

వ్రతమ ముద్రణ  
1975

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హైదరాబాదు

మూల్యము రూ. 2-50

## ముందుమాట

ఎన్నో ఏళ్ళుగా అనుకొంటున్న ప్రపంచ తెలుగు మహాసభలు జరుగనున్న పర్యవసాయం ఆసన్నమవుతున్నది. ప్రపంచంలోని తెలుగువారి ప్రతినిధు లందరిని ఒకచోట సమీకరించవలెనని పెద్ద లందరూ కన్నకలలు ఫలిస్తున్న శుభసమయమిది. రాబోయే ఉగాది రెండువేల అయిదువందల సంవత్సరాల తెలుగు జాతి చరిత్రలో మరపురాని మధుర ఘట్టము కాగలదు.

క్రీస్తు పూర్వం మూడవ శతాబ్దికి చెందిన శాతవాహన రాజుల కాలం నుండి తెలుగు ప్రజలకు ఒక విశిష్టమైన చరిత్ర ఉన్నది. భారత దేశంలో తెలుగు మాట్లాడే ప్రజలు దాదాపు ఐదుకోట్లకు పైగా ఉన్నారు. హిందీ మాట్లాడేవారి తరువాతి స్థానం తెలుగువారిదే. బౌద్ధపూర్వ యుగంనుంచి ఇటీవల బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్య పరిపాలనాయుగం వరకూ తెలుగువారు పెద్దఎత్తున ప్రపంచం నలుమూలలకూ వలస వెళ్ళడం జరిగింది. అట్లా వెళ్ళిన తెలుగువారు తమ భాషా సంస్కృతి సంప్రదాయాలను ఆయా జాతీయ జీవన విధానాలతో మేళవించి, వాటిని సుసంపన్నం చేస్తూ ఉన్నారు.

ప్రపంచ తెలుగు మహాసభల ప్రధాన లక్ష్యం తెలుగు ప్రజల, తెలుగు అభిమానుల ప్రతినిధులను ఒక వేదికమీద సమావేశపర్చడం. జాతీయ, అంతర్జాతీయ సాంస్కృతిక రంగాలలో తెలుగువారు చేయవలసిన కృషినిగూర్చి చర్చించి, నిర్ణయించుకోవడానికి, తద్వారా వివిధ చైతన్య న్రవంతులను ఏకోన్ముఖంచేసి మన సాంస్కృతిక సంబంధాలను దృఢతరం చేసుకోవడానికి ఈ మహాసభలు దోహద కారులు అవుతవి. అంతేకాక ఈ మహాసభలు ఆర్ధ్రమైన భావసమైక్యతకు ప్రాతిపదికలై తెలుగుజాతిని నమైక్యం చేయగలవనీ, ఆ విధంగా జాతీయ అభ్యుదయానికి తోడ్పడగలవనీ విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

1975 ఏప్రిల్ 12వ తేదీన, తెలుగు ఉగాది రోజున, ప్రారంభమై ఒక వారం రోజుల పాటు జరిగే ఈ మహాసభలలో వివిధ దేశాలనుంచి, వివిధ రాష్ట్రాలనుంచి, యునెస్కోవంటి అంతర్జాతీయ సంస్థలనుంచి విచ్చేసిన ప్రముఖులు ప్రతినిధులుగానో, పరిశీలకులుగానో పాల్గొంటారు.

ఈ మహాసభల సమయంలో చర్చాగోష్ఠులు, ప్రదర్శనలు, ప్రచురణలు మొదలైన కార్యక్రమాలు జరుగుతాయి. దేశ విదేశాలలోని తెలుగువారి సంస్కృతి, తెలుగు భాషా సాహిత్యాల కళల అభివృద్ధి, వైజ్ఞానిక సాంకేతిక ప్రగతి మొదలైన విషయాలపై చర్చాగోష్ఠులు జరుగుతవి. తెలుగువారి సాంస్కృతిక వైభవాన్ని వివిధ కోణాలనుంచి ప్రస్తుతం చేసే ఒక ప్రదర్శన ఏర్పాటు అవుతున్నది. తెలుగువారి సమగ్ర స్వయాపాన్ని సందర్శించడానికి వీలైన సంగ్రహాలయాన్ని (మ్యూజియంను) స్థాపించడానికి ఈ ప్రదర్శన బీజ భూతమవుతుంది. తెలుగువారి సంస్కృతిని నిరూపించే సాంస్కృతిక కార్యక్రమాలు వారం రోజుల పాటు సాగుతవి. తెలుగు ప్రజల సంస్కృతి సంప్రదాయాలను విశదం చేసే ప్రత్యేక సంచికలు తెలుగు, ఇంగ్లీషు, హిందీ, ఉర్దూ భాషలలో విడుదల అవుతాయి. ఈ కార్యక్రమాలలో భాగమే ఈ గ్రంథ ప్రచురణ.

తెలుగు ప్రజలు భాష, సాహిత్యం, చరిత్ర, సంస్కృతి, కళలు మొదలైన వివిధ రంగాలలో సాధించిన మనవిజయాలను విశదం చేసే గ్రంథాలు అనేకం ఈ మహాసభల సమయంలో విడుదల అవుతాయి. ఈ గ్రంథాలను రచించి, సకాలంలో మాకు అందించిన రచయిత లందరకూ నా కృతజ్ఞతలు. ఈ గ్రంథాలను ప్రచురించే భారం వహించడానికి ముందుకువచ్చిన అకాడమీ అధినేతలను అభినందిస్తున్నాను. తెలుగువారి విశిష్టతలను విశదంచేసే ఈ గ్రంథాలు సహృదయులందరి ఆదరణ పొందగలవని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను. అయితే, ఇంత మాత్రం చేతనే ప్రపంచ తెలుగు మహాసభల ఆశయాలు నఫలం కాగలవని నేను అనుకోవడంలేదు. చేయవలసినది ఇంకా ఎంతో ఉంది. ఈ మహాసభల సందర్భంగా నెలకొల్పబడనున్న 'అంతర్జాతీయ తెలుగు విజ్ఞాన సంస్థ' మహాసభల ఆశయ సాధనకు వూనుకొనడమే కాక జాతీయ, అంతర్జాతీయ సాంస్కృతిక సంబంధాలను దృఢతరం చేయగలవని నమ్ముతున్నాను.

జలగం వెంకటరావు

అధ్యక్షులు

సంస్థాపక కార్యదర్శి

## పరిచయము

నహాస్రాబ్ధాలుగా ప్రవర్ధమానమగుచున్న తెలుగు సంస్కృతిని తెలుగుదేశపు నలుచెరగుల పరిచితము చేయు సవకల్పముతో 1975 వ సంవత్సరమును తెలుగు సాంస్కృతిక సంవత్సరముగ ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వము ప్రకటించినది. అందుకు అనుగుణమైన కార్యక్రమాలను నిర్వహింపజేయుటయేగాక, ప్రపంచములోని వివిధ దేశాలలో నివసించు చున్న తెలుగువారి సాంస్కృతిక ప్రతినిధులందరును ఒకచోట సమావేశమగు వసతిని కల్పించుటకై 1975, ఏప్రిల్ 12 (తెలుగు ఉగాదీ) మొదలుగ ప్రపంచ తెలుగు మహాసభ హైదరాబాదున జరుగు నటుల ప్రభుత్వము నిర్ణయించినది. అందుకు ఒక ఆహ్వానసంఘము ఏర్పాటుయినది. ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వ ముఖ్యమంత్రి మాన్యశ్రీ జలగం వెంకటరావుగారు ఆ సంఘమునకు అధ్యక్షులు, విద్యాశాఖామంత్రి మాన్యశ్రీ మండలి వెంకటకృష్ణారావుగారు దాని కార్యనిర్వాహకాధ్యక్షులు, ఆర్థికమంత్రి మాన్యశ్రీ వీధతల రంగారెడ్డిగారు ఆర్థిక, సంస్థా కార్యక్రమాల సమన్వయసంఘాల అధ్యక్షులు.

ఆ సంఘము, ప్రపంచ తెలుగు మహాసభల నందర్పమున వచ్చువారికి తెలుగుజాతి సాంస్కృతిక వైభవమును తెలియజేయుటకు అనువుగ ఆంధ్ర భాషా, సాహిత్య, కళా, చరిత్రాదికములను గురించి ఉత్తమములు, ప్రామాణికములునగు కొన్ని లఘు గ్రంథములను ప్రకటించవలెనని సంకల్పించి, ఆ కార్యనిర్వాహకకై 44 మంది నభ్యులుకల ఒక విద్యత్సంఘమును, శ్రీ నూకల నరోత్తమరెడ్డిగారి అధ్యక్షతన నియమించినది. ఆ విద్యత్సంఘము ఆ లఘు గ్రంథముల వస్తువుల నిర్దేశించి వాని రచనకై ఆయారంగములందు పేరుగనిన ప్రముఖులను రచయితలుగ యెన్నుకొనినది. ఈ విధముగ సిద్ధమైన గ్రంథములలో భాషా, సాహిత్య, చారిత్రక విషయములకు సంబంధించిన వానిని ప్రకటించు బాధ్యతను ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ సాహిత్య అకాడమీ వహింప

వలసినదిగ వ్రపంచ తెలుగుమహాసభా కార్యనిర్వాహకాధ్యక్షులు మాన్యశ్రీ మండలి వెంకటకృష్ణారావుగారు అకాడమీని కోరిరి. మహాసభా నఫలత కొరకై కృషిచేయు సంకల్పముతో ఈ బాధ్యతను వహించుటకు అకాడమీ సంతోషముతో అంగీకరించినది.

ఆ విధముగ ప్రకటింపబడిన గ్రంథశ్రేణిలో ఈ After The Kakatiyas అను గ్రంథమునురచించిన రచయిత్రి డా. వి. యశోదా దేవిగారు ఆంధ్రపాఠకలోకమునకు నుపరిచితులు. వారికిమేము కృతజ్ఞతా బద్ధులము. గ్రంథమును నిర్వృష్టముగ, చక్కగ ముద్రించిన శివాజీ ప్రెస్ వారికి మా కృతజ్ఞత.

దేవులపల్లి రామానుజరావు

కార్యదర్శి

ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ సాహిత్య అకాడమీ

హైదరాబాదు

31-3-1975

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# AFTER THE KĀKATĪYAS

## Chapter I : The Background.

1. **The first quarter of the 14th Century :—(A) The Political condition in Andhra Pradesh :—**By the beginning of the 14th century, when in Uttarāpatha i.e. North India, the “Struggle for Empire”<sup>1</sup> between the Hindu and Muslim dynasties formed the unique feature, in Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e. Deccan and South India, the four major Hindu dynasties of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Kākatīyas of Warangal in the northern segment and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra and the Pāndyas of Madura in the southern half were ever alert, attempting at suzerainty over one another. The 13th century was the age of the rise of these four Hindu Kingdoms on the ruins of the two large empires of the Chōlas and the Chālukyas. Each of these kingdoms continued the inherited traditions and had several local feudatory dynasties under them. This state system continued but for occasional intrinsic struggles for power and ascendancy, until it experienced a severe shock from outside consequent on the invasions and conquests by the Sultanate of Delhi.<sup>2</sup>

Āndhradēśa, comprising the eastern Deccan was happy under the glorious rule of the Kākatīyas. Among

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1. R. C. Majumdar (Ed): The History and Culture of the Indian people Vol. V. The Struggle for Empire (1957) preface p 47.
  2. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri : Sources of Indian History with special reference to South India p. 75.

the early Kākatīyas, Bēta I had conflicts with Rājendra Chōla I, whereas Prōla I (A. D. 1043-68), Bēta II (A. D. 1079-90), and Prōla II owed allegiance to the later Chālukyas. After the death of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1126), Prōla II set up independence and even captured the Chālukya emperor Tailapa III as prisoner (C. A. D. 1162) though subsequently set him at liberty. He cherished an ambition to establish an empire, realised by his successors Rudradēva I (A. D. 1158-95) and Ganapati (A. D. 1198-1261).

The early expansion of the Kākatīyas was at the expense of the waning Eastern Chālukyas<sup>3</sup>. Rudradēva I established peace and order in the kingdom by A. D. 1162 and brought the coastal area and Rāyalasima under him, till then under the Velanāṇḍu Choḍas prop-  
ped by the Imperial Chōlas. The more celebrated Gaṇapatidēva entered into a long drawn struggle with the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas. He succeeded in wresting the southern region upto Kānchi, the Bellary and Anantapur regions from the Hōysalas and subsequently the Yādavas. Thus Gaṇapati blocked the Yādava expansion to the south-east and checked the Pāṇḍyan aggression to the north. After A. D. 1250, he suffered a reverse in the hands of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1251-68). Gaṇapati shifted the capital from Anumakoṇḍa to Warangal, encouraged trade and built temples. This enlightened emperor was the founder of the second Āndhra Empire<sup>4</sup>, the first being the Āndhra Sātavāhana Empire.

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3. W Haig (Ed): The Cambridge History of India Vol. III.

4. M. Rama Rao: Āndhra through the Ages.



Rudrāmba (A. D. 1261-96), worthy successor of her father, had to confront the conflicts of king Mahādēva<sup>4</sup> (A.D. 1261-71) of the Yādavas and Ambadēva of the Kāyasthas with capital at Vallūrupaṭṭana. Her administration had been praised by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller who visited Mōṭupalli (A. D. 1293)<sup>5</sup>. Pratāparudra, the grandson and successor of Rudrāmba, associated in the government since A. D. 1290, had to take himself to the task of restoring the lost territories of the Kākatīyas. A powerful monarch and a contemporary of equally imposing monarch, Ballāla III (A.D. 1291-1342), he dethroned Ambadēva and annexed his kingdom. His general Aḍidamma chastised and killed Manumagaṇḍagōpāla of the Telugu Chōḍas of Nellore. But his southward expansion had to suffer abeyance, as he had to prepare himself to confront the new danger of Muslim invasions into his kingdom. Pratāparudra successfully beat back the first Khalji invasion (A. D. 1303) under Mālik Fakrudīn Jūna<sup>6</sup>. But his resistance to Mālik Kafūr (A. D. 1309-10) was not successful and he had to conclude a treaty surrendering vast treasures. Subsequently, Pratāparudra renewed his southern campaigns, wrested Nellore from Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, captured Kānchi by vanquishing Kēraḷa Ravivarman and installed Mānavīra, his own protege, as governor. He proceeded triumphantly further south, conquered the country upto Trichinopoly from the Hōysalas and defeated a Pāandyan monarch. He fought with Yādava Rāmachandra. By his efforts, Pratāparudra extended the Empire from the Gōdāvāri

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5. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: The Foreign notices of South India.

