SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE
IN THE
VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE
(A.D. 1346—A.D. 1646)
VOLUME II

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. THE VARNA-SRAMA-DHARMAS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE BRAHMANS</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. WOMEN</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SOCIAL LEGISLATION, ETIQUETTE, AND ORTHODOXY</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. PUBLIC SERVICE, HONOURS, AND PATRIOTISM</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. HABITATION, FOOD, AND DRESS</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. CORPORATE LIFE IN SOCIAL MATTERS</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Foot notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Virupaksha Temple.

[Frontispiece Vol. II.]
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE
IN THE
VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I
VARṆĀŚRAMA DHARMA

SECTION I. Dharma in Relation to Society

The huge and costly forces, some aspects of which we have described, were necessary in an age when the rulers stood as champions of the thought and culture of the people. In the statement of an epitaph that Bukka-mahipati was a reincarnation of Krishṇa, who “re-appeared as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by Mlechchhas”, we have one of the most salient features of the Hindu classical lawgivers expressed in terms of contemporary history. The Vijayanagara age, as we have elsewhere remarked, saw the resuscitation of Hindu life. And this was only possible with a revival of the ancient Dharma modified to some extent by the experience of ages.

The monarchs as well as the people were aware of the relationship of Dharma to society. It was the endeavour of the former to protect the varṇāśrama dharma; it was the ambition of the latter to follow the classical precepts without endangering the prosperity of the land. To the Hindus, as is well known, the word Dharma covered a large field of human activity: it was used to denote the whole social order with its attributes of law, conduct and worship. It was, therefore, as
vast in its range as it was complex in its character. Its end could only be realized by the united action of the people led by the king. The ancients invented a singular method of securing their object. They instituted the four varṇas or castes (and the four āśramas or orders) and gave the system a touch of divinity, reiterating the interdependence of the different parts. The four castes and the duties assigned to each of these are too familiar to need a description here. Nevertheless in understanding the interdependence of the four castes and in the consequent solidarity of the whole system, we cannot help noting the following words by Manu: "The king has been created (to be) the protector of the castes (varṇa) and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties." Then again: "Abstention from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs", Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes. Hence we have in Vaśiṣṭha: "(To live according to) the rule of conduct is undoubtedly the highest duty of the men. He whose soul is defiled by vile conduct perishes in this world and in the next."

Manu, who is our main authority on the subject, has minutely delineated the duties pertaining to every one of the four castes. He has laid down their mutual obligations, and, further he has allowed them a latitude, in the matter of adhering to their own duties in ordinary times and of assuming the functions of their inferiors on extraordinary occasions, which is especially seen in the social activities under Vijayanagara. The apparent diversity of the four varṇas, which seems to be a prominent feature of the system, was according to Manu, by no means a source of conflict between them. In the following

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1 It is difficult to define Dharma. We can only repeat the words of Dr. Kielhorn: "I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit dharma..." Ep. Ind., IX., p. 113, n. (7).
2 Manu, VII., 35, p. 221.
3 Ibid., X., 63, p. 416.
4 Vaśiṣṭha, VI., 1, p. 34.
regulations he tells us, firstly, about the interdependence of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, and, then, about the importance of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras in the social order. "When the Kshatriyas became in any way overbearing towards the Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas themselves shall duly restrain them, for the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brāhmaṇas. Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brāhmaṇas, iron from stone, the all-penetrating force of those (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced. Kshatriyas prosper not without Brāhmaṇas, Brāhmaṇas prosper not without Kshatriyas; Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, being closely united, prosper in this (world) and in the next ".¹ Then, again, Manu says: "The Brāhmaṇa is declared (to be) the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top. . . ."² This explains why in the Institutes of Gautama we have the following: "It has been declared in the Veda: 'Brāhmaṇas, united with Kshatriyas, uphold gods, manes, and men.' "³ About the importance of the third varṇa Manu says: "For when the Lord of creatures (Prajāpati) created cattle, he made them over to the Vaiśya; to the Brāhmaṇa and to the king, he entrusted all created beings."⁴ Further we have the following as regards the interdependence of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras: "(The king) should carefully compel Vaiśyas and Śūdras to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion."⁵ The Hindu society, therefore, according to the ancients, was divided into a number of component parts, each of which, while it had some specific duties to perform, was also required to work for the common purpose—the realization of the Dharma. Therefore "one may detect beneath the outer garb of dogma a

¹ Manu, IX., 320-2, p. 399.
² Ibid., XI., 84, p. 447.
³ Gautama, XI., 27, p. 238.
⁴ Manu, IX., 327, p. 400.
keen appreciation of the principle of specialization and division of labour as well as that of the organic unity of society."

The Vijayanagara conception of the social order was, on the whole, modelled on the classical precepts. That the rulers were aware of the varnåśrama dharma is proved by numerous records as well as by references in literature. Harihara Rāya II, in A.D. 1399, is said to have been "engaged in upholding the observances of all the castes and orders", and to have been "the supporter of the four castes and orders". In A.D. 1403 the same monarch is described to be protecting the duties of the various castes (Harihara-mahārāyaru Vijeyanagariyal(i) śri-Virūpākṣa-dēvara sannidhiyalli varnāśrama-dharmaṁgaḷan(n)u pālisutta). The same phrase is used in connection with him and with his son Virūpākṣa in the next year. In A.D. 1404 and A.D. 1405 Bukka (II) is also represented as protecting the varnāśrama dharma from Vijayanagara. From A.D. 1407 till A.D. 1432 we come across various inscriptions in which Dēva Rāya II is said to be protecting all the varnā-śrama dharmas (sakala-varnāśrama dharmanavannu pālisutta . . . ) In A.D. 1423 the phrase sakala-varnāśrama-dharmaṁgaḷan(n)u pālisutta dharma-mārgada sakala-sāmrāja-van ālu is used both in regard to Dēva Rāya and Śrīgirinātha Oḍeyya (son of Kammaṇa Oḍeyya), the Viceroy over Āraga, Mallikārjuna Mahārāya, from A.D. 1448 to A.D. 1451, is also depicted as upholding the duties of all the castes. The idea of the varnāśrama dharma survived the shock of the battle of

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4 *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 9, Tl. 13, pp. 164-6, Tl. 196, p. 206.
5 *Ibid.*, Tl. 11, 12, 126, pp. 164-5, 187.
7 *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 14, text, p. 450, op. cit.
8 *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 32, p. 81, text, p. 317, Kp. 44, p. 83, text, p. 325. The name Dēva Rāya given to the king in this latter inscription is to be interpreted as Immaḍī Dēva Rāya. See also *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 155, p. 193.
Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, as is evident from the use of the phrase in connection with Sadāśiva Rāya in A.D. 1566. In an inscription dated A.D. 1577, of the times of Śrīraṅga Rāya, we have the following about the Emperor Sadāśiva—पुराणायाम प्रशासति वर्णोऽराम-सद-आचारा-परिपालना-पुरवाकामू।

But these were not the only monarchs who were credited with the observance of the वर्णोऽराम dharma. The picture of Sāluva Nṛsiṁha, as given in the Sāluvābhhyudayam, makes us believe that that ruler maintained the traditional dignity of the sovereigns as Defenders of the Faith. As we have already remarked, Sāluva Nṛsiṁha appeared like Indra pledged to uphold the cause of the Dēvas, when he was seated on an elephant during the usual royal perambulations in the south.

But no Vijayanagara monarch could put forth such substantial claims for the honour of defending and promoting the Hindu Dharma as Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. Sōmanātha in his Vyāsayōgīcharitam shows an uncommon eulogy on that ruler which, but for the fact that it is confirmed by foreign as well as Indian sources, would have been given hardly any credence by students of history. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was the crest jewel of kings—विरोधणः सूपर्तिनां, and when he died, after making obeisance to the celebrated Vyāsarāya, his gurū, it seemed to the people that Kṛishṇa himself had departed from the ken of mankind at the end of His avatāra.

This encomium lavished on Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya is to be traced to the feeling of patriotism and benevolence which characteriz-
ed that able champion of the Hindu Dharma, and which made
the people believe that his rule was like a shower from heaven
blossoming the world at the commencement of spring.

तदन विजयानगरसमयं सम्राट्समुदायस्मयमानसमर्थकः

How ardent Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya himself was that his people as
well as posterity should judge him as the Defender of the
Dharma can be gathered from the concluding lines of his own
composition styled Jāmbhavati Kalyāṇa, where, with the
characteristic humility of a truly noble mind, he prays that the
fruits of his rule might last to the remotest periods of time:

धर्मं पाद चतुष्कोणं स्वतंत्रत्वं धर्मविशदे यथायेः

Foreigners, who personally interviewed the great ruler,
have given us many details about the grandeur of his court and
the number of his troops. But none has given such an ad-
mirable sketch of his character and person as Paes. It is
worthwhile to take his words into account in our estimate of
the greatest monarch southern India has ever seen. “This
king,” says Paes, “is of medium height, and of fair complexion
and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs
of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that
could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is
one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly,
asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be.
He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to
sudden fits of rage, and this is his title—‘Crisnarāo Macacão,
king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the

1 Vyasayogicharitam, p. 66. Cf. The popular conception of the
same ruler as given in E.C. X., CB. 4, p. 198, op. cit. (Ante., Vol. I,
Chapter IV), and in the two triumphal verses composed by the court
poets during his campaign of Koppadi, The Rāyavachakamu, The
Sources, p. 122, op. cit. (Ante., Vol. I, Chapter IX.)

three seas and of the land.' He has this title because he is by
rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses
in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact)
nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so
gallant and perfect is he in all things."¹ Coming as this does
from a foreigner who was ignorant of the ideas of Hindu
Dharma, it confirms the fear, love and esteem in which the
people held Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great.

SECTION 2. The Hindu View of Life

Dharma could only be realized by co-ordinating three other
aims which have ever been associated with it. In the words
of Manu,—" (Some declare that) the chief good consists in (the
acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, (others place it) in
(the gratification of) desire and (the acquisition of) wealth,
(others) in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit alone, and (others
say that the acquisition of) wealth alone is the chief good here
(below); but the (correct) decision is that it consists of the
aggregate of (those) three."² Manu, therefore, combines the
two-fold path of progress (pravṛitti) and of abstinence (mārṣṛi
) to secure liberation or self-realization. This ideal remained
unchanged till the mediaeval days. Thus does Śukra explain
the rules of social polity: "The activities of all creatures are
known to have happiness for their end. There can be no
happiness without morality. So one should be devoted to
morality (dharma). Let one not try to get mōkṣa without try-
ing to acquire the other three (viz., dharma, artha and kāma),
and let them constantly follow (the path of) mōkṣa without dis-
carding the other three. This is the (golden) mean in all reli-
gions".³ Here is "a profound appreciation of the totality of
human interests" which "lies, unless we are greatly mistaken,
at the root of the sociological ideas of the Hindus".⁴

with the word Macacão, writes: "A mixture, apparently, of Mahā, 'great'
and 'Shāh'". The word may as well stand for "Mahāraja. B.A.S.
² Manu, II, 234, pp. 70-1.
³ Śukraniti, III, ll. 2-5, p. 102.
⁴ Ghosal, Hind. Pol. Theor, p. 7 (1st ed.), p. 7 (2nd ed.).
Inscriptional evidence proves that the Hindu monarchs were Defenders of the Dharma; foreign travellers attest to the fact that their Empire, specially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was almost unrivalled for its riches and splendour. The Vijayanagara monarchs realized that material wealth was indispensable for the attainment of freedom of any kind. There was of course nothing new in this: Sukra had already expressed the mediaeval view in the following words: “Man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of anybody. So (one) should always carefully labour for wealth. Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation”. The ultimate significance of such a conception was indeed profound; it meant that the life of an average citizen was to be governed by considerations of material wealth rather than by those of metaphysical calculations. We may be permitted to repeat that there is no definite evidence to prove that the mediaeval treatise of Śukrāchārya influenced the thought and action of the Hindu rulers. Nevertheless we may assert, on the evidence of both foreign and indigenous accounts, that the Vijayanagara monarchs achieved remarkable success in co-ordinating the apparently divergent lines of action enunciated by legislators from Manu down to Śukrāchārya.

Whether in Vijayanagara times the distinction between the rich and the poor was as acute as is depicted in the Śukraniti, and whether they adopted the “eight good ways and means” of acquiring wealth, mentioned by the mediaeval lawgiver, it is not possible to say; but if one could judge from the opinions of writers of a later age, one may venture to remark that in Vijayanagara too there must have been as invidious distinctions between the rich and the poor as are mentioned, for example, by Vēmāna. This writer tells us that “If one be possessed of wealth they look upon him as the god of love; but if he falls into poverty, and is unable to rise and help himself, be he as

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1 Śukraniti, V. II. 77-9, p. 264; Sarkar, Pos. Back. II, P. I, p. 79.
Cupid himself, they look upon him as a Pariar."

If this was the heritage which was left by Vijayanagara to the people of the seventeenth century, we may well imagine that in its own days it could not have been free from those ideas of wealth and poverty which are usually associated with material prosperity.

SECTION III.—Some Features of Life in a Hindu Family

A. Pre-Vijayanagara

With these general notions of the aims and means of the Hindu Dharma, we may now ascertain, with the fragmentary evidence before us, a few facts concerning life in a Vijayanagara family. There is reason to believe that in the earliest periods of Indian history, the conception of home or family life was highly elevated, embracing as it did relationship in blood as well as in service. We have a pleasant glimpse of such a state of life in the edicts of Ashoka. Even in the seventh century A. D., the Hindu home was not much shorn of its antique simplicity. Bana in his description of his own life gives us a sketch of the stages through which a diligent Brahman passed; and in the following account he tells us that "the religious mendicants were intent on worshipping the shrines, having washed their feet and hands in the outpour of their water-pots; the fire, with the sacred grass spread round it, was blazing up, with its hands purified by the sacrificial vessels." Then, again, he speaks of the little folk at home: "the children were beginning to long to go to sleep, having enjoyed a good lying in bed while listening to the long stories of the old nurse", when the dreadful mouth of early night was beginning to yawn. Raja.aryavardhana lay down his sword in sorrow; and Harsha, perplexed and pained at his brother's attitude, gave vent to his feelings in an admirable soliloquy, in the course of which he gave further proof of the great love he bore to his brother.

1 Vemana, Verses, Bk. II., v. 25, p. 58. (Brown) See also pp. 84—101, 113. See infra, Chap. II, Section I.
2 Mookerjee, Asoka, p. 103.
3 Bana, Harshacharita, p. 66.
4 Ibid., p. 67.
He could not think of accepting the charge of sovereignty which was “like a rain of cinders on a drought parched wilderness, scorching one already scorched.” He is unable to find out the reason of Rājayavardhana’s renunciation. “This is unworthy of my lord. Again, although in this world a prince without pride, a Brahman without greed, a saint without anger, an ape without tricks, a poet without envy, a trader without knavery, a fond husband without jealousy, a poor man not an eye-sore, a hunter without cruelty, a mendicant with a Brahman’s learning, a contented servant, a grateful dicer, a wandering ascetic without gluttony, a misanthrope with a soft tongue, a truthful minister, and a King’s son without vice are all equally hard to find, yet my Lord himself has been my instructor.”

The figure of the noble Harshavardhana stands out in bold relief against the characters he has described in his speech.

Friends, children and wealth—these three constituted worldly happiness. The inscriptions of the twelfth century supply equally interesting features about the life in a Karṇāṭaka home. According to a record dated A. D. 1176, the most essential factors which could give happiness to a family were the following—pañcha-sūnā or cutting, grinding, cooking, carrying water, and sweeping; strī-mōha or love of women; parigrāha or land, house, cattle, grain, bipeds, quadrupeds, conveyance, bed, servants and vessels. These formed the three garavas which were as indispensable to the house-holder as they were harmful to the hermit.2 With the inclusion of a very minor but significant article, lamps, which is mentioned in A. D. 11953, we may venture to assert that the pre-Vijayanagara conception of home life included almost all things required for domestic happiness.

B. Vijayanagara

The uniformity in the Hindu system of home life is seen when we compare the ideas of the twelfth century with those

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1 Bāṇa, Harshacharīta, p. 68.
2 E. C., II., No. 66, p. 22, n. (2) (2nd ed.)
3 Ibid., No. 349, p. 153.
of mediaeval times. The eight sources of wealth and enjoyment, as given in a copper-plate record dated A.D. 1403, were houses, both kinds of land (wet and dry), cattle-folds, woods, waste grounds, land filled with game, rivers and hills—*manda-rain dvi-vidham kshētraṁ gōśṭāṁ cha vañam eṣa cha khili bhūlam cha yat kshētraṁ mṛiga-vāsas tathaiva cha nadi-parvata-bhūgaś cha ashta-bhūgaḥ prakṛtirūḥ*. Then again in a record dated A.D. 1583 we are told that Daḷavāyi Basavi Nāyaka was blessed by the people with health, wealth, cattle, gold, sons and grandsons, in order that he might live a long and unobstructed life.

The Hindu lawgivers have ascribed all happiness resulting from the acquisition of the above mentioned attributes to one of the four stages into which, according to them, wordly life may be divided. These four stages or orders, as is also well known, are those of the *brahmachārin* or student, *grihastha* or house-holder, *vānaprasta* or hermit, and *bhikṣu* (or beggar) or ascetic. Without dwelling at length on the specific duties pertaining to every one of the four orders, which are mentioned in detail by the lawgivers, we may observe that according to the Hindus great importance was attached to the *grihastā-śrama* or the order of the house-holder. This is evident from the following in the code of Manu: “As all living creatures subsist by receiving support from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the house-holder. Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the house-holder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) house-holders is the most excellent order.”

The respect in which this stage of life was held by the people of Vijayanagara is described in an inscription dated Ṣaka 1438 (A.D. 1516). Krishṇa Dēva Rāya, in the presence

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1 *E. C.*, XII, Si. 95, p. 101, text, p. 300.
4 *Manu*, III, 77—8, p. 89; *Cf. Śanti Parva*, Sec. LXVI. pp. 213—4.
of Viśṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra river, conferred the village of Māṇḍya, otherwise called Krishṇarāyapuram, together with certain hamlets, to Gōvinda Rāja, son of Varadāchārya, and grandson of Anantāchārya, on whom Venkaṭeśa after diligent search had placed the garland of flowers. The story alluded to in this inscription is briefly told by Rice. Anantāchārya, it appears, was a disciple of the reformer Rāmānujāchārya and the only one among his disciples who volunteered to accept the duty of daily preparing the garlands for the god Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati. This he did solely from bhakti or devotion to his guru. Gōvinda Rāja, who was twelfth in descent from Anantāchārya, was, it is said, a confirmed ascetic. The god learning the distress of his parents at their son’s remaining a bachelor and the threatened extinction of the family, appeared to him while at penance, and announcing that his devotion was accepted, threw a garland over him, at the same time directing him to marry and serve thenceforth as a householder. Whatever may be the value attached to this anecdote, it is significant that in an inscription of A.D. 1516 there should be an allusion to the excellence of the grī hastābrama and the piety of Anantāchārya.

We shall presently give examples of private charity testifying to the attachment which existed between members of a family. There cannot be a doubt that in the conduct of household duties, the people in Vijayanagara must have observed most of the orthodox rules which have ever governed a Hindu family. Even the princes of the Saṅgama dynasty, who were certainly not of the Brahman caste, seemed to have vigorously adhered to the regulations enjoined by the lawgivers on the

1 E. C., III., Md. 115, p. 52. Even now the representative of Anantāchārya’s family is the only person, it is said, who is garlanded on visiting Tirupati. Rice gives the memorial verse repeated on this occasion at Tirupati. Ibid., Intr., p. 24, n. (2).

2 E. C., ibid., Intr., ibid. Mr. R. Narasimhāchar tells us, however, that the epithet “on whom Venkaṭeśa placed a garland” does not apply to Gōvinda Dikshita but to the progenitor of his family, Anantāchārya. My. Arch. Rept. for 1908, p. 21.
dvīja or the twice-born castes. Kumāra Kaṁpana, as we saw in connection with the army, at dawn performed his ablutions as prescribed in the śāstras, and then started on his southern campaign.

On one important aspect of their home life we have much evidence. This is their filial love which may have been instrumental in bringing together into closer relationship the various conflicting elements in the political and social life of the people. The love of the parents for their children is a most remarkable feature of the Hindu family. Even so late as in A.D. 1720 foreigners were struck by it. Father Bouchet wrote to Father Balthus the following—“... it is most certain that, there is no nation in the world where parents are more fond of their children; the tenderness of the Fathers and Mothers in this respect is beyond imagination”.

This referred to the people of the south.

In the light of this observation it is not too much to say, we believe, that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and earlier, perhaps when orthodoxy was rampant among the people, the attachment of the parents to the children and the regard of the latter for the former must also have been especially noticeable. This only can explain the following epigraphs which deal with the filial love of the people. Honnana Gauḍa, son of Chikkana Gauḍa, of Ānevāḷa, in about A.D. 1430, erected the basti of Brahma-dēva and Padmāvatī, in order that Bommaṇṭa Gauḍa, the son born to him might obtain merit. What precisely they meant by the phrase might obtain merit (puṇyav āgabēk ēndu) is told to us in a record dated A.D. 1590 which says that Piriya Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, son of Śrīkanṭha Rājayya, king of Naṉjarāyapattāna, in order that his (?) adopted son Prāṇadhāreya Piri-Oḍeyar might attain to Kailāsa, made in his name a grant of Pirisamudra for the lights of the Kārttika-&pūjā of the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri. As regards the attachment which a mother felt

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1 Lockman, Travels of the Jesuits, III., p. 50.
3 Ibid., Hs. 121, p. 95.
for her daughter, we have an epigraph dated A.D. 1530 which relates that when Vira Bhairava Odéyar was ruling over Kárkaḷa, and his younger sister Kāḷala Đēvi was protecting the Bāguṇji-sīme, on the death of her daughter Ramā Đēvi, she gave in her name gifts in kind and money for the offerings of the god of Kallabasti in Tuluva.¹

There are many instances of the care with which children commemorated their love and respect for their parents. The Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara Vira Mallappa Odéyar’s son Bukkaṇṇa, evidently of the royal family, in order that dharma might be to Mallappa Odéyar, in A.D. 1355 made a grant of vessels for the god Đămōdaṇa of Bannūrgaṭṭa.² Harihara Mahāraṇy in A.D. 1376 “in order that his father the Mahāraṇyāđhirāja Rājapramēśvara Bukka Rāya might obtain union with Śiva, and through the removal of his sins acquire the favour of Paramēśvara”, bestowed the village of Hebasūr, renamed Bukkarāyapura, to Brahmans of all gōtras.³ The same ruler Harihara II, “in order that merit might be to his forefathers,” while in the capital in A.D. 1388, granted to a Brahman called Malli Bhaṭṭa the village Ayyarasanahalli in the Turvekeṛe-sthala, together with its thirteen hamlets.⁴ Krishṇa Đēva Rāya the Great in A.D. 1513 granted six villages to the temple of Hazāra-Rāma at Harīpe for the spiritual welfare of his parents, Narasaṇṇa Odéyar and Nāgājīyamamā.⁵ Achyuta Rāya in Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4) gave as a gift the village of Doṇḍavaṭi in Kurugōdu-sīme, to the god Bukkēśvara-dēva, consecrated by himself, in the name, and for the merit, of Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka’s mother Bukkammā.⁶ An undated epigraph records that the same monarch granted as a gift the village Chiṭikanahāḷa to the temple of Prasanna-Virūpāksha of Jenetegallu, Bellary district, for the merit of his father Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka.⁷

¹ E. C., VI., Kp, 47, p. 84.
² E. C., IX., An. 87, p. 119.
³ E. C., IV., Yd. 46, p. 59.
⁴ E. Ĉ., XII., Tp. 9, p. 44.
⁶ 195 of 1913.
⁷ 196 of 1913.
As in other matters, the monarchs set here an example to the nobles and the people. Bayappa Nāyaka in A.D. 1374 in order that, dhārma might be to his father, whose name is effaced in the record, and to his mother Chalō Nākitti made grants of land in his own Manṭe to Gaṅga Dēva Oḍeyar.1 Mallaṇṭa Oḍeyar, son of Dēva Rāya I, was the governor over the great city of Bemmattanakallu-paṭṭaṇa in A.D. 1411. That merit might be to his mother Mallayave, he made a grant of Kanchigananahalḷi, (location described), to provide for the decorations and festivals of the god Hiḍambanāṭha.2

This spirit did not disappear in the later ages of Vijayanagara history. In the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya, his kāryakarta (Agent) Mahārāja Kōṇḍamarusayyagāru, in A.D. 1520-1, caused to be constructed a tank at Anantasāgara for the religious merit of his mother Sankāyammā and his father Timmarusayya.3 Kōṇḍamarusayya’s precedent was copied by his son Rāyasta (i.e., Rāyasa) Ayyaparussayya, who, in Śaka 1447 (A.D. 1525-6), gave the village Jālavaṭi to the temple of Mallikārjuna Dēva at Kambadūru, Anantapur district, “in order that Rāyasta Kōṇḍamarusayya may dwell in heaven”.4 Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, son of Sōlūr Basavappa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1530, granted the village of Hārōhaḷi, in the Śivanasamudra-sṭhala, for the decorations and offerings of the god Tiruveṅgaḷanāṭha of Singāpura, in order that merit might be to Achyuta Rāya Mahārāya and to his own father Basavappa Nāyaka.5 The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Raghupati Rāja Mahā-arasu in A.D. 1538 made a grant of land in order that merit might be to Sirugammā, who was evidently his mother.6 The commander of the gate (of the palace) [bāgilā-dalavāyi] of Achyuta Rāya, Veṅgala Rāja, in A.D. 1542, in order that merit might be to his father Viṭṭha Rāja (i.e., Viṭṭṭhala Rāja) and to the god Viṭṭṭhala, caused the Kukka-

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1 E. C., IX, Nl. 53, p. 38.
2 E. C., XI., Cd. 14, pp. 5—6.
4 97 of 1913.
5 E. C., IX., Bu. 28, p. 8.
6 E. C., VI., Ck. 127, p. 52.
samudra to be constructed,¹ Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka and Koṇḍana Nāyaka, in a.d. 1546, in order that merit might accrue to their father, whose name is not given in the record, granted land for the god Virabhadrā (of?)². The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jagannātha Rājayya, in a. d. 1550, granted for the offerings and the tenth day festival of the god Chennigarāya of Tūruvekere, the village of Buvanahalli, in Sampa...sime, in order that his father might obtain merit.³ In the same year Vidyādhara-mahāpātre-arasu gave to Lakshmīpati-ayya, a learned Brahman, the village of Halaḍapura of the Kallalahalli-sṭhala in the Terakanambi-sime, in order that merit might accrue to his mother, whose name is effaced in the inscription, with the usual presentation of coin and pouring of water.⁴

Sometimes such grants which commemorated maternal and paternal affection also described their patriotic sentiments. A Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, whose name is effaced in the epigraph dated a.d. 1551, granted the village of Oḍagere, with all rights, for the god Mūlsthāna-liṅga, in order that merit might accrue to Sadāśiva Mahārāya, to Rāma Rājayya, and to his own father Gōpa Rājayya.⁵ In the same year the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāja Aubhaleśvara Dēva Mahā-arasu granted the village Bilanakōṭe, in the Gūṭr-sime, for the god (obviously of the local temple) in order that merit might be to Sadāśiva Mahārāya and to his own father.⁶ In a. d. 1554 Pāpi Dēva Chōla Mahā-arasu, son of Veṅgaḷa Rāja of the Sūrya-vaṁśa, granted the village called Uparikarahalli, also called Veṅgaḷapura, situated in the Rāyadurga kingdom, for the god Tīruveṅgaḷanātha of Ambaligere, in order that merit might accrue to his father⁷. Of a similar nature is the gift made in Śaka 1478 (a. d. 1556-7) of Bāgniṇāyinaḷapatte to the temple of Mādhavēśvara at Rāyagiri, by the

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¹ E. C. VI, Kd. 160, p. 32.
² E. C. XI., Cl. 46, pp. 102-3.
³ E. C., XII., Tp. 6, p. 43.
⁴ E. C., IV., Gu. 36, p. 42.
⁵ Ibid., Gu. 54, p. 45.
⁶ E. C., IX., N1. 72, p. 47.
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Krishṇa Mahārāja of Āraviṭi family for the merit of his father Viṭṭhalarāja.¹ In the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, his betel-bearer Era Krishṇappa Nāyaka's son Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka, in A.D. 1559, granted the village of Naraśāpura for the god Chennakeśava of Guṇḍeri, in order that merit might accrue to his father.² About the same year, Vira Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Śrikanṭha Oḍeyar, in order that he, his father and mother might obtain merit, made a grant of the village of Bēkkare to the temple of the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrigirī.³ In A.D. 1559 the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nārāyaṇa Rāya, in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother, made a grant of the villages Viṭṭasandra and Naṅji-gulji for the offerings of the god Mallikārjuna.⁴ Era Krishṇappa Nāyaka, the betel-bearer to the Emperor Sadāśiva in A.D. 1561, in order that merit might accrue to his father Bayyappa Nāyaka and his mother Koṇḍammā, granted the village of Kāḍajji for the ghee, chhatra, and necessary offerings of the god Harihara of Kuḍalūr.⁵ In A.D. 1569 Harati Abbaṇa Nāyakayya's son Kenchappa Nāyaka gave the village of Kānumbeyanahallī, in the Hiriyūr-sīme, for the god Rāmēśvara, “in order that merit might accrue to our Abbaṇa Nāyakayya.”⁶ Saṅte-Bennūr Hanama Nāyaka's son Rājappa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1571, in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother, set up the goddess Lakshmi (of Bhāgyapura or Bāgūr).⁷ In A.D. 1576 Bayyappa Nāyaka's son Krishṇappa Nāyaka, evidently the same as the one mentioned above, gave to Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa a grant of land for an agrahāra at GaḷigekeREFERRED, also named Rāmapura agrahāra, in order that merit may accrue to his mother Rāmammā.⁸ Sōde Immaḍi Arasappa

¹ 105 of 1913.
² E. C., XI., Hk. 21, p. 118.
³ E. C., IV., Hn. 88 p. 92.
⁴ E. C., IX., Ht. 2, p. 88.
⁵ E. C., XI., Dg. 18, p. 29.
⁶ Ibid., Hr. 79, p. 113.
⁷ Ibid., Hk. 115, p. 132.
⁸ E. C., IV., Yd. 59, p. 62.
Nāyaka, in A.D. 1591, in order that merit might accrue to his mother Changammā, repaired the agrahāra of Kōḍi-Koppa.¹

The citizens were in no sense behind their princes and rulers in recording their love to their parents. During the viceroyalty of Yadugiri Virūpāksha Rāya, in about A.D. 1382, Goṭṭi Śeṭṭi, who had received from the hands of the viceroy Ḥuṇasavaḷḷi, for an agrahāra to his house, constructed the Nāgasamudra, in the name of his father Nāga Śeṭṭi, and dividing the agrahāra into fifteen shares bestowed them on Brahmans.² In A.D. 1395, when Immaḍi Bukka Rāya was ruling from Muḷuvāyi, Chinnanṭa, who was in charge of the village Hodali in Bilusone-nāḍ, in order that merit might obtain to his father Mācha Gaṇḍa and his mother Melayakkā, set up a ḍīpa-māle stone pillar for the god Vighnēśvara.³ Appalayya in A.D. 1409-10 constructed a temple of Chennaṅkēśavaradēva and Ranganāthasvāmi, for the religious merit of his parents Mādhava-Jōsyulu and Jābālikā.⁴ Bankarasā’s son Viṭṭhappa, in A.D. 1415, with the consent of his relatives, formed the villages of Belali and Kittaḍūr into an agrahāra, named after his mother Akkāṁbikāpura, and dividing it into twenty-two shares gave them to Brahmans.⁵ Tippe Śeṭṭi of the Vijayanagara treasury (Vijayanagarada kōshada), in A.D. 1423, dedicated to the god Tirumala of Chikka Honnūru the tank (tāṭāka) which he had constructed in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother.⁶ On Lāyadakere Śirumi Śeṭṭi, of Hiriyakere town, dying at Koḍakani in A.D. 1449, his three sons Vira Śeṭṭi, Malli Śeṭṭi, and Honne Śeṭṭi, “on the day on which he came to his setting (or end), at the moment of Vṛishabha-lagna, set up the god Vṛishabha”, and made specified grants for the god’s offerings, and for other

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¹ E. C., VIII. Sb. 447, p. 77.
² Ibid., Tl. 167, p. 197.
³ E. C., X., Bp. 54, p 279.
⁴ Butterworth Chetty, Nellore Ins. I., pp. 256-6.
⁶ E. C., IV., Hs. 27, p. 86.
purposes.¹ An unknown donor in about A.D. 1506 in the reign of Kaṭhāri Sāluva Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya, granted land in the twelve villages of Tīru-Śivamandur-sīhalā, belonging to Kōḷāla- чаvadi, to Kēsarasa’s son Sōmayagār, in order that the donor’s parents and “twenty one generations before,” him might attain to the world of merit.² In A.D. 1515 Parvata Nāyaka, the son of Malli Ṣeṭṭi, in order that merit might be to his father and mother, erected a pillar of stone from the hillock in front of a temple, the name of which is effaced in the inscription.³ Beṅkachiya Gauḍa in A.D. 1524, with the same object, gave a village as a pura to Viraṇṭa Oḍeyar for the performance of Śiva worship.⁴ Elasūr Samani Gauḍa, in about A.D. 1534, granted the house-tax, in order that merit might be to his father and mother, guru and posterity.⁵ Hanumantayyar in Śaka 1459 (A.D. 1537-8), gave a gift of money to provide for the offerings of the god Kāḷahastiśvara at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor district, for the merit of his parents.⁶ A grant was made by the Kandāchāra Nāyaka Timmappa-ayya, for gods and Brahmins in Kurugōḍu, in A.D. 1545, that merit might be to his parents as well as to Sadāśiva Rāya.⁷ Sivanaya Gauḍa’s son Dēvaya Gauḍa, in about A.D. 1550, for the merit of his mother, granted Kadumanapura and Sūlibele to Suttūr Chennaya Dēva’s disciple Namassivāya Dēva.⁸ Sugataṭur Timmapa Gauḍa-ayya, the Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rāja Mahā-arasu, in A.D. 1559, “in order that merit might be to his father, mother, guru and dāiva,” made a grant of Simasandra of the Naṉjiguḷi village, belonging to the Sugaṭṭur-sime, for the god Mallikārjuna of Naṉjiguḷi.⁹ Māraya

¹ E. C., VIII. Sb. 18, p. 4.
² E. C., IX., Ht. 121, p. 103.
³ E. C., XII., Tm. 3, p. 2.
⁴ E. C., IX., Ht. 57, p. 94.
⁵ E. C., XII., Kg. 19, p. 35.
⁶ 175 of 1924.
⁸ E. C., IX., Ht. 69, p. 95.
⁹ Ibid., Ht. 1, p. 88.
Gauḍa, the second son of the great Āvaṭi-nāḍ Prabhu Moleya Bayiraya Gauḍa, in A. D. 1575, granted (lands?) in order that his father Moleya Baira Gauḍa, his mother Hiriya Bāyi, and his forefathers might obtain merit, for the god Śrīkaṭṭhesvara.¹ Hariapa of the palace, son of Nārāyaṇappayya of the gold treasury, in order that his mother Timmammā, might “obtain a permanent abode in Brahma-lōka”, purchased the village of Heggaḍitikoppa in A. D. 1583, and gave it as a gift for the god Viśvanātha of the Maleyāla maṭha of Amarṇadrapuri-śrīpāḍa at Tīrthahalli.² The village of Upparahalli which was a royal gift from Śrīraṅga Rāya, to Tirumale Penugonḍe, was granted by the donor for the offerings of the local god, in order that his father Hiriya-Bōrappa Gauḍa and his guru might obtain merit.³ In A. D. 1608, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, Mummadī Temmayi Gauḍa, son of Sugaṭur Immadī Tammaya Gauḍa, granted the Köṭur-Hosahalli village, renamedVirapura, in the Köḷāla-sīme, to Mahādeva, disciple of Nagaralēśvara-dēva, Śivaputra of the Chatra-gōtra, “in order that merit may accrue to our mother and father.”⁴ So late as about A.D. 1661, Amesiya-ayya, (son) of Virūpaya-ammā, in order that his mother might obtain merit, made for the god Sōmanātha of Haradūr a grant to provide for a maṭha and a perpetual lamp.⁵

The desire of the people that punya or dharmā might accrue to their parents, was also extended to the other members of the family. Avasarada Chandraśēkhārayya, in the name of his father-in-law Avasarada Dēmarasayya, in A. D. 1534, made a grant to provide for a chhatra for sixty Brahmans, and for the offerings of a god. The inscription which is defaced at the end contains, however, the words “by order of Achyuta Rāya-mahāraya”.⁶ In A. D. 1599, during the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya, Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇājammā, meritorious wife of

¹ E. C., X., CB. 27, p. 204.
² E. C., VIII., Tl. 172, p. 199.
³ E. C., X., Gd. 25, p. 216.
⁴ Ibid., Kl. 241, p. 67.
⁵ E. C., IV., Hs. 75, p. 91.
⁶ E. C., XI., Dg. 46, p. 57.
Immaḍi Hiri-Kempayya-Gaṇḍaraiyya, the Yaḷahaṅka-nāḍ-prabhu, caused to be given by means of a dharma-sādhana stone inscription the Veṅkaṭakṛishṇasāgara village in Kuṇīgil, for the maintenance of an agrahāra in order that “our father-in-law Immaḍi-Kempe-Gaṇḍaraiyya and our mother-in-law Lingājammā may obtain merit.”

Rulers as well as people have also left behind them evidence of their regard for their wives. Piriya Rājaya Dēva, son of Śrīkāṇṭha Rājaya, king of Naṅjarāyapaṭṭana, in A. D. 1590, in order that his crowned queen might attain to Kailāsa, in her name, at the moment of Śivarātri, made a grant of Virūpākṣha-pura for the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrıgiri. In Śaka 1384 (A. D. 1462-3), a gift of a flower garden was made to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrıśailam, Kurnool district, by Vairāgi Sāntayya for the merit of his wife, Siddammā. Sometimes it was a whole family which came in for a share of the donor’s devout prayers. For the attainment through dhārma of royal fortune and all the chief objects of human desire by her king Rāmachandra-Bāḍāmi-prabhuvarma, son of Bāḍāmi-Prabhuvarma, and grandson of Nilakaṇṭha-prabhuvarma, his wife, Tulajā Bai, created a dīpa-mālā in the Hari hara-Kshētṛa “for the promotion of her own family,” in A. D. 1519.

But it is not to be supposed that the Vijayanagara age was not made up of people whose egotism directed them to grant lands, and compelled their subordinates to perform acts of charity, as a token of their filial love. In A. D. 1553, Lingāṇna Nāyaṇa, son of Chennarāya Oḍeyar of Dānavisa, set up the Virūpākṣha-līṅga and erected a satra for five Brahmins, “in order that our mother and father and ourselves may obtain union with Śiva.” Sometimes the nobles made no endeavour to hide their desire to give themselves the first preference in

1 E. C., XII., Kg., 12, p. 34.
2 E. C., IV., Hs. 103. p. 93.
3 39 of 1915.
4 E. C., XI., Dg. 37, p. 47.
5 E. C., VI., Kg. 17, p. 78.
their prayers for eternal happiness. Dēvoḍeyar of Kōte, in about A. D. 1572, granted the village of Jagāṇakōte for the god Bayirava of Bayal-nāḍ, in order that there might be merit for himself, his son and grandsons.¹ Egotism could not go to a further extent than in the case of Perama Nāyaka, son of Mallappa Nāyaka of Arakere, who did not think it derogatory on his part to give rent-free land, in about A. D. 1577, for the offerings of the god Basaveśvara of Paṇjanahalli, "in order that thereby merit might accrue to himself."² The deplorable tendency of compelling people to do works of merit for the sake of the nobles is best illustrated in a record dated A. D. 1612-13, which relates that, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaingāru (whose descent is stated) sent for Rudrappa, the officer placed over the sima of Kullūr, and addressed him thus: 'You have restored the sluice of Anaṅta-sāgaram tank which was in disrepair; you have constructed the eastern weir of Kaluvāyi tank and are keeping the tank in good order. Deeds of charity like topes, topes in tanks, wells, etc., are of meritorious services. So construct the eastern weir of Kollūr tank for the religious merit of my father Kōmera Timmanayādu.' And poor Rudrappa forthwith built thirty-three stone-posts on the tank weir, side-walls on the two sides and a flight of steps in stone!³

These instances of aristocratic arrogance do not, however, eclipse the unfeigned endearment of the larger masses of people throughout the history of Vijayanagara. What exactly was in the minds of the parents and their children in those days, how deeply the former loved the latter, and what delight the young folk gave to their elders cannot unfortunately be determined from any contemporary record. But if it is true that in A. D. 1720, the tenderness of the parents towards their children, according to the evidence of a Jesuit priest, was a marked feature of the social life of the people; if it is allowed that that

¹ E. C., IV., Hg. 71, p. 75.
² Ibid., Gu. 42, p. 43.
was a great heritage which the people of Vijayanagara left behind them; and if we realize that the region where the Hindu Empire came into being was Karnataka, then, we may be permitted to complete the picture of a Hindu home of the mediæval times by listening to a poet who, although he belongs to post-Vijayanagara days, has given us a description of the domestic circle which is as true of the times in which he lived as it is of those of Vijayanagara and of our own. This is how Lakshmiśa depicts the joy which a child radiates in a Hindu household:

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ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
ಮಾನಸಥೇರದ ಶುಷ್ಪ್ರವಸಿ ಬರುಗುವಿನ ಸುಳಿ ಚಿತ್ರ
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1 Jaimini Bharata, Sandhi, 18, vv. 20-21, p. 228 (Karibasa Sastri); pp. 426-7 (Siddhalinga). To get an idea of children at play, ibid., Sandhi 19, vv 50-1, p. 471.
CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION I. The Castes
A. Preliminary Remarks

The frequent occurrence of the two phrases varṇāśrama-dharmaṅgaḷan(n)u pālisutta and sakāla-varṇāśrama-dharmaṅgaḷan(n)upālisutta in the inscriptions indicates that the Vijayanagara monarchs were fully aware of the great social problems which confronted them as custodians of the Hindu Dharma. Long before they had assumed the reins of government, the purely Aryan institution of the four varṇāśramas had already taken deep roots in the soil of southern India.1 Both in the Karṇaṭaka and Tamil lands, the rulers considered it their duty to protect the varṇāśrama-dharma in its proper sphere. We are told in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 517, that the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi-Vṛiddha-Rāja, also called Durvvinīta, was "like Vaiśnavata Manu able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South".2 About A. D. 650 the great Jaina āchārya Arishṭha Nēmi having left the whole group (gana) consisting of the four castes (chātur-varṇa) and having given up food, etc., mounting on the Kaṭavapra, attained perfection.3 The existence of the four castes among the Jainas is proved by an inscription which probably belongs to the middle of the tenth century A. D. This record commemorates the death of Chāmakabbe and A’yyvaśāmi. Chāmakabbe is described as the supporter of the Jaina assembly (Śravaṇa-saṅgha) of the four castes. A’yyvaśāmi was the son of the Prīttuvī-paramēśvara mahānāyagara Rēchayya, suppor-

2 E. C., IX, DB. 68, p. 73.
3 E. C., II, No. 11, p. 4; text p. 3 (2nd ed.).
ter of the Jaina assembly of the four castes.\(^1\) Chāmūnda Rāya, in an epigraph dated about A.D. 893, is thus described: “A sun in the shape of a jewel adorning the crest of the eastern mountain the Brahma-Kshattra race, a moon in the shape of the splendour of his fame in causing to swell the ocean the Brahma-Kshattra race, a central gem to the pearl necklace of Lakshmi procured from the Rōhana mountain the Brahma-Kshattra race, a strong wind to the fire the Brahma-Kshattra race.”\(^2\) Two prominent castes, therefore, are clearly suggested in the praise given to Chāmūnda Rāya.

The four varṇāśramas and the duty of protecting them became more and more prominent in the later ages. The Hoysala Queen Śāntala Dēvi, in A.D. 1123, is said to have been the cause of the elevation of the four samayās (or creeds).\(^3\) We are told that in A.D. 1157 “the Brahmans and others of the four castes, the four religious orders, Brahma and the gods” were engaged in gifts of learning.\(^4\) Gaṅgeyana Māreya and his wife Bāchale, in A.D. 1232, requested the king Iruṅgōla Chōla to make a grant of land for the daily services of Pārśva-nātha Jinēśa and for the distribution of food to the four castes.\(^5\) Jaganakeśe Kalle Gauḍa, the great nād-prabhu under the Hoy-
sala king Sōmēśvara Dēva, in A.D. 1242, is described to have been “the upholder of the four castes” (chatus-samaya-saṃud-
dharaṇa).\(^6\)

Side by side with the question of protecting the four pro-
minent castes, whose existence in southern India in early times is proved by the instances we have cited above, there arose another need in connection with what the people said to be the sakala-varṇāśrama. This term has been used with much latitude, and may have been originally intended to mean the

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3. Ibid. No. 132, p. 60 (2nd ed.).
5. E. C., XII, Pg. 52, p. 125.
6. E. C., IV, Kr. 76, p. 111, text, p. 316. Under the Pāṇḍyas some sections of the castes like the sāliyurs had streets for themselves. 269 of 1913; Rangachari, Top. List., I, SA. 61, p. 131.
eighteen castes which formed a sort of an extension of the four original *varṇāśramas*. We are, it is admitted, in the dark as to the precise meaning and function of the eighteen castes. But it is not improbable that they may have had something to do with the Right Hand and Left Hand sections of the people. These shall be separately treated anon. Here, however, we may observe that the adjustment of the duties of, and the distribution of patronage to, the four *varṇāśramas* and the eighteen castes was indeed a problem which called forth the ingenuity of the Vijayanagara rulers. For, in addition to the need of reconciling the differences between the various communities, without lowering in any way the prestige of the Hindu monarchs as promoters of the Dharma, there was the grave question of defending the country against an ever-watchful enemy who was waiting for an opportunity of crushing the Hindu Empire. The fact that the monarchs of Vijayanagara were able to achieve both these ends for a considerable length of time, in spite of the many short-comings in their political system, is enough to prove that, so far as the social side of their history is concerned, they must have conferred on the people those advantages of person, property and religion which assured them the heartiest co-operation of the people in times of grave political crisis. The existence of the four great *varṇāśramas* and the eighteen subsects proved no barrier to them. On the other hand, their public avowal to promote *sakala-varṇāśrama-dharmas*, may have been partly responsible for their success. Instead of championing the cause only of the four original *varṇas*, they took upon themselves the duty of protecting all the *varṇas*. This meant that, especially in regard to the various sects and subsects, on condition that these latter confined themselves to their own *svadharma* or duties proper to their individual caste, they could reasonably expect of their rulers the same patronage which was extended by the State to

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1 The Eighteen Castes or *samayas*, we admit, may have been only conventional divisions. On the other hand, they may also refer to religious orders. Cf. Lākulāgama *samaya* mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1177. *E. C. V.*, Ak. 62, p. 135.
the four great varṇāśramas. Only in this light can we understand the co-operation between the Vijayanagara Government and their people for the realization of the most urgent need of the hour—guarding the interests of the country against a relentless enemy. The history of the Hindu State viewed from this standpoint becomes interesting as the record of a people who, although divided into four main groups with their numerous subdivisions, yet lived to turn the times in which the monarchs struggled to maintain the honour of the land, into an age of intense social and intellectual activity.

We go to many of the foreign travellers in vain for details about the numerous communal subdivisions in the Empire. To the foreigners, unacquainted with the customs of the people, it sometimes appeared that the land was made up only of one class; and at other times, of three great divisions. In addition to the vague notices of the Hindu subjects which we find in the writings of most of the foreign travellers, there is another consideration which depreciates the value of their accounts in this particular connection. It is that their narratives contain conflicting statements, especially as regards the character of the people. Varthema in about A.D. 1500 observed the following: “The people are of a tawny colour; they go naked and bare-footed, and wear nothing on the head.”2 Linschoten in A.D. 1583 is more vehement in his wholesale condemnation of the people of the Karnāṭaka: “They are so miserable, that for a Penie they would indure to be whipped, and they eate so little, that it seemeth they live by the Aire, they are likewise most of them leane, and weake of limbes, of little strength and very Cowards, where by the Portuguals doe them great outrage and villanie, using them like Dogs and Beasts”.3 A still more pronounced view of the people, this time of the eastern coast, is from the pen of John Nieuhof, who writes thus about Madura in A. D. 1662: “The Inhabitants of those places are

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very black and strong; they are deceitful and cunning, make little account of their Wives, but generally keep two or three Harlots, by whom they have sometimes sixteen or eighteen children".¹

If these sweeping assertions had been corroborated by the evidence of other foreign travellers, one might have accepted them as valid. But the remarks of more impartial eye-witnesses make us believe that the above mentioned observations were the result of ignorance and prejudice which may be said to be characteristic of those who went to the East with the idea of learning something about the pagan people of India. Other foreigners have left behind them more favourable proof of the character and classes of the Hindu people. According to Barbosa there were three sections of the people. "In this kingdom of Narsyngua there are three classes of Heathen, each of which has a very distinct rule of its own, and also their customs differ much one from the other.

"The principal of these is that of the King, the great Lords, the Knights and fighting men, who may marry, as I have said, as many women as they wish, and are able to maintain: their sons inherit their estates: the women are bound by very ancient custom," to commit sati.² This was not entirely true: the kings, especially of the Saṅgama and Tuḷuva dynasties, can hardly be said to be of the same class to which the great nobles like the Brahman Viṭṭhaṇa Oḍeyar and Kampalli alias Aṇṇam, and the Brahman-generals like Mādhava Rāya, Sāḷuva Timma and Nādenḍla Gōpa Mantri belonged. We shall deal with them subsequently.³ Neither were the rulers and the nobles, during the time Barbosa visited Vijayanagara (A.D. 1504-14), of the same castes which composed the fighting men—the Bēḍars, the Muhammandans, and others. But the account of Barbosa is nevertheless valuable. Among the Heathens "is another class of people whom they

² Barbosa, Dames, I, pp. 212-13; Stanley, p. 91.
³ Infra, Chapter III, The Brahmans.
call Bramenes”, about whom we shall have to speak in detail subsequently. There was one more class of people. “There is in this kingdom also another class of folk very like unto the Bramenes, who wear round their necks certain cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone the size of an egg, which they say is their god. These also are much regarded and held in respect, nor will any man do them harm by reason of their reverence they have for that stone, which they call Tambarane”. These could only be the Liṅgaṅyats or Jaṅgamas.

Whether these went “naked and bare-footed”, as Varthema makes us believe, will be seen in connection with the dress and habits of the people. As regards the colour of the people, Barbosa says: “The natives of this land (Vijayanagara) are Heathen like himself (the king); they are tawny men, nearly white”. Paes tells us the following about their industrious character: “There are working people and all other kinds of men who are employed in business, besides those who are obliged to go into the field; there are also a great number of Brahmans”.

The erroneous nature of the observations of Linschoten is seen when we read the account of the very people whom he calls “Canariins” (or people of Kanara or the Karnāṭaka) in the history of the most uncompromising critic of the Hindus. Firishtah writes thus: “The country of Canara (Carnatic) is in length, from north to south, from the Krishna to Sata Bund Rameswur, six hundred coss, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and fifty, from the shores of the Indian ocean to the boundaries of Tulingana. The people speak in some parts the Canarese, and in some the Tulingy language, and are so brave that they advance to battle with songs and dances; but their ardour does not last”. On the law-abiding nature of

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, pp. 217-18; Stanley, pp. 93-4.
2 Barbosa, ibid.
3 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 205; Stanley, p. 87.
4 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 280.
5 Firishtah, Briggs, II, p. 337.
the people, the same historian continues: "His (i.e., the Emperor's) country was well peopled, and the subjects submissive to his authority".¹

The following given by Martin Correa (A.D. 1528) is in striking contrast to the deceitful and cunning character of the people mentioned by Nieuhof. "Two pictures may be given from one voyage of Martin Correa up the coast in 1521, of which it was said, as it was of many others, that it was an unnecessary expedition, as the people they robbed were but poor people who neither followed the sea nor did evil to any one. Landing at one place, Correa marched up country with 25 men till he came to a large country-house with court-yards and gardens, and many poor, both men and women, sitting round. Seeing the Portuguese, a man accosted them courteously, who was the almoner of a wealthy Muhammadan gentleman who lived there retired from the world and who spent his money in alms giving. Presently the owner himself came out and treated them with hospitality. When a friendly understanding had been arrived at, Correa had the curiosity and the naivety to ask him why he gave alms and what satisfaction he could get from it. A little later, among the captives Correa took, was an old man past work, who offered £3 for his liberty, and asked that as he had no friend he might be allowed to fetch the money himself. Correa, more in jest than earnest, gave him his liberty and made him swear on his sacred thread, for he was a Brahmin, to bring the money back. A few days latter, to the amazement of the Portuguese, the old Brahmin returned with half the money and eight fowls in lieu of the rest—all that he had been able to scrape together. To the credit of the Portuguese they refused to take anything from him".²

¹ Firishtah, Briggs., II., p. 338.
² Whiteway, The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, pp. 28-9. See also p. 28 where it is said that "when St. Thome (in A.D. 1559) was held for ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagar kept such faith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be found among
THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION. 2. The Castes in Detail

Having seen the futility of relying on some of the foreign travellers for information about the four castes and their subdivisions, we may now attempt to glean as much information as possible about them from epigraphical and literary sources. The most prominent name amongst the four varṇaśramas is of course that of the Brahmans. These deserve a treatment for themselves. A section equally important, although outside the pale of the orthodox group of the four varṇaśramas, was that of the Jainas. The significant part played by these in the religious and to a great extent in the commercial life of the people will be discussed in a subsequent paper.

While we have some definite details about these, practically nothing can be gathered about the second recognized division of the varṇaśramas, the Kshatriyas. It may not be too bold to suggest that Kshatriyas, as known especially to the history of northern India, were not native to the soil of the south.\(^1\) This we infer from the absence of the name Kshatriya in two stone records written in cave characters and Prakrit language, dated about A.D. 150 and A.D. 250 respectively. In these the Brahmans are mentioned together with a Brahman endowment, the Vedas, the cows, the dharma and the soldiers. These last are called abhaṭa and not Kshatriyas.\(^2\) But by A.D. 450, the idea of the Kshatriyas had already reached the south. In that year Mayūraśarma, the Kadamba king, defeated the Pallavas of Kañchī. This epigraph tells us that "through the Kshatras Brahmanhood is (reduced to mere) grass"; and that his successor Kākushtha, while protecting his subjects, honoured "the chief twice-born with the best of his wealth".\(^3\)

There was another name which was associated with the Brahm-

\(^1\) But the Vaṇṇiyans or Vaṇṇiyars, as narrated below, are spoken of by some as the non-Aryan Rajputs of the south.

\(^2\) E. C., VII., Sk. 263, 264, p. 143, text, pp. 325-6.

\(^3\) Ibid., Sk. 176, pp. 113-14.
mans and Kshatriyas—the Brahma-Kshatriya, whose representative we have in the famous viceroy over Āraga, Viṭṭhānāṇa Oḍeyar. But neither about this race nor about the other called the Ārshēya Kshatriya can we find out anything in epigraphs. Rājanātha Rāutta, son of Viśvanātha Rāutta, in A.D. 1526, in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, is said to have been an Ārshēya-Kshatriya. In the Bakhair of Rāma Rāja, as noted in connection with the army, we have a contingent of Kshatriyas, who may have been enlisted in the Vijayanagara service as fortune-seekers from the north, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet, in spite of the paucity of materials, we come across the incessant claims of the rulers to be the promoters of the four varṇāśramas. It may be that the nobles and other high dignitaries, because of their prowess, were included among the Kshatriyas, who have ever been associated with all that is noble and chivalrous in Indian history.

One reason which may explain to a certain extent the absence of the name Kshatriya in the history of Vijayanagara is that the vitality of the Hindu Empire was due to the activities of the commercial and agricultural classes. These, as will be evident from the observations we shall make in connection with the corporate life of the people, vindicated their rights and privileges in the numerous grants they made to the provincial rulers; and helped to increase the material prosperity of the country upon which, among other things, depended the success of the Vijayanagara arms. Our assumption that the middle classes were mainly responsible for the greatness of Vijayanagara is in a way borne out by the praise given to the generals in terms of their achievements rather than in those of their Kshatriya descent. From the very beginning of Vijaya-

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1 The origin of the Saṅgama dynasty has been discussed in Volume I, Chapter I. As regards the beginnings of the Sāluva dynasty, it is rather a thorny question. We know, as stated elsewhere, that both Sāluva Timma and Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja were Brahman generals. The Telugu Jaimini-Bhāratam traces the origin of the Sāluvas to the Yadu-vanīṣa. See Ramayya Pantulu, Ep. Ind., VII, p. 76; E. C., X., Intr. p. xxxv; Viṭṭhānāṇa Oḍeyar, will figure in the Chapter on ‘Brahmans, Infra. See also E.C., VI., Kp. 52-3, pp. 86-7.

2 E. C., XI., Jl. 41, p. 88.
nagara history the tendency was to ignore the Kshatriya claims of generals, and to describe them with the usual titles of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and the like, and with an account of their brave deeds. It is true that for the present we are unable to prove the veracity of the documents which give us these details. We are told in A.D. 1355, for example, that the great general Mallinātha who, as we remarked in an earlier connection, acquired greatness on the Turuka, Seuna, Telunga, Pāṇḍya, and Hoysala armies, was also honoured by the “Suratāḷa King” (the Bāhmani Sultan) “as the brave of a foreign army”.

We have to remember in this connection the solid contributions to the State by the Jaina generals like Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka and others in order to know that, from the infancy of the Empire, the privilege and honour of defending the country had already been monopolized by people who never belonged to the Kshatriya caste.

Among the middle classes of southern India mention must be made of the wide group which comprised the Şeṭṭis or Cheṭṭis. These have figured prominently in the early history of both the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands. In the Karṇāṭaka, for example, in the twelfth century they are said to have had different sections among them. Thus in A.D. 1150 the gavaregas, gātrīgas, şeṭṭis, şeṭṭiguttas, aṅkakāras, bīras, bīra-vanīgas, gandīgas, gāvuṇḍas, and gāvuṇḍa-swāmis, as mentioned elsewhere, are all classed together.

Of all these subsections, the Şettisi exercised remarkable influence in Vijayanagara times. They had their own heads of caste to whom sometimes even the feudatories were compelled to petition for granting dues and sanctioning gifts to local temples. Thus, in about A.D. 1402, the Vīra Śaiva Vīra Pratāpa Chōla Rāja (who, we may incidentally note, assumed the imperial titles of Mahārājādhi-rāja, etc.) “having made a representation to (with numerous titles) certain şeṭṭis (named), the heads of the caste”, they

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1 E. C., XI., Cd. 2 and 3 p. 2, op. cit.
agreed to grant certain specified payments and to permit him to levy specified taxes.\textsuperscript{1} Some of these Šeṭṭis rose to great prominence at the provincial courts. One of them was the royal Śrēśṭhi Aṁbuvāṇa at the court of Dēva Rāya, the Sāluva ruler of Gērasoppe.\textsuperscript{2}

We may record the observations of Barbosa on these people. "First of these races whom I call foreigners who dwell in Malabar is a caste called Chatis, natives of the province of Charamandel of which I shall speak further on. They are tawny men, almost white, and fat. The more part of them are great merchants, and they deal in precious stones, seed pearls and corals, and other valuable goods, such as gold and silver, either coined or to be coined. This is their principal trade, and they follow it, because they can raise or lower the prices of such things many times; they are rich and respected; they lead a clean life, and have spacious houses in their own appointed streets; they also have their own houses of worship, and idols different from those of the natives of the land. They go naked from the waist up, and below gather round them long garments many yards in length, little turbans on their heads and long hair gathered under the turban. Their beards are shaven, and they wear finger marks of ashes mixed with sandal-wood and saffron on their breasts, foreheads and shoulders. They have wide holes in their ears,\textsuperscript{3} into which an egg would fit, which are filled with gold with many precious stones, they wear many rings on their fingers, they are girt about with girdles of gold and jewellery and even carry in their breasts great pouches in which they keep scales and weights of their gold, and silver coins and precious stones. Their sons also begin to carry them as soon as they are ten years of age, they go about changing small coins. They are great clerks and accountants, and reckon all their sums on

\textsuperscript{1} See. Volume I, Chapter IV, Section 5, B.; E.C., IX, Bn. 96, p. 19, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{2} E. C., VIII, Sa. 55, p. 101, op. cit. Dames [Barbosa, II., p. 71. n. (1)] has some interesting remarks to make on the origin of the word Šeṭṭi.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Barbosa's account of the Banyas, whom he calls Baneanes of Gujarat. Dames, I, p. 114, and 114, n. (3).
THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

their fingers. They are given to usury, so much so that one brother will not lend to another a ceitil,1 without making a profit thereby. They are sober and orderly in eating and spending. They speak a tongue which differs from that of Malabar as it is with the Castilians and Portuguese. They marry as with us, and their sons inherit their property. If her husband dies the wife never marries again, young as she may be; if the wife dies the husband may marry again, and if she offends he may poison her without any punishment. They manage their own affairs, the Kings may not enquire into their crimes; they do justice to one another with which the King is satisfied. When they die, their bodies are burnt; they eat everything save the cow only".  

The same traveller writes thus about the Cheṭṭis of Chōloomandala which he calls Charamandel. "The more part or all of the Heathen merchants or Chatis who live throughout India are natives of this country, and are very cunning in every kind of traffic in goods."3

Of equal importance as the Šeṭṭis or Cheṭṭis were the members of the trading and artisan class called the Vira Paṇchālas. Thus do they boast about their antiquity and greatness in a record dated A. D. 1372: "... all the Vira Paṇchāla (s), the originals of the Manu race, of incomparable character... delighting in Parabrahma, creators of the fourteen worlds... of unshaken joy, of daily pure and enlightened salvation, self-known and self-manifest; by their authority as the original men, making (?) in Tunga (or Tungaḥale) of Beṇḍukaliyūr, hundreds and thousands of inquiries of all manner of seeds and plants; versed in weighing and comparing, in Vedas, science, logic, grammar, poetry, in pronouncing distinctly the palatals and labials, in training horses and ele-

1 "A very small Portuguese coin of copper which took the place of the dínheiro in the reign of D. Joao. (1481-95)". Barbosa, Dames, II, p. 73, n (1).

2 Barbosa, Dames, II, pp. 70-3.

3 Barbosa, Dames, II, pp. 125-6. Cf. the account of the Komatis given by Metthwold, Relations, pp. 15-17. Here he describes also the Jaṅgamas, Kāpus and the prostitutes.
phants, and in holding the breath charged with perfume; passed masters in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the deception of (?) skilful people... perfumers of Sarasvati with rare jasmine; ornaments in the ears of Sarasvati; distinguished for cities; island forts, hill forts, forest forts... five foundations... domes, pinnacles, create and the sixteen signs of the original house, the sign of the sacrificial hall, the sign of the pit for consecrated fire, the sign of slopes, etc., according to standard rules, for these and all other signs; authorities for the creation of... mansions...adorners of Śriparvata; deeply learned in all the science of language and the purāṇas to the utmost limits; fond of and merciful to war elephants.... accomplished as Rāma; boon lords of Pindōtipura”—such were the Vira Pañchālas of Terakaṇāmbi.  

In later Vijayanagara history there seems to have been some restriction placed over the Vira Pañchālas in a few unspecified areas. This we infer from a record dated A. D. 1632, which informs us that: “...a śāsana was granted to the followers of the Pañchāla god as follows: within the boundaries fixed from... to the western gate, you may perform your festivals and marriage processions”.  

In the fourteenth century, however, the artisan classes were wealthy and of some consequence. In about A.D. 1396, the five classes of artisans presented the tax they had to pay to the goddess Banna of Bandanike in Nāgara-khaṇḍa-nāḍi.  

The Kaikkōlars (or Keyikōlars) were also a prominent community. Somewhere about A.D. 1370, the Kaikkōlars of Haṭṭalakōṭe secured a remission of taxes imposed on them from the Viceroy Chikka Kampana Oḍeyar, son of Bukka Rāya. These Kaikkōla weavers have also figured in the revenue history of Vijayanagara detailed in the previous pages.

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1 E. C., IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, text, p. 105.
2 E. C., XI, Hr. 46, p. 110.
4 E. C., IV, Ch. 97, p. 13.
Another class which was likewise responsible for the material prosperity of the land was composed of Reḍḍis. These exercised considerable influence in the Telugu provinces of the Empire. They come into prominence from the times of Dēva Rāya II. The Reḍḍi chief Pāṇṭa Mailāra is said to have pleased his royal master Dēva Rāya II by destroying wicked kings by his wisdom and valour, by paying homage to the Vijayanagara ruler, and by giving him great gifts. This is related in a record dated A.D. 1428-29.¹ The military achievements of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya were of course responsible for a close co-operation of the Reḍḍis with Vijayanagara. This is suggested in the epigraph dated A.D. 1515-16, which says that the Gaṅga-Reḍḍi chief Gaṅgādhara, son of Viṭṭa (Chiṇṭa?), requested the Emperor to give the learned Brāhmaṇa Sūrava—who had foretold that many forts in the Telugu land would pass into the hands of Vijayanagara—the village Nāgulavaram.² These Reḍḍis may have helped the cause of the great movement for colonizing the south, and this may explain their presence in the districts of Trichinopoly, Coimbatore and Salem.³

Much as one would like to know about the Tuḷuva Vėḷḷāḷers, it is unfortunate that contemporary records throw no light on their history. They are, as we shall narrate presently, mentioned in connection with the Kurumbars.⁴

One class of the people who have now taken to agriculture but who, during Vijayanagara times, it is presumed, found employment under the Nāyakas of Madura and the various Pāḷeyagāras as peons and armed retainers,⁵ were called the Tōṭṭiyans, also known as Kambalattār. These had their own

² Ibid., I., pp. 127-8.  
³ Rangachari locates them around these districts, I. A., XLIII, p. 138.  
⁴ For an account of the Tuḷuva Vėḷḷāḷers, read Pate, Tinnevelly Gaz., I., pp. 101, 105-7, 137-42; Hemingway, Trichy Gaz. I., pp. 100-01; Thurston, Castes and Tribes of S. India Q.V. On the Tuḷuva Vėḷḷāḷers and the Chōḷa king Adondai Chakravarti, read, Taylor, Cat. Rais., III, pp. 431-2; Ellis, Mīrāsi Right, p. 57, seq. (1852 ed.); Uyar-tuḷuva-Vėḷḷāḷ Charitra-cūrukkam (Madras, 1911).  
communal organization. In about A.D. 1369, in a joint resolution issued by the Tōṭṭiyans of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, as we have seen, it was decided that he who did not pay was declared to be an outcaste from the nāḍu, the assembly, the pañchālaṇ, the ḫaṛai, and the eighteen nāḍus.¹

About the Gauḍas of the Kārnāṭaka, who must have been also instrumental in improving the agricultural condition of the country, we have some indirect evidence, especially in connection with the social activities of the people.

A less important community which, as we related above,² rose in the royal estimation towards the middle of the sixteenth century was that of the barbers. We may be permitted to recount one or two facts already given in connection with these people. It appears that about A.D. 1547-48, some heads of the barber community made a request, the nature of which is not specified anywhere, to the Emperor Sadāśiva. This seems to have been the result of their skill having been recognized by the great Regent in A.D. 1545. At least so we are told in the inscriptions which give us these details. In that year Rāma Rāja Ōḍeyar, being pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja, exempted the barbers of the country from certain taxes.³ The inscriptions of the next year (A.D. 1546) merely mention that the barbers of the whole country secured this privilege.⁴ If this were really so, why they should have made a petition to Rāma Rāja in A.D. 1555, or “propitiated the Emperor” in A.D. 1547, cannot be understood. In the former year we are told that “Timmōja-Koṇḍōja having made application to Rāma-Rajaya, and the latter having made application to Sadāśiva-Dēva-Mahārāya, the Rāya remitted to the barber Timmōja-Koṇḍōja and his family throughout the four boundaries of the

¹ E. C., IX., Ht. 103 (a), p. 101. op. cit. For further remarks on the Tōṭṭiyans or Tōṭṭiyans, see Nelson, Mad. Country, p. 82; Rangachari, I. A., XLIII, pp. 135-6. It is not improbable that these were in some way connected with the Pañchālaṇs, B. A. S.
² See Volume I, Chapter IV. Financial Administration, Section, 9. Customs and Other Minor Sources: Miscellaneous Sources of Reveane.
³ E. C., XII, Tp. 126, p. 66; E. C., VI, Tk. 13, p. 105.
⁴ E. C., XI, Hk. 11, p. 117, Hk. 110, p. 131.
kingdom he ruled,” certain specified taxes. An inscription of A.D. 1547-48 relates that Timmōja, Koṇḍōja and Bhadri of (the town of) Bādāvi, having propitiated the king (rāyara mech [chchi]si bēḍikoṇḍa samman [bam]dha) that ruler (Sadāśiva Rāya), “in connection with a request they had made”, granted them a mānya land. Whatever the nature of the application may have been, there cannot be a doubt that great concessions were shown to the barber community as a whole.

It is true that the presence of the barber is necessary in the conduct of certain rituals and ceremonials of the Hindus. Thus in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: “Thereupon they enclose a place north of the hall, and place a vessel of water in it; beside this the barber takes up his position. He (the sacrificer) then shaves his hair and beard, and cuts his nails. For impure, indeed, is that part of man where water does not reach him. Now at the hair and beard, and at the nails the water does not reach him: hence when he shaves his hair and beard, and cuts his nails he does so in order that he may be consecrated after becoming pure.” While describing the chūḍākarma ceremony or tonsure of the child, the Gṛihya Sūtra says: “To the barber the vessels of grain. To the barber the vessels of grain” which are filled with rice, barley, sesamum, seeds and beans.

The fact that the services of the barbers were called into requisition during certain ceremonials does not explain the marked favour which the Hindu Government showed them in

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1 E.C., XI. Mk. 6, p. 90, text, p. 246. Timmōja-Koṇḍōjanu binnakaṁ māḍalāgī.
2 Fleet, I. A., X, p. 65. Here it is not the skill of one man “named Mangada Timmoju Kondoja of the town of Badavi”, that is spoken of, as Heras writes (Aravidu, pp. 48-9), but the work of three barbers that is to be noted. The Bādāmi inscription clearly says iṣvaru niṣvaru rāyara etc. Manggalla Timmōja seems to have been the barber of Rāma Rāja. See A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 198, n (5). We cannot determine whether this Manggalla Timmōja was the same Timmōja-Koṇḍōja of Mk. 6 given above. See also Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., II, pp. 664-6.
4 Gṛihya Sūtras, (Sānkhaṭāyana), P. I Adhyāya, 28 Kāṇḍa, 6 and 24, pp. 55, 57.
the sixteenth century. Neither does the statement that the Emperor and the Regent were pleased with the skill shown by the barbers. If it were merely a question of honouring a particular section of the people, and especially the heads of a community or guild, the Vijayanagara rulers, as we shall enumerate in a subsequent place, would, according to the custom of the age, have bestowed on them the usual rewards in the shape of dress, ināms, and grants of land. As regards the view that the Government desired to commemorate the social services of a community, we may remember that there were more important sections of the people whose existence was as necessary for the well being of the country as that of the barbers themselves. We may conjecture, therefore, that there must have been a special occasion which necessitated the granting of remission to the barbers. The most important examples of remissions we have given above centre round the Tumkur, Chitaldroog (or Chitradurga) and Kalāḍgi districts of the Mysore State and the Bombay Presidency.

Now, in these parts of Karnāṭaka there lived some ancient tribes whose subjugation was a matter of necessity for the Vijayanagara rulers. Among these tribes were the ancient Kurumbars who, according to tradition, held sway over certain unspecified localities even during Vijayanagara times. In their attempts to break the power of these tribes, the monarchs may have partially utilized the services of a community like the barbers, who, because of their vocation which brought them into touch with all classes of people or because of some particular reasons to be narrated presently, were best fitted to give the Government information about the ancient tribes. In this connection we may note that Krishṇa Dēva Rāya had laid down a definite policy as regards the tribes in the following words: “It is always advisable to entrust the government over wild tribes inhabiting hills and forests to heroes who have fallen from great positions. It would not affect the king much whoever succeeds in the struggle between them. If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king and his people
would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enmity and close friendship, result from (very little) insignificant causes... The first wild forest tribes can be brought under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them)..."1

The great monarch does not speak, it is true, of the barbers and the Kurumbars in his maxims. Nevertheless the spirit of his broad-minded policy is significant in the light of the events that followed soon after. The most numerous concessions which the barbers received fall within the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. It is not unreasonable to suppose that as a result of the policy of conciliation inaugurated by Krishṇa Dēva Rāya, the State must have set itself to the task of winning over the tribes; and that in the realization of their object, which may have been only towards the end of Achyuta Rāya's reign, they may have received some aid from the barbers. Now this conjecture of ours presupposes three considerations: the marked tendency which the Government showed to the Kurumbars (or Kurubars) after the times of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya; the hereditary enmity of the Kurumbars and the barbers; and, finally, the importance of the Kurumbars in the areas which we have associated with the barbers above.

Tradition throws much light on the origin and power of the Kurumbars. They claimed descent from the Yādavas.2 "Their occupation is chiefly to take care of a kind of goats, with the hair of which they make blankets, and sell them. But there are other Kurumbars whose office is to rule the land; others who make and sell chunam or lime; and some are hunters who live by the chase".3 One of their southern centres was called Pattipulam (Immuḍipaṭṭam).4 But what con-

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1 Amuktamālāyāda, vv. 221-225, J. I. H. IV, pp. 66-7.
2 Taylor, Cat. Rais. III, p. 368. These Kurubars are also identified with the Mallars or Vedars. Ibid., p. 399.
3 Ibid. p. 369.
4 Ibid., p. 399. Taylor says the following: "Certain old coins have been found there. Remains of their fort appear. Roman coins have
cerns us is the following information supplied by the same source: "The ancestors of these people were engaged in the great war of the Pāndavas. Their descendants were afterwards dispersed in various places. These were Jainas. A proverb is current concerning them (from a particular incident) that their eyes are on their shoulders. From a custom common among them of having their heads shaved on the death of one of their number, they were massacred in one day, by barbers. The place is called Narambur. A detail of their forts, twelve in number is given.

"A Sannyasi who had seen a book written by the Curumbam, states, that they were numerous and powerful before the time of Adondai, and of the Jaina religion. Various other matters concerning them are rather doubtfully mentioned; but it is stated that they certainly held power as late as the time of Krishna-rayar; when, in consequence of their pride the Vellarhas engaged certain barbers to massacre them; and besides, the troops of Krishna-rayar, also with those of the Wiyalavar poligars, further destroyed them".1

Another account gives some further interesting details which brought about the estranglement between the Kurumbars and the Vijayanagara Government. "Under the Rayar's government (i.e., obviously of Krishņa Dēva Rāya) the Curumbbars ruled in many districts. They constructed forts in the various places. They tried to make the Muthalliers and Vellarhas render them homage, to which the others did not consent; and the Curumbars in consequence greatly troubled them. Still they did not submit. Accordingly in betel gardens, and in many other places they constructed very low wicket gates, so that the Hindus, coming to them, must be forced to bow on

been found there. The people had a town on the sea shore, for the purpose of trading." Ibid., p. 399. On the Kurumbars Mr. R. Gopalan's paper on "The Historical Value of the Mackenzie MSS (read at the Sixth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Madras 1924) may also be consulted.

1 Taylor, ibid., pp. 399-400.
entering. But the Muthaliars and Vellarhas instead of entering head foremost thrust feet in first; and thus treated the Curumbars with contempt. As the latter had power in their possession, they vexed the said tribes. These, at length, went to a barber, and promising a gift of land, asked of him counsel how to destroy the Curumbars. The barber gave them encouragement; he then went to the houses of all his tribe; and engaged their services by promise. It was the custom of Curumbars that, if one of their people died, the whole family should shave the head. One of the seniors of the tribe of Curumbars died, and, by custom, the whole tribe at one time sat down to have their heads shaved. The aforesaid barber, on this occasion, charged all his associates each one to kill his man, which they did, by each one cutting the throat of the person shaved. The women, thus suddenly widowed, had a great pile of fire kindled, into which they leaped and died, execrating their enemies."  

But we have not yet explained the appearance of Vijayanagara forces on the scene. We read another account of the same people in order to know what Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, and the "Wiyalavar" Pāleyagāras, had to do with them. We are told the following in their tradition: "Anciently the Curumbbar ruled in this country (Chingleput district). Adondai Chōlan came from Tanjore, and destroyed them; and having acquired the title of Adondai chacraverti, he established in their place the Kondai kattē vellarhar (agriculturists who bound up their hair as women do). In those days the Vannier or Patti people, by permission of the ruler of the country, built this fort for themselves, as their own, (at "Tiruvaidai churam"). The measures of that fort, as now found, are from south to north, 1,141 feet, east to west, 1,200 feet. The breadth of its outer-

1 Taylor, Cat. Rais. III, p. 420. Here we are also told that the ruins of the Kurumbar forts "are still visible", and that some "very old walls" near Sadras, are seen. The Muthaliers and Vellarhas referred to above were the Mudaliars and the Vellālers. B. A. S.

2 For an account of Adondai Chōlan, read Taylor, ibid., pp. 426-7, in addition to the reference given above.
wall was 20 feet. Around it there was a moat 30 feet broad...While ruling with considerable power, they rejected all claims of customary tribute from superior kings. They (i. e., "Candava rayen and Chettu rayen") were both illustrious but Canda rayen was the most warlike of the two...When the Rayer (i. e., obviously Krishna Deva Raya) came to invade him, as the drums were beaten at several hill-stations, the Rayer did not know in which the chief was; and at length, the latter, watching his opportunity, fell on the Rayer's forces, and made great slaughter. The Rayer's general being greatly incensed came with a greater force; and, during four months an uncertain war was carried on, the chief's place not being known; while night and day he harassed the troops of the invader. The Rayer now desisted from open war; intending to effect his object indirectly. Candava rayen had greatly vexed the agriculturists, that Anondai chacaraverti had placed in the land. The Vellarhars, in consequence arose in a body, and went to Krishna-rayer, who sent the Wiyalayer (the people of a Poligar) against Candava. That Poligar being beaten, retreated; and sent spies to inspect the fortress, that he might discover how to overcome Candava. The spies discovered that, in intervals of rest from war, Candava was entirely enslaved by the leader of a band of dancing girls; and announced the circumstance to the chief of the Wiyalavar tribe. He came to Cupuchi and gave her the offer of four bags of gold as a bribe to cut off the head of Candava; to which, induced by avarice, she consented; and appointed a time for the Poligar, and his people to come. They came as appointed. Cupuchi gave Candava poison in a cake from her own hands, which speedily took effect. She cut off his head; and, putting it in a dish brought it to the appointed place, and gave it to the Poligar people. (But she was beheaded by the Poligar's people in turn, and Chettu rayen cut off the heads of her hundred companions in a tank which is called to this day Pinnai yeri, "the Lake of Corpses")...The Wiyalavar Poligar came with his troops, and fell on the fort. During twenty-six days, fighting was carried on with great loss on both sides; till at length, the attacking Poligar took the
fort; which, after that time, became a dependency of the Anagundī (Ānegunḍī) kings, who protected the agriculturists'.

We may record one more legend before we draw our own conclusions. "This fort ("at Marutam, near Canchi in the Ultra-melur district") of mud, was formerly built by the Kurumbars, covering more than forty acres of ground, with two boundary-walls, and was long ruled by them. In the time of Krishna rayer, his dependent the raja of Chingleput, fought with them; and, after some time, the Curumba chief was unjustly put to death. The Kurumbars were destroyed; and Timma raja took that fort. He gave it as a jagire to one of his near relatives, named Govinda raja. He built two temples; and established an agrahāram or alms-house, for the Brahmans."

Divested of fable, the probabilities in the above account may be summarized thus: The Kurumbars originally spread over the Kārṇāṭaka and Tamil lands, were destroyed by the Tamil king Ādōṇḍai Chakravarti; consequently, the Kurumbars of the south disappeared as a political factor in the Tamil land; their place was taken by the Tuluva Vellālers and the Vāṇṇiyars, both of whom were given to agriculture; and the Vāṇṇiyars continued the traditions of the Kurumbars of rejecting all claims of customary tribute from superior kings. This came into conflict with the imperialistic policy of Vijayanagara. Failing to subdue the Vāṇṇiyars by honest means, the State had recourse to deceit and achieved its end by means of a dancing girl. But it protected the agriculturists whose leaders it had subjugated.

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2 Sāluva Timma?
3 Taylor, ibid., III., p. 433. See p. 431 where an account of the forts built by the Kurumbars in the Tamil land is given.
4 The Vāṇṇiyars are called by Taylor "fire-race, a tribe of low cultivators". Ibid., III., p. 427. On the Vāṇṇiyars, see ibid., III., pp. 90, 427. The name Vāṇṇiyar has been traced to the Sanskrit vahni, agni. Oppert, M. J. L. S. for 1887-8; Org. Inhb., p. 118, seq.; S. K. Aiyangar, I. A., LII., p. 368.
Now to turn to the Kurumbars: the same policy of levelling down the authority of the tribes, which the rulers of Vijayanagara made clear in the instance of the Vaṇṇiyars, was extended to the Kurumbars as well. Their tradition tells us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya with the aid of the ruler of Chingleput destroyed their stronghold at “Marutam, near Canchi in the Uṭra-melur district”. We may assume that the Kurumbars ceased to exist as a thorn on the side of the Hindu State in the eastern and southern parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. But they were still powerful in the Karṇāṭaka which seems to have been their earlier home. This is again told to us in another account of theirs, which deals with the ancient history of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. “After the deluge, the country was a vast forest, inhabited by wild beasts. A race of men arose, who, destroying the wild beasts, dwelt in certain districts. There were then, according to tradition, no forts, only huts; no kings, no religion, no civilization, no books, men were naked savages; no marriage institutions. Many years after, the Curumbars arose in the Carnata country; they had a certain kind of religion; they were murderers; they derived the name of Curumbar from their cruelty. Some of them spread into the Dravida dēsam, as far as the Toṇḍamandaḷa country. They are now found near Uṭra melur; but more civilized”.¹

If the Vijayanagara monarchs planned for the wiping out of the Kurumbar chiefs in the Tamil land, they must also have done the same in the Karṇāṭaka where, as we related in an earlier connection, there were the Bēḍars and the other tribes of the Male-rājya, who gave infinite trouble to the Government. All the traditional evidence we have cited above goes to prove that the Hindu State was benevolent towards the agriculturists (the Vēḷḷāḷers and the Vaṇṇiyars); that these, especially the Vellāḷers, were the traditional enemies of the Kurumbars whom they had supplanted in the Tamil land; and that the Vijayanagara Government by siding with the Vēḷḷāḷers and other agricultural sections of the people, launched forth a

¹ Taylor, Cat. Raits., III, pp. 430-1.
policy of breaking the power of the Kurumbars, especially in the Karnāṭaka, since their strongholds in the Tamil country had already been destroyed by Ādōṇḍai Chakravarti and Krishṇa Dēva Rāya himself.

How can these considerations be made to square with the historical facts before us? To prove that the Kurumbars as a large section of the people existed only in the Karnāṭaka in the Vijayanagara times, we may note the evidence of a contemporary traveller. Linschoten, as we have already seen elsewhere, thus writes about them:—"The Canariins and Corumbiins are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours...They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them Christians, because their chief habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countries bordering upon Goa, for that the Palm-trees doe grow upon the Sea coasts, or upon the bankes by River sides." ¹ Linschoten of course wrote in A.D. 1583. The fact that many of them were Christians around Goa does not invalidate our assumption: on the other hand, the evidence of Linschoten tends to prove that the Kurumbars were to be seen prominently in the districts round Goa.

Now, the inscriptions dealing with the remissions to barbers centre round Bādāmi, and extend over a region which cover the Kalāḍgi, Chitaldroog, and Tumkur districts. There is nothing improbable in the Kurumbars, after having lost their hold over the Tamil country, being really powerful in the Karnāṭaka, especially in its western parts, during the times of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya. That monarch attempted to subjugate them, and, as their traditions inform us, was successful only with those in the eastern districts of his Empire. His policy was continued by Achyuta Rāya who, as we shall presently narrate, also gave to the Kurumbars of the Karnāṭaka patronage; but the majority of the Kurumbars must have stoutly opposed the claims of the Vijayanagara rulers for the mastery of the Male-rājya. On failing to subdue them by honourable means, the Vijayanagara Government

¹ Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims., X, p. 262.
yunḍu, Bhaṇḍāramu, Peddapanāyunḍu, Bōrisū Bairineṇḍu, ditto Nāgayata, Avasaram Basivinenḍu, Kirtīlayyaṅgāru, and people of various gōtras in the royal abodes of the above and others, (thereupon) the people of the Yādava gōtra rejoicing besought Krishṇarāya Mahārāya to bestow upon Gangā Paramēśvari the village of Dévara Donakoṇḍa which is the principal seat of the Nandagōpa caste and the Bājugula caste (?). Accordingly the Emperor caused a charitable edict to be issued granting the aforesaid village for providing offerings and food to Gangā Paramēśvari.¹

The Karaṇams, who sometimes appear as a separate community,² have been dealt with while describing the financial administration of the country.

Among the lower classes we must mention the Dombara community which supplied jugglers to the country. They seem to have been common in the Telugu³ and Karṇāṭaka parts of the Empire. Abdur Razzāq and Linschoten have left us some details about the people. The remarks of the former will be read in connection with the games and amusements of the people. Linschoten in A. D. 1583 thus writes: "They have likewise many South-saiers and Witches, which use Jugling, and travell throughout the out Countrie, having about them many live Snakes, which they know how to bewitch, and being shut up in little Baskets, they pull them out and make them dance, twine and winde at the sound of a certaine instrument, whereupon they play, and speak unto them. They wind them about their neckes, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other devises, onely to get money. They are all for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of Poysons, wherewith they doe many strange things, and easilie poyson each other; their dwellings and

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., I, p. 316.
² Rangachari, Top. List. I, Cd. 458, p. 614. Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya Dēva exempted the Karaṇams of Nidujuvvi from their taxes in Śaka 1470, Kilaka.
³ Rangachari, I. A., XLIII, p. 139. See Ibid., pp. 138, 141-2, for an account of the Saurāśṭras.
Houses are verie little and low, covered with Straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost creepe upon his knees to goe in; their Householdstuffle is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie upon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great Indian Fig-leaves, they serve them not onely for Tables, Sheets, and other Linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meat, which you shall likewise see in the Grocers, and Pothecaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they have within their shops (as we doe in Paper). They likewise joyne them together in such sort, that they can put both Butter, Oyle, and such liquid stuffes therein, and also whatsoever commeth to hand. To dresse their meat they have certaine Earthen pots wherein they seeth Rice, and makes holes in the ground, wherein they stampe it, or beat it with a woorden Pestell, made for the purpose, and they are so miserable, that they but the Rice in the Huskes, as it growth on the ground, and some of them have Rice sowen behind their House to serve their necessarie use. They use to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes, and never touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kowdung, which (they say) killeth Fleas”.

The same traveller mentions another people about whom many foreign witnesses have left their reminiscences. These were the Jōgis. Varthema has a great deal to say about a certain “King of the Igbe” “a man of great dignity”, who ruled over 30,000 people. But this was in northern India. Barbosa has a very ingenious explanation to offer about the origin of the Jōgis. It appears that on the country passing into the hands of the Muhammadans, the Heathens (i. e., the Hindus), “unwilling to stay under the power of the Moors, go

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1 Linschoten, Purchase, Pilgrims., X. pp. 247-8. The remarks following about the same people (p. 248) may also be noted.

2 Varthema, Jones, p. 111; and p. 111, n (1). See Hobson-Jobson on the Joges, Jogues, or Jōgis (Yōgis), for notices ranging from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.
forth (for the most part of them) from that land and assume poor attire, resolving to go through the whole world sojourning in no place whatsoever; and this continue to do until they die during their pilgrimage”. Barbosa was told this by one of the Jōgis. “I have oft times asked them wherefore they went about thus, to which they replied that they always carried these iron chains as a penance for the great sin they had committed, in that they were unwilling to endure taking arms for the defence of their honour, and had allowed themselves to be overcome by a wicked people like the Moors; and that they went naked as a token of their great loss of honour, because they had submitted to be deprived of their lands, and houses in which God had brought them up. And now, they said, they wished for no property, as they had lost their own and they ought rather to have died; and that they smeared themselves with ashes to remind them of dust and ashes they were made, and to these they must return; all else was falsehood”.

Paes also noticed them in Vijayanagara. While describing a temple in a city called “Darcha” (identified with Dhārāwār) Paes says: “It has three entrance gates, which gates are very large and beautiful, and the entrance from one of these sides, being towards the east and facing the door of the pagoda, has some structures like verandahs, small and low, where sit some Jōgis...” In a later passage he describes the gates of the great capital and the slaughter of beasts. “There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a jōgi (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat this jōgi blows a horn as a signal that the idol receives that sacrifice. Hereafter I shall tell of these jōgis, what sort of men they are.”

But since Paes “forgot to fulfil this promise”, we may turn again to Barbosa for a description of these people.

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 230.
2 Ibid., pp. 231-2.
3 Sewell, For, Emp., p. 241.
4 Ibid., p. 255.
5 Ibid., p. 255, n (1).
"These men possess nothing of their own, for they have lost whatever estates they once had; they go naked and barefoot, they wear nothing on their heads, and they hide their nakedness only with bands of Moorish brass, on which hang girdles of many coins which dangle on both sides; these are the width of four fingers, cylindrical in shape, with many figures carved on them (both of men and women). These they wear so tight that they make their bellies stand out over them. (And from the same band a strip of this brass passes behind between the buttocks, so as to form a cod-piece in front.)

"To the corners of these bands their waist cloths are attached, when they wish to fasten them in their clasps, and all so tight that it gives them great pain. Besides this they carry heavy iron chains on their necks and waists. Their bodies and face are smeared with ashes. They carry a small horn or trumpet, on which they blow, and whithersoever they come they call out and demand food, more especially at the houses of worship, or those of kings, or great Lords. They go about in bands, like the Egyptians with us, nor is it their custom to abide long in one place, but a few days only. These men are called Jogues or Coamerques, which is as much as to say 'servants of God.'"\(^1\)

Barbosa was not far wrong when he said that these Jõgis, given over to a wandering life, never settled in one spot. Nevertheless at Kadri in Tuluva-nâdu, a province of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Jõgis have had one of their most famous centres. Pietro della Valle in A.D. 1624 visited "the famous Hermitage of Cadiri", to see the "Batinate, (Pâth Nâth?) called King of the Gioghi, who lives at this day in his narrow limits of that Hermitage, impoverished by Venk-tapâ Naieka."\(^2\)

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1 Barbosa, I, pp. 230-1. Coamerques, according to Dames, is svâmi. rishi, p. 231, n (1).

2 Pietro della Valle, Travels, II, pp. 345-6. Here follows a detailed account of the Jõgi Nâth of the Kânapâthis of Mangalore. Ibid., pp. 346-57. For an account of these Kânapâthis, see Leonard, I. A. VII, pp. 298, seq. Eastwick, Handbook of Madras, p. 302, may also be read in this connection.
Pimenta in A. D. 1599 speaks of "twenty Priests which they call Jogues, which threw themselves from the highest pinnacle of the Temple" at Ginjee, for a remarkable cause described in detail by the same traveller.¹

The Maravas of the south, especially round about Rāmnāḍ, also are to be noted while dealing with the castes. The success of the Portuguese in converting large numbers of these fisherfolk proves that the Sētupatis of Rāmnāḍ,² the provincial rulers of Madura, and the Vijayanagara kings had failed to justify their claims as protectors of the religious interests of the Hindu people.

There were other people who proved a fruitful field of enterprise among the Christian missionaries. These were the Pārai-yans. It is difficult to determine when these people were driven to the position of an untouchable class, whose presence caused pollution as bewailed by Vēmanā.³ What status these occupied along with the Bōyees, the Erkelas,⁴ and the Kāḷḷars also cannot be found out. These last are mentioned in an effaced epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva but assigned to the times of Virūpaṇa. It tells us that the fees to be paid to the temple of Parvatagirīśvara at Kuṇḍāṃḍār-Kōyil, Pudukkoṭṭai State, by Kaḷḷa Vēlaikkārar for the protection afforded to them, were fixed.⁵ We are also unable to find out much about the Bēḍars (or Vēdars), some of whom, as related above, caused commotion in the Karṇāṭaka,⁶ and about the Pāntacurhis. About the latter we have the following in tradition: They were originally Jainas but were destroyed by the Brahms in the times of Adondai; and some embraced the Brahmanical system. They had the custom of putting their old people,

¹ Pimenta, Purchas, Pilgrims, X. p. 208.
² Read Heras, Arawids, p. 354, and passim.
⁴ Ibid., p. 97, (n). On the Pariahs, read Metthewold, Relations, p. 19
⁵ 368 of 1914.
when very infirm, into vessels of baked earth, and leaving them to die." They were found mostly round Paduvur.1

C. Colonization of the South and Some Social Questions at Issue

The influx of the northern communities into the south was not without its abiding effects on the social history of the people. They are generally called by the name Baḍuga, Baḍaga, or Vaḍucker. Some maintain that the most prominent among the northern colonists were the Telugu Tōṭṭiyans or the Kambalattārs mentioned elsewhere.2 This assumption is strengthened by the notices in tradition of the heads of the Dōṭiyah people who followed the fortunes of Nāgama Nāyaka to the south, and who were rewarded by him with the seventy-two pāleyams described in an earlier connection.3 While it is not improbable that the Telugu people may have been called by the name Baḍaga from the fact of their having hailed from the north (or baḍagu), it would be more proper to include in that general appellation other people also who were not Telugus. For it is quite likely that the Karnāṭaka rulers—such as the monarchs of Vijayanagara essentially were till the rise of the Araviṭṭī family,—may have also induced the people of the Karnāṭaka to settle in the fertile regions of the south. Our assumption that the term Tōṭṭiyans could not have referred only to those who came from the Telugu land is supported by the statement of an inscription dated A. D. 1369, which, as we have seen, speaks of the Tōṭṭiyans of Puliyūr-nāḍu. Moreover, the colonists who went to the south were also made up of people like the Paṭṭu-nūlkārans of Surat who were certainly not of the Telugu origin.4

When the Baḍagas or northerners migrated to the south, a social upheaval was bound to follow, in spite of the endeavours of the monarchs to maintain the sakala-vānṇākrama

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1 Taylor, Cat. Rais., III, p. 399.
2 Rangachari, I. A., XLIII, pp. 135-6. On some notices on the Baḍugas, see Heras, Q.J.M.S., XV, p. 182, n (40); Aravidu, p. 150. n (4)
3 Taylor, ibid.; O.H.MSS., II, p. 21, op. cit.
*dharma* of the people. It manifested itself in various problems some of which we shall deal with here. Firstly, there was the question of the change in the status of the earlier inhabitants. The new-comers entered the Tamil land essentially in their capacity as conquerors; and the old inhabitants found themselves consequently relegated to a lower position in social and political spheres. This may have been one of the causes why the ancient classes were compelled to give up their traditional profession and to take up menial work. The Śemmans, for example, who were originally Tamil leather weavers, sank to the position of menial servants in the village after the advent of the Telugu or Kannada Mādigas. Perhaps it was during this age, when the hereditary trades of the old inhabitants were usurped by the new-comers, that there arose the nefarious distinction between caste and caste, person and person, culminating in what has been known in our own days as the institution of untouchability. If this is admitted, then the degradation of such an ancient community like the Paraiyans, from the position of minor servants of the village *āyagāras* and masters of the soil, to that of slaves and unclean classes is not unintelligible.

Coupled with this exchange of duties that resulted in the older inhabitants being compelled to take up menial work of all sorts, there is another fact which may have also been responsible for the degradation of the earlier inhabitants. This was their close relationship with the foreigners, some of whom unfortunately won for themselves notoriety in the country. It is a deplorable fact that the morality of the Portuguese was at a hopelessly low ebb, especially in Goa. Linschoten, for example, gives a long and painful description of the state of affairs about the Portuguese in that city. Even so late as A. D. 1623 Pietro della Valle wrote thus in connection with the

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Portuguese: "For being themselves in these matters very unrestrain'd (not sparing their nearest kindred, nor, as I have heard, their own Sisters, much less their Foster-children in their Houses) they conceive that all other Nations are like themselves . . .".¹ Both because of political and commercial reasons the Portuguese were constrained to be on the most intimate terms with the people of Vijayanagara. In an era when orthodoxy was allowed to dictate terms in almost every sphere of life in the Hindu Empire, and when there were no organized attempts on the part of the Hindus to understand the civilization of the foreigners, it is not surprising that a people like the Paraiyans, forced to seek service under the foreigners, should have been declared to be outside the pale of the uncompromising society of those days. Whether we are correct in assuming this or not, we may note that the worst types of orthodoxy have always been found in those parts of the south where the Portuguese have most freely mingled with the people,—Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and the region round Madura.²

The reason why ideas of pollution should have ever risen in the minds of the people is because of another consideration which may have been the result of the migration of the Bādagas to the south. This was as regards the social divisions and the consequent rigidity of the caste system.³ We shall deal with some aspects of these in connection with social legisla-

¹ Pietro della Valle, Travels I, p. 161. See also ibid., p. 161, n (1); Mandelslo, Travels, Lib. II, p. 84. (Davies); Sarkar, Pos. Back., I, p. 72. It is a well known fact that menial servants of Europeans in southern India have been, as they are to this day, Holeyas and Paraiyans. B. A. S.

² In the Kārnāṭaka also we have the same state of affairs; but the history of that region contains at least one place where the Holeyas are permitted to enter a temple. This is at Mēlkōṭe. See E. C., II, p. 180, n. (7) (1st ed.). For a detailed account of the social and religious privileges enjoyed by the Paraiyans, read Oppert M.J.L.S. for 1887-8, Org. Inhab., p. 78, seq. On some interesting remarks on the Paraiyans and Valaiyans, see Cammiade, Q.J.M.S. X, p. 156.

³ An inscription dated A. D. 1433 begins thus: "Superior to the Varnāśramas, superior to caste differences, superior to karmas, freed from avarice-Akbanda muni do I reverence, the chief of munis". E. C., VIII, Tl. 14, p. 165.
tion under Vijayanagara. How poets and moralists of the medievaal times waged war against the growing danger of caste rigidity and untouchability, which were eating into the life of the Hindu people, is told by Sarvajña, Kanaka Dāsa, Kapilar, and Vēmana, whose exquisite poems add to the rich heritage of the Karnāṭaka and Telugu poetry.¹ We may be permitted to quote two verses from Sarvajña and Vēmana on the question of untouchability. Thus says Sarvajña:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā mārā hūnā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva!}
\end{align*}
\]

This may be compared with the following by Vēmana:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\text{nāmatātār moṣīḷā māhī hēva?
\end{align*}
\]

³Vēmana, Verses, Bk. III., vv. 227-9, p. 148 (Brown). "Why should he constantly revile the Pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our men? And of what caste is He who pervades the Pariar as well as all other men? Why should you plunge in water to purify yourself if a Pariar touches you? He becomes what he is in consequence of sins in a former birth: how stupid are those who cannot understand this? Call not him an out caste who possesses a good disposition. Did not the hermit Vasistha take a Pariar wife? How can he be called a Brahman whose qualities are those of a Pariar"? See also ibid., vv. 128, 217-220.
The rigidity of the caste system was in itself in some measure responsible for another outstanding feature of the times—the attempts made by the lower castes to acquire the privileges enjoyed by the members of the higher classes. This is evident from the few notices we have of a section called the Vipravinōdins. From the way in which Vēmana derides the endeavours of those who longed to aspire to the status of higher castes, we may infer that in the latter half of the seventeenth century, if not in the Vijayanagara age itself, some of the lower orders must have asserted their own individuality and claimed a sort of equality with the higher castes. Vēmana says:

\[\text{Verse}\]

The Vipravinōdins are mentioned in Vijayanagara times. Certain Vipravinōdins undertook in Śaka 1476 (A. D. 1554-5), in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, to perform the Kārtika pūjā of the god Hanumaṇṭa of the agrahāra village Raganahālu, situated in the Uruvakonḍa-sīme attached to the Rayadurga-
vēntēhe in the Mūḍa-nāḍu district of the Hastināvāli-valīta. Two years later (Śaka 1478) some Vipravinōdins made a grant of the Vipravinōdi income realized from the agrahāra-village Chinahōṭūru in Vurōkoṇḍa-vēntēhe for the Dhanurmāsā worship of the god Chennakēśvara of the same village. In the same year (Śaka 1478 = A.D. 1556-7), a gift (of taxes and dues) was made by a number of Vipravinōdins, who belonged to various śākhas and sūtras, to the mahājanas of Chauḷūru. An undated inscription, assignable to the times of Sadaśiva Rāya, informs us that a gift of lamps was made for the temple of Hanumanta-dēva at Manneya-samudra, surnamed Dēvarāya-pura, which was an agrahāra in Penugoṇḍa-rājya, for the merit of all Vipravinōdins. The Vipravinōdin community in Śaka 1480 (A.D. 1558-9) made a gift of the Vipravinōdi income from the village of Gunatakallu to the gods Mūlasthāna Bhōgīśvara, Kēśava Perumāl, and Virēśvara of the same place.

While these epigraphs show that the Vipravinōdins exercised some influence in the sixteenth century, evidence is not forthcoming to prove that they asserted their rights and strove to secure the rank and privileges of Brahmans. Perhaps future research may enlighten us on this point, and enable us to know that the Vipravinōdins, like the Kammālas, the Kaikkōlars, and the Dēvaṅgas, perturbed the social atmosphere of the times. There is nothing improbable in the Vipravinōdins struggling against the pretensions of the Brahmans, if it is true that they originally belonged to the priestly class. Moreover, even among Śūdras there seems to have been a similar movement to rise higher in the social scale. This is inferred from a Tamil copper-plate which speaks of a Śūdra priest consecrating a king in the presence of a Vijayanagara official. The record dated Śaka 1518, cyclic year Hēvīḷambi (A.D. 1596) states that, in the reign

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1 402 of 1920.
2 403 of 1920. Chinahōṭūru is in Gooty tāluka, Anantapur district.
4 97 of 1912; Rangachari, ibid., I, Ap. 94, p. 16.
5 395 of 1920.
of the Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, a Śūdra priest joined with a large number of other Śūdras and made one Kaṇḍiya Dēvar king of Vṛiddhāchalam, in the presence of Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.¹

A fourth feature which was inevitable in an age which had great material prosperity was that related to the difference between rich and poor people. We can only assume that such disparity between the wealthier and humbler classes which existed in Bedar must also have been noticeable in Vijayanagara. Nikitin gives us an account of the state of affairs in Bedar. "The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, while the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried in their silver-beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch bearers and ten musicians."² But, as we said in connection with the observations of Nuniz on the revenue administration of Vijayanagara, we have to take into consideration here the prosperous condition of the people as described by Paes and Barbosa, and the evidence of numerous records testifying to the generosity of the citizens who gave grants for charitable and religious purposes.³

Finally, we may note one more peculiarity of the times. It was the impetus which the social differences gave to an institution which existed long before the advent of the sons of Saṅgama. And this was the division of the society into two main classes called the Right Hand and Left Hand sections.

² Major, India, p. 14; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 104.
³ Supra Chapter I, Section 2.
SECTION 2. The Right Hand and Left Hand Sections

A. Origin of the Vaḷaṅgaḷi or Right Hand and Iḍaṅgai or Left Hand Sections

We tread on slippery ground when we approach the question of the origin of the Iḍaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgaḷi classes. Nevertheless it is interesting to know some details in connection with these two important sections of the people from traditional as well as epigraphical sources.

The mythical origin of one of these classes, the Iḍaṅgai or Left Hand section, is thus given in an inscription dated in the fortieth regnal year of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga III: "While, in order to kill the demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kaśyapa, we (the ninety-eight sects of the Iḍaṅgai classes) were made to appear from the agnikunḍa, (i.e., the sacrificial fire-pit), and while we were thus protecting the said sacrifice, Chakravartin Arindama honoured the officiating sage-priests by carrying them in a car and led them to a Brāhmaṇa colony (newly founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the back side of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually with these Brāhmaṇa sages we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruvelḷai, Pāchchil, Tiruvaśi, Tiruppiḍavūr, Ūrāttūr, and Kārkkāṇḍu of Šennīvala-kūṟram (all of which are places now situated in the Trichinopoly district). We received the clan name Iḍaṅgai, because the sages (while they got down from their cars) were supported by us on their left side. The ancestors of this our sect having lost credentials and insignia (?) in jungles and bushes, we were ignorant of our origin. Having now once learnt it, we, the members of the ninety-eight sub-sects enter into a compact, in the fortieth year of the king, that we shall hereafter behave like the sons of the same parents, and what good or evil may befall any one of us, will be shared by all. If anything derogatory happens to the Iḍaṅgai class, we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that those who, during their congregational meetings to settle their communal
disputes, display the birudus of horn, bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols—the feather of the crane and the loose-hanging hair(?). The horn and the conch-shell shall also be sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion obtaining among the Iduŋgai people. Those who act in contravention to the rules shall be treated as enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of Iduŋgai classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognised as Śrutimāns. They will be considered slaves of the classes who are opposed to us.”

According to another tradition Karikāla Chōla divided the people into these two parties, assigning ninety-eight tribes to each and apportioning to their use distinctive flags and musical instruments for use at festivals and funerals.

T. W. Ellis in his edition of a portion of the Kurāl wrote the following about the origin of the two classes: “Intercourse with foreign nations, the extension of commerce, and other circumstances have in latter times materially altered the manners of the olden time and infringed the privileges of the landed proprietors, but they have not been able to prevent a lively tradition of them remaining, and this has given origin to the dissensions between the factions denominated Valangcaiyr and Idungcaiyr, or, as commonly though improperly called, the right and left hand castes; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it.”

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Dr. A. C. Burnell was of the following opinion: "The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artisans and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary".¹

Dr. Gustav Oppert, whose exposition of the subject contains many interesting details, opined thus: "The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by their entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same".²

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar brings forward some other considerations in addition to those adduced by Dr. Oppert. Among the causes which, according to Mr. Aiyangar, gave rise to the Iḍaṅgai and Valaṅgai sections, the following were prominent: the political dissension which led to the final overthrow of the powerful kingdoms of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas;³ the aspirations of certain castes to rise higher in the social scale;⁴ and the communal feeling (existing between the Jainas and the Brahmans), and between the different sections of the people due to the difference in food, occupation and physical environment.⁵ Mr. Aiyangar finally comes to the conclusion that "the arrangement of the Dravidian castes into two grand divisions (the right and left hand) took place at Kanchipuram under the

² Oppert, ibid., p. 90.
³ Srinivasa Aiyangar, Tamil Studies, p. 105.
⁴ Ibid., p. 108.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 73, 92, 101-3, 106, 110.
royal command of a Chōla king"¹ (in about A.D. 1010 in the times of Rājarāja Chōla).

Dr. Barnett thus writes about the arguments put forward by Mr. Aiyangar: "It (i.e., the division of the posts of the temple staff and their quarters into those of the Right Hand and Left Hand) seems to be connected with the well known separation of the non-brahmanic castes of the South into those of the right and those of the left hand. In the temple of Kāli at Conjeeveram the right hand castes worshipped in one manḍapa, the left hand castes in another. If this view is correct, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar must be wrong in his theory that the division of the castes arose about A.D. 1010 from the distinction of the two armies of Rājarāja Chōla into that of the right and that of the left hand. I believe the converse to be the truth: the division seems to have been in existence long before the eleventh century, and was indicated by the separation of the castes in public worship; and Rājarāja made use of the principle (or at least the name) to classify his armies".²

While the assumption that the division "seems to have been in existence long before the eleventh century" is justifiable, we may suggest that there was one cause which writers have failed to take into consideration as regards the origin of the two sections. This was due not so much to the difference in "the altered manners of the old times" resulting from the intercourse with foreign nations and the consequent extension in commerce, nor to the distinction which "arises primarily" from the landowners and Brahmans being the heads of two rival social groups, but to the fact that in the south extraordinary prominence has been given to the minute details of etiquette and privilege on socio-religious occasions which have deeply influenced the life of the Tamil and Karnāṭaka

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people. We shall explain in a subsequent section these questions of honours and etiquette before and during Vijayanagara.

So profoundly have these trifling details affected the life of the people that the division seems to have cast asunder even the Brahmans. This is inferred from the following account styled *Idan"kai Va"l"an"kai Kaisiyut": "This relates to the great dispute between the *Vaishnava-Brahmans*, with their followers, who have the epithet of right-hand, and *Saiva Brahmans*, with their followers, termed left-hand. The dispute is stated to have arisen from the usage of a *Garuda* banner, or flag bearing the eagle or kite of *Vishnu*, as a device. The right of bearing this banner, and the question of which of the two classes it belonged, created so hot a dispute, that the matter was referred in arbitration to *Vicrama-Chola-deva Perum"al*, in *Cali yuga 4894, Paritabi* cyclic year. That prince caused the old copper-plate records at *Conjeevaram* to be disinterred and examined, and legal authorities to be consulted. As a consequence the claim of the *Saivas* to the *Garuda* banner was admitted; but another result was, the more accurate distinction and definition, of what rights and privileges were proper to the two classes; and what were not so. The book further contains an enumeration of the classes or castes, into which the two lines of *Vaishnavas* and *Saivas* became divided; and of the *Pariars* and others, who range under the right-hand class. These castes, on both sides, are stated to be ninety-eight. The sub-divisions are those of persons having castes; that is, not *Pariars*.".

Since we know that the early and mediaeval canonists have nothing to say about the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections, we may dismiss the idea mentioned in the above account that there was any legal sanction behind the two divisions. From the foregoing *Kaisiyut*, which is obviously of the modern times, as well as from the earliest account relating to the times of *Kul"ottu"nga Ch"ola III*, we may suppose that the

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conflict arose round what was essentially a question of social
etiquette and honours.¹ But we confess that it is impossible
to find in what manner this problem was related to that of the
intermixture of castes about which there is definite evidence in
a record written in the Tamil-Grantha characters. This inscrip-
tion, which is unfortunately effaced, informs us that the
people registered the opinions of Gautama, Nārada, Yājñavalkya and other authorities regarding the origin, duties and
privileges of certain mixed (anulōma) castes.² From the
manner in which even the lowest castes are grouped together
with the highest, it seems that the division of the people into
the Right Hand and Left Hand sections was a sort of
challenge to the ancient varṇāśramas, at least so far as petty
social privileges were concerned. This explains why the
Vaishṇava Brahmans are clubbed together with the Pariars
who are called the Vaḷaṅgai-mattar or friends, the toddy-
drawers, the Kannagiḍans, the Śāliyans, (weavers), the Kōmāti,
and the Vellāḷans or agriculturists, in the Right Hand faction,
and the Śaiva Brahmans, the Śēṭṭis, the Pāḷis, the
Kammāḷans (or artisans) and the Chucklers, in the Left Hand
division.

¹ Srinivasa Aiyangar, Tamil Studies, pp. 96, seq. 106-7; Taylor, Cat.
Rais., III, p. 351; Abbe Dubois, Hindu Manners and Customs, I, pp. 25-6
(1897 ed.); Richards, Salem Gaz., I, P. I, pp. 125-6. See also S. I. I., III.
The petty differences have effected even the humblest of classes. The
Chakkili women, who belong to the Right Hand class, it is said, deny
marital rights to their husbands who belong to the Left Hand faction,
Nelson Mad. Country. P. II, p. 7. Oppert gives in detail the insignia of
the two classes. M. J. L. S. for 1887-8, Org. Inhab., p. 90 n. 59, seq.
² 558 of 1904.

³ For a detailed account of the various subsects of the Iḍaṅgai and
Vaḷaṅgai communities, see Madras Manual of Administration, III.
pp. 1036-7; Oppert, M. J. L. S. for 1887-8, p. 85, seq.; Buchanan
Journey Through Malabar, I, p. 77, seq. In what way this classification
can be connected with the Kadamba-Pallava controversy mentioned in the
Shikarpura stone inscription of Mayūrasarma dated about A. D. 450 cited
above, I cannot make out. But it is curious to note that at Kaṅchi, where
that Kadamba monarch overcame the Pallavas, these differences between
the Right Hand and Left Hand sections are most rigorously observed.
“ In this city the differences between these two classes are more marked
than in any other place as evidenced by the existence of Vaḷaṅgai and
Iḍaṅgai temples, Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai mandapas, and Vaḷaṅgai and
B. Some Historical Notices of these Classes

Although we know little about these classes themselves, their antiquity is proved beyond doubt by literature and inscriptions.\(^1\) We shall very briefly allude to these two sources. The earliest reference, if it could be accepted,—and if we are justified in assuming that the eighteen castes were in some manner related to the two divisions,—is that contained in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 459 of the reign of the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi Rāja. This inscription records the gift of ten khaṇḍuṅga of paddy land below the Mēlūr tank (in the Śiṅḷaghaṭṭa tāluka), to Kādasvāmiśva, a Taitirīya Brāhmaṇa, by the king “free from all eighteen castes”.\(^2\) Somewhere in the fifth century A. D., therefore, the two divisions may have originated.

In the early part of the eleventh century, they had already come to stay in the Karṇāṭaka. An inscription dated Śaka 976 (A. D. 1043) of the times of the Western Chālukya king Sōmeśvara, mentions interesting details about the dancing girls of the temple of Śūḍi or Sūḍi, Dhārwar district. Among them we have the names of the Right Hand dancing girls and Left Hand dancing girls.\(^3\) In the Tamil country the existence of these two factions in the eleventh century is proved by a record dated A.D. 1072 of the reign of Kōv-Irāja Kēsarivanṛ, alias Śri-Rājēndra Śōla Dēvar. The members of the two classes say the following: “We (the inhabitants of the Eighteen vishaiya), the great army of the right hand class armed with great weapons (perumbaṅai-valaṅgai-mahāsēnai) and (?) Padan-\(^1\) Eō Report for 1921, p. 103. As we have seen, the first time the two divisions are mentioned is in A. D. 459.

\(^2\) E.C., IX, DB. 67, pp. 71-2; Rice, I. A., V, p. 136; My. Ins., pp. 289-90. But Fleet does not accept the evidence of this grant. I. A., XXX, pp. 221-2. See also Eō. Ind., III, pp. 160, n. (3), 162. The eighteen castes, as Dr. Barnett suggests, “is a conventional number going back to the Jātakas and continuing down through mediaeval times.”. But in view of the fact that these ten castes are, as will be shown in the next section, grouped as professional castes (221 of 1010), they are taken here to mean the 18 sub-divisions of the larger groups that formed the Idaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai class. See also section on the Guilds. B. A. S.

\(^3\) Barnett, Eō. Ind., XV, II. 23-6, p. 82, op. cit.
ganḍu—have caused śāsanam to be engraved on stone to the effect that...". The details that follow dwell at great length on the solidarity of the members of the Right Hand division, and on the social and customary sanction which these two classes had secured in the eleventh century.\(^1\) A record of Rājēndra Chōla Dēva I., (A. D. 1101-41), mentions the Valaṅgai classes.\(^2\) Some grant was made by the representatives of the eighteen castes in A. D. 1189 in the times of the Hoysala king Vira Ballāḷa.\(^3\) A record dated about A. D. 1206 informs us that Balava (Right) Jakkaiya's (son) Eḍava (Left) Jakkīya was ruling in Diḍuga.\(^4\) Kāchi Dēva, a feudatory of Narasimha II, is said to have been the sēṇā-nāyaka of the Left Hand section in an inscription dated A. D. 1224.\(^5\) "The eighteen castes with both sects of Nāṇā-Deśis at their head", as related in a record dated A. D. 1280, "having placed the diamond bayasaṇi in Harihara and sat down", granted certain specified dues for the festival of the god of that town.\(^6\) In the thirteenth century, in the reign of Kulottuṅga III, certain Srutimāṇs of Uṛṟattūr, held a meeting in the maṇḍapa called Uttamaśoliṇ of the Siddharatneśvara temple of Uṛṟattūr, Trichinopoly district, on behalf of the ninety-eight subdivisions of the Iḍaṅgai classes.\(^7\) The eighteen samayas are mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1330.\(^8\)

References to these factions are also found in Tamil literature. In the Tondaimaṇḍala-Śatakam there is reference to

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2. 341 of 1907. In the Ep. Report for 1921, p. 103, it is wrongly said that this epigraph is the earliest record which mentions the two factions. The fact that we have inscriptions in the Karṇāṭaka which speak of the two classes prior to the times of Rājēndra Chōla Dēva, explodes the theory that they originated only in the Tamil land in the eleventh century at the command of a Chōla king. B.A.S.
4. E.C., V., P. I., Cn. 265, p. 237. This is a curious example of a father and son belonging to the opposite sides. B.A.S.
6. E.C. XI., Dg. 59, p. 61.
7. 489 of 1912; S. K. Aiyangar, S, India. p. 22.
the curbing down of the insolence of the Kaññālar (Kaññālar-
kurumbadakki) from which we may infer that the Vellāḷas
(agriculturists) and Kammāḷas (artisans) were not on friendly
terms. The Tamil poet Kamban, though he makes no refer-
ence to the agricultural classes, in seven stanzas in his Erelu-
pādu, praises the artisans who were naturally proud that no-
thing could be done without their help.¹

C. Idaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai Classes in Vijayanagara

The earliest mention of the two classes in Vijayanagara
history is in the reign of Kaṁpana Oḍeyar, son of Bukka I.
The inscription, which is dated a. d. 1362, deals with the joint-
activities of all the farmers and subjects of the great Kayivāra-
nāḍu, and all (of both sects) of Nānā-Dēśis in Pekkuṇḍra, and
of the 18 castes, in connection with the establishment of a fair
at Kayivāra.² From the use of the phrase "Śrivaishnavas of
the Eighteen Districts" and the "sons of forty-eight genera-
tions", used in the famous inscription dated a. d. 1368³, we
may infer that both the Jainaś and the Śrivaishnavas came under
the general designation of the Vaḷaṅgai and Idaṅgai classes.
An epigraph of about the same date (?) a. d. 1369) ends with
an incomplete imprecation—"whoso of the eighteen castes..."⁴
A record dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi but assign-
able to the Śaka year 1305 (a. d. 1383-4) refers to a fight be-
tween the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections which lasted for
four years.⁵ By order of Mallana Oḍeyar, as related in an ins-
cription dated in the cyclic year Dhātri (Śaka 1319—a.d. 1397-8),
a gift of the taxes payable by the eighteen professional castes
(paṭṭaḍai) of Paḍi-Tiruvallidāyam, was made to the temple of

² E.C., X., Ct. 95, p. 263. A record dated Śaka 100303 (?) informs us that certain privileges were granted to the seventy-four subdivisions of the Paṇḍhāḷas by Harihara Mahārāya for their having made the entrance throne (hājara simhāsana) of the palace. Bhikshāvṛtti Tattayya, the six
darshanas, and the eighteen samayus are also mentioned. The date of the inscription is clearly wrong. Ep. Report for 1918, p. 175.
³ E.C., II., No. 136, p. 180; (1st ed.); E.C., IX., Ma. 18, p. 54.
⁴ E.C., IV., Yl. 64, p. 33.
⁵ 422 of 1905.
Tiruvallidāya-muḍaiya-Nāyaṇār. We are told in a record dated Śaka 1371 (A. D. 1448-9) that Paḍaivīdu belonged to Toṇḍaimanḍala of the Right Hand and Left Hand sections. The 947 families of the hāṇes, mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1455 of Maṇivalī, Honnāvūru, etc., evidently refer to the subdivisions of the Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai classes in the Karṇāṭaka. The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmaya Dēva, with certain gauḍās (named), in about A. D. 1528, made a grant of land (specified), to the guru of the Right Hand sect, the Ėḍiyūr dāṇḍi, Viraṇṇa Oḷeyar. An inscription of the times of Achyuta Rāya, dated wrongly in Śaka 1554 (for 1454), Naṇḍana, informs us that the Vaḷaṅgai and the Iḍaṅgai divisions comprised ninety-eight castes, and that an agreement was made among the weavers to contribute some money for the maintenance of a maṭha. As remarked elsewhere, in A. D. 1535, in the reign of the same monarch, his household treasurer Rāmappayya remitted the marriage tax “to every one of the eighteen castes” in the Būḍihāḷa-sīme. The 101 families of the eighteen castes are mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1589.

