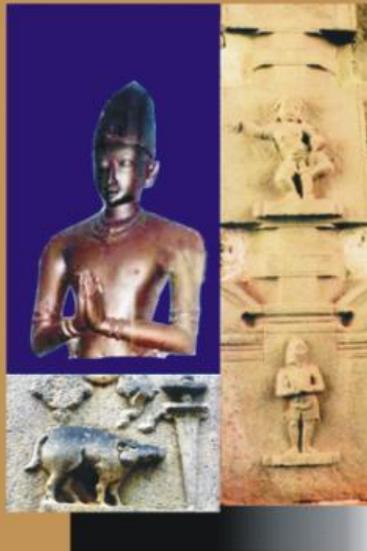


The Study of Nayakatana in the
Vijayanagara Empire with Special Reference to
Tuluva Dynasty

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The Study of Nayakatana in the

Vijayanagara Empire with Special Reference to Tuluva Dynasty

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CERTIFICATE

I here by declare that this minor Research Project entitled The Study of Nayakatana in the Vijayanagara Empire with Special Reference toTuluva Dynasty is conducted by me at the Department of History, Sri Siddaganga College of Arts Science and Commerce for Women, Tumkur under the financial assistance of University Grants Commission, New Delhi.

This Project has been submitted to U.G.C. in 2012 and this work has not been submitted to any other purpose so far.

Place : Tumkur

Signature of the

Date :

Principal Investigator

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CONTENTS

1.	Introduction	01
2.	The Royal titles of the first two rulers of Vijayanagar state	05
3.	Nayaka System - Discussion	13
	a) Origin	
	b) Definition	
	c) Communities	
4.	Tuluva Dynasty (1491 – 1570 CE)	29
	a) Tuluva History	
	b) Nayakatana - Krishnadevaraya period	
	c) Saluva Thimmarasu	
	d) Mallappa Nayaka Of Tamil Nadu	
5.	Nayaka Polity A Theoretical Appraisal	71
6.	Conclusion	81
	a) Bibliography	
	b) Appendix, Photos	

Chapter - I

Introduction

The Vijayanagara Empire takes its name 'City of Victory' from its capital. It is situated on the banks of River Tungabhadra. Its rulers over three centuries claimed a universal sovereignty-'to rule the vast world under a single umbrella'- and they also more modestly, referred to themselves as the rulers of Karnataka. The Vijayanagara rulers seemed to have the sense that the kingdom established in the fourteenth century, revived an earlier universal sovereignty in Karnataka that of the Chalukyas of Badami and also adopted their emblem 'Varaha' or 'Boar'.

There were several distinct lineages or dynasties among Vijayanagara rulers. The first of these was Sangama, whose sons Harihara and Bukka established the kingdom around 1336 AD on the banks of river Tungabhadra. Bukka I (1344 – 1377) the son of Sangama expanded the city and ruled until the late fourteenth century. when a second or Salva ruling line was established briefly by a vijayanagara generalissimo, saluva Narasimha. In 1505, the third dynasty came into being called Tuluva, established by Tuluva Narasa nayaka. The famous ruler of this lineage Krishnadevaraya took the Empire to zenith of power during the short term of only twenty years. i.e. 1509-1529 AD under their six decades of rule, the realm reached its greatest extent and its rulers their greatest power. (Krishnaraya, Achyutaraya, Sadashivaraya)

The last Vijayanagara dynasty, of the Aravidu family, assumed authority in 1570 at Penugonda, Members of this family held diminished imperial authority until the late seventeenth Century, when as a result of repeated invasions from Muslim states to the north and civil wars within, Vijayanagara authority was fragmented among a set of smaller, independent, regional domains tracing their credentials from the kingdom.

Among the Indian kingdoms, rule of three centuries is very long and this together with the large territory over which Vijayanagar rulers makes it one of the great states in Indian history. For this, Nayankara system was responsible. The Nayaka held land of the emperor under a military tenure called Amaram. They were consequently known by the name Amaanayakas. They claimed to hold the land for Nayankara.

Aims and objectives of the study

It is known fact that the study of Nayaka was always a theme of research for the Historians from time to time. The researchers have already pointed out that Nayakas played a significant role in the political and military system of vijayanagara Empire. But, on the basis of the contemporary inscriptions and other documents a research on Nayaka is done qualitatively and quantitatively. Although the scholars have not yet reached at consensus about the relationship of the Nayaka with the king, family background and economic independence. There is no consensus amongst scholars even on such basic points as the definition of Nayakas namely who should be identified as Nayaka. Generally speaking, it is seen that those who suffixed the honoric title of nayaka to their personal names have been considered as Nayaka. In this background it is identified that in history could find more Nayakas than the inscriptions. Is it possible to have so many Nayakas in the Vijayanagara kingdom? What were their role and responsibilities in the administration? This question is still unanswered. Emphasizing Tuluva rule in mind i am here an attempt to answer.

During the Vijayanagara Empire, especially in the Tuluva dynasty period Nayankara system worked as systematic political administration. The King grants land through Nayakatana for some brave men on certain conditions. Thus one who held the land from the king through Nayakatana was considered as Nayaka. The title of Nayaka with their personal names was not enough, who held the land through Nayakatana become Nayaka. Similarly some who had the title of Nayaka also become Nayaka. Therefore “one who receives the land or sirmai from the king through Nayakatana and in his province ruled like a little king were known as the Nayakas”. Those who suffixed the honoric title of Nayaka to their personal names were not considered as Nayaka.

The Nayakas worked as highest land revenue officers in the Vijayanagara Empire. So i hereby would like to throw light on these Nayakas, who held land through Nayakatana during Tuluva period. They are the subject of my project.

In Tuluva period particularly in Krishnadevaraya’s period the empire was extended to all the three major regions of south India. So to have a research on him one should have the knowledge of all the three languages such as Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. In addition to this he had the knowledge of Sanskrit also. Although the number of research have been done on his achievements. But no study was conducted about Nayakas, who held responsibility of administrative machinery. From this point of view I have taken this issue as my subject of study.

Area of study

Present study roughly covers a period of seventy years, i.e. from the rise and fall of Tuluva dynasty. During this period the Vijayanagara Empire was extended from Krishna River in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, Cuttack in the east to Arabian Sea in the west. Therefore the present research is confined to south India. Especially Karnaaka, Andrapradesh and Tamilnadu. My research subject is mainly on the basis of inscriptions. So the inscriptions discovered in all three states in respective languages should be studied. Therefore one should have the knowledge of kannada, telugu Tamil and Sanskrit. The study area is also known for its history and culture from the ancient period. Major political activities take place in this area.

Scope of the study

The present project work deals with “the study of Nayakatana in the Vijayanagara Empire with special reference to Tuluva Dynasty”. Sources like inscriptions and contemporary literature are used for this work. The research project is divided in to six chapters.

1. Introduction
2. Nayaka system – Origin, Evolution and Growth
3. Nayakatana –
 1. Political history of Tuluva dynasty
 2. Krishnadevaraya period (1509- 1529)
 3. Post Krishnadevaraya period (1530-1565)
 4. Powerful Nayaka Families – Salva Thimmarasu family.
 5. Conclusion
 6. Bibliography and photos.

As for the plan of the work the first chapter is Introduction, it deals with the aims and objectives, scope and nature of the present research. It also discussed about various sources.

The second chapter is devoted to a study of the Nayaka system. It discussed about the origin of the nayaka system and its definitions. The king granted nayakatana on certain condition for brave men of different communities. This subject is also discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter deals with the Nayakatana during Tuluva dynasty. First it discusses about the political history of the Tuluva dynasty. Tuluva ruler Krishnadevaraya in his extraordinary rule of twenty years had conquered and controlled the entire south India. The whole land of his empire was granted to his loyalists through nayaktana. I have given all the list of nayakas referred in the inscriptions. By this, it become easy to analysis how the nayakatana is working in his administration.

The fourth chapter elucidates the part played by some important nayaka families. These families were influential in Vijayanagara administration. They had the prestigious positions like that of Mahamandaleshwara, Rayasa, Bokkasadavaru, Pradhana, Mahapradhana etc., For ex;- Salva Thimmarasu family in Karnataka. Mallappa nayaka family in Tamilnadu. The activities of these families are discussed in this chapter.

The fifth chapter is the last and concluding chapter. It sums up, how the Nayaka system was working in Tuluva administration. At the end index and Bibliography is given.

Methodology

Present project is an administration aspect of the selected region. The study aim is to bring out how the Nayankara system was worked during Tuluva dynasty.

This period is selected for study the obvious reason that source material – epigraphical and foreigners’ accounts, besides literature are available and they make research very interesting.

Inscriptions have been used as principle source with literary works constituting secondary sources of this study. There are two reasons for this, first, Kannada abounds in inscriptions and it is the richest of all states in India in inscriptions. Secondly there is no other better and more reliable source for our study than inscriptions. As Colebrook rightly puts it “in the scarcity of authentic history of Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal which are occasionally discovered though various accidents” (Asiatic research IX (1987) pp412, 421, 422)

Through background research consisting of collection and in-depth study and analysis of the literature pertaining to the study of Vijayanagara Empire has been carried out.

Chapter - II

The Royal titles of the first two rules of Vijayanagar state

It has been commonly pointed out in South Indian historiography that the Vijayanagar empire, established in 14th century, was at the height of political excellence for about 250 years in South India took an unique characteristics which no antecedent South Indian dynasties bore. K. A. Neelakanta shastri wrote “ Vijayanagar was Perhaps the nearest approach to a war state ever made by a Hindu Kingdom; and its political organization was dominated by its military needs.”¹ Vijayanagara,(Hampi) the capital city of the Vijayanagar Empire, surpassed any preceding capital cities of south India. It was surrounded by several rows of defence walls, unprecedentedly extensive. Magnificent palaces, administrative offices, military facilities, temples meant for royal families were packed rather closely in the central part surrounded by inner rows of city walls.² Such congregation of government facilities in the centre of the city is special of the Vijayanagara. This city continued to be the absolute capital of the Vijayanagara Empire from its foundation to the decline. (1336 A D-1565 A D) Without such a stable capital, probably the emperors could not have built a magnificent and vast empire. This city was built with a firm foundation for the empire by Sangama brothers especially Harihara and Bukka.

It should be noted here that in the historiography of south India, the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire has been sometimes represented as an expression of the Hindu resistance to the advancement of Muslim powers.³ This is the truth, because the contemporary inscriptions described them as champions of the Hindu culture, restorers of the social order disturbed by Muslim advancement. The titles used by the members of this empire, are those alluding to their attempt to restore Vedic Religion. For example: Vedamarga sthapanatpara,⁴ vaidika marga sthapanacharya,⁵ vaidika marga prathisthapaka⁶ veda dwijathi parirakshana.⁷ These titles were adopted by the emperors after 1377 A D i.e Harihara II. Before incepting these, which titles they had? What was their importance? It is a matter of curiosity for the researcher. So this research paper aims to collect the titles referred in contemporary inscriptions and try to analyze them with historical background.

II

Vijayanagara Empire flourished in South India as the successors of Hoysala dynasty. It began in 1336 A D and occupied territories which were under the control of Hoysala. For ex. In 1333 A D Myleya nayaka was the feudatory ruler of Hoysala Ballala III, who was ruling Kukkalnadu, but by 1340 A D he had become the subordinate of Harihara I of the vijayanagara empire.⁸ This clears that sangama brothers invaded the Hoysala kingdom and conquered it. In Indian history, it is generally accepted that whenever a king has conquered new territories which belonged to another king, also incepted their titles. It would increase their prestige by and large.⁹ But the Sangama brothers although conquered Hoysala territories did not assume any of their titles or prashasties. They created and incepted their own self-earned titles. This tradition began from 1340 A D. For ex: the Badami inscription of 1340 A D referred Harihara I as with the following series of titles.¹⁰ Sriman Mahamandaleswara, (the prosperous great tributary) Ariraya Vibhada, (punisher of enemy kings) Bhashege Tappuva Rayara Ganda, (Vanquisher of kings who break their word) Purva Paschima Samudradhipathi, (lord of the eastern and western oceans) Sri Veera Hariyappa Vodeyar.(Auspicious hero Hariyappa vodeya). In the earlier inscriptions he had described himself only as Mahamandaleswara¹¹, Manmaharajadhiraja Rajaparneswara.¹² infact, Herman Kulke opines that “ Initially , they all held the typical title of great tributary lord(

Mahamandaleswara) where as this title seems to have remained the only title of Harihara I throughout his life time.”¹³ But one may not accept Kulke, because In the other four inscriptions available Harihara I had assumed the title Maharajadhiraja Rajapameswara also. This imperialistic title was first incepted by him in 1339 A D. Along with this, in other eleven inscriptions the feudatory title of ‘ Mahamandaleswara was also assumed by him. The feudatory title Mahamandaleswara for Harihara I was first appeared in 1327 A D, even then imperialistic title ‘Maharaja’ first appeared in 1339 AD. However it is clear that in most of his inscriptions Harihara I described himself as Mahamandaleswara.

If we scrutinize the titles of Bukka I ,(AD 1357-1377) he seems to be more advanced in the matter of assuming the titles than his elder brother Harihara I (1336-1357 A D). As early as in 1333 A D he incepted the imperialistic title Manmaharajadhiraja Raja Parameswara, who used seven times ¹⁴ in his ruling period. I.e. A D 1333, 1351,1353,1354,1368, 1375, and 1377. This proves that the opinion of Herman Kulke that the imperialistic title “Maharajadiraja Raja parameswara” was first used by Bukka I in the year 1368 A D.¹⁵ can be rejected. Bukka I also used the title Sriman Mahamandaleswara 74 times between 1345-1377 A D like his elder brother. Another speciality about him is, he has assumed the title which is both imperialistic as well as feudatory. For ex. In 1346 A D he assumed the title both “Sriman Mahamandaleswara , Rajadhiraja Parameswara Sri Veera Bukkaraya.”¹⁶

In this title Sriman Mahamandaleswara is used before Rajadhiraja Raja Parameswara. What could be the reason for feudatory title coming ahead of imperialistic title? Probably they felt that their empire had not yet attained that perfect stability. So they merged these titles together. The successors of Bukkaraya I continuously began to use this imperialistic title.

On the basis of these epigraphical evidences, we can conclude that the first two sangama brothers used more feudatory title Mahamandaleswara then imperialistic title Maharajadhiraja Raja Parameswara. This shows that the sangam brothers obviously hesitated to bear imperial title. Vijayanagara Empire began during the decline of Hoysala dynasty. So the first generation rulers displayed some sincerity to Hoysala rulers by assuming feudatory titles. This can be proved by another evidence. For ex. In 1354 A D it is mentioned in an inscription that Bukka ruled from his capital Hosapattana over the kingdom which belongs to the dynasty of the Hoysalas.¹⁷ This shows that the first two rulers of sangama dynasty were though the masters of Hoysala provinces, they describe themselves by feudatory title Mahamandaleswara as a symbol of sincerity.

III

Sangama brothers Harihara and Bukka ruled the empire from 1336 to 1377 A D as Mahamandaleswara. During this tenure they also assumed the titles ‘Ariraya Vibhada’ ‘Bashege Tappuva Rayaraganda’ ‘Purva Paschima Samudradhipathi.’ They started to use these titles from 1340 A D as already mentioned in the previous part. Subsequently they used these titles till the end of 1377 A D.

When we study these titles except Poorva Paschima Samudradhipathi (lord of eastern and western ocean) other titles Ariraya Vibhada,(punisher of enemy kings) Bhasege Tappuva Rayara Ganda (vanquisher of kings who break their word) were also used during Hoysala period with some minor modifications. For ex ‘Bhasege Tappuva Rayara Ganda’ which during Hoysala regime was Bashege Tappuvanakadanegalteya Lenkara Ganda, ¹⁸

which was assumed by Kuvvara Lakshmana, a minister of Ballalla II. It is clear that the same title with some modification was used by Harihara I.

Another title 'Ariraya Vibhada' is also the same. The word Ariraya in this title was already referred in the inscription of 1019 A D as Ariraya Taleya Karavattam, Ariraya Selavam. Ariraya means enemy kings 'Taleya Karavattam' means be headed. It means that "to cut off the head of enemies". In another title the word 'Selvam' means conqueror. So it means "the conqueror of enemy kings" But Harihara I used the word Vibhada along with Ariraya. Vibhada means destroy. So the meaning of this title is destroyer of enemy kings. Thus we can conclude that, the above mentioned two titles were already used by their predecessors with different words of same meaning. But these two emperors used the same titles with a few changes in words.

The title 'Poorva Paschima Samudradhipathi' was a newly created title. It means that the lord of eastern and western ocean. This shows that their empire was extended from the eastern sea to the west. According to Somashekar S Y "This title represents their control over Malabar and coromandal coast."¹⁹ However, did they conquer and extend so much by 1340 A D ? This needs more research.

IV

The first generation rulers of the sangama dynasty not only adopted the titles discussed in previous part, but also created their own self earned title. The most important is "Hinduraya suratrana" According to Philip B Wagoner "In an inscription dated 1352 A D Bukka I (1344-1357 A D) had himself described with "Hinduraya Suratrana" this inscription represents the first documented used by a vijayanagar ruler of this title."²⁰

However this title was already used in 1347 A D by Marappa another brother of Bukka I referred in the Hejje copper plate inscription. It describes him with the following series of titles ²¹ Moovaru rayaraganda,(conqueror of three kings) poorvapara Dakshinarnava deeshah, (lord of the eastern , western and southern oceans) Bhashege tappuva rayara gandaha, (punisher of kings , who break their words) Ariraya manaharah,(destroyer of the pride of fierce hostile kings) Hinduraya Suratalah,(Sultan to Hindu kings) muhammadiraya vibhada (destroyer of muhammadian rulers). Therefore it is clear that this title was first adopted by Marappa not Bukka I.

The title "Hinduraya Suratala or Suratrana" continued in use by not only Sangama rulers but also in Saluva, Tuluva rulers for at least another 250 years until as late as the beginning of 17th century. It seems that the historians did not give much importance to this title. Most historians have glossed lightly over this title, without much comment. However the famous historians like Vasundhara Filliozat, Herman Kulke , Philip B Wagoner try to discuss this title with their own views.

Vasundhara Filliozat writes, "this word (Hinduraya suratrana) presents difficulties neither in Sanskrit nor in Kannada. We must assume Suratrana represents a sanskratization of the muslim title Sultan, a phonetic transliteration independent of any meaning. In the same way Suratalu would represent an equivalent transliteration in Kannada. one thus obtains the more satisfactory meaning of 'Sultan of Hindu kings' a title which would have been given to Bukka by his Muslim neighbours."²²

According to Herman Kulke “the meaning of this unusual title is not clear. But it is quite likely that the early kings of Vijayanagar laid claim to a status among the Hindu rajas equal to that of the Sultan among the muslim rulers. Suratrana was equal to that of the muslim title Sultan. The examples might have been the Sultan of Madurai, (since 1334) Bahamani Sultans (since 1347) rather than the distant Sultan of Delhi.”²³

Philip B Wagoner opines that “the title Hinduraya Suratrana was used in a much more literal and direct sense as a means of proclaiming that the Vijayanagar rulers could actually be considered a sultan not in terms of relative political standing but in concrete terms of substance and style. In particular this title would have served to differentiate its bearer from ordinary Hindu kings by signaling his willingness to participate in the political discourse of Islamic civilization.”²⁴

Sadashiva Athavale said that “Suratrana is a pure Sanskrit word sur means God, trana as an adjective means protected. So Hinduraya Suratrana means, A Hindu king, who is protected by God or who has the armour of god.”²⁵

Among these interpretations three accepted that the word suratrana is equal to that of sultan. The other one rejected it. The rejecter agreed that the Suratrana is a pure Sanskrit word, and he tried to analyze its meaning through the division of the word in to sur and trana is not correct. But the Vijayanagar rulers also used Suratata, Suratana, with Hinduraya instead of Suratrana. So all the three words (Suratata, Suratrana, Suratana) are equal to that of Sultan. They are a Phonetic transliteration in Kannada.

The above mentioned three scholars show difference in their use. Fillozat said that “this title was given by neighbouring Muslim sultans.” “This title was incepted to show that they are equal to Sultan” Herman kulke said. But Wagoner differs than two and said that “they tried to follow the culture of Sultan through the adoption of this title.”

We are known that there was a lot of Persian cultural influence over Indian rulers by the study of Medieval Indian history. There were many local Hindu Kings who used the Persian title ‘sultan’ through the local words known by the Vijayanagar rulers title “Hinduraya Suratrana” It means sultan over Hindurayas. Rana Kumbha of Mewar also called himself a “Hindu Sultan” and even placed the name of Allah in Persian letters on top of his famous victory tower . This shows that the influence of Persian civilization transcended religious and cultural boundaries and the new Indo-Persian civilization emerged in the Indian Sub Continent. During this time ‘Sultan’ was not associated with any particular religion or culture and was used by all. In any society cultural exchange is a natural process.

The Muhammadian Sultans described themselves ‘Maharaja,’ before Vijayanagar emperors called themselves as ‘Hinduraya Suratrana.’ It was justified by 1326 A D stone inscription. It described him as “Maharajadhiraja Sri Suratana Muhammadhah Rajye tatpada padmopa jeevi” ²⁶ On the basis of this inscription the word suratrana was first appeared in 1326 A D and they used both maharaja and sultana.

The Muslims of foreign origin established an empire in north India during 12th century. However as early as in 14th century they tried to expand their power towards south India. After conquering South India, the sultans appointed the officers of foreign origin to newly conquered territories. Those officers settled permanently here, were influenced by local culture and described themselves as ‘Maharaja.’ By calling like this; they tried to

project themselves as Maharaja in their ruling areas. So it seems that they described themselves as “Maharajadhiraja Sri Suratana” This is an example for how one culture has influence over another. In this background, we can see that Muslim sultans were the first to describe themselves as Maharaja sri Suratana and their kingdom was Muhammadian state. It was not a special for their contemporary Vijayanagar Emperors to describe themselves as “Hinduraya Suratana.” So it is clear that the word ‘Suratana’ of the title emerged through the background of give and take policy of culture.