6. He assumed the name of Muhammad Bin Tughlak when he became Sultan of Delhi.

to Trichinopoly and Medak to the sea. But he was not destined to enjoy this vast empire for long.

For in A. D. 1321, Pratāparudra had to withstand the first Tughlak invasion under Ulūgh Khān<sup>7</sup>. After a resistance for six months he had to negotiate for peace. But in A. D. 1323, he had to face the second invasion under Ulūgh Khān and became a victim. His capture by the enemy sounded the death-knell of the Kākatiya Empire and the sun had set in Āndhradēśa. On his way to Delhi as war prisoner, Pratāparudra committed suicide on the bank of the river Sōmōdbhava<sup>8</sup> i.e. Narmada and the independence and glory of Andhradēśa had become things of the past. For, Muslim rule had replaced Kākatiya rule in Telingāna and the entire humanity in Āndhradēśa had to groan under the new irreconcilable regime of the Muslims.

(B) The General Conditions:— (a) Administration:—To remedy the evil effects of Gaṇapati's indiscriminate appointment of members of all communities as Nāyakas, in the administration of the Empire, Pratāparudra had to undertake the reorganisation of the Nāyankara system<sup>9</sup>. He appointed members of the Padmanāyaka, that is, Velama community alone to these offices to the exclusion of members of other communities. This administrative reform of Pratāparudra has been borne out by the fact that his

7. The son of Ghīyāsuddīn Tughlak.

8. The Vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka—Epigraphica Indica Vol. 32—pp. 839-268.

9. Traditional accounts—Mackenzie Manuscripts 13-4-30 pp. 54-60  
It gives a list of the Nāyakas.

seventy-seven Nāyakas of the Padma Nāyaka community had become celebrated during his reign and after his death Kāpaya Nāyaka, a political successor was served by 75 Nāyakas<sup>10</sup>. This overhauling of the administrative system, Pratāparudra would have effected during the early years of his reign (prior to A. D. 1303) when he had internal peace and security. This Bāhattari Niyōgapaddhati in the administration, it is worthwhile noting, had been extended to temple administration as well as palace administration.

Some of the prominent persons in the service of Pratāparudra were Ambadēva, governor of Gandikōṭa, his brother Tripurāntaka governing Vallūr, Uppara Malla ruling in Kurnool, Manumagondagōpāla at Kānchi, Rēcharla Singama Nāyaka who distinguished himself in the Pāṇḍyan war and acquired the title Panchapāṇḍyadaśavibhāla, Cheraku Jagadālu Mārāya Gaṇapaya Reddi in the Nandigūdem region<sup>11</sup> (Guntur District), Kāṭama Reddi in Pākanāḍu region, Mallidēva Mahārāja in the Nellore region, Indulūri Annayadēva in the region between Warangal and Simhāchalam<sup>12</sup>, Indulūri Rudradēva in the east coast, Mahāpradhāni Bendapūdi Annamārya, Vēpēti Kommaya in charge of Kammanāḍu, Mummaḍi Mallaya governing southern country from Pedakallu, Mahāpradhāni Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the viceroy at Nellore<sup>13</sup>, Dēvari Nāyani, the

10. Kaluvachēru (Āryavaṭam) grant (A.D. 1423) of Anitalli—Bhārati vol. 21—no. 6 pp. 553.

11. A. R. E. 296 of 1921.

12. M. Rama Rao (Ed) : Kākatīya Saichika Appendix pp. 13—14.

13. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty (Ed) : Inscriptions in Nellore District—Kandukūri No. 1, Nellore—No. 80, Ongole—No. 87.

governor of Mācherla, Gonkaya Redḍi, the governor of Gandikōṭa, Māraya Sāhini, Komma Nāyaḍu, the governor of Mulikināḍu, Nāgaya Gannaya and Nāgaya Māchaya and Peda Mallana in charge of Bendapūḍi fortress<sup>14</sup>.

(b) Economy :--To augment fresh sources of revenue and in the interests of the people, Pratāparudra built new villages, cultivated fresh lands, dug new tanks, conducted land survey and imposed new taxes, (1) New villages :--When Pratāparudra visited the Śaivaite temples at Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam, he thought of forest reclamation. He ordered for the clearance of large tracts of forests and construction of villages in this region. He also visited Gandikōṭa. Pratāparudra constituted the newly reclaimed region into a Nāyankara and entrusted its governance to Mahāpradhāni Viḍemu Kommaya Nāyaka<sup>15</sup>. Among the subordinates, Peddi Nāyaka and Ghōderāya<sup>16</sup> carried on the behests of Ambadēva, and the latter built many villages, named Ambapura and founded the agrahāras of Ambapura and Buddhadēvarapāḍu.

(2) Agriculture and Irrigation :--While agriculture was encouraged by offering easy terms to the cultivators several tanks were dug, canals built and embankments were raised to facilitate cultivation. Peddināyaka built several tanks bearing the name Ambasamudra, whereas Kātamareddi of Prōli built two tanks called Ambasamudra at Odili and Ūṭukūru.

14. C. P. Brown : Local Records—Vol. XIX p. 81.

15. C. P. Brown : Local Records Vol. XVI p. 380.

16. Mackenzie Manuscripts 15-3-8 p. 67 no. 2.

Ambadēva himself repaired a tank at Ūṭukūru. Under his orders Peddi Nāyaka dug a canal called Rāyasha-  
hasramallakāluva at Lembāka, another called Gaṇḍa-  
pendārakāluva at Tāḍapāka whereas Kāṭama Redḍi  
constructed a canal called Rāyashasnamallakāluva  
from Antaraganga and another called Gaṇḍapendāra  
Kāluva at Tāḍapāka. Ambadēva himself raised an  
embankment on the southern side of the Cheyyēru to  
prevent the danger from floods to the temple of Para-  
surāmīśvara at Attirāla<sup>17</sup>. (3) Revenue:—For assess-  
ment of revenue, land surveys were conducted in  
different regions from time to time. At the orders of  
Ambadēva, his officials Peddi Nāyaka and Khandērāya  
carried on a land survey of Pottapināḍu<sup>18</sup>. On the  
other hand, feeling the pulse of the people unpleasant  
taxes were abolished as the occasions demanded. For  
instance, in A. D. 1290 Ambadēva himself remitted  
taxes on villages in the Tripurāntakam region. Whereas  
in A. D. 1304 Gaṇḍapendāra Tippaya granted Varri-  
kunṭa with all taxes in A. D. 1309 Pratāparudra issued  
a proclamation to the Mahājanas of Nandalūr remitting  
unjust taxes<sup>19</sup>. The progress of trade is attested by the  
fair condition of merchant guilds and overseas trade at  
ports like Mōṭupalle, whereas the prosperity of the  
Kākatīya Empire is attested by gold coinage. For

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17. A. R. E. 406 of 1911.

18. V. Yasoda Devi : The History of Andhra country (A. D. 1000-1500)  
Subsidiary dynasties—J. A. M. R. S. Vol. 25 p. 105.

19. Compare with the earlier trade charter (A. D. 1244) of Gaṇapati  
Dēva.

instance the gold coins<sup>20</sup> of Ambadēva bearing a boar with two lotuses and the title Eruvadisāpaṭṭa.

(c) Society :—(1) The caste system :—The institution of caste with all its social and economic implications held its ground almost universally whereas the upholding of the society organised on caste basis was considered the primary duty of the ruler. The observance of caste rules account for the prevalence of social exclusiveness among different sections of people, for instance in food and marriage, and also for cooperation in common concerns e.g. temple administration, regulation of land and irrigation rights in villages, and local administration. As the emphasis was on performance of duties incumbent to an individual's station than rights of individual and his group, the general atmosphere was one of social harmony and contentment of the prevailing order, while the castes lived in separate localities in towns and villages and followed their own peculiar customs and habits. The outcastes engaged in tilling the soil and manual work lived in hamlets outside the village limits.

In society, the Brahmin occupied a highly respected position. Whereas some Brahmins entered state service, civil and army, majority of Brahmins were given to a life of religious and literary pursuits in agrahāras. Devoted to social welfare, they set the pattern in ethical and religious conduct for the other castes and classes in daily life. According to Sir Charles Eliot, "The intellectual superiority of the Brahmins as a caste

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20. Indian Antiquary vol. 56 p. 191 : Proceedings of 4th All India Oriental Conference p. 149.

was sufficiently real to ensure its acceptance and in politics they had the good sense to rule by serving to be ministers and not kings. In theory, and to a considerable extent in practice, the Brahmins and their gods are not an *imperium in imperio* but an *imperium super imperium*".<sup>21</sup> Though lapses among the Brahmins resulted in the revoltive movements e.g. the Vīraśaiva, as a protest against their supreme position in society, as a rule they proved worthy of their trust, which the rest of the community acknowledged with devotion.

2. A change from the Brahmin predominance to non-Brahmin predominance :- A certain amount of laxity in the caste system and the ethical standards of the two higher castes, namely the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, led to the mobility of castes from horizontal plane to vertical position and the emergence of the two lower castes, namely the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras as a power to be reckoned with, particularly the Śūdra community. The changing phenomenon in the Varṇāśramadharmā, which was regarded as the incumbent duty of the king, turned the scales thus bringing to the top the non-Brahmins, predominantly the Śūdras as rulers<sup>22</sup>. For instance, the reform of Pratāparudra entrusting the entire administration to the Padmanāyaks solely to the exclusion of members of other communities.

3. Revolution in religion by the Vīraśaiva movement :- Of the two main religions and their offshoots

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21. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri : A History of South India (1958) Madras p. 308.

22. For instance, the Velamas, the Reddis etc.

namely Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, in Āndhradēśa in the reign of Pratāparudra, Śaivism influenced by Vaishṇavism, and accelerating the decadent Jainism and Buddhism had come to stay as the religion of the people. The main developments in Śaivism were the Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy<sup>23</sup> in Tamilnādu, and Vīraśaivism or Lingāyat cult in the Karnāṭaka and Āndhradēśa. Vīraśaivism<sup>24</sup> founded by Basavēśwara, the Prime Minister of Kaḷachuri Bijjala of Kalyāṇi (A.D. 1156) has the two basic principles of importance of monastic life and complete social and religious equality among various sects, owing to the impact of Jainism and Islam. The Vīraśaivas or the Lingāyats regard Śiva as supreme God and worship Him and none else. From the 12th century onwards in Āndhradēśa, Vīraśaivism propagating more and more sectarian outlook among the people, became an important factor in the religious life of the Āndhras. Several of the poets of the period spread the faith through their works whereas religious preachers preached it in easy language in the reach of the populace. The Panditatrāya-Śrīpati, Manchena and Mallikārjuna were the disciples of Basava in Āndhradēśa. Mallikārjuna has given an exposition of Vīraśaivism in his Sivatatvasāra in about five hundred verses. Nannechōda, a pupil of Mallikārjuna in his Kumārasambhava, based on the theme of Kālidāsa and Udbhata, drew upon Śaiva literature, whereas Palkūrīki Sōmanātha, a contemporary of

23. Based on Āgamas.

24. On the basis of 28 Śaiva āgamas. The Vīraśaivas or Lingayats

pay reverence to 63 Nāyanārs and 770 later saints including Basava and his chief disciples.



Pratāparudra was a strong champion of Vīraśaivism propagating it by his writings and disputation. His important works namely Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra, Basavapurāṇa and Anubhavasāra and Vriśhādhipa Śataka attest to his popularity and devotion to his faith.

The Ārādhya Śaivism, a variant of Vīraśaivism, was a rebel child. It had its birth in the refusal of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita to accept Basava's rejection of the Vēda and renunciation of caste. Followers of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya in Āndhradēśa came to be known as Ārādhyaśaivas and their cult as Ārādhya Śaivism<sup>25</sup>. Amicable relations prevailed between the Lingāyats and the Ārādhya Śaivas for both the sects could overcome their minor differences and join hands in the movement for liberation fighting the Muslims and thus paving the way for the emergence of the Empire of Vijayanagar.

The Vīraśaiva movement brought about a revolution in religion by levelling distinctions of caste and differences of class and community by stratification through mass appeal<sup>26</sup>. For this propagation the medium of easy flowing Telugu vernacular was chosen as substitute for high flown Sanskritised Telugu idiom. The spirit of resistance developed under the influence of strong Hindu revival under the Lingāyats and the Aradhyas became one of the major factors which subsequently saved the Hindu faith and political indepen-

25. V. Yasoda Devi : The History of Andhradēśa (A.D. 1000-1500)—  
Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. 26 p. 67.

26. Compare earlier movement of Vīraśaivism with similar tenets  
e.g. in Pañcā.

dence from a new crisis, namely Muslim rule, though of short duration which Hindu society had to face in South India.

4. Personality of Āndhradēśa :—What is typical of Andhra in manifold aspects namely territory, administration, religion, literature, art and architecture had become settled. The new Andhra spirit of national consciousness<sup>27</sup> which had been growing slowly and steadily since the age of Nannaya (11th century), pervaded throughout Āndhradēśa in the latter half of the 12th century and found robust expression in the age of Gaṇapati and Tikkana. The term Āndhra frequently used in this period connoted not merely Vēngi as in the earlier ages but the entire region inhabited by the Telugu speaking population. The term Āndhra symbolised the country, the people and Andhranarēśvara was the king of the Andhras and Āndhradēśa. Thus race consciousness was awakened and had shaped itself. For Tikkana Sōmayāji refers to Āndhra populace<sup>28</sup> whereas subsequently Vidyānātha continues the new spirit when he mentions Āndhrakshmābhricchatah, Āndhrakshmādhiśvara and Trilingadēśaparamēśvara<sup>29</sup>. The new spirit which pervaded in the early Kākatiya period gave a fillip to the phenomenal success of Gaṇapati against Kaḷinga in the north and Kānchi in the south. Since then for more than a century till the close of the Kākatiya rule, the monarchs had full sway over the

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27. M. Somasekhara Sarma : A Forgotten chapter of Andhra History (1945) Waltair p. 2.

28. Āndhra Mahābhārata Virāṭaparva. canto I. verse 30.