SECTION 3. Sati

A. General Remarks

We now come to a social institution of Vijayanagara which, both because of its inherent brutality and acquired notoriety, has been associated with all that is savage and uncompromising.

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1 221 of 1910.
4 E.C., X., Kl. 152, p. 53.
5 103 of 1906; Rangachari, Top. List., I., SA. 606, pp. 200-1.
6 E. C., XII., Ck. 5, p. 71, op. cit.
7 E.C., IV., Hs. 15, p. 84. For some further remarks, see Srinivasa Aiyangar, Tam. Studies, p. 93; seq., Majumdar Corp. Life, p. 92. A comparison may be made, other things being granted, between the Right Hand and Left Hand sections of Vijayanagara and the Deccani and the Abyssinian groups of the Muhammadans. See Chowdhuri, I.H.Q., IV., 4, p. 723.
in Hindu life. This is the well known sati or sahagamana or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. We are concerned here primarily with its prevalence under Vijayanagara, and incidentally with its existence in southern India prior to the rise of the sons of Sangama. The little but definite information we have of the rite, both from the inscriptions and from foreign travellers, enables us to examine a few of the general notions of this vile custom which has been rightly condemned as a defect of the Hindu social system. It is generally stated that sati was a universal practice in India.¹ According to the evidence of a writer whose book has gained considerable popularity in some circles, the sati system originated in the caste to which the nobles belonged. "It was originally in the noble caste of Rajahs that the suttee originated."² The same critic has brought forward another feature of sati which has found favour with almost all writers on Indian history. "Although the ancient and barbarous custom which imposes the duty on widows of sacrificing themselves voluntarily on the funeral pyre of their husbands has not been expressly abolished, it is much more rare nowadays than formerly, especially in the southern parts of the peninsula."³ The above statement contains two divergent views which may be noted: that it was an ancient custom which imposed a duty on widows, and that the latter voluntarily sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyre.

Whatever may be the hideous turn which this rite took in the ages following the disappearance of the Empire of Vijayanagara, one could hardly be justified in viewing it as an insti-

¹ Cf. Iswari Prasad, Med. Ind. p. 437—"The practice of Sati was common, and the Brahmans freely commended this sort of self-immolation".
² Abbe Dubois, Hindu Man. & Cust. II., p. 361 (1897 ed.).
³ Ibid., II, p. 359. See Max Muller’s Preface to the same (Vol. I, p. viii) where it is said that in 1817 sati was less common in the south than in Bengal where 706 cases were reported. The following may be read on sati: Wilkins, Modern Hinduism, pp. 374-8, 381, 388; Max Muller, Vedic Religion, p. 32; Colebrooke in As. Res., IV, p. 41, seq.; Mandelslo, Travels, Lib. I, p. 32 (Davies, 1669); Peter Mundy, Travels, II, pp. 34-6 (Hakluyt); Tavernier, Travels, P. II, Bk. III., p. 171 (1678 ed.); Crooke, Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, I, pp.
tution of the mediaeval times from the reports of eyewitnesses and writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is necessary that we should record the evidence of foreign travellers and inscriptions to know the extent of its popularity under Vijayanagara.

B. Description.

Duarte Barbosa gives us a vivid picture of sati in the first half of the sixteenth century. He speaks of the three classes of people in the Hindu Empire, each with “a very distinct rule of its own”, and while describing the “principal of these” to which “the King, the great Lords, the knights and fighting men” belonged, he says: “...their sons inherit their estates; the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses, which are also burnt. This they do to honour the husband. If such a woman is poor and of low estate, when her husband dies she goes with him to the burning ground, where there is a great pit in which a pile of wood burns. When the husband’s body has been laid therein, and begins to burn, she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire, where both their bodies are reduced to ashes. But if she is a woman of high rank, rich, and with distinguished kindred, whether she be a young maid or an old woman, when her husband dies she accompanies the aforesaid corpse of her husband to the aforesaid burning ground, bewailing him; and there they dig a round pit, very wide and deep, which they fill with wood (and a great quantity of sandal wood therewith), and when they have kindled it, they lay the man’s body therein, and it is burnt while she weeps greatly. Wishing to do all honour to her husband she then causes all his kindred and her own to be called together, that they may come to feast and honour her thereby, all of whom gather together at the said field for this ceremony, where she spends with them and with her kindred

185 seq. (Rev. ed. 1896); Thomas Bowrey, Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, p. 38; Jahangir’s India—The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert pp. 78-90 (Trans. by Moreland—Geyl. 1925). A most recent contribution on the subject is by Mr. E. Thompson Suttee (London, 1928).
and friends all that she has in festivities with music and singing
and dancing and banquets. Thereafter she attires herself very
richly with all the jewels she possesses, and then distributes to
her sons, relatives and friends all the property that remains.
Thus arrayed she mounts on a horse, light grey or quite white
if possible, that she may be the better seen of all the people.
Mounted on this horse they lead her through the whole city
with great rejoicings, until they come back to the very spot
where the husband has been burnt, where, they cast a
great quantity of wood into the pit itself and on its edge
they make a great fire. When it has burnt up some-
what they erect a wooden scaffold with four or five
steps where they take her up just as she is. When she is
on the top she turns round thereon three times, worship-
ing towards the direction of sunrise, and this done, she calls
her sons, kindred and friends, and to each gives a jewel, where-
of she has many with her, and in the same way every piece of
her clothing until nothing is left except a small piece of cloth
with which she is clothed from the waist down. All this she
does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance,
that she seems not about to die. Then she tells the men who
are with her on the scaffold to consider what they owe to their
wives who, being free to act, yet burn themselves alive for the
love of them, and the women she tells to see how much
they owe to their husbands, to such a degree as to go with
them even to death. Then she ceases speaking, and they place
in her hands a pitcher, full of oil, and she puts it on her head,
and with it she again turns round thrice on the scaffold and
again worships towards the rising sun. Then she casts the
pitcher of oil into the fire and throws herself after it with as
much good will as if she were throwing herself on a little cot-
ton, from which she could receive no hurt. The kinsfolk all
take part at once and cast into the fire many pitchers of oil and
butter with which they hold ready for this purpose, and much
wood on this, and therewith bursts out such a flame that no
more can be seen. The ashes that remain after these ceremo-
nies are thrown into running streams. All this they do in
general without any hindrance; as it is the custom of all. They who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their families...This abominable practice of burning is so customary, and is held in such honour among them, that when the King dies, four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in this way, for which they make the pit and the fire to such a size that they can hold any number who may wish to throw themselves in; and for this too they keep ready great store of sanders-wood, eagle-wood, brazil-wood, and also of gingelly oil and butter to make the fire burn better. Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremonies I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing.¹

Before we proceed with the accounts of other foreign travellers, we may estimate the value of Duarte Barbosa's narrative on the strength of his own evidence. His description is so realistic that one may accept it as genuine but for the fact that it contains certain inconsistencies. In one place he says that it was a very ancient custom which compelled the women to perform sati: "the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses which are also burnt"; and then he presently adds, "she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire", suggesting thereby that there was some element of option that was allowed to the unfortunate women of the times. This latter idea is strengthened by Barbosa's other statement that "she does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die". Evidently the women of Vijayanagara, victims as they were of an age-long orthodoxy and priest-craft, could put death to shame by assuming a cheerful countenance on such an awful

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, pp. 212-16; Stanley, pp. 91-3. Nicolo dei Conti in the first half of the fifteenth century, also gives an account of sati. Major, *India*, pp. 6, 24. It "probably also refers to Vijayanagar, although it is not expressly mentioned". Dames, *ibid.*, p. 213, n (1).
occasion. This is, however, a point on which there may be a plurality of opinion. But Barbosa contradicts himself in his assertions. In one passage he tells us that sati was confined to the caste to which the King, the great lords, the knights and fighting men belonged; but at the end of his description he asserts that “it is the custom of all.” As related elsewhere, the king, the lords, the fighting men and the knights of Vijayanagara never belonged to one class. Moreover Barbosa assures us that this custom did not prevail among the Brahmans and the Jaṅgamas or Līṅgāyats, nor among the Čeṭṭis. Consequently, it could not have been the custom of all.

There is one more consideration against Barbosa. From his description of the sati performed by the wives and queens of the Vijayanagara king, it appears that he witnessed personally one of those sad events. For he gives us the number of women who died with the king—four or five hundred; he speaks of the great pit and huge fire that was lit in it; and he says that “Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremonies I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing.” Now, we may be permitted to repeat one or two statements we made while describing the country in general. Duarte Barbosa “was in the service of the Portuguese Government in India from about 1500 till about 1516 or 1517”°. He gives us no date in his own writings, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to find out when he was in Vijayanagara. We know that his book was completed in A.D. 1517-18. Between the years when he is said to have visited

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1 Cf. Dames, “The three classes into which Barbosa divides the Hindus do not correspond with the actual caste division, but are such as would be likely to strike an observer from Europe, viz, the King and nobility, secondly, the Brahmans and thirdly the members of the Līṅgāyat sect, which was very important at Vijayanagar.” Barbosa, I, p. 212, n. (3).
2 Barbosa, II, p. 73, op. cit.
3 Dames, Barbosa, I, Intr. ibid, p. xxxiii. See ante Volume I, Chapter II, p. 43.
4 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 128 n, (1).
India, two Vijayanagara monarchs had died—Sāluva Nṛisimha (A.D. 1496-1506) and Vīra Narasimha (A.D. 1504-9). The fact that Barbosa has not a word to say about either of these monarchs suggests that he may not have visited Vijayanagara till after the death of Vīra Narasimha in A.D. 1509. This supposition of ours is borne out by the statement of Barbosa about the wars which the ruler of Vijayanagara waged against the neighbouring states. "This king of Narsyngua is oftentimes at war with the King of Daquem and the King of Otisa (who is another Heathen king), which is also situated in the interior; and all these do one another all the injury they can".¹ The rulers referred to here are, of course, the Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan and the king of Orissa. Fragmentary as the evidence for the reign of Sāluva Nṛisimha is, we may admit that that powerful king may have been at war with the "King of Daquen and the King of Otisa", especially when we know that shortly after A.D. 1489 in order to aid Qāsim Barīd of Ahmadabad against Yusūf Ādil Khān of Bijapur, he seized the two important strongholds of Mudkul and Raichur.² Further, Rājanātha Diṇḍima in his Sāluvābhīnayam informs us that Sāluva Nṛisimha marched against Kālīṅga, besieged the capital, and compelled its ruler to surrender. Then, again, the same writer tells us that the Vijayanagara ruler at the instance of a chief who is called Kuṭavāchalendrataṭavāsin, invaded Nāgamaṇḍala, stationed a garrison there, and while desiring to conquer Prīthugiri, he was attacked by a Muhammadan army. He won a complete victory over the Muhammadans and justified his titles Dharaṇīvarāha and Sāluvēndra.³ According to Rājanātha Diṇḍima, who was the court poet of Sāluva Nṛisimha, the latter undertook his expedition against Kālīṅga soon after his coronation.⁴ We know that Sāluva Nṛisimha came to the throne in A.D. 1496. We may allow two or three years

¹ Barbosa, Dames, I., pp. 223-4.
² Sewell, For. Emp., p. 113.
³ Sāluvābhīndrayam, The Sources, pp. 91, 94, 98.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 93-4.
for this campaign, and place the event in A.D. 1498 or 1499. Barbosa could never have been in the Hindu capital while the ruler undertook a war against the “King of Otisa”, for the earliest date given to Barbosa is, as related above, A.D. 1500. There is one more point which we may note in this connection. Rājanātha, in spite of the fact that he describes the conventional tour of his royal master to Benares (Kāśi), does not mention anywhere the Sultans of the Deccan in the course of his narrative. These significant details make it impossible for one to believe that the ruler referred to by Barbosa could have been Sāluva Nṛsiṁha. As regards Vira Narasimha, it is not impossible that affairs at the capital were too engrossing to allow him to think of extending his frontiers in the north. We come now to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who, as is well known, led his campaigns against the Sultans of the Deccan and the king of Orissa. The ruler mentioned by Barbosa has, therefore, rightly been identified with Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.1 This monarch ruled from A.D. 1509 to 1529.2 We conclude, therefore, that Barbosa could not have any opportunity of witnessing the death of a Vijayanagara king who waged wars against the “King of Daquen and the King of Otisa”—in or about A.D. 1509 or A.D. 1514.3

This rather lengthy digression into the veracity of the account of Barbosa helps us to understand the narrative of Fernao Nuniz. “This kingdom of Bisanaga is all heathen. The women have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so. When their husbands die they mourn with their relations and those of their husbands, but they hold that the wife who weeps beyond measure has no desire to go in search of her husband; and the

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 223, n. (1).
2 Rice, My. and Coorg, p. 118.
3 Barbosa left India in A.D. 1516 or 1517 Dames, I, p. 223, n. (1) op. cit. Stanley says that Barbosa was an eye-witness: “Though Suttee has been so often described, the account of it in these possess much interest and novelty, probably from having been written by an eye-witness, before that institution was disturbed by European influence”. Preface, pp. x-xi,
mourning finished their relations speak to them, advising them
to burn themselves and not to dishonour their generations.
After that, it is said, they place the dead man on a bed with a
canopy of branches and covered with flowers, and they put the
woman on the back of a worthless horse,¹ and she goes after
them with many jewels on her, and covered with roses; she
carries a mirror in her hand and in the other a branch of
flowers, and (she goes accompanied by) many kinds of music,
and his relations (go with her) with much pleasure. A man
goes also playing on a small drum, and he sings songs to her
telling her that she is going to join her husband, and she
answers also in singing that so she will do. As soon as she
arrives at the place where they are always burned she waits
with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body they
place in a very large pit that has been made ready for it,
covered with much firewood. Before they light the fire his
mother or his nearest relative takes a vessel of water on the
head and a firebrand in the hand, and goes three times round
the pit, and at each round makes a hole in the pot; and when
these three rounds are done breaks the pot, which is small, and
throws the torch into the pit. Then they apply the fire, and
when the body is burned comes the wife with all the feasters
and washes her feet, and then a Brahman performs over her
certain ceremonies according to their law; and when he has
finished doing this, she draws off with her own hand all the
jewels that she wears, and divides them among her female re-
latives, and if she has sons she commends them to her most
honoured relatives. When they have taken off all she has on,
even her good clothes, they put on her some common yellow
cloths, and her relatives take her hand and she takes a branch
in the other, and goes singing and running to the pit where
the fire is, and then mounts on some steps which are made
high up by the pit. Before they do this they go three times
round the fire, and then she mounts the steps and holds in
front of her a mat that prevents her from seeing the fire. They

¹ Read a note on this by Dames, Barbosa, I, p. 214, n. (1).
throw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another in which they carry betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these are needed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally she takes leave of all, and puts a pot of oil on her head, and casts herself into the fire with such courage that it is a thing of wonder; and as soon as she throws herself in, the relatives are ready with firewood and quickly cover her with it, and after this is done, they all raise loud lamentations. When a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves, and when the King dies they do the same."

There is another eye-witness who has left to us an account of sati. Caesar Frederick (A.D. 1567) writes thus: "And in the time I rested there (Vijayanagara City) I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any noble man or woman dead, they burn their bodies: and if a married man or woman die, his wife must burn herself alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a month's leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herself in, and that day being come, wherein she ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very early, either on Horseback or an Elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these orders shee goeth, being apperalled like to a Bride, carried round about the Citie, with her hair down about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they go with as great

1 Sewell, For. Emp., pp. 391-3. As regards the account of Nuniz, the following might be observed: "It (i.e. Barbosa’s narrative) may be compared with the similar description given by Fernão Nuniz which agrees with it in so many details as to make it probable that Nuniz had seen a manuscript of Barbosa’s work". Dames, Barbosa, I, p. 213, n. (1). But the difference between the two accounts is in the following: Barbosa speaks of a light grey or quite white horse; Nuniz writes about a worthless horse. Barbosa makes a woman who is going to commit sati give a speech; Nuniz is silent about it. Barbosa speaks of a pitcher full of oil; Nuniz also mentions this detail but adds a mirror and flowers. Neither of these travellers has anything to say about the inexplicable lemon carried by a woman. But, as we shall see, a later traveller observed this detail. B.A.S.
joy as Brides doe in Venice to their Nuptials: she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glass, and in her right-hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin (Ânegûndî), which runneth under the walls of the Citie, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up: the aforesaid Cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her own accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certify her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh nearest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banks of the aforesaid River, where she putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herself with a cloth, because shee will not bee see of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteen braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together up to the pinnacle of the square Cave, where the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fierceness of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearfull, and that they are not afraid of
that sight. When this silly woman has reasoneth with the people a good while to her content there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the forncace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the forncace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood thrown after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man should scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out at the place of burning: and when there dyeth any Great Man, his wife with all his slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him".  

John Huighen Van Linschoten in A. D. 1583 wrote thus: "When the Bramenes die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throwe much wood and other things: and if the man bee of any great account, they cast in sweet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burn stronger. Which done, they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then commeth his wife with musike and many of her neerest friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then shee taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes..."

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1 Caesar Frederick, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, pp. 94-6.
2 Linschoten, Purchas, ibid., pp. 256-7, Cf. Metthwold, who gives a singular reason why sati was in fashion in India. "It is amongst these Indians a received history that there was a time when wives were
Barradas narrates the events that happened in A. D. 1614 on the death of Veṅkaṭapati Rāya I: "Three days later the King died at the age of sixty-seven years. His body was burned in his own garden with sweet scented woods, sandals, aloes, and such like; and immediately afterwards three queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the King, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity".¹ Floris confirms him in his statement that the three queens of Veṅkaṭapati committed sati. Floris writes thus: "On the five and twentieth came the newes of the death of Wencatadrapa King of Velur, after his fiftie yeares raigne, and that this three wives (of whom Obyama Queene of Paleocatte was one) had burned themselves quickly with the Corps"².

Pietro della Valle is the only traveller who mentions the lemon held by a woman ready to die. He speaks of the affairs at Ikkērī in A. D. 1623. "As we return'd home at night we met a Woman in the City of Ikkeri, who, her husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn herself, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with face uncover'd, holding a Looking-glass in one hand and a Lemon in the other, I know not for what purpose; and generally so luxurious (immoral) that, to make way for their friends, they would poyson their husbands; which to prevent a law was made that, the husbands dead, the wives should accompany them in the same fire, and this law stands yet in force in the Iland of Baly not far from Java". Relations of Golconda, p. 28. Metthewd gives us a detailed description of sati. pp. 23-9. This explanation savours much of the Portuguese profligacy spoken of elsewhere in this treatise, and whatever may be the truth as regards its antiquity in other lands (see Thompson, Suttae, p. 44), it is not applicable to India. B.A.S.

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 224.
² Floris, Purchas, Pilgrims, III., p. 338.
beholding herself in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently pittiful to hear, went along I know not whither, speaking or singing, certain words which I understood not; but they told me they were a kind of Farewell to the World and herself; and indeed, being uttered with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was follow'd by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality in India are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome. Before her certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties, or Songs; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go with him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this: a custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but withall of great generosity and virtue in such Women and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said she was to pass in the manner about the City I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt, with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be I will not fail to go to see her and by my presence honor her Funeral with that compassionate affection with such great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve''.

Pietro della Valle's opinion about sati is in striking contrast to that expressed by the other foreign travellers. His judgment is more balanced and interesting than that of the eye-witnesses of sahagamana of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

C. Sati in Pre-Vijayanagara Times

There are some historical notices of sati in early times. A non-sectarian inscription dated A. D. 510-511 narrates that a chieftain or nobleman called Gōparāja, in the company of a

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powerful king named Bhānu Gupta, came to the place where a pillar was set up, and fought a battle. Gōparāja was killed in the fight and his wife accompanied him by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.¹ In the pathetic farewell speech of the Queen Rājyavati, the widow of king Dharma Dēva of Nepāl, as recorded in an inscription dated Samvat 386 (about A. D. 705), we have the following: “As thy father is now dead, why preserve my useless life! Reign then, dear son; today, even, I follow my husband on his road. Of what use are the fetters of hope that are lengthened for enjoyment, and that bind me to a widowed life in a world similar to a lying dream. I will depart”. The same epigraph however narrates that when her son dissuaded her with tears in his eyes, “then together with her virtuous son she performed the last rites for her own husband”.²

In southern India sati was not unknown in early times. “The practice of honouring and even worshipping women who committed sati appears to have been very old in southern India. Kannagi, the heroine of the Tamil poem Śilappadikāram, died on hearing of the unjust death inflicted upon her husband by the Pāṇḍyan king of Madura. She was thenceforth worshipped in shrines built for her throughout southern India and Ceylon. In the latter island she is known as Pattini and is very popular. The mother of Rājarāja I is stated to have committed sati and in consequence of this act, evidently an image of her was set up in the temple of Tanjore. Perantallamma, a woman who committed sati, is equally reputed in the Telugu districts”.³

The instance of the wife of a Śūdra, given in a record dated Śaka 979 (A. D. 1057) is more an example of self-immo-

¹ Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, p. 92.
² Bhagavanlal Indraj, I. A., IX, pp. 165-6; Fleet, ibid., III, p. 92, n. (2). With the evidence of these two epigraphs, we may reject the statement (made by Wilkins, Mod Hind., p. 380) that the example of 'Sanjōgata' (daughter of Jāyachand of Kanouj), who performed sati in A. D. 1176 is the earliest authentic account we have of sahagamana.
³ Krishna Sastri, South Indian Gods, p. 229.
lation rather than sati. But in the same year we have a remarkable case of sati in the Karṇāṭaka. It is that of Dēkabbe, the wife of the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, Ėcha of Pervvayal. The epigraph composed by the poet Malla, son of Āditya, tells us the following story about her: “To the virtuous (with all praise) the jewel of women, Ponnabbe, and to Raviga, was born Dēkabbe, who was given in marriage to Ėcha of Pervvayal, the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, of the Kuruvanda family…While, famous as a wrestler, a mill in grinding his enemies, he (i.e., Ėcha) was thus living happily, having thrown and in the crush killed his (i.e.? Rājendra Choḷa’s) kinsman, the king (i.e., Rājēndra Choḷa) had him taken off straight to Talekāḍ and put to death. On hearing the report that they had put to death the Vēḷa of the Kali age, brave and generous,—that beautiful one the light of Raviga’s family went forth to the fire-pit to die.

“Her father and mother together, and all her relations, coming, besought her, saying, ‘Daughter, do not die’,—and all falling down, embraced her feet. But the innocent Dēkabbe, becoming angry, exclaiming said, ‘Being praised as the daughter of Raviga, the ruler of Nugu-nāḍ, and the wife of the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, can I have any mind to live, and disgrace the good name of his house who gave me (in marriage) and of his who took me (in marriage)?’

“Having thus made her decision, she presented to the god a garden to provide for a perpetual lamp, and saying it was for the offerings, that lotus-eyed one, with reverence, also presented certain other land (described). On all united again and again saying, ‘Dont (do it): stop—’ she said— ‘Be silent: I will not stop’, and with kindly words giving away (her) land, gold-

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1 Kittel, Ep. Ind., VI, p. 215. Note the clause used against Brahmins in v. 23, p. 219. An undated and defaced inscription written in archaic characters records an instance of sati in the times of a Mahābali Bānarasa, 555 of 1906. These examples of sati in the south invalidate the bold statements of Elphinstone (History of India, p. 190) and of Grey (Travels of Pietro della Valle, II, p., 266, n. 1) that “the practice never occurs south of the river Kistna (or Krishnā)”, and that “cases of widow-burning in Southern India are not common”. These assertions are applicable to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but not to the earlier times. B.A.S.
embroidered cloths, cows and money, and folding her hands with love to the god of gods, she entered the blazing flames, Deākkabbe, winning the approval of all the world and the daily celebration of her praise and went to the world of gods."1

This detailed account of Deākkabbe’s daring is necessary if we are to understand that sati was by no means a compulsory custom in the ancient times. Deākkabbe, who is called in the same inscription “the celebrated mine of heroism”, was not the only one who could enter the funeral pyre of her husband. Śākka-gāmunda’s (son) Śīnja-gāmunḍa, evidently of Rājēndra-Śōla-valanādū of Śōlamanḍālam, pierced a tiger in A. D. 1118 and died. Thereupon his wife Śikkavai, daughter of Vaśava-gāmunda, entered the fire.2 On Sundara Chōla alias Parāntaka II’s death, his queen Vānavan Mahādēvi entered into sahagamana.3 In the siege of Jambūr in A. D. 1191, Biraṇa “fell upon him (i.e., Ekkalarasa of Uddare), pierced his horse, seized his money and slaying him, went to svarga. His wife Biyavve, when setting this stone, died along with him and took svarga by force”.4

Sometimes, the woman who committed sati explained the motive of her action. An undated inscription, which probably belongs to the reign of Vira Rājēndra Chōla Dēva, registers a decision made by a woman before committing sati. She says that if she lived after her husband, she would become the slave of his co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die, would incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind her and throw her into the fire and kill her would incur the sin of prostituting their wives.5

This compulsory levy on the cruelty of man was not, however, the order of the day. Women committed sati on the

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1 E. C., IV., Hg. 18, p. 69: Kavicharite, I, p. 78 (Rev.ed.)
2 E. C., IX, Kn. 12, p. 122.
4 E. C., VII, Sk. 38, p. 46.
death of their husbands in a fight or in war. In A.D. 1287 Kūḍali was entered, the cows captured and Beḷṇavali-Janeguru’s village ruined. Then Bommarasa of Hosaguṇḍa, “stopped the riot, fought and slew and went to svarga”. His wife, whose name is effaced in the record, “gave arm and hand and went to svarga”.¹ On the death of Babbeya Nāyaka’s son the Mahāsāmanta Birudara-gōva, Mahādeva Nāyaka, in the reign of Ballāḷa II, his wife Bibove Nāykitti ascended the funeral pyre (bovvilige) of her husband and became a sati.²

D. Sati in Vijayanagara

Karṇaṭaka and Tamil tradition, therefore, had sanctified the brutal custom long before Vijayanagara was founded. The instances enumerated above, which are not exhaustive, when taken in conjunction with the following relating to Vijayanagara enable us to deduce some conclusions as regards the occasion when women performed sahagamana and the communities which were addicted to this cruel rite. One of the earliest examples of sati in Vijayanagara times is that recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1354. In the reign of Hariyappa Oḍeyar, Mala Gauḍa went to svarga and his wife Chennakkā performed sahagamana and also went to svarga.³ In A.D. 1376 in the reign of Bukka Rāya, Āvali Chanda Gauḍa’s son Bēchi Gauḍa went to svarga. His junior wife Muddi Gauṇḍi performed sahagamana and both obtained mukti.⁴ Nuṅka Gauḍa died in A.D. 1383 and his queen (arasi) Dēmāyi entered the fire⁵. In the reign Harihara II, in A.D. 1386, a mahāsati kallu, or stone commemorating a great sati, records the death of Bommakkā, wife of Malayandūr Bēḍabira who died fighting in a battle.⁶ On the death of the match-lockman Dēveya

¹ E.C., VII, Sh. 61-2, pp. 23-24.
³ E.C., VIII, Sh. 104, p. 15.
⁴ Ibid., Sh. 106, p. 16.
⁵ E.C., XI, Dg. 117, p. 73.
Nāyaka, who was, as we saw, bitten by a snake in A.D. 1388, his wife Muddana Kēti became a great sati and went to Vai-kuṇṭha. Hiriya Gauḍa, in A.D. 1397, “in the presence of the god Kēśava, at the southern door of the Harihara temple, at ten gha. after sunset, went to svarga. His queen (arasi) Lakshumāyi entered the fire and went to the world of gods.” The wife of Chokka Gauḍa went to svarga with her husband in A.D. 1391. Ḡvali Gōpa Gavunḍa’s workman (besemage) Baichi Nāyaka’s son Rāya went to svarga in A.D. 1393, on which his wife performed sahagamana. Būja Gauḍa, son of Bōla Gauḍa of Sanḍa, the chief place of Nevalige-nāḍ in the Araga Eighteen Kampana, died and his wife Tyāya (?) performed sahagamana. A dependent of Nallā Chakravarti named Bommaṇṭa died in A.D. 1402, and his wife Nāgāyi died with him. About A.D. 1403 the Mande-Gāmuniḍa Sōya’s son Vira-Nara (died), and Urivāna Bomma Nāyaka’s daughter Kāla Dēvi performed sahagamana. Nārappa Nāyaka, son of Bommya Nāyaka of the Durgga boundary, died, as related elsewhere, in A.D. 1410, at his post; and his wife Bommakā become a great sati. In the same year Masanakkā, wife of Bīrūr Bomma Gauḍa’s son Mādappa, performed sahagamana on the death of her husband. In the next year A.D. 1411 Ami Gauḍi went to svarga along with her husband Manavane Viṭharaka. The Lord of Ships, Maṅgaljūr Nāga Gauḍa’s son Śeṭṭi Gauḍa, who has already figured in these pages, died in A.D. 1412, and his wife, whose name is effaced, entered the fire. On the death of Bulikharā of Sahāḍlaya pura, his three wives “gave arm and hand” (tōlu-

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1 E. C., VIII, Sb. 483, p. 81, op. cit.
2 E. C., XI, Dg. 116, p. 73.
3 E. C., VIII, Sb. 25, p. 5.
4 Ibid., Sb., 134, p. 17.
5 E. C., VII, Sk. 302, p. 152.
6 E. C., VIII, Sb., 155, p. 23.
7 E. C., VII, Hl. 92, p. 176.
8 E. C., VIII, Sb. 484, p. 81.
9 Ibid., Sa. 8, p. 93.
10 Ibid., Sb., 26, p. 5.
11 Ibid., Sb., 467, p. 78, op. cit.
kayi), i.e., performed sahagamana, as related in an inscription dated A.D. 1417. Rama Gauḍa died in the same year under certain circumstances the nature of which cannot exactly be determined. The record, however, states that his wife Bomma Gauḍi, "uniting with Rama Gauḍa, performed sahagamana, and Rama Gauḍa and Bommana took svarga by force." Keḷadi Kariya Timme Gauḍa died in A.D. 1419, on which his wife Rāmakā became a mahā-sati. Kumbāra Mahābala Dēva's son Bommanda and his daughter-in-law Chandavve, "these two ascended svarga" in A.D. 1423. Bayirava Gauḍa (son of Bira Gauḍa, the Mahāprabhu of Heggode belonging to the Kuppe Twelve of the Ede-nāḍ Seventy) in A.D. 1424 together with his wife gained Vaikuṇṭha. A certain person, whose name is effaced in the record dated A.D. 1425, died, "on which Kāmāyi became a māsti, (i.e., a mahā-sati) and by sahagamana gained svarga." Manavane Mādiga in A.D. 1429 went to svarga and his wife also went to svarga. An inscribed mahāsati-kalu, or as it is also known, a māstikal, dated A.D. 1430, found at Arunvanahalli, Malavalli taluka, states that a woman named Māla... bbe, wife of Prabha Gauḍa, went to the world of gods. Kumbati Rāṇaya Nāyaka "ended his life" in A.D. 1432, and his wife Chauḍa Nāyaki performed sahagamana. Hunavalli Vidarikari Bomma Nāyaka died in A.D. 1437, and his wife Kāmeya Nāyakiti became a mahā-sati. An inscription of about A.D. 1442 relates that Amma Gauḍa of Haraūr "with his wife Bayirava Gauḍi, departed in company (i.e., died together)."

1 E. C., III, Md. 103 p. 49.
2 E. C., VII, Sk. 37, p. 46.
4 Ibid., Sb. 461, p. 78.
5 Ibid., Sb. 565, p. 90.
6 Ibid., Nr. 25, p. 131.
7 Ibid., Sb. 24, p. 5.
9 E. C., VIII. Sb. 497, p. 83.
10 Ibid., Sb. 533, p. 88.
11 Ibid., Sb. 163, p. 23.
villages belonging to Kuppe), died in A.D. 1445. "And his wife, a head-jewel of the young women in all the circle of the world, with great desire performed sahagamana, and they were united to the feet of Śiva."\(^1\) Bhayirava Gauḍa, son of Rāma Gauḍa of Hārika, died in about A.D. 1445. His wife Bhayiri Gauḍi "united with him performed sahagamana."\(^2\) In A.D. 1451 Heggōde Tamma Śeṭṭi together with his wife Bomma Gauḍi, gained the world of gods\(^3\). Rāma Gauḍa, son of Śirūru Gauḍa, fell fighting during a siege in A.D. 1454, "on which together with his wife Chiya Gauḍi, they made sahagamana."\(^4\) Māravatūr Gaṇapa Gauḍa's son Bomma Gauḍa died in A.D. 1455, and his wife Bommi Gauḍi performed sahagamana.\(^5\)

E. Some Conclusions as regards Sati

The above instances of sahagamana help us to solve certain aspects of the question of sati. In most instances, if one may venture to say so, at least in the mediaeval history of southern India, the death of the husband in a fight, a siege, a cow-raid, a riot or for a cause which, according to the notions of the times, called forth their courage and endurance, their wives committed sati. More interesting than the occasion when they performed sati is the question of the classes amongst whom this custom was most popular. According to the inscriptions it was the Gauḍas, and in some instances, the Nāyakas, who were given to this rite. The Gauḍas included persons of rank as the name of Gauḍa-arasa and Gauḍa-arasi clearly indicate. Our assumption that sati was restricted to one or two classes is to some extent corroborated by the evidence of foreign travellers. But here again, as we shall relate in connection with orthodoxy in Vijayanagara, there seems to be some confusion among foreign witnesses as regards the name of the people who committed sati and similar rites. We shall revert to this subject later on.

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\(^1\) E. C., VIII, Sh. 495, p. 83.
\(^2\) E. C., VII, Sk. 36, p. 46.
\(^3\) E. C., VIII, Sh. 566, p. 90.
\(^4\) Ibid., Sa. 48, p. 99.
\(^5\) Ibid., Sa, 50, p. 99.
We now come to the question whether sati was compulsory according to the Hindu lawgivers. On this point, we believe, there cannot be any difference of opinion: the classical canonists never sanctioned compulsory sahagamana. Thus Manu, whose well known dictum as regards the dependence of women we shall presently cite, says: "...Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory)...At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died...A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men."  

Manu, therefore, makes provision for a pure and simple life of a widow but not for her death on the funeral pyre of her husband.

Kautilya's regulations are more detailed in this connection. He lays down minute rules for the re-marriage of widows within their own gôtra. This applies to the wives of those who belong to the Sudra, Vaiśya, Kshatriya, and Brahman castes. There is, of course, consensus of opinion among the classical canonists on this subject.

According to the Hindu legists, sahagamana is optional. Thus says Vishnu: "After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity or to ascend the pile after him...A good wife, who perseveres in a chaste life after the death of her husband, will go to heaven, like (perpetual) students, even though she has no son." Bṛhaspati says: "A wife is considered half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes

2 Arthasastra, Bk. III, Ch. IV., 159, pp. 195-6.
3 Manu, IX, 75-6, pp. 340-1; Gautama; XVIII, 15-20, p. 272; Vaishṣṭha, XVII, 55-64, pp. 89-90, 74-80, pp. 92-3; Nārada, XII, 97-100, pp. 184-5.
4 Vishnu, XXV, 14, 17, p. 111,
the welfare of her husband."¹ The freedom given to the widow in the mediaeval code of Sukra is thus stated: "When the husband is dead, the chaste women should accompany him or observe the vow, should not like to go to other's houses, and should always maintain brahmacharyya or control of passions, should give up the daily ornamentation of self."²

One cannot determine how, in spite of a fair degree of freedom allowed by the lawgivers, sahagamana rose to the status of a social institution. That it was not always compulsory seems evident from the remarks of some of the foreign travellers whose evidence we have cited above. Even according to Barbosa the women, who wore a cheerful countenance on the awful occasion, made public the fact that, although they were "free to act", yet they burned themselves for the love they bore to their husbands. In pre-Vijayanagara times too, as Friar Jordanus, who visited India between A.D. 1521-3 tells us in the following passage, it may not have been compulsory. According to this eye-witness, who speaks of "Lesser India",—"In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned: and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead".³ If it is permissible to suppose that coercion may not have brought to bear on unfortunate women on all occasions, then, the concluding lines of the epigraph, dated A. D. 1445, already cited, recording the death of Bomma

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¹ Brihaspati, XXIV, 11, p. 369. Read Jolly’s comment on ibid., n. See also ibid., XXIV, 8, p. 368.
² Sukraniti, IV, iv., II, 57-9, p. 163.
Gauḍa, may not be altogether incredible. His wife, the inscription relates, "with great desire (she) performed sahasamana".¹

We have yet to find out the probable causes which brought sati to the limelight of south Indian history. We admit that the following assumptions are merely suggestions. In the first place, we have to note a singular precedent set by the members of the royal families of Vijayanagara. It was the custom according to which queens committed sati. Nuniz relates the following: "Then he (Krishṇa Dēva Rāya) took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of his pages, so that he might show it to his queens in token of his death, that they might burn themselves according to custom".² It is not difficult to imagine that on the failure of a campaign, the queens and women-folk should have performed sahasamana to escape dishonour at the hands of the Muhammadans. The king in mediaeval times stood as the embodiment of all that was great and virtuous; and the example of the queens was bound to have a profound effect on the minds of the women of Vijayanagara. This may account for the prevalence of the rite in the capital as well as in the provinces where, as related by Muhammad Sharīf Hanafī in his Majālisu-s Salātīn, on the death of a ruler called "Kaner Rai" in A.D. 1628, his 700 wives performed sahasamana.³

Another cause which may have made sati popular was the idea of self-sacrifice which prompted men to lay down their lives for the sake of their rulers. We shall mention this subject in connection with patriotism. Barbosa also bears testimony to the remarkable spirit of loyalty which prevailed on those days. "So great is the haste of those who wish to burn themselves first, that it is something wonderful, and many men, confidants of the king, burn themselves with him".⁴

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 495, p. 83, op. cit.
² Sewell, For, Emp., p. 339. The Queens of Vijayanagara at least on one memorable occasion, accompanied the ruler on his campaigns. B. A. S.
³ Elliot, Hist. of India, VII, p. 139; Satyanatha, The Nayaks, p. 257. Does the name Kaner Rai stand for the Nāyaka of Madura? B.A.S.
⁴ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 93; I., Dames, pp. 216-17.
There may be another reason why sati was very common in Vijayanagara. The rite seems to have been popular in other lands as well. This we infer from the description of an island called “Sunda” given by Faria y Sousa. While relating the events of A.D. 1526-7, he says: “The Women (of Sunda which, according to Faria y Sousa was divided on the south from Java by a very narrow Channel) are beautiful, those of Quality chaste, contrary to what is usual in most of the other parts of the World. They have Convents into which they enter to preserve their Virginity as in Spain. The married women kill themselves when their Husbands die; a good Custom to show their Duty, and to prevent their killing them, were it not against the Law of Nature, and therefore, a brutal Error”.¹ The custom may have spread from India to the southern islands.

There are some points about sahagamana or sati on which no light whatsoever can be thrown. We have, for example, no explanation to offer as to what the raised hand on a sati stone commemorates. Rice remarked thus on the topic: “The māstikal also consist of a stone slab, on which is represented in relief the figure of a post or pillar, with a human arm of the natural size, or larger, projecting from the middle of it: the hand is held up straight, with the fingers distended, and in the hollow between the thumb and the forefinger is often placed a lime. Below this striking symbol is in many cases a representation in miniature of a man and woman; sometimes seated side by side with the linga above them, sometimes with the man seated and the woman dancing round him, and other arrangements. These stones never have any inscription, so far as I have noticed”.²

This last statement, however, is not always borne out by facts. The māstikal of A.D. 1430, as related above, found at Arunavalli, Malavalli tāluka, states the name of the woman who committed sati, and of her son Bāsappa who set up

¹ Faria y Sousa, Asia Port. I. p. 305.
² Rice, My. Ins., Intr., p, xxvi.
the stone. As regards the name given to the raised hand we have some details. The inscription of A.D., 1417 recording the sahagamana of the three wives of Bukthiara, narrated above, informs us that they give (their) arm and hand (ālana hengati yaru tōlu-kayi koto(t)a kambha). Rice remarks thus: "What is symbolised by the pillar I regret that I am unable to explain . . . The human arm I have heard called Madanakai, the hand or arm of Mada, that is, of Cupid, love or passion". "Those with one arm are called wonṭikai; those with two, yeraḍu kai māsti". An inscription dated Śaka 1327 (A.D. 1405-6) informs us that Gaṅgāsāni, the daughter of Bayiri Śetti of Pāmiḍī, did agnipravēśa (i.e., entered into the fire) at Penugonda on the death of her husband Rāma Dēva Nāyaka. In praise of her Tippa Nāyaka set up a virakai (hero-hand) at Vānavōlu.

SECTION 4. Guilds

A. Classical Notions

Co-operation in political matters was to a certain extent responsible for the revival of a socio-economic institution which had already existed in the land. This consisted of members of a trade who grouped themselves into a guild and protected the interests of their calling. From the earliest times, Hindu canonists have sanctioned the promulgation of laws by the guilds for the benefit of their members and their trade. Thus Gautama says: "Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders, artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes". The privilege of forming a guild seems to have been extended even

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2 E. C., III, Md. 103, p. 49, op. cit.
3 Rice, My. Ins., p. xxvi, and ibid, n. See also ibid., pp. xxvi-xxvii where a horrid picture of sati is given.
4 809 of 1917; For the symbolism of the lemon, read Irvine, J. R. A. S. for 1905, p. 364, where reference is given to a valuable essay in German on the symbolism of the lemon by Prof. Theodor Zachariae. For sati stones in Gujerat, read Arch. Sur. West. Ind. for 1897, p. 90.
5 Gautama, XI., 21, p. 237.
to the Brahmans. For we are told in the Institutes of Vishṇu the following: "He who embezzles goods belonging to a corporation (of Brāhmaṇas and which have been sent to them by the king or by private persons) shall be banished. He who violates their established rule (shall) also (be banished)."¹ It is interesting to note that provision is also made for the guilds of thieves in the Śukraniti. "The cultivators, the artisans, the artists, the usurers, corporations, the dancers, the ascetics and thieves should decide their disputes according to the usage of their guild, etc. It is impossible to detect them through others' help. So they are to be found out with the help of persons born of (i.e., connected with) them."² That governments recognized the law of such guilds as authoritative can be made out from the sanctity given to it in the code of Manu. "(A king) who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes (jāti), of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each."³

B. Historical Notices in the Pre-Vijayanagara times

The existence of such guilds was of vital importance for the material prosperity of the people. This may account for the privileges enjoyed by these corporate bodies both during and before the Vijayanagara times. In the Kārṇaṭaka as well as in the south they formed an indispensable part of the socio-economic structure of the land. We have had some occasions of referring to the power wielded by these organizations in matters which may be called political; we shall now proceed to give some more details about the different kinds of guilds, the features which distinguished them, and their leaders who must have been in no small measure responsible for the greatness of the corporations. But the source of their influence lies in their tradition; and, therefore, in order to understand the position which the guilds occupied in the society of Vijayanagara,

¹ Vishṇu, V. 167-8, p. 38.
² Śukraniti, Ch. IV, v. II. 35-7, p. 184.
³ Manu, VIII, 41, p. 260.
we have to survey briefly the history of these associations in pre-Vijayanagara days.

The account of guilds, especially in the Karṇāṭaka and the adjoining regions, centres round the name Vīra-Baṇaja. Dr. Fleet remarked thus on the name: "Baḷaṇja is another form of baṇaṇja or baṇaṇja, the modern baṇaṇjiga, baṇaṇjiga or baṇijiga, which must be the original of, or a corruption of, the Sanskrit baṇija, baṇijika merchant, trader. Baṇaṇja is a division of the Liṅgāyats; and Vīra-baṇaṇijaga, or in old Canarese Vīraṇaṇijaga, means a strict Baṇaṇijiga." One of their most powerful strongholds was Balligräme. An inscription dated A.D. 1093-4 of the times of the Western Chāluksya Vikramāditya the Great, gives us the following interesting details about a guild of Balligräme:

"Hail! The entire guild of the Naḥaramummuri, which was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with 'That which..." and has for its pure origin the perfect (lineage of) Khanḍali, which is adorned with the pure banner

1 Fleet, I. A. V, p. 344, n. Cf. Dr. Oppert. "The word Banij denotes in both cases (i.e., of Manu and Yājñavalkya) a merchant, from it is derived the modern expression Banyan". The Ancient Commerce of India, p. 14. Dr. Barnett has the following to remark on the same term: "... But there was a vast organisation of associated traders which about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had spread a network over the greater part of Southern India and Ceylon, and perhaps even further, and which, beginning with simple commerce and thence developing an elaborate social and semi-military system, strikingly recalls our East India Company. These were the Vīra-baṇаṇjus, as they were called in Canarese, or Vīra-Valaṇjigar, as they were styled in Tamil. The name signifies 'valiant merchants', and is therefore similar to our 'Gentlemen Adventurers'. Baṇaṇju is connected with the Sanskrit Vaiṇij, and Valaṇj is a Tamil development, whence comes also the Sinhalese venanda or velanda. They claimed to have come originally from Ahicchattra, but their central body was at Ayyavōle, the modern Aihole, which was the seat of their Board of Directors, consisting of a council of 500 members". The Ancient Tamil Township and Village, p. 42 (Ms.).

2 For a meaning of this expression Fleet I.A., V, p. 343, n.; J. Bom. R. A. S. X., p. 283, n. (40); Ep. Ind. XIII, p. 26. "Whether the title mummuridanda and bhallunki-danda-hasta borne by some of their officials refer to this semi-military character is uncertain". Barnett, Ancient Tamil Township and Village, p. 43 n. (Ms.)

3 "Dvātrimśādevālāramam, —meaning unknown". Fleet I.A. V, p. 343, n.
(bearing the device) of a hill (acquired) by preserving the Vīrabālaṅja laws, which embrace truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty, and are adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated throughout the whole world; that which has eighteen cities; that which has the boon of the sixty-four yōgas; that which is the locality of the sixty-four ghaṭikās; the supreme lords of the city of Ayyāvoḷe; those who are a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with them; those who bestow largely and afford a shelter; those who give shelter, and protect; those who behave like brothers to the wives of other men; those who are like the tree of paradise to (grant all the desires of) people who apply to them. . . . . . . 1

Some more details about these Bāṇajigas are supplied by an inscription dated about A.D. 1150 which, after narrating their elaborate titles, says: "... visiting the Chēra, Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha Kauśala, Saurāśṭra, Dhanushṭra, Kurumbha, Kāmbhōja, Gauilla, Lāḷa, Barvvara, Pārasa, Nēpāḷa, Ekapāḍa, Lāṁbakarṇa, Śtri-rājya, Ghōḷāmukha, and many other countries; and the grāmas, nagaras, khēḍas, kharvaḍas, maḍanības, paṭṭanas, drōṇāmukhas, and śīṃvahanas—the cities of the elephants at the cardinal points; and by land routes and water routes penetrating into the regions of the six continents; with superior elephants, well bred horses, large sapphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, karkhētana, and various such articles; cardamoms, cloves, bdellium sandal, camphor, musk saffron, malegaja, and other perfumes and drugs by selling which wholesale, or hawking about on their shoulders, preventing the loss by customs duties, they fill up the emperor's treasury of gold, his treasury of jewels, and his armoury of weapons, and from the rest they daily bestow gifts on pāṇḍits and munis fully versed in the chatus-samaya-shad-darśaṇa... carriers with asses and buffaloes, adorned with red trap-

1 Fleet, I.A., V., pp. 343-4.
pings; the sixteen of the eight nāds, gavaregas, gatrigas, śeṭṭis, śeṭṭiguttas, aṅkakāras, bīras, bīravaṇīgas, gandigas, gāvunḍas gāvunḍasvāvīmis,—thus with? spear, headed rods in their hands, with an elephant as their bhēri (kettle-drum), the Bhēri (sect) as their maddale (tabor), white umbrellas as their canopy, the mighty ocean as their moat, Indra as their hand-guard, Varuṇa as the standard-bearer, Kubēra as the treasurer, the nine planets as a belt, Rāhu as a tassel, Kētu as a dagger, Kuṣika as the fight, the sun and the moon as the backers, the thirty-three gods are the spectators; they draw forth the sword kshame (patience) and with it piercing the enemy named krōḍha (anger), having the dava-ruga and para nirghghośhaṇa of the sons of warriors who have fought and won... In the case of a sack which bursts from the contents collected from the points of the compass, an ass which runs away (laden) with grain, a wounded and fallen body, a cart that has been robbed, a blood load that has been lifted, a bar of gold that has been seized, a tax that has been evaded, a cry of looting, an assembly connected with caste customs, a bargain that has been made,—they are not ones to fail...”.

All the Dēsis of Āryavaṇa, who claimed to be the “followers of the Vīra-Baṇaṇja dharma”, are said to have had the “visuddha-guḍḍa flag” in an inscription dated A. D. 1167. The same epigraph informs us that they united with the Dēsis

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2 E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 177, p. 103. A communal grant of the latter half of the seventeenth century contains some interesting details about the merchant guilds of the same centre. The record belongs to the history of Golkonda. The contents of the grant are as follows: The several members of the league (samaya-pekkaṇḍa) of the lords of Ayyāvaḷi, indigenous, (svadēśa) foreign (paradeśa), both (ubhaya), and the itinerants (nānā-dēśa) among them, who had the hōmkalikā praśasti, who were the devotees of gods Gavareśvara and Gautēśvara, the Vaiśyas of the 102 goṭras, with the several śeṭṭis, including Prithvi-Śetti Rāyana Bhāskarana who had the grace of the goddess Kamala-Vāsavakanyakā of Vidyāvāsi, who obtained favour from Nagarēśvara-dēva, etc., the several maṭha-mahats (named) the several śeṭṭis of the fifty-six countries including those of Penugonda-sthala and other sthajas, the landowners (bhāmi-prabhu) belonging to the four reddy families, the eighteen sects among the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras together, viz. vyavahārikas, paṭṭhūlas (five sects of smiths), kumbhālikas (potters), tuntuyins (weavers), cas-trabhōdakas (cloth dyers?), tila-gūṭjakas (oil millers) kuraṇṭakas (kura-
of other places, and made a grant of dues (specified) along with Tippa Rāja, for the service of the god Ādi-Gummēśvara in the same year. Belgoḷa was also a prominent centre of the Baṇajigas. It appears that the Baṇajiga women too took some part in public affairs. An inscription dated about A.D. 1175 records the provision made for flowers for Gommaṭa Dēva of Belgoḷa by all the merchants of that holy place, including Gummi Seṭṭi's Dasaiya, Lōkeya-sahāṇi's daughter Sōmāuve and two others named, after having purchased certain lands (specified) at Gaṅgāsamudra and Gommaṭapura from the assembly.1

The same holy place had a guild of jewel merchants who about the year A.D. 1175 pledged themselves to pay annually certain dues (specified) on coral.2 Another locality which could boast of wealthy guilds was Mosāle. When the Vaḍḍa-bhayavahāri Basavi Seṭṭi of Mosāle caused the images of Chaturvīṁśati (twenty-four) Tirthāṅkaras to be made in about A.D. 11803 evidently in Belgoḷa, there naturally arose the necessity of granting an endowment for the worship of the Tirthāṅkaras. And in about A.D. 1185 the merchants of Mosāle pledged themselves to give annually certain specified amounts.4 From these instances it is evident that the prominent merchants of Belgoḷa and Mosāle, in the early ages, were followers of Jaina faith. This is confirmed by the activities of Nāgādēva, the great minister and Paṭṭaṇasvāmi of the Hoysala king Vira Ballāla, who caused in A.D. 1195 a number of buildings to be erected in front of the god Pārśva. Nāgādēva was a disciple of the

1 E. C., II, No. 242, pp. 103-104, text, p. 103 (2nd ed.) Dasaiya's relationship to Gummi Seṭṭi cannot be made out from the origin which runs thus—Gummi Seṭṭi Dasaiya.
2 Ibid., No. 241, p. 103.
3 Ibid., No. 197, p. 92.
4 Ibid., No. 235, p. 101; No. 252, p. 106.
Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya Nayakirti. About the merchants of Belgoḷa it is said: "The merchants who were the protectors of that Jīnālaya: born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍalī and Mūlabhadra, devoted to truth and purity, possessed of the lion’s valour, skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many seaports, adorned with the famous three jewels, the merchants residing at the holy place Belgoḷa" acquired celebrity on earth.¹

About A.D. 1240 the merchants of all the various countries made a grant for the Śrī-Vaīṣṇavas of a place, the name of which is effaced, in the Eighteen-nāḍis, and Padi-nāḍī. The name Mudi-konḍachōlapura and the Grantha characters² in which the inscription is written suggest that the Nānā-Dēsis were also a powerful factor in the Tamil land.

A few details about the organization of the Viṣṇu-Baṇāṇjīgas can be gathered from an inscription of the reign of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva.³ The epigraph tells us that one of their leaders was styled the senior māṇikya bhāṇḍārī. Rāma Dēva Nāyāka, the minister of the king Sōmēśvara Dēva was called by that name. The charter which he issued to the merchants of Gommaṭapura, including those who formed the guilds of oil-men, runs thus: "In case the imposts, nyāya anāḍīya and maḷa-braya of the palace come to be levied, the aḥārya of the place shall himself pay and settle the matter: it is no concern of the residents. Those who violate the terms of this charter are the destroyers of the Dharma-sthaḷa. If among the merchants of this holy place one or two, posing as leaders, teach the aḥārya deceit, and, causing confusion by taking one thing for another, encourage him to covet a hāga and a bēle and ask for more, they are traitors to the creed, traitors to the king, enemies of the Baṇāṇjīgas."⁴ The same epi-

¹ E. C. II, No. 335, p. 143.
² E. C., IV, Y. 61, p. 33 text, p. 83.
³ Rice gives the date of this inscription as A.D. 1266. E. C. II, No. 128, p. 176 (1st ed.) Narasimhachar supposes it to be about A.D. 1200. E.C. II, No. 333, p. 140 (2nd ed.)
⁴ Rice gives a slightly different version in E.C. II, No. 128, p. 176 (1st ed.); No. 333, p. 140 (2nd ed.)
graph concludes thus: "If knowing this, merchants are indifferent, they alone are destroyers of this charity and not the āchārya and the wicked. If without the consent of the merchants one or two leaders enter into the āchārya's house or the palace, they are traitors to the creed. With regard to privileges, former usage shall be followed".1

C. Guilds in Vijayanagara

The Vira Bañajigas continued to exercise powerful influence in Vijayanagara times. Proud as they were of their heritage, they must have been zealous to retain their titles and privileges under the new monarchs. We have some details about the guilds of Vijayanagara; but these can be deemed complete only when they are taken in conjunction with the remarks we have recorded above. The Vira Bañajigas in the fourteenth century were as fond of talking about themselves in eulogistic terms as their ancestors were in the early ages. This is the reason why we have the following in 1382: "...the five hundred virśāsanas of Jambū-dvīpa, the southern portion of the celebrated Bharata-khaṇḍa; adorned with many good qualities; of virtuous life; embodiments of policy, modesty and intelligence; protectors of the righteous customs of the Sālu-Mule-Bañaju sect; great dignity; mighty in energy; favourites of the lady Fame; born in the great and famous line of Bhaḷadeva, Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra; boon lords of Ahichchhatra-pura; examples of virtue; establishers of inquiry; each one a hero; the only worthy in the world; a touchstone for the pious work of the Southern Vāraṇāsi; the home of piety; the birthplace of both the various Dēśis of the celebrated capitals of emperors and kings; the fan-palm of their warehouse; with these and many other titles; worshippers of the holy feet of the gods Ganēśvara and Gavarēśvara; all and many, the nakhara parivara, mummuri-daṇḍa..."2 The same inscri-

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1 E.C., II., No. 333, p. 140, (2nd ed.) For some remarks on the guilds, see Majumdar, Corporate Life, pp. 86-92; S.K. Aiyangar O.J.M.S., VI, p. 56.
2 E.C., V., P. I., Bl. 75, p. 63; see also E.C., XII., Ck. 7, text, p. 200.
tion gives us their centres in the fourteenth century: Vijayanagari, Hastināvati, Dōrasamudra, Cutti, Penugunḍa, Ādavāni, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Muḷuvāyi, Kaṅchi, Paḍaividi, Chadurangapaṭṭāna, Maṅgāḷuṛu, Honnāvuru, Chandāvuru, Āraga, Chandragutti, Anṇigere Huligere, Nidugallu, Chimatanakallu, Tariyakallu, Ānevidda, Sari, Kalheng, Telakalambī (Terakāṇambi), and Singapaṭṭāna. To these we have to add the following: Ēḍ-nāḍ in Cutti, Koṇḍaraṇḍe in Nāgarkhanḍa, Hānugal, the Chikka Jīgāḷiye and Hiriya Jīgāḷiye Four Hūned, Bāḷa-Chaugale-nāḍ, Hosa-nāḍ, Kabunāḷiye, Aydāvaliye, Hiriya Mahāḷiye, Chikka Mahāḷiye, Śambeyahāḷi-nāḍ, Heda-nāḍ, Kunchi-nāḍ, Kora-nāḍ, Bāḷe-nāḍ, Vakhaliyērē-nāḍ, Honnattināḍ, Erad...ya...nāḍ, Halasige, Honāle, Ingundi, and other places.

The Vira Banājigas maintained the names and the traditional greatness of their high officials. One of these, as will be narrated presently, was called the vaḍḍa-Bhayavahāri or the Senior Merchant. Another was known as the Paṭṭana-svāmi. We have had an occasion of referring to these latter dignitaries while dealing with the corporate life which the people led in political matters. The office of paṭṭana-svāmi was in some way connected with a saṅte or weekly fair which was established by the joint efforts of the people, and for the maintenance of which a grant of land, free from all imposts, or of dues, was made by them. In some instances the initiative was taken by the Government. Thus in the reign of Kaṁpana Oḍeyar in A. D. 1362, as related above, by order of the Mahāmatēśvara Rāchaya Dēva Mahārāja, who is called “Balumane-Rājulu of his (i.e., of Kaṁpana Oḍeyar's?) city”, all those who belonged to both the sects of the Nānā-Deśis in Pakkunḍra, together with all the farmers and subjects of the great Kayivāra-nāḍu and with the people who composed the eighteen castes, established a fair at Kayivāra; and as Paṭṭana-svāmi of the fair, appointed Mārappa Šetṭi's younger brother.

2 E.C., VIII, Sh. 428, p. 75.
Periya Nāyana, assigning to him land free of all imposts\(^1\). This was evidently on the Hoysala lines as can be made out from an inscription dated about A.D. 1316 which relates that, during the times of Ballāla Dēvarasa, III, Singaiya Daṇṇāyaka’s obedient (son ?) Mācheya Nāyaka in conjunction with various persons (named) of Hommalīga-nāḍ and all the farmers of Chokkanāḍ established a fair at Gālīhālu and granted to Paṭṭaṇa-s(v)-āmi Nāgappa’s son Chokka Šettī lands as a koḍage along with various tolls (specified)\(^2\). The conformity of Vijayanagara practice to Hoysala tradition in this connection is seen in an inscription dated A.D. 1412 of the reign of Dēva Rāya I. The great champion over the three kings, Junjōji Nāyaka’s son Hiriya Mudiya Nāyaka having established a fair in Sōmagonḍanahalli of Hirasu-nāḍ, the Hirasu-nāḍ Prabhu and a number of others, including the representatives of the fifty-six countries, granted the office of paṭṭaṇa-swāmi to Māri Šettī’s sons Dāndi Šettī and Tirumala Šettī, together with land (specified) as a māṇya, with freedom from tolls (specified)\(^3\).

That a paṭṭaṇa-swāmi could also be a vaḍḍa- byavahāri or Senior Merchant can be made out from an inscription dated A.D. 1395 which refers us to the reign of Harihara Rāya II. In that year some grant was made in Malaūr-sthala, the chief place of Kelale-nāḍ, to the chief senior merchant (mahāmukhya-vaḍḍa- byavahāri) of the Hoṇapattanagiri of Vijayanāḍanāyakapattana, which is Hiriyūr, of the Sindava-kula, the Paṭṭaṇa-swāmi Kēti Šettī’s son Kāliyappa Šettī by the hand of the Eighteen country\(^4\). This office was however always associated with a weekly fair. In A.D. 1430, in the reign of Dēva Rāya II, the Sālu-mūles of the fifty-six countries, with all the cultivators and Paṇchālas, having assembled, established a saṅte (or weekly fair), and in connection with it, granted as a māṇya for the paṭṭaṇa-swāmi of the fair, Chiyi Bassi Šettī, land

\(^{1}\) *E.C.*, X., Ct. 95, p. 263, *Infra*, Chapter VIII.

\(^{2}\) *E.C.*, IX., Kn. 6, p. 121.


(specified). Sometimes the office of a *pattana-svami* was conferred by a government servant on a prominent merchant. Thus in A.D. 1426, in the reign of Dēva Rāya II, Juṅja Vōbēya Nāyaka’s son Chitivoyya Nāyaka gave the office of *pattana-svami* to Buḍapa Ṣeṭṭi, together with a mānyā land (specified).

The extent to which a *pattana-svami* was bound to associate himself with the common people is seen in a record dated A.D. 1554 which informs us that Viṭṭṭhaṇa Nāyaka, the Agent in Bukkāmbudhi, made some revenue regulations embodying them in a grant which he gave to all the Brahmans, the *pattana-svami*, the farmers and the subjects of the village. There is another record which not only confirms our statement that there existed harmony between the Central Government and the local units but also informs us the name of another official, or perhaps the same official under another designation, Ṣeṭṭi *pattana-svami*. This record dated A.D. 1556, also belongs to the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. The inscription narrates that by order of the Mahā-ṃadaleśvara Rāma Rāya Tirumala Rājaya Dēva mahā-arasu, the Mahā-nāyakāṭhūrya Niḍugal Timmanṇa Nāyaka, and the subjects of the Niḍugal-sime (a great number named), these and other gaṇḍas and subjects, with the Ṣeṭṭi-*pattana-svami*, having purchased the Tūmukunte village in the Niḍugal kingdom, placing Gulli Tirumala Rājaya’s seal-bearers (mudre-manusyaṇu) in front of Keṅchapa Nāyaka, granted the village for the services of the god Teruveṅgalanātha of Peyalabande.

The guilds had another high dignitary called the mahā-prabhu. From the manner in which it is used, it seems that the title of mahā-prabhu was also held by a Senior Merchant. In A.D. 1404, the Mahā-vaḍḍha-byavahārī, the Mahā-prabhu of both sects of Nānā-Dēśis, Yirigi Ṣeṭṭi’s son Yirigi Ṣeṭṭi caused a Śivālaya to be made for the Virabhadra temple.
The guilds conferred on some of the highest government officials the rank and dignity of the *prithivi ōṣṭṭi* or the Mayor of the Earth. The members of the *nakhara parivara* and *mummuri-daṇḍa*, whose centres we noted in an inscription dated A.D. 1382, together with their 300 Billa dependants and with the collection of the Holeyas of Vijayanagara, “having placed the diamond *vaisāṇige* in the presence of the holy lotus feet of the god Virūpāksha, and sitting down, having agreed among themselves, with supreme affection,—the great minister (with praise) Muddayya-daṇṇāyaka, being the officer for superintendence of the customs of our fifty-six countries (*namma chhippanna deśada uchārvichārake kantarūdar āgi*), we confer upon him the mayoralty of the earth...”

In the next year the same officer, who is called this time Mude *Daṇṇāyaka*, received what seems to be a confirmation of the above, from the hands of all the Sālu-mūle of Eḍe-nāḍ and various other places, which we have also just now seen.

That the authority of the guilds over their members was supreme is evident from more than one inscription in which reference is made to the penalty they inflicted on those who violated the decisions of their unions. Thus the Vīra Paṇchālas of Terakaṇāmbi, whose “incomparable character” we noted in an inscription dated A.D. 1372, enacted the following: “Whose destroys this grant is put out of the Paṇchālas, out of his trade, out of the assembly, and the nāḍ”. (*i dharmma-vanu āvan obba alupidavanu Paṇchālakke horagu āhalakke horagu samayakkēvē nāḍigū horagu*).

Foreign travellers have left a few notices of these guilds. ‘Abdur Razzāq writes thus: “The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewelers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds

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1 For an account of the *vaisāṇige* see *Infra*, Chapter V, Legislation, Etiquette and Orthodoxy.
3 *E.C.*, VIII., Sh. 428, p. 75, op. cit.
openly in the bazar." 1 Paes says: "There are temples in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants..." 2

The leaders of the guilds seem to have exercised some powerful control at the royal court. In A.D. 1355, Vayijanā, the leader of the Udbhaya Nānā-Dēśis, was the house-merchant of the Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Harihara Oḍeyar. 3 When the leaders of the guilds petitioned to the Government, it undertook the construction of new towns. The great Vaḍḍa-byavahāri, chief of (both sects) Nānā-Dēsis, Arijju-bhaṭṭayya's son Mahā-devaṇṇa made petition to Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar, saying, "Make Lakshmīpura...in Changa-nāḍ"; and the king forthwith passed the necessary orders which were duly executed by the chief minister Sōvappa with the aid of the farmers of Navile, Haṇḍaraṇge, Posanāḍ, Allālapaṭṭaṇa and other places. 4

The heads of the guilds could secure remission of taxes from the Government. In about A.D. 1380, in the reign of Harihara Rāya II, remission of certain taxes was made to all the Nanā Dēsis of Māmballi alias Harihararāya-paṭṭaṇa. 5

Guilds were confined not only to the Nānā-Dēsis. The truth of the remarks of foreign travellers that all trades had their own guilds can be made out by noting a few references to the organization of Vira Paṇchālas, salt-makers and potters. The guild of Vira Paṇchālas, reference to which has been made above, was powerful enough to impose a tax on its members for religious purposes. All the Paṇchālas of Yeṇne-nāḍ, for example, in A.D. 1398, in order to provide sandal, musk, vermilion, camphor, and rain water for the decoration of the god Anīlēśvara, presented an offering at the rate of one hana in their

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1 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV., p. 107.
2 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 256.
several villages. The existence of a guild of salt-makers is seen in the gifts they were able to secure from the Government. In A. D. 1551, during the times of Sadāśiva Rāya, a grant of rent-free land was made to the salt-makers (of the Moḷakālmur tāluka) by Geṇabūr Hiriya Konaya Dēva Mahā-arasu. This was confirmed by the Hānya Hebbār Bōḷārapa together with all the subject and farmers, in the same year. That the potters had their own guilds can be gathered from the charter which their headmen (kumbhāra-svāmigalu) received in about A. D. 1580, evidently from the Government.

SECTION 5. Slavery

A. Antiquity of the Institution

Slavery has existed in India from the earliest times, although a foreign writer would make us believe that it was unknown to the land. Manu describes seven kinds of slaves thus: "There are slaves of seven kinds, (viz.), he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment." According to the same authority a slave is declared to have no property. A slave, Manu further enjoins, is disqualified from giving witness except in certain cases. Female slaves or mistresses of the deceased are classed among indivisible property in the Institutes of Vishṇu. Nārada enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves. As regards the right of slaves to own or dispose of their property, Nārada follows Manu and lays down the rule that a slave has no proprietary right.

1 E. C., IV., Ch. 119, p. 16.
2 E. C., XI., Mk. 8, & 9, p. 91.
3 E. C., IV., Yl. 2, p. 27. Infra, Chapter on Etiquette.
4 Manu, VIII., 415, p. 326.
5 Ibid., VIII., 416-17, pp. 326-7. See Bühler’s note, p. 326.
6 Ibid., VIII., 66, 70, pp. 265-7. For further references see ibid., IV., 253-6, p. 168, IX. 55, p. 337.
7 Vishṇu, XVIII., 44, p. 74.
9 Nārada, V., 41, p. 138.
According to Vaśishṭha, "it is permitted to barter sesamum, rice, cooked food, learning, and slaves (each for its own kind and the one for the other)". A slave is not to be stinted, according to Āpastamba. "At his (i.e., householder's) pleasure, he may stint himself, his wife or his children, but by no means a slave who does his work." As regards the division of slaves among co-heirs, we have the following in Gautama: "(But) no (one brother shall) take (ten) one-hoofed beasts or (ten) slaves".

The antiquity of the institution of slavery is clearly indicated in the provision Kauṭiliya makes for selling, mortgaging, and maintaining them. "Those who do not heed the claims of their slaves (dāsa), hirelings (āhitaka), and relatives shall be taught their duty." The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a Śūdra who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority, but is an Ārya in birth shall be punished with a fine of twelve paṇas; of a Vaiśya, twenty-four paṇas; of a Kṣatriya, thirty-six paṇas; and of a Brāhman, forty-eight paṇas.

With the evidence of the Hindu lawgivers before us, it is difficult to make out what precisely Strabo means when he says that slavery was unknown to the Indians. According to him "none of the Indians employ slaves". From the high penalties imposed on those who tried to enslave the members of the "twice-born castes", as laid down in the ancient Hindu law-books, it seems probable that the Āryans, on the whole, were not subject to slavery. In the code of Manu the law is stated thus: "But a Brāhmaṇa who, because he is powerful, out of greed makes initiated (men of the twice born) castes (castes) against their will do the work of slaves, shall be fined by the king six hundred (paṇas)." According to Nārada: "In the reverse

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1 Vaśishṭha, II., 39, p. 14.
2 Āpastamba II., 4, 9, 11, p. 123.
3 Gautama, XXVIII, 13, p. 304.
4 Arthaśāstra, Bk. II., Ch. I., 47, p. 51.
5 Ibid., Bk. III., Ch. XIII, 182, p. 223.
6 M'Crindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 58.
7 Manu, VIII., 412, p. 325.
order of the (four) castes, slavery is not ordained, except where a man violates the duties peculiar to his caste. Slavery (in that respect) is analogous to the condition of a wife".\(^1\) Vishnu says: "He who commits members of the highest (or Brähmaṇa) caste to slavery, shall pay the highest amercement".\(^2\) Of all the theorists Kauṭilya alone seems to be the most explicit on the subject. While dealing with slaves in general, he says: "It is no crime for Mlechchhas to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring. But never shall an Ārya be subject to slavery".\(^3\) But Kauṭilya, however, admits that a slave could exercise the privileges of an Ārya: "Deceiving a slave of his money or depriving him of the privileges he can exercise as an Ārya (Āryabhāva), shall be punished with half the fine (levied for enslaving the life of an Ārya)".\(^4\) Then again, "The offspring of a man who has sold himself off as a slave shall be an Ārya".\(^5\) Whatever may be the latitude with which these regulations of Kauṭilya are interpreted, it is certain that both according to Hindu lawgivers and some foreign writers, ancient Indian opinion associated the idea of slavery with peoples who were non-Aryan. This is a point of some significance, especially in elucidating the history of southern India where the institution of slavery has survived in some shape or other down to our own days.

B. Slavery in Pre-Vijayanagara Times

When and how it originated in the south, it is difficult to decide, although it is not improbable that in the course of the fusion between the Aryans and the earlier people of the land, somewhere in the dawn of Indian history, the divergence of race coupled with the vicissitudes of war may have brought about a marked difference between the old inhabitants and the new-comers, resulting in the institution of slavery in southern

\(^1\) Nārada V., 9, pp. 137-8.
\(^2\) Vishnu. V., 151, p. 37.
\(^3\) Arthaśāstra, Bk. III., Ch. XIII, 182 p. 223.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Ibid., p. 224.
India. This is, we admit, a debatable question. What we are concerned with is the fact that in southern India the people who strongly suggest the idea of slavery are the Paraiyans of the Tamil land and the Holeyas of the Karnataka. While describing the castes in Vijayanagara, it was remarked that we had insufficient data by which we could decide when these people were relegated to the rank of untouchables. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar’s interesting remarks on the degradation of a subdivision of Paraiyans called Ulavu to the position of slaves may be read in this connection.\(^1\) As regards the Holeyas we may note, in addition to the observations we made about their having been taxed in the early centuries, that an inscription dated A.D. 1205 speaks of a tax levied on the children of the Holeyas in the Karnataka. The Great Master of Robes, Herugana... chaya, when collecting the bāla-pañya (child tax) of the Holeyas of Sagatavālji, granted it for a perpetual lamp for the god Lakshmi-Nāraṇa of the locality.\(^2\) This inscription does not suggest slavery so conclusively as other epigraphs which mention the besa-vaga or bond-servant in the Karnataka. But it is interesting to observe that these bond-servants did not belong to the Paraiyan community. When the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Haiva Boppa Deva and Chahārasa Bammadara were fighting with one another in the plain of Kuppāṭur, the bond-servant (besa-vaga) of the Thousand, Nambiya Kēśiga, killed many but died in the end.\(^3\) The hunter Hariyava Seṭṭi’s bond-servant (besa-vaga) the Kuḷiyateppa blacksmith Malōja’s son Bomōja having gone to a hunt in A.D. 1249, stabbed a boar which charged him with his dagger but died like a hero.\(^4\) Both these events took place in the times of the Yadava kings.

Tamil history records the sale of human beings in the thirteenth century. Two inscriptions of Rājarāja III, dated in the third year and the twenty-fourth year of

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2. E. C., V., P. I., Cn. 181, p. 204.
his reign, (i.e., in A.D. 1218-19 and A.D. 1239-40 respectively) found at Vēdāraṇyam in the Tanjore district, record the sale to the temple of five men and five women and their relations (?) for a price of 1,000 kāsu, by a certain Ariyaṇ Pichchaṇ alias Edirili Śōla Gaṅgaināḍāḷvaṇ, who was apparently doing police duty in the west of the district in which Vēdāraṇyam was situated. He refers to the five men who had been made over to the temple as slaves by his master (mudaliār).1

C. Under Vijayānagara

The besa-vaga and the sale of human beings are also seen in Vijayānagara history. Both inscriptions and the accounts of foreign travellers contain direct reference to slaves in the Hindu Empire. About A.D. 1470 the worshipper of the feet of all the Brahmans of the immemorial agrahāra Kuppāṭūr, Korana Haripa’s son Si...bond-servant (besa-vaga) killed a tiger which had entered the precincts of the town.2 As regards female slaves, we may recount the dues granted by the Sālu-Mūle Baṇajigas to Muda Daṇṇāyaka in A.D. 1382 on various commodities amongst which female slaves are mentioned. In this connection it is worthwhile to note that the Holeyas are classed among the dependents at the feet of the Vira Baṇajigas.3

We may record the opinion of foreign travellers before we deal with the question of the sale of human beings in Vijayānagara. One of the travellers, Nicolo dei Conti, informs us the following: “They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor.”4 This, however, is not given by Nuniz whose detailed account of the administration of justice at Vijayānagara we have already recorded.

2 E. C., VIII., Sb. 258, p. 40.
3 E. C., V., Bl. 75, pp. 62-63. op. cit. See Burnell’s ed. of Dāyavībhāga. “If there are many such slaves, they are to be distributed in equal shares; such is the rule regarding slaves”. Dāyavībhāga, p. 51.
4 Major, India, p. 31; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 87.
Ellis in his *Mirasi Right* gives an inscription, the authenticity of which may be questioned,¹ but which contains the following details about a sale of slaves in the reign of Venkaṭapatī Dēva I. "...In the village of Tandeiyārvidu, Periya-timmen and Shinna-timmen, the sons of Cottadi Periyān and their pareners, have thus settled the price of slaves and given this bill of sale; our sister Vallatchi, her daughter Periyāl, her daughter Shōletchi, total three persons, when they had first cried 'are there any one who will purchase these as cotta adumēi (bunch of slaves i.e., a family of slaves sold at once)?'—these words were heard by Ottiyapa Mudelīyār, the son of Vāndarāyā Ulaganāḍa Mudaliār, one of the Velḷālers residing in the village of Vallīr in this mandalam (i.e., Tōṇḍaimāṇḍalam), this cōttam and this nādu, who cried again, saying, 'I will purchase':—the first criers Periya timmen, Shinna timmen, and their pareners, and the last crier Ottiyapen, having agreed among ourselves and settled to their mutual satisfaction, the price was fixed in the presence of the rulers of the land and the proprietors of the soil of Tiru Mayilāpur at 2 Getti Pagodas for these three Pereiya women, Vallatchi, her daughter Periyāl and her daughter Shōletchi, purchased as a family of slaves, and for this sum of two Pagodas, we sold these three persons Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl and her daughter Shōletchi; twice and thrice, this is the determined price, this is the fixed sale-price: moreover, no question shall be made respecting the quality of the coin; nor shall other writings be required to be produced. No dispute exists respecting Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl and her daughter Shōletchi, if any arise we will stand forth and have it decided. Thus we have consented and sold Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl, and her daughter Shōletchini to Ottiyapa Mudaliār at the price stated,

¹ The date given is in the "year following 1512 of the Sacam being the year Hēvilambi (A. D. 1589) on the fifth day of Arpiśa". The cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1512=Virōḍhin; Śaka 1520=Hēmalamba. Sewell, *Siddhāntas*, pp. 308, 310. According to Swamikannu, Śaka 1511, Virōḍhin, 5th day of Arppaśi=Sunday 5th October A. D. 1589; Śaka 1519, Hēmalamba, 5th day of Arppasa=Wednesday 5th October A. D. 1597. *Ind. Eph.*, V., pp. 380-1, 396-7. Brown, therefore, rightly concludes this date to be false. *Three Treatises on Mirasi Right*, p. 102, n. (1852). One would like to know the whereabouts of this interesting document! B. A. S.
Periya-timmen, Shinna-timmen, and their parencers. This is the mark of Periya-timmen, Shinna-timmen and their parencers." Ellis also gives us another inscription dated A. D., 1593 assigned again to the reign of Veṅkaṭapāṭi Dēva I., in which a family of seven Paraiyans is sold for a sum of eight and a half pagodas. 

Ellis has some interesting observations to make in this connection; and we may be permitted to cite the observations of this writer, especially because they throw some light on the concluding scenes of Vijayanagara history. While dealing with the question of the sale of Mirāṣi and the villeins attached to the soil, he says: "...this state of Villnage exists wherever landed Mirāṣi is known, and nowhere where it is unknown, and extends to certain casts which, though all the individuals are not actually slaves, may be called slave casts. In addition to the Villans in whom the whole village hold joint property, the Mirāṣidars have separate property in families and individuals of the same casts, who, as this and the following writing, drawn up in the strictest forms of a bill of sale, demonstrate, have been purchased and transferred independently of the land; to the cultivation of which, however, they are invariably confined, individuals of their casts never being employed as domestic slaves: domestic slavery among the Hindus exists at present only in the families of the principal Zemindars of the country. The agricultural slave casts are the Pallis, the Paller, and the Pareiyer; and their condition either of villnage or direct slavery depends greatly on the prevalent landed tenures of the district they inhabit."

1 Ellis, Mirasi Right, App. No. XXV p. lxxix, (1818) ; Brown, Three Treaties, pp. 102-3 (1852).

2 It is dated "in the year following 4694 of the Caliyyugam (A. D. 1593) being Vijaya, in the month of Canni, on Sunday the 3rd day of the increase of the Moon under the constellation Swasti". Ellis adds the following note to Canni "... which agrees with the Tamil month Avani, which begins in the second week of September. " Mirasi Right, App. No. XXVI. Brown, ibid., p. 105. Brown rectifies the error made by Ellis. Ibid., p. 105, n. This epigraph seems to be accurate but for the week-day. Kali 4694= Śaka 1515, the cyclic year Vijaya, the third day of Avani=Friday (not Sunday), 3rd August, the constellation being Śatab (not Svāti). Swamikannu. Ind. Eph., V., p. 380.
The provinces where villeinage and serfdom prevailed during the later ages were, according to Ellis, the Tondaimanḍala, the region round the banks of the Kaveri, Malabar and Kanara. In these last two provinces "where a community of village rights is unknown, and lands, consequently, are never held jointly, all slaves, who in those countries constitute the great body of the laborers, are private property." As regards the sale of a whole family of slaves recorded in the two inscriptions given above, Ellis continues: "The Hindu law in permitting slavery is marked by a humane attention to the condition of the slave, all its provisions tending to ameliorate the state and to prevent oppression on the part of the master; the law in this respect is seconded by the practice, and it will accordingly be observed that the slaves are transferred by this and the following deed, as a family, in which mode, also the purchaser ought to sell them, not separately: this practice, which tends greatly to improve the condition of the slave castes, as it prevents the inhuman separation of near relations, the liability to which is the greatest curse of slavery, appears formerly to have been universal...but it is feared that like many other praiseworthy customs of antiquity, it has now in many districts fallen into disuse".

As regards the privileges of the slaves, the same writer continues: "The villens possess established rights and privileges of which they cannot be deprived, which constitute their Mirāsī, and which are prized by them as much and maintained as tenaciously as the more valuable privileges of the higher orders. First, the Parachēri, the site of their huts wherever placed, and the back yards attached to them, are held, like the houses and homesteads of the Mirāsīdars, rent-free, and they are exempted universally, from all tax and impost whatever; Secondly, they are entitled to a share in the produce of every crop, which they receive at various rates and in various modes, under the denomination of Calvāsām, Sudantram, etc.; Thirdly, they hold the inferior offices of the villages, as Taleiyāri, Vettiyan, Cambacattu, Alavucaren, Tōtti, etc., for which they are allowed Mānyamas and Sotantrams distinct from those above
mentioned. The Villans work for the Mīrasīdars in rotation (murei), and for a time proportioned to the share held by each; what is required for their subsistence in addition to the produce of the privileges above mentioned, is supplied jointly by the village, and they receive presents of cloth and money at stated periods, at festivals, marriages, etc., sometimes their subsistence is secured to them by assignments of land, which they cultivate like Pāyacāris; but rendering a larger share to their masters, in return for seed, cattle and implements of husbandry, with which they are gratuitously supplied.¹

This description of the position of slaves is useful inasmuch as it depicts the state of affairs in those parts of southern India which (excepting Malabar) formed the provinces of Vijayanagara; and it might have been taken to represent similar conditions under Vijayanagara but for the fact that it contains a significant detail which deserves to be examined. Ellis relates that one of the main privileges enjoyed by the slaves—by which term we are to understand agrestic slaves as distinct from personal slaves about whom we are unable to make out anything—was that relating to their houses and homesteads which were universally exempted evidently in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from all imposts whatsoever. Now, if this was the custom which was handed down to our own days from the mediaeval ages, it is difficult to reconcile it with the information we have already given in connection with the financial administration of the Vijayanagara monarchs. We know that during and before the Vijayanagara times, the Holeyas—between whom and the Pārāyans, as is well known, there was no difference,—were taxed; and that, as an inscription of A. D. 1430 narrates, they had to pay tolls from which they were exempted,² obviously in certain parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. It may be argued that the remission which was granted to the Holeyas in A. D. 1430 came to stay as a sort

¹ Ellis, Mirasi Right, p. lxxix-lxxxi (1818); Brown, Three Treatises, pp. 103-4 (1852).
² E. C., X, Bp. 72, p. 152.
of a privilege, and that the freedom which they have claimed, as regards their having been exempt from tolls, may be dated precisely to that year. But here we have to note that along with the Holeyas the blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, washermen and barbers were also shown the same consideration in the same year, in the province called Mūḷbāgal-Tēkalnāḍu. If it is true that the Holeyas could date their freedom from tolls to A.D. 1430, all the other communities as well could lay similar pretensions in the later ages. But we have discussed the questions of the barbers in the previous pages. And a glance at the dues and imports we have enumerated in connection with the sources of revenue under Vijayanagara, may enable us to understand that such a privilege was not enjoined by the others after A.D. 1430. The inscription dated in that year along with others we have already cited, leads us to the conclusion that at least, the Holeyas, during the early ages of Vijayanagara history, were the dependents of the Sālu-Mules and Vira Baṇajigas in certain localities of the Karnātaka. Whether this could be said of the Paraiyas of the Tamil land as well is a point which we are unable to explain.

We may end our remarks on slavery in Vijayanagara by noting a peculiar feature of that social institution in the Tondaimanḍalam. "A custom prevails among the slave casts in Tondaimandalam, especially in the neighbourhood of Madras, which may be considered as a periodical assertion of independence; at the close of the Tamil month Āni, with which the revenue year ends and the cultivation of the ensuing year ought to commence, the whole of the slaves strike work, collect in bodies outside the villages, and so remain until their masters by promising to continue their privileges, by solicitations, presents of betel, and other gentle means, induce them to return. The slaves on these occasions, however well treated they may have been, complain of various grievances, real and imaginary, and threaten a general desertion; this threat, however, they never carry into execution, but after the usual time, everything having been conducted according to Māmūl, return quietly to
their labors".¹ Neither the accounts of foreign travellers, many of whom have left behind them details of the agricultural conditions under Vijayanagara, nor inscriptions, which abound in references to the ancient custom (पुर्वदा मर्यादा) of the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands, contain any hint as regards this interesting aspect of the corporate life of the Paraiyans of the modern times.

CHAPTER III
THE BRAHMANS

SECTION I. Their Position in Hindu Society

There seems to be hardly any justification that we should dwell at length on a section of the Hindu people, who have gained prominence as much by their intellectual attainments as by their adamantine orthodoxy. But if it is realized that the Vijayanagara age was an era of Hindu regeneration, and that the Brahmans, according to the evidence of eye-witnesses, played an important part in the affairs of the times, we may be allowed to give some details about their status and achievements under the mediaeval monarchs.

Like the King, the Brahman, too, suffered decline as regards the unassailable position he had taken in the classical times. The earlier writers maintained that the Brahman preceded the Kshatriya,—that is to say, they analysed the question of the relative position which the king and the priest occupied in Hindu society. While some canonists were constrained to give the priest the pre-eminent place in Hindu society, to endow

him with divinity, and to bestow on him certain privileges, like those relating to the inviolability of his person and of his property, others were inclined to give him a rank equal to that of the Kshatriyas, and, in one famous instance, even to relegate him to a place of insignificance, at least so far as the elements that constituted sovereignty were concerned. The Vijayanagara monarchs showed the classical touch that marked their action by holding the Brahman in the highest esteem; but they revealed, at the same time, their essentially mediaeval nature by making him the servant of the State.

This conformity to, and apparent violation of, classical injunctions by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara is amply illustrated in their theory as enunciated by Krishña Dēva Rāya, and in the inscriptions which give us the history of the Brahmanas in mediaeval times. Ancient precept still influenced the mediaeval mind. Nowhere has the case for the Brahmanas been so powerfully advocated as in the following words of Manu: "Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship Brāhmaṇas who are well versed in the three fold sciences and learned (in polity), and follow their advice. Let him daily worship aged Brāhmaṇas who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always worships aged men, is honoured even by the Rākshasas". Then again: "Let him (the king) not, though fallen into the deepest distress, provoke Brāhmaṇas to anger; for they, when angered, could instantly destroy him with his army and his vehicles". Manu further says: "A Brāhmaṇa be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity". "Thus, though Brāhmaṇas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations they must be honoured in every way; for (each of) them is a very great deity".

1 Manu, VII, 37-8, p. 221.
2 Ibid., IX, 313, p. 397.
3 Ibid., IX, 317, p. 398; see also 314-16, ibid.
4 Ibid., IX, 319, p. 399.
Bhishma evidently has the same idea in mind when he says thus: "Thou shouldst worship those Brāhmaṇas that are devoted to their duties, possessed of learning, regular in worshipping the gods, observant of high vows, and endued with other accomplishments, when they come to thy abode, and employ them in officiating in thy sacrifices".\(^1\) Nārada also has identical ordinances. "Let a king be constantly intent on showing honour to the Brahmas. A field furnished with Brahmas is the root of the prosperity of the world. A Brahman may command respect, and a distinguished seat at the king's court. The king shall show his face in the morning before the Brahmas first of all, and shall salute them all".\(^2\)

Before we note the similarity that exists between Vijayānagara theory and that of the ancients in this respect, we may cite the opinion of Kauṭilya, who, in his enumeration of the elements of sovereignty, says: "The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend are the elements of sovereignty".\(^3\) The Brahman, therefore, in his priestly capacity, is, according to Kauṭilya, a negligible factor in the matter of sovereignty.

Nevertheless the underlying principle which has marked the relationship of the Brahman to the State, in spite of the injunction of Kauṭilya, may be expressed in the following statement of the Mahābhārata: "It is said that the preservation and growth of the kingdom rests upon the king. The preservation and growth of the king rests upon the king's priest. That kingdom enjoys true felicity where the invisible fears of the subjects are dispelled by the Brahman and all visible fears are dispelled by the king with the might of his arms".\(^4\) Thus did Bhishma reconcile the apparently conflicting

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\(^1\) Śānti Parva, lxxi, p. 233.


\(^3\) Arthaśāstra, Bk. VI, Ch. I, 258, p. 309. Supra, Volume I, Chapter V, Central Government.

\(^4\) Śānti Parva, lxxiv, p. 241.
claims of the Kshatriyas and of the Brahmans for superiority in the Hindu state and society.

The monarchs of Vijayanagara were not unacquainted with the ancient precepts which required of the rulers the highest respect for the Brahmans. As we said in connection with the Revenue Administration of the country, according to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya that could not be called expenditure which was used for purposes of buying and feeding elephants and horses maintaining soldiers, and worshipping gods and Brahmans. ¹ He has also said: "Realizing that charity is for the protection of the Dvijas and that knowledge is for your own protection, take refuge in Nārāyaṇa."²

These theoretical assertions are not so convincing as the testimony of travellers, who could not help noticing the honour which the Vijayanagara kings paid to the Brahmans. 'Abdur Razzāq says thus: "The Brahmans are held by him (Dēva Rāya) in higher estimation than all other men".³ The Portuguese travellers have more details to give on the subject. Duarte Barbosa writes: "Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship...Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable for death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues".⁴ Paes relates that the king of Binsnaga "pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour".⁵ Further he says: "In all the land of the heathen there are these Brahmans; they are men who do not eat anything, that suffers death; they have little stomach for the use of arms".⁶

¹ Amuktamālyada, v. 262; J. I. H., IV, p. 73, op. cit.
² Ibid. v. 278, p. 75.
³ Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 105; Major, India, p. 23.
⁴ Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 217; Stanley, p. 94.
⁵ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 246.
⁶ Ibid., p. 280.
This last remark, however, Paes himself will qualify in the other details he has given of the Brahmans. Nuniz, whose description of the priestly class, as we shall see, is the longest, says: "And in this kingdom of Bismaga there is a class of men, native of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that are amongst them". The same chronicler tells us in what manner the Vijayanagara king honoured the Brahman priest, "... every day he (i.e., the Emperor) hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor ever touched a woman. He urges in his preaching (obedience to) the commandments of God, that is to say, that one must not kill any living thing, nor take anything belonging to another, and as with these so with the rest of the commandments". While repeating the legend of the building of the capital, Nuniz informs us that Harihara, whom he calls "King Deorão", "...after that hermit (i.e., Vidyāranya) was dead the king raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it".

In the history of the provincial rulers, too, it is narrated that they treated the Brahmans with the greatest respect. The Tanjāvūrīvari Charitra contains the following about Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore. This great ruler, it is said, used to feed daily 12,000 Brahmans first and partake of his meal afterwards. "In a rainy season he was advised to cease doing so, but he maintained that his own household could not be allowed to eat till the Brahmans were fed; and when an entire want of fuel was stated to exist, he ordered every wooden

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 390.
2 Ibid. pp. 390-1.
3 Ibid., p. 300. This temple was identified by Sewell with the celebrated temple of Virūpāksha, ibid., n. 2. The Portuguese chronicler has some thing more to say about this temple. "And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bismaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have, in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter the town . . . .". This makes it difficult for us to identify the temple or shrine referred to by Nuniz: both the Prasanna Virūpāksha temple (Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 92) and the famous Virūpāksha temple, as is well known, are in Vijayanagara proper. B. A. S.
material about his house to be taken down, or pulled to pieces in order to supply fuel. In three days this supply was exhaus-
ted; he then directed all the vestments in the palace to be
dipped in oil, and made use of for fuel. At this time', we may
be permitted to continue the tale, "a most valuable jewel
became missing from the nose of the female idol in the Sri-
rangham tane, and the head Brahman was greatly molested as
being suspected of the theft. A Brahman woman became
possessed; and, speaking in the name of the said goddess, said
that the jewel would be found in one of the pots used by
Vijayarāghava for boiling rice; where, accordingly it was found,
to the no small joy of the said ruler."  

SECTION 2. Occupation of the Brahmans in Mediaeval Times
A. Prior to the Rise of Vijayanagara

The above-mentioned story is, in some measure, an index to
the character of the Brahman in Vijayanagara—he was worthy
of every praise but he was not free from occasional blame.
This was because when the Vijayanagara age had dawned, the
importance of the Brahman in Hindu society had already been
determined to a large extent by the wisdom and folly of his
predecessors. True, the Brahman was in no small measure
responsible for the continual rejuvenation of Hindu life in
the political world in early ages. The instance of the Hoysala
king Vishṇuvardhaha, whose policy was “radically affected by
his conversion from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith through the
reformer Rāmānuja”, is a case in point. But there were
also instances of Brahmans who had lowered the prestige of the
priestly class. We had an occasion of citing the example of a
band of Brahmans who had turned brigands in the Pândyan
times. Another instance refers us to the twenty-first year of Tri-
bhuvana Chakravarti Kulōttuniga Chōla Dēva, when a gift of land
was made to the Śripādantāṅgi servants of the temple of Siddha-
ratnēśvara at Uttattūr. This land, the same epigraph narrates,
was originally the property of a Brahman who had stolen

1 Taylor, Cat. Rais III, pp. 176-7.
2 Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 168; see also p. 169.
the jewels of the goddess and was compelled to give up the land as a devadāna to the temple.  

B. Under Vijayanagara

The general status of the Brahman in Vijayanagara has been thus given by Paes: "These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy men—I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas—because although the king has many Brahmans, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them, others are merchants, and others live by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood. Some of the other Brahmans whom I have mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests..."  

The above description may appear to be a condemnation of the Brahman from the orthodox point of view, since he had taken to a life which was other than that of piety and learning. But it is precisely here that the interest of the Brahmanical question lies—in the rigour with which he clung to the old rules which made him lead a life of devotion and study, and in the laxity with which he apparently transgressed the dictates of the classical theorists, which compelled him to cast his lot with the common people. This will be made clear when we enumerate the different occupations of the Brahmans in Vijayanagara. The presence of the Brahman was indeed felt in diverse fields of activity. As minister of the king, he was responsible to some extent for the success or failure of the State policy; as governor over a large province, he exercised the functions of an administrator; as mediator in love matters, he caused commotion between rival royal families; as master of riches, he added to the increased wealth of the kingdom; and as the

1 490 of 1912; Rangachari, Top List., III, Tp. 258, p. 1543. See also 512 of 1912.
2 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 245.
champion of the castes below him, he sometimes advocated the cause of social reform.

But it was not so much in the fulfilment of any one of the above duties that he seemed to violate the dignity attached to his own calling as in the manner in which he assumed to himself the privilege and rank of a general. This was not, one admits, an innovation of the Vijayanagara times. So early as A.D. 1128 some Brahmans had already exchanged their hereditary vocation for that of the Kshatriyas. At least so it appears from the instance of the Brahman soldier Ravi Daṇḍanāyaka, the conqueror of the Seven Mālavas, under Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya Dēva in that year.¹

The Vijayanagara Brahman needed no such justification. From the days of the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, the activities of the Brahman generals had been linked with those of others who were responsible for the rejuvenation of Hindu political life. We have seen how the victories of Goppanārya, or Gōpaṇa, enabled Kampana Oḍeyar to consolidate the provinces of the south.² Of Mādhava, a descendant of the Brahman Chāũḍa, an inscription dated A.D. 1368 narrates that he won fame as a conqueror of "many countries on the shores of the Western Ocean".³ It seems to have been the custom for the rāja-gurus, or royal priests, to accompany the kings on their expeditions. Thus we find Vyāsarāya going to the south along with Sājuva Nṛsimha.⁴ Even ordinary Brahmans contributed their share to the military annals of the times. A certain Brahman named Ṇatsahāya of Tirukkaḍavur took part in the Raichur campaign conducted by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya.⁵ The old tradition of the king to have by his side Brahman generals was maintained under that ruler. The most famous name of a Brahman general during Kṛṣṇa Dēva

¹ 128 of 1913; Rangachari, Top. List., I, By. 183, pp. 281-282.
³ E. C. VII, Sk. 281, p. 146.
Rāya's times is that of Rayasam Koṇḍamarusayya. In later Vijayanagara history we have Tiruchchirambala Bhaṭṭaṅ, a native of Tiruvīḍaimarudūr, who joined Viṭṭhaḷa's army in Travancore; and Gōvinda Dikshita, the minister-general of Achyutappa Nāyaka, the Viceroy over the Chōḷa capital.

The validity of the claims of the Brahmans to take upon themselves the duties of the Kshatriyas now deserves to be examined, especially from the standpoint of classical and Vijayanagara theory. Manu says: "Twice born men may take up arms when (they are) hindered (in the fulfilment of) their duties, when destruction (threatens) the twice-born castes (varṇa) in (evil) times, in their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brāhmaṇas; he who (under such circumstances) kills in the cause of right, commits no sin". According to Nārada: "In times of distress, a Brahman is allowed to gain his substance in the mode prescribed for the caste next to him in rank; or he may gain his substance like a Vaiśya..." Nārada, however, enjoins this stipulation: "When a Brahman has lived through times of distress, with the wealth acquired by following the occupations of a Kshatriya, he must perform a penance and relinquish the occupations of a Kshatriya. When, however, a Brahman takes delight in those occupations and persists in them, he is declared a Kāṇḍapṛishiṭha (professional soldier) and must be expelled from society, because he has swerved from the path of duty".

Gautama ordains the following: "On failure of the (occupations lawful for a Brāhmaṇa) he may live by the occu-

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2 140 of 1895; *Eo. Report* for 1900, p. 29; Heras, Aravidu, p. 142.
5 *Nārada*, I, 4, 56, p. 55.
patiions of a Kshatriya.”¹ This is, of course, based on the injunctions of Manu. Baudhāyana, while repeating the statements of Gautama and the earlier lawgivers, introduces a detail which is interesting. “Now they quote also (the following verse): ‘Out of regard for the sacred law a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśya may take up arms (for the protection of) cows or Brāhmaṇas, or when a confusion of the castes (threatens to take place)”².

A knowledge of military science is one of the most essential qualifications of a royal priest, as given in the Śukraniti. In this mediaeval code a royal priest has been thus defined: “One who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six Aṅgas (Vedāṅgas,) and of the science of Archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in Niti Śastra, and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest.”³ In fact, Śukrāchārya does not seem to have reserved the duties and privileges of warriors only to the Kshatriyas.⁴

The occasions when the Brahmans could exchange duties legitimate to their order for those of the Kshatriyas, may be summarized as follows:

(a) When their own lawful occupations could no longer be continued;

(b) When there was a danger of an admixture of castes;

(c) When there was need for protecting women and cows.

In other words, when the people were confronted with a danger which threatened to undermine their life,—political and

² Baudhāyana, II, 18, p. 236.
³ Śukraniti, II., ll. 156-60, p. 69.
social, religious and economic,—the Brahmans could legally eschew the cause of the scriptures for that of the sword. The Vijayanagara age was precisely such an epoch; and no one recognized the need of entrusting the Brahmans with the responsibilities of a warrior so much as the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya who, in his *Āmuktamālāyada*, writes thus: “Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or a Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to make Brahmans as his officers”.¹ He further says: “Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmans (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak, but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from their enemies”.² Then again: “That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmans as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *Dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tiger's cheese (*Pulijunnu*) and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*Sāmanta*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who increases his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches fish, who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies.”³

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was to a certain extent justified in bestowing praise on Brahmans who had proved their worth as governors and generals. Since the times of Harihara II, it had been the custom to entrust administrative work to qualified Brahmans. Thus Mādhava Rāya, the Brahman-general al-

¹ *Āmuktamālāyada*, v. 217; *I. i. II.*, IV, p. 66.
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ready referred to in a previous page, was temporarily entrusted with the government of the town (and district) of Jayantī. It was during this time that he conquered Gōva (mod. Goa) in Śaka 1313 (A. D. 1391-2).1 Another famous Brahman-governor was Viṭṭhaṇa Oḍeyar, who was the Viceroy over Āraga in A. D. 1403. He was the son of Bommaṇa, who was the son of the well known minister Saṅkapa of the Bharadvāja-gōtra. His praise is thus sung in an inscription of the same date: "And, at the time when, by that Mahārāya's order, the Brahma-Kshatri, a son of Hēmādri, an initiating priest for all gifts, a son to the lotus the line of Saṅkapa and Rāyapa, son of a chief Brahman minister, proficient in learning, a royal swan in the lotus pond of the learned, a moon to the chakōras poets, remover of the poverty of his servants, a flamingo at the lotus feet of Kṛiyāsakti-guru muniśvara, devoted to the worship of Triyambaka, the son of Virupāmbikā ".2 Then again, in another inscription of the same year, we have the following eulogy of Viṭṭhaṇa, both as a learned man and as an administrator: "...the chief minister Viṭṭhaṇa, ever beloved, versed in the sciences and arts,...Some yōgis took him for Kṛishṇa; certain learned men, for Rāmachandra; some truthful ones, for Yudhishṭhira; the performers of rites, for Svāyambhuva; suppliants thought him the tree of plenty; enemies, a consuming sun; his subjects, as their father (tāta):—such a mine of good qualities was Viṭṭhaṇalādhīśvara...The hēmādri gift did Viṭṭhaṇa-mantri but once make, and forthwith there was a hēmādri gift from house to house of all the Brahmans....An abode of all learning and fortune, appointed by his king to the government of the Āraga-ṛēśa, he was protecting with unfailing greatness all merit, fame and progress".3 An epigraph dated A. D. 1405 calls him "a diksha-guru in regard to all the gifts mentioned in the Hēmādri".4 Annamārādhya alias Komppalli

2 E. C., VI, Kp. 52, pp. 86-7, op. cit.
3 Ibid., Kp. 53, p. 87.
was a Brahman appointed as governor of the city-gates in A.D. 1429-1430. It is said of him that he "has studied four āyān and understood them by the Śaiva scriptures; he is the Lord of the northern gate at Śrīśaila and is renowned on earth".1 No account of Brahman-governors may be thought adequate without mention being made of Sāluva Timma, and of his nephew Nāḍendla Gōpa-mantri, both of whom were governors of Kōṇḍaviḍu.2 The following incident of A.D. 1614 described by Floris deals with the Brahman governor of Musulipatam. "In the meanwhile, Wencatadra (the son of the governor) remayned aboord without eating or drinking. For he being a Bramene, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans house but what he hath dressed himselfe; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered if any two Moores of qualitie would come abcord in his place, I would let him go on shoare".3

From the remarks of Paes it appears that Brahmans had to some extent become agriculturists. He writes thus: "The other temples aforesaid are made in the same manner, but this one is the principal one and the oldest; they all have many buildings and gardens with many trees, in which the Brahmans cultivate their vegetables and the other herbs that they eat".4 Obviously this refers to the cultivation of vegetables for the daily consumption in their homes, although there is nothing strange in Brahmans taking to a life of agriculture in view of the freedom given to them by the early and mediaeval canonists."

For what vile purposes an outwardly pious Brahman could use his learning and entangle princes in the meshes of war is related by Firishtah who gives us the description of the Mudkal beauty and the war which Dēva Rāya I waged far her sake. "It happened that in the town of Moodkul lived a goldsmith,

1 Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore, Ins., I, p. 16,
2 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 131; Lists., II, p. 188.
3 Floris, Purchas, Pilgrims, III, pp. 340-1.
4 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 262.
5 Manus, X, 81-3, 85, pp. 420, 421; Gautama, VII, 5, 24, X, 5-6, pp. 212-3, 228; Vāsishthīha, II, 24-6, p. 12, III, 1-3, pp. 16-17; Baudhāyana II, 2, 4, 19-21, p. 232; Śukranīti, IV, iii, ll. 37-9, p. 151.
who had a daughter named Nehal of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Sometime after, an old brahmin, who had been on a pilgrimage to Benares, stopping on his return at her father’s house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child, and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing, of which he was a perfect master. The brahmin continued nearly eighteen months with her family: at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with a promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The brahmin, who had from the first designed to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of a princess, proceeded to Beejanuggur; and being introduced to the Ray, spoke in such praise of the maid that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the brahmin to solicit her in marriage. The request had been anticipated by the brahmin, and he accordingly agreed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Ray despatched him with rich gifts to the parents and offered to bestow the title of Rany, or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The brahmin lost no time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith’s house delivered to him and his wife the Ray’s orders that they should repair with their child to Beejanuggur. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Ray, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with jewels as the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the harem of Beejanuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives, and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was
too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who rather than use force, dismissed the brahmin with all his gifts,—and he returned to Beejanuggur without success.”

In political matters, too, the Brahmans could turn out into deceitful diplomats. An example of a wicked Brahmendepolmato of this type is that of Rāmayya Bhāskaruḍu, a subordinate of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya. It was he who managed to have all the seventy-two nobles, the subordinates of the Reḍḍi kings, beheaded in the temple of Gōpinātha at Koṇḍavīḍu. The local chronicles contain the following details in connection with this dastardly incident. The Brahman was furnished with money, and directed to restore the magnificent temple of Gōpinātha Svāmi at the foot of Koṇḍavīḍu. A new image was to be consecrated and set up, and for the celebration of these rites, the presiding priest invited the seventy-two chiefs to descend from their hill fortress. “They came—the three score and twelve—and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the officiating priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new representation of deity, and to bow before the image that the great Krishna Dēva Rāyalu had set up. As they stepped into the antaralikam or inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. One by one each Reḍḍi Chieftain approached the shrine, and all shared one

1 Firishtah, Briggs, The Rise I, pp. 380-1. The next sentence which follows is this: “The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of providence”. This subsequent revelation in favour of a Muhammadan Prince, makes one suspect that there is an element of improbability in the nice story told by Firishtah. B. A. S.
common fate, one common grave, and then all was easy for Krishna Dēva Rāyalu to seize the fort”.

The Brahmans, however, could divert their influence in more profitable channels. They could, for example, elevate the classes which were socially on a lower scale, and thus bring about social reform. One such instance is that of the Brahmans who invested 500 oil-mongers with the sacred thread. It is poet Dīṇḍima—who was one of the mahājanas of Mullūndrum alias Prauḍha-dēvarāyapuram, and probably a contemporary of Prandha Dēva Rāya,—who gives us these details. Although more particulars are not forthcoming, yet the fact that the oil-mongers still feel grateful to the Brahman family by accepting one of its members as their guru, indicates to us that, at least in this one instance, the Brahmans have left behind them evidence of the service they rendered to the cause of society.

The generosity of the Vijayanagara monarchs enabled the Brahmans to amass great wealth. It was a policy of the rulers to endow them with large grants of land and money; and this seems to have culminated in the institution of a sort of a State fund called anandanidhi, for their sake, by Achyuta Rāya. The liberality of his illustrious predecessor was equally responsible for the wealthy position of the priestly class. Their riches may have partly caused the anti-Brahman feeling which was especially noticeable in the writings of the poets of the later ages. There is reason to believe that even the State, as typified by Rāma Rāja, was inclined to be rather unfriendly towards the members of the sacerdotal class, who had received the largest share of royal bounty in the days of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya. Even Krishṇa Dēva Rāya himself did not fail to observe the fallen condition of the Brahmans in his times. In his well known work, he says: “Why only kings! even the Brahmans of this age do not

possess the power of the Brahmans of those ages. A Brahman (Agastya) was able to drink away the water of the sea. Another sage (Viśvāmitra) was able to engage in creation as opposed to the creation (of Brahma). Another was able to avert the Brahmāstra by his staff (Brahmadanda). Is it proper that Brahmans of this age should give up acting up to their best ability because they do not have such powers? Have they ceased to command respect and worship from others in spite of their lessened powers?"  

Then again he says, while dealing with persons who were qualified for government service: "Do not appoint a Brahman who swerves from the right conduct and who is bred in a Pakkana (a Śabara suburb). Don't you know the story of how a Brahman once destroyed a crane which had saved his life, for a single day's meal?"  

To foreigners like Nuni, the Brahmans sometimes appeared intolerable because of their wealth. That Portuguese chronicler narrates thus: "The King always gives large sums in charity; in the palace there are always two or three thousand Brahmans who are his priests, and to whom the King commands to give alms. These Brahman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money, and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check."

Rāma Rāja seems to have been thoroughly anti-Brahman as may be inferred from the following statement in the Mahisura Narapati Vijaya:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{जामातामूलमहिपालः} & \text{ रामराय इति स्मृतः} \quad 1 \\
\text{स कामवशामापनः} & \text{ निदम चूते च निन्दितः} \quad 2 \\
\text{ब्राह्मणानां} & \text{ गुरुणां च निर्यान अभ्रियमातनोतो} \quad 3
\end{align*}
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\[1\] Amuktamalāyada, v. 285; J. I. H., IV, p. 77.
\[2\] Ibid., v. 210; ibid., p. 65.
Perhaps it was this which Nuniz wanted to convey when he referred to Ráma Rája in the following words: "...for he (Achyuta Rāya) has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews".1

From the ending of certain epigraphs it appears that some Brahmans forsook their rules to receive gifts, and were, therefore, not held in high esteem by the people. The inscription which gives us this information is dated A.D. 1395, and it ends thus: "The Brahman who forsakes the rules for receiving gifts becomes a monkey; and the giver becomes a foul-scented jackal in the burning ground".2 If receiving gifts (pratigraha-vidhi-lyāgi viprō bhavatu markkataḥ) refers to begging, then, evidently the people were justified in condemning such a Brahman, for it was a violation of one of the rules laid down in the code of Manu: "One must not consider as a guest a Brāhmaṇ who dwells in the same village, nor one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse, even though he has come to a house where (there is) wife, and where sacred fires are kept. Those foolish householders, who constantly seek (to live on) the food of others, become, in consequence of that (baseness) after death the cattle of those who gave them food".3 Vaśishṭha clearly says: "The king shall punish that village where Brāhmaṇas, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging; for it feeds robbers".4

Some Brahmans, as we shall see, seem to have refused the consecrated food (tīrtha-prasūda) of gods. Such of them who were found guilty of this offence were declared Chāṇḍālas or outcastes.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a strong feeling against the Brahmans should have been felt in the land, as is evident

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2 E. C., VIII, Sb. 382, p. 68, text, p. 179.
3 Manu, III, 103-4, p. 94.
4 Vaśishṭha, III, 4, p. 17.
not only from the shrewd hints which even foreign travellers were compelled to make but also from the tirades which the poets, as preachers of morality, levelled against the members of the Brahman community.¹ This anti-Brahman feeling gathered strength with the decline of Vijayanagara as a potent factor in the history of the country; and poets and writers, like Vēmanā and Dhūrjaṭi, voiced the sentiments of the people in the following words: "His forehead (i.e., of a Brahman with the caste-marks) is that of a worshipper; his mouth, that of a wolf; and his heart that of a roaming demon: is he so shameless as to say he has learnt of the divinity? If a man still has in his heart the principles of a pariahd, and yet scorns pariahs, how should he become twice-born, while devoid of every good quality? There is no sin greater than that of falsehood: this is an abomination perpetually in the mouth: what vagabonds are several who call themselves twice-born? The lords of the earth (i.e., Brahmans) say, ‘we are pure; we are learned in the scriptures’, they scorn all who are in their natural state. Truly the poorest palmer is better than such boasters!”² Then again:

¹ For the anti-Brahman feeling in the south, read Barnett, Heart of India, pp. 93, seq.
² Vēmanā, Verses, Bk. III., vv. 163-6, p. 135 (Brown).

In the original they run thus:

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మార్మడి పసిపోయి హై చిరాసిగి,
మానల చెప్పి చిన్న నాసికరు,
ఒక్కడ మాకు పిడ్డింది కూడా పండును?
నాసికాంపింది మైన ద్రోయను,
నాసికాంపింది రాయాడు,
సాధ్యానంలో నడుస్తాడు,
మనిస్తాడు మను, నాసికాంపింది,
ికాంపింది పను తెచ్చింది,
మనిస్తాడు మను, నాసికాంపింది.
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"To give up food and apparel, and lie about in the porches of temples, is the fate written for their sins in the foreheads of monks: what would they be worse for familiarity with women?"¹ "After going through all his studies, and attaining consummate wisdom, after making nothing of divinity, the moment he sees a fair woman he forgets all his sanctity".²

SECTION 4. The Agrahāra

We may now look at the other side of the picture which presents the life of the Brahman amidst the orthodox surroundings of the agrahāra.³ The traditions which the Brahmans of Vijayanagara received from those of the earlier times were of learning and piety. Their duties and vocation, as is well known, were already fixed for them by the early canonists.⁴ The Brahmans of Karnāṭaka seem to have lived, on the whole, a life which was in conformity with classical precepts.⁵ An inscription dated about A.D. 1142 sings the praise of the Brahmans of the Hariharapura agrahāra, also called

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² Ibid., v. 270, p. 157.
³ See also, vv. 191-2, p. 141. The date of Vēmana is a debatable point. C. P. Brown places him "about the beginning of the seventeenth century of our era". Verses of Vēmana, Preface, p. 111 (1829). Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao remark: "It is probable that he lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century." A History of Telugu Literature, p. 99. (Heritage of India Series). Vēmana's description may be compared with that given by Lakshmipati Dhūrjaṭi, Hamma-vinayati Kathegalu, p. 18 (Trans. into Kanarese by Krishnayya, Bangalore, 1871).
⁴ For the corporate life of the Brahmans, see Majumdar, Corp. Life, p. 337, seq.
⁵ Manu, X, 75, p. 419; Gautama, VIII, 4-11, 14-24, pp. 215-18; Vaśīṣṭha, VI, 23, p. 38.
⁶ For a detailed description of the chief duties of mahājanas, see Majumdar, ibid, p. 334.
Kellaṅgere, thus: "Possessed of the usual ascetic virtues (yama-niyama svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maunānushṭhāna-japa-samādhi-sīla-guṇa-saṃpānna-rūpi), devoted to the shaṭ-karmma (yajana-yajana-adhyāyana-adhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shat-karmma-niyātārūpi), versed in the Rig, Yajus, Śaṁma and Atharvaṇa and their shaṭ-aṅgas, suns in dispersing the darkness the poverty of the company of panegyrists, restrained by muñji, yajña and upavīta, wearing golden earrings, having at their feet the foreheads of the three (castes of) Kshatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Śūdras, of original ability, lights of the Bali-vāṁśa, oceans (of mercy) to those who come for refuge, were the Brahmans of Kellaṅgere...."\(^1\)

In the eulogy which these Brahmans of Kellaṅgere heap upon themselves, some allowance must be made for their vanity which brings to their feet "the foreheads of the three (castes of) Kshatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Śūdras", and which prompts them to style themselves as possessors of the usual ascetic virtues and also of golden earrings! But it is evident that Kellaṅgere was indeed a place of some repute, even in the later times, as is indicated in an inscription assigned to the year A.D. 1300. This epigraph says that the Brahmans of Kellaṅgere were poets, readers, speakers, orators and lovers of fame, devoted to the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa.\(^2\)

That it is not improbable that Brahmans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were given to learning is evident by comparing the above description of the residents of Kellaṅgere with that of those who lived in the great agrahāra Sarvajñāpura. An inscription dated A.D. 1234 describes them thus: "In that nāḍ (i.e., Hoysala-nāḍ) exalted was the great agrahāra Sarvavajñāpura. In some streets were those reading the Vēdas, śāstras and six systems of tarkka; in some were (?) maṇṭapas for (?) new shows; in some Vishṇu temples. Ever groups of Brahmans either reading the Vēda, or all at once listening to some higher science, or without ceasing carrying on discussion

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\(^1\) E.C. V, P. I., Ak. 110, p. 160, P. II., text, p. 486.

\(^2\) Ibid., Ak. 114, p. 162.
in logic, or joyously reciting purāṇas, or settling the meaning of all manner of smṛiti, drama and poetry. To study, teaching, listening to good precepts and the rules of their faith, were the Brahmans in Sarvajñapura devoted.”

One characteristic feature of the Brahmans was their corporate life. We infer this not only from the fact that they held their offices in the agrahāras by monthly rotation but also from the grants which they jointly made for social and religious purposes. The tradition of living a corporate existence seems to have been handed down from very early times. Thus the thousand Brahmans of Maddūr, for example, made a grant of twelve kanṭugas of wet land in Oragāla in A.D. 982 for the temple which Polayya had caused to be erected. This Maddūr is evidently the same Maddūr the Brahmans of which in A.D. 1327 made a grant, the details of which are missing, to five persons (named), during the month’s headship of the Tantra-mantra-chintāmanī, the Śravaṇappāchārya Vijñēśvara Dikshitopādhyaṭya. The term used for the “month’s headship”, which is missing in this inscription, of the learned Brahan of Maddūr (which was also called by the name the all-honoured great agrahāra Upēndrapura), is supplied by another inscription, relating to the same place, dated in the next year (A.D. 1328). This epigraph relates that all the Brahmans of the all-honoured great agrahāra Upēndrapura, during the month’s headship (māsa-veggadetanadalū) of Aṣama Dēva, (his descent given), made a grant to six persons (named), for the purpose of building Upēndrapaṭṭana anew in the dry fields of Chiraduvu. In A.D. 1336 all the Brahmans of the same agrahāra, during the month’s headship of Karaṭṭi of Udugundūr, gave a stone charter to Mambōja, son of the copper-smith Pemmodja, assigning to him certain specified lands.

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1 E.C., V, P. I, Ak. 82, p. 144.
2 Majumdar, Corp. Life, p. 339.
3 E.C., IV, Yl. 41, p. 31.
4 Ibid., Yl. 40, p. 31.
5 Ibid, 39, p. 31.
for "having by the practice of his calling pleased the Brahmans." If this was the case in A.D. 1336, we may not be far wrong in assuming that the custom of holding office by monthly rotation, at least so far as Upendrapura alias Maddūr was concerned, must also have been in vogue in Vijayanagara times.

In this connection it is interesting to observe a special feature of the agrahāras under the Vijayanagara kings. In spite of the freedom given to the Brahmans in certain matters, it appears that the State imposed its own officials over the agrahāras. This is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1532 which narrates that, at the time of setting up the god Yōga-Narasimha in the Durggāgrahāra, Rāmayya, son of Hāra-Mallayya, of Pidave in the Ādavāni country, the seal-bearer of Mallarasa-ayya, the head minister of Śiṅgapa Nāyaka, held the pāruṣatya of Durggāgrahāra, caused the sacred pond to be excavated and restored.2

It was not only the Brahmans of Kāṇṭakaka who could lay pretensions to learning and piety. The Kāśmir Brahmans too were famous for their wisdom. Thus are these latter described in an inscription dated A.D. 1368. "......like incarnations of Vidyēśvara, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the charayaṇīya-alticharaṇāṇāṇāya, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure Śivāmnāya, ever devoted to the worship of the Asthamūrti, Kāśmir Brahmans."3

About the agrahāras we have some charming notices in contemporary Indian literature, while about the Brahmans themselves, a great deal can be gathered from the accounts of foreign travellers. The Varadāmbikā Pariniyā, written by the talented poetess Tirumalāmbā, thus describes the agrahāras of Tuṇḍīra-maṇḍala:

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2 E. C., IV, Yl. 38, p. 30.
3 Ibid., Yl. 45, pp. 31-2.
4 E.C., VII, Sk. 281, p. 147.
To the above we may add Somanātha’s description of the great agrahāra of Mūlbāgal, where lived the learned Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa Yōgi, otherwise known as Śrīpāda-rāja:

Somanātha tells us in the same connection why Vyāsārayā preferred to remain at Mūlbāgal:

These details one looks for in vain in the accounts of foreigners, who were struck as much by the versatility as by the voracity of the Brahmans. There is a touch of admiration not unmixed with contempt in the remark of ‘Abdur Razzāq who couples “the wise Brahmans and the demon-like elephants” in a verse describing the great Mahānāvami festival."