The first two sangama brothers assumed this title Hinduraya suratana at least eleven times during their ruling period. Among Bukkaraya I adopted nine times and Harihara and Marappa each one. The word ‘Suratana’ was used in a much more literal and direct sense not in their terms of relative political standing. In the year 1356 A D Bukkaraya I was described as “Sujana Nirupala Suratana dheera Ariraya vibhada vinodhiraya bhuvana nidhi Bukkaraya.”²⁷

But in this inscription Hinduraya is dropped and suratana is used instead of suratana. Some argued that suratana is a pure Sanskrit word Sur means God trana means Protected and also as a noun it means armour or a helmet.²⁸

Thus the early rulers of Sangama dynasty used this title in the form of ‘Suratana’ Hinduraya suratana, Hinduraya suratana. They adopted this title eleven times. Among once Hinduraya was dropped. The correct meaning of the word Suratana or suratana is not clear. However we agree that Suratana or suratana is the localization of a muslim word sultan. It first appeared in 1326 A D Inscription of Muslim rulers. Both muslim and Hindu rulers assumed this title. They used this title not in relative political standing but in the influence of cultural exchange.

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Pratapa Harihara bhupam Dhanava mardhananamtire meensgadhe pandhiyagadha pthrahirupam Taana pratapa Hariharanenuddarisidano Vedamam Medeniyam (Kannada university Inscription vol 3, Hampi 69, p 58,) this part documented the avatars of Vishnu who is avatara of matsya saved the immersed Vedas under water and in avatara of varaha rescued the earth.
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Chapter - III

The origin of the Nayaka system

When did the Nayaka system start? This is the basic question. Many scholars, researchers have tried to find the root answer for this question. Including As T V Mahalingam, the early researchers like N Venkataramanaiah, Krishnaswamy state that “the Nayakas system was a part of Vijayanagara administration”

N. Venkataramanaiah in his work called “Vijayanagara origin of the city and the Empire” published in the year 1933 opines that “the system of distributing the lands for nayakas was in progress during the first dynasty of Vijayanagara Empire”(Venkataramanaiah 1990 : 108-109)

No one has taken this statement before 1964. When Krishnaswamy published his work “The Tamil country under Vijayanagara” conducting a serious research in his studies and he says that during the rule of Krishnadevaraya the administration of the provinces had a tremendous change. The states which were under Mahamandaleswaras (Governor) started to rule by the nayakas. (Krishna swamy 1964:194) means, according to him the provinces of Vijayanagara Empire were ruled by Mahamandaleswaras in the beginning. During the 16th century the Nayakas occupied that place. He also says that during 14th century when the vijayanagara kings conquered Tamilnadu then they started the Nayakas system. Mahamandaleswaras had control over the Nayakas provinces were a part of the Mahamandaleswara’s region. (Krishnaswamy A. 1964 : 181, 191) But this argument is against to his earlier opinion, as he has opined that nayakas had their own status when compared to mahamandaleswaras.

When Krishnaswamy opined these points in his work it is very clear that he used several inscriptions. But the scholars who did research prior to him were based only on the writings of the Portuguese. Even Venkataramanaiah collected and used the word Nayakas from the inscriptions, but while discussing about the Nayaka system he used less number of contemporary inscriptions. But Krishnaswamy has used more number of inscriptions as the evidences in his works. It has become a great turn in the history of the study of the Nayakas. Even the Japanese historian Khureshima also says “the Nayaka system came into being during the late 15th century and continued till the middle of 17th century. He said this by verifying the Tamil inscriptions where the word “Nayakatanam” has been mentioned. According to him Nayakatanam means distributing the land for nayakas (Khureshima 2002:16).

Hence Krishnaswamy says the system of nayaka was started in the late 14th century, Khureshima says that it started during late 15th century. Like this both of them give different periods. They also opined that the name Nayaka mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions tell us about the beginning of the Nayaka system. So their opinions should be studied very carefully. After verifying the Tamil inscriptions which had the references of the word Nayakatanam that were used by Kharashima we can say its reference is less in the first half of the 14th century. (Kharashima – 2002 :66)

Based on the same method Talbaat studied about the Nayakatana and opines as “after 1490’s the inscriptions had more references of the Nayakatana. (Talbaat 2001 b : 255) He added his voice to Khurashima, saying that this system started in Andhra more or less during the Vijayanagara Empire.

Dr. D.N. Yogeshwarappa who had a research on Karnataka inscriptions opined that “the system of Nayakas was at the peak during the period of Krishnadevaraya”(Yogeeswarappa DN 2011 : P 90-110) Hence these records give us evidence that the Nayakas had emerged prior to the great king Krishnadevaraya. This meant that after the decline of Sangama dynasty in the early 15th century and during the crisis the emperors could have started this system for their supremacy. Even a researcher from Japan by name Ota Nobuhiro says that the nayaka system was in existence during 15th century. (Ota N. 2008 : p 108)

From the above said evidences it is very clear that except Venkataramanaiah’s opinion the Nayakas prevailed during the 15th century. The answer from Venkataramanaiah’s view says that “the nayaka system was in service during the Kakatiya rulers and it was a part of their rule. This system came into being by Prathaparudra II. As per “Prataparudra charite” Prathaparudra assigned the responsibility of safeguarding his capital to 77 vellan Nayakas and divided his kingdom into 77 districts and distributed them to the nayakas. Hence he was able to rule effectively. This information is supported by the Sanskrit Kaluvacheru inscription of 1432. It says that after the death of Prathaparudra, the Kaapayanayaka protected the region of Telangana from the invasion of Mohammadans. Then he received the service of 75 nayakas. This development was because of the queen Rudrambe. Hence no doubt we can say that the last Kakatiya rulers started the Nayaka system. Later the Vijayanagara rulers borrowed this system from them. (N. Venkataramanaiah 1990 : 109-111) The same opinion by Prof. Lakshman Telagavi and he says “the Kakatiya rulers of Andhra Pradesh adopted this system for the first time” The Datti inscription issued by the queen of Kakatiya Rudrambe or Rudrammadevi (1262-1286) supports this. (Lakshman Telagavi 2009 : 26)

Synthia Talbot asserts that Nayakana System is unquestionably the intention of kakathiyas and its first came into practice in Andhra Pradesh. Later the Vijayanagar emperors implemented and emended it. (Talbot 2001 a: 165-166) when Talbot’s opinion is concerned, it suggests that Vijayanagar empire adopted and modified Nayakara System. Hence it should be noticed that it clearly highlights the difference between Nayakara system of Vijayanagar Empire and kakathiyas. Indeed, Talbot says that vavasory areas in the Nayakara system of kakathiya period were very small in amplitude with very few number of villages and sometimes, equal to provincial parts. He has also recognized that even the subordinate officials possessed such vavasory areas (Talbot 2001a:165-166) Hence it can be stated playing its role as an aid both in the amplitude of Nayaka vavasory and Nayaka vassal’s political power limitedly. Because, in the study of the inscriptions of Kakathiyas, savannas and Hoysalas, who ruled prior to Vijayanagar empire, it can be noticed only in the inscriptions of last tings of kakathiyas and the inscriptions of Reddy ancestry who ruled such bounds in Andhra province as predecessors of Kakathiyas that the word ‘Sime’ was used for the provincial sections of a state. On the basis of this, N .Venkataramanaiah says that the administrative section called sime arose in the eastern part of Andhra and later spreaded to the west as Vijayanagar Empire expanded (N.Venkataramanaiah 1990:106-108) Nayakara was adopted besides simes, the provincial section, in Kakathiya Empire. According to Talbot, such simes were not given as Nayakara vavasory areas. But the inscriptions justify that such bounds were given as vavosry areas during the period vijayanagar empire, especially during the reign of Krishnadevaraya (D.N.Yogeeswarappa 2011:92-93)

If we go through Talbot’s research. The inscriptions of Nayakatharas references are in less number in the early 15th century. In 1933, Venkataramanaiah also mentioned in his work about Nayakathanas during sangama period. His references to inscriptions are mentioned below.

1. In 1339 AD, Hoddilapalli Singama Nayaka received Denuvakonda Village for Nayakathana (NDI ii 035)
2. In 1352 A D, Mahasavanthadipathi Balavantha Arikenayaka's son received Anjadunadu for Nayakathana (EC iXDV29)
3. In 1392 A D, Theppada Naganna's Grand son was the Nayaka of Thirumalanathada (EC 10bg15 Tamaga Salluva)
4. In 1412 AD, Somagandanahalli village of Harasunadu belongs to an office of elder mudiya Nayaka. (EC ix An44 Namma Nayakathanage Salluva)
5. In 1418AD, Hammiranadu belongs to an office of Jakemuddenayaka (EC ix Ananthapura and Thamma Nayakathange Salluva)

If we examine the above mentioned references of inscriptions, the area of Nayakathana umbalis was equal to a village or Nadu.

The rulers of Vijayanagara used to give land for the Nayakas. They took care of these provinces and also help as administrative wing for the emperors. Some scholars say that the origin of Nayaka system is from west Asia and they relate it to Muslim rule and to Ikta system. According to Ravi Aravind Palat "The Ikta system was modified to Nayaka system by the Vijyanagara Empire" (Palat 1987 : 174) He also said that it was not necessary to take such grants from ancestral property. (Palat 1987 :175) Khureshima continues by saying "the Nayaka system is compared to islamic rule of Ikta, Soyurgal, or Jagir traditions" (Kharashima 1999 :157) He further says that "the Vijayanagara kingdom followed this tradition and inculcated during their rule"

But in 1996 during the 25th South Asian Conference, wagoner and other two American scholars proved that the Nayaka system has its origin from the Ikta rule and they linked that to the Nayaka system. This gives much evidence for the system of Nayakas being brought to our country.

Wagonar says that the system of Vijayanagara resembles to that of Ikta rule. (wagonar 2000 :318) He adds to the point that the people who gave land revenue and Ikta should also serve the country as a soldier.

They also highlight the system of Kakatiyas as that also resembles the Nayakas and Ikta system. Based on these points, when the Islamic rule began in our country they brought this system to India. And later it might have been adapted to several states and provinces.

The medieval nayaka system was studied by Shishir Kumar Pande. He stated his opinion in his own way "The Nayaka system was started by Vajrahasta deva and Ananthavarma when they ruled Orissa during the later Ganga period. The local Nayakas who received the Nayakatana increased their respect. (Shishirkumar pande 1988 : 105) It is believed that Vajrahastadeva III invited Kutaadi Nayakas son Ganapathi nayaka to Kalinga and gave him the position of Nayaka. This proof has been found in 1037 inscription during the rule of Vajrahastgadeva. Hence according to this inscription, the first ruler of Gangas Vajrahastadeva III started the nayaka system in Kalinga.

But Pande also adds that though it started in Kalinga there is less evidence to prove it. The Nayakas were from local communities. He also doubts that the Nayaka system might have been originated from the Southern Dravidian territories as they spoke Telugu. (Shishir kumar pande-1988:97)

So it is cleared that the Nayaka system was existed in the later Ganga's of Orissa even before Kakatiyas. As the scholars did not give the correct chronology of the Ikta system, it is difficult to say that the Nayaka system is its gift. So as for now from the available evidences and the scholar's opinion we can only opine that later Gangas of Orissa started this system and later Kakatiyas adopted this. Further their immediate successors, the Vijayanagara rulers adopted and as time being revised and developed it. Since how long this opinion will continue is depend upon the future researches.

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The definition of Nayakas System (Reintrospection)

The role of Nayakas is very crucial in the administration of Vijayanagar Empire. The people who had their power and influence in army and politics were called “Nayakas” they took the empire to the great heights especially during the Tuluva rule. There have been many surveys, reports, and discussion as what the word ‘Nayaka’ mean? What is their family background? How was their relationship with the emperors? Etc has not been found the correct answers. So I have tried honestly to understand and bring out the definition and background of this in this article. In addition to this I have tried my best to discuss the rumors and suspects about their rule, so this might help for the future research and could provide a detailed study about them.

As per the records Robert Sewell is the first to undertake studies and investigation about Vijaynagar Empire. His work ‘A forgotten empire “which was published in 1900 And in that he says he has surveyed only the Sanskrit and local inscriptions but also he used Portuguese and the works of Munich as his evidence. He has also translated them in to English. They have given much evidence about Nayakas. According to that “All the lands belonged to the king and from his hand the captain’s hold it. They also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of tributes as royal dues” *(Sewell 1900 Page 379,373)

The word captain in English has meaning like Nayak. Leader, Dalapathi, head etc. As Sewell used the word “Captain” which has also many equivalent words like “Nayakas” amaranayaka etc many researchers has used them in many of their works. The one who used this was N Venkataramanaiah. He utilized the works of Nuniz as their base for research. So he transcribed the word captain to Nayaka and said that they used to hire the land from the empire and they were called Nayakas.*(Venkataramanaiah 2010. P 172)

The word used in Kannada as Nayaka has also been used extensively in Telugu as Nayakas and in Tamil as Nayakattan. Venkataramanaiah has used amaranayaka more to the word Nayaka.He gives reason from the Telugu work “Rayavachakamu”*(Venkataramanaiah 2010. P 171, 172)

He also noted about the word Nayankas being used widely in his work. So there is no much difference between two words

Talbot who identified some difference between Nayak and Amaranayak. He said that the rights of Nayakas were limited within their province where as Amara is forced within the village. But still he also left the discussion opened and confused.* (Talbot 200, P 253)

Subbarayalu another researcher said that amaram means the down trodden nayakas as and his small belongings of land. *(Subbarayalu, 1996, P 77)

As per his meaning Amaram is nothing but (GA½) Grants which is given by Nayakas, and Nayakas means Grants (GA½) received directly from the king. Hence Nayak and Amara Nayak have some difference. Hence there is a need to rethink about the definition of Venkataramanaiah.

The opinion by venkataramanaiah his research is very important to understand the rule of vijayanagar empire and its development.

Many scholars have defined the word Nayak in their own way. I have collected them and have listed according to the chronology.

1. Salatone “the officials under the control of dandaNayakas were called Nayakas” (Salatone 1934 P 267)
2. T V N Mahalingam “the people who received the land from the kings were called Nayakas” (T V Mahalingam 1942, P 195)
3. T D M Derret “The ones who used to train the army persons and who were compared to the captains in the English army are called Nayakas” this word is found during the inscriptions of 11th century. (J D M Derret 1957, P 25)
4. Krishnaswamy “the word Nayaka is the name of head of the army. he should have the land and should assign the word Nayaka to his name”(Krishnaswamy ,1964, P 180)
5. D C Sarkar “Nayakas are the people who had a treaty with the vijayanagar empire to join the army and took the land from them (D C Sarkar, 1966, P 214)
6. Burtonstan “Nayaka is a title given to a common soldier. He should participate in all wars behalf of the king but he has all the independence to execute his rights. (Burton stain, 1980, P 401)
7. Shivanna K S “the persons who owned the land from the emperor. Their position was not inheritable. (Shivanna K S, 1983, P 39)
8. Shishir Kumar Pandey “Nayakas were military people his position was to get from his ability and leadership qualities. (Shishir Kumar Pandey, 1988, P 105)
9. Waganor Phillip”the soldiers were portrayed as amara Nayakas and they were pictured as the army people. They used to get a part of the land and needed to take care of his regiment by giving fixed part to the Vijayanagar Empire. (Waganor Phillip ,1993,P 101-102, 198-200)
10. Nobaru Khurshima “Nayaka means title or he should be a mediator to the king and people or he should attained some territory from his leaders hip. any ability out of these three was called a Nayak “ (Nobaru Khurshima , 2002, P 75 – 85)
11. Ota Nobuhera “the one who worked under the control of the Vijayanagar empire by taking care of a portion of the land was nayaka “(Ota Nobuhera , 2008, P 66)
12. Laxman Telagavi “Nayaka is nothing but the head of the army service. He used to get amaran or permanent land for this means by signing to the treaty to provide the army men , horses, elephants to the army used to get some villages, as gifts. He was called Nayaka. this was called the system of nayankaram. (Laxman Telagavi,2009, P 23)
13. D N Yogeeshwarappa “(2011) to get a land or portion from the king, and ruling a small portion as small ruler under the supreme control of the emperor was Nayak. No one becomes Nayak by adding the word to their name individually. (D N Yogeeshwarappa , 2011 P 90)

The above mentioned definitions have proved that Nayakas were almost related to the army service. But there is still confusion as who should be called Nayaka exactly. Most of the scholars have taken the Portuguese writing of Sewell or Venkataramanaiah work as their base.

So there is no fixed opinion as who should be identified as Nayakas. Some opine about the word being used in their names as Nayaka. But some ignore this totally.

Those who received the land by the kings only come under the name of Nayakas (Ota Nobuhera and D N Yogeeshwarappa) and some say just they added the mere word Nayakas to their name as they rented the land for purpose.(Krishnaswamy A)

The early writing has the base and evidence of only the writings of the Portuguese. Even Venkataramanaiah also borrowed this word from many recorded inscriptions. He has also given less examples of the modern or recent evidences to prove that after him krishnaswamy used the inscriptions to prove this system. This is really a significant in the research. But still there is no clear definition about the word Nayakas because during the vijayanagar rule the one who borrowed the land were called as Nayakas.

But krishnaswamy in contradiction to this takes the evidence from the Tamil inscriptions and uses the word to the individual names and also the one who rented or lived the land from the kings both as the same. So it is not fair to consider both as one. krishnaswamy has used the Nayaka and Nayaka system together in many of his evidences. (Subbarayalu 1996 P 74)

The scholars after him gave importance to the title and opined in their own ways. Among Stain and Nobura are the most prominent.

Burton Stain who gave correct evidences by taking the idea of segmentary state in the parts of south eastern India, and who added the word Nayaka to their name as a major tool to measure. But still it doesn't sound good with the exact meaning he has given to the word.

Stain cleared by taking the evidence of Krishnaswamy who listed the vijayanagara inscriptions and the relationship of kings with Nayakas by saying that they were not courted by the rulers. He also questions the reality of the word captaincy in the Portuguese writings; he says that it might be a translation done by tourists' o f Portugal. (Burton Stain, 1980, P 375, 396- 398)

He gives his opinion by saying that Nayakas were primarily had their own rights locally and they were local magnates. They had a mutual understanding with the army of vijayanagar. The emperors used to keep some strong people as their agents to their provinces. But these people started to rule the localities independently. (Burton Stain, 1980, P 407- 410)

Totally they were obedient to the king. And also they were the part of segmentary state politically.

Generally Burton used to take the evidences of earlier works, but when he started working and moving further he used the word Nayaka system. He might have followed Krishnaswamy.

Steyn argues that Nayakas were obedient to the emperors and they also ruled their provinces independently. But to the question as how did they control them (Nayakas) ?. To this krishnaswamy continues that the governors were appointed to control and take care of these Nayakas" means majority of the Nayakas were non-Brahmins and to take care of these people there used to be a (chief Nayaka) who was a Brahmin to particular part of the areas. (Burton Stain, 1980, P 410 – 13)

To this argument both Steyn and Krishnaswamy had the same opinion, and Steyn for their used a local language as “Durgadanayaka” and agrees with that of Krishnaswamy. (Krishnaswamy called Mahamandaleshwara as the governor)

Nobaru Khurashima after Steyn took the study of Nayaka. Both of them have the same definition, and khurashima calls them as kings who Feudal kings, and he lists out 2 major points.

1. The king handed over the authority to rule so as to make a systematic rule.
2. Nayakas had some authority and rights over the yields that came from the land.(Kharashima, 1992, P 37)

From the above opinions the system of Nayaka was related to the Zamindari system socially. In this the Nayaka took care of the lands and tenures and there by statistically and systematically ruled the province. The study taken by these two people has enlarged the idea of word Nayak. And has contributed to the study of Vijayanagar Empire significantly. It also major importance to the local brought politics and local society with the democratic set up of the center.

The research and study of Steins about the Vijayanagar Empire has surpassed the individual role in the political and has given a complete set up of the community. The Nayakas were also a part of it.(Burton Stain, 1980, P 398-99)

But still the definitions by these people are very large. There is a little difference in the political and social picture.

Stain himself agrees that there is a gap between the political and social scenario about the role of Nayaka. He states that the title of Nayaka was to the man who had no proper bondage with the vijayanagar army.

But Khurashima states there was a gradation among the Nayaka. All of them were not treated the same. So there is still doubt and confusion about the role, their limitations and rule of Nayakas. Even there is also a doubt whether the word Nayaka was used for the gradation of people in their empire? We have already understood that by the base of Portuguese writings we came across the word Nayakas.

The land territory they got, the tenure and period is still unknown properly, hence it is little abrupt to see this system with that of comparison to the European Feudal (G½UÄªÄiÄÄå) system. So we might think that Burton has used this imagination and has compared the Nayakas system with that of European system. (Burton Stain, 1980, P 374)

Though Burton stain verified the sources, failed to justify his opinions about the Nayaka system. According to him there was no effective political system in Vijayanagara then. So the emperors made the nayakas as mediators and appointed as the military agents in different regions. Later such Nayakas established their own power. (Burton Stain 1980, P 408) Against to this Kharashima quotes”Vijayanagara emperors had an effective control over the Nayakas”. He turned his attention towards their states and quotes it as the link between the king and Nayakas. He gave a list of the references of the inscriptions *(Kharashima 2002 P 75)

Ota Nobuhiro and Dr. DN Yogeeshwarappa rejected the Nayaka definitions of Stain and Kharashima by studying their works completely. According to the present author, the Nayaka system propounded by them is different from the Nayaka system. As Stain and Kharashima understands those who had the suffix of the word Nayaka with their individual name became the Nayakas and comes under Nayaka system. If we observe this, we get more number of nayakas than referred in the inscriptions. Is it possible? It is not possible to become Nayakas by adding the word nayaka to their name.

Especially during the time of Tuluva dynasty Nayanka system was running as a systematic political organization. In which the king used to give some Seeme /Area to Nayakatana for the people who are adventurous. So it is good to call the people those who received the land for the Nayakatana as the Nayakas. Some of them who did not have the word Nayaka with their name also in the list of Nayakas. Because, they received the land for Nayakatana by the emperor. *(D N Yogeeshwarappa 2011, P 108,110). So there was no rule to have the title Nayaka, those who received the land for Nayakatana.