29. Pratyāparudriya Nāṭak: Prakaraṇa.

entire Āndhradēśa. Bidar and Kaulas in the west, Simhāchalam and Mahēndrachalas in the north and the east, Kānchi and Vallūr near Gaṇḍikōṭa in the south were the limits of the Kākatiya Empire. As for its green condition which became the envy of the Muslim invaders, Muslim historians attest. Abdulla Wassaf (in the beginning of the 14th century) states thus "This country was populous and replete with every kind of wealth and contained more than 30,000 tracts of country".<sup>30</sup> The Muslim chroniclers call it Tilinga, Telinga and Telingāna and its capital "Arangal". "On all sides of it (Arangal) for the distance of two miles there were fountains, and gardens, calculated to gratify those who are in search of pleasure. All its fruits were mangoes, plantains and jacks... All the flavours... were Hindu the Champa, Keora and Jasmine".<sup>31</sup>

5. The Reign of Pratāparudra, marking the climax of the glory of the Empire:—A great warrior and wise statesman, Pratāparudra's conquests in the south and economic development of the barren tracts enhanced the prosperity of the extensive Empire. His capital, Warangal had developed into a celebrated centre of the cultural activities of the Empire and his court became the haven of poets, scholars, artists, and dancers. The monarch liberally patronised all persons with talent and literary and traditional sources shower glowing tributes for this quality of his.

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30. Elliot and Dawson : A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III p. 49.

31. Amīr Khusru—Elliot and Dawson : A history of India as told by its own historians vol. III p. 559.

Many Sanskrit and Telugu poets flourished in the Empire and wrote valuable works. Some of them were as follows :—Sākalya Malla alias Sākavelli Mallikārjuna Bhaṭṭa who composed Nirōshṭhyarāmāyana, Agastya, the author of seventy-seven Kāvya of which Bālabhārata is well known, Gangādhara who dramatised Mahābhārata story, Narasimha, the author of Kādambari drama, Viśvanātha who wrote Saugandhikāpahaṛaṇa at the instance of the king, Virabhallaṭa Dēśika, an adept in the Śāstras, Appayārya who completed the Jaina work Jinēndrakalyāṇābhyudaya (A. D. 1310), Kōlāchalam Mallinātha, a celebrated scholar and performer of Satāvadhāna and Vidyānātha the author of Pratāparudra Yaśōbhāṣaṇa, an authoritative work on rhetoric in Sanskrit, giving illustrations from the life of Pratāparudra and his ancestors and dedicated to him. Among the Telugu poets figure Mārana, the disciple of Tikkana Sōmayāji and author of Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa in dedication to Nāgaya Ganna, a general of Pratāparudra, Bhāskara, the author of celebrated Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu along with his son, a disciple and a friend in dedication to Sāhiṇi Māra, cavalry officer of the king<sup>32</sup>.

Kākatīya art is typical of Āndhra nationalism, for Kākatīya temples possess several peculiar and interesting features and constitute a distinct group illustrating the evolution of an important style of architecture. The temples at Hanumakoṇḍa, Warangal, Pālampēṭa, Ghanāpūr, Katachpur, Jakārām, Pānagal, Tripurāntakam and Pillalamarri are representative of the Kaka-

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32. M. Rāma Rao : The Kākatīyas of Warangal (1952), Hyderabad p. 99.

tiya style of architecture.<sup>33</sup> The temples of the reign of Pratāparudra are at Pedakallēpalle, Pinnali, Mōṭupalli, and Pānagallu.<sup>34</sup> Taking a comprehensive view, no doubt, the age of the Kākatīyas constitutes a most formative period in the history of Āndhradēśa, a prelude to the forthcoming efflorescence under the Redḍis of Konḍavīdu and Rajahmundry and the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa

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33. M. Rama Rao: *Select Kākatīya Temples* (1966), pp. 99-104.

34. M. Rama Rao: *Select Kākatīya Temples. Appendix—List of Kākatīya Temples.*

## CHAPTER II

### The Foreign Invasions into Andhradēśa.

1. The Sultanate of Delhi :—Founded towards the close of the 12th century, the Sultanate of Delhi for a hundred years thereafter had to confine its attention solely to North India. The notion of subjugating the Deccan and the land beyond started with the Khalijis, for the Khalji Sultans of Delhi, subsequent to consolidation of their power in North India, began to cast their covetous eyes on South India and, in this policy, they were devotedly followed by the Tughlaks. To begin with, the motive of southern expeditions was plunder only, but in its wake followed the objectives of the spread of Islamic faith and territorial conquest.

2. The Khalji invasions :—The Muslim chroniclers speak of five invasions into Telingāṇa, three under the Khaljis and two under the Tughlaks ranging from A. D. 1303 to 1323 whereas the indigenous sources refer to eight invasions<sup>35</sup> of which the first seven were repulsed and the last proved fatal for the Āndhras. But the Muslim writers speak of only two failures for the Muslims.

(a) In A. D. 1303 the Kākatiya Empire experienced the first shock of a Muslim invasion. In that year Alauddin Khalji tempted by the fabulous wealth of the kingdoms beyond the Vindhya of which he had tasted in A. D. 1296 at Dēvagiri, sent a vast army

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35. Vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka—*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXXII pp. 239—268.

under the lead of Mālik Fakruddīn Jūna and Mālik Jhāju of Karra against Telingāṇa. Several of the Muslim historians do not refer to this invasion : while Ferishta refers to it in connection with the Sultan's seige of Chittoor, Yahya Bīn Ahmad and Bedauni confuse it with the later expedition commanded by Mālik Kafūr. It is stated that the army marched through Bengal and suffered a disaster on the way. Zia-uddin Barani<sup>46</sup> states that the rainy season had set in by the time the army reached Warangal and therefore it was greatly reduced in numbers. This explanation is not satisfactory and the disaster was not due to natural causes but to the valour of the Kākatiya forces. For, an inscription (A.D. 1304-5) at Warangal mentions victories of two Kākatiya subordinates over the Muslims ; Pōtugaṅṅi Maili is said to have obtained a victory over the Turushkas of Delhi in a battle near Upparapalle, whereas Venna, a subordinate of the Velugōṅṅi family had scored a victory over the Muslims. These references<sup>37</sup> show that there was a serious engagement between the Kākatiya subordinates and the invaders at Upparapalle and the Muslims were routed in the fight. This defeat of the Muslims was a severe blow to the prestige of the Delhi Sultanate in the Deccan and in its turn encouraged Sangamadēva of Dēvagiri to rebel.

(b) The success of Mālik Kafūr's expedition against Dēvagiri, in addition to Alauddin's desire to

36. Tarīkhi Firūz Shāhi—Elliot and Dowson : A history of India as told by its own historians, Vol. III p. 189.

37. N. Venkataramanayya : The early Muslim Expansion in South India—p. 25 note 23;

N. Venkataramanayya (Ed): Velugōṅṅivāri vamsāvalī p. 25.

avenge the reverse suffered by his forces at Warangal as well as the escape of Ray Karan of Gujarat when chased by Ulūgh Khān, first to Dēvagiri and then to Warangal shapened itself in the second invasion against Telingāna. Alauddin assembled a large army in A.D. 1309 and under the command of Mālik Kafūr sent it against Pratāparudra<sup>38</sup>. Mālik Kafūr instructed by his master to concentrate on acquisition of the wealth of Pratāparudra and as an alternative to bring him to Delhi as a captive, with his army marched to Dēvagiri, relaxed there for one week, resumed the march, and passing through the wild country suffering many hardships reached Sirhūr in the Kākatīya Empire. He captured it by fire and sword. This news reached Pratāparudra who mustered all his forces in the capital to defend against Mālik Kafūr. The Muslim army reached Kunarbal, in the vicinity of Warangal, whereas a detachment took possession of the hill of Anuma-konḍa, a position of vantage from which the gardens and buildings of the Kākatīya Empire could be viewed. With the invading army stationed around the fort, the siege was begun on 19th January, 1310. The defenders of the fort made desperate efforts of resistance. Their sudden night raid proved ineffective. The outer mud wall was very strong and did not give way to common fire; then it was severely battered with stones and one face of it was completely destroyed. Through breaches made in several places the Muslim army rushed in and subsequently attacked the inner wall built of stone. In the meanwhile, people outside the

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38. N. Venkataramanayya : The early Muslim expansion in South India p. 28 note 27.



fort cut the communications and isolated the invaders. Now with vengeance Mālik Kafūr pressed the siege vigorously and inflicted great damage. As there was terrible overcrowding within the fort, to stay imminent destruction Pratāparudra offered to surrender his total wealth and pay annual tribute to the Sultan of Delhi. Thus when Prataparudra complied with his demands, Mālik Kafūr raised the siege on March 19, and started on return March to Delhi. He carried the riches presented by Pratāparudra on one thousand camels, besides three hundred elephants, seven thousand houses, money and jewellery.

(c) Mālik Kafūr, sent by Alauddin to the south to conquer more territory, on his way to Karnāṭaka marched along the western border of the Kākatiya Empire and vanquished Ballāla III<sup>39</sup>. This may be considered as the third invasion into the Kākatiya kingdom, according to the Hindu sources.

(d) During another campaign into South India when he captured Madura and ravaged the Pāṇḍyan territory, Mālik Kafūr, this time is said to have harassed the southern border of the Kākatiya Empire<sup>40</sup>. Hence this may be reckoned as the fourth Muslim invasion against the Kākatiyas.

(e) Pratāparudra is said to have implemented the agreement with Mālik Kafūr in good faith for several years. But when Alauddin passed away in A. D. 1316 and the struggle for succession followed, taking advan-

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39. W. Haig (Ed): Cambridge History of India Vol. III p. 118.

40. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: The Pāṇḍyan kingdom, p. 211.

tage of the situation at Delhi, Marapāladēva of Dēvagiri proclaimed independence whereas Pratāparudra withheld the payment of tribute to Delhi. At last when Kutubuddin Mubārak, son of Alauddin occupied the throne of Delhi, he marched to Dēvagiri in person and sent an expedition against Warangal under general Khusrau Khān. According to Amīr Khusru, the general had to face stubborn resistance at Warangal and was about to capture the capital and its ruler but was prevented from doing so by the unconditional surrender by Pratāparudra of his entire wealth, cession of five districts and promise to pay annual tribute. Ismay<sup>41</sup>, another Muslim author does not speak of any resistance but simply states that Pratāparudra paid up the arrears of tribute when Khusru Khān appeared at Warangal. Perhaps this account reflects the truth because at the time Pratāparudra's armies were far away on the southern border of the Empire fighting with Kumāra Rāma, the ruler of Kampili. So Pratāparudra would have thought it prudent to pacify the Muslim general.

3. The Tughlak invasions :- The Khaljis were replaced by the Tughlaks in A. D. 1320 when Ghiyasuddin Tughlak became the Sultan of Delhi. Ghiyasuddin introduced a change in the Deccan policy of the Sultanate namely the change in the goal from acquisition of wealth to territorial aggrandisement and conquest.

(a) The first Tughlak invasion into the Kākatīya Empire was in A. D. 1321. This was punitive in

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41. N. Venkatarāmanayya : Early Muslim Expansion into South India  
p. 85 note 13.

nature, for Pratāparudra since the fall of the Khaljis had not paid tribute. Besides he reoccupied Bedarkot and other places formerly ceded to the Khalji general Khusru Khān<sup>42</sup>. Now Ghiyasuddin collected a large army and several skilled generals from different parts of his, Empire and placed them under the command of his son, prince Juna Khān entitled Ulugh Khān. He commanded Juna Khān to undertake an expedition against Warangal, the most powerful and wealthy state in the south. The Muslim historians are unusually vague in their descriptions of this expedition. Zia Uddin Barani<sup>43</sup> states that the Delhi army marched straight to Warangal, encountered opposition and laid siege to the fort. When the mud wall was almost taken, Pratāparudra submitted, but the invader rejected the offer as he was determined to capture the king and his capital. Just then a false rumour was set afloat to the effect that Sultan Ghiyasuddin passed away, his government had been overthrown, and a new prince sat on the throne of Delhi. This naturally created dissensions in Muslim camp. An astrologer named Ubaid propagated a mischievous campaign which created suspicion and jealousy among the generals of the army. The result was that Ulugh Khān was suddenly deserted by his generals. Thus having no other alternative he had to retreat to Dēvagiri harassed throughout the march by the enemy. By that time Mālik Tamar and Malik Tigin of Oudh perished and the skin of the latter was sent to Ulugh Khān at Dēvagiri.

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42. J. Briggs (Ed) *Ferishta : Rise of Muhammadan power in India* Vol. I p. 405.

43. *Taikhī Firūz Shāhi*—Elliot and Dowson (Ed) : *A history of India as told by its own historians* Vol. III p. 233.

The Hindu sources, namely inscriptions and literature furnish interesting details about this campaign and show that the Kākatiya forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders on this occasion. Kolani Rudradēva, a Kākatiya subordinate protected the Kalukoṭa and inflicted many reverses on the enemy<sup>44</sup>. His celebrated uncle Annayadēva<sup>45</sup> guarded the stone wall with great skill and valour. Thus the Muslim army had to deal with stiff resistance and could achieve no result in spite of the prolonged siege of over eight months. Kotagiri, one of the strong holds of the Empire, was similarly besieged but in vain.<sup>46</sup> Besides, a chieftain of the Rāveḷḷa family plundered the baggage of Ulūgh Khān while he was retreating. In this manner, the sixth Muslim invasion of the Kākatiya Empire proved disastrous for the invaders and a victory for the defenders.

(b) The second Tughlak invasion against Telin-gāṇa in A.D. 1323 which proved fatal to the Kākatiyas, owes its genesis to the enragement of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak when he received the news of the defeat of his armies earlier in the hands of the Kākatiyas. With a few to retrieve the lost honour and prestige, Ghiyasuddin speedily gathered strong reinforcements and sent them to Ulūgh Khān commanding him to lead another expedition against Warangal and thus wreak vengeance for the earlier defeat. Hence within four months after his

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44. Kolani Adigaṇapatidēva : Sivayōgasāra verse 56—Kākatiya Saṁchika—Appendix p. 16.

45. Kolani Adigaṇapatidēva : Sivayōgasāra verse 42.

46. Mackenzie Manuscripts 15-4-3. p. 101.

disastrous defeat, Ulūgh Khañ set out for the Telugu country. Taking Bidar and Bodhan on the way, he marched rapidly and laid siege to Warangal. Pratāparudra was quite unprepared for this, and concentrated all the available forces within the fort. During the five months of the siege operations, Prātāparudra offered stiff resistance. Then Ulūgh Khān prosecuted the siege more vigorously, captured the outer and inner walls of the fort. Inmates of the fort ran short of supplies and were reduced to desperate condition. Pratāparudra realising that fortune favoured the enemy, to eliminate any more distinction decided to yield. He with his family was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi under escort of Mālik Bedār entitled Kader Khān and Khwāja Hāji, the Deputy Muster Master of the Empire, both trusted Officers of Ulūgh Khān<sup>47</sup>.