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1 Varadāmbikā Pariṇāya, quoted by Venkoba Rao, Vyāsya-gīcharitam Inr., p. lvii.
2 Somanātha, Vyāsya-gīcharitam, pp. 39-40. On page 41 he describes a bath in a tank in the woods.
3 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 117
Barbosa has more to say about the Brahmans than the Persian Ambassador. "Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenetic, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again (and their sons inherit all their goods). As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulders three linen threads. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues. Some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a 'six days journey' [twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish] only to get a good bellyfull. Their (food is?) honey and butter, rice, sugar, 'stews of pulse and milk'.

We shall see in the next chapter what Paes has to say about the Brahman women; meanwhile we may pass on to the accounts of Nuniz. "And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, natives of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that there are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well-formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on. They believe that there are Three Persons and only One God, and they call the Persons of

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 217. Barbosa describes in almost identical terms the Brahmans of Gujerat. Ibid., I, pp. 114-17; Stanley, p. 94. Cf. the account of the Brahmans as given by William Metthewd who describes Golkonda and its inhabitants. "The Gentiles in the fundamentall points of their little religion doe hold the same principles which their learned clergie, the Bramenetic (brâhmans), have from great antiquitie, and doe yet maintayne, but with an implicit faith, not able to give an account of it, nor any of their customes, onely that it was the custome of their ancestors". Metthewd, Relations of Golconda, p. 13.
the Most Holy Trinity 'Tricebemca'". Then again he says: "These people have such devotion to cows that they kiss them everyday, some they say even on the rump—a thing I do not assert for their honour—and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves from their sins as if with holy water. They have for a commandment to confess their sins to the Brahman priests, but they do not do it, except only those who are very religious...They give in excuse that they feel a shame to confess themselves to another man, and say that it is sufficient to confess themselves alone after approaching God, for he who does not do so does not acquire grace; thus they fulfill the command in one way or another. But they do it so seldom (in reality) that they (may be said to) neglect this command to confess". These details given by Nuniz about confession among Brahmans are rather strange: the chronicler evidently belongs to the earlier school of Portuguese writers who shared the belief that "the Hindus were Christians of a sort".

Before we proceed with the account of the death ceremonies which Nuniz gives in some detail, we may record the evidence of two other writers who saw what Barbosa and Nuniz had failed to note—the devotion and learning of the Brahmans. Gasparo Balbi in A. D. 1582 thus describes the Brahmans around Mylapore:

"The Bramins are wont to burne Kowes excrements, and with the ashes for devotion meeting with the Gentiles to dawbe their forehead and nose; who so painted wash not that day for devotion of the Kow". John Huighen Van Linschoten in A. D. 1583 noted the following about the Brahmans:

"The Bramenes are the honestest and most esteemed

1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 390 "Triyambaka"? Nuniz evidently refers here to the Trimurti of the Hindus. For the confusion the Portuguese once made as regards the Hindu Trimurti and the Holy Trinity, see Dames, Barbosa, I, p. 115, n. (1).
2 Sewell, ibid., p. 391.
3 Dames, ibid., I, p. 115, n. (1).
4 Gasparo Balbi, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 148.
Nation among all the Indian Heathens: for they doe alwaies serve in the chiefest places about the King, as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the Pagodas, or devilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the Indian people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men, they weare upon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse under the arme over their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or four strings like sealing thread, whereby they are knowne: which they never put off although it should cost them their lives, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, saving onely that they have a cloth bound about their middles to hide their privie members. They weare sometimes when they go abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called Cabaia, lightly cast over their shoulders, and hanging down to the ground like some other Indians, as Benianes (Banyas?) Gusartes (Gujeratis?) and Decanins (Deccanis?). Upon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women doe. They have most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the Indians have. They eate not anything that hath life, but feed themselves with herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for anything be let bloud, but heale themselves by herbs and oint-

1 The brighter side of the character of the Brahman was seen also by Metthwold: "Their moralitie appeares best in their conversation (conduct); murder and violent theft are strangers among them, and seldom happen; but for cozenage (cheating) in bargaining, caveat emptor. Poligamy is permitted but not generally practised, unless in case of the first wives barrennesse. Adultery is not common, but punishable in women, fornication veniall, and no law but that of modesty restrains the publike action". Metthwold, Relations of Golconda, p. 14.

The same eye-witness tells us: "The Bramene (brähman) is priest unto them all, and weareth alwayes three or four twisted threads on one shoulder and under the other arme, and in his forehead a round spot whereon there sticketh cornes of rice dyed yellow in turmericke; they are very good and ready accountants and in that office much employed by Moores (Moslems) of greatest affaires, writing and keeping their accounts in palmito leaves." Ibid., pp. 14-15.
ments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In Goa and on the Sea coasts there are many Bramenes, which commonly doe maintayne themselves with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtle in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple Indians beleive what they will'.

Nuniz describes in detail the ceremonies practised at the death of Brahmans. "When a Brahman is sick, before he dies, they send to call the learned Brahmans who are his priests, so that they should come to pray, and console the sick man; and they talk to him of the affairs of his soul, and what he must do to save it, bidding him spend money in alms. After this ceremony is over they make the Brahman priests shave the sick man’s head, and after shaving they bid them wash it, and after the washing it is their custom to bring to their houses a cow with a calf,—there are very few Brahmans, however poor they be, who do not have one to live in their house,—which cow, when they have finished washing the man’s head, they take a turban and tie it to its neck and put the end of the turban into the hand of the sick man, and he gives it and the calf in alms for his soul to those priests who perform these ceremonies. On that day he gives alms according to his position, and gives to eat to some Brahmans who are invited and who come there for the purpose. They believe that when these ceremonies are made for the sick man, if he is to live he is soon cured of his infirmity, and if not that he soon dies.

"After the death of the sick man they have the ground washed upon which he lay, and after the washing they take cow-dung and spread it over the ground, and place the body on the top of this dung. They hold that a sick man who dies on a cot, or anything soever except only on the ground, commits a mortal sin. As soon as the body is laid on the ground they make for it a bier covered with boughs of the fig-tree, and

3 Linschoten, Purchas, Púgírms, X, pp. 255-6. For some remarks on Brahmans, see Pietro della Valle, Travels, I., pp. 80-1.
before they place the body on the bier they wash it well with pure water, and anoint it with sandal-wood (oil); and they place by the body branches of sweet basil and cover it with a new cloth, and so place it in the bier. Then one of his relatives takes the bier on one side, and they call three other Brahmans whosoever they may be to aid them to lift it; and so they carry it to the place where they are to burn it, accompanied by many Brahmans who go singing in front of the corpse. In front of all goes his son, if he has one, or next younger brother or nearest relative, with fire in the hand for the burning. As soon as they arrive at the place where they have to burn the body, they scatter money according to their ability, and then put the fire to it; and they wait there till the whole body is consumed, and then all go and wash their bodies in a tank and afterwards return each one to his house. The son or brother or relation who put the fire is obliged to sleep on the ground where the man died for nine nights, and after the lapse of nine days from the death come the priests and learned men and they command to shave the head of this man. During these nine days, they feed the poor and they give them the dead man’s clothes, and they give the cot with its bed in alms to the priests, with some money in addition; if he is a rich man they give gardens and other things in alms to many Brahmans. When ten days are finished, and the son has been shaved, he goes to the place where they burned his father or his brother, and they perform many ceremonies over the ashes and bones that remain unburned; then they put them in a small vessel and make a pit in the ground and bury them in it, and keep them thus guarded and buried in order (afterwards) to send the bones to be thrown into a sacred river, which is distant from Goa over one thousand leagues (the Ganges). There is a very large temple there, the object of many pilgrimages, and they hold that every pilgrim who dies there is saved, and goes to Paradise, and also every dead man whose bones are thrown into that river. In spite of this they in reality take very few people there. The heir or the father or son of the dead man is obliged, from the day of the death, for
eleven days to give food to twenty-seven Brahmans, and until twenty-one days to three others; until twelve days again he feeds seven Brahmans, and until twenty-seven days gives to eat to the three; on the last day of the month he gives food to three others, and thence forward, until one year is finished, he gives meals once a month to three Brahmans. They do this in honour of the Trinity for the Soul of the deceased. When this year is over he gives no more alms, except that each year, on the day on which the death happened, he feeds six Brahmans,—namely, three in honour of the Trinity, and three for the persons of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; who thus seemingly eat together. Thus he obtains favour with God, and for these expenses they beg alms of the Brahmans if they are poor. These give him all help for it. Before they dine they wash the feet of all six, and during the meal some ceremonies are performed by Brahman priests who come there for that purpose.”

We are not able to determine the veracity of the above account, since we have no other description from the pen of foreign travellers, which could be compared with that of Nuzin. Nevertheless it is evident from the details which he gives that the Brahmans followed the orthodox rules about the performance of the funeral and śrāddha ceremonies. Nuzin speaks of the rather large number of Brahmans being fed by the heir or father “from the day of the death”; and then he says that three Brahmans were fed for twenty-seven days. About the number three we have the following in Vaśishṭha: “After issuing an invitation on the day preceding (the Śrāddha, he

1 Sewell, For. Emp., pp. 393-5. As regards the time when the śrāddha is to be performed, see Apastamba, II, 7, 16, pp. 140-2; II, 7, 17, 22; II, 8, 18, pp. 146-8, seq.; Vishnū, LXXVI-LXXVIII, pp. 240-6; Vaśishṭha XI, 16-17, p. 51; XI, 43-4, pp. 55-6; Manu, III, 122, p. 97; III, 274-80; p. 127. About the persons who are to be invited for the śrāddha, Apastamba, II, 7-17, 21-2, pp. 145-6; II, 8, 18, 9, p. 148; Gautama, XV, p. 255 seq.; Vishnū, LXXXII-LXXXIII, pp. 251-5; Manu, III, 124-95, pp. 98-111; 208, p. 114; 234-70, pp. 118-25. Śrāddha to be performed monthly during the first year after the decease of a person: Vishnū, XXI, 11-21, pp. 85-6; Manu, III, 167, 203-8, 256-265, 279, 282, p. 110, seq. Śrāddha on the anniversary of the deceased relative’s death: Vishnū, XXI, 22-3, pp. 86-7.
shall feed on that occasion), three ascetics or three virtuous householders, who are Śrotiyas, who are not aged, who do not follow forbidden occupations, and neither (have been his pupils, nor are (living as) pupils in his house). According to Manu: "I will fully declare what and how many Brāhmaṇaṇas must be fed on that (occasion), who must be avoided and on what kinds of food (they shall dine). One must feed two (Brāhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or one only on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company. It is highly doubtful if the orthodox Brahmans of Vijayānagara, to whom gold was as precious as learning, would have violated the next injunction of Manu who gives reasons why a large company of Brahmans should not be entertained at a śrāddha. "A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited, the propriety of) place and time, purity, and (the selection of) virtuous Brāhmaṇa (guests); he therefore shall not seek (to entertain) a large company. The Portuguese chronicler dwells twice on the Trinity which makes one suspect that he was still labouring under the earlier misconception of his countrymen who confounded the principles of the Hindu religion with those of Christianity.

1 Vaśishṭha, XI, 17, p. 51.
2 Manu, III, 124-5, p. 98.
3 Ibid, III, 126, p. 98.
4 For further notices of Brahmans, see Bāna, Harshacharita, pp. 32-3, 66; 72; 78; 79; 233; Watters, Yuan Chwag, I, pp. 159-60; Foster, Early Travels in India, pp. 19, 21-2 where an account of the north Indian Brahmans by Ralph Fitch is given (A.D. 1583-91); Lockman, Travels, II, p. 380, seq., where the Jesuits, (in their usual disparaging terms) speak of the philosophy, mathematics and astronomy of the Brahmans. For a wholesale condemnation of the Brahmans, who, according to the Jesuits, were "a great Burthen to the Public", "proud", "artful", "great impostors", read Lockman, ibid., I, pp. 360 (n), 361, where reference is given to Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries, etc. Trans. by Philips, London, 1719, for further enlightenment on the subject. The observations of the Ablé Dubois, whose "pen would refuse to describe all their wrong doing", may also be noted in this connection. Hind. Man. Cust. I, pp. 309, seq. (1891). Another writer, whose views on the subject may also be read, is William Ward. In his book called A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos, III, pp. 67-71, 84 seq.
CHAPTER IV

WOMEN

SECTION I. Status in Hindu Society

Since the days of Manu Hindu law has assigned to woman a dependent but by no means dishonourable position in society. Thus does he declare in his code: "By a girl, by a young woman or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible". Then again: "Day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in her youth, and her (sons) protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence". This has been implicitly followed by the later lawgivers, who are not tired of dwelling at length on the dependence of woman. It may be noted, however, that one or two authors of the dharma-śāstras qualify their statements in the following words: "A wife is not

163, seq., he deals with them. He says: "... We are not to look among them (i.e. "the Hindus") for the solid virtues, as integrity, humanity, truth or generosity... they know nothing of patriotism. India contains no Hindoo hospitals for the sick and the insane, no institutions for the relief of the poor and unfortunate, no charity schools, no benevolent societies of any kind; nor do the popular institutions, or the established superstition, contain any one operative principle capable of improving the moral condition of the people. How then can it be expected that the Hindoos should be virtuous?" pp. 286-7. Read also p. 288 seq. (3rd ed. 1820).

1 Manu, V, 147-9, p. 195.
2 Ibid., IX, 2-3, pp. 327-8. For further notices on the subject, see Ray, J. B. O. R. S., XIII, pp. 160-1, 169; Wilkins, Mod. Hind., pp. 327, 330, where we have the views of a Christian missionary on the subject.
3 Baudhāyana, II, 2, 3, 44-6, p. 231; Vāishākha, V, 1-2, p. 31.
independent with respect to the fulfilment of the sacred law”¹. But the verdict of Manu influenced even the writings of Śukrāchārya: “Living with other persons, speaking with them even publicly, independence even for a moment, and residence in their houses should not be granted to females by the husband, father, king, son, father-in-law and relatives; nor leisure for anything besides domestic duties”.²

The obdurate stand taken by the early canonists could not but have resulted in lowering the status of woman in purely legal matters. This explains why proprietary (and separate) rights were denied to her, why documents executed by her were declared invalid, why restrictions were imposed on her as a witness, and, finally, why she was even classed with the son and the slave. Nārada enjoins the following: “Three persons are declared to have no proprietary right: a wife, a slave and a son. Whatever property they acquire shall be made over to him to whom they belong.”³ This rule held good even in the days of Śukrāchārya, who says: “The wife, the son, and the slave—these three are adhana, i.e., unpropertied (in the matter of family property). Whatever they earn is the property of those to whom they belong”.⁴ In another connection Śukrāchārya says: “Women have no separate right to the use of the means for the realisation of the threefold end, e. g., virtue, wealth and

¹ Gautama, XVIII, 1, p. 270.
² Śukraniti, III, ii., 39-43, p. 103. How far this notion of the dependence of woman clung to the minds of men is seen in the following description by Lakshmīśa, the author of the well known (Kannada) Jaimini-Bhārata:

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Jaimini Bhārata, Sandhi 5, v. 52, p. 99 (Sanderson).
As regards the invalidity of documents executed by women, we have the following in the Institutes of Vishnu:

“Nor one executed by a woman, or a child, or a dependant person or one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear.”

Manu restricts woman as regards giving witness, thus: “Women should give evidence for women, and for twice-born men, twice-born men (of the) same kind, virtuous Sudras, for Sudras, and men of the lowest casts for the lowest.”

Vishnu clearly says: “The king cannot be (made a witness); nor a learned Brähmana nor an ascetic; nor a gamester; nor a thief, nor a person not his own master; nor a woman; nor a child. . . .”

Uncompromising as the attitude of the Hindu lawgivers certainly was, it is worth while to observe that their digests are not devoid of provision which definitely raised the dignity of woman in Hindu society. Manu himself has unequivocally stated the case for woman thus; “Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward. Where the female

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1 Sukraniti, IV, iv, II., 11, p. 161
2 Vishnu, VII, 10, p. 47.
3 Manu, VIII., 68, p. 266.
4 Vishnu, VIII., 2, p. 48. The illiberal views as regards women expressed even by Sukracharya, not to say of writers on morality and poets of the later ages, may perhaps be traced to these dogmatic assertions about the dependence of women. Thus in the Sukraniti: “One should not leave his place by making the young wife dependent on herself. Women are the root of evils. Can young females be left with others?” III. II. 240-1, p. 111. This may be compared with the verse of Vemana. “Though her husband be Cupid himself, and her home be agreeable, how shall the slippery footed woman change her nature? Though a dog be tamed and reared with milk, will it not still rove from place to place?” Verses, II., v. 10, p. 55; see also pp. 56-7, 69, 82. It is not surprising that under the influence of these ideas, the wife was made to walk behind her husband as depicted by Dhurjati. Hamsa-vimśati-Kathegalu, p. 12, see also p. 54.

But we may say in the same breath that from the earliest times too in southern India, poets and moralists also spoke highly about the dignity and status of women. Read Kural, Ch. VI, pp. 10-11; Naṇadiyar, Ch. XXXIX, p. 247, seq.
relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes and (dainty) food.  

Vishṇu has removed certain disabilities placed on woman in the following words: “A woman (shall not) (be compelled to pay) the debt of her husband or son....” As regards the six-fold property which a woman possesses, Manu says: “What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the six-fold property of a woman.” It is strange that Śukrāchārya, whose opinion we cited above, should qualify his statement in the following words: “Absolute right is given to women in the matter of wealth that is called women’s wealth as regards sale and gift, even in immoveables.”

Where one sees in unmistakable terms the latitude given to woman by the lawgivers is in the right which Manu gave her of choosing her husband, and the privilege which even the later writers allowed her of offering the pīṇḍa to her deceased husband. Manu lays down the following rule as regards the choice of a husband: “Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but after that time let her choose for herself a bride-groom (of) equal (caste and rank). If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds.”

In this connection we may add that Manu has also given equality to woman in religious matters. “To be mothers were

2 Vishṇu, VI., 31, p. 45.
3 Manu, IX., 194, p. 370-1.
5 Manu, IX., 90-1, p. 343.
women created, and to be fathers men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Vedas to be performed (by the husband) together with the wife.\textsuperscript{1}

The importance of woman in social and legal matters is seen in the right she has of offering the \textit{piṇḍa} (or funeral cake at the \textit{śrāddha} to deceased ancestors). In the \textit{Dāya-vibhāga} of the \textit{Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa} of the commentary of the \textit{Parāśara-smṛti} by Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya, he seems to acknowledge the classical privilege which was given to woman as regards the offering of the \textit{piṇḍa}. This may explain why Mādhava says: "the wife is a woman who has been sanctified by marriage, she takes first the wealth of her husband."\textsuperscript{2} In the above words Mādhavāchārya seems to go further, to some extent, than Manu himself who has qualified, according to the former, the right of woman thus: "Vṛiddha Manu mentions difference regarding this case: 'A wife (i.e., widow) who has no son, who preserves inviolate the bed of her husband, and is steadfast in her duty, should offer the \textit{piṇḍa} for him and take the whole share'".\textsuperscript{3} Whatever may be the legal aspect of the question, there cannot be a doubt that from the times of Manu down to those of Mādhava, the importance of the (legal) wife, especially as regards inheritance, was acknowledged by the lawgivers.\textsuperscript{4}

Alone among the classical canonists, Kauṭilya seems to advocate equality of women and men in legal matters, at least as regards the question of punishment. This is apparent in the following passage in the \textit{Arthaśāstra}: "Women, when twelve years old, attain their majority and men when sixteen years old. If after attaining their majority, they prove disobe-

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Manu}, IX., 96, p. 344.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Dāya-vibhāga}, Burnell, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 25. Cf. "(If the widow) of a man who died without leaving issue, raised up to him a son by a member of the family (sagōtra), she shall deliver to that (son) the whole property which belonged to (the deceased)." \textit{Manu}, IX., 190, p. 369.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Dāya-vibhāga, ibid.}, pp. 26-7.
dient to lawful authority, women shall be fined fifteen paṇas and men, twice the amount".1

Domestic economy rests, according to the Hindu writers, entirely on woman. Hence Manu says: "Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils".2 In the detailed enumeration of the daily and occasional duties of a woman as given in his Niti, Śukrāchārya reiterates, perhaps with undue vigour, the earlier notions of woman’s importance in the regulation of household affairs.3

The codes of ancient and mediæval writers also contain provision for entertaining woman in royal service, industry, and agriculture. While dealing with the question of royal attendants, Manu says: "Well-tried females, whose toilet and ornaments have been examined, shall attentively serve him (the king) with fans, water and perfumes".4 Then again: "For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him (the king) fix a daily maintenance in proportion to their position and to their work".5 Śukrāchārya extends the scope of work which women could perform. He says: "The women should be assistants in the functions of the males, viz., agriculture, shopkeeping, etc."6

SECTION 2. Women in Historical Times

Whether the clause relating to the participation of women "in the functions of the males" need necessarily be interpreted to mean agriculture and industry, as Prof. B. K. Sarkar seems to think, is indeed questionable, especially in view of the fact

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1 Arthaśāstra, Bk. III., Ch. III., p. 190.
2 Manu, IX., 11, p. 329. See also Vishnu XXV., pp. 110-11.
5 Ibid., VII., 125, p. 236.
6 Śukraniti, IV, iv, l. 54, p. 163; Sarkar, Pos. Back, I, p. 181.
that Śukrāchārya himself, as we have said, has inflicted on women an infinite variety of household duties which, while no doubt assigning to them the premier position in the province of domestic economy, lower them in the world of activity related to the general well-being of the State. Śukrāchārya does not seem to have out-grown, as regards this question, the conservative attitude of the classical canonists. Nevertheless one may be permitted to repeat that, both according to law and custom, the lot of women, was not one of fundamental servitude. Manu’s injunction that the king should employ women for royal service dispels the idea of an unqualified servitude for women. When we examine, in a most cursory manner, no doubt, the status which women occupied in historical times, we may be better able to understand how practice had transgressed precept as regards the position of women in Hindu society.

The earliest historical evidence seems to confirm the dictates of Manu. In the times of Megasthenes, the care of the king’s person was entrusted to women.¹ The tradition of entertaining women in royal service continued in the days of Harshavardhana. Bāna gives us a detailed description of women who served as porters, royal attendants, lute-players and shampooring attendants in the royal palace.² He also tells us how women served in military camps. “Loving pairs”, says Bāna, “were roused from sleep by the tramp of the women of the watch”.³ But in the matter of performing household duties, the Queen herself set an example. In the course of his description Bāna speaks of Queen Yaśōvati, who is pregnant, thus: “Her household duties she had scarce strength to command, not to speak of performing them”.⁴ The princesses who were thus versed in the art of domestic economy were also trained in

¹ M’Crindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 71, (1877); Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 58, (1901). Cf. H. H. Wilson, The Theatre of the Hindus, II, p. 304.

² Bāna, Harshacharita, pp. 61-3, 85, 125. Cf. Lakshmiśa, Jaimini-Bhādrata, Sandhi, 6, v. 29, p. 120 (Sanderson), where Krishna silently orders a female attendant to stop Bhima from entering the dining hall.

³ Bāna, ibid., p. 199.

⁴ Ibid., p. 107.
singing, dancing, and other accomplishments. Rājyaśri grew up amidst such an atmosphere of enlightenment.  

The functions of women in southern India seem to have been more varied than those of their sisters of the north. In addition to their duties around the person of the king, they were entrusted, in a limited degree, with the work of administration in religious and political matters. We are told that women were entertained in a royal palace in the south in A.D. 1310.  

A notable example of a woman who conducted admirably the work of government is given in a stone inscription dated A.D. 918. In the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannara Dēva Akālavarsha, “on Sattarasa Nāgārjjuna, who was holding the office of nāl-gāvunḍa of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, dying under the orders of Kaliviṭṭarasa, the king having given to his wife the grade of nāl-gāvunḍa, and Jakkiyabbe was holding the office of nāl-gāvunḍa,—and Nanduvara Kaliga was holding the office of perraḍe—and? the survivor of the Sundiga tribe was holding the office of perraḍe to Koḍangeyur,—the Seventy and the Three Hundred granted Avatavur to Jakkiyabbe as promised.”  

What this woman nāl-gāvunḍa did with her dues is also told in the same interesting inscription. “And Jakkiyabbe, in giving away the dues of the nāl-gāvunḍa in Avatavur on account of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, granted four mattal of rice land in Jakkili for the temple.” As regards the administrative work of Jakkiyabbe, the same inscription continues: “Skilled in ability for good government, faithful to the Jīnendra ṣāsana, rejoicing in her beauty, Jakkiyabbe, when  

1 Bāna, Harshacharita., p. 121, For other notices of women, see pp. 68, 77, 82-3, 104.  
2 Wassaf relates thus the history of “Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma’bar”: “This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder named Sundar Pandi, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tira Pandi, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the King in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtezans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers, . . . .” Elliot, Hist. of India, III., pp 52-3.
having received the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, she was protecting it well, though a woman, in the pride of her own heroic bravery”, she “performed the vow”, and died in the orthodox Jaina fashion.\(^1\) Queen Sōvala Dēvi is spoken of as a mantri in a record dated A.D. 1166.\(^2\) A more famous example of a woman administrator is that of Queen Rudrāmbā who, under the name of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēva Mahārāya, ruled from A.D. 1260. It was because she took the name of a man that Vikrama Pāṇḍya of the south was advised not to go to the north where women under the guise of men ruled.\(^3\)

Women in southern India could equally well carry on the administrative work of religious institutions. We gather this from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1255 which deals with the activities of a great merchant named Kuṇje Śeṭṭi and his family, in the times of the Hoysala king Sōmeśvara Dēva. One of the relations of Kuṇje Śeṭṭi was Kāṇḍanambi Śeṭṭi, who made over all the lands which he had received as a gift from all the Brahmans of the Dāmōdara agrahāra, also called Nāgarahalī, to the temple of the god Kuṇjēśvara, evidently of the same agrahāra. “And his daughter the Gaṇa-Kumāri\(^4\) Chandavve he made the proprietress (ōḍeṇālū) of the temple, for carrying out the ceremonies, and granted her hombali land, with pouring of water in the presence of the god Kuṇjēśvara, and in the presence of Rudraśakti, the rāja-guru of Dōrasamudra the capital of Tribhuvana, and in the presence of the Karṇa-paṇḍachārya of the 120 temple priests (sthānikaru), and of numberless mātra-gaṇagaḷu and in the presence of all the subjects, farmers and priests of the two Muttana-Hosavūr”. That this appointment had to receive the confirmation of the prominent people of the agrahāra is clear from the following

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\(^1\) E. C., VII, Sk. 219, pp. 130-1, text, p. 298.

\(^2\) E. C., XI, Dg. 5, p. 25.


\(^4\) “Gaṇa-Kumāri, the daughter or princess of the gaṇas and the hosts of followers of Śiva, the Jaṅgamas”. E. C., V, P. I, p. 158, n. (1).
lines of the same inscription. "And that rāja-guru Rudrā-
sakti-dēva, the 120 temple priests, and Māda-Jiya of
Arasiyakere, the Karṇaṇāchārī (capital) (rājadhāni), with other
Jiyas (named), and numberless mahā-gaṇagaḷu uniting bound
upon that Chandvve the vibhūti-patṭa, or crown of authority,
and giving her the rank or place of a Gaṇa-kumāri," granted
to her some specified dues in perpetuity.¹

Chandavve held the post of propiress till A.D. 1258
when it is said a number of Gauḍações (named), along with others
including Kaṇḍanambī Šeṭṭī, granted lands to the same
temple. The inscription relates that "the ceremonies, what-
ever they may be, for which these lands were given, Chandavve
will herself cause to be carried out ".²

Some religious institutions had women pupils as well. An
inscription dated in the fourteenth year of Rājakēsarivarman
(Āditya I) relates that there were 500 women pupils in the
Jaina monastery of Vidāḷ alias Mādēvi-Ārāṇḍimaṅgaḷaṁ.³

SECTION 3. Women in Vijayanagara

From the above sketch it is clear that women, especially
in southern India, had practically transgressed the limits which
the lawgivers had imposed on them as regards activities not
pertaining to domestic life. Their traditions were maintained
in Vijayanagara times. One of the functions to which women
were accustomed was service in the royal palace. According
to Barbosa: "... and they do all the work inside the gates, and
hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered
inside the palaces, where they have in plenty all that they re-
quire, and have many good lodgings."⁴ It is these whom Paes
evidently refers to in the following words: "The rest remains
for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in

² Ibid., Ak. 109, p. 159.
³ S. I. I., III, P. III, p. 225. For women servants in a temple, ibid.,
p. 294. For a description of the ever praised and virtuous loving Karnāṭaka
women in A.D., 1160, E. C., XII., Ck. 21, p. 77.
⁴ Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88; Sewell, For. Emp.,
p. 129.
the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women...”¹

This number 12,000 is given by Paes on two other occasions. “Within, with these maidens, they say that there are twelve thousand women; for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes, and other instruments which are different from ours; and in the same way they have women as bearers (boois) and washing-folk, and for other offices inside their gates, just as the king has the officers of his household.”²

Paes has some more interesting details to give in connection with women. “After all this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders; and then close to these come many eunuchs, and after these eunuchs come many women playing trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols, and many other kinds of music, and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters, with canes in their hands all covered with silver, and close to them come women clothed in the following manner... They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside there are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax, and inside all this a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age... These women are maids of honour to the queens, and so are the others that go with them...”³

Nuniz confirms Paes as regards many details but about the number of women entertained in the palace neither of these travellers agree, nor is Nuniz consistent with his own statements. Nuniz relates the following: “In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants

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¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 282.
² Ibid., pp. 248-9, 264.
³ Ibid., pp. 273-4.
numbering fully five or six hundred; and these wives of the King all have their own officials for their service, each for herself, just as the King has within the gates, but these are all women.... these porters do not go further inside than through four or five doors, because inside of these are none but eunuchs and women."1 As regards women serving the king, Nuniz says: "Thus they deliver it (i.e. the water enclosed and sealed in vessels for the king's use) to the women who wait on him, and they take it inside to the other women, the King's wives".2 The description of the maids of honour given by Paes is confirmed by Nuniz who writes thus: "...and with these women (i.e., the queens) come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King".3

The number which Nuniz has given above does not agree with that which he has given on another occasion where he describes in detail the various positions held by women. "This King has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace; some are dancing-girls, and others are bearers who carry the King's wives on their shoulders, and the King also in the interior of the palace, for the king's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the King are well versed in music.

"The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 371.
2 Ibid., pp. 375-6.
3 Ibid., p. 378.
for the King alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. When the King wishes to eat, every person withdraws, and then come some of the women whose duty it is and they prepare the table for him; they place for him a three-footed stool, round, made of gold, and on it put the messes. These are brought in large vessels of gold, and the smaller messes in basins of gold, some of which are adorned with precious stones. There is no cloth on the table, but one is brought when the King has finished eating, and he washes his hands and mouth. Women and eunuchs serve him at table. The wives of the King remain each in her own chamber and are waited on by maid-servants. It is said that he has judges as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women.¹

We shall presently have an occasion of referring to the public women who accompanied the army. But it was not only women of this kind who went with the army. We have evidence of queens who accompanied the king during his campaigns. Chinnādevi mām and Tirumalādevi mām were with Krishṇa Dēva Rāya when in A.D. 1515 he conducted the siege of Koṇḍaviḍu. It was in the company of these two that the Emperor visited the temple of Amarēśvara near Dharanikōṭa where he bestowed the munificent gifts known as lulāpurusha, sapta-sāgara, and presented some villages to it.² Women seem to have carried on fights in which they had lost their husbands. In A.D. 1386 or thereabouts, Bomma mbe, wife Mahāvira Mādarakāla, continued the fight in which her husband died and lost her life too.³

² A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 178.
³ *My. Arch. Report* for 1923, pp.90-1. The courage of the women of mediaeval times is described in the account of the siege of Tanjore by the forces of Trichinopoly. Achyuta Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka had placed all the females in the Mahal. The forces of Trichinopoly entered the main fortress. “Meanwhile the whole of the royal females held in their hands drawn swords, and were constantly waiting, anxious to know if the king’s mandate of death would come or not”. And when they saw two messengers approaching them, “the royal females began immediately to cut each other
There is an instance of a woman who personally interviewed Dēva Rāya II on behalf of a temple and secured from him a copper-plate grant embodying a *sārvamāṇya* gift of a village. This was Aramavalatta Nāchchiyār, the elder sister of a Kaikkōla, attached to the temple of Agnēśvara at Mādam. The lady interviewed the king in Śaka 1355 (A. D. 1433-4), and in return for her services the *rudra-māhēśvaras* of the temple granted her one *padakku* of grain every day and two *pāṇam* of money per month.¹

Women occupied a prominent place in literature in Vijayanagara times. We have had some occasions of mentioning the learned Gaṅgādēvi, wife of Kampāna, who wrote *Madhurāvijayam or Virakaiṇḍarāya Charitam*. The Queen of Bukka I seems also to have been an accomplished lady. An inscription dated A. D. 1378 says the following about her: “The king Bukka’s wife was Honnāyi, in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vēdas, and though the king possessed many wives, she was the chief, and the fulfiller of his desires”.² Instances are not wanting of learned women in later Vijayanagara history. Achyuta Rāya’s gift of *suvrāṇamēru* was commemorated in a Sanskrit verse composed by Vōduva Tirumalammā (A.D. 1533), and inscribed in the Viṭṭhala temple at Haripura.³ It is suggested that this learned lady may be identified with Tirumalāmbā, the author of the *kāvya* called *Varadāṁbikāparināyam* which describes the marriage of Achyuta Rāya with Varadāṁbā.⁴ Another poetess was Mōhanāṅgi, who wrote a love poem called *Mūrchiṣparināyam*. About this lady also it is conjectured that her name may have been the surname of Tirumalāmbā, the wife of Rāma Rāja and the daughter of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁵

¹ 229 of 1919; *Ep. Report* for 1919, p. 103.
In the galaxy of learned ladies mention must be made of Rāmabhadrāmbā, who wrote the Raghunāthābhhyudayam. While describing the activities of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, after his return to his capital, she tells us that he convened an assembly of learned persons to examine the accomplished ladies of his court. They are said to have been proficient in composing four kinds of poetry—chitra, bandha, garbha and āśu, and in explaining the works written in various languages. They were skilful in the art of śatālēkhini and filling up literary verse-puzzles (padyapurāṇam). They were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (ghaṭikāśata), and to compose poetry in eight bhāshas (Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six Prākṛits). They knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas (kūrayas and nāṭakas) composed by the famous poets, and to explain the secrets of the music of the two sorts (Karṇāṭa and Dēṇa). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the vīnā and other musical instruments like the rāvaṇahasta. Raghunātha examined the proficiency of all of them and presented them with kanaṅkābhīṣēka.

Rāmabhadrāmbā also tells us that Raghunātha Nāyaka heard the songs sung before him and witnessed the dances of the accomplished ladies of his court. Some of the rāgas, etc., that were sung before him were designed by Raghunātha himself, who was a master of the art of music. The chief rāgas that were sung were jayamaṅgalā, simhalalīlā, jayanissāru (?) and kachachcharitra (?) Some of the tālas to which they were played were ratiṅīla, turangalīlā, raṅgābhavaṇa and anāṅga-parikramaṇa, abhinandana, NANDANANDANA and abhimālā. Among the dances that were exhibited before him there was one called rāghunāthavilāsa named after himself. ¹

An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Krōdhana, Māgha, Śu. 15, Monday but assigned to about A. D. 1446, confirms the evidence of Nuniz that women knew wrestling. It relates that "at the time when Mādi Gaṅḍā, son of Nāga


¹ Raghunāthābhhyudayam, The Sources, Sargas, XI-XII, pp. 291, 301.
Gauḍa, fighting with wrestlers (pālivānavara) [pailavānavara] (kūde) went to svarga, laying in ambush for those who fought with her father, Hariyakkā...went to the world of gods". This incomplete viragal, which her junior uncle Chenna set up, evidently wants to commemorate the measures which Hariyakkā took to avenge the death of her father by fighting with wrestlers.¹

There is evidence of Jaina women who seem to have died in the orthodox Jaina manner. An inscription dated A.D. 1395 tells us that in the reign of Harihara Rāya, Kāna Ramaṇa's wife Kāmi Gauṇḍi by means of sannyāsa expiring and went to svarga. The same epigraph relates that she was the disciple of the rāja-guru Siddhānti-yatiśa, and that she was the niece of Bēcha Gauṇḍa, the master of Āvale in Jiḍḍuḷige-nāḍ.²

No description of Vijayanagara women may be deemed adequate without mention being made of the courtiers. The public woman, according to Kauṭilya, was in charge of a great number of duties relating to the person of the king. We have the following in the Arthaśāstra: "Prostitutes shall do the duty of bathroom servants, shampoors, bedding room servants, washermen, and flower garland-makers, while presenting to the king water, scents, fragrant powders, dress and garlands; servants along with the above prostitutes shall first touch things by their eyes, arms and breast".³ Further Kauṭilya enjoins: "The superintendent of prostitutes shall employ (at the king's court) on a salary of 1,000 paṇas (per annum) a prostitute, whether born or not born of a prostitute's family, and noted for her beauty, youth and accomplishments".⁴ That such prostitutes were under the direct control of the Central Government is clear from the following regulations in the Arthaśāstra: "When a prostitute does not yield her person to any one under the orders of the king, she shall receive 1,000 lashes

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 2, p. 39, and Sk. 1, which speaks of the death of Mādi Gauḍa, p. ibid.
² E. C., VIII, Sb. 103, p. 15.
³ Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Ch. XX, p. 46.
⁴ Ibid., Bk. II, Ch. xxvii, pp. 148-9.
with a whip or pay a fine of 5,000 paṇas". 1 "Every prostitute shall pay every month twice the amount of a day's earning to the government. Those who teach prostitutes, female slaves, and actresses, arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like viṇā, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others shall be endowed with maintenance from the State". 2 Kauṭilya tells us for what purpose the prostitutes are to be maintained by the State: "The wives of actors and others of similar profession who have been taught various languages and the use of signals shall, along with their relatives, be made use of in detecting the wicked and murdering or deluding foreign spies". 3

Kauṭilya's injunctions help us to understand the state of affairs in Vijayanagara. But before we cite the evidence of foreign travellers about this question, we may note that the institution of public women had already become permanent in southern India long before the times of the Vijayanagara kings. Mahādeva, the general of the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI, in a.D. 1112, raised a sanctuary to the god Chandraleśvara in memory of his mother Chandrikādēvi, to which he added to residence of public women. 4 Turning to Vijayanagara we find that the capital was a great centre of courtesans. Abdur Razzāq describes their quarters in detail. "Opposite the mint is the Office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 fanams, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles, are beyond all description. It is best to be brief on the matter.

1 Arthaśāstra, Bk. II., Ch. xxvii., p. 150.
3 Ibid., p. 151.
"One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses (khānahā) and fore-courts (safhaḥā), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (kursā), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtzans seat themselves. Everyone is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each one has one or two slave girls standing before her, who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 janams, go to pay the wages of the policemen".1

The above description of the courtzans may be compared with that given by the Hindu poets. Poet Bhāskara, who wrote his Jwāndhara Charite in A.D. 1424, thus describes the public women:

1. नासो हसनम हुपुक्क सोदिल्लकः
2. जस्टेदिन हुपुलिण प्रजाज्ञिर गर्गिलयसः
3. जस्टेदिन प्रतिलिंग बुद्धिष्ठत्वे लोकः
4. नासो हसनम हुपुलिण प्रजाज्ञिर गर्गिलयसः
5. जस्टेदिन प्रतिलिंग बुद्धिष्ठत्वे लोकः

As regards the street where they lived, we have the following from poet Adṛśya (about A.D. 1580), who wrote Prauḍharāyana Kāvya:

1 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, pp. 111-12; Major, India, p. 29.
2 Kavicharite, II, p. 48.
Poet Padmarasa (A.D. 1559) bluntly says:

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\text{शोभानीता कहीं माजब्रम कुरुते मत态势} \]
\[
\text{शोभानीता कहीं माजब्रम कुरुते मत态势} \]
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\text{शोभानीता कहीं माजब्रम कुरुते मत态势} \]
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\text{शोभानीता कहीं माजब्रम कुरुते मत态势} \]
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\text{शोभानीता कहीं माजब्रम कुरुते मत态势} \]

This evidence about the existence of prostitutes in the capital from 'Abdur Razzāq and the Hindu poets may be compared with that given by other travellers. Paes, for example, visited the very quarters which 'Abdur Razzāq has described but it is very interesting to observe that the Portuguese traveller has nothing to say about the character of the inmates of the houses. His opinion seems, in this particular instance, to run counter to that of 'Abdur Razzāq. Paes writes thus: "Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at". If this description of the beautiful figures and decorations given by Paes refers to the

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1 Kavicharite, p. 307.
3 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 254.
same beautifully decorated houses about which the Persian ambassador has spoken, then, while the latter makes them houses of prostitutes, the former styles them as houses of rich and honourable men. That Paes is more intimately acquainted with the streets and parts of the city is clear from what he says in his chronicle, and especially from the manner in which he dwells on the question of streets. "That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have clearly said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets".¹

But it is not to be imagined that Paes failed to notice the presence of the public women and the dancing-girls in the capital. He mentions the courtesans on specific occasions. While describing the great Mahānāvami festival, which we shall see in detail in connection with other festivals in a subsequent chapter, he writes: "And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned—that which stands between the two buildings that are in the arena (terreyyo); the courtesans and bayaderes (i.e., "the dancing-girls of the temple and palace") remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time."²

The dancing-women were summoned during the feasts. We gather this from Paes: "For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues..."³

It was during these feasts and festivals that dancing-girls enjoyed the rare privilege of eating betel in the presence of the king. Paes, while describing the wrestlers, says: "...for these

¹ Sewell, Fdr. Emp., pp. 264-5, op. cit.
² Ibid., p. 267, and n. (1).
³ Ibid., p. 262.
(i.e., the wrestlers) are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands; and these also eat betel, though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women, who may always eat it before him".1

Nuniz also has got something to say about the dancing-girls. He describes the same famous festival called Mahānavami. While speaking about the decorations got ready for the Mahānavami festival, he says: "They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing-girls and also many kinds of contrivances".2

According to foreign travellers, therefore, the public woman was entitled to be present on certain occasions—at the time of feasts, when festivals were held, and during a campaign.3 Since foreign travellers are careful enough to differentiate between courtesans and the women who performed duties in the royal house-hold or under the State as judges, bailiffs, and the like, and since none of the contemporary witnesses tells us that prostitutes held the various posts mentioned by Nuniz in detail, one may accept with great reser-

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2 Ibid., p. 376.
3 To these we have to add the presence of the devadāsis in the temples, about which we shall speak later on. In this connection I may add that the public women of Vijayanagara have also figured in the book entitled *Jehān Nūmā* (or *The World of Mirror*) written by the Turkish geographer Katib Chelebi Mustafa Khalifah. From the Latin version of *Jehān Nūmā* the following is taken—for the translation of which I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett:

"What is remarkable is that in this city there are not lacking courtesans so wealthy that single one of them from her own wealth pays for several thousands of soldiers and despatches them for war. And because, as Lorenzo relates, they themselves take part in the battle, they stimulate by love of themselves the spirit of the fighting men to fortitude." Katib Chelebi, *Jehan Numa, Geographia Orientalis ex Turcico in Latinum versa Math.* Norberg, Londini, Gothorum (1818), t.i, p. 126. Katib Chelebi began his work of translating the *Atlas Minor* of Hondius in A. H. 1064, he died in A. H. 1068. The oriental part of *Jehān Nūmā* was printed with additions by Ibrāhīm Muteferrihah in A. H. 1145, *The British Museum Catalogue of Turkish MSS.* p. 111. (1888). In the above account of Katib Chelebi there is a mixture of details given by 'Abdur Razzāq and by the Portuguese travellers. B.A.S.
vation the statement of Dr. Vincent Smith that the presence of the public women was essential in the court ceremonies of Vijayanagara. This does not invalidate the assertion we have made that the existence of a large number of prostitutes in the capital reflects sadly on the morality of the people, and, to a slight extent, on the nature of the Government itself. The fact that the State maintained a large police force on the earnings of the public-women suggests that the Vijayanagara rulers may have had the injunctions of Kautilya before them. But we cannot maintain that they consciously followed the regulations of the Arthaśāstra as regards patronizing public women only for the sake of political purposes.

We may not end our remarks on this aspect of Vijayanagara life without noting the comments of foreign travellers on the immense wealth of the public women of Vijayanagara. Paes writes thus: "Who can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons?—collars of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand paradaos, and I believe this from what I have seen of them." ¹ Duarte Barbosa also speaks about the extraordinary wealth of these women. "Some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter, made the King heir to all her property, who, when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of seventy thousand paradaos remained as well as another twelve thousand, which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from childhood; wherein

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 270. Sewell has an interesting note on the paradaos. Ibid., p. 270, n. (2).
there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world!"  

How far these accounts of the wealth of the public women of Vijayanagara were based on extravagant reports it is difficult to say; but admitting the possibility of their having been rich, it is doubtful whether they could have failed to enliven their quarters by their bickerings and broils which formed a feature of their lives. We have to read the following description of a quarrel between public women as given by the poet Kumudendu to form an adequate idea of the scene. Although this poet lived in about A.D. 1275, yet his words are as applicable to the times of the Vijayanagara monarchs as they are to those of the Hoysala rulers:

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Provision was sometimes made in inscriptions against the vociferous nature of women, as can be made out from the following curse in an epigraph dated A.D. 1482-3: “The women of those who abuse the ruler of the village or the king of the sima or endeavour to obtain the sovereignty will be given to Dommarra villagers”.

Section 4. The Seraglio

As already remarked in connection with the description of sati, it appears almost certain that it was a fashion in those days for men, especially among the wealthy classes, to have many wives. Inscriptions contain notices of the many wives.

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1 *Barbosa*, Dames, I., p. 226. Dames calculates the amount at £32,000 in modern money. *Ibid.*, p. 226, n (1); *Stanley*, pp. 95-8, where the version is slightly different.


of rulers as well as subjects. Thus, for example, in A.D. 1120, Dēmiyakkā is said to have been the chief wife among the wives of the merchant Chāmunda Šeṭṭi, "who was beloved by many kings," and "who protected the merchants from the rakshasa, the Kali age."¹ Šāntala Dēvi, the queen of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1131, was "a furious elephant to her haughty co-wives."² The Hoysala king Narasimha Dēva, as an inscription dated A.D. 1161 relates, had 384 wives.³

The harem of the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara has received particular attention at the hands of foreign travellers. Nicolo dei Conti thus informs us: "Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them."⁴

'Abdur Razzāq gives a more sober estimate of the inmates of the harem in his description of the properties of the betel-leaf. "It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio; for it is said that it contains as many as 700 princesses and concubines." In the same passage the Persian ambassador has some further remarks to make on the policy adopted by the rulers in their seraglio. "With respect to all these establishments no male child is permitted to remain in them after attaining the age of ten years. Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns

¹ E.C., II, No. 49, p. 128 (1st ed.).
² Ibid., No. 53, p. 133.
³ E.C., V., P. I, Bl. 193, p. 106.
⁴ Major, India, p. 6.
separate. When any beautiful girl is found throughout the whole kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother has been purchased, she is brought in great state to the harem, after which no one can see her; but she is treated with great consideration.”

Barbosa has the following to add: “The king and the country-people marry almost in our way, and have a marriage-law; yet they marry several wives, especially the rich who are able to maintain them. The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness...” Barbosa gives us some more details about the harem: “They (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks, of which I spoke above, as kept for that purpose. The King goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber. The first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom. There is such envy and rivalry among these women with regard to the King's favour, that ‘some kill others’ and some poison themselves”.

This evidence of Barbosa cannot be reconciled with that given by Paes as regards the discord between the wives of the king, and especially as regards the question of appointing an heir to the kingdom. Paes discreetly observes the difference between the principal queens, the lawful wives, and the other inmates of the harem. “This king (i.e., Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya),” says Paes, “has twelve lawful wives, of whom there are three

1 Elliot, Hist of India, IV, pp. 114-15. That 'Abdur Razzāq is correct when he says that those who entered the harem were not permitted to visit their parents afterwards, is seen when we compare what he says with what the beautiful girl of Mudkul told her parents when she refused to accept the necklace sent by the king of Vijayanagara. See supra, pp. 131-3.

2 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88.

principal ones, the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom, but not those of the others; this is (the case) when there are sons to all of them, but when there is only one son, whosoever he may be, he is heir." It is this last assertion of Paes which we meet with in the statement of Barbosa given above, that "the first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom".

Paes continues to give details of the harem thus: "One of these principal wives is the daughter of the King of Orya (i.e., the Gajapati king, evidently), and others, daughters of a king his vassal who is king of Serimgapatao; another wife is a courtezan whom in his youth he had for mistress before he became king, and she made him promise that if he came to be king he would take her to wife, and thus it came to pass that this courtezan became his wife. For love of her he built this new city, and its name was... Each one of these wives has her house to herself, with her maidens and women of the chamber, and women guards and all other women servants necessary; all these are women, and no man enters where they are, save only the eunuchs, who guard them. These women are never seen by any man, except perhaps by some old man of high rank by favour of the king".

If this was the case, the assertions made by Barbosa about the amorous activities of the king and the manner in which the selection of an heir to the throne was made, may be accepted with caution, since Barbosa could never have been an eyewitness to the things which he has described in connection with the seraglio.

We shall proceed with the account of Paes. "When they wish to go out they are carried in litters shut up

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 247. In this connection we may mention that the later monarchs also had more than two wives. Vēkaṭapatī Dēva II married four wives. Heras, Arawidu, pp. 495, 502. Śrīraṅga Rāya VI married three wives. The Sources, p. 311.

2 Paes refers to the town of Nāgalāpura. Nāgalāpura may also have been named after Krishna Dēva Rāya's mother called Nāgalādēvi. See Ep. Ind., I, p. 370, n. 65; Karvicharite, II, p. 189. B. A. S.

and closed, so that they cannot be seen, and all the eunuchs with them, fully three or four hundred; and all other people keep a long distance from them. They told us that each one of these queens has a very large sum of money and treasure and personal ornaments, namely, armlets, bracelets, seed-pearls, pearls and diamonds, and that in great quantity: and they also say that each of them has sixty maidens adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, and rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed-pearls".  

How far Barbosa’s words about the rivalry between the queens are reliable is seen by comparing his account with that of Paes on the same subject. “These three principal wives have each the same, one as much as the other, so that there may never be any discord or ill feeling between them; all of them are great friends, and each one lives by herself".

The manner in which the king summons his wives is also given by Paes. “The king lives by himself inside the palace, and when he wishes to have with him one of his wives he orders a eunuch to go and call her. The eunuch does not enter where she is, but tells it to the female guards, who make known to the queen that there is a message from the king, and then comes one of her maidens or chamber-women and learns what is wanted, and then the queen goes where the king is, or the king comes where she is, and so passes the time as it seems good to him without any of the others knowing”.

About these eunuchs Paes relates they they guarded both the apartments of the king and of the queens. To the remarks we have cited in this connection, we may add the following: “Amongst these eunuchs the king has some who are great favourites, and who sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 248.
2 Ibid., p. 249.
3 Ibid., p. 249. Paes confounds all the women—12,000 according to him—in the royal service with the wives of the king in the passage we have already cited. See ibid., p. 282.
salary". According to him, "fully three or four hundred" eunuchs formed the escort of the queens.

SECTION 5. Description of Women

Prominent as has been the part which women played in the social, political, and literary life of the people, one may be justified in placing before the reader their picture, with the aid of the materials left to us both by foreign and Hindu writers. Abdur Razzāq writes in a thoroughly oriental vein the following about the dancing-girls. "The singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces more blooming than the spring, adorned with beautiful garments and displayingfigures which ravished the heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight".

Barbosa was also struck by the beauty of the women of Vijayanagara. He writes: "They teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance, and to turn about and take many light steps. These women are very beautiful and very bold". About their dress he says: "The women wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long; one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered, as with a scarf (reguacho). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the

1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 249.
2 Ibid., p. 248, op. cit. The harem of the Hindu rulers may be compared with that of contemporary Muhammadan monarchs. In the seraglio of Firūz Shāh, each wife of the king had three attendants; there were mistresses of all nationalities; and the king was able to converse with every one of them in her own language. See Firishtah, Briggs, The Rise, II, pp. 369-70.
3 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 118.
4 Barbosa, Dames I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88.
side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the most part of this people is very wealthy."

Paes confirms both Abdur Razzāq and Barbosa about the beauty of the women. While dealing with the Brahmans, he says: "They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few".

The description of the dress of the women of Vijayanagara given by Barbosa is to be read in conjunction with that given by Paes, who has the following to narrate: "They have very rich and fine silk cloths; on the head they wear high caps which they call collae, and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls, and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other, almost as far down as half the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels,

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1 Barbosa, Dames I, pp. 207-8; Stanley, pp. 87-8. Cf. The account given by Ibn Batūta, who speaks of the women of Honnāvūru: "The women of this city, and of all the Indian Districts on the sea shore, never dress in clothes that have been stitched but the contrary. One of them, for example, will tie one part of a piece of cloth round her waist, while the remaining part will be placed upon head and breast". Ibn Batūta, Travels, pp. 165-6 (Lee.).
2 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 246.
and many strings of pearls round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside there are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax; and inside all this is a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age.".\(^1\)

While describing the scaffoldings near the House of Victory, the same chronicler says: "Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls".\(^2\)

The remarks of Nuniz on the ornaments of the women of Vijayanagara are meagre. He speaks of the "thirty six of the most beautiful of the King's wives covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it . . . . These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move".\(^3\)

Pietro della Valle also observed the costume of the dancing-girls. While he was walking through the city of the Ikkeri "late in the evening without the Ambassador we saw going along the streets several companies of young girls, well cloth'd after their manner, with some of the above-mentioned wrought and figur'd Silk from the girdle downwards; and from thence upward either naked, or else with very pure linen, either of one colour, or strip'd and wrought with several, besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulder. Their heads were deck'd with yellow and white flowers form'd into a high and

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large Diadem, with some sticking out like Sun-beams, and others twisted together and hanging down in several fashions, which made a pretty sight".1

Inscriptions do not enlighten us on the question of the dress worn by the women of Vijayanagara. If the converse of the following is suggested, we have some few details about the general appearance of a woman. In an inscription dated A. D. 1422, the glory of the great Jaina general Irugappa Daṇṇāyaka, manifested in the woes of women of the people whom he had conquered, is thus sung: "By their ears, their earrings forgotten, by their foreheads with no marks fixed on them, by their dishevelled curls, by their breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their bimba-like lips deprived of the redness (caused) by the betel, the wives of hostile kings very often make his great prowess manifest on all sides".2

To the above are to be added the descriptions given by poets, who, although they do not dwell with the minuteness of Bāṇa on the appearance and toilet of women,3 and are guided by a conventional uniformity which mars their accounts to some extent, yet have a few observations to make on the form, features and dress of the Hindu women. Kumāra Vālmiki, for example, who wrote the well known Torave Rāmāyaṇa, and who lived about A. D. 1500, describes women thus:

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1 Pietro della Valle, Travels, II, pp. 257-8. The note (1) which Edward Grey makes on page 258 can in no sense be applied to the average woman of southern India. The "some classes" referred to by him are, and have been, the humbler sections of the agricultural and industrial people. B. A. S.

2 E. C., II, No. 253, p. 108 (2nd ed.)

3 The details given by Bāṇa refer to the painting of the lips with melted lac, the use of the cosmetics for the face and vermillion powder for the forehead, etc., in the seventh century A. D. Bāṇa. Harshacharita, pp. 68, 115, 124. An inscription of A. D. 1074 speaks of the marriage pandals of the seventy families (elpatt-ikkala maduveya pandara) and money for the looking glasses of the dancing-girls. E. C., VII, Sk. 295, p. 150, text, p. 343. Another epigraph dated A. D. 1135 says the following about the senior queen of Vishnupardhana, Bommala Dēvi: "... her lips marked with sandal powder from the too nails of the feet of Pār- vati." E. C., IV, Ng. 3, p. 113.
About half a century later poet Bāhubali, author of
Nāgakumāra Kathe, wrote thus:

\[2\] Kavicharite, II, p. 143. Cf. Kumāra Vyāsa’s description of
Draupadi, ibid., p. 67; Bommarasa’s description of Parave, wife of
Nambiyaṇa, ibid., p. 91.
The talented poet Virūpāksha Pāṇḍita, who wrote Chennabasava Purāṇa in A. D. 1584, also has the following to say about women:

Pāṇḍavyaṇrati (circa 1600) may have voiced the opinion of the sober minded section of the people when he composed the concluding lines of the following stanza:

1 Kavicharite, II. p. 290. See also poet Adrīya's description, ibid. p. 307.
2 Ibid., p. 312.
We may end our observations on the women of Vijayanagara by including in the above list of descriptions those of the forest-women or Bēḍara-striyaru, also by contemporary writers. Virūparāja in a. d. 1519 wrote thus:

\[\text{(Non-English text)}\]

Virabhadrāyya (circa 1530) also has given us an account of the Kirāla women:

\[\text{(Non-English text)}\]

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LEGISLATION, ETIQUETTE, AND ORTHODOXY

SECTION 1. Social Legislation

A. Marriage—The Question of Dowry

The influx of the people from the northern parts of the Empire into the south, as already narrated in connection with

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2Kavicharite, II., p. 333. In this connection it is interesting to observe that even foreigners remarked about this: "But (I may say in conclusion) as for the women and men, the blacker they be, the more beautiful they be (held)". Jordanus wrote thus about the men and women of "Lesser India", in his Mirabilia Descripta, p. 25.

2 Kavicharite, II., p. 199.

3 Ibid., p. 219. For later descriptions, see, for example, Lakshmiśa, Jaimini Bhārata, ibid., p. 524. But on other occasions too he has described women, Sandhi, 8, vv. 20-1, p. 159, Sandhi, 11, vv. 7-10, p. 209, etc. (Sanderson). For a fantastic account of a woman, read Careri, Travels, p. 231.
the caste system in Vijayanagara,\textsuperscript{1} gave rise to certain
general questions of grave social importance. Allied to these
were other problems which will now be examined. These
cconcern chiefly marriage, etiquette, and orthodoxy, and the
consequent legislation which they necessitated at the hands of
the people as well as of the State. The question of marriage
affords us an example of the concern that was felt for a grow-
ing danger which was eating into the life of the people.\textsuperscript{2} Be-
fore we deal with this social problem, we may be permitted to
dispense with some of the notices about marriage from foreign
travellers who observed only one aspect of the evil. These
few observations are to some extent supplemented by meagre
references in inscriptions. Thus, for example, we have the
fact of the offering of signet-ring for the rite of marriage in an
inscription dated A. D. 1159. The epigraph relates that the
Hoysala king Narasimha bestowed upon the Chaturvimsatî-Jina
temple “a second name Bhavya-chûḍâmaṇi after Hullapa’s
title Samyukta-chûḍâmaṇi.” And to provide for gifts and the
enjoyment of the good sages residing in that Jina temple, “as
if offering his signet-ring for the rite of marriage with the
maiden merit”, affiliated to the Pustaka-gachchha of the Dēśya-
gaṇa and endowed it with further grants.\textsuperscript{3} An inscription dated
A. D. 1407 hints at certain marriage customs. It informs us
that Dēvarasa made a grant to Chokkâla Gŏvindyar-tâte (tâm-
maḍigaḷ) the priest of the god Śaṅkara of Sāgare, in the year
specified, of the fees for those who celebrated a marriage with

\textsuperscript{1} Supra, Chapter I., Section 1.
\textsuperscript{2} For an account of Social Legislation relating to this phase of the
question, read Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Social Legislation, Q. J. M. S., VI,
pp. 47-57.
\textsuperscript{3} There seems to be some difference of opinion as regards the refer-
ence to marriage in this instance. Rice, who edited this inscription, in the
1st ed. of the Sravanâ Belgola inscriptions, says: “...and in order to
contract a marriage with the maiden the lady merit, and confirm it, with a
interpretation is followed above. E. C., II, No. 340, pp. 153-4. The
passage in the original runs thus: punya-irî-kanyâkâya vivâhana-vidhayâ
mudrikâm arppayan va”. E. C., II, text, p. 153,
throwing sandal powder and carrying in a palanquin, for the expenses of the temple of the said god.\(^1\)

We may now turn to Muhammadan historians and foreign travellers. Firishtah's remarks on the custom of betrothing children in childhood have already been cited in an earlier connection. Nehal, the Mudkul beauty, was to have been married to a youth of her own caste in her childhood "agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan", but "she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off".\(^2\) Linschoten confirms the opinion of Firishtah that that was indeed a common custom among the Hindus. Linschoten, however, describes the Brahmans of Goa in A. D. 1583. He says: "When the woman is seven yeeres old, and the man nine yeeres, they doe marrie; but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to beare children."\(^3\) The more orthodox section of the Brahmans would have justified this deplorable custom of theirs by referring to Manu, whose regulation on this important questions runs thus: "A man aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner".\(^4\)

Without entering into the question of the demerits of the custom of the child marriage, we may proceed to

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\(^1\) E. C., IV., Hg. 60, p. 74.
\(^3\) Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 256. This is again confirmed by the remarks of a Jesuit. In A. D. 1709 Fr. Lane wrote thus; "Tis also a Custom in several Castes, particularly in those of the greatest Eminence, to marry their Children in their tender age. The juvenile Husband ties about his Bride's Neck a small Trinket called Tali, which is as the Badge of Distinction between wifes and Maidens; and thus the Marriage is solemniz'd. If the Husband happens to die before the marriage cou'd be consummated, the Tali is taken from the young Widow, and she is not permitted to marry again. As nothing is more contemptible in the Eyes of these Indians, than this State of Widowhood; 'twas partly to free themselves from this scorn, that they used formerly to burn themselves with their Husband's body. . ."Lockman, Travels of the Jesuits, II, p. 384. As regards the use of the tali, see Commiade, Q. J. M. S. X, pp. 150, seq. For further notices of marriage, read Thevenot, Travels, pp. 82-3.

\(^4\) Manu, IX, 94, p. 344.
record the remarks of Linschoten on childbirth. This time he speaks of the "Canarins and Corumbins of India", meaning thereby evidently the agricultural section of the people of Kanara and the Kurumbars or Kurubas. "When the women are ready to travel with Child, they are commonly delivered when they are all alone: and their Husbands in the fields, as it fortuned upon a time, as I and some other of my friends went to walk in the fields, and into the Villages where the Canariins dwell, and having thirst, I went to one of the Canariins houses to ask some water, therewith to refresh us, and because I was thirstie, I stooped downe and thrust my head in at the doore, asking for some water, where I espied a Woman alone within the house, tying her cloth fast about her middle, and before her having a wooden Trough (by the Portugals called Gamello) full of water, where she stood and washed a Child, whereof as then she had newly beene delivered without any helpe: which having washt, she laid it Naked on the ground upon a great Indian Figgie leafe, and desired me to stay and she would presently give me water. When I understood by her that she had as then newly beene delivered of that Child without any helpe, I had no desire to drink of her water, but went unto another to ask water, and perceived the same woman not long after going about her house, as if there had beene no such matter, and the Children are brought up in that manner cleane naked, nothing done unto them, but onely washed and made cleane in a little cold water, and doe in that sort proper and come up as well as man would wish, or as any Child within these Countries can doe with all the tending they have, and live many times untill they be a hundredth yeeres old, without any Head-ach, or Tooth-ach, or losing any of their Teeth."¹ This was the condition of the "Canariins and the Corumbins" whom the same traveller calls "Countrimen" who "deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours". Further he says: "These are the most contemp-tible, and the miserablest people of all India..."²

¹ Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 263.
² Ibid., p. 262.
It cannot be determined whether the remarks of Linschoten as regards the longevity of the agricultural and fishing people could be applied to the Brahmans. But we are aware of the fact that the question of marriage had assumed great proportions, especially in the eyes of the priestly class. And the crucial point then was, as unfortunately it is now to a large extent, in connection with dowry. On this significant detail, Manu has the following to say: "No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring...Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Ārsha wedding 'a gratuity', (but) that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter). When the relatives do not appropriate (for their use) the gratuity (given), it is not a sale; (in that case) the (gift) is only a token of respect and kindness towards the maidens". Then again: "Even a Śūdra ought not to take a nuptial fee, when he gives away his daughter, for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering (the transaction by another name). Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have done such (a deed) that, after promising (a daughter) to one man, they gave her to another; nor, indeed, have we heard, even in former creations, of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee". According to Manu, therefore, "the acceptance of a fee be it small or great, is a sale of the daughter" and hence is to be condemned.

1 Manu, III, 51, 53-4, pp. 84-5.
2 Ibid., IX, 98-100, p. 345.
3 Read Vaśishtha: "The purchase (of a wife) is mentioned in the following passage of the Veda; 'Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given to the father of the bride'. Vaśishtha, I., 36, p. 7. Cf. Manu. "When (the father) gives away his daughter according to the rule, after receiving from the bridegroom for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs, that is named the Arsha rite" Manu. III, 29, p. 80. But, as already remarked, Manu definitely declares that it is wrong to call this fee a gratuity. As regards the method of giving a girl in marriage, see Gṛhya Sūtras (Āṣvalāyana) Part I, Adhyāya I, Kaṇḍikā 6, p. 166, seq. For Śukrāchārya's opinion on marriage, Śukraniti III, II, 342-7, p. 115.
The Brahmans of a prominent part of Vijayanagara too were precisely of the same opinion. In fact, they even went to the extent of seeking the aid of the State in executing a measure which they themselves had enacted on behalf of the society. They must have realized that the dowry system was becoming more and more unbearable, and that it was telling sadly on the material prosperity of the Hindu households. Although information is not forthcoming as regards the nature and amount of dowry that was demanded amongst the common people, yet we know that among families well stationed in life, it was almost a custom to grant whole villages as dowry. Thus, for example, we have the following in an inscription in Tamil, dated A. D. 1379, in the reign of Immaḍi Bukka Rāya: “By order of Pettyaraśar, Rāchcharasar, minister of the Kāṇṭik-kāra-rāyar-gaṇḍa Nāgaṇṭ-udaiyar, I—the Malaimandalap-perumāl, mahā prabhu, of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, Nambi Iravi Šeṭṭiyar—granted (on the date specified), as dowry, the village of Paṣi-gaipalli in my share of one-third of Pulliyūr-nāḍu to my daughter’s sons Iraviyaṇṇan, Kēśava Šeṭṭiyar and others”.1

It was most probably because of the exorbitant nature of dowry and the consequent heavy expenses of marriage that people were compelled to sell their estates. This is what is perhaps suggested in an inscription dated A. D. 1404 which relates that Achapa’s son Viṭṭhapa sold to Bēlūr Narasiva Dēva’s son Sugaṇṇa the Kaudavaljī village, also called Virūpāmbikāpura, in Bēluve of the Āraga-vēnte, together with other land, “on account of marriage” (ṇāṇa namma prastha-nimittāvāgi nīnage krayavāgi koṭṭa).2 According to another inscription assigned to about the year A. D. 1424, the Āḷva-prabhu Bommiyakka Heggāḍiti’s son, whose name is missing in this defaced epi-

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1 E. C., IX., Ht. 108, 109, p. 102. The date falls within the reign of Harihara Rāya II (A. D. 1377-1404). The name of the king given in this epigraph—Immaḍi Bukka—cannot be referred to Bukka II who reigned from A. D. 1405-6.

2 E. C., VIII., Tt. 134, p. 190, P. II, p. 599. The village was again re-christened Lakshmi-Narasimhapura. See ibid. Tt. 133.
graph, also, on account of marriage, sold land (specified) to the sthānīka temple priest Dēvapṛṇa-āyya's son Bōvaṇḍa-āyya.¹

It was about this time that Brahmans of all shades of opinion concerted on a most useful measure of social legislation. They belonged to the Paḍaiviḍu-rājya, as an inscription dated Śaka 1347 (A. D. 1424-5) narrates, and their representative character is shown by the fact that the inscription particularly mentions them as Kannadiga, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa Brahmans. The agreement which was arrived at as regards this question of Dharma relating to marriage, was as follows: That henceforth marriages among them were to be concluded only by kanyādāna, i. e., the father had to give his daughter to the bridegroom gratuitously; and that both the father who accepted money, and the bridegroom who paid money, were to be subjected to punishment by the King, and to be excommunicated from their caste. Their agreement runs thus: "...(On the date specified)...the illustrious Virapratāpā-Dēvarāya-mahārāya was pleased to rule the earth,—the great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom (rājyam) of Paḍaiviḍu drew up in the presence of (the god) Gōpinātha (of) Arkapushkaraṇī a document (which contains) an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to (this document), if the Brāhmaṇas of this kingdom (rājyam) of Paḍaiviḍu, viz., Kannadigas, Tamirās, Telungas, Ilālas, etc., of all gōtras sūtras and sākhās conclude a marriage they shall, from this day forward, do it by kanyādāna. Those who do not adopt kanyādāna, i.e., both those who give a girl away after receiving gold, and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of Brāhmaṇas. These are the contents of the document which was drawn up." We may note that it contains the signature of "the great men of all branches of sacred studies".²

Two conclusions may be drawn from this epigraph—that "the evil practice of bargaining for marriage", as the late Mr.

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¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 175, p. 199, P. II, p. 658.
² 49 of 1877; S. I. I. I. No. 56, pp. 82-4; Rangachari, Top. List, I. NA. 602, p. 104.
Krishna Sastri said, "by one, at least, of the parties concerned was as rampant in Saka 1347 (A.D. 1425) as it is today;" and that the Brahmans made definite provision for State interference in purely social matters. We are uncertain whether this wise step taken by the Brahmans of the Pañcaividi-rājya was ever followed by the others all over the Empire. But if the remission of taxes on marriage of all classes in Ballalapura by Deva Rāya II, in A.D. 1432, as we have already related, could be traced to the bold stand made by the Brahmans of the Pañcaividi-rājya in A.D. 1424-5, then, it is, we believe, not too much to say that, so far as the question of dowry was concerned, they were certainly far ahead of their times.

We are not sure whether this could be said of them as regards the other vital questions connected with Hindu womanhood. It cannot be determined, for example, whether the Brahmans of Vijayanagara made any attempts to put a stop to the vile custom of compelling widows to shave their heads. From the account of sati given by Linschoten in A.D. 1583, it is certain that this savage rite prevailed among the Brahmans. That traveller says: "Then shee taketh all her Jewells, and parteth among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes: and if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any woman refuseth to be burnt with her husband, then they cut the haire clean off from her head, and while she liveth she must never after weare any Jewells more, and from that time she is despised, and accounted for a dishonest woman".

1 A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 250.
2 E.G., X, Gd. 17, p. 214, op. cit., Supra, Volume I., Ch. IV, Section 9.
There is an epigraph dated A.D. 1653-4 which relates that Boligadacha Vrajagoruvidla... issued a charitable edict exempting the residents of the village of Kāgolū, which had been given as a mānīyam to Pākanala Krishnappa Nayanivārū—from fees for the marriage of their daughters. The edict ends with a vile curse on those who would infringe its clause. Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins. II, p. 763. For some remarks on the brideprice, see Richards, Salem Gaz., I, P. I, p. 133.
3 Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 257.
That Linschoten was not wrong in this is proved by the following statement by Barbosa who also speaks of sati. "All this they do in general without any hindrance, as it is the custom of all. Those who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their families."  

Judged by the institutes of Manu, this attitude of the Brahmans in the last quarter of the sixteenth century can in no sense be justified. For Manu enjoins that a widow is at liberty to (wear and) possess her ornaments after her husband's death. This is evident from the following: "The ornaments which may have been worn by women during their husbands' lifetime, his heirs shall not divide; those who divide them become outcasts."  

Further, in the regulations relating to the conduct of a faithful wife after her husband's death, Manu does not mention the barbarous rite of the degenerate Brahmans: "A faithful wife, who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead. At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruit; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died. Until death let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only... A virtuous wife after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men."  

As regards the occasion when a woman, belonging to the Brahman caste, could be shaved, we have the following in Vaśishṭha: "If a Śūdra approaches a female of the Brāhmaṇa

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 216. From the account of sati given by Metthwold, it appears that widows were not necessarily shaved. See Metthwold, Relations of Colombo, p. 25.

2 Manu, IX, 200, p. 372. In the twelfth century, as we shall presently see, the Chōla government of the day permitted widows to own the lands, jewels, and other valuables of their (deceased) husbands.

3 Ibid, V., 156-8, 160, pp. 196-7; see also Vaśishṭha XVII., 55-6, pp. 89-90.
caste, (the King) shall cause the Sūdra to be tied up in Viraṇa grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brāhmaṇi to be shaved, and her body to be anointed with butter; placed her naked on a black donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the high road. It is declared that she becomes pure (thereby).’1 Nothing is more regrettable than the fact, that then, as it is unfortunately now, the Brahmans of southern India should have been blind to the injunctions of the authors of the dharmabōstrās; and that they should have imposed on women a penalty which had not the slightest claim to legality or justice.2

B. Communal Questions—How settled

The clause relating to those who violated the agreement made by the Brahmans of the Paḍaividu-rājya, and their punishment by the king, leads us to the question whether the State in mediaeval times ever interfered in matters concerning the social welfare of the people. There is reason to affirm that at the request of the people themselves, the Government did intervene in their social affairs, especially when it was a question of settling details about trivial formalities, which caused much concern to the humbler sections of the people.

That there was nothing new in the Government of Vijayanagara adjusting the social differences of the people is seen when we examine the measures which earlier rulers took to settle allied questions relating to society. From the fourteenth year of Rājādhirāja II, for example, it was declared (evidently by the State) that a woman who was wedded to a person, was entitled, on his demise, to become the owner of the lands, slaves,

2 It is gratifying to learn that the Tengalē schismatics do not shave their widows. They quote from Śaṇḍiliyayah, Sambhūb, Manu, Khagēśvara Samhita, Hayagrīva Samhita in support of immunity of their widows from the rite of tonsure. Narasimmiyengar, I. A., III, pp. 136-7. As regards the rite of tonsure (chādākarman) for girls, see Manu, II, 66, p. 42; Grihya Śūtras, (Śāṇkhyāna) Part I, 1, 28, 22, p. 57. See also ibid., Aśvalāyana 1, Adhyāya, Kaṇḍikā 17, 19, p. 186.
jewels, or other valuables, and the cattle of her deceased husband; that if before his death, he made default and had his lands sold, the purchaser had the right of the lands and slaves that belonged to the deceased; that Brahmins should not till lands with bulls yoked to the plough; that those classes that were engaged as labourers should not become vel and arasu; that kāvidis, potters, drummers, weavers, and barbers should not keep locks of hair; that during their mourning or joyous occasions big drums (bērigai) should not be taken; and that they should not possess slaves. Further, bullocks grazing near the village channels should be impounded in pens erected for the purpose; and cattle-stands or house-sites of the village should not be converted into paddy fields. Finally, it was also ordered that potters, who made small lamps and pots, and sold them, should wear an upper cloth.¹

We have evidence of the settlement of equally complicated questions in the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulōttuṅga Chōla Dēva (who has been identified with Kulōttuṅga Chōla Dēva I), as is related in an inscription dated in the forty-eighth year of his reign. This epigraph deals with the decision arrived at as regards the question of caste, and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain anulōma class called Rathakāras who are described as the sons of Māhishyas by Karaṇī women. On the strength of previous authorities such as Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭīlya, Baudhāyana, and others, the bhaṭṭas (i.e., the learned Brahmins) of Rājāśraya-chaturvedimāṅgalam defined (1) a Māhishya as one born of a Kshatriya father by a Vaiśya mother; (2) a Karaṇī as the daughter of a Vaiśya father by a Śūdra mother; and (3) a Rathakāra as the son of a Māhishya father by a Karaṇī mother.

The following means of livelihood were also laid down for adoption by the Rathakāras: (1) architecture, (2) building coaches and chariots, (3) erecting gōpuras of temples with images on them; (4) preparation of instruments required by the Brāhmaṇas in their sacrificial ceremonies such as ladle

(srik) etc., (5) building maṇḍapas, (6) not clear, and (7) making jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets, etc.

It was decided also that this anulōma sect of Rathakōras was superior to the pratilōma sect (‘born the other way’), viz., from a father of a lower class, and a mother of a higher class. One of the authorities quoted also states that these Rathakōras were entitled to upanayana (the sacred thread ceremony), iśyā (performing sacrifice), and ādhanā (receiving sacred fire). Another authority, however, suggests that the anulōmas thus entitled to upanayana are forbidden from performing the agnihōtra (keeping the sacred fire always alive), aupāsana (worshipping the fire thus kindled), paṇchamahāyajña (the five sacred duties prescribed for the Brahmans, viz., (1) Deva yajña [ceremonial worship of gods], (2) pītri-yajña [ceremonial worship of manes]; (3) brahma-yajña [ceremonial worship of rishis], (4) bhūta-yajña [ceremonial worship of living creatures other than men] and (5) manushya-yajña [ceremonial worship of men] and adhyāyana [recital of the Vēdas]. The same authority also says that their upanayana ceremony ought not to be conducted by quoting the mantras (sacred hymns). This was the decision of the learned men of Uyya-kondān-Tirumalai at the beginning of the twelfth century.1

In the decision of the Chōla kings of the early times we have the echoes of those same intricate communal problems which compelled the Vijayanagara rulers to step into the wrangling circles of the cultivators and the Paṇchhālas, the barbers and the potters, and the weavers and the Šeṭṭis. The cases which the mediaeval monarchs had to solve may roughly be divided into two broad classes—those relating to marriage and the consequent rise in social estimation, and those concerning honours, birudus, and rights during festivals and religious occasions. An instance of a lower class claiming equality with a higher class as regards marriage may

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1 Ep. Report for 1909, pp. 95-6. As regards the Rathakōras, it is interesting to observe that they were an ancient class. See Rāja Rādhakānta Deva Bahadur Sabdākalpadruma, under the article Rathakōra, q. v. Cf. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Tamil Studies, pp. 74-5.
be mentioned. The following account of the fate which befell the Bēḍars, who, as we saw, belonged to the Left Hand division, illustrates this as well as other phases of Vijayanagara history. The Bēḍars, who were ruling around the places called Piriyapatṭaṇa and Tuṅga, where Marṅgarasa and Chaṅgalarāya, two Jaina Kshatriyas, had settled, claimed their daughters in marriage. The Kshatriyas could not openly refuse the demand as the Bēḍars were all powerful. They had recourse to diplomacy: they built a great house with six large halls ostensibly for marriages, and dug a well at the back of the last hall. One day they mustered all their forces and invited the Bēḍars for the marriage. Elated with the prospect of a marriage alliance with Kshatriyas, the Bēḍars repaired to the place with their famillies. But the Jaina Kshatriyas told them that it was a custom of theirs that only a single pair of married couple should enter the house at a time. The Bēḍars went inside two by two. As each pair went to the innermost hall the Kshatriyas arranged to have their heads cut off and bodies thrown into the well.¹ Thus all the Bēḍars were killed and

¹ My. Arch. Report for 1925, p. 15. In three copper-plate grants dated Śālīvāhana Śaka 1212, Vikrama Śaka 1012, and Śālīvāhana Śaka 1157 referring to the reigns of Bukka Rāya, and a number of other kings some interesting details are given as regards the question of intermarriage among the gaṇḍas and the reḍḍi classes, and the different kinds of honours to which they were entitled on festive occasions. These inscriptions are rambling epigraphs and are all dated wrongly, and, therefore, untrustworthy. But some of the details are the following: The gaṇḍas, we are told, were given the right of possessing a palanquin carried cross-ways, round umbrella, torch by day, big and little kettle-drum, silk flag, turban, gold marriage crown, gold necklace, and shoes of honour. One of them states that a number of reḍḍis (named with descent), of the Sujana-kula and Pembolu-gōtra, on the Sultan (not named) demanding one of their daughters migrated (the same night ?) with 101 families and seven elephants to the Naḍinagāḍḍa country. There they sought to make marriages in Chittalapuripatṭaṇa, but were refused. Whereupon Kōṇḍāma Nāyaka and two others went to Penugonda and represented the matter to Rāma Rāyal and Bukka Rāyal, who came with an army to Naḍinagāḍḍa. There they held an enquiry as to why the reḍḍis of Bōdipet and Chandragiri declined intermarriages, and sent for their guru Tāṭāchārya to decide the question. In his presence the heads of the Sujana-kula were invested with honours (like those given above), and they agreed to make certain payments (specified) on occasions of marriages. Marriages were accordingly performed, the Rāyal spending 150 Rāmateṇki-varāha for the purpose. E. C. XIII, 18, 72, 82, pp. 119, 128, 131, and text, pp. 363, 388, 397. See also Pg.
Marāgaraṇa conquered all the country round and became a powerful chief with Piriya-paṭṭaṇa as his capital, Changalarāya becoming king of Raṅgapaṭṭaṇa. These two, we may note, were feudatories of the Vijayanagara kings.

The other type of cases relates to the rights and birudus granted to communities on festive occasions. There were, for example, the minute distinctions between the Right Hand and Left Hand sections, the rivalries between the Paṅchālas and cultivators, and the acrimonious differences between the potters and the barbers. The feeling between the Iđaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai subdivisions seems to have reached its climax in about Śaka 1352 (A. D. 1440-1), as is related in an inscription dated only in the cycle year Saumya Chittirai, 16, when an agreement was reached as regards some social conduct among the Vaḷaṅgai and Iđaṅgai classes of two out of the eighteen subdivisions, residing around Poṇparappi in Iruṅgōḷappāṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu in Mērkāḷ-ṇāḍu, a subdivision of Virudarāja-bhayaṅkar-vaḷanāḍu on the northern bank of the Kāvērī. The parties met in the temple of Tiruvāḷandūṟai-mahādevar (in the Trichinopoly district) and settled the question amicably.¹ Two years earlier, however, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1350 (A. D. 1438-39), as given by Taylor, the people of some unspecified town came to a common understanding as regards the disturbances that might be created by the Right Hand and Left Hand sections. It was agreed that if members of either of these subdivisions caused any commotion and fought with each other during public festivals, "the said persons should be forthwith killed on the spot, with spears, without ceremony".²

But this summary procedure did not always characterize the decision of the people as regards communal questions. A

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96, p. 132. These considerations of status arising out of marriage may have been responsible for the claims of Śūdra Prapannas to be given the same position as Brahman Prapannas. See Tātāchārya, Vēdānta Dēśika, p. 23. Cf the case of Vipravinōḍins given supra, Chapter II., Section 1, C.


² Taylor, Cat. Rais., III, p. 305.
copper-plate grant dated only in the cyclic year Siddhārtin, Bhādrapada Śuddha 5, Śō., but assigned to the year A. D. 1379, contains the following interesting details about the manner in which they solved their social problems: "If a caste dispute arises in the country, they (i.e. the rulers of the town—the nāyakas and gauḍas)—will summon the parties before them and advise them. And as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding to be free of cost to them." The royal signature at the end—Śrī Virūpāksha—lends some support to this document.¹

The assemblies summoned by the nāyakas and gauḍas are to be distinguished from those which gathered under the auspices of the heads of the castes. These latter organizations were called kūṭa. Since even in our days every non-Brahman caste has its kūṭa, we may imagine that in mediaeval times too each community must have had its own organization. The kūṭa of the Ayyas of Kurūbūr is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1409.²

Sometimes social differences were also submitted to the arbitration of Brahman Voḍayas (Odeyars ?), Elders, and merchants of a prominent city. Perhaps these assembled together to deal with questions which the smallest court comprising the the kūṭa, and the next higher tribunal composed of the rulers of the town, the nāyakas and gauḍas, had failed to decide, or with problems which concerned all the people of the towns and the nāḍ or province. We are, however, uncertain about this. An inscription dated Śaka 1464 (A. D. 1542-3) tells us that the Baṭuguluvārū and the Palināṭivārū quarrelled among themselves about the birudus to be carried during festal occasions.

¹ E. C., XII. Si. 76, p. 100, text p. 288. The week-day, however, does not correspond. Śaka 1301, Siddhārti Samvatsara Bhādrapad-su. 5 Śō (mahāra) [Saumyavāra] = A. D. 1379, August, Thursday, the 18th. Swamikannu, Ind. Eph., IV, p. 361. Although there is the king's approval at the end, yet objection may be raised against the copper-plate grant on the ground that it does not contain the usual verses at the beginning. The imprecations at the end are in Kannada, while they are often in Sanskrit. Cf. E. C. XII, Si. 95, p. 101, text, pp. 295-300. B. A. S.
² E. C., X, Gd. 9, pp. 212-13.
The case was submitted to the Vaishnavas, Voçevas, Elders and Merchants of Kāñchi for decision. They granted, on the authority of a previous document on stone, a very long list of privileges including that of kuṅkuma-vasantam, to the Baďugułuvāru, though this did not please their opponents.¹

But there were serious questions which necessitated the interference of the State in social affairs. On such occasions the Emperor appointed dictators who were vested with exceptionally high powers. In Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522-3), for instance, Krishṇa Deva Rāya the Great gave to Venkaṭatāyārya extraordinary privileges to deal with socio-religious problems. We may incidentally observe that this great man was not unworthy of the honour bestowed on him. He was the son of Ahōbalāchārya and grandson of Śrīraṅga Deśīka. He is described as the establisher of the Vedic path, proficient in both the Vēdāntas (Sanskrit and Tamil), as a rich man who possessed palanquins and other paraphernalia and as having performed the Sōma sacrifice, with liberal gifts of money, cows, cloths and land.²

The interference of the State is seen mostly in the affairs of minor communities of weavers and other artisans. According to an inscription dated Śaka 1407 (A.D. 1485-6), in the reign of Kumāra Mallikārjuna, the Kaikkōḷars of Vaṭudilambatṭu-rājya were granted, in the time of Aṟamvalattā Nāyaṉār, the privilege of using tanḍu (palanquin) and conch as their insignia on the model of the Kaikkōḷars of Kaṅchipuram, who were enjoying these privileges.³ A similar charter relating to the same privileges was given to the Kaikkōḷars (of Kaṅchipuram?) on their representing the matter to the same dignitary.

¹ C. P. No. 13 of 1912-13; Ep. Report for 1913, p. 9. These Baďugułuvāru, we are told in this connection, refused to accept the theory of pollution in matter of food and the clothes to wear. It is conjectured that they may have been shepherds of the Yādava race. Ibid., p. 9. The cyclic year given in this record, Krōdhana, is wrong. Śaka 1464=Plava. Sewell, The Siddhantas, p. 304; Ś. 1488=Krōdhana, ibid., p. 306. But according to Swamikannu Ś. 1464=Subhakrit. Ś. 1487=Krōdhana, Ind. Eph. V., V., pp. 286, 332.
³ 473 of 1921.
at Kañchipuram in Śaka 1409 (A. D. 1487-8).\(^1\) According to
an epigraph dated Śaka 1425 (A. D. 1503-4), in the reign of
Immaḍi Narasimha Rāya, an Agent of the Tuḷuva general
Narasa Nāyaka bestowed on the weavers of the three villages
Tribhuvanā-mahādēvi-parṟu, Naḍuvukaraipparṟu, and Neṃma-
lipparṟu, the right to have daṇḍu and saṅku on all good and
bad occasions. They were to enjoy these privileges on the
model of those enjoyed by their community of the country
situated on the bank of the river Peṇṇai. The epigraph
further states that those who objected to this right should
undergo the penalty stipulated for the offence mentioned in an
inscription engraved at Selīyaṅganallūr.\(^2\)

The Kaikkōḷars residing round the temple of Lakshmī-
Nārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ at Ambāsamudram, according to an inscrip-
tion dated Śaka 1429 (A. D. 1517-18), having constructed
“from the basement to the pinnacle” a temple for the god and
his son Bhūtaḷa-Vīra-Rāma, and having also provided for the
requirements of the temple kitchen, were granted the hereditary
right of receiving a garland in the temple with other incidental
privileges.\(^3\) Since the name of the ruler’s agent is not men-
tioned in the epigraph, we may presume that this action may
have been taken by the temple itself on its own responsibility.

An epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Parābhava
but assignable to A. D. 1546, refers us to the reign of
Sādāśiva Rāya when Sūrappa Nāyaka, the Agent of the king,
governor over Tiruvaḍī-rājya, seems to have enacted measures
in connection with the Ilaiwāṇiyars. These agreed to accord
the same privileges to the Kaikkōḷars of the place as were in
vogue according to a previous stone inscription which,
however, had been defaced by some member of the Ilaiwāṇiyar
sect in previous years, and which was now ordered to be so
engraved on the temple walls.\(^4\)

\(^1\) 422 of 1925.
\(^3\) 312 of 1916.
\(^4\) 41 of 1922.
The importance of the official dictator in social matters is seen in a copper plate grant dated A.D. 1555 which registers the agreement that was reached by (the dictator) Vēdānti-Rāmarājaya-pa together with the eighty-eight Śrī-Vaishṇava Brahmans, Banadarasayya, the Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rājaya-pa Tirumala Rājaya-pa, and Senabōva Seṭṭi, Agent for the affairs of Rāmapayya. The dispute between the cultivators and the Pañcha-laš, which is the subject of the above grant, took place in the reign of Sadāsiva Rāya. "Words having arisen between all the (?) cultivators and the Pañcha-laš (or artisans) in the place belonging to (the god) Chennigarāya of Bēlūr,—according to the decision formerly given by Rāma-Rājaya-pa Tirumala-Rājaya-pa regarding the caste observances of the Pañcha-laš, fixing the southern street of Bēlūr for them, the stones were put up at the four boundaries (specified) within which the Pañcha-laš might erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances and make jewellery, enjoying in the temple of Chennigarāya the same privileges and positions as were granted to the Pañcha-laš at the car-festival in Vidyānagara. Such is the sāsana granted to the Pañcha-laš, in accordance with the order of Rāma-Rājaya-pa Tirumala-Rājaya-pa, by us—the Vēdānti Rāmarājaya-pa, the eighty-eight Śrī Vaishṇava Brahmans, Banadarasayya, agent for the affairs of Rāma-Rājaya-pa Tirumala-Rājaya-pa, and Senabōva Seṭṭi, agent for the affairs of Rāmapayya ."

There is another instance of the officials of the Government settling communal questions. The inscription which gives us this information is undated, but it is possible that it may be assigned to the reign of the Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya. It narrates that in the time of Rāmarāja Nāyaka, a charter to the headmen of potters was given as follows: "When Chāma, Amsama-na, Honna, Dhūma, and Chaṇḍa, these barbers and washermen, saying that for the potters, paring of the toe-nails and tying on the upper cloth are not allowed,—the chiefs of

1 E. C., V, P. 1, Bl. 5, p. 45.
2 "Apparently the reference is to the case of the bride and bridegroom at the time of marriage." E. C., IV p. 27, n. (1).
the potters saying that they are, gained the victory by (the ordeal of) dipping their hands in (boiling) ghī before (the god) Divya Liṅgēśvara in Haradanahāllī, the following charter was written. ‘For the potters the toe-nails may be pared and the upper-cloth may be tied on—thus it is ordered. The caste tax is nine varāha, gold five varāha. If a woman of Yelavandūr lose her living, the five varāha may be excused and six varāha given……’1 The epigraph which breaks off at the end, evidently records the decision which was the outcome of the inquiry conducted by Rāma Rāja Nāyaka.

We have a case of a Provincial Government settling these trivial questions relating to honours during marriage occasions. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva but assignable to the year A. D. 1634, on the strength of the name Dikshitavāmi—the well known Minister Gōvinda Dikshita of the two Nāyakas, Achyuta and Raghunātha—informs us that a valakkumuri or petition was made as regards a dispute which arose among the weavers (paṭṭunulkār) and the Setṭis of Paṭṭisvaram. The problem was in connection with the order of procedure in the receipt of betel leaves and areca-nut during marriages. It was agreed that in cases of disturbances caused on this count, a new cloth worth five panan should be offered to the goddess (of the local temple) along with thirty arecanuts and 100 leaves. The epigraph closes with a vow made on the feet of Nāyakkarayyan, who, it is suggested, may have been Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.2

1 The date of this is given by Rice thus: “Date? About A. D. 1580”. But there is nothing in the original which justifies this assumption. E.C., IV, YI. 2, p. 27, text, p. 72.

2 257 of 1927; Ep. Report for 1927, p. 117. A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1693 of the time of Raṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāya “seated on the jewel throne in Ghaṇagiri-durga” relates some very interesting details about communal fights which arose on account of the procession of the Nandi-kōlu in Anekal. This was between the Setṭis and merchants on one side, and all the other people on the other. The question of the procession of the goddess Kālikā in Nagarta-pēṭe caused complete disorder in both pēṭes. Mammudi Chikka Rāya Tamme Gandarayya gave certain grants (specified) to Venkaṭaḥārya (whose pedigree is given) for having restored order with the aid of the samayagūras and the Mutta-dāsris and other people. It was agreed that according to former custom the Nandi-
Social legislation, it may not be out of place to observe, sometimes took a strange turn. Instead of unifying the conflicting elements in the community, the Government helped the dismemberment of the castes. Two records dated Śaka 1545 (A.D. 1623-4) and Śaka 1547 (A.D. 1625-6) register a royal writ granted by Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura to the five sub-sects of the artisan community, facilitating their separation from each other. It has to be noted that the order does not seem to have proceeded from the king himself but to have been the result of an initiative taken by the subsects themselves. This is inferred partly from the statement that the writ was a privilege granted in the presence Uḍāṅkūṭṭam-pāḍa-gaṇanaśiṇjān Kulaśekharan-āśāri or Uḍāṅkūṭṭa-āśiṇjān, who was evidently the leader of the Kaṇṭinā community. We may add that the epigraphs which give us the above information, do not enlighten us on the causes which brought about the dismemberment of the artisan community.¹

We may give one more example of State interference in social matters. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Āṅgiras but assignable to A.D. 1632,² of the reign of Śrīraṅga Dēva, registers an undertaking by the residents of the village Tiruvamattur, South Arcot district, that the three artisan communities (Kaṇṭinā) carpenters, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths of the several villages in the northern pāṟṟu (ward) shall no more be treated ill, or deprived of their privileges; that the same

kölu procession should pass through the Dēṣāda-pētē and the goddess Kālika's procession through the Nagarta-pētē. E. C., IX, Ht. 105, p. 101. Interesting as the above details are, they cannot be given entire credence since the epigraph takes us to the year A.D. 1693 when Vijayanagara rulers had ceased to exercise any authority. B. A. S.

¹ 309 and 378 of 1916; Ep. Report for 1917, p. 134: "The non-interference of the Brahman in this connection is significant." Ibid. Satyanatha wrongly interprets these inscriptions as having emanated from the Government. "The caste system was considered sacrosanct, and there were occasions of royal interference to check breaches of its rules", Nayaka, p. 256. About the year A.D. 1371, "the temple priests (sthīṭikara) of Nallūr-nāḍ agreeing together caused a jīvana to be written. The meaning of this is not at all clear. See E. C., IX, Dv. 73, p. 83, text, p. 189.

² Swamikannu, Ind. Eph., VI, p. 66.
rights and privileges as were given to their brethren in Pađai vídu Señji, Tiruvaññámalai, and Kañchipuram should be accorded to them; and that in default a fine of twelve pón was to be paid by them (residents)\[?\]. In this record Kṛishṭappa Nāyaka is mentioned as the king’s Agent; and Rāyasam Tirumalayyañ, as the subordinate of the former.\[1\]

C. Excommunication

To the orthodox minds of the mediaeval ages excommunication was a potent weapon of exercising the authority of social groups. In one of its aspects it is related to the problem of outcastes; and this again is allied to that of untouchability which we briefly alluded to while dealing with the social issues which the people of Vijayanagara had to solve. Before we enumerate the different kinds of excommunication in Vijayanagara, we may acquaint ourselves with the views of classical canonists on the subject.

Manu has laid down specific regulations dealing with the question of excommunication from the caste.\[2\] “A Brāhmaña who unintentionally approaches a woman of the Chāndāla or of (any other) very low caste, who eats (the food of such persons) and accepts (presents from them) becomes an outcaste; but (if he does it intentionally), he becomes their equal.”\[3\]

Then again: “He who associates with an outcaste, himself becomes an outcaste after a year, not by sacrificing for him, teaching him, or forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him.”\[4\]

The penances meant for those who desired to atone for their sins are thus given: “He who also associates with any one of those outcastes, must perform, in order to atone for (such) intercourse, the penance prescribed for that sinner. The

\[1\] 65 of 1922.
\[2\] As regards Manu’s regulations on outcastes, see Manu, III, 150, 157, pp. 103, 104-5; IV, 79, 213, pp. 141, 163; IX, 238-9, p. 384; XI, 185, 190, pp. 468-9.
\[3\] Ibid., XI, 176, pp. 466-7.
\[4\] Ibid., XI, 181, pp. 467-8.
Sapiṇḍhas and Samānōdakas of an outcaste must offer (a libation of) water (to him, as if he were dead), outside (the village) on an inauspicious day, in the evening, and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests, and teachers. A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person; (his Sapiṇḍhas) as well as the Samānōdakas shall be impure for a day and night; But thenceforward it shall be forbidden to converse with him, to sit with him, to give him a share of the inheritance, and to hold with him such intercourse as is usual among men; And (if he be the eldest) his right of primogeniture shall be withheld and the additional share, due to the eldest son; and in his stead a younger brother, excelling in virtue, shall obtain the share of the eldest."

According to Gautama even a father could be excommunicated, if he had committed certain grave crimes. "Let him cast off a father who assassinates a king, who sacrifices for Śūdras, who sacrifices for his own sake (accepting) money from Śūdras, who divulges the Veda (to persons not authorised to study it), who kills a learned Brāhmaṇa, who dwells with men of the lowest casts, or (cohabits) with a female of one of the lowest casts."

With these regulations of the lawgivers before us, we may now ascertain the nature and kinds of social punishment under Vijayanagara. All classes of people including Brahmans were liable to excommunication. The members of the priestly class were especially punished if they violated the rules of their caste or those of a communal grant, and sold the shares which they owned in the village to Śūdras. Those who refused the consecrated food of a god were also declared outcastes. An undated inscription, assigned to about A. D. 1568, clearly says that "the Brahman who refuses the consecrated food (firtha-prasādavānu) of the god Tirumala's tirth is a Chaṇḍāla (or

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1 Mumu, XI, 182-6, pp. 468-9. See also ibid., 187-92, 196-7, pp. 469-70, for the penance by which such an outcaste may regain his original status.

2 Gautama, XX, 1, pp. 277-8. Ibid., 2-9, pp. 278-9 for the penances meant for such a sinner. Cf. Vaśishtha, XV, 11-2, p. 77; Baudhāyana, II, 1, 30, p. 216.
outcaste).” ¹ In the grant dated A. D. 1474 recording the gift of the villages Āluṅgōḍu and Nuggilūr situated in Gaya-tristhāna, by king Virūpāksha to Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, it is said that “If any among the shareholders mortgage or sell his share to Śūdras, he shall be put out of the Brahman community, and such share shall not belong to this place (i-vṛtti-māntaroḍage ār obaru tamma tamma vṛttiyanu śūdrarugalige ādhi-krayava māḍidare avaru brāhmaṇikege hoṛagu i-vṛtti gaļu i-laṇḍake salau).² All the Brahmans (endowed with many titles) of the all-honoured great agrahāra, the seat of all learning, Prasanna-Vijayapura, made an endowment for the support of the dancing-girls of the temple of the god Rāmanātha, in A. D. 1372, and lest it should be violated by members of their own community, laid down the following rule: “Whatever Brahmans oppose this, are out of the Brahman community and banished from the village” (i-dharmmakke āva brāhmaṇu vighanava māḍidavaru brāhmaṇarige hoṛagu grāma-bahishkritaru).³ Three kinds of social ostracism are mentioned in A. D. 1519 and A. D. 1537. These refer to the Vīraśaivas. The offenders were be declared outcasts to the mahā-mah-attu or the holy assembly of the Vīraśaivas; outcasts in respect of vibhūti (or sacred ashes) and rudrākshi; and outcasts both in this world and the next.⁴

The other instances of excommunication refer to the commercial and agricultural castes. An effaced inscription in Tamil dated A.D. 1369 mentions the grants made by Śūḍaiya... and Poḷu..., who were the servants of llakkapper, the betelpouch bearer of Kampaṇa Oḍeyar. In this grant it is recorded

¹ E. C., XI, Hr. 42, p. 109, text, p. 303.
³ E. C., IV, Gu. 32, p. 41, text, p. 104.
that the Nāgalatoṭṭi (caste) of Periya Śattavāram and the Puvatoṭṭi and other castes of Pilaguvalī granted one paṇam for every village (in Tēkal). They decided thus: "He who does not pay shall be an outcaste from the nādu, the assembly and the Paṇchāḷattār.\(^1\) In the same year, the Tōṭṭigans as related elsewhere, resolved to do the following: "We of the Tōṭṭigan caste in Pulliyur-nādu granted one paṇam for every village situated in the eighteen nādus...He who does not pay shall be an outcaste from the nādu, the assembly, the Paṇchāḷam, the Paṟai, and the eighteen nādus". (Kuḍādavan nāṭukkum palarukkum Paṇjāḷattukkum pāraiykum padineṭṭu-naṭukkum purambu.)\(^2\) The Paṇchāḷas of Tērakanaṁbī and of various other places (named), made provision for the dancing-girls of the god Rāmanātha of Vijayapura, and especially for the livelihood of the dancing-girl Kētavve. This grant ends in the following manner: "Whoso destroys this grant is put out of the Paṇchāḷas, out of his trade, out of the assembly and the nādu". (i-dharmamavanu āvan obba alupidavanu Paṇchāḷakke horagu āhaḷakke horagu samayakkevū nādiyughoragu.)\(^3\)

Two inscriptions dated in Kollam 555 (A. D. 1379-80) and Kollam 591 (A. D. 1415-16) respectively, refer to the social legislation among the Vēḷḷāḷers and the members of the Vēḷḷai-Nāḍar community. It is said that the former ostracized the latter who earned their livelihood generally by service. A few Vēḷḷai-Nāḍārs having, in their capacity as accountants, agents, etc., committed some unspecified offence against their employers of the Vēḷḷāḷer community, the general public, the heads of the families, accountants and all other members of this latter community in the district, met together and resolved that the three specified offenders be killed, and that it was beneath the dignity of the community to employ in future any Vēḷḷai-Nāḍārs even in cooly service, much less to permit them to be agents, accountants, and officials. Another record dated in Kol-

\(^1\) E. C., IX, Ht. 103, p. 100, text, p. 51.

\(^2\) Ibid., Ht. 103 (a), p. 100, text, ibid.

\(^3\) E. C., IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, text, p. 106.
lam 628 (A.D. 1452-3) relates that further restrictions were added to those already registered. The Veḷḷai-Nāḍārs were not to take girls in marriage from the Tamil villagers, nor could they take up service in the Tamil country. Twenty-three specified offenders of the Veḷḷai-Nāḍār community were to be killed whenever they were found. No Veḷḷai-Nāḍār was to be permitted in future to enter the Tamil districts.¹

The measures passed by the Veḷḷāḷers were stringent, and their attitude towards the members of the Veḷḷai-Nāḍār community uncompromising. Tamil people, on the whole, as we have seen on many occasions, were loath to take the life of a guilty person, even when he was accused of homicide (not amounting to murder). When such had been the precedent set in the early ages, this action of the Veḷḷāḷers is inexplicable. The records do not state the crimes which the Veḷḷai-Nāḍārs committed. Whether the severity of the sentence passed on the Veḷḷai-Nāḍārs was due to the gruesome nature of the offence committed by them, or to the inveterate communal hatred which the Tamil Veḷḷāḷers bore—as they do entertain now for the Nāḍārs or Śañārs in the Tinnevelly district²—towards the latter, who may have been, as is suggested, of non-Tamil origin, cannot be determined. And what is equally difficult to explain is why the king or the provincial ruler "did not interfere in such a social legislation even when it concerned breach of public peace and ultimate loss of lives."³ The epigraphs are silent on this point; but it may as well be that the Veḷḷāḷers had to secure the sanction of the State officials before they could finally punish the Veḷḷai-Nāḍārs. If, as we shall see in the following instances, even the Brahmans of an agrahāra could not ostracize one of their own community without the mediation of the officers of the Vijayanagara viceroy, it is evident that the agricultural classes, such as the Veḷḷāḷers essentially were, would not have been given unlimited powers

² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
in social matters, especially when it concerned the lives of the offenders.

Whether our assumption is valid or not there is an instance of State interference in social matters concerning Brahmans. According to an epigraph dated Śaka 1466 (A. D. 1544-5) a Brāhmaṇa of Chēramahādēvi (mod. Shermādēvi in the Ambāsamudram tāluka) having fallen from his original high caste, his land and house-site were confiscated to the local temple of Tiruvēṅgalanātha, with the income whereof four measures of rice were cooked for the god’s offerings and used for feeding four Brahmans. The adjudging body that presided over this case of caste degradation was made up of the two local agents of Viṭṭhala, the Mahamaṇḍalēśvara..., Nārāyaṇa Chauhattamalla Raṇavijaya Velumapaṭi Veṅgaḷa-Dēva Mahārāya, the karyakarta (Agent) of (Viṭṭhala’s younger brother) Rāma Rāja Chinna Timmaya Dēva Mahārāja, the karaṇam, and the great learned men (vidvān-mahājanas) of Chēramahādēvi, Elāpuram, and Narasāpuram.1

The concern which the rulers of Vijayanagara felt as maintainers of the varṇāśrama-dharma is also seen to some extent in an epigraph dated A. D. 1548-9 which records that barbers were exempted from fines levied for breaking rules of caste (kuḷisiddhayālu), marriage fees, presents, etc.2 If we turn to the western parts of the Empire, we find there too the importance of the State in social matters. Here it seems that a person, who was found guilty of a social crime, lost his estates obviously at the instance of the Government. It is only in this light that we can explain the details of a record dated A. D. 1598 which mentions a grant made by Bhairarasa Oḍeyar to the temple of the god Pāriśvanātha. The epigraph relates that certain areca gardens were assigned to the services of the god. Among those was one which “had been forfeited by loss of caste owing to some crime” which is not specified (Molegāra-gauḍaninda Sulīgōḍu Mārapage dhāreneradu biṭṭa

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1 718 of 1916; Ep. Report for 1917, p. 130.
Karigarisina-grāndallī āva-jātigeṭṭu aparādha-mūḍida sam-mandha).\textsuperscript{1}

D. Social Sins

These inscriptions dealing with excommunications also contain some details about offences which may be grouped under social sins. Since the regulations of the early canonists regarding these are too numerous to be mentioned here,\textsuperscript{2} we shall be content with a brief account of some of the social sins as they appeared to the people of Vijayanagara. It was their inherent orthodox bent of mind, as we shall presently have to explain, which made them include the following imprecations at the end of almost every grant.

\begin{verbatim}
sva-dātalāṁ para-dātalāṁ vā yō hariśa vasundharāṁ
shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyate krimīṁ
dāna-pālana-yō mmadhyē dānāt śrīyo nupālanaṁ
dānāt svaṛggam avāpṇōti pālanaṁ acaḥyaṁ padam
\end{verbatim}\textsuperscript{3}

But more severe words had to be uttered against those who violated grants; and these, as we have already remarked, sometimes took a formidable shape: "Be it the thief or plunderer prowling by night or day, be it the honourable mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, the emperor who rules the world, or the king of kings, who thinks to himself I will seize the villages, lands, or grants bestowed in this place,—at the mere word, thrust him, with his

\textsuperscript{1} E. C., VI, Kp. 50, p. 86, text, p. 332, op. cit. For some aspects of the question of excommunication from and readmission into caste, see Ray, J. B. O. R. S., XIII pp. 162, 164-6, 168. On the interesting correspondence between two anonymous Sanskrit pandits on caste, as given in the Dravīdāchāraṇapramāṇasaṅgraha, read My. Arch. Report for 1926, pp. 28—83.

\textsuperscript{2} Manu, XI, pp. 430-83; Vasīṣṭha, XX, pp. 102-9; Baudhāyana, II, 1-2, pp. 211-23; Āpastamba, I, 8, 22-9, pp. 75-92; Gautama, XIX, pp. 274-99; Vīshnou, XLVI-LVII, pp. 149-89.

\textsuperscript{3} E. C., XI, Cd. 2, text, p. 3. The verses mean: "Whoso usurps a gift made by himself or by another shall assuredly be born as worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. Of making a gift oneself or maintaining another's, the maintaining is the best: for he who makes a gift obtains svarga, but he who maintains one obtains final beatitude." Rice, My. Ins., Intr., p. xxiii.
father and mother and all into the hell filled with worms, for seventy seven crores of years, and continue to visit him with all manner of torments, do you see, O Sin! Whoso says I am afraid of the land endowments of this god, and trembling in mind like a coward attacked by a serpent, joins his hands in reverence and goes away, let Bairā bring him quickly to Kailāsa, do you see, O Merit! That such merit and sin will be contracted is verily true, do you see, all people! If you doubt this you will go to hell." Such were the imprecations and benedictions of a grant dated A. D. 1356 of the famous general Naḍegoṇṭe Malla.¹

In about A. D. 1371 when Mēlpuṇḍi Kunniyarasa was ruling the nāḍu, Bōdharūpa Bhāgavar-arasu of the auspicious Purushōttama-parishad, with others, had a copper-plate grant engraved ending in the following manner: "Whoso does not pay as laid down by the amachchān after examination of the temple and the requirements of the worship, shall be looked upon as a traitor conspiring to murder the king of the very nāḍu in which he was born, and incurs the penalty of the man who cuts off the nose of him who having bound on the right side seizes on the left, and of one who takes to wife a woman within the prohibited degrees of relationship."²

An epigraph dated A. D. 1430 contains these imprecations: "Whoso destroys this work of merit, becomes as if a sinner born of an adulteress, or born of a notoriously bad woman, born in a vile family, or again of a Chaṇḍāli; a slaughterer of cows, a drunkard, a murderer of guru, wife and Brahmans, or a thief of gold."³

A record dated A. D. 1530 declares that "those who by force take away land given to Brahmans will boil in the hell called Kumbhīpāka, as many years as the Brahmans from whom they seized it, with their families and descendants, are in suffering therefrom. Whoso carries off the money of an

² E. C., I, No. 9, p. 55 (2nd ed.).
³ E. C., XI, Cd. 29, p. 9.
agrahāra saying it is for the tribute to the king, or the gift to
obtain a wife, or a contribution to save the village, incurs the
guilt of incest with his mother”.

In A. D. 1555 Krishṇappa Nāyaka caused the following
imprecations to be written in a gift deed of the village Beluvāḍī
which he made for the services of the god Harīhara: “Whoso
maintains this gift will derive the merit of performing countless
horse sacrifices. Whatever sinner unable to let it live,
destroys it, will incur the sin of killing cows and Brahmans in
the Ganges, of parricide, and of causing a mother to eat the
flesh of her son.”

Bukkaṇa Nāyaka, son of kandāchōra Rāchappa Nāyaka,
granted the village of Setṭihaḷḷi for the god Virūpāksha of
Hāsana, in A. D. 1563, “in order that many meritorious and
successful expeditions may be to Krishṇappa Nāyaka”. This
stone inscription relates: “Whoso of the kings, chiefs,
accountants, farmers, subjects, or officials of the Hāsana
country (Hāsānada simeya arasagalu prabhugalu sēnabōvaru
gauḍa-prajegalu adhi-kōrigalu iva rōlagāgi āvanan obbanu
tappi anīḍyava mūḍidare) fails in the work of merit assigned
for the service and offerings of the god Virūpāksha, and does
injustice, is guilty of the sin of slaying cows and Brahmans
before the linga and in the Maṇikaraṇika-kshetra of Kāśi, and
of incest with his mother and murder of his guru, and will
endure torments in the mahā-naraka during many Brahma-
kalpas.”

An epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Vilambi Āśāṭha
Su. 5 but assigned to the year A. D. 1598 June, Wednesday,
28th, mentions the following: “Whoso fails in this (i.e., the
order of Tirumala Rājaayya to Pamappa Nāyaka to release the
customs dues on Akalāṇkajaya’s village) (will incur) the order
of (i.e., punishment from) the feet of Tirumala Rājaayya,

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2 Rice, My. Ins., p. 26, see also p. 42.
(Tirumala-Rāja-ayyanavara pōdad-ōne), and is guilty of putting poison in the dish offered to Raṅganātha, or in the dish offered to the god Narasimha of Madūr". (Raṅganātha harivānake viśavan ikkida).¹

The same idea is repeated in another inscription dated also in a. d. 1598. This epigraph informs us that those who violated the grant shall incur the sin of having put poison into the offerings of the gods Naṅjuṇḍēśvara (of Naṅjangūḍ), Chelapiḷerāya (of Mēlukōṭe), Raṅganātha (of Śrīraṅgapatīna), Agastyēśvara (of Tirimakūḍālu), and Janārdhana (of Belgoḷa), and of having killed within the temple their own parents, cows and Brahmans. They shall be born successively as the children of the dancing-girls of Naṅjangūḍ, Mēlukōṭe and Tirimakūḍālu.²

If it is permissible to draw conclusions from the types of imprecations given above, we may say that, among others, the following were considered to be great sins: seizing lands, villages, or grants endowed to a temple and to Brahmans; destroying works of merit; conspiring to murder the ruler of the province; cutting off the nose of a helpless man who had been bound (?); marrying a woman within the prohibited degree; to be born as children of bad women, dancing-girls, or chaṇḍālis; to be born in a vile family; to be a drunkard; to murder one’s own guru, wife or a Brahman; stealing gold; incest with one’s own mother; ravishing one’s own sister; killing Brahmans and cows in a holy place or within the precincts of a temple; matricide; patricide; causing a mother to devour the flesh of her own son; and putting poison in the dish of a god in a temple.³

³ To these we may add those mentioned by Vemana—disobedience to one’s mother, rebellion against father, and despising one’s elder brother. Vemana, *Verses*, Bk. III., v. 12, p. 102. Lakshmīṣa gives the popular conception of the five sins: *guru-drōha* or rashly promising to the guru and failing; *daiva-drōha* or assuring God and drawing back; *svāmi-drōha* or not providing for the king’s necessity (or of killing the king).
SECTION 2. Etiquette

A. Etiquette in the Royal Palace

Whether it was in the presence of the king or on the battle-field, in regard to foreign ambassadors or leaders of merchant guilds, washermen or dancing-girls, the people of Vijayanagara observed certain rules of procedure in public matters. Paes tells us the following: "Before you enter the place where the king is there are two gates with many guards, who prevent any one from entering except the captains and men who have business there; and between these two gates is a very large court with its verandahs round it, where the captains and other honoured people wait till the king summons them to his presence."1 As regards admission into the palace, especially on grand occasions, Paes continues thus: "They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing-women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics."2 Then again: "The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited."3

Paes also relates about people who desired to seek an interview with the king. "...and he (the king) was barefooted: for no one ever enters where the king is unless he has bare feet, and the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted."4 But those who were privileged to see the king had to salute him. While describing the royal ceremonies in the palace, Paes informs us the following: "After the king has talked with these men (i.e., the great

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 246.
2 Ibid., p. 268.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 252.
lords) on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (cabayas) and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them, is that they put their hands joined above their head as high as they can. Every day they go to make the salaam to the king.”

This mode of salutation being so different from that to which the foreign travellers were accustomed, it is not surprising that they should have keenly observed it. Nuniz gives us details about it: “The manner of the salaam which the nobles make to the King every day is this:—In the morning the nobles go to the palace at ten or eleven o’clock, at which hour the King comes out from within where his wives are, and after he has taken his seat they open to the nobles, and each one comes by himself and bows his head and raises his hands. This is what they call the ‘salaam’ (salema). With the king are about ten or twelve men who have the duty, on the entrance of each captain, of saying to the King: ‘See, your Highness, your captain so-and-so, who makes salaam to You.”

Barradas, while describing the plot by Jaga Rāya to dethrone Chikka Rāyulu, the nephew of Venkatapati Dēva Rāya I, says: “He (the new King) passed through the midst of the soldiers with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast. There was no one to do him reverence with hands (as is the

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., pp. 250-1.
2 Ibid., p. 372.
custom) joined over the head, nor did he see salute any one."¹ Salutation, as a sign of allegiance, was made in the manner roughly indicated by Couto, who speaks of Tirumala Rāya and his three brothers. These, according to him, "went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token of his rights over them".²

But since we cannot expect more details from foreign travellers on the manner in which princes and peoples prostrated themselves before their sovereign, we may have recourse to Bāṇa, who while describing the etiquette in the court of the king Prabhākaravardhana, speaks of the two royal pages Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupla thus: "Entering, they bowed from afar till their four limbs and heads touched the ground, then assumed a suitable position indicated by a kindly glance from the king."³ Skanda Gupta saluted the king Harshavardhana thus: "Entering the palace, he saluted from a distance, leaning his lotus hands upon the earth and touching it with his head."⁴

Foreigners, who were not conversant with Hindu etiquette, confounded this ancient custom of saluting one's superiors with kissing their feet. This accounts for the following from 'Abdur Razzāq: "When the Danaik had returned from his tour, and had been acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of Mahānātu."⁵ Nuniz commits the same blunder: "The King confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss his feet, for he never gives his hand to be kissed by any one."⁶

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 225.
² Couto, Dec. VI, I, v., cap. 5; Sewell, ibid., p. 180. For different modes of salutation, see Manu, II, 119-27, pp. 51-3.
³ Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 121.
⁴ Ibid., p. 191; see also pp. 71, 126, 198, 211 and 238.
⁵ Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 117.
⁶ Sewell, ibid. p. 376.
An important item in the daily routine of the palace was that in connection with the worship of God. While describing the great Mahānāvami festival, Paes relates thus: "Then he (the king) passes all along the top of the buildings, and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head, and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground."¹ It may be presumed that this was done every day in the palace.

In this respect some of the provincial rulers were as orthodox as their royal masters. Their puritanism is thus described in a defaced inscription which has been assigned to about the year A.D. 1435. During the reign of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya when Tippa Rāja Odeyar's son Gōpa Rāja Odeyar was ruling the Tēkāḷ city, "that Siṅga Rāja had the two lines of fortification round this city built, and holding the office of paṭṭānasvāmi by order of the god Nāyinār, so that all the people could see, for the god's tirumana had maṇḍapas made before and behind the temples, had a pond constructed called after Gōpa Rāja the Gōpa-samudra, had a palace built for Gōpa Rāja to the west of that pond, and to the right of the god, Siṅga Rāja's palace; and that he might at sunrise and at evening twilight bathe at both times, and have a room for domestic sacrifice, from the threshold of which he might look to the spire of Varadarāja's temple, and coming to the temple, offer naivēḍya and tāmbūla to the god, and taking the tulasi and ārtha, make provision for the enjoyment of the god..."²

Some other details in connection with etiquette in the provincial places can be gathered from tradition. "In that place (of Tirumala Nāyaka, south-west of the garden near Rangavilāsānī) the king is accustomed to sit down and converse with the ministers or others, his favorites in the evening;

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 267.
² E. C., X, Mr. 4, p. 156. We do not know whether learned Brahmans pronounced a blessing on the reigning sovereign as was done in A.D. 1157 at Tāḷguṇḍa (Sthanagundur). Rice, Mys. Ins., p. 194. As regards the custom of waving the lamps before the king, see also Lakshmiśa Jaimini Bhārata Sandhi 4, v. 72, p. 78 (Sanderson). See infra for royal ablutions; Bāṇa; Harshacharita, p. 104.
when flambeaus are lighted up in the avenue at the time of homage, and when female dancers exhibit their skill before the courtiers."\textsuperscript{1}

The chronicles of the south also contain some interesting information as regards usage in the courts of the provincial rulers. These refer to the times of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha Nāyaka. Since he was a minor, his mother Maṅgammall ruled as regent. "During her regency, Mangamala had many agraras, temples, and choultries built. But one day, while eating beetle-leaf and areca-nut, she forgetfully took the same with her left hand. Considering the taking of this indulgence with the left hand to be a serious crime, in order to remove its consequences, she constructed roads with avenues of trees, from Casi to Ramiseram, to Canya Cumari (Cape Comorin) and other places; and on the same account had ter-ja kulams (or reservoirs) dug, choultries built, and water booths constructed: she gave away food, and performed other charities, so that her name became renowned to a great distance."\textsuperscript{2}

B. Coronation

While dealing with the question of etiquette in the royal palace, mention may be made of some details in connection with coronation. The people of Vijayanagara have given us ample evidence of their having been under the influence of classical and mediaeval theories; and it is not too much to suppose that they must have followed the ancient rules as laid down in the dharma śāstras, while performing the coronation ceremonies. "The abhishēka as detailed in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa begins with seven mantras to be uttered by the

\textsuperscript{1} Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, p. 157. In a note on the flambeaus which lighted up the avenue, Taylor rightly says that that ceremony called the divaṭi-salām or divaṭi-vandanam or divaṭi-koluttu is "said to have been never omitted, unless the king were sick; and then not to have made the Divaṭi-salām was the same thing as to announce the king's illness... two or more persons perform various evolutions of double torches in approaching towards the king; they then make their obeisance, in which all others present join", Ibid.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., II, pp. 36-7.
priest performing a *homa* before the ritual of sprinkling takes place. The first *mantra* speaks of the prince's rebirth as the son of *ritviks* (sacrificial priests) with his vigour immensely increased by his symbolic entrance into the *homa* fire and exit therefrom, and wishes him capability to keep his subjects from sinful ways. The second wishes him an extended kingdom, a stout physique for its efficient administration, and a good supply of cattle for the performance of the sacrifices. The third wishes him to be the guide of men, and wants him to solemnly say that he would protect the good and punish the wicked. The fourth and the fifth invoke blessing on him for prosperity, while the sixth and seventh for the glorification of the castes by his power, the prosperity of his subjects, and the extension of Prajāpati's protection to him".1

The ideas of protecting the subjects, of maintaining the *varṇāśrama dharma*, and of upholding the virtuous and punishing the wicked,—which, as remarked in another column, are clearly given in epigraphs of all the rulers and in the writings of Kṛṣhṇa Dēva Rāya—are to be traced to the promise which the rulers made on the occasion of their anointment ceremony. It is not the conformity of Vijayanagara theory to classical precept in regard to this question that concerns us so much as the features which came to be associated with coronation in Vijayanagara. But, as in other matters, the mediaeval rulers herein only followed the ancient usage of the land. The ceremony was most often held in a famous temple, in the presence of the great lords and learned men of the court. It was generally commemorated by granting lands and endowments to scholars and pious men. Except in one instance, it was performed by the rāja-guru or royal priest. And there is every reason to believe that, at least in the case of one or two

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monarchs, the ceremony was conducted twice obviously at different places.