In conclusion Krishnaswamy in the year 1964 defined the Nayaka system as those who had the title Nayaka along with their names.

Further Burton Stain, who followed Krishnaswamy, changed the Nayanka System as the Nayaka system in the year 1980.

Further Japanese historian Kharashima accepted the opinion of Krishnaswamy and Burton stain. He divided the definition of Nayaka system, in which it had any one aspect called as Nayaka in the year 2002. Prof. Lakshman Telagavi also followed the same.

But recent researchers Ota Nobuhiro and Dr. D N Yogeeshwarappa did not accept the above opinions. According to them any one becomes Nayaka by merely adding the word Nayaka to their individual name. It was not possible to play a major role in the Vijayanagara for such nayakas. Those who received lands for Nayakatana, by the king are called as the Nayakas. They only come under Nayaka system.

It is not suitable that Burton Stain and Kharashima used the word nayaka in the Nayaka system parallel to the Telugu word Nayanka, the Kannada word Nayakatana and the Tamil word Nayakkatanam as recorded in the Vijayanagara inscriptions. Because in that system all those who had the name Nayaka along with their individual name included. So it is better to call this system as Nayankara / Nayakatana. Earlier studies also mentioned the same.

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Nayakaship and Nayaka Communities

The word Nayaka is not a caste indicator as it is understood now a days. It means a leader or a head. The Sanskrit word Nayaka is found in Bharata Natya Sastra a Sanskrit work, written in 3rd A.D but I have shown in my book (Yogeeswarappa-2009: XXIV) that the word is used as an indicator of power in the political history of Karnataka during the end of the 9th century.

Inscriptions in my work “ Madya kalina karnatakada Palegararu”, that I have given an explanation on the basis of an inscription during Ganga rule where the hero Poggade Nayaka died in a Gograhana war. Later this term was being widely used in the inscriptions of kalyana chalukya’s evidence in the study of chalukyas point out that the Brahmins were appointed in commissions as office supervisors. Such persons were called Niyogins and we can see the term ‘Niyogika vallabha’ in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya king Mangai Yuvaraja of 9th century (JEA III-239.LL-25-26; Kanaka Durga 1983:41) like this, the divisions of Brahmins in to local groups and divisional groups came into existence. Yet, such divisions and groups might have been existed even earlier. We are not certain that this division came in to being practice in the above mentioned period. It is possible that when people other than Brahmins joined the state administration, they were called Nayakas Prof. R Narasimha Rao opines that the Nayaka’s were a different sect. From Shudras who sent themselves against Brahmin representation in state services this term Nayaka’s was not continued to Sudra community (Narasimha Rao-1967:108 Kanaka Durga :41) Kanaka Durga who has given a long list of inscriptions stated that the name with the suffix ‘Nayaks was being used from Maha Mandelesswara’s to servants(Kanaka Durga 1983:41,42)So, Nayaka is not a specific position, it is an indicator of an official position. Many who came under Shudra category in the Varnashrama Dharma had occupied this Nayaka position. Yet we must note with care that the Brahmins also held the same positions Kanaka Durga taking inscriptions as an evidence, shows that Erappa Nayaka the chieftain of Ganga Madhava temple, Raja Nayaka the minister in the court of Racheriya were both Brahmin’s, (Kanaka Durga 1983:42). So, we can conclude that to become the head or leader of caste was not the only qualification and persons belonging to any caste could occupy ‘Nayaka Position’. Kanaka Durga is silent about the qualifications for Nayaka job. Yet, she has shown that since the kakateeya period of 1250 A D, all the available evidense indicate that the Nayaks belong to the farmers of Shudras community and specially from velama, Baliya, Teliga groups (Kanaka Durga -1983:44). Panday, who has done research on the medieval Nayaka system in Orissa has shown from Inscriptions that Nayakas belong to Brahmin, Vysya and kshytriya communities. (Sisir Kumar Pandey 1988:97) Hence, it can be said that leadership was not continued to any one caste or community.

When the Vijayanagar empire, adopted this system in its administration, it also allowed the same Nayaka System which included all communities. The early historian N.Venkata Ramanaiah in his Study on ‘ Nayaka System’ has stated that the state used to select governors from among Brahmana Nayakas At least a few Nayakas were among Brahmins. There is evidence in the Telugu work Amukta Malyada by Krishnadevaraya that the defence of the fort should be given to his relative (Nirupa 2010 :63) Krishnadevaraya used to give the control of local governors and protectors of fort to Brahmins because Brahmins used to show their prime loyalty to the emperor besides, establishing their supremacy in controlling the officials who belong to Kshtriya, Vysya , Shudra community I have detailed account and list of 22 Brahmin Nayaka’s along with their sub castes and names of their provinces to which they were the nayakas in my article Nayaka’s of Krishnadevaraya

period(Yogeewarappa 2011:96,97). It can be concluded that the majority of the leaders of Nayakas were from among the Brahmins. Tolbot also endorses the above point and says that the Brahmins were a powerful community, during the Krishnadevaraya period (Tolbot 2001:P257) We can come to an understanding that though the Brahmins established their supremacy, the Nayaka's or leaders were from all communities.

Burtain Stein has mentioned that Brahmin governors were appointed to control Non-Brahmin Nayakas. It is possible to reduce that Nayakas were not Brahmins and only non-Brahmins were Nayakas and to control them Brahmin governors were appointed. Nayaka System had reached its Zenith during Vijayanagar Empire, specially during Krishnadevaraya period but a doubt arises, from the statement of Burtain Stein, whether existing governor's position was different from Nayaka Position.

We have already seen in the historical writings of Vijayanagar Period, the use of the word Governor instead of the local titles Maha Mandaleswar or Durgada Dannayaka.

Either too true research has not been done whether the use of the title Maha Mandaleswara was only a symbolic title of Honor or it was used for a specific position during the Vijayanagar political system. Yet, some scholars opined that Brahmins were appointed to governor's position. But there is no such example to show that the title Maha Mandaleswara was given to Brahmins. I have authentically pointed out Rachi Raja family which was belonged to the Brahmin community played a prominent role in the local administration during Krishnadevaraya period and Maha Mandaleswara was not a honorary title but a superior office (Yogeewarappa 2011: P-99-100). I have also given examples to show that Maha Mandaleswara's themselves have given Nayaka Position to their subordinates (Yogeewarappa-2009:P376). So, we can say that Maha Mandaleswara (Governors) and Nayakas worked together in discharging assigned duties in the vijayanagar local administration.

Tolbot who has made extensive research in Andhra region points out that during the Sada Shiva raya period 1/3 of 63 Amara Nayakas were belonged to Ara veedu and Nandyala Dynasty (Tolbot 2001:P260) Yet they pointed out their lineage never revealed their religion or community. Lakshman telagavi in his article 77 poligars has accepted that kamma reddy Boya, and Baliya Nayakas were subordinate Nayaka's of vijayanagara empire) (Lakshman Telagavi 1988:P227, NG Ranga 1971:P108) During Krishnadevaraya period the gifted land to Nayakas was owned half by Brahmins and the remaining of half by others. For Ex. Bedara Narasa Nayaka of Kundur Pi, (Para Brahma Sastri 2009: P no 141) Bedara Thippa Nayaka of Basava Konda Province (Para Brahma Sastri 2006 : PVO 142) Pradhana Basavappaiah Who belonged to Yerragolla tribe (Para Shiva Murthy D V 2010:1,No 159)In my study of poligars of medieval period of Karnataka, I have pointed out that majority of Nayakas hailed from telugu or tamil areas. But it is not possible to identify either their community or tribe In Ragavacha Ramu work, 'it is shown that kamma's and reddy's were Nayakas. As far as Amara nayaka's of Karnataka are concerned we can identify four or more communities.

They are Beda, Golla, Lingayata, Gowda, Kuruba and other. In Tamil nadu Kallar and Marwar and in Maharastra Ramoshi, can be identified in this category. It is possible that some of Amara Nayaka's were the relatives of Vijayanagar emperors (Yogeewarappa 2009 P X), So we can conclude that Amara Nayakas did not belong to one particular community, to expand this further Nayaka's were from among many communities like Kshatriya , Baliya, Kamma, Velama, Brahmana, Boya and others

Chapter - IV Tuluva Dynasty (1491 – 1570 CE)

This is known as a third Dynasty which ruled Vijaynagar Empire. The dynasty was named “Tuluva” because they belonged to the Tulu speaking region called “TULUNAD” and their mother tongue was “Tulu” language. They were originally from Karnataka. Tuluva Dynasty was one of the ruling lines of the Vijayanagara Empire of Southern India. It had given five emperors for the Vijaynagar kingdom and was ruled with Vijayanagara capital. Krishna Deva Raya was the most famous ruler of their period. The empire attained its greatest glory of time.

Tuluva kings list:

*Tuluva Narasa Nayaka (1491-1503 CE) who belonged to the Bunt community (Tulu speaking forward class Matrilineal Hindu community belonging to the Nagavanshi Kshatriya, order found mainly in southern coastal Karnataka) was the able commander of the Vijayanagar army under the rule of Saluva Narasimha Deva Raya and the de-facto sovereign during the nominal rule of the sons of Saluva Narasimha.

After the death of King Saluva Narasimha, crown prince Thimma Bhupala was murdered by an army commander. The faithful Narasa Nayaka then crowned the other prince, Narasimha Raya II but retained all administrative powers in order to bring stability to the kingdom. He was called the rakshakarta (protector) and svami (Lord). He held the offices of the senadhipati (commander-in-chief), the mahapradhana (Prime Minister) and the karyakarta (agent) of the king. He successfully kept the Bahamani Sultans and the Gajapatis away from the kingdom and quelled many rebellions by unfaithful chieftains, trying to exert their independence.

***Viranarasimha Raya (1503-1509 CE)** who belonged to the Bunt community became the king of Vijayanagara Empire after the death of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. The younger Krishnadevaraya was the king's half brother.

The death of their capable father Tuluva Narasa Nayaka resulted in feudatories rising in rebellion everywhere. At first, Immadi Narasa Nayaka, the eldest son of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka became king and lasted at the throne for two years before being assassinated. Viranarasimha Raya was next crowned in 1505 and spent all his years fighting rebel warlords.

When on his death bed, legend has it that Viranarasimha Raya requested his minister Saluva Thimma (Thimmarasa) to blind Krishnadevaraya so that his own eight year old son could become king of Vijayanagar. Thimmarasa however brought a pair of she-goat eyes to the king and informed him that he had Krishnadevaraya killed. However there is no record to prove anything but a friendly relationship between the two half brothers and that the coronation of Krishnadevaraya was a smooth one.

***Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1529 CE)**

Sri Krishna Deva Raya was the most famous king of Vijayanagara Empire. He belonged to the Tuluva Bunt community. Presiding over the empire at its zenith, he is regarded

as a hero by Tuluvas, Kannadigas and Telugus, and one of the great kings of India. Emperor Krishna Deva Raya also earned the titles Kannada Rajya Rama Ramana, MooruRayara Ganda (meaning King of three kings) and Andhra Bhoja. Krishna Deva Raya was assisted in administration by the very able Prime Minister Timmarusu, who was revered by the king as a father figure and was responsible for his coronation. Krishna Deva Raya was the son of Nagala Devi and Tuluva NarasaNayaka an army commander under SaluvaNarasimha Deva Raya, who later took control of the reign of the empire to prevent it from disintegration. The king's coronation took place on the birthday of Lord Krishna and his earliest inscription is from July 26, 1509 CE. He built a beautiful suburb near Vijayanagara called Nagalapura in memory of his mother.

***Achyuta Raya (1529-1542 CE)** who belonged to the Bunt community was a ruler of a Vijayanagara Empire of South India. He was the younger brother of Krishna Deva Raya, whom he succeeded in 1529. Upon his death, the succession was disputed. His nephew, Sadashiva, finally became king while yet a child, under the regency of Aliya Rama Raya, a son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya.

The time when Achyuta Raya became the king was by no means a favorable one. The peace and prosperity of the halcyon days under Krishnadevaraya were coming to an end. Feudatories and enemies were waiting for an opportunity to bring down the empire. In addition, Achyuta Raya had to contend with the powerful Aliya Rama Raya, who was competing for the throne.

While the works of Nuniz speak very lowly of Achyuta Raya as being a king given to vices and cruelty, there is enough evidence to prove that the king was indeed noteworthy in his own right and fought hard to keep the prosperity of the kingdom alive. He had been handpicked by Krishnadevaraya himself as an able successor.

Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur invaded and captured the Raichur doab. However the Gajapati's of Orissa and QuliQutub Shah of Golconda were defeated and pushed back. Now Achyuta Raya along with his general Salakaraju Tirumala went on a southern campaign to bring the chiefs of Travancore and Ummatur under control. This they did successfully. Then they invaded the doab north of Tungabhadra and recaptured the forts of Raichur and Mudgal.

The two Sanskrit works Achyutabhyudayam and Varadambikapa- rinayam describe the king's life and rule in detail.

Throughout his rule, Achyuta Raya had to contend with the manipulations of Rama Raya who in his powerful capacity had replaced many of the faithful servants of the Kingdom in high ranking positions with men of his own favour. On more than one occasion the Bahamani Sultans were brought in to play the role of mediator between the king and Aliya Rama Raya in the game of power sharing. This would further weaken the kingdom. In 1542 Aliya Rama Raya imprisoned Achyuta Raya in a coup and made Sadasiva Raya the new regent. Aliya Rama Raya became the de-facto king and let very little governance in the hands of Sadasiva Raya.

The Tiruvengalanatha Temple was built at Vijayanagara during his reign. It has become popularly known by his name as Achyutaraya Temple, rather than by the name of the deity Lord Venkateshwara to whom the temple was dedicated.

***Sadashiva Raya (1542-1570)** who belonged to the Bunt community was a ruler of the Vijayanagara Empire, a powerful South Indian empire based in the Deccan in 16th century India.

When the Vijayannagara ruler, Achyuta Raya died in AD 1541, his son, Venkatadri, succeeded him. He was a weak ruler and six months later his cousin, Sadasiva, became king. Sadasiva Raya was controlled by his minister Rama Raya, the de facto king, who restored the Vijayanagaraempire's power which had diminished after the rule of Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya's strategy was to play the Deccan Sultanates against each other by first allying with one and then another.

A study of Nayakatana in the Krishnadevaraya period in the 16th century

The vijayanagar empire occupied very important position in medieval south indian History. It extended to all the three major language regions of south India, and ruled by four royal dynasties. Among them Tuluva is very important. Tuluva Krishnadevaraya took this empire to zenith of power during the short term of only twenty years (1509-1529) of his administration. For this, his Nayankara system was responsible. In this field, the research have already pointed out that the Nayakas played a significant role in the political and military system of vijayanagar empire. But a research on Nayaka does not clearly mentions about their basic points. Emphasizing this iam here an attempt to answer it, on the basis of contemporary inscriptions. So I define “one who received the land or sirmai from the king through Nayakatana and in his province ruled like little kings known as Nayakas. Those who suffixed the honorific title of Nayaka to their personal names were not considered as Nayakas.”

Krishnadevarayas inscription mentions that there were 68 Nayakatana in all the three states of Andra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu distributed to 55 Nayakas. Among Brahmins were in upperhand. The others also had the Nayakatana. The powerful families who received Nayakatana from the king were the Timmarasu in Karnataka and Mallappa nayaka in Tamilnadu. Majority of the individuals who held Nayakatana assumed different positions in administration. It was not a compulsory for a person to hold Nayakatana to have a Nayaka title in his name. So the Nayakas were ruling mediators between King and Subjects.

It is a known fact that the study of Nayakas was always a theme of Research for the historians from time to time. The Researchers have already pointed out that Nayakas played a significant role in the political and military system of Vijayanagar empire. But, on the basis of the contemporary inscriptions and other primary documents; A research on Nayakas is done qualitatively and quantitatively. Although the scholars have not yet reached at consensus about the relationship of the Nayaka with the king, family background and economic independence., There is no consensus amongst scholars even on such a basic point as the definition of nayakas namely who should be identified as Nayakas. Generally speaking it is seen that those who suffixed the honorific title of Nayaka to their personal names have been considered as Nayakas. In this background it is identified that in History we could find more Nayakas than the Inscription. is it possible to have so many Nayakas in the Vijayanagar kingdom? What were their role and responsibilities in administration? This question is still unanswered. Emphasizing Krishnadevaraya’s rule in mind, I am here in an attempt to answer it. Before this I would like to throw light on the various interpretation by different scholars to the “Nayaka”.

1. According to D.C. cirar “one who received the land from Vijayanagar Emperors on the condition of offering military service is Nayakas” (Cirar D C 1966:214)
2. J.D.M. Derrett (on the basis of 11th century inscriptions) compare the Nayakas with British captains implying military service (*Derrett JDM 1957:25*).
3. In the opinion of Monear Williams “Nayaka is one who had the Leadership of a particular army and the most dignified person.” (*Williams monier 2005:536*)

4. S.N. Rangaraju while dealing with the Ganga inscriptions states on the basis of the Sukra Niti that the officer who bears the title nayaka is the head of a group of Ten villages and used to get a kola measures of the land from the state.”(*Rangaraju SN 1998:324,325.*)
5. According to A. Krishnaswamy “Nayaka was the name of the military Chief, who received land from the king.”(*Krishnaswamy A 1964:180*)
6. T.V. Mahalingam said that “one who had been given land by the king was considered as Nayaka.” (*Mahalingam TV 1969:195*)
7. According to Burtain stein Nayaka is the generalised designation of apowerful warrior who at times associated with the military expedition of kings, but who at all times was a territorial magnate in his own right.(*Stein B 1980:408*)
8. According to Noburo Kharoshima Nayaka was one who possessed any of the following three qualifications. 1) Nayaka title 2) His own territory referred as Nayakkattanam or Sirmai 3) His status as an agent of the king.(*Kharashima N 2002:75to85*)
9. In the opinion of Ota Nobuhiro “one who held the land from the king through Nayakatana was called Nayaka.”(*Ota N 2008:66;103to129*)
10. Lakshman Telagavi said that “basically Nayaka offered military service to the king. For this he received permanent umbali of land.”(*Lakshman telagavi 2009:23*)

The research on Nayaka studies including Krishnaswamy accepted the above broader meaning definitions. Although the scholars do not divide the definition like Noburo Kharasima, all scholars have not accepted him.

During the Vijayanagara empire especially during the Tuluva period Nayankara system worked as systematic political administration. The king grants sirmai through Nayakatana for some brave men. Thus one who held the land from the king through Nayakatana were considered as Nayaka. The title of Nayaka with their personal names were not enough; Who held the land through Nayakatana became Nayakas. Similarly some have who had the title of Nayaka also become Nayaka. Therefore “One who received the land or sirmai from the king through Nayakatana and in his province ruled like little kings known as Nayaka.” Those who suffixed the honorific title of Nayaka to their personal names were not considered as Nayakas.

The Nayakas worked as highest land revenue officers in the Vijayanagar empire so I here by would like to throw light on these Nayakas, who held land through Nayakatana during the most famous ruler Krishnadevaraya of the Tuluva dynasty. They are the subject of my research.

Krishnadevaraya’s Empire was extended to all the three major language regions of South India. So to have a research on him, one should have the knowledge of all the three languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada. In addition to this he had the knowledge of sanskrit also. Although the number of Research have been done on his achievements. But no study was conducted about Nayakas who held responsibility of Administrative Machinery. From this point of view I have taken this issue as my subject of study. I have collected sources pertaining to Krishnadevaraya’s period only from the following references.

1. *Krishnadevaraya shasana samputa* (Vol. 1)-2010 (Edi) D.V. Paramashivamurthy, Prasaranga Kannada Uni. Hampi

- (as Kri.Sha.Sam In this article-is referred)
2. *Inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers-vol IV* Telugu inscriptions (Edi) P.V. Parabrahma Sastry-2009 I.C.H.R Bangalore
(I have referred as I.V.R.)
 3. *A concordance of Nayaks-Karashima-2002*, Oxford Uni. Press, Delhi.
 4. *South Indian inscriptions*, 26 Vol, New Delhi Archaeological Survey of India 1890-1990 (This is used SII in the article)
 5. *Annual report on Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India (Referred as AR)

Krishnadevaraya in his extraordinary rule of 20 years had conquered and controlled entire South India. The whole land of his empire was granted to his loyalists through Nayakatana. These are referred as Nayakatana in Kannada inscriptions, Nayakkattanam in Tamil inscriptions and Nayamkara in Telugu inscriptions. The basic meaning of this is “Nayakatva”. It can be understood that Krishnadevaraya in his administration, the responsibility of the land was handed over to the most loyal and brave persons through Nayakatana. I have listed all the Nayakas at the end of this article. By this it can be analysed that “Nayakatana worked as corner stone of administrative system in the Krishnadevaraya’s rule.” This can be shown in this table.

Nayakatana in chronological order				
Period	Andra Pradesh	Karnataka	Tamilnadu	Total
1509-1513 AD	04	04	03	11
1514-1518	04	05	-	09
1519-1523	06	09	08	23
1524-1530	12	10	03	25
Total	26	28	14	68

The Number of sime included to Nayakatana :

From the list given above we can know that in the first ten years of rule (1509-1518 AD) Krishnadevaraya granted land through Nayakatana 20 times. At the end of his rule (1519-1530) he granted 48 times in all the three states. By considering inscriptions given in the appendix, the name of the sime for Nayakatana referred many times, considered for only once; The first ten years Krishnadevaraya. granted 20 simes through Nayakatana (1509-1518 AD) In the second half of his rule 35. Therefore it can be known from inscriptions, there were 55 ‘sime’s in Andhra, Tamilnadu and Karnataka during the rule of Krishnadevaraya. Among them 17 were in Andra 24 in Karnataka and 14 in Tamilnadu. They are as follows.