(c) Results:—Thus, after subjugation of the Maratha kingdom of Dēvagiri, the weight of the Muslim invasions to the south fell on the Kākatiya kingdom. The Kākatiyas resisted with all their might but the frequency of the Muslim invasions broke the morale of the Hindus which easily paved the way for the success of the Muslims. Traditional accounts<sup>48</sup> which mention the ultimate defeat and captivity of Pratāparudra give a different version. They say that Ulūgh Khan suffered severe reverses and was on the verge of the defeat, when serious differences cropped up in the Hindu camp between the Padmanāyaks and other Nāyaks, and part of the Kākatiya army retired

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47. Shahi Siraj Afif, Tarikhi Firuz Shahi—Elliot and Dowson (Ed) : A History of India as told by its own historians Vol. III p: 367.

48. Pratāpacharitramu pp. 70, 71, 75 and 76.

from the battlefield. So the others, though fought bravely, were being defeated by superior numbers of the enemy. Then Pratāparudra rushed to the rescue of his men. Then according to a pre-arranged plan, he was intercepted by Ulūgh Khān, captured and sent secretly to Delhi as a prisoner.

(d) End of Pratāparudra :—There is discrepancy among the sources regarding the ultimate fate of Pratāparudra. The Muslim chroniclers say that Pratāparudra died on the way to Delhi. Traditional accounts state that Pratāparudra reached Delhi, was honoured by the Sultan and sent back to his kingdom with rich presents. Similar treatment meted out earlier by the Delhi Emperor to Rāmachandra, the yādava king of Dēvagiri, suggests that this was quite possible. Another fact pointing to the possibility is the title Rāyabandivimōchaka<sup>49</sup> borne by Rēcharla Singama Nāyaka, a Padmanayaka general of Pratāparudra. As Pratāparudra was never captured on any earlier occasion, the title may be connected with his liberation from captivity in A.D. 1324. The traditional accounts further state that the king returned to his dominion, spent a few days at Kālēs̄varam on the bank of the Gōdāvāri and died there in <sup>(15)</sup> peace. The Kaluvachēru inscription of Anitalli<sup>50</sup> mentions that “Pratāparudra went to heaven as a free man”, An inscription<sup>51</sup> of Indulūri Rudradēva at Santamagulūr (A.D. 1326) mentions that Pratāparudradēva was ruling all the time. But the

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49. N. Venkataramanayya (Ed): Velugōṭivari Vamśāvali.

50. Bhārati Vol. 21 no. 6 p. 553.

51. A. R. E. 308 of 1915.

Vilasa grant<sup>52</sup> of Prōlayanāyaka states specifically that Pratāparudradēva died on the bank of the Narmada while he was being taken to Delhi.

No doubt the Hindu version supplied by the Vilasa grant is more trustworthy than the versions in the Muslim chronicles because it admits that the last invasion was a thorough success to the Muslims and states that Pratāparudra was taken captive and sent to Delhi but did not reach the imperial capital Delhi but committed suicide on the bank of the river Sōmōdhbhava (Narmada) on the route to Delhi. This Pratāparudra would have resorted to overcome by grief and humiliation. This import is suggested in the Kaluvachēvu grant, which states that Pratāparudra departed to the world of gods at his own free will. This fact gets corroboration from one of the Muslim chroniclers called Shamsi Siraj Afif, the author of Tarīkhi Firuz Shāhi where he says that Sultan Muhammad sent the Ray of Telingāṇa to Delhi and he died on the road<sup>53</sup>.

(e) End of the Kākatīya Empire:—With the end of Pratāparudra and the subjection of Warangal by the Tughlaks, the sun of independence set over the land of the Āndhras. Telingāṇa was annexed to the Empire of Delhi as a province and Warangal or Andhranagara was rechristened as Sultanpur and entrusted to the charge of a military general as viceroy.

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52. Epigraphia Indica Vol. 32 pp. 239—268.

53. Elliot and Dawson, A history of India as told by its own historians. Vol. III p. 367.

### CHAPTER III

#### The Liberation Movement (A.D.1329-36).

1. Early Muslim expansion and consolidation in Andhra dēśa.—After the capture of Pratāparudra Warangal and Telingāna lay at the feet of the conqueror Ulūgh Khān. As most of the Kākatiya generals and the army were destroyed during the siege, Ulūgh Khān taking advantage of the hopeless condition of the Kākatiya Empire, carried on some more campaigns for thorough subjugation.

(a) Gutti and Kunti:—The Muslim chronicler Ismay<sup>54</sup> mentions that Ulūgh Khān conquered Gutti and Kuntī and washed his sword in the ocean. The Gutti region at the time was under Jagatāpi Gāngayadeva of the Telugu chōḍas. This subjugation must have taken place soon after the fall of Warangal in A.D. 1323 for Gāngayadēva is found waging war against the Rāya of Kampili as a subordinate of the Sultan of Delhi apparently in A.D.1327, the date of the first Muslim invasion against Kampili.

(b) Nellore region:—The Mabar region extending from Nilawar (Nellore) in the east to Kuḷam (Quilion) in the west was the target of Muslim invasions. In 1321, the Sultan commanded Ulugh Khān to invade Mabar, but he could not proceed beyond Telingāna

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54. Futuh—u.—Salatin p. 29.

55. N. Venkataramanayya: Early Muslim Expansion in South India  
p. 133.



due to his defeat at Warangal. The conquest of Madura and the capture of the Pāṇḍyan king in A.D. 1323 by Athi Sulthan and Malik Nemi is mentioned in a Pāṇḍyan chronicle which implies the Muslim conquest of Nellore.<sup>51</sup> This is supported by a Telugu Chātu-verse in thirteen lines and assignable to the latter half of the 14th century as it was addressed to king Sangama of Nellore that is prince Sangama II, son of Kampana I of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar. The verse refers to the kings who had successively held sway over Nellore from the time of Tirukāladēva to the time of Sangama and says that Turuka ruled Nellore immediately after the rule of Muppaḍi i.e. Muppiḍi Nāyaka, a celebrated minister and general of Pratāparudra<sup>56</sup>. As Muppiḍi Nāyaka's inscriptions<sup>57</sup> are found in Nellore till A.D. 1314-15, the Turuka rule must refer to the Muslim rule after the conquest of Warangal. So, Ulūgh khān led an expedition into the southern provinces of the Kākatiya Empire and conquered them.

(c) Rajahmundry region:—Ulūgh Khān's march northwards along the east coast from Nellore to Rajahmundry and annexation of the region by A.D.1324 is attested by inscriptional as well as numismatic evidence. For, the Persian epigraph<sup>58</sup> of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlak inscribed on the main gateway of the big mosque at Rajahmundry records the construction of the mosque

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56. M. Somasakhara Sarma : A Forgotten chapter of Andhra History p. 18—footnote 32.

57. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty : Inscriptions in Nellore District Vol. II Nellore No 80.

58. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica 1923-24 pp. 13-14.

by Salar Ulwi, a servant of Ulūgh Khan which runs thus—“(It) is the abode of God. During the reign of the great Sultan Ghiyathu’d Dunya (Waddin) ..... Abu’ (I Muzaffar) Tughlak Shah, the Sultan (may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his authority and dignity!) and during the ever increasing prosperity (i.e. prosperous regime) of the Khan of the World, Ulugh Khan, the humble servant soliciting the mercy of God.....Salar (?) Ulvi built this mosque on the 20th of the auspicious month of Ramazan (may its blessings be universal!) in 724 H (Monday, 10th September 1324 A.D.). A few coins<sup>59</sup> of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak found in a village in Ellore Taluk ranging from A.D. 1322 to 1326 (722 H to 726 H) show that the Sultan’s coins were in circulation in the coastal region of Andhradēśa after its conquest by Ulūgh Khān. Thus it becomes clear that the whole of the Āndhradēśa with its component regions of Telingāna, Rāyalasīma and the coastal area come under the Muslim rule almost within a single year after the fall of Wārangal.

2. Muslim administrative arrangements :-After the conquest. Ulūgh Khān stayed in Telingāna to consolidate his conquests and organise the administration. He appointed Mālīks, Amīrs and other officers of state and stationed military garrisons in strategic centres<sup>60</sup>. Ulugh Khān was summoned to the court by his father when he was determined to invade Laknauti in Bengal.

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59. M. Somanakshara Sarma : A forgotten chapter of Āndhra History. p. 17. Footnote 29.

60. Tabaquat-i-Akbari Vol. I p. 209.

So on the eve of his departure for Delhi, Ulūgh Khān entrusted the administration of Telingāna in all probability to Mālik Burhān-Uddin, the Vazier of Daulatabad (i.e. Dēvagiri). Hindu as well as Muslim sources show that the Muslim rule of Telingāna was oppressive and tyrannical and the people were groaning under hardships.

3. The effects of the Muslim rule:— (a) The plight of Andhradēśa:— The pitiable condition of the country consequent on the adverse effects of the Muslim rule is graphically described in the contemporary account in the Vilasa grant<sup>61</sup> of Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka. It says “in a hundred sinful ways, the rich were tortured for the sake of money. Merely on beholding the Pārasīkars (Muslims) some abandoned their lives, Brahmins were disallowed to perform their religious rites and rituals. Temples were destroyed and idols were desecrated and broken. All the agrahāras, which had long been in the enjoyment of the most learned, were taken away. Forcibly deprived of the fruits of their cultivation, the husbandmen, both the rich and the poor, got ruined. In that great calamity, people could not regard their money, wives and other earthly belongings as their own. The wretched Yavanas (Muslims) revelled always in drinking wine, eating cow’s flesh, sporting in amour and killing the Brahmins. When such is the case how could the world of living beings exist? Situated as the country was without the possibility of saviour being conceived even in imagination, the land of Tilinga, tormented in this way by

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61. Epigraphia Indica Vol. 32 pp. 239—268.

those Yavana warriors who were exactly like Rākshasas, was in flames like a forest surrounded by wild fire.<sup>62</sup>

This is a true picture of the state of the country: it is neither exaggerated nor false. The oppressive nature of the Muslim rule was the consequence of the religious fanaticism and intolerance of the conquerors. Their iconoclastic zeal goaded them to the destruction of Hindu temples whereas their Islamic zeal turned them into builders of mosques on their ruins and with their materials. For example, as for the mosque at Rajahmundry, in the words of Alexander Rea, "this is one of the oldest of the Muhammadan mosques in the Persidency (Madras) having been built in A.D. 1324 by Muhammad Tughlak Shah who after capturing the fort at Kondapalli after six months' continuous trouble entered a temple here and after massacring some of the officiating Brahmin priests had this mosque built on the ruins of the desolated pagoda and began to establish Muhammadan worship there. The main doorway of finely carved black stone with inscriptions in Persians, Hindustani and Arabic belonged to the Hindu temple. The small Hindu figures of Dvārapālakas have been chiselled off the lower niches on each side of the door, thus leaving the floral ornament only untouched. The pillars in front portico are all Parts of the Hindu temple as also the inside of the covering. The tank reservoir in the interior was once the sanctum of the Hindu temple over which the mosque has been built. The great portico just behind this where Muhammadan

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62. M. Somasekhara Sarma : A Forgotten chapter of Andhra history. pp. 20-21 and Appendix No. 1 pp. 100—110.

worship is now being held, also has some ornamental granite pillars of the Hindu temple with the rest in Hindu style. This is a good example of a Hindu temple which retains its original features and has been converted into a Muhammadan mosque. The entrance to the stone roofed verandh in the east with massive stone Hindu piers has cracks on side walls. The main park of the mosque stands at the west end of the court. It has an arcade of seven pointed arches in front and two longitudinal rows of Hindu pillars inside".<sup>63</sup> Though this account may not be fully accurate, it is definite that Muhammad Bin Tughlak converted an important Hindu temple into a mosque to signify the victory of the Muslims over the Hindus. Hindu traditional accounts state that it was originally the temple of Vēnugōpālaswāmi built by an Eastern Chālukyān emperor of Vēngi. Hindu epigraphs at Ellore and Bikavole attest that the mosques there were originally Hindu temples. It is obvious that several Hindu structures in Telingāna, and less in number in the coastal area, raised by the Chālukyās of Vēngi and the Kākātīyas suffered similar fate. As the Vilasa grant says, it is natural that the Muslims who suffered reverses as many as seven times in the hands of the Hindus of Telingāna adopted ruthlessness, oppression and vengeance as their motto and creed.

(b) Agriculture:- As the heavy taxation in the Gangetic Doab told heavily on the people, and goaded the rich to rebel and hit hard the cultivator, as attes-

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63. Annual Report on Archaeology, southern circle 1910-11 pp. 18-19.

ted by Jai-Uddin-Barani, the condition in Telingāna consequent on the heavy taxation imposed by Muhammad Bin Tughlak, would have been no better. The statements in the Vilasa grant regarding ryots and agriculture prove this bare truth. The collection of cesses was so rigorous that lands were ruined, people were reduced to penury and the rich became rebels.

(c) Discontentment and misery:-Discontentment and distress prevailed everywhere in Āndhradēsa. It appeared as though Adharma driven out by Pratāparudra, took refuge with the Yavanas and returned with them after his death. The people could no longer bear the oppressive and tyrannical regime of the Muslim amirs and other officers. As the powerful kingdoms and their dynasties had crumbled down due to recurrent Muslim invasions, no member of any ancient royal family could dare take up the cause of the Hindus and their religion and save the country from the Muslim mēnace.

4. The new leadership:- (a) The beginnings:- The several generals, ministers and officers of Pratāparudra were either killed in the struggles with the Muslims or taken prisoners in the battlefield e.g. Kattu or Kannū, a man of high position in Telingāna of which he was native, taken captive in the war, earned his liberty by embracing Islamic faith, changing the name to Maqbul; by his loyal service caught the attention of Muhammad Bin Tughlak and was bestowed with many favours and finally the position of Deputy

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4. Elliot and Dawson : A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III p. 238.

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64. Elliot and Dawson : A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III p. 238.

Wazir of Delhi<sup>65</sup>. Only three eminent generals of Pratāparudra, namely Ariyēti Anna Mantri, Kolani Rudradēva and Rēcharla Singama Nāyaka survived.