Before we enumerate these details, it may be interesting to recall the observations made by Nuniz on what the kings of Vijayanagara did before their coronation. While dealing with Vidyāranya and the founders of Vijayanagara, Nuniz says: “And after that hermit was dead the King raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it. And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have, in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter their own; and they offer many prayers in it, and celebrate many feasts there every year.”¹ Nuniz here evidently has confounded a shrine which may have been built in memory of Vidyāranya with the temple of Virūpāksha at Harīpe, which, we may be permitted to repeat, was certainly not built in honour of that sage.

The temple of Virūpāksha, however, was the place where the anointment ceremony of the kings of Vijayanagara took place. Thus an inscription dated Śaka 1430 expired, Śukla samvatsara Māgha Śu. 14, contains the following about Krishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great: “...the illustrious Vira Krīṣṇa-rāya Mahārāya, at the auspicious time of the festival of his coronation (paṭṭābhishēka), for (providing) daily oblations of food (amrita-pādi-naivēḍya), to the holy Virūpāksha-dēva(i.e., of Paṁpā)” granted to the temple the village of Siṅganāyakana-haṭṭi.² The fact of the coronation ceremony having been conducted in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, though not specifically stated in the above epigraph, is gathered from the records of his successors, some of whom were also crowned in the other famous temples of the Empire. Achyuta

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 300, and ibid., n. (2).

Dēva Rāya was crowned in Śaka 1452 (A. D. 1530-1) in the temple of Kājahastī, and on this occasion the king remitted the customs duties on the imports and exports at several seaports\(^1\). This ruler seems to have been crowned twice—once at the place mentioned above, and again at Vijayanagara. This is inferred from Rājanātha's *Achutarāyābhyudayam* in which it is said:

\[ \text{प्रणामशीलः फणिशायशासितः कदाचिदैसे करशोभारिणा ||} \]
\[ \text{पयोधिकामः परिपूर्वकतः पदेमिथिक्षसपरंपरायते II} \]

Then again Rājanāth says:

\[ \text{कुतामधेशः कुपश्य पुरा हृदे स एव सागरायपदेशम्यविच्छति ||} \]
\[ \text{क्रयाम्बूदेशायपदेशातो मही तदाजनि स्वितदत्तसद्यदारात् II} \]

The late Mr. B. Venkōba Rao suggested that Sāluva Nṛsimha was also crowned twice.\(^3\) On these occasions the great nobles and the royal priest were present. The coronation of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great was graced by the presence of the charming Āraviṭi Bukka Rāja, the famous scions of the family of Aukuvāru, the heroic Nandyālavāru, the warlike Velugōṭi-vāru, Pemmasānīvāru, Būdīhālivāru, Rēvalavāru, and other great lords who attended the king night and day with their enormous forces of men, horses and elephants.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) *A. S. R.* for 1923-4, p. 94.

\(^2\) Rājanātha, *Achutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto III, vv. 23, 36, pp. 65, 71. (1907). See also Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsayōgichariam*, Intr., p. cvi; *The Sources*, p. 161. S. N. Sāstri translates the verses in question thus: "Once upon a time the devotee of Vishnu was anointed by Him with the waters poured from the conch in his hand, in the place of the husband of the earth which is passing from generation to generation." "This Achyutariya who had been previously anointed by Vishnu through grace, was anointed in the place of a universal sovereign; at that time the earth through affection for him, became covered with perspiration under the pretext (of?) the drops of coronation water scattered all round." S. N. Sastri, *Achutarāyābhyudayam*, pp. 20, 22. (1908). Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 15, where it is said that Achyuta Rāya's coronation took place at Tirupati. This is a groundless assumption. B. A. S.

\(^3\) Venkoba Rao, *ibid*.

\(^4\) *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 185. Sastry includes chariots among the forces. He has also identified the nobles mentioned above. *Ibid.*, n. (2).
We may digress a little in order to form an idea of the coronation scene at the court of Vijayanagara. Rājanātha, in his well-known work mentioned above, gives us an admirable picture of the coronation of Achyuta Rāya, when, so we are told, the queen Varadāmbikā was also anointed to the throne. Thus does Rājanātha relate:

समझितं कशुचुकिन्या जयाये: सहाताराजन्यजनेन केनचित्।
अवंकृतं साज्ज हराक्रम: शानेरतावयासीतु अभिजीमकण्डरम।
अनाविर नान्दिभि: अनंर्धि महैः अराणि बीणाभि: अभाणि वेणुभि:।
अरेन्दि मेरीभि: अगरि जेष्ठेरि: अगारि शृङ्खः: समकाषि काहैः।
अपात्रमत्रेशुभ्यमाकुवृन्दिचिकार्कावद्येष्वैरिव गच्छारिभि:।
करारसौरवण्यघटपारिते: तमु अभिजीवित तरंदेक्षणाजन:।
कुरामिभेंक: तुद्वस्तितिकिंततु कुषाणी: कुखावरिचायाः।
करीव सिको गिरिचातुनिर्भरे: शाशी इव सायतनसज्ज्या अरुचुवः।
अछोकि लोके: हरिचन्दनेदर्क विजुम्भितं मण्डपेदिकादाने।
निरीक्ष्य कान्तं वुपमु आरायरु अमान्तु सुभोद्यरुगां बहिरहस्ततो यथा।
अधारयतु पाण्डरमु अमरं शतिते: अथीवर: स्नानिविषे: अनि तरमु।
समावर्ष्यणपनो यथा गिरि: शंरनुके छल्लनितम्ब्र्मु अनुदामु।
समायवर सवान समन्तरकियां वुपासनेयो तुपति: निरीक्ष्यत।
शुमेकरे इव दुरुदंश्शव: श्रीय: सबेष त्रितमानुमंडल:।
प्रचालितोऽभें परिचारिकाजने: वुपुष्य नीराजनदेविपिकोऽप्यः।
दिगन्तरामान्तिमियातु निष्ठियते दृशी प्रतापस्य स पूर्वर्गिश्तः।
अराजकेशीभि: अनादि मेदविस्तायं वरस्यपति शोभिते श्रिया।
बलावेकृमु दशितावरीकोदयेः न किं शिकिणिः नतं विग्रहः।
सिनकोदानरिज्यानितचाचिमर्रद्यानितोऽस्चक्ष्यत धूप्लेहः। शिक्ते:।
शुपरुशोऽदुपादितिब्धेशुपरागितवतु नाकुपनीये इव।
सत्वामिर् रक्षितं तत्कल्लक्षमापतिनां इत्येत्र अनुजितहस्तः।
तमीशस्योऽव कारिते किमदि अरायजस्तमु आतस्वार्ये भिमोः।।
The most prominent person on such occasions was the rāja-guru or royal-priest. That he conducted the ceremony is evident from inscriptions and literature. We are told that Venkaṭapatī Dēva Rāya was anointed to the throne by Tāṭāchārya, "the guru of his own gōtra, and other chief-Brahmans", in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1587.  This is repeated in another copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1589, and again in A. D. 1602-3.

In one instance the Vijayanagara emperor was anointed to the throne by a great noble and not by the royal priest. This is proved by a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1545 which contains the following: "Then Sadāśiva Mahārāya, son of Timmāṃbā and Raṅgakṣhitindra, was anointed to the throne by Rāma, the ruler of the great Karṇāṭaka kingdom and husband of his (Sadāśiva's) sister, and by the chief ministers."

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2 E. C., VII, Sh. 83, p. 32.
3 E. C., XII, Ck. 39, p. 85.
In the history of the provincial governors, too, there is a similar instance of a violation of the classical principles concerning the dignitary who was to perform the coronation ceremony. The paṭṭābhishēka of Viśvanātha Nāyaka was performed by the Pāṇḍya king Chandraśēkhara.1

C. Foreign Ambassadors—How Received

We may now describe the manner in which they entertained foreigners. The provincial rulers maintained the high traditions of the Vijayanagara kings of receiving foreigners with honour suited to their rank. Nicholas Pimenta, “Visiter of the Jesuits in India”,2 thus tells us how the Nāyaka of Tanjore received him: “He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of the Betel which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building.”3

There seems to have been some method about the treatment of fallen enemies. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya’s noble example of showing deep concern for the safety of the subjects of a vanquished king, as given in detail by Nuniz, may not have been the only instance of a Vijayanagara ruler or of his subordinates treating generously his or their conquered enemies. In the battle between the king of Kandy and Pedda Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, the former lost his life. “The king of Candi being a crowned head his dead body was respectfully placed on his elephant, and then sent to the capital, to receive the usual funeral rites.”4

D. Placing the Vajra-bayasaṅīge

Etiquette governed the actions of the people in public and private life. When foreign prithvi-śeṭṭis came to a particular locality, they were treated with marked courtesy. According to a copper-plate grant dated only in the cyclic Siddhārtin, Bhādrapada, Śu. 5, Monday, but assignable to A. d. 1379, “if

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1 Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, pp. 109, 117; Heras, Aravidu, p. 128.
2 Pimenta, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 205.
3 Ibid., p. 208.
4 Taylor, Cat Rais., III., p. 185.
the prithivi-settis of any countries within the four seas came to another country, first presenting to them betel leaf, dress and allowance of food, the authorities of that country will give... to those settis. The same record narrates that, in addition to those honours the prithivi-settis were granted the customs duties "on the roads both ways".1

The names of the Sālu-mules, the elders, and the other prominent classes are also associated with an interesting public ceremony in connection with what was known as placing the vajra-bayasanige. This was an ancient custom of conducting public work, and was very common during Hoysala times. The Mamāpur inscription of the Yādava king Kanharana, dated Šaka 1172 (A.D. 1250), informs us that "the five hundred Svāmis of the blest Ayyāvale" and the Vira Baṇaṇjas of the immemorial Kurumbeṭṭa in the Kūṇḍi Three-Thousand, granted certain tolls for the benefit of the three-turreted temple called the Trikūṭa-prasāda of the same town. On this occasion Kalidēva Seṭṭi, "the emperor of the community," was seated in the vajra-bayasanige in.....of the immemorial Banaṇju town in Kurumbeṭṭa.2 An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Parābhava, but assignable to the year A.D. 1306, tell us that the possessor of all titles, the mahā-gaṇas including Nandinātha and Vīrabhadra and the chief men of Hoyisaṇa-nāḍu, Kongu-nāḍu and other eighteen districts, having placed the diamond (?) bayisanigne on the ground, assembled below the banyan tree at the northern gate of Hosaholalu, and that in their presence all mahājanas of Hosaholalu, which was a portion of the immemorial agrahāra Rāyasamudra, the great Minister Mādigedēva Daṇṇāyaka's sēnabōva Paduvaṇṇa's balumanusa (?) agent3 Paṇḍāri Dēva, who was the officer of Hosaholalu, the Superintendent Kāvana, Kētayya's son Huligeredēva, the mahājanas of Hoysana-nāḍu, and others (named), made a grant of land to Sōmayya to provide for the offerings.

1 E. C., XII, Ck, 76, p. 100, op. cit., text, pp. 288-9. The date corresponds, but for the week-day, to A. d. 1379, August 18th, Thursday. Swamikannu, Ind. Eph., IV, p. 361.
3 "Strong man? Right-hand Man?" B. A. S.
of the god Sōmanatha of the mūlasthāna in the north-east set
up with the consent of the mahājanas.1

The ceremony of setting up the bayasānige is also seen in
early Vijayanagara history. A stone inscription dated A.D.
1378 of the times of Harihara Oḍeyar (i.e., Harihara Raya II)
informs us that "the champion over Khaṇṭikāra-Rāya Nāraṇa
Voḍeyar's son Dēpana Voḍeyar was ruling the kingdom of the
world"; and that in connection with a fair which was established
in the Rāmēśvara village of Sādaḷi-nāḍ, the Sādaḷi Gauḍas
(named), the five Setṭis of Sere, and all the elders of the
Sāḷu-mūle, having set up the bayasānige, made certain regula-
tions, according to the custom of the Sādaḷi, (Sāḍāliya maryā-
deyalu) and granted specified dues to Dēpaṇa Voḍeyar.2 We
had an occasion of relating how the dignitaries, who belonged
to the Sāḷu-Mūle Bāṇaju sect with their numerous followers,
conferred the Mayoralty of the Earth on the great Minister
Muddaya Daṇṇāyaka in the year A.D. 1382. This high
honour was bestowed on that famous general by them after they
had "placed the diamond vaisānige in the presence of the
holy lotus feet of the god Virūpāksha", and had taken their
seat "having agreed among themselves with supreme affection"
about the important question in hand.3

E. Miscellaneous Regulations

We may add a few more notices on the subject before we
proceed to deal with orthodoxy in Vijayanagara. These con-
cern washermen and dancing-girls. An inscription "of a
peculiar and confused character" with an unintelligible date
which has been assigned by Rice to about A.D. 1700, describes
privileges to which washermen were entitled. Although this
inscription is of doubtful authenticity, yet it contains the details
about washermen who were to "be fed and given betel and
nut in every house in due order from left to right, and that

comments on this custom may also be read. Ibid., p. 57.
3 E.C., V., P.I., BL 75, op. cit.
whoever disobeys this should be excommunicated.”¹ A stone inscription dated A.D. 1356 relates that “among the dancing-girls of the temple (at Tēkkal), Malaiyāttai Śrīraṅga Nāyakiyar Māṇikkam, daughter of Seṇḍikkā-dēvi, was granted the first turn in the temple of Arulāla-nādan, and certain lands (specified), and her sister Varadi, the first turn in the temple of the consort of the above god and certain lands”.² This epigraph proves that the pre-Vijayanagara custom of entertaining dēva-dāsis in temples continued under the mediaeval monarchs, and that etiquette governed even the trivial details of temple ceremonials.³

SECTION 3. Orthodoxy

A. Among the Monarchs

The desire of the people of Vijayanagara to give undue prominence to the minutest details of public or private conduct is to be traced to their inherent orthodox nature. What appears to foreigners as pagan formalities were really indispensable ceremonials to the Hindus, who were under the abiding influence of their classical doctrines. Nuniz relates to us that the “The King of Bīsnaga is a Brahman; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor ever touched a woman”.⁴ Although Nuniz is wrong in stating that the Emperor of Vijayanagara, Achyuta Rāya, was a Brahman, yet he suggests in his words an important feature of the everyday life of the Hindu kings. This was the company of learned men among whom they passed a part of their time. Mr. Venkoba Rao has identified the learned Brahman mentioned by Nuniz with Vyāsārāya, the great Vaishnava teacher.⁵ Sōma-

¹ E.C., IX, Kn. 89, p. 132, and ibid., n. (1); see also Kn. 90, pp. 132, 133, n. (1).
² E.C., X, Mr. 21, p. 161.
³ As regards etiquette after dinner, see Lakshmiśa, Jaimini Bhāratha, v. 34, p. 122 (Sanderson); for offering the tambulam, see Brown, The Rajas, p. 7; on etiquette while speaking, Vemaṅga, Verses, Bk. III., vv. 107-8, p. 123, (Brown).
⁵ Venkoba Rao, Vyāsavyādhyātītavastu, Intr., p. lxvii.
nātha in his *Vyāsayogīcharitam* tells us that Narasa Nāyaka, Vira Narasimha and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya were daily being instructed in Dharma by that celebrated Vaishnava leader. About Narasa Nāyaka Sōmanātha says:

एवमेव भक्त्य संभावन्ते रहस्येनं धर्मपदोपदेशेन प्रक्ष्यहम् सुग्रहन्
Vira Narasimha was likewise devoted to the same rāja-guru:

पुन्यकीर्तिनेन वासुधारिनेन हंसेनेव कमलाकरं प्रक्ष्यहम्

उपसेन्य (भानं:) ²

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's noble example of devotion to Vyāsarāya was unique:

तेन कृष्णमहीपालनेन ग्रन्तसंय वृद्धेदेवतायामिभ महतत्तमालातीकुसङ्गः

शेखराक्रियमाणक्षमयूखजाते महानुभवे... व्यासयोगिनि.... ³

B. In Public and Private Charters

Only the strictest conformity to the śāstras could be expected of rulers who were thus under the spiritual guidance of renowned rāja-gurus. The innumerable grants recording gifts of land to persons and institutions enable us to assert that the monarchs of Vijayanagara made it a point to include in them details of the gōtras, sākhās, and sūtras of the donees, the minutest particulars contained in the pañcāṅga or calendar, and benedictory and imprecatory verses taken from the purāṇas and itihāsas. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya on the application of the excellent minister Tippiśoṭa, son of kandāchāra Brahman the minister Mādappa, in A.D. 1513, granted to Viśvēśvara, who was a highly esteemed teacher, versed in the srauta and smārta, ever performing the six rites, and who was the son of Mādhavārādhya of the Haritānvaya Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajus-sākhā, the village named Bhaṇḍāripallī in the country between the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā called Yeḍatọre, in the

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² *Vyāsayogīcharitam*, p. 59.
Honnur-sime of the Śrīraṅga kingdom, situated east of Śrīyūr, south-west of Benkipura, north of Jannāpura, giving to it another name of Kṛishṇarāyapura.¹

In the reign of the same great monarch the head-jewel of that king's court (tad-vājānāsthāna-śirōmaṇi) the great minister Hisūr Mallarasayya, who was in charge of the Narasiyapura-sime of the Hoysala-nāḍ, granted to Mallayadēva, son of Mogūr Sōmayya-dēvoḍeyar, of the sōmeśvarāchārya-sampradāya of Ōrangal, the village of Hāchhraraguppe belonging to Kēreyārapurasthāla, giving it the name of Mallayadēvapura. This stone inscription is interesting because it contains several titles which are not in the form usually, given to Vijayanagara kings. Its date is given thus: Śrīmat Śālivāhana-saka-varsha 1438 sanda vartlamāna-Dhōtu-sānvatsarada Pushya-suddha 7 in Maṅgala-vāradalu ghaḷīge 29 mahā-nakshatra Uttarā...sanda ghaḷīge 24½ nitya-nakshatra Rēvati-ghaḷīge 47½ Śivayōga 14½ Vaṇijākaraṇa yint i paṇčāṅga-siddhāyada-tithiyalu...²

It is not surprising, therefore, that a people who were thus uncommonly careful in the matter of including the details of the paṇčāṅga, should have copiously copied verses from the purāṇas and smṛitis in the grants. The imprecatory verses beginning with sva-datlāṁ and ending with achyutam-padāṁ which we have just referred to in this chapter, are similar to those found in the smṛitis.³ A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1403 recording the gift of the village of Sibur in Chetur-nāḍ, to certain Brahmans (named) by Harihara Rāya,

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¹ E.C., VII., Sh. 1, p. 2. On Yeḍatore, see Barnett, Ep. Ind., XII., p. 296, and Fleet's note on the same, ibid., p. 296, n. (4). The instances where the gōtra, iākhă, etc. are mentioned are too many to be cited here. A few specimens may be given here. E.C., V., P. I., Cn. 167, p. 198; E.C., IV., Hs. 24, p. 86, Yd. 59, p. 62.
³ Eggeling, Cat. of the Skt. MSS. in the Ind. Office, II., pp. 387–8.
contains the following evidently from the composer of the sūsana:

Sri-Rāma-vākyam:—

bahunbhir vasudhā daśtā rājabhis Śāga- rādibhiḥ
Yasya-yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalam||
Aditya:—

svapāṁ api mahīṁ yas tu dadāti śṛddhāyānvitaḥ|
sa yāti Brahma-sadanam yasmān nāvariṭtate punah||
Bṛihṣaṭpatiḥ:—

Prāsādā yatra sauvarṇā vasu-dhūrāḥ cha kāmaśaḥ|
gandharvōparasō yatra tatra gachchati bhūmidaḥ||
ājīṁaśulam cha daṇḍaś cha mudrā-karaṇaṁ ēva cha|
simā-nirṇaya-karītvaṁ praṇāḥ bhaya rakṣaṇam||
yathēśtam cha karādānaṁ kāru-saṁsthāpanaṁ tathā|
mundiram dvi-vidham kṣēraṁ gōṣṭhaṁ cha vanam ēva

khilībhūlam cha yat kṣēraṁ mṛga-vāsas tathāiva cha|
nadi-parvala bhūgāś chō ashta-bhūgāḥ prākṛtitāḥ||
ēlaṁ ashtaḥbhir āśvanyair ashta-bhūgās samanvitān|
yō dadāti sura-śreṣṭha ērāmaṁ sakṛtya bhaktivā||
guru-daivata-viśreṣṭhyāḥ punyā-kāleśhu buddhimān||
sa yāti Brahma-sadanam ēka-viṁśa kūlānvitaḥ||
anēka-kūlam tatraiva bhūgāṁ ēṣṭāṁ manōramāṁ|
anubhūya punar bhūmau rājā bhavati dhārmikāḥ||¹

An inscription dated A. D. 1421 ends with the usual verses among which we have the following: "The quail and the boar, the she-buffalo and the elephant, the teacher and the donor, these six went to svarga." Rice commented thus: "It is said to be taken from the Māśa-mahātmya of the Vāyu or other purāṇa, and refers to the merit arising from making a

¹ E. C., XII., Sl. 95, p. 101, text pp. 299-300, The verses may be thus translated: Rāma—"The earth has been enjoyed by Sāgara and other kings; according to their (gifts of) land so was the reward". Aditya: "Though he grant but a small portion of the earth, he will go to Brahma's abode and not return." Bṛihṣaṭpati: "To where there are golden pavilions, where is the cow of plenty and he will obtain all he desires, where the gandharvas and apsaras are, there goes the donor of the land. The power to issue commands, to levy customs dues and fines,
tank. A quail once scraped a hole in the ground; a boar came and made it larger; a buffalo and elephant each in turn enlarged it still more; a holy man then pointed out that it could be made into a tank or pond; and the king to whom he gave the advice carried out the idea and made a grant of it. For their respective shares, in this work of merit all six went to svarga or paradise.”

C. How Gifts were made

Some details about the nature of the gifts and the manner in which they were given are also available. An inscription dated A. D. 1463 of the times of Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna Rāya) informs us how he got himself ready for an occasion of granting gifts: “He, being moved to make grants, having bathed in water from the sacred tirthas, attired in purified flaxen garments, united with Brahmans who had performed the religious baths, the great king (with titles) named Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvendra (on the date specified), on his birthday (or under his natal star), in the pure Bhāskara-Kshetra, at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa hill, on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha,—in a holy place, at an auspicious time in the presence of the god Chandramauli in the Bārakūru-vēṇthe of the Bārkūru kingdom, gave the villages belonging to Chaturmandi...for the offerings

to use a seal, to fix boundaries, to protect the subjects without fear, to impose taxes at his will, to establish work-people,—moreover, houses both kinds of land, cattle f olds, woods, waste ground, lands filled with game, rivers and hills—which are the eight means of enjoyment,—along with these eight sources of wealth and eight means of enjoyment will he, O greatest of the gods, who gives villages to a guru, to the gods or the Brahmans, at meritorious times, that wise man, go to Brahma’s abode, with twenty-one generations of his family. After there enjoying for many ages all the pleasures his heart desires, he will be born again as a righteous king.” E. C., XII., p. 101.

1 E. C., XI., Hr. 52, p. 110. n. (1). This verse also appears in the grant by the benevolent Muhammadan officer Shaikh Mallik in A. D. 1653. E. C., VII, Ci. 43, pp. 185, n. (1), 186. For an extraordinary and unusual verse in a grant dated A. D. 1516 recording the victory of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya in the Gajapati kingdom, see E. C., V., P. I., Hn. 13, p. 7. For Rice’s remarks on the same, ibid., Intr., pp. xxx-xxxii.
to that god Râmchandra."¹ In a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1426 we are told "that king Praulha Râya, (on the date specified), being in the dâna-maṇṭapâ in the presence of the god Virûpâksha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, for the purpose of making the kalpa-latâ gift, ascertained on enquiry from the learned men that according to the sāstras it was equal in merit to the tulâ-purusha."²

There is one more detail about the manner in which grants were made, which may be noted here. Another copper-plate grant assigned to the year A. D. 1410 relates that Harihara Râya II, "seated on his hereditary throne in the city named Vijaya...examined the dâna-sâsana made by Dharmarâja in the Dvâpara-yuga...granted of his own accord, with pouring of water and presentation of gold coins, flowers and akshate," the village named Dharmesvarapura on the bank of the Kshira-nadi in the Gajakônapuri (Anegunḍi) kingdom for the worship of the god Dharmesvara." Although the copper-plate sâsana looks suspicious because of its wrong date³ and the statement that the dâna-sâsana was made by "Dharmarâja in the Dvâpara-yuga," nevertheless it contains one point about which all inscriptions agree. This refers to the ceremony of pouring water and the presentation of a gold coin. Kâśîna Dêva Râya in Śaka 1436 (A. D. 1514-5), at the time of making a gift, was surrounded by his purôhitâs and a number of Brahmins well versed in the srûta learning; and he also gave many gifts with pouring of water together with a gold coin.⁴ The references to this detail of the ceremony are found in almost every record of the times. It may be observed here that even on occasions of remission of customs and other dues, the provincial rulers observed the same formality. Mallînâtha Oḍeyar,

¹ E. C., VIII., Nr. 79, pp. 158-9. The inscription evidently is to be interpreted in the sense that the king gave the villages which were in the Tujuva-râjya, according to the usual custom, in the temple of Virûpâksha. B. A. S.
² E. C., XII, Tm. 11, p. 5.
³ E. C., IX, Supplement, Ht. 34 p. 172 "This (the date) is given as the Śaka year denoted by the letters rângalôka (=1332), the year Vikrîti. But this does not fall within Harihara's reign." Rice, p. 171, n. (1).
⁴ Gopinatha Rao—Amrīta Rao, Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 165,
who was in charge of Bemmattanakallu, raised an upper storey of stone for the god Siddhanātha of that locality, constructed other works of merit, and in order that this work of merit might continue for ever, presented Chikkapura in Bemmattanakallu, with pouring of water for the decorations, illuminations, and offerings of the local deity.¹

D. Enumeration of Gifts

As regards the articles that were given away as gifts during these occasions, we have also some interesting details. Vira Mārappa Oḍeyar, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1347, “bathing in the water of the ocean at the time of the ārava, pouring a libation to the manes, the highly generous Mārappa made gifts to Brahmans of lands, cows, virgins, and gold in quantities”, while on a visit to the temple of Śiva at Gōkarṇa.² Viṁṭhāla Oḍeyar, the learned governor of Araga Eighteen Kampana, in A.D. 1403, as we have already seen, is described thus: “The hēmāḍrī gift did Viṁṭhāla mantri but once make, and forthwith there was a hēmāḍrī gift from house to house of all the Brahmans.”³ The gifts which Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great made in A.D. 1513 are thus enumerated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{brahmūḥḍam} & \text{ viśva-chakram ghaṭam udita-mahā-} \\
\text{bhūtakam} & \text{ ratna-dhēnum|} \\
\text{saptāṃbhōdhīmś cha kalpa-kshitiruha-latikē kāncha-} \\
\text{nīṁ kāmadhēnum|} \\
\text{svarṇa-kshmāṁ} & \text{ yō hiraṇyāśva-ratham api tulā-} \\
\text{pūrusham gō-sahasram|} \\
\text{hēmāśvam hēmatarbham} & \text{ kanaka-kari-ratham pān-} \\
\text{chālāṅgali atānīt|}\n\end{align*}
\]

¹ E. C., XI., Cd. 2, p. 2.
² E. C., VIII., Sb., 375, p. 66.
³ E. C., VI., Kp. 53, pp. 6-7, op. cit.
⁴ E. C., VII., Sh. I, p. 2, text, p. 2. These gifts were the following: “The golden egg, the golden wheel, the golden pot, the golden cow, the seven golden seas, the wishing tree, the golden cow of plenty, golden earth, golden horse-chariot, a man’s weight in gold, a thousand cows, a golden horse, the golden-wombed (Brahma), gold elephant-chariot, and the five
Achyuta Rāya’s liberality was equally remarkable. After his victorious campaigns in the south, i.e., in the cyclic year Naṅdana, on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Karkṛṭaka he visited the temple of Varadarāja at Kāṅchi, weighed himself against pearls in the presence of the god, bestowed the gifts called mahābhūṭaghaṭa and sahasrāgodāna and made presents of rich jewels set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz, and lapis lazuli, together with villages, to worthy recipients. It is obvious that Achyuta Dēva Rāya followed the example of his illustrious predecessor, who, according to the epigraph dated A. D. 1515 already cited, “did he again and again bestow the great gifts described in the śastras, together with the grants associated with them.”

E. Witnesses

The names of the witnesses, whose signatures were appended to the grants, also bespeak the orthodox nature of the people. In most of the records we have divine as well as human witnesses. Thus an epigraph dated A.D. 1583 contains the following:

\[ \text{ūdīlya-chandrāv anilo' nalāś cha dyaur bhūmir āpō} \]
\[ \text{hridayam Yamaś cha} \]
\[ \text{ahaś cha rāṭriś cha ubhē cha sandhyē dharmasya} \]
\[ \text{jānāti narasya vṛttam} || \]

Then we have human witnesses who are called in the epigraph nara-sākshigalu. These are thus described: Tirthahal(l) iyā Amarēndra-puri Śrī-Pādaṅgalu Bukkaraṇya-purada Mahājanaṅgalu kartuṅgalǝ oppita Hariyappana sva-hastadā oppila


1 Achyuta Rāya made in A. D. 1531 the saptā-sūgara-dāna. E. C., IV., Kr. 11, p. 101.
3 E. C., VII., Sh. 1, p. 2, op. cit.
tad-binnaha-sākshigala oppita.¹ Superstition was to some extent responsible for the inclusion of the following witnesses by Tippe Śetti of the Vijayanagara treasury, when, as related above, in a.d. 1423, he dedicated to the god Tirumala (of the Chikka-Honnuru-grāma, Huṃṣūr tāluka?) the tank which he had constructed, in order that merit might accrue to his parents, on the east side of Chikka-Honnūru. The record contains “the witness of the Fish, Tortoise and Boar, and the eight regents of the points of the compass, of the chief holy meritorious Brahmans, of the priests, nambis, and body servants of that god Tirumale, of Virāṇa-ayya of Kariyamaranahalī, the? snake-charmers (hāvarum), the? tellers of omens by lizards (ballimunnibarum), of all these sacred persons...”²

F. Fasts and Feasts

In the observance of fasts and feasts, too, we have evidence of the devoutness with which monarchs as well as people clung to classical precepts. To foreigners this was familiar. Thus Paes relates: “You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us; and they have their days of fasting, where all day they eat nothing and eat only at midnight.”³ We can gather more details from epigraphical records on this subject. The Vijayanagara monarchs certainly did not introduce any innovation in this matter. In earlier times as well it was not uncommon for high officials to be strictly orthodox in their daily avocations. Thus, according to an epigraph dated a.d. 1218, in the times of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa II, “the Sāvāsi official, great master of the robes, (with praise) bathing and sacrificing at dawn and observing both ēkādasis, worshipper of the feet of Brahmans and gurus, worshipper of the divine lotus-plant of the god Jaitanātha,— Jaya-Bhaṭṭayya Nāyaka having set up the god Jaita-Narāyana”.

¹ E. C., VIII., Tl. 172, p. 199, text, p. 656. These witnesses are the following: “Sun and moon, wind and fire, sky, earth and water, conscience and Yama, day and night, morning and evening,—these know the acts of a righteous man.” Cf. E. C., V, P. I., Hn. 30, p. 11.
² E. C., IV, Hs. 27, p. 86, text, p. 236.
³ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 262.
received from the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Dēva a grant of forty gadyāṇa.¹

In Vijayanagara times princes as well as people celebrated the vrataś and sacrifices enjoined in the Hindu scriptures. An inscription dated A. D. 1356 relates that sometime after the illustrious minister Sōmapa had built the temple of Śrī-Śōmanātha, "in observance of the Monday-vow (sōma-vāra-vrata), the king (Bukka's son Kumāra Karṇaṇa) paid a visit to "the most blessed god Sōmanātha", and made grant of a large village for the god. Kumāra Karṇaṇa, according to the same record, was a "unique treasure of music, a tree of paradise to the learned", and was "intent on establishing dharma."²

Bukka I's famous minister was Mādhava, who was "renowned in the world for his good qualities". This great man, who was "invested with authority for punishing the evil", "with Brahman purity and Kashtra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear", is highly praised in an epigraph dated A. D. 1368. He was "an astonishing expert in policy, like Brīhaspati in exceeding wisdom", "always composing poetry which gives new pleasure to the minds of all"; and because he "cleared and made plain the ruined path of the upanishads, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents the proud advocates of evil doctrines", "was praised by the wise as the guru who established the path of the upaniṣads". Although he had "accepted the government as far as the Western ocean", yet "in order to have an oversight of that kingdom without trouble, on the advice of the Śiva guru Kāśivilāsa Kṛiṣyāsakti, he worshipped in the manner of the Saivāmnāya the god of gods embodied in his own favourite linga, Triyambakanātha, by means of daily special ceremonies and by a number of rites and practices. Then at a certain time (specified) in order to fulfil the great Śaiva vow which he had commenced with special rites a year before as directed in

¹ E. C., V, P. I., Hn. 61, p. 18.
² E. C., X, Kl. 222, p. 64.
the Śiva sandhyā, desiring to make the donations required to complete that great vow”, he secured permission from his lord Bukka Rāja, and bought the village of Muchchuṇḍi, in his own Eighteen-maṇḍala country “with the knowlege of the authorities of the maṇḍala”. He gave it as well as two other hamlets situated in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, to learned Brahmans, renaming it “Vidyēśvarapura, after the eight Vidyēśvaras who were the objects of adoration of his vow.”

We may here also observe the qualifications of the donees. They were “like incarnations of Vidyēśvara, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the Chārāyaśaḥya-atiḥaraṇāṃnāya, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure Śivāṃnāya, ever devoted to the worship of the Ashta-mūrti, Kāśmir-Brahmans”.1

Another instance of a devout Hindu may be mentioned. Śravakratu Sōmanātha Dikshita, son of Dēvaru Sōmayāji, of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Ēkī-śākhā, is described in A.D. 1418 as “the performer of the yājaśēya, sarvalōmukha and pratiṃśanta sacrifices”.2

G. Piety among High Officials

As regards the orthodoxy of high officials, who were not of the priestly class, we may cite the evidence from an inscription dated A.D. 1629 which speaks of Immaḍi Tammaya Gauḍa. He was the grandson of Sugāṭur Tammaya Gauḍa “of

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1 E. C., VII Sk. 281, pp. 146-7, op. cit. These Kashmere Brahmans may have been of the same stock as the Sārasvata Brahmans. If the relationship between these Kashmere Brahmans, their antecedents, and the events that led to the migration of earlier chieftains from Kashmere—like Jaya Bhāṭṭaya Nāyaka who, in the epigraph already cited, is called “a rājā by right of the Kāśmira country”—could be traced, then it is not improbable that the community which has been known as the Sārasvatas may have come to Karnāṭaka along the western coast at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. In this connection I may add that the Mādhava of this inscription has been identified with Mādhava Vidyāranya. See M. Srinivas Rao—Krishnaswamy Aiyar, Panchadasī of Vidyāranya (with Eng. Trans. notes etc.) Intro., p. xl. The editors of this work do not believe that Mādhava was ever a sanyāsin. “In all extant inscriptions Mādhava is known as Mādhava Amātya, Mantri or Sachiva and never Achārya or Vidyāranya,” Ibid. p. xiii.

2 E. C., X, Bg. 17, 18, p. 233.
the fourth gōtra". He, his wife, and certain Gauḍas (named) had the agnishtōma (sacrifice) performed by Krīṣhya Sōmayāji (descent stated). But a more interesting example of puritanism is that of Bāchappa, son of Kirti Dēva. We have had an occasion of mentioning this Bhāta in the previous pages. According to an epigraph dated A. D. 1358 he performed various works of merit, e. g., tanks, channels, areca-gardens, constructing golden palanquins, chāmaras, and umbrellas for gods; and in addition to these he made sluices to the tanks he had constructed, planted lines of trees on the four sides, and performed the ceremony of upanayanam to the pīpal trees planted at the four corners.²

H. Saṁskāras

Without entering into the details of the various saṁskaras or rites which orthodox Hindus perform,³ we may note briefly that the fact of their having been celebrated by monarchs as well as subjects, reveals to us the inborn conservatism of the people. Rājanātha tells us the following in his Achyutarāyābhyudayam:

अय पुंसवनादिकं यथाविधिहि कर्म विशामधीश्रेण ।
तनयस्य तद्धी गर्भमाजो विभवस्येव नयो विद्वन्द्वेदभूत ॥¹

That the rulers also observed the nāmakaraṇa rite is proved by an epigraph dated Śaka 1386 (A. D. 1464-5) which relates that Mallikārjuna Rāya "having bathed and prepared himself to make a grant", "at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva Rāya, in the pure Bhāskara-kṣetra at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa hill, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha" at

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¹ E. C. X., Mb. 62, p. 94.
² E. C., III, Mi. 22, p. 58.
³ For a minute account of these, see Grihya Śūtras (Śankhāyana), P. I, 1, Adhyāya, khanda-19-28, pp. 45-57; Manu, II, 29-30, pp. 34-5; 34, 36, 37, p. 36; 65, p. 42; Barnett, Hinduism, pp. 51-2.
⁴ Achyutarāyābhyudayam, Canto II, v. 16, p. 36. (Srirangam, 1907.) "Then Pumsavana and other purificatory ceremonies performed according to the śāstras by the king, were for the growth of the child existing in the foetus even as righteous conduct is for the increase of prosperity." S. N. Sastri, Achyutarāyābhyudayam, p. 12.
Hampe, made a grant of the village of Saraballige, now rechristened Gajabēṭe-Dēvarāyapura, situated in the Āraka kingdom, to Srīgirinātha’s eldest son Dēvappa Daṇḍādhipa, the protector of the great Āraka kingdom.¹

We may also here add that kings were named after their grandfathers. This is specially noticeable in the names of the rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty. Harihara Oḍeyar’s younger brother was Kaṁpa or Kaṁpana, and the son of the latter was called Saṅgama, obviously after his grandfather Saṅgama. Bukka Rāya II was the grandson of Bukka Rāya I. Harihara Mahārāya II’s son was Dēva Rāya I whose son was also called Harihara. Dēva Rāya’s grandson was named Dēva Rāya II. In the Āraviḍu dynasty too we have similar instances of rulers who were named after their grandfathers. Rāma Rāya, the famous Regent, was the son of Śrīraṅga and Rāma Rāya’s son was also called Śrīraṅga; and the latter’s grandson was also known by the same name.²

From the genealogical table of the engravers of Vijayanagara given in the Chapter on Administration, the reader must have realized that among them too there prevailed the custom of naming persons after their grandfathers.

I. Obsequial Ceremonies

It is obvious that the Hindus and Jainas of Vijayanagara paid equal attention to the death ceremonies.³ The observations of Nuniz about the ceremonies among the Brahmans may be recalled in this connection. We have some more notices in inscriptions which are interesting. Saṅgama II made a grant of the village called Bīṭruguṇṭa or Bīṭṭarakuṇṭa to twenty-eight Brahmans on the anniversary of his father’s death.⁴ One of the most prominent names among the royal bhāṭs is, as we have

⁴ Ep. Ind., III, pp. 22-3, 27.
just remarked, that of Bācheyappa. “When that Bācheyappa, obtained supreme bliss (i.e., died) his elder son Bukkaṇṇa, performing penance in (the presence of the god) Virūpākṣha, sent his bones to Vāranāsi”¹. On Harihara Mahārāya II obtaining nirvāṇa “in the year Tāraṇa, in the rainy season, in the month Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), the tenth tīlhi, on Sunday (=31st August 1404) under the constellation Piṭri (Magha)”, his learned Minister Viṭṭhṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who was governing the Āraga kingdom, granted the village called Mukthariharpura to certain Brahmans to commemorate the death of the king.²

We are to suppose that funeral obsequies were conducted in the orthodox manner on this occasion. From the following undated epigraph assigned to about the year A.D. 1500, it seems that women through their priests made offerings of a similar nature. Sugutūr Chikka Tammaya Gauḍa’s elder sister Halasa Rātama, “through her purōhita Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭa Tirumala Sōmayāji, offered at the feet of the goddess in this southern Gayā tīlōdaka, and piṇḍa, securing the reward of making the offering in Kāṣi, Gayā and Prayāga, as declared by Vālmiki.”³

The Mahāmanḍalēśvara Gava Rājaya, according to an epigraph dated A. D. 1571, performed the funeral rites for his father Veṅkaṭādri Rājaya, and granted “the village of Saulāṅga to Vijēndra Voḍeyar’s Maṭha of the Ānegaṇḍi Maṭha”, in order that merit might accrue to his father.⁴ Granting lands for charitable purposes in order to commemorate the death of parents or of the ruler was, therefore, a feature of Vijayanagara times. And as regards performing funeral rites, we may mention that on the death of Rāma Rāya on the battle-field of Rākshasa-Taṅgadi, his adopted son Ali Šāhil Shāh, according to the author of Rāma Rāyana Bhaikhair, sent the bones of the great Hindu ruler to Benares.⁵

¹ E. C., III, Ml. 21, p. 58, op. cit.
² E. C., VIII, Tl. 129, pp. 188-9.
³ E. C., X., Mb. 76, p. 97.
⁴ E. C., VII, Hl. 60, p. 172.
⁵ Mack. Coll.
Foreign travellers describe the funeral ceremonies of a class of people but with some inconsistency in their accounts. Barbosa, as we remarked in connection with the castes in Vijayanagara, gives a detailed account of the people who were "very like unto the Bramenes, who wear round their necks certain cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone" which they call Tambarane. These, as Dames rightly suggests, could only have been Lingayats. Barbosa gives further an account of their funeral rites. "Many of them are merchants and trade as well." They marry only one wife, and when one of them dies the wife buries herself alive. They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet, and begin to shovel in the earth around her, trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well-trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her, and there she stays alive and walled up in clay, and they carry out other ceremonies for her, (which would take too long to describe: a miserable and pitiful thing, making us consider what strength ambition and reputation have in this world, when they can induce these women to submit of their own will to such a horrible end, for nothing else than for honour and to be held in good repute, failing which they would be regarded as no longer alive)."¹ According to Barbosa, therefore, this was a custom among those people who wore the Tambarane round their necks—that is to say, the Jaṅgamas or Lingayats.

Now to turn to Nuniz. This chronicler says the following in connection with sati: "This is the custom throughout all the country of the heathen, except with that caste of people called Telugus, amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up;

¹ Barbosa, Dames, I, pp. 218-20; Stanley, pp. 94-5,
and so the wife dies with her husband."¹ That Nuniz is positive about the name Telugu is clear from his earlier statement relating to them. "There is another class of men called Telumgalle; when these die their wives are buried alive with them."² There can be no doubt, therefore, that according to Nuniz the Telugus were addicted to this rite.

Caesar Frederick also observed this custom, but unlike Barbosa and Nuniz, this shrewd observer gives us one of the most gruesome accounts we have of the rite, without telling us anything about the name of the people among whom it was common. Caesar Frederick says: "Also in this Kingdom I have seen amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, he is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with embracing and clasping him, until such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and stranglet her: then when she is dead, the workmen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried together." With Caesar Frederick it was "the base sort of people" among whom "this use and order" was found."³

There is one more traveller who also witnessed this unfortunate custom. It was Gasparo Balbi who writes about the events of A.D. 1582 thus: "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie environed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (adhikāri ?), who hath power to execute justice. They observe the custome to burne their Dead in this Citie, as at Negapaton; but neere to this is a Citie called La Casta degli Orefici, Goldsmith rowe; they have a custome when the

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 393.
² Ibid., p. 390. Mr. Thompson accepts this blunder of Nuniz as a fact. According to him sati took the shape described by the Portuguese chronicler in the Telugu country. Sudder, p. 39.
³ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 96.
Husband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corpse crosse-legged; and on the other side his living Wife in the same manner, and their kindred cast earth upon her pressing her downe, that she may die also...."¹ Here we have the same practice current among the goldsmiths on the east coast.

We may remark here that Metthwold, in his Relations of Golconda, speaks of it as having been common among the weaver caste in the kingdom.²

We have to decide as to the people who thought it worthy to die in this manner. The travellers who noted the custom were certainly correct in their assertion that there was such a rite in the Vijayanagara Empire. But it cannot be maintained with Barbosa that it was prevalent among the Liṅgāyats, nor with Nuniz, among the Telugus. The evidence of inscriptions is more conclusive on this subject. The people who died in the manner related above were the Jainas, most of whom, as is well known, were merchants and traders like the Liṅgāyats. The popularity of this kind of death was due to the precedent set by famous Jaina teachers and influential Jaina nobles. We shall first give one or two examples of the death by samādhi, as they called it, among the humbler classes of the Jainas. These again were called Gauḍās. A record dated A. D. 1458 relates that Siriya Gauḍa of Kuppe died, and his wife Tangaṅga Gauḍi fell into the tomb along with him (ātana kūde samādhiyana (n) u kūḍīḍalu).³ Then again in A.D. 1465 Kavaḍi Bela Gauḍa’s wife Lākhayi Herggaḍi entered into the linga (surāg oḍadu liṅgada oḷāgāḍalu).⁴ In about A.D. 1509 when Harāur Chāṅḍa Gauḍa’s son Bomma Gauḍa went to svarga, his wife Bommi Gauḍi, sitting in the tomb (samādhi kūḷītu) also went to svarga.⁵

¹ Gasparo Balbi, Purchas, Pilgrims, p. 148.
² Metthwold, Relations of Golconda, p. 28, and p. 28, n. (3).
³ E. C., VIII., Sb. 496, p. 83.
⁴ Ibid., Sb. 524, p. 86.
⁵ Ibid., Sb. 165, p. 23.
A rapid review of this rite will make it clear that it was an ancient custom in the Karnāṭaka. The following account of entombment in the thirteenth century and after proves that Jaina ascetics as well as Jaina aristocrats had given prominence to the cruel custom. The epigraph describing it is dated A.D. 1274. Bālanchandra-paṇḍita-dēva, the beloved disciple of Māghañāṇḍi-bhaṭṭāraka-dēva, of the Śrī-Mūla-saṅgha, Dēṣīya-gaṇa, Pustaka-gachchha, Koṇḍakuṇḍānvaya, Ingalesvarabaḷi, Śrī-Samudāya, and "famous in the world for his teachings on penance, announced to the four castes saying 'at noon (on the date specified) I shall enter into the tomb', and commanding them saying, 'You should all obtain dharma: you must forgive me (or, I ask your forgiveness)'. Having performed all the rites of sannyasana, seated on the pālyaniśasana (or couch) praising the forms of the paṇcha-paramēṣṭi"; in a manner that gained approval from his own and from other sects he suffered perfect entombment. All the Bhavyas (the blessed ones, that is, the Jains) of the royal city of Dōrasamudra, performing all the ceremonies suitable for the occasion, as a memorial for his departure (or death), made images of their guru and of the paṇcha-paramēṣṭi, and set them up, extending his merit and fame. This was the recognized mode of death among the Jaina gurus. Māgha Chandra Dēva, who is mentioned along with the renowned gurus Pārśva Dēva and Bāhubalirati, and whose death is recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1371, must have "obtained mukti" in a similar manner. Our assumption is proved by an epigraph of A.D. 1372 which informs us that Srutimunīśvara's disciple, Māghanaṇḍi Siddhānti Dēva, Srutakirti Dēva, Munichandra Dēva, Bāhubali Dēva, Pārśva Dēva, Jīnachandra Dēva, and one or two others whose names are effaced, "renouncing all, entered the tomb, and attained to the (exalted) state."
The dismal details given by Caesar Frederick and Gasparo Balbi about the manner they “made a wall round about in a pit in the earth”, may be contrasted with the following accounts of the death of a few Jaines in the latter half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. A stone inscription, dated A.D. 1372, refers us to the reign of Vira Bukka Rāya, when the vāja-guru, head of the Balatkāra-gaṇa, Simhanandi Āchārya’s lay-disciple, Soraba Vira Gaṇḍa’s daughter, wife of the Āḷva-mahā-prabhu Tavanidhi Brahma, Lakshmi Bommakkā, with the rites of saṃādhi expired and went to svarga.¹ An effaced inscription assigned to about the year A.D. 1400 relates the following: “On a certain day Aruhat Paramesvara (? made known to) Munibhadra (vondānondo-dinām Aruhat-Paramesvaram Munibhadra ......Śiriyāṇṇa......chintaneyam mālpa) that he would grant the happy state to Śiriyāṇṇa, who was a perfect lay-disciple. At the favourable time, when the rain of flowers was falling, and with a noise like thunder the sounds of great drums were rolling, (ghana-rava-bhēri-dundubhi mahā-murajam bahu-vādyā-ghōśadīni) singing songs to himself, the sādhhu Śiriyāṇṇa swiftly clung to the feet of Jina, never to leave him, —how fortunate was he.”²

Munibhadra Dēva, disciple of Chandrasēna Sūri of the line of Jinasēna and Virasēna of the Uddhura-vanīśa, had the Hisugal basadi made, and the Mulugund Jīnēndra temple extended. This is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1388. The epigraph continues to give the following information about him: “After the performance of penance, elucidating his chosen āgama, having driven away sin, Munibhadra Dēva was for long without anxiety. At length, having added to his virtue, Munibhadra Dēva becoming aware that his end was approaching, as the leaf of the lotus in the water casts off the drops, so having severed himself from all outward things, the great Munibhadra Dēva, practising

¹ E. C., VIII., Sb. 199, pp. 31-2.
the prescribed rites, prepared for the higher state, and quitting this life (on the date specified) with all the rites of sannyasana, through the tomb entered upon the enjoyment of eternal happiness."1

Another example of a lay Jaina dying in the orthodox manner is given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1408. This record tells us that Gôpa Mahâprabhu was the ruler of the town of Kuppatûr in Nâgarakhaṇḍa. He "shone as purified by Jina-dharma, his blameless career like steps to paradise." His son was called Śiriyanṇa. "Śiriyanṇa's son, the Male-nâḍ, mahâ-prabhu Gôpanṇa, having enjoyed the society of his wives for many days, abandoned family pleasures, and (on the date specified) making gifts to Brahmans of gold, grain, land, cows and all the other gifts,—discarding all pleasures of the mind or the palate, repeating the praises and prayers of the Jina-dharma, taking the hand of the Môksha-Lakshmi, he with great joy went to heaven, amid the plaudits of all the good. Seeing that, Gôpa's wives, making all gifts to Brahmans, with pure minds doing reverence to the lotus feet of Siddhânta-yôgîndra, thinking on the feet of the great Vitarâga, went to heaven.—Gôpâyî and Padmâyî."2

J. Purificatory Ceremonies

That foreign travellers not conversant with the customs and manners of the Hindus could be superficial in their observation is evident from the remarks of Pimenta, who, writing about the Nâyaka of Gingee, in A.D. 1599, thus describes the orthodox surroundings of that ruler. "The Naicus shewed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke. The Jogues which had returned by land from Bengala, brought in such vessels water from Ganges for the Courtiers, they were encompassed with filthie base clothes, which they kissed as holy vessels notwithstanding."3

1 E. C., VIII., Sb. 146, p. 21.
2 Ibid., Sb. 261, p. 41.
3 Pimenta, Purchas, Pilgrims, X., p. 217.
How far Nicholas Pimenta could be trusted in connection with this detail can be seen by examining a few epigraphs which deal with this kind of water. An inscription, dated Šaka 1428 (A.D. 1516-17) of the times of Vira Narasimha Bhujabalab Mahārāya, informs us that a gift of gold for a lamp was made for bringing a pot of water from the Kāverī for the sacred bath of the god Ratnāchalēśvara at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly district, and for offerings in the mornings.¹ There is reason to believe that there was an official who was in charge of the "holy water" from the Ganges, from the following inscription dated A.D. 1524. This record deals with the grant of Marayanahalli, rechristened Daṇyakapura, for the chief evening offering of the god Varadarāja of Kalu-ūr, by Kōnapa Nāyaka, who was the "bearer of Ganges water to Krishṇa Dēva Mahārāya."²

The anxiety which the people felt for performing purificatory ceremonies of temples is illustrated in an epigraph dated A.D. 1432. In the reign of Dēva Rāya II, when the champion over three kings, Hiriyakaṭṭige Amareya Nāyaka’s sons Guṇḍappa Nāyaka and Amareya Nāyaka were ruling Vijaya-Sōmanāthapura which is Nuggiyahalli, the manager of his (Hiriyakaṭṭige Amareya Nāyaka’s?) house, the Eḷanhaṅka-nāḍ-prabhu (with epithets) Jāla Bhīma Śēṭṭi’s son Chikka-Bhīmaṇṭa, assembling the Brahmanas of Nuggiyahalli, caused the samprōkshanā of the god Sadāśiva to be performed.³

The instance of minister Mallarasayya, as is related in an epigraph stated about A.D. 1500 which we have already seen, of the times of the Mahānāyakāchārya Yallappa Odayar, coming to Benṇageṛe, stopping the daily allowance at the Nārāyaṇa temple, having proper pūrṇā (or purification) performed for the god, and granting a śāsana regulating the worship and ceremonies,⁴ only proves the care which the  

¹ 147 of 1914.
² E. C., IX., Ma. 82, p. 61.
people and the State took to maintain the precincts of a temple holy. We cannot determine for want of evidence the nature of the incident which led to the stopping of the daily allowance at the temple, the purification ceremony which it entailed, and the consequent regulation of worship and ceremonies.¹

We cannot think of ending our observations on the orthodox surroundings in and outside the great capital without having the pious personality of Annamarādhya alias Kompalli before us once again. In a record dated A. D. 1429-30 we have the following about this devout personage:

"...the descendant of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, the follower of the excellent Āpastamba-sūtra, who is glorious, the student of the Yajuś-śākhā, who is brilliant in virtue,

"who is the son of the Brahman Mallikārjuna, who is of unlimited spiritual power,

"who is intent on the performance of the deeds prescribed by the Srautas and the Smārtas, who is intelligent,

"who is a fit person for receiving gifts of land, who is the foremost of Brahmans,

"who is modest, distinguished, famous and high-souled,

"who has studied the four Vēdas and understood them by the Śaiva scriptures; he is the lord of the northern gate at Śrīśaila, and is renowned on earth,

"He placed the mantra consisting of five letters (Nama-Śivāya) and a Rudrākhsha having one face on one scale (and he himself sat on the other). Oh wonder! he went up!"²

¹ For some more notices in connection with orthodoxy, e.g., griha-pravēṣa, read Taylor, O. H. M. SS. II., p. 153, where it is said that Tirumalai Nāyaka built a palace called after own name, and that in "the Sittari month of the Bava year the ceremony of entering to reside in the new palace was performed". As regards etiquette before beginning to build an edifice, as is related in an inscription, dated A. D. 1670, see E. C., XII., Pg. 46, p. 122. Subramiah Pantulu relates some incidents relating to the blind beliefs of Tātāchārya, 1. A., XXVII, p. 324.
² Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., I., p. 16.
CHAPTER VI
PUBLIC SERVICE, HONOURS, AND PATRIOTISM

SECTION I. Pre-Vijayanagara traditions

The people of western and southern India gave expression to their sense of service to the State in apparently superstitious but truly patriotic acts of bravery. Patriotism, as understood in our own times, it must be confessed, is rarely to be found in the mediaeval ages; but they had a notion of loyalty and service which was remarkable for the decades in which they lived. The heritage which the people, especially of the Karnāṭaka, gave to the land in this respect was bound to leave a permanent mark on the minds of the later generations. It is true that superstition may have guided the less ignorant to perform what may indeed be called a strange custom. Sōmeya and his uncle (?) Bāchcheya died fighting in a conflict with robbers, who had outraged the modesty of women, in A. D. 1198. A viragal or memorial stone in honour of the heroes, was set up, and wet land was granted that food and flowers may be offered to it. The custom of setting up viragals to commemorate the death of a gallant man in a fight was universal in southern India; but that of granting lands for the offering of such memorial stones is mentioned only in this singular inscription. But nobler examples are those of men and women of the thirteenth century. In about A. D. 1215, in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāṭa Dēva, the great master of robes, the Halivāna-sāvanta, Si...ṣeya Nāyaka’s mother Honnakkā Nāyakiti died; and her female servant Ma...ya...kiti Honnī “gave her head to the hook and gained the world of gods”. The stone set up on this occasion was called

thira-sthāyiyāgi nil (l) isīda kallu (stone set up as a permanent memorial).  

But the example set by the great general Kuvara Lakkaya, his wife, and his brave soldiers in about the year A.D. 1220 is hardly rivalled in the entire range of Kapāṭaka history. Kuvara Lakkaya, or as he was also called Kuvara Lakshma, was the minister of the same Hoysala king Vira Ballāla II. But "between servant and king there was no difference, the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both". The record which gives us this information also praises Kuvara Lakkaya for his bravery and learning, and relates that "he gave his word to king Ballāla that he would keep him free from fear. Not like ministers who, binding a toḍar on the leg as a decoration, guarding the wealth they obtain as if fearing to lose it, taking good care of their persons, in the time of trouble to their master accept service under another family,—he remained faithful to king Ballāla in all circumstances". The great general had 1000 warriors bound to him by an oath. There arose some occasion for the celebrated minister to prove his worth; and "his warriors, his beloved wife (Suggala Dēvi) and himself having with him surrendered their whole life to their ruler", mounted up "the splendid stone pillar covered with the poetical víra-śāsana", thereby proclaiming their devotion to their royal master.  

But the precedent thus shown was maintained in later years as is proved by epigraphs dated A.D. 1257 and A.D. 1292. In the former we are told that Śivaneya Nāyakaḥ, who belonged to the well known family of Gaṇḍa Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi, "with five of his servants, fulfilled his engagement (or vow) with Ballāla Dēva". The same epigraph continues to narrate that "Lakkeya Nāyaka, with his wife Gaṅgā Dēvi and three

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1 E. C., XI., Mk. 12, p. 91; Kavicharite, II., p. 7. See infra, Chapter IX, for a detailed account of the sīdi performance.
servants, fulfilled his engagement with Narasinga". To the same celebrated family which traced its descent from Gaṅḍa Nārāyaṇa Seṭṭi belonged Kanneya Nāyaka. This brave man with his wives Ummavve, Javanavve and Kallavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty-one man-servants, six times embraced Garaḍa on (or from) the head of an elephant and fulfilled his engagement with Sōmeśvara Dēva.¹ The other inscription is dated A. D. 1292 and refers us to the reign of the Hoysala king Vira Narasiṃha Dēva. The high traditions of the family to which Kanneya Nāyaka belonged were continued by his son Singeya Nāyaka who “with his wives Kētavve, Honnavve and Nāchavve, and with ten maid-servants, and twenty man-servants on (or from) the head of an elephant six times embraced Garaḍa, and fulfilled his engagement with Narasiṁha Dēva” (…mēle āru-bāri Garaḍanana appi bāseyam pūraysidanu).²

Honours were conferred on these gallant men who sacrificed their lives in order to “fulfil their engagement” with their rulers. Kuvara Lakkaya, as we have remarked, received the privilege of binding a golden toḍar on his left leg. This was given to him together with the right of tying “the pearl ṭeṇḍe round his lotus foot”. “The clusters of pearls in his gaṅḍa-ṭeṇḍāra shone like the stars, and the golden toḍar on his ruddy left foot like the fresh opening champağa blossom”.³ Gaṅḍa-ṭeṇḍāra seems to have been conferred also as a title by the Hoysala rulers. Thus under Hoysala Narasiṁha Dēva, in A. D. 1277, Sōmeya Daṅṇayaka’s son-in-law Kumāra Dorabhakkare Daṅṇayaka is called the king’s chief creṣt-jewel minister, the gāyi-gōvala, gaṅḍa-ṭeṇḍāra, and maṇḍalika-jūbū.⁴

The Tamil kings too showed their appreciation of the services of their subjects by bestowing on them honours and

¹ E. C., IV, Kr. 9, pp. 100-101.
³ E. C., V, P. I., Bl. 112, p. 73, op. cit.
⁴ E. C., IX, Kn. 72, p. 129.
privileges. According to an inscription dated A. D. 1004 Manija fought gallantly during the reign of the Chōla king Rāja Kēsarivarman Perimmānadīgal, and secured from the monarch the privilege of wearing a pāṭa inscribed with the title Kṣhatriya-Śikhāmani-Koṅgālva, together with a nāḍ called Mālavvi (mod Mālambi).\(^1\) In the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya in A. D. 1227, his great minister Sōran Uyyaninrāduvāṁ alias Gurukulattariyan was not only entitled to a great many titles but to the honour of enjoying a rare privilege. Whenever he visited a temple, a kālam had to be sounded proclaiming—“Hail! Gurukulattambirān is come!”\(^2\)

**SECTION 2. Public Service under Vijayanagara**

We have brief notices of rewards for public service in Krishṇa Dēva Rāya’s Amuktamālyada. “It is good that a king should reward a worthy man having well tested him, before himself requesting him and before a third party recommends. The reward should come unawares like the fruits of the jack-tree and like a dream.”\(^3\) But inscriptions contain more information on the subject. The rulers recognized the services of their subjects, and conferred on them rewards in the shape of grants of land and titles and honours together with privileges and rights.

One of the earliest records which mentions what appears to be State service is that dated A. D. 1380 of the times of Harihara Rāya. His younger brother Vira Mallappa Oḍeyar’s son Channappa “when the Turuhkas were swarming over Ādavâni durga and kingdom, conquered those Turuhkas, took possession of the durga (or hill-fort) and kingdom, and gave them to Harihara Rāya” receiving a kingdom of his own in return.\(^4\) An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1460 tells us that

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1. *E. C.*, I, No. 46, p. 68 (2nd ed.)
when the great minister Dēvarasa was ruling Gutti, the Mājalagade mahā-prabhu Mācha Gauḍa’s...Māda Nāyaka’s son Bayire Nāyaka gave his life in his master’s service (lamma voḍeyana svāmi-kāryyakke tanna prāṇavako! [f] anu).¹ During the reign of Sadāsiva Rāya, according to a copper-plate dated A. D. 1557, the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Rāma Rāju Tirumala Rājayya Dēva granted to Mahipati Yērrama Nāyaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the country the villages of Gooty, Tāḍpatri, Vellaḷūru, Śiṅgaṇamlā and Siyyaḍa, with the right of receiving ten varāḥā for every 100 varāḥā of tax collected from the villages, together with the produce from two markāls of seedlings out of every twenty, and one bundle of fodder from that got out of two-fifths of an acre of land.² The Emperor Veṇkaṭapati Dēva Rāya in A. D. 1589 granted to the Hiriyūr-sthāḷa Śyānabhōga Tipparasayya Kare Virayya a deed of gift (dāna-paṭṭe) as follows: “This Virayya being engaged in our service, and Kenchaṇṇa Nāyaka having made known to us his previous history (i-Virayyanu namma sēve mūḍalāgi Kenchaṇṇa-nāyakanu īvara pūrva-vartamāna binnahām mūḍalāgi)—we, approving of the service that this Virayya has rendered, have granted unto him an estate” which comprised eleven sthalas and 185 villages under the kāṭes (or ponds) in which were many mānyā rice-lands (specified).³

But this one example of a dutiful citizen who received a dāna-paṭṭe does not adequately convey the different modes by which the rulers of Vijayanagara recognized the merits of those who did valuable service to the State. Granting lands was one method of appreciating the service of the people. Under this heading may be included the granting of uṃbali lands, of mānyā and koḍāgi lands, and of gauḍike rights. There were six kinds of uṃbali lands: that which for want of a different designation may be called personal uṃbali, the grāma uṃbali, dāṇḍige uṃbali, pālakī uṃbali, cow uṃbali and permanent uṃbali lands. The first of these was called a

¹ E. C., VIII, Sh. 488, p. 82.
² S. R. Aiyangar, Cat. of C. P. in the Mad. Mus., No. 29, p. 53.
bhaṭa grant. In A. D. 1535-6 the Viceroy Veṅkaṭādri Ayyavāru
gave to Jivarakshaka Bhaṭṭu Naṅdi Rāju the village of Cheruvupalli
situated in the sīna of Kanagiri as a bhaṭa agrahāra.¹

The custom of granting unanim lands was handed down from early times. In the reign of the Western Chāḻukya
king Tribhuvanamallā Dēva, according to an effaced record
dated A. D. 1076, the thirty-two thousand Brahmans of the
great Gauḍa agrahāra gave lands as unanim to the son of
Lakkabbe of Gauḍa, for having fought and slain during the
depredations committed by the forces of Kali Sāntara Dēva.²
This custom passed on to the rulers of Vijayanagara as well as
their officials, although we have to admit that in some instances,
as in the following dated about A.D. 1598, the epigraphs do not
enlighten us on the specific services which necessitated the
granting of unanim lands. The epigraph in question relates
that the Mahā-nāḍ prabhu Bidyavara Mummaḍi Chikkappa
Gauḍaraiya gave to his son-in-law Kereya Gauḍa and his
daughter K...mma, the village of Karikere a hamlet of Brahmasamudra
belonging to Kōra-māganī, as a grāma unanim.³
Krishṇa Dēva Rāya in A. D. 1525 granted the new village of
Lakumāpura, otherwise called Krishṇa Dēva Mahārayasamudram,
in the Būḍihāl-sīne, to the learned Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa,
son of Krishṇa Bhaṭṭa, with all usual rights.⁴

The third class of unanim lands may be called daṇḍige
unimai. In A. D. 1532, Rāmpaya, son of Bācharasaya, Agent for
the affairs of Achyuta Rāya, made a grant of Ḍeraḍighaṭṭa
village as a daṇḍige unanim to Liṅgaṇa Gauḍa of Siṅgatigere,
with all the rice-lands, fields, and money rent (svaṃndāya).
The same epigraph relates that the donor approved “of the
erection of the koḍagi boundary stones according to the
sāsana forwarded by Lakkarāja Timmapaya, pāruṇatyagāra of

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., II, p. 661.
² E. C., VII, Sk. 50, p. 51.
³ E. C., XII., Tm. 66, p. 16. We could have taken this gift as dowry
but for the silence about the question of marriage or marriage expenses
in the epigraph. B. A. S.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. 10, p. 73.
our Būdhāl Sīme.”¹ This may indicate that official enquiries were set on foot before a grant of umbaḷi lands was made.

A daṇḍige umbaḷi also carried with it, like all kinds of umbaḷi gifts, the usual rights. In some instances it was granted for the gauḍike of a nāḍ. Bayirappa Nāyakayya’s agents Kampana Nāyaka and Nandyapa Nāyaka in A.D. 1543 granted to Śitakal Gaṅgappa Nāyaka for the nāḍ-gauḍike a daṇḍige umbaḷi village, inscribed on stone as follows: “Having given the nāḍ-gauḍike of the Kōḷāla-sīme which was favoured as their māgaṇi by Achyuta Mahārāya, we grant you freedom from tax for dry and wet fields in all the villages of this sīme, and as a daṇḍige-umbaḷi we grant you Vommachihalli belonging to the Kōḷālanāḍ-sīme, together with all rights” (specified) as a permanent endowment.²

Another kind of umbaḷi land was called pallaṅki umbaḷi. Chavara Chennaya Nāyakaya’s Agent Rāmaparasaiya granted to Nallapa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1573, as a pallaṅki umbaḷi, the Aḷḷuḷa village in the Bidare-sīme of the Ānabiddajare-Sivagaṅge-sthaḷa, in the kingdom of Penugonda.³

Cow umbaḷi (called Hasa [Hasu?] umbaḷi) was granted in A.D. 1541, by Achirāja Tirumala Rājajaya to the Gauḍas of Chēlōr together with the tank of the Bēḍanakatē village, the dry fields, and the local rights of the village (grāmā-sthāṇa-māṇya).⁴

Finally, we may note that there was the hereditary permanent estate granted as an umbaḷi. Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Chāmarasu Oḍeyar of Maisūr, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Mahārāya, in A.D. 1615, made for the god Rāmachandra of Vahnipura, a grant of village of Bēvinahalli, belonging to Bannūr, which he had received from Veṅkaṭapati Dēva

¹ E. C., VI., Kd. 126, p. 23.
² E. C., XII., Tm. 59, p. 15.
³ E. C., XII., Gb. 59, p. 28. It may be conjectured that this kind of umbaḷi was granted for some service rendered by those who were in charge of the pallaṅki or palanquins of the provincial rulers. This is, however, only an assumption we are unable to prove. B. A. S.
⁴ Ibid., Gb. 49, p. 26, text, p. 80.
Mahārāya as an hereditary permanent estate (sthāiyīgī vumbaraśalyīgī banda Bannūra sthalakke etc.)

Mānya lands were also granted to persons of conspicuous merit. According to Dr. Fleet mānya lands mean "lands either altogether exempt from taxation or liable to only a trifling quit-rent". Allied to these were the koḍage or koḍaṅge or koḍaṅgi gifts. So early as about A. D. 767 we come across these koḍaṅge grants. A damaged stone record assigned to that year relates that "Vikramāditya coming to Jannaya's side", gave a koḍaṅge of twelve kula (of land) to a person who was called Vāṇi... Another record of about A. D. 970 informs us the occasion when koḍaṅge gifts were made. In the times of Dilipayya, when the cows of Damme of Balla were being carried off, Basalva's son Keyye fought and died in the struggle. For him the bhatar, being pleased, granted a koḍaṅge of ten koḷaga.

When we come to Vijayanagara times, we meet with a variety of mānya grants. Koḍage mānya, pūri mānya, kaṭṭu koḍage, prabhu koḍage, dayirya koḍage, satige koḍage, and netaru koḍage—those were the seven different kinds of mānya grants. There were the ordinary grants styled simply koḍage gifts. Thus in about A. D. 1490 Naṉja Rāja Oḍeyar made a grant of a koḍage house to Bōḷa-Mallikārjuna Oḍeyar. We have some details about the different kinds of koḍage grants. In A. D. 1419 Aubhala Rāja Oḍeyar caused a śāsana of temple endowments and Brahman endowments to be written. These were given as gifts for the decorations and festivals of the god Harihara "at the meritorious time of Śivarātri". The record which contains the details relating to the above endowments also tells us about "the gauḍa's koḍage mānya granted to Singe Gauḍa's son Rāma Gauḍa,—Maddagirihaḷḷi, and under the Voḍina

2 Fleet, I. A., IV., p. 332 (n).
5 E. C., IV., Ch. 35, p. 4.
channel space for 2000 areca trees, with nāḍ-gaudīke in each village. Koḍage māṇyas were also granted to temples. Narasaṇa Nāyaka's... Hoichi Nāyaka and Kōtipa Nāyaka, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1497, granted a koḍage māṇya for the Tippūr temple. As regards the other kind of māṇya lands, we have the following in a record dated A.D. 1525. In that year the Elavaṅka (Elahanka) nāḍ-prabhū Kempayya Gauḍa granted the Pura maṭha śāsana as follows:—"The Chennapura village (?) built by) Haima Gauḍa, belonging to our Eleyūr-sime, have we granted to you as a pūri māṇya, together with all rights (specified)".

The remaining four kinds of koḍage gifts are now to be enumerated. The most common grant under this heading is that related to the kaṭṭu koḍage. This was generally given to those who made agricultural improvements. They were usually called kaṭṭu kodage or kere koḍage, although instances are not wanting to show that similar gifts were made for the same purpose in a dharma-śāsana. In A.D. 1428 Lakkanṇa Oḍeyar granted to Singarasa's son Annadāta a dharma-śāsana embodying the gift of rice-lands and dry fields below the tank built by Danakani Dēvi, who was evidently the wife of Annadāta, in the Bēlūr-sime belonging to the Mujūvāyi kingdom, with all rights, free of all imposts. In this grant the name kaṭṭu kodage is not mentioned. Kaṭṭu kodage was also granted by private individuals. Hiriyaṇa Gauḍa granted to Golamayya... a kaṭṭu koḍage in Māradehalī in about A.D. 1577. From a record dated about A.D. 1698, we may infer that kaṭṭu koḍage was also known as kere koḍage. In that year Rāuta Rāya caused to be written and gave to the Holeyas of Kallūṭanahalli a kere koḍage śāsana for having restored the Doḍḍagāvanahalli tank.

1 E. C., XII, Mi. 20, p. 106.
2 Ibid., Gb. 2, p. 17.
3 Ibid., Kg. 23, p. 35.
5 E. C., IX., Dv, 65, p. 82.
6 Ibid., Ht, 41, p. 92.
Prabhu koḍage was the name given to the koḍage referring to the chiefship of a village. In the reign of Achyuta Rāya in A. D. 1532, the village of Mallayyanapura in Arakoṭāra-sthala was given to Virabhadra Nāyaka, son of "the favourite for the affairs of that Mahārāya (the Emperor), the Perumāḷa-adhikāri Kāmyappa Nāyaka of Arakoṭāra," as a koḍage for his chiefship (prabhu-koḍagey āgi), together with all the lands and taxes pertaining thereto.¹

From a stone inscription assigned to the year A. D. 1406, or thereabouts, we know that there was another kind of koḍage grants called the dayirya koḍage. The record, the date of which "is altogether wrong," informs us that "by order of Harihara Rāya II, the minister Yalaṅa Oṛeyar granted to Virappa of Haṭṭiyūr in Hulliyūr-nāḍ, the Toṟava-samudra village in Hullūr-nāḍ as a dayirya koḍage, free of all imposts."² In all likelihood this kind of grant may have been made for some kind of gallant service rendered on the battlefield or in the course of a cow-raid, although we have definite evidence of the method by which they recognized the merits of brave persons in war or in a cow-fight. We are also uncertain about the nature of satige koḍage. In A. D. 1522 Elapa Nāyaka, son of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's servant Ellapaṇḍa, granted Kagere in the Bidure-sīme as a satige koḍage to Annaṇa Gauḍa.³

There was one kind of koḍage grant which was given to those who showed their courage in a fight to rescue the cows of a village or against thieves and highwaymen. This was known as nettaru-gōḍage. On the cows of the Nelavatti agrahāra being carried off by Dēse of Beḷagavatti, the tailor Padma's son Chikka recovered them, although he died in the attempt. All the Brahmans of the agrahāra, therefore, in

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¹ E. C., IV., Ch. 93, p. 12, text, pp. 35-6.
² E. C., X., Mr. 87, p. 175. The date is given thus: Jayābhhyudaya-Śaka-varuṣhaṅgalu nālku-sāvira-danaṅru-nāl-vatta-nālkaneyalu nada varumāṇa vyavahārika-Vyaya-samvatsarada Kārttika—Śu. 1 ārabhyavāgi. P. II, p. 171.
³ E. C., XII., Gb. 51, p. 27.
A.D. 1125, made a grant of land (specified) to Padma as a nettaru-gođage. Sometimes a nettaru-gođage was granted by the ruler of the province in the presence of the farmers and subjects of the locality. Thus in A.D. 1223 when Leńkaņa Nāyaka of Karimale captured the cows of Maļavaļī, Maśav-bōva of that place opposed him, recovered the cows but lost his life in the encounter. The Mahamańdalēśvara Nigalūr Bommi Dēvarasa, with the approval of the farmers and subjects of Maļavaļī, granted land (specified) to Chikka-bōva, younger brother of Maśav-bōva. On other occasions the king himself ordered the grant of a nettaru-gođage. The inscription which gives this information is unfortunately very much defaced. Nevertheless we are told that in A.D. 1283, in the times of the Yādana ruler Rāmacandra Dēva, a certain Rāya with his servants "entered upon the battle," and evidently he or someone lost his life in the struggle. "Pleased at his heroism, his king granted land as a nettaru-gođage to Maduve Nāyakitti".

Allowances granted to the relatives of those who died in a cow-raid, siege, or riot were called merely umbaļi grants or nettaru-gođage in Vijayanagara times. In A.D. 1387 "some one fell in fight at Chandragutti" and an umbaļi was granted to his son. Another incomplete record dated A.D. 1436 informs us that "the servant of Bomma-gavuḍa of...of Eđe-nāđ...Chandragutti of Banavāši Twelve Thousand...Hiriya Tammaya Nāyaka, besieging Kaņagoṭa in the service of his master, fell. For his children was granted an umbaļi". In

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1 E.C., VII., Hk. 65, p. 172. Cf. This method with that of the early times when a kalnāṭa was given to those who fought in a cow-raid. E.C., X., Mb. 228 of about A.D. 890, p. 126; Mb. 203 of A. D. 934, p. 122. Kalnāṭa means a grant for the purpose of setting up (naḍu) a memorial stone (kal) My. Arch. Report for 1912-3, p. 31.
2 E.C., VII., Sk. 268, p. 144; see also Sk. 217 of A. D. 1248, p. 130.
3 E.C., VIII., Sa. 63, p. 104. See also Sb. 502 dated A. D. 1294 p. 84; E.C., VII., Sk. 211 of about A. D. 1294, p. 129. Cf. Mrityuka-vrītī or death allowance mentioned in the Chandel grants, Ghoshal, Ag. Syst., p. 63.
4 E.C., VIII., Sb. 512, p. 85.
5 Ibid., Sb. 490, p. 82.
the reign of the same monarch, Dēva Rāya II, according to another effaced record, his minister Irugappa Odeyar ruled over Gōve and Chandragutti. "From Ede-nāḍ, especially from Kuppyahāḷḷ, Malalagade Bomma Gauḍa, in the service of his guru Nāgi Dēva, besieged Banavāsi,...thinking that if they gave...they would be beaten...Bayichana of the school (sālekaya Bayichanu)...and gained the world of gods. For his children, the forty-two, being pleased, granted land (specified) as a nettaru-gōḍāna".¹ We are to imagine that when marauders drove off the cows of Koṇḍaganaḷe, in A.D. 1448, and Mādi Gauḍa and Sūrappa Gauḍa, father and son, both fought with the army, stabbed the men, seized the horse, and distinguished themselves with the highest devotion, provision must also have been made for their children by the people of Koṇḍaganaḷe. The record merely ends with the fact that on this occasion "Madi-Gauḍa’s wife and mother both went to svarga".²

That war relief was granted to the children of those who fell in a fight or riot is clear from an epigraph dated A.D. 1462 which mentions that in the riot at Heddase, Kesaḷūr Tippa Gauḍa having laid about him and died, a grant of land (specified) was made for his wife and children.³ But there can be no doubt that on some occasions, the services of brave men were merely commemorated by inscribing their deeds on a viragal. When the cows of Puleya Harāḷ in Hiriya Jiḷḍaḷige-nāḍ were being impounded, in A.D. 1454, when Liṅgappa Odeyar was the governor of Chandragutti, certain Gauḍas of Kūḷavāḍi (named) fought and died in the struggle. A combined viragal (sāṅgatyada virakallu) was set up for those who died. The inscription does not mention any ṇimbali gift granted to their children.⁴

This was certainly not the usual manner in which the people of Vijayanagara appreciated the services of

¹ E. C., VIII., Sb. 489, p. 82.
² Ibid., Sb. 559, p. 89.
³ Ibid., Sb. 506, p. 84.
those who gave up their lives for public good. Even in later Vijayanagara history we have evidence of nettaru-goḍage having been granted by the rulers or their subordinates. An inscription dated A. D. 1569 relates that Tirumala Rāya Dēva Mahārāya was pleased to order the grant of the māgaṇi of Golahalli in the Doḍḍeri-sīme of the Rāya-durga-sthāla, to Aubhalaiya, son of Doḍḍeri Malapa Gauḍa, “for sacrificing his life”, as a nettaru-goḍage; and that the Mahānāyakāchārya Harati Lakshmipati Nāyaka forthwith executed the royal order by assigning it as a permanent gift, with all rights, to the donee.¹ Keḻadi Rāmarāja Nāyaka-ayya granted to Hiriya Kaliyūr Timma’s (son) Malarasa a nettaru-goḍage (specified) in the Hennagēri village, in A. D. 1571, for some service not stated in the epigraph.² In about A. D. 1598 Keḻadi Malle Gauḍa gave to the Yalaganāle torch-bearer (divaru) Bommayya’s son Kāma a nettaru-goḍage as follows: “Your Bommi having died in our service, we have given for him land (as specified) in Beḷala-matti.”³ Sugaṭūr Immaḍī Tammaya-Gauḍayya granted land (specified), in A. D. 1602, for the children of the cowherd Hiriya Chennaiya for “having exerted himself at the time of need and died”.⁴ This could only have been a nettaru-goḍage, since the Sugaṭūr rulers, as is evident from a grant dated A. D. 1630, were aware of the traditional method of recompensing the services of dutiful subjects. In this year, when “Rāma Dēva Rāya was ruling the empire of the world”, Sugaṭūr Chikka Rāya Tammaya Gauḍa granted to the Daḷavāyi Sonṇaya Gauḍa a nettaru-goḍage śāsana as follows: “You having taken great trouble and carried out for our government the list of orders written out for our affairs, we grant to you...in the Sugaṭūr village.”⁵

¹ E. C., XII., Mi. 10, p. 105. The interpretation given here is questionable.
² E. C., VIII., Sa. 21, p. 95.
³ Ibid., Sa. 26, p. 95.
⁵ Ibid., Kl. 164, 165, p. 55.
Unibali gifts were also called gaudike-dandige-umbali, or merely gaudike rights. According to a copper-plate dated A. D. 1486, "by order of the king" Narasiṅga Rāya, Gaṅge Gauḍa was granted the gaudike of Hejāji, which he had built, and of other villages (named) for some service not mentioned in the record. In A. D. 1528 Rāma Bhāṭṭa's... granted Kāmanahalli belonging to Aramala-sthāla (boundaries specified) to Akkimaṅgala Tammappa Gauḍa as a gaudike-dandige-umbali, free of all imposts. A stone inscription dated A. D. 1554 informs us that Nidugal Kōmāra Timmaṇṭa Nāyaka granted to Tumukunte... Dharmagōḍu Gauḍa a gaudike for having built a fort for the village, excavated channels, and restored the village of Tumukunte, together with the āya dammas, horse, umbrella, and lands (specified) as satige mānya. Similar improvements must have been made by Arasiyakere Setigonda Gauḍa, who received from Nidugal Timmaṇṭa Nāyaka, in A. D. 1560, the gaudike of Arasiyakere together with land (specified) as a mānya to be enjoyed as a kāṇāchi.

SECTION 3. Titles and Honours

In addition to the system of granting lands to persons who performed useful services to the country, the State also bestowed titles, honours, and privileges on all classes of people. The rulers themselves assumed great titles, and their subordinates, as in other matters, imitated them. Without entering into the question of the validity of the claims of the rulers of Vijayanagara to assume a string of grandiloquent birudus, we may allude briefly to the titles of the greatest monarch of southern India, Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya, before narrating those of some of the most prominent generals and viceroys of Vijaya-

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1 E. C., XII., Tm. 54, p. 15.
2 E. C., X, Sd. 15, p. 181.
3 E. C., XII, Pg. 39, p. 121.
4 Ibid., Pg. 38, p. 120. Kāṇāchi is the Kanarese form of the Tamil kāṇiyāṭchi.
nagara. An inscription dated Śaka 1430 (A.D. 1518-9) gives
the following birudus of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya: “The angry
punisher of rival kings; he whose arms resemble (the coils
of the serpent Śesha); he who is vested in protecting the earth;
the destroyer of those kings who break their word; he who
satisfies suppliants; he who is fierce in war; the king of kings
and the supreme lord of kings; the destroyer of the three
kings (of the south); he who terrifies hostile kings; the Sultan
among Hindu kings; he who crushes the wicked like tigers;
and the double-headed eagle which splits the temples of troops
of elephants”;
“his generosity praised by the wise, this king
of kings Kṛishṇa Rāya, established on the jewel-throne in
Vijayanagara, daily surpassing Nṛiga and all others, shone in
the power of good fortune and the fullness of fame from the eastern
to the western mountains and from the extremity of Hēmāchala to Sētu.”
Sometimes, however, the great Emperor
was merely styled samasta-bhuvanāśraya—“The Refuge
of all worlds”—which carries us the memories of the Hoysalas
and the Western Chāḷukyas. These birudus, which were not
altogether unjustifiable, except in a few instances, sounded
incredibly pedantic to foreigners like Pimenta.

For the birudus of various rulers, the following may be read—
Harihari Rāya II.: Ep. Ind., III, p. 125; Sālava Nṛisimha: Ep. Ind.,
VII., p. 84. On the Bhēruḍa title of the monarchs: Ep. Ind., I, p. 369;
n 63; Achyuta Rāya: 162 of 1905; Sadāsiva Rāya: 151 of 1907; 148 of
Ind., XI., p. 328; Ep. Ind., XII, p. 343. Ep. Carn. may also be consulted
in this connection.

2 E. C., VII, Sh. I, p. 2; See also S. I. I. I. pp. 80, 120, 123, 131-2,
n (7), 139; 169; Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., I, p. 315, and (n).
for 1909, p. 118. On the titles Aśvapati, Gaja-pati, and Narapati, Haidarabad
Arch. Series, Ins. at Nāgai, No. 8, p. 6; E. C., II., p. 45 (2nd ed.);
My. Arch. Report for 1921, p. 26; Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western
World, I, p. 13; I. A., XV., pp. 9, and 9, n (52); 13; I. A., XVII., pp.
225. 227; Ep. Ind., III., p. 33, n (2). For Gajapatis of Orissa, Mackenzie,


Pimenta gives some of these birudus. Purchas. Pilgrims, X.,
pp. 209-10.
The princes and viceroys also assumed titles. Prince Virabhūpa in Śaka 1508 (A. D. 1586-87) bears the following birudus: samaya-drōhara-gāṇḍa, Ayyāvali-puravarādhiśvara (Ailāvalipura of other records), and dakśiṇa-samudrēśa. Kṛishnappa Nāyaka, in a record dated Śaka 1489 (A. D. 1567), is given these titles—Kańchipuravarādhiśvara, Mōkālipatṭa-vardhana, samaya-drōhara gāṇḍa, samaya-kōlāhala, Ailāvali puravarādhiśvara, Pāñḍya-kula-sthāpanāchārya, and dakśiṇapsamudrādhipati.

The Ummatūr chieftain Malla Rāja Odeyar, in A. D. 1532, was styled thus: "...the lord of the Ummatūr kingdom, hunter of elephants, gēṇānka-chakrēśvara, javādi-kolāhala, arasaṅka-sūnegāra, a Hanuman in crushing enemies..."  

We may also note the birudus of less important dignitaries. In A. D. 1529 the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara hanneya-gajaḥatī, dhuraṇi-varāha, and manneya-kārdūla-chamaṭi Bhōga Rāja (or Bhōgaya Dēva), with other titles (ivu modalāda-birudōvali-bhūshitarāda) was the Nāyaka placed over Śrīraṅgapatṭaṇa by Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya. The Mahāprabhu Bhairāṇa Nāyaka is given the following birudus in A. D. 1472: Maleya-huli-mārthāṇḍ (the sun to hill tigers), Iḍigay-enṭu-daṇḍigēya manneya-gāṇḍa (champion over the manneys of the Iḍiga Eight Daṇḍige), the mother-home to both (sects of) Nānā-dēśis, chief—lord of Aśvāryya-pura, the Pārśva-tīrthēśvara of Iduṇā.

The heads of religious institutions were also known by their titles. In a grant dated Śaka 1450 (A. D. 1528-9) Sadāśiva Sarasvatī, disciple of Chandraśēkhara Sarasvatī, of the Śrīṅgēri Maṭha is called—The great sage working for salvation,

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2 Gopinatha Rao-Raghaviah, Ep. Ind., IX p. 330, Krishnappa Nāyaka was the grandson of the Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Viśvanātha Nāyaka.
4 E. C., III, Sr. 2, p. 7.
5 E. C., VIII., Sa. 60, p. 103.
the great saint and anchorite, whose body is besmeared with holy ashes, who wears a necklace of rudrākṣa beads; who is high-souled and talented, who has practised the eight-fold path of the Yōga; who is compassionate to all beings, (but) is (himself) above the pair of opposites like heat and cold, which only give rise to pain; who is possessed of knowledge and freedom from attachment; also is master of himself, and the Guru, who is Śiva incarnate.¹ The bruddus of Chandra-chūḍā Sarasvatī, the head of the Kāmakōṭi-piṭha of the Śāradā Maṅha of Conjeeveram,² are thus given in a record dated Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522-3): The talented and high-souled saint, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvatī, a devotee of Śiva, the famous commentator on all the sāstras, and an expert in māyavāda (the doctrine of māyā).³ According to a record dated in Śaka 1307, expired (A. D. 1385), the Jaina teachers of a school led by Simhanaṇḍin were called by the following titles: ächārya, ārya, guru, dēśika, muni and yōgindra.⁴

Titles were also bestowed on men of learning and ordinary citizens. Mr. R. Narasimhachar has given us a list of the titles given to poets. These were the following:

To the celebrated poet Allasāni Peddana, Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya gave titles as well as the coveted anklet called kavigaṇḍa-penḍāra. This we gather from the pathetic verse of the great

¹ Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, Ep. Ind., XIV., p. 175.
² Reputed to have been founded by the great Śaṅkarāchārya. Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, Ep. Ind., XIII., p. 123.
⁴ S. I. I., I, p. 156.
⁵ Kavicharite, II, p. 175.
poet written on the death of his beloved patron. "Why did he (king Kṛishṇa) get down from his mad elephant wherever he met me and lift me up to sit by his side? Why did he raise up the palanquin (which carried me), with his own arm, when I was taken round in procession on presenting my poem Manucharitra? Why did he put on my leg with his own hand, the anklet kaviṅgaṇḍa-пеṇḍāra saying 'You alone deserve it'? Why gave villages to me wherever I chose to have them, called me Āndhrakavi-पितामह and Alasāni Peddana 'lord of poets'? Fie upon this living carcase of mine that breathes still without accompanying that great Kṛishṇāryya to heaven!'”

We have already seen that Tiraka Gauḍa, younger brother of Bomma Dēva Gauḍa, in the course of the muster of troops summoned by Vīraṇgā Oḍeyar to quell the rising of the Bēḍar chief Boḷeya Mummeya Nāyaka, remarked that Gunḍa Daṅḍāyaka, the famous general of Harihara Rāya, had given him the title of "Champion over the three Kings" (mūvaṇa-rāyara-gaṇḍa). An inscription dated A. D. 1424 relates that Chāma Nṛipāla, who constructed the great Haridrā dam, was known by the title of gaṇḍara-gūli.

These titles which are found in profusion in epigraphs and literature, were conferred on recipients after due formalities at the royal court or in the chāvaḍi or the court of the provincial rulers. Learned men and poets received their titles in this manner. Some details about this can be gathered from an inscription dated A. D. 1447 already cited in an earlier connection. We saw that Mallikārjuna Rāya being disposed to perform an act of Dharma, and having bathed and put on pure and clean garments, was surrounded with Brahmans on the bank of the Tūṅgabhadrā, in the Bhāskara-kṣhētra, at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa-giri. The occasion was in connection with the honour that was to be given to Ādityāryyya (descent stated),

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1 Lives of Telugu Poets, p. 190; Krishna Sāstry, A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 185, n. (3).
2 E. C., VIII, Nr. 29, p. 132, op. cit.
3 E. C., XI, Dg. 29, p. 39, op. cit.
the author of Bhāshya-bhūshaṇa. This man was proficient in all learning. The king having examined him in a learned assembly in all branches of study, and all the learned men being pleased, granted him the village of Nallaṅgi in the Rāyadurga kingdom. An epigraph dated A.D. 1505 informs us that Bhujabala Pratāpa Narasimha Mahārāya, “in the course of bestowing the great gifts, among them, when bestowing the mahābhūta-ghāta, in the presence of the god Śrī-Raṅganātha”, on the bank of the Chandrapushkaraṇi, honoured Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa, versed in the six darshanās, with the office of āchārya together with the gift of the village Honnakahaljī in the kingdom of (the Ummattūr chief) Chikka Rāja Oḍeyar.

As regards the name of the place on which the rulers sat, we have the following in connection with Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar in an inscription dated Śaka 1289 (A.D. 1367-8): the king while seated in the jānaki-maṇḍapa in the Puṇyakōṭiśvara temple at Little Conjeeeveram, Chingleput district, honoured Śrī-Parākāla Namī with the name of karṇākara-dāsaṇ together with honours, privileges, and a dwelling-house.

In fact, the rulers of Vijayanagara not only granted lands and high sounding birudus to persons of distinction but also gave them certain coveted privileges and insignia of honour. The famous dictator Veṅkaṭatātārya, whom, as already narrated above, Krishna Dēva Rāya the Great invested with uncommon religious powers in A.D. 1523, was entitled to receive the first āśrama and āsāda in all the great Vishṇu temples in Vijayanagara, Ghaṇāḍri, and all the 77 durgas subordinate to them, e. g., Chandragiri-durga, Guttii-durga, etc., in all the cities to the east and west of Vijayanagara as far as the sea; in all the durgas to the north and south as far as Madura and in all the holy places such as Kaṅchi, Triśaila, and Khāḍri excepting

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1 E. C., XII, Mi. 69, p. 128. As regards these learned assemblies, we have in Nāladiyār some interesting details. Nāladiyār, Ch. XXXII, p. 202, seq (Pope).

2 E. C., IV, Gu. 67, p. 47.

3 27 of 1921. The method in which the Sālu-Mūle Baṇajigas of various places conferred the Mayorality of the Earth on Muddayya Daṭṭāyaka in A.D. 1382 may also be recalled here. E. C., V, P.I. Bl. 75, p. 53, op. cit.
Śrīraṅgam, Ahōbala and Ghaṭikagiri; privileged to get the first honours in the assemblies of the Śrīvaishṇavas; and authorized to make enquiries into the conduct of all castes owing allegiance to Rāmānuja and to punish the delinquents in regard to religious and social matters.¹

The rulers gave privileges also to religious institutions. The svamīs of the Śrīṅgērī Maṭha, for example, were recipients of great honours and privileges at the hands of the Vijayanagara kings. A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1463 relates that Immaḍi Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, folding his hands to his forehead (in reverence) gave a vaibhava-lāmra-śāsana (or copper śāsana conferring insignia) as follows: “Now, in the presence of the god Virūpākṣhēśvara, we grant to you in addition, two five branched torches, five kalaśas above the palanquin, and so forth...” in confirmation of the rights already enjoyed by Rāghavēśvara Bhārati Śrīpāda.² These other insignia, we may also here note, are mentioned in another copper-plate dated A. D. 1450 which speaks of the vaibhava-lāmra-śāsana granted by Vidyāranya Śrīpāda to Chidbōdha Bhārati of Gōkarna. In addition to other privileges this record relates that Vidyāranya Śrīpāda conferred on the donee “throne, crown, palanquin, white umbrella, chārmaras on both sides, makara tōraṇa (a kind of arched canopy), fan, daylight torch, yellow and red flags and such insignia, with cymbals, conchs, cakra, and other musical instruments, in the presence of people come from many countries.”³

The State also conferred high privileges on men of distinguished service. An inscription dated Śaka 1506 (A. D. 1584-5)

² E. C., VIII, Nr. 68, p. 158.
³ Ibid., Nr. 67, p. 157. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao suggested the follwing—“...A. D. 1500 was the traditional date for the acquisition by Sri Vyasarayavsmi of the green flag—rather the green umbrella—on a camel”. Vyasayogicharitam, Intr. pp. xiii, cxxix. The same writer also suggested that the green flag may have come from Babur. Ibid., p. cxxx. As regards the Vijayanagara rulers acquiring the green umbrella, (Sālubhūdayam, Canto VII), it appears that Sāluva Nrisimha also possessed one. See Venkoba Rao, ibid., cviii. See supra, Volume I, Ch. V. Sec. 3 for the remarks of Abdur Razzāq on the umbrellas borne before the dānḍayaka. B.A.S.
relates that VenkataRaya Deva Choda Maharaya, a prince of the Solar race, received certain privileges in the Ahobala temple under orders from the king Vira Pratapa Rangaraya Deva, at the request of Vom-Sathagopa-Jiyymaguru. The reason why the Vijayanagara monarch granted him the privileges is also stated in the same epigraph. The grandfather of the donee, Kondraraja (Venkataraja) Timmaraja, had expelled the Muhammadan chief Vibhuramu (?Ibrahim), who had occupied the temple of Ahobalam for seven years with the aid of the Handevaru chiefs. For restoring the temple to its original state, the family of Venkataraya Choda Maharaaya was granted great honours by the orders of the king.1

Temple authorities also gave privileges to persons of distinction. In Saka 1454 (A.D. 1532-3) the right of securing holy water and consecrated food after worship in the temple of Sri Deyanayaksvami, in the village of Tiruvahindrapuram, was given to one Ramanauja Acharya.2 Certain religious privileges were conferred on a Brahman by 74 chief priests of the Vaishnava faith in A.D. 1538 during the reign of Achyuta Raya.3

The State further granted privileges to ministers and viceroyes. Two pillar inscriptions of Krishna Deva Raya the Great (A.D. 1515) relate that the lord Nadindla Appa "obtained from the glorious king Krishna and minister Timma (the right to use) a palanquin, two chauris, and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Muru), of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom." The same records relate that "the glorious lord Salya-Timma, the minister of the glorious Krishna, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gopa, the best among governors and an excellent

1 70 of 1915.
2 Sewell, Lists, II, C.P. No. 18, p. 34; Rangachari, Top List, I, SA. 335, p. 169.
3 Sewell, ibid., No. 74, p. 9; Rangachari, ibid., SA. 198, p. 154. Cf. the privileges and duties of a temple superintendent given in 89 of 1906; Rangachari, ibid., SA. 592, p. 199.
minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Koṇḍavīti, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (the right to use) a palanquin and two chauris.”

The History of the Carnatic Governors relates that Viśvanātha Nāyaka was granted by the State valuable jewels and the apparel “which he (the king) had on his own person”, because that famous general had killed a big buffalo at one stroke. And when Viśvanātha brought his own father a prisoner to the capital, the Emperor gave him robes and other presents.

The same account informs us that the chief man of the village Pugalur, named Udiyan Sethopathi, (Uḍaiyan Sētupati?), safely escorted the chief guru of Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka to Rāmēsvaram, and received in recognition of his services, grants of land, villages, honorary dress and various ornaments as presents. For the insignia of a chief man of a village we may refer to an inscription dated A. D. 1472 which mentions that Iduvaṇi Baliya Gauda’s son Haivaṇa Nāyaka, the foremost man in Ānevalige in Nagirāṭhaṇu, was entitled to possess an umbrella, betel bag, lamp-stand pillar, ornamental coin (aṅkaṭeṇke), and others (munīda-tēja-mānyavam).

Rights were also given to the first settlers in a new town. This was obviously to aid the building of new towns. Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka’s Agent Viṭṭṭhaṇa Nāyaka was holding the pāru-patya of the Bāgūr-sīme in A. D. 1554, in the reign of the Emperor Saddāśiva Rāya. The inscription relates that the outer pēte (evidently of Bāgūr) being in ruins, Narasimmaiyā of the Customs petitioned to Viṭṭṭhaṇa Nāyaka, “whereupon he sent for Liṅgaṇa Gauḍa and many others (named) all the

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1 Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 130-1.
3 Ibid., p. 27.
4 E. C., VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103; P. II, p. 277. A doubtful record assigned by Rice to about A. D. 1527, mentions that Saṅkaṇaṇa, the head man of Piṭhamane village, in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, received the privilege of having the first prasīḍa, the first tambūla, in all the agrahāras and towns in the nād, together with an “independent oversight of all the religious ceremonies in this Kupaṭur-nād”. Ibid, Sb. 265, p. 43, and n. (1).
subjects, and directed them to have the łoše built, giving it another name of Krishṇāpura after Ere-Krishṇappa Nāyakaya and populate it. Those who settle there will be free of all taxes for one year from the time they come; after that they will not only be included in the family agreement, but if they have taken possession, we and the subjects will give up (our claim).

(bandanthū-vakkalige vokkalu banda vondu-varuṣha sarva-māṇya mundane vokkala voḍambaḍikeyalu biṭṭukoṭṭa pramāṇav allade anubhava māḍidare nāvu ṭrajegealu āpariharisi koḍuvevu).

Presents were also given to masons, artisans, and carpenters. According to an inscription dated A. D. 1431, Tippa Rāja Oḍeyar’s son Gōpa Rāja Oḍeyar’s minister was Mallama Rāja. The son of Mallama Rāja was named Siṅga Rāja. This official had the image Gaṇḍa-bherunda, which was on the Māragaudanakṣṭe west of Dūḍanahalli in Pāla-nāḍ, brought to the door of the gōpura of the manṭapā facing the god Varadārāja. And on this occasion, he had the “wood-work done by the hand of the Āvikal carpenter Pēvōja’s son Chājā-oja”, and having set up the door, and “the iron work done by the hand of the blacksmith Aṇjala Divīṅgōja, gave to those ōjas horse and umbrellas, with hereditary land (kāṇi-bhūmyaṅgi) (as specified).”

In connection with the royal pardon extended to Eleyūr Viṣvanātha śeṭṭi’s sons Nāgi śeṭṭi and Kāmi śeṭṭi by Harihara Rāya, as given in a record already cited, dated A. D. 1379, we may be allowed to repeat that in addition to the customs dues which the donees received from the king, they also secured palanquin and umbrella with kalaṅa as their insignia.

The leaders of commercial organizations worked in fields other than their own, and the State and the people recompensed their labour by giving them titles and customary rewards.

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2 E. C., X, Mr. 3, p. 156. We have already noticed the presents given to Iraṇa Bōva who built the high towers of the Kaṇḍehallī fort, in about A. d. 1533. E. C., XI, Hr. 36, p. 109, op. eit.
3 E. C., XII, Si. 76, p. 99, op. cit.
The great Jaina-Srivaishnava controversy of A. D. 1368, as we remarked in an earlier connection, ended amicably, and "Busuvi Setti, the good son of Harvi Sethi of Kalleha, having made petition to Bukka Rayya, sent for Tatayya of Tirumale and had (?the shasana) renovated. And both the samayas (creeds) uniting, bestowed the dignity of Saingha-nayaka on Busuvi Setti". Sumanitra-murti-acharya was the chief sculptor who worked at the sculptured pillars of the vasantamanṭapa at Madura in the reign of Muttu Tirumala Nayaka. From the The Accounts of Tirumala Naicker, and of his Buildings we learn that the ruler, in order to do him honour, "gave him betel, on which he had himself spread chunam; and, by reason of being much occupied in looking after the work, the sculptor took it and disrespectfully put it into his mouth, before the king, when, a moment after, recollecting that he had acted improperly, he became inwardly afraid, and with an instrument cut off the two fingers with which he had conveyed the betel-leaf, etc. to his mouth. But the king bestowed on him four kinds of dresses; and had a hand made of gold, which he also gave to him."

Korana Haripa's son Si . . ., who is described as "the worshipper of the feet of all the Brahmins of the immemorial agrahāra Kuppatūr", according to an inscription dated about A. D. 1470, killed a big tiger which had come into the Kēdagi wood in front of the town "by forcing it out with a great noise", and hitting "it savagely with a big club". It may be that he lost his life in his great adventure but the record informs us that "on rejoining the thousand, they gave him the name Ripu-Māri."

SECTION 4. Patriotism

The endearment of the people to their rulers is seen chiefly in the numerous records which contain grants of land

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1 E. C., II, No. 344, p. 147. (2nd ed.).
2 Taylor, O. H. MSS., II., p. 151.
3 E. C., VIII, Sb. 258, p. 40. These remarks on the honours granted to various persons of merit may be compared with those of Nuniz who
for charitable purposes together with the significant phrase "for the merit of the king". These epigraphs range from the earliest age to the last decades of Vijayanagara history, and are to be read together with the remarks we have already made in regard to protection and Dharma in the previous pages. The influence exerted by the monarch in these times was purely personal; and it is not surprising that, instead of the notions of nationality of the later ages, the people should have prayed for the merit of the king or for the success of his arms, and identified the prosperity of the country with the personal well being of the ruler.

Monarchs as well as their viceroys were held in great esteem by the people. Virupa Raya, son of the king Bukka Raya, was, as we have seen, the viceroy over Araga Eighteen Kampana, in a.d. 1367. "In order that Virupa Raya might have a firm kingdom", the (people) of the Fifty naḍs (of Araga Eighteen Kampana, the Gutti Eighteen Kampana, and Iduguṇḍi) made a grant of land (specified) in Bandiganāli village, for the offerings of the god Sankara obviously of the same locality.¹ "In order that the Surattan (Sultan) of Hindu kings, Hariharanatha’s son Bukka Rayan might exercise universal sovereignty", as is related in a Tamil inscription dated a. d. 1380, Tāmandai Ādīnāta’s son set up the image of the god Ādi-Nārāyaṇa-perumāḷ at Muraśūr as an act of king’s charity.² Bukka Raya’s popularity is proved by other charitable endowments as well. According to a grant dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi but assignable to the year a. d. 1382, Irugappa, the famous general, and the son of the general Vaichaya, "for the merit of the glorious mahāmanḍalēśvara Bukkarāja, the son of Arihara-rāja," (i. e., Harihara Rāya) granted the village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the district of

speaks of the scarves of honour given by the king to his people when they went to the palace to pay him their land rent. Sewell, For. Emp., p. 370.

¹ E. C., VIII, Nr. 34, p. 133.
² E. C., IX, An. 49, p. 115.
Māvaṇḍūr, to Trailōkyavallabha, the god of Tirupparuttikkunṟu a tax-free pāllichchandam.¹

Harihara Rāya II was also a popular monarch. “For the success to the sword and arm of” Harihara Rāya, Rāja-rājar and the inhabitants of the Pulliyūr-nāḍu, including Tuṟavar Nambiravi Šeṭṭiyar, the superintendent of the Pulliyūr-nāḍu, made a grant of certain specified lands and several taxes for the god Varadarāja of Pulliyūr in A. D. 1385.² Mahēśvara-paṇḍita-ārādhya, in A. D. 1397, by means of a dharma-śāsana granted to Mudda Girināthayya the village of Aṇḍiganallī, rebuilt by the prabhus of Kōḷāla-nāḍ “in order that life, health, and wealth might increase to” Harihara Rāya.³

About Bukka Rāya II we have the following in an inscription dated A. D. 1388: Śrī-Veṇgaḍa Nāyakkar’s younger brother Nāgeya Nāyakkar granted in the customary manner certain specified lands (to Vīrappa Nāyakkar ?) “for the success of his (Bukka Rāya’s) sword and arm”.⁴

The great minister Vīranda...nta of the Kāsyapa-gōtra, “in order that all prosperity might be to Mallappa Oḍeyar”, son of Bukka Oḍeyar, in A. D. 1421, made a grant of the village of Indalavāḍi for the offerings of the god Dāmōdara of Bannūru-gaṭṭa.⁵

The various merchants of Māmbalḷi (in Yeḷandūr Jāgir?), in A. D. 1428, agreed to pay 1 gadyāṇa for every loom together with certain other fees, effaced in the inscription, for the expense of the god Vaidanātha of Māmbalḷi, the bathing place of Hariharanātha, “in order that he (Dēva Rāya) might obtain universal dominion”.⁶ The great minister Maṅgappa Daṇṇayaka’s son Pratāpa Rāya granted the Vīrūpakshapura

² E. C., IX, Ht. 93, p. 98, n. (1).
³ E. C., X, Kl. 248, p. 69.
⁴ Ibid., Bp. 17, p. 138.
⁵ E. C., IX, An. 86, p. 119.
⁶ E. C., IV, Y1, 69, p. 34.
village in Yeḷahāṅka-nāḍ with a rental of twenty honnu, for the offerings and decorations of the god Sōme-dēva in front of the town in Sakanasamudra (Sakanasamudradā vaḷaṅgaṇa ār-mundaṇa Sōme-dēvara naiyivedya-aṅga-raṅga bhōgaṅke), “in order that long life, health, and increase of wealth may be to Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, and from love to Paramēśvara.”¹ The singular instance of the Prithvi Śeṭṭi of the Chandragutti Eighteen Kaṃpana, Lāyadakere Śirumi Śeṭṭi, who committed suicide in 1. d. 1449, on account of Dēva Rāya II “having come to his setting”, as given in a previous page, may be recalled in this connection.² We have also had an occasion of citing the evidence of the poet Chandra about the regard in which Dēva Rāya II was held by the people.

Mallikārjuna, who was also known as Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēva Rāya, was likewise beloved by the people. An inscription dated Śaka 1374 (A. D. 1452—3) informs us that Dēvappagal, son of Annadāḷa Daṇṇayaka, granted the village Kaṇakkanpatte alias Śeṭṭiranallur, to the temple of Tiruppalippagava-Nāyaṇār at Pāṭṭūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgona-chōḷamaṇḍalam, for the health of the king.³ In a record assigned to about the same year we are told that Hari-parasa, of the Customs, granted as an endowment for the god Annadāṇi Mallikārjuna of Śrigiri Kuḍukūr the dues, customs, and mill tax of four villages (named), free of all impost, “in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna Rāya”.⁴ Muluvāyi Jannaras in A. D. 1465 granted a dharma-sāsana embodying the gift of the tribute money for sacred ashes (vibhātu-gāṇike honnu) and the revenue from forced sales (kaḍḍāyada-huṭṭuvalḷi) levied for the palace from the temples of the Muluvāyi kingdom, for the offerings of the god Svayambhūnātha of the Maḍavāḷa-sthāna of Kesambaḷa in the

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 18, p. 4, op. cit. Supra, Chapter I.
³ 295 of 1910.
⁴ E. C., IV, Hs. 96, p. 93.
Elaaŋji-naa in the Muļuvāyi kingdom, “in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna Rāya Mahārāya”.¹

The Gaṅdaragoli (Gaṅdara-gūli) Dalavāyi Soṇappa Nāyaka’s son Bairappa Nāyaka granted by means of a dharma-śaśana in A. D. 1541 the lands of the Simpāḍipura-sime in the Haṅabe-sime, and one pond, to Maleyakānta Dēva of Śiva-gaṅga, in order that dharma may be to Narasinga Dēva Mahārāya.² In the reign of Virūpāksha Rāya, Muļuvāyi Hariyappa gave to the Muļuvāyi city merchant Daṇḍapa’s son Yeleya Saṅkapa Šetti also a dharma-śaśana, in A. D. 1468, remitting to him certain specified dues and imposts, also for the same purpose.³ We can only assume that the Narasiṅga Rāya mentioned in the above epigraphs could only have been Sāluva Nṛsiṅha, about whose popularity, as we have already stated, even Nuniz was constrained to remark. That Nuniz was accurate in his estimate of that great ruler is proved by an epigraph dated about A. D. 1478. This record states that Varadarāja Dēva gave to Gauḍahalli Doḍḍayya Oḍeyar, son of Mudirāja Oḍeyar, a dharma-śaśana of a pura transferring the village of Chakkalur with all taxes (specified), in the presence of the god Varadarāja, in order that dharma may be to (with titles) Kaṭhāri Sāluva Narasinga Rāja Oḍeyar.⁴ Ayiamman and Iṣarappan made an agreement in Śaka 1408 (A. D. 1486-7) to burn a lamp before the god in the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷa temple at Little Conjeeveram, Chingleput district, for the merit of the king Sāluva Narasiṅga.⁵

Sāluva Immaḍi Narasiṅga Rāya’s popularity is also commemorated in epigraphs. His servant Kasaveya Nāyaka in A. D. 1433 granted the Nandiyakuṇṭe-sime in Vāṭa for the anointing and festivals of the gods Vāṭa Kēśava and Hanu-

¹ E. C., X, Bp. 18, p. 139.
² E. C., IX, DB. 40, p. 68.
³ E. C., X, Mb. 20, p. 75.
⁴ E. C., IX, Cp. 158, p. 166.
⁵ 667 of 1919.
manta, in order that dharma may be to Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya. For the same purpose the royal treasurer Dēvappa Nāyaka's son Balanātha, converting Kempa... halli into the Narasāmbu... agrahāra, granted it to Kaya Naṇjanātha Dikshita's son Narasimha Dikshita in about A.D. 1495. The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timmaya Dēva Mahā-arasu's son Narasaya Dēva Mahā-arasu gave to Gūliya and the other priests (sthānikaru) of the god Bhairava of Śihati a śāsana, in A.D. 1495, granting them twenty-eight gadyāṇa for the offerings and festivals of the god "in order that merit might accrue to Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya and to our father Chikka Timma Rāja." Tipparasa-ayya, house-minister (maneya-pradhāna) of Kaṭhāri Sāluva Narasinga Rāya, granted Bānūr and Hulikal in Bayaṇḍ for the decorations and illuminations of the god Bāṅgēśvara of Magge in Bayaṇḍ, in about A.D. 1498, "in order that Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years."

It is superfluous to state that Krīṣhṇa Dēva Rāya's popularity was universal. The epigraphs which we have selected here, convey very meagrely the love and regard which the people of southern India bore him, and which has been handed down to our times. Śrīpati Rāya Timmaya's son Rāyaṇam Koṇḍamarusu granted in A.D. 1512 the village of Rāyakunṭa, otherwise called Ayōdhya-pura, in the Penugonḍa kingdom, for the worship of the seasons of the god Rāmacandra of Penugonḍa, in order that dharma might be to Vira Krīṣhṇa Rāya and merit to Śrīpati Timmapa. A gift of land was made by the same great general for the same purpose in the same year (Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa) to the temple of Mallikārjuna-dēva at Kambhadūru, Anantapur district. A private

1 E. C., X, Gd. 80, p. 229.
2 Ibid., Gd. 78, p. 229.
3 E. C., X, Kl. 34, p. 8.
4 E. C., IV., Hg. 74, p. 76.
5 E. C., XII., Pg. 5, p. 117.
6 96 of 1913.
person built the temple of Virabhadra at Kommuru, Kistna
district, in honour of the great monarch in A. D. 1516.¹ According
to the late Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, we have to interpret
an inscription dated A. D. 1517-18 in the sense that a grant of
land was made to the temple of Chauḍēśvari at Chōḷasa-
mudram, Anantapur district, in order that the same ruler might
have issue. Here too it was again the same great Brahman-
general Koṇḍamarusayya, son of Timmarasu-mantri, who made
the gift.² Harihara Nāyaka, son of Mallappa Nāyaka, in Śaka
1441 (A. D. 1519-20) gave as a gift revenue amounting to
33½ paṇam to the temple of Tirumala-Uḍaiya-Nāyiṅār at Dēva-
sthānam Dēvakāpuram, North Arcot district, for the merit of
the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and Tirumalai Nāyaka.³

In Śaka 1443 (A. D. 1521-2) and with the same object of
expressing his patriotic sentiment, Vāsāl Timmappa Nāyaka
granted the village of Saṅganapaḷḷi in Chandragiri-rājya for
offerings to Aiṅjand Piḷḷaiyār in the third prākāra of the temple
of Kāḷahastiśvara, at Kāḷahasti.⁴ In the next year (Śaka 1443)
Maṅgarasaṅ, who has been identified with Taranikka Maṅga-
raśayyaṅ, viceroy of Tiruvaḍi-rājya, granted the village of
Chidambaranāṭhapuram to the temple of Chidambaram for the
welfare of the great ruler.⁵ Sāḻuva Gōvinda Rāja, son of
Bāchi Rāja, in A. D. 1522, gave as a gift 477 gadyāṇa with an
array of imposts for the offerings, decorations and festivals of
the god Triyambaka of Terakaṇāmbi, “in order that our lord
Vira-pratāpa Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya may obtain abundance
of horses, elephants, armies and wealth, and gain victorious
dominion in all quarters”.⁶

An equally patriotic chief was Basavayya, who assigned in
the same year the rents, customs, and all other rights

¹ Sewell, Lists, I, No. 7, p. 83.
² 87 of 1912; Ep. Report for 1912, pp. 80-1.
³ 358 of 1912.
⁴ 182 of 1922.
⁵ Ep. Report for 1914, p. 99; see also 426 of 1909.
⁶ E. C., IV. Gu. 1, p. 35.
of the village Sōgehaḷḷi in Bayi-nāḍ-shṭhāḷa, for the decorations of Rāmeśvara-linga of Maṭakeṭe, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya.\(^1\) In Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) a grant of the village of Ghaṭanahaḷḷi in the Uchchhaṅgi-vēṇṭhe, was made (by Viśana Rāvutta, son of Murāri Rāvutta?) to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa for the merit of the Emperor.\(^2\) Hanumappa Nāyaka in A. D. 1527 “in order that dharma might be to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya”, granted land (specified) as a koḍage-māṇya to a donee not mentioned in the record.\(^3\) An inscription dated A. D. 1528 informs us that Dēvarasayya made a grant of Āludūr village, in Tāyūr-shṭhāḷa, (to the Brahmins of Ummattūr?) as a permanent endowment. This epigraph contains the usual phrase that “merit accrue to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya” and at the same time, “by order of Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya.”\(^4\) Since we know from various sources that that great monarch was too generous and noble to order a petty official to commemorate his sense of patriotism by a grant of land, we may reasonably assume that the phrase “by order of Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya” may have been used in the sense of the donor’s having made public the gift in the presence of the officers of the king.

These officers themselves were popular, as records embodying gifts of land in their honour or for their merit, do testify. In a partly effaced inscription dated A. D. 1514, Dēvarāyapaṭṭana Timma Oḍeyar’s son Keṇcha Sōmaṇa Nāyaka granted Vāṇiyageṭe, giving it another name of Sōmasamudra, for the offerings of the god Janārdhana of Bairavapatiṭṭaṇa, in order that merit might be to Narasimha Nāyaka, who was evi-
dently the officer placed over Bairavapaṭṭana.  

1 Rāyadurga Tipparasa's son Bhōgarasa in A. D. 1527 granted the village of Kaḷavekal, otherwise called Tipassamudra, of Mukundasāgara in the Kundāṇi-sīme belonging to the Muḷuvāyi-chāvaḍi, for certain specified offerings and lights of the god Prasanna-Virūpāksha, in order that dharma might be to his ruler Tipparasa Oḍeyar.  

2 The people continued to show their love for the great monarch till the last year of his reign. An inscription dated A.D. 1529 in front of the Mallikārjuna temple at Paṅkajanaḥalli, Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi tāluka, tells us that on the holy occasion of Sīvarātri, Chenni Seṭṭi of Bāṇavāḍi granted in the presence of the god Virūpāksha of Paṃpākshētra, the village of Paṅkajanaḥalli for the god Mallikārjuna of the village, for the prosperity of the Emperor Krīṣṇa Dēva Rāya.  