Sime’s during Krishnadevaraya

1. Karnataka State

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 1. Raminayakanahalli | 9. Solur | 17. Kukkalanadu |
| 2. Neluvagilu | 10. Jajur | 18. Vastare |
| 3. Channapattana | 11. Mugur | 19. Ravudakundi |
| 4. Terakanambi | 12. Koppana | 20. Tekala |
| 5. Malenahalli | 13. Dadiga | 21. Jagalur |
| 6. Malebennore | 14. Gonibeedu | 22. Hosavadastala |
| 7. Lingadhahalli | 15. Ummattur | 23. Sri Rangapattana |
| 8. Hassan | 16. Kote | 24. Sindhagatta |

2. Tamilnadu State

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Manjinda Pennagara | 8. Dindugal |
| 2. Padaveedu | 9. Ilaiyattakkudi |
| 3. Maladu | 10. Kunnarattur |
| 4. Tiruchinapalli | 11. Muluvayi |
| 5. Eraivanaravoor | 12. Kavilechervina |
| 6. Karvachi | 13. Amarasirmai |
| 7. Bhuvaneikaveerapattana | 14. Puvirundavalli |

3. Andrapradesh State

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Panem | 7. Kondaveeti | 13. Addanki |
| 2. Potladurti | 8. Venukonda | 14. Mosali Madagu |
| 3. Gutti | 9. Kundurpi | 15. Maratur |
| 4. Poluri | 10. Basavakonda | 16. Adavani Durga |
| 5. Nagarjunakonda | 11. Alampur | |
| 6. Gandikota | 12. Sakali | |

The Number of Individuals received Nayakatana

By considering the Krishnadevaraya's inscriptions, many a times, a person having the same name had been given Nayakatana in different territories. When examined meticulously it is identified that a person may be same or different, for which his father name was used for identification.

For Ex.

1. Saluva Govinda referred six times from 1513 to 1522(*See appendix S No 10, 12, 18,23,32,34.*)
2. Triyambakarasa two times (*Appendix S.No. 13, 43*)
3. Bukkaraju Timmaraju two times (*Appendix S.No. 19, 27*)
4. Timmappa Nayaka three times (*Appendix S.No. 21, 22, 26*)
5. Dhemarasaiah two times (*Appendix S.No. 49, 51*)
6. Viravane vesaiyalya devar two times (*Appendix S.No. 37, 52*)
7. Krishnaraya Nayaka two times (*Appendix S.No. 58, 59*)
8. Rayasam Ayyapparasu two times (*Appendix S.No. 62, 64*)

Hence it is clear that eight persons with same name are mentioned for 21 times in the inscriptions. Therefore in the mentioned 68 simes, 8 persons had been placed for 21 times. By accounting this $(68-21+8=55)$ I noticed that totally 55 persons had received Nayakatana. Hence we can conclude that Krishnadevaraya, during the rule of his 20 years granted 55 simes to 55 loyal persons through Nayakatana. The number may also differ in the future, depending upon the discovery of new inscriptions.

Nayakatana : Caste groups

Nayakas were the heads, were given land or sime by the ruler through Nayakatana, Nayaka is not the name of the particular community persons who suffixed the title of Nayaka with their name is evidenced from inscription. By considering Krishnadevaraya's inscription, who granted Nayakatana for a person of different communities. Among most of them were Brahmins. Krishnadevaraya in his Amukta Malyada said that "The responsibility of the security of the fort and defence had to be given to the close relatives."*(Nirupama N 2010:63)* He had given the provincial governorship and fort commandership to the Brahmins only.

Because it was stated that Brahmins would be sincere first to their king and also they would be the first warriors to fight against the Kshatriya, Sudra, Beda for the sake of their kings. Rangaswamy Saraswathi also mentioned the same in his article. (*Rangaswamy saraswati 1925:72*)

“The king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as master of his fortress. Such Brahmins are attached to himself are learned in many sciences and arts are addicted to dharma are heroic...”

It can be clearly known that Brahmins dominated over others in acquiring the Nayakatana.

Sl.No.	Name	Gotra	Sime
1.	Mahamandalaeswara Rachi Raju (Andrapradesh)	Koundinya Gotra	Potla Durti
2.	Saluva Govindaraju	Koundinya Gotra	Terakanambi, Gutti
3.	Triyambakarasa	Vasistha Gothra	Malenahalli (Karnataka)
4.	Dhananjayaraya Wodeya	Atreya Gothra	Hassan
5.	Pedasingama Nayaka	Hariti Gothra (Andhra)	Nagarjunakonda
6.	Apparasaiah Son in law of	Solur (Karnataka)	Saluva Timmarasa
7.	Bhandarada Timmapaiah		Koppala (Karnataka)
8.	Nadendla Gopaiah	Koushik Gothra	Kondaveeti (Andra)
9.	Sarvaiah deva	Kasyapa Gothra	Vinukonda (Andra)
10.	Kondamarasa	Koundinya Gothra	Dindugal (T.N.)
11.	Visanna Rahuta	Kashyapa Gothra (Karnataka)	Kavilechervina
12.	Devarasaiah	Gargeya Gothra	Gandikote (Andra)
13.	Rananatha Rahuta	Kasyapa Gothra	Jagalur (Karnataka)
14.	Rayasada Ayyappa	Koundinya Gothra	Jagalur (Karna)
15.	Krishnaraya Nayaka	Kasyapa Gothra	Srirangapatna (Karnataka)
16.	Bhogaiah deva Maha arasu	Atreya Gotra	Srirangapatna (Karnataka)
17.	Rayasam Ayyapparasu	Bharadwaja Gothra	Addanki (Andra)
18.	Avasaram Chandra Shekaraiah	-	Mosali Madagu (Andra)
19.	Basvappaiah	Marita Gotra	Alampura (Andra)
20.	Dixitaiah	-	Alampura (Andra)
21.	Yallammarasuvaiah	Srivatsa Gothra	Sakali (Andra)
22.	Peddaraju	Vasisthta Gothra	Karvachi (T.N.)

In this way Brahmins acquired most of the Nayakatana granted by Krishnadevaraya it may also increase. Like the Brahmins Narasanayaka and Tippanayaka of Beda community held Kundarpi and Basavakonda sime of Andrapradesh respectively Pradhana Basavappaiah of Kote sime belonged to yarragolla caste. The details of the others are not mentioned in the inscriptions.

INFLUENTIAL FAMILY

It was Rachiraja's family which was influenced by acquiring Nayakatana from Krishnadevaraya. His father was Yarragaddamaiah Maharaju. (*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num 84*) The Maharaja in their name itself identified them to be the kings family. Rachiraja was also the Mahamandaleswara in 1513 AD and had Nayakatana of potludurti sime from Krishnadevaraya. (*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num 84*). He had two sons. Saluva Timmarasu was the elder son and the younger was saluva Govindaraja or Govindaiah. Their family was also strong during the saluva dynasty. During the rule of Tuluva Vira Narasimha; Saluva

Timmarasu, son of Rachiraja was the Prime Minister (Maha Pradhana) of Vijayanagar even though he, with his influence acquired the Nayakatana of Gutti State from Krishnadevaraya in 1509AD (*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num 72*) Krishnadevaraya had conquered the Kondaveedu and had given it to the incharge of Saluva Timmarasu after gave it to the statehood.(*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num 128*). Similarly in 1517 AD he had received the mulukinadu sime from the Raya,(*Parabrahma sastry 2009:num 70*,) The inscriptions refer that Rayasada Kondamarasu son of Saluva Timmarasu had the Nayakatana of Kundurpi sime in 1512.(*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010:Num 296*). Poddila sime in 1516 (*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num 98*) and administered the Kondapalli and Kondaveedu state (*Parabrahma sastry 2009:Num99*). It was very clear that the Prime Minister Timmarasu was very influential to the king to appoint his own son to the surrounding states of his sime. The same Kondamarasa was ruling at Dindigal through Nayakatana in 1522 referred in inscription (*S.I.I.vol v: Num 292*) By this it clearly known that he was transferred from Kondaveedu to Dindigal.

Rayasa Kondamarasa had a son by name Rayasada Ayyapparasu. He ruled the Gondikote Sime.(*Parabrahmasastry 2009: Num 162*) and Addanki Sime of Kondaveeti state (*Parabrahmasastry 2009 : Num 163*) through Nayakatana in 1529 AD. We can conlude that Saluva Timmarasu, Mahapradhana of Krishnadevaraya with his influence and loyalty to the emperor was able to appoint his son and grand son at most suitable position. Not only this, he himself was the Prime Minister and his son and grandson were Rayasada officers. (*Parabrahmasastry 2009 : Num 163*).

In this way Saluva Timmarasu was able to give the responsibility of Rayasadha office to his son and grand son through which he sent informations throughout the state and it is evident that by this all the political power was restricted to one family which was very loyal and intimate to the emperor.

Saluva Timmarasu's son-in-law Apparasaiah was ruling at soluru sime through Nayakatana in 1520. (*Parabrahmasastry 2009:Num 134*) His distant relative Nadendla Gopa was the minister who held the Nayakatana of Kondaveeti sime. (*Parabrahmasastry 2009:Num 139*)

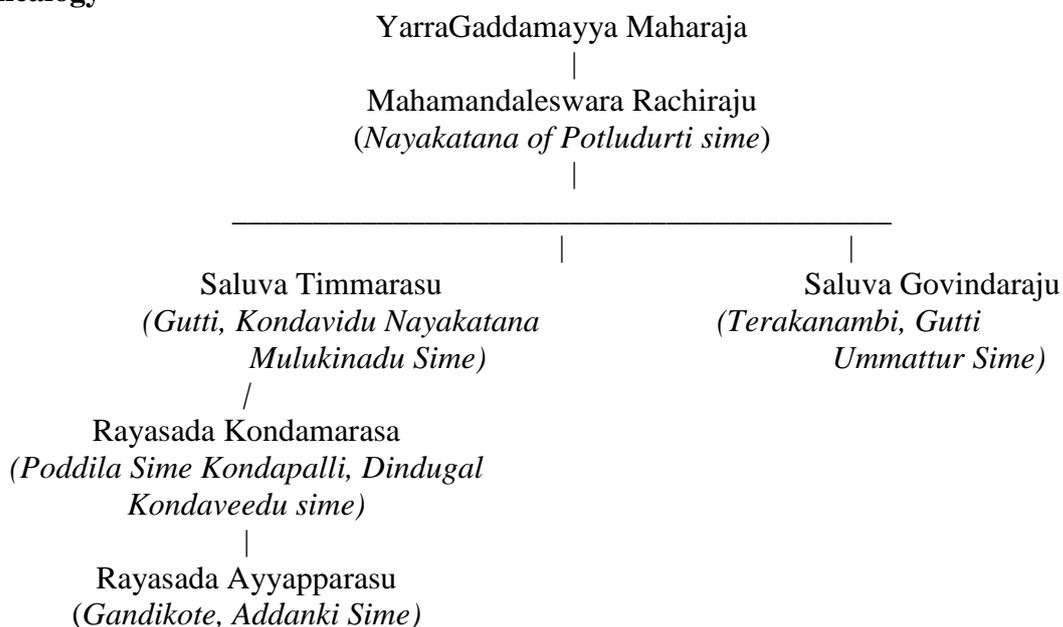
Saluva Timmarasu also had an able and eminent younger brother by name Saluva Govindaraja who held the Nayakatana of Terakanambi sime in 1513 AD.(*Parabrahmasastry 2009:Num 48*) It was when Saluva Timmarasu was shifted from Gutti state to Kondaveedu, he was also given the Nayakatana of Gutti sime from the emperor in 1514.(*Parabrahmasastry 2009:Num 85*) But Saluva Govinda did not vacate the Terakanambi sime. In addition to this he also acquired the Ummattur state in 1516 AD. By this time he had become an important (court shiromani) head jewel of court of Krishnadevaraya.(*Paramashivamurthy 2010:Num 86*) It is said that he was also known as the prime minister of Krishnadevaraya in 1519 AD and had the responsibility of Ummatturu sime.(*Paramashivamurthy 2010:Num 118*)

Most of the family members of Saluva Timmarasu are staying at the capital where he looked after the administration of sime's of Nayakatana granted by the king.

For example: The certain gaudas, like Marasa Gauda and Virayya Gauda went to Vijayanagar and met the king Krishnaraya and others like saluva Timmarasayya and Govindarajayya”(E C Vol IV (New series): Hanur 83)

Based on these evidences, it was possible to say that they had their office at Vijayanagar. It can be concluded that “Saluva Govindaraja held the Nayakatana of vast territories of Terakanambi, Ummattur and Gutti and administered all these from Vijayanagar. When required, he visited his territories like that of the Modern ministers. These three states had very fertile land and fetched him good income. Gutti was known for its mines where as ummattur and Terakanambi states were on the bank of the river Kaveri . it can also be said that the family members of saluva Timmarasu held the Nayakatana of fertile lands during Krishnadevaraya. Saluva Govindaraja when promoted to the post of Mahapradani, it is said that he gave up the Nayakatana granted by Krishnadevaraya, because in 1526 AD Gowrava Narasappa. (*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010 : Num 207*) from Ummattur MahaMandaleswara Anivarana Simhavaru Singaraiyyanagarru ruled Gutti in 1531 AD.(*Parabrahmasastry 2009: num 182*) By this, it can be said that during Krishnadevaraya’s rule Nayakatana of sime was not hereditary.

Genealogy



Mahamandaleswara Rachiraju and his ancestors were Telugu Niyogi Brahmins who raised from Telugu region. They ruled the present Kadapa District. During the Tuluva dynasty, his eldest son Saluva Timmarasa acquired a very noble position in the kingdom and had the Nayakatana in Telugu regions. His son and grandson were able to get the high position in Rayasa office and had the Nayakatana in the present Kadapa, Hindupura and prakasam District, through that they showed their favour towards Telugu language. Even though saluva Govindaraju had the Nayakatana in Karnataka, he did not leave Gutti in Andrapradesh. Therefore by all these Telugu officers, during Tuluva dynasty Telugu language got prominence and was able to cherish.

Many of the persons who had Nayakatana were influential persons in Vijayanagar administration. They had the prestigious positions like that of Mahamandaleswara. Rayasa, Rahuta, Bhokkasavararu, Pradhanas, Mahapradhana, Avasaram as mentioned below.

1. Mahapradhani

- (a) Saluva Timmarasu - Gutti, Kondaveedu, Mulukinadu sime
- (b) Saluva Govindaraju - Terakanambi, Gutti, Ummatturu

2. Mahamandaleswara
 - (a) Rachiraju - Potla durti sime
 - (b) Sarvaiah deva konda Maharaju - Vinukonda sime
 - (c) Bhogaiah deva Maha Arasu - Sri Rangapattana sime
 - (d) Bukkaraju - Thimmaraju - Ganjikunta sime
3. Karyake Kartaru
 - 1 Chakravarti - Denkana Kote
4. Rayasadavaru
 - (a) Rayasam Ayyapparasu - Gandikote sime
 - (b) Rayasam Ayyappa - Addanki sime
 - (c) Kondamarasa - Dindugal, Doddila sime, Kondapalli Kondaveedu
5. Ravutaru
 - (a) Vittahala Ravuta - Tekala Sime
 - (b) Visanna Ravuta - Kavile chervina sime of Uchchangi vente
 - (c) Ranganatha Ravutha - Jagalur sime
6. Bhokkasadavaru
 - (a) Peddi Nayak - Alampura sime
 - (b) Vakiti Peddi Nayanigaru - Panem sime
 - (c) Bhandarada Thimmappaiah - Koppanada sime
 - (d) Honnappa Nayaka - Panem sime
7. Pradhana
 - (a) Mallarasa - Jajur sime
 - (b) Basavappaiah - Kote sime (H.D. Kote)
8. Avasaram
 - (a) Chandrasekaraiah - Mosali Madagu sime
 - (b) Demarasaiah - Ummatturu Sime

The above mentioned persons had different responsible positions in the administration Mahapradhani had direct contact with the emperor. The position Karyakekarta is very difficult to explain. They were very much like the private secretaries. who performed almost all the responsibilities of the king. For ex. Saluva Timmarasu was the Karyakekarta of Krishnadevaraya (*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010 : No. 134*) Timmaraya Chakravarti of Tipparasa (*SII-VII No. 15*) Uligadha MadeNayaka (*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010. - No. 89*) Pradhana Mallarasa(*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010: No 100*) of Krishnadevaraya's Karyakekarta.

During the period of Krishnadevaraya Rayasam office was handled by loyal senior officers. Rayasa literally means a written message, a communication or a letter sent through somebody. In epigraphical parlance, it meant a royal order or communication from an authority. A person incharge of managing or regulating such communication was known as Rayasam. It was in this office saluva Thimmarasu's son Kondamarasa, grandson Ayyapparasu rendered their service. This denoted the sincerity of the family to the king for which they were given such trust worthy positions. The persons who hold Nayakatana, tried to develop good relationship with the king. To grab the attention of the king they used to grant some gifts of land to the temples or brahmanas. The gift was made for the religious merit of the king. For Ex. : During Krishnadevaraya, among the 55 Nayakas referred in inscriptions, 26 of them made donations for the religious merit of the king. It is clearly shown that they received the land through Nayakatana develop political relationship with him, some parts of that gift to the temple in the name of the king enhanced their relationship. Through this gesture they tried to continue to remain in the power.

The inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya do not give any details about role and responsibilities of Nayakas. Paes who visited Vijayanagar in 1520 AD gave a details. According to him (*Vivek rai 2005: 88*) “The Nayakas were the heads of the soldiers and they were the Manneayas. They held the villages, cities, towns of the kingdom. They were the local kings. Among them they had the income of 1 lakh to 1.5 crore pardhaohs. As each one had revenue.so the king fixed for him the number of Troops which he must maintain in Foot, horse and elephants. Whenever they may be called out, and where ever they may have to go.”

According to Nuniz “These Nayakas were tenants, who received land from the king. They not only possessed land they also had to pay taxes. Every year they had to pay 6 lakhs as tenancy tax. It is said that the fields yielded an income of 120 lakhs. Out of the total yield that 60 lakhs were remitted to royal treasury and from the remaining amount they maintained the army.”(*Vivek rai 2005:186*) Nuniz continued “All the lands belonged to the king and from his hand the captains held it.” “The kingdom of Bisnaga was divided between more than 200 captains who were all heathen.”(*Vivek rai 2005:186*)

Though Paes and Nuniz writings give us some information about functions of the Nayamkara system the inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya do not give any details of the number of soldiers supplied to the state or how much tax remitted to the royal treasury. Nuniz in his travelogue mentions that “The total income from the Nayakas land was 45,36,000 gold pardhos out of that the share of the state was 15,08,000 gold pardaos.”(*Vivek rai 2005: 186*)

On its basis, therefore we can say that Krishnadevaraya collected 30% of the total amount from Nayaka lands. The remaining amount was spent by Nayakas. Every year the king fixed the land revenue of Nayakas in the month of September.

The Activities of Nayakas :

By considering Krishnadevaraya’s inscriptions, the persons who received the land through Nayakatana, they were not only the collectors of the tax imposed by the government but also spent some portions of it for the purpose of giving donations for public works. They thought that donation led to Aparigraha. According to them giving donations to Brahmanas, temples and mathas were very pious. The temples being the religious centre also gave way for the cultural life for the people. The temple activities like Pooja, festivals, regular rituals and repairs needed financial assistance. So the upper classes experimanted a weapon of Dharma to collect money from the people since ancient times. In this background, the Nayaka’s during Krishnadevaraya involved in the activity of giving donation as community leaders as referred in inscriptions.

The inscriptions mention that there were 68 Nayakatana during Krishnadevaraya, majority of them donated inscriptions. Among which 54 grants were donated to temples, 8 for the establishment of Agraharas, 2 for the mathas and remaining for individuals.

Among these donations 25 gifts were donated for the religious merit of the king Krishnadevaraya. The Brahmin community Nayakas who administered through Nayakatana gifted 22 donation to the temples for daily offerings to God. 6 Gifts in the name of God, 6 for Brahmin agraharas for the religious merit of the king Krishnadevaraya. The remaining 7 were given to the temple without referring to any name of the individuals. (*See the details in the Appendix*). The donations included Land village income and tax. From this flow income to the temples by donating to the Agrahara, non agricultural classes also acquired land

ownership. This activity upheld the varnasramadharma and also spread them. The donations were linked with the communication between the rulers and the ruled. The Nayakas paid not only annual tribute to the king but also maintained an army. In addition to that, he involved in the activities of donations. So they need much money. According to Nuniz “The common people were subjected to a lot of harassment by the Nayakas who owned the land.(*Vivek rai 2005: 175*) This statement of Nuniz is by and large true.

There were 55 persons who received sime for Nayakatana mentioned in Krishnadevaraya’s inscriptions. Some of them did not get Nayakatana directly from the king; but received from stronger or higher status person, their number is very limited for ex:

1. Pedda singama Nayaka received Nagarjuna Konda sime for Nayakatana by Vakiti Timmappa Nayaka in 1518 AD.
2. Maha Mandaleswara Sarvaiah deva Koda Maharaja received Vinukonda sime for Nayakatana by Mahapradhani Saluva Timmarasu in 1522 AD.
3. Andambar Kandaiyan Papayyar received Amara sirme Nayakatana from Swami veera narasingaraya in 1524 AD.
4. Siddavatam Yellapparasuvaiah was given Nayakatana of the Sakali Sime from Rayasada Ayyapparasu in 1529 AD.

In this way the land was granted for Nayakatana only after the consent of the king. Therefore the donor first mentioned the name of Krishnadevaraya. Everybody had not the authority of empowering Nayakatana. They had the powerful post in the kings court or he was very strong in his province.

For Ex:

- (1) Saluva Timmarasu was the Prime Minister of the Vijayanagar Empire;
- (2) His grandson Rayasada Ayyapparasu was the higher officer in the Rayasada office, both had direct contact with the king Krishnadevaraya.
- (3) If Swami Veera Narasingaraya was very influential person in Tamilnadu, whereas Vakiti Timmappa Nayaka in Andrapradesh.

Krishnadevaraya had given more than one sime for Nayakatana to some persons For ex Saluva Timmarasa’s younger brother Saluva Govindaraja received Terakanambi Gutti, Ummattur sime for Nayakatana and administered it. Similarly Timmappa Nayaka had also received three sime’s., who was the chief vassal of the palace and also the son of Mallappa Nayaka. He had a brother by name Chinnappa Nayaka.

