.D. 1748 to A.D. 1755 this chieftain ruled over Chitradurga.


In the next year A.D. 1756 another ruler is mentioned as Raja Madakeri Nayaka, the son of Kasturi Durgappa Nayaka

2. EC, XI, p. 121.
and the grandson of Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka. He is recorded to have granted the village of Goudanahalli in the Hiriyuru sime of the kingdom, for the annachhatra he established at Hiriyuru.¹

From this it is clear that the title Raja (king) was assumed by the Madakeri Nayaka and that he immediately succeeded his uncle Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-II. According to Linganna Kavi, the successor of Rangappa-III appears to have been Raghavappa Nayaka, who in his turn was followed by another Rangappa Nayaka-IV, who was possibly his younger brother. As no inscriptions of these chiefs are at present forthcoming, it is difficult to say anything about them.

The ancestry of this Durgappa Nayaka deserves to be ascertained. As this record of A.D. 1756 relates, Raja Madakeri Nayaka (Raghavappa) was the ruler of Chitradurga in A.D. 1756, he was the son of Kasturi Durgappa and the grandson of Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka. Allotting roughly some years to each of his predecessors, we may say that Durgappa must have lived between A.D. 1731-56 and his father Kamageti Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka between A.D. 1706-31. We definitely know that in A.D. 1721 there were two rulers at Chitradurga mentioned in the epigraphs or rather the famous Baramanna-I who called himself 'King' and his son the 'Crown Prince' (Kumar or Pattada) Chikkanna-III. Durgappa

¹. EC, XI, p. 121.
². KNV, p. 180.
must have been the son of either of these two royal personages. If he was the son of the former, it is natural to assume that he called himself the son of King Baramanna-I, although it must be admitted that in a record of A.D. 1700 he is also called merely Baramanna Nayaka. But as Durgappa is styled simply the son of Madakeri Nayaka which just the title by which the son of Baramanna Nayaka-I is called in A.D. 1721. We may have to state that Durgappa was in all probability the son of Madakeri Nayaka, Kumar or Pattada Chikkanna-III.

But as has been noticed till now, the right of succession in this Bedar family of Chitradurga was hereditary. Hence it may be presumed that this Rangappa-IV, who possibly ruled only for a short time, was probably the son of Raghavappa. The same presumption may also be applied to the case of Baramanna-II as well, for he was the successor of Rangappa-IV.

So from 1756 till 1777 there were three kings who ruled the Chitradurga kingdom. In January 1763, Hyder Ali attacked the Chitradurga fort for the first time. The Palegar must be Raja Madakeri Nayaka Raghavappa. He attempted to evade and procrastinate. So Hyder overran the country, with the result that in a few days the Nayaka found it prudent to compromise. He paid Rs.4 lacks as tribute. The Hyder-

1. Annual Reports of Mysore Archaeological Department, 1930, p. 87.
Nama says that Madakeri Nayaka gave 8 lakhs of Durgi varahas, and assisted Hyder Ali in his Bidnur campaign, with 1500 horses and 10000 foot. The Nayaka wanted to end the family-feud by foreign help. Kirmani says that the Chitradurga Chief introduced to Hyder a 'resurrected' person of Keladi dynasty, Chenna Basappa Nayaka-II. Hyder promised and they engaged through the mediation of Chitradurga Chiefs to gird the loins in the services of Hyder and they sailed towards Bidnur. The Hydernama does not seem to believe in the stories of his having been saved. And for that very reason he calls the man introduced by the Chitradurga Palegars the pretender who was known as Ghaiibu Raja. Hyder easily took the possession of the city of Bidnur with the help of the Chitradurga Nayaka, and put an end to the powerful Palayapat of Bidnur. The Chitradurga Nayaka had thought that he would end the family-feud with Bidnur by foreign help. He wanted to avenge the Battle of Mayokonda. But unfortunately for him his associate proved to be his enemy.