3 Chandra Śekharayya, according to an inscription also dated in the same year (Saka 1451), gave as a gift the village of Gaṭirāpēṇṭa to Rāchūṭi Viraṇoḍaya of Basava Maṭha, for the merit of the great monarch, Dēmarasayya, and himself.  

4 In an effaced epigraph assigned to the same year, Malapa Nāyaka "granted this pura" (Chaudayanahaḷḷi in Tiptūr?) "in the name of his mother Mudaiya", to Virapa Oḍeyar in order that merit might accrue to Krīṣṇa Rāya.  

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1 E. C., IX. Cn. 164, p. 167.
2 E. C., X. Mb. 97, p. 100, P. II, p. 91. There are certain considerations against this stone inscription dated Śālivāhana-saka-varaṇa 1449 neya Sarvajita-sancaṭatsarada kārtika-Śu 12 lu=A. d. 1527, Nov., Tuesday, 5th. Swamikannu, Ind. Eph., V, p. 257. The ruler mentioned in this epigraph is Virūpāksha Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, who is given the usual titles of Mahārājaḍhirāja, Rāja-paramēśvara, and Vira-pratāpa of the Vijayanagara monarchs. This date falls within the reign of Krīṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great (A. d. 1509-29). Virūpāksha (II), son of Dēva Rāya II, by Simhaḷa Dēvi, ruled from A. d. 1467-78. The only possible explanation of the appearance of Vārūpāksha in A. d. 1529 is that he may be a member of the royal family, whose identity is yet to be ascertained, entrusted with the care of government by Krīṣṇa Dēva Rāya, while the latter was away from the capital. B. A. S.
3 My Arch. Report for 1918, p. 52.
4 15 of 1915.
5 E. C., XII, Tp. 138, p. 68.
The popularity of Achyuta Rāya, in spite of the adverse evidence given by Nuniz, is proved by epigraphs which contain similar grants for the merit of the monarch. Tavanidhi Tipanā Gaūḍa rebuilt in A. D. 1529 the Ankuravallī village in the Chandragutti-vēṇṭhe which Harihara Mahārāya had granted for the god Śrīkaṇṭha. This village which had gone to ruin, was rechristened Amṛitatūpa and given as a gift to the same god “in order that a secure empire might be to the Mahārājādhīrāja (with other titles) Achyuta Rāya”\(^1\) The agents of Tiruvēṇagada Anṇayan, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Vikrita, Tai, 13 (= A. D. 1530, January 9th, Sunday), gave certain house-sites and money as a gift to private individuals (named) in order that merit might accrue to Achyuta Dēva Rāya, for the formation of a māda-vilāgam and service in the temple of Agastyēśvara at Avirīṇ.\(^2\) Mālapa Nāyāndū presented a bell to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam, Kurnool district, and a lace cloth to the goddess Brahmarāmā, in Śaka 1452 (A. D. 1530-1), for the merit of Achyuta Dēva Rāya and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.\(^3\) The Gaṇḍaragellī Daḷavāyi Soṇḍappa Nāyaka’s son Nāgappa Nāyaka granted in A. D. 1531 a pura dharma-śāsana for the god Chennakēsava of Kāḍanūr transferring the village of Kāḍanūr in the Hulukaḍi-nāḍ, which he had received as an emolument for his Nāyakaship, for the service of the god, in order that dharma might be to the monarch.\(^4\) Bhōgaya Dēva Mahārāja, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1453 expired, Khara, (A. D. 1531), granted the jōḍi amounting to fifty poṇ to the Tāḷapuriśvara shrine in the Śiva temple at Tiruppanaṅgādu, North Arcot district, with the permission of Tirumalaiyā Dēva Mahārāya, for the merit of Achyuta Dēva Rāya.\(^5\) For the same purpose the door-keeper of the monarch (avaṇa kaṭṭi-gaṇa) Kāmanna Nāyaka granted the Śripatiḥalṇī for the offer-

\(^1\) E. C., VIII, Sb. 39, p. 7.
\(^3\) 23 of 1915.
\(^4\) E. C., IX, DB. 50, p. 69.
\(^5\) 253 of 1906.
ings, anointing, worship, illuminations, and all other ceremonies of the god Gaṅgādhara "dwell ing in the southern Kāśī." Rāmabhaṭṭar gave 2000 paṇam as a gift in Śaka 1453 (A. D. 1533-4) for the merit of Aehyuta Rāya Mahārāya and his queen Varadā-dēvi-ammaṇ, for offerings made to the god at Kāḷahasti on the occasion of the halt made by the god at the pavilion in the (Orandū) garden on the day of Paṅgunī-Uttiram.

Another record of the same date (Śaka 1455, Vijaya) informs us that Tiṭṭārapīḷḷai gave the village of Periya-Puḷiyāyi, surnamed Narasimhapuram, to certain Brahmans, for the merit of the king on the occasion of the consecration of Lakshmi-Narasimha-mūrti. Kūḷūr Rāma Rāya also expressed his patriotic sentiment in a similar manner by granting the Balūranahāḷḷi for the god Chennakēsava of Muḷuvāgil, in A. D 1533. A gift of land and taxes accruing from Kumbāngudi and Vēṭṭāngudi for the consecration and daily worship of the image of Naṭarāja was made by Anantāḷvār, the Agent of king, for the merit of the ruler, in Śaka 1456 (A. D. 1534-5).

In order that dharma may be to Achyuta Dēva Rāya, Penugōḍe Aḍyada Vāraṇāsi Sūrappa's son Mādarasa, official under the treasurer Timmappaya, granted the village of Sargūr in the Niṭṭūr-bhaṭavṛitti-sthaḷa in the Chennapaṭṭaṇa kingdom, in A. D. 1534, for the god Majalēsvara of Kōḍambaḷḷi in the Chennapaṭṭaṇa-sīme. An inscription dated in the Śaka year 1458 informs us that an individual hailing from the Toṇḍaimaṇḍala gave land as a gift for the offerings of the temple of Raṅganātha Perumāḷ at Tirumēṟ-kōṭṭai, Tanjore district, for the merit of the monarch.

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1 E. C., IX, Nl. 83, p. 48.
2 181 of 1922.
3 238 of 1910.
5 330 of 1923.
7 272 of 1917.
Pāḷlikoṇḍa Mudaliyār, son of Narasaṇa Mudaliyār, according to a record dated in the cyclic year Durmukhi (A. D. 1536?) had the same motive when he made a gift of land to the same temple of Mēkku-Nāyaṇār at Tirumērkottai. Achyuta Rāya Mallapaṇṇa in A. D. 1537 made over the village of Nandicheruvu in the Buraḍakunṭe-sīme to the god Vīrēṣvara of Lepākshi in the Penugoṇḍa-sīme, in order that merit might be to Achyuta Mahārāya. Rāmabhaṭṭar-ayyaṉ gave further proof of his service to the State by granting in Śaka 1461 (A. D. 1539-40) as a gift 6,360 exao for offerings to the god at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor district, for the merit of the ruler. In A. D. 1539 Bhanḍāram Aparasaya’s son Timmarasayya and Koṇḍappayya made a grant of Māragānikuṇṭa, with its hamlets, in the Guyyalūr-sīme attached to Penugoṇḍa, for the offerings of the god Māragānikuṇṭa Tiruvēṅgalanātha, in order that merit might be to the monarch. According to a record the date of which is effaced, Rāṇōji Nāyaka made a gift of the village of Kalahalli, also for the merit of the king.

There are some epigraphs which mention grants for the merit of the officers of the monarch. Tippa Nāyaka’s sons Mudureya, Kotte Chemmana and Timmaya, holding the pōruṇaḷya of the Burudakunṭe-sīme, for the merit of their lord Narasimha Nāyaka’s son Narasapa Nāyaka, built in A. D. 1532 a stone maṇṭapa within the temple of Chennakēśavarāya of the . . . pēte, in the Ānemadāgū village, and dedicated it to that god. Allappa Nāyaka in A. D. 1533 granted all the lands included in Koppa, otherwise called Timmāpura, in the village of Hurulī of the Ghaṭṭe-sthāla belonging to the durga of

1 261 of 1917.
2 E. C., X, Bg. 5, p. 231, Bp. 4 dated in the same year tells us that the donor had received the same village as a gift from four persons (named). Ibid page.
3 160 of 1924.
5 262 of 1918. This record was found on a slab set up near the Kallēśvarasvāmin temple at Masuvana, Kallahalji.
Gutti, for the offerings and perpetual lamp of the god Hanumanta of Hurali, in order that much merit may accrue to Hiriya Tirumala Rājayya, the Agent for the affairs of Achyuta Rāya Mahārāya. Kēśava Rāvuta made a grant of lands (specified) for the offerings to the god Virabhadra of Guṇḍērī, in A.D. 1539, “in order that the Agent for his (the Emperor’s) affairs, Achyuta Rāya Malliyāṇṇa-āyya might have long life and good fortune”. Since it is not improbable that charity may have been forced from the subjects by high officials, the significant phrase “by order of Chandappa Nāyaka” occurring in the inscription may be understood to mean in this case that the donor may not have made the grant out of his free will.

The same patriotic motives which marked the charitable endowments of the people of the times of Kṛishna Dēva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya continued to manifest themselves under the next sovereign Sadāśiva Rāya. An effaced inscription dated A.D. 1540 informs us that the Mahāmanḍalēśvara...mariya... mahā-arasu, in order that merit might be to Sadāśiva Mahārāya, granted the customs on goods by road both ways at Hiriya Mālūr, for the service of the god Tiruvēṅgalanātha. Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Sōbhakrīt, Tai, 2 (but assignable to the Śaka year 1463 expired—December, Thursday 29th A.D. 1541), gave the village of Periya-Āsur to the temple of Alagiyāśinga Perumāḷ at Eṇṇāyiram, South Arcot district, for the merit of the Emperor. Mudagaṭṭa Paṇḍitayya, the Agent of Salaha-Rāja Chennaya Dēva Mahā-arasu, in A.D. 1547, granted the village of Rāmāpura of the Bāṅavādi-sthaḷa, for the illuminations and offerings of the god Virabhadra of Bāṅavāḍi. The object of the donor was the same. Sūrappa Nāyaka made a

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1 E. C., VIII, Sb. 379, p. 67.
2 E. C., XI, Hk. 20, p. 118.
3 E. C., XII, Mi, 66, p. 110.
4 337 of 1917.
5 E. C., IX. Ma. 74, p. 60.
gift (evidently of land to the Venkataramaṇavāmi temple at Gingee), in Śaka 1472 (A. D. 1550-1) for the merit of Sadāśiva Rāya. Eka Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka granted the village of Baluvaḷi otherwise called Kṛishnasamudra, for the offerings of the god Chenniga Rāya of Bāgūr, in about A. D. 1552, in order that merit might accrue to Sadāśiva Rāya.2 Sugatūr Tammappa Gauḍa in A. D. 1566 granted the village Dāsarahalli, otherwise called Dēvapura, also for the same purpose.3 The great Āvaṭi-nāḍ prabhu Soṇapa Gauḍa-aṭṭa grants the village of Muḍigere in Hosūr-nāḍ, in A. D. 1565, for the festivals and illuminations of the god Chennakēśava of Muḍigere, “in order that unfading merit might be to Sadāśiva Rāya Mahārāya, to Tirumala Rājayya and to their sons, and that the world of unfading merit might be obtained by his own mother and father”. The grant was made in the days of woe that followed the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḷi. It states that it was made “by his (the Emperor’s) command, and by order of Tirumala Rāya.”4 Since it is doubtful whether Sadāśiva Rāya would have commanded one of his great nobles to issue a grant, when questions of the greatest importance were facing him, and since it is impossible to believe that both the monarch and Tirumala Rājayya would have simultaneously ordered a chief to make a grant, we are to assume that the great Āvaṭi-nāḍ prabhu was merely giving vent to the conventional mode of expressing his gratitude to the ruler and the powerful Tirumala Rājayya, when he said that it was at their instance that he assigned the village of Muḍigere for the local temple.

The most prominent figure in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya is, of course, that of Rāma Rāya. We have already cited evidence to prove that the people characterized the times as dharmada-pārupatya of Aliya Rāma Rāya. In about A. D. 1540, Viraṇṭa Oḍeyar granted Maha . . . pura village for the

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1 240 of 1904. The details of the gift are not enumerated here.
3 E. C., IX, Ht. 3, p. 88.
4 E. C., X, Gd. 52, p. 223.
god Sōmēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Rāma Rāya. Gumma-daṇḍa-ayya in A. D. 1547 made a grant from the lands attached to his office of amara-nāyaka, for the perpetual lamp of the god Amṛitēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Tirupati Rāma Rāja-ayya, who could have been no other than the famous Regent. According to a record dated Śaka 1472 (A. D. 1550-1) Viśvanātha Nāyaka, Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rāya, made a gift of a dēvadūna hold (paṭṭayam) of land in Deśi, Śevval, and other places, in lieu of an annual income of paddy, to the temple of Ādityavannichchuvaramudaiya-Nāyinār, at Śevval alias Virakēralanallūr, for the merit of the Regent. Mūrti Nāyaka, Agent of Rāmappa Nāyaka and of Kadaikūṭṭu Śevagapperumāḷ, according to an epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Sādāharana, Āvaṇi, Kollam 726 (A. D. 1550, August), gave land as a gift for conducting offerings and worship during the festivals in the months of Sittarai and Āvaṇi in the temple of Ādityavannichchuvaramudaiya-Nāyinār at Śevval in Muḷḷi-nād, on behalf of the king. An inscription dated Śaka 1482 (A. D. 1560-1) informs us that Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Nāgama Nāyaka, made a gift of taxes on looms to Tālapuriśvara temple at Panamalai, South Arcot district, for the merit of Aḷiya Rāma Rājaya, son of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śrīraṅga Rājaya Dēva.

Some popular officials of this period deserve notice. The Pēṭe Rāma Nāyaka's son Varada Nāyaka granted, by means of a dharma-sasana in A. D. 1542, the village of Mukkari of the Tēkal fort for the god Allājanātha of Māsiti, in order that dharma might be to Tirumala Rāya Oḍeyar. The ruler who is mentioned here is evidently Venkatapati Dēva Rāya who

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1 E. C., X, Mb. 231, p. 126.
2 E. C., VI, Tk. 41, p. 109.
3 599 of 1916.
4 598 of 1916; Swamikanmu, Ind. Eph., V, p. 303.
5 622 of 1915. Viśvanātha was the Agent of Rāma Rāya. 385 of 1916, op. cit. On his death, read Satyanatha, Nayaks, p. 66.
ruled for a brief period of one year. Rāchur Narasīṃhaya granted the village of Allāṣundra in the Sivanasamudra-sīme, for the offerings of the god Allāḷanātha of Jakkūr, in A. D. 1544, in order that merit might accrue to his master, the Mahā-
maṇḍalēśvara, the Marāṭa Viṭṭhīḷēśvara Dēva Mahā-arasu. Loḍava Nāyaka, son of Boile Nāyaka, and Keśchapa Nāyaka, son of Lakhapa Nāyaka, in A. D. 1560, made a grant of a village (not specified in the record) in the Bēlūr-sīme, for the service of the god Tirumala of Kahu, in order that merit might accrue to Virūpa Rāja Odēyar.

In about A. D. 1552 Narasappaya, Agent for the affairs of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timma Rājaya, granted the Channiganapura village in Amachavāḍi-sthāla, for the decorations and services of the god Anilēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishṇappaya. It cannot be determined whether this Kṛishṇappaya is to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the following inscriptions. The Mahānāyakāchārya Koṇḍana Nāyaka's son Tirumala Nāyaka granted land under the Kāmasamudra tank in A. D. 1558 for the god Virabhadra, in order that merit might accrue to Baiyapa Nāyaka's son Kṛishṇapa Nāyaka. An inscription dated Śaka 1483 (A. D. 1561-2) records the gift of the tax talaiyārikkam in Kūgayur-pēṭtai, South Arcot district, for special worship on Fridays in the shrines of Periyammai in the temple of Poṇparppi-Nayīnār and Oppilāda Ammai in the temple of Paṅchākshara-Nayānār at Kūgayūr by an Agent of Śūrappa Nāyakkar Ayyaṇ, for the merit of adigāram Kṛishṇapp Nāyaka. Kāmarasa Odēyar, Agent for the affairs of Kṛishṇapp Nāyakayya, granted to the priests (sthānikarigē) of Sidē-dēva of Naṇḍi a bhāshā-patra, in

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1. E. C., X, Mr. 62, p. 169; Rice, Mysore & Coorg, p. 118.
3. E. C., IV, Nj. 31, p. 120.
4. Ibid., Ch. 123, p. 17.
5. E. C., XI, Cl. 47, p. 103.
6. 106 of 1918.
about A. D. 1565, granting to the god fifteen gadyāṇa, which
the gaṇāchāris had given for Sidē-ḍēva, in order that merit
might accrue to Kṛishnappa Nāyakayya. The epigraph further
adds that “with these fifteen gadyāṇa an offering will be made
once a day, pronouncing the name of Kṛishnappa Nāyakayya.”

The dearth of inscriptions dealing with ‘dharma that might
accrue to the king’ in the ages following the reign of Rāma
Rāya indicates in some measure the growing degeneracy that
was dawning on the minds of the people of the Vijayanagara
Empire. But perhaps future research may throw some light
on this phase of the character of the people.

CHAPTER VII

HABITATION, DRESS AND FOOD

SECTION I Houses

FROM the accounts of foreign travellers we can gather
some information about the food, dress and houses of the
people and princes of Vijayanagara. Paes relates the following
about the general situation of the royal palace: “This palace
of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the
others, and encloses a greater space (teraā moor cerca) than all
the castle of Lisbon.” The same chronicler gives a detailed
description of the royal palace, “The palace is on this
fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I
have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height,

1 E. C., VI. Tl. 33, p. 109. For later notices of public service, see
Taylor, O. H. MSS., 11, pp. 33, 169, 213-14. For some epigraphs which
cannot be dated for want of sufficient details, see 257 of 1922 which men-
tions the gift of the village Māṇaiyaṇ-tangal by Vayara Nāyanār, the head-
man of Vēla-śarukali for worship to the god Vaṣikaram-Uḍaiya-Tambirānār of Vayalaiṅkāvār, for the merit of Nellama-bommi Nāyaka of
Vēḷār. This falls in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. 489 of 1906 dated only
in the cyclic year Anaṇḍa, mentions the gift of two gardens to the temple
of Chammarāya at Nāgadhari by Kṛishnappa Timmarāju Nāgarāju Veņ-
kaṭa Rāju Kṛṣṇa. For the merit of Raṅgapatī Rāju,
2 Sewell, For Emp., p. 254.
made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (terrea); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (corredor) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast.”

The same Portuguese chronicler tells us why they were allowed to see the interior of the palace. “The king (Krishna Dëva Råya), then, being in his new city, as I have said, Christovão de Figueiredo begged him of his kindness that he would permit him to be shown the palace of the city of Binsaga, forasmuch as there had come with him many Portugese who had never been in Binsaga, and they would rejoice to see it, in order to have somewhat to tell of on their return to their own lands, whenever God should take them there. The king at once commanded that they should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of Binsaga, the governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo, and is brother of Salvatinica, showed us the palace.

“You must know that on entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king’s wives make

1 Sewell, For Emp., p. 263.
2 The “Guandaja” of Nuniz, Sewell, ibid., pp. 284, n. (1) 361. I believe this name stands for Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja, who has already figured in these pages. B. A. S.
their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor, and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king, and the one on the left is of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

"As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say 'gilded' but 'lined' inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones, and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and, interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross-bars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone; this room is all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of
the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better,—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such. On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains."¹

Then they passed on to a courtyard which will be described in the following pages of this treatise. "Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars, a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from the sculpture"².

"Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold, so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot was a chamber where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones, and the cross-bars were covered with gold. Above this chamber was another, smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber, along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below

² Ibid., pp. 286-7.
as all the rest. Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end three caldrons of gold, so large that in each one they could cook half a cow, and with them were others, very large ones, of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones. Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner ". 1 This was the royal dancing hall which will be described at length in the chapter on games and amusements. The concluding lines of Paes are significant: "They did not show us more than this (dancing hall). The residence of the women no one may see except the eunuchs, of whom I have already told you. From here we returned by the way we had entered to the second gate, and there they again counted us." 2

Pietro della Valle in A. D. 1623, gives us a picture of the provincial palace at Ikkēri. "In this manner we rode to the Palace, which stands in a Fort, or Citadel, of good largeness, encompass'd with a great Ditch and certain ill built bastions. At the entrance we found two very strong, but narrow, Bulwarks. Within the Citadel are many Houses, and I believe there are shops also in several streets; for we pass'd through two Gates, at both of which stood Guards, and all the distance between them was an inhabited street. We went through these two Gates on Horse-back, which, I believe, was a privilege, for few did so besides our selves, namely such onely as entred where the King was; the rest either remaining on Horse-back at the first Gate, or alighting at the Entrance of the second. A third Gate also we enter'd, but on Foot, and came into a kind of Court, about which were sitting in Porches many prime Courtiers and other persons of quality. Then we came to a fourth Gate, guarded with Souldiers, into which onely we Franchi, or Christians, and some few others of the Country, were suffer'd to enter; and we presently found the King (Venkaṭappa Nayaka), who was seated in a kind of Porch on

2 Ibid., p. 289.
the opposite side of a small Court, upon a Pavement somewhat rais’d from the Earth, cover’d with a Canopy like a square Tent, but made of boards, and gilded. The Floor was cover’d with a piece of Tapestry something old, and the King sat, after the manner of the East, upon a little Quilt on the out-side of the Tent, leaning upon one of the pillars which up-held it on the right hand, having at his back two great Cushions of fine white Silk. Before him lay his Sword, adorn’d with Silver, and a little on one side, almost in the middle of the Tent, was a small, eight-corner’d, Stand, painted and gilded, either to write upon, or else to hold some thing or other of his. On the right hand and behind the King, stood divers Courtiers, one of whom continually wav’d a piece of fine white linnen, as if to drive away the flies from the King. Besides the King there was but one person sitting, and he the principal Favourite of the Court, call’d Putapaaia, and he sat at a good distance from him, on the right hand, near the wall.”

As regards the houses of the nobles there are but meagre notices in the foreign accounts. In the course of his description of the manner in which the king of Vijayanagara started on his campaigns, Barbosa makes, as we saw in an earlier connection “a ridiculous statement” to the following effect: “When the time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation (ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched...)” But we may reject this last assertion on the strength of his own evidence and that of Paes. Barbosa in another passage says: “In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion (i.e., “with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built”, and with “wide open spaces, with water tanks in great numbers, in which there is reared abundance of fish”), wherein dwell the great Lords and

2 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 225; Stanley, p. 97. Dames explains why this is “a ridiculous statement”, ibid., n. (1)., The nobles had elaborate houses in Gingee. Heras, I. A., LIV., p. 43. See supra Volume I, p 144.
Governours thereof."1 Paes writes about the "houses of captains and other rich and honourable men," with many "figures and decorations pleasing to look at."2

The houses of the ordinary people seem to have been of course modest in their appearance. The few details we have about them in the inscriptions are supplemented by the remarks of foreign travellers. Hindu tradition has always associated a house with a garden around it.3 In southern India there is good reason to believe that people lived in early times in houses built of bricks and burnt tiles.4 From an inscription dated A. D. 1372 we can make out that houses in Karṇaṭaka,—and we may as well presume, also in the Tamil land,—were built according to standard rules. The record narrates, as we have already seen, the activities of the Paṇḍhālas, and speaks of the "Five foundations, . . . domes, pinnacles, crests and the sixteen signs of the original house, the signs of the sacrificial hall, the sign of the pit for consecrated fire, the sign of slopes, etc., according to standard rules, for these and all other signs."5

That the people were not unacquainted with house-sites is evident from two records dated Śaka 1343 (A. D. 1421-2) and Śaka 1348, Parābhava (A. D. 1426-7) respectively. The former which belongs to the reign of Vīra Bhūpati Oḍēyar, informs us that a gift of a house-site was made to a private individual.6 The latter contains the information that in the reign of Kumāra Dēva Rāya (II), eight house-sites in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-chōḷamaṇḍalam, being declared lost to the stūnattār of Māḍan-pākkam, and that fresh sites were given to them in the street of the Kaikkōḷar of the same town.7

We can only assume that the size of the houses in Vijayanagara must have remained much the same as it was in

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1 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 202; Stanley, p. 85.
2 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 254.
3 Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 67. For some notices of houses in the Budhist times, see Acharya, Dicty. of Hind. Arch, p. 11.
5 E. C., IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, op. cit.
6 653 of 1902.
7 319 of 1911.
the thirteenth century. In about A.D. 1297, the Brahmins (of Bogguvāḷi in Tarike tāluka?) made a settlement as to the size of the houses in the first and second rows, and of the gardens. It ran thus: mahājanaṅgālu māḍīda grāma samaya manē-prathama-nīvēśanakke hanna-duo kayi dvīya-nīvēśanakke hattu kayi tōnta-vṛttige kamba enṭu kalani-vṛttige hennerādu- kayya agala nāḷvattu kayya agala i-mariyādeyalu māḍīda dhrūva1.

A record dated A.D. 1328 contains some additional details as regards the size of the houses. We are told in this inscription that there were some houses which measured six cubits in width and twenty cubits in length, others which were twelve cubits wide and twenty cubits long, and others still twelve cubits wide and thirty cubits long.2

A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1336, of doubtful authenticity, ascribed to the times of Bukka Rāya, gives us some idea of the cost of building a house. On the reverse of this grant we are told that Rāmaṇa Gauḍa, who along with five others had received certain villages from the king as a gift, borrowed 300 nāṃanka varāha from Rāma Reṇḍi for the construction of houses in the newly acquired plot.3 From a record dated A.D. 1393 we learn that houses had upper storeys (māligē)4. They may have had their houses whitewashed in the manner Sāluva Gōparasa-ayyaṇ did the spires he had caused to be built for the temple of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavātika in Koṇḍavīdu in Śaka 1442 (A.D. 1520-1)5.

The remarks of foreign travellers on the habitation of the people are more numerous than those given in the inscriptions. We have had an occasion of citing the testimony of 'Abdur Razzāq who speaks highly of the houses of Bidrūr, which were

1 E. C., VI., Tk. 89, p. 123, text, p. 476.
2 E. C., IV, Yl. 39, p. 31, op. cit.
3 S. R. Aiyangar, Cat. of C. P., in the Mad. Mus., No. 1, p. 42. The Śaka year given is 1001! The plate evidently cannot be relied upon for historical purposes.
4 E. C., X, Kl. 150, p. 53.
5 Ep. Ind. VI, p. 232. For house-building ceremony, see Grihya Sūtras (Śankhāyana), Part I, 3 Adhyaya, Kaṇḍa 2, p. 92 seq.
like palaces.'¹ According to Barbosa, "The other houses of the people are thatched, but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open spaces."² Paes as usual has some interesting observations to make on this subject. While describing the first range of fortifications, he says "... and inside very beautiful rows of buildings made after their manner with flat roofs."³ Then, again, while dealing with Nāgalāpura: "In this city the king made a temple with many images. It is a thing very well made, and it has some wells very well made after their fashion; its houses are not built with stories like ours, but are of only one floor, with flat roofs and towers, different from ours, for theirs go from storey to storey. They have pillars, and are all open, with verandahs inside and out, where they can easily put people if they desire, so that they seem like houses belonging to a king. These palaces have an enclosing wall which surrounds them all, and inside are many rows of houses."⁴ Further, we have the following by the same chronicler: "... and (we) entered some beautiful houses made in the way I have already told you—for their houses are single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although on top there may be other houses; the plan is good, and they are like terraces."⁵ Finally, while describing the population of the capital, he says: "Of the city of Binsnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling-houses in it, all one-storeyed and flat-roofed, to each of which there is a low surrounding wall. . . ."⁶

Caesar Frederick in A.D. 1567 remarked thus: "The houses stand walled with the earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble."⁷

¹ Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 104 Supra, Volume I., pp. 74—5.
² Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 202; Stanley, p. 85; Sewell, For. Emp. p. 129.
³ Sewell, ibid., p. 244.
⁴ Ibid., p. 246.
⁵ Ibid., p. 286.
⁶ Ibid., p. 290.
⁷ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 97.
Linschoten in A.D. 1583, while describing the "Canariins and Corumbins", says: "They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their household stuffe is a Mat upon the ground to sleepe upon, and a Pit or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they live and gaine so much, as it is a wonder."¹

Pietro della Valle noticed in A.D. 1623 a universal custom which escaped the attention of the previous travellers. "When we arriv'd at this Town (which he calls Tumbrè) we found the pavements of the Cottages were varnish'd over with Cow-dung mix'd with water; a custom of the Gentiles in the places where they are wont to eat, as I have formerly observ'd. I took it for a superstitious Rite of Religion; but I since better understand that it is us'd only for elegancy and ornament, because not using, or not knowing how to make, such strong and lasting pavements like ours, theirs, being made sleightly of Earth and so easily spoyl'd, therefore when they are minded to have them plain, smooth and firm, they smear the same over with Cow-dung temper'd with water, in case it be not liquid (for if it be there needs no water), and plaining it either with their hands, or some other instrument, and so make it smooth, bright, strong and of a fine green colour, the Cows whose dung they use never eating anything but Grass; and it hath one convenience, that this polishing is presently made, is soon dry and endures walking, or anything else, to be done upon it; and the Houses wherein we lodg'd we found were preparing thus at our coming, and presently dry enough for our use. Indeed this is a pretty Curiosity, and I intend to cause tryal to be made of it in Italy, and the rather because they say for certain that the Houses whose pavements are thus stercorated, are good against the Plague, which is no despicable advantage. Onely it hath this evil, that its handsomeness and politeness lasteth not, but requires frequent renovation, and he that would have it handsome must renew it every eight, or ten days; yet, being a thing easie to be done and of so little

¹ Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims X., p. 262.
charge, it matters not for a little trouble which every poor person knows how to dispatch. The Portugals use it in their Houses at Goa and other places of India; and in brief, ‘tis certain that it is no superstitious custom, but onely for neatness and ornament; and therefore ‘tis no wonder that the Gentiles use it often and perhaps every day, in places where they eat, which above all the rest are to be very neat’.

The above rather lengthy digression into the use of cow-dung is not altogether valueless, since it is a feature of the Hindu houses which deserves special mention because of its universality. Pietro della Valle has some more remarks to make on the houses inside the palace at Ikkēri. “Some say there are others within, belonging to the Citadel, or Fort, where the Palace is; for Ikkeri is of good largeness, but the Houses stand thinly and are ill built, especially without the third inclosure; and most of the situation is taken by great and long streets, some of them shadow’d with high and very goodly trees growing in Lakes of Water...”

SECTION 2. Dress and Ornaments

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya remarks thus about dress and ornaments: “Take a gem that is flawless and wear it always. On all the days of the week a king should wear the dress and ornaments made of gems befitting his own greatness and the occasions.”  Abdur Razzāq describes the dress of the monarch when he sat in the audience-hall ready to receive foreign ambassadors. “The king (Dēva Rāya II) was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of zaitūn (olive coloured?) satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of

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2 Ibid, p. 245. For some assumptions as regards houses in Vijayanagara, see Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 111; for remarks on rural habitation in southern India, see Hayavadana Rao, Q. J. M. S. XIV, p. 318 seq.
3 Amuktamālsā, v, 283, J. I. H., IV, P. III, p. 76.
4 Elliot, Hist of India, IV, p. 113, n. (2).
regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. Evidently the maxim of Krishṇa Čēva Rāya had already found favour with his predecessors.

Foreign travellers were interested also in the garments worn by the monarch. Varthema says: "The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long, and when he goes to war he wears a quilted dress of cotton, and over it he puts another garment full of golden piastres, and having all around it jewels of various kinds." Paes gives many details about the personality of the great ruler Krishṇa Čēva Rāya, and also about the dress he wore when he received foreign ambassadors. "The king was clothed in certain white cloths embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a pateca of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was barefooted ..." There was one new feature, therefore, in the dress of the monarch which did not exist in the days of Čēva Raya II, and this was the high cap worn "like a Galician helmet". Paes in his description of the twenty women-porters already cited elsewhere, tells us that they also wore high caps called 'collaeś' (kullāyi), "and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls". Nuniz confirms him in this detail of the high caps worn by the kings. "The King never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His cloths are silk cloths (pachoiis) of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one ten pardaos; and they wear at times bajurus of the same sort, which are like shirts with a skirt; and

1 Elliot, Hist. of Ind, IV. p. 113; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 92.
2 Varthema, Jones, p. 129; Temple, p. 53; Sewell, ibid., p. 118.
3 Sewell, ibid., pp. 246-7.
5 Sewell, ibid., p. 273 and n. (1).
on the head they wear caps of brocade which they call *culaes*, and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados. When he lifts it from his head he never again puts it on."¹ Duarte Barbosa and Caesar Frederick, as we shall presently narrate, also speak of these high caps which, according to them, were worn by the common people. From the statues of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great and of the Nāyakas of Madura found in the temples of the south, it is evident that these high caps were the rule of the day from Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya’s times.²

The origin of these caps is given by Barros. While describing an action under the command of Don Menezes, Barros relates that that leader ordered twenty men of his troops to jump into the water and to swim, while he himself at the head of a piece of artillery charged like a furious lion. Don Menezes then called the Moors to retire, whereupon they retired, and charging upon those who were standing with their artillery, he captured it. At this time, “he discerned a great troop of people that was coming towards where he stood, among whom he saw a hat of high peak which covered the head of a horseman and thereby he knew him to be a noble person. This kind of costume comes to India from the China country and as only noblemen can wear it,—as it is a sign of nobility we may call it *quira sol*, the form and use of which it resembles—usually it is six to eight palms in diameter; its stalk (or peak) is little more than fifteen. There are men so skilful in holding it that although the master goes at a gallop on his horse, the sun does not touch him in any part of the body and these they call in India *buiyes*;³ and to see in the court of the prince the lord who accompanied him covered with those hats with high peaks gives them great majesty, because they are handsome to the sight and of much dignity”.⁴

³ The *Bōyeses*.
⁴ Barros, *Este genero de sombrero es trage venido a la India de la Region Chino*, Libro Nonodela, p. 98 (1628 ed.).
There are a few notices of the dress of the nobles of some parts of the Empire. Varthema in the characteristic manner of foreigners ignorant of the climatic conditions and habits of the people, writes thus about the ruler of Honnāvūru: "Traveling thence for two days, we went to another place called Onor, the king of which is a pagan, and is subject to the King of Narsinga. This King is a good fellow, and has seven or eight ships, which are always cruising about. He is a great friend of the king of Portugal. As to his dress, he goes quite naked, with the exception of a cloth about his middle,"^1 Barbosa speaks of the "rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men", in connection with the nobles summoned to the royal presence on a charge of misdemeanour.\(^2\)

Nicholas Pimenta observed the following about the Nāyaka of Gingee in A.D. 1599: "We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him."^3

Pietro della Valle thus describes the appearance of Sadāśiva Nāyaka, the nephew of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. "I saw passing along the street a Nephew of Veṅkaṭāpā Naieka, his Sister's son, a handsome youth and fair for that Country; he was one of those who aspire to the succession of this State, and was now returning from the fields without the Town, whither he uses to go every morning. He is called Sedāśiva Naieka, and was attended with a great number of Souldiers,both Horse and Foot, marching before him and behind, with many Cavaliers and Captains of quality, himself riding alone with great gravity. He had before him Drums, Cornets and every sort of their barbarous

^1 Varthema, Jones, pp. 121-2; Temple, pp. 49-50.
^2 Barbosa, Dames; I., p. 209; Stanley, p. 89; Sewell, For. Emp. p. 130.
instruments. Moreover both in the Front and in the rear of the Cavalcade were (I know not whether for magnificence, or for guard) several Elephants carrying their guides upon their backs, and amongst them was also his Palanchino ".

The same traveller describes the dress of the great personages who accompanied the Bednur ambassador. "Vitūla Sinay and some other personages, who came with them to accompany the Ambassador, were all cloth’d with white garments of very fine Silk, and other rich Silken surcoats upon the same, to honour the solemnity; and upon these they had such colour’d clothes as in Persia they call Scial (Shāl, Shawl), and use for girdles, but the Indians wear them across the shoulders, cover’d with a piece of very fine white Silk, so that the colour underneath appears; or else white Silk alone.

"As soon as we came out of doors Musē Bai presented to the Ambassador one of the colour’d Skarfs inclos’d in white Silk to wear about his Neck; and the Ambassador gave him a piece of, I know not what, Cloth, and in the meantime a public Dancing-Woman, whom they had hir’d, dance’d in the presence of us all."²

The statues of the Nāyakas at Tanjore referred to above, disclose the upper garments worn by the nobles extending from the waist to the ankles, a rich belt, beautiful garlands obviously of golden flowers interlaced with precious stones, and the poniard worn sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left side.³

We now have to ascertain the dress of the common people. ‘Abdur Razzāq tells us the following: "All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers."⁴

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¹ Pietro della Valle, Travels, II., pp. 262-3.
⁴ Elliot, Hist. of India, IV., p. 109; Major India, p. 26.
In a general description of the dress of the people, applicable, on the whole, to the inhabitants of the south as well as the north, Nicolo dei Conti says: "They have no beards, but very long hair. Some tie their hair at the back of their head with a silken cord, and let it flow over their shoulders, and in this way go to war. They have barbers like ourselves. The men resemble Europeans in stature and the duration of their lives. They sleep upon silken mattresses, on beds ornamented with gold. The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems ... The manner of adorning the head is various, but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of their head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair. Some wear false hair, of a black colour, for that is the colour that is held in highest estimation. Some cover the head with the leaves of trees painted, but none paint their faces, with the exception of those who dwell near Cathay."¹

Such of the features as are applicable to the inhabitants of the south, given in the above passage, may be compared with

¹ Major Indio, pp. 22-3.
those given by the eye-witnesses in the Vijayanagara Empire, who speak of the various parts of the country. Varthema in A.D. 1502 summarily describes the people of Maṅgaḷūr: “The inhabitants are pagans and Moors. Their mode of living, their customs, and their dress, are like those above described.”¹ He is here referring to his own observations made in connection with the people of Honnāvūru, which we have seen. While describing the citizens of the capital, he says: “They live like pagans. Their dress is this: the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on their feet. The common people go quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle.”² According to the same traveller, “Their (i.e., of the people of Paleachet or Pulicat) laws, manner of living, dress, and customs, are the same as at Calicut, and they are a warlike people, ...”³

Barbosa says the following about the dress of the people: “The natives of this land are Heathen like himself (i.e., the king); they are tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with ‘physnomies’ like our own: the women go very trimly clad; the men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanderswood, aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rose water. With these they anoint themselves

¹ Varthema, Jones, p. 122; Temple, p. 50.
² Ibid., Jones, p. 129; Temple, p. 53.
³ Ibid, Jones, p. 195; Temple, p. 74. In regard to Calicut, see ibid Jones, p. 143; Temple p. 58.
after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page armed with a sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade-hat with a handle) to shade them and to keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three to four hundred cruzados.¹

Paes remarks thus: "... the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted. The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on the top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy."²

That shoes were common in the south is also proved by the reference to the tax levied on shoe-makers, found in inscriptions. We are told in a record dated A.D. 1375 that shoe-makers were taxed.³

Caesar Frederick relates the following about the articles used in Vijayanagara. "The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezenegere were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes,

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¹ Barbosa, Dames, I., pp. 205-7. Dames gives a valuable note on these umbrellas, p. 206, n (1). See also Stanley, pp. 87-8.
² Sewell, For. Emp., p. 252. We may observe here Mr. Moreland's comments (India at the Death of Akbar, p. 276) on the same subject. He says that "the tradition of nakedness in the south extends to the feet", and tries to prove his case by quoting a part of the statement of Paes given above, thus—"John of Montecorvino reported that shoe-makers were as little required as tailors. Nikitin said, as we have seen, that the people of the Deccan went barefooted. Paes says the same thing of 'the majority of the people, or almost all', in Vijayanagar." But it would have been better if the other statements relating to shoes, given by Paes, had also been cited, since the testimony of Paes, specially when taken in conjunction with that of Nicolo and Barbosa, proves that shoes were common in the south. B.A.S.
³ E. C., X., Ct. 94, p. 262.
and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducates of gold: The apparel that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damase, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damase, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkies: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold."\(^1\) Linschoten, while describing the Canariins and Corumiins, says: "They weare onely a tuske of haire on the top of their Heads, which they suffer to grow long: the rest of their haire is cut short......"\(^2\)

**SECTION 3. Food**

As is well known to students of Hindu polity, Manu and other lawgivers have laid down specific rules in connection with lawful and forbidden food.\(^3\) We shall not enter into the question whether the princes and peoples of Vijayanagara made any endeavour to conform their customs in this respect to the classical regulations. But we shall merely describe the various kinds of food in Vijayanagara, mainly, as in other instances, with the aid of foreign travellers and Hindu writers. It may not be out of place to remark here that the observations we made in connection with the country in general may be recalled, especially in view of the fact that the nature of the food

\(^1\) Caesar Frederick, Purchas., Pilgrims, X., p. 99.


\(^3\) Manu, V, p. 169 seq.; Gautama, XVII; p. 265 seq.; Vishnu, LXVIII, p. 217 seq.: Vaisishtha, XIV, p. 69 seq. For rules regarding eating, Baudhāyana, II., 3, 6, p. 241 seq.
which was common in Vijayanagara was the result of the physical environments, habits and customs of the people.

In the stately reception which was at first accorded to the Persian ambassador, as already remarked in connection with the foreign relations of Vijayanagara, provision was made for a daily supply of two sheep, four couple of fowls, five maunds of rice, one maund of butter, one maund of sugar and two varūha in gold.\(^1\) According to Paes, whose notices of the nature of the country also have been cited,—“These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains, beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat and that good.”\(^2\)

One particular feature of the houses, which we may be permitted to mention again, is that relating to the gardens and plantations. Paes in the above passage tells us that “behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes and jack-fruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting places where merchants halt with their merchandise.”\(^3\) This is, however, partially true, since, as already explained, a plantation, or a tōta, as it is more popularly known is an indispensable adjunct to a Hindu house.\(^4\) Paes himself admits this while describing Nāгалāpura: “… and the

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\(^1\) Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 113, op. cit.


\(^3\) Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 237.

\(^4\) *E. C.*, IV., Ng. 106, p. 141, where a tōta is mentioned.
said city stands in a plain, and round it the inhabitants make their gardens as the ground suits, each one being separate."

Another special feature of the daily life of the people, which we may also be allowed to repeat, is that in connection with the weekly fairs called sante. Paes relates the following: "On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city."  

Nuniz has some additional remarks to make on the condition of markets: "Everything has to be sold alive so that each one may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities. The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack-fruit, and mangoes, and all very cheap."  

The importance attached to the establishment of a weekly fair, which is evident from the manner in which assignments of land and taxes were made by the people for the officials who were in charge of it, as given in more than one epigraph cited in this treatise, may also be remembered in this connection.

In addition to fruits and vegetables the people were fond of oil. According to Paes, "The oil which it (the country) produces comes from seeds sown and afterwards reaped, and they obtain it by means of machines which they make."  

We are unable to determine the kind of oil which is mentioned here; and it cannot be said that this was the only kind of oil that was in popular use in Vijayanagara. The same traveller speaks of the gingelly oil in connection with the daily habits of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. "This king is accustomed every day to drink a quartilho (three-quarter pint) of oil of gingelly before

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2 Sewell, Ibid., p. 256.
3 Ibid., p. 375; see ibid., pp. 243, 257, 258, 259 for the observations of Paes already cited. Supra, Volume I, Chapter II.
4 Ibid., p. 238.
daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil" before he begins his military exercise.  

Among vegetable products other than those mentioned above, which were in constant demand, mention must be made of the betel leaf. 'Abdur Razzāq noted the universal custom of eating this leaf. "This betel is a leaf which resembles that of an orange, but it is longer. It is held in great esteem in Hindustān, in the many parts of Arabia, and the Kingdom of Hormūs, and indeed it deserves its reputation. It is eaten in this way: they bruise a piece of areca nut, which they call supārī, and place it in the mouth; and moistening a leaf of betel or pān together with a grain of quick-lime, they rub one on the other; roll them up together, and place them in the mouth. Thus they place as many as four leaves together in their mouths, and chew them. Sometimes they mix camphor with it, and from time to time discharge their spittle which becomes red from the use of the betel.

"This masticatory lightens up the countenance and excites an intoxication like that caused by wine. It relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to describe, and delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues." The shrewd Persian ambassador, however, displays the inherent bias of a foreigner in the next passage by saying that "It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio" composed of 700 princesses and concubines.  

Paes also observed the use of betel leaf among the people. While describing the privileges of the dancing-women, he says: "These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be. This betel is a herb which has a

1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 249.
2 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 114; Major, India, p. 32.
3 Supra, Chapter VI, Section 3.
leaf like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of the country; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit called areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other virtues; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel all day.”

Nuniz confirms the evidence of inscriptions which, as we have already related in connection with the officials of the Government, speak of an official who carried the betel-pouch (ḥaḍāfa), in his description of the high dignitaries around the king. “The page who served the King with betel had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants.” Next to millet which, according to Nuniz, as already seen, was “moste onsumed in the land”, came “betel (bêtre), which is a thing that in the greater part of the country they always eat and carry in the mouth”.

Pietro della Valle observes thus about its prevalence at Ikkeri: “At the end of this visit Vitulā Sinay caus’d a little Silver basket to be brought full of the leaves of Belle, (an herb which the Indians are always eating, and to the sight not unlike the leaves of Cedars) and, giving it to the Ambassador, he told him that he should present it to the Captain, the Custom being so in India for the person visited to give Belle-leaves to the visitant, where-with the visit ends.” The same traveller in an earlier connection wrote the following, while describing one of the banian trees: “Round about it are fastened Flowers and abundance of a plant, whose leaves resemble a Heart, call’d here Pan, but in other places of

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1 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 242.
2 Ibid., p. 327, n. (3). See also p. 230 where Barradas speaks of the rulers of Madura having descended from the “page of the betel.” See also Pietro della Valle, Travels, II, 255 for the function of the haḍāfa.
3 Sewell, ibid, p. 366.
4 Pietro della Valle, ibid., II., p. 226, see also ibid., n. (4).
India, Betel. These leaves the Indians use to champ or chaw all day long, either for health's sake or entertainment and delight (as some other Nations for the same reasons, or rather through evil custome, continually take Tobacco). And therewith they mix a little ashes of sea-shells and some small pieces of an Indian nut sufficiently common, which here they call Fowfel, and in other places Areca; a very dry fruit, seeming within like perfect wood; and being of an astringent nature they hold it good to strengthen the Teeth. Which mixture, besides its comforting the stomach, hath also a certain biting taste, wherewith they are delighted; and as they chaw it, it strangely dyes their lips and mouths red, which also they account gallant; but I do not, because it appears not to be natural. They swallow down only the juice after long mastication and spit out the rest. In visits, 'tis the first thing offer'd to the visitants; nor is there any society or pastime without it. (Here Pietro refers us to some authors who have written on this plant).  

In the above passage Pietro della Valle in very clear terms points to the use of another plant in India, and this is the pepper plant. Barbosa writes thus: "Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle."  

To the remarks of Paes about the cheapness of mutton, already cited in another connection, we may add his observations on the many but "very unwholesome" fish in the Tuṅga-bhadrā, and those of Nuniz to the following effect: "These Kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the

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1 Pietro della Valle, Travels I, pp. 36-7. The origin of this word is perhaps to be traced to the Konkani phoppal, unless there is another derivation which is non-Indian. Grey has failed to trace its origin. Ibid., p. 36, n. (2). B. A. S.
2 Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 203; Stanley, p. 86.
3 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 258, op. cit.
4 Ibid., p. 259.
heathen, because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows and rats, and cats and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Binsaga."¹ Allowance must be made for these exaggerated notices of Nuniz, especially if they are understood to refer to the monarchs of Vijayanagara, in the light of the saner views expressed by the other foreign travellers. Barbosa, for example, gives us a more rational account of the food of the king and the nobles. "These men eat flesh and fish and other meats, saving beef only, which is forbidden by their perverse idolatry."²

Some conjecture has been made as regards the place from where people ate their meals.³ We may however rely on the evidence of epigraphs on this question. In the generality of cases, according to the ancient traditions, leaves were used while eating food, although the people were not ignorant of plates. An inscription Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) informs us that in the times of Tirumala Dēva Mahārāya, Sūraparāja, Agent of Vākiti Āḍeppa Nāyingāru, freed the Tammaḷa servants of the temple of Sōmeśvara at Gōraṇṭla from supplying leaves (used in eating food) to that temple free of cost, on condition

¹ Sewell, For. Emp., p. 375.
² Barbosa, I, Dames, p. 217, and n. (1); Stanley, p. 93. To assert the following, relying only on the evidence of Nuniz, without corroborating it with that given by other contemporary witnesses and inscriptions, is a very undesirable method of judging the past. "Great laxity seems to have prevailed in matters of diet; and although Nuniz writes that the Brahmans, whom he describes as the cream of Vijayanagar population, never killed or ate any live thing, the people used all kinds of meat". Iswari Prasad, Med. Ind., p. 438. The Brahmans were "the cream of the Vijayanagar population" only to a certain extent: there were others and equally venerable classes, the Jainas and the Liṅgāyats. It is wrong to say that only the Brahmans "never killed or ate any live thing". Barbosa thus writes about the Liṅgāyas: "They also eat no flesh nor fish". Dames, I, p. 218; Stanley p. 94. Although foreigners have ignored the existence of the Jainas, yet it is obvious that they too were as careful and considerate as the Brahmans and the Liṅgāyats in their diet. For Nuniz's notices of the royal kitchen, see Sewell, For. Emp., p. 371 op. cit.
³ Gribble, Hist. of the Deccan, I, pp. 71-2; Chablani, Economic Conditions, pp. 84-5.
that they repaired the temple, built the Śikhara, and con-
structed a compound wall of mud.¹ So late as A. D. 1680 or
thereabouts certain Gauḍas built a village called Bayaṭānagere
at the place where the leaves on which they ate their food fell.²

Before we deal with the description of the Hindu dishes
by writers, we may note briefly the remarks of foreigners on
some etiquette while eating. 'Abdur Razzāq relates the fol-
lowing while describing the attempt that was made on the life
of Dēva Rāya II. "The brother of the king had constructed
a new house, and invited the king and the nobles of state to an
entertainment. The custom of the infidels is, not to eat in the
presence of one another."³ The observations of Nuniz on this
subject are more pertinent. He describes the plot got up by
the nephew of a king whom he calls "Pinarao". "And he,
making all ready, as soon as they were in his house, being at
table, they were all slain by daggers thrust by men kept in
readiness for that deed. This was done without any one sus-
pecting it, because the custom there is to place on the table all
that there is to eat and drink, no man being present to serve
those who are seated, nor being kept outside, but only those
who are going to eat; and because of their thus being alone at
table, nothing of what passed could be known to the people
they had brought with them."⁴ Whether it was a universal
custom not to have any one to serve those who were seated is a
debatable point. It may have been due in this particular in-
stance to the precautions which the guilty prince took to carry
his plot to a successful issue.

For a detailed account of the dishes common among the
people we have to read the descriptions of the Hindu poets.
Terakaṇāmbi Bommarasa (circa 1485) says:

² E. C., VII., Ci 83, p. 195. For the use of drinking cups, see Sarkar
Pos. Back. I, p. 84.
³ Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 115. The Persian Ambassador evi-
dently means by "the presence of one another" strangers, especially of
the low castes. B. A. S.
⁴ Sewell, For Emp., p. 303.
HABITATION

The superficiality of some of the remarks of Nuniz is apparent from the above description in which women are said to serve the dishes during a Hindu dinner.

The poet Māngarasa (111) in about A.D. 1508 gives us details of the recipes of four kinds of dishes in his work sūpaśāstra. Thus about ghariviḷaṅgayi:

महात्म चोकुट सरत्कु चुरप तीसर |
महात्म चोकुट सरत्कु चुरप तीसर |

The different kinds of dishes mentioned in the Ambāsamudra inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya (9th century), Ep. Ind., IX, p. 22; the description given by poet Śāntinātha (circa 1068), Kavicharite, II, p. 9. See also Kavicharite, I, p. 327 for different kinds of bhakṣaṇa as narrated in the Pūrvaṇātha-puṛāṇa. The dishes of southern India may be compared with those of the north. Watters' Yuan Chwang, I, p. 178.
Then about hālagārige:

As regards savuḍu-roṭṭi we have the following:

Thus the constituents of himāmbū-panaka:

The same poet gives us an exquisite description of a Hindu dinner (bhōjana) thus:

\[1\] Kavicharite, II, pp. 184-5.
That we may have some idea of the domestic conditions in a Hindu home in the seventeenth century, the following from poet Anṇāji (circa 1600) about an ṛṭa may be noted:

1 Kavicharite, II p. 188. Only those who are acquainted with the life and customs of the Karnātaka and other south Indian people can appreciate the accuracy with which Mangarasa has described a meal, from the moment the people sit with the ḍonne and leaves before them to the final scenes of appreciation. It is impossible to convey adequately the touch of humour in the above passages. B. A. S.

2 Ibid., II, pp. 336-7. For dishes as described by Lakshmiṣa, read Jaimini Bhārata, Sandhi, vv. 22-3, p. 117. (Sanderson).
But for those who could not afford to command the delicacies of home, there was the mithāyi-āṅgadi (sweetmeat shop) about which too the same poet writes thus:

CHAPTER VIII
CORPORATE LIFE IN SOCIAL MATTERS
SECTION 1. Joint-activity in pre-Vijayanagara Days
The Vijayanagara Empire, some institutions of which we have outlined in the previous pages, did not owe its origin to any supernatural agency that suddenly enabled the sons of Saṅgama to establish their sovereignty over the southern peninsula. We admit that they received considerable support from the religious leaders of the times. But the contribution of the common people was greater for the cause of the country. The Gauḍas of different simes were as much responsible for the growth of the Empire as the gurus of Śrīṅgērī. The part played by the latter has been unduly magnified, while the share of the former has not been estimated. Five brothers aided by one or two intellectual prodigies would never have been able to achieve that measure of success but for the support which they received from the people. When one realizes how stroke upon stroke of the Muhammadans shattered the hopes of the Hindus in the latter half of the thirteenth and in the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, one cannot help feeling that religious merit alone, however profound and great it might have been, would have hardly been able to create a solid wall of opposition out of what was nothing but a universal chaos. Some-

thing equally great and profound was needed to achieve that noble end, and that was found in the remarkable spirit of co-operation which all classes of people brought to bear upon matters of social importance.

But both the rulers and the people of Vijayanagara were only heirs to a rich heritage. Co-operation for a common cause characterized the actions of the people in the Tamil land as well as in the Kāṇṭhākā in early times. Bearing in mind the evidence relating to corporate activities in purely political matters, already cited in this treatise, we may now turn our attention to that pertaining to social issues as recorded in inscriptions. Here we may also include certain quasi-social features in connection with political, economic, legal and religious spheres of life without which our account may be deemed inadequate.

According to a record dated about A. D. 725 it is clear that the people of the Kāṇṭhākā, like those of the Tamil land, were aware of the advantages of corporate existence. The epigraph which gives us this information, is of the times of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, who has been identified with the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya II. The inscription records the mutual obligations and rights of the royal authorities, represented by the Heir-Apparent Vikramāditya, and of the mahājanas (Brahman householders) and burgesses of Lakshmīśwar. The preamble runs as follows: “Hail! the social constitution (āchāra-vyavasthi[silhe]), which the Heir-Apparent Vikramāditya has granted to the Mahājanas and the burgesses and the eighteen prakritis of Porigere (is as follows).” The charter then proceeds to specify the position of the royal officers and their relation to the municipality in the following terms: “The king’s officers are to protect those of the houses that are untenanted, the king’s gift, the king’s proclamation, authoritative testimony of good men (?), constitutional usage (marṣāde), copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of (estate) enjoyed (bhukta-anubhōgam)... the lives of the five dharmas.” Then comes the section defining the duties of the townspeople beginning with the mahājanas
or Brahman burgesses. "This is the municipal constitution (iddu mahājanakke nāgara maryāde). (Here come details of the rates payable by householders and fines from those accused of theft and minor delinquencies). (All these) shall be paid to the guild there in the month of Kārttika. A gutta¹ shall be paid for (?) to the ruva in the month of Māgha." The epigraph which is unfortunately illegible in many parts, next proceeds to refer to the government of the pāṇdis and sēṭtis in the town, the guild of braziers (kañchanagāra-sēṇī) and oilmen and other details which are effaced. The ending of this epigraph which contains a supplementary endowment bears directly on the subject in question, since it deals with the joint-activities of the Brahmans and the common people. "Also the field endowment to (?) the ara of the fortunate Kupparma the three-hundred households and the Gāmunḍa of the province, together with the godīgar (?) have granted."²

From the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. we have more numerous records describing the varied corporate activities of the people. An effaced inscription in Tamil dated about A.D. 1019 informs us that the mahōjanas of Mālavūr alias Irājēndrasirinīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalām granted certain privileges, resembling those given above, in connection with some houses of the village, to Kō...(sarattu-Ādi-māsa...vyavashthiai-paṭvinī pāḍi īv-ūrī grihamgal-ūllavai kshētraman nashṭa...ājñā...lum grihamga...trattōḍu upathyiy-āga ājñā-krayam-idakkadvōm-allav-āgavun grihamgal a...).³ The mahōjanas of the same agrahāra in about A.D. 1160 having received specified sums of money, granted certain lands (specified) as a kuḍaṅgai, as a permanent endowment, to Satyanāda-svāmigal’s son Nīlkanṭha-dēvar. They also bound themselves to exempt lands from certain specified taxes.⁴ In the reign of Hoysala king

² Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 190, 191, ll. 46-55.
³ E. C., IX, Ch. 96, p. 154, text, p. 101.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. 81, p. 148.
Narasimha Dēva in A. D. 1173 Mallapa, son of the accountant Bamma, erected a temple of Galagēsvara in Dōrasamudra. And the generous Bārika-Chinna commended it to Narasimha Dēva, and the townspeople and the sēnabōva Malliyaṇṇa favoured it. The heggaḍe Yareyaṇṇa gave certain specified lands to the temple. And Bārika-Chinnaya and sēnabōva Malliyaṇṇa being present, granted for it one family of oil-mongers and one family of garland makers. And all the townspeople of Chittavaṭṭi and the Brahmans of Hannasēṇi made a grant of a handful of rice, with one areca-nut and two betel leaves per shop. The oilmonger chiefs (many named) of the thousand families, together with the fifty families of the tread oil-mills, granted a solige of oil per mill.¹

When the Kaḷachuriya king Vikramāṇka was “ruling with gentleness” the Banavase-nāḍ in A. D. 1177 and “the thousand of the wealthy Kuppaṭur, followers of Manu’s code were at peace”, on “the wretched Gavuḍasāmi” coming “like an Asura” to destroy the sacrifices of that town, with his followers who attacked, seized, and imprisoned the Brahmans, raided and besieged the villages, “loosing the waists (of the women)” and seizing the prisoners, the brave Kêteya Nāyaka, son of Idukeya Nāyaka, “with a great fury like that of Māri” slew the enemy, recovered the women and livestock but died in the glorious attempt. “All the Brahmans, approving, granted for him a netta(ru)-gōdage and a house (specified) as a permanent endowment”.²

In about A. D. 1180 a fight took place regarding the boundary of Kōravaṅgala and Dudda in the reign of the Hoysala king Vira Ballāḷa II. Baramōja and Masanōja, sons of Biṭṭiyyoja, fell in the fight. “All the Brahmans of the immemorial agrahāra of Šantigrāma and the farmers raised the stone to their memory.”³ Leṅkaṇa Nāyaka of Karimale in A. D. 1223, as related elsewhere, captured the

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 75, p. 75.
² E. C., VIII, Sb. 251, p. 39.
³ E. C., V, P. I, Hn. 70, p. 22.
cows of Malaval and departed. Máva-bóva of Malavalli opposed him, recovered the cows but died in the attempt. “The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nigalur Bommi-Dēvarasa, with the farmers and subjects of Malavalli, approving of Chikka-bóva’s elder brother Máva-bóva’s service, granted land (specified) for him as a nettaru godage.”¹ All the mahājanas of Kūḍalur alias Rāja-rāja-chatur-vēdimāngalam in Kilalai-nādu of Muḍi-goṇḍa-Sōḷa-valanāḍu, bestowed, according to an illegible inscription dated A. D. 1232, upon...the office of gāmuntḍa and granted to him according to former custom certain specified lands. The epigraph does not tell us the reason of their benevolence.² In A. D. 1239 Jakkayya, son of Bomma Gauḍa, fell in a fight about the boundary of Bāgaḍe and Kittanakere. His father and his elder brother set up a viragal in his name. “And all the Brahmans of Vijaya-Narasimhapura, which is Bāgaḍe, being pleased”, granted certain specified land as an unibali to his descendants.³ All the Brahmans of Nallur, in about A. D. 1247, measured the land (in their village?) and made the following order—“For twenty-four years no one of the twelve groups of five may reduce the fixed rate.”⁴

Evidently the Brahmans could also unite for purposes of settling land revenue questions. Nāyaga Nāyaka, son of Hiriya Bomma, in A. D. 1277, fell in a cow raid in Nelkudure. Pleased with his bravery, all the ār-oḍeyas of Nelkudure, Jaya Dēva Daṇḍayaka and all the subjects granted specified land as a nettaru-godage.⁵ In A. D. 1297 Dātiya Sōmaiya Daṇḍayaka’s son Singa(ya) Daṇḍayaka together with the inhabitants of Periya-nādu in Ponmaṇiga-nādu, and the (?) officers at the door of Śiṅgayya Daṇḍayaka, remitted certain specified taxes in the villages which were the property of the god Dāmōdara.⁶

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 268, p. 144.
³ E. C., V, P. I., Ak. 184, p. 185.
⁴ E. C., VI, Kd. 133, p. 25.
⁵ E. C., VII, Ci. 54, p. 188.
⁶ E. C., IX, An. 84, p. 119.
The carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and all the Vira-Paṅchāḷas of the four nāḍīs, belonging to the Jagipu Maṭha of the Hiriya Kāḷa Maṭha of Dōrasamudra, granted a number of taxes to some one whose name is effaced in the inscription.¹ All the Brahmins of the immemorial agrahāra of Nēmatti and a number of Gauḍas (named), "uniting, in order to provide for the gaudiya of Chaṭṭanahali in their nāḍ", purchased land (specified) and granted it, in about A.D. 1314, to Chenneya Nāyaka’s grandson Śaṅkappa as an umbahī.²

But there are also instances of Brahmins having received grants of land at the hands of Gauḍas. In A.D. 1314 Vīra Ballāḷa III gave a royal order (rāyasa) to the Sēnabōva Kāvaṇṇa, Kāla Gauḍa, Nāya Gauḍa, and other Gauḍas and subjects, the nature of which is not specified in the epigraph. These donees, however, on receiving it, granted land in Heggeге irrigated from the Būdihaḷa tank to "all the Brahmins of the all-worshipful senior great crown-agrahāra (pīriya-ṭaṭṭada-mahāgrahāram)" Udbhava-sarbbajñā-vijaya-Ballāḷapura, which is Arasiyakerę", as a permanent endowment.³ An effaced inscription dated A.D. 1326 relates that during the administration of Permnādi and others (named), all the Brahmins of the great āśrama of Mudigonḍachōḷa-maṇḍala, the immemorial agrahāra Malavur, which is the Rājēndra-simha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, gave to the great senior merchants, the Nānā-Dēśi-nakharanagal and all the other people of certain other classes (whose names are given), a niyama-sāsana relating to shops.⁴ All the Brahmins of the great agrahāra Ballāḷapura, which is Kittanakere, with the consent of the royal officer Kāmeya Daṇṇāyaka, son of the great minister Ponnaṇṇa, in about A.D. 1336, granted Madahalu, a hamlet of Kittanakere, as a rent-free estate together with the gauda’s office of Hiruvūr, a house, dues from the fair, and certain specified land in the latter place, to Kala Gauḍa, son

¹ E. C., IX, DB. 52, p. 69.
² E. C., VII, Hl. 76, p. 173.
³ E. C., XII, Ck. 20, p. 79.
⁴ E. C., IX, Cp. 98, p. 155.
of Maleya Rāma Śeṭṭi, for having repaired Kittanakere-sthalā which had fallen into ruins. Nāchappa and Dēvappa, sons of the great master of the robes, Nācheya Heggaḍe, joined the Brahmans on this occasion.¹

Turning to the corporate activities of the people in what may be called legal matters, we have also many instances of the same spirit of joint-action which they showed in socio-political affairs. Buying and selling land, fixing the village boundaries and questions of a similar nature occur in the inscriptions of both the Karpāṭaka and Tamil land. It must have been already evident to the reader that the ancient village assemblies of the south exercised considerable influence in the Tamil country. These remarks only supplement those made in connection with local administration under Vijayanagara. An inscription dated in the fourth regnal year of the king Parakēsarivarman alias Śri-Rājēndra-Sōla Dēva relates that the great assembly of Ukkal alias Vikramābharaṇa-chaturvēdīmaṅgaḷaṁ, ordered the writing of a sale-deed (vilay-āvanām), of land in its own subdivision of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam, for the maintenance of two boats (ōdam) which had been assigned to the tank in their village by an individual (named) of the locality. The sale-deed relates the following, among other details: “We have sold, and executed a deed of sale for three thousand kuḷi, (measured) by a rod of sixteen spans (śāt) (with details) of land which was the common property of the assembly”.² In the record dated in the second regnal year of the king Rājakēsarivarman, we are told that the great men of the big assembly which included the great bhaṭṭas of Nāḷūr, a brahmadēya of Śēṟṟūr-Kūṛram, sold the market-fees (aṅgadik-kūḷi) of the bazaar street in their village to the god Mahādēva of Mūḷasthāna at their village of Tirumayāṇam. These great men including the bhaṭṭas sold and executed the sale-deed (vilai-śrāvanai) with certain specified conditions relating to the

māhēśvaras and the members of the assembly.\(^1\) In the Vēlūṟpāḷiyam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman (III), we are told that along with a long list of exemptions (pariḥāra) and a written declaration (vyavasthā) Tirukkāṭṭupalli was made over to the temple assembly (paraḍai Skt. parishad) of the village by a certain Yajña Bhaṭṭa, in the sixth year of the reign of the king.\(^2\) An inscription dated in the third year of the reign of king Parakēsarivarman alias Śrīrājēndra Śōladēva, Sōmanātha, the supreme lord of Nipuṇilapura, and other great lords purchased from the citizens of Vāṇapuram in Karaivali, in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam, the cultivating land called Gaṅgādēviṇaṇaḷi. The epigraph further states that the citizens of Vāṇapuram sold and gave by a deed of sale, with all exemptions, the land enclosed within the boundaries (specified), having received from Sōmanātha the whole of the purchase-money and the tax-money due for the one thousand kuḷi “at the very place of the sale.”\(^3\) An inscription dated in the ninth year of the reign of the king Parakēsarivarman alias Rājēndra-Chōla Dēva, relates that certain shepherds (named) made provision to supply ghee for a lamp in the Arinjiśvara temple, and agreed to stand security for one of them in case he died, absconded, got into prison, fetters or chains.\(^4\)

Legal disputes in the Kāṅṭaka, as the examples we have already given prove, seem to have been sometimes settled by the sword. The people, however, compensated their provincial

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\(^1\) S. I. I., III, P. III, pp. 222-3. See also ibid, p. 262 for a sale-deed by the villagers (ūrōm) of Tiruvīḍavandai in Paduvūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Amūrū-kōṭṭam. See also S. I. I., III, P. I, p. 11, for certain specified restrictions imposed on the members of the village and commissions of the temple of Śātan, by the great assembly of Śivachūḷāmaṅgaḷam alias Vikramābharaṇa-chaturvēdiṁaṅgaḷam.

\(^2\) S. I. I., II, P. V., p. 507. The request (vijūṇṭi) was made by the Chōla Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, while the executor (ājūṇṭi or āvattī) was the minister Namba of the Agradatta family.

\(^3\) Ibid., III, P. I, pp. 108-9.

\(^4\) Ibid., III, P. I, p. 29. It is impossible to do any justice to the numerous instances of corporate activities among the people of the Tamil land. The examples we have given here hardly convey the spirit of cooperation which runs through the actions of the ancient Tamilians. B. A. S.
animosity by joint-endeavours at providing for the families of those who fought and died in their cause. Thus in about A. D. 1174 Honna Gauḍa, son of Bhīma, died in the war about the boundary of Honnāvūru and Niragunḍa. On which all the people of Masāṇa, in the government of the senior betel-carrier, the Heggaḍe Māchiyaṇṇa, uniting (made a grant for his family).  

The custom of selling and buying land, and of settling questions connected with it, by corporate bodies was also common in the Karnāṭaka. In A. D. 1179 the Brahmans of Sīndaghaṭṭa, also called Saṅgamēsvara, sold to Mādaṇṇa and Bommaṇṇa, sons of Gandani Dēvaraṇṇa, for forty-four gadyāṇa certain specified land belonging to the god Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa of Sīndaghaṭṭa. The following is related in an inscription dated about A. D. 1215: Biṭṭi-guru, son of Devarāṣi-guru, the temple priest (sthānāḥchārya) of the immemorial agrahāra Vijaya-Narasimhapura, which is Kaḷikaṭṭi, together with Jagata Jiya and others (named) agreeing among themselves in the presence of the great senior merchant Ponnachcha Šeṭṭi and others (named), gave to all the Brahmans of the same agrahāra, a vōle (or written deed) as follows: "A dispute having arisen as to some gain in the land of the god Kamaṭēsvara,—the people of the place, Ponnachcha Šeṭṭi, the Jiyas, Gavuḍas and Chau-gāveyas having assembled, inspected the place, saw that from the beginning it was no part of the god's endowment, and said to those priests,—' It is not right for you to dispute about this'. On which the priests agreeing said: 'We will make no dispute. From this day forth the land of all the temples which we have been enjoying is ours; the land which the Brahmans have been enjoying since the agrahāra was established is theirs. When the land was distributed to us and to the Brahmans there was no watchman for Haḷli Hiriyūr.'" Such was the vōle given to the Brahmans by the priests (sthānīkara).  

2 Ibid., Ak. 49, pp. 127-8.
Among themselves also the Brahmans could act for a common purpose. In A.D. 1229 all the Brahmans of Taļirūr agrahāra agreeing together made a sameya-śāsana as follows: "Shares (vṛittigālanu) which have not paid the fixed rent (siddhāya) and are ruined, from the day they have been left ḍhala,¹ will pay interest at the rate of three hāga a month for a hon. The ḍhala share may be redeemed up to three months on payment of the rent and interest (ḍhalaḥ ṭṭa vṛittiyan uram vriddhikavāgi tiṅgalu mūrakke honna teṭtu bīdisikombaru). If not redeemed, the ḍhala share may be exchanged, mortgaged, sold or given away (bīdisada-paksha ō-vōhašada vṛitti sanda mōru-ādhi kraya-dōnākke saluvudu). No debtor can claim the former rent from the date of the share being left ḍhala as a debt. Such is the rule made for the village. Whoso transgresses this (will incur the anger) of the emperor, and be..."²

The above settlement is almost of the same nature as the following which was made by all the Brahmans of the Mallikārjuna agrahāra, which is Diṇḍigūr, in A.D. 1231. "Considering that the former division was not equal," these Brahmans of Diṇḍigūr had the wet and dry fields of the villages measured by agents, and agreeing among themselves on the principle that all were equal and should share alike, made the following permanent settlement of the desired shares (dhrivav āgi ʻichchā-vṛittiyaği). Here follow the number of shares allotted to each village (named); altogether 158 shares. All those who have permanently agreed to this settlement, "if anything should befall from the act of God or from the inroad of wild tribes, cannot excuse themselves saying it is not equal. By whatever village any sale or gift takes place, this settlement is not to be transgressed."³

It was perhaps to avert common legal disputes that all the Brahmans of Agunda on the occasion of the construction of

¹ "No meaning can be found for this word, which is not in any dictionary." E. C., V, P. I., p. 171, n. (3).
² Ibid., Ak. 128, p. 171, P. II, p. 519.
³ Ibid., Cn. 170, p. 200.
the Kāliya-gaṭṭa of Saṅḍa by the minister Sōmaiya Nāyaka, enacted a rule to the following effect: “Whatever trouble arises about these, those Brahmins and the farmers and chiefs of Neluvalige will dispose of it.” The persons referred to here were those in whose presence the Brahmins of Agunda gave Sōmaiya Nāyaka a grant of various specified lands. They were the Brahmins of the immemorial agrahāra Tumbegana Hasāur, Eđevoḷalu, Sāḷūr, Bannivūr, Biriguṇji and Koṭṭurhaḷḷī, all the Brahmins of the ninety-six villages, all the chiefs of Neluvalināḍ, Bayiche Gauḍa of Puṇyadahaḷḷī, and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tammarasa, the ruler of Hosagunḍa.¹ Of a similar nature is the regulation that was made by all the Brahmins of the Hariharapura agrahāra, also called Kellaṅge, in A. D. 1297, to the effect that they would dispose of any dispute arising as to the lands of the village Sūleyakeṛe, which they had sold, with all rights except koḍage, to Heggaḍe Jayitaṇḍa’s son Ayyanṭa.²

The Brahmins of the same immemorial agrahāra Hariharapura gave further expression to their sense of solidarity when in A. D. 1318 they gave a stone śāsana to the treasurer Kāvaṇṭa’s son Rāmaṇṭa embodying the following clauses in their agreement. “The land in our village which Hariyaṇṭa and others (named), being unable to manage or to pay the original fixed rent and the extra taxes, transferred to us with a vōle,—that land, we having received from Rāmaṇṭa eight gadyāṇa for kaṭṭuge, kāṇike, Rāmaṇṭa will pay to the Brahmins for the land one gadyāṇa a year in the month of Pushya and will manage the land (specified); the Brahmins themselves will defray any tax imposed by the palace. That we should pay such taxes imposed by our village seems not to be the custom. This land Rāmaṇṭa may mortgage, sell or give away. Any dispute relating thereto will be settled by the Brahmins. To

² E. C., V, P. I. Ak. 120, p. 166. See Ak. 121 where in A. D. 1299, we are told that the Brahmins of the same agrahāra sold the same village, but this time together with Bammihāḷḷī, to the same Ayyanṭa, confirming the deed of sale by a patra-śāsana and a śilā-śāsana. Ibid., p. 166.
this land there is no reason to connect the northern field: that the Brahmans themselves will themselves enjoy. The land is granted to Rāmaṇa and his posterity."¹

The Brahmans of other agrahāras too could likewise unite for common objects. All the Brahmans of the agrahāra Vijayagopālapura, or Igaṇasaṅthe, in about A. D. 1324, "agreeing among themselves, made the following division of Niragunda villages belonging to their land endowment, so as to form a permanent contract (Nirgunda haḷigaḷanu dhruva vunḍigeyāgi haṇchikonda-krama): Details of tattu or parts, with the villages and shares belonging to each, altogether 100 shares. All the former rights connected with each village and the families living in it belong to the shareholders of that tattu in which it is included. At this time of partition the families among those in Nirugunda who have come there on contract (i-hasugeya kāladalli Nirugundadallida vokkulugalo-lage vunḍigeyinda banda vokkulugal) belong to the shareholders of that tattu in which they are. The three families of Bēḍas in Ajjagauḍanahalli belong to the tattu in which it is included. Of the various families, whether they stay or whether they go, the loss or gain whatever it is, belongs to the shareholders of their respective tattus. Should any dispute arise regard....within the four boundaries of the villages included in these four tattus the Brahmans will decide and settle it."²

The Vaishṇava Brahmans of the fourteen vrītis in the middle of the village Baṇḍūr, in A. D. 1325, gave a written agreement (patra-śāsana) to the Brahmans of the six-sides of all-honoured great agrahāra Prasanna-Sōmanāthapura, making certain exchange of lands.³ These ācāryas, Vaishṇavas and Nambijars of Baṇḍūr, we may incidentally note, had received a written grant (patra-śāsana) from the Hoysala king Vira Narasimha Dēva in A. D. 1281.⁴

² E. C., XII, Tp. 41, pp. 49-50, text, p. 141.
⁴ Ibid., TN. 100, p. 86.
In about A. D. 1333 during the administration of the Mahā-prabhu Toya Śiṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka, all the Brahmans of the agrahāra Hiriya-Narasimhapura, also called Karuviḍi, agreeing among themselves, resolved to divide the estate equally among the families, setting up a stone in (the temple) of Hoysalēśvara. Collecting into one all the garden, wet and dry land, and all other parts of Haḷliyūr and Hiriyūr, they divided them into 125 shares. (The details and regulations of their distribution are stated.) The epigraph runs thus: “Whoso enjoying land under this sāsana transgresses the regulations is excommunicated from the thirty-two thousand and is a traitor to the agrahāra.” “Whoso transgresses the regulations of the sāsana will come under the order of Vīra Ballāḷa Dēvarasa and of Toya Śiṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka.”

Social transactions related to agriculture also give us an idea of the corporate life of the people in pre-Vijayanagara times. In about A. D. 1030 during the reign of Rājēndra Chōḷa Dēva, the members of the assembly of Kūḍalūr alias Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, granted certain specified lands for the offerings of the god Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śōḷa-Viṅṇagar Āḷvār. “They gave a sāsanam to the effect that they would themselves have the lands ploughed, carry to the temple, and measure out with the marakkal named Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śōḷaṇ a certain quantity (specified) of paddy every year.” The members of the assembly also authorized the pūjāris of the god (?) to receive (?) śuṭṭukadam and a share of the produce of the lands.

The one great concern of the people was the construction of tanks for agricultural purposes. The activities of all classes of people form a significant chapter in the agrarian history of the times, incidentally adding particular interest to the subject from the point of view of their corporate life. The mahājanas of Maḷavūr alias Rājēndra-simha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and

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Kumāra Cheṭṭiyār, in about A. D. 1060, granted certain lands (specified) to Malli Gauḍa of Appi-ūr, son of Mādi Gauḍa, below the tank which he had constructed in the village.1 The thousand (Brahmans) of the Kuppaṭūra agrahāra, uniting, in A. D. 1071, gave to the Konḍeya-tāla-prahāri, Gaṇḍara Dēva Śeṭṭi, who had constructed a new tank, and formed new rice-fields cutting down forests, one malla of rice-land under the tank, according to the Kachchavī pole.2 The mahā-prabhus and nāl-gauḍas of Halukūr, who had gained celebrity for their charity, constructed tanks, built temples, and gave shelter to refugees. The inscription dated A. D. 1177 which gives us this information, tells us that in the presence of all the subjects and farmers of Halukūr, the Mahā-prabhu Narasiṅga Gauḍa, along with three other Gauḍas (named), gave a religious significance to their deeds, by granting specified land to Chikkakavi-jīya of the Lākuḷāgama-samaya of the Kālamukha sect, washing his feet at the time of the moon’s eclipse.3

Nāgarāsi-paṇḍita, who was also an ascetic of the Kālamukha order, received a specified gift of land in about A. D. 1189 from all the jagat-kottali of the Seven-and-a-half-Lakh (country), Māra Būva, Biṭṭi Bōva, and all the jagatis of Kalikāṭṭe, Duggabbe’s son Kētaṇṇa, Kalleya, and the sixty chief men, in the presence of Sōmeya Nāyaka and all the subjects and farmers of Kalikāṭṭe. These jagati-kottalis, whose identification it is not possible to determine, are also described in the same epigraph as having made Kalikāṭṭe as beautiful as Amarāvatipura, “constructed tanks built Śiva temples which all the world praised”, and filled the town of Kalikāṭṭe with fruitful areca trees and fields bearing the gandhasāli rice.4

In about A. D. 1190 certain persons (named) made grants of land to provide for maintaining the waste weir of the old tank, evidently in Arasiyakere, when Tippa was manag-

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1 E. C., IX, Cp. 154, p. 165.
3 E. C., V, P. 1, Ak. 62, p. 135.
4 Ibid., Ak. 48, p. 127.
ing the customs of the same place. When Kūsadallayya of Notta built a tank to the west of the breached tank of Hīrevālahaḷḷi in Nirugunda-nāḍ, in A. D. 1196, Mallayya Nāyaka of Bāgavāḷa together with a number of others (named), gave him eight salage of rice-land under the tank as kere-gōḍage.2 In about A. D. 1211 the Brahmans of Nāraṇagaṭṭa channel, “having agreed that besides the water of the small tank for the rice-land of the Vishṇu temple, no water can be allowed from the Nāraṇagaṭṭa channel,” granted for the local god for bringing water according to the shares a fixed rate of one gadyāṇa a year.3

According to a record dated about A. D. 1221 Chaṭṭayya Perumāḷa Dēva was about to expend 100 hon, “on account of unforeseen calamity”, on the first paddy land south-east of the fields of the immemorial agrahāra Erekeṛe, when “all the Brahmans belonging to it said that if he would build steps to the Dāsi-šetti tank, which was a very much superior place, it would be as if he had re-established their agrahāra. Accordingly, accepting this as a great favour, he allotted those 100 hon to the work of that tank. And all the Brahmans, being filled with joy, gave to the tank the name of Perumāḷa-samudra, and made to Chaṭṭayya Perumāḷa Dēva a free gift of 160 poles of garden land under the tank, accepting from him the prescribed worship of their feet ”.4

The public works of the same general, who is called Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka in A. D. 1270, are also mentioned in connection with the activities of the Brahmans of many agrahāras. This record informs us that “of the land which (with the usual titles) Vira Narasiṁha Dēvarasa had granted to the great minister Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, all the Brahmans of Srīraṅgam and of the all-honoured agrahāra Udbhava-Viśvanāthapura, which was Bāḷugu, and of four other neighbouring villages (named), made an agreement as follows with

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1 E. C., V., P. I., Ak. 85, p. 145.
2 Ibid., Ak. 178, p. 184.
3 Ibid., Ak. 132, p. 172.
4 Ibid., Bl. 154, p. 96.
all the Brahmans of the all-honoured agrahāra Udbhava-Narasinhhapura, which was Beḷḷūr:—In our Śrīraṅgapura, leaving the land to which water comes from the Allājasamudra tank, we have cultivated the rest. And Perumāle Dēva Daṇṇāyaka having spent much money and caused that Allājasamudra to be rebuilt so as to endure, we have taken from the land under that tank certain land (specified), west from the old breach which Perumāle Dēva Daṇṇāyaka has repaired, measuring forty-eight kāṇha according to the pole of thirty-two paces, for which we will pay to the Brahmans of Beḷḷūr a sum total of twelve gadyāṇa a year ". The concluding lines of the same epigraph clearly indicate that the joint-activity of the people, as is proved by some of the inscriptions we have cited above, had royal sanction behind it, at least in the times of the Hoysala rulers. The epigraph in question ends thus: "Whoso transgresses this settlement falls under the order of the Pratāpa Chakravarti Hoysala Vira Narasirnha Dēvarasa."1

The close relationship in which the State stood to the corporate activities of the people in this direction is also seen in another inscription of about A. D. 1270 which informs us that the Mahāsāmanta...Nārāṇamayya and the farmers and subjects of Gaṇḍāsi fixed as the water-rate for the lands watered from the old tank, for a khaṇḍuga of rice-land a khaṇḍuga of bittuvaṭṭa. And for the work of the tank they granted land (specified) under the tank.2

Provision was also made by the people for the maintenance of the cart-drivers attached to tanks. In about A. D. 1294 Dēvappa's son, the famous Chandappa, presented to the Brahmans of Hariharpura alias Kellaṅge, a cart for the tank (of the agrahāra). Those Brahmans made a grant of specified land for the livelihood of the cart-driver. It was further resolved that "in the old town and in the villages... will be given for the grain for the bullocks and buffaloes."3

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1 E. C., IV, Ng. 48, pp. 125-6.
2 E. C., V, P. I, Cn. 222, p. 221.
3 Ibid., Ak. 116, p. 162.
For having repaired village tanks, the people conferred on charitable persons land as a koḍaṅgai. The great minister Tamma Šiṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, according to a record dated A. D. 1314, together with the inhabitants of Pulliyur-nāḍu, granted to Dāmōdara Sōmaiya certain specified lands as a kuḍaṅgai for having built the Karṇirai tank in Pulliyur-nāḍu, which had been breached and gone to ruins.¹

How the Brahmans appreciated the work done by eminent men for public purposes is narrated in a record dated A. D. 1314. Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka having bought from the Brahmans certain lands bordering on the tank of the stream to the north of Dēvarahalḷi, a hamlet of the agrahāra Chennakēśvarapura alias Goravūr, in the name of his mother Māyakkā having expended three or four thousand honnu and constructed a tank, the 144 Brahmans of Goravūr, agreeing among themselves, made over the lands under it, excepting temple benefactions, for the benefit of Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka’s children’s children.²

The common people were in no sense inferior to the Brahmans in recognizing the services of influential persons. Another record also dated A. D. 1314 informs us that Akaimā ...mother of the same Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka, bought certain land from the Brahmans of Bēḍaraḥalḷi, a hamlet of the agrahāra Hāleya-Goravūr, and having spent 3500 gadyāṇa built the tank called Māchasamudra after her son. The 144 shareholders of Goravūr, with the consent of all the people and farmers of Hirivūr, settled that certain specified lands were to be granted as permanent endowment to Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka’s children’s children.³

In about A. D. 1324 all the Brahmans of the agrahāra Ballāḷapura which is Hiriya-Gaṇḍasi, “being seated in the place of council, agreeing among themselves, gave to Māyi-sāhāni’s son Machiya Nāyaka, a stone śāsana” for having

¹ E. C., IX, Ht. 139, p. 106.
³ Ibid., Hn. 164, pp. 40-1.
constructed a virgin tank in the village of Jögehaljì to the west of the town.\textsuperscript{1}

The inhabitants of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, in about A. D. 1330, showed that they could be as generous as the Brahmans. Together with Dāti Śīngeya Daṇṇāyaka, Nambi Sōma Šeṭṭi, Pulimāra Gauḍa, Ānaiyār, the accountant of the nāḍu, and others (named), the people of Pulliyūr-nāḍu granted to Nambi Dēvi Šeṭṭi the pool situated between Attivallai and Śūlivallai adjoining Šattiparam, which, after clearing out the silt, he had made into a tank, as a kuḍaṅgai.\textsuperscript{2}

For purposes of awarding honours too the people worked in harmony with the officers of the government. In A.D. 1343 the Mahā-sāmantaḍhīpati Chikka Kaḷaya Nāyaka together with all the farmers of Kaḍagōḍi-sthaḷa on the south side of the great Saṅṇe-nāḍ, granted to the sēnabōva of the Saṅṇe king-
dom, Perumbāchāri’s (son) Sātuvela Allāḷa all the wet and dry land with the four boundaries of Haṭṭaṇḍūr in their own sthaḷa, as a sarvamāṇya koḍage.\textsuperscript{3}

Instances of the corporate activities of the people for religious purposes are found in the records of the Tamil kings. We shall give only a few of these, since it is well known that joint-action was a special feature of the village assemblies of the ancient Tamil people. The following relates to the times of Rājakēśarivarima, who may have been perhaps Āditya I. The great merchants (nagarattōr) of Kumārāmaṇṭāṇḍapūram assigned, and gave with the consent of the guild, their income of every alternate year from the collection (vāravaigal) from certain specified flower gardens for the repairs (pudukkuppuram) and gōpuram of the local temple. If they failed as a guild or as a single individual, one among them who was in charge of the temple, was authorized to levy a fine of gold himself and realize it from the defaulter openly or at any place he liked.\textsuperscript{4}

Another record dated in the twelfth regnal year of Ko-Rāja-

\textsuperscript{1} E. C., V., P. I., Ak. 158, pp. 180-1.
\textsuperscript{2} E. C., IX, Ht. 56, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{3} E. C., IX, Bn. 41, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{4} S. I. I., III, P. III, p. 224.
Kēsarivarman (Rājarāja Dēva) informs us that the sabhai (assembly) of the same village pledged themselves to furnish a yearly supply of paddy to the temple treasurers (Śiva-panḍārīgal) from the interest of a sum of money, which they had received from a large stone-temple, named Rājasimhēśvara at Kaśchipuram, or to pay a fine of a quarter pōṇ daily.  

In A.D. 1007 during the times of Rājarāja Dēva, the members of the assembly of Periya-Malavūr "having assembled without a vacancy in the assembly, in the temple of the god Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Sōla-Vinṭagār-āḷvār at Nigarili-Śōlapuram", granted specified land for the daily offerings of the god. It is interesting to observe that these members of the assembly of Periya-Malavūr alias Rājēndrasimha-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, gave the sāsana for the above god "binding ourselves to plough and cultivate the lands ourselves, and to bring to the temple and measure out fully, with the marakkāḷ named Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śōḷan, a certain quantity (specified) of clean paddy." The citizens of Nigarili-Śōlapuram also gave a grant of land to the same temple in the same year.

In A.D. 1014 five prominent men (named) of the assembly of Vaṅḍūr alias Chōlamēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, in Kiḷalai-nāḍu of Gaṅgapāḍi, gave a signed agreement to the pūjāris of the same god mentioned above, pertaining to minute regulations they had made in connection with the grant of paddy that was given as a gift for the offerings of the god.

Bāvana and Rāvana, two brothers, sculptors by profession, and "possessed of unblemished virtues", in A.D. 1139 in order "to clear an aspersion on their own race of the sculptors," set up the image of the god Kusuvēśvara, and calling together Mēchi Śēṭṭi, Kirtti Śēṭṭi, with all the chief people of the town (name?) and the five mathas, along with them presented that

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1 S. I. I., I., p. 140. See also S. I. I. III, P. I., p. 18.
2 E. C., IX, Ch. 128, p. 159. See also Cp. 132, p. 161.
3 Ibid., Cp. 131, p. 160.
4 Ibid., Cp. 129, ibid. For a similar gift of a tax dēvadāna by seven members of another (?) assembly of the same puram, see Ch. 139 dated about A. D. 1015. Ibid., pp. 162-3.
temple of the god Kusuvēśvara to Gautama Dēva as attached to the god Kēḍarēśvara. Whereupon Gautama Dēva (on the date specified), in the presence of all the townspeople and the five maṭhas, made for the decorations and offerings of the god a specified grant of land. "And Mēchi Śēṭṭi, Kīrtti Śēṭṭi and the other chief townsmen, on account of their having been spectators of such a pure work of merit, for the repairs of the temple remitted for ever the land-rent of the house which Bāvāna had occupied. And the fifty families of oilmen granted for the perpetual lamp one sonṭige of oil from their mills. And Khēvale Gāvūnda and all the headmen of the tailors, for the god's Chaitra purification festival, granted one pānā a year from each family; and in case of a marriage, one pānā from the bride-groom's party, and one pānā from the bride's party, and the money for kusumbe (red safflower)."¹

No greater proof than the above is needed to maintain that the people of the Karpāṭaka were bound together by a remarkable spirit of co-operation, especially in religious matters. This assertion of ours is further proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1143 which informs us that Vishṇuvardhana Dēva's senior door-keeper (hiriya-hadīyaṇa) Rēvimayya, with the knowledge of all the citizens of Vishṇusamudra in Āsandī-nāḍ, granted specified land for the god Nakharēśvara. Also Dāsayya, son of Bū Śēṭṭi, made a specified grant for the same. And all the citizens assigned certain tolls (specified) for the same. And the oilmongers made a specified grant for the perpetual lamp of the god.²

The Brahmons of Hariharapura or Kellaṅgerē, in A.D. 1161, "washing the feet of Śivaśakti-paṇḍita", the priest of the temple of the god Dharmēśvara, granted (specified) lands for the perpetual lamp, decorations and repairs of the temple. "And the Heggaṇṇes of the customs remitted the customs payable to them, also for the same purpose, together with one oil mill for the god Dharmēśvara and another for the god Kēśava. And

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 112, p. 83.
² E. C., VI, Kd. 99, p. 18.
to Nāchaya, the worshipper of the god Dharmēśvara, they granted the customs dues on looms and the plaited hair tax.¹

Grants of land were often made in the presence of the people. Thus in A. D. 1174 the Heggies of Arasiyakere, Rēchāna, Kētamalla, and Muttanā Māra, in the presence of the subjects and farmers, gave land as a gift for the decorations of the god Areyā Saṅkara. The townsmen (or merchants) granted a pot of rice to Mādhava-jīya, of the Kālamukhās, evidently a priest of the same temple (at Hāgaritige).²

The corporate activities of the Jainas were too varied and prominent to be left out of account in the history of the Karnāṭaka. Their public charities in A. D. 1220 are minutely described in a record of that date. Arasiyakere owed its greatness to the liberality of these bhavyas, who, in addition to their other works, contributed a kōṭī (of money), with a temple and an enclosure wall, for the shining Sahasrakūṭa Jīna image set up by the great Rēcharasa. They also made provision for the livelihood of the pūjāris and servants of the Sahasrakūṭa Chaityālaya, the food to be given to all those of the four castes who may come, and the repairs of the Jīna temple, the Chaityālaya, purchasing land from the 1000 families of the locality. They also received funds (specified) from the people (named) and a shop from the Pattānaśrāmi Kalla...³

As regards the joint-activity of the Brahmans we have a record dated about A. D. 1227 which informs us that all the Brahmans of Narasirinhapura which is Mūduvaḍi, in order to provide for the perpetual lamp of the family god Amṛitēśvara, agreeing among themselves, created a fund as the capital.⁴

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 117, p. 163. See Ak. 111, p. 160, for a similar instance. For an endowment made over by a Heggade, declared to be under the protection of all the subjects of the nine nāḍas, see ibid., Bl. 25, p. 53.
² Ibid., Ak. 69, p. 137. See also Ak. 127 of A. D. 1185, pp. 169-70; Ak. 61 of A. D. 1185, p. 133; Ak. 193 of 1194, pp. 186-7: E. C., VI, Tk. 45, p. 112; E. C., VIII, Sb. 140 dated in A. D. 1198, p. 20; E. C., IV, Hg. 14, p. 67.
³ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 77, p. 141. Cf. The charity of some of “the faithful” (named) for the cause of the agrahāra Taḷjirūr, also in the same year A. D. 1220. Ak. 133, p. 172. In Ak. 92 of A. D. 1223 we have a further proof of the bounty of the citizens of Arasiyakere, p. 148.
⁴ Ibid., Ak. 152, p. 180.
In A.D. 1228 the kings Īśvara Dēva, Māda Dēva and Mallī Dēva of the Sindā-kula and various sāvantās (named), Chikka Bēgūr and Bāsūr, made grants of offerings (specified) for the god Rāmanātha of Mora-Gurūva. And the nāl-prabhūs (named) followed their example by granting specified offerings at the various seasonal festivals. The five hundred svāmis and a number of others (named) including sāvantās, the 300 Billas of the Ninety-six Thousand, and boatmen, the bōvas, and the āllegolegas made a grant of the fallen areca-nuts in Balle, Kurūva and Bēgūr, and the boatmen’s taxes in those places, evidently for the offerings of the same god.¹

In what manner the State acceded to the demands of the people is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1290. “On a petition being made by the inhabitants of Ilaiyappākka-nāḍu, the officer Šellappiḷḷai, the temple manager of Nalandiḷḷa Ṛṇavaṇa-Tādar and some others (named), to the effect that the provision made for the expenses of festivals of the god Šokkapperumāḷ of Tombalūr is inadequate, the king (Hoysala Vira Rāmanātha Dēva) remitted” 10 poḷ out of the amount that was being paid by (the village of) Tombalūr.²

For patriotic as well as religious purposes the inhabitants of Periya-nāḍu in Māśandi-nāḍu, including Pilla Gauḍa, the officer of the nāḍu which was called after the ruler, Vira Ballāla Dēva-nāḍu, and the royal officers (named), A.D. 1304, granted the wet and dry lands (specified) in the villages of Neṅkundi and Erumūrkaṇḍapāḷi in order to provide for the offerings of the god Šingaveṅgai-Uḍaiyār.³ With the same object the Mahāsāmanṭādhipati Šakkaya Nāyaka’s son Vaiśaṇdagaḷi Dēva together with the inhabitants of the nāḍu

¹ E. C., VII, H1, 8, p. 159. For another example, see E. C., VI, Tk. 83 of about A.D. 1230, pp. 120-1; Kd. 100 of A. D. 1240, p. 18; Tk. 3 of A. D. 1260, p. 103; E. C., VIII, Sb. 247 of A. D. 1288, p. 38.
² E. C., IX, Bn. 11, p. 6. For the provision made by all the Brahman of an agrahāra, the name of which is effaced in the inscription, see E. C., IV, Y1. 57 of about A. D. 1292, p. 32. The Pāṇīchālas of a certain place also gave expression to their solidarity in about A.D. 1300 E. C., IX, Bn. 12, P. 6.
³ E., IX, Bn. 53, pp. 11, n. (3), 12.
(Muttakūr?) in A. D. 1315 granted the village of Āraiyūraṇapalī in the Muttakkūr division, for the offerings of the god Śeviḍai-Nāyaṇār.¹

In A. D. 1320 Mādhava, son of...va Rāya, having secured land valued at sixty honnu which he obtained from the road to the town of Kūḍali, together with other favours from the minister Bombeya Daṇḍayaka, presented that piece of land, with (the consent of?) sixty farmers, one hundred and twenty temple priests, and others, for the decorations of the god Rāma of Kūḍali.²

The inhabitants of Tēkal-nāḍu, in A. D. 1328, granted lands (specified) below the big tank of Śirṛaṭṭimaṅgalaṇam for the offerings of the god Varadar of Tēkaḷ. They also gave a deed of gift to Śokkaperumāḷ permitting him to have it engraved on stone and copper. The concluding lines of their grant run thus: “We also pledge ourselves to pay any unjust dues that this village may become liable to by reason of this nāḍu passing into other hands and to restore it intact for the above purpose.”³

That the traditions of solidarity of the early rulers and their people lived till the year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is proved by a record dated A. D. 1346 which deals with the activities of citizens and officials. The inhabitants of Ambaḍakki-nāḍu, including Pāppiśiyar and six others (named), and the Mahāsaṃantādhipati Maṇiṣaya Nāyaka’s son Ankaya Nāyaka granted all the wet and dry lands belonging to Ānur of their nāḍu, to provide for the offerings in the temple of Irāṇḍra-Sōḷa-Tekkiśvaraṇ-Uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Šengai. The grant contains the signature of the nāḍu-Seṭṭiśvara-dēvar, that of the nāḍ accountanat Nilappan, and of a few more persons.⁴

For purely charitable purposes endowments of the people in pre-Vijayanagara times are numerous, both in the Karṇaṭaka

¹ E. C. IX., Ht. 159, p. 109. See also Ht. 100 of about A. D. 1330, p. 100.
² E. C., VII, Sh. 69, p. 27.
³ E. C., X, Mr. 11, p. 158.
⁴ Ibid., Sd. 67, pp. 187-188.
and Tamil lands. In the south public charities, as in the reign of Parântaka II, were placed under the mūhēśvaras and great men of assembly. Sometimes, as in Uṭkāl, the village assemblies pledged themselves to feed Brahmans daily from the interest which amounted to 100 kāḍī of paddy every year.

The same liberal ideas which prevailed in the Tamil country also induced the people of the Karpāṭaka to give concrete expression to their feelings of generosity. In A. D. 1103 the thousand Brahmans of the agrahāra Nelavatti gave specified garden land to Mādhava Salaṅgi Kēśavayya’s son Biṭṭemayya, “worshipping his feet”, for the khanḍika dharma. Certain farmers (named) in about A. D. 1136 made a grant of land (specified) for (the god) Mahādēva of Manaḷi (in Yeḍatore).

Endowments were also made for the temples of the Jainas. In about A. D. 1173 all the chiefs and farmers of Iḍai-nāḍ, which was Periya-nāḍ, made a grant for the basti in Kolgaṇa, to the Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya Pādirāja Dēva Uḍaiyar’s disciple Śiṅgaṇa Dēva.

In about A. D. 1180 the mahājanas of Kūḍalūr granted certain specified land as a kuḍaṅgai to (?) Śōmaṅga Gāvuṇḍan.

The great minister Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka bought certain specified land at Esagūr from certain Gauḍas (named) of Beṇmedoṇe, in Bemmattanūr-vṛtti, in A.D. 1286, in the presence of the various local authorities and interested persons (named), and made grants (detailed) from it to Adhikāri Viṭṭhappa, Balla Gauḍa, Sēnabōva Bāchayya, Heggaṇe Bommayya, and two others (named). And the remainder of all the land at Esagūr he granted to a number of gods (named).

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3 E. C., VII, Hl. 66, p. 172. Khaṇḍika-dharma=“Grant for the recitation of some portion of the Veda”. Ibid., n. (2).
4 E. C., IV, Yd. 14, p. 53.
5 Ibid., Ch. 181, p. 22.
And all the farmers of Bemmattur made a grant. And the citizens, nāḍ-prabhu, nāḍ-kettis (many named), the rāja-guru and dharma-gurus, the temple priest of Hiḍimbēśvara, Śēnabōva Bāchaṇṇa, Heggade Kāmabōva, and all the subjects uniting in a work of merit, Perumāle Déva Daṇṇāyaka caused the śāsana to be written and given, freeing on the part of the nāḍ itself all the land of that Esagūr from taxes and dues (specified).  

The inhabitants of Iḷaippākka-nāḍ together with the officer of the nāḍ and one another person, in A.D. 1288, made an endowment for some purpose not stated in the epigraph.  

An effaced inscription of a similar nature, dated A.D. 1303, informs us that the Brahmans (named) of Kyasūr in Sāntaligēnāḍ of the Āraga-vēṅṭhe, gave to Liṅgappa's son Chalappa some village.  

According to a record dated A.D. 1305 Chakravarti Daṇṇāyaka, son of Perumāle Déva Daṇṇāyaka, granted certain specified lands in Śivapura situated in Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Chaturvedi-maṅgaḷam, to some persons (named). The same inscription tells us that he had received a village (?) as a sarva-māṇya from the inhabitants of the Iḷaiippākka-nāḍu.  

In A.D. 1315 the great minister Dévappa Daṇṇāyaka and others (named) together with all the subjects and farmers of Huleyanaḥallī made a grant of lands, the description of which is effaced, to the Suravēṇi Śēnabōva Rājanṇa as a kōḍage. A similar gift of a kōḍage at Maṅneyūr but by order of the great minister Vīra Sōmaya Daṇṇāyaka's son Śī(ṅgeya) Daṇṇāyaka in A.D. 1318, was made by all the farmers (many named) (of ?)  

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1 E. C. XI, Cd. 32, pp. 9-10. See also E. C., IV., Ng. 41, dated A. D. 1284 for some more charities by the same general, p. 124.  
2 E. C., IX, Dv. 24, p. 76.  
3 E. C., VIII, Tl. 139, p. 191.  
4 E. C., IX, Bn. 23. pp. 7-8.  
5 Ibid., Ma. 58, p. 58. E. C., IV., Ch. 137 of A. D. 1317 speaks of the activities of the Brahmans of Nagara called the agrahāra Kēśava-pura P. 18,
to Būchi Dēva's son Biṭṭapa (Viṭṭapa). In A. D. 1320 the farmers and residents of Hulivāna made a grant to Mānisa Śeṭṭi and for the temple of Kaliyūr. The Mahāsāmanṭādhipati Pemmi...Varada-bhūppāli Nāyakkar and the inhabitants of the Tēkal-nāḍu, according to a Tamil record dated A. D. 1323, granted specified wet and dry lands of the village of Śeṭṭipallī, situated in the Viṭṭimaṅgala-parṛu, and of the lands below the big tank of Viṭṭimaṅgala to certain donees (named).

In A. D. 1332 the Mahāsāmanṭādhipati Vaiyichcha Gauḍa, Niraga Dēva and Koṅga Irāme Nāyaka, officers under Singeya Daṇṇāyaka together with the inhabitants of Pulliyur-nāḍu, including certain prominent Śeṭṭis (named), granted to Karrar Kāvatta Dēva's son Śiyanam certain specified lands as a kudāṅgai. The inhabitants of Turaivali-nāḍu and Vīra Ballāla Dēva's son, (Singe)ya Daṇṇāyaka granted, in A. D. 1337, certain specified lands in the same nāḍu to certain persons (named) at a specified rate of so many shares. Another Tamil record mentions that in A. D. 1340 Teṅgal Vallappa Daṇṇāyakkar and the inhabitants of Kaivāra-nāḍu granted specified land in the village of Nelaṉyppallī and shares in Kaivāra-nāḍu to Periya-Gōmāli and Kariya Gōmāli Dāsu, having set up boundary stones marked with the discus (of Vishnű). In the next year the inhabitants of Amabakkkī-nāḍu including Pāppiṣiyar, the superintendent of the nāḍu, and three others (named), as related in another Tamil inscription of A. D. 1341, granted the village of Attigappallī in the same nāḍu, to Tēvapperumāl-tādar and Pe... dan as a gift. A Tamil record dated A. D. 1342 tells us that

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2 E. C., III, Md. 74, p. 46.
3 E. C., X, Kl. 10, p. 2. See E. C., IX., Ht. 140 (a) dated A. D. 1331 for the joint-grant by the ministers, the superintendents of the nāḍu and others (named) of certain lands. P. 106.
5 Ibid., Bn. 60, p. 13.
6 Ibid., Ht., 49, p. 93.
7 E. C., X., Sd. 26, p. 182.
Dēvappar (descent stated) and the inhabitants of Pulliyūr-nāḍu including Ṭūṟavar-nāyan, Tambiravi Śeṭṭiyār, granted to Siyaṇan, son of Ṭūṟvar Śāvukka Dēvar, the superintendent of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, certain specified lands as a kuḍaṅgaḷ.\(^1\) All the subjects and farmers of Elāhaṅka-nāḍ and the Mahāśāvan-tādhipati (with other titles) Chikka Bayiraya Nāyaka’s son Honnamarāya Nāyaka granted, in the same year, specified land at Jakkūr to the Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Allāḷa, as a sarva-māṇya koḍage.\(^2\) In the same year A.D. 1432 the inhabitants of the nāḍu (Periya-nāḍu of Pulliyūr), including Ṭūṟvar Nāḍa Śeṭṭi’s son Māri Śeṭṭi, and a few more named, granted land, the details of which are effaced, to all the mahājanas of Ivaṭṭam alias Varadarāja-chaturvēdimangalam.\(^3\) The Mahāśāvan-tādhipati Chikka Kallaya Nāyaka together with all the farmers of the Kāḍagōḍi-sthāḷa in the Ṭoṟavala-vitti (vr̥tti ?) of the southern part of Saṇi-nāḍ in the same year, granted the rice fields and dry fields of Haṭṭandūr (specified), as a sarvamāṇya koḍage to the nāḍ-sēnabōva Perumbāchari Sātuśāva Allāḷa.\(^4\)

**Section 2. Social Activities under Vijayanagara**

The detailed description of the public charities in the pre-Vijayanagara ages, especially in the Kārṇāṭaka, given above are essential if we are to estimate adequately the traditions which were handed down to the rulers of Vijayanagara, and the corporate activities of the various bodies in mediaeval times. There is something more than mere religious fervour in the numerous examples we have just cited: the sense of solidarity, especially as given in the inscriptions recording the joint-action of the people, not only among themselves, but with the officers of Government, was seen more in the Kārṇāṭaka than in the Tamil land, in the latter half of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. This explains the rejuvenation of Hindu life in the Hoysala Empire, and the failure of the people

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\(^1\) *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 90, p. 98.
of the Pāṇḍya kingdom to achieve the same end. It is a significant fact that even in the very last days of the Hoysala rulers, the popular sentiment to work in harmony with the State, which was characteristic of the early Tamil people, should have manifested itself more in the epigraphs relating to farmers and cultivators rather than in those pertaining to Brahmans. The richest heritage which the Hoysalas gave to the new generation was this remarkable spirit of working for the common good without which the resuscitation of the Hindu Dharma would have been an impossible task.

We shall now learn about the corporate activities of the people of Vijayanagara in matters related partly to the political, partly to the legal but mostly to the religious and social spheres of life. Here, again, it may be worth while to remember the evidence we have already cited about the endeavours of the people to knit themselves in issues which were purely political. According to a record dated A. D. 1379 the Mahāsāmnāntādhīpāti Śōṇṇaiyar Nāyakkar’s son Aṅkaya Nāyakkar the superintendent of Nōṇḍāṅgulī-nāḍu, Āchcha Gauḍa, and Nārāyaṇan and Ven̆gaḍam Udaiyan, the pūjāris of the temple of Śilva-Nārāyaṇa-perumal at Nōṇḍāṅgulī agreed to exempt from taxes, for the first two years, the lands brought under wet cultivation below the tank...in Nōṇḍāṅgulī, built by Pammi Śeṭṭiyar’s son Periya-perumāl Śeṭṭiyar, one of the Vaiśya-vāniya-Nagārattār...; and that, thenceforward, the remaining wet lands after taking away the kuḍaṅgai, shall become the property of the god.  

Patriotic and religious motives prompted the people sometimes to make joint endowments to temples. Lakkaraśa of Sādali, together with the nāḍ-prabhūs (named) of Kōḷāla in Nikarili-Chōla-maṇḍala, in A. D. 1384, made a grant of the lands belonging to Chikka-Hayūr in Kōḷāla-nāḍ, for the offerings and decorations of the god of the Mūlsthāna, which is Kailāsa, in order that increase of life, health, and wealth, and

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1 Supra, Volume I, Chapter VI, Administration— (continued).
2 E. C., IX. Ht. 50, p. 93.
universal empire might be to the champion over the Kanṭikāra Rāya, Nāgaṇṭha Oḍeyar’s son Dēpaṇṭha Oḍeyar. In the same year and with the same object, but this time referring to Nāgaṇṭha Oḍeyar himself and to his son, the nāḍ-mahāprabhus of Kōḷāla, called in this record the southern Dvārāvatipatṭana, together with the same Adhikāri Lakkarasappa, Mukaṇṭha-Jiya, Sōvaṇṭha-Jiya, Yiri Šeṭṭi, and all the farmers and subjects being agreed, made a grant of all the lands (specified) belonging to the Halēya-Kottanur village in Kōḷālanāḍ. In about A. D. 1489, the Kālesāle people gave the Tālekešere village to Kambāḷa Siddere Voḍeyar, in order that dharma might to be to the ruler Narasinga Rāya Mahārāja. Kontamarasa and Dēvarasa with the Gauḍas and subjects, made petition to some one, whose name is effaced in the record, and (the result seems to have been that?) Rāvi Šeṭṭi made a grant of Aredasahalli to an unspecified person, in A. D. 1535, in order that merit ought to be to the Emperor Achyuta Rāya’s son-in-law Raghupati Rāja Mahā-arasu. Another incomplete record dated A. D. 1553 informs us that the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Ayaṇa Viraliṅga Dēva, ... the Mahāmanḍalēśvara ... the Gauḍas of the village belonging to ... and others, granted a sāsana to Gosikeśe Liṅga Viraya’s son Ayaṇa Madakare Linga Virayya with the right of collecting certain specified dues in the villages belonging to the Gauḍa-sime.

The change that was coming over the country is seen in the record dated A. D. 1556. This inscription tells us that by order of the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, the Mahānāyakāchārya Niḍugaral Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, and subjects of the Niḍugul-sime (a great number named), these and other Gauḍas and subjects, with the Šeṭṭi-patṭana-svāmi, having purchased the Tūmukunte

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1 E. C., X. Kl. 80, p. 22.
2 Ibid, Kl. 67, p. 18.
3 E. C., IX., Nl. 47, p. 37.
4 E. C., XII., Tp. 29, p. 47.
5 E. C., XI., Hr. 34, p. 108,
village in the Niḍugal kingdom, placing Gutti Tirumala Rājayya’s seal bearers (mudremānūyaru) in front of Keśichappa Nāyaka, granted the village for the services and festivals (specified) of the god, in order that merit might be to Gutti Tirumala Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arusu.¹

The following epigraph dated A.D. 1588 suggests that corporate bodies might not always have been forced to make endowments by the officials of the Government. Appāji Sēnabōva of Koppa (descent stated), having set up the god Gōpāla Kṛishṇa on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā in Nāri in Koḍa-nāḍ, bought certain specified lands and presented them for the offerings of the god. The epigraph contains the following interesting information: “Witnesses, who will see to the carrying out of this work of merit:—All the nāḍ officers of Koppa-Koḍa-nāḍ Four Thousand; all the cultivators of the two Aṅgaḍī of Koppa; the Brahmans of Bommaṇāpura, Nāgalāpura, Narasimhapura, Belgula new agrahāra, Mangalāpura and Sōmalāpura”. The agreement was written with the approval of both parties by Saṅkappa Sēnabōva of Koḍa-nāḍ, with the signatures of the donor and of the witnesses affixed to it.²

The nature of the corporate life of the people is better illustrated in the numerous examples referring to what may be called the legal aspect of their social life. In this connection too we may recount the remarks we have already made in connection with the judicial administration of Vijayanagara. Whether dealing with arbitrators or Gauḍas, with the questions of buying land or selling it, with issues pertaining to mortgages or boundary disputes,—the epigraphs prove beyond doubt that behind the immense material wealth of the rulers, there lay deeper and more valuable resources of social solidarity which enabled them to protect and preserve Hindu Dharma for two and a half centuries of peace and warfare.

In A.D. 1388 all the (?) merchants (bōnigaru) made a division of lands at Aruṇahallī to Karṇapaṇa and others of the

¹ E. C., XII., Si. 31, p. 93.
² E. C., VI. Kp. 57, p. 89.
same place, and the agreement was written by the village accountant Chauḍāja, with the approval of both parties.\(^1\) The sale-deed of the Kauḍavaḷḷi village and other lands by Achapa’s son Viṭṭṭhap, as mentioned in a record of A. D. 1404 already cited, was concluded after the price had been fixed by the arbitrators at 500 \(\text{hon.}\) This agreement was written by the Maduvaṅka-nāḍ Sēnabova Siṅgarasa with the approval of both parties.\(^2\) In A. D. 1421 all the Brahmans (named) of Hiriya-Hoḷalūr in Sāntalige-nāḍ, sold certain specified land in Hangarabayal belonging to the same place, to the Parama-hanisa-parivrājakāchārāya Tirthamuttār Śankara Bhārati Śripada in Keḷabhaḷi of Sāntalige, for forty-eight \(\text{hon.}\) the price fixed by arbitrators.\(^3\) Certain Heggaḍes (named) of Mēguralaḷi in Maduvalige-nāḍ, in A. D. 1417, sold to Dēvappayya (descent stated), lands under the tank built in Mumbale for 42\(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\text{hon.}\), the price fixed by arbitrators.\(^4\) A record dated A. D. 1424 informs us that Kōḍur Tirika Heggaḍe, in A. D. 1396, had sold the Kūṭahaḷḷi village to some one for eighty \(\text{hon.}\), the price fixed by arbitrators.\(^5\)

When a sale-deed was effected, the presence of influential citizens was necessary. We cannot determine, however, whether this was done at the instance of the State. In A. D. 1368 a deed of sale (kraya-patra) was drawn up by a number of representatives of the Eighteen Kampanas of the Guttī kingdom, pertaining to Muchchunḍi, Palāśapalli and Tevaṭṭa; and the price of the land sold was 200 \(\text{varāha}\), five times the value of the annual rent. The epigraph relates why all the people (samasta-gauḍa-prajegalu) made the grant. It was because of Mādarasa Oḍeyaru māḍuva dharma-nimittavāgi.\(^6\)

\(^1\) E. C., III., Ml. 20, p. 57.
\(^2\) E. C., VIII., Tl. 134, p. 190.
\(^3\) Ibid., Tl. 144, pp. 192-3.
\(^4\) Ibid., Tl. 148, pp. 192-3.
\(^5\) Ibid., Tl. 170, p. 198. The interpretation given here may be questioned.
\(^6\) E. C., VII., Sk. 282, p. 147, text, p. 335. This Mādarasa Oḍeyar is evidently the same Mādhava referred to in the preceding epigraph. Sk. 281, p. 146.
How a sale-deed was effected is told in a record dated Śaka 1296 (A. D. 1374-5), of the times of “the illustrious Ommanā-udaiyar, the son of the illustrious Kaṁbaṇa-udaiyar”. “Whereas the great people of Śambukula-Perumāl-agaram, alias Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, (situation in the Tamil land, described) gave to the illustrious Vishnu-Kaṁbaḷi Nāyaka ...of Alasu-nāḍu, within Tuḷu-nāḍu, a document (pramāṇa) about the cost of land (described in detail)—We, the great people, (hereby, declare, that we) having thus agreed, gave a document about the costs of land to the illustrious Vishnu-Kaṁbaḷi-Nāyaka. At the pleasure of these great people, I, Aṅkārai Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa of Śambukula-Perumāḷ-agaram wrote this document about the cost of land; this is (my) signature”.¹

We may give some examples of joint-sale by the citizens of Vijayanagara. The Heggaḷes (named) of Nēṅgaṇi-nāḍ gave to Satyaṭirtha Śrīpāda of the Muniyūr Maṭha and his disciple of Vaikunṭha Tīrtha a deed of sale of the Maṅgaraya land in their nāḍ for sixty-two honnu in A.D. 1388.² The Heggaḷes of the same nāḍ sold the Arangodigi land to Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa Dēva of the same maṭha for seventy gadyāṇa in A. D. 1393.³ Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (descent stated), Nāchchiyappa and others (named), the sthānikas of the temple of Śrī-Mūlāsthānam Uḍaiyar at Tendaṭṭumaḍai-vilāgam, “having agreed among ourselves”, sold their kṣhētra to Śiruchchōmaṇa (descent stated), a sthānika of the temple of Somiṣu-rum-uḍaiyār at Śurūr, in A. D. 1394, “having received full payment”, with all details of the tract of land which formed a part of their dēvadāna possession.⁴ The Brahmans of...paṭṭana, in Āraga, bought the Hālamuttir village in the Sāntalige-nāḍ, through agents, at the price of the day, for 300 varāhā, and divided the rent to be paid among themselves. The deed of sale on stone (dāna-śilā-śāsana) seems to have been drawn on behalf of the

¹ S. I. I., I, No. 72, pp. 102-4.
² E. C., VI., Kr. 28, p. 80.
³ Ibid., Kr. 29.
⁴ E. C., X., Kl. 81, p. 22.
Anaṅta Bhaṭṭa (descent stated). The same epigraph relates that “the people of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa divided the rent among themselves, and agreed to pay whatever dues might arise.”

The Heggaḍe of Meṇasūr in Madavadi-nāḍ and a number of Heggaḍes (named) together with all the people of Dānamūla granted a stone śāsana of a deed of sale (kraya-dāna-dhāra-pūrvakāvaṇā koṭṭa śilā-sāsanada kramaṇa) embodying the transfer of Dānamula-Meṇasūr and other villages (eleven in all) to these people of the three cities of all the nāḍs of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas. The epigraph also contains the information that the people of Dānamūla and their aḷiya-santāṇa (or heirs in the female line) with one consent sold the land, having received from those of the three cities of the nāḍs of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa the price, 500 varāha, saying that those lands and measurements belonged no more to Dānamula. The epigraph ends by saying that the whole was made over to Viṭṭhaṇa Oḍeyar, free of imports. Another inscription of the same date tells us that the viceroy received as a gift from the cultivators of the three cities of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa a deed of sale of land valued at 150 honnu in the lot of Masiga-Gauḍa of Meṇasūr; and that Viṭṭhaṇa Oḍeyar, who had acquired it “with the consent of the women, men, son-in-law’s descendants (or descendants in the female line), and all other claimants,” formed an agrahāra named Bōmmanaṇḍa consisting of fifty-four shares (specified). The specific mention of the consent of the claimants and the rights of the cultivators is significant from the point of view of the care which the rulers bestowed on questions involving legal intricacies and constitutional usage.