(b) Ariyēti Annamantri :—Formerly the Gajasāhini (i.e. commander of Elephant Forces) of Pratāparudra, Annamantri had a large role in the destruction of the Muslim forces. His title, a veritable fire in annihilating the Yavanas attests this, whereas the other title, namely establisher of the throne of Adyaksha of the Āndhra country is significant. Anna is said to have received from Kolani Pratāparudra, the village of Ārēḍu as an agrahāra at the time of the solar eclipse.<sup>66</sup> Thereafter his family bore the surname Ariyēti, whereas subsequently in the time of Kumāragiri, a descendant of Anna mantri was appointed the governor of Bendapūdi. Since then the family name was changed as Bendapūdi.

(c) Kolani Pratāparudra :—A powerful commander of Pratāparudra, his ancestry is known from the religious work Śivayōgasāra by Kolani Ganapatidēva, a great grandson of the commander's [brother Kolani Rudradēva. These Kolani chieftains were in the service of the Kākatīyas. As the progenitor was Nanna Gauraya, his two sons namely Pedamalla and Pinamalla were in the service of Rudradēva, son of Prōla II. Of these Pedamalla had two sons Sōma and Pedaganna. Sōma was the minister of Ganapati and ruled the country to the east of Warangal and conque-

65. Shamshi Siraj Afif—Elliot and Dawson : A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III pp. 367—368.

66. Śrīnatha : Bhimēsvara Purāṇa. Canto I, verse 49.



red southern Kaṣinga ; He conquered the Telugu chieftains of Kolanuviḍu or Sarasīpura and thereafter came to be known as Kolani Sōmamantri and Kolani became the family name of his descendants. Kolani Rudra, a grandson of Sōma mantri, and contemporary of Ariyēṭi Annaya was the superintendent of the seventy-two fortresses in the kingdom of Pratāparudra. He was an active participant in the expedition to Kānchi and defeated there in battle Vīra śēkhara (Kulaśēkhara) and Sundara Pāṇḍya (Jaṭāvarman) Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Vallabha Pāṇḍya. Kolani Rudra was in charge of several forts such as Chēbrōle, Padminīpura, Dēvapura, Enamadala, Podili, Polacherla, Āduru, Nūjella, Sūravaram, Rajahmundry, Sāmalkōṭa, Pithāpuram, Bōḍesaḱurru and Benḍapūḍi. His Santamagulūr inscription (A.D. 1326) recording a gift for the merit of Pratāparudra proves his survival after the fall of the Kākatiya Empire.

(d) Rēcharla Singaya Nāyaka :—A younger contemporary of Pratāparudra, Singaya was the son of Erradācha Nāyaka, a descendant of Chevvi Redḍi (alias Bēti Redḍi) of Anumanagallu. His ancestry is known from the Velugōṭivāri Vamśavaḷi, a chronicle of the Rēcharla chiefs, besides several inscriptions. This family was in the service of the Kākatiyas. By their loyalty and devotion to the throne, these chieftains secured many favours from the Kākatiya monarchs and rose to eminent positions in the state. Some of them

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62. V. Vasoda Devi: The history of Andhradēsa (A. D. 1000-1500)—  
Sutśidīry dynasties.—Journal of Andhra Historical Research  
Society Vol. XX p. 151.

as generals in the Kākatīya army, won distinction in several battles and wielded political power. Erradācha Nāyaka accompanied Muppiḍi Nāyaka in the expedition to Kānchi against the Pāṇḍyas and by his victory over them earned the title Panchapāṇḍyadaḷavibhāla. It is mentioned that he constructed a maṇḍala with arrows and on the dais of the elephants made an offering of the pride of the Pāṇḍyan king in the hōma fire of his valour and accepted the hand of the bride called victory<sup>68</sup>. Erradācha's son Singaya Nāyaka followed his father to Kānchi and had an active role in the war with Pāṇḍyas.

(e) A new generation of leaders in the making :- The veteran generals and administrators could enthuse and rouse the younger nobles and chieftains to champion the cause of the Hindus and move for liberating the country from the Muslim yoke. The people were in search of a powerful leader who could unite the discontented forces of disruption and lead a rebellion to topple down foreign rule. Kolani Rudra with Annamantri brought together the descendants of ancient Mahāsāmantas, and maṇḍalikas among whom were Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka, Koppula Prōlaya Nāyaka, Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi of Addanki, Rēcharla Singama Nāyaka and Manchikonḍa Gaṇapati Nāyaka. It was mostly confederacy of the nobles of the coastal region with the avowed purpose of rescuing the country from the Muslim domination and re-establish Hindu Dharma and guard it.<sup>69</sup>

68. Annual Report on Archaeology, Hyderabad, 1933-34.

Appendix Vāḍapalle inscription.

69. Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli—Bhārati vol. 21 No. 6 p. 553.

ration and secret assistance from the people. Thus young nobles in Āndhra under the lead of veteran generals were determined to fight for their religion and liberty and their successful efforts inculcated a new spirit in the minds of the elite and common people, infused fresh hope and inspired them with undaunted courage to face the enemy in their subsequent battles. The Vilasa and Prōlavaram grants<sup>73</sup> attest the fresh spirit that pervaded through the minds of the Āndhra people.

6. Measures adopted by Prōlayanāyaka :— The Vilasa grant says that Prōlaya Nāyaka freed the country of Tilinga from the Muslim domination. "That king Prōla of the Musunūri family destroyed the oppressive supremacy of the Yavanas by the unrestrained strength of his arm which supported the Visva (world). Did his name become a mantra to exercise vile Yavanas? Because by hearing it merely repeated, those despicable Yavanas abandoned the forts and disappeared from every quarter. Just as the people afflicted by summer heat resort to the cool waters of a lake, those that were harassed by the Yavanas took refuge under that powerful king Prōla. The very people who were subjected formerly to constant harassment by the Turushikas, put them to death; verily the strength accruing from āsraya i.e. protection or shelter is of great consequence. In this way in the mighty Yavana world, he revived Dharma which was lost during the severe calamity."

73. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXII pp. 239—268; Bhārati Vol. XI No. 6 pp. 939—942.

74. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXII pp. 239—268.

(a) Has Prōlaya Nāyaka freed the entire Andhradēśa from Muslim yoke:— Among the four broad regions in Andhradēśa namely, (1) Western Āndhra (2) Eastern Āndhra i.e. Telingāna (3) Coastal Āndhra (4) Kaḷinga Āndhra, Western Āndhra was under the Kākatiyas until A.D. 1323. For the Kaifiyat of Gandīkōta <sup>75</sup> refers to an inscription (A.D. 1322) of Gonkaya Reddi. It came under the Muslim rule after A.D. 1323 and remained with the Muslims until the revolt of Āraviṭi Sōmadēvarāja. This chieftain, after some years overthrew the authority of Delhi and freed it from Muslim yoke. So Prōlaya Nāyaka had no share in the emancipation of Rāyalasīma from the Muslim rule.

As for Telingana, it was not recognised by the Hindus at an early date according to Muslim writers. According to Ferishta<sup>76</sup> it was under the Muslim rule till the reconquest of Warangal by the Hindus in A.D. 1344 (H 744). and that was by Kāpaya Nāyak, that is Kanyā Naik of Barani and Krishna Nayak of Ferishta.

So it was the coastal region which secured freedom from the Muslim rule by Prōlaya Nāyaka. This is attested by inscriptions of Hindu chieftains after A.D. 1323 (śaka 1245). Prōlaya Nāyak achieved this evidently after 10th September, A.D. 1324 – the date of the inscription of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in the mosque at Rajahmundry.

75. C. P. Brown : Local records—Vol. 15 p. 55.

76. John Briggs (ed): Ferishta's Rise of Muhammadan power in India—Vol. I pp. 426—27.

(b) the various stages in the reconquest of the coastal region:— The war of liberation lasted for over a year from A.D. 1325 to 1326. Probably the confederates were waiting for proper time to emerge from mountain fastnesses and start attack on the Muslim armies. The opportunity occurred when Ghiyasuddin died in February—March 1325, after his return from Bengal expedition and Ulūgh Khān was preoccupied with affairs nearer home and could not attend to the south. Now the confederates detached the Muslim armies in the important centres, inflicted a series of defeats on them, reconquered the coastal region and re-established Hindu supremacy.

1. The first stage in the campaign is suggested by the Mallavaraṃ epigraph (A.D. 1325) of Prōlaya Vēma Reddi.<sup>77</sup> It is the first Hindu record in the coastal area after the fall of Warangal. It describes Vēma as the very Agastya to the ocean, that is, the Mlēcchas.

2. The second stage is indicated by the Santamagulūr inscription (A.D. 1326) of Kolani Rudra<sup>78</sup>. The donor is mentioned as Mahāpradhāni of Pratāparudra and the inscription attests to the devotion of the Hindus to Pratāparudra. References in the Vilasa and Kaluvachēru grants show how the name of Pratāparudra was cherished with devotion and love by the people. Probably the confederates inspired confidence in the people by appeal to their sentiments reminding them of the glory of Pratāparudra and the Kākatiya Empire to

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77. Battersworth and Venugopal Chetty: *Inscriptions of Nellore District*—Vol. III Ongole 73.

78. A. R. E. 308 of 1915.

awaken in them loyalty, devotion and religious favour to attack the Muslims and win liberty of their land. The two records show that by these dates the Hindus had delivered the seaboard from the Muslim rule. This conclusion is further supported by numismatic evidence. For the latest date<sup>79</sup> on the coins of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in the coastal region is A.D.1326 (A.H.726). During that year (in spring) the Hindus re-established their suzerainty in this region. Śrīnātha<sup>80</sup> states that Kolani Pratāparudra granted the village Ārēdū (West Godavari District) as agrahāra to Bendapūḍi Annayamantri at the time of the solar eclipse identical with the eclipse mentioned in the Santamagulūr inscription. These two pieces of evidence show that under the guidance of Kolani Rudradēva the liberation movement had started and that he made Prōlaya Nāyaka the leader, and Ārēdū was granted to Annaya in appreciation of his services in the war. The title Āndhrabhūmandalādhyakṣha simbhāsana sampratishṭhachārya (the establisher of the throne of the superintendent of the Āndhra country) refers not to Pratāparudra but the leader of the confederacy and the role of Anna Mantri in the liberation movement. So Rudra and Anna had a large role in bringing about collaboration with others in the achievement of Hindu independence. As no records of Kolani Rudra are heard of after A.D. 1326, perhaps he died in that year in full satisfaction.

79. M. Somasekhara Sarma: *A Forgotten chapter of Andhra History*, p. 17; footnote 29.

80. Bhimōśwara Purāṇa; canto I; verse 49.

Prōlaya Nāyaka as ruler:— Prōlaya Nāyaka, after the death of Kolani Rudradēva ruled the coastal Āndhradēśa as an independent monarch, whereas the other chiefs and nobles also co-operated with him and ruled as subordinates in their territories either hereditary or assigned to them by Prōlayanāyaka, e.g. Prōlaya Vēma Reḍḍi with capital at Addanki.<sup>81</sup> Prōlaya Nāyaka, the first acknowledged ruler of Āndhra dēśa after Pratāparudra ruled the Gōdāvarī-Krishṇa region with capital at Rēkapalli near the Mālyavanta mountain<sup>82</sup>, a range of the Eastern Ghats. This was the base of operation of confederates before and during their fight with the Muslims. The Vilasa grant says that Prōlaya Nāyaka destroyed the Yavana power by irresistible strength of arms. About his achievements it says that he restored to Brahmins their agrāharas which were granted to them by former kings but forcibly taken away from them by those wrongful doers (Turushkas); the farmers gave him with pleasure that portion of the produce of their husbandry declared as due to king by law, just as ascetics gave 1/6th of the share of the furits of their tapas (penance)<sup>83</sup>. Whatever was undone by the pārasikas was restored to its former order by that mighty king.

(d) The succession:— Probably Prōlaya Nāyaka had no children; he entrusted the kingdom to his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka and others during his life time and

81. V. Yasodā Devi. The Reddis (of Kondavīdu and Rajahmundry) chapter IV.

82. Bhārati Vol. 21 No. 6; p. 553.

83. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXII; pp. 239-268.

devoted himself to the pursuit of acquisition of religious merit. Prōlaya Nāyaka's reign was very short, for a general of that stature would not have rested without freeing the country above the Eastern Ghats from Muslim rule, if he had lived longer. That cherished ambition was achieved by Kāpaya Nāyaka his successor. Prōlayanāyaka's death was about A.D.1340.

(e) Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka:— I. Early life: Kāpaya Nāyaka was a cousin of Prōlaya Nāyaka, as his father Dēvaya Nāyaka was a brother of Pōchaya Nāyaka, the father of Prōlaya Nāyaka<sup>84</sup>. He had his training in statesmanship, warfare and administration under Prōlaya Nāyaka, who charged him with the task of liberating Telingāna i.e. Āndhra country lying to the west of the Eastern ghats<sup>85</sup>. Hence the sole and holy aim of Kāpaya Nāyaka was to regain Telingāna from the Muslims and hoist aloft the Hindu flag of independence on the fort of Warangal. Further, he started by securing the active support of neighbouring princes, raise the standard of general revolt and concert measures to free the country from the Muslim yoke.

2. The reconquest of Waragal:— The success of Prōlaya Nāyaka in the coastal area against the Muslims, was the signal for the rise of rebellions in other parts of the Tughlak Empire. For, Mālik Bahauddin Gur-

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84. Prōlavaram (or Guraja) inscription of Kāpaya Nāyaka—Bharati Vol. XI (1934) part I pp. 939—952.

85. M. S. Sarma: Kāpaya Nāyaka—Bharati Vol. VII part I (1930) No. 6 pp. 966—982.



shasp, the governor of Sagar refused payment of tribute to Muhammad Bin Tughlak. He brought under his control several nobles of his province and with their support at the end of 1326-27 attacked the neighboring chiefs loyal to the Sultan. Thus provoked, the Sultan, to chastise him, sent Khwāja Jahān who defeated the forces of Bahauddin at Devagiri. Bahauddin fled from Sagar and thence to Kampili. Now Muhammad arrived at Devagiri and sent forces to Kampili which suffered reverses twice. Finally, as a result of this rebellion the kingdom of Kampili was destroyed in A.D. 1327-28 and a Muslim governor was appointed over it. After his stay for two years at Devagiri, Muhammad left for Delhi.