In 1771 Hyder turned his attention towards the Chief of Cuddappah, Kurnool, Bellary, Adoni and Chitradurga. He marched for the rout of Harpanhalli and Jureemah in the neighbourhood of Chitradurga. The Palegar Rangappa-IV,

fearing the spolitation and desolation of his country, sent a vakil to the Nawab with three lakhs of rupees as one day's entertainment for the army. The Nawab accepted the money and allowed him to rest under his powerful protection and having by suggestion and advice pointed out the path he was to pursue, he dispatched an able news - writer and register to the residence of the Nayaka.

In 1770 Rangappa-IV had allianced himself with the Marathas. All the country under Hyder's domination up to the fort Nijgal was besieged. When Peshwa Madhavrao I himself with all his army came for the siege of Nijgal, the Nayaka joined him. Several attempts made by this large Maratha force to mount the hill and scale the fort walls were successfully repulsed. A large breach was made in the fort wall where the Marathas are said to have advanced six times but were always beaten back. At this crisis the Nayaka by him matchless prowess attacked the fort and secured victory for the Peshwa.

Hyder Ali again besieged the fort in A.D. 1777. The ruler Ranghavappa-IV sent his Minister Purushottam to Haripant Tatya applying for succour. But Haripant was himself very uneasy as he was not quite sure of his own hold on his troops. Receiving no assurances from the Maratha Chiefs the ruler began to negotiate with Hyder who insisted that he

2. QJES, XVIII, 1927-28.
should pay 14 lakhs as Nazarana. The Chitradurga Chief agreed to pay it in instalments. But regarding the valuation of the Chitradurga coins, there was a difference of opinion. So the fighting began once again.

The ruler Raghavappa-IV made frequent sorties and killed a large number of Hyder's troops. Hyder having come to terms with the ruler of Chitradurga, advanced 5 Kos (approx. 15 miles) from Harihar. But the Chitradurga Chiefs now broke the terms of the treaty in the hope of getting Maratha aid.

After three months of hard fighting, peace was made with the Nawab by the payment of eight lakhs of Durgi varahas, the brother of the Nayaka having been handed over as hostage.

Decline of the Madakeri Dynasty:

Baramanna Nayaka-II (1777-1779)

The last king in the line of the Chitradurga Nayakas was Baramanna Nayaka-II. Placed between the Marathas on one side and Hyder Ali on the other, this Chief occupied a perilous position. Hyder had already tried twice to invade the Chitradurga fort.

In 1777 when Hyder Ali was threatened with a formidable invasion by the allied armies of the Marathas and

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2. Ibid., Letter No. 2156.
3. War, 1930, p. 95.
Nizam Ali, the Chitradurga Palegar having received information that Hyder's fortune would shortly be reversed, held back from sending the usual contingent of troops to his assistance. Hyder posted in a strong position at Gutti, found means to avert the danger and immediately marched upon Chitradurga to punish it, rejecting the offer of the Chief to pay a large fine. The siege was continued for months without success. Finally, an agreement was made between the two and a fine of 13 lakhs of Pagodas was levied on the Chitradurga Chief. But the advance of the Marathas forced Hyder to destroy the siege works and hastened to the north-west before the whole was paid and the Palegar, still doubting to which side fortune might incline, evaded the order to accompany the army with his troops. The Maratha campaign failed owing to, among other things, the mutual jealousy of the leaders. Hyder, after a successful career of conquests over the country between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna, once more sat down indignant before Chitradurga.

But Hyder could not capture Chitradurga by easy means. He did not capture it by his valour or courage, but by foul means. Only by the treachery of Mahammedan officers in the Palegars service, Hyder could capture the place at last in A.D. 1778. Baramanna Nayaka-II, on finding himself betrayed, threw himself on Hyder's mercy. He and his family

2. See infra, Appendix No. 1.
were sent as prisoners to Shrirangapattana, while to break up the Bedar population whose blind devotion to their Chief had so prolonged the contest, he removed 20000 inhabitants to the island of Shrirangapattana. He formed regular battalions of boys of proper age, who in the following wars were of great service to him.¹

Thus the Madakeeri dynasty which was established in A.D. 1568 flourished for over 200 years.