During the viceroyalty of the same well known governor, in A.D. 1404, all the nāḍ people of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa

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1 E. C., VI, Kp. 35, p. 82.
2 Ibid., Kp. 51, p. 86.
3 Ibid., Kp. 53, p. 88.
and all the people of the three cities (not named), uniting and agreeing together, sold the Kaudavali village, also called Virupāmbikāpura, for ninety-five hon, to Achappa’s son Viṭṭhappa.¹

The name of Viṭṭhanna Oḍeyar again appears in a deed of sale dated A. D. 1404 but this time given by various Brahmans (named). The land sold is called the āgāmi land (?), which seems to have been purchased by the Brahmans. The concluding lines of the epigraph are to be noted—“...with the consent of the wives of the Brahmans, their sons, relations, and heirs, we have granted by deed of sale with a stone sāsana.”²

The object of the sale-deed affected in about A. D. 1405, by the nāḍ people of the Eighteen Kāṃpaṇa and all those of the three cities and the owners of the villages, also in the name of the same viceroy, was the formation of an agrahāra called Mādhava-Virupāmbikāpura.³

In A. D. 1407, as already remarked, when Viṭṭhanna Oḍeyar still continued to govern over Āraga, Tipaṇa-ayya, with the consent of all the nāḍ people of the Āraga Eighteen Kāṃpaṇa and all the cultivators of the three cities, sold certain specified land rated at sixty hon, in Mayise village to Bommanna-ayya to form an agrahāra.⁴

Māṇḍa purchased after worship of the feet of the god (Gummaṭanātha) two khaṇḍugas of wet land of the dāna-sūle (alm-house) under the Gaṅgāsamudra tank of Belgoḷa in the presence of the jewel-merchants and gauḍagaḷ (two named) of Belgoḷa, and granted the same for the midday worship of Gummaṭanātha”.⁵

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 133, p. 190.
² E. C., VI, Kp. 54, p. 88.
³ E. C., VIII, Tl. 105, p. 184. See also Tl. 126, pp. 187-8 of the same date mentioning the sale of the Kesare village for 160 ga and land in Idegare for fifteen ga by all the gauḍas and subjects (many named) of the two Mandu-nāḍ, to Malli-Bhaṭṭa, (descent stated).
⁴ Ibid., Tl. 190, p. 203, op. cit.
⁵ E. C., II., No. 255, p. 115 (2nd ed.); No. 106, pp. 165-6. (1st ed.)
In A.D. 1417, when Linganna Oḍeyar was protecting the Āraga kingdom, a number of Heggaḍes (named) of Sātalige in Āraga, sold to Dēvarasa’s son (Gōvaṇṇa) certain specified land for thirty-four hon, in order to provide for a marriage. The sale of land in A.D. 1417, by certain Heggaḍes of Mēgura-vali in Maduvalige-nāḍ has been narrated above. Those of all the nāḍs and three cities of the Āraga Eighteen Karṇaṇa, agreeing together, gave to Baṅkarasa’s son Viṭṭhaṇaṇa, a stone sāsana of a sale of land in Beljali and Kīttaḍūr in A.D. 1415. According to a defaced inscription of about A.D. 1420, certain persons bought land (in Niṭuvala-nāḍ and Kōḍūra?) for thirty-five hon, and formed it into a agrahāra. And Boppa Heggaḍe gave the land to Lakkarasa Oḍeyar, freed from the rent of sixty hon (ā Lakkarasa Oḍeyarige hiṇaṇyōdaka kraya dāna dhāraḥ-pūrvaṇavāvāyī...koṭṭa...sōtra guṭṭiyegga sāsana pramōṇa-pute). In A.D. 1427, certain Heggaḍes (named) of Sāntalige in the Āraga-vēṇṭhe and all the people of the nāḍ gave to Hariyaka Nāyaṇkitti of Hebbaraḍi, a deed of sale (kraya dānā-putrada karamav) for thirty salege of land in Aramvali for eighty-five varāha. This generous lady on the same date, gave an ōle of the grant and presented the land to Amarēśvara Tirtha Śrīpāda, for a chchatra in connection with his maṭha.

The Kuruḍimala temple priests (sthānikaru) granted to Siddapa’s son Timaṇṭa a dharma sāsana or a deed of sale, in A.D. 1442, in connection with construction of a virgin tank named Siddasamudra in the Kuruḍimala-sīme, the rice fields to be formed in the land under the embankment being in Tūḍaghaṭṭa-sīme. The price at which the land was sold was fifty honnu. In A.D. 1515, the three Hebbārs of the Kaḷasa Thousand
village, and outside that village, seventeen persons (named), and all the elders (mūligār) of Nūju, agreeing among themselves, sold the village of Nūju to Sūrappa Sēnabōva excepting certain specified dues to the god Vira-Nārāyaṇa and Kaḷaśanātha.¹

According to a stone record dated A. D. 1569, a grant was given to the god’s treasury of Komāra Chenna Basavaṇṇa Oḍeyar of the Bālehaṇḍī throne, by Chenna Viraṇṇa Nāyaka and other Nāyakas (named) of Dānivāsa-sīme, and all the farmers and subjects of the Dānivāsa-sīme. The details of the grant were as follows: “Whereas simple bonds (i.e., bonds without security—aḍavu mai-sālada ṭatragaḷu), in the name of our predecessors Virūpāksha Oḍeyar, Chennarāya Oḍeyar and Arasappa Oḍeyar, and bonds in the name of the nāḍ people of our Dānivāsa (namma Dānivāsada śimeya nāḍavara hesara ṭatragaḷu) have been found in the possession of Basavappa of Koppa,—and whereas those bonds (a-ṭatragaḷu) belong to the throne (siṃhāsanakke sēridu sammaṇḍhakkāgi); in order to discharge the debt of 12,000 varāha due thereon, with (?) interest at one per cent.—we have made over to the throne the three villages (named) belonging to our shares in the Dānivāsa-sīme (namma Dānivāsada śimeya baliya pāloлагаṇa...siṃhāsanakke bitṭu-kōṭṭu), and paid it off. In future neither the svānis that may be on the throne, nor any one on the part of either Basavappayya or on the part of the throne can rise a claim for this or any other debt. The kings and nāḍ people who may be in the Dānivāsa lands will not interfere with these three villages.” The deed, which was written by the Sēnabōva of the place, Anṇaras, contains the signature of witnesses.²

A stone record dated about A. D. 1602 informs us that the Pāgonḍe blacksmith Vinnōja’s (son) Kannōja, in the presence of the Pāgonḍe gauḍa, sēnabōva, talavāra,...potter and āyagāra, sold the kāṇāchi belonging to him in Pāgonḍe to the

¹ E. C., VI, Mg. 88, pp. 74-5.
² Ibid., Kp. 5, p. 76, text p. 296.
blacksmith Kāmōja’s son Keśīpa, having received from him three ga.¹

We may ascertain a few facts in connection with the method by which mortgages on land were released. In A. D. 1539 Chauḍi Śeṭti of Gerasoppe released the mortgage on the land of Karṇabhaya, son of Agaṇī Bommayyaṇṇa (Gerasoppēya Chauḍi-sāṭīru Agaṇi-Bommayyaṇṇa maga Kambhayyanu tanna kṣetra adahāg irlāgi Chauḍi-sāṭīru adanu bidisi koṭṭudakke); and the latter commemorated it by promising to carry on certain specified charities in front of the god Tyāgada-Brahma.² Chauḍi Śeṭti, we may incidentally note, made many other people equally happy in the same year by releasing them from the mortgage on their lands. These in return gave charity-deeds (dharma-sādhana) to him.³

An interesting case of settling the question of false claims put forward to a gauḍike is given in a stone record dated A.D. 1612. During the reign of Veṇkaṭapati Dēva Mahārāya, the Mahānāyakāchaḥyā (with other epithets) Harati Immaḍī Raṅgapā Nāyaka-ayya’s (son) Hungahati Nāyaka’s family relatives and others (named) granted to the nāḍī Gauḍas a stone sāsana as follows: “Whereas according to the copper sāsana formerly given by Vīra Ballāḷa Rāya the nāḍ gauḍike was being carried on,—and Mudi-Gauḍa...of the two tanks says that the nāḍ-gauḍike is his, and having sent those on his side to Tumukur, and they and Mudi Gauḍa having had a false vōle written, came saying that they had gained the (case)—And whereas that the channel overseer’s vōle was a false vōle having been proved by the men sent from our palace, they returned the vōle, saying that we will not submit to Mudi Gauḍa and that the gauḍike did not belong to him,—Thereupon to Ānegonḍa Kariṇigappa they deposed that as long as sun and moon endure there should be no joint gauḍike or substitute, and in the

¹ E. C., XII, Pg. 2, p. 117.  
² E. C., II, No. 224, p. 96, text, p. 95 (2nd ed.); No. 99, p. 016 (1st ed.).  
³ Ibid., Nos. 225-7, p. 96.
presence of the chief priest of the god Mēlikuṇṭhe Bālakrishṇa’s temple, set up this stone śūsana.”1

The socio-economic activities of the people centre mostly round questions relating to the establishing of fairs and building tanks. We have already seen how in A. D. 1352 by order of Mahāmandalēśvara Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, Rāchaya Dēva Mahārāja, Bālumanne Rājulu of his (? Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar’s) city, with all the farmers and subjects of Kayivāra-nāḍu, (adorned with all titles) all of both (sects of) Nānā-Dēśis in Pekkunḍra and of the eighteen castes established a fair at Kayivāra. Periya Nāyaṇa, younger brother of Mārappa Setṭi, was appointed pattrana-svāmi of the fair, with a rent free estate as his emolument.2

The other side of this question is connected with the koḍage grants which we have detailed at some length while dealing with etiquette and honours in Vijayanagara. We may nevertheless add a few more instances of the corporate activities of the people in this direction. All the Brahmans of Hariharapura, which is Kellaṅgere, in A. D. 1367, unanimously agreed to make specified payments for the livelihood of the buffalo-man of the tank cart, for oil for wheel grease, crowbar, pickaxe and other necessaries.3 A more interesting instance of the corporate work of the Brahmans is given in an inscription dated A. D. 1410. This epigraph tells us that Dēva Rāya II made a settled agreement (vyavahāra-nirṇaya) for the god Harihara and for the Brahmans living in the Harihara-kshētra. “On the Brahmans at their own expense building a dam to the river Haridrā within the boundaries of the god Harihara, and leading a channel through the god’s land to Harihara; of all the lands irrigated by the so-led channel, as far as it may

1 E. C., XII, Si. 84, p. 100. Gaudikes were sold like any other commodity. In A. D. 1581 Siddanṭa Gauda of Sid(dh)āpura, son of Dēvapa Gauda of Kerre sold the gaudike which belonged to him of Rotṭeṭhalli for 200 vandha, to Medakeri Nāyaka, grandson of the Mahāndyeakāchārya Kāmegēti Segale Hanume Nāyaka. E. C., XI, Cd. 48, p. 13.
2 E. C., X, Ct. 95, p. 262, op. cit.
go, two parts (thirds) shall be for the god Harihara, and one part (third) to the Brahmans who at their own expense constructed the channel. That enjoyment (of the land) may be held in peace” permanently, and free of all imposts. The epigraphs also tell us that “in order that there may be known with certainty what Brahmans have a right to the shares under the agreement, their names, *sūtras* and *gōtras* are here written. It was also decided that “also that the water of the channel should be distributed in the same proportions, and the expense of the wells and tanks formed under the channel, or expense connected with the river, should be borne in the same way.”

The Gauḍas and other people were more concerned in the agricultural welfare of the country than the Brahmans. In A.D. 1429 Ujeni Rāma Gauḍa’s son Rayicharasa, Masana Gauḍa’s son Muttu Gauḍa, and the elder Gauḍas and subjects of the Ujeni village, granted by a *śāsana* a *koḍage* to Ujeni Bayicharasa’s son Chēmarasa. The inscription relates that Chēmarasa and the temple priests (*sthānikaru*) having provided the funds and entered into an agreement, constructed a tank to the east of the town. In about A.D. 1521 all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Bhaṭṭa-ratnākara, which was Nāgamaṅgala, granted a *vōle* to Viṭṭṭhanṇa, son of Jannikūchiga of the same town. On Viṭṭṭhanṇa having constructed a tank (situation described) they gave him many paddy fields under the waste weir of the same Māyi-Dēvi tank, as *kere-gōḍaṅge*. The *Mahānāyakāchārya* Harti...Viṭṭaṇa Nāyaka, the farmers and Sēnabōva of Taluku and the farmers and sēnabōvas of the fourteen places in the Doḍēri-sīme, granted, in A.D. 1560, some unspecified land to the *Mahānāyakāchārya* Yallappa Nāyaka, evidently as a tank *mānya*. In about A.D. 1591 the Sirya-sthaḷa Gauḍa Dāsapa’s son Sandikāmi Gauḍa and others (named) constructed a tank and a well, in addition to certain other works of charity, “in

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1 E. C., XI, Dg. 23, pp. 31-2. See Dg. 29 dated A.D. 1424 for an account of the great dam, pp. 38-9.
2 E. C., XII, Kg. 18, p. 35.
3 E. C., IV, Ng. 82, p. 133.
4 E. C., XI, Cl. 3, p. 98.
order that the Gauḍas of Dāsanahali of the Yaleyūr-sthala may enjoy it under our charge from generation to generation”, the gaudike of the place having been given to the donors. The charities refer to a new village built by them.¹

The harmony that existed between the different religious sections of the people is specially seen in the epigraphs relating to the activities of the Brahmans, the Sthānikas and the Jainas. In A. D. 1368 certain Gauḍas (named) of Uyyanapalli together with all the Brahmans of Kēsavapura or Nagara and other Gauḍas (named) of various villages, granted from each family the petty taxes, the tank and lands of Mātruhali, to provide for the service of the god Anileśvara of Haradanahali. The concluding lines of the epigraph tell us that “agreeing among themselves, and of their own accord, in the presence of the officer Siriyaṇa, they granted them, with presentation of a coin and water, to the god Anileśvara”.² According to an effaced inscription dated about A. D. 1372, all the Brahmans of a certain agrahāra agreeing among themselves made (an agreement) regarding a loan of 150 gadyāna to be given to their ryots from the treasury of the god Rāmanātha.³ In A. D. 1377 all the Brahmans of the two Kannur agrahāras in Hārahaṇi-nāḍ and of Edihali and Gāvalūr, and of the seventy villages, and all the Gauḍas and chiefs of the nāḍ, made a grant of rice land (specified) belonging to the Gautama village for the god Narasingha of the hill of the same locality. The same record informs us that Kaṇḍamani Rāmaya Nāyaka’s son Taḷa Nāyaka and the Brahmans of Hārahaṇi-nāḍ, having made application to all the nāḍ chiefs, transferred it with pouring of water.⁴

The Pañchālas and the Šettis too could express their devotion to the local gods by giving jointly gifts of land. All the Pañchālas of the Yeṇne-nāḍ, in A. D. 1398, in order to

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¹ E. C., XII, Si. 92, pp. 100-1.
² E. C., IV, Ch. 113, p. 15.
³ Ibid., Gu. 33, pp. 41-2.
⁴ E. C., VII, Sk. 35, p. 46.
provide for the necessaries of worship and decoration for the god Anilēśvara, presented an offering at the rate of one haṇa in the several villages.\(^1\) The Rāya Seṭṭis of the customs dues by both roads granted eleven varūha eighteen haṇa realized from the old godage, included in the customs dues paid by the oil mongers as oil mill tax, to provide for the perpetual lamp of the god Chennakēśava of Āneganakeśe. The epigraph, however, contains the information that it was granted by "order of Lakkanḍa Oḍeyar" in A. D. 1399.\(^2\) In A. D. 1475 certain Gauḍas (named) brought land (specified for forty-five gadyāna from Kaṅchi Śambhu Dēva's son Gōvinda Dēva, for the god Kēśava of Kāsaraguppe in Eḍe-nāḍ in Chandragutti.\(^3\)

The great minister Gaureya Daṇṇāyaka with all the Gauḍas, Seṭṭis and others (not named), granted specified lands for the offerings of the god Varadarāja, to the Brahmans of Vāgaṭa, which is Bhāgirathapura.\(^4\) Certain Seṭṭis (named) together with "the existing Brahmans" (many named) of the agrahāra Vishṇusamudra, also called Keṛeyasaṁthe, caused a bhōga-maṇṭapa to be erected in front of the temple of the god Janārdhana, and granted it to all the wet land under the Chāmanahalli pond, "except what had previously been granted,—and of the land under the water course from the eastern sluice, one half to the temple and one-fourth to the Brahmans."\(^5\)

In A. D. 1522 Mācha Gauḍa and other Gauḍas with the principal Nānā-Dēśi Seṭṭis of the ninety-six Thousand, granted certain specified lands for the Hoḷalakeśe-vṛitti, together with a number of specified dues on articles at the fair. For the god Mahēśvara they also granted specified dues from the fair.\(^6\) According to an epigraph dated in Śaka 1445 (A. D. 1523-4) it was covenanted by the inhabitants of Valla-nāḍu that the Vēḷḷāṇa tenants of the three villages Pālaikkudi, Kālaṅguḍi and

\(^1\) E. C., IV, Ch. 119, p. 16.
\(^2\) E. C., V, P. I. Cn. 175, p. 201.
\(^3\) E. C., VIII, Sb. 527, p. 87.
\(^4\) E. C., IX, Ht. 128, p. 104.
\(^5\) E. C., VI, Kd. 91, p. 16.
\(^6\) E. C., XI, Hk. 34, p. 120.
Kišinallūr should pay their obligations and services to the temple of Arūṅgaḷanāṭhār.¹

On a certain person, whose name is effaced in the inscription dated A. D. 1533, having built the temple of the god Chandramaulūḷēśvara on the bank of the tank formed in the Ārkkavati river, and “having brought a Kāśi liṅga (or liṅga from Benares), set up the god Chandramaulūḷēśvara, with Naṇḍikēśvara and Vighnēśvara”, and “on making petition to the Brahmans, many learned Brahmans of various gōḷras, sūṭras, and names, at the auspicious time of consecration,” granted specified land for the offerings of the god, together with land for an enclosure to the temple, house for the priest, and a street with the land adjoining it.² Two years later “in the year Manmatha, they made certain additional grants, the ground for the god’s precincts being insufficient.” In A. D. 1536 in the year Durmukhi they granted the temple koḍage to Dāsi for cultivation.³

In A. D. 1534 the temple of the god Tirumala of Chakkeṛe in the Kūḍalūr-sthaḷa, also called Rājarāja-chōḷa-chaturvedimanaṅgaḷam in Keḻale-nāḍ, “by order of the royal treasurer (rāya-bhanḍārada) Timmappayya, was given to the Establisher of the path of the Vēdas, the Chakrakōḷu Vijaya Chūḍāmani Nallāru Timmarāyā-chakravarti-ayya’s beloved disciple, the son of Rāmayya and Rāmānujammā, Nārāyaṇayya. And all the Hebbāruva Brahmans of Kūḍalūr and Majalūr, with the consent of all the farmers and subjects of these villages, gave to the temple priest (sthāṇika) Nārāyaṇayya land (specified) for the service of the god Tirumala, together with certain taxes (named). It was further declared that the temple was free from paying samaya-vartane and birūḍa.⁴

The spontaneous outburst of charity by corporate bodies of the earlier times is not seen in a record dated A. D. 1544 which

¹ 271 of 1914.
² E. C., IX., Nl, 31, p. 34.
³ Ibid. 31, p. 34. This inscription is given by Rice under No. 31.
⁴ Ibid., Cp. 155, p. 165.
informs us that, during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, “Sāmanta Chenṇa and other Nāyakas (named), having received an order from their lord (whose name is not given in the epigraph) to maintain the agrahāra, temple...in order that he might obtain perpetual wealth, made a grant from their...Bāgūr”. It is hardly necessary to say that this is one of these instances of charity which does not speak highly of some of the nobles of Vijayanagara.

But voluntary contributions by the people did not altogether disappear in later Vijayanagara history. In about A. D. 1600 the Bennāyakanahalḷi Gauḍa and subjects agreeing, gave the worship of Vē...ṣelamma to Lakai-bōya. The inscription does not contain any further information.

Before we proceed to mention the charitable endowments by the people, we may speak of one or two features of the social history of the times—the particular favour by which the rulers and the subjects looked on the Jainas, and the amicable relations between the Sthānīkas and the Brahmans. Although these two features refer to the religious life of the people, yet it is not irrelevant that we should dwell on them from the point of view of the corporate activities of the people. Lest the instances we have cited above should be interpreted to mean that the Brahmans of Vijayanagara were extremely fortunate in securing the largest share of the bounty of the people, we may give an instance dealing with the public charities of all the merchants and citizens of a province. This epigraph, which does not exhaust all the records on the subject, is dated A. D. 1383. All the Sālu-mūle of Eḍa-nāḍ in Gutti and of twenty-one other centres we have already mentioned in connection with the guilds in Vijayanagara, “having agreed among themselves, gave to the Sankala basti of Ḡajigere a šāsana” confirming the umbaḷi gift of seventy varāha for a palanquin and spears, given by the Mahā-prauḍha Mude Daṇṇāyaka. One has only

1 E. C., IV, Ng. 2, p. 113.
3 E. C., VIII, Sb. 428, p. 75, op. cit.
Holi Festival.
to remember the former religious settlement between the Jainas and the Śrīvaishṇavas in A. D. 1368 at the hands of Bukka Oḍeyar, to realize that the people could not but have shown the same generosity and consideration to the Jainas, which their ruler had made public on the occasion of that great controversy.

The good feelings that existed between the Sthānikas or temple priests on the one hand and the Brahmans on the other, are clearly proved by the following two records. One of them is dated A. D. 1416. In that year "in the great minister Nāgaṇṇa Daṇḍāyaka's Maḷuvāgil kingdom, Anṇadāni Oḍeyar was maintaining the proper dharma". Kesava Perumāke's sons Balepa, Maṇiya and Mārapa, and his younger brother Āvāmbaḷa, the temple priests (sthānikaru), "by order of the original chief goddess of Maḷuvāgil, Maḷuvāi Nāchi, Dēvi," agreeing among themselves, gave to Śivarātri-Viṭhannai Mallaṇṇa and other Brahmans a sāsana as follows: "The Arai dam in the Pāḷru river in the Katariyahaḷḷi-sime belonging to our Maḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi having been breached from time immemorial and ruined down to the level of the ground, in order that you may expend much money and restore the dam so as to form a tank, and build there a village named Maḷuvāyi-Nāchipura, we grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows,—(here come the boundaires)—in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields. And the rice lands under and in the area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts, one part will belong to the treasury of our Maḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi, and in consideration of your having expended much money of your own and constructed the tank, the remaining three parts we grant, with the land (before-mentioned), to your Brahmans as an agraḥāra, free of all imposts, from our Maḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi. All the usual rights of the village named Maḷuvāyi Nāchipura which you build we also grant. If any damage arise to your tank, it belongs to your Brahmans to repair ". The agreement on tablets (patra-sāsana) was inscribed in a stone sasana (śilā-sāsana) in front of the goddess Maḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi, and was granted by the donors of their own freewill "with the consent of our wives
sons, relatives, dependants and claimants, and also with the consent of the king."¹ This important epigraph enables us to assert that the Sthānikas or temple priests were owners of temple lands, that they contracted deeds in the name of the deity, and that an agreement of the nature given above was declared valid only when it had received the consent of all relatives, dependants and claimants concerned, and also of the State. The concord between the Sthānikas and the Brahmans, as indicated clearly in the Muḷuvāyi epigraph, is also proved by another inscription dated A. D. 1520. This relates that the Brahmans of Vōlu-Narasimhapura and the Sthānikaru gave to Dyāpa-Kedurappa specified land and a house, the object of the grant being not stated in the inscription.²

We have given instances to prove that in the last years of the Hoysalas the people clearly indicated that they could unite for a common purpose by giving endowments in company with the officials of the Government. This was specially noticeable in the year A. D. 1342. That the earliest traditions continued to influence the minds of the people under Vijayanagara is proved by an inscription dated A. D. 1347. This informs us that the inhabitants of Ambaḍakki-dāḍu including Pāppiśiyar and others (named), and the Mahāśavantādhipati Mañjeya Nāyaka's son Ankaya Nāyaka, granted to Kēttiśiyar, son of Vayirīśiyar, as a kuḍaṅgaī, all the dry and wet lands belonging to Dāṣayanapalli of their nāḍu. The concluding lines of the same epigraph prove that there was unanimity of opinion about the grant. "This is the signature of the nāḍu Śeṭṭīśvara-dēvar. This is the signature of Nāyakkar-Srī Allājanātha. This is the signature of Āneyappan Ādimūlam. This is the signature of Nilappan, the accountant of the nāḍu."³ Another record dated

¹ E. C., X, Mb. 7, p. 73.
² Ibid., Ki. 151, p. 53.
³ Ibid., Sd. 71, p. 188. There are three inscriptions relating to Pāppiśiyar, which have been cited in this treatise. (E. C., X, Sd. 67, pp. 187-8; Sd. 26, p. 182, Sd. 71, 188.) This person together with the Mahāśumantādhipati Mañjeya Nāyaka's son Ankaya Nāyaka figures in records ranging from A. D. 1341 to A. D. 1347. According to our computation the Vijayanagara Empire was founded in A. D. 1346. And the instance of
A.D. 1348 deals with the grant of the Koçigehalli to Bairi Şetti's son Kariya Nayaka by the Mahásāmantādhīpāti Mayileya Nayaka, the great Ešāhaṅka-nāḍ prabhu Bairi Dēva and others (named) together with all the farmers, as a permanent endowment.¹ In A.D. 1351 the Kaluvali-nāḍ prabhu Tāḷavāḍi Bambaṅa, Gangavāḍi Mādanā, and many others (named), together with all the subjects and farmers, granted to the Mahásāmantādhīpāti (with other titles) Mayileya Nayaka's younger brother Chennaya Nayaka, as a koḍage, Vayijūr in their own nāḍu.²

The Mahásāmantādhīpāti Śipati Nayaka's son Šonṇeya Nayaka, according to a Tamil record dated A.D. 1360, together with the inhabitants of Amḍadakki-nāḍu, including the superintendents of the nāḍu, Pāpaśiyar and Šokkiśiyar and three others (named), granted certain specified lands, as a kuḍaṅgai, to Śanānḍai. The epigraph contains the signature of the nāḍu, Şettiširam-uḍaiyar, and that of Nayakkar, Allālanātha, and of the accountant Nilappar.³ In A.D. 1369 the Mahásāmantādhīpāti Šonṇeya Nayaka and the inhabitants of the nāḍu, including Noṇappa...made a grant of a village, the name of which is effaced in the record, but which was near Vēmaṅgaḷa, as a kuḍaṅgai. The grant contains "the signature of the inhabitants of the nāḍu—Śri-Bhairavanātha."⁴ Another effaced inscription dated A.D. 1397 tells us that a number of Heggaḍes (named) made a grant of the Kallakoḍagi land (specified) of Hollavāni to some one whose name is lost in the record.⁵ In A.D. 1407 all the people of the two Maṅdu-nāḍ

Pāppi Śiyar and Aṅkaya Nayaka only confirms our assumption, made in this treatise and elsewhere, that the rulers of Vijayanagara being the legitimate heirs to the Hoysala traditions, allowed the offices and governors who served under the latter, to continue under the new regime. B.A.S.

¹ E. B., IX, Dv. 50, p. 80.
² Ibid., Cp. 16, p. 138.
³ E. C., X, Ct. 75, p. 257. See also Ct. 76 of the same date. The same people made another grant.
⁴ Ibid., Kt. 12, p. 3.
Thirty of Hombuchcha-nāḍi gave to Bomŏga’s son Kāmōja the land (specified) in Halavanahālli as a koḍage.¹

About the Brahmans we are told that in A. D. 1452 all the mahājanas of Gavudagere granted certain lands (specified) as a tax free koḍage to Kāḷa Nāyaka for having made Sāveyahālli a pura.² All the Brahmans of the sarvamāṇya-agrahāra Kundalagurige otherwise called Rāmasamudra, granted specified lands as koḍage to Bagtuhālli Tammo Gauḍa in about A. D. 1500.³

Brahmans as well as artisan classes joined together to make provision for the dancing-girls attached to temples. In A. D. 1366 Kāḷappā, the Gauḍa of Honganūr, the mahājanas of the village and the gavudugal of the nāḍu, having met together, granted some lands and taxes to provide for dancing-girls in the temple of god Ankanātha. All the eighteen castes attended the meeting at which it was decided that for making the above provision every house should pay one tāra every year and on occasions of regular marriage of a girl one bāgīluvāna (door-haṇa) and one dēvara-haṇa (God’s-haṇa) and of kūdike marriage of a woman half the amount.⁴ In A.D. 1369 all the Brahmans of the agrahāra Madhusūdanapura also called Taḷīrūr, agreeing among themselves, made a grant in Imma-Uyaganudiyahaḷi for the support of the dancing-girls in the temple of the god Madhusūdana.⁵ All the Brahmans of the agrahāra Prasanna-Vijayapura, agreeing among themselves in A. D. 1372, made a grant (specified in detail) for the support of the dancing-girls of the original god of the village (grāmādhidaivavāgiha), the god Rāmanātha. The amount set apart for this purpose was thirty gadyāṇa. As we have already seen,

¹ E.C., VIII., T. 1. 122, p. 187. See also E.C., X, K. 1. 240 of the same date in which we are informed that the inhabitants of Šoṇḍeyanāyan-chaturvēdi-nāḍu, including Paṭṭiyūr Pemmi Śetti and others (named) gave the village of Śiṛḷamarāḍi to (?) Šeravāran-nāḍu as a kudaṅgai, p. 67. The exact meaning of the last clause is not apparent. B. A. S.
³ E. C., X, Sd. 75, p. 189.
the epigraph concludes thus: "Whatever Brahmans oppose this, are out of the Brahman community, and banished from the village." In the same year all the Pañchālas of Terakanāmbi and various other places (named), we may likewise be permitted to repeat, with the smiths of the four places (named) agreeing together made a grant also with the same object, of providing for the dancing-girls of the same temple. Their generosity extended also to the dancing-girl Kētavve, presented to the temple by Rāmanā, son Nāgavve. We have already seen that, like the Brahmans of Prasanna-Vijayapura, the Pañchālas also imposed a penalty on all those who destroyed their grant. In A. D. 1403 all the Nāyakavādis of Ālūr, the southern Ayyāvaliyūr, who were altogether seven, made a grant for the support of the dancing-girls of the god Dēsinātha of the same place Ayyāvaliyūr.

We may also note that when viragals were set up, all the people joined together to commemorate the event. An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1371, informs us that various Gauḍas whose names are mostly gone, set up a viragal at Hojalkere.

Agreements relating to marriage may next be considered. A record which is unfortunately much defaced, but dated about A. D. 1449, tells us that a number of Šeṭṭis (named) of Bāgūr made some regulations regarding women who lapsed from marriage. In Śakā 1377 (A.D. 1455-6) certain merchants of Kāvērippākkam drew up a private agreement to the effect that a specified sum of money was to be set apart, on marriage occasions, for the repairs of the temple of Kēśava Parumāl at Kāvērippākkam alias Vikrama-Śōla-Chatuvēdīmaṅgalam. All the subjects and Šeṭṭis (of a place not mentioned in the epigraph), we are told in a record dated A. D. 1534, by the order

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1 E. C., IV, Gu. 32, p. 41, op. cit.
2 Ibid., Gu. 34, p. 42, op. cit.
3 Ibid., Ch. 45, p. 6.
4 E. C., XI, Hk. 31, p. 119. The inscription on the viragal was written by the Adanūr Sēnabōva Kasapa.
5 E. C., XII, Tp. 86, p. 59, text, p. 165.
6 383 of 1905; Rangachari, Top List., I, NA. 4, p. 32.
of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya, remitted for all castes the tax on marriage and on marriage pandals. The inscription also contains the names of Ṣeṭṭis who joined in this.\(^1\)

The corporate activities of the people in connection with charity are of particular interest in determining their social solidarity. A Tamil record of A. D. 1346 deals with the public charities of the paṭṭa-viyapārī Muttiyaraśan Ilamān Śuvāśā-Nāyakkar, and the inhabitants of Tentaṛru-Turavaḷi-nāḍu in Śanai-nāḍu of Rājendra-Śoḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu in Nigarili-Śoḷa-maṇḍalam. They granted certain lands (specified) together with the right to sell or mortgage, to Gaṅgādhara (descent stated), a resident of Śeṭṭi-agaram in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam.\(^2\) In about the same year the mahājanas of Irumbiliyur and the inhabitants of Veyūr-nāḍu (a few named) together with Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka, granted the wet and dry lands in Udaikanapallī to Śeṭṭi-pergaḍaiyār, as a sarvanāṇya.\(^3\) Another incomplete record dated A. D. 1359 relates that the Mahāśāvantādhīpati Mayileya Nāyaka's younger brother Yōjaya Nāyaka and Santeyya Nāyaka with all the subjects and farmers of the great Pa...nāḍ made some grant.\(^4\) All the people and farmers of Attihaḷi together with the Brahmans of Rāmapura which is Bannūr, and Chokka Gauḍa seem to have made a grant in A. D. 1366.\(^5\) In the same year "the mahājanas, the heads of the mahās and sthānas, the reciters of the Vēdas, the temple manager (dharma-kartārā), Šebāṇḍai, the pūjāris Vaitti-bāṭṭar, Mādeva-bāṭṭar and their sons, Māra Bāṭṭar and his sons, the Kaikkōlar (? weavers) of the fine temple at (?) Kavarippinā, the (?) mūlachchēdi Śri-Virabhattira and the servants performing various duties, from the pūjāri at the top to the scavenger at the bottom,—having assembled on the seat of

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\(^1\) E. C., XI, Hk. 17, p. 118. This is an unusual case of remission of taxes on marriage by the subjects, since we have already seen that it was the State which remitted the marriage tax. B. A. S.

\(^2\) E. C., IX, Bn. 59, pp. 12-3.

\(^3\) Ibid., Bn. 47, p. 11.

\(^4\) Ibid., N1. 23, p. 33.

\(^5\) E. C., III, TN. 110, p. 90.
justice", agreed among themselves to measure out "a certain quantity (specified) of paddy and pay certain taxes (named) to Śrī-Rudra-Śrī-Māhēśvara of Chitramēli Perukkālan-Dirukkāvanañam residing in the temple of Sōma-isvaramuñaiyar of Tāmaraikkai in Rājendra-Chōla-vala-nādu.¹

The people of Maṇdu-nāḍu have given us some more evidence of their solidarity. In A. D. 1367 all the Gauḍas and subjects of that nāḍu granted specified land to Śakañña's son Dēvappa.² In A. D. 1371 all the nāḍ people of the four Maṇdu-nāḍ Thirty, which is here stated to be in Maduvaṅka-nāḍ, granted the lands of Maṅgaḷa village, excluding those belonging to the god, to Sūrya Bhaṭṭa's son Maharasa, in order that he might attain the four objects of human desire (dharma-artha-kāma-mōksha-chatur-vidha-purushārtha-sidhyarthavāgi). And also the land in Badagareyakere (specified), from affection for Umā-Mahēśvara.³

The goodwill existing between the Brahmins and other sections of the people, which is proved in the numerous epigraphs we have cited, is also seen in a record dated A. D. 1374. This relates that all the Brahmins of Honnavali gave to Bomma Gauḍa and other Gauḍas (named) and all the farmers and subjects of Halukūr a śāsana for an exchange (parivarti-tana-śāsana) of 470 poles of land in Bhagavati-ghaṭṭa, a hamlet of Honnavali, for the same extent of land in Būdana-hāḷu, attached to Tulikeyahalḷi, a hamlet of Halukūr.⁴ In A. D. 1377 all the Gauḍas together with some others, whose names are effaced in the inscription, "agreeing among themselves, from affection for Iśvara, granted Huttadahalḷī to the houseminister (maneya-pradhāna) of Virūpaṇḍa Oḍeyar, Rāmarāsa. He however "at the time of the eclipse of the sun, from love to his ishta-dēvalā" formed it into an agrahāra called Hariharapura, and bestowed it on Brahmins.⁵

² E. C., VIII, Tl. 120, p. 186.
³ Ibid., Tl. 119, p. 186, P. II, p. 580.
⁵ E. C., VIII, Tl. 125, p. 187.
During the viceroyalty of the same governor, Virūpanaṇa Oḍeyar, in A.D. 1377, all the nāḍ-prabhus in the Nāsavandunāḍ-sīme of Maduvaṇka-nāḍ gave to Bēcharasa’s son Gōyindēva (Gōvinda Dēva ?) lands in the Attigāra village as a free gift.”¹

The Brahmans of fifteen shares out of the forty-five of Tūrthahāḷḷi agreeing among themselves, in A.D. 1378, granted by šāsana certain lands (specified) to the Brahmanas of the thirty shares of Virūpakshapura which is Kōṇandūr.² Forty-five Brahmanas of a village, the name of which is effaced in a record dated about A.D. 1378, also unanimously released the svāmya to certain persons (named) granting them the dues (named) in EḤehāḷḷi, Betuḷa and Beḷūgūrū.³

The Gauḍas and subjects of the two Maṇdu-nāḍ Thirty of the Hombuchcha-nāḍ (many named), and five original landowners of Nīṭṭūr in Hombuchcha-nāḍ (named), granted to Mallappa of the Treasury, in A.D. 1379, lands of the Nīṭṭūr village, rated (as specified) at fourteen hon.⁴ An inscription dated A.D. 1390 relates that Hibbarī Lukumaiya Nāyaka granted for dharma Lakshmināṭhapura in Kōḷāḷa-nāḍ, to some one not mentioned in the grant. The nāḍ-prabhus of Kōḷāḷa (several named) and other men disposed in dharma granted all the lands belonging to that Lakshmināṭhapura.⁵

The Brahmanas of Elase and Kuppugaḍđe in the Guttī Eighteen Kampaṇa, together with all the Gauḍas, in A.D. 1395, granted of their own accord Elambali in the Nāgarakaṇḍa-nāḍ to Nara Nārā(ya)ṇa Dēva, son of the Treasurer Dharani Dēva, in the presence of the god Saptanāṭha of Gōve.⁶ All the Brahmanas and subjects of a place, which is effaced in an inscription dated A.D. 1396 but which was in the Āragā kingdom, together with all the nāḍ people of Maduvanka-

¹ E. C. VIII., T1. 28, p. 169.
² Ibid., T1. 108, p. 185.
³ Ibid., T1. 21, p. 167.
⁴ Ibid., T1. 114, p. 185.
⁵ E. C., X, K1. 105, p. 32.
nāḍ, agreeing among themselves, granted to Mayyaṇṇa's son Virūpaṇṇa a gift of land (specified). All the cultivators of the three cities of all the nāḍs of the Eighteen Kaṃpaṇa of the Araga-vēṇṭhe, "agreeing among themselves, with one accord", made a grant of lands to the learned governor Viṭṭhṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar in six villages in the Maḷavaḍi-nāḍ, having purchased them "at the price of the day", 500 varaḥa, and having obtained "the consent of the people of Meṇasūr and Dānanūla. We may incidentally note that the donee is described thus: "the recipient of the ascetic virtues (yajñana-yajana-adhyayana-adhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shat-karma-niyata ara), restrained by the six rites, follower of the Riksākhā, Viṭṭhṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar of the Bharadvāja-gōtra".

In A. D. 1404 the ruling prabhās, the chief men of the nāḍs of the Araga-vēṇṭhe Eighteen Kaṃpaṇa, of all the three cities, the Rāu-nāḍ, Four Mandus and sixty villages, (many men named) and the Dānā-mūlas of Kobaḍe, having agreed together, granted to Ingalēśvara Māyaṇṇa's son Virūpaṇṇa, and to Virūpaṇṇa's sons Kallappa and Māyaṇṇa a gift of land (specified) in the Kobaḍe village of Rāu-nāḍ. And forming this land into an agrahāra called Nāgalāpura, after Keśava Deva Heggaḍe's mother, they divided it into three shares for Virūpaṇṇa, Kallappa and Māyaṇṇa, and made it over (to them) in the presence of the god Kallinātha of the Araga-mūlsthāna.

The Mahāśāvantaḍhīpati Kuḍalur Maṇḍhaya Nāyaka, with all the farmers and subjects of Koḷanalur-sthala, in A. D. 1404, made to all the Brahmins of the immemorial agrahāra Sarva-jīna-Bhāskarāpura which is Koḷanalur, a grant of the Uḷēnahalli village, with a tank in the low ground. In about A. D. 1405 all the nāḍ-sēṭṭis agreeing among themselves, made a grant of the Bālagārakoppa rented-land in Bekkase village (boundaries specified) to the nāḍ people of the Eighteen Kaṃpaṇa and those

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1 E. C. VIII, Tl. 8, p. 164.
2 E. C., VI, KP. 52 pp. 86-7, text, pp. 334-5.
3 E. C., VIII, Tl. 196, p. 206.
4 E. C., V, P. I, Ag. 52, p. 253.
of the three cities. And they granted Bāḷagāra, to Rāyappa's grandson Vīraṇa Oḍeyar. He made over Bāḷagāra, giving it the name Ayōdhyyāpura to the learned Sulabhatīrtha Śrīpāda.\(^1\) An inscription dated Śaka 1328 (A. D. 1405-6) relates that the assembly of 4,000 men of Trībhuvanamahādevī-Chaturvēdi-maṅgālam, a bramhadēya in Nīḍuvil-maṇḍālam, a subdivision of Rājādhīrāja-vala-nāḍu, gave a village as a kāṇiyākṣi gift to Ālavandāṅ Bhaṭṭar alīs Uḷagauḍaiya-Perūmal, of Perumbaraṣapuliyūr.\(^2\) In A. D. 1408 all the farmers and subjects of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpana and those of the three cities agreeing among themselves, made a grant of (lands) in the Sūrāli village to the Brahmans (named), after having turned it into an agrahāra called Nāgasamudra.\(^3\) Bomma Dēva Heggaḍe and the Brahmans of Hārandūr, as related is an effaced inscription of A. D. 1416, made a grant of lands (specified) to Abhaḷi Bhaṭṭa, son of Channappa Bhaṭṭa.\(^4\)

In A. D. 1429 all the Nagarta Paṇchāḷas granted certain lands to Morōji and Bayirōji certain lands in Hiriyūr of Kabbahāḷ-ṛṭhaḷa. The epigraph which gives us this information is illegible.\(^5\)

In another effaced record dated about A. D. 1430 we are told that Śrīgiriṇātha Oḍeyar gave munificent donations for a new chhatra or rest-house of the god Śrīgiri MALLIKĀRJUNA. Saṅgama Dēvi (wife of Śrīgiri Oḍeyar ?) gave up the house she was in, together with the wells and fruit trees for the nineteen Brahmans of the chhatra. And for the ten Jaṅgamas for whom the nāḍ people have provided in the chhatra, "the Brahman who attends to them, and two Śūdra women to clean up, for these thirteen persons, whoever is the manager of the Brahman chhatra will collect from the nāḍ people the amount specified and provide the bhatta (or rice) required for the whole thirty-

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\(^1\) E. C., VIII, Tl. 24, p. 168.
\(^2\) 370 of 1917.
\(^3\) E. C., VIII, Tl. 222, p. 211.
\(^4\) E. C., VI. Sg. 29, p. 100.
\(^5\) E. C., IX, Kn., 65, p. 128.
two persons." The inscription does not enlighten us on the question whether the nāḍ people themselves authorized the collection of the specified fee.¹

On Rāyaṇaṇa Oḍeyar also constructing a chhatra and other works of merit, all the farmers and subjects of Anavēri-nāḍ and the Holeya-Honnūr-nāḍ, in A.D. 1431, agreeing among themselves, gave him Daṇṇāyakapura with all the taxes and dues (specified in detail), in the presence of all the gods of Kūḍali.² In about A.D. 1495 the 170 Brahmans of Belavaḍi granted land (specified) to Sabega, son of Bāvaṇka Dēva.³ Tarur-Komāra Chikkoḍeyar’s son Chikkaṇa, in about A.D. 1510, with the approval of the Gauḍas and sēnābōva, granted land in Siravanoḍu to Niḍugal Viraṇaṇa Oḍeyar (descent stated).⁴

In about Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8) all the nāḍ-gauḍas of Vijayapura granted land to Bayirapa Nāyaka in consideration of his holding the office of yajamāna (headman) of the nāḍu.⁵

Vīrappa Nāyaka, son of Muḷuvāgil Sāļuva Keṇchaṇa Nāyaka and others (named), having agreed together, in A.D. 1530, gave the two villages Voḍḍarahaḷḷi and another village, the name of which is effaced in the record, of Naṇḍagullisthaḷa, to Sōmanātha Dikshita, son of Chaturvēṭḍimaṅgala Bhaṭṭa, for some purpose not stated in the grant.⁶ Another inscription also of the same date (Śaka 1452 = A.D. 1530-1) tells us that the residents of Vallā-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu, gave certain lands to Śokkanār Pallavarāyar of Paḍaiṇapṟṟu, as a kāṇiyāṭchi.⁷ Four persons (named) granted the Virūpākṣha-

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¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 33, pp. 169-70.
² E. C., VII, Sh. 71, pp. 27-8.
⁴ E. C., XII. Si. 111, p. 103.
⁶ E. C., IX, Ht. 28, p. 91.
⁷ 318 of 1914. For a gift of a piece of land by the mahājanas of the srevaṇānyagraghāra village of Kāṇchsamudra alias Pratāpadėvaraya- puram in Ś. 1459, see 571 of 1912; Rangachari, Top. List, I, Ap. 78, p. 13. See also Ap. 76 for a gift of a channel and a tank by the mahājanas of Nagarakege in A. D. 1538, p. ibid.
pura, otherwise called Nandicheruvu, in the Penugoṇḍa kingdom, to Achyutarāya Mallapaṇṇa in A. D. 1537.¹

All the Brahmons of Bhaṭṭa-ratnākara, which was Nāgamaṅgaḷa, in about A.D. 1549 made for the god Virabhadra of the same town a grant of the first five paṇa received every year of that temple; and all the remaining dues were granted by Bokki Śeṭṭi, son of Bāldali Śeṭṭi.² In A. D. 1560 the Brahmons of Belgod agrahāra, also called Narasimhapura, in the Fifty-nāḍ of the Āraga kingdom, granted specified lands for the offerings of the god Lakṣmī-Navāyaṇa, and also gave fourteen (gadyāṇa) for the chhatra of the same temple.³ According to an effaced inscription assigned to the year A. D. 1633, the Brahmons of the agrahāra...masavapura and the Brahmons of Bayirāpura and all the people of Sōmi...made over to Anaṅtappa Oḍeyar certain rice fields under the big tank of Bayirāpura, for some purpose not mentioned in the epigraph.⁴

CHAPTER IX
FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS

SECTION I. Religious Festivals

There are detailed notices of some of the most important religious festivals and amusements of Vijayanagara in the accounts of foreign travellers which may be examined with the aid of inscriptions and literature. The most magnificent festivals were those held in connection with the great temple cars and the Mahānāvami. Two other festivals also appeared singular to foreigners and these were the Höḷi and the Siḍi (or

¹ E. C., X, Bg. 4, p. 231.
² E. C., IV, Ng. 5, p. 114.
⁴ E. C., IV, Kr. 13, p. 102. For some notices of social solidarity in the post-Vijayanagara period, see E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 6, p. 46; Lockman, Travels of the Jesuits, II, p. 376.
Sēḍī.) We shall not dwell on the philosophical or symbolical significance of these celebrations but shall merely describe them in order to complete the account of the life of the people of Vijayanagara.¹

Before we deal with them in detail, we may enumerate the different kinds of festivals mentioned in the inscriptions. Some of the epigraphs merely contain references to ordinary festivals; others, to the greater celebrations which foreign travellers also witnessed. Thus an inscription dated A. D. 1375 relates that Dēvaṇa Oḍeyar, along with the inhabitants of Kaivāra-nāḍ, in order that merit might accrue to his father Īśvara Dēva, instituted a festival for the god Bhīmiśuram-Uḍaiyar-Nāyanār of Kaivāra.² But a more detailed account is given in a stone record dated about A. D. 1397 which informs us that the great general of Harihara Rāya, Guṇḍa Daṇḍādhipa, made provision for the following festivals in the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr: the daily worship according to the paṭhca rātra ritual and the mantra siddhānta, the worship of the throne, the enthronement for the bath, enthronement for the decorations, the enthronement for processions, the enthronement for offerings of food, the enthronement for retiring to rest, the display of the sacred emblems, the ceremonial contact, the sixty-four festivals of rejoicing, the worship with flowers, the daily oblation, the daily procession, the fortnightly festivals, the monthly festival, the yearly festival, the festival of purifications, the festival of remaining at home, the festival of the engine (or disc), the festival of invoking Rāma and Krishṇa, the festal of worship with lotuses, the swing festival, the festival of illumination, the festival in Mārgaśīra, the festival in Pushya, the festival in Chaitra, the

¹ For a detailed account of some of the most important religious festivals, read Wilson, Religion of the Hindus, II, pp. 152, seq. (1862 ed.); Wilkins, Mod. Hind., p. 214, seq., Abbé Dubois, Hindu Manners, I, p. 279; II, p. 575, seq., 706, seq. For chronological details of the festivals days, see Kielhorn I. A., XXVI, p. 177, seq. The following may also be noted: Manual of Adm. of the Madras Presy., I, pp. 92, (n), 93, 94; E. D. Ross, An Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans (Calcutta, 1914).

² E. C., X, Ct. 94, p. 262.
decoration with the nine gems, the decoration with new clothes and jewels, the burning of sandal perfume, the congratulation, the presentation of fruit and delicacies, the presentation of a bull, the offering of honey, the offering of seeds, the display of the four divisions of the army, the exhibition of the mirror and of garlands, the exhibition of dancing, the procession to the treasury, the bathing at equinoxes, at solstices, and at the time of the sun’s entering a new sign, the waving of lights, the penance for defects (or omissions) in the daily service, and the penance for accidental interruptions, the peace offering and the festival of bringing the god home from a distance.¹

An inscription dated about A. D. 1495 gives us some more festivals. These were the pañchāmṛita anointing of the god, the offerings, perpetual lamp, prayers with flowers, worship with fruit, putting on of dāvana leaves, putting on of the pavitra, the worship with lights in Kārttika and Kṛttikā, the spring festival and other festivals at the five parvās, the feast of lights, the worship and offerings at Śivarātri, new year’s day, and other great tithis.²

These and many other festivals in temples were conducted with the aid of the assignments given in the shape of revenue and produce by the princes and people of Vijayanagara.

The most remarkable festival which dazzled the foreigners was the Mahānavami celebration. Religious in its atmosphere, it is essentially political in its significance. For it commemorates the anniversary of Rāma’s marching against Rāvana, and in its twofold aspect of the worship of Durgā and of the āyudhas or arms, culminating in the Vijaya-daśami,³ was particularly suited to the Vijayanagara times when fatal issues loomed ominously in the political horizon. According to the

FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS

Hindu calendar it falls in Āśvina-śuklapaksha (September-October).¹

ʿAbdur Razzāq witnessed this great festival. He calls it Mahanāwī, and describes it thus: "The infidels of this country who are endowed with power, are fond of displaying their pride, pomp, power and glory, in holding every year a stately and magnificent festival, which they call Mahanāwī, the manner of it is this: The King of Bījānagar directed that all his nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour, and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks, and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments...On that beautiful plain were raised enchanting pavilions of from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures that the imagination can conceive, of men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste. Some of these pavilions were so constructed, that they revolved, and every moment offered a different face to the view. Every instant each stage and each chamber presented a new and charming sight.

"In the front of that plain, a pillared edifice was constructed of nine stories in height, ornamented with exceeding beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth story. The place assigned to me was the seventh story, from which every one was excluded except my own friends. Between this

¹ Sewell correctly ascribes the Mahānāvami festivals to the 1st of the month of Āśvina, but one fails to understand how the New Year's Day could succeed it in the month of Kārtika. Sewell is evidently wrong in squeezing the New Year's Day between Āśvina and Mārgaśirsha. See below. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 12. According to legend this festival is associated with the early days of Vijayanagara history when Vidyāranya propitiated Bhuvanēśvari (or Durgā). Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II., p. 103.
palace and the pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts. The singers were for the most part young girls... They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move with their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight."1

The Persian ambassador who was thus bewitched by the beautiful dancing-girls, does not give us more details about the Mahānāvami festival, although he describes the jugglers at play on the same occasion. He tells us, however, something about the duration of the celebration. "For three continuous days, from the time that the world-enlightening sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feathers, this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs, and various other amusements which were exhibited."2

As regards the throne of the monarch, he says, "During the three days the king sat on the throne upon this cushion, and when the celebration of the Mahanāwī was over, he sent for this humble individual one evening at the time of prayer." In the same connection he describes the throne: "It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other

1 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, pp. 117-18; Major, India, p. 35, seq., Sewell persists in maintaining his mistake that the New Year's Day was celebrated in Vijayanagara on the 1st Kārtika For. Emp., p. 93. It requires no argument to maintain that the orthodox people of Vijayanagara did not fail to observe the New Year's Day at the usual time in March, and the attempts of Sewell, therefore, to prove that 'Abdur Razzaq was wrong in ascribing the Mahanāwī festival to the month of Rajah, are futile. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, The City, p. 37. (n.). But see ibid, p. 36 where Mr. Suryanarayana Rao speaks of it as a sort of political conference. Payne has some remarks to make on this subject. Scenes from Indian History, p. 71.

2 Elliot, ibid., IV, p. 119.
kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of zaitūni satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn."

What 'Abdur Razzāq failed to notice Paes was careful to observe. The description of the Mahānavami festival as given by the Portuguese chronicler is long and interesting. "You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us.....When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city to this city of Bismaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues,—except only those whom the king may have sent to make war, or those who are in other parts, or are at the far end of the kingdom on the side where (an attack) is feared, such as the kingdom of Oria, and the territories on the Ydallcao; and even if such captains are absent in such places, there appear for them at the feasts those whom I shall hereafter mention.

"These feasts begin on the 12th of September, and they last nine days, and take place at the king's palace."

"The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate

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1 Elliot, Hist. of India, p. 120.
2 Nāgalāpur, ?.
3 Cf 'Abdur Razzāq's computation. There cannot be a doubt that both refer to the Mahānavami festival. Sewell interprets Paes' remarks to mean the Kanarese New Year's Day. For. Emp., p. 85.
like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (terrea); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (corredor) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall; they are covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of staircase of stone beautifully wrought—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him,
for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. . . .

"Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (casa) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine; and in the other, in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (soajes), and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (soajes) it has plates of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is full of gilded images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man’s arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais, resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts. The feasts commence thus:—

"You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to that room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls dancing. In their verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the

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2 Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 265, n. (1)
ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform, and the king, taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses, and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense them; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses and this done, returns to the king. Then the king goes again to where the idol is, and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are made like the purdahs of a tent, and the king seats himself where these are, and they lift them all. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter; they are so sure of hand that no blow misses. When they have finished the slaughter of these cattle, the king goes out and goes to the other large buildings, on the platforms of which is a crowd of Brahmans, and as soon as the king ascends to where they stand they throw to the king ten or twelve roses—those (that is) who are nearest to him. Then he passes all along the top of the building and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground. When he has arisen he betakes himself to the interior of the building, and enters a garden (or walled enclosure—quyntal) where they say that a little fire has been made, and he throws into the fire a powder made up of many things, namely, rubies and pearls and all other kinds of precious stones, and aloes and other...
sweet scented things. This done, he returns to the pagoda and goes inside and stays a little, at which time enter by the other door some of his favourites who are in the building, and they make their salaam. Then he goes back to the place whence he threw the flowers to the horses, and as soon as he is here all the captains and chief people come and make their salaam to him, and some, if they so desire, present some gifts to him; then as they come so they retire, and each one betakes himself to his own dwelling. And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned—that which stands between the two buildings that are in the arena (terreyro); the courtezans and bayaderes remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time. This is what is done during the morning of each day of these nine days, with the ceremonies I have mentioned, and each day more splendid (than the last).

"Now, returning to the feasts. At three o'clock in the afternoon every one comes to the palace. They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing-women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics. As soon as these are inside they range themselves round the arena, each one in his place, and the wrestlers go close to the staircase which is in the middle of that building, where has been prepared a large space of ground for the dancing-women to wrestle. Many other people are then at the entrance-gate opposite to the building, namely Brahmans, and the sons of the king's favourites, and their relations; all these are noble youths who serve before the king. The officers of the household go about keeping order amongst all the people, and keep each one in his own place. The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited.

"Salvatinica (Ṣāluva Timma), who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king, and made him king, and so the king looks upon
him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as 'Lord (senhor) Salvatinica', and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival.

"After all this is done and arranged the king gives forth and seats himself on the dais I have mentioned, where is the throne and the other things, and all those that are inside make their salaam to him. As soon as they have done this the wrestlers seat themselves on the ground, for these are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands; and these also eat betel, though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women who may always eat it before him. As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Syringapatao and of all the territory bordering on Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya, and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.

"There the king sits, dressed in white clothes all covered with (embroidery of) golden roses and wearing his jewels—he wears a quantity of these white garments, and I always saw him so dressed—and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes, coloured, the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity, they also fan the king with them.

"As soon as the king is seated, the captains who waited without making their entrance, each one by himself, attended by his chief people, and so on, all in order; they approach and make their salaams to the king, and then take their places in

1 See Sewell's note on this. *For. Emp.* , p. 269, n. (1).
the pavilions (verandas) which I have previously described. As soon as these nobles have finished entering, the captains of the troops approach with shields and spears, and afterwards the captains of the archers; these officers are all stationed on the ground around the arena in front of the elephants and they constitute the king’s guard, for into such a place no man may enter bearing arms, nor near to where the king is. As soon as these soldiers have all taken their places the women begin to dance, while some of them place themselves in the circular galleries that I have said were (erected) at their gate of entrance. Who can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons?...1

"Then the wrestlers begin their play....

"In all this portion of the day nothing more is done than this wrestling and the dancing of the women, but as soon as ever the sun is down many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that the whole is as light as day, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements are lighted lamps, and the place where the king sits is all full of torches. As soon as these are all lit up there are introduced many very graceful plays and contrivances, but these do not stop long; they only approach where the king is and then go out. Then there enter others in other fashion, with battles of people on horseback; these horses are like the hobby-horses made in Portugal for the feast of the Corpo de Dios; others come with casting-nets, fishing, and capturing the men that are in the arena. When these amusements are ended, they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (tiros) and rockets.

"When these fireworks are finished, there enter many triumphant cars2 which belong to the captains, some of them

1 *Infra*, Section on Games and Amusements.

2 These are evidently the chariots to which we have referred in an earlier connection. B. A. S.
sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing-girls and other human figures; there are other cars having tiers one on top of another, and others all of one kind; and so in their order they pass to where the king is. When the cars have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads and necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of the king, and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle.

"These horses then, going in the way I have stated, pass twice round the arena and place themselves in the middle of the arena in five or six lines, one before the other, and the king's horse in front of them, all facing the king; they stand in such a way that between them and the men there is an open space all round. As soon as they are arranged in this way and are all quiet there goes out from the inside of the palace a Brahman, the highest in rank of those about the king, and two others with him, and this chief Brahman carries in his hands a bowl with a cocoanut and some rice and flowers, while others carry a pot of water; and they pass round by the back of the horses, which all stand facing the king; and after performing his ceremonies there, he returns to the palace.

"After this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands...\(^1\)

"When these women retire the horses also go, and then come the elephants, and after making their salaam they too retire. As soon as they are gone the king retires by a small door which is at the end of the building. Then the Brahmans

\(^1\) *Supra*, Chapter, IV. Women.
go and take an idol, and carry it to the House of Victory where is the room of cloth that I have spoken of; and the king at once comes from within, and goes to where the idol is, and offers his prayers and performs his ceremonies. Then they bring there more buffaloes and sheep, and kill them in the same way as before, and then come the professional women to dance. As soon as the slaughter of the buffaloes and sheep is over the king retires, and goes to his supper; for he fasts all these nine days, and (each day) they eat nothing until all is finished, and their hour of food is midnight. The bayaderes remain dancing before the idol a long time after all this is done.

"In this way are celebrated these festivals of nine days; on the last day there are slaughtered two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

"When these days of festival are past, the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged." 1

Nuniz also witnessed the Mahānāvami festival but his account is not so complete as that of Paes. Nuniz writes thus: "When he wishes to please his captains, or persons from whom he has received or wishes to receive good service, he gives them scarves of honour for their personal use, which is a great honour; and this he does each year to the captains at the time that they pay him their land-rents. This takes place in the month of September when for nine days they make great feasts. Some say that they do this in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady bore her Son in the womb; others say that it is only done because at this time the captains come to pay their rents to the King. Which feasts are conducted in the following manner.

"The first day they put nine castles in a piece of ground which is in front of the palace, which castles are made by the nine principal captains in the kingdom. They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing-

1 Sewell, For. Emp., pp. 262-75.
girls and also many kinds of contrivances. Besides these nine every captain is obliged to make each one his castle, and they come to show these to the King. Each one has his separate device, and they all come like this during the nine days of the feast. The officers of the city are bound to come with their devices each day at night, just as in our festivals, and in these nine days they slaughter animals and make sacrifice. The first day they kill nine male buffaloes and nine sheep and nine goats, and thenceforward they kill each day more, always doubling the number; and when they have finished slaying these beasts, there come nine horses and nine elephants of the King, and these come before the king covered with flowers—roses—and with rich trappings. Before them goes the chief Master of the Horse with many attendants, and they make salaam to the King. And when these have finished making their salaam there come from within priests, and they bring rice and other cooked edibles, and water, and fire, and many kinds of scents, and they offer prayers and throw the water over the horses and elephants, just (as our priests do with) holy water; and they put chaplets of roses on them. This is done in the presence of the King, who remains seated on a throne of gold and precious stone; he never sits on this except only this once in the year. And this King that now reigns does not sit on it, for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this King never does so. Whilst this is going on there pass by the King fully a thousand women, dancing and posturing before him. After all the devices that have been prepared have been witnessed all the horses of the King pass by, covered with their silken trappings, and with much adornment of gold and precious stones on their heads, and then all the elephants and yokes of oxen in the middle of the arena in front of the palace. After these have been seen there come thirty-six of the most beautiful of the King's wives,²

¹ Achyuta Rāya.
² Paez in the above passage clearly tells us that they were door-keepers. Nuniz makes them the king's wives! This once again proves that Nuniz cannot be relied upon for many of his statements. B. A. S.
covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King...

"In this way during these nine days they are compelled to search for all things which will give pleasure to the King."  

There are two details in the foregoing accounts of the foreign writers, especially of Paes, on which some light is thrown in the traditional accounts of the south. The first refers to the buffalos and the second to the "anklet for the foot" which was of "the thickness of a man's arm." The former is connected with the following story:

"Shortly after, the Nava-rattiri festival occurred. In this capital (called the Vizianagaram Penukondai Patnam) was the temple of a durga (or goddess), to which a festival was annually dedicated; and it terminated with the offering of a wild buffalo to the goddess on the tenth day. This buffalo was generally hunted for in the jungle, by the prince of the kingdom, and usually taken in a net. On the eighth day of that year, the Rayer, as usual, went with his hunting party into the woods, which abounded with wild buffalos; and having chased them, a buffalo was reported to be caught in the snare laid for it by the huntsmen. This buffalo was remarkable for the strength and length of its horns, which bended backwards and reached to its tail; consequently the Rayer and his principal officers were much concerned at the improbability of sacrificing it with one blow, as would be needful: since a failure on this point would be a sure indication of some catastrophe, unfavourable to the future prosperity of the kingdom, according to a current tradition long since established." It was then that Viśvanātha Nāyaka, advised in a dream by the

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1 Sewell, For. Imp., pp. 376-8,
goddess, came to the rescue of the king and offered to cut off the buffalo’s head at one stroke.¹

The other detail carries us to the palace of Tirumala Nāyaka of Mudura. The *Accounts of Tirumalai-Naicker, and of his Buildings* relate thus: "To the west, in the midst of a great dome-shaped hall, is a square building of black stone, which includes a hall made of ivory: in the middle of this is a jewelled throne, on which the king is accustomed to take his seat at the great Nava-rattiri festival, surrounded by all his banners, or ensigns of royalty; and where also all kings are accustomed to do homage. At that festival, the Retsha-bandah, (or amulet), is put on by the king." Taylor tells us the following about this amulet: "The Brahmins during the festival have to watch and fast; and, with attendant ceremonies, a thin chakram either wheel or square of gold, has written on it, in its various compartments certain mystical or astrological words or figures; the plate is then rolled up, inclosed in a small case and tied to the arm or wrist or suspended on the breast. It was supposed to convey to the king protection from enemies; dread and honor from subjects."²

Conti also speaks of a nine days festival but with some uncommon details. "On the third, which last nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odorous fruits, all which they bear most patiently."³

Provision was made by the people for providing offerings in temples on the occasion of this great Mahānāvami festival.

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¹ Taylor, *O.H. M.S.S.*, II., p. 5.
³ Major, *India*, p. 28.
Thus a record dated Śaka 1516 (A. D. 1594-5) informs us that Raṅgappa, son of Yatīrāja Ayyangār of Turiyāsthakali-gōtra, gave 110 geṭṭi varaham for providing certain offerings to the god Chennakēśava Perumāḷ at Śriperumbūdūr, Chingleput district, on the ten days of the Mahānavami festival.\(^1\)

Another celebration which evoked admiration from foreign travellers was the Dipāvali festival held in the month of Kārttika. This commemorates the victory which Vishnu scored against the Asuras and Narakāsuras, and since, as they say, it was won in the evening, there is a universal illumination of houses and temples in the land...\(^2\) Conti thus describes the Dipāvali festival: “On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside of the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night.”\(^3\)

People gave contributions to the temples also for the celebration of these festivals. In about A. D. 1443 Gōvaṇṇa and Baḷaṇṇa, sons of Śrīranga Dēva of Aranipura in Kaṭalūr, made a grant for the Chaittra festival of lights in the temple of Chennakēśvara according to former custom.\(^4\) An inscription dated Śaka 1443 (A. D. 1521-2) informs us that Sadāsiva Nāyaka provided ghee for lamps during the festival of Tirukkārtigai to the temple of Bṛihadambā at Dēvikkāpuram, for the merit of the chief (svāmi) Tirumalai Nāyaka.\(^5\) In Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522-3) the daughter of the Kannaṭiya chief Dēvappuḷaiyar at Marudāśar-Paḍaiviḍu, gave a gift of ghee for the same festival to the same temple.\(^6\)

Foreigners observed another great festival about which they left some details. This is the car festival or the ratha-

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\(^1\) 191 of 1922.
\(^3\) Major, India, p. 28; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 86.
\(^4\) E. C., V, P. I, Hn. 82, p. 25.
\(^5\) 361 of 1912; Rangachari, Top List., I, NA 162, p. 49.
\(^6\) 362 of 1912; Rangachari, ibid., NA 163, p. 50. Read Pietro della Valle’s description given below.
saptami. Conti gives us a fanciful picture of the scene in the following words: "In Bisenegalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death,—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all."1

Since we know that "young women richly adorned" have never been, and are not, carried in the great temple chariots during the rathasaptami festival; and that the description of people hanging "themselves to the chariot by way of ornament" refers to a festival which is quite distinct from the one under review, we may be cautious in accepting Nocolo dei Conti's other remark that many carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels in order to attain salvation.

Paes has more sober views on the subject. This chronicler says: "Close to these pagodas is a triumphal car covered with carved work and images, and on one day in each year during a festival they drag this through the city in such streets as it can traverse. It is large and cannot turn corners."2 That Paes does not relate things which he has not seen is evident from the following observations made by him on cars. "Whenever the festival of any of these temples occurs they drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing-girls and other women with music to the temple, (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp. I do not relate the manner in which these cars are

1 Major, India, p. 28; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 84
2 Sewell ibid., p. 255.
taken, because in all the time that I was in this city none were taken round."

The fiction of people falling under the wheels of a temple car must have gained considerable popularity among foreigners. We find Linschoten repeating the story of Conti but with a significant detail at the end of his narrative which plainly indicates the nature of the source of his information. Linschoten (A. D. 1583) tells us the following: "In the Kingdom of Narsinga, on the coast called Choramandel, there standeth a Pagode, that is very great and exceeding rich, and holden in great estimation, having many Pilgrimages & Visitations made into it from all the Countries bordering about it, where every yeere they have many Faires, Feasts, and Processions, and there they have a Waggon or a Cart, which is so great and heavie, that three or four Elephants can hardly draw it, and this brought forth at Faires, Feasts and Processions. At this Cart hang likewise many Cables or Ropes, whereat also all the Countrey people, both men and women of pure devotion doe pull and hale. In the upper part of this cart standeth a Tabernacle or Seat, wherein sitteth the Idoll, and under it sit the Kings Wives, which after their manner play on all Instruments, making a most sweet melodie, and in that sort is the Cart drawne forth, with great Devotions and Processions: there are some of them, that of great zeale and pure devotion doe cut pieces of flesh out of their bodies, and threw them downe before the Pagode: others lay themselves under the wheeles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces, and pressed to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and devout Martyrs, and from that time forwards are kept and preserved for great and holy Reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly Superstitions, which they use, as one of my Chamber fellowes, that had seen it showed me, and it is also well knowne throughout all India."

1 Sewell, For Emp., p. 262.
2 Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 274.
Although Linschoten improves upon Conti's version by saying that "all the country people, both men and women," merely pulled the large cables or ropes, and that they did not "hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament," as the latter asserts, yet the account we have given above cannot be accepted as accurate for the following reasons: Linschoten says that "under it (the image in the chariot) sit the King's wives" playing on musical instrument. Paes speaks of the dancing-women going in front of the cars. If this was the custom in the capital, it could not have been that the "king's wives" sat in the temple chariot on the coast of Coromandal. Further, Linschoten speaks of those who sacrificed themselves by falling under the wheels of the chariot "being kept and preserved for great and holy Reliques". This incredible assertion needs no refutation.

If it were really true that people allowed themselves to be crushed under the wheels of temple chariots, other travellers would not have failed to learn something about it. It is not only Paes who does not mention this detail; in the accounts of the Jesuits too, who have also left behind them notices of the "beastly superstitions" of the Hindus spoken of by Linschoten, no reference is made to the ghastly incident given by Conti and Linschoten. Nicolas Pimenta in A. D. 1599 writes thus about the events on the Coromandal coast. While describing the city of St. Thomas (i. e. Mylapore) he says: "But so prodigious and innumerable were their Idols, in many very faire Temples, and other lessee Oratories almost without number, that Superstition contended with Ambition; and the Colosses of their Idols were removed from place to place in Chariots as high as steeples, by thousands of men setting their shoulders to the Wheeles."¹

Another Jesuit named Emanuel de Veiga in his letter dated A. D. 1592 from Chandragiri tells us how "Superstition contended with Ambition" on the same coast. He writes about his voyage from Chandragiri to Mylapore. "The second

¹ Pimenta, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 207.
day at night they lay at Trivalur, where they saw their Idols solemn Proces-
sion by night, carried into the street by eight Porters in a high Throne: the Image it selfe not above three spannes long clothed with an upper garment of red silke, an inner shirt of linnen. An Elephant went before the pompe, consecrated to the Idoll, carrying a white Banner on his backe; and after him three Oxen sacred also thereto, on which sate Drummers: after them Trumpetters and Pippers with diversi-
fi ed Instruments, straight, crooked, great, small. These all made a confused sound, without any observation of order and time. After these came 30 women-dancers, which have devoted themselves to the Idolls in perpetual service; which may not marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly and richly arrayed, all carrying Lampes burning. And the Idoll came in the Rere with his Porters and Priests, living on the revenues of the Temple. The common people followed with lights. They passed four streets, and in their returne set the Idoll in a place erected with pillars with a stone roofe, and all the companie compassed the Idoll three times, which done, they carried him to the Temple, where four Braehmanes entertained him, which bowed their heads to the Idoll; one of them bringing on his head a basket of boyled Rice for the Idoll’s supper, attended with Fanners to scarre away Flies. When the meate was set downe, a Curtaine was drawne, lest any might see the Idoll eating, the Instruments sounding the while. Soone after the Curtaine was drawne againe, the Rice removed, the Ministers gone in, and one comes forth which makes an Oration in his praise, and then all went into the Temple, where four hours were spent in idle idol-rites.”

The same Jesuit traveller tells us that “at the Feast of Perimal’s marriage was such concourse of people, that that daye’s offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the

1 Veiga, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, pp. 220-1. This shrewd Jesuit, who in those orthodox days would never have been able to enter even the outer precincts of a temple, must have observed the whole proceeding from outside in order to note “the meate (which) was set downe” “before the Idoll”. He is evidently referring to the usual naivedyas of a temple. B. A. S.
King and Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a halfe.”¹

Pietro della Valle noticed the great temple chariots at Ikkēri. He writes thus: “Moreover, in a close place opposite to the Temple, I saw one of those very great Carrs, or Chariots, wherein upon certain Feasts they carry their Idols in Procession, with many people on it and Dancing-women, who play on musical instruments, sing and dance. The four wheels of this Carr were fourteen of my spans in diameter, and the wood of the sides was one span thick. At the end of it were two great wooden Statues, painted with natural colours; one of a Man, the other of a woman, naked, in dishonest postures; and upon the Carr, which was very high, was room for abundance of people to stand; and, in brief, it was so large that scarce any but the widest streets in Rome as Strada Giulia, or Babuino, would be capable for it to pass in.²

There are certain details of the car festival which may be noted before we pass on to the description of another famous festival of Vijayanagara. From the inscriptions we know that a car festival was sometimes held for nine days. Thus in A. D. 1495 Mahāmanḍalēśvara Timmaya Dēva Mahā-arasu’s son Narasaya Dēva Mahā-arasu gave twenty-eight gadyāṇa as a gift for the offerings of the god Bayirava of Sihati and for a new car festival to be held for nine days.³

Sometimes a car festival was held for fifteen days. A record dated A. D. 1562 relates that Krishṇappa Nāyaka’s agent Vēḻūr Kāḷappa Nāyaka’s son Mārggasahāya Nāyaka rebuilt the village of Gaṅganarasi and granted it free of all imports for the purpose of providing a car festival for the fifteen days of Chaitra-śuddha in the temple of the god Hari-hara. We may also note that the same inscription gives us the

¹ Veiga, Purchas, Pilgrims, X, p. 222.
³ E. C., X, Kl. 34, p. 8.
reason why Mārggasahāya Nāyaka granted the village. "He who made petition to Mārggasahāya Nāyaka for the village of Gaṅganarasi for the car festival of the god Harihara and the goddess Lakshmī and caused the village to be restored and granted, was Chaduparāla Koṇḍama Rāja's son, Sūrappaiya. Great good fortune to him." This last statement suggests that Sūrappaiya had conferred a boon on the temple and the people.

Provision was also made for the celebration of the car festival held in the month of Tai (January). Avasaram Anṇama-rasayya granted the taxes collected from the villages Satayā-bharaṇanallūr and Suṇṇavūru for offerings in the temple of Tiruviraṭṭānescvara at Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot district, during the early morning service and for conducting the car festival in the month of Tai. The inscription which gives this information is dated only in the cyclic year Vikṛiti, but refers us to the reign of Sāluva Narasinga Rāya.

The nobles sometimes re instituted the car festival which for some unknown reasons had been discontinued for a long time. According to a record dated Śaka 1430 (A. D. 1518-9) of the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, Eramāṇchi Tulukaṇṭa Nāyaka built a car for the Kāmeśvara temple at Arragal, (mod. Āragaḷūr), Salem district, which had not been in existence subsequent to the rule of the Pāṇḍya kings. He also instituted a festival called Śivāli Nāyaka and appointed a private individual with maintenance for carrying the god in procession (śrī-pādam-taṅgi). We are also informed that a temple car, evidently the one in question, was called Naralōkakaṇḍōṇ after one of his own titles.

Merchants too instituted a car festival. An inscription dated Śaka 1519 (A. D. 1597-8) contains the information that

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1 E. C., XI, Dg. 30 and 83, pp. 40, 66; My. Ins., pp. 42, 229.
2 372 of 1921.
3 427 of 1913.
4 Ep. Report for 1914, p. 99. His three titles were Nāyaṅkūṟāchōrya, Naralōkakaṇḍōṇ, and Paṅginārāyaṇa.
the sacred car of the temple of Kakōlanātha, Srivaikunṭham tāluka, Tinnevelly district, having been damaged, a new one was made in its place by the merchants of Ilaiyattakuṭi and that the income of the village of Peranallūr, viz. fifty pon and 500 kalam of paddy, was set apart to meet the cost of the annual car festival.¹

Those who thus gave new life to the festival were usually given adequate reward. An inscription dated Śaka 145 (4) (A. D. 1532-3) informs us that Kaṇṇan, a Kaikkōlar of Kuhaiyūr, having instituted a car festival in the temple of Kāmesvara at Aragāḷūr, Salem district, the managers of that temple met together in the sōpānanaṅḍapa and decided to grant him and his descendants a house, a loom, a piece of land and some privileges in the temple.² We are told in a record dated Śaka 1473 (A. D. 1551-2) that an agreement was made between the temple authorities of the Kakōlanātha temple at Tirukkalikkudū and the merchants of Ilaiyattakuṭi near Kulasēkkharapuram in Kalvāsal-nādu, evidently in regard to a car which the latter had built for the temple, and the honours which they were to receive at the hands of the former.³

The dhvaja-sēve or flag service is another feature of the car festivals which deserves to be noted. An inscription dated A. D. 1541 relates that by order of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya, the minister Rāma Bhaṭṭa’s younger brother Yellappayya granted the tank Kētacaudanakeṭe and the village Gopagondanahalli, surnamed Veṅkaṭasamudra, to Dhvaja Timmaṇa Dāsa, son of Vāsudeva Nāgayya, for conducting every year the flag service (dhvaja-sēve) and the jāṭrā of the god Tiruvēngalānātha. The epigraph which was found at the Raṅganātha temple of Raṅgapura, Pāvugaḍa tāluka, further relates that the agent for the charities of Yallappayya, Hebbāruva Upādhyāya of Rodda, who was the superintendent (pārupatyakarta) of the sīme, was ordered to see that the

¹ 45 of 1916.
² 452 of 1913.
³ 51 of 1916.
charity was carried on properly. This proves that charities given at the instance of the Government were placed under an official of the State.

The feudatories and nobles of Vijayanagara also gave endowments for the car festival. A record dated Śaka 1463 (A.D. 1541-2) tells us that a gift of money was made by a feudatory (not named) of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya for maintaining the car festival in the temple of Tuyyamāmani-Nāyiñār at Uṛṛattūr, Trichinopoly district. In A.D. 1541 the Agent for the affairs (kūryakke karttarāda) of the great head minister (mātra-sirah-pradhānan) Vāraṇāsi Varadappāṇa was Kaṇṇappa Nāyaka. His son Tamma Nāyaka caused a new car to be made for the god Hanumantēsvara, lord of Vahnipura, together with new images of Umā-Skandēsvara, Vignēsvara and other attendant gods, and in order that this car festival might be permanent, granted specified paddy fields and 900 areca trees. The same epigraph relates that "Tippammā added other similar grants for the same god." We cannot determine who was this lady.

An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Śādhāraṇa informs us that Sēvappa Nāyakkar-ayyaṃ made provision for the celebration of the festivals on the rathasaptami and the following ashtami days every year in the temple of Tirumigai-chūr in Uyyankonṭa-Śōḷa-vāḷa-nādu. The endowment, we may note, was made for the merit of the Emperor Sadāsiva.

In later Vijayanagara history too the nobles continued to bestow grants to the temples for similar religious purposes. In A.D. 1606, in the reign of Veṅkaṭapatī Rāya I, Sakhare Lakshmarasu (descent stated), caused to be erected a maṇṭapa for use during the floating and car festivals and the final sacred bath of the god Lakshmīnarasimha at Hoḷe-Narsīpur, and Lakshmappā Nāyaka, evidently one of the chiefs of Hoḷe-

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1 My Arch. Report for 1918, p. 53.
2 524 of 1912.
3 E. C., III, Tn. 120, pp. 91-2.
4 72 of 1925.
Narīspura, granted certain lands to meet the expenses of the above festivals.¹

Mention must be made in this connection of the great car festival held at Udipi, the seat of Madhvācharya in Tuḷuva. The late Mr. B. Veṅkoba Rao assigned the institution of the famous paryāya of Udipi to about A. D. 1532.²

A festival which was as noteworthy as the one described above was that called the Hōli.³ Nicolo dei Conti witnessed this celebration. He gives us a brief account of it. "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for that purpose by the way-side. This is received by all with much laughter."⁴ One of the carvings in the ruins of the capital illustrates this in an interesting manner.

Pietro della Valle, who observed this festival in Surat, thus describes it: "March the fifteenth was the first day of the Feast of the Indian-Gentiles, which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring, with dancing through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon the other, with other festivities of Songs and Mummeries, as I have formerly seen the same in Spahan, where also reside constantly a great number of Baniāns, and Indian-Gentiles. Yet the solemnity and concourse of people was greater than in Persia, as being in their own Country and a City inhabited in a great part by Gentiles, and wealthier persons."⁵

References to the Hōli festival and the Okali sprinkling are also found in the inscriptions and literature. There can be

¹ My Arch. Report for 1912-13, p. 44. See My Ins., p. 212 where we are told that in A. D. 1697 "at the time of the car procession forty khandis shall be given from the palace of Avaṭi-nāḍ for the feast of the Brahmans."
² Venkoba Rao, Vyasayogicharitam, Intr., p. clxxiv.
⁴ Major, India, pp. 28-9; Suryanarayana Rao, The City, p. 12.
no doubt that this festival was celebrated with great enthusiasm in early days. A record dated A. D. 1281 speaks of the Okali sprinkling of the god Hoysanēśvara (of Belūr ?). In A. D. 1438 thirty honnu were collected from the Śrīvaishṇava Brahmans for the spring festival of the god Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgapura. Timmi Nāyaka, the Agent of Anāmarasayya, who was the deputy (avasaram) of the king Sāluva Narasiṅga, in Śaka 1391 (A. D. 1468-9), gave certain specified taxes collected from the village Mūsukolattūr for the expenses connected with the Vasanta festival of the god in the Tiruviraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot district. One of the birudus given to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in an inscription dated A. D. 1509-10 is the following—he “who, every year, performed a sacrifice to (Kāma) the lord of the golden festival of Spring.” We are told in a record dated 1586-7 that the Vasanta mahōtsava was held in Udayagiri.

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya is represented by Nandi Timmayya in a verse at the end of the first canto of his Pārijātāpaharanām as hearing along with his queens, the works composed by the poets assembled at the court for the spring festival. In the Sanskrit drama entitled Jāmbhavatīkalyāṇa, written by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself, we are told in its prologue that that drama was enacted before the people assembled to witness the Chaitra (spring) festival of Virūpāksha.

Śrīnātha informs us in his Harivilāsam that the brothers of Avachi Tippaya Ṣeṭṭī had the monopoly of supplying all the necessary articles for the grand Spring festival celebrated by the Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri of Koṇḍaviḍu.

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1 E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 90, p. 69.
2 E. C., III, Sr. 7, p. 8.
3 371 of 1921.
4 Ep. Ind., I, p. 370 and n. (64).
5 Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., III, p. 1366.
6 Pārijātāpaharanām, The Sources, pp. 138, 140.
7 Jāmbhavatīkalyāṇa, ibid., p. 142.
8 Harivilāsam, ibid., pp. 57, 59.
A festival which specially interested foreigners was the Sādi or Hook-swinging. This was well known to the early times. In A. D. 1123 in the reign of the Western Chāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalla Dēva, when under the orders of the Maneverggaḍe Daṇḍanāyaka Sālipagya, Rāmaya was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000, the Mahāśāvanta Bopparsa and his wife Siriya Devi “surrounded by all the subjects were in the temple (of Koṇḍasabāvī) at the rice fields.” Then the cowherd Mārana’s son Dēkaya Nāyaka made a vow saying: “If the king obtains a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the god Brahmā of Koṇḍasabāvī.” Some one whose name is effaced in the record, granted rice lands to provide for a line of 810 lights on this occasion and for the expenses of the basadi.¹ The festival receives the name from the iron hook or sādi from which a man was suspended and swung round, the hook being passed through the sinews of the back.² Women also gave up their lives in this manner. A record dated about A. D. 1215 informs us that on the death of the Haliwana sāvanta Si... Seya Nāyaka's mother Honnaka Nāyakiti, Ma... ...ya... Kitti Honni gave her head to the hook and died.³

The fantastic account of Nicolo dei Conti, where he says that people making an incision in their side “hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament,” evidently refers to the sādi festival.

Barbosa gives a detailed description of this performance. “The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing” [As to the women of this country, although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents, I cannot refrain from saying, what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above.] If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes a vow to her god that if

¹ E. C., VII., Sk. 246, p. 141.
² Ibid., n. (1).
³ E. C. XI Mk. 12, p. 91,
he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set up therein a tall water lift like those used in Castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a ‘small dagger’ [small round shield *Ramusio* and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no sign of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down and attend to her wounds, and make her over at her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her.”

If what Barbosa narrates is true, the hook-swinging ceremony must have been slightly different from what Nicol dei Conti on the one hand and Pietro della Valle and modern witnesses on the other have observed. In the accounts of these neither the great “ox cart” nor a “tall water lift” appears on the scene. Pietro della Valle saw the festival in A. D. 1623 at Ikkéri’. “Walking about the City I saw a beam

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1 *Barbosa, Dames I., pp. 220-22; Stanley, p. 95.*
rais'd a good height, where in certain of their Holy-dayes, some devout people are wont to hang themselves by the flesh upon hooks fastened to the top of it and remain a good while so hanging, the blood running down in the mean time, and they flourishing their Sword and Buckler in the Air and singing verses in Honor of their Gods."

This festival has disappeared only in modern times. Buchanan was informed that it was an essential feature of the annual feasts given by the chief Gauḍa to Kalikanalama, that this cruel worship was never performed before the great gods; and that the Brahmans of the south considered it "as an abomination, fit only for the groveling understanding of the vulgar."

That Buchanan was well informed on this subject is evident from the survivals of the festival in various parts of the country. In front of the Māriamma temple at Mūḍubidre, in Tuluva, stands a quadrangular stone hollowed out at top. It was formerly used as the receptacle for a wooden beam on which another wooden beam was made to revolve at the hook-swinging festivals. At Chitaldroog, near the Hīḍimbeśvara and Sampige-Siddhēśvara temple, are high stone porches (uuyāle-kambha) from which iron chains are suspended. At the Ēkanāṭhēśvara temple in the same district there is a raised platform (sidi-paṭṭi) with a vertical pole in the centre (male-kambha). On this there used to turn a horizontal beam (sidi-marā) to which a man or woman who had made a vow was attached by a rope and iron hooks with face downwards. The beam was then turned round by the bystanders.

1 Pietro della Valle, Travels, II., p. 259.
4 Ep. Report for 1889 (January), p. 2. This seems to have been known as Chakra (Charak)-pujā in the north. The following may be read in this connection—Ward, Hindooos, III., p. 15; Heber, Journal, I., p. 77; Tavernier, Travels, p. II., Bk. III. p. 181 (1678); Francis, Bellary Gaz., p. 222; Richards, Salem Gaz., I., P. I., p. 122; Brackenbury, Cuddapah Manual, pp. 65-6; Thurston, Ethnographic Notes in South India,
About the following festivals we have no notice in the accounts of foreign travellers except in one instance. And that is in connection with the celebrations made on full moon and new moon days. Correa writing about Conjeeveram in A. D. 1542-4 tells us that the temples of that city were visited regularly by the Rājas of Vijayanagara, and that a fair was held there at the full moon of the month of August.¹

Floris (A. D. 1614) writes in the following manner: “The one and twentieth of November, the Gentiles had a Feast, which Solemnitie happens thrice a yeare, when the New Moone commeth on a Monday: in which both Men and Women come to wash themselves in the Sea, esteeming thereby to have great indulgence. The Bramenes also and Cometis doe the same.”²

Pietro della Valle thus describes the New and Full Moon celebrations at Ikkēri: “I was told by one of the spectators that this ceremony was practised every Monday night and at every New Moon and Full Moon, as also upon certain other extraordinary solemnities, with more or less pomp proportionably to the Festivals; and he added that the night following there could be a greater solemnity than this,³ because the New Moon and another of their Feasts were then co-incident, and that the King (Venkaṭappa Nāyaka) himself would be there; wherefore I resolved with myself to see it.

“November the one and twentieth. This night an infinite number of Torches and Candles were lighted, not onely in all the Temples but also in all the Streets, Houses and Shops of Ikkeri, which made a kind of splendour over all the City. In each of the Temples was its Idol, while in some was a Serpent;
and they had adorned the outward Porches not only with lights, but also with certain contrivances of paper, on which were painted Men on Horseback, Elephants, people fighting and other odd figures; behind which papers lights were placed in certain little Arches, like those which we make in our Sepulchres; these with other gay Ornaments of Silk hung round about made a sufficiently pretty Show. In the great Temple not only the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender Cupola, (which appears without too) but also all the other walls and those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses on the adjacent sides, were all full of lights. The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both Men and Women, was very great; and they appeared to go about visiting all the Temples.”

Mention is made of the Full Moon and New Moon festivals in the epigraphs. An inscription dated A.D. 1513 informs us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya established an image of Kṛishṇa at Kṛishṇāpuram and donated land for the first day of the month, the 11th of the Moon, the Full Moon, the New Moon, Pañcha-parvams, and other festivals.

We may note references to the Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī and similar festivals before we treat of the greater celebrations common to all the people and those particularly found in the Tamil land. An epigraph dated Śaka 1461 (A.D. 1539-40) records the gift of three villages Kaḷappāḷanpattu, Tarkōḷapattu and Paṇrittāṅgal in Dāmar-kōṭṭam of the Chandragiri-rājya, by Parāṇkuṇa-jīyār for meeting the expenses on fifteen Ekādaśī days. The same donor gave a gift of gold to the same Arulāḷa-Perumāḷa temple in Śaka A.D. 1542 (A.D. 1620-21) for meeting the expenses of Ekādaśī and on the Kauśika-

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1 Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 283-4. In the same account he tells us that “even the (Portuguese) chaplain himself but disguised” came to see the dancing “of two great companies of Dancing women . . . .” p. 285.

2 See *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 11, seq., for festivals connected with the Full Moon and New Moon.


4 373 of 1919.
dvădaśi days. According to a record the Śaka year of which is effaced, but which contains the cyclic year Śrīmukha, Ashāḍha, a certain Raṅgojalu confirmed the gift of many lands belonging to the gods and Brahmans of the villages of Chitra-chēdu and Malaketāḷa, in the presence of the god Raghunātha on the occasion of the Uṭṭhāna-dvădaśi. This was in the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya. A damaged record dated Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) registers the grant of certain lands to the Vishṇu (Perumāḷ) temple at Gōranṭla, Anantapur district, for maintaining festive processions on the daśamī days of the month by the Agent of Vākiṭi Aḍapā Nāyuḍu.

Among prominent festivals were two celebrations one of which, as we shall presently relate, was, as it is today, of great consequence in the Tamil land. These are the Mahaśankramaṇa and Makaraśankrānti festivals. A record dated only in the cyclic year Vikrita, but of the times of Achyuta Rāya, deals with the gift of the village Attipiravāḍai alias Namasivāyanallūr, made on the occasion of the Mahāśaṅkramaṇa under orders from Namasivāya Nāyakkar. In A. D. 1529 the Daḷavāyi Raṅga Nāyaka, son of Garige Nāyaka, granted certain specified land from his fief in the Ummattūr country for the offerings of the god Śrīraṅganātha of Ummattūr at the festival of Makaraśaṅkramāṇi.

The famous celebrations of Gōkulāṭhī and Śivarātri also figure in the inscriptions. In A. D. 1532 Timmappa

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1 374 of 1919. These refer to the Arulāja Perumal temple, Little Conjeeveram, Chingleput district.
2 361 of 1920.
3 366 of 1920.
5 280 of 1913.
6 E. C., IV, Ch. 1, p. 1. For an account of this festival, dead Srinivasa Ramachandra Savadi, Makarasankramana Habba, (Dharwar, 1900).
Nāyaka granted to Giri Bhaṭṭa’s son archaka Timma Bhaṭṭa certain lands, in the presence of the god Tiruveṅgaḷaṇāṭha of Ālambagiri, in the customary manner, on the holiday of Gōkulāśṭamī.¹

For celebrating the Śrījayanti festival an interesting donation was made in Śaka 1460 (A. D. 1538-9). The record informs us that a gift of 100 paṇam was made for celebrating the day on which Kṛishṇa was born. It was laid down that the image of Kṛishṇa should be represented as a child drinking milk placing the conch at the mouth. The gift was engraved on stone in the name of Vaḍa Tiruveṅgaḷaḷjiyvar, the Kōyil-Kēlvi, at the instance of Kandāḍī Rāmānujaḷḷiḷiyangār, one of the managers of the temple of Arulāḷa Perumāl, Little Conjeeveram.² In A. D. 1557 Jayakāra Rāmappayya and Rāyasta Veṅkaṭāḍri made a grant of one share in the rent-free agrahāra Triyambakapura, which is Sānehaḷḷi of the Halebid-sthāla, for the Kṛitiḷā illumination festival of Chennigarāya of Vēḷāpurī. The same record tells us that they gave five ghaṭṭi (solid) gadyōṇa to Nambi Śingapaya, for a charaṇī at the Gōkulāśṭamī festival, when the Svāmī visited the Nāgi-Nāyaka Maṇṭapā. A vrindāvāna to the south of the Biṭasamudra tank was also granted (to the temple) on the same occasion.³

The Śivarāṭri festival is also referred to in the records. In the śaṣaṇa of temple endowments and Brahman endowments caused to be written by Aubaḷa Rāja Odēyar at the meritorious time of the Śivarāṭri, provision was made for the decorations, festivals, and illuminations of the god Harihara. The epigraph dated A. D. 1419, we may incidentally note, in addition to the details pertaining to the endowments also informs us that Rāma Gauḍa received certain specified land for 2000 areca trees as nāḍ-gauḍīge.⁴

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¹ E. C., X, Ct. 60, p. 254.
² 579 of 1919.
³ E. C., V, P. I., Bl. 28, pp. 53-4. For some remarks on this festival see I. A. III, pp. 21, 47, 300; IV, p. 249; VI, pp. 161, 281 and 349.
⁴ E. C., XII, Mi. 20, p. 106.
the villages Chikka-Gauḍubali and Gōvindanahalli in the Hāsana-sīme for the Śivarātri car festival of the god Chennakēśava of Bēlūr.\footnote{E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 4, p. 45; My. Ins., p. 224.}

In the Chennakēśava temple, as in other temples of course, there was a ten days raft festival in Phālguṇa (February-March), as is related in a record dated A. D. 1524.\footnote{E. C., V, P. T, Bl. 78, p. 64.}

Similar festivals of some consequence were the garden and swinging festivals. Parankuṣa Man-Śaṭagōpayya Jiyamgāru assigned in Śaka 1486 (A. D. 1564-5) a piece of land in the village of Liṅgamadiya in Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīme for providing offerings at the garden festival of Ahōbalēsvara conducted near the square tank (konēru) constructed by himself on the way to the tank Bhārgava.\footnote{73 of 1915.} Narasammaṅgār, daughter of Gaḍḍam Tirumala Tāṭtayaṅgār of Kūram in Śaka 1458 (A. D. 1536-7) gave the village Paṭṭālam for the offerings to the temple of Vijayarāghava Perumāḷ at Tiruppukkuṇi, Chingleput district, on the occasion of the swinging festival.\footnote{210 of 1916.}

Some of the Tamil festivals deserve special notice, since the gifts made in order to maintain them show the good feeling that existed between the Karṇaṭaka and Tamil people. A record dated Śaka 1433 (A. D. 1511-12) informs us that the great Madhvaguru Vyāsatīrtha, the disciple of Brahmanyatirtha, gave the village of Pūlambākkam in Vaḍapā-nādu in Jayaṅgonda-Sōlamanḍalam, as a gift for celebrating the festival in the month of Āvaṇi (August) to the temple of Arulāḷa Perumāḷ, Chingleput district. The village which was thus granted had been received by the donor as a gift from Krishṇa Dēva Rāya. He also made a gift of the serpent-vehicle to be carried in procession on the 4th day of all festivals.\footnote{370 of 1919.}

In Śaka 1513 (A. D. 1591) a gift of land in the Brahman village of Nāṟṟanallūr alias Rāmabhadrapuram, was made by
Viśva Paṇḍitar, Agent of Ėṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, who was one of the managers of the Arulāla Perumāḷa temple, to Nallammanāgār, wife of Ammān Appaiyyaṅgār, for conducting the festivals Tiruvadhyānam-uḍaiyavaṉṉīṟṟṟṟu and Ulagamuṇḍa-peruvāṉṉīṟṟṟṟu, in the month of Mārgaḷi in the same temple. This seems to be an exceptional case of a lady receiving grants for conducting festivals in a temple.

There was a custom in the Tamil land of naming certain festivals after the king. Thus, according to an inscription dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of Kōṇerimaikoṇḍān Tribhuvanachakravartin Perumāḷ Kulashēkara Dēva, “who was pleased to take every country,” a gift of land was made to the temple of Brahmapuriṉṉava at Tirumayāṉam, for conducting a festival called Kulaśēgarai-sandi.

Another record dated Śaka 1328 (A. D. 1406-7) informs us that a gift of land was made by some one, for repairs and for the festival called Bokkarōvaṉ-sandi (named after the king Bukka Rāya) to the temple of Tirukkalukkuṟṟumuṇḍaiya-Nāyinār, Chingleput district.

A record of the times of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇerimaikoṇḍān registers an endowment for celebrating a festival called Bhuvanēkavirë-sandi. “This Bhuvanaikavira, after whom the festival was called, seems to be earlier than the Pāṇḍya king Bhuvanaikavira Samarakōḷākala whose inscription dated A. D. 1469-70 has been found at Conjeeveram.”

According to an inscription dated Śaka 1383 expired, Vṛisha (A. D. 1461), provision was made for the celebration of a festival called Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vijayalavaṉ-sandi in the Satyagirināṭha Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.

In Śaka 1512 (A. D. 1590-1) all the tenants of the temple villages of Ādikēsava Perumāḷ and Emberumāṉār, including

1 421 of 1919.
2 59 of 1906.
3 57 of 1909.
5 400 of 1906.
those in Śrīperumbudur and Kachchhipatṭu-śimai in the Chingleput district, at the instance of Śirāmu Rāghava Nāyakkar, granted a kūrum of paddy from each threshing floor (kalām) to provide for offerings to Ādikēśava Perumāl and others, when they halted in the maṇṭapa in the arecanut garden on tiruppādiwēṭṭai (i.e., hunting festival) days.¹

More important than the above are the Mahāmāgha and Pōṅgal festivals. An inscription dated A. D. 1523-4 tells us that the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya visited Arīganḍapuram (another name of Nāglāpuram in the Chingleput district) on his way to Kumbhakōṇam for the Mahāmāgha festival.² The same monarch gave the proceeds of the taxes jōdi and śulavari amounting to ninety poy, as related in an inscription dated Śaka 1440, expired, Dhātri (A. D. 1517), in favour of the temple of Śonṇavāraṇivār, on the occasion of the māmāṅgam festival at the request of Basavarasa of Tiruppeyarrūr in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.³

In The Accounts of Tirumala-Naicker and of his Buildings, we are told that Tirumala Nāyaka took over the charge of the famous Minākshi temple at Madura. "Having assumed the management, he provided especially for the apartment appropriated to the temple goddess, by endowing it with land, yielding revenue to the annual amount of twelve thousand pūns; and from the first day of Tai month of Isvara year, on the Magara Sangranthi (or Pongal feast) he gave up the charge of purveyor to Puvennatha-Pandaram the son of the hereditary female lamp-lighter in the temple."⁴

One of the most famous festivals among the Jainas is the Gōmatābhhiśēka held at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Kārkalā. This is, however, celebrated at certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies at intervals of years.⁵

¹ 189 of 1922.
³ 493 of 1907.
⁵ For a detailed account of this festival read E. C., II, Intr., p. 30, and n. (4) (1st ed.).
Section 2. Games and Amusements

Great importance was attached to games in Vijayanagara times. The few bas-reliefs which to are be found in the neglected hamlet of Harippe, depict some phases of the brighter side of the life of the people of Vijayanagara. The most prominent among these bas-reliefs are those related to dancing and music. Never was dancing held in greater esteem in the history of southern India than in the days of the Vijayanagara kings. From the earliest times of Indian history in the north as well as in the south, music and dancing were considered great accomplishments. Without entering into further details about the position these two arts occupied in the life of the people in pre-Vijayanagara days,¹ we may observe that the traditions which the Tamil rulers handed down to the mediaeval monarchs as regards the patronage that was to be accorded to dancing and music, carried with them one or two significant considerations which may be found interesting in our estimate of Vijayanagara history. An epigraph of the twelfth century relates that, on the eighth night of the Āvāṇi festival, the Chōla king Rājarāja III attended the dancing of agamārga performed by a lady who bore the title Uravakkinan-talaikkoli. Ancient Tamil literature informs us that ladies who were acknowledged experts in dancing were favoured by the kings with a special mark of honour and were invested with the title of talaikkoli. The investiture of this title was preceded by a grand ceremony and was followed by the presentation of a staff embellished with nine gems and covered with gold plates.²

We know that dancing in the Karnāṭaka was also popular from references in inscriptions. Even the titles of Jaina sages were associated with the ideas of dancing. Thus Prabhāchandra Dēva in A. D. 1139 is called Sukara-kavi-nivāsam Bhāratī-

² A. S. R. for 1921-2, p. 117. An inscription of the times of Kulōttuṅga III, also introduces a lady with the title of Talaikkoli.
Dancing Scenes.
There were royal dancing-girls in the Kārnāṭaka. Mangāyi of Belguḷa, a lay disciple of Chārūkīrti Paṇḍita Āchārya, is called Rāyapātra-chūḍāmanī (a crest jewel of royal dancing-girls).  

While describing the Mahānavaṇi festival and also the status women occupied in Vijayanagara, we remarked that Nuniz, Paes and ʿAbdur Razzāq were struck by the beauty of the dancing-girls and the dexterity of their movements. The daily routine of the dēvadāsis who belonged to a temple in a city which Paes calls "Darcha" has been thus described by him. "They (i.e., the Brahmans) feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born by these women belong to the temple."

As regards the dēvadāsis attached to the palace, Nuniz relates the following: "Every Saturday the dancing-girls are obliged to go to the palace to dance and posture before the King's idol, which is in the interior of his palace."

There was a dancing-hall for the ladies of the royal household. This is proved by the following statement of Paes: "Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; between one and another is an arm's length and a half, perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are many great beasts like elephants, and of other shapes; it is open

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1 E. C., II, No. 141, p. 67 (2nd ed.).
2 Ibid., No. 341, p. 145 (2nd ed.). For the different postures as given in the Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra, and as depicted on the walls of Chidambaram, see Ep. Rep. for 1914, p. 74, seq.
4 Ibid., p. 379.
so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar (the architrave) which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span and it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (a maneyra de lamine), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms).

"The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is at the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

"At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the
size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance."¹

The name of this dancing-hall which Paes was fortunate enough to see cannot be determined from his account. But it is quite possible that it may have been called by the name paṭṭaṇa-nāṭaka-śāle in the Karnāṭaka. This we infer from an inscription dated A. D. 1599 which relates that Śrīnārāmā, of the Eḷaḥāṇa-nāḍ Prabhu Immaḍi Hiri Kemāpya Gaṇḍa’s state dancing-saloon (paṭṭaṇa-nāṭaka-śāle), founded Śrīnārāmārasārga agrāhāra.²

A series of sculptures on the walls of Vijayanagara represent a popular game which only Pietro della Valle noticed at Ikkēri. This is kolāṭam or stick-play. We have recorded his description of the agile girls whose heads were decked with yellow and white feathers "which made a pretty sight". In the same connection he says: "All of them carry’d in each hand a little round painted Stick, about a span long, or a little more, which they struck together after a musical measure, to the sound of Drums and other instruments, and one of the skilfullest of the company sung one verse of a song, at the end of which they all reply’d seven or eight times, in the number of their meter with the word, Cole, Cole, Cole,³ which signifies I know not what, but, I believe, ‘tis a word of joy. Singing in this manner they went along the street, eight or ten together, being either friends, or neighbours, follow’d by many other women, not dress’d in the same fashion, but who were either their Mothers, or Kins-women . . . . I understood afterwards that they went to the Piazza of the great Temple which is moderately large, and there dance’d in circles, singing their songs till it was late; and that this was a Festival which they keep three days together at the end of a certain Feast in Honor

² E. C., XII., Kg. 29, p. 36.
of Gaurī, one of their Goddesses, wife of Mohedaca; and therefore “tis celebrated by girls”.

It is superfluous to say that music was as highly cultivated in Vijayanagara as dancing. There are notices of some of the most important musical instruments in the inscription. So early as A. D. 994 mention is made of the vina. A record of this date of the times of Rājarāja I registers a grant of land for the maintenance of a musician who was to play on the vina and of a vocalist who was to accompany it in the Tīṇḍīśvara temple at Kiṅṅgil in Kiṭkkai-nāḍu, (mod. Kiḍakkai-nāḍu) a subdivision of Ōyam-nāḍu. Another instrument which was known in the Koṅgu country about the middle of the thirteenth century was the yal.

Students of Karnāṭaka history are aware of the paṅcha-mahāsabda which occurs so frequently in the early inscriptions. The musical instrument needed for the paṅcha-mahā-sabda, according to an inscription dated A. D. 1092, were the following: tivari (? trumpet), datta, kahandikke, jaya-gante, and kāle or (horn).

Among the drums and fifes of Vijayanagara the bheri, dundhubhi, and mahā-muraja, as related in an inscription cited elsewhere, and dated about A.D. 1400, may be noted.

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2 Ep. Report for 1900, p. 8. “Of course there is nothing in this to show how the old Dravidian musical instrument yal had been superseded about this time by the vina.” ibid. p. 8. See also Rangachari, Top List., I SA., 446, p. 183; Seshagiri Sastri Report on Sans. & Tam. MSS. for 1897, p. 58. 
4 E. C., III, Nj. 164, p. 112. It is interesting to observe that the epigraph which records a grant of land for the Isāna-Iśvaram Udaiyar (of Garikēgal?) contains the following on the paṅcha-mahā-sabda: “... Also a gift of one tivari (trumpet), three, datta, three khandikke, one jaya-gante (bell), and three kāle (horns) with grants to provide for the sounding of those paṅcha-mahāsabda (five great instruments) three times a day.” On the paṅcha-mahāsabda, see I. A., V, pp. 251-354. On the horn kahaje, see Ep. Ind., V, p. 260, n. (3); I. A., XV, p. 352; I. A., XVIII, p. 359. 
A record of A. D. 1432 contains the following praise of the poet Maññagarāja: "Capable of producing good musical modes (otherwise joy to the good) by its association with the sound (otherwise suggested meaning) of the composition, the poetry of the poet Maññagaraja resembles the vīnā (lute) of Sarasvati". To the tambourine players (tammuṭukārarige) of the Hanumaṇṭa temple at Huruvali, Koppa, a grant of land in Koppa was made in A. D. 1533 by Allappa Nāyaka.

Paes relates that Christovao de Figueiredo gave to the Emperor Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya "certain organs that the said Christovao de Figueiredo brought him."

That great monarch was himself proficient in music. One of his titles as given in a record dated A. D. 1528-9 is the following: "He who was unrivalled on the battlefield (as well as) in music and rhetoric." We have ample evidence to prove the first assertion relating to the valour of that ruler. From Nārāyaṇa's Rāghavendravijayam we learn that Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya presented his tutor Kṛiṣṇa, who taught him to play on the vīnā, costly pearl necklaces and jewels as guru-dakṣiṇe.

The famous Regent Rāma Rāya also seems to have been well known for his musical attainments. This assertion is based on the fact that in an inscription dated A. D. 1589 he is said to have "had great pleasure in music on the vīnā and singing." Further Rāmayāmāṭya, son of Timmamāṭya of the

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1 E. C., II, No. 258, p. 121 (2nd ed.)
3 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 251, and n. (3).
4 Ep. Ind., I, p. 401. See also ibid., p. 370 where the same ruler is described thus—"who, (like, a second Bhōja), knew the mysteries of poetry, of the drama, and of Rhetoric".
5 Rāghavendravijayam, The Sources, pp. 252, 254. This music master Kṛiṣṇa was the maternal grandfather of Rāghavendra who is the subject of Rāghavendravijayam. In this connection we may observe that Mr. Suryanarayana Rao speaks of a Viṇā Rāmappa at the court of Harihara II, The City, p. 20. It would have been better if the source of information for this detail had been cited. B. A. S.
6 E. C., XII, Ck. 39, p. 84, text, p. 239, II, 44-5.
Toḍaramalla family, is described to have exhibited skill before Rāma Rāya, and to have written at the instance of the great Regent a book on music called Svaramēlakalāṇidhi.¹

Raghunātha Nāyaka's proficiency in music has already been dwelt upon in connection with the description of the court he held to examine the talented ladies of his court. He was author of the Saṅgīta-sudhā and he invented a new mēla, called after his own name, and new rāgas.²

About the cunning Brahman, who was a perfect master of music and dancing and who brought about the war between Dēva Rāya I and Firūz Shāh for the sake of the Mudkul beauty, Firishtah, as we remarked in an early connection, has much to say.³

With the patronage which the rulers gave to this fine art, it is only natural that the people should have had theatres and shows. From very early times in southern India dramatic art has been associated with temples and royalty. In the days of Rājarāja I and Parakesarivarman, dramas were acted in temples.⁴ The raṅga-sthaḷa or stage is mentioned in the Kāṇṭhakā in A. D. 1224.⁵ There is no denying the fact that both in the Tamil and Kāṇṭhaka dramas were acted in early times.

The tradition of conducting musical performances in temples was continued under the Vijayanagara kings. In A. D. 1363, the sole manager (sarva-nirvūhakan) of Kārṇaṇa Oḍeyar's palace, Abhaṅga Guraḍa NārāyaṇaChakrakōla Vijaya Chūdāmani Dugganṇa, granted certain specified offerings for the worship of the gods Vālavanda-perumāl and Vīliyār of Veḷliyūr alias Śrī-Vīshnudevandha-chaturvēdīmaṇgalam. The grant also made provision for the vocal and instrumental music

¹ Svaramēlakalāṇidhi, The Sources, p. 190; Rangachari-Kuppuswamy Sastri, Triennial Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. for 1910-15, I, P. I, p. 495.
² Saṅgīta-sudhā, The Sources, p. 269.
⁵ E. C., XI, Dg. 25; p. 36.
in the temple. Kallarasiyamma, the wife of a Nāyaka whose name is effaced in a record dated A.D. 1470, repaired the shrine of the god Sidda-Mallikārjuna, erected a bhūgamāṇṭāpa and for the decorations and enjoyments of the same god provided thirty vessels and granted lands. The epigraph relates that singers and players on the tambourine was also made over to the temple.

From the opening verses of the same epigraph, we gather that puppet shows were also common in those days. For it commences thus with an invocation to Śrīgiri Mallikārjuna: “As the stage manager pulls the strings of the puppet and makes him dance, so (?) (control my actions), Śrīgiri Mallikārjuna” (bombeyan ēkamam piḍidu śūtrikan aḍisuv-anṭey ṛdut ā-bone-bege ... ) In A.D. 1521 Gaṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāja-aya granted to the puppet player (bommalāṭa) Puruvati Purāṇar Virapa’s son Kṛiṣhtāpa (Kṛiṣhṇappa) Uppakūṭipale belonging to Sādali, free of all imports.

Literature throws some light on the Vijayanagara stage. In Gaṅgādaśa-pratāpavilāsam by Gaṅgādhara, of the times of Mallikārjuna Rāya, we are told that an actor of the court of the Vijayanagara king on hearing that Prince Gaṅgadāsa was in need of a proper person to stage the new drama written by the poet, proposed to go to the court of that ruler. The farce in two acts entitled Dhūrtasamāgama Prahasana by Jyōtirīśvara Kaviśekharāchārya, must also have been staged in the reign of Sāḷuva Nṛsiṁha. The theatrical world of Vijayanagara was no doubt considerably benefited by Sāḷuva Gōpa Tippa Bhūpāla’s Tāla Dipīkā. We have already stated that Kṛiṣhna Dēva

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1 E. C., X, Kl. 101, p. 31.
2 E. C., XII, Gb. 29, p. 23.
3 Ibid, text, p. 67.
5 Gaṅgādaśa-pratāpavilāsam, The Sources, p. 66.
6 Eggeling, Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office, VI, pp. 1622-3.
7 Colophon on the Tāla Dipīkā, The Sources, p. 63.
Raya's *Jambhavati Kalyana* was enacted in the Chaitra or spring season.

The provincial courts were not without theatres. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in his *Raghunāthābhhyudayam* tells us that there was a theatre adorned with gems of all sorts at Tanjore.¹ The existence of a beautiful theatre at Ikkēri in the times of Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka is proved by Basava Rāja's *Śivatattvaratnākara.*²

The amusements mentioned above do not explain the vitality of the people so much as the following games which are an index to the character of the Hindu people. Fencing and duelling, wrestling and hunting—these attracted the common folk. Here, too, the monarchs set an example, as is evident from the following account of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya by Paes. "This king is accustomed every day to drink a quartilha (three-quarter pint) of oil of gingelly before daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil; he covers his loins with a small cloth, and takes in his arms great weights made of earthenware and then, taking a sword, he exercises himself with it till he has sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestles with one of his own wrestlers. After this labour he mounts a horse and gallops about the plain in one direction and another till dawn, for he does all this before daybreak. Then he goes to wash himself, and a Brahman washes him whom he holds sacred."³

Fencing and duelling were held in high repute in Vijayanagara. Castanheda in his *History of Portugal* deals with duels in Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century. He writes thus: "There are many duels on account of love of women wherein many men lose their lives. Those who fight ask the King for a field, which he gives them and also seconds (*padrinhos,* 'step-fathers'), and if they are men of position he

¹ *Raghunāthābhhyudayam, The Sources,* p. 265.
² *Śivatattvaratnākara,* ibid., pp. 339, 343.
³ *Sewell, For. Emp.,* pp. 249-50. Paes seems to have been misinformed about this last detail. Cf. Nuniz's account cited elsewhere.
goes to see the duel. They fight on foot in a place surrounded with steps, whereinto they enter naked and wearing turbans. They are armed with swords and shields and are girt with daggers. They have seconds and judges who give judgment as to the fight, and duels are so usual among them and the King takes so great delight therein that any man whom he knows to be a valiant knight he orders to wear a golden chain on his right arm to show that he is the bravest of all, and this he must defend in arms against any who come to demand it, if he would not lose it. And he who wishes to fight tells the king he has insulted him by giving the chain to one who is not so good a knight as he . . . And these duels also take place among the officials as to which of them knows his duties best, and also among any skilled in matters known to men, for he who knows best wears the same chain, which is called berid."

We may compare Castanheda’s account with that given by Barbosa who speaks of the events that took place in Bhaṭkaḷ. "They are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the persons challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure; that of the one of the same length as that of the other. The king appoints seconds and a field for the fight, and when this has been done, they go thither naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles, with very cheerful faces. Then after saying their prayers they begin to fight, and as they are bare it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of them stands by his own man: and this is such a common practice among them, that some are slain daily."
Nuniz confirms both Barbosa and Castanheda in their account of the duelling in Vijayanagara. We have seen that according to Nuniz great honour was done to those who fought in a duel, and to those who won they gave the estate of the dead man. Although the versions of Barbosa and Castanheda differ from each other as regards the person who authorized people to fight duels—the former tells us that "no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister," the latter asserts that "those who fight ask the King for a field,"—yet the descriptions of Castanheda and Barbosa may be supplemented by the following account of the duel between the Gajapati Prince Virahadra and one of the king's own men. Nuniz here, it must be noted, commits an error in saying that that Prince lost his life in a duel, thereby contradicting the evidence of inscriptions which speak of Prince Virahadra as a provincial governor in the Karnāṭaka. Nevertheless the account of Nuniz is not without its interest. "And he (i.e., Krishṇa Dēva Rāya) sent to call the son of the king of Orya who was taken captive in the first fortress, and told him that as people said he was a very active man and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger, he would be pleased to see him fence.

"The young man (i.e., Prince Virahadra) said that since His Highness summoned him he would do what he could, and asked that this might be put off till next day. And when the next day came the King sent to call him, and also sent for one of his own men who at that time was very expert in the art, that he should fence with him. And when the son of King of the Orya saw him, being offended with the King for sending a man to fight with him who was not the son of a King but only a man of humble birth, he cried out to the King:—'God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the blood royal', and saying this he slew himself."\(^1\)

FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS

In the Śivatattvaratnākara we are told that Saṅkanṭha Nāyaka defeated Ankus Khān in a duel in the presence of the Delhi Sultan in about A. D. 1550. Tilting was also practised in the court of Ginjee in about A. D. 1597. Pietro della Valle informs us that fencing was common at Ikkēri. Viṭṭhaḷa Šeṇai, the ambassador from the court of Veṅkaṭāppa Nāyaka, travelled with Pietro della Valle "but apart by himself, came to visit, and entertained with the sight of two young men, who fenc'd very well a good while together, only with Swords made of Indian Canes. On which occasion, I shall not omit to state that amongst the Indians,' tis the custom for every one to manage and make use of one sort of Arms, where unto he accustoms himself, and never uses any other even in time of War."3

The other manly pastime which deserves special notice is wrestling. Paes informs us on many occasions that women knew wrestling in Vijayanagara. We have cited his description of the women who handled sword and shield, others who wrestled, and others who blew trumpets and pipes, while dealing with women.4 Then again we observed that, according to the same eye-witness, during the Mahānavami festival the dancing-women wrestled in a large arena in the presence of the nobles and the king. In the same connection he gives us further details about wrestling. "Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and there men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins."5

1 Śivatattvaratnākara, The Sources, pp. 337-8.
2 Heras, Aravidu, p. 405.
4 Supra, Chapter IV, Women; Sewell, For. Emp., p. 249, op. cit.
5 Sewell, ibid., pp. 268, 271.
Nuniz adds the following: "The King has a thousand wrestlers for these feasts who wrestle before the King, but not in our manner, for they strike and wound each other with two circlets with points, which they carry in their hands to strike with, and the one most wounded goes and takes his reward in the shape of a silk cloth, such as the King gives to these wrestlers. They have a captain over them and they do not perform any other service in the kingdom."\(^1\)

With the aid of the above we may appreciate the following description of a *mallā-yuddha* (or wrestling match) as given by the poet Chātu Viṭṭhalanātha:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṉēwā Ṇēwā Ṇanēwā} & \text{ Ṇanēwā} \\
\text{Ṇēwā Ṇēwā Ṇanēwā} & \text{ Ṇanēwā} \\
\text{Ṇēwā Ṇēwā Ṇanēwā} & \text{ Ṇanēwā} \\
\text{Ṇēwā Ṇēwā Ṇanēwā} & \text{ Ṇanēwā} \\
\text{Ṇēwā Ṇēwā Ṇanēwā} & \text{ Ṇanēwā} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A *viragaḷ* was set up by Channappa in about A. D. 1466 to commemorate the death of his elder brother Mādi Gauḍa, son of Nāga Gauḍa, son of Tāri Gauḍa, while fighting with wrestlers.\(^3\)

The provincial capitals too had their own wrestling grounds. From the *Raghunāthabhyudayam* by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka we know that there was a gymnasium in Tanjore.\(^4\)

There were also beast-fights and gladiators in Vijayanagara. An inscription dated about A. D. 1434 tells us that Gōpa Rāja directed his minister to rebuild the inner and outer forts of Tēkaḷ, originally erected in the time of Ballāla Rāya

\(^1\) Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 378. For Du Jarric's account of the gymnasium at Chandragiri, read Heras, *Arvīdu*, pp. 313-4. A gymnasium was called *garidi* or *garadī*. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 47. This word occurs frequently in the folk-songs of the Tuluva people. B. A. S.

\(^2\) *Kavicharita*, II, p. 224.

\(^3\) E. C., VII, Sk. I, p. 39, op. cit. For later accounts, see Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 52, n. (1810); I, p. 32, n. (1869). These wrestlers are also called *jaffia*.