Naturally, the Sultan's departure from Deccan was the signal for the outbreak of disorders in it. The state of the country at that stage was described by Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler in the following terms<sup>86</sup>: Malik Naby was the governor. The people who had escaped to the mountains weaned the loyalists towards them and had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages rose against him, besieged the governor in the fortresses allowed no provisions, and did not pay him taxes. Malik Naby, surrounded on all sides sent message to the Sultan to the effect that all the land had risen against him, how everyone was lord of what he pleased and no one was on his side. Obviously the leaders of the rising were the Andhras and no doubt Kāpaya Nāyaka had an important hand in this rising as well. Telugu literature

86. R. Sewell: *Forgotten Empire, Appendix.*

sources<sup>87</sup> attest the capture of a Muslim ruler, possibly a subordinate of Muhammad Bin Tughlak and capture of seven forts in a single day, most of them located in the vicinity of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. These conquests were sometime between A.D. 1327-28 to 1336 and in these campaigns the Kōsigi chiefs<sup>88</sup> and possibly Prōlaya Vēma<sup>89</sup> helped him.

Kāpaya Nāyaka could get the support of Hōysala Ballāla III in opposing Muhammad Bin Tughlak. Harihara and Bukka who were sent to rule Kampili as deputies of Muhammad Bin Tughlak were mentioned as the relatives of Kāpaya Nāyak. Subsequently their defiance of his authority coincided in time with the rebellion of Kāpaya Nāyaka at Warangal. "...A revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanyā Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbul, the Naib Wazir fled to Delhi and the Hindus took possession of Warangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time, one of the relations of Kanyā Naik, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambāla apostosised from Islam and stirred up a revolt.<sup>90</sup> So the land of Kambāla was lost to the Muslims.

87. Rāmarājīyamu by Andugurū Veekanna and Bēlabhāgavatamu by Dōneru Kōnerinātha—S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar : Sources of Vijayanagar history.

88. These chiefs claim to have plundered the seven constituents of royalty of Ulugh Khan, probably during his first invasion of Warangal in A.D. 1321.—Mackenzi Manuscripts 15-3-32.

89. His title Rāchūrīdurgavibhāla—South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VI. No. 243.

90. Elliot and Dawson, A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III pp. 245-246 Zia Uddin Barani.

This Kanyā Nāyak identical with Kāpaya Nāyaka of Warangal is mentioned by different names by the Muslim historians as Kanyā Naik (Barani), Krishṇa Naig (Ferishta), Kanyapaik (Nizamuddin), Kanābāyard (Ali Bin Azizulla). Hindu sources refer to him as Kāpa Nāyaṇḍu and Kāpānīḍu, besides Kāpaya Nāyaka. As he was ruling from Warangal as Wāli of Telingāṇa in A.D. 1346, his acquisition of Telingāṇa from the Muslims was prior to that year. Due to his efforts Balālla joined the revolt and so too Harihara and Bukka.<sup>91</sup> This wide-spread rebellion everywhere in the Deccan was due to the oppressive rule of Muhammad Bin Tughlak e.g. the rigour and severity in the imposition and collection of taxes.<sup>92</sup> About the same time a fresh rebellion started in the south by Syed Jalaluddin Ahsan-shah, the governor of Mabar (A.D. 1335).<sup>93</sup> When he proclaimed independence, Muhammad Shah started from Delhi and reached Daulatabad, levied heavy impositions on the people, and then proceeded to Warangal. There due to the spread of [plague in his camp, he had to save himself by beating a hasty retreat to Daulatabad.

Thus in Telingana there prevailed famine and pestilence, besides chaos and confusion consequent on imposition of new taxes and rigour in their collection.

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91. N. Venkataramanayya : *Kampili and Vijayanagara* (1929) Madras. Appendix A (I & II) pp. 34-35.

92. Elliot and Dawson : *A history of India as told by its own historians* Vol. III p. 238.

93. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Ed) : *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I (1973) Hyderabad, p. 59.

Now the Sultan realising the impossibility of controlling it in a condition of tumult, through the governor of Daulatabad made fresh arrangements for effective administration. He divided it into two parts, namely eastern Telingāna with capital at Warangal and western Telingāna with capital at Bidār. Mālig Maqbal (Kaṭṭū or Kannū originally of Telingāna) was in charge of eastern Telingāna whereas Shihabi Sultani was in charge of Western Telingāna. Both these governors were to be under the control of the Vazier of Daulatabad. At Daulatabad Mālik Burhandudin was replaced by his son, Qawamuddin (Qutlugh Khan). After making these arrangements, Muhammad Bin Tughlak returned to Delhi<sup>94</sup>.

Now the time was opportune for Kāpaya Nāyaka to strike at the roots of the Muslim power in Āndhradēśa. He had been secretly encouraging spirit of revolt among the masses, securing support of neighbouring chiefs and maturing his plans to proclaim rebellion. Muslim chroniclers describe variously the attempts of Kāpaya Nāyaka in this direction. According to Ferishta<sup>95</sup> about 774 A.H. (A.D. 1344) Krishṇa Nāyak, son of Laḍḍer Dev, who lived in the vicinity of Warangal, went to Belal Deo, the powerful king of Carnatic and told how that the Muhammadans had entered Telingana and Carnatic and had made up their minds to exterminate the Hindus. He suggested that

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94. Iswari Prasad : History of the Quarauriah Turks in India pp. 145—146.

95. M. Somasekhara Sarma : A Forgotten chapter of Āndhra History pp. 62-63 and footnote 29.

something should be done to avert the crisis. Bela Dev called a meeting of his ministers and after a good deal of deliberation decided that leaving his provinces in the rear, he should advance to the route of the army of Islam and deliver Mabar, Dhorasamudra and Kambila. Accordingly Balal Dev founded in mountainous region near the frontier of his kingdom in a well fortified place, a city named after his son Sajan Rāya; it was called Bijan Nagar and later became Bija Nagar. Numerous horse and foot were sent under Krishṇa Nāyak and Waraṅgal was captured. The governor Imadul Mulk fled to Daulatabad. Bela Dev and Krishṇa Nāyak both combined their forces and delivered Mabar and Dhorsamundar, which had been for years in the past the tributaries of the ruler of Carnatic from the Muslim control.

In this account Krishṇa Nāyak as the son of Pratāparudra has no confirmation from other sources. Probably in accordance with the prevalent custom among the subordinates of the Kākatīyas and the Hōysalas to style themselves as the sons of the sovereigns e.g. Juṭṭaya lenka Gonka Redḍi<sup>96</sup>, Kāpaya Nāyaka, a subordinate of Pratāparudra regarded himself as his son. He with the co-operation of the Hindu monarchs and local chieftains raised the standard of rebellion, and with allied forces attacked Mālik Maqbal, the Naib Wazir of Telingāna. Unable to withstand the attack Maqbal fled. Thus ended the Muslim rule in Telingāna and Kāpaya Nāyaka hoisted the flag of

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96. A.R.E. 239 of 1905: C.P. Brown, Local Records Vol. XIII p. 39.

Hindu independence on the fort of Warangal and assumed the rulership of Āndhradēśa. He bore the title Āndhrasurathrāṇa and Āndhradēśādhiśvara. Though the news of the rebellion of Tilang reached Muhammad Tughlak, he was preoccupied tackling the Hindu rebellions in Hindusthan and consequently had no leisure to attend to the south.

About the same time according to Barni<sup>97</sup>, one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak, whom the Sultan sent to Kambāla apostotised from Islam, stirred up a revolt and Kampili was lost to the Muslims. Ferishta's date A.D. 1343-44 for Kāpaya's rebellion is untenable for it preceded that of Harihara at Kampili (A.D. 1336). Harihara bore all the titles by A.D. 1339, and his power was well established by the time of Ibn Batuta's visit to Honavar (A.D. 1342)<sup>98</sup>. Kāpaya Nāyaka's conquest of Warangal falls before A.D. 1339, the date of Bādāmi and Aṭakalagunḍu inscriptions and after the date of Mabar rebellion (A.D. 1334 c.) which preceded the rebellion of the Hindus in Telingāṇa. Ibn Batuta says that Muhammad Bin Tughlak started to put down the Mabar rebellion and reached Warangal in 1335 but due to epidemic he returned immediately to Daulatabad, and after his return to that place "the provinces rose and anarchy reigned in the country"<sup>99</sup>. So the rebellion of Kāpaya Nāyaka broke out between A.D. 1335 and 1339 most appropriately in A.D. 1336-37.

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97. Elliot and Dawson: A history of India as told by its own historians Vol. III pp. 245-246.

98. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri: Foreign Notices of South India p. 234.

99. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri: Foreign notices of South India p. 219.

## CHAPTER IV

### The reign of Kāpaya Nāyaka.

1. Formation of the Kingdom :—Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka, after victory, entered triumphantly into Warangal. His kingdom comprised of both Telingāṇa and the coastal area. Kāpaya Nāyaka strengthened his position by conferring chiefships and high administrative posts upon his relatives, and members of his caste who served him with devotion during the Liberation Movement. He even entered into marriage alliances with some of them.

(a) He appointed Anavōta Nāyaka, his cousin and son of Rāja Nāyaka, as the governor of the coastal area with capital at Toyyēru; subsequently the capital was shifted to Rājamahēndravaram on the Gōdāvari. This ruler was popularly known as Toyyēṭi Anavōta Nāyaka.<sup>100</sup>

(b) Muppabhūpa, the son of Gurajāla Telungunripa as the governor of Sabbiṭi rājya with capital at Rāmagiri.<sup>101</sup> The region corresponds to Karimnagar District and its adjacent territory on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari in Telingāṇa. The family name Gurajāla suggests that their original home was Gurajāla (in Palnad Taluk). Possibly Telugu Nripa mentio-

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100- Maḍiki Singana , Vāsishṭa Rāmāyaṇam Caṅṭe I verse 33,

101, Maḍiki Singana , Paḍmapuraṇamu, preface,

ned in a Tripurantakam inscription (A.D.1335)<sup>102</sup> is identical with the father of Muppa.

(c) Manchikonḍa<sup>103</sup> Kūnaya Nāyaka with capital at Kōrukonḍa, 11 miles to the north-north-east of Rajahmundry. Kūnavaram at the confluence of the Gōdāvāri and its tributary, the Śabari, is obviously after him and indicates the extent of his principality. Kūnaya Nāyaka built the fort of Kōrukonḍa<sup>104</sup> at the instance of Kāpaya Nāyaka for guarding against inroads of forest tribal chiefs of mountainous tracts in the plains and render military assistance to the governor of the coastal region. Later on Kōrukonḍa developed into one of the principal strong-holds on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvāri.

(d) Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi ruling Pūngināḍu, the territory to the south of Krishṇa with capital at Addanki<sup>105</sup> on the bank of the Brahmakunḍi, i.e. the Guṇḍlakamma. Kāpaya entered into matrimonial alliance with the Manchikonḍa family by giving his sister's daughter to Mummaḍi Nāyaka, son of Kūnaya Nāyaka.<sup>106</sup>

102. A.R.E. 261 of 1905 ;

103. Śrīrangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka—*Epigraphia Indica* Vol XV pp. 83 ff.

104. Kaifiyat of Kōrukonḍa—C.P. Brown : Local records. Vol 19 pp. 96—99.

105. Kaluvachōru grant of Anitalli—*Bhārati* Vol. 21 No. 6 pp. 553 ff.

106. Akkalapūḍi grant of Singayanāyaka (A.D. 1368)—*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIII pp. 259—275; M. Rama Rao : *Inscriptions of Andhradesa* Vol. II part I (1968) E.G. District No. 124.



Kāpaya Nāyaka by his administrative machinery and its efficiency ensured peace and security, and law and order in Āndhradēśa. To guard against Muslim invasions in future, Kāpaya Nāyaka repaired and fortified old forts and occupied strategic positions in Telingāṇa and reinforced his forces.

2. Kāpaya Nāyaka's conflicts with the Rēcharla princes :—The Rēcharla Nāyaks<sup>107</sup> were ruling the tracts about Anumanagallu and Pillalamarri as feudatories of the Kākatiyas since the time of Gaṇapatidēva. Singama Nāyaka, the son of Erradācha Nāyaka attacked Kāpaya Nāyaka. Earlier, Singama Nāyaka had co-operated with Kāpaya Nāyaka in the war of independence (in A.D. 1336–37). But perhaps, now he did not like the assumption of supreme control and sovereignty over the entire Āndhradēśa, and therefore would not acknowledge his suzerainty. Some time after his conquest of Warangal, Singama Nāyaka moved his capital to Rājukonḍa, i.e. Rājāchalā comparatively more secure, due to its location in mountains and built a fort there. It continued subsequently as one of the capitals of the Velamas. Singama Nāyaka was extending his power to the north and south of Rājakonḍa. In the struggle for power and extension Singama Nāyaka came into conflict with Kāpaya Nāyaka and the latter suffered a reverse and had to flee.<sup>108</sup> But his defeat had not spelt any material loss to Kāpaya Nāyaka and soon he extended his authority upto Pillalamarri and even further south as attested by

107. Of Rēcharla gōtra : Rēcharla, a village in Telingāṇa.

108. N. Venkataramanayya (Ed): Velugōvivāriyamāṅgaḷi, page 20;

Pillalamarri copper-plate grant<sup>109</sup> of A.D. 1357. For, this gives Kāpaya Nāyaka's title, Anumanagantipura-varādhīśvara, that is, lord of the city of Anumanagallu, originally borne by Rēcharla Nāyakas. The same title is repeated in Kāpaya Nāyaka's Gaṇapēśwaram inscription (A.D. 1346)<sup>110</sup>. This title of Kāpaya Nāyaka apparently indicates his victory over Rēcharla Singama Nāyaka about A.D. 1346. For, the assumption of the titles and insignia of the vanquished by the conqueror was a prevalent custom of the day as an indication of the supremacy of the latter over the former. Kāpaya Nāyaka established peace and order in the conquered area and then started the work of reconstruction.

3. Kāpaya Nāyaka's conflicts with Bahmany Sultans:— In Deccan Amīrāni-Sadah (i.e. the centuries) rebelled and in A.D. 1347 Daulatabad fell to them and they elected Ismail Mukh Afghan as king. Hearing this news, Muhammad Bin Tughlak, then at Broach, hastened to Daulatabad; and in the fierce engagement between the imperial forces and the insurgent forces, the latter were defeated. While Ismail Mukh retired to Daulatabad to defend it, Hasan proceeded towards Gulburga to harass the imperialists. Muhammad Bin Tughlak sent Imadul Mulk Sartez to pursue Hasan and himself marched to Daulatabad. But the news of the rebellion of Amīrāni-sadah of Gujrat diverted his route to Gujrat leaving a general to conduct the siege of Daulatabad. The rebels at Daulatabad proved victor-

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109. A corpus of Inscriptions of Telingana Districts of H.E.H. Nizam's dominions no. 40 H. 113 ff.

110. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV no. 950.

ious and Ismail Mukh sent 5,000 cavalry to assist Hasan conferring on him the title of Jafar Khan<sup>111</sup>. Now Kāpaya Nāyaka foreseeing that his joining the centurions would obviate the chances of attack on Warangal by Muhammad Bin Tughlak, sent an army of 1500 infantry to assist Hasan.

With reinforcements sent by Ismail Khān and kāpaya Nāyaka, Hasan engaged Imādul Mulk Sartez in a battle, killed him, routed his army, proceeded to Daulatabad and entered it in triumph as the besiegers fled. Ismail Mukh resigned in his favour and Hasan was elected king and ascended the throne in A. D. 1347 assuming the title Alauddin Hasan Shah Bahamany and thus the Bahamany dynasty had originated. This kingdom instead of securing the integrity of the kingdom of Warangal as expected by Kāpaya Nāyaka, proved a source of danger to it. For Alauddin Hasan was determined to conquer every part of Deccan formerly included in the Tughlak Empire. Therefore he commissioned his officer Sikander Khān to conquer Telingāna. Sikandar Khan invaded Kāpaya Nāyaka's kingdom most unexpectedly as Kāpaya Nāyaka was considering Alauddin to be his ally. As a consequence Kāpaya Nāyaka was defeated and forced to sign a treaty.

Frishta and Aziz-ullah describe this campaign of Alauddin in different ways, though the result namely the defeat of Kāpaya Nāyaka is same according to both.

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III. J. Briggs: *Ferishta—Rise of Muhammadan power in India*  
Vol. II p. 289.

According to Ferishta<sup>112</sup>, Alauddin Hasan Shah wrested Kaulas with its dependencies from the Rāja of Wrangal and formed a treaty of alliance with him. Aziz Ullah<sup>113</sup> depicts Sikandar, and Alauddin as being considerate to and on friendly terms with Kāpaya Nāyaka, who according to him submitted to him simply on the receipt of a letter from Muslim general. He says that Sikandar Khān after his return (from Bidar and Malkhad) sent a letter to Kanābāyand who was the Wāli of Telingāna, asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army. When it reached Kanābāyand, he understood its contents and wrote a reply, tendering his submission and sending a written treaty to that effect; he also expressed a wish to meet him. So Sikandar with a large force proceeded towards Telingāna and a meeting between the two took place. Kanābāyand presented many valuable offerings, sent two elephants and other presents to the king through Sikandar Khān. General Sikandar sent elephants to the king and conferred royal favours on Kanābāyand. This author does not mention Kaulas and its dependencies. A comparison of the two statements shows that Sikandar invaded the kingdom of Warangal, inflicted a defeat on Kāpaya Nāyaka, and compelled him to conclude a treaty by ceding the fortress of Kaulas, elephants etc. This occurred between A.D. 1347 and 1351 and definitely prior to the death of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. But this treaty did not adversely affect the suzerainty of Kāpaya Nāyaka for thereby he did not acknowledge

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112. J. Briggs: Ferishta—Rise of Muhammadan power in India  
Vol. II p. 294.

113. Indian Antiquary Vol. 28 p. 652.

the supremacy of Alauddin or paid him tribute. Was this in recognition of Kāpayanāyaka's help to him previously!

After the death of Muhammad Bin Tughlak, Alauddin had no fear of an attack from Delhi and could concentrate to extend and consolidate his domain. He did not allow his neighbour Kāpaya Nāyaka to have mental peace. After a few years, he led another invasion against Telingāṇa. According to Ferishta, the the Rāja of Telingāṇa who had thrown off all fealty was treated with generous forbearance on account of the assistance he had rendered to the king; he now voluntarily agreed to pay the tribute which till then was remitted to the king of Delhi. This shows that till the time of the second invasion, Kāpaya Nāyak was not remitting any tribute to Alauddin. The Bahmeny Sultan is now determined to exact it annually from Kāpaya Nāyaka and hence undertook this invasion. Though Ferishta justifies the Sultan's aggression saying that Kāpaya Nāyaka threw off fealty, Aziz Ulla simply says that Alauddin desirous of conquering Telingana led an invasion to acquire name and fame and issued orders to the army to march in that direction; the army assembled and marched towards Telingana. He sent in advance a number of his officers to devastate the country of the infidels and himself followed behind. For nearly a year he travelled through Telingāṇa country and took possession of the district of Bhonagir, overthrew idols and temples and instead of them built mosques and public schools. After completion of the conquest of Telingāṇa, he returned to the capital and acted generously to all subjects and soldiers in the Deccan.

As for the date of this second invasion, the Pillalammarri inscription of Kāpaya Nāyaka<sup>114</sup> (A. D. 1357, June 2) refers to this. It records that Kāpaya Nāyaka's subordinate Erapōta, the governor of Pillalammarri re-consecrated the idol of god Erakēśvara, desecrated and broken by Sultan Alauddin during the invasion, for the merit of the sovereign Kāpaya Nāyaka and his parents Anumakoṇḍa Māchaya Nāyaka and Rudrasāni. This ceremony must have taken place at least a few months after the restoration of peace in the country after the invasion. As Alauddin stayed in Telingāṇa for one year, he must have started on this campaign about the close of the year A.D. 1355 and remained in Telingāṇa in A.D. 1356. This campaign was very extensive as he over-ran the Telugu country as far as the east coast as is clear from the records of the Redḍi kings. The invasion of the Yavanas from the west is mentioned in the Amarāvati inscription of Anavōta Redḍi. During this invasion god Amarēśwara of Dhānyavāṭi also was desecrated by the Muslims as the temple at Pillalammarri. Hence the Amarāvati inscription<sup>115</sup> records the reconsecration ceremony of that God by his minister Kētaya Vēma, who is said to have defeated the Muslims, besides the Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi Vēma Redḍi, son of Mācha Redḍi directly refers to Alauddin. It states that Malla Redḍi, the brother of Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi defeated Alauddin in battle.<sup>116</sup>

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114. A Corpus of Inscriptions of Telingana Districts of H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions no. 40.

115. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VI No. 226.

116. V. Yasoda Devi: The Redḍis (of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry) Appendix.

Consequent on Alauddin's invasions, Kāpaya Nāyaka's hold on the coastal Āndhradēśa became weakened. The chieftains in the coastal area had become adamant as Kāpaya Nāyaka was seriously confronted with the danger of the growing power of the Bahmany kingdom ever anxious to annex Warangal. The latest record of Kāpaya Nāyaka in the coastal region is at Dākshārāma dated A. D. 1346, recording the gift of offerings to Bhīmēśwara by his cousin Anavōta Nāyaka, son of Rājanāyaka<sup>117</sup>. Alauddin died on January 31, A. D. 1359 and was succeeded by Muhammad Shah I, his son and successor.

Kāpaya Nāyaka's relations with the Rāyas of Vijayanagar :—Kāpaya Nāyaka, who was determined to overthrow the power of the Bahmany kingdom and for that purpose sought the alliance of Harihara I of Vijayanagar. Harihara I also had lost some territory to the north of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. So both Kāpaya Nāyaka and Harihara realised the danger to their political interests in the existence of the Bahmany kingdom and thereby to Hindu supremacy in the Deccan. They planned and worked together to overthrow the Bahmany kingdom. But Muhammad Shah was a powerful ruler. According to Ferishta,<sup>118</sup> the Rājas of Telingāna and Vijayanagar instigated the Hindu bankers melt all (Bahmany) coins which fell into their hands, so that those of the infidels alone could be current in Deccan and sent messengers to his court

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117. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV No. 950.

118. J. Briggs: Ferishta—Rise of Muhammadan power in India Vol. II p. 301.

to demand the restitution of territories wrested from them by his father, threatening in the case of refusal to invade his territory and draw upon him the army of the king of Delhi.

Muhammad Shah sent his ambassadors to their courts and detained their messengers in his court for one year and a half to gain time to complete arrangements for offensive and defensive purposes. He demanded from them the best elephants laden with jewels. Kāpayanāyaka enraged thereby sent his son Vināyak Dev with a large army to capture the fort of Kaulas and Bukka I sent a force of 20,000 to assist him.<sup>119</sup> To counter them, Muhammad Shah sent a large army under Bahadur Khān against Vināyak Dev, and himself proceeded to attack the Vijayanagar forces. The Muslim armies proved victorious in the fights that followed: the country of Vijayanagar was plundered. Vināyak Dev was successful in the beginning of the campaign, for Bhonagir included in the kingdom of Alauddin came under Kāpaya Nāyaka. But Bahadur finally inflicted a defeat on Vināyak Dev who was compelled to take refuge in his fief called Velumpatṭan; then he proceeded upto the gates of Warangal and forced Kāpaya Nāyaka to seek for peace by offering large sums of money, 25 elephants, and many valuable jewels. After this, Kāpaya Nāyaka was not allowed to remain in peace for long.

For, the Sultan Muhammad Shah was provoked by the insolent behaviour of Vinayak Dev. It is



reported that Vināyak Dev forcibly had taken the best of horses reserved for Muhammad Shah from a caravan of horse dealers on their way to Gulburga, though they protested vehemently. The horse dealers after their arrival at the capital<sup>120</sup> (in (A.D. 1362) made this complaint against Vināyak Dev when Muhammad Shah found that the best horses suitable for his stables were not brought. To avenge this insult to his dignity, Muhammad Shah led an expedition against Velum-pattān, the fief of Vināyak Dev with a contingent of 4,000 cavalry. Muhammad Shah reached Velum-pattān by rapid marches, entered the city and massacred the Hindus. Vināyak Dev did not expect this expedition and fled to the citadel besieged by the Sultan. In the course of the siege, Vināyak Dev was taken prisoner and was asked for explanation. His insolent replies made Muhammad Shah so inconsiderate, haughty and inhuman, that he ordered not only his tongue to be cut off but he should be hurled from a high seat set up on the ramparts into the fire kindled below. Muhammad Shah plundered the city, levied heavy contributions on the people, stayed there for some time and started on return journey with Vināyak Dev's treasures. These cruel deeds of the Sultan made the people to take revenge on him. Hiding during day time and coming out of their hiding places during nights, they harassed him so much that he ordered his men to burn the baggage with the plunder, except jewels and gold and to march rapidly to escape from their attacks. Due to harassment, by the time the

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120. M. Somasekhara Sarma : A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History  
Appendix IV.

Sultan reached Kaulas, one third of his army was left alive and the king himself received a wound in his arm. As reinforcements arrived at Kaulas, the rest of the Sultan's journey continued peacefully<sup>121</sup>.

The news of the death of his son plunged Kāpaya Nāyaka in sorrow. His sole object was to overthrow or subdue the Bahmany kingdom. For this, as the help of the Rāya of Vijayanagar was not sufficient, in despair he appealed to Firuz Shah Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi. According to Ferishta in the year H. 764, the Roy of Tiling plunged in sorrow at the death of his son and devastation of his country sent petitions to the court of Malik Firuz Shah Barbak, the Emperor of Delhi requesting him to order the nobles of Malwa and Gujarat to march demanding the restoration of Deccan and that he and king of Vijayanagar would be loyal to him in wresting that land from the possession of the rebels of Daulatabad and pay tribute. But as the invasions of Deccan and conquest of these parts were not auspicious to Emperors of Delhi, the Emperor paid no heed to send a reply to the petitions and neglected it.

Sultan Muhammad to subdue Tiling issued an order to his maternal uncle's son Khan Muhammad that he should collect the army of Daulatabad and encamp in the ghats above Daulatabad near the tank of Qutlugh Khan and should safeguard that frontier strictly; He sent orders summoning Safdar Khan Sistani and A'azam Humayun to Court. When they arrived with their armies at Hasanabad Gulburga, the

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121. J. Briggs : Ferishta ; Rise of Muhammadan power in India :  
Vol. II p. 304.

Sultan entrusted the capital to the care of Malik Saifuddin, started on conquest, arrived by uninterrupted march at Kaulas, despatched A'azam with armies of Ahmadabad-Bidar and Mahur and its environs towards Golkonda. He appointed Safdar Khan with the army of Berar to march against Warangal and followed him in the rear accompanied by Bahadur Khan. Meanwhile, the king of Vijayanagar died and his brother's son ascended the throne. The Roy of Tiling deprived of help from that side despairing success fled to jungles and hills. Muhammad Shah remained in Telingana for two years, ravaged and laid waste the country. To save his country from still further destruction and devastation Kāpaya Nāyaka sued for peace, but his proposals were rejected by the Sultan who was determined to crush him completely. But due to the intercession of Bahadur Khan a treaty was concluded in A.D. 1364-65, according to the terms of which Kāpaya Nāyaka offered 300 elephants and 250 horses besides the war indemnity of 33 lakhs and cession of the hill fort of Golkonda. Golkonda was fixed as the boundary between his kingdom and the kingdom of Warangal and conjured his successors, as the Rajah of Telingana refrained from breaking their faith, not to molest them. Kāpaya Nāyaka presented to Muhammad Shah a throne studded with turquoise called Takht-i Firuzi, originally prepared as a present to Muhammad Bin Tughlak, the Emperor of Delhi.<sup>122</sup> True to his word, Muhammad Shah never after inva-

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122. J. Briggs: *Ferishta: Rise of Muhammadan Power in India*  
Vol. II p. 306,

ded Telingāna during his reign. Subsequently the relations between Kāpaya Nāyaka and the Bahmanis were loyal.