Timmappa Nayaka had received the Iravainavur sime of the Rishivandyam region for Nayakatana in 1519 AD by Krishnadevaraya through that he became separate Nayaka(*A R 1943-44:110*) In the same year he also received Tiruchinapalli sime(*A R 1936-37:105*) Thus both the sime’s came under his Nayakatana. In the year 1520 AD he had also the Nayakatana of Bhuvanaikaveera Pattana Sime (*A R 1937-38:494*) In the year 1521 he remitted the taxes of this sime to the royal treasury, the details are in the Epigraph.

In this way it is possible to say that, “Mallappa Nayaka was responsible for his son Timmappa Nayaka to hold Nayakatana of 3 provinces immediately.” Therefore the two families viz saluva Timmarasu and Mallappa Nayaka, were very predominant and influential during Krishnadevaraya’s rule.

Transferability of the Nayakas

The Nayakas were transferred from one place to another during Krishnadevaraya. But this transfer was very less. For ex: In the year 1515 AD Triyambakarasa held the Nayakatana of Malenahalli Sime of Shimoga District, where as in 1523 he held the Nayakatana of Muluvayi sime in Salem District of Tamilnadu state. Because Krishnadevaraya donated Malenahalli to Narayana Yateendra of Kudala matha in 1527 AD (*Paramashivamurthy DV 2010:Num 227*) Therefore after Triyambakarasa was transferred from Malenahalli, it directly came under Krishnadevaraya.

In the same way Bukkaraju Timmaraju holding the Nayakatana of Poluri sime in 1517, was at Gandikote sime in 1521 AD. When he had the Nayakatana of poluri sime, Gandikote was in the custody of saluva Govindaraja as referred in inscriptions (*Parabrahmasastry 2009: Num 109*) In the year 1528 AD the same Gandikote was included to the Nayakatana of Rayasam Ayyapparasu. Therefore Bukkaraju Timmaraju was transferred from polur (1517) to Gandikote (1528 AD). After 1528 AD we donot know where he was transferred, perhaps the king snatched the Nayakatana from him or he died, is not clear.

The Neelavara inscription of 1528 AD refers that Krishnaraya Nayaka was ruling at Barakur State. (*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010:Num 248*) Then he handed over that to Timmanna vodeya and in the same year he got the Nayakatana of Sri Rangapattana and Sindhaghatta sime from Krishnadevaraya. (*Paramashivamurthy D V 2010: Num 236,237*) But in the month of June 1528 AD Mahamandaleswara Bhogaiahdeva maha arasu was at Srirangapattana mentioned in inscription (*ParamashivamurthyD V 2010Num 249*) show that Krishnaraya Nayaka limited himself only to Sindhaghatta and vacate the Srirangapattana. It was clearly revealed that any of the Nayaka retained his Nayakatana was upto the confidence of the king. If the king lost confidence about him, he was detached (removed) from his post. It is clear from the case of Krishnaraya Nayaka.

Krishnadevaraya also granted Nayakatana who had excelled in the field of literature. For Ex. Peddiraju who was known as Andhra Kavi pithamaha referred in inscriptions was given Nayakatana of Karivachi sime. He worked for the completion of the temple at Annur village of that sime and installed Varadaraju perumal God. He donated the whole income of Annur village for the Maintainence of that temple (*Parabrahmasastry 2009: Num127*) Peddiraja was the son of Allasani Chokkaraja. So Allasanipeddanna (Who was one of the Ashta Diggaja of Krishnadevaraya's court) himself was peddiraja who got Nayakatana. Allasnipeddanna was well known as Andhra Kavi Pithamaha. Why did Krishnadevaraya grant Nayakatana to him in Tamilnadu not in Andhrapradesh? Was Annur his ancestor's place? or was it to complete the temple which was incomplete, he had accomplished Annur? The answer for these questions have no records to explain.

This depicted that the king did not give prominence to only power but he also gave importance to Intelligence and wisdom at the time of granting Nayakatana.

Krishnadevaraya also granted Nayakatana to Veerappodeya, who was the father of queen chennadevi. He was at Srirangapattana in 1516 AD and described in the inscription as "Sri Manmaha Sena Samudra Saluva Gajasimha" (*ParamashivamurthyD V 2010:Num85*) He was the son of Chikkodeya, who also assumed the same title 1521 AD inscription mentions that veerappodeya hold the Nayakatana of Dadiga sime. It shows that Raya also granted

powers to his close relatives. It was a common feature in those days that the distribution of political powers among close relatives, siblings and the nearer ones.

By considering Krishnadevaraya's administration it can be altogether summed up with the following main points such as,

1. The inscriptions documented there were 68 Nayakatana in all the three states of Karnataka, Andhra and Tamilnadu. Only 55 simes included to Nayakatana.
2. 55 Individuals administered different simes through Nayakatana.
3. Raya granted Nayakatana to different community among these Brahmana's were in upper hand. 50% of that post were acquired by them. The others like Beda, Golla also had the Nayakatana.
4. There was no hereditary rule in sime's of Nayakatana. A few cases of transfer from one place to another.
5. It is clear that some time Raya granted Nayakatana more than one sime to single individual. The highest was three simes at a time.
6. The highly influential families who received Nayakatana from the king were the families of Timmarasu in Andhra and Mallappa Nayaka in Tamil Nadu.
7. Majority of the Individuals who held Nayakatana assumed different positions in administration. Such as Mahamandaleswara, Mahapradhani Rayasadha, Karyakekarta. Bhokkasada, Rahuta, Pradhana etc. The direct contact of these people with the king was responsible.
8. The Nayaka's not only looked after the administration of their simes but also collected the taxes and remitted it to the royal treasury. There was no uniformity in the fixed tax system of simes of Nayakatana. So the Nayaka's, who remitted highest tax to royal treasury, harassed the people.
9. If the Nayakas were not loyal to the king, his Nayakatana was confiscated. So in order to exhibit the loyalty to the king they donated for his religious merit. For ex. 25 Nayakas donated to the temples for religious merit of the king. Two Nayakas donated two mathas in the name of Raya etc. By this way the Nayakas used the technique of Dana (charity) to get the support of the king.
10. Among 55 Nayakas only 19 of them had Nayaka title at the end of their name. So it was not compulsory for a person to hold Nayakatana to have a Nayaka title in his name. For Ex. the family members of saluva Thimmarasu had the privilege of holding Nayakatana but they did not have Nayaka in their name. Another influential family at the time of Krishnadevaraya was Mallappa Nayaka who had included Nayaka title at the end of their name (*Timmappa Nayaka, Chinnappa Nayaka*)
11. Krishnadevaraya's inscriptions show that Nayaka was not a caste name. For Ex.: Ahobala Devaiah was a Brahmin whose sons name was Krishnaraya Nayaka. He had the Nayakatana of Sri Rangapattana. Therefore if an individual received Nayakatana then only he would be called as Nayaka but not if he had Nayaka in his name.

Altogether it can be said that after receiving simes for Nayakatana by the emperor, they were called Nayakas. They were ruling as mediators between king and the subjects. They may be called as District incharge ministers of modern times.

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APPENDIX
Epigraphical based List of Nayakatana
(AD 1509 to 1529)

1. Thimmaraya Chakravarti / (Agent of Tipparasa)
Nayakatana of Manjinada Pennagara Denkanakote within Muluvagila Chavadi
Grants a village as the charity of Thimmarasa AD 1509
SII VII-15 Dharmapuri Dist (T.N.)
2. Honnappa Nayaka S/o Bhokkasada Devappa Nayaka
Nayakatana of Panem Sime of Boodidepodu
Grants of a Land for Panikeswara God of Panyam AD 1510.
I.V.R. Vol. IV, No. 74 Karnool Dist. Andra Pradesh.
3. Yallappa Nayaka S/o..
Raminayakanahalli Sime of Handaralu Nayakatana
Grants of a land for Handralu Tirumala God for the religious merit of K.D. Raya Kru. Sha.
Sam 1, No-12, Tumkur Dist. Karnataka.
4. Veeranasinga Nayaka.... Master of Vayirava Ni...
Irandayiravelli Parru in padaveeduraya Nayakatana Sirmai.
His agent makes land grants inNedungunaram in 1511 AD
AR 1934/35-27, chingalpet Dist (T.N.)
5. Ooligada Yellaiah S/o

Maratur sime RoddaNadu Uppadihalli Nayakatana
 Grants of a land for Ahobala Narasimha for the religious merit of Raya in 1512.
 Kru.Sha.Sam-1 No. 293 Anantapur Dist (Andhra)

6. Narasa Nayaka S/o....
 Neluvagila Sime, Surabhi Devanapura Nayakatana
 Grants of a land for the God Gowreeswara in 1512 AD
 Kru.Sha Sam 1, No.26, Kolar Dist. Karnataka

7. Rayasta Kondamarasaiah
 Kundurpi sime Kambhador Nayakatana
 Grants of a land for Kambadur Mallikarjuna for the merit of K.D. Raya in 1512 Kru. Sha.
 Sam 1, No. 296 Anantapur Dist (Andhra)

8. Kenchasomanna Wodeya S/o Devaraya Pattanada Timmanodeya Chennapattanada Sime
 Kudalursthalada Hosahalli
 Grants of land for repair of Kudaluru Tank for the merit of K.D. Raya in 1513 Kru.Sha.Sam
 1, No. 40 Ramanagar Dist. (Karnataka)

9. Mahamandalesvara Rachiraju S/o YarraGaddamaiah Maharaju,
 Potla Duriti Nayakatana
 Grants of sthala Tax for the daily pooja of Chennakesha in 1513
 I.V.J Vol. IV No. 84 Kadapa Dist. (Andhrapradesh)

10. Saluva Govindaraja S/o Rachiraja
 Tera Kanambi Sime.Nayakatana.
 Grants of land for deity Triyambaka for the merit of K.D. Raya in 1513
 Kru sha sam 1, No. 48. Chamarajanagar Dist. (Karnataka)

11. Akki Timmanayaka
 Magadi Mandalam Maladu Sime Nayakkatanam
 Establishes Agrahara Village in his own name in 1513
 AR 1913, p. 403, Selam Dist. (T.N.)

12. Saluva Govindaiah S/o Rachi Rajaiah
 Gutti Sime Thowdipura Nayakatana
 Grants of a land at Gajatimmapura for God Ramadeva in p 1514 AD
 IVJ Vol-IV No.85 Anantapura Dist. (Andhrapradesh)

13. Triyambakarasa S/o Tipparasa of Shivanasamudra
 Bayirapura of Malenahalli sime Nayakatana.
 Establishes a Agrahara and donated to Hariharadya in 1515 AD
 Kru.Sha Sam 1 No. 48 Shimoga Dist (Karnataka)

14. Veerabhadra Maharaya S/o Gajapati Pratapa rudra
 Malebennuru sime Lingadahalli Sime
 Grants of the exemption of Marriage tax for the Merit of K.D.Raya & Prataparudra in 1515,
 Kru.Sha.Sam-1, No. 82 Davanagere Dist. (Karnataka)

15. Dhananjaya Rayawodeya S/o Dalavayi Timmarasa
 Bittugondanahalli of Hassan Sthala Nayakatana
 Establishes an Agrahara Dhananjaya Grama & donated to Chenna Dixit in 1515
 Kru.Sha.Sam 1, No. 82 Hassan Dist (Karnataka)

16. ooligada Made Nayaka.- Karyake Karta of Krishnadevaraya
 Nayakatana of Solur Sime, Arisina Gunte
 Grants of a village Arisina Kunte for veerannavodeya for the merit of K.D. Raya in 1516
 Kru.Sha.Sam 1 No. 89 Ramanagar Dist (Karnataka)

17. Pradhana Mallarasa S/o.... Karyake Karta of Krishnaraya
 Jojuru Sime Tegadhahalli Nayakatana
 Grant of a Tegudhahalli Village in front of Hampi Virupaksha Vittala1517

- Kru. Sha Sam 1 No. 100 Chitradurga Dist. (Karnataka)
18. Saluva Govindaiah S/o Rachiraju
Nayakatana of Guttisime
Grants of a land at Midattur Village for Burudati Vigneswara God in 1517
IVJ Vol. IV No. 110. Anantapur Dist. (Andhra Pradesh)
19. Bukkaraju Timmaraju S/o
Nayakatana of Polur Sime Namila Dibba
His son Krishnaiah took the permission of Brahmin & confirm the grant in 1517 IVJ Vol IV
No 111 Kadapa Dist. (Andhrapradesh)
20. Pedda Singama Nayaka S/o Ramanayaka
Received Nayakatana of Nagarjunakonda Sime from Vakiti Timmappa Nayaka.
Grants of a land at Gundala Village to Veereswara, Venkateswara God of Durgi in 1518
IVJ Vol. IV No. 121 Guntur Dist. (Andhrapradesh)
21. Timmappa Nayaka S/o Mallappa Nayaka
Nayakatana of Chola Mandalam Tiruchinapalli Sirmai
Grants a Lands in Four villages in 1519 AD
AR 1936/37 P. 105 Tiruchinapalli (T.N.)
22. Timmappa Nayak S/o Mallappa Nayaka
Irvanaravur bestowed by the king as his Nayakkatanam Sirmai
Grants a village for the merit of the king in 1519 AD
AR 1943/44, p-110, South Arcot Dist. (T.N.)
23. Saluva Govindaraju S/o Rachi Raju
Mugur Sthala bestowed by the king as his Nayakatanam
Grants of a land at Hosapur for Agastheswara of Tirumakudalu in 1519
Kru.Sha.Sam 1 No. 124 Mysore Dist. (Karnataka)
24. Apparasaiah Son in law of Saluva Timmarasaiah
Solur Sime bestowed by the king as his Nayakattanam.
Grant a village Settihalli to Nalladayamma for the merit of King in 1520AD
Kru. Sha. sam 1. No. 134 Ramanagar Dist. (Karnataka)
25. Pettiraju (Andra Kavitha Pitha Maha) S/o Allasani Chokkaraju,
Karvechi Sirmai bestowed on him as Nayakkattanam by the king in 1520
Built a temple and Grants a village in his Nayankara Sime
SII XVI-68 South Arcot Dist. (T.N.)
26. Thimmappa Nayaka S/o Mallappa Nayaka
As his Nayakkatanam Valudilam Pattu Uchavade Bhuvaneka Veerapattana sime
Remit taxes of a village for the merit of the king in 1520 AD
AR 1937/38 P. 494 South Arcot Dist (T.N.)
27. Bukkaraju Timmaraju (MahaMandaleswara) S/o
Ganjikunta Sime bestowed by the king as his Nayakkattanam.
Arranged for the repairs & Maintainance of panipenta Village Tank in 1521
IVJ Vol. IV No. 136 Kadapa district (Andhrapradesh)
28. Bhandarada Timmappaiah S/o Bhandarada Apparasaiah
Koppanada Sime bestowed by the king as his Nayakatana
Grants a village Sindhogi for the God Channakeshava of Koppana in 1521
Kru.Sha. Sam-1 No. 143. Koppala Dist. (Karnataka)
29. Saluva Gajasimha Veerappodeya S/o Chikka Nayaka
Dadigada Sime Nagamangala Sthala bestowed by the king as his Nayakatanam
Grants a village to Tonta Matada Niranjnadevaru for the merit of King in 1521 Kru.Sha.
Sam 1. No. 144, Mandya Dist (Karnataka)
30. Gowradannayakara Baswappaiah S/o—————

Alampura Sime bestowed on him by the king on his Amara Dannayakatana
Grant a village Byrapura to Narasimha of Alampur for the merit of King in 1521
Kru.Sha.Sam 1. No. 337 Mehaboob Nagar Dist. (Andhra)

31. Nadendla Gopaiah S/o-----
Kondaveeti Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakatanam
Grants of a land for someswara God of Verur. in 1521
IVJ Vol. IV No. 139 Prakasham Dist (Andhra)

32. Saluva Govindaraja S/o Rachiraja
Kudugunada Terakanambi Sthala bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakatanam
Grants of a land to Triyambaka God for the merit of Raya in 1521.
Kru.Sha.Sam 1. No. 148 Chamarajanagar Dist. (Karnataka)

33. Singappa Nayaka S/o Machappa Nayaka
Nayakatana of Gonibeedu Sime granted by the king.
Grants of a land to velapuri Chennakeshava God for the merit of king in 1522 Kru. Sha Sam
1. No. 151 Hassan Dist (Karnataka)

34. Saluva Govindaraja S/o Rachiraja
Ummatturu Rajya bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakatanam
Grants of a land to Tirumakudalu Agasthanatha God in 152
Kru. Sha Sam 1 No. 152 Chamaraja Nagar Dist. (Karnataka)

35. Sarvaiah deva Koda Maharaju S/o Yarraiahdeva Koda Maharaju.
Vinukonda Sime bestowed on him by Saluva Timmarasa as his Nayakatanam.
Grants of a land to purushottama God of Kundurpi in 1522
IVJ Vo. IV No. 139 Guntoor Dist. (Andhra)

36. Kondamarasa... (Rayasam)
as his Nayakattanam Rarajapura - Uchavadi Dindukal Simai
For the kings Merit he makes a new Brahmana Villge by clubbing 2 villages in 1522
SII VOI-V P-292 Madurai Dist (T.N.)

37. Vairava Ni Visaiyalaiyadevar.....
Ilaiyattakkudi bestowed by the king as his Nayakkattanam
Grants a kudi-Ninga-Tiruvidaiyattam in his Sirmai in 1524
A R 1926-29 Ramanathapuram Dist (T.N.)

38. Pradhana Basavappaiah S/o.....
Kote Sime bestowed by the king as his Nayakkattanam.
Grants a Sarvamanya village to Ramesvaara God for the merit of King in 1522 Kru.Sha.Sam
1 No. 159 Mysore Dist.(Karnataka)

39. Narasa Nayaka S/o Kundurpi Timmanayaka
Kundurpi Sime bestowed by the king as his Nayakkattanam
Grants of a land at Byrasamudra to Tiruvengalanatha God in 1522 AD
IVJ Vo. IV No. 14 Anantapur Dist.(Andhra)

40. Vobilnayini Tippa Nayaka S/o.....
Basavakonda Sirmai bestowed by the king as his Nayakattanam.
Donated to Bommareddi Tippanna as Rayasa in 1523.
IVJ Vol IV No. 142 Chittor Dist (Andhra)

41. KommaNayaka S/o.....
KukkalaNadu bestowed by the king as his Nayakattanam,
Grants of a land at Dasanapura to the God Tiruvengalanatha in 1523
Kru.Sha.Sam 1 No. 170 Bangalore Dist (Karnataka)

42. Chama Nayaka S/o Manikya Ni (Agent of Triyambaka Udaiyar)
Kunrattur Sirmai included in Muluvay which is the Nayakattanam of Triyambaka
Assign taxes on ulavayukkude and kasayakudi of the village in 1523

- A.R. 1915, P-140, Salem Dist (T.N.)
43. Triyambaka Udaiyar S/o Tipparasa Udaiyar
Holding Muluvay as his Nayakkatanam in 1523
A.R. 1915, P-140 Salem Dist. (T.N.)
44. Basappa Nayaka S/o Ooligada Jakkanna Nayaka
Holding the Nayakatana of vastare Sime
Grants of an Income of Halmidi village to Belur Channakesava God in 1524
Kru.Sha Sam 1 No-181 Hassan Dist (Karnataka)
45. Vesanna Rahuta S/o Murari Rahuta
Nayakatana of Kavilechervina Sime of Uchchangi vente
Grants of a land to Narayanabhata for the merit of K.D. Raya in 1524
Kru.Sha.Sam 1 No. 184 Davanagere Dist. (Karnataka)
46. Andambar Kandan papaiyan S/O.....
For his Nayakkattanam Amarasimai bestowed by viraNarasinghraya
Grants to the local temple a village in his amara sirmai in 1524
Avanam 10, 27, 4 pudukote Dist (T.N.)
47. Abbarahu Ayyanavar S/o.....
Ravudakundi Sime bestowed on him by Krishnadevaraya as his Nayakatana
Grants a land at Sali gundi village to Tirumala God at Ravuda Kundi in 1525 Kru.Sha. Sam 1
No. 190 Raichur Dist (Karnataka)
48. Vittala Ravutha S/o.....
Tekala Sime bestowed on him by Krishnadevaraya as his Nayakatana
Grants a villages of uleyarahalli and Kolala as Bhattavritti
Kru. Sha. Sam 1 No. 192 Kolar Dist (Karnataka)
49. Devarasaiah S/o.....
For his Nayakkattanam Gandikote Sime, Sakalisime bestowed by the king
Grants a land to Chennakeshava for the merit of Krishnaraya and Devarasaiah
IVJ Vol IV No. 147 Kadapa Dist (Andhra)
50. Tirumalai Nayaka S/o.....
Puvirundavalli as his Nayakkattanam Sirmai
Assigns lands to Balaiya Nayaka in 1525
A.R. 1938-39, P-300 Chingalpet Dist. (T.N.)
51. Demarasaiah S/o.....
Gandikota Sirmai as his Nayakkattanam
Grants of land to Lakshmikanta Temple of Porumamilla in 1526
IVJ Vol. IV No-150 Kadapa Dist (Andhrapradesh)
52. Vayirava Ni Visaiya Laiyadevar S/o Pellikonda perumal Visaiyalaidevar
His Nayakkattanam Ilaiyattakkudi in Kalvasalnadu
Establish an Agrahara in his Nayakkattanam in 1526.
A.R. 1926 , P-14 Ramanathapuram Dist. (TamilNadu)
53. Ranganatha Ravutha S/o Viswanatha Ravutha
Jagalur Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakkattanam
Grants of a Nibagur village to Brahmanas for the relegious merit of king in 1527 Kru.Sha
Sam 1 No-211 Davanagere Dist (Karnataka)
54. China Peddi Nayaningaru S/o Boodara Peddi Nayaningaru
Alampur Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakkattanam
Donated to Nine Gods at Alampura in 1527
IVJ Vol. IV No-152 Mehaboob Nagar Dist (Andhra Pradesh)
55. Peddi Nayaka S/o Bhandaradha Sidi Nayaka

Gokulapada of Alampur Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakkattana Donated Peddapur a village to Channakeswara temple of Chennipadu for the merit of Krishnadevaraya in 1527

Kru. Sha. Sam 1 No. 343 Mehaboob Nagar Dist. (Andhrapradesh)

56. Sunkanna Nayaka S/o Dadi Nayaka

Kerebelagallu of Adavani Durga bestowed on him as his Amara Nayakatana lands of a grant to virabhadra temple at Belagallu for the merit of King in 1527 Kru. Sha. Sam 1 No. 344 Curnool Dist (Andhrapradesh)

57. Demarasaiah S/o..... (Avasarada)

Ummattur Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakkattana

By the order of Krishnadevaraya Sarvamanya donation was given to Balakrishna temple in 1527

Kru Sha. Sam 1 No. 233 Chamaraja Nagar Dist. (Karnataka)

58. Krishnaraya Nayaka S/o Ahobala Devagalu

Sri Rangapattana Sime bestowed on him by the king as his Nayakattanam

Donated to Sri Ranganatha by the permission of Krishnadevaraya in 1528

Kru. Sha. Sam 1 No. 236 Mandya Dist (Karnataka)

59. Krishnaraya Nayaka S/o Ahobala Devaiah

Sri Rangapattana and Sindhagatta Sime bestowed on him by the king to Nayakatana Donated 254 Gold coins to Melukote Cheluva Narayana for the merit of K.D.R. in 1528 Kru.Sha.Sam 1 No. 237 Mandya Dist. (Karnataka)

60. Mahamandaleswara Bhogaiahdeva arasu S/o Timmaraja Chemeti

Gummanavritti Sthala of Sri Rangapattana Sime as his Nayakattanam.