\(^4\) *Raghunāthabhyudayam*, *The Sources*, p. 265.
Hunting Scenes.
but which had been overturned and gone to ruin. On the completion of the bastion called rājagambhīra, Gōpa Rāja and his son called Tippaya had tigers brought there and hunted them at this indispensable bastion. In this their hound called Saripige distinguished itself by its courage. This was a remarkable hound. The epigraph which gives us this information contains a dog holding a tiger by the throat. It tells us that the hound Saripige seizing the tail of tigers dragged them along so as to frighten them.¹

We are told in The Accounts of Tirumali-Naicker, and of his Buildings that there was an arena for the combat of gladiators to the north of the palace of Tirumala Nāyaka at Madura, that various kinds of animals were there, and pavilions and buildings on the western side of the arena were reserved for the relations and favourites of the king for looking at the spectacle.² In another connection the account continues to state that Tirumala Nāyaka built public choultries at a distance of every seven miles. "At nearly the same time he established in the town of Madura combats between gladiators and elephants, tigers and bears; and for the purpose of looking on during this spectacle, he had a two-storied building constructed, in an excellent manner, in a place named Tama-kam pottal. From that time forwards the Carnataca governors always came hither to see the spectacle".³

There are many references to hunting in the writings of foreign travellers and in the inscriptions. We are aware of the existence of hunting grounds from a record dated A. D. 1482 which says that the Kādalaunni village described as the umbali of Mallarasa, the Penugonde minister, was the place which he visited on the occasion of his coming there for hunting.⁴ We may reasonably suppose that the adjacent districts may have

¹ E. C., X, Intr., p. xxxvi; Mr. 2, p. 155; My. Ins., p. 208.
⁴ E. C. X, Gd. 53, p. 224.
been reserved as hunting grounds. Dēva Rāya II came to Māchanahāḷḷi for hunting in A. D. 1434 and visited the god Jataṅgi Rāma. On this occasion he directed that a village yielding an income of twenty varāha was to be granted to the local god.¹

Foreign travellers also remarked on the facilities which Vijayanagara offered to hunters. Varthema, as we have once observed, writes thus about the capital. "It occupies the most beautiful site...with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise".² Barbosa confirms Varthema's remarks about the hunting grounds in the following words: "The people of this kingdom are great hunters both of flying game and wild beasts. There are many small hacks, and very good ones to go".³

From the manner in which elephant hunting has been associated with one of the titles of the kings of Vijayanagara, we may assume that it was specially patronized by the princes. We know that one of the birudus of Dēva Rāya II was Gaja-bēṅte-kāra (Hunter of elephants). In earlier times as well this game attracted the attention of the rulers. Hariharā Oḍeyar is said to have gone a-hunting elephants in A. D. 1349.⁴ Abdur Razzāq's detailed description of the methods by which they caught and trained elephants for hunting and other purposes, figures in one of the previous chapters of this treatise. An inscription dated Śaka 1373 expired, Prajāpati (A. D. 1451), contains the information that Dēva Rāya witnessed an elephant hunt.⁵ There is no reason to doubt that Dēva Rāya might have

¹ E. C., XI, Mk. 32, p. 25. According to his personal order (sam-mukhāda nirūpa) the tract (kōru) on Sanga Bōva's channel in Hāneyanāḍ was granted to the temple.
² Varthema, Jones, p. 126; Temple, p. 51, op. cit.
³ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 98; Dames, I, p. 228. The story of the buffalo hunt in which Visvanātha showed his prowess has been given in a previous page.
⁴ Shama Sastry, Q. J. M. S., XIII, p. 760.
⁵ 67 of 1907. See also 474 of 1908; 703 of 1904.
been justified in appending the birudu Gaja-bēṇṭekāra to his name.\(^1\)

Among nobles, who also were known by that birudu, was Immaḍi Rāya Oḍeyar (A. D. 1484).\(^2\) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Naṉja Rāja Oḍeyar of Ummattūr in A. D. 1504 is also called a Gaja-bēṇṭekāra.\(^3\)

The fame of Immaḍi Rāya Oḍeyar as a hunter of elephants was maintained by his son Dēpaṅṇa Oḍeyar, who is called Gaja-mṛgāyā-vihāra (celebrated for sport with elephants and deer) in a record of A. D. 1505.\(^4\) His son Vira Chikka Oḍeyar is likewise styled the great elephant hunter-Mahāgaja-bēṇṭekāra-in A. D. 1511.\(^5\)

The birudu of "One who witnessed the elephant hunt" continued to be a royal title in later days. Achyuta Rāya also is said to have witnessed the elephant hunt in a record dated Śaka A. D. 1455 (1533-4).\(^6\)

About deer and tiger hunts we have a few notices in the inscriptions. Virūpāksha's claims to be called Gaja-mṛgāyā-vihāra were not ill-founded. An inscription of A. D. 1474 relates that Haryaṇa invited Virūpāksha Rāya for a great deer hunt, evidently nearabouts Ālugōḍu in the Gayā-triṣṭhāna.\(^7\)

A record of the fourteenth century, found in the Kāḷahastī-śvara temple at Kāḷahasti, informs us that a certain Vallī-āraśar, who was called Lord of Ayōḍhyāpura, killed 150 tigers.\(^8\)

There was boar-hunting too in Vijayanagara. This game was also prevalent in the Hoysala times. Sōkka-Iliṅgattōn, we are told in a record dated about A. D. 1310 "having gone

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1 For a discussion on this subject, see A. S. R. for 1907-8, p. 250. One of the titles of Virūpāksha was Gaja-mṛgāyā-vihāra. Ibid.
2 E. C., IV, Ch. 127, p. 17.
3 Ibid., Gu. 5. p. 36.
4 Ibid., Gu. 67, p. 47.
5 E. C., IX, Ma. 79, p. 61.
6 337 of 1908. See 166 of 1904, dated Śaka 1461 expired Sōḥhakrīt (A. D. 1539) where Sadāśiva Rāya is called by the same birudu.
7 E. C., III, Mi. 121, p. 68.
boar-hunting, pierced the boar and died, along with his dog".1

The Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Vira Parvati Rāja Oḍeyar, brother of Dēva Rāya II, being on his horse called Pārvvatīnātha, "in the hunting plain at the ditch to the east of the hill of the god Tirumalānātha, in the Terakāṇḍīmbi kingdom which he was ruling, and seeing a boar, in order to seize it, crossed over the ditch." The epigraph, which unfortunately breaks off, relates, however, that Hulihara Hāyaṇḍa’s son Hariyāṇḍa set up a pillar of victory as a signal stone (jayastambhada kuruhina kallu.)2

There is one point which may be noted here—whether hawks were used in hunting and whether they were unknown to the Hindus before they were introduced by the Muhammadans. Firishtah tells us, as we already remarked, that Ahmād Shāh Bāhmani gave to the son of Dēva Rāya, among other presents, "dogs for the chase and a leach of hawks; to which last, the people of Carnatic had been till then strangers".3 In the reply which Dēva Rāya sent to Alā-ud-dīn Ahmād Shāh, according to ‘Abdur Razzāq, there is evidence of the existence of falconers in Vijayanagara. The king says: "Now let all that my enemy can seize from out my dominions be considered as booty, and made over to his saiyyids and professors; as for me, all that I can take from his kingdom I will make over to my falconers and brahmans".4 If hawks had been introduced into Vijayanagara only in the reign of Dēva Rāya, we would not have met with the word Sāļuva in Indian history in early times. But as we have already seen, one of the relatives of Hārihara Rāya II was called Sāļuva Rāma Dēva. In the record dated about A. D. 1434 which has been cited above, Sāļuva Tippa Rāya Oḍeyar is styled as a hawk to royal birds—rāya-pakshi-sāļuva.5 We may, therefore, accept Firishtah’s assertion with some reservation.

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1 E. C., IX, Kn. II., p. 122.
2 E. C., IV, Ch. 195, p. 24.
4 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, p. 121.
5 E. C., X, Mr. 1, p. 155, op. cit.
There are some other amusements which may be briefly reviewed here. To foreigners the jugglers of Vijayanagara gave much delight. 'Abdur Razzâq gives in the following words a detailed account of the feats of the jugglers during the Mahânavami festival. "The jugglers performed astonishing feats; they set up three beams joined one to the other, each was a yard long and half a yard broad, and about three or four high. Two other beams were placed on the top of the first two beams, which are of about the same length and breadth. They placed another beam a little smaller on the top of the second beams, which were already supported by the lower beams, so that the first and second series formed two stages supporting the third beam, which was placed on the top of them all. A large elephant had been so trained by them, that it mounted the first and second stages, and finally to the top of third, the width of which was less than the sole of the elephant's foot. When the elephant had secured all four feet on this beam, they removed the remaining beams from the rear. Mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beat time with his trunk to every song or tune that the minstrels performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with the music.

"They raised a pillar ten yards high, through a hole at the top of the pillar they passed a beam of wood, like the beam of a balance, to one end of this they attached a stone about the weight of an elephant, and to the other they attached a broad plank about one yard in length, which they fastened with strong cords. The elephant mounted this plank, and his keeper by degress let go the cord, so that the two ends of the beam stood evenly balanced at the height of ten yards; at one end the elephant, and at the other his weight in stone, equal as two halves of a circle. In this way it went (up and down) before the king. The elephant in that high position, where no one could reach him, listened to the strains of the musicians, and marked the tune with motions of his trunk.

"All the readers and story-tellers, musicians, and jugglers, were rewarded by the king with gold and garments".1

1 Elliot, Hist. of India, IV., pp. 118-9.
With the evidence of 'Abdur Razzaq before us, we may give credence to the following description of jugglers by poet Anṭṭāji in A. D. 1660:

Foreign witnesses have left us a few details about fireworks in Vijayanagara. While describing elephants Varthema, as we have seen, spoke of the great dread which they had of fire. He remarks that the people of Vijayanagara were great masters of the art of making fireworks. In his description of the Mahānayami festival Paes also spoke of the different kinds of fireworks mentioned above.

Swimming and horse riding were two other games also popular in Vijayanagara. Linschoten, while dealing with the Canariins, says that "they are very expert in Swimming and Diving, they rowe up and down the Rivers in Boates called Almadias, whereof some of them are hewn out of a piece of wood, and so narrow that a man can hardly sit in them, and it chanceth of often times that they turne over and over twice or thrice before they passe the River, and then they leape out into the water and turne them up, and so powring out the water they get into them againe".

In a record dated A. D. 1383 Allappa Nāyaka is called Champion over Maṇḍalikas who mount a horse with the help of

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1 Kavicharita, II., p. 337. Cf. Sōmarāya's description, ibid., I, p. 343. (Rev. ed.)
2 Varthema Temple, p. 52; Jones, p. 127, op. cit.
3 Sewell, For. Emp., p. 271, op. cit.
4 Linschoten, Purchas, Pilgrims X. p. 263-4.
a stool or stirrup. The carvings at Vijayanagara contain numerous figures riding on horseback.

Notices in literature enable us to assert that game of dice was also common in the Hindu Empire. Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great presented poet Naṇḍi Timmayya, author of Pārijatāpaharanaṃ, with an agrahāra for his skill in playing dice.²

There are other games like ball playing, buffalo racing, and cock fighting which have survived to our own days but about which contemporary records are silent. We can only assume that these must also have been very well known to Vijayanagara times.³

(END OF VOL. II.)

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² Pārijatāpaharanaṃ, The Sources, p. 138. Mr. Subrahmiah Pantulu says that the Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya’s daughter played chess with her father. I. A., XXVII, p. 299.
³ A kind of polo or ball play on horseback is mentioned in A. D. 982. E. C., II, No. 133, p. 62, (n). 1.
A

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS
A GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Arabic.
Arth. = Arthaśāstra (Translation by R. Shama Sastry).
A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports.
Bar. = Barani, Tarik-i Firūr Shāhi.
B & C. = Butterworth & Chetty, Nellore Inscriptions.
Coll. = Collector of Canara's Letters relating to the Early Revenue Administration of Canara.
E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. = Ellis, The Mirāsi Right.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
E. R. = Epigraphical Reports for the Southern Circle.
Ell. = Elliot, History of India as told by Her own Historians.
H. = Hobson-Jobson.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
K. = Kanarese.
Kav. = Kavicharite (R. Narasimhacharya).
Kit. = Kittel, Canarese English Dictionary.
Kr. = Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History.
My. = Mysore Archaeological Reports.
Mal. = Malayalam.
Mar. = Marathi.
M.W. = Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
P. = Persian.

R. = Rice, Lewis
  2. Mysore & Coorg from the Inscriptions.
  3. Mysore Inscriptions.
Rang. = Rangachari, A Topographical List of Inscriptions.
S. = Sanskrit.
Sew. = Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, etc.
S. I. I. = South Indian Inscriptions.
Suk. = Sukrāchārya, Nitisāra (Trans. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar).
T. = Tulu.
Tam. = Tamil.
Tel. = Telugu.
W. = Wilson, A Glossary of Indian Terms.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
GLOSSARY

'Abhyāgati, K. A tax. (?) (E. C. II., No. 347, p. 150, n. 1.)
Achchu, Tam. A coin (value?) (E. R. for 1911, pp. 77-78).
Achchukaśṭu, Tam. Tel. (Cf. Ayakaśṭu, Achchakāṣṭa) (a) The measurement of land determining the boundaries of a village. (b) The whole extent of taxable land in a village. (c) The total area of land attached to a village, or the total extent of land capable of being watered by any particular irrigation work (N. p. 140) (d) Fixed boundaries (E. C. V., Hn. 2, p. 2; see also W. p. 4.)
Aḍhikāri, S. Kan. One who holds a superior office or authority; a superintendent; a ruler; an officer, e.g. Grāmādhiṃkāri, Dēśādhiṃkāri, etc. (W. p. 6; N. p. 74.)
Aḍa-dere, K. Goat tax. (?) (E. C. V. Cn. 259, p. 234.)
Aḍi-kāśu, Tan. K. A. tax on shops. In later times a daily-tax levied on shops, especially in regimental bazaars, varying from one to two kāśu or cash. (W. p. 7.)
Aḍaippu, Tam. (?) (E. R. for 1915, pp. 107-108.)
Aḍe-cuṇa K. A tax on anvil or bench (E. C. XII, Ck. 8, p. 71.)
Aḍe-kalucuṇa, K. See above. (My. for 1916, p. 52.)
Aḍḍa, K. Tel. (a) A measurement equal to 2 mānikas or one-eighth of a tūm. (B. & C., III, p. 1495). (b) A gold or silver weight of about 5'68 grains (Avoirdupois) in South Kanara. (c) A fractional part denoting 1/4 and written || (ardha) (N. p. 161.)
Aḍḍagaḍa-sūkōṁ, Tel. A tax levied on the sellers of sheep and similar things. (?) (B. & C. II., p. 947; III. p. 1498.)
Aḍḍa-ḍalai, Tam. (a) A lease deed (E. R. for 1921, p. 102). (b) A pledge. (422 of 1913.)
Agrgasa-dere. K. Washireman's tax (E. C., IV, Hn. 137, p. 97.)
Agavilai, Tam. Market-price of grain (W. p. 9.)
Agrahāra, S. Land or village granted in charity to Brahmins as free gift (My. Gāz. I, p. 579 [Rev. ed.]); B & C., II., p. 1495; 390 of 1920.)
Agrahāra-makki, K. (a) High-level rice land (E. C. VI., Sg. 15, p. 97) (b) Worst kind of rice. (W. p. 322) (Akkī=deprived of its husk. N. p. 7.)
Akkasālavarī, Tam. Tax on goldsmiths. (E. I., XVIII., p. 139.)
Akkshini, S. K. "Imperishables". A term used in grants and leases. (B & C., III., p. 1495) But see infra ashta-bhoga-tejas-svāmya.
'Alavu, Tam. The revenue survey conducted in the 40th year of Kulōtuṅga I. (440 of 1912).

'Alivu or 'Alavāl, 'Alavāi, Tam. See above. Measurement, especially of grain. Portion of produce set apart as payment for the measurement of the crop. (W. p. 18).


Allāya, K. (?) (Cf. Allu=to knit or braid. N. p. 90).

Allāyamānyam, Tam. Tax. on shops. (?) (E. R. for 1911, p. 84).


Amaram. S. K. Tam. Tel. (a) Commandant of a thousand feet. (b) A grant of revenue by the prince or pāleyagāra. (c) Condition of service, generally military, or police. Such grants were resumable when the amarakāra grantee failed to perform the stipulated service. (W. p. 21; B & C III., p. 1495).

Amardār, Amaragādu, Tel. The holder of an amaram (B & C III., p. 1495).


Amara-māgaṇi, S. K. (?) (E. C. VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).

Amara-nāyaka, S. K. Governor or Prefect of the City (B. & C. II, p. 637. But see Fleet, I, A., IV., p. 329, n.).

Amara-nāyakatana, K. Office of Governor or Prefect of the City (My. for 1920, p. 76).


Amara-paṭṭeya-nāyakū, K. (?) (E. C. VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).

Amji, Cf. Amaṇji, Tam. Tel. Labour customarily exacted without payment in regard to certain works, e.g., the repair of tanks and channels. (B. & C. III, p. 1495).

Aṇe, Aṇay, Aṇi, Tam. K. Mal. A dam, a dyke, embankment, a bank, a bridge. (W. p. 25; E. C. V, Hn, 2, p. 2.) In South Kanara it also means a steep foot-path (N. pp. 26, 128).


Aṉga-jitamu, Tel. Personal salary. (B & C., II., p. 637).

Aṉguḷa, S. K. The thumb; a finger's breadth; a measure equal to 8 barley corns. 12 aṉguḷas=1 vitasti or span; 24 aṉguḷas=a hasta or cubit. (Ap. p. 21.) See below under Kōl, Kōlu. [According to Dr. Fleet, 1 aṉguḷa=⅓ inch; 1 vitasti=9 inches; 1 hasta=2 vitasti =18 inches. Arth. p. 520.]
Angāśalai, Tam. (?) (E. R. for 1913, p. 120).

Ankakāra, K. Head of commercial guild. (E. C. VII. Sk. 118, p. 251).

Antarāya, K. Tam. (?) A civil and judicial term meaning estoppel. (N. p. 17) [Antarāya is included among money payments. E. R. for 1917, p. 110].

Anyāya, S. Injustice. A complaint of injustice; a plaint in a civil suit. (W. p. 29) [Dr. Barnett suggests the following:—Tax in some kind of breach of contract or fraud.]

Anyāyārjita=Wrongful gain. (N. p. 67).


Amritapadi, S. K. Tel. Tam. Food-offerings of a god (B & C. III., p. 1495; see also S. I. I., I. Pt. I., p. 82, n. 5).


Araśi-kāṇam, Tam. (?). Araśi=any kind of grain, but especially rice, freed from chaff. (W. p. 32). Kāṇam=Mal. mortgage, free, present or reward. It also applies to an advance or loan of money as the equivalent to, or consideration for, a mortgage or transfer of landed property, fields and gardens into the occupancy of the person advancing the money, without prejudice to the proprietor’s vested rights, to whom, also, the occupant is bound to pay all the proceeds of the estate in excess of the interest of the money he has advanced (W., pp. 255-256). For araśi-kāṇam, see E. R. for 1913, p. 139.

Araśupēru, Tam. (?) (E. I. XVIII, p. 139).


Arisuttandam, Tam. (?) A money payment) (507 of 1916).

Asavechchālu, Tam. (?) (Rang. I. p. 23).

Ashṭā-bhōga-śejas-svāmya, S. Or merely askṭa-bhōgam. Enjoyment of the whole, or the eight products of an estate: siddhi or the land cultivated; sādhyā or the produce of such land; pāshāna or uncultivated or rocky land and its produce e.g., minerals etc.; nīkshēpa or property deposited on the land; nidhi or treasure-trove; jalaṃritā or waters and their produce; akṣini or actual privileges; ṣāgāmi or prospective rights and privileges. (W. p. 36; see also My. Ins. p. 3; Fleet, I.A. IV. p. 278, n.)

Aśvapati, S. “General of the Horse”, a title mentioned in a list of state officers. (WZKM. XII., p. 69).

Aṭhavarne, K. Revenue Department; revenue; an armed messenger or peon employed in revenue affairs. (W. p. 38, N. p. 139).
AVASARAM, AVASARYA, AVATARAM, TAM. (?!) King's Representative. (368 of 1917; E.R. for 1918, pp. 164-165).


AVASARA-VARTANAI, TAM. (?!) A tax to meet the expenses of the tour of an avasaram. (E.I., XVIII, p. 139).


ADI-KARTIGAI-PACHCHAI, TAM. A kanyakkai or present given in the month of Adi and Kārtigai. (E.I., XVII, p. 112).

ADAYA, S. K. Tel. (a) Gain, profit, receipt. (W., p. 5); (b) Customs, toll. (N., p. 139).

MARGA-ADAYA, K. Transit dues or duties.
MAMUL-ADAYA, K. Export duties.
SITHALU-ADAYA, K. Customs on goods imported to be sold at one place. (N. p. 139).

ADHAKA, S. A measure of grain, the 4th of a drōna=16 prasthas=16 kvātvas=nearly 7 lbs. 12 ozs. Avoir. (Ap., p. 207).

AGAMI, See above under ashta-bhōga.


AJAMAṆJI, TAM. AJI=laborer; amaṆji=compulsory service. Compulsory service which the villagers in the Tamil country were formerly compelled to render to the Government servants travelling on public duty. (W., p. 18; E.R. for 1913, p. 120).


AIWAKKADAMAI, TAM. (?!) (352 of 1912; E.R. for 1913, p. 122).

AJAI-KĀNIKKAI, TAM. (?!) (E.R. for 1913, p. 120).

AYA, S. K. TAM. (a) Dues. (E. C. XI., Hk. 34, p. 120). (b) Payment in kind, corn being given from the threshing floor to hereditary servants of the village. (N., p. 49) (c) Tribute. (W., p. 41).

AYA-DĀYA, K. Profit and loss. (N., p. 57).

AYAGARA, AYAKARA, K. Village servants or officers entitled to the āya or proportion of the crop, for the services to the community. Cf. Balatē of the Marathi country. (W., p. 41).

BALI, S. Occasional and periodical cess; tax. (E.I., L, p. 402; Ghosal. Ag. Syst. in Ancient India, p. 12).

Bala, See below.

Balla, Cf. Bālā, Bala, K. (a) A grain measure of 8 kvātvas in South Kanara. (b) A dry measure of 168 tōlas in Mysore. (c) A land measure requiring 800 square yards of dry, and 125 square
yards of wet, land in Mysore (N., p. 168). (d) A measure of capacity, the 4th part of a kojaga or 4 mañas. (Kit. p. 1097).


Beddalu, K. (a) Tax upon the straw of the dry grain, the whole of which is taken by the ryots. (W., p. 70). (b) Corn growing on dry land (N., p. 14). (c) Dry fields. (E.C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2).

Bēġige, Tel. K. (a) Quit-rent. (W., p. 70). (b) Alms. (E.C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2). (c) Collection (E.C. III, Sr. 6, text p. 26,).

Bēḍa-binugu, K. (? A tax on those who refused to be enlisted during a war.) (My. for 1920, p. 79; Kit., pp. 1118, 1149).


Bēṭada-kāvalu, K. Fees for grazing on the hills. (E.C. IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).

Bhaṇḍāra. S.K. Tam. Tel. (a) A treasury. (b) A store, a room where the household supplies are kept. (c) Villages managed by the ruler himself, his own peculiar estate not rented or farmed to others. (d) In Cuttack it also means a reservoir. (W., p. 75). (e) A grant of land on favourable rent. (B. & C. III, p. 1425).


Bhāṭṭa-gutta, S.K., Gutta held by the Brahmins. (E.C. VII, Sk. 131, p. 100).

Bhōga, S.K. Tel. Tam. (a) Enjoyment. (b) The food offered to a god in a temple. (B. & C. III., p. 1495).


Bhōgaya-patra, S.K. Tam. Tel. Written deeds recording the reconveyance of land held on mortgage by possession (bhōgaya-āyakan). (E. R. for 1918, p. 170). See also W., p. 81 for two other kinds of deeds: zavēḍha and nirvāḍha.

Bhōga-maṇḍalam, S.K. Tel. Tam. The part of a temple where food is prepared for the image. (B. & C. III. p. 1495).
GLOSSARY 435


Bira, (S. Vīra)? Head of a commercial guild. (E.C. VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).

Bira-vanigas, Vīra-bauajigas, S.K. Heads of commercial guilds. The status of these as well as of those mentioned above cannot be determined. (E.C. VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).

Bira-vāna, K. Soldier's tax. (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Birudu, K. Title, distinction. (Kit. p. 1120; B & C. III. p. 1495).

Birudavāji, K. Enumeration of distinctions or marks of distinctions. (Kit., p. 1120).

Birudulu, Tel. Tax on waste lands. (?) (Rang. I, p. 23. See also W., p. 85)


Brahmadēya, S. (a) Any grant or perquisite appropriated to Brahmans. (W., p. 93). (b) Share of crop given to Brahmans. (My. Gaz. I, p. 579. [rev. ed.]).


Bōyee, K. Tel. Palanquin bearer. (Kit. p. 1157).

Chakra-varāha, S.K. Tel. Perhaps the same as kāruka-varāha which is Rs. 4. The ordinary chakram, according to some, is one-sixteenth of a pagoda. (B. & C. III. p. 1495).

Chavela, Chavala, Chavalama, Tel. (a) About 1 shilling. (Brown, Tel. Dict., q. v.). (b) Four dabs of 20 kās each. (W., p. 107). (c) An eighth of a pagoda, half a rupee in Mysore. (N. p. 166).


Chiluvāna, K. The odd or broken money over a round sum, called chillare, in South Kanara. (N. p. 62).


Chinnam, S.K. Tel. Tam. (a) A weight. (b) A coin worth one-eighth of a pagoda or seven annas. (B. & C. III, p. 1495).


Chāvadi, K. (a) Court of a provincial ruler. (b) Verandah. (My. for 1916, p. 60, N. p. 81).

Chōdana, (?) (a) A liquid measure. (b) In Malabar it is 341½ cubic inches. (c) In Nellore the measure seems to be no longer used. (B. & C. III, p. 1495).
Dakshina-samudrādhipati, S.K. "Master of the Southern Ocean". This was the official designation of the Vijayanagara viceroy who was stationed in the south.

Dālavali, K. (?) A tax. (My. for 1920, p. 79).

Dānṇāyaka-svāmya, S.K. A tax to defray the expenses of the campaigns of the dānṇāyaka or the commander. (?) (My. for 1920, p. 79).

Dānappēru, Tam. A money-payment. (507 of 1916; E.R. for 1917, p. 110)


Dāṅḍige, K. (?) (E. I., XIX., pp. 35, 40). Cf. (a) Dāṅḍiga, A pole set horizontally in the corner of a room and used as a shelf (Kit., p. 770). (b) Dāṅḍa. S. A stick, a staff, a rod, a cane carried by mendicants; an ear; a measure of length, a rod or pole of 4 cubits. (c) A measure of time: 24 minutes. (W., p. 122). Dāṅḍikāla, K. Harvest time. Dāṅḍi-bele, Plentiful crop (N. p. 13).


Dāsaṅanda, S.K. A permanent grant of rent-free land, given for building or repairing a tank, on condition of paying one-tenth or a small share of the produce. (E.C. V, Int. p. 3, n. 5). According to some, the grantee pays $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce. According to others, the grantee appropriates $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce and pays $\frac{1}{10}$ to the grantor. (B. & C. III, p. 1495).


Dēvadāyam, S. Tel. K. Lands or allowances for the support of a temple. (W., p. 133; 179 of 1913). Cf. Dharmadāya, S. K. Grants made for the support of charitable or religious institutions. (N., p. 92).


Dharma-tāsana, S. K. Tam. Tel. A stone charter embodying the confirmation of the dharma of a city or a town. (E. C. VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166).


Dommar, Tel. K. One who belongs to the juggler or acrobat class. (B. & C. III, p. 1496).

Drōṣa, S. A measure of capacity, either the same as āḍhaka or equal to 4 āḍhakas or $\frac{1}{18}$ of a kārī, or 32 or 64 seers (Ap. p. 517).
**Glossary**

Drāṇamukha, S. A territorial division, conterminous with pura, and higher than paṭṭaya and lower than simhāsana.

Duggāṇi, Tel. Ten kāṣu, about half an anna. *(B. & C. III, p. 1496).*

Dūrga-daṇḍyamvarthana, S. K. (? A tax for the maintenance of a hill-fort). *(A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 191, n. 9).*

Edakkaṭṭayam, Tam. A tax. *(352 of 1912; E. R. for 1913, p. 122).*

Eduttaḷavu, Tam. A tax. *(E. R. for 1913, p. 122).*

Ekaḥbāgam S. The possession or tenure of village land by one person or family without any co-share. The appellation is continued in some instances where other parties have been admitted to the portions under the original tenure as long as that remains unaltered. *(W., p. 152).*

Eka-svānya-agrahāra, S. An agrahāra exempted from all taxes. *(?) (E. C. III, Ml. 95, p. 65).*

Eruγāṇike, K. Offering of manure [Eru = manure; kāṇike = offering]. *(E. C. IX, Ht. 4, p. 88).*

Eruṭṭaśammādam, Tam. A tax. *(352 of 1912).* (But see W., p. 459. Eru = manure; śammadam = compact made by merchants and traders with the customs and excise).

Eriminvilai, Tam. (? A tax on fresh water fish). *(E. R. for 1913, p. 122).*

Fanam, A small silver coin formerly current at Madras; 124 fanams are equal to one rupee. *(W., p. 155 where phalam is given as the S. origin of the word).*

Gadde, K. Wet or dry land; land fit for rice cultivation, or on which rice is grown.

Gadde-beddalu, K. Wet and dry land. *(E. C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2).*

Gadi, K. Boundary. *(E. C. IV, Gu. 67, p. 47.* Rice gives Tālukā, district as the equivalent of this word *My. Gaz. I, p. 579, Rev. ed.)*

Gadyānum, Gaḍya, or merely Ga, S. K. (a) A goldsmith’s weight, equal to 20 vala, 8 māshas, or half a tōla, or about 52 grains Troy. *(W., p. 161).* (b) The weight of a ruvi or a farthing. (c) A small gold coin in Belgaum; a pagoda *(N., p. 165).*

Gałe, K. Measuring rod, staff, e.g. Bhērunda-gale *(I. A. IV, p. 181).* Cf. Viḍēiviḍuṇu, Tam. under the Gaṅga-Pallavas. *(32 of 1912).*

Gaṇāchāra-dere, K. Tax on the Jaṅgamas. *(E. C. IV, Gu. 67, p. 47).*

Gaṇākāra-terigē, K. See above. Tax on the Jaṅgamas *(E. C. IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).*

Gandīga, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown *(E. C. VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).*

Gaṇa-dere, K. Tax on oil-mills. *(E. C. V, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).*

Gavarega, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown. (E. C. VII Sk. 118, p. 87).

Gavariga, K. A basket maker. (W., p. 171).

Gāvauḍa-śvāmi, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown. (E. C. VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).

Gidda, K. A fourth-part, a quarter (of anything). (Kit., p. 542).

Giddana, K. The fourth part of a solige. (Kit., p. 542).

Gidna, K. Eight seers or two soliges. (Kit., p. 542).


Grāmadhipati, S. Officer appointed by the king to collect revenue from the man who holds a contract from the Government. (Śukr. IV p. 149).


Guṇja, S. A small shrub of that name bearing a red black berry which is used as a weight, measuring on an average $\frac{8}{16}$ grains Troy, or an artificial weight called Guṇja measuring about 2 Troy. (Ap. p. 406).

Guṇṭa, Tel. (a) A pond. (b) A land measure equal to $\frac{1}{80}$th or $\frac{1}{16}$th of a gorru which is generally about 34 acres. In Nellore a guṇṭa is taken as equal to 2,756 1/2 square feet or 0'633 acre, being $\frac{1}{80}$th of a gorru. In the case of garden lands, however, the guṇṭa is only 0'2725 acre or merely $\frac{1}{16}$ths of a gorru. (B. & C. III, p. 1490).

Gutte, Guttige Guttu, Guttigai, K. Tam. Tel. A contract, a monopoly of a tenure, an exclusive right of sale or supply of any commodity, farm, or rent, an income of variable amount sold or let out for a fixed sum. (N., pp. 92,145 for different kinds of guttas; W., p. 191).

Guttige-ṭhanda-dānā, K. (?) Fee levied for planting areca trees in an areca garden belonging to a temple. (E. C. VI, Tr. 43, p. 110).

Gātriga, K. Head of commercial guild, status unknown. (E. C. VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).

Hadhapu, K. Bearer of the betel pouch of a prince. (W., p. 193).

Hadhava-vaḷeya, K. (?) (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Hadīyarāḍa, K. A tax. (?) (My. for 1916, p. 52).


Hāḍara, K. Tax on prostitutes (?). (My. for 1920, p. 79).


Haraya, K. Cf. Harāṇa (a) Taking, accepting, making an agreement. (b) Seizing, withholding, stealing. (c) A nuptial present. (d) A gift to a student at his initiation. (E. C. III, Tn. 98, p. 87; Kit., p. 1633).

Hāne, Hāni, K. A word applicable to dry and fluid measure; dry=133 tōlas (Manjēśvar in South Kanara), 112 tōlas in Bhatkal, and 160 tōlas in Coorg. Fluid=144 tōlas in Coorg, 2211 tōlas in Ankōla. (N., p. 172).

Horavāru, (?) Import duties or export duties (?). (E. C. IV, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).


Harasa, K. (?) Taddhava of S. pasara, prasara=Collection, shop, a gift, to extend. (E. I. XIX, pp. 35-40; Kit., p. 962).

Hebbāra, Hebbārūva K. (a) A chief, a superior. (b) The head of a village (W., p. 200).


Holamē-niruvaḷi, K. Field boundaries, and water courses pertaining to it. (E. C. V, P. I, 2, p. 2).

Holavāru, K. Export duties. (E. C. VII, Sh. 71, p. 28).


Hora kaulu (or Hodake hora kaulu), K. Licence for export. (E. C. V, Cn. 259, p. 234).

Hora-saluvaḷi, K. Export duty and all other taxes payable to the pāla. (E. C. IV, Ch. 196, p. 27, text, p. 66).

Hullu-banni, K. Tax paid by the Gollas or shepherds for feeding their flocks on public pasture. (My. Gaz. I, p. 479; N., p. 160).


Īḍatorai, Īḍaitturai, Tam. Cf. Īḍai. Weight in general, a weight of 100 palams equal to 2½ vis. or 12½ seers. Īḍatorai, (?) (E. I. XVIII, p. 139; W., p. 213; 352 of 1912, E. R. for 1913, p. 122).

Īḍangai-vāri. Tam. A tax which the Pallis had to pay (?). (294 of 1910, E. R. for 1911, p. 84).

Igtaś, Per. Revenue assignments (Barani, p. 429).

Ījāra, A lease or farm of land or revenue or tax (?). (B. & C. III, p. 1496).

Ināpari, Tam. a tax (?) (E. I. XVIII, p. 139).

Inām, Per. Lands held on favourable terms, such as grants subject to a light assignment, e.g., ardha-mānya, ardha-swādhi, umbali, uttāra, etc. (N., p. 91; B. & C. III, p. 1496).


Jātimānya, S. K. Tax paid by the Mādigas or Chucklers. Usually mānya means a hereditary or official estate. But it also means among the Holeyas the name given to a tribal leader.

Jāṭi-terige, K. Caste tax (E.C. III., Ml. 95, p. 66).


Jōdi, Tel. K. (a) An easy or quit rent, a personal tax on district officers. (b) A tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, pays a half or a quarter of the gross value of the produce to government. This tenure differs from Kāyam-gutta in the latter being a permanent contract for a government village on the annual payment of a fixed sum. (N., p. 91; E. C. V.P.I, Hn. 2, p. 2; W., p. 241).


Kadati-cava, K. Hammer tax. (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Kaikaḍa, K. A temporary loan. Also called Kaigaḍa, kaisāla, Maigaḍa. (N., pp. 1, 51).


Kakandi, K ?. A tax (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Kalami, Tam. ? (e.g. three kalam [of paddy] on each ma) (E.R. for 1915, pp. 103, 107-108).


Kālūve, K. Channels, aqueduct (E.C. V.P.I., Hn. 2, p. 2; N., p. 27).


Kammara-vṛtti, K. Blacksmith’s tax (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Kampāṇa, K. A territorial division (B. & C. III, pp. 1497; But, according to others, Kampāṇa is a term for the army and not a territory. (W.Z.K.M. XII, p. 68).


Kandāchāra, K. Military department. (W., p. 257).

Kappa, Kappam, Tam. K., Mal tax, tribute, offering. (W., p. 260).


Karaṇike, K. Cf. Karanaṇa-varttana. S. (Varttana-wages). A cess levied originally for the support of the district accountant. (It was consolidated with the public revenue by Tipu Sultan.) (W., p. 263).


Katnām, Cf. Katnālu, Tel. (a) A present to a superior. (b) A compulsory “benevolence”. (B. & C. III, p. 1497).

Katīge, K. A land measure of 34½ square cubits in Belgaum (N., p. 162; My. for 1916, p. 96) See under Pāṇḍu.

Katīge-avasaram, Tam. Tax on fire-wood (E.I., XVII, p. 112).

Kaṭaka-sēse, K ? (E.C. II., p. 150, n. 1).
Kaffe, K. Customs house. (E.C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2) (b) A mound round a tree (South Kanara); (c) a verandah (S. Marata. N., p. 27).


Kafu-guttige pata sâsana, K. A stone charter containing the gift of a kafu guttige piṇḍa dana.


Kavarte, Kavate, K. Taking by force, seizing, plundering. (?) (Kit., pp. 388, 389).

Khadāyam, K. Fines (E.C. III., Ml. 95, p. 66).

Khāṇḍi, S. K. (Khāṇḍa) A word applicable to weight, dry and fluid measure. (a) Metals: 22,400, tōlas or 5 cwt. (S. Kanara; Bhaṭkal in N. Kanara); 23,040 tōlas in Honnāvuru, Yellāpura, and Ankōla (N. Kanara); 20,000 tōlas in Mundagōḍ; 22, 400, tōlas in Sīrsi (N. Kanara); (b) Timber: 38 feet 10 ½ inches (North Kanara); 24 Kōl × 12 angula × 1 angula (South Kanara); (c) Sugar, ghee 16,000 tōlas (Belgaum); 19,200, tōlas (Coorg); (d) Jaggory, 19,200 tōlas (South Kanara); (e) Dry measure: 38,40, tōlas in Kārwār and Ankōla, 4320 tōlas in Kumia and Honnāvuru, 1440 tōlas in Siddhāpura, and 71680 tōlas in Mundagod (North Kanara); (f) Fluid measure: 11,200 tōlas (South Kanara); 23,040 tōlas in Sīrsi, 20,000 tōlas in Mundagod; Doddakhaṇḍi, Hīre-kaṇḍi: a grain measure of 153,600 tōlas in Sīrsi; Phāṭa-khaṇḍi: a khaṇḍi of 25 maṇḍ used only in Virajēndrapeta (Coorg). (N., p. 164). See also W., pp. 277-278.

Khāṇḍuga, Cf. Khāṇḍi, S.K. (a) A dry measure of 409,600 tōlas (Belgaum), 128,000 tōlas (Coorg), 13,440 tōlas (Mysore); (b) A salt measure of 64,000 tōlas (Belgaum); (c) A weight of 192,000 tōlas for silk, sugar, drugs, and cotton (Mysore); (d) A land measure requiring 64,000 square yards of dry, and 10,000 of wet land (Mysore); (e) A Synonym for a muḍī in Bhaṭkal (North Kanara). (N., pp. 164-165; E.C. II., No. 402, p. 170).

Khāṇḍrika, A portion of a village granted free or at favourable rent (B. & C. III, p. 1497).


GLOSSARY

Kirkula, Mar. Cf. Kirkül, Kirköl. (a) Miscellaneous, petty taxes on articles or goods. (b) Unnecessary trouble given to ryots by inferior officers in minute things. (W., p. 290; N., pp. 74, 119; E.I., XVIII, p. 139).

Kodavisa, K. Allowance of a visa of grain etc. for every bullock-load that comes into a town, paid to a person employed to check the demands of the toll-keeper. (Apparently from Kōṭu=a horn, for horned cattle. For visa see below. W., p. 292; E.C. VIII, Sh. 46, p. 168.)

Kodagi, K. (a) Lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable (Manjarbad). (b) Lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks or of their maintenance in good order. (Mysore) (N., p. 91).

Kōl, Kōlu, K. Measuring pole sometimes 18 spans (gōya) in length. (E. C. IV., Yd. 28, p. 56), (b). Angula, A lineal measure for wood 24 making a gaja or kōlu. (c) A wood, a pole, rod measurement of 24 finger’s breadth (South Kanara). (For different kinds of Kōlu,—Ikkēri. Maleyāli, Hokkalu, Kadre, Virajendra and Lingarajendra, see N., p. 164).

Kōlaka, K. A measure of capacity: 4 bālās (Kit. p. 493). A dry measure of 768 tōlas in Yellapur, 384 tōlas in Sirsi, 72 tōlas in Siddāhpur and 924 tōlas in Bhatkal (North Kanara); (b) A dry measure of 672 tōlas. (Mysore) (For further details see N., p. 163).


Kōru, K. (a) A mode of cultivation under which the produce is equally divided between the proprietor and the cultivator (Mysore). A share of the crop belonging to the cultivator (Mysore). [Kōra-vāru=a share of the crop due to the landlord by the tenant.] (N., pp. 10, 144.)


Kōnigai, Tam.? Error for (Kōnigai?) Cf. Kōnīri, Kōnīri. K. A square reservoir with steps) W. 293). (Tax for maintaining such tanks?).

Kōru, See above. Land the produce of which is shared by the Government commonly used in opposition to the term Zamindari and inaim (B. & C. III, p. 1497).

Kōrru, Tam.? (Cf. Kōrru of the king. 335 of 1913).

Köttam, Tam. K. A territorial division higher than Nādu and lower than Māndalam.

Köttige, K. Cf. (a) An out-house (South Kanara). (b) a verandah. (N., p. 80) (?) A tax on verandahs or out-houses.

Köttige-vartanai, Tam. (E.I., XVIII., p. 139). See Köttage above.


Kuḍubā, K. (Tod. of Kuduvu) A measure of capacity containing about two seers (Kit. p. 436).

Kuchchala, Tel. A land measure equal to eight gorrus. It is taken at 25 acres in Nellore, and at 29 acres in Kistna (B. & C. III, p. 1497).


Kudi-vāram, Tam. Share allowed to the cultivators. (E. p. 43, n. 25; W. p. 541).

Kuku, K. ? (My. for 1920, p. 79).


Kumbhāra-ṣeṭṭi, K. Chief of the potters. (E.C. IV., Yl. 2. p. 27).


Kuncham. or Kunchadu, Tel. 4 māṇika or muntas or ¼ of the tūm which is, roughly, a hundredweight. (B & C. III, p. 1497).

Kula, K. Mar. (a) An individual paying taxes to the Government, a payer of Government dues. (For further details see N. p. 144). (b) Rent. (E.C. III, Ml. 95, p. 65). (c) A certain measure: a kolaga. (Kit. p. 453); (d) Family, race (Kit. p. 453).

Kula-varttane, K. The perquisites of the village officers receivable from farmers and those who pay revenue to Government. (Kit. p. 453).

Kuli, Tam. A square measure varying, according to some, from one square foot to 25,600 square feet. According to others, it is 567 square feet. (B. & C. III, p. 1497).


Kulavāra, Cf. Kulavārapati, Kuluvārapati, Kulavāra-tačte, Kulavār-chiṭha, Kulavārapati. S. (a) An account of the land farmed by each cultivator severally. (b) A term applied to families, or individual heads of families, paying revenue, and in this sense occurs
in various compounds given by \( W. \) in detail. (c) A term applied especially to the settlement of the assessment with each individual cultivator, the same as ryotwári. (d) \( Kulavára\text{-}tachté \) A rent roll containing the rent paid by each ryot, the amount of \( thárávú \) \( bérēz \), whether the land is \( bharti \) or \( kambharti \); and upon which the annual settlement of \( kambharti \) \( vārgs \) were fixed. \( W. \) p. 300; \( N. \) p. 144) (e) \( Kulavárchíthá \). K. An account of the land farmed by each cultivator severally. \( K. i t. \) p. 453).

\( Kālā \), K. Mar. See above \( Kālā \), A payer of Government dues, the Mág-gúzär of Hindustan. (b) A quantity of land that may be ploughed in one day by a single plough. \( W. \) pp. 300-301 \( M y. \) for 1916, p. 52).

\( Kūrrí\text{-}dereg \), K. Sheep tax. \( E.C. \) XI., \( Yl. \) 2, p. 84).

\( Kuruju \), K. ? \( M y. \) \( I n s. \) p. 269) (Cf. \( Kuruje \), K. An unripe fruit of the Jack tree. \( K. i t. \) p. 447).

\( Kūta\text{-}derige \), K. Tax on meetings \( E.C. \) IV., \( G u. \) 67, p. 47).

\( Kādāramba \), \( Kaff\text{-}ārambam \), Tam. K. Dry cultivation, or land which depends entirely upon rain for water; the cultivation of such land. \( W. \) p. 240; \( N. \) 8; \( E.C. \) IX., \( Dv. \) 25, p. 33).

\( Kāpu \), \( Kāmpu \), Tel. K. (a) A cultivator. The word is also used in the sense of \( Pedda\text{-}kāpu \) or principal ryot or village headman; (b) Guarding, watching \( B. & C. \) III., p. 1497; \( W. \) p. 206; \( K. i t. \) p. 405).

\( Kāsi \), A fractional part of denoting \( \frac{1}{14} \)th and written \( j \) (b) It also means a sixty-fourth fractional part of any coin; also \( \frac{1}{60} \)th, \( \frac{1}{92} \)nd part. \( c \) \( \frac{1}{10} \) of a pagoda. (d) A land measure of 57,600 square feet, a cawnie or twenty-four grounds. (e) Property, possession, hereditary right. Cf. \( Kāniyātchi \), Tam. \( Kōnānchi \); K. Property which is tax free. \( N. \) p. 162; \( S.I.I. \) II. p. 117; \( K. i t. \) p. 403). \( Are\text{-}kāsi \), the 128th part of any coin. \( Giddagāt \), 4th of a \( kāni, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{16} \) of a \( hāna \) used in weighing. \( Duggāt \), two \( kānis \), two \( kārus \) or cashs. A half-penny called 10 cash \( K. i t. \) pp. 101, 403, 542, 793).

\( Kānike \), S. Cf. \( Kānike\text{-}kappa \), \( Kōne \), A present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation, offerings, tribute. \( Kaffi\text{-}kānike \). A present from certain Moplahs in the village of Ullal (South Kanara). \( Bafftu\text{-}kānike \), A tax levied upon the merchants of the town of Mūlki (South Kanara), being a gift formerly, agreed by them to be paid to the pagoda (?) temple but which was usurped by the former Government \( E.C. \) V. P. I., \( Hn. \) 2. p. 2; \( W. \) p. 258 \( E.C. \) III., \( Ml. \) 95, p. 60; \( N. \) p. 180).

\( Kōnippīdīppādu \), Tam. \( ? \) \( E.R. \) for 1916, p. 123).

\( Kānuka \), Cf. \( Kānike \), Tel. (?) A gift to a superior, a compulsory \textquoteleft\textquoteleft benevolence\textquoteright\textquoteright\ \( B. & C. \) III., p. 1497).
Kāniyāṭchi, Kānāṇchi, Kāṇāchi. Tam. K. [From Kani (=property, possession, right of possession, hereditary right) and āṭchi (=power or domination)] (a) That which is held in free and hereditary property. (b) hereditary right to lands, fees of office, or perquisites, held by members of village communities or by village officers, in the Tamil country, equivalent to the Arabic term mirāṣi, used likewise in that part of India (W. p. 258).


Kāruka, Cf. Kāraka (a) An artisan, an artificer, a mechanic. Paṉcha-Kāruka=the five artificers or artisans: carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, stone-cutters (masons and braziers (Kit. pp. 510, 921). (b) A tax generally of the mohatarpha (?) (c) A tax paid by certain classes in Krishṇarāya Odēyar’s time for relief from payment of certain duties (Nagar, Mysore) (N. p. 142). (d) The wet season; the crop of rice sown in April, and reaped in June-July. (e) Black, dark, also salt, saline, withered. (f) Kārukāya, Tel. weak or blighted corn (W. p. 265).

Kāśu, Tel. K. A small copper coin, current at Madras, made equal in 1832, to the Calcutta and Madras paisa and rated at 64 to the rupee; it was formerly rated at 80 to a fanam, a small silver coin, it also means, in Tamil, coin, money, e.g., Ponakāṭu, gold coin; Venūkāṭu, silver coin; Pettalai-kāṭu, copper coin. It formerly denoted a coin of a certain value, supposed by some to have been the same as S. kārṣha and equal to the double silver fanam of Madras. (b) A coin of gold, silver, or copper, the copper kāṇu worth about 32 th (?) of a penny. (c) $\frac{1}{32}$ of a rupee, half a pie in South Kanara. (d) A pie or $\frac{1}{32}$ of a rupee in Mysore (W. p. 267; B. & C. III., p. 1497; N. p. 162).


Kāvali, K. Tel. Watch, A plate or pan for frying or baking (B. & C. III., p. 1497; Kit. p. 415).
Kavulu, Kāvulu, K. Tel. (a) Charters granted by the State embodying favourable terms of cultivation and occupation of lands which had been deserted by the tenants. (b) Grazing ground, also called hullugāvalu, Kāvaluṇadisū to allow or give a grazing ground. (c) Guard, Kāvaluṇadilu, to mount guard. (d) A word, a promise, an agreement or contract. (W., p. 270 for further details; N. p. 19; E.R. for 1916, pp. 144-145).

Kāvulu-doregālu, Tel. Police officers. (C.P. 21 of 1917-18).


Kandāya, K. (a) A space of three months, according to others, of four months (in astrology). (b) Tribute, tax, house-tax, land-tax, ground-rent. (N. p. 162; Kit. p. 360).


Kunari, K. A piece of ground in a jungle or forest, on which the trees are cut down and burnt, where after it is cultivated for one or two years only. (Kit. p. 443).

Lekkadalli, K. In accounts. (E.C. IV., Gu. 1, p. 35).


Maḍappuram, Tam. (E.C. X, Mi. 100, p. 170). (Cf. Maḍa, K. A. small channel that leads water from the big one to the division of a field, or a garden bed (Kit. p. 1190).

Maḍi, Tel. Wet field but it also seems to have been a definite measure of land. (B. & C. III. p. 1497).

Madil-amaṇjai, (Cf. Amaṇjai) Tam. (a) A compulsory service without payment. (b) The gratuitous employment of the villagers in the transport of baggage, etc. for public officers. (c) The general levy of men inhabiting irrigable villages for the purpose of cleaning the channels or tanks, for repairing breaches or constructing dams (E.R. for 1913, p. 122, W. p. 21).

Maḍamba, (?) A territorial division higher than Kharaṇḍa.

Magamai, Tam. Corrupt form of maganmmai, the nature of being a son to another. (a) A tax levied among certain merchants in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts on all sales and purchases. The levy is in the shape of a small but fixed sum which is utilised for some public purpose (E.I., XVII, p. 112). (b) A contribution
formerly levied on all merchants and cultivators for a temple, now given optionally; a fee or donation to which an individual or establishment may be entitled (W. p. 316).


Mahājanam, S. The principal (respectable) people of a village. (B. & C. III, p. 1497 Kit. p. 1227). Among the mahājanas or great men, also figured together with the Brahmans, the notables of other communities.


Makkai, (?) Tam. Cf. Makki K. (a) The worst kind of rice-land yielding one crop and not attracting tenants (South Kanara). (b) Rice land above the level of a valley that is to be watered and a crop of luxurious growth. (c) Cultivable land covered with thick brushwood (Coorg). (N. p. 17; Kit. p. 1183). But makkai occurs together with korru. (335 of 1913).

Malai-ammāi, Tam. (?) A compulsory tax levied for the purposes of feeding the cattle on the hills. (E.R. for 1913 p. 122; W. p. 334).

Mālave, K. (?) (Cf. Malavati, Malavanti, Tel. An additional assessment rated on the growing crops in proportion to their apparent richness). (E.I. XIX., pp. 34-40; W. 324).

Malavi, K. (?) (My. Ins. p. 269).


Mallige, K. (a) (?) A tax. Cf. mallige, Tad. of mallikā, Jasminum sambac. (b) earthenware vessel of a peculiar form. (c) A sort of a drinking vessel (Kit. p. 1223; My. for 1920, p. 79).

Mallayi-magamai, Tam. (?) (E.I. XVII, p. 139).

Mambāla, K. (?) A Tax (E.C. IV, Ch. 196, p. 24).

Maṇa, A. K. A measure of capacity, a maund. See under Tōlā below.

Manakṣhata, K. (?) A tax. (E.C. II. 347, p. 150, n. 1).


Maṇḍali-kāpu, Tel. Headman of a village, according to W. But perhaps of rank superior to the ordinary headman. (B. & C. III, p. 1497).

Mandai-kanderram, Tam. (?) (Cf. Mandai, Tam. a herd, flock; mandai-murai, or mandai-varisi, Tam. The right and practice of the mirasgars to have in turn the cattle of the village folded on their grounds, so that they may benefit by the manure. Kanderram cf. kandirutta, Mal. survey, measuring, and estimating land. E.I. XVII., p. 139; W. pp. 257, 327).

Mandya, Tel. (?) A measure of land. (B. & C. III., p. 1498).

Manakere, K. (?) A tax. (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Mandī-ppēru-kadamaī, Tam. A tax. (?) A tax on houses and compounds. (E. I. XVII, p. 112).

Maneya-bayakāra, K. Palace treasurer. (E. C. XII, Ck. 44, p. 87).


Maravidai, Tam. (a) A term used in deeds of the transfer of land to convey all kinds of woods, timber and plantations, also ground on which trees are grown. (b) A tax on fruit bearing trees. (E. I. XVII, p. 112; W., p. 331).


Mārga S. K. A road broader than a foot-path and narrower than a rājā-mārga. (Śukr, I, pp. 34-35).

Maṭṭa, Maṭṭu, K. An unknown measure of land. (E. C. VII, Tr. 43, p. 110). (Cf. Maṭṭa, K. Levelness; a carpenter’s level or square; a levelling stick; height, proper limit. Kt., p. 1189.)


Maṇaicterai, Tam. Cf. Manaitcari, House rent, ground rent, or rent. (507 of 1916; W., p. 327).

Mēda-dere, K. Tel. Tam. Tax on basket-makers. From Mēda, a caste occupied in cutting and selling bamboo or making or mending bamboo baskets. Mēdi or mēdi also means the part of the handle which is joined to the plough. (E. C. IV, Hn. 137, p. 272; W., p. 338).


Mēra, Tel. A fee in grain or money paid by villagers for the up-keep of certain offices, services or institutions. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).

Mirāsdar, Tel. One having a hereditary title to property or office. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).

Mugam-pārsvai, Tam. (?) A tax to see the king). (352 of 1912).

Mula, S. K. As in Mālāgōṇi, A permanent tenancy, a perpetual lease under which the owner virtually parts with the property on the condition of receiving a fixed and invariable annual rent, generally
payable on the 30th Bahula of Phalguna. The tenure is alienable notwithstanding the penal clauses generally inserted in the leases. (N., p. 94).

Muṣaikkal, Tam. Customs or Nāḍ-duties levied on the horses, goats, and cows of the tenants. (E. R. for 1916, p. 140).

Mulamu, Tel. (a) A stubble field. (b) Land cultivated with millet. (c) Garden land. The word does not seem to be common in Nellore. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).

Māle-visa, K. Tel. Tam. (a) Offerings. (b) An allowance of 1/8th part or fraction of anything. (c) Customs duties. (E. C. XI, Hk. 15, p. 118; E. I. VI, p. 232, n. 6; W., p. 549 for further details).

Mālavīśādaṇi, Tel. Perhaps the original tax levied proportionately upon the profits of traders. (B. & C. III, p. 1498. For further details see W. q. v. viśādaṇi).

Mukhāsa, Land assigned in return for service to be discharged. (B. & C. III, p. 1498. For further details, see W. q. v. mukhāsa).

Munta, Tel. One-fourth of the kuncham; apparently in Nellore the same as māṇika. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).


Mā, Māy, Tam. A land measure, 1/60th of a vēli, containing 100 gunjas of 44 square feet. (W., pp. 314, 335; E. R. for 1915, p. 103). Mā is also in general use as the shortened form of S. mahā, great, especially in compounds. (W., p. 314).

Mādārikka, Mādārikke, Mādārikkai, Mādārike, Tam. K. Tel. Cf. Mādāru-kasabu-vāri. (a) An annual tax on the manufacturers of baskets, mats, etc. (b) Tax on Madigas. (c) Watch and ward. (352 of 1912; E. R. for 1913, p. 122; W., p. 315, E. I. XVIII, p. 139; E. C. IV, Gu. 35, p. 86; E. Č. IV, Ch. 196, p. 66).

Māda-viratti, Tam. See above. (221 of 1910).


Māda, or Mādai, Tel. Tam. Half a pagoda, i.e., Rs. 2 or Rs. 1-12-0. (B. & C. III, p. 1497)

Māhēśvarar, S, Managers of a temple. (E. R. for 1913, p. 120).

Māmulaḍāyam, K. Duties levied on goods exported to foreign countries. (My. Gaz. 1, p. 477; N. p. 139).

Māṇika, Tel. One fourth of the kuncham or 28 tōlas. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).


Māṇyam, S. K. Tel. Tam. (a) A grant of land or revenue in return for service to be rendered to the community. (B. & C. III, p. 1498;
GLOSSARY

N. p. 153). (b) Land either liable to a trifling quit-rent or altogether exempt from tax. (Kit. p. 1239).


Māsha, S. A. beam; a particular wright of gold, e.g., guñjābhirashābhijmāsha. (Ap. p. 760). For Guñjā, see above.

Māvaḍī, Tam. Tax on animals, i.e., when animals are sold in markets. (E. I. XVII, p. 112).

Māvidai-maravidai, Tam. See above. A term used in deeds to express all kinds of plantation s or timber. The combination is, however, used erroneously being expressed by the latter term alone. (b) A term used in conveyance of land to express game. (W., p. 330 for further details.)

Nagara, S. Town. (E. R. for 1910, p. 97). (b) A territorial division higher than a Grāma and lower than Khāḍa.


Nall-erumai, Tam. A good buffalo, tax. (352 of 1912).

Nallenēdige, Tam. (?) (My. for 1920, p. 79).


Nañjey, Nañsey, Nañjä, Tam. Soil that is fit for the cultivation of rice admitting of artificial irrigation, and hence commonly termed "wet ground or soil" in contradiction to pāñjā or bailu or dry land. (W., p. 367; N., p. 149; E.I., XVII, p. 112).

Nal-paṣu, Tam. Good cow, a tax. (E.I. XVIII, p. 139).


Nelpāḍu, Tam. (?) (Cf. Nel, or nellu, Tam. Rice in husk, paddy, fifty eight kinds of which are grown in Malabar. (b) A fundamental measure eight grains being equal to the breadth of a finger. Pāḍu, Tel. waste, uncultivated fellow; Tam. Pāḍu, deficiency on remeasurement. Nelpāḍu cf. Nellipōtam, Tam. Rent upon fields of growing rice. (W., pp. 286, 374, 386; E.R. for 1916, p. 140).

Nenaḍu, K. A tax (My. for 1920, p. 79.).

Niksha, Tel. A gold coin said to be equal to the maḍa. (B. & C. III, p. 1498).

Nil-kidā, Nal-kidā, Tam. A good sheep. (E.I., XVIII, p. 139).

Nirūpa, Rāyasa, or Uttāra, S. Tam. K. Revenue order of the central government. (E.R. for 1916, pp. 139, 140).


Nyāya, S. (?) (Tax for the maintenance of justice?). (E.C. II, No. 333, p. 141; W., p. 381).


Nādu, K. Tam. Tel. (a) A territorial division higher than a Grama and lower than Kōṭṭam. (b) A (cultivated, planted) country (in opposition to a kādu); the country. (Kit., p. 855).


Nāḍ-gauda. K. (a) The non-official headman of nādu, who in a private way settles disputes about caste affairs, etc. (b) An official headman of several villages. (Kit., p. 854).

Nāḍu-talavārika, Tam. Police rate for the nādu. (E.R. for 1911, p. 84).


Nāṭṭu-kāṅakkuvorai, Tam. (?) A tax. (E.I. XVIII, p. 139.)


Nāṭṭar, Tam. Residents of the district. (E.R. for 1916, p. 120).


Nāyaka, S. K. Tam. Tel. Superior officer of the Customs; military commander; e.g., dāṇḍa-nāyaka, commander of the army; assistant to a revenue officer; often assumed as a title of honour. (B. & C. III, p. 1498; E.C. VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117): In the Vijayanagara Empire nāyaka was also the official designation of a provincial viceroy.


Nōta, K. (a) Examination of money, assaying, e.g., palige-nōta, aḍḍa-gate-nōta, and divanōta. (b) Aim, e.g., tāṃhāki-nōta, i.e., the aim taken when firing a gun. (c) Cf. Nōttam Mal., seeing, looking, conjuring; hence Nōttagāra an officer who keeps the money accounts of a village; also a money changer; a conjuror, a fortune teller. (My. for 1920, p. 79; W., p. 380; N., pp. 63, 88.)

Okkal-dere, K. A tax on tenants. Okkal also means a resident, a farmer, a subject. (Kit., p. 296) (But Rice seems to have interpreted okkal-dere as family tax. E.C. VIII, Sb. 299, p. 52).

Okalvur, K. tenancy. (My. for 1916, p. 60).

Ojavard, K. Inland duties. (E.C. VII, Sh. 71, p. 28).

Ojugu-nir-pattan, Tam. (Ojugu, An account kept by the village accountant of the measurement and extent of the fields composing a village. W., p. 383) (?) A tax for maintaining the details and measurements of the village fields. (E.I. XVIII, p. 139).

Onkadamai, Tam. (?) (E.R. for 1913, pp. 118, 119).


Oha K. Shares. (E.C. V. Ak. 128, p. 171 and ibid, n. 3).


Pala, K. (?) (Cf. Palla, a dry measure of 84,00 tolars in Coorg). (E.I. XIX, pp. 35, 40; N., p. 168).


Paichal, K. Tel. The five classes or castes of artificers: goldsmiths, carpenters, black-smiths, braziers, and stone-cutters. (Kit. p. 924). (See above, Paicha-kāruka).


Paichango, S. K. A calendar or an almanac treating chiefly of five things: solar days, lunar days, asterisms, yōgas and karanas. (Kit. p. 923).

Paichadaya, K. Five dues. (E.C. XII, S. 41, pp. 96, 278).

Paicha-mahākōda S. K. The sound of the wave uttama-vādyā, or the loud sounds of the paicha-mahāvādyā. (Kit., p. 922.) For paicha-mahāvādyā, see below.

Paicha-mahāpātaka, S. K. The five heinous sins; killing a Brahman, drinking intoxicant liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of a guru (or incest with mother), and associating with any one guilty of these crimes. (Ap., p. 750).
Pañcha-mahāvādyya, K. Five great musical instruments: a horn, a tabor, a conch-shell, a kettle-drum, and a gong. (Kit., p. 922).

Pañjupili, Tam. (?) A money payment. (Cf. Pañju, Tam. A share, a portion in a coparcenary village: the share of an individual Mirasdar; any definite or proportionate share. Pili, Tam. The fermented sap of the palm, a kind of tari (?)) (307 of 1916; E.R. for 1917, p. 110; W., pp. 386, 418).


Pāriwādi, Tam. (?) (E.C. X, Ct. 43, p. 251).

Pārru, Tam. Villages. (422 of 1912).

Pārāṇge, About 3½ miles.

Pārva, S. A sacred period, e.g., full moon day, the 8th, the 11th, and 14th day of the lunar half month, the solstice, equinox, etc. (Apt. p. 605; B. & C., III, p. 1498).


Paṭāṇi-kāṇṭikai, or Paṭādi-kāṇṭikai Tam. A tax for the maintenance of the army. (E.I. XVII, p. 112).

Pāṭṭel, Mar. K. H. The head managing officer of a village. (Kit., p. 926).

Paṭṭadai-agamai, Tam. (?) (Cf. Paṭṭadai, Tam. A cornrick; a portion of the crop given as a compensation to the ploughman; a workshop. Agamai, Tam. The earth, grain. (221 of 1910; W., pp. 9, 409).


Paṭṭaṇa, S. A territorial division higher than Maḍambha and lower than Drōṇāmukha.

Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi, S. K. Lord Mayor of the Town.

Paṭṭe, Paṭṭa, K. A document given by the collector of a district to the landlord specifying the extent and description of the land, the conditions of the tenancy, the rate and the amount of assessment he is to pay. (b) Roll of assessment. (My. for 1916, p. 60; N., p. 150).

Paṭṭēya-Nāyaka, K. An official whose designation is unknown. (E.C. VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).


Periggađe, K. A lower customs officer. (E.C. XI, Jl. 9, p. 85).

Periṅkka, K. Big customs. (E.C. XI., Jl. 9, p. 86).

Pēṭeya-śāsana, K. A grant conferring the right to collect taxes on shops in a street on the condition that the grantee paid a certain fixed sum for the services of a specified temple. (My. for 1926, p. 47).

Pon, K. Tam. Metal, gold, a gold coin of variable value. Under the East India Company it was the star pagoda worth about Rs. 3. It is probably the same as the hūn. (Kit., p. 1021; B. & C., III, p. 1498; W., p. 420).


Pradhāna, S. K. Minister. (34 of 1919).


Prakritīs, S. Executive officers of the king's council. (Śuk. II. p. 69.)

Prithvi-śeṣṭī, S. Mayor of the Earth.


Pulugupāḍu, Tam. One of the nāḍ-duties (?). (E.R. for 1916, p. 140).


Pufī, Tel. A measure of 20 tums, or roughly a ton. As a land measure, according to some, it equals 8 acres being presumably the area which can be sown with a pufī of grain. (B. & C. III. p. 1499) Pufī, K. A smaller or larger basket made of cane, bamboo, palmyra leaves, etc. (Kit., p. 991).

Pāḍāvan, Tam. (?) (E.R. for 1913, p. 120).

Pāḍī, Tam. (a) A territorial division of the Tamil land, which sometimes appears between a Nāḍu and Kōṭṭam. (b) Pāḍī K. (i) Incurring; manner; a stirrup; (ii) A measure of capacity, equal to half a
seer; (iii) the leaf or panel of a door; (iv) an (extra) allowance in food (grain, salt, vegetables and all that is required to prepare a meal, also the fire-wood), sometimes also in money, to servants, friends, or poor people. (Kit., p. 1929).


Pāṇa, Tadbhava of S. Hāga. The fourth part of a pāṇa: 1 ăpe 2 kāsu. (Kit., p. 966).


Prāku-pramāṇa, K. Land bestowed according to the former measurement. (E.C. III. Nj. 195, p. 115).


Pāqrada-māryāde, K. Ancient constitutional usage.

Rakta Kodagi, K. Lands given to the family of a man wounded or killed in battle. (N. p. 91).


Rājarājappuruvilai, Tam. Public auction under Tamil kings.


Rāyasu, K. Tel. Tam. M. Office of the Secretary. (E.I., III. p. 151). Clerkship. (Kit. p. 1340). Rāyasu is also used in the sense of revenue order issued through a rāyasu.

Rāyasu-varthanai, Tam. (? Tax in connection of the tours of a Rāyasu, or to maintain the office of a Rāyasu). (E.I., XVIII. p. 139).

Rāya-śrēṣṭhi, S. Royal merchant.

Rāyasu-svāmi, S. Chief Secretary.

GLOSSARY

Rūka, Tel. A gold or silver coin of variable value. (B. & C. III, p. 1499).
Sabkāpati, S. Lord of the Council. (E.C. VI, Mg. 25, p. 63).
Sallage, K. A measure of capacity of a kudava (kuduba) or baḷa. (E. I. XIX, pp. 35-40).
Samasta-terige, K. All the land burdens. (E.C. IV. Gu. 67, p. 47).
Samasta-bali-sahitāv (āgi), K. With all rights and taxes. (E.C. IV, Gu. 47, p. 44).
Samaya-terige, S. K. A tax on caste. (E.C. III., Ml. 66, p. 197). But it seems to be more a tax for infringing caste usage or convention.
Samayāchāram, K. Tax on the headman of each caste. (My. Gaz. I. p. 479) But it may as well mean tax to maintain superintendence of a congregation or caste; or to uphold conventional practice or usage. (Kit. p. 1508).
Śambādam, Tam. (?) (E.R. for 1913, p. 120).
Samnukhada-nirūpa, K. Personal order. (E.C. XI. Mk. 32, p. 95).
Sandhāta, (?) Cf. K. Sandāyita. Land not let out but managed by the proprietor or officer of Government direct. The same word seems to be used to denote the manager of such land. (B. & C. III, p. 1499) (Sandāyita, K. however, means delivering over of what is due, payment. Kit. p. 1500).
Sandhi-vigralappēru, S. Tam. Money payment for war and peace (?) (507 of 1916).
Sankrānti, S. The point of time at which the sun enters a fresh zodiacal sign. There are 12 such Sankrāntis and four correspond with the equinox and solstices (Ap. p. 947; B. & C. III, p. 1498).


Sarva-ādhyavanna, K. All revenue, all profit, receipts. (E. C. IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).

Sarvamāṇya, S. K. Tam. Land granted in free tenure, or exempted entirely from payment of revenue or sent to the grantor, whether the individual proprietor or the Government; land held free of all demands, such as sāyur, mohatarphā, etc. (Mysore). (W. pp. 469-470; N. p. 92; 180 of 1913; My. for 1916, p. 60; E. I. I., p. 402).

Sarvīvāram, Tam. Equal share of the produce to be paid to the owner. (197 of 1910).

Śekkāya, Tam. Śekku, oil-press. Cf. Sekkumuttai, Tam. A contribution levied by the village proprietors from each oil-press, and either distributed among them according to their respective shares, or credited to the fund for village expenses. (244 of 1912; W., p. 473).

Śekku-kadamai, Tam. See above. Tax on oil-mills. (E.I., XVIII, p. 139).


Śekkōṭtu, Tam. (?) (332 of 1912; E.R. for 1913, p. 122).


Śetti-guttas, K. Guttas held by the Śettiśis. These may have belonged to the Vira-Banañijgas. (E.C. VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).

Śettiyar-magamai, Tam. Voluntary fee paid by the Śettiśis. (E. R. for 1911, p. 84).


Siddhāya, K. “The fixed assessment recorded in Rāya-rēkhā”. (N. p. 159; W., p. 482). But in the treatise it has been taken as fixed rent. (E.C. VIII. Tl. 15, p. 166).

Sidi, K. Tel. A beam of wood traversing an upright post upon a pivot, to the ends of which persons are fastened to be whirled round; the suspension or swinging of a person. Cf. the Charak of Bengal. Sidi-habba K. The swinging festival. (Kit., p. 1554). Sidi-kambha K. The upright post mentioned above. Sidi-yāja K. The ceremony of swinging. (W., p. 482). Sidi-mara, K. The lever to which the man is secured during the Sidi ceremony. (Kit., p. 1554).
Siddhāyav-ulidu bānda nimitta, K. Rent in arrears. (E. C. VI, Sg. 21, p. 98).

Śīla sātana, S. K. A stone grant.

Sīstu, S.K. Mar. H. (a) Land revenue. (E.C. XI, Jl. 47, p. 89). (b) Estate (E. App. XVIII. 1824 ed.). (c) Original assessment, Shāmil being subsequent assessment. (Coll. p. 175). (d) Sīstu, sistu, commonly called Sīst ṣist, (S. Śīśha, left, remainder). Land-tax, assessment, especially revenue assessed in money. In Karnāṭaka it designates the standard assessment without additions, which was fixed originally by the Bidnur government; or that which under the Harīhar administration (i.e., under Vijayānagara), applied to revenue in kind as well in money. But the word always denoted the fixed or standard rate of the land, exclusive of other imposts. (W., p. 486). (c) A register of lands compiled in the time of the Coorg rajas and containing the class of the soil of each field, its area, and a list of bāne (grass) lands attached to it. (N., pp. 152, 158). (f) A roll of the householders (of a village, etc.) from whom the revenue is to be gathered in, or upon whom an assessment is to be laid. (Kit., p. 1459).


Solage, K. A measure of capacity, equal to 40th of a Kuḍuṇa or of a balla (Kit. p. 1597). Hence Solage=Sallage. But according to W. it is 2/3 th part of the measure of capacity called tūm. W., p. 487, q. v.


Sthāla, S.K.A. Spot, site, or place. (b) A portion of land comprising several fields. (N., p. 158; E.R. for 1918, p. 170).


Sthāla-lekhaka, S. Accountant of the locality. (My. for 1920, p. 37).


Sthāvara-sunka, K. Fixed customs. (E.C. III. Ml. 95, p. 60).
Strättriya'ya, S.K. Tel. Tam. Lands or a village held at a favourable rate, properly an assignment of land or revenue to a Brahman (Srōtriya) learned in the Vedas, but latterly applied generally to similar assignments to servants of the government, civil or military, and both Hindu and Muhammadan, as a reward for past services, A istrōtriya grāma gives no right over the lands, and the grantee cannot interfere with the occupants so long as they pay the established rents. (W., pp. 489-490).


Surandu, K. A tax. (?) (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Suvarnā'daya, S.K. (a) Land rent in money. (E.I. I., p. 402). (b) Duty on gold, e.g., modalāda sakala suṇka suvarnā'daya, beśṣa niru kere kaṭṭe, etc. (E.C. III., Mi. 95, p. 60).

Swāmya, Cf. svāmi, or svami-bhōgam, S. Tam. (a) All rights. (E.I., I, p. 402). (b) The proprietor’s or landlord’s right. In the Tamil country it means the share of the produce or rent which is paid to the Mirāsadar or hereditary proprietor by the tenant cultivator holding the land in farm for a fixed period. In Malabar and Karṇātaka it is the fee or acknowledgment paid by the mortgagee or tenant, often no more than a pepper corn rent, to the Jannkār or birth right proprietor. It also signifies any grant or contribution for an image. (W., p. 496). (c) Mastership, lordship, ownership, right or title to property; rule, supremacy, dominion. (Ap., p. 1020; Kit., p. 1617).


Sādhana-patra, or dhārma sādhana pātra, S.K. An agreement between Brahmans or temple priests (Sthanikas) and other individuals relating to agricultural improvements. (E.C. III, Sr. 139, p. 33).
Sān, A measure, it is said, of nine inches. (B. & C. III, p. 1499).
Sāsanāchārya, S.K. Official who was in charge of inscriptions.
Sāṭṭu-kaḍamai, Tam. (?) (E.R. for 1913, p. 122).
Shāmil, Per. Assessment of Hyder and Tipu over and above the jist. (N., p. 152).
Sēse, K. (?) A tax. (My. for 1916, p. 52).
Sōgi, Cf. Jōdi, Remission, abatement of a charge or demand. (N., p. 159).
Sōma-śulavari, K. A tax (from which temples were exempted). (E. R. for 1907, p. 21).
Śripāda, S. Tam. The royal foot; the length of the measuring rod used in the Tamil country. (E. R. for 1900, p. 10).
Sātra, Sātram, S. (a) The sacred thread or sacrificial cord worn by members of the first three classes. (b) A short rule or precept, an aphorism. (c) A rule, canon, decree (in law). (Ap., p. 996).
Talaiyyārikkam, Tam. Tax on the main village or town watch (?). Cf. Tālai, Tam. The head. Tālai-kaṭṭu-vāri Tam. A tax on houses. Tālai-kāval, Tam. The main or principal guard, the village watch. (352 of 1912; E. R. for 1913, p. 122; W., p. 505).
Tantirimār, Tam. See Nāṭṭar, Tam. Residents of the district. (E. R. for 1916, p. 120).
Tanniyur, Tam. Rent free villages in the Tamil land. (386 of 1905).
Tappu, K. An impost; forfeiture for an error committed or for misdeemour. (My. for 1920, p. 34; Ktt., p. 691 and q. v.).
Taṇṇu, Tel. Half a mūta or 140 tōlas. (B. & C., III, p. 1499).
Taude, K. A tax of an unknown nature. (My. for 1916, p. 52).

Tavudi, K. An impost. (My. for 1920, p. 34). (Tavudi Cf. Taude, Tavafu, K. Bran. [Kit., p. 701]).

Teppa, K. A Raft used on South Indian rivers. (My. In, p. 26; Kit., p. 742).

Terige, assessment, cess, e.g., Bhā-terige, land cess; Mane-terige, house tax; and Grāma-terige, village tax. (N., p. 148).

Thānas, Tad. of Sthāna. S. Customs stations; police-station; an encampment. (Kit., p. 669).

Tirumadaivilagam, Tam. Temple precincts. (294 of 1910).

Tiruvahichchitu, Tam. Revenue memoranda. It was sent by the Vijayanagara viceroy to the Stānikas of a village. (E. R. for 1916, p. 140).

Tirvaï, (?) Tam. Field. (E., App. XVIII).

Tirvaikkāyam, Tirigaiyāyam Tam. Dues or taxes of an unknown nature. (E. R. for 1917, p. 131; E. I. XVII, p. 112).

Tirigaikadamai, Tam. (?) (E. R. for 1917, p. 131).

Tiruvidaiyyaṭtam, Tam. (?) (E. C. X, Ml. 100, p. 176).

Tithi, S. A lunar day; the number 15; one-thirteenth of the time taken by the moon to move through a symbolical revolution. (Ap., p. 477; B. & C., III, p. 1499).

Toḍar, K. Tam. Chain, badge of honour; fetter. (Kit., p. 750; W., p. 529).

Tōsekhaṇa-adhikāri, K. Officer of the Treasury. (E. C. IX, Dg. 28, p. 38).


Tōlā, Hind. S. A certain weight, especially of silver, containing a varying number of māshas but usually regarded as equivalent to the weight of the sikkā rupee, or 179'666 troy grains. By Beng. Reg. vii, 1833, the weight of the tōlā, taken as the unit of the new system of weights, was fixed at 180 troy grains: the scale is 4 dhāns=1 rati; 8 ratis=1 māsha; 12 māshas=1 tōlā; 5 tōlas=1 chitānāk; 16 chitānāks=1 seer; 40 seers=1 man or maund, which is thus exactly equal to 100 troy pounds. (My. Ins., p. 269; W., p. 524).

Tōṭi, Tel. K. An inferior village servant, Velṭṭi or scavenger. (B. & C., III, p. 1499).

Tūm, Tel. (a) A sluice, a flood-gate, a drain, a water-course. (b) A measure of capacity, a tūm or toom varying in value, but always 30th of a khāṇḍi. (W., p. 527). (c) A tūm roughly represents
a hundredweight, it is 4,480 tölás. As a land measure, the tum is taken by some to be ¼ ths of an acre. But this seems improbable if the puffi is only 8 acres. (B. & C., III., p. 1499).


Udbhaya-marga, K. Tolls collected on either side. (E. R. for 1911, p. 84).


Udugurai, Tam. Presents. (352 of 1921).

Udai-vāram, Uda-vāram, Tam. The whole produce of all the cultivated lands of a village subject to a partition between the cultivator and landlord, or the state. (W., p. 541; E., p. 43, n. 25).

Umbali, Umbaliye, Ummai, Ummaliye, etc. K. Tam. (a) Lands held by village servants on condition of services subject generally to the payment of the jōdi. (b) Rent-free land given for eminent services. (W., p. 532; N., p. 91) Cf. Jāgir, (My. Gaz. I, p. 579), and Uttār, below.

Upādhi, S. Fraud, injustice, lawful deceit, as recovery of a debt by some deception or device. (E. R. for 1917, p. 131; W., p. 533; Ap., p. 298).


Ulagalauv, Tam. The revenue survey conducted in the 7th year of the reign of Rāja Kēsarivarman alias Chakravarti Vikrama Chōla Dēva. (455 of 1905).

Ulavukkāniyakshi, Ulamkāni, Tam. The right of cultivation or Permanent Lease, generally granted by the temple-treasurer. (352, 353, 367, 369 of 1912).

Ulavar, Cf. Uļvari, K. A cadjan-leaf or any other paper given by a landlord to the tenant, or by a master to his servant or workmen, for the purpose of entering the payments and receipts respectively. (N., p. I). (b) Ulavari, Tam. The third of the triple series of revenue documents. (E. R. for 1917, pp. 109-110).

Ulupe, K. Tel. Tam., from the A. Alf, Alūfa.=Subsistence. (a) Supplies given by the villagers to great officials on tour. (b) Supplies sent
by the bride’s party to the bridegroom’s party (South Kanara). (N. p. 118; W., 532; E. C. IX, Ht. 4, 88, text, p. 195).

Ujiham, Ugiha, K. (a) Service, work. Cf. Ujigadavara, servants, police peons. (b) Items of different accounts indiscriminately put down, and not entered under their proper heads in a journal. (c) A day-book or journal in South Kanara. (E. I., XVIII, p. 139; W., 531; N., p. 1).

Ulavukki, See above Uovuukkiyakshi. (658 of 1919).

Ujudakushi, Tam. (?) A money payment of an unknown nature. (507 of 1916; E. R. for 1917, p. 110).

Ulliyam, Tam. (A tax) (Cf. Ulijia, Tam. Rent-free lands granted for services, especially as militia or police. (E. I. XVIII., p. 139; W., p. 532).

Ur-odeyar, K. The noblemen of the country or district. Cf. Manneyar above. (My. Ins., p. 22).

Uptatti, S. Produce. (E. I., I., p. 402).

Uttar, K. S. (Uddhara) See under Umbali. (E. C. IX., Mg. 49, p. 58).

Deduction, remission; land given by the Government to an individual as reward for services, at quit-rent or rent-free; land given to a temple. (W., p. 537; E. C. IX, Mg. 49, p. 58).

Uttapattam, Tam. (?) A tax on springs. (E.R. for 1917, p. 131).


Vadda, or Voddha, Appertaining to the Woddar or tank-digger caste. (B. & C., III., p. 1500).


Vāmana mudreya kallu, K. Boundary stones with sign of the Dwarf (Vāmana.) (E. C. IX., Gu. 67, p. 47).


Vajñiyava-vari, Tam. (?) (Cf. Vannan, Tam. Washerman. Hence tax on washermen?) (E. R. for 1913, p. 120; W., p. 541).

Varāha. S. K. Tel. Tam. A gold coin so named from its originally bearing the figure of a boar (Varāha) or of Vishnu in the boar avatāra. The varāha was especially the signet of the Vijayanagara kings. It was subsequently more usually termed by the Muhammadans Hun, or by the Europeans Pagoda, the latter from its having on one face a Hindu temple. (W., p. 542). It is denoted by the symbol ga. Varāha-tūka, a gold weight of 9 fanams or 192 drachms (Av.) in South Kanara and 16ths tōla in North Kanara. (N., p. 171). A Varāha is generally worth Rs. 3½ but some times Rs. 3 and sometimes Rs. 4. (B. & C., III, p. 1500).
GLOSSARY


Vartane, K. (a) Fees or perquisites, generally to the public servants of a village, e.g., Śānabāgā-vartane, a percentage of ¼ fanam per pagoda paid to the Śānabāgas. (N., p. 157). (b) Tax paid by the Vartakas (?). (E. C. IX, Ht. 4, p. 195). Vartane Cf. Vartani, S. Road cess. (Arth, Bk. II, Ch. VI, 60, p. 63).

Vatā, Vatānum, K. Tel. Tam. The rate of exchange between currencies of different values, either premium or discount. Cf. the Batā of Northern India. (My. for 1916, p. 96; W., p. 544).

Vatī-guttige, K. Combined dues. (E. C. VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166). [Consolidated rental?]


Vettane, K. Tolls. (E. C. IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).

Vetti, Tel. Tam. Cf Tōti, above. The lowest village servant paid usually by a grant of land in grain, or, nowadays, in money. A Vetti discharges the lowest offices, sweeping the chalettri, keeping the threshing floor clean, measuring the grain, and, according to some authorities, employed to burn the dead bodies. He is also the messenger of the Patēl, and acts as a guide to public officer and travellers. The word Vetti is derived from vetti, which is from Vetti-kiradu, to cut or dig, as a way or road. (E. R. for 1913, p. 120; W., p. 540; B. & C. III., p. 1500).

Vetti-vari, Tam. Tax to maintain the Vetti. (E.R. for 1913, p. 122; 352 of 1912).

Vettiippājam, Tam. Perhaps the same as above. It is included among money payments. (307 of 1916; E. R. for 1917, p. 110; W., p. 548).


Videvidupu, Tam. Measuring rod under the Ganga-Pallavas. (32 of 1912).


Vil-panam, Tam. (?) A tax. (Cf. Vilai-dundu, Tam. A charge on the gross produce of a village, deducted from the share of the villagers and added to that of the Government, on account of the difference between the price at which the cultivators had sold their grain and the retail prices at the places of sale. W. p. 548; E.I. XVIII., p. 139).

Viniyogam, Tam. K. A tax or tribute or offerings (?). (E.R. for 1917, p. 131).


Vista, K. The fraction called \( \frac{1}{8} \) th of a hava. (Kit., p. 1425).


Vishalbadi, Tel. The tax upon the profits of trade. (B. & C. III, p. 1500).


Viseshhadayam, S. K. Tam. (?) The same as above). (E.R. for 1913, p. 120).

Volavaru, K. Export duties. (E.C. IV. Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272). [It is used in the phrase volavaru-horavaru, export dues and import dues].

Vottachchu, Tam. A tax of an unknown nature. (185 of 1900; E.R. for 1911, pp. 77-78).

Vritti, S. Maintenance. A grant of revenue to a Brahman. It usually denotes the share held by each Brahman in an agrahara granted to several Brahmans. (B. & C. III, p. 1500).

Vyovahara, S. K. An agreement. (My. Ins., p. 28).


Vana-payar, Tam. Tax on minor cultivation. (E.I. XVIII, p. 139).

Varam, K. Tam. A tenure under which an equal division of the produce is made between the landlord and the tenant, the former paying the assessment to the Government. This tenure is better than kandaya or koyam-gutte because of the payment being dependent on the actual produce. (N., p. 96. See also Batayi, ibid, p. 15). (E. gives Varam as the scale of division, App. XVIII).

Variyar, Tam. See Variyar above. (507 of 1916).

GLOSSARY

Vāsil, Tam. Tax on inferior crops. (E.I., XVII, p. 112).


Visa, S. K. Tam. Tel. The 1/8 th part or fraction of a kana. A weight of gold equal to one grain of rice-corn. A measure of land equal nearly to two acres. A share, a portion. (My. Ins., p. 269; W., p. 549). In South Kanara it is a wood measurement, one-sixteenth of an aṅgula. A gold weight of 1'21 grains (Av.) in South Kanara. A fractional part denoting 1/16 ths. (N. p. 171).

Vīra-bhūga, S. K. (?) (249 of 1913). [The right of enjoyment as a hero?]
Vīra-muskhi-pannu, Tam. Offerings or gifts given by Tammalas and others. (349 of 1905).

Vūjugala-terrige, K. Tax on artificers. (E. C. IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).

Yōjana, S. A measure of 12 miles, 1280 yards according to some. But in a copper-plate grant No. 20, Bitrigunta, it is described as being 3 yōjanas north of Nellore, and this would make the yōjana just about 8 miles. (B. & C. III, p. 1500). A yōjana=4 krośa=8 or 9 miles (Ap., p. 789). According to Dr. Fleet, however, 1 yōjana=4 3/4 miles and 1 krośa=1 1/4 mile=1 mile and 1 furlong. Note to Arth. p. 520. See also JRAS. for 1912, pp. 462-463, where Fleet writes on the yōjana and parasanga.

INDEX

A

Abao Toorah, I, 416.
Abbaraja Timmappa, I, 227.
Abdur Razaq, I, 43, 51-56, 58, 62, 72, 74, 119-25, 203-6, 220, 228, 252, 267, 289, 326, 348, 368-70, 380, 384-5, 390, 392-3, 396, 398, 414, 428, 433-4, 437, 440, 457 (n); II, 50, 107, 122, 142, 166, 168, 170 (n), 173, 174 (n), 177-8, 215, 227 (n), 294, 297, 301, 308, 312, 373, 374 (n), 375, and (n), 409, 423, 424-5.
Abbe Dubois, II, 149 (n).
Abhari, I, 368.
Abhiras, I, 364.
Abyssinia, II, 71 (n), 411.
Achapa, I, 188, 346, 349.
Achecha Gauda, I, 174 (n); II, 343.
Achetabhadrampalle, I, 93.
Achechapuram, I, 234.
Acharya, Dr. P. K., I, 121 (n).
Achiraja Tirumala Rajayya, II, 254.
Achuntha (Krishna), I, 122.
Acheeta Deva Rayal. See above Achuntha Raya.
Achuntha Raya, I, 283.
Achuntha Nayaka, I, 315.
Achunthapra Nayaka, I, 127.
Achuntharayaparam, I, 294.
Achuntha Vijaya Raghava Nayaka, I, 466; II, 162 (n), 201.
Adam's Bridge, I, 6 (n).
Adam Khan, I, 456.
Adapanayique, I, 242, 419, 460.
Adapanayiringu, I, 236.
Adaikkalamkattu Narasingadivar, I, 358.
Adaipattu Ilaiikkappar, I, 181.
Adanur Senabova Kasapa, II, 362 (n).
Adavuni-Sime, I, 198, 238.
Addanki, I, 238.
Adem (Aden), I, 425.
Aditya, II, 86, 229 (n).
Adhikari Vithappa, II, 339.
Adhikari Lakkarasappa, II, 344.
Adilpanayundu, II, 49.
Adityarya, II, 265.
Adisee, I, 9.
Adisundamangalam, I, 196.
Adiyamma, I, 73.
Adiyappa (poet), II, 168 (n).
Adondu Chakravarti (Cholan), II, 37, 42, 43, 43 (n), 44, 45, 47, 54.
Adriva (poet), II, 167, 182 (n).
Advaita, I, 13.
Agali, I, 340.
Agani Bommanyamma, II, 352.
Agastya, I, 9; II, 135.
Agni, I, 250.
Agradatta family, II, 323 (n).
Agrahara:
Achutunrayapura alias Ballapura, I, 269.
Arigandapuram alias Nagalapuram, II, 407.
Agunda, II, 325, 326.
Ankuravalli alias Amritapuram, II, 280.
Arasiyakere alias Udbhava-Sarbbajnavijaya-Ballalapura, II, 321, 329.
Bagade alias Vijayanarasimhapa-

URU
Belgula new Agrahara, II, 345.
Bhatta-ratnakara alias Nagamangala, II, 354, 370.
Chaturvedimangala alias Vidyanidhiprasanna-Somanathapura, I, 233.
Chennakesavanura alias Gora-
vur, II, 332.
Damojara alias Nagarahalli, II, 158.
Durgga, I, 216; II, 141.
Erekere, II, 330.
Gauna, II, 253.
Haleva-Gorurw, II, 332.
Harivarapura, II, 365.
Harivarapura alias Kollanere,
II, 338-9, 326, 331, 335, 353.
Hiriva-Narasimhapura alias Kanurvi, II, 328.
Ivattam alias Varadaraja Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 342.
Kalikatti alias Vijayanarasimhapura, II, 324.
Kanchasamudra alias Pratapa-
devarayannuram, II, 369 (n).
Kaveripakkam alias Vikrama-Sola-Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 363.
Kolala alias Southern Dvaravati-
pattana, II, 343-4.
Kudalur, II, 339.
Kudalur alias Rajarajachatur-
vedimagalangal, II, 320, 328.
Kudalur-Sthalalu alias Rajaraja-
Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 357.
Kundalagurige alias Ramas-
mudra, II, 362.
Kurumbetta, II, 224.
Kuppatur, II, 319, 329.
Lakshmeshwar, II, 317.
Maddur alias Upendrapura, II, 140, 141.
Madhava Virupambikapura, II, 349.
Madhusudhanapura alias Talir-
rur, II, 362.
Malavur alias Rajendrasisnha-
Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 313, 321, 328.
Mallikarjuna alias Dindigur, II, 325.
Mulasthana alias Kailasa, II, 343.
Mallundrum alias Prundhadeva-
rayapuram, II, 134.
Nagara alias Kesavapura, II, 340 (n), 355.
Nagarakere, II, 369 (n).
Nagalapura, II, 367.
Nallur, II, 320.
Naranallur alias Ramabhadrapuram, II, 405.
Narasimhapura alias Muduvadi,
II, 336.
Narasambu, II, 276.
Nematti, II, 321.
Nelavatti, II, 257, 339.
Prasanna-Somanathapura, II,
327.
Prasanna Vijayapura, II, 205, 362, 363.
Periyar-Malavu alias Rajendra-
simha-Chaturvedimagalangal,
II, 334.
Periya-Pulivayi alias Narasim-
hapura, II, 281.
Ramapura alias Banur, II, 364.
Rayasamudra, II, 224.
Sambukula-Perimalagaram alias Rajagambira-Chaturvedi-
imagalangal, II, 347.
Santigrama, II, 319.
Sarvajnapura, II, 139.
Sarvajnapura-Bhaskarapura alias Kolanalur, II, 367.
Senji-agaram, II, 364.
Sivachalamangalal alias Vikr
amabharana-Chaturvedim-
angalangal, II, 323 (n).
Srinagarasagara, II, 411.
Surali alias Nagasamudra, II, 368.
Talirur, II, 325.
Tiriyambakapura, II, 404.
Tribhuvanamahadevi-Chatur-
vedimagalangal, II, 368.
Tumbegana Hasaur, II, 326.
Udbhava-Visanthapura alias Balugu, II, 330.
Udbhava-Narasimhapura alias Bellur, II, 331.
Ukkal alias Vikramabharana-
Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 322.
Vagata alias Bhagirathipura, II, 356.
Vanndur alias Cholamedevi-
Chaturvedimagalangal, II, 334.
Vijayagopalapura alias Igansanthe, II, 327.
Virupakshapura alias Koman-
dur, II, 366.
Virupakshapura alias Nandi-
cheruvu, II, 370.
Agumbe, I, 221.
Ahichhatra (pura), II, 98 (n), 103.
Ahmadabad, II, 77.
Ahmadnagar, I, 462, 463.
Ahmad Shah, Bahmani I, 87 (n), 456, 462, 466; II, 424.
Ahmad Shah Wali, I, 405.
Ahobala, II, 267.
Ahobalcharya, II, 198.
Ahsan Shah, I, 6 (n), 16.
A'in-i Akbari, I, 51.
A'in-ul-Mulk Gilani, I, 133, 383, 411.
Airaqata, I, 48 (n).
Aiyangar, Srinivasa, Mr., II, 64, 65, 112.
Ajaparatipata (Hadapada Timmappa), I, 242, 418.
Ajijagaudanahalli, II, 327.
Ajipuri, I, 155.
Akaima, II, 332.
Akalkankajaya, II, 211.
Aka Hurriyur, see Harihara, I.
Akbar (the Great), I, 261.
Akhanda-muni, II 57 (n).
Akappa Nayaka, I, 161.
Akkinmanga Tammappa Gauda, II, 261.
Akkur, I, 234.
Akshara Gopanna, I, 277.
Alaka, I, 91.
Alalugata (Village), II, 254.
Alagaya Varadar Sokkar, I, 180.
Aлагan Perumal Atiqiraraman, I, 438.
Alamuru, I, 195.
Alambalam, I, 375.
Alankara-Sastra, I, 120.
Alasu-nudu, II, 347.
Alattur, I, 373.
Alavandan Bhattar akas Ulagaudiyar Perumal, II, 368.
Albuquerque Affonso, I, 71.
Al Hussainiyy, I, 6 (n).
'Ali Bin Aziz-Ullah Tatataba, I, 443, 403 (n), 404-6.
Aliga (a river), I, 297.
Ali Konda Naga Bhatta, I, 158.
Aliyangaiyan Sattiyanavan, I, 367.
Aliya Linga Rayya, I, 392.
Aliya Ramarasaayyan (Aliya Rama Rayya), I, 182.
Allala-Jiyam, I, 357.
Allalapattana, II, 108.
Allalasamudra (village), II, 286, 331.
Alambagiri, II, 404.
Allappa Nayaka, I, 270; II, 282, 413, 426.
Allasani Peddanna, I, 328, 463; II, 264-5.
Ali Tirthaear (Adi Tirthankara), I, 79.
'Aluf Khan, Prince, I, 10.
Alur, II, 363.
Alingodu, II, 205, 423.
Aliendur, II, 278.
Alva-prabhu Bommikka Heggaditi, II, 188.
Alva-Mahaprabhu Tavanidhi Brahma, II, 244.
Amachavadi-Sthala, II, 286.
Amareya Nayaka, II, 246.
Amaresvara Tirtha Sripada, II, 350.
Amavatipura, II, 329.
Ambasamudram, II, 199, 208, 313 (n).
Ambalattadi, I, 203.
Ambaligere, II, 16.
Ambavana Sreekthi, I, 270; II, 34.
Ambur Khan, I, 323, 406, 411.
Ambu river, I, 73.
Ameer Khusrow, I, 400.
Ami Gauda, II, 89.
Amitya Dannayaka, I, 214.
Amityapura (see Amritapura).
Amma Gauda, II, 90.
Amman Appaiyayyare, II, 406.
Ammanambulu, I, 238.
Amur-Kottam, I, 295; II, 323 (n).
Amsamana, II, 200.
Amritapura, I, 214, 215 (n).
Anabuddajare-Sivaganga-Sthala, II, 254.
Ananta Bhatta, II, 348.
Anaimelagaram akas Nagarivasarachaturvedimangalam, I, 341.
Anaikundi Vittapar, I, 181.
Anandapura, I, 221.
Ananda Mahali, I, 397.
Anantacharya, II, 12, 12 (n).
Anantasagara, I, 15; II, 22.
Anantarsara Odeyar, I, 139, 258, and (n).
Anantappa Odeyar, II, 370.
Anantalvar, II, 231.
Anantapuram, I, 233.
Anantapura Nayaka, I, 353.
Ananta Suraya, I, 92.
Anantapur District, I, 139, 140, 235, 237, 258 (n), 351; II, 15, 60 (n), 276-7, 403.
Ana Vema, I, 99 (n).
Anawari-Nad, I, 300, 318; II, 369.
Anayaka-Ayya, I, 176.
Ancola, see Ankola.
Andan-Pillai, I, 342.
Andarkoyil, I, 234.
Anduru, I, 155.
Andhra, I, 88, 299.
Andigannallu, II, 273.
Anegundi, I, 16, 31, 60, 84, 88, 93, 95 (n), 103, 104, 108, 112-3, 113 (n), 114, 116-7, 117 (n), 142, 311, 372, 445; II, 45, 81, 231.
Anegundi Matha, II, 239.
Anegonda Karingappa, II, 252.
Anegundi Venkatapati Raya, I, 161.
Aneganakere, II, 356.
Anekallu, I, 155; II, 201 (n).
Anemadugu Village, II, 282.
Anevala, II, 13.
Anevalige, II, 269.
Anevidda, II, 104.
Aneyappan Adilumal, II, 360.
Anga, I, 91.
Angada-Rajamall-Maha-prabhu, I, 318.
Angadi, II, 345.
Anjajadi Panchalattar, I, 161.
Anjala Divingoja, II, 279.
Ankaya Nayaka, I, 174 (n), 344; II, 338, 343, 360, 360 (n), 361 (n).
Ankari-Sridhara Bhatta, II, 347.
Ankola, I, 66, 68, 72, 151 (n), 308.
Anugonda Vengalappa, I, 374.
Ankus Khan, II, 419.
Antoine Vicio, I, 243, 381.
Anur, II, 338.
Anuveri, I, 350.
Annadat, II, 256.
Annadata Danyayaka, II, 274.
Annadani Odeyar, II, 359.
Annaji (Poet), II, 315, 425.
Annaji Deva, I, 269.
Annana Gauda, II, 257.
Annappa Odeyar, II, 259 (n), 384.
Annamaradhya aliC Kompalli, II, 130, 247.
Annamarusayya, II, 397.
Annapanahalli, I, 268.
Annirur, I, 268.
Annigar, II, 104.

Apecondaia, I, 399.
Aparstamba, I, 864.
Aparstamba-Sutra, I, 15, 269; II, 110, 227, 247.
Aparajitavarman (Ganga-Pallava King), I, 166.
Apatshahaya, II, 126.
Appa, I, 260.
Appa Bhatta, I, 342, 376.
Appaji, I, 383.
Appalayya, II, 18.
Appaya Diksita, I, 264.
Appaji see Salva Timmarasayya.
Appaji Senabova, II, 169; II, 345.
Appi-ur, II, 329.
Arabs, I, 425.
Arabia, II, 308.
Aragalur, I, 375; II, 394.
Araga-Mulasthan, II, 367.
Araga-Gutti-Sime, I, 217, 302.
Arayyameeri, I, 158.
Araniyuranpalli, II, 338.
Arakere, II, 22.
Arakere Bhaskara, I, 91.
Arakotara-Sthalu, II, 257.
Arali Dam, II, 359.
Aramalatta Nacheiyar, II, 163.
Aramkalatta Naynar, II, 198.
Aravalli, II, 350.
Aranipura, II, 387.
Arangal, see Warrangal.
Aranganass (God), I, 382.
Arangodiggi, II, 347.
Arasakakere, I, 277.
Arasanna Heggade, I, 177, 178.
Arasappa Odeyar, II, 35.
Arasanipalai, II, 341.
Arasiyakere, II, 159, 261, 336, 336 (n).
Arasiyakere Setigonda Gauda, II, 261.
Arasurkippurru, I, 294.
Araviti Bukka Raja, II, 220.
Arbala Seventy, I, 358 (n).
Aresashaallu, II, 344.
INDEX

473

Aréomogan, I. 78.
Arhant, II. 243 (n).
Arindama Chakravarti, II. 62.
Ariraya Dannayaka, I. 196.
Arishta Nemi, II. 24.
Ariya Vallappa Dandanayaka, I. 35.
Ariyappa Dannayaka, I. 230.
Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, I. 261, 330, 331, 354.
Ariyan Pichehan alias Edirili Sola Gangainadalvan, II. 113.
Ariyanna Udaiyar, see Harihara Raya, II.
Arjju-Bhattayya, II. 108.
Arkkavati River, II. 357.
Arkapushkarani, II. 189.
Armala-Sthalu, I. 261.
Arshaya Kshatriya, II. 32.
Arubhat Parameswara, II. 244.
Arumbondai, I. 366.
Arunavalli, I. 168, 272; II. 90, 95, 345.
Arumassamudra, I. 6.
Aruppuottamai, I. 193.
Aryayavala, see Aryavole.
Asama Deva, II. 140.
Ashrafi, K. M., Dr., I. 211 (n).
Asandi-Nad, II. 335.
Assud Khan, I. 406, 412, 412 (n).
Asoka, II. 9.
Asuvur, I. 233.
Asvalayana-Sutra, I. 263, 269.
Atakondavillai, I. 286, 287.
Attigara Village, II. 366.
Attigapalli, II. 341.
Attihali, II. 364.
Attipparru, I. 373.
Attivallai, II. 333.
Aubhala Raja, I. 195; II. 255, 404.
Aubhaliya, I. 260.
Auchapa, I. 259 (n).
Aurangabad, I. 3.
Aukuraru, II. 220.
Avachi Tippaya Setti, II. 397.
Avadur, I. 374.
Avale, I. 165.
Avali Gopa Gauda, II. 89.
Avali Chanda Gauda, II. 88.
Avambala, II. 359.
Avasaram Annamularaya, I. 265; II. 393.
Avasaram Basivinendu, II. 50.
Avassara Chandrasekharaya, II. 20.
Avasara Demarussayya, II. 20, 279.
Avasara Dikshita, I. 269.
Avati-Nad, II. 396 (n).
Avati-Nad Prabhu Havali Bayappa Gauda, I. 224.
Avati-Nad Prabhu Sonapa Gauda-Ayya, II. 284.
Avatur, II. 157.
Avikai, II. 270.
Avinahalli, I. 221.
Avirur, II. 280.
Ayainar, II. 333.
Ayadavally, II. 104.
Ayilamman, II. 275.
Ayana Madakere Linga Viraya, II. 344.
Ayodhya, I. 121, 121 (n).
Ayyana Maluka, see under 'Alin-ul-Mulk Gilani.
Ayyanna, II. 326, 326 (n).
Ayyaparapus Nagayya, I. 240.
Ayyamarus, see Rayasam Ayyaparasugaru.
Ayyarasanahalli, II. 14.
Ayyasami, II. 24.
Ayyavaliyur, II. 363.
Ayyavole (Ayyavole), II. 98 (n), 99, 100, 100 (n).
Ayodhyapura, II. 423.

B

Babayya, I. 412.
Babbeya Nayaka, II. 88.
Baboja, I. 276.
Babur, II. 267 (n).
Bacanor, see Barakuru.
Bachapa, I. 272; II. 237, 239.
Bacharasu (Ayya), I. 463; II. 127, 253.
Bachak, II. 25.
Bachi Raja, II. 277.
Bachchey, II. 248.
Bagadareyakere, II. 365.
Baguda, Badaga, or Vaduccker.
People, II. 55, 55 (n), 57, 85.
Bagudulu Case, II. 50, 197-8, 198 (n).
Badami (Badavil), I. 83; II. 39, 39 (n), 47.
Badami-Prabhuvarma, II. 21.
Badavara-Vamsa, I. 272.
Bagadage Rudra, I. 274.
Bagaluru, I. 155.
Baganayinapalle, II. 16.
Bagavala, II. 330.
Bagturalalli Tamina Gauda, II. 362.
Bagunji (Sime), I. 221; II. 14.
Bagur, II. 284, 358, 363.
Bagur-Sime, II. 236, 238, 269.
Bangaru Guttu Nayaka, I. 352.
Baha-ud-din, I. 10, 395.
Bahirikas, I. 146.
INDEX 475

Bayanacharya, I. 276.
Bayirapura, II. 379.
Bayappa Nayaka, II. 15, 17, 49.
Bayichana, II. 259.
Bedada, I. 78.
Bechi Gauda, II. 88.
Beveh Gauda, II. 165.
Becharama, II. 366.
Bedanakatte, II. 254.
Bedar, II. 61.
Bedars, the, I. 137-8, 318-9; II. 46, 54, 54 (n), 195, 327.
Bedues, see Bedars.
Bedaraballi, II. 332.
Bedmore (Bednur), I. 74, 142, 221, 291, 329, 412; II. 294, 301.
Beega (Vijaya-Virupaksha), I. 31, 90.
Bejjanagur, I. 31, 90, 113, 130, 400-1, 403, 405-7, 411, 416, 438-9, 466; II. 132-3.
Bekkae, II. 17, 367.
Belaratta, I. 357.
Belekere, I. 97.
Belali, II. 18.
Belanagara, I. 35.
Belgula, see Sravana Belgola.
Belalammari, II. 260.
Beluguru, II. 366.
Bellare, I. 221.
Belakasvadi, I. 179.
Belur Narasiva Deva, I. 170 (n); II. 188.
Beluve, II. 188.
Beluvadi, I. 269; II. 211, 369.
Belur (see also Velapura), I. 4, 38, 182, 231, 289; II. 200, 371, 397, 405.
Belula Kings, I. 25, 27, 88.
Belur-Simde, II. 256, 286.
Bellur, Rajas of, I. 139.
Bellary District, I. 199, 224, 227, 289, 427; II. 14.
Bengapoor, see Bankapur.
Bellamkonda, I. 238.
Bennegere, I. 376.
Bennevuru, I. 40 (n).
Belali, II. 350.
Benares (Kasi), I. 48, 409, 412; II. 78, 132, 211, 217, 239, 357.
Bengal, I. 42, 78, 289; II. 72, 245.
Bengaluru, I. 155, 329.
Betamangala, I. 273.
Besnegere, I. 66, 72, 130 (n), 133-4, 136, 139, 298, 304, 381; II. 304-5.
Benkappa Setti, I. 217, 338.
Benayatanahalli Gauda, II. 358.
Benbar, I. 78.

Bennavalli-Janeguru, II. 88.
Benkacharya, I. 276.
Benkipura, II. 228.
Bennedone, II. 339.
Bennegere, I. 182; II. 246.
Bendukaliviru, II. 35.
Belagavati, II. 257.
Benasay, I. 160; II. 49.
Benakheya Gauda, II. 19.
Bennattanuru, I. 214.
Bennattanur-Vritti, II. 339, 340.
Bennattanakulupattana, II. 15, 232.
Benatrakal-Sime, I. 268.
Bettur, I. 214.
Bettagonda, I. 264.
Bettryya Dannayaka, I. 215.
Betula, II. 366.
Beribe, I. 7 (n).
Bevinahalli, I. 411; II. 254.
Bhadri, II. 39.
Bhadroja, I. 237, 237 (n).
Bhadrabahu, I. 40.
Bhadra, River, II. 227.
Bhadrachalam, I. 141.
Bhadrayya, I. 231.
Bhagavati-Ghatta, II. 365.
Bhogayapura (Bagur), II. 17.
Bhairappa Nayaka, I. 256.
Bhairarasa Odeyar, II. 208.
Bhaktas (Srivaisnavas), I. 103.
Bhaladeva, II. 103.
Bharangi, I. 221.
Bhandara Haridra, I. 32.
Bhandarada Bukkanna, I. 32.
Bhandaram Aparasaya, II. 282.
Bhandaram, II. 50.
Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G., I. 84 (n).
Bhandariyapalli alias Krishnarayapura, II. 227, 228.
Bhanu Gupta, II. 85.
Bhanuvatipattana, I. 293.
Bharangi, I. 74.
Bharadwaja-Gotra, I. 15, 257, 259; II. 130, 367.
Bharatha-Kanda, I. 73; II. 103.
Bhargava, II. 405.
Bhashaka (Poet), II. 167.
Bhashaka-Kshetra, I. 22, 100, 114; II. 230, 237, 265.
Bhatkal, I. 70-1, 151 (n), 289, 297; II. 417.
Bhavayangaru, I. 256.
Bhavyas, see Jaimas.
Bhatta Bayichappa, I. 154, 272-3.
Bhava Sangama, I. 32.
Bhavabhuti Jala, I. 12.
Bhishma, I. 143, 244; II. 121.
Bhikshavritti Appa, I. 196.
Coimbatore District, I, 75, 233, 352; II, 37.
Colororam, I, 78.
Comara, I, 460.
Comarrerea, I, 460-1.
Comorin, Cape (Comoris), I, 78, 290 (n).
Condamar, I, 460.
Canguvarno, I, 85.
Conjeeveram, see Kanchipuram.
Connemara, I, 78.
Carnata, see Karnataka.
Carnatic, The, I, 4, 30-1, 401, 424, 438; II, 29.
Casi, see Benares.
Castille, II, 399.
Castilions, The, II, 35.
Catamuloco, see Qutb Shah.
Cathay, II, 302.
Centacola, see Ankola.
Central Provinces, The, I, 114.
Ceylon, I, 51-2, 114, 290; II, 85, 98 (n).
Chadalavada, I, 181.
Chaduparla Kondama Raja, II, 393.
Chaduranganapattana, II, 104.
Chaharaa Bammarsa, II, 112.
Chaja Oja, II, 270.
Chakkere, II, 357.
Chakravarti Damayaka, II, 340.
Chakkalur, II, 275.
Chalappa, II, 340.
Chola Sampradaya, I, 276.
Chalo Nakiti, II, 15.
Chaluki Chakravarti, I, 36.
Chaluki Narayana, I, 36.
Chamaras Odeyar, II, 254.
Chama, II, 200.
Chamakabbe, II, 244.
Chama Nripala, I, 378; II, 265.
Chameya Nayaka, I, 83.
Champa (SamMbuva Raya), I, 459.
Chamunda Raya, I, 202; II, 25.
Chamunda Setti, II, 173.
Chamarajanagara Taluka, I, 75, 314.
Chamunatha Erega, I, 214.
Chamunahalli, II, 356.
Chameya Nayaks, I, 83.
Chanda, II, 200.
Chandappa, II, 331.
Chandappa-Ayya, II, 283.
Chandarve, see Gana Kumari Chandarve.
Chandavuru, II, 104.
Chandel, II, 258 (n).
Chandi, see Gingee.
Chandrapushkarani River, II, 266.
Chandra-Chuda Sarasvati, II, 264.
Chandragiri Devaraya Odeyar, I, 230.
Chandra Kavi, I, 324; II, 274.
Chandralekhai, see Tanjore.
Chandrasekhara Sarasvati, II, 263.
Chandrapparasar Odeyar, I, 259 (n), 260 (n).
Chandrasekhara (Pandy King), I, 206; II, 223.
Chandrasekharayya, I, 265; II, 279.
Chandrasena Suri, II, 244.
Chandrikadevi, II, 166.
Chandragiri-Durga, II, 266.
Chandragiri-Rajya, I, 91, 177, 196, 250-1, 236, 293-5; II, 277, 402.
Chandragiri-Maharajaya, I, 293.
Chandragiri-Sala, I, 154, 240.
Chandragiri-Venthe, II, 280.
Chandraputta, I, 52.
Chandraputti, I, 18, 28.
Chandraguttii (Rajya), I, 298, 308; II, 104, 258, 356.
Chandraguttipura, I, 257.
Chandragotti Eighteen Kampana, II, 274.
Changa-Nad, II, 108.
Changamma, II, 18.
Changalasaya, II, 195, 196.
Channapa, II, 251, 420.
Channappa Bhatta, II, 368.
Channappattana-Sime, II, 281.
Channaraya Odeyar, I, 168.
Channayanapura, I, 268.
Chareacola, I, 78.
Charukiriti Pandita Acharya, II, 409.
Chaturvedimangala Bhatta, II, 369.
Chatis, see Settis.
Chattayya Perumala Deva, II, 330, 331.
Chattanahalli, II, 321.
Chatu Viththalanatha, II, 420.
Chauda Nayaki, II, 90.
Chaudoja, II, 346.
Chauluru, II, 60.
Chauda, II, 126.
Chaupeh-Hasara, I, 397.
Chaura Dadurka, I, 290.
Chavudi Setti, II, 332.
Chavara Chennaya Nayakaya, II, 254.
Chejarla, I, 233 (n).
Chelur, II, 254.
INDEX

Chennarasa, II. 354.
Chenna, II. 165.
Chennakka, II. 88.
Chennappa, I. 460.
Chennappa Nayundu, I. 139, 139 (n).
Chenchiah, Mr., II. 138 (n).
Chenni Setti, II. 279.
Chengiri, see Gingee.
Chenna Deva Choha Maha-Arasu, I. 160.
Chenna Viranna Nayaka, II. 351.
Chennama Nayinengaru, I. 349.
Chennamaraju, I. 434.
Chennaya Nayaka, II. 321, 361.
Chennaraya Odeyar, II. 21, 351.
Chennakesavanatha, I. 38-9.
Chennarasa (of the Athavane), I. 176.
Chennapattana, I. 139.
Chennapura (Village), II. 256.
Chenniganapura, II. 286.
Chera, II. 99.
Cherramahadevi (Mod. Shermadevi), II. 208.
Cherrumana Mallikarjuna, I. 347.
Cheruvupalli, II. 253.
Chetur-Nadu, II. 228.
Chettu Rayen, II. 44.
Chicca Raya, see Chikkka Raya.
Chidambaram, I. 194, 198, 231, 233, 372; II. 385, 400 (n).
Chidambaranathapura, II. 277.
Chidbodhi Bharati, II. 267.
Chikka Bhimanna, II. 246.
Chikkapura, II. 232.
Chikka, II. 257.
Chikkanna, II. 369.
Chikkaatamma, I. 75.
Chikka Begur, II. 337.
Chikka Bommanna Heggade, I. 169.
Chikka-Bova, II. 258, 320.
Chikkagonda, I. 431.
Chikkana Gauda, II. 43.
Chikka Gaudabali, II. 405.
Chikka-Hayur, II. 343.
Chikka-Honnuru, II. 18, 234.
Chikka Kudali, I. 5, 232.
Chikka Jigalige, II. 104.
Chikka Kampanya Odeyar, I. 314; II. 36.
Chikkakavi Jiya, II. 329.
Chikka Odeyar, I. 234, 258 (n).
Chikka Mahalige, II. 104.
Chikkananayakannahalli Taluk, II. 279.
Chikkanna Odeyar, I. 169.
Chikka Singappa Nayaka, II. 404.
Chikka Timma Raja, II. 276.
Chikka Raya, I. 157, 207, 242 (n), 300, 315-6; II. 214.
Chikka Raya (of Ummattur), I. 158; II. 263 (n), 266.
Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, I. 291.
Chilamakuru, I. 350.
Chiladalara Bopadalara, I. 337.
Chimmama Odeyar, I. 383.
Chimatanakallu, II. 104.
Chimku Reddi, I. 358.
China, I. 78, 427; II. 299, 305.
Chinaapanayque, I. 242, 419, 435.
Chinese, I. 81.
Chingleput District, I. 154, 158, 172, 177, 182, 196, 227, 289, 334, 340-1, 372-3; II. 43, 45, 266, 275, 387, 403 (n), 405-7.
Chinnadevamma, II. 162.
Chinna Bomma, I. 141.
Chinahoturu, II. 60, 60 (n).
Chinna Malloja, I. 96, 276.
Chinnamaraju, I. 235.
Chinnamma, II. 18.
Chintalacheruvu, I. 97.
Chiricole, I. 78.
Chiradugu, II. 140.
Chirranda River, I. 384.
Chiravarapalli, I. 91.
Chitagondanahalli, I. 270.
Chitaldroog (Chitradurga) District, I. 32, 224, 289, 329; II. 40, 47, 49, 400.
Chitambur, I. 80.
Chitrakeli Perukkalan-Dirukkavanam, II. 365.
Chitrachedu, I. 97; II. 403.
Chitrabhalli-Nad, II. 49.
Chitikanahal, II. 14.
Chitrakutadurga, see Chitaladroog.
Chittivoyya Nayaka, II. 106.
Chittalapuripattana, II. 195 (n).
Chittevar, I. 229.
Chittavalli, II. 319.
Chittoor District, II. 19, 282.
Chittoor District, I. 179.
Chiji Bassi Setti, II. 105.
Chiya Gauda, II. 91.
Chiyana Saliyur, I. 214.
Chokka Gauda, II. 89, 364.
Chokkalaa Govindartate, II. 184.
Chokka-Nad, II. 105.
Chokka Setti, II. 105.
Chola, I. 21, 193, 460; II. 99.
Cholas, I. 2, 116, 322.
Cholamandala (Charamandel, Coromandal), I. 51, 78-9, 141, 283, 289, 290 (n), 298-9; II. 34-5, 87, 389-90.
Cholasamudram, II. 277.
Christiano de Figuiredo, I. 399; II. 288, 376, 413.
Christ, I. 80.
Chytrara, see Achyuta Raya.
Cide, I. 253-4.
Corumbins, see Kurumbars.
Correa, II. 401.
Cottadi Periyan, II. 114.
Coulam, I. 80.
Couto, I. 84-5, 107, 134, 137, 395 (n); II. 215.
Crisnaranarque, I. 380, 419.
Crisnara, see Krishna Deva Raya.
Cressy, Battle of, I. 430.
Crymata, see Kummata.
Curugodo-Chowdayah, I. 115.
Cuddapah District, I. 287, 288, 322.
Cuddalore, I. 352.
Cumaviriya, II. 380.
Cumbola, see Kumbla.
Cupuchi, II. 44.
Curumbar, see Kurumbar.