The last years of Kāpaya Nāyaka :—While Kāpaya Nāyaka was engrossed in fighting the Bahmanis, the Rēcharla rulers strengthened their power sufficiently to defy his authority, Singama Nāyaka, in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah, extended his kingdom as far as the Krishṇa; Elēśvaram on the northern bank of the river, and some forts<sup>123</sup> in the Doab region between the Krishṇa and the Tungabhadra, he occupied. In the Doab area. Singama Nāyaka had to measure swords with the Chālukya princes of the lunar race. Possibly these Chālukyas were the descendants of and the relatives of the Āravīṭi chiefs, governing the forts in the region, appointed subsequent to the conquest of Kampili by Sōmadēva from Malik Naby, its governor. Singama, further proceeded with his army and laid siege to the fort of Jallipalli<sup>124</sup> to liberate his brother-in-law Chintapalli Singama Nāyaka<sup>125</sup> imprisoned in that fort. Perhaps he was captured by the Chālukya princes while fighting with them on behalf of his brother-in-law, Singama Nāyaka. The Chālukya

123. Rēcharla Singabhūpāla : Rasārṇavasudhākara. Introduction.

124. In Chintākunta Taluk, Mahboobnagar District.

125. Fifth in descent from Pōtuganṭi Mallānōḍu of the Paisāla family. This family one of the 72 Nāyak families that served Pratāparudra had the titles, lords of Chintapallipura and Vallatūripura both in Guntur District)—Vōṭūri Prabhākara Śāstri : Chātupadyamaṇimanjari part II, The Chātū verse cited on p. 94 footnote 40 of A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History.

chiefs in Jallipalli despairing success resorted to a strategem and brought the assassination of Singama Nāyaka by Tambaḷa Bommajiyya. Hearing this news, Anavōta Nāyaka and Māda Nāyaka, the sons of Singama Nāyaka proceeded to Jallipalli and stormed it. They massacred all the Kahatriyas of the lunar race in the fort along with their allies in A.D. 1361 and assumed the title Sōmakulaparaśurāma. After return from the the campaign, Anavōti Nāyaka made Rājkonḍa, his capital and well fortifield it by making it impregnable. Three inscriptions<sup>126</sup> of his there, dated A.D. 1365, record the construction of stone forts by him, besides a reservoir called Anapōtasamudra, wells and other defences of the fort on the hill. Whether Anapōta Nāyaka assisted Kāpaya Nāyaka in his wars against the Muslims is not known.

Aware of the growing power of the Velamas, Kāpaya Nāyaka might have tried to exercise his authority over Anapōta Nāyaka which obviously enraged Anapōta Nāyaka. For Anapōta Nāyaka proclaimed war on Kāpaya Nāyaka, and at once marched on Warangal with his armies. As Kāpaya Nāyaka's resources were spent in fighting the Muslims, he was unprepared for this turn of events. But he could not tolerate this revolt against his supremacy. He personally led his army to oppose Anavōta Nāyaka and a battle took place between the two armies at Bhīmavaram<sup>127</sup> (in Warangal Taluk) in which Kāpaya Nāyaka suffered a reverse and lost his life. Anavōta Nāyaka conquered the for-

126. Velugōṭivārivamsa-charitra Appendices Nos. 6, 7, 8 pp. 27-29.

127. N. Venkataramaiah (Ed.); Velugōṭivārivamsāvali p. 26.

tresses of Tribhuvanagiri (Bhonagir), Orugallu (Warangal), Singavaram etc., and became the master of Telingāṇa and assumed the titles of Āndhradēsādhiswara, Pratigandabhairava, Tribhuvanirāya Ravu etc. Now Warangal lost its prime importance. Pedavēdagiri Nāyaka, son of Anavōta's brother defeated his enemies in the vicinity of Warangal;<sup>128</sup> this was a phase in the Bhīmavaram battle. As for the date of the battle, the Akkalapūḍi grant of Singaya Nāyaka<sup>129</sup> refers to the relationship between his elder brother Mummaḍi Nāyaka and Āndhra Surathrāṇa Kāpaya Nāyaka, with the sole purpose of exalting the prestige of Singaya Nāyaka and his brother Mummaḍi Nāyaka. The grant suggests that Kāpaya Nāyaka was alive till A.D. 1366 the date of the grant. Besides, the Ainavōlu inscription of Anavōta Nāyaka says<sup>130</sup> that after returning from a successful military campaign Anavōta Nāyaka made a grant of lands to Mailārādēva at Ainavōlu near Warangal on July 19, 1369. This states that Anavōta was ruling Orugallu, Tribhuvanagiri, Rājakonḍa and other places in the Telugu country. So Anavōta's conquest of Kāpaya Nāyaka and his kingdom falls in A.D. 1368, between the dates of Akkalapūḍi and Ainavōlu inscriptions.

128. N. Venkataramanayya (Ed); *Vlugōḍḍivārivamsāvali* p. 37.

Pedavēdagiri's title—*ekaṣilānagarasamīpaṣātravarājanya*—*Vana dahanadāvārāla* i.e the forest fire that burnt the forest of the enemy kings near Ekaṣilānagar.

129. *Epigraphia Indica*—Vol. XIII p. 259.

130. *Velugōḍḍivārivamsacharitra*. Appendix No. 4 p. 20.

Estimate of Kāpaya Nāyaka :—Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka was a distinguished warrior, illustrious general, a great patriot and an eminent ruler in medieval Āndhradēśa. An adventurous noble, he was ardently devoted to Dharma and religion of the land and his cherishing of independence was rendered into action in the great revolt against Muhammad Bin Tughlak, in Telingāṇa. Throughout his career, Kāpaya Nāyaka preserved the integrity of Telingāṇa and the independence of the Hindus which he regained by making great sacrifices. But if Kāpaya Nāyaka and Rēcharla Anavōta Nāyaka and Māda Nāyaka could set aside their individual interests and join and work together for the maintenance of the supremacy of the Hindus and welfare of the mass of Hindu population in Telingāṇa, the history of Āndhradēśa subsequently would have taken entirely a different turn. Perhaps, there would have been no Muslim rule in Āndhradēśa. But destiny willed otherwise; the Velamas were irrepressible; mighty and brave they refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Kāpaya Nāyaka and co-operate with him in fighting the Muslims. In the long run necessarily, they reaped the fruits of their unwise policy of not helping Kāpaya Nāyaka. For, the history of Telingāṇa from A.D. 1369 till its annexation to the Bahmany kingdom is the history of the Velamas struggling for bare existence with the Bahmany Sultans of Gulbarga.

End of the Musunūri dynasty.—Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka's fatal death brings to a close the rule of the Musunūri Nāyakas over Telingāṇa. Neither his descendants nor other princes of the Musunūri family are known. For Toyvēṭi Anavōta Nāyaka, a cousin and representative of his in the coastal area was killed in fighting by Bhaktirāja of the Telugu chōḍas.

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## CHAPTER V

### Society and Culture in Andhradesa

#### 1. Salient features in the new Kingdoms :

(a) As in earlier days, in this period as well, whenever possible, the capitals of kingdoms and headquarters of provinces are found located either on hill tops or river-banks e.g. Rēkapalle,<sup>131</sup> the capital of Prōlaya Nāyaka, on the bank of the Gōdāvāri near the Mālyavanta hill in Eastern Ghats ; Kōrukōṇḍa<sup>132</sup> of the Manchikōṇḍa Redḍis or Nāyakas on a hill eleven miles north-north east of Rajahmundry, while Mummaḍi-viḍu,<sup>133</sup> a provincial capital was located on the bank of the river Pampa, a tributary of the Gōdāvāri ; Addanki<sup>134</sup> of Prolayavema is on the bank of the river Gundlakamma, Ramagiri,<sup>135</sup> the capital of Sabbināṭi-rājya is on a hill top ; similarly Rājakoṇḍa<sup>136</sup> or Rājā-ḥala of the Velama kingdom is on a hill.

(b) The origins of the various dynasties :—All the Śūdra dynasties, for instance, the Musunūri, the Manchikōṇḍa, the Koppula, the Velama and the Redḍi

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131. Vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nayaka—*Epigraphia Indica* vol. 32 pp. 239-255.

132. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X No. 554.

133. *Epigraphia Indica* vol. XIII pp. 259-275.

134. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII No. 3.

135. Maḍikisingana : Padmapurāṇam.

136. N. Venkṭarāmanayya (Ed) : Velugoṭivārivamsāvali,

dynasties with confidence and boldness proclaimed their ancestry to the fourth caste or Chaturthakula hailing from the feet of Vishṇu along with the River Ganges and both rendered sacred and holy.

(c) Territorial expansion :—Several of the important generals who served with implicit faith, Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka and Kāpaya Nāyaka in emancipating Āndhradēśa from Muslim thraldom, subsequently set themselves independent in their respective principalities e.g. the Reḍḍis,<sup>137</sup> the Velamas, the Koppula Nāyaks, the Manchikonḍa Reḍḍis etc. In implementing their selfish desires of expanding their kingdoms, these rulers developed mutual conflicts and thereby extended their territories at the expense of one another.

(d) Administrative divisions :—In this age sīma was a unique territorial division under the Reḍḍ is in the Eastern Āndhradēśa, while Rājya was a new division under the Rāyas of Vijayanagar in the western Āndhradēśa.<sup>138</sup>

(e) Local Government : Once Hindu Dharma was re-established in Āndhradēśa, local government was least affected and interfered with by any major changes in the dynasties or their mutual antagonism.

2. General Conditions:— (a) The Caste system:—Naturally in this period caste system became less rigid and more elastic. Consequent on the impact of Islam on Hindu Society as well as the earlier movements for

137. Kaluvachēru grant of Anitalli-Bhārati Vol. 21, No. 6, p. 553.

138. V. Yasoda Devi : Territorial Divisions in Andhradesa.

stratification of castes e.g. Viraśaivism,<sup>139</sup> Arādhyāśaivism and Viravaishnavism<sup>140</sup> etc. By interdining, intermingling and intermarriages, attempts were made to scrap caste restrictions but not with much success.

(b) Change in religious out-look:— The Muslim invasions had weakened the ethical structure of Hindu society and thereby shaken the consummate devotion of the common man in scriptures and efficacy of religious rites and ceremonies e.g. conversion from Hinduism to Islam. Not merely that, but the achievement of Hindu independence brought about a change in the mental attitude of the Śūdras, besides confidencs in physical prowess. It instilled in them power, strength and self-confidence. A change in the spirit of the times is evident from the fact that Dharma Śāstras were not strictly followed in the sense that the Śūdras were allowed to study Sanskrit-literature, till then a prohibited sphere to them. Moreover, their scholarship in Sanskrit became so proficient, they started writing works in Sanskrit on a variety of subjects and also in Telugu, the regional language. The Śūdra predominance has resulted in the preference to Dāna or gift over yajña or sacrifice of earlier times.

(c) Language and literature:— Telugu, the language of the region and the people gained preference over Sanskrit, the language of the higher castes and

139. V. Yasoda Devi : Social and Economic Structure in Andhradesa in the Reddi age. Seminar at Mysore—1973 by I.C.H.R. Delhi.

140. Ramanuja and the Bhakti movement in Andhradesa, conference at Kurukshetra (1972).

aristocrats. Eminent poets such as Errāpreggaḍa, Śrīnātha and Pōtana had rendered the Sanskrit classics into Telugu probing their individuality as well as the personality of their beloved motherland in their immortal works e.g. Āndhra Mahābhārata, Kāsikhāṇḍam Bhīmakhāṇḍam, Āndhra Mahā bhāgavatam etc. Rāmāyaṇa was already rendered into Telugu in the reign of Pratāparudra.<sup>141</sup> Sanskrit continued to enjoy royal patronage and some of the rulers wrote works<sup>142</sup> in Sanskrit. e.g. Kumāragiri, Kāṭayavēma, Pedakomaṭivēma, Sarvajña Singa. Some of the lay poets in Sanskrit were Bālasaraswati, Prakāśa Bhāratīyōgi, Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāna etc.<sup>143</sup>

(d) Art and Architecture:— In the age after the Kākatīyas and prior to the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, there is dearth of classic examples of Āndhra art and architecture in the form of monuments e.g. Temples. The successors of the Kākatīyas, namely the Musunur Nayaks, the Reddis, the Manchikonda Nāyaks, the Velamas, Eruya chōḍas devoted more importance to building of new shrines, and several mantapas and porticos in the existing temples<sup>144</sup> than raising new temples. e.g. Śrīśailam,<sup>144</sup> Tripurāntakam, Amarāvati, Drāksha-

141. Bhāskara, Rāmāyaṇa. Ranganatha Rāmāyaṇa.

142. Kumāragiri-Va-antarājīya : Kāṭayavēma—Kumāragirirājīya, Peda Kōmaṭivēma—Sāhitya Chintāmaṇi: Sarvajña Singa-Rasārṇavasudhākaram.

143. Author of Vēmaḥpālācharitam.

144. Virasīmāntapa by Anavēma. South Indian Inscriptions: vol X.

rāma, Kshīrārāma, Kumārārāma. Simhāchalam,<sup>145</sup> Śrīkūrmam etc. Why they resisted from building colossal temples in Telingāna and coastal Āndhradēṣa, might have been due the depletion of their resources in fighting often the Muslim invaders. But luckily the Rāyas of Vijayanagar in Rāyalasīma vigorously took to the building activity of huge temples, lofty gōpuras popular as Rāyagōpurams and huge tanks popular as Rāyalacheruvus. with characteristic features of Vijayanagar style of architecture and art.

National festivals:— The Redḍis and the Velamas gave a fillup to the countrywide celebration of national festivals, thus accelerating the growth, development and diffusion of Āndhra culture in all its facets. Whereas previously festivals were confined to temples and pilgrims to temples, the Redḍis started the celebration of spring festivals called Vasantōtsavas in the capitals which gave them the title Vasantarāya. The profuse use of camphor in their celebration make the rulers take the title Karpūrasantarāya<sup>146</sup> e.g. Anavēma Kumaragiri. These festivals were the occasions for the gathering of poets from different parts of the country, holding of literary disputations. concerts of music, performances of dance, amusements, atheletic competitions etc. On a similar pattern, the Rāyas of Vijayanagar celebrated the Mañanavami festivals at Vijayanagar.

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145. Anavēmanagaru by a subordinate of Anavēma—S.I.I. vol VI no. 806.

146. V. Yasoda Devi : Trade and Commerce—Andhra's Contribution to Indian Culture—S.V. Oriental Jāmma vol XVI (1973) p. 103.

Besides, the temple festivals on a large scale e.g. Tirunāḷḷu of Andhra Nāyaka at Śrīkākulam<sup>147</sup> and of Virūpāksha of Hampi, served the purpose of enlightening the common man by the highlights of culture in Āndhradēśa.

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## CHAPTER VI

### Conclusion

In Āndhradēśa which had experienced long periods of glory with brief interludes of decline in between, in the age after the Kākatīyas, the polity, society and culture witnessed an epoch of full fledged efflorescence under the Reḍḍis, the Rayas and the Velamas. The glory had become fully embodied in expressions and endearing phrases such as Mahitāndhradēśa and Mahanīyāndhradēśa in contemporary literature.<sup>148</sup> The glory of the Andhras under the Kākatīyas, reminiscent of the splendour of the Andhra Sātavāhana age in its manifold facets found its echoes in the Musunūri Nāyak, the Reḍḍi and the Rāya periods and had thus become embedded under subsequent rulers in the life and culture of the Āndhra race, Āndhra nation and Āndhra nationalism fully blossomed.

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148. V. Yasoda Devi : Mahitandhradesa—Journal of Indian History  
vol 45 (Trivendrum) p. 481—500.