Donated income of Devapuri Villages (govaraha) to Sri Ranga Nayaki temple in 1528 A D .

Kru.Sha. Sam 1. No. 249 Mandya Dist. (Karnataka)

61. Adiyappa Nayaka S/o.....

Maleyabennuru Village as his Nayakattanam

Donated taxes and customs to the repair of the temple of Malebennur in 1528 Kru.Sha.

Sam 1 No. 244 Davanagere Dist (Karnataka)

62. Rayasam Ayyapparasu S/o Kondamarasaiah

Gandikote Sime as his Nayakattanam

Lands donated to Pandilapatta Keshava Temple for the merit of King in 1528 IVJ Vol. IV No.159 Kadapa Dist. (Andhra)

63. Vakiti Peddanayinigaru S/o Bhokkasada Nayinigaru

Panem Sime as his Nayakatana

Donated to the Agraharas of Lingapura and Panikeshvara Temple of Panyam in 1529 A D.

IVJ Vol. IV No. 160 Curnool Dist (Andhra)

64. Rayasadha Ayyapparasu S/o.....

Gandikote Sime as his Nayakattanam,1529 AD

IVJ VOL. IV No162 Kadapa Dist. (Andhra)

65. Yallammarasuvaiah Karyakekarta of Ayyapparasa

Sakali sime Nayakatana was granted by Ayyapparasu

Donated to Chennakeshava Temple of Kathre Gundla in 1529 AD

IVJ Vol. IV No-162 Kadapa Dist (Andhra)

66. Dikshitaiah S/o Anjiayya

Amara Nayakatana of Alampuri Sime

granted ponnupadu village to Chennakeshwara temple of Channipudu in 1529 Kru. Sha. Sam.

1 No. 349 Mehaboob Nagar Dist. (Andhra)

67. Rayasam Ayyappa S/o Vemarasuvaiah

Addanki Sime of Kondaveeti State as his Nayakattanam

Donated to Tiruvenktadri Natha for the merit of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 AD IVJ Vol IV No. 163 Prakasham Dist Andhrapradesh.
68. Avasaram Chandrasekaraiah S/o
Mosali Madagu Sime as his Nayakattanam. 1530 AD
IVJ Vol. IV No. 165 Curnool Dist. (Andhra)

Saluva Thimmarasu Dominant Person of Krishnadevaraya's Cabinet

Krishnadevaraya (1509–1529) in his memorable work Amukthamalyada has described “Administration is not just wealth and army but needs the help of the people” ‘Brahmin should be appointed to the higher positions. Then only he will correct the administrative work skilfully.*1 If the administration of the kingdom has given to the non-Brahmins they will revolt against the king, when the situation is favourable to them. Hence Brahmins should be given the administrative powers.*2 He also mentioned that the “Brahmins in the age group of 50 -70 years who are educated, have the knowledge of political administration, treatise of knowledge, and afraid of committing sin should be given the power of administration on request.”*3

Krishnadevaraya's inner most feelings can be understood from these words. Therefore he reserved all the higher positions in his administration to Brahmins. He had more faith on Brahmins than people from other communities. That is why he had mentioned that people from other community will not be faithful to king and revolt against him in adverse situations. It is evident from the fact Krishnadevaraya had appointed Brahmins as chiefs for 22 provinces out of 55 provinces in his empire. Dr.D.N.Yogeshwarappa has prepared a list of such Brahmin chieftains along with their lineage.*4 Hence it is evident that Brahmins had upper hand in the of Krishnadevaraya's administration. Some of them were able to promote their family members to the good positions. Salva Thimmarasu family was the most influential among these Brahmin families.

He was the Prime Minister of Vijayanagara. Though there were other Prime Ministers like Mallarasa, Basavappaiah, Saravaraiah, Immedi yeallappa Odeya etc, were not able to promote their family members to any prominent positions in the administration.

There are numerous films and literature on Salva Thimmarasu in Telugu language. One among them is an independent work called ‘Thimmarasu Mantri’ by Chilakuri Veerabhadra Rao.*5 In Kannada literature Thimmarasu and his family members names have been mentioned consequently, but no independent literary works have been noticed by us. Hence we are working in this direction. The purpose of our work is to document how Thimmarasu (“Appaji”as Krishnadevaraya addressed him lovingly) and his family members became instrumental in the development of Vijayanagara Empire.

To highlight this, we have mainly used “Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers, Vol,IV., published by I.C.H.R, Krishnadevaraya's edicts, Vol I, published by Hampi Kannada University, “Amukthamalyada” written by Krishnadevaraya, “Jeerna Vijayanagara darshanam” edited by Prof.Lakshmana Telagavi, Writings of foreigners like Nunez, Paius, “Forgotten Empire” by Robert Sewell and other writings.

From the records of the following edict “Salva Thimmarasu Wodeyara Tamandirada Saluva Govindaraja wodeyar”and “Salva Thimmarasa veramanumatadin thanuja Saluva Govindarajagalu”,*6 it is clear that Thimmarasu's younger brother was Saluva Govindaraja. Some edicts have mentioned Rachi Raja was the father of Salva Thimmarasu. Rache Raja was the son of Yerragaddamayya Deva Mahamandalesha. Another edict mentions that Minister Rachi Raja was the son of Amathya Vemaiah,*7 so he belongs to the Amathya family. Their lineage mentions that they belong to Kaundinya gothra, Apastambha suthra,

and yajushyakhe.*8 Therefore his children also belong to same lineage. Inscriptions mention that Rachi Raja, being a Mahamandaleshwara got the over lordship of Pottadurthi province of Kadapa district in Andhra Pradesh, by Krishnadevaraya in the year 1513 A.D.*9 These evidences show that Thimmarasu was the grandson of Yerragaddamayya Deva maharaja, was well educated, and had a good political contact. This was the reason for him, to get the Prime Minister post. In the early period of Tuluva dynasty's rule he was worked as a military chief, later became the head (Supreme) Prime Minister. In the view of D.V.Parashivamurthy Thimmarasu's promotion happened in a short period of two years.*10 But this is not acceptable. Because, some edicts mentions "Tatpaada padmaradakundaina shreeman maha pradhana Salava Thimmayyagaru"*11(17 Jan 1508 A.D) 1512 March inscription mentions as Timmappayyana pradhanikeyalli"*12 another edict in the month of June of 1512 AD mentions "Saluva Thimmyya Danayakaru".*13 Therefore it can be said that Prime Minister had to shoulder many responsibilities of the administration, some times he used to take charge of the army also. To conclude from these edicts, we can say that Saluva Thimmarasu was the Supreme Prime Minister of Tuluva Veeranasimharaya in January 1508 A.D.

Krishnadevaraya's brother Veeranasimha had honoured Thimmarasu with the "Nayakathana" of Gutti region in 1508 A.D.*14 (Though he was Supreme Prime Minister) Further Saluva Thimmarasu had annulled the marriage tax for the virtue of Veeranasimharaya.*15 Along with this in May 1509 A.D, he had gifted the Neladalpadu village for the worship of Tadapatri Rameshwara devaru, and constructed Prakara, Gopura, Boghamantapa for the virtue of Veeranasimha.*16 It appears that, probably Gutti province was under the control of Salva Thimmarasu till Krishnadevaraya had appointed Salva Govinda as its Nayaka (1514 A.D). Saluva Thimmarasu was ruling Gutti province for seven years from 1508 A.D to 1514 A.D.

Salva Thimmarasu, was familiar with the palace's etiquette and conduct from the time of Veeranasimha. He was aware of the unrest that was rising in the surrounding kingdoms at the time of the death of Veeranasimha. Bahamani kingdom had been disintegrated into five branches. Gajapathi of Orissa had occupied some provinces of Vijayanagara. Internally Vijayanagar had to face the hatred ness of Ganagraja of Ummatturu and Shambuvaraya of Kanchi.

Salva Thimmarasu in spite of Veeranasimha's wishes (Veeranasimha wanted his young son to ascend the throne) was successful to bring Krishnadevaraya to the throne. Salva Thimmarasu had good relationship with Veeranasimha's family, and lot of love for Krishnadevaraya. In Domingo Paes words "Krishnadevaraya's favourite was Thimmarasu, he controls the royal family, Krishnadevaraya treats him as the King". "Salva Thimmarasu is the important person who enters the palace without permission and supervises the activities of the palace.*17 This is because he had brought up the King from the childhood and instrumental in appointing Krishnadevaraya as the king. Krishnadevaraya called him as "Appaji" (father) and always addresses him as "Dorae Salpataka."*18

From these documents it is evident that Saluva Thimmarasu had brought up Krishnadevaraya with love from the childhood. King respects him very much and honoured him with "Kanakabhisheka." To show his gratitude Krishnadevaraya commemorated copper coins by printing "Thimmarasu" on one side of the coin and his name on the other side. It is extraordinary to find the name of the King and his Prime Minister on the same coin. Hence an edict in Bapatta taluk documents that "Krishnadevaraya and Saluva Thimmarasu were like single body".*19

It has been mentioned that Saluva Thimmarasu was ruling Kondaveedu province in October 1510 A.D after Krishnadevaraya became the emperor.*20 Saluva Thimmarasu appointed Abbanayaka as the chieftain of Kocheralakattae Kattaka of Ammanabrolu province which belonged to him. The same edict mentions that Abbanayaka therefore gifted the land to the Amareshwara temple in Gonagunte village for the virtue of Saluva Thimmarasu. This edict does not mention Saluva Thimmarasu as “Prime Minister” but in the same year, another edict mentions him as “Prime Minister”.*21 It is hence certain that Saluva Thimmarasu was the Prime Minister from the beginning of Krishnadevaraya’s rule (Prime Minister from the time of Veeranasimha) and continued afterwards also.

Salva Thimmarasu, who brought Krishnadevaraya to the throne, was an experienced statesman. Edicts have appreciated him as Udayagiri Kannadiga Kulatilakam, Vijayanagara Satkula Prasutham, Shivapooja durandara, Sarvaguna Sampanna”.*22 So we can come to the opinion that he was a Smartha Brahmin and a prominent Kannadiga.

He helped Krishnadevaraya to expand his kingdom throughout South India. During the military expedition of Orissa, Krishnadevaraya had divided his army into two parts and Saluva Thimmarasu had lead one part. He joined the King near Kondaveedu, after winning Kandakuru, Vinukonda, Nagarjunakonda, Kondaveedu forts. To show his gratitude Krishnadevaraya appointed Saluva Thimmarasu’s son Rayasta konda marasayya as the chief of Udayagiri fort in 1514 A.D.*23

Grants of Thimmarasu as referred in the Inscriptions

Being a Prime Minister of Veeranasimha, with his permission, Thimmarasa gave many grants to the temples. More than that he did many public works by pleasing the emperor, such as;

- 1) During 1508 AD Thimmarasa cancelled the marriage tax of the pennabaali seeme of the Gutti state, and installed an inscription for the vertue of his master Veeranasimha. (Inscriptions of Vijayanagara vol. IV no. 70, ICHR, B.lore, 2009)
- 2) During 1509 AD for the vertue of Veeranasimha, he donated Neladaala paadu village of Pennabadi seeme of Gutti state to the Rameswra temple’s Pooja, Prakara and Gopura construction. (Inscriptions of Vijayanagara vol. IV no.72.)
- 3) In the year 1512 AD he donated Paraantalure village of Pottappinaadu to Tirupati Venkateshara swamy. He ordered to collect the income for the worship and offerings of the God from the localities, also ordered to receive the wealth from the royal treasury to supply the necessity things.
- 4) In the year 1514, Thimmarasa gave 132 Gadyana’s, the income of Kaavalihalli village in Thayuru Sthala to Talakadu Keerthi narayana Swamy. (krishnadevaraya’s Inscriptions vol.I no.52)
- 5) During 1617, Thimmarasa donated three kanduga land for the daily worship of Tiruvengala Devaru of Kadapa grama in Mulaki nadu seeme (Vijayanagar Inscriptions vol.IV no.108)
- 6) During 1517, for the vertue of his family members he donated 12 varaha’s income of Peddapadu grama to Kapoteswara temple of chejarla grama (Vijayanagara inscriptions vol IV, no.107)

- 7) During 1518 Thimmarasa renovated Rameshwara temple of Madanur through Kattamallaiah also built Bhoga mantapa and Prakara. Further for the virtue of Sri Krishnadevaraya, he granted Madanur village for the daily poojas.

For the virtue of emperor Krishnadevaraya, Salva thimmarasa gave many grants to the temples. Similarly his under officers gave many grants for the virtue of Prime Minister Thimmarasa. Ex;-

- 1) For the virtue of Salva Thimmarasa and his wife General Ahobalaiah's subordinate Vavilapati Devaraju Nagaiah gave land grants to the Shiva temple of Vavilapaadu in the Penugonde Majvard Seeme.*24
- 2) In the name of Thimmarasa, Gurujapalli Channaiah constructed a Chaultry at Chiddirapaala village for the benefit of the Sataani Vaishnava and Brahmana pilgrims who visited Tirumala during the holy Tirunala days.*25

It has been told that Saluva Thimmarasu was ruling Udayagiri fort. Krishnadevaraya appointed him as the Chief of Kondaveedu province also. It was Saluva Thimmarasu's plan that enabled Krishnadevaraya to conquer the Kondaveedu province during his eastern expedition. So he made Kondaveedu as the centre for this newly conquered province, and gave it to the experienced administrator, Saluva Thimmarasu.*26

The edicts indicate that Salva Thimmarasu was ruling Kondaveedu during 1510 AD,*27 till it was handed over to his son Rayasta Kondamarasayya.(1510 AD) The edicts of February 1516 AD mentions that Rayasta Kondamarasayya was ruling Kondapalli, Kondaveedu provinces.*28 So Saluva Thimmarasu had installed his son Rayasta Kondamasayya as the chieftain of Kondaveedu. The edict of May 1520 A.D mentions that Salva Thimmarasu's younger son-in-law was ruling Kondaveedu.*29 So by that time Salva Thimmarasu may have relieved his son and gave it to his younger son-in-law. Further Kondamarasayya was transferred to Udayagiri in May 1520 A.D.*30 It is clear that from the edict of his son Rayasta Ayyapparasa, who had granted Jaluvatte village of Kundirpe province to Kambadootha Mallikarjuna swamy, for the virtue of his father.*31 From the edicts, it is clear that Rayastha Kondamarasayya died in 1525 A.D. The edict of August 1527 A.D mentions that the Udayagiri fort was under the control of Rayastha Ayyapparsu after the death of Rayasta Kondamarasayya.*32

Saluva Govindaraju, the younger brother of Salva Thimmarasu, was ruling Terakanambi province during 1513 A.D.*33 When Saluva Thimmarasu was shifted from Gutti to Kondaveedu during 1514 A.D, his brother Govindaraju was given Gutti province,*34 along with that he was also given Ummatturu province in 1516 A.D.*35 From this, it is clear that Saluva Govindaraju was ruling Gutti of Andhra, Terakanambi and Ummatturu of Karnataka. Terakanambi, Ummatturu were on the Cauvery basin and were very fertile areas. Gutti was famous for its mines. All these were important provinces, bringing a large share of income. The powerful Saluva Thimmarasu had his control over these provinces during Krishnadevaraya's rule.

Though Saluva Thimmarasu was Supreme Prime Minister he was also in charge of Gutti, Udayagiri, Kondaveedu & Mulukinadu. He handed over the charge of Gutti to his brother Govindaraju, may be for heavy work pressure or for some other reasons. He appointed his son Kondamarasayya to Udayagiri gave the management of Kondaveedu to his son-in-law Nadendla Gopa. In this manner he not only distributed the kingdom to his family

members but also gave additionally Poddila Seema, Kondapalli to his sons. He presented Gandikote, Adanki provinces to his grandson Rayasta Ayyapparasu.

After the death of Rayasta Kondamarasu in 1525 A.D Udayagiri fort came under the control of Rayasada Ayyapparasu. It is clear from these things that major provinces of Andhra Pradesh were under the control of Saluva Thimmarasu's family members. If analysed the reason for not appointing outsiders for these provinces we can assume certain points.

Firstly, this family was devoted to Vijayanagar Kings. Saluva Thimmarasu was successful in planning and bringing Krishnadevaraya to the throne. This was the reason for the King to trust Saluva Thimmarasu and his family members.

Secondly, Udayagiri, Kondaveedu, Gudikote and Gutti provinces were prominent. They were important highways of trade and commerce, connecting Koramandal coast of Andhra Pradesh to the main land. (One route through Kondaveedu. Another through Penugonda). Diamond mines of Gutti brought a lot of income.

Thirdly, Emperor wanted reliable persons must be in the provinces, to stop the invasion of Gajapati of Orissa. So Krishnadevaraya may have had lot of faith in Salva Thimmarasu's family and had given these provinces to them.

Vijayanagara Empire was under the control of Salva Thimmarasa and his family members for a long period. It also shows how influential this family was in Vijayanagara.

Rachi Raja was the father of Saluva Thimmarasu and elder of this family. He was the Maha mandaladeeshawara of Pottadurthi province. Saluva Thimmarasu was the Supreme Prime Minister of the empire and also appointed his younger brother Salva Govinda as Prime Minister in 1519 A.D*36 He was in the post of Bagila pradhani in 1529 A.D.*37 Kondamarasayya and Naranappa sons of Saluva Thimmarasu and grandson Ayyapparasu were the prominent officers in the administration. His son-in-law Nandendla Gopa was managing the administration of Kondaveedu as its chieftain. In this way Salva Thimmarasu and his family members were in the prominent positions of the Empire and controlled the administration.

It looks, many were jealous of this family. So they were waiting for an opportunity against Saluva Thimmarasu. They alleged Saluva Thimmarasu's hand in the death of Krishnadevaraya's six year old son Thirumala. It has been said that Krishnadevaraya believed this and ordered to plucking of Thimmarasu's eyes. But recently scholars have rejected this argument with proof. Yet those people who did not tolerate Saluva Thimmarasu's prominence may have spread the rumour about this incident. So the king who had lost his son, may have listened to these accusations made by Saluva Thimmarasu's detractors may have stopped giving prominence to him. To support these accusations no edicts of Saluva Thimmarasu or his family members had been found after 1524 A.D. This indirectly supports this argument. But the inscription of Aug 1527 A.D mentions that Rayasta Ayyapparasu was ruling Udayagiri*38 and October 1525 A.D inscription mentions that he was the chief of Kundurpi province.*39 Krishnadevaraya may have regretted his wrong action against Salva Thimmarasa after a year of his son's death. So it appears that Krishnadevaraya had appointed Salva Govinda as the Bagila pradhani to rectify his mistake.

Salva Thimmarasu's name had not been found in any of the edicts for five years from 1525, but makes an appearance in the Deekshitaiah Amaranayaka's inscription of April 1529*40 He had donated the land in the name of Krishnadevaraya and Salva Thimmarasu. Thimmarasu may have lived till April 1529 A.D who had suffered the death of his son Kondamarasayya and also the murder accusation of Krishnadevaraya's son. Afterwards no edicts mention his name. Though his grandson continued in the administration of Achyutharaya's period, nowhere Saluva Thimmarasu's name had been mentioned in any edicts. So it can be concluded that he may have died during this period.

Salva Thimmarasu sister was Krishnambika and daughter Thirumalamba. He married his sister to Nandindla Kona mantri. Their son Appamathya married Thimmarasa's daughter Thirumalamba. Appamathya & his younger brother Gopa mantri were made as chieftains of Kondaveedu by Saluva Thimmarasu. Gopa mantri had written commentary to "Praboda Chandrodaya" and "Krishnarjuna Samvaada". In these literary works he had mentioned that, he had been appointed as the chieftain of Kondaveedu fort by the grace of Salva Thimmarasu. Salva Thimmarasu was not only the administrator but also a scholar. It has been told that he had written commentaries to Augasthyakrutha Champubharatha.

Iti shreeman maharajaadhiraja raja parameshwara karnatakeshwara shree Krushnaraya shira pradhana sakalaagama varamparapareeta Salva Thimmaya dandanaatha Virachitayam baala Bharata vyakhyaya manoharaakhyayam panchamassargam.*41

END NOTES

- 1) Amukta malyada of Krishnadevaraya (translated to Kannada) by Dr. Nirupama, page 43, prasaranga, Hampi Kannada University, 2010
- 2) Dito page 46
- 3) Dito page 64
- 4) Dr. DN Yogeeshwarappa - Nayakatanas under Krishnadevaraya's rule - unpublished article - presented in the Vijayanagar study seminar held at Hampi on Jan 27 & 28, 2011.
- 5) Chilakuri Veerabhadra Rao- "Thimmarasu Mantri" (Telugu Language) Arya pustakalaya, Rajamahendri - 1950.
- 6) D V Parashiva murthy- Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -55 and 47, Taragapura, Prasaranga Hampi Kannada University.
- 7) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol IV No- 48, 69, 85, 110, 109, 124,148,152,128. ICHR, Bangalore 2009.
- 8) Dito No 48, 85, 109,124,152.
- 9) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol IV No- 84,
- 10) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I, Introduction, page 60.
- 11) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No- 70,72.
- 12) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I,No 21.
- 13) Dito No.23
- 14) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No- 70,72.
- 15) Dito No. 70
- 16) Dito No 72
- 17) Pravasi kanda Vijayanagara (Ed) Vivek Rai Page, 65. Prasaranga, Hampi Kannada v.v..2005
- 18) Dito Page 78 & 79.
- 19) Epigraphia Collections of 1897, No 186.
- 20) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No 75, ICHR, Bangalore 2009.
- 21) Dito No 76.
- 22) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I,No 331. Cholasamudram.
- 23) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No 93, ICHR, Bangalore 2009
- 24) Dito No 129.
- 25) Dito No 132.
- 26) Dito No 128.
- 27) Dito No 75.