Foreign accounts say that up to the year 1779 Madakeeri Nayaka had the revenue amounting to forty lakhs of rupees, which were disposed of in supporting an army of 4000 horse, 2000 regular infantry, 30000 carnatics, and in discharging a tribute to the Marathas states, of 500000 rupees, the surplus being appropriated by the Nayaka for the purpose of his government.²

Buchanan says that the Palegar of Chitradurga governed a country valued at 10000 Pagodas a year on the declining days of the royal family of Vijayanagara. These enterprising hunters increased their territories until they became worth annually 350000 Pagodas.³

An Estimate (Political)

The Chitradurga Nayakas' political career lacks the

² Foreign Political Consultations, Accounts sent to J. Webbe from J. Spencer, 26 Jan. 1800 (138).
³ Ibid.
unity and national sentiment. Internal jealousy, and not cooperation with neighbouring prince, was the Chief cause of the decline and fall of Chitradurga. While individually they were clever and brave, they totally lacked the corporate spirit so essential to their independence. This disunity brought about the destruction completely. For defeating the neighbouring countries, they tried to take the help of foreign rulers. This was not new to our kings, there being several such examples such as those of the Ibrahim Khan Lodi's uncle seeking Babar's help, Bajirao II seeking English help and the like.

The Chitradurga Nayakas were no exception to this. It was during the reign of Somasekhar Nayaka-II of Bidnur in 1748 that the intrigues of Duplex released Chandasaheb from the Marathas of Satara, as a candidate for the Nawabship of the Carnatic, in opposition to Mahammad Ali, the English candidate. Bidnur was then at war with Chitradurga, and both sought the countenance of Chandasaheb, who was marching leisurely to the south awaiting information from his partisans. He was induced to side with Chitradurga, but in the decisive battle of Mayokonda on the 24th March 1748, the Chitradurga forces suffered complete defeat and their Chief Baramanna Nayaka-I was slain. The son of Chandasaheb had been killed by his side and he himself fell into the hands of the enemy. To avenge this battle, the Nayaka brought in Basappa Nayaka,

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who pretended himself as the 'resurrected' king of Bidnur towards the close of 1762. The Nayaka wanted to end the family-feud by taking the help of Hyder. Unfortunately for him his associate proved to be his enemy.

This alliance between the Nayaka and Hyder did not last long. During Madhavrao's invasion of Mysore in 1770 (against Hyder) the Nayaka supported Hyder in the beginning. But when his independence was threatened, he joined the Marathas. He fought with Hyder against the Marathas when the Peshwa was at Anawatti. But when the Peshwa crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Sira and swept across Mysore, the Palegar joined him, and distinguished himself in the Seize of Nijgal. This defeat impaired Hyder's prestige. Incensed at the treachery of his erstwhile vassal Hyder attacked Chitradurga again.

Once the Nayaka sent his Vakil Purushottam Pant to the Mughals and Marathas inviting them to invade Mysore. With Sirdar Ibrahim Dhoonsa he besieged the fort of Bullori which was in the hands of Hyder. And when the Nayaka found the Dhoonsa exceedingly vain about the discipline of his troops and the excellence of his artillery, he did not like the united invasion. The alliance evidently broke up.

2. QJES, XXXIX, 1927-28.
3. MAR, 1930, p. 95.
4. Ibid.
The Chitradurga Nayakas were caught in the middle of all neighbouring Palegars like those of Harpanhalli, Rayadurga, Sante-Bennur, Basavapattana and Bidnur, and above all, the powerful powers like the Marathas, the Moghuls and Hyder Ali.

So whether in political career or in the foreign policy the Nayakas of Chitradurga lacked the corporate spirit which was so essential to their independence and security.