- 28) Dito No 99.
- 29) Dito No 128.
- 30) Dito No 130.
- 31) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I, No 341.
- 32) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No 156.
- 33) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I, No 48.
- 34) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No 85.
- 35) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I, No 86.
- 36) Dito No 118
- 37) Dito No 242.
- 38) Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Vol. IV No 156.
- 39) Krishnadevaraya's Inscriptions Vol -I No 341.
- 40) Dito No.349.
- 41) Sources of Vijayanagara History. Page. 143.

The Family of Mallappa Nayaka in Tamil Nadu

During the period of the Vijayanagar empire, mainly in the sixteenth century,¹ many nayakas were sent by the kings to Tamil Nadu from Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh as military leaders as well as administrators. Through it is vaguely understood by scholars that they were transferred from one place to another by the kings, so far no proof has been presented to substantiate this hypothesis.²

This transferability of the nayakas is a crucial point for an understanding of the role which these nayakas played in the administration and therefore, for the elucidation of the Vijayanagar state structure. According to Burton Stein, who put forward the so-called 'segmentary state' theory, the nayakas in Tamil Nadu, except such big nayakas as the Senji, Thanjavur and Madurai Nayakas, were local powers, similar to the zamindars of the Mughal period, who had their communal relations among the population.³ To Stein, therefore, the idea of the transfer of the nayakas must have been quite unacceptable, being antagonistic to his own interpretation. Through I have discussed this point to a certain extent in Chapter 1 above, the following examination is an effort to resolve this crucial issue based on the evidence found in the sources in Tamil Nadu.

If we check with the Alphabetical List of Nayakas in Part Two, we find thirty-seven Mallappa Nayakas appearing in Tamil Nadu. Out of these thirty-seven, we are able to identify fourteen Mallappas as one and the same. While in three cases he appears independently in the inscriptions recording his own activities, in the rest he is referred to as the father of his son(s). The three inscriptions in which he records his own activities are no. 1 (Soranjeri, 1500), no. 2 (Ramancheri, 1501) and no. 3 (Ramancheri, 1509-29), all from Chingleput District. No. 1 records his grant of a village in his nayakkattana-sirmai to a temple for the merit (punniyam, hereafter p) of Narasa Nayaka and the king. Through the name of the sirmai is not given, it must have included Mangadu-nadu in which the temple and the village were located. No. 2 and No. 3 record a similar grant of land to a temple for the merit of the king, the word danmam (hereafter d, including for the variant forms darmam and dharma) being used for the merit in No. 3. Through the dates of these three inscriptions are different, we can easily identify these three Mallappas as one and the same, because in all of them he appears having the status of vasal (chief palace guard)⁴ and the two inscriptions (nos. 2 and 3) come from the same village. The similar contents of these inscriptions also support the identification made of this individual. He seems to have started his career as a nayaka at the turn of the sixteenth century in the present day Chennai area, having some relationship with Narasa Nayaka (de facto king) as well.

The reason why this Mallappa (cited in nos. 1, 2 and 3) is identified with the other eleven Mallappas, who are mentioned as the father of some other Nayakas, also concerns his status as a vasal. He is mentioned as a vasal in no. 11 (Elavanasur, 1520) in the following way; vasal mallappa nayakkar ayyan kumarakal timmappa nayakkar ayyan adiyappa nayakkar ayyan channappa nayakkar aiyyanukkum and in no. 15 (Arakandanallur, 1523) in the following way, vasal mallappa nayakkar putran chinnappa nayakkar. In the case of Tamil inscriptions, it is not easy to judge whom the status word such as vasal qualifies whether father or son. If there is no insertion of such a word as kumaran, putrab or magan between father and son, the qualifying word most probably goes with the son, but since there is a word between father and son in these cases, we may say that Mallappa was a vasal, thus

establishing a link between the two Mallappa groups. Another point favouring this identification is the chronological sequence of the father / son inscriptions. Through no. 3 can be dated only as belonging to Krishnadevaraya's reign (1509-29), nos. 1 and 2 are dated to 1500 and 1501 respectively. His wouldbe son's inscriptions fall in the period between 1513 and 1539.⁵ This chronological sequence supports the identification.

As to the kinship relations, it is clear from no. 11, quoted above, that Mallappa Nayaka had three sons named Adiyappa, Chinnappa and Timmappa. All of them were nayakas. This father / son relationship is verified from other inscriptions as well. And it is also known from no. 7 (Rishivandhyam, 1519) that Mallappa had a daughter called Vayichchamman. In This record, Timmappa Nayaka, son of 'irayar vasal' Mallappa Nayaka, remitted certain taxes for the merit (d) of his elder sister (tamakkaiyar) Vayichchamman. From this inscription and others we know that Mallappa was the vasal of the king (irayar). Now we shall examine the inscriptions of his threesons.

First, Adiyappa Nayaka appears in three inscriptions. We shall see them in chronological order. No. 4 (Srimushnam, 1513, February) records that Taiyalar, an agent of Chinnappa Nayaka who is a brother of Adiyappa, remits tax for the nattavars of the 17-parru, making an oath to his master and the king and in this Adiyappa is mentioned as a vasal. In no. 5 (Srirangam,. 1513) he donates a grove to the Srirangam temple along with his brother Timmappa Nayaka. They are mentioned as sons of Vasavasankara Mallppa nayaka, who is a vasal of krishnadevaraya. In the latter part of this damaged inscription, chinnappa Nayaka also appears as a donor along with his two brothers. In no. 11 (Elavanasur, 1520) he and Chinnappa Nayaka appears as brothers of Timmappa Nayaka and Timmappa Nayaka permitted an agent (Iramaiyar, son of Vasava Nayaka) of Chinnappa Nayaka to convert taxable land to tax-free temple land⁶ after Timmappa Nayaka took over the sirmai. Adiyappa appears in this inscription, therefore, just as a brother and is only given merit by his brother's agent through his act of charity. Though it is very defficult to say from these three inscriptions where and when Adiyappa's territory was, he might heve been in charge of Tiruchirapali-sirmai in 1513, as he was a vasal in that year and the grove granted to the Srirangam temple in the same year is stated to be on the sacred island.

For Chinnappa Nayaka we have seven inscriptions. The earliest two are those which we have seen in relation to Adiyappa Nayaka and dated 1513. While in no. 5 (Srirangam, 1513) he appears perhaps as a co-donar in his brother's charity, he appears in no. 4 (Srimushnam, 1513, February) having an agent who remitted tax for the benefit of the 17-parru nattavars, from which we may infer that the 17 parru was his sirmai. In no. 6 (Sengupatteri, 1518) he donates a village after purchasing it to the Tiruvannamalai temple and remits tax, getting the permission of the king. Though the location of the village is not clear and his agent executes an act of charity, converting a taxable village into a tax-free village for a temple, the person who gave permission is Timmappa Nayaka. No. 15 (Arakandanallur, 1523) records that Chinnppa Nayaka, son of the vasal Mallapa Nayaka, granted two villages in his sirmai to a matha for the merit (p) of his father. His sirmai is identifiable with either Valudilampattu-uchavadi or Tirukkoyilur-parru, included in the former. In no. 16 (Tiruvetagam, 1526), however he appears as the rular of Madurai-mandalam. It records that while he was ruling (tiruvirajyam panni) Madurai-mandalam, Kandiyattevar, his agent, granted a village to a temple with his permission for the merit (d) of the king. In no. 18 (Sivapuri, 1531) he appears asrge king's vasal and Vasavappa Iramappa Nayaka, his agent, makes a grant of a village (Kannamangalam) in Chola-pandya-valanadu to the Sivapuri temple in Kerala-singa-valanadu for the merit of his master. The village which is

located close to the temple, must have been included in Madurai-mandalam, which is identical with the old Pandya-mandalam.

We are able to say on the basis of the evidence of the seven inscriptions of Chinnappa Nayaka cited above that he held Valudilampattu-uvhavadi or Tirukkovalur-parru as his sirmai in 1523, ruled Madurai-mandalam in 1526 and was a vasal of Achyutadevaraya in 1531, most probably retaining his position as the ruler of Madurai-mandalam. It is also interesting to note that the same agent (Iramaiyar / Iramappa) appears in two inscriptions, namely no. 11 (SA, 1520) and no. 17 (Rd, 1531), indicating that he followed his master to the place where the master was transferred and that he is described as Iramappa Nayaka in the latter, indicating his promotion to the status of a nayaka. Thus, these seven Chinnappa inscriptions clearly show the transferability of the nayaka in Tamil Nadu.

Timmappa Nayaka appears in fourteen inscriptions. In no. 5 (Srirangam, 1513), he grants a grove to the Srirangam temple along with his brothers. No. 7 (Rishivandhyam, 1519, September) records that Timmappa Nayaka, son of the king's vasal, Mallappa Nayaka, remitted certain taxes imposed during the rule of the Vanniyas and instituted certain services in the temple for the merit (d) of his elder sister. No. 8 (Jambukesvaram, 1519, November) records that Timmappa Nayaka, son of the king's vasal, Mallappa Nayaka, granted land in two villages in his nayakkattanam to the Tiruvanaikka temple. Though Chola-mandalam comes first among the divisions mentioned in his nayakkattanam, Tiruchirappalli-sirmai, included in Chola-mandalam, seems to have been his nayakkattanam, since Chola-mandalam had lost its actual meaning as an administrative territory during the Vijayanagar period. No. 9 (Jambukesvaram, 1519, December) records that Timmappa Nayaka, son of Krishnadevaraya's vasal, Mallappa Nayaka, as signed land in some village to the Tiruvanaikka temple for the expenses of celebrating festivals for the merit (d) of the king. Though the name of the village is given simply as tenkarai irajagembira valanattu vadavur, it must have been in his nayakkattanam (Tiruchirappalli-sirmai) as it was located on the southern bank (tenkarai) of the Kaveri river. In no. 10 (Rishivandhyam, 1520, January) he appears himself as the vasal. It records that he granted a village in his nayakkattanam to the Rishivandhyam temple for the merit (d) of the king.

His nayakkattanam seems to have been Iraivanaravur-sirmai, which included Magadai-mandalam. No. 11 (Elavansur, 1520, February) which we have seen in relation to Adiyappa and Chinnappa, records that as agent of Chinnappa Nayaka re-converted the old devadana villages, which had been made taxable, into tax-free devadana villages in the 12 parru which is his maganai-sirmai.⁷ This re-conversion was made with the permission of Timmappa Nayaka when the sirmai became that of Timmappa Nayaka. This seems to refer to Timmappa taking over as his nayakkattanam Valudilampattu-uchavadi or Bhuvanekavirappattana-sirmai which included the 12-parru. No. 12 (Elavansur, 1520, July) records that Timmappa Nayaka, son of Krishnadevaraya's vasal, Mallappa Nayaka, remitted for the merit (d) of the king the taxes of a village in Bhuvanekavirappattana-sirmai in Valudilampattu-uchavadi, which was his nayakkattanam. Though Valudilampattu-uchavadi comes first in the list of divisions relating to his nayakkattanam, it is difficult to say which of the two, Valudilampattu-uchavadi, or Bhuvanekavirappattana-sirmai included in it, was his nayakkattanam.

There is another inscription, no. 13 (Suriyanarkoil, 1520) in which a son of the vasal, Mallappa Nayaka appears though his name is lost owing to the damage to the stone. He grants to the Suriyanar temple a village in his nayakkattanam identifiable with either Valudilampattu-uchavadi or a parru whose name is lost. This son is either Timmappa

Nayaka or Chinnappa Nayaka, judging from their association with Valudilamapattu-uchavadi in 1520 (no. 12) and 1523 (no. 15) respectively. In no. 14 (Koviladi, 1521) Timmappa Nayaka (son of Krishnadevaraya's vasal, Mallappa Nayaka) remits taxes on land granted to the Tirupernagar temple by Taiyalarpillai, who appears in no. 4 as an agent of Chinnappa Nayaka. Timmappa Nayaka seems to have had jurisdiction in this locality near Tanjavur. In no. 17 (Kiliyanur, 1531) Timmappa Nayaka appears himself as the vasal of the king and Pattama Nayaka (a soldier under Timmappa Nayaka ?) grants land to temple for the merit of Timmappa Nayaka and the king. Timmappa Nayaka seems to have had jurisdiction in this locality also.

Now there remain four inscriptions, all of which come from chingleput District. No. 19 (Nedungunram, 1533) records that Timmappa Nayaka, son of the vasal, Mallappa Nayaka, granted a village to a temple for the merit (p) of the king. The village is in Nedungunra-nadu in Puliur-kottam in Jayangondachola-mandalam. No. 20 (Kondangi, 1537) records a similar grant of a village to a temple for the merit (d0 of the king. The village was in Chengalunipattu-sirmai in Kumuli-nadu in Amur-kottam. According to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (1932-33), no. 21 (Madras, 1537), whose transcript I could not see, records Timmappa's grant of a village to the Brahmanas. In no. 22 (Agaram, 1539) he appears without any status or kinship relations, but we can identify him as Mallappa's son, since the village he grants in this inscription is a hamlet of the village Kondongi which he donated in no. 20. This inscription records again his grant of a village to Brahmanas agrahara and also his grant of the water tax (nis-kuli) together with others, including a nayaka. Though there is a two year difference in their dates no. 21 and no. 22 may refer to the same grant, as no. 21 is a copper-plate grant. Important grants are often recorded on both stone and copper.

Timmappa seems to have started his career as a separate nayaka around 1519 in the Rishivandhyam area, with Iraivanaravur-sirmai as his nayakkattanam. In the same year, however, he is known to have had Tiruchirapalli-sirmai as his nayakkattanam. He might have held both of them as his nayakkattanam. In the next year he was in charge of either Valudilamapattu-uchavadi or Bhu-vanekavirappattana-sirmai, holding it as his nayakkattanam. In 1521 he remits tax in the area near Thanjavur and in 1531 he seems to have had some jurisdiction in a part of South Arcot District. Between 1533 and 1537 he is found in Chingleput District, granting villages to temples and Brahmanas, as the vasal of the king, though his nayakkattanam is not mentioned. He seems to have retained a close relationship with Achyutadevaraya.

The above examination reveals the close relation that the Mallappa Nayaka family had with the king and the cases of Chinnappa Nayaka and Timmappa Nayaka clearly show us that the nayakas in Tamil Nadu were transferred from one territory to another rather frequently. This is a sure indication of state control over them. After the defeat of Rakkshasi-Tandani in 1565, however, many nayakas in Tamil Nadu seem to have strengthened their locally-based power and become independent of state control. If the Vijayanagar kings had retained their earlier power during the seventeenth century, these nayakas would have become feudal lords under their control, just like the daimyos during the Tokugawa regime in Japan. In actuality, however, they established in their locality the so-called little kingdoms under the illusion of Vijayanaga sovereignty.⁸

Inscriptions examined and chronologically numbered

1. AR, 1945/46-90, CgD-SpT-Sorajeri, 1500.
2. AR, 1953-253, CgD-TIT-Ramancheri, 1501.
3. AR, 1953-254, CgD-TIT-Ramancheri, 1509-29.
4. AR, 1916-246, SAD-CiT-Srimushnam, 1513, Feb.
5. SII, xxiv, 364, TPD-TpT-Srirangam, 1513.
6. AR, 1941/42-183, NAD-PoT-Sengupatteri, 1518.
7. AR, 1943/44-111, SAD-KIT-Rishivandhyam, 1915, Sep.
8. AR, 1936/37-105, TPD-TpT-Jambukesvaram, 1519, Nov.
9. AR, 1936/37-107, TPD-TpT-Jambukesvaram, 1519, Dec.
10. AR, 1943/44-110, SAD-KIT-Rishivandhyam, 1520, Jan.
11. AR, 1937/38-495, SADTkT-Elavanasur, 1520, Feb.
12. AR, 1937/38-494, SADTkT-Elavanasur, 1520, Jul.
13. AR, 1927-230, TJD-KuT-Suriyanarkoil, 1950, Jul.
14. AR, 1968/69-273, TJD-TjT-Koviladi, 1521.
15. AR, 1934/35-175, SAD-TkT-Arakandlmanallur, 1523.
16. AR, 1905-677, MDD-NIT-Tiruvedagam, 1526.
17. AR, 1916-167, SAD-TdT-Kiliyanur, 1531, Feb.
18. AR, 1929-33, RDD-TyT-Sivapuri, 1531, Mar.
19. AR, 1935-26, CgD-CgT-Nedungunram, 1533.
20. AR, 1935-53, CgD-CgT-Kondangi, 1537, Aug.
21. AR, 1933-A8, CgD-MC-Madras (CP), 1537.
22. AR, 1935-55, CgD-CgT-Agaram, 1539.

Chapter - V

Nayaka Polity A Theoretical Appaisal

In the history of south india, Vijayanagara and post Vijayanagara period identified the political and cultural transition. The post Vijayanagara period evidenced the deterioration of vast Empires and emergence of the local chiefs like Amaranayakas - Palegars, who were very close to the common people. Vijayanagara Emperors are responsible for the rise of such palegars. So as the background of this study, the nature of Vijayanagara Empire is discussed, as under.

The scholars have divided the research that took place until today about Vijayanagara Empire in to three periods. Such as

1. from 1900 to 1936
2. from 1936 to 1947
3. from 1947 to till date.

Important factors that can be noticed in these periods are, first period is drowned in the influence of the British colonial policy, and second period is creating an idea of nationalism, which was the outcome of the freedom movement. Apart from these two, the third stage includes the Micro level studies of a particular region, language, caste, religion etc.

Although Before 1900 A.D., Mark Wilks and Colonel Collin Mackenzie gave partial records about Vijayanagara Empire. However, during 1900 Robert Sewell wrote a full-fledged book called 'A Forgotten Empire', by keeping Vijayanagara Empire as its centre. In which he describes the Vijayanagara Emperors as "The cruel rulers of the east", also tried to explain the feudal relationship of the powerful vassals and the royal family.

From 1900 to till date, many reserches have done about Vijayanagara Empire. Among them Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's 'Sources of Vijayanagara history (1919), Neelakanta shastri and Venkata ramanaiyah's "Further sources of vijayanagara history (1946). P.B. wagonor's Tidings of the king: A translation and ethnological analysis of the Rayavachakamu(1993) are very important, and provides us good information.

Regarding the Regional history Vijayanagara emperors ruled the areas of three linguistic states of south India, regarding its history, social & political life in the Vijayanagara empire (1931) (for Karnataka) of B.S. Saletore, Studies in the third dynasty of Vijayanagara (1935) (for Andhra Pradesh) of Venkataramanaiah, Administration and social life inVijayanagara (1940) and Economic life in Vijayanagara(1951) of Mahalingam T.V., and the Tamil country under Vijayanagara (1964) (for Tamilnadu) of A. Krishnaswamy are very important.

Regarding its cultural history where kings and gods meet: the royal centre at Vijayanagara (1984) India of Pritz, Mishall & Nagaraj rao. City & Empire: New currents of research (1985), edited by Dellaphilkola & Lalematt are very important works.

NATURE OF VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.

There is no unanimity among the above mentioned works, regarding the nature of vijayanagara empire. For Ex. K.A. Neelakanta shastri,¹ and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar,² argued that “mainly centralized system of administration was practiced in vijayanagara empire, and itself was its nature”. According to Prof. A.V. Venkataratnam,³ “Vijayanagara Empire was characterized by united feudalism and decentralized elements in its nature”. According to Venkataramanaiah,⁴ Sangama brothers, the founders of vijayanagara were Telugu people and they came from Andhra coast, basically they were in the service of the Kakatiya state of Andhra. After occupying Karnataka region, they implemented the Kakatiya type of Administration in Karnataka also. Further he gave a comparison between the Nayakara and Aayagaara systems that were practiced in Kakatiya state and the vijayanagara empire respectively.

Krishna swamy pillai wrote a book called ‘The Tamil country under vijayanagara’ in 1964, in which he quotes that “feudal system was practiced everywhere in vijayanagara empire, so that the central administrative system was weak in vijayanagara period”.

During 1980, Burton stein criticize the ‘central polity’ theory of Neelakantashastri in his works called ‘peasant state and society in medieval south India’ and ‘vijayanagara’. He profounded the ‘segmentary state theory’. According to him “vijayanagara was never be an empire and centralized administration was not practiced like medieval European countries. If such system was practiced in Europe, the same was existed in India, is not correct. Instead of that in Vijayanagara a number of segmentary states existed. They were free from the control of the capited and had their own administrative system”.

Thus Vijayanagara emperors were not absolute monarchs like contemporary rulers of medieval Europe. Instead of that, they were mere ritual figures.

Prof. Kharashima, renowned historian of Japan, Opines that “Vijayanagara Kingdom made compromise between the centralised and decentralised elements in their administration”. Like this, many concepts developed about the nature of Vijayanagara Empire. However, one should accept that there were provisions for the decentralization in Vijayanagara Empire. However, the historians like Burton stein purposefully neglected the information given by the Portuguese travelers Nuniz & Domingo paes. According to paes’s report, vijayanagara commanders ruled the cities, towns & villages like kings. Some of them got a million or one and half million pardavo as income; others got hundred thousand pardavo as income. According to their income, king fixed the number of soldiers maintained by each commander. Besides maintaining their army, every commander should give annual tributes to the king. Bisnagar king had five senators and many other commanders, who had a vast areas & large income under their control.⁵

According to Nuniz All the lands belonged to the king, commanders received it by the king and ruled,⁶. Bisnagar state was divided among more than 200 Nayakas, who belonged to the different religions,⁷ considering the information given by these travellers “In Vijayanagar, during 16th century the political power was decentralised.

Nuniz wrote “There were two hundred different grades of captains serving in the lower range of hierarchy. The captains mentioned by Nuniz may be compared to the Amarnayakas referred to in vijayanagara inscriptions. This establishes beyond doubt the presence of political and economic decentralization in Vijayanagara Empire.

Totally, the political & Economic power in Vijayanagara Empire was not concentrated only in the central government. It was distributed among many Amaranayakas, through several military units.

NAYAKA SYSTEM : CRITICISM

Amaranayakas were originally the military officers. They received land by the king on the condition of providing military service. According to T.V. Mahalingam "All lands belonged to the king; he distributed it among his dependents. Like this, who received the lands by the king were called as the Nayakas⁸. Contemporary inscriptions throw light upon such Nayakas and receiving of lands by the king. The land grants given to them were called as Amaramagani,⁹ Amaranayakara,¹⁰ Amaramahale¹¹ Amara umbali,¹² Amara pandeya nayaka,¹³ etc. The studies about such nayakas are still in primary stage. Regarding Nayaka research, it need much clarity. The technical problem for its slow study is; the problem of the use of inscriptions, which are considered as the primary sources. Because vijayanagara empire was extended far & wide of kannada, Telugu & Tamil language zones of south India. Even many Sanskrit inscriptions also found here. Not only this many inscriptions belonging to Vijayanagara were waiting for publish and some were destroyed. This type of dissatisfaction environment, the different languages of the inscriptions and many unpublished inscriptions made the study of Nayaka dynasty very difficult.

The Vijayanagara emperors identified such Amaranayakas locally, and gave them recognition. In return, they had to render their services to the Empire. They had to show their loyalty to the Empire by offering tribute with looking after the given provinces. This system is often called as the Nayaka system.

We can notice two stages in the evolution of Nayaka system,

1. From 1500 AD to 1625 AD.
2. After 1625 AD.

Nearly 125 years, the administration of Vijayanagara Empire was more or less as a part of the existence of the pategars-Amaranayakas. In this period, they bowed to their masters. In the second stage majority of the Amaranayakas got independence and established their own administration.

Totally, during vijayanagara period Amaranayaka-pategars were the centre point of the state. Burton stein says "Amaranayakas were the middlemen between the emperor and the people and it was a slight deviation from hither to existed system,¹⁴.

Amaranayaka was an able man who received a fixed land as a grant, by the king and ruled that land as obedient to the king. He should maintain an army in his province and assigned the royal service in case of necessity. Nayaka also collect the taxes of his region and pay a fixed amount to the king in every September. This system was beneficial to both king and Amaranayakas. Such leaders were called as the Amaranayakas. But Prof. Kharashima,¹⁵ a Japan historian who studied about the Tamilnadu Nayakas, expressed his own idea. According to him,

1. Title as Nayaka
2. He got the province through Nayakaship
3. Position of an intermediary between king and the people.

A person, who had any one feature among the three, will be identified as Amaranayaka. According to the scholars who studied about the Amaranayakas quotes that “he only called as Amaranayaka, who had all the three features mentioned by Kharashima”. In this backdrop, if we studied the Nayakas, in my view “He only is accepted as nayaka, who received the lands by an emperor, or a powerful nayaka, or Mahamandaleshwara for his Nayakatana”. It is not possible to become nayaka, by just adding the title ‘Nayaka’ to his name. Because there was no place for such Nayakas in Vijayanagar administrative system.

Nayaka system became systematic in Vijayanagara Empire, especially during Tuluva period. Tuluva emperors granted some areas or provinces to the able leaders to administrate. Such leaders were called as the Amaranayakas. Some leaders working as Amaranayakas without having the title Nayaka with their name. Sometimes in some inscriptions, it is mentioned as NAMMA AMARA NAYAKATANAKKE or AMARAMAGANIGE..... instead of “NAMMA NAYAKATANAKKE PALISTE SEEME”. There is no fundamental difference between nayakatana & Amaranayakatana. It should be clarified by the in depth study of the inscriptions.

NAYAKA SYSTEM AND FEUDALISM

The Nayaka system was established by Vijayanagara Emperors is compared in some aspect of the feudalism, which was practiced in medieval Europe. The combination of military and land cultivation was the breath of feudalism. It was not possible to leave one or the other. It was a stratified society, where king or leader was in the top, the production classes like peasants & surfs were in the bottom. There were intermediaries between the two classes, who had two faces.

1. Showing obedience to the upper class
2. Receiving the same from the lower class¹⁶.

The local leaders Accepting the king as their master, showing obedience through the submission of tributes was the important aspect of the feudal system. Though Indian feudal system was not the replica of European feudalism, it had some concepts in it.

For Ex. Jahagirs & grants (umbalis) were the centers of the feudal activities in Europe. Jahagirdar was under the control of the king, it was in the form of military. Similarly, Amaranayakas received the land by the king, were obedient and reserved his military to the service of the king. Nayaka was the real master of his province.

Vijayanagara Emperors gave lands to the Amaranayakas for their military service. However, in medieval Europe, for safety and security, Land holders gave their holdings to the king. Later they received the same as Jahagirs. The entire society was under the influence of feudalism in Europe. But in Amaranayaka system, only the influence of feudalism can be seen in Vijayanagara Empire. The principles of feudalism were not deep rooted in Nayaka system. During 15th & 16th centuries, it took its birth as historical necessity in Vijayanagara, due to the policies of the kings. In this background it is said that Vijayanagara had decentralized & feudal system of administration. Amaranayakas were the pillars of the empire; this system can be called as the Nayankara system. Kannada dictionaries described¹⁷ feudalism means “land is granted in return for service”. This type of grants appeared in 16th century Vijayanagara period inscriptions. Before 14th and 15th century Mahamandaleswara, Mahapradhana, Dannayaka, Officers received land grants from the king. They were all Just officers of the state. They had not their own Nayakatana. The features of Feudalism can see

only in 16th century Nayakas of Vijayanagara. During Krishnadevaraya & Sadashivaraya period, more number of feudal lords were created. So it became easy for them to establish a huge empire and maintain law & order. Because every Amaranayaka was responsible for maintaining the law & order of his province. During 16th century they were all under control of the king. There was a system of transfer of Nayakas before they become dominant in his region.¹⁸

We have the references that certain nayakas had Nayakatana over two provinces,¹⁹. Ex. Thimmappa Nayaka had Nayakatana over Iraivanaryur and Tiruchanapalli of Tamilnadu in 1519AD,²⁰. Therefore during Tuluva period Nayaka's had received land grants for a limited periods. They were transferred within they controlled over their province. This transfer system didnot break the feudalistic relation between king and the Nayaka's. Thus, Emperor was the ultimate owner of the land; the land officially received by him belonged to great man called Amara Nayaka of feudalistic system. He should pay a fixed amount of tributes to the king and protect the empire by maintaining the army. This system functioned well up to the kings were powerful & held his control over Amaranayakas.

An analysis of nayaka polity from a different standpoint would bring the elements of feudalism to light. In course of presenting grants to the temples or Brahmins, Amaranayakas should mention the name of their emperors. This tradition tells us about their feudal factors.

At the end of the 16th century, central polity of Vijayanagara was declined. Many nayakas make use of this opportunity, discarded the orders and started their own administration. Under this situation, Vijayanagara Emperors made changes in their political policies, stopped the transfer of Amaranayakas and started a new policy of recognizing them as the hereditary ruler of their own provinces. Because of this Amaranayakas became dominant in their own territories then they ruled at the same place for many years. Thus after converting in to a political power, Amara Nayaka families started the wars for their survival or expansion. In course of this, the powerful Amaranayakas defeated the weak Amaranayakas and bring them under their control. Under this situation, they created the sub feudalism.

An analysis of nayaka polity from a different standpoint would bring the elements of feudalism to light. As like the emperors, Amaranayakas also presented many grants to the temples, Mutts, Agraharas, etc. This became a cause for the creation of feudal factors in the economic system of Amaranayaka states. Such land tenure development extended from starting to end can see in inscriptions. Because of this, economic policy, between Nayaka and producer the mediators like Mutt, Temple, Agrahara etc were created, Thus collection of all taxes, according land ownership and receiving administrative rights by the Nayaka's helped to developed the Mediators, become strong units in the administrative system. The individuals & institutions, who received the grants were exempted from paying all kind of taxes, this resulted in decreasing of the state revenue. Increasing number of grants resulted in the increase of burden of taxes on the villagers.

Being intermediaries, the donated village owners and the institutions tried to keep the people of their area, socially & economically under their control. Supporting to this, can verify the Sringeri Samsthan Jahagir records.

Ex : Sringeri rose up its head as a dominant feudal unit up to the samsthana of 3000 seeme by receiving land grants & village grants from Vijayanagara and Keladi rulers.

Thus Amara Nayaka system contains feudalistic pattern of elements. The states of Amara Nayaka took its birth in the frame work of feudal system of Vijayanagara and developed systematically. After the decline of Vijayanagara Amaranayakas established feudal system of their own. They also created the intermediaries and small feudal units in their provinces, by giving different type of grants to the inscriptions and the individuals.

Like this, the nature of 16th century Nayaka system is that, receiving lands by the emperor, getting recognition over the right of administration. The Nayakas try to establish rights over the maintenance of production in local province through that increased their strength on one side and On the other side, it gave a chance to consider them as the feudal lords.

KINGSHIP & THE AMARANAYAKAS.

Until now, the researches about kingship concept were based on the analysis of Manu Dharmashastra or Kautilyas Arthashastra, or Veda, Brahmanaka and other religious texts. We may say that, much work has not been done based on inscriptions & contemporary literature. The scholars like Burton Stein used contemporary records & studied medieval south Indian states is an important.

Burton Stein's analysis about south Indian states including chola and Vijayanagara is the segmentary state concept. According to him there was no centralized political system in Vijayanagara. The duties of the king was limited to religious rites,²¹. Like this, he made differentiation between the two types of sovereignty called religious rites & politics. He has mentioned of it in one of his works,²². "Vijayanagara remained a segmentary state and society: its kings-Rayas-exercised ritual sovereignty over an under polity of great and small chiefdoms".

Burton Stein refused the control of the emperor over local chiefs & the people. According to him, Amaranayakas were able warriors; they were military companions of the emperor. However, they must be provincial rulers in all through.

In Indian thought, we consider the difference between religion and economy and took it as only an imaginary concept; then only understand the sovereignty of religion and politics. Burton Stein argued that "there was no political sovereignty for emperor over his empire" this argument is not acceptable because the Vijayanagar inscriptions substantiates that the emperor gave the land to the Nayakas for their Nayakatana only. According to Portuguese merchant's records "the nayakas maintained a fixed number of army and also paid the land revenues to the king regularly,²³. However, Stein regarded it as an imaginary and rejected. This is also not acceptable. Because whenever a nayaka want to give land grants, he was expected to take prior permission of the emperor.

Ex: During Achutaraya's period, there was an Amaranayaka in Holalkere called Hadapa Baiyapendra nayaka, he asked the emperor to permit him to give land grants to the Brahmin scholars. Achutaraya granted the permission. It is mentioned in an inscription,²⁴. Is not it reflects the political power of the Vijayanagara Emperor over Amaranayakas and the people?

The political relationship of Emperors with the Nayakas not only ended to Nayaka level, it continued upto common people. Ex;-According to Nobura kharashima, "Natavars, the local chiefs of south Arcot district of Tamilnadu, paid the three taxes of kanmala clan to the emperor". This Natavaras were the representatives of the emperor and the Nayakas. He

quotes this by taking the inscriptions as a reference. ²⁵ So even the common people had the knowledge of state hierarchy. (from Emperor to Nayaka)

According to Noboru Kharashima the concept of common people about the king was completely political one. Therefore, even the local temples also sent their representatives to Vijayanagara through the Nayakas to decrease or to cancel the taxes.

Had Nayakas not been implementing the royal orders, they would have been getting punishment available in literary documents. For ex. Thimmanna Nayaka of Chitradurga and Kempegowda of Yelahanka.

So during Vijayanagara period the emperor was not merely managed the religious rites but also used his political power over Amaranayakas and the common people.

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Chapter - VI Conclusion

Nayaka system played an important role in the Vijayanagar administration, especially during the time of Krishnadevaraya. The findings of the Project “The Nayakataha During the Vijayanagara Empire with Reference to Tuluva Dynasty” are as follows.

So it is cleared that the Nayaka system was existed in the later Ganga's of Orissa even before the Kakatiyas. As the scholars did not give the correct chronology of the Ikta system, it is difficult to say that the Nayaka system is its gift. So as for now, from the available evidences and the scholar's opinion we can only opine that later Gangas of Orissa started this system and later Kakatiyas adopted. Further their immediate successors, like Vijayanagara rulers adopted, as time being revised and developed it. Since how long this opinion will continue is depend upon the future researches.

In conclusion Krishnaswamy in the year 1964 defined “the Nayaka system as those who had the title Nayaka along with their names.”

Further Burton Stain, who followed Krishnaswamy, changed Nayanka System as it was in the year 1980.

Further Japanese historian Kharashima accepted the opinion of Krishnaswamy and Burton stain. He divided the definition of Nayaka system, in which it had any one aspect called as Nayaka. Prof. Lakshman Telagavi also followed the same.

But recent researchers Ota Nobuhiro and Dr. D N Yogeeshwarappa did not accept the above opinions. According to them it is not possible to become Nayaka by merely adding the word Nayaka to their individual name. It was not possible to play a major role in the Vijayanagara for such nayakas. Those who received lands for Nayakatana, by the king are called as the Nayakas. They only comes under the Nayaka system.

It is not suitable that Burton Stain and Kharashima used the word nayaka in the Nayaka system parallel to the Telugu word Nayanka, the Kannada word Nayakatana and the Tamil word Nayakkatanam as recorded in the Vijayanagara inscriptions. Because in that system all those who had the name Nayaka along with their individual name included. So it is better to call this system as Nayankara / Nayakatana. Earlier studies also mentioned the same.

They are Beda, Golla, Lingayata, Gowda, Kuruba and others. In Tamil nadu Kallar and Marwar and in Maharashtra Ramoshi, can be identified in this category. It is possible that some of Amara Nayakas were the relatives of Vijayanagar emperors (Yogeeshwarappa 2009 P X), So we can conclude that Amara Nayakas did not belong to one particular community, to expand this further Nayakas were from different communities like Kshatriya , Baliya, Kamma, Velama, Brahmana, Boya and others.

Soma reddy opines that Muslims were also appointed as Nayakas during that period. (Soma reddy 1984:P.210) Subba rayalu also opined that Nayaka System transcended caste and communities and it is possible that some tribals were also trained to become Nayakas. (Soma reddy 2005 :P 73) Hence we can say that, all research and study exhibits a variety of opinions about the Nayaka community. Though the Brahmins played a pivotal role in the Nayaka system, other communities were not neglected.

It can be concluded that most of the shudra communities had also participated in the Nayaka system of administration.

By considering Krishnadevaraya's administration it can be sum up with the following points. Such as,

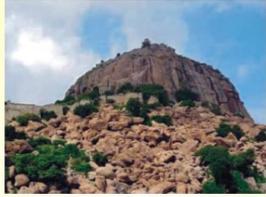
1. The inscriptions documented that there were 68 Nayakatana in all the three states of Karnataka, Andhra and Tamilnadu. Only 55 simes included to the Nayakatana.
2. 55 Individuals administered different simes through Nayakatana.
3. Raya granted Nayakatana to different communities among them Brahmana's were in upper hand 50% of thae Nayaka position was accquired by them. The others like Beda, Golla also had the Nayakatana.
4. There was no heridatory rule in sime's of Nayakatana. A few cases of transfer from one place to another can be seen.
5. It is clear that some times Raya granted more than one sime to Nayakatana for single individual. The highest was three simes at a time.
6. The highly influential families who received Nayakatana by the king were the Timmarasu family of Andhra and Mallappa Nayaka family of Tamil Nadu.
7. Majority of the Individuals who held Nayakatana, assumed different positions in the administration. Such as Mahamandaleswara, Mahapradhani, Rayasa, Karyakekarta. Bhokkasada, Rahuta, Pradhana etc. The direct contact of these people with the king was responsible for this.
8. The Nayakas not only looked after the administration of their simes but also collected the taxes and remitted it to the royal treasury. There was no uniformity in the taxation of simes of Nayakatana. So the Nayakas, who remitted highest tax to royal treasury, harassed the people.
9. If the Nayakas were not loyal to the king, his Nayakatana was confiscated. So in order to exhibit the loyalty to the king, they donated for his religious merit. For ex. 25 Nayakas donated to the temples for religious merit of the king. Two Nayakas donated two mathas in the name of Raya etc. By this way the Nayakas used the technique of Dana (charity) to get the support of the king.
10. Among 55 Nayakas only 19 of them had Nayaka title at the end of their name. So it was not compulsory for a person to hold Nayakatana to have a Nayaka title in his name. For Ex. the family members of saluva Thimmarasu had the previlige of holding Nayakatana but they did not have Nayaka in their name. Another influential family at the time of Krishnadevaraya was Mallappa Nayaka who had included Nayaka title at the end of his name (*Timmappa Nayaka, Chinnappa Nayaka*)
11. Krishnadevaraya's inscriptions show that Nayaka was not a caste name. For Ex.: Ahobala Devaiah was a Brahmin, whose sons name was Krishnaraya Nayaka. He had the Nayakatana of Sri Rangapattana. Therefore if an individual received Nayakatana, then only he would be called as 'Nayaka' but not if he had Nayaka in his name.

Altogether it can be said that, after receiving the simes for Nayakatana by the emperor, they were called Nayakas. They were ruling as mediators between king and the subjects. They may be called as the District incharge ministers of modern times.

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Jinji Fort



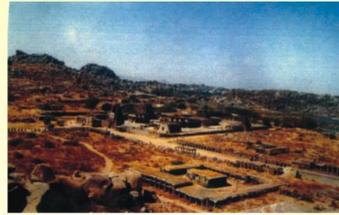
Konda Vedu Fort



Entrance of Penagiri Fort, Penugonde.



Burial of Timmarasu, Penugonde.



View of Bazar Street, Hampi



View of the Temple Complex, Hampi.



Bazar Street, Hampi



Lotus Mahal, Hampi.



Konda Vedu Fort Drawing



Krishna Temple, Hampi.



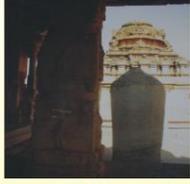
Konda Vedu Fort



Stone Chariot at Hampi



View of Mahanavami Dibba, Hampi.



Central View of Krishna Temple, Hampi.



Sculptures : Mahanavami Dibba, Hampi.



Statue of Achyutaraya



Kannada Inscription at Hampi



Achyutaraya and his Minister
Hampi.



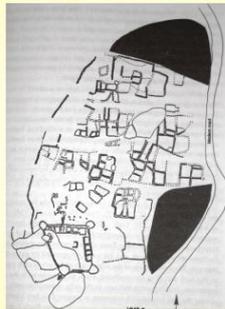
Achyutaraya giving a Gift
Hampi.



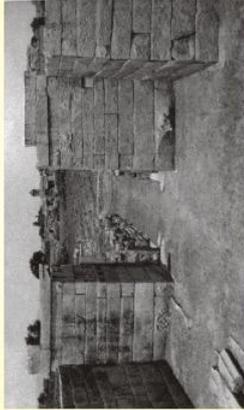
Front wall, Hampi.



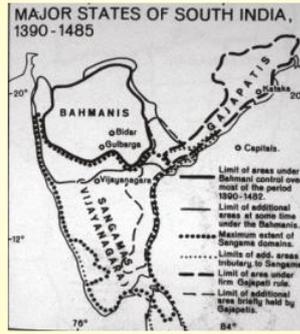
Krishnadevaraya Statue, Tirupathi.



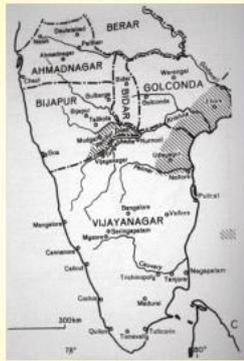
Fort and Associated Settlement at Hampi



Singarada Hebbagalli, Hampi.



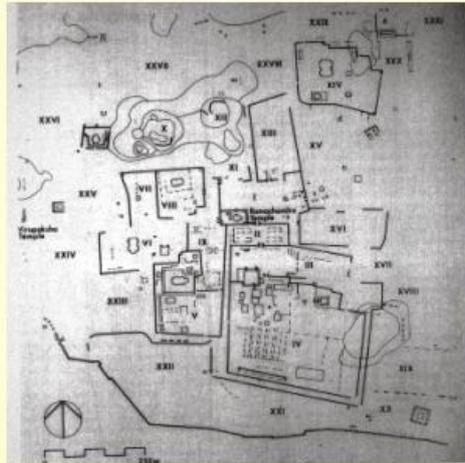
Source : Joseph E. Schwartz Berg (rd)
A Historical atlas of South Asia, 1978.



South India in 16th Century
Source Royas Inagery Networks of Power of Vijayanagara
by Nalini Rao



Vijayanagara City



Enclosures in the Royal Center at Vijayanagar



Dr. D. N. Yogeewarappa Associate Professor and IROD Department of History Since Siddaganga college of Arts science and commerce for women, B H Road Tumkur. He recognized as an erudite scholar engages in research in Karnataka. He is also recognized for his valuable work. Hagalwadi Nayakas. He has in-depth and esopante knowledge about Amarnayakas, who played a very important role in the administration of Vijayanagara Empire.

His research work "Madhya kalina Karnataka Palaganaru" was the best work of research. He has already published twelve research books the present work "Nayakatana System" discusses about the Vijayanagara Administration. It contains an in-depth study of the origin, communities and definitions of the Nayakas. Which of important to the research scholars. He argues that "who received land grants for Nayakatana from the king are known as Nayakas "the title Nayaka is an official designation and not a community name which by and large acceptable His argument created discussion in the field of research in history. Dr. D N Yogeewarappa has continued his work in the same field.

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