D
Dabull, I. 254.
Dalavai Agraharas, I. 226, 383.
Dalavai Aliya Timmarasa, I. 269.
Dalavai Basavi Nayaka, II. 11.
Dalavai Devaraya Vadayuluvaru, I. 157.
Dalavai Sevappa Nayaka, I. 217.
Dalavai Somaya Gauda, II. 260.
Dalavai Somnappa Nayaka, II. 275, 280.
Dalavai Venkatapata Nayudu, I. 233.
Damar (Damal) Kottam, I. 291, 293, 295; II. 402.
Damar (Damal) Nadu, I. 293, 295.
Damaqueti, I. 71.
Dames, Longworth, I. 254 (n), 454 (n), 467 (n); II. 172 (n), 240, 292 (n), 304 (n).
Dammappa Nayaka, I. 160; II. 49.
Danne, II. 255.
Damodara Somaya, II. 332.
Danakana Devi, II. 256.
Danumula, I. 318; II. 348, 367.
Danumula-Menasur, II. 348.
Danivasa-Sime, II. 351.
Dandapa, II. 275.
Dandadhara, I. 248.
Dandanyaka Govindarasa, I. 213.
Dandanyaka Salipagya, II. 398.
Dannayakapura, II. 369.
Dandi Setti, II. 105.
Dareha, II. 52, 409.
Darwari (Revolt), I. 10.
Dasa, I. 345.
Dasaji, II. 101, 101 (n).
Dasi, II. 357.
Dasanahalli, II. 355.
Dasarathalli alias Devapura, II. 284.
Dasasira, see Ravana.
Dasaynapalli, II. 360.
Dasavidya Dandanatha, I. 276.
Dati (Dadi) Someyya (Somayya) Dannayaka, I. 19-20, 203; II. 250, 320, 333, 340.
Dati (Dadi) Singeyya Dannayaka, I. 19.
Daulatabad, see Devagiri.
Daquem, see Decean.
Decean (Dekhan), I. 4, 10, 30, 51, 210, 289-290 (n), 317, 405, 410, 431, 467, 467 (n), 469, 469 (n); II. 77, 304 (n).
Deccanis (Dekanese), I. 135, 411; II. 71 (n), 145.
Denkanakote, I. 155.
Dekabbo, II. 88-7.
Dekaya Nayaka, II. 398.
Deli (Delly, Delhi), I. 3, 5, 10, 31-2, 85, 107, 265, 445-6.
Demay, II. 88.
Demiyakkas, II. 173.
Denaiyancotta (Danayakanakotta), I. 429.
Depanna Odeyar, I. 227; II. 225, 344, 423.
Desavara, I. 227.
Desada-pete, II. 202 (n).
Dese, II. 257.
Desi, II. 285.
Desiyagana, II. 184, 243.
Devadar, see Deva Raya, II.
Devagiri, I. 3, 4, 7, 29, 31-2, 221, 448.
Devakkapuram, I. 158-9, 171, 203; II. 387.
Devamandala SirmaI, I. 233.
Devanga, II. 60.
Devannapatanam, I. 352.
Devappa, I. 168; II. 322, 331, 342.
Devapura, I. 161.
Devappagal, II. 274.
Devappa Dandadhipa (Dannayaka), I. 301; II. 238, 340.
Devappa Gauda, I. 64; II. 353 (n).
Devappa Hariappa, I. 5, 22.
Devappa Nayaka, II. 276.
Devappa Setti, I. 338.
Devappudaiyar (a Chief), II. 387.
Devannayaya, I. 75; II. 189.
Devanna Odeyar, II. 371.
INDEX

Devarasa (Great Minister), II. 252.
Devarasayya, II. 278, 344, 350.
Devara Donakonda, II. 59.
Devarahalli, II. 332.
Devarapalle, I. 100.
Devarasi-Guru, II. 324.
Devaru Somayaji, II. 236.
Devaru Senabobva, I. 170.
Deva Raya, I. 86, 97, 154, 202 (n), 260 (n), 304, 306, 314, 312, 318, 347, 379, 401, 408, 421; II. 15, 105, 131, 238, 414, 421.
Deva Raya, II. 36, 44, 57, 110 (n), 113, 155, 157, 167, 172, 176-7, 182-3, 195-6, 202 (n), 216 (n), 230, 235, 254, 256, 259, 259 (n), 263, 269, 289, 304, 324, 341, 353, 373, 378, 380, 384, 384, 386, 390, 400, 403-5, 410, 414, 430, 435 (n), 438-9, 456-7, 461-2; II. 4, 37, 105-6, 134, 163, 189, 190, 216, 231, 238, 246, 254, 273-4, 279 (n), 293, 297-8, 312, 353, 422-4.
Deva Raya (Ruler of Gerasoppe), II. 34.
Deva Raya Odeyar (Udayar), I. 196, 231.
Devarayanpattadai, I. 171.
Devarayappattana Timma Odeyar, II. 278.
Devasthanam Devakkapuram, II. 277.
Devayya Gauda, II. 19.
Devayya Nayaka, I. 431; II. 88-9.
Deviyakkaj Haravrav, I. 177.
Devulu Papa Raya, I. 69.
Devodeyar, II. 22.
Dew Ray, see Deva Raya, I.
Dhanushkoti, I. 464.
Dhananjaya Raja Odeyar, I. 269.
Dhanushtra, II. 99.
Dharani Deva, II. 366.
Dharanikota, II. 162.
Dharanoja, I. 275, 277.
Dharma, see Hindu Dharma.
Dharma Deva (King), II. 85.
Dharmapattana, I. 373.
Dharmapura-Sammat, I. 345.
Dharmapuri, I. 155.
Dharmagodu Gauda, II. 261.
Dharmaraja, II. 231.
Dharmesvara-pura, II. 231.
Dharwar, I. 138, 308.
Dharwar District, I. 289; II. 68.
Dhuma, II. 200.
Dhur Samundar, see Dorasamudra.
Dhvaaja Timmana Dasa, II. 394.
Dialcan, I. 66.

Dikshitasvami, see Govinda Dikshita.
Dilavar Khan, I. 411, 456.
Dilavar Odeyar, I. 381-2.
Dilipayya, II. 255.
Dilli, see Delhi.
Dippavali, II. 387, 387 (n).
Dindigul, I. 427.
Dindigul District, I. 352.
Dindima, I. 278; II. 134.
Dodd Daama Gauda, I. 345.
Dodderi Malapa Gauda, II. 260.
Doddagavanahalli, II. 256.
Dodderi-Sime, I. 270; II. 260, 354.
Domar, I. 461.
Dombalur, I. 223.
Dom Francisco de Almeido, I. 70, 404.
Dombara Nandyala, I. 233.
Don Menezes, II. 299.
Dondavate, I. 172; II. 14.
Dorasamudra, I. 4, 6-7, 7 (n), 11-2, 31, 34, 84, 88-9, 102, 382, 388 (n); II. 104, 158, 243, 321.
Dottyah (Dottiyah), I. 422; II. 55.
Dravida Desam, II. 46.
Draupadi, II. 181 (n).
Duarte Barbosa, I. 42-3, 45, 49-51, 53, 59, 62-3, 65, 70-4, 78-80, 129, 131, 254, 297, 393, 422-3, 427, 435 (n), 436, 438, 443-4, 454-5; II. 28-9, 34, 34 (n), 51-3, 61, 73, 75-6, 76 (n), 77-8 (n), 80 (n), 93-4, 122, 143, 143 (n), 144, 159, 171, 174-8, 191, 240-2, 295, 295, 300, 302 (n), 310, 311 (n), 398, 418-7, 422.
Dudanahalli, I. 270.
Dudda, II. 319.
Duggabbe, II. 329.
Du Jarric, II. 420 (n).
Dureya, I. 271.
Durga (Durgga) (Fortress), I. 115, 221, 469; II. 89.
Durga (Goddess), I. 27; II. 372, 373 (n), 385.
Dummi-Nad, I. 159, 223.
Dummi-Sime, I. 381, 383.
Durse, River, I. 61.
Dhurjati, Lakshmipati, II. 137, 138 (n), 152 (n).
Dvaita, I. 13.
Dvarakaka, I. 106.
Dvarasamudra, see Dorasamudra.
Dyapa-Kedurappa, II. 360.

E
East India Company, I. 190; II. 98 (n).
East Indies, I. 82.
Echa (Ruler), II. 86.
Edava Jakkaiya, II. 69.
Edeballi, II. 355, 366.
Edevolalu, II. 326.
Edward III, King, I. 430.
Ede-nad Seventy, II. 90, 104, 107, 258, 259, 356, 358.
Ediyur-Dandi Viranna Odeyar, II. 71.
Egypt, I. 84.
Egyptians, The, II. 53.
Eighteen Kampanas (see also Araga 18 Kampana), I. 73.
Ein-oof-Moolk, see under 'Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani.
Ekkalarasa, II. 87.
Ekanarayana Bhatta, I. 438.
Ekapada, II. 90.
Elahanka-nad, I. 12, 357; II. 342.
Elahanka-nad Prabhu Bairi Deva, II. 361.
Elahanka-nad Prabhu Chikka Bayiraya Nayaka, II. 342.
Elahanka-nad Prabhu Immadi Hiri Kempayya Gauda, II. 411.
Elahanka-nad Prabhu Jala Bhima Setti, II. 246.
Elahanka-nad Prabhu Kempayya Gauda, II. 256.
Elandaddi, II. 366.
Ellappa (Elapa) Nayaka, II. 257, 278 (n).
Ellappanna, II. 257.
Ellapuram, II. 208.
Ellis, F. W., I. 201-2; II. 114-115 (n), 116-7.
Ellis, T. W., II. 63.
Elliot, (Sir Walter), I. 27-9, 88, 102, 253 (n).
Elase, II. 366.
Elasur Samani Gauda, II. 19.
Eleyur-Sime, II. 256.
Eleyur Visvanatha Setti, I. 394; II. 270.
Elliva-Malaga, I. 432.
Elphinstone, II. 86 (n).
Elvanasur, I. 322, 337.
Elumuri-Parra, I. 175.
Emanuel de Veiga, II. 390.
Emberumaran, II. 406.
Emakalapuram, I. 352-3.
Ennayiram, II. 283.
Engoja, I. 276.
Eranganahalli, I. 75-76 (n).
Era Krishnappa Nayaka, II. 231, 268; II. 17, 49, 270, 284.
Eramanchi Tulukkanna Nayaka, II. 393.
Erumanadu, I. 40 (n).

Erumurai-nadu, I. 180, 344.
Erumurkkadaipalli, II. 337.
Erumalkattni, I. 355.
Erekatte, I. 256.
Erkelas, II. 54.
Esagur, II. 339, 340.
Ettur Tirumalai Kumara Tatacharya, II. 406.
Europe, I. 75, 404, 431; II. 76 (n).
Europeans, I. 430-1; II. 302.

F
Father Balthus, II. 13.
Father Bouchet, II. 13.
Faria y Sousa, I. 70, 78-107, 136, 136 (n), 137, 428, 431; II. 95.
Ferishtah, I. 3-4, 30, 87, 90, 122, 132, 134, 261 (n), 304, 316-7, 379, 400, 402-3, 403 (n), 404, 404 (n), 405-8, 411, 414, 417, 417 (n), 424, 430-31, 438-40, 444-6, 450, 455-7 (n), 461, 464-6; II. 29, 131, 133 (n), 185, 424.
Firuz Shah Bahmani, I. 210, 212, 379, 401, 403, 408, 461, 465; II. 177 (n), 414.
Fleet, Dr. J. F., I. 4, 149 (n), 258 (n); II. 98, 255.
Floris, Peter Williamson, I. 224, 399; II. 83, 401.
Francis, Mr. I. 132.
Franciscans, The, II. 30 (n).
Franchi, see Christians.
Friar Jordanus, II. 93.

G
Gaddam Tirumala Tattayangar, II. 405.
Gadekallu, I. 207.
Gajakonapura, see Anegundi.
Gajapatia, The, I. 306, 462; II. 262 (n).
Gajaranya, (Lord of Tiruvanikka, Jambukesvaram), I. 9.
Gajaramapalli, I. 237.
Galihallu, II. 105.
Galgerekere aikes Ramapura, II. 17.
Gamdaraio (Saluva Govinda Raja?), II. 288, and (n).
Ganachari Linga, I. 216.
Gana-Kumari Chandavve, II. 158, 158 (n).
Ganapatima, I. 35.
Ganapaya, I. 278.
Gandaradityarasa, I. 40 (n).
Ganda-Bherunda (Image), II. 270.
Gandani Devaranna, II. 324.
INDEX

Gandara Deva Setti, II. 329.
Ganda Narayana Setti, II. 249, 250.
Ganda Raja (Gunda Govinda), I. 461 (n).
Gandasi, II. 331.
Gangadevanalai, II. 323.
Gangadevi, Princess, I. 8, 37, 107-9, 126, 128, 423, 459; II. 163.
Ganga Devi, II. 249.
Ganga, The, I. 77, 335; II. 211, 245-6.
Ganga (Author), I. 32-3.
Ganga Raja Deva Maharaaja-aya, II. 415.
Ganga Deva Odeyar, II. 15.
Ganga Paramesvari, II. 50.
Ganga Salar, I. 38.
Gangasuri, II. 96.
Gangadhara (Poet), I. 413; II. 415.
Gangadhara (Citizen), II. 364.
Gangadhara (Ganga Reddi, Chief), II. 37.
Ganganaras, I. 269, 393.
Gangasamudra, II. 101, 349.
Gangavadi, I. 40, 42, 224.
Gange Gauda, II. 261.
Ganganarayana-Chaturvedimangalam, II. 340.
Gangapadi, II. 334.
Gangapuram, I. 171.
Gangavadi Madanna, II. 361.
Gangeyana Mareya, II. 25.
Ganjam District, II. 59.
Gargya-Gotra, I. 269.
Garigekala, II. 412 (n).
Garige Nayaka, II. 403.
Garuda, I. 92, 351; II. 66, 250.
Garuda (Life-guard), I. 433.
Garuda-Narayana, I. 434.
Garuda (War-cry), I. 424.
Gasparo Balbi, II. 144, 241, 244.
Gatirajupenta, II. 279.
Gaudahalli Doddayya Odeyar, II. 275.
Gaudayyar, I. 381, 383.
Gaudasavami, II. 319.
Gaula, I. 291; II. 99.
Gaurapura, I. 433.
Gauriya Dannaikayaka, II. 356.
Gaurambika, I. 94.
Gautama Deva, II. 335.
Gautama-Gotra, I. 273.
Gautama (Village), II. 355.
Guitarasa, I. 83.
Gavudagere, II. 362.
Gavulur, II. 355.
Gaya (Northern), I. 48; II. 239.
Gaya (Southern), II. 239.
Gayaritthana, II. 205.
Genabur Hiriya Konaya Deva Maharaasa, II. 100.
Gentiles, see also Hindus, I. 71-2, 78-81, 129; II. 80.
Gerasoppe (Garsopa, Gersoppa, Geru- soppe, Gargopam, Khemapura), I. 71-73, 168, 270, 297; II. 34, 352.
Geretenebele, I. 268.
Gergelim (Ginjili), I. 290.
Ghandikota, I. 159, 241, 294.
Ghandikota-raiyya, I. 160, 236.
Ghandikota-Sime, I. 234, 238, 294.
Ghanadri, II. 266.
Ghanagiri Kingdom, I. 236.
Ghanagiri-Durga, II. 201 (n).
Ghatanahalli, II. 278.
Ghatte-Sthala, II. 282.
Ghadikagiri, II. 267.
Ghyas-ud-din Tuglaq, I. 210-1.
Ginge (Senji), I. 76, 76 (n), 243, 299, 310, 329, 400; II. 54, 203, 245, 283, 292 (n), 300, 419.
Ginge Taluka, I. 203.
Giri Bhatta, II. 404.
Goa (Gova, Govai), I. 6 (n), 66-7, 123, 135-6, 220, 258, 424; II. 47, 56, 130, 146-7, 185, 258, 297, 304.
Gobbur (Gobburi), I. 275, 311.
God—
Adi-Gummesvara, II. 101.
Adi-Puranatha, I. 193.
Adi-Narayana-Perumal, II. 272.
Agastyesvara, II. 212.
Ahoablesvara, I. 100; II. 405.
Ainjand Pillaiyar, II. 277.
Allalanatha, II. 285-6.
Amrtesvara, II. 214; II. 285, 336.
Ankanatha, II. 362.
Annadari-Mallikarjuna, II. 13, 17, 21, 274.
Areya Sankara, II. 336.
Ashta-Murti, II. 141.
Banesvara, II. 276.
Banna, II. 36.
Bassavesvara, II. 22.
Bhadramba (Goddess), II. 280.
Bhairava (Bayirava), II. 22, 276, 392.
Bhimisuram-Udaiyanayinar, II. 371.
Bhutala-Vira-Rama, II. 199.
Bhogisvara, II. 60.
Brahma, II. 59 (n), 230 (n), 398.
Brahma-Deva, II. 13.
Bukkesavara-Deva, II. 14.
Chandalesvara, II. 166.
Chandramaulisvara, II. 357.
Chandramauli, II. 230.
Chelapaleraya, II. 212.
Chennakesava, II. 17-8, 60, 280-1, 284, 356, 405.
Chennakesava Perumal, II. 387.
Chennigaraya, II. 16, 200, 284, 404.
Chidambaresvara, I. 231.
Chokkanatha, I. 223.
Damarada, I. 14, 19; II. 273, 320.
Desinatha, II. 363.
Dharmesvara, II. 335, 336.
Divya-Lingesvara, I. 389; II. 201.
Ganesvara, II. 103.
Gangadhara, II. 281.
Gautesvara, II. 100 (n).
Gavaresvara, I. 151 (n); II. 100 (n), 103.
Gopala Krishna, II. 345.
Gopinatha, II. 189.
Gommata Deva, II. 101.
Gummanathanatha, II. 349.
Gunja Narasimha, I. 265.
Hunanmata, I. 350; II. 59, 275-6, 283, 356, 403.
Hunanmantesvara, II. 395.
Haribhara, I. 206, 275-6, 293-4, 378, 384; II. 17, 211, 255, 333-4, 393, 404.
Hidambanatha, II. 15.
Hoysalesvara (Hoysanesvara), I. 388, 388 (n); II. 397.
Indra, II. 100.
Isvara, II. 365.
Jaita-Narayana, II. 234.
Jaitanatha, II. 234.
Janardhana, II. 212, 278.
Jayantgonda-Sola-Vinnagar Alvar, II. 328, 334.
Jatangi Rama, II. 421.
Kalahastinatha, II. 351.
Kalahastisvara, II. 19.
Kalakkutta, I. 341.
Kalika (Goddess), II. 201 (n), 202 (n).
Kalinatha, I. 449; II. 367.
Kedaresvara, I. 149 (n); II. 335.
Kesava, I. 70, 215; II. 89, 139, 335, 356.
Kesavesvara, I. 215, 215 (n).
Kesava Perumal, I. 6; II. 60.
Krishna (Lord), I. 10, 34, 106; II. 370, 402, 404.
Kunjesvara, II. 158.
Kusuvavesvara, II. 335.
Lakshmi, I. 29, 37, 40, 105, 454 (n); II. 17, 25, 393.
Lakshmi-Narasimha, II. 281, 395.
Lakshmi-Narasayana, II. 112, 324, 370.
Madhusudana, II. 362.
Mahadeva, II. 322, 339.
Mahesvara, II. 356.
Malalesvara, II. 281.
Malikatarjuna, II. 17, 19, 170, 270, 368; II. 415.
Maraganikunta Tiruvengalanatha, II. 282.
Melukunte Balakrishna, II. 353.
Moksha-Lakshmi, II. 245.
Mulaisthana, I. 229, 229 (n); II. 60.
Mulaisthana-linga, II. 16.
Nandikesvara, II. 357.
Nanjundesvara, II. 212.
Nakharesvara, II. 335.
Naraasimha, I. 157, 213; II. 212, 355.
Narayana, II. 122.
Nataraja, II. 281.
Nayakkar Sri-Allalanatha, II. 360, 361.
Nayinar, II. 216.
Padmavati (Goddess), II. 13.
Panchala, II. 36.
Pampapati, I. 115.
Paramesvara, II. 14, 274.
Parvata, II. 101.
Parvanatha, II. 208.
Periyammal (Shrine), II. 286.
Prasanna Virupaksha, II. 279.
Raghunayaka, II. 294.
Rama (Chandra), I. 216, 229; II. 36, 229 (n), 231, 254, 338, 371-2.
Ramanatha, I. 174, 231; II. 205-6, 337, 355, 392.
Ramesvara, II. 17.
Ramesvara-Linga, II. 278.
Ranganatha, II. 212, 266.
Ranganathasvami, II. 18.
Ratanachalesvara, II. 246.
Sadasiva, II. 246.
INDEX

Sankara, II. 184, 272.
Sevidai Nayanan, II. 338.
Side-Deva, II. 286, 287.
Siddhaththa, II. 232.
Singavengai-Udaiyar, II. 337.
Siva, I. 86, 388; II. 14, 19, 21, 91, 223, 236-6.
Sokkapermu, II. 337-8.
Somanaththa, II. 20, 225.
Some-Deva, II. 274.
Somesvara, I. 231; II. 285.
Sri-Bhairavanatha, II. 361.
Sriranganatha, II. 397.
Srikanthesvara, II. 20.
Sringesvara, I. 170.
Sri Raghunayakulu, I. 181.
Svayambhunatha, II. 274.
Talapurisvara, II. 280.
Tirumala, I. 267; II. 18, 204, 234, 286, 357.
Tirumalanatha, I. 424.
Tiruvengalanatha, I. 227; II. 15-6, 166, 208, 283, 394, 404.
Tiruvengakalvara, I. 313.
Tiruvaluismudaiyananar, I. 357.
Tiruvengadam-Agastyesvara, I. 265.
Tiriyambaka, II. 277.
Trailokyavallabha, II. 273.
Trikayamakantha, II. 235.
Tyagada-Brahma, II. 352.
Vata-Kesava, II. 275.
Uma-Mahesvara, II. 365.
Uma-Skandesvara, II. 395.
Vasudeva, I. 259.
Vatapi-Vitankar, I. 336.
Vaidyanatha, I. 179; II. 273.
Vasikaram-Udaya-Tambiranar, II. 287 (n).
Varadar, II. 338.
Varadaraja, II. 246, 270, 273, 275, 356.
Venkatesa, I. 412 (n); II. 12.
Vidyasankara, I. 218.
Vidyesvara, II. 141, 236.
Vighneshvara, II. 18, 357, 395.
Virabhadra, I. 159; II. 16, 283, 286, 370.
Vira Narayana, II. 351.
Viresvara, II. 60, 282.
Virupaksha, I. 38-9, 86, 91-2, 105, 109, 114-5, 121, 140, 464; II. 4, 107, 197, 211, 219, 225, 231, 237, 239, 267, 279, 397.
Virupaksha-Linga, II. 21.
Vishnu, II. 66, 220 (n), 341, 387.
Visvanatha, II. 20.

Viththalal, I. 464; II. 15.
Viththalesvara, Iq. 12.
Vrishabha, II. 18.
Yoga-Narasimha, II. 141.
Gokarna, I. 18, 464; II. 232, 267.
Golahalli, II. 260.
Golamayya, II. 256.
Golamukha, II. 99.
Golkonda (Goleconda), I. 210, 407, 413, 413 (n), 415, 443, 463; II. 100 (n), 143 (n).
Golkonda, Sultan of, I. 320.
Gollas, II. 49.
Gollapotanagazanipalle, I. 93.
Gomantasaila, I. 18.
Gomata (Gommata) Deva (Jinendra), I. 73, 202 (n), 274.
Gommatapura, I. 152; II. 101-2.
Gooty, I. 207, 238, 352; II. 252.
Gopa, I. 260.
Gopanayake, I. 242.
Gopa Class, II. 49.
Gopanarya (Goppanarya, Gopana), I. 15-6, 256, 258 (n); II. 126.
Gopagondanahalli alias Venkatasamudra, II. 394.
Gopa Mahaprabhu, II. 245.
Gopa Raja Odeyar, II. 216, 270.
Gopa Rajayya, II. 16, 84-5.
Gopay, II. 245.
Gopasamudra, II. 216.
Gopavaram, I. 322.
Gopasa, I. 83.
Gorranta, II. 311, 403.
Gosikere Linga Viraya, II. 344.
Gotti Setti, II. 18.
Govala-Gotra, I. 256.
Govinda, I. 48.
Govinda Deva, I. 168, 356.
Govindanahalli, II. 405.
Govinda Dikshita, I. 264; II. 127, 201.
Govinda Raja, see Saluva Govinda Raja.
Govinda Setti, I. 73.
Govanna, II. 350, 387.
Goyindeva (Govinda Deva?), II. 366.
Grey, Edward, II. 84 (n), 86 (n), 180 (n), 310 (n), 400 (n), 411 (n).
Gauri, II. 412.
Gudda-Sime, II. 344.
Gujarat, I. 272; II. 34 (n).
Gujarat (Guzarate) Kingdom of, I. 79.
Gulbarga, I, 10, 38, 44, 204, 289-385, 421, 484, 455.
Gulur-Sime, II, 16.
Gulya, II, 276.
Gunderi, II, 17, 283.
Gunda Dandanatha (Dannayaka, Dundadhipa), I, 38, 259; II, 265, 371.
Gupdappa Nayaka, II, 246.
Guntur District, I, 233 (n), 358.
Guptas, The, I, 330.
Gusartes (Gujaratis?), II, 145.
Gitti, I, 221, 470; II, 104, 252, 268, 283, 358.
Gitti-Durga, I, 92, 100, 270, 338; II, 266.
Gitti-Rajya, I, 97, 100, 236, 298; II, 346.
Gitti-Sime, I, 302.
Gitti Tirumalayya Maharaya (Rajayya), I, 261; II, 106, 345.
Guyyalur-Sime, II, 282.

H
Habor, I, 78.
Hachale, I, 115.
Hacharagutta alias Mallayyadeva-devapura, II, 228.
Hadapa Jakkeya Nayaka, I, 271.
Hadapa Komaraya, I, 413.
Hadapa Potti Nayaka, I, 268.
Hadavalle-nad, I, 5.
Hadinad (Sime), I, 64, 233, 387.
Haduwalli (Sangitapura), I, 72.
Hagalavadi, I, 329.
Haima Guda, II, 256.
Haivanna Nayaka, II, 269.
Hakka, see Harihara, I.
Hadaravagulu, I, 153.
Halamanthu, II, 347.
Halasige, II, 104.
Halasa Ratama, II, 239.
Halavannahalli, II, 362.
Halebid-Sthalas, II, 404.
Haleya-Kottanur, II, 344.
Haligere, II, 358.
Halivana-Savanta Si, . . . seya Nayaka, II, 248.
Halakur, II, 365.
Halladapura, II, 16.
Hallavuru (Vijayasamudra), I, 90 (n).
Halle Hiriyr, I, 387.
Hallinad Keyurunadiga, I, 318.

Haliyur, II, 328.
Halli Hiriyr, II, 324.
Hambh Numir, I, 204, 384-5.
Hampe, I, 34, 38-9, 44, 56, 86, 113-4, 289; II, 14, 219, 238, 408.
Hampe Odeyar, I, 36.
Hampe Hastinavati, I, 95 (n), 112-3.
Hamparasaayya, II, 370 (n).
Hanabe-Sime, II, 275.
Hanagavadiya-Bhagadandad, I, 300.
Hanassavadi, I, 5, 232.
Hanuman (Hanumanta), I, 27, 40 (n), 70.
Hanumantayyar, II, 19.
Hanumappa Nayaka, II, 278.
Hanuvara-Dippa, I, 70.
Hauum Nakayya, I, 201, 355, 389.
Handarachal, I, 267.
Hande (Family), I, 172.
Handarange, II, 108.
Hangarabagal, II, 346.
Hanugal, II, 104.
Hanugal Taluka, I, 289.
Hannara, I, 221.
Hannaseni, II, 319.
Haraib, see Harihara, I.
Haradur, II, 20, 90.
Haradanahalli, II, 201, 355, 389.
Harahalli-nad, II, 355.
Haraku, I, 216 (n).
Hara Mallayya, II, 141.
Haranahalli, I, 221.
Harandur, II, 368.
Haratalu, I, 318.
Harati, I, 369 (n).
Harati Abhana Nayakayya, II, 17.
Harati Aimangala Tippala Nayakacharya, I, 345.
Harati Imnadi Rangappa Nayakayya, II, 352.
Harayana, II, 423.
Hari (God), I, 325.
Hari Har, I, 24.
Haridra River, I, 378; II, 265.
Harihara Maharaya, II, 19, 29-30, 38, 63, 75, 105, 109, 112, 155, 177-8, 181, 190, 195, 197, 259, 263, 272, 277-8, 289-9, 303-4, 333, 346, 373, 375-6, 394, 421; II,
Heggade Bommayya, II. 339.
Heggade Jayitanna, II. 326.
Heggade Kamaboa, II. 340.
Heggade Lakcumayya, I. 70.
Heggade Machiyanna, II. 324.
Heggade Yareyanna, II. 319.
Heggaditikoppa, II. 20.
Heggere, II. 321.
Heggode, II. 90.
Heggode Tamme Setti, II. 91.
Heidur Khan, I. 406.
Hejaji, II. 261.
Hemadri, II. 130, 130 (n), 232.
Hemakuta Hill, I. 104, 114, 121; II. 230, 237.
Hœmraj, II. 261 (n).
Henagumdyam, I. 117 (n).
Hennageri, II. 260.
Heras, Henry, Rev. Fr., I. 20 (n), 30 (n), 89-90, 97, 131 (n), 132 (n), 133, 135, 137, 139 (n), 283 (n), 290, 298, 308-10 (n), 315 (n), 321 (n), 424, 463 (n); II. 39 (n).
Heradighatta, II. 253.
Hera (Hiriyi), I. 310.
Herugana . . . Chaya, II. 112.
Hindus, The, I. 1, 7, 10, 14, 25, 30-1, 44, 47-8, 84, 89, 103, 132, 134-6, 138-9, 142, 152, 190-1, 200, 395-6, 400-10, 412, 414, 416, 418, 424, 430-2, 438, 454, 454 (n), 456-7, 462, 464-5, 468; II. 1, 7, 11, 39, 51, 57, 144, 144 (n), 226, 245, 390, 424.
Hindu Dharma, I. 1, 13, 21-2, 103, 117, 144, 229, 235, 245-6, 249-50, 255, 303 (n), 320, 418; II. 1-3, 5-7, 9, 23, 26, 49, 189, 227, 265; 272, 343, 345.
Hindustan, I. 393, 414; II. 132, 185, 308.
Hibbari Lukumaiya Nayaka, II. 366.
Hirasu-nad, II. 105.
Hire Hanumappa Nayaka, I. 350.
Hirevalahalli, II. 330.
Hiriyanna Gauda, II. 256.
Hiriyakkattige Amareya Nayaka, II. 246.
Hireya Borapa Gauda, II. 20.
Hiriyya Bayi, II. 20.
Hiriyya Bomma, II. 320.
Hiriyya Chemmaya, II. 260.
Hiriyya Gauda, II. 89.
Hiriyya Hariappa Odeyar, see Hari-
Hiriyya Holalur, II. 340.
Hiriyya Kiliyur Timma, II. 260.
Hiriyya-Jiddaliga-nad, II. 259.
Hiriya Jigalige Four Hundred, II. 104.
Hiriya Kala Matha, II. 321.
Hiriyakere, II. 18.
Hiriya Mahalige, II. 104.
Hiriya Malur, II. 283.
Hiriya Mudiya Nayaka, II. 105.
Hiriya Tammaya Nayaka, II. 258.
Hiriya Tirumala Rajayya, II. 283.
Hiriyur, I. 345-6; II. 328, 368.
Hiriyur-Sime, II. 17.
Hiriyur-Sthalu, II. 252.
Hirivur, II. 352.
Hiruvur, II. 321.
Hisugal Basadi, II. 244.
Hisur Mallarasayya, II. 228.
Hoche Nayaka, II. 258.
Hodali, II. 18.
Hoje Tirumal Roy, see Tirumala Raya, I. 130.
Holalakere, I. 183, 226; II. 363.
Holalakere-Vritti, II. 356.
Hole-Honnur, I. 350.
Holey-Honnur-nad, II. 369.
Hole-Konkana, I. 36.
Hole-Narasipura, I. 258; II. 395-6.
Holeyas, see Paraiyars.
Holi, II. 370, 396, 397.
Hollavani, II. 361.
Holstein, I. 141.
Hommaliga-nad, II. 105.
Hombucha-nad, II. 362, 366.
Hommoja, I. 237.
Honnakalhi, II. 266.
Honale, II. 104.
Honganuru, II. 362.
Honna, II. 200.
Honnahole, I. 169.
Honnamara Nayaika, II. 342.
Honna Gauda, II. 324.
Honana Gauda, II. 13.
Honnakka Nayaikki, II. 248, 398.
Honnati-nad, II. 104.
Honnalai, II. 365.
Honnavalli-Sime, I. 237.
Honnavari (Onore, Honor), I. 45, 70, 151 (n); II. 71, 104, 178 (n), 300, 303, 324.
Honnavre, II. 250.
Honnyai, II. 163.
Honne Setti, II. 18.
Honuru-Sime, II. 228.
Horanahalli, I. 216.
Horapattanagiri, II. 105.
Hormus, II. 308.
Hormusians, The, I. 385.
Hoasabetta, I. 6.
Hoasagunda, I. 448; II. 88, 326.
Hosahalli, I. 216 (n).
Hosaholalu, II. 224.
Hosakore 'akas Krishnasamudra, I. 433.
Hosakote, I. 20, 155.
Hosanadu, I. 7; II. 104.
Hosapattana, I. 11, 34, 89-9, 102-4, 112-3, 113 (n).
Hosuru, I. 155.
Hosaur-nad, II. 284.
Hottena Nayaika, I. 270.
Hoysalas, The, I. 2-6, 11-3, 19, 21, 23, 30, 33-5, 37, 40, 82-3, 88, 90, 101, 115, 146, 152, 184, 421, 433, 434 (n); II. 343, 360.
Hoysala (Hoyissa)-nadu, I. 4, 33-6, 102, 897, 266; II. 139, 224, 228.
Hoysala-Honnur-nadu, I. 300.
Hukka, I. 32.
Hulakkur, II. 329.
Huligere, II. 104.
Hulihara Hayanna, II. 424.
Huli Hallu, I. 221.
Hulivana, II. 341.
Huleyanahalli, II. 340.
Hullappa, II. 184.
Hulliyur-nadu, II. 257.
Hulkadi-nad, II. 280.
Hullur-nad, II. 257.
Hultsch, Dr., II. 219 (n).
Humecha, see also Hombucha-nad, I. 448.
Huttadahalli, I. 169 (n); II. 365.
Hunasavalli, II. 18.
Hunavalli Vidarekari Bomma Nayaika, II. 90.
Hungahi Nayaika, II. 352.
Hunsur Taluka, II. 234.
Hurlil, II. 282-3.
Husain Nizam Shah, I. 132-3, 409 (n), 450.
Iba Batuta, I. 70; II. 178 (n).
Ibrahim Malik, I. 413 (n).
Ibrahim Quitub Shah, I. 132, 406-7, 413.
Ibrahim Qutub Khan, I. 323.
Idai-nad, II. 339.
Idaiurarai, I. 235.
Idegare, II. 349 (n).
Idiga Eight Dandige, I. 149 (n); II. 263.
Idugundi, II. 272.
INDEX

Idukeya Nayaka, II. 319.
Idumakanti Ganga Reddi Garu, I. 23.
Iduvani Balia Gauda, II. 269.
Ikkeri, I. 50, 52, 221, 291; II. 83, 179, 291, 297, 306 (n), 392 (n), 401, 415.
Ilaiyaniyars, II. 199.
Ilalppakku-nada, II. 337, 340.
IIlaiyattakudi, II. 394.
Ilakkappar, II. 205.
Ilam, I. 337.
Ilamarudur, II. 219 (n).
Ilangarkkudi, I. 234.
Imad-ul-Mulk, I. 31, 402, 467 (n).
Imad Shah (Family), I. 467 (n).
Immadi Bukka Raya, see Bukka, II.
Immadi Deva Raya Maharaya, I. 432 (n); II. 4 (n), 188, 267.
Immadi Hiriyamma Kempayya Gaudaraiyya, II. 24.
Immadi Kempe Gaudaraiyya (of Yalannahka), II. 21.
Immadi Narasimha Raya, II. 199.
Immadi Narasimha (Yadava King), I. 141.
Immadi Pradhha Devendra, see Mallikarjunaya Rayya.
Immadi Raja Malla, I. 115.
Immadi Raya Odeyar, II. 423.
Immadi Sadasiva Raya Rayaka, I. 202, 202 (n), 302.
Immadi Tammaya Gauda, II. 236.
IImma-Uyyagaundiyanhalli, II. 362.
India (General), I. 2-3, 5, 7-8, 18, 48, 51, 59, 65, 68, 70-1, 79, 85, 112-3, 124, 191, 201, 209-10, 212, 223 (n), 230, 244, 271, 289-90, 307, 330, 332, 346, 364, 382, 386, 393, 405-6, 430-32, 447-8, 453; II. 6, 28, 72, 82 (n), 83 (n), 84, 93, 95, 109, 223, 297, 299, 310.
India (Northern), II. 31, 51, 111, 112.
India (Southern), II. 33, 57 (n), 85, 86 (n), 98 (n), 152 (n), 157, 159, 192, 248, 297 (n), 313 (n), 408.
India “Lesser”, II. 183 (n).
Indians, The, II. 5.
Indies, The, I. 67.
Indra, I. 48, 48 (n), 73, 250, 268 (n).
Indra Raja (Ratta King), I. 458.
Indumuru Kasavanna Naya, I. 267.
Industan, see India.
Ingalesvarabali, II. 243.

J

Jabalika, II. 18.
Jadeya, I. 221.
Jadeya Ramoj, I. 276-7.
Jagadevapalayam, I. 413.
Jagankere Kalle Gauda, II. 25.
Jagankote, II. 22.
Jagarnate (Jagannath), I. 290 (n).
Jagadeva (Chief), I. 194 (n).
Jaga (Deva) Raya, I. 139, 305, 399; II. 214.
Jagadekamalla Deva (Western Chalukya King), I. 271.
Jagadekamalla Jayasimha (Western Chalukya King), I. 115.
Jaggaya, The Gobhuri Chief, I. 305.
Jagata Jiyaa, II. 324.
Jagatapi-Guttiga-Durga, I. 403.
Jagipu Matha, II. 324.
Jaina Khatariyas, II. 195.
Jaina Mallappa, I. 371.
Jajur-Sime, I. 237, 267.
Jakkanna Heggade, I. 169-70.
Jakkanna Nayaka, I. 33.
Jakkikabbe, II. 157.
Jakkur, II. 236, 342.
Ingalesvara Mayanna, II. 367.
Ingundi, II. 104.
Iraivanasur, I. 234.
Irugappa Damayaka (Odeyar), I. 259 (n); II. 180, 259, 272.
Iruganna, I. 277.
Iranna Bova, II. 270 (n).
Iranna Damayaka, I. 267.
Iriviyannam, II. 188.
Irungola Chola, II. 25.
Irungola-Vala-nada, II. 196.
Irumbiliyur, II. 364.
Isana-Isvaram Udayar, I. 412.
Isvara Deva, King, II. 337, 371.
Isvara, King (of the Tuluva line), II. 27, 263.
Isarappan, II. 275.
Isvararaya Nayaka, I. 213.
Isana-Sivacharya, I. 171.
Italy, I. 46; II. 296.
Ittigaipattu, I. 340.
Ittakur, I. 404.
Ivattam alias Varadaraja-Chatturvedimagalam, I. 36.

62
Jakkavya, II. 320.
Jakara Ramappayya, II. 404.
Jalal-ud-din (Khilji), I. 3.
Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Ibu Hasan, I. 70.
Jalavati, II. 15.
Jamadagnya-Gotra, I. 263.
Jambeyahali-nad, II. 104.
Jambu-Dvpa, I. 40, 73-4; II. 103.
Jambai, I. 159.
Jambir, I. 212, 221: II. 87.
Jamshid Qutb Shah, I. 406.
Jangamasa (Lingayat), I. 13, 75, 158; II. 35 (n), 76, 76 (n), 98, 205, 205 (n), 240, 242, 311 (n).
Jannapura, II. 228.
Jannayya, II. 255.
Jannavre, II. 250.
Jatakas, The, II. 68 (n).
Jatavarman Kulasekhara, I. 165.
Jatavarman Kulasekhara Parakrama Pandya Deva, I. 182.
Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara Pandya, I. 367.
Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya, I. 164.
Jatilavarman Kulasekhara Deva, I. 438.
Jatilavarman Kulasekhara Pandya, I. 413.
Jayachand, II. 85 (n).
Jaya Deva Damayyaka, II. 320.
Jaya-Bhattayya Nayaka, II. 234, 236 (n).
Jayangonda-Sola-Vana-Kovarayyan, I. 192.
Jayanti, II. 180.
Jayasena Bhata, I. 272.
Jayatunga-nad, I. 160.
Java, II. 83 (n), 95.
Jenetejallu, II. 14.
Jesite, The, I. 323, 463 (n); II. 30 (n), 149 (n), 223, 390.
Jerrey, I. 308.
Jews, II. 136.
Jiddulige-nad, II. 165.
Jiddulige-Seventy, I. 151.
Jigale, I. 347.
Jillala Rangapati Rajayya-Deva Maharaaya, I. 317.
Jilocharla, I. 412.
Jina, II. 244.
Jinachandra Deva, II. 243.
Jinendru, II. 157.
Jinesena, II. 244.
Jivarakshaka Bhatta Nandi Raju, II. 253.
Jogis, The (Jogues), II. 51, 51 (n), 52-4, 245.
Jogeshali, II. 333.
John of Montecorino, II. 304 (n).
John Nieuhof, I. 46, 77, 81, 830 (n), 381-2; II. 27, 30.
Jolly, Prof., II. 93 (n).
Jordanus, Fr., II. 183 (n).
Jotishkudi, I. 15.
Jnaprakashapandaram, I. 182.
Junga Vobeya Nayaka, II. 106.
Jungoji Nayaka, II. 105.
Jyotirisvara Kavisekhara, I. 415.

K
Kabbaalal-Sthalu, II. 368.
Kabunalige, II. 104.
Kabur, I. 291.
Kachchippattu-Sirmal, II. 407.
Kachappa Nayaka, I. 319.
Kachi Nayaka, I. 29.
Kadagattur, I. 194 (n).
Kadagodi-Sihola, II. 333, 342.
Kadaikattur (Mod-Kodagattur), I. 155.
Kadaikutu Sevagapperumal, II. 285.
Kadaji, II. 17.
Kadaladaiyadiyilangai - Konda - Sola-Vala-nadu, I. 357.
Kadalur, II. 387.
Kadalaunni, II. 421.
Kadalodi, I. 294.
Kadambas, The, I. 18, 23, 337.
Kadamba-Mandala, I. 389.
Kadanur, II. 280.
Kadasavamisa, II. 68.
Kadiriya Nayini, I. 273.
Kadri, II. 53.
Kadur District, I. 88.
Kagere, II. 257.
Kagollu, II. 190 (n).
Kagalagodu, I. 168.
Kahul, II. 286.
Kaikkolars, (Keyikolars), I. 195; II. 36, 60, 198-9, 364.
Kailasa, II. 13, 21, 210.
Kaivara (Kayivara-nadu), II. 70, 104, 341, 353, 371.
Kakatiyas, I. 2, 25.
Kakare-nad, I. 37.
Kakushtha, II. 31.
Kalahasti, II. 19.
Kalachuriyiya, I. 3.
Kaladgi Distriet, II. 40, 47.
INDEX

Kala Devi, II. 89.
Kalabasti, II. 277.
Kalaiyar-Covil, I. 310.
Kalala Deva, II. 14.
Kalamukhas, The, II. 329, 339.
Kalappa, II. 362.
Kala Nayaka, II. 362.
Kalangudi, II. 356.
Kala Gauda, II. 321.
Kalappalanpattu, II. 402.
Kalasa, I. 221.
Kalasa-Karkala, I. 138, 290.
Kalasa Thousand, II. 350.
Kalattur-Kottam, I. 291; II. 274.
Kalavyaparru, I. 203.
Kalavekal alias Tippasamudra, II. 279.
Kalbergah, see Gulbarga.
Kalesale, II. 344.
Kales Dewar, I. 5; II. 157 (n).
Kalbhy, II. 104.
Kali, I. 21, 22, 411 (n).
Kalideva Setti, II. 224.
Kalikantama, II. 400.
Kalikatte, II. 329.
Kalikot, see Callicut.
Kalininga, I. 91; II. 77.
Kali-Nadiyamma-nadu Four Thousand, I. 37.
Kali Santara Deva, II. 253.
Kaliyaga-Gatta, II. 326.
Kaliyana, I. 450, 470.
Kaliyappa Setti, II. 105.
Kaliyur-Kottam, I. 293, 341; II. 322.
Kallivittarasa, II. 157.
Kalur, II. 246.
Kalla, II. 255.
Kallabasti, II. 14.
Kallars, The, I. 353-4; II. 54.
Kallahalli, II. 282, and (n).
Kallhalli-Sthala, II. 16.
Kallakodagi, II. 361.
Kalappa, II. 367.
Kallarasyamma, II. 414.
Kallasa, I. 18.
Kallavr, II. 250.
Kalleya, II. 329.
Kalnabarage, see Gulbarga.
Kalumalla, I. 238.
Kallmu-nadu, II. 293.
Kallur, I. 318.
Kalla-Velaiikkar, I. 348; II. 54.
Kallyan, see Kalyana.
Kallutanahalli, II. 256.
Kaluvalli-nad Prabhu Talavadi Bammanna, II. 361.
Kalvasal-nadu, II. 394.
Kalyana, I. 103-4.

Kamalaya Nayaka, I. 357.
Kamakshiravattangal, I. 203.
Kamadhenu (Kamadugha), I. 48, 48 (n).
Kama, II. 260.
Kamakothi-Pitha, II. 264.
Kamala-Vasavakanyaka, II. 100 (n).
Kambika, I. 22, 38.
Kamanahalli, II. 261.
Kama Nayaka, I. 460 (n).
Kamanna Nayaka, II. 280.
Kamappa Nattyaka, I. 226, 383.
Kamayi, II. 90.
Kambala, see Kampil.
Kambala Siddere Vodeyar, II. 344.
Kamban, II. 70.
Kambang Udaiyar, I. 176.
Kambhaduru, II. 15, 276.
Kambhayan, II. 352.
Kambhoja, II. 99.
Kamechhiraju Rangayya Deva Choda Maharaftulu, I. 322.
Kameya Danayaka, II. 321.
Kameya Nayaka, I. 460.
Kameya Nayakiti, II. 90.
Kam Gaundi, II. 165.
Kam Setti, I. 394; II. 270.
Kamadurgamu, I. 241.
Kamalans (Kamalars), The, II. 60, 67, 70, 202 (n).
Kammana Odeyar, II. 4.
Kamoja, II. 352, 362.
Kampa Devarasa (Officer), I. 227.
Kampana Odeyar, I. 14-5, 17, 91, 109, 287, 357, 327, 459-60; II. 414.
Kampana, II. (Kumara Kampana), 8, 16-7, 19, 38, 59, 77, 107, 179, 181, 203, 217 (n), 241, 258, 277; II. 13, 70, 102, 126, 205, 235, 285, 266, 347, 353.
Kampana (Grandson of Kachi Nayaka), I. 29.
Kampana (Official), II. 345.
Kampanacharya, II. 158-9.
Kampana Chavudappa, I. 154 (n).
Kampana Nayaka, II. 254.
Kampili (Kampil), II. 31-3, 113, 116, 116 (n).
Kampili (Kampil), Raja of, I. 10, 395.
Kampili, Kingdom of, I. 33.
Kampilya, I. 116 (n).
Kamsa, I. 10.
Kamu Nayaka, II. 278 (n).
Kompalli, see also Annamaradhy, II. 28.
Kananganipalle, I. 240.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Kanaganipalle-Sime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>Kanagiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Kanagota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kanaka Dasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53(n)</td>
<td>Kanakpannattu alias Sedirayanallur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Kanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Kanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Kanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Kanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Kanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Kana Ramana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Kanattanputtur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53(n)</td>
<td>Kanchipura (Kanchi, Conjeeveram)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>Kanipattu (Kanchi, Conjeeveram)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-6</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-5</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198-9</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>Kanipattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Kandachara Brahmana Madappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kandachara Nayaka Timmapaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kandadi Ramannanjaniyangar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Kandamani Ramaya Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Kandanambli Setti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Kandanambli Setti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Kandaprishtha Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Kandanalval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Kandehalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270(n)</td>
<td>Kandehalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Kandikre-Sime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Kandikre-Sime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Kandiya Devar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>Kandilakunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kandilakunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Kandy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94(n)</td>
<td>Kaner Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Kanggodidurgga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>Kanilachelae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459</td>
<td>Kanilachelae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85(n)</td>
<td>Kaniyal Brahman, see Sangippiran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Kanouj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Kanhana (the Yadava King)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Kannadigas, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Kannadigas, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Kannadigas, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Kannagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td>Kannagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>Kannappa Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Kannappa Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Kannappa Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>Kannattur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Kannayya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>Kannayya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388(n)</td>
<td>Kannayya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Kannaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>Kannoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>Kanthirava Narasa Odeyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Kanthirava Narasa Odeyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>Kanthirava Narasa Odeyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Kanthirava Narasa Odeyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kanubeyanahalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Kanyalakuriki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Kanya Kumari, see above Comorin Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kanya Naik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Kapalur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kapilar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388(n)</td>
<td>Kapileswara (the Gajapati King)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>Kapileswara (the Gajapati King)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35(n)</td>
<td>Kapus, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Karauru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Karavalii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>Karaikottu-Brahmadesam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Karai-Kilvan-Puliyur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50(n)</td>
<td>Karanams, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Karanam Chinnayya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Karanika Devanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127(n)</td>
<td>Karanika Devanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Karanika Devanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Karattii Udugundur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Karrya, The Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Karikkadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>Karikere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Karikala Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Karikalavannalavandalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>Karikirai (Tank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Karimali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Kariyanna Gauda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Kariya Gomali Dasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>Kariyamaramahallu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Kariya Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>Karkala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-4</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Karnatak, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Karrar Kavatta Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Karrar Kavatta Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Karra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Karur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Karur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Karuverpampundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>Karuverkuricheli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>Kasaraguppe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Kasaveya Nayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Kasi (Southern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Kasi (Southern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Kasi (Southern)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kasim Bareed, see under Qasim Barid.

Kasivilasa Kriyasakti Acharya (Pandita), I. 14, 17, 26, 95, 108-9, 110 (n), 139, 257-8, 262-3; II. 130, 235.

Kasmir (Kashmire), I. 258; II. 141, 236, 236 (n).

Kasyapa, II. 62.

Kasyapa-Gotra, I. 177, 276; II. 236, 273.

Katak Rayas, I. 34 (n).

Katarilahalli-Sime, II. 359.

Kattaprapa, I. 40; II. 24.

Kathari Salava Immedi Narasinga Rayas, see Vira Narasingha Rayas.

Kattib Chelebi Mustafa Khalilah, II. 170 (n).

Kaudavalli alias Virupamikapura, II. 188, 188 (n), 346, 349.

Kaulindya-Gotra, II. 247.

Kauthilyas, I. 55-6, 143-4, 148, 174-5, 189-90, 250, 251, 262, 360-1, 390-1, 420, 437, 446, 457-9, 461 (n); II. 92, 110-1, 121, 154, 155 (n), 165-6, 171, 193 (n).

Kausala, II. 99.

Kausika-Gotra, I. 260.

Kastas, I. 277.

Kavadamayya Deva, I. 274.

Kavadi Bela Gauda, II. 242.

Kavana, II. 224.

Kavanna, II. 326.

Kavatalada-Sime, I. 198.


Kaverippakkam, I. 340.

Kaveripattana, I. 155.

Kavarippina, II. 364.

Kavidi, I. 235.

Kavuluru, I. 100.

Kaya Nanjinatha Dikshita, II. 276.

Karatattur, I. 354.

Kayam (Channel), I. 413.

Kela Bhagala, I. 346.

Kela Bellur, I. 218.

Kela-nadu, I. 169.

Kela, I. 60, 302, 355.

Kela Kariya Timme Gauda, II. 90.

Kela Malle Gauda, II. 260.

Kela Rama Raja Nayaka-Ayya, II. 260.

Keldi (nad), I. 318; II. 105, 357.

Kellavadi-nadu, I. 295.

Kempa, II. 352.

Kempe Gauda, I. 320.

Kench Somana Nayaka, II. 278.

Kench Viranoodayar, I. 159.

Kenchappa Nayaka, II. 17, 106, 286, 345.

Kenchanna Nayaka, I. 346; II. 252.


Kerala, King of, I. 460.

Kerala-Singavalanadu, I. 217.

Kereya Gauda, II. 253.

Kereya Timmara, I. 269.

Kerre, II. 353 (n).

Kesalur Tippa Gauda, II. 259.

Kesambala, II. 274.

Kesanur, I. 221.

Kesaras, II. 19.

Kesar, II. 349 (n).

Kesava Deva Heggade, II. 367.

Kesava Perumala, II. 359.

Kesava Ravata, II. 283.

Kesava Settiyyar, II. 188.

Kesiraja Dannayaka, I. 215.

Kesiyan, I. 215.

Kesiyan, I. 215.

Kesavapuram alias Belugali, I. 215.

Ketaganaanakere, II. 394.

Ketamalla, II. 336.

Kettan, II. 359.

Ketavve, II. 266, 250, 363.

Ketaveya Nayaka, II. 319.

Kettisayar, II. 360.

Ketu, II. 100.

Kahan-l-Sa'id, I. 385, 396.

Khan Kanan, I. 401.

Khan Mahomed, I. 431.

Khandali, II. 98, 102, 103.

Khandikota, see Ghandikota.

Khata (China), I. 74.

Khavale Gavunda, II. 335.

Khoutba, The, I. 411.

Khusaru Khan, I. 10.

Khur Sharif, see also Bahaud-din, I. 3.

Khwaja Mahmood, I. 439.

Kielhorn, Dr., II. 2 (n).

Kiga, I. 221.

Kigga, 36 Nad, I. 170.

Kikkeri, I. 160.

Kilaikurichchi, I. 358.

Kilaipuduvayal, I. 358 (n).

Kilai-nadu, II. 320, 334.

Kili Gauda, I. 75.

Kilannur (Mod. Kalyanur), I. 335.

Kilannur, II. 357.

Kilur, I. 379, 384 (n).

Kiluvar Kundiyan, I. 353.

Kiirti (Kiirtiga), I. 271.

Kiirti Rayas (Bhata), I. 272; II. 237.
Kirtillayangaru, II. 50.
Kirtti Setti, II. 334, 335.
Kirukula Nayaka, I. 149 (n).
Kirugusur, I. 179.
Kishkindha, I. 113-4, 118, 140.
Kishwar Khan, I. 416.
Kistna District, II. 277.
Kistna, River, see Krishna, The,
Kittkkinadu (Kidakkai-nadu), II. 412.
Kittadur alias Akkambikapura, II. 18, 380.
Kittanakere, see above Agraha Ballalapura, II. 320, 322.
Kobade, II. 367.
Kodakani, II. 18.
Kodamagani, I. 350.
Kodamballi, II. 281.
Koda-nad, II. 345.
Kodangeyur, II. 157.
Kidangil, II. 412.
Kodigehalli, II. 361.
Kodihalli, I. 268.
Kodi-Koppa, II. 18.
Kodi Nayaka, I. 448.
Kodungalur, I. 218.
Kodura, II. 350.
Kodur (Country), II. 92.
Kodur Turika Heggade, II. 346.
Kolala, I. 155.
Kolala-Chavadi, II. 19.
Kolala-nad, II. 273, 343-4, 366.
Kolala-Sime, II. 20, 254.
Kolahalli Tammadi Nayaka, I. 350.
Kollegal Taluka, I. 233 (n).
Kollur see Kultur.
Kolanahal-Sthala, II. 367.
Kolgama, II. 339.
Kolikudu, see also Calicut, I. 15.
Komara Chenna Basavanna Odeyar, II. 351.
Komaramangalam Odeyar Nangamayya, I. 212.
Komaraya Viraya, I. 358.
Kommu, II. 277.
Komatis, The, II. 35 (n), 67.
Komera Timmanagudu, II. 22.
Kondagai, I. 373.
Kondaganale, II. 259.
Konda Jyothi, I. 207.
Kondakamala-Vallur-Sime, I. 91.
Kondamma, II. 7.
Kondama Nayaka, II. 16, 195 (n).
Kondamarasu, see Rayasam Kondamarusaya.
Kondapalle, I. 467.
Kondappara, I. 207.
Kondapayya, II. 282.
Konoja (Konoju), I. 237 (n), 239, 239 (n); II. 38-9.
Kondakundanwaya, II. 243.
Kondalakatti Vellalar, II. 43.
Kondarade, II. 104.
Kondaraja Venkataraja Timmaraja, II. 268.
Kondaviti-Sima, I. 358.
Kondavidu Reddi, Chief, I. 99 (n).
Konadu, I. 388.
Konapa Nayaka, II. 246.
Konerirajapurum, I. 164.
Konerimaikkondan Tribhuvanacakravartin Perumal Kulasekhara Deva, II. 406.
Kongu-nadu, I. 35, 75, 285; II. 224.
Konga Irama Nayaka, II. 341.
Kongani-Vridhha-Raja (Ganga King), II. 24, 68.
Kontamarnasa, II. 344.
Koolbarga, see Gulbarga.
Koppa, I. 169; II. 345, 351, 413.
Koppa alias Timmapura, I. 270; II. 282.
Koppa-Koda-nad, II. 345.
Koppavalli, I. 177.
Kora-Magani, I. 253.
Koran, I. 411.
Kora-nad, II. 104.
Korana Haripa, II. 113, 271.
Ko-Rajakesarivarman (Rajaraja Deva), II. 333-4.
Koravangala, II. 319.
Korukkai, I. 234.
Kotakonda, I. 97.
Kotapi, I. 235.
Kote, II. 22.
Kote Eraganahalli, see Eraganahalli.
Kote Someyya (Soyeyya), Nayaka, I. 448, 458.
Kotidevaradhya, I. 92, 99.
Kotipa Nayaka, II. 256.
Kotisannayya, I. 276.
Kotisaradhyya, I. 278.
Koti Reddi Narapa Reddi, I. 100.
Kottaheeruvi, I. 413.
Kottakonda, I. 29.
Kotte Chemmana, II. 282.
Kottur, I. 298.
Kotturhalli, II. 326.
Kottur-Hosahalli alias Virapura, II. 29.
Kottur-Simhasana, I. 293, 347.
Kottur-Chavadi, I. 294.
Kottur-Sime, I. 240.
INDEX

Kov-Iraja-Kesaripenmar alias Sri-Bajadhira Deva, I. 193.
Kov-Iraja Kesarivanman alias Sri-Bajendra-Sola Deva, II. 68.
Kovi, I. 201.
Koyalang, I. 78.
Krishna, The, I. 8, 13, 22, 24, 39, 44, 120 (n), 150, 449, 463, 467; II. 29, 86 (n).
Krishna (Music Master), II. 413, 413 (n).
Krishna, Dr. M. H., I. 60 (n).
Krishna (Yadava King), I. 3.
Krishna Bhatta, II. 265, 239, 253.
Krishnappayya, I. 207; II. 286.
Krishna Naig, I. 30-1.
Krishnappa Nayaka (Son of Bayyappa Nayaka), I. 271; II. 17, 286, 287, 392.
Krishnappa Nayakka (of Belur. Bayyappa Nayaka's son?), I. 231.
Krishnappa Nayaka, (of Dummnad), I. 159-60.
Krishnappa Nayaka (of Gingee), I. 76, 310.
Krishnappa Nayaka (of Madura), I. 382.
Krishnappa Nayaka, (Son of Solur Basavappayya), I. 268; II. 15.
Krishnappa Nayaka, (Son of Venkatadri Nayaka), I. 266; II. 203, 211.
Krishnappa Nayaka, (Son of Viswanatha Nayaka), II. 263, 263 (n).
Krishnanna Nayaka, I. 266.
Krishnapura, I. 227; II. 270, 402.
Krishnarayapuram, I. 264.

Krishnarajayya, (Son of Rama Raya), I. 182, 317.
Krishna Ray, I. 444.
Krishna Raya (of Nandyala), I. 310.
Krishna Raya Nayaka, I. 268.
Krishnappa Timmaraju Nagaraju Venkataraju Kondaraju, II. 287 (n).
Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Dr. S. I. 4 (n), 89-90, 265, 283, 326.
Krishna Sastri, H., Mr., I. 35, 101, 173, 199 (n), 200 (n), 298, 312, 326, 328; II. 190, 220 (n), 277.
Krishna Somayaji, II. 237.
Krishnangarayyan, I. 227.
Krishatapa, II. 415.
Kriyasakti Wodeyar, see Kasivilasa Kriyasakti.
Krottacheruva alias Bukkarayasmudram, I. 233-4, 237.
Kahatriyas, The, I. 188-9, 247, 256, 447; II. 3, 31-2, 59 (n), 92, 106 (n), 119-20, 122, 127-9, 139, 195.
Kahemapura, see Gerasoppe.
Kashiramani, River, II. 251.
Kabera, II. 100.
Kubool Khan, I. 407.
Kudalur, II. 17, 357.
Kudimiyamalai, I. 388.
Kugaiyur-Pettai, II. 286.
Kuhaulur, II. 394.
Kukkala-nadu, I. 11, 19, 82-3.
Kukkasamudra, II. 15-6.
Kunai Kallattur, I. 358 (n).
Kulapparvatas, I. 124.
Kulasagara Pandia (Kulasekhara Pandya), I. 76.
Kulassecchara, I. 353.
Kulasekhara puram, I. 394.
Kallattur, I. 375.
Kulavadi, II. 259.
Kulabarga, see Gulbarga.
Kulika, II. 100.
Kuliyateppa, II. 112.
Kuliyetta-Sirmai, I. 161.
Kullur, II. 22.
Kulottunga Chola, I. 163-4, 166, 291.
Kulottunga Chola, III. 164, 357; II. 62, 66, 69, 87, 87 (n), 408 (n).
Kulur Rama Raya, II. 281.
Kuluvayi (Tank), II. 22.
Kumari (Cape Comorin), I. 339.
Kumarankanasa Maharaja (Chola), II. 323 (n).
Kumara Bommarasa, I. 448.
Kumara Deva Raya, see Deva Raya, I.
Kumara Dorabhakkare Dannayaka, II. 250.
Kumara Chettiyar, II. 329.
Kumaragiri (Reddi, King), II. 397.
Kumara Gupta, II. 215.
Kumara Kampana, see Kampana II.
Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka, I. 261.
Kumara Mallikarjuna, II. 198.
Kumaramantandapuram, II. 333.
Kumara Muthula Nayaka, I. 463.
Kumara Valmiki, II. 189.
Kumara Vyasa, II. 181 (n).
Kumba, I. 158.
Kumbabandi, II. 281.
Kumbakonam, II. 447.
Kumbara Mahabala Deva, II. 90.
Kumbasi, I. 221.
Kumbati Ranaya Nayaka, II. 90.
Kumbha, I. 70.
Kumbia, see also Cumbola, I. 72.
Kummat, see also Crynmata, I. 32.
Kumata, I. 151 (n).
Kumbhipaka, I. 379; II. 210.
Kunudenu (Poet), II. 172.
Kundalagirike, I. 236.
Kundani, I. 6.
Kundi Three Thousand, II. 224.
Kundiripi-Sime, I. 93, 198, 240.
Kundur, I. 347.
Kuneli-nad, II. 104.
Kunehukapu Lingana Gauda, I. 93.
Kunigil, II. 21.
Kunjarakonapuri (Anegundi), I. 91, 93, 112, 117.
Kunjettl, II. 158.
Kunnakkudi, I. 182.
Kunnandar Koyil, I. 340, 348, 356; II. 54.
Kunrallur, I. 295.
Kunti, I. 143 (n).
Kupparma, II. 318.
Kuppatur, I. 27, 83, 149 (n), 221; II. 112-3, 271.
Kuppatur-nad, II. 269 (n).
Kuppatur-Bharangi-Sime, I. 182, 376.
Kuppugudu, II. 366.
Kuppe Twelve, II. 90-1, 242.
Kuppyehalli, II. 259.
Kuram, II. 405.
Kurambur, I. 212-3.
Kurangaka, I. 63.
Kurichehi, I. 234.
Kurralam, I. 234.

Kurnool District, I. 238, 321, 412 (n); II. 21, 280.
Kurubars, Kurubas, Kurumbaars, I. 11, 25, 49, 354; II. 37, 40-41 (n), 42, 42 (n), 43 (n), 45-48 (n), 49, 186, 296, 305.
Kurumba-Gaudas, II. 49.
Kurubarahatti, I. 155.
Kurubara Kaloya (tank), I. 214.
Kurudamale-Sime, II. 350.
Kurumbha, II. 99.
Kurugodu, Kurugode, Kurumgodu, I. 113, 116, (n); II. 19.
Kurugodu-Sime, I. 295; II. 14, 19.
Kurukundi, I. 238.
Kurukshetra-Vidyanganag, I. 101 (n).
Kurumavi (Mod. Kurumayi), I. 179.
Kurvanku-nadu, I. 268.
Kurvanknad-venthey, I. 216 (n).
Kuruva, II. 337.
Kuruvgaad, see Kuruba-Gaudas.
Kurvanda (family), II. 86.
Kusadalayya, II. 330.
Kusavesvara, II. 334.
Kutahalli, II. 346.
Katavachendrabratavasin, II. 77.
Kuttadum Nayasar, I. 285.
Kuvara Lakkaya (Lakshma), II. 249, 250.
Kyasalur, II. 340.

L

Lacerio, I. 243.
Lahi Deva Bhatta, I. 277.
Lakai-boyu, II. 358.
Lakapa Nayaka, II. 286.
Lakhayi Hergadi, II. 242.
Lakkabbe, II. 253.
Lakkamba, II. 464.
Lakkeya Nayaka, II. 249.
Lakkanna Dannayaka, I. 58, 259 (n), 173, 179, 267; II. 256, 356.
Lakkarsa, II. 343.
Lakkarasa Odeyar, II. 350.
Lakkaraja Timnapaya, I. 343; II. 253.
Lakshmamma, I. 224.
Lakshmana Bhatta, I. 433.
Lakshmana, Prince, I. 434.
Lakshmisr (Poet), II. 23, 151 (n), 156 (n), 183 (n), 212 (n), 216 (n), 226 (n), 315 (n).
Lakshmi Bommakka, II. 244.
Lakshmidhr-Bhatta, II. 253.
Lakshmapa Nayaka, II. 395.
Lakshmi-Narayana Deva, II. 347.
Lakshmi-Narayana Yogi odi Sripadaraja, II. 142.
INDEX

Lakshmi-Narasimhapura, see Kandavalli.
Lakshminathapura, II. 366.
Lakshmipati-ayya, II. 16.
Lakshmipura, II. 108.
Lakshumayi, II. 89.
Lakulagama-Samaya, II. 26 (n), 329.
Lakumapura, alias, Krishnadevamaharaya-Samudram, II. 253.
Lala (Lata), I. 291; II. 99.
Lambakurna, II. 99.
Lane, Father, II. 185 (n).
Lanka, I. 114.
Layadakere, Sirum Setti, II. 18, 274.
Legni (Telingana), I. 297.
Lenkana Nayaka, II. 258, 319.
Lepakshi, II. 282.
Lepapayque, I. 242, 419.
Linga Bhatta, I. 217.
Lingajamma, II. 21.
Lingamadiya, II. 405.
Lingana Gauda, II. 253, 269.
Lingana, I. 339, 342.
Linganna (Author), I. 86 (n).
Linganna (Citizen), I. 376.
Linganna Nayaka, I. 141; II. 21.
Linganna Odeyar, II. 259, 350.
Lingappa, II. 340.
Lingavantases, see Jangamas.
Lingayya Machanarya, I. 277.
Lingoja, I. 96, 276.
Linschoten, John Huighen Van, II. 27, 47, 50, 56, 82, 114, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 296, 305, 359, 390.
Lisbon, II. 287.
Little Conjeeveram, I. 172; II 266, 275, 403 (n), 404.
Lodava Nayaka, II. 286.
Lodhy Khan, I. 456.
Lokesvara, I. 167.
Lokaya-Sahani, II. 101.
Lomada, I. 349.
Ludder Dew (Deo), see Pratapa Rudra, Deva.
Luders, Dr. Heinrich, I. 319.
Luiz de Mello de Silva, I. 72.

M
Ma'bar, I. 4-5; II. 157 (n).
Macala Nayaker, I. 422.
Maca Raya, I. 305.
Machanahalli, II. 421.
Machaya Dannayaka, II. 332.
Machiya Nayaka, II. 332.
Machasamudra, II. 332.
Machiavel, I. 22 (n).

Machi Deva, I. 275.
Macha Gaunda, II. 18, 356.
Macheyya Nayaka, II. 105.
Mada, II. 96.
Mada Deva, King, II. 337.
Mada-Jiya, II. 159.
Mada Nayaka, II. 252.
Madahalu, II. 321.
Madam, II. 163.
Madamma, II. 324.
Madamma Dannayaka, I. 259 (n).
Madanpakkam, II. 293.
Madappa, II. 89.
Madappayya, I. 233.
Madappa (Minister), II. 227.
Madarasa Odeyar, I. 258, 300; II. 281, 346, 346 (n).
Madarai Sanpalli, I. 343-4.
Madanarque, I. 343.
Madavadi-nad, II. 348, 367.
Madava Salangi, Kesavayya, II. 339.
Madavala-Sthana, II. 274.
Madayagari Mallamma, I. 463.
Maddagirihalli, I. 255.
Maddev-battar, II. 364.
Madhava (Official), II. 338.
Madhava (descendant of the Brahman Chaunda), I. 256, 258, 263; II. 28, 126, 129, 235, 236 (n).
Madhava Bhatta, II. 347.
Madhava Gupta, II. 215.
Madhava Jiya, II. 336.
Madhava Josynu, II. 18.
Madhavacharya Vidyaranya, I. 13-4, 21, 34, 38, 84, 87, 88, 110, 111 (n), 190, 190 (n), 191, 247-8, 256-7, 257 (n), 258 (n); II. 154, 236 (n), 267, 373 (n), 396.
Madhavanka, I. 258, 258 (n).
Madhavaradhya, II. 227.
Madigas, I. 149, 149 (n), 157-8; II. 56.
Madi Gaunda, II. 164, 165 (n), 259, 429.
Madigdeva Dannayaka, II. 224.
Madira, I. 337.
Madremelugo, see Imadul-mulk, I. 467, 467 (n).
Madura (Madhura), I. 2, 5-6, 8-11, 14, 16-7, 45, 69, 76-7, 218, 243, 289-90, 299, 305, 309, 320-21, 326, 329, 330 (n), 351-4, 356, 381-2, 427, 429, 463; II. 27, 37, 54, 57, 85, 94, 202, 206, 261, 299, 309 (n), 386, 407, 421.
Madur, II. 212.
Madurantaka-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 63.
Mahamandalesvara Ramaya Deva, II. 71.
Mahamandalesvara Rachaya Deva
Maharaja, II. 104.
Mahamandalesvara Raghupati Raja
Maha-arusu, II. 15.
Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja
Viththala Raja Tirumalaivya
Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja
Tirumala Rajayya Deva, I. 238; II. 50, 196, 237, 252, 344.
Mahamandalesvara Rudra Deva Mahara-
raya, alias, Rudramba, Queen, II. 158.
Mahamandalesvara Sonnaiyya
Nayaka, I. 174 (n), 344.
Mahamandalesvara Tammarasa, II. 326.
Mahamandalesvara Timma Rajayya,
II. 286.
Mahamandalesvara Timmaya Deva
Maha-arusu, II. 276, 392.
Mahamandalesvara Vira Mallappa
Odeyar, II. 14.
Mahanavami, I. 412, 437, 441, 443;
II. 145, 169-70, 209, 215-6, 239,
370, 372-3, 373 (n), 374-375 (n),
385, 385-7, 409, 419, 427.
Mahanyakacharya Harati Lakshmi-
pati Nayaka, II. 260.
Mahanyakacharya Kamegeti Segale
Hamumc Nayaka, II. 353 (n).
Mahanyakacharya Kati Nayaka, I. 97.
Mahanyakacharya Konda-
Nayaka, II. 286.
Mahanyakacharya Mukunda Kadiri
Vobali Nayini, I. 273.
Mahanyakacharya Nidugal Tim-
manna Nayaka, II. 106, 344.
Mahanyakacharya Yallappa Nayaka,
I. 354.
Mahanyakacharya Yallappa Odeyar,
II. 246.
Maha-nad prabhu Bidyavara Mum-
mudi Chikkappa Gaudaraiya, II.
253.
Mahapatras, I. 462.
Mahaprabhu Bhairanna Nayaka, II.
263.
Mahaprabhu Rayicha Gauda, I. 433.
Mahaprabhu Narasinga Gauda, II.
329.
Mahaprabhu Toya Singeya Dan-
nayaka, II. 328.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahaprabhu Vighnesvara Odeyar</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahapradhan Arasar (Tipparsar)</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahapradhana Sokkimaliya (Bokimayya)</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharasa, I.</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra, I.</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharatlos, The, I.</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahavira Madaraka, I.</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasavanta Bobparasa, I.</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Chikka Kalayya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>333, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Kudalur Manchaya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamanta Mahadeva Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Manjaya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>338, 360, 360 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhepi Mayileya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Varadabhupati Nayakkar, I.</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Sakkaya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Sipati Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Sonnaiyar Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>343, 361; 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasamantadhipati Vaivyicheha Gauda, I.</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendramangalam, I.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahesvara (Bodhi)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahesvara-pandita Aradhya, I.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahipati Yerrama Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishi, I.</td>
<td>40 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishmatimandala, I.</td>
<td>40 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishmatipura, I.</td>
<td>40 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishyas, The, I.</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishavishaya, I.</td>
<td>40 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahomed (The Prophet), I.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailapur, see Mysore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maisur, see Mysore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majandur (Baindur), I.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major, R. H., I.</td>
<td>252 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar, I.</td>
<td>2, 45, 51, 63, 72, 78-9, 289, 307; 34-5, 57, 117, 310, 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaca, I.</td>
<td>78-9, 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mala Gauda, I.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaiyavakakon, I.</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaimandalap-perumal Nambi Iravisetty, I.</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaiyattal Siranga Nayakiyar Manikkan, I.</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakatala, I.</td>
<td>97; 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malalagade Bomma Gauda, I.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malalagade Mahaprabhu Macha Gauda, I.</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malambika, I.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malanadu, I.</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malapa Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malapa Nayandu, I.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malalur Appanna, I.</td>
<td>370 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malalursthala, I.</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malatursthala, I.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaras, I.</td>
<td>267; 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavalli, I.</td>
<td>258, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavalli Taluka, I.</td>
<td>90, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavvi (Mod. Malambi), I.</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayandur Redabira, I.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldeo (Maldive Islands), I.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleahalli, I.</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maley, I.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleyakka, I.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleya-Bennur, I.</td>
<td>235-6, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male-nadu, I.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleasani, I.</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleya Rama Setti, I.</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleyakanta Deva, I.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleyla Matha, I.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male-nad Maha-prabhu Gopanna, I.</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleyamma Gauda, I.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male-Nadu, I.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Rajya, I.</td>
<td>46, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali Devi, I.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Makbul, I.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Kafur, I.</td>
<td>4-5, 10, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Yakkhadi, I.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malla (Poet), I.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malla Devi, I.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malla Raja, I.</td>
<td>270; 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallama Raja, I.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallana (Mallana-Ayya), I.</td>
<td>177-8, 259, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallana Odeyar, I.</td>
<td>154; 15, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallanaradhy, I.</td>
<td>93, 99, 276, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapanarque, I.</td>
<td>242, 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa, I.</td>
<td>350; 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa (of the Treasury), I.</td>
<td>169 (n); 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa Odeyar, I.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>22, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa Odeyar, see Mahamandalesvara Vira Mallapa Odeyar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malla Rahuttar, I.</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallarasayya, I.</td>
<td>182, 376; 141, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallars (or Vedars), I.</td>
<td>41 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallarsa, I.</td>
<td>223; 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayanapura, I.</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayaya Nayaka, I.</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayave, I.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallayya-Deva, I.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Malli Bhatta, II. 14, 349 (n).
Malli Deva, II. 337.
Malli Gauda, II. 329.
Mallikarjuna, I. 260 (n); II. 247.
Mallikarjunacharya, I. 275-6.
Mallikarjuna Bhatta, I. 275 (n).
Mallikarjuna Raya, II. 4, 230, 237, 265, 274, 275, 415.
Mallinatha (General), I. 33, 35.
Mallinatha Odeyar, II. 231.
Mall Setti, II. 18, 19.
Malliyana-Ayya, II. 283.
Maloya (of Kulya-teppa), II. 112.
Maluru, I. 40 (n); II. 357.
Malyavanta, I. 114.
Mamboja, II. 140.
Mamdapur, II. 224.
Manaiyil Kottam, I. 337.
Manayilinadu, I. 337.
Manaiyan-Tangal, II. 287 (n).
Manambika, I. 90.
Manamathurai, I. 310.
Manampadi, I. 227.
Manancort, I. 78.
Manali, II. 339.
Manapar, I. 78.
Manave Madiga, II. 90.
Manavur, I. 76.
Manavane Vitharka, II. 89.
Mandalika Saluva, II. 29.
Mande-Gamunda Soya, II. 89.
Mandelslo, I. 141, 298, 298 (n).
Mandu-nad Thirty, I. 169 (n), 350; II. 349 (n), 361, 365-7.
Mandy alias, Krishnarayapuram, II. 12.
Mandy Taluka, I. 423.
Mangada Timmoju Kondaja, II. 39 (n).
Mangadu, I. 341.
Mangala (Village), II. 365.
Mangalla Timmojula, II. 39 (n).
Mangalur (Mangalore), I. 58, 62, 70, 72, 83, 302, 470; II 53 (n), 104, 403.
Mangalapura, II. 345.
Mangalur Naga Gauda, II. 89.
Mangammal, II. 217.
Mangaraja (Poet), II. 413.
Mangappa Dandadhipa, I. 300; II. 273.
Mangayi, II. 409.
Mangarasa, II. 195, 196.
Mangarasa (Poet), II. 313, 315 (n).
Mangarasan, II. 277.
Manija, II. 251.
Manikaranika-Khetra, II. 211.
Manisa Setti, II. 341.
Manivalli, II. 71.
Maniya, II. 389.
Mannainadu, I. 192.
Mannarkoyil, I. 340.
Mannu, II. 15.
Manneya-Samudra alias Devaraya-
pura, II. 60.
Manneyur, II. 340.
Mannechi, Niceliao, I. 290 (n), 316-7.
Man舒-kula, I. 275.
Manuri Devala, I. 157.
Mapura, I. 82.
Mara Battar, II. 364.
Mara Bova, II. 329.
Mara Gavuda, I. 358 (n).
Maradushali, II. 256.
Maraduru, I. 357.
Maraganikunta, II. 282.
Marakkanam, I. 367.
Maragaudanakatte, II. 270.
Maramanahalli, I. 154.
Maran^adalyan, I. 333.
Marana, II. 398.
Marappa (Marapa) Odeyar, I. 14, 18, 28, 91, 109, 110, 257, 287, 299; II. 232.
Marappa Setti, II. 353.
Marapa (Official), II. 359.
Marappa Setti, II. 104.
Marasur, II. 272.
Marata Viththalesvara Deva Mahan-
arsus, II. 286.
Marataka-rajya, I. 259 (n).
Maratakapuri, I. 167.
Maravas, the I. 171, 197; II. 54.
Maravatur Gana Gauda, II. 91.
Maravarman Sundara Pandya I. I. 165.
Mhyya Gauda, II. 19-20.
Maraynahalli alias Danayakapura, II. 246.
Mari, II. 319.
Mareo Polo, II. 417 (n).
Maredapalli, I. 290.
Margarshaya Nayaka, II. 392, 393.
Maramma, II. 400.
Mari Setti, II. 105, 342.
Maroja, I. 276.
Martin Correa, II. 30.
Marutaras-Padavidu, I. 158; II. 387.
Marutam, II. 45, 46.
Masana, II. 324.
Masana Gauda, II. 354.
Masanakka, II. 89.
Masandi-nadu, II. 337.
Masanacharya, I. 276.
Masanoja, II. 319.
Masaveya Sime, I. 198.
Masiqa Gauda, II. 348.
Mastii, II. 285.
Masti, I. 155.
Masulipatam, I. 209 (n), 224, 224 (n), 382 (n), 290 (n), 391; II. 131.
Mausur Jakkya, I. 448.
Masuvani, II. 232 (n).
Matangaparvata, I. 114.
Mathakere, I. 216; II. 278.
Mattruballi, II. 355.
Mattiyu Kurienchi, I. 375.
Mattucotam, I. 56, 396.
Muttu Tirumala Nayaka, II. 271.
Mauryas, The, I. 40.
Mava-bova, II. 258, 320.
Mavallvanam, I. 310, 310 (n), 320.
Mavandur, II. 273.
Mayagonda Gauda, I. 350.
Mayakka, II. 332.
Mayikollapura, I. 426.
Mayisi (Village), I. 168.
Mayyanna, II. 367.
Mayanna, II. 349.
Mayi Devi (Tank), II. 354.
Mayi Sathani, II. 332.
Mayurasarma, II. 31, 67 (n).
Meec (Meecia), I. 79.
Meeci Setti, II. 334, 335.
Medakery Nayaka, II. 353.
Medarametta Singirinayudu, I. 350.
Medimakulapalli, II. 403.
Meer Fuzi Oolla, I. 401, 461, 465.
Megasthenes, I. 52 (n); II. 156.
Megot Timma Nayudu, I. 233.
Megunda, I. 231.
Megunra-Valanadu, I. 293.
Meguravalli, II. 350.
Mekanayanakanapalya, I. 155.
Melapor, see Mylapore.
Melmuri, I. 293.
Melpundi Kunniyarasah, II. 210.
Melnabhi, I. 177, 449.
Melubagri-bayal, I. 110.
Melukote, II. 57 (n), 212.
Melur, II. 68.
Menasur, II. 348, 367.
Mergen (Mirjan), I. 70.
Merkal-nadu, II. 196.
Meru, II. 268.
Metthvold, William, II. 35 (n), 83 (n), 143 (n), 145 (n), 161 (n), 242.
Meydevar, I. 179.
Meygunrada-vala-nadu alias Naripallipadu, I. 295.
Milan, I. 121.
Mirza Shah Rukh, I. 385.
Mitramisra, I. 247.
Mittaligana-Katte, I. 293.
Mieechas, the, I. 8, 22, 34; II. 1, 59 (n), 111.
Modahalli (Old), I. 233, 233 (n).
Modur, I. 318.
Mogur Somayya Devodeya, II. 228.
Mohanangi, Princess, II. 163.
Mojoru, I. 449.
Molakalmur Taluka, II. 109.
Moleya Baira Gauda, II. 20.
Moleees, I. 451.
Mompuru, I. 159.
Monamuttahalli, (Village), I. 158.
Moolaa Dawood Bidury, I. 430.
Moodkul see Mudkal.
Mookurrib Khan, I. 431.
Moors, I. 71, 81, 133, 409-10, 422, 424, 431; II. 52, 145 (n), 299, 303.
Moostufa Khan, I. 456.
Mora-Guruva, II. 337.
Moreland, Mr., I. 208, 210-11, 211 (n), 212; II. 304 (n).
Moroji, II. 368.
Moslale, I. 101.
Mosalamaduvirama, I. 264.
Mosarur, I. 221.
Muechundi, II. 236, 346.
Mudagatta Panditarrya, II. 283.
Muda-Gauda, I. 318.
Mudaliya, II. 279.
Mudallars, the, II. 42, 43, 43 (n), 48.
Mudaliyar Amarkonar, I. 373.
Munda-nadu District, II. 60.
Mudda (Muddappa, son of Sangama), I. 91.
Mudda Girinathayya, II. 273.
Mudda-Kundani-virth, I. 214.
Muddana, I. 278.
Muddanacharya, I. 277, 278, 278 (n).
Muddana Keti, I. 431-32; II. 89.
Muddana Nayaka, I. 172.
Muddappa see Muddatha Dannanatha I. 259.
Muddappa Odeyar, I. 14, 109.
Muddappa (Mude, Muda) Dannayaka (Dandesa), I. 256, 259, 259 (n); II. 107, 113, 225, 266 (n), 358.
Mude, I. 221.
Mudi Gauda, II. 352.
Mudigere, II. 284.
Mudigonda Cholapura, II. 321.
Mudigonda-Sola-Valanadu, II. 320.
Mudi-Kondacholapuram, II. 102.
Muduraja Odayar, II. 275.
Mudiyan, I. 160.
Mudkul, I. 379, 403, 406, 407, 464; II. 77, 131, 174 (n), 185.
Mudubidre, II. 400.
Muddukurukki, II. 20.
Mudurey, II. 282.
Muganada-venthe, I. 295.
Mugandar-nadu, I. 295.
Mughal, The, I. 317.
Muhammad Shah Bahmani II, I. 439.
Muhammad Khan, Prince, I. 405-6.
Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, II. 94.
Muhammad Tughlaq, I. 10, 11, 31, 210-1.
Mukkaivadi, I. 291.
Mukkanna-Itya, II. 344.
Mukkari (Village), II. 285.
Mukku Timmanna, I. 463.
Muktaharharapura, II. 239.
Mukunda, I. 106.
Mukundasaiga, II. 279.
Mulabhadra, II. 105, 103.
Mulasthana (Village), I. 449.
Mulasthana (Town), II. 322.
Mulbagal (Mulaivay), I. 95-6, 231, 357; II. 18, 104, 142, 281.
Mulbagal-Tekalnadu, I. 241; II. 118.
Mulkinadu, I. 294.
Mulkinati-Sima, I. 294.
Mulla Da'ud, I. 400.
Mullandrum, I. 278.
Mullinadu, I. 233; II. 285.
Mullik Seif-oold-Deen Ghory, I. 400.
Mulavay, see Mulbagal.
Mulavay-Chavadi, I. 155.
Mulavay Hariyappa, II. 275.
Mulavay Jannarasa, I. 231; II. 274.
Mulavay Naeki Devi, II. 359.
Mulavay-Nadu, I. 180.
Mulavay-Mayya, I. 231, 236, 298; II. 256, 274-5, 279, 359.
Mulavagli Saluva Kenehanna Nayaka, II. 369.
Mummudi Chikka Raya Tamme Gaudaraya, II. 20 (n).
Mummudi Sola-Brahma Marayan, I. 163.
Mummudi Sola Posan, I. 163.
Mummudi Temmayi Gauda, II. 20.
Munnaiyadaiyavan, I. 286.
Munibhadra, II. 244.
Munichandra Deva, II. 243.
Muniyur Matha, II. 347.
Murari Ravutta, II. 278.
Murti Nayaka, II. 285.
Murti Rama Rajayya, I. 238.
Murti Raya, I. 268.
Muse Bai, II. 301.
Musulmans, see Muhammadans.
Musukolattur, II. 397.
Muse, I. 169.
Muthaliers, see Muddaliars.
Mutta-dasari, II. 201 (n).
Muttana Hosavur, II. 158.
Muttakur, II. 338.
Muttana, II. 336.
Muttanna, see Bukka I.
Muttina Lakshmi Setti, I. 207.
Muttiyarsan Ilamman Suvasa Nayakkar, II. 364.
Muttu Gauda, II. 354.
Muttuguppe, I. 431.
Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, I. 323; II. 61, 61 (n), 269.
Mutturu, I. 221.
Muttu Virappa Nayaka, I. 326, 463.
Mylapore (Mallapur), I. 43, 45, 78-82, 391 (n), 469 (n); II. 144, 390.
Mysoreana, I. 427, 463.
N Nachana Soma, I. 92, 97, 97 (n), 99 (n), 277.
Nachehiyapura, II. 347.
Nachaya, II. 336.
Nachappa, II. 322.
Nacheya Heggade, II. 322.
Nachavve, II. 250.
Nad-Gutti-Gutta Chadalanka Rama Setti, I. 214.
Nad Senaboya Allala, II. 342.
Nadavuereuchi, I. 253.
Nadangiri-Nad, I. 435.
Nadegont Sayana, I. 35.
Nadegonta Mallu, II. 210.
Nadendla Appa, II. 268.
Nadendla Gop (Rayasayangaru) I. 224; II. 23, 131.
Nadiga Yankappa, I. 350.
Naduvukaraiparru, II. 199.
Narasa Nayaka, II. 282.
Narasapura, II. 17, 208.
Narasavadhani, I. 347.
Narasimha (Hoysala King), I. 70, 97, 214, 265, 454 (n).
Narasimhacharya, I. 263.
Narasimhachar, K. Mr., I. 216 (n); II 12 (n), 102 (n) 184 (n), 225 (n), 264.
Narasimhayya, II. 269.
Narasimha Bhatta, I. 217.
Narasimha Deva, I. 259 (n).
Narasimha Dikshita, II. 276.
Narasimha Nayaka, II. 278, 282.
Narasimhapura, II. 345.
Narasinga, King, see Saluva Nrsimha.
Narasipura-Sime, II. 228.
Narasinga, King of, I. 79, 129, 135, 298, 316, 415; II. 300.
Narsinga (Narsymgu) Kingdom of, I. 113, 305, 324; II. 359.
Narsinga (Vellur), King of I. 399.
Narsingadevar, I. 355.
Narayana (Poet), II. 413.
Narayan, I. 174 (n); II. 343.
Narayanayya, II. 357.
Narayana Bhatta, II. 278.
Narayana Deva, I. 266, 269, 294.
Nara Narayana Deva, II. 366.
Naranamayya, II. 331.
Narayanaparru, I. 294.
Narayanapayya, II. 20.
Narayanappa (of the Treasury), I. 207.
Narendra Nath Law, Dr., II. 218 (n).
Nari, I. 345.
Narpattennayira-Perunderuvu, I. 63.
Narvara, I. 242, 419.
Nasana (Village), I. 100.
Nasana-Kota-Sthala, I. 238.
Naspanayundu, II. 49-50.
Nasavandu-Nad, II. 366.
Natesa Aiyar, Mr., I. 290.
Nattam, I. 334.
Navaratri, see Mahanavami.
Navel, II. 108.
Navile-Nad, II. 86.
Nayakkarayyan, see Raghunatha Nayaka.
Naya Ganda, II. 321.
Nayakavadi, the II. 363.
Negapatam (Negapatao, Negapatam) I. 78-9, 85, 208, 311; II. 241.
Nehal, I. 379; II. 152, 185.
Nelamangala Taluka, I. 34 (n).
Nellama Bommi Nayaka, II. 287 (n).

Nellore District, I. 23, 34 (n), 91, 181, 287-8, 350.
Nelavayappali, II. 341.
Nelson, I. 207.
Nemi, I. 79.
Nemmaru, I. 221.
Nenangi-Nad, II. 347.
Nemathappur, II. 199.
Nepala, II. 85, 99.
Nerkundi, II. 337.
Netravati, the I. 72.
Nevalige-Nad, II. 89.
Newbold, Lt. Col., I. 129 (n).
Nicole dei Conti, I. 62, 76, 119, 124, 414, 432, 432 (n); II. 75 (n), 113, 173, 301, 386-90, 396, 398-9.
Nidugal (Nidugallu), II. 104.
Nidugal-Sime, II. 106, 344.
Niduvil-Mandalam, II. 368.
Nidugal Komara Timmanna Nayaka, II. 261.
Nidugal Viranna Odeyar, II. 369.
Nidugodu, I. 268.
Niduvinni, II. 50 (n).
Niduvallu-Nad, II. 350.
Nigeril (Nikirili, Nigarili), Sola (Chola) Mandalam, I. 152, 291; II. 343, 364.
Nigarili Solapuram, II. 334.
Nijagali Kataka Raya, I. 34, 102.
Nigondin, see Anegundi.
Neluvagini, I. 177-8; II. 326.
Nelkudure, II. 320.
Neluvalli-Nad, II. 326.
Nikkit, I. 28, 62, 119, 429 (n); II. 61, 304 (n).
Nilakanta, I. 124.
Nilakanta-Devar, II. 318.
Nilakanta-Prabhuvarma, II. 21.
Nilappan, II. 338, 360.
Nimbarasa, I. 169.
Nipuniapura, II. 323.
Nipatataka alias Vijayarayapuram (Mod. Kadapperi), I. 168.
Niraga Deva, II. 341.
Nirgunda, II. 324, 327.
Nirgunda-Nad, II. 330.
Nirasa Ray Matha, I. 59.
Nittur-Bhatavritti-Sthala, II. 281.
Nittur, I. 169 (n); II. 366.
Nizam Mayim, I. 211.
Nonaappa, II. 361.
Nousaba Balana Ganda, I. 345.
Nondanguli-Nad, I. 174 (n), 343-4.
Nondagulli-Sthala, II. 369.
Nolambavadi 32,000, I. 116, 345 (n).
Notta, II. 330.
Noor Khan, I. 407.
North Kanara, I. 299, 321.
North-West Provinces, I. 116 (n).
Nrisimha (Engraver), I. 277.
Nripatunga, King, I. 41 (n).
Nuju, I. 351.
Nunka Gauda, II. 88.
Nuldroog, I. 405.
Nuniz, Fernao, I. 32, 47, 56, 61, 63, 65-7, 85-6, 88, 107, 117, 139, 174-6, 180-1, 183, 194, 199 (n), 200-1, 209, 216 (n), 220, 224, 242, 252-3, 259-60, 266, 290, 295, 297, 304-5, 312-3, 323-5, 370-1, 389-90, 392, 396, 409-10, 418, 432, 424-7, 429-30, 432, 435-6, 443-4, 446, 450, 450 (n), 452, 452 (n), 453, 454, 454 (n), 455 (n), 457 (n), 461, 466, 468-7, 469 (n); II. 61, 78, 78 (n), 94, 113, 123, 123 (n), 135-6, 143-4 (n), 146, 148, 160-1, 164, 170, 179, 214, 219, 223, 226, 238, 240-1, 241 (n), 242, 271 (n), 275, 280, 288 (n), 298, 307, 309, 311, 311 (n), 312-3, 358, 384 (n), 409, 418.
Nurgunda, I. 40 (n).
O
Odagere, I. 216; II. 16.
Ogemdado, I. 460.
Okal, see Holl.
Olakkuru, I. 195, 336.
Ommama Udaiyar, II. 347.
Onor, Onore, see Honnavuru.
Oppert, Dr. Gustav, II. 64.
Oragala, I. 140.
Oranjal, see Warangal.
Orissa (Orissa, Otissa, Orya, Oria), I. 78, 289, 290 (n), 306, 322; II. 77-8, 175, 262 (n), 375-6, 418.
Ormuz (Orguz), I. 49, 71, 424-5.
Ottiyapan, see Ottiyapa Mudiliyar.
Ottiyapa Mudiliyar, II. 114.
Oyma-Nadu, II. 412.
P
Pachchil, II. 62.
Padaiparru alias Teperumalanaltur, I. 171; II. 369.
Padaividu, II. 71, 104.
Padaividu-Kajaya, I. 295; II. 189-90, 192, 203.
Padaividu Maharajyia, I. 294.
Padanadu-Sima, I. 91.
Padavakeri, I. 373.
Padeearao, I. 305.
Padi-Nad, II. 102.
Padi-nadu-Sime, II. 219 (n).
Padinelupparu, I. 197.
Padi-Tiruvallidhayam, I. 154; II. 70.
Padma, II. 257-8.
Padmarasa (Poet), II. 168.
Padmayi, II. 245.
Paduvur, II. 55.
Paduvur-nadu, II. 323 (n).
Paduvuru-Kottam, I. 291.
Paguru-nadu, I. 341, 341 (n).
Pagonde, II. 351.
Paiyuri-Kotta, I. 293.
Pakala, I. 198.
Pakala-Sime, I. 240.
Pakanala Krishnappa Nayanivar, II. 190 (n).
Pala Bhatta, I. 35.
Palaikudi, II. 356.
Pala-nad, II. 280.
Palinatiravu, II. 197.
Palasapalli, I. 346.
Palasamamud Chanda-bova, I. 460.
Paluru River, II. 359.
Pallavas, The, II. 31, 64, 67 (n).
Pallava Nandivarma, I. 274 (n).
Paller, The, II. 115.
Pallikonda Mudaliyar, II. 282.
Palligonda Perumal Kachhirayar, I. 197.
Pamappa Nayaka, II. 293.
Pombanaiyam, I. 286-7.
Pammi Settiyam, II. 345.
Pampa, see also Hampe.
Pampa (Goddess), I. 91.
Pampa, I. 92-93, 114-5, 257 (n).
Pampa-Kshetra, I. 34, 103, 114; II. 279.
Pampapura (Pampapuri), I. 22, 115.
Pampa-Virupaksha-Mahasvara, I. 91.
Panamalai, II. 285.
Panchalas, see under Vira Panchalas.
Panchakaladinne, I. 92.
Pandya Chakravarthi, I. 35.
Pandari Deva, II. 224.
Pandavas, The, II. 42.
Pandinadu alias Rajarajavanadu, I. 163.
Pandya, I. 5, 9, 35,460; II. 99.
Pandyas, the, I. 2, 5, 35, 303 (n), 305, 322, 330, 337 (n), 421, 438; II. 25 (n), 64.
Panegorda, see Penugonda.
Pangala-nadu, I. 171.
Pangul (Pangal, Panugal, Hanugal), I. 404, 461.
Panjai-Valla Tribe, I. 422.
Panjanahalli, II. 22.
Pankanjanahalli, II. 279.
Pannittangal, II. 402.
Pantachurilis, The, II. 54.
Panta Mailara, I. 259 (n), 260 (n); II. 37.
Papi Deva Choda Deva Maharasu, II. 16.
Pappisiyar, II. 341, 360, 360 (n), 361, 361 (n).
Parabrahma, II. 35.
Parakasayarvarman, King, I. 337-8, II. 414.
Parakasayarvarman alias Adhirajendradeva, I. 150.
Parakasayarvarman Rajendradeva, I. 356.
Paramesvara (God), I. 9.
Parankusa-Jiyar, II. 402.
Parankusa Man-Satagopaya Jiyamgaru, II. 405.
Parakasayarvarman alias Sri-Rajendra-Sola-Deva, II. 322-3.
Parakasari Tribhuvanamallu-Chakravartin Konerimakonda, I. 285.
Parantaka, I. 331; II. 330.
Parantaka-nadu, I. 183-4.
Parakravarman alias Udaiyar Sri Adhirajendra Deva, II. 291.
Parasara, I. 247, 248 (n); II. 99.
Parasurama Deva, I. 449.
Parijataka, I. 271.
Pariyam-Hhattam, I. 37.
Pariyilur, I. 234.
Paravars, The, I. 320, 323, 331.
Paraiyans, Pareiyar, Pariyars, Holeyas, The, I. 149 (n), 180, 241; II. 54, 54 (n), 56-57 (n), 56 (n), 66, 107, 112, 113, 115, 117-8, 188, 256.
Parva Deva, II. 243.
Parthivendravarman, King, I. 355.
Parvata Raju Basavayya, I. 240.
Parvapatinatha, II. 434.
Parvata Nayaka, II. 19.
Parave, II. 181 (n).
Parvavanatha Jinesa, II. 25.
Pasiagipalli, II. 188.
Pattana, I. 179.
Pattalam, II. 405.
Pattanasvami Kalla . . . , II. 336.
Pattama-svami Keli Setti, II. 105.
Pattana-svami Nagappa, II. 105.
Pattina-nadu, I. 155.
Patti Pombuchehapura, I. 448.
Pattipulam (Immodipatnam), II. 41.
Pattisivaram, II. 201.
Pattiyur Penmini Setti, II. 362 (n).
Pattu-nulkarans, The, II. 55.
Pattur, II. 274.
Ptoleamy, I. 82.
Patras, see Mahapatra, I. 462.
Patralata, I. 271.
Pavikkudi alias Nittavimoda-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 335.
Pavaguda Taluka, II. 394.
Pavanaviriti, II. 182.
Payan, Mr., II. 374 (n).
Pedumanna, I. 277.
Peddanappayyundu, II. 50.
Pedda Ballapura, I. 413.
Pedda Chennappa Reddi, I. 426.
Peda Chodama Reddi, I. 100.
Peda-Kanti-Sime, I. 412.
Peda Krishnapa Nayaka, II. 223.
Peda Timma, see Salaka Pedda Timma.
Peddana Naganna, I. 177-8.
Peddiraja(yya), I. 226, 237, 383.
Pegu (Peegu), I. 79, 290.
Pekkundra, II. 70, 104, 353.
Pemmasani Ramalinga, I. 449-50.
Pemmasanivaru, II. 220.
Pembolu-Gotra, II. 195 (n).
Pena-Magani, I. 92.
Penugonda (Pelagonda, Penugonde), I. 34-5, 65, 76, 93, 102-4, 113, 138-9 (n), 139 (n), 140, 234, 237, 299, 308, 412, 437; II. 96, 104, 195 (n).
Penugonda-rajya, I. 298, 413; II. 60, 254, 276, 282, 370.
Penugonda-Sime, I. 269 (n).
Penugonda Adyana Varamasi Surappaa, II. 281.
Pennaigaram, I. 155.
Pennar River, II. 199.
Pennar River, I. 295.
Pentipooli, I. 78.
Perama Nayaka, II. 22.
Perambur, I. 358.
INDEX

Peranallur, II. 394.
Perandur, I. 155.
Perungur-ayya, I. 226, 333.
Perantallamma, II. 85.
Periya-Asur, II. 283.
Periya Gomali, II. 341.
Periya-nadu, II. 19; II. 320, 337, 339, 342.
Periya Nayana, II. 105, 353.
Periyapattana, II. 195-6.
Periya Perumal Settiyar, II. 343.
Periya Sattavaram, II. 206.
Periya-Timmen, II. 114-5.
Periya Tirumala Nambi, I. 264.
Periya Virapa Nayaka, I. 310.
Periyal, II. 114.
Permmadi, II. 321.
Persia, I. 49, 64, 427; II. 301, 396.
Persians, The, I. 411.
Perumala Deva (of Talakadu), I. 179.
Perumala Deva (The Hoysala General), I. 214; II. 339, 340.
Perumala Danda Nayaka, I. 259

(n).
Perumala-Adhikari Kamappa Nayaka, II. 257.
Perumala Mantri, I. 454 (n).
Perumbakkasirmai, I. 295.
Perumbachari, II. 333.
Perumbachari Satusava Allala, II. 342.
Perumanappadi, I. 291.
Perumbarrapulyur, see Chidambaram, I. 295, 372.
Perumulai, I. 294.
Perungar, I. 182, 373.
Perur-nadu, I. 167 (n).
Peruvvalai, II. 86.
Pete Rama Nayaka, II. 285.
Petteyarasar, II. 188.
Peter Martin, Father, I. 61.
Pevoja, II. 270.
Phalgunna-Kotaka, I. 294.
Phanisit, I. 277.
Phani-vamsa, I. 115-6.
Pidave, I. 141.
Pilaguvallai (Caste), II. 206.
Pilla Gauda, II. 337.
Piments, Nicholas, I. 43, 76, 382, 400; II. 54, 223, 245-6, 262, 300, 390.
Pinara, II. 312.
Pinakini, The I. 92.
Pindotipura, II. 36.
Pinnai Yeri, II. 44.
Pirisamudra, II. 13.
Piriva Rajaya Deva, II. 13, 21.
Pithamane, II. 269 (n).
Polaki, I. 207.
Polayya, II. 140.
Polu, II. 205.
Pombyecheha, see Humehcha, I. 221.
Ponnana, II. 320.
Ponna, II. 321.
Ponnachche Sethi, II. 324.
Pondicherry, I. 340.
Ponnabbe, II. 86.
Poonparappi, II. 196.
Ponpetti, I. 241.
Porkashudiaver, I. 17.
Portugals, see Portuguese.
Portugal, I. 46, 71, 126, 405; II. 300, 305, 381.
Posanad, II. 108.
Potlur Simhadri (Simhadri Pottanur), I. 469.
Pottaras, I. 225.
Pottapparayar, (Prince), I. 286.
Pottipadu, II. 100.
Poygai, I. 347.
Prabhakaravardhana, II. 215.
Prabha Ganda, II. 90.
Prabhachandra Deva, II. 405.
Prabhachandra Bhattaraka Deva, I. 73.
Pradhani Tirumala Raja, I. 227.
Pradhani Devarasa, I. 371.
Pratapati, I. 248-9; II. 218.
Pranadhreya Piriva Odeyar, II. 13.
Prasanna Visvesvar, I. 110.
Prasannasomanathapura, I. 153.
Pratapa Raya, II. 273.
Pratapatgarharapura, I. 177.
Pratapa Rudra of Warangal, I. 4, 22-6, 30, 323.
Praudha Raya, see Deva Raya, II.
Prayaga, II. 239.
Prithvi-Setti Rayani Bhaskaran, II. 100 (n).
Prithvi Setti, II. 274.
Prithugiri, II. 77.
Pudupakkam, I. 337-8.
Pudukkottai State, I. 340, 357, 358 (n), 388; II. 54.
Puduchiera, I. 78.
Pugalur, II. 269.
Pulambakkam, II. 405.
Puleya Haraur, I. 259.
Pulivindala-Sthala, I. 294.
Pulavindala-Sime, I. 238.
Puli-nadu, I. 179, 291.
Pulicat (Palecattie, Palecata), I. 78-9, 208, 209.
Pulimara Gauda, II. 333.
Puliyur-nadu, I. 36, 153, 229; II. 33, 55, 188, 206, 273, 323-2, 341-2.
Pullissanavoddu, I. 412.
Pungala-nadu, I. 294.
Pungunda-nadu, I. 171.
Punganur, I. 15.
Punnai alias Parakalantaka-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 291.
Punnata (or Punnad), I. 40.
Punyadhalli, II. 326.
Parandhara, I. 73, 91.
Pura, I. 154, 423; II. 256.
Parasal-nadu, I. 337.
Parushottama-parishad, II. 210.
Parushottama Bhalla, I. 207.
Paruvadi Parunnar Virapa, II. 415.
Pushpitodupura alias Raichapura, I. 349.
Pushataka-Gaechha, II. 184; II. 243.
Putapaa, II. 326.
Putaranagappa, I. 345.
Puttur, I. 347.
Puvatotti (Caste), II. 206.

Q
Qasim Barid (Shah), I. 406; II. 77.
Qutb Shah, I. 443.

R
Rachappa Nayaka, II. 211.
Rachaya Deva Maharaja, II. 353.
Rachcharasar, II. 188.
Rachavadu, I. 133.
Rachoti Viranodaya, II. 279.
Rachur Narasimhaya, II. 286.
Ranganahalu, II. 59.
Raghavesvara Bharati Sripada, II. 267.
Raghunatha, II. 403.
Raghunatha Nayaka, I. 63, 65, 315, 320; II. 164, 201, 404.
Raghupati Raja Odeyar, I. 270.
Raghupathi Raja Maha-arasu, II. 244.
Rahen, I. 129.
Rahub, II. 100.
Raiichur (Rachel, Rachel), I. 254, 321, 380, 406-7, 410, 415-6, 422, 432, 450-1, 453, 455 (n), 456-8; II. 77, 126, 254.
Rajah of Anegundi, I. 25.
Raja of Kampli, I. 33.

Rajas of Ma'bar, I. 31.
Rajadhiraja, II. 192.
Rajadhirajavalandanu, I. 294-5; II. 368.
Rajagambira, I. 179, 459.
Rajagambira-Raja, I. 298.
Rajanatha Dindima, I. 245; II. 77-8, 220-1, 237.
Rajanatha Ranttu, II. 32.
Raja Kosarivarman alias Chakravarti Vikramachola Deva, I. 164.
Rajakesarinarlurum alias Talipur, I. 158.
Rajakesarivarman Perummanadigal, II. 251.
Rajakesarivaruma (Aditya, I.), II. 159.
Rajasekavarman (Aditya, I.), II. 333.
Rajakesarivarum alias Tribhuvana-Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola Deva, I. 336-7, 366.
Rajakesarivarum Rajadhiraya (II.), I. 336.
Rajanarayana Sambuvarayar, I. 372.
Raja Nayaka, I. 64.
Rajappa Nayaka, II. 17.
Rajaraja, I. 116, 163, 164, 166, 292, 291, 318, 335, 347; II. 65, 85-6, 334, 412, 414.
Rajaraja, III. I. 285, 321, 335; II. 112, 408.
Rajadhiraya, I. 193.
Raja Odeyar, I. 290, 320; II. 254.
Rajarajachaturvedimangalam, I. 340.
Rajaya, I. 268.
Rajendra, I. 58-9, 291; II. 69, 69 (n), 179 (n), 328.
Rajendraslayanalu, II. 87, 364-5.
Rajputs, II. 31 (n).
Rajputana, I. 272, 272 (n).
Rajasundarichaturvedimangalam (Mod. Kalla-Perambur), I. 336.
Rajasekhari Nallur Kilyan, I. 163.
Rajaraajavala-nadu, II. 369.
Rajayardhana, I. 271; II. 9-10.
Rajayvathi, Queen, II. 85.
Rajyarsi, Princess, I. 271; II. 157.
Raja Worgulla, see Pratapa Rudra.
Rakshasa Kingdom, the, I. 114.
Ralph Fitch, II. 149 (n).
Ramanma, II. 326-7, 363.
INDEX

Rama, I. 102, 293.
Rama, I. 37, 38, 70, 121, 248, 339; II. 130.
Rama (Bridge of), I. 10.
Rama Deva (Grandfather of Prince Virupaksha), I. 28-30.
Rama Princ, I. 305.
Ramapura, II. 283.
Ramabhadramba, II. 164.
Ramabatlayavar, I. 226, 237, 283.
Rama Bhatta, II. 261, 394.
Ramabhattar, II. 281-2.
Ramachandra (Yadava King), I. 3, 28-9, 271, 448; II. 258.
Ramachandra-Padami, Prabhuvarma (King), II. 21.
Ramachandra Bharati, I. 218.
Ramachandra Odeyar, I. 256, 346.
Rama Deva (Engraver), I. 277.
Rama Deva Nayaka, II. 96, 102.
Rama Deva Rayya, II. 260.
Rama Deva Maharaaya, I. 111, 339.
Rama Devi, II. 14.
Ramadurga-Sime, I. 317.
Rama Ganda, II. 90-1, 255, 404.
Ramakka, II. 90.
Rama Ganda, II. 294.
Ramnad District, I. 171, 193, 196, 267, 373; II. 54.
Ramanatha, I. 32, 85.
Ramanatha Deva (Hoysala King), II. 337.
Ramanatha of Kudali, I. 5.
Rammama, II. 17.
Ramanayakanahalli-Sime, I. 267.
Ramanujacharya (The Reformer), I. 13, 264; II. 12, 61 (n), 124, 267.
Ramanuja Acharya (a Brahmin), II. 268.
Ramanujamma, II. 357.
Ramaparasala (Agent), II. 254.
Ramapayya, I. 206, 233, 236; II. 71, 200, 253.
Ramappa Nayaka, I. 295; II. 285.
Rama Raja (Aliya Rama Raya, Rama Rajayya), I. 130, 139-3, 134 (n), 137-8, 140-1, 160, 237-8, 240, 264, 269, 290 (n), 299, 304, 316-7, 320, 397-8, 339 (n), 340, 342, 391, 395, 397-8, 406-9, 409 (n), 410-12, 416-17 (n), 439 (n), 447, 450, 464, 466, 469 (n), 470; II. 16, 38, 39 (n), 134-6, 163, 195 (n), 222, 238-9, 284-5, 287, 413-4.
Rama Raja Chinna Timmaya Deva Maharaja, II. 208.
Ramarasa, I. 229; II. 365.
Rama Raju Konappa Deva Maharaja, I. 351.
Ramajara Tirumala Rajayyadeva Maha-arasu, see the Mahamandalesvara Ramaraja Tirumala Rajayyadeva, I. 172, 231, 238, 269 (n), 270; II. 19, 200.
Rama Raya (Rajayya) Viththala, I. 160, 319, 331.
Rama Rao, R. I. 257 (n).
Rama Reddi, II. 294.
Rama Sarma, M. H., Mr., I. 32-3.
Rama Setti, I. 216.
Ramesvaram, I. 10; II. 217, 269.
Ramesvara (Village), II. 225.
Ramideram, see Ramesvaram.
Ramayya, II. 141, 357, 398.
Ramayya Bhaskarudu, II. 133.
Ramayya Pantulu, Mr., I. 305.
Ramayya Sola Maharaya, I. 322.
Ramayamata, II. 413.
Ramzan, I. 407.
Ranamandala Bhairava, I. 122.
Ranatasiyan, I. 160.
Ranga Raja, see Sriranga Raya.
Ranga Raya Deva see Sriranga Raya III.
Rangachari, Prof. V., I. 25; II. 61 (n).
Rangakshitindra, II. 222.
Rangana Nayaka, I. 427.
Ranganatha, I. 9, 11-6.
Ranganatha Bhatta, I. 12, 157; II. 266.
Ranganatha Dikshita, I. 263.
Rangapati Raja, II. 287 (n).
Rangappa, II. 387.
Rangapattana, II. 106.
Rangappa Nayaka, I. 350.
Rangapura, II. 394.
Rani-Bennur-Taluka, I. 90 (n).
Ranoji Nayaka, II. 282.
Rantavalu, I. 340.
Rathakaras, the II. 193-4, 194 (n).
Ratnagiri, I. 155; II. 246.
Rathanupura-Chakka-Valapura, I. 114.
Ratnapala, I. 454 (n).
Ratnapur, I. 114.
Rudakund-Sima, I. 295.
Rauhineya, I. 106.
Rau-nad, II. 367.
Rauta Raya, II. 256.
Ravana (Sculptor), II. 334, 372.
Ravana (Dassasira), I. 42, 248.
Raviga, II. 86.
Ravi Dandanayaka, II. 126.
Ravi Setti, II. 344.
Ray, II. 89, 268.
Rayadurga Kingdom, I. 236; II. 16, 266.
Rayadurga-Sthalu, II. 260.
Rayadurga Tipparasa, II. 279.
Rayagiri, II. 16.
Rayakunta alias Ayodhyapura, II. 276.
Raya Nayaka, I. 36.
Rayana Odeyar, I. 179, 358; II. 369.
Rayappa, I. 259, 300-1; II. 368.
Rayanna Raja, I. 300.
Rayappa Odeyar, I. 301.
Rayasam Kondamarrasayya, I. 159, 235, 255 (n), 260-1, 463; II. 13, 127, 276-7.
Rayasam Tirumalayyan, II. 203.
Rayasam Venkatadri, I. 264-5; II. 404.
Rayasta Ayyaprasaya, I. 159, 463; II. 15.
Rayicharasa, II. 354.
Rechana, II. 336.
Recharasa, II. 336.
Rechayya, II. 24.
Reddi, the I. 100; II. 37.
Benadu, I. 234.
Revalavaru, II. 220.
Revimayya, II. 335.
Rice, Lewis, Mr., I. 25, 28, 76, 88-9, 93, 98, 101-2, 108, 112, 149 (n), 176 (n), 215 (n), 219, 210 (n), 257 (n), 259, 288, 283 (n), 301, 385-9 (n), 423, 432 (n); II. 12, 96, 184 (n), 225, 229, 230 (n).
Richards, Mr., I. 299.
Rik-Sakha, I. 263; II. 236.
Ripu Mari, II. 271.
Rodda, II. 394.
Roddam (Tank), I. 413.
Romans, the II. 304.
Rome, II. 392.
Rotthalli, II. 353 (n).
Rudrappa, II. 22.
Rudrayya, I. 239.
Rudramba, Queen, II. 158.
Rupalagudiya-Thenya, I. 224.

S
Sabarn, I. 253.
Sabega, II. 369.
Sadaiyapattinam, I. 375.
Sadali, II. 343, 415.
Sadali-nad, I. 227; II. 225.
Sadal Gaudas, II. 225.
Sadasiva (Customs House Station), I. 221.
Sadasiva Nayaka, I. 217, 470; II. 300, 387.
Sadasivapura, I. 207.
Sadasiva Sarasvati, II. 263.
Sadrapatam, I. 78.
Sagar, I. 10.
Sagara, I. 221.
Sagare, II. 184.
Sagatavalli, II. 112.
Sahadlayapura, II. 80.
Sahasrakuta Chaitravaya, II. 336.
Saiif Ainul-Mulk, I. 407.
Sailanka, I. 22, 245.
Saint Thomas, I. 43, 78, 80-2, 391 (n), 395; II. 241, 390.
Saint Thome, see Mylapore, I. 316, 341; II. 30 (n).
Saiva-Brahmans, II. 66, 67.
Salvamnaya, I. 141, 235, 236.
Saknasamudra (Town), II. 274.
Sakhapura, I. 121.
Sakare Lakshu-Marasu, II. 395.
Sakka-gamunda, II. 87.
Sakra, I. 18, 28.
Salaha Raja Chennaya Deva Mahaarasu, II. 283.
Salaka Pedda Timma, I. 261.
Salaka Timma, I. 316.
Salakayya Deva Chikka Tirumalayya Deva Maha-arasu, I. 198.
Salem District, I. 155, 375; II. 37, 393-4.
Saliyans, the II. 67.
Saliyur, I. 158.
Sali-Mule Banajus, I. 227; II. 103, 105, 107, 113, 118, 227, 266 (n), 358.
Salur, II. 326.
Saluva, I. 27-8.
Saluva Gopa Raja, II. 32 (n), 268, 294, 421.
Saluva Govinda Raja, I. 226, 267, 407; II. 12, 45, 127 (n), 277.
Saluva Kaya Deva, I. 29.
INDEX

Saluva Mangu Raja, I. 225.
Saluvaque, I. 242, 418.
Salvan, I. 286.
Saluva Nayaka, I. 240, 373-4.
Saluva Nrisimha (Narasinga) Raya, I. 27, 43, 49, 51, 70-1, 78, 113, 141, 157-8, 245, 246, 260, 263, 305, 312, 319, 322, 324, 404, 412, 425; II. 5, 77-8, 126, 127 (n), 220, 261, 262 (n), 267 (n), 275-6, 344, 393, 397, 415.
Saluva Rama Deva, see also Rama Deva, I. 30; II. 424.
Saluva Tikkama, I. 3.
Saluva Timma (rusayya, Appaji), I. 226, 236, 240, 246 (n), 260-1, 261 (n), 313, 445, 463-4, 467; II. 28, 32 (n), 45, 45 (n), 127 (n), 131, 268, 287, 379-80, 382.
Saluva Tippa Raja Odeyar, I. 27; II. 424.
Saluva Tirumala Raya, I. 260.
Salvatininga, see Saluva Timma.
Saluvas, The, II. 32 (n).
Salya, I. 155.
Samaiyamantripalli, I. 180.
Samantabhadra-Deva, I. 168.
Samanta Chenna, II. 358.
Samayavaram (Kannanur), I. 14-6.
Samabh, II. 192 (n).
Sammanma, I. 347.
Sampa ... Sime, II. 16.
Sampat Kumara Pandita, I. 168.
Sampige, II. 421.
Sanadu, II. 364.
Sanaka Raja Odeyar, I. 270.
Sanandai, II. 361.
Sanars, The, II. 207.
Sandha, II. 39, 326.
Sandiki Gauda, II. 354.
Sanellahli, II. 404.
Sangama, I. 14, 17, 21-2, 26-9, 32, 37-8, 40, 83, 88, 90, 92, 95, 98-99, 101, 106, 108-9, 115-6, 142, 162, 210, 244, 247, 249, 257, 272, 288, 309, 312, 314, 317, 327, 367, 421; II. 12, 25, 61, 72, 238.
Sangama, II. 257, 263; II. 238.
Sanga Bova, II. 422 (n).
Sangama Devi, II. 368.
Sangama, I. 32.
Sangamesa, I. 91.
Sangasapalli, II. 277.
Sangitrupura, I. 72-3.
Sanji-nad, II. 342.
Sanjogata, II. 85 (n).
Sankala Basti, II. 358.
Sankanna, II. 269 (n).
Sankanna Nayaka, II. 416, 419.
Sankappa, I. 259, 300; II. 130, 321.
Sankappa Senabova, II. 345.
Sankara, I. 13.
Sankara Charya, I. 88; II. 264 (n).
Sankara Deva, I. 259 (n).
Sankarayya, I. 212.
Sankayama, II. 15.
Sanne-nad, II. 333.
Santala Devi (Hoysala Queen), II. 25, 173.
Sante Bennur Hanama Nayaka, II. 17.
Sante Bennur Sime, I. 339, 342, 383.
Santeyya Nayaka, II. 364.
Santigrama Sthala, I. 269.
Santinatha (Poet), II. 313 (n).
Sanur Arasippakkam, II. 287.
San Thome, see Saint Thomas and Mylapore.
Saptasimandala, I. 124.
Sapta Sagara-dana, I. 97.
Saraballige alias Gajabete-Devarayapur, II. 238.
Sarada Matha, II. 264.
Sarandip (Sereubid, Ceylon), I. 44, 289.
Sarasvata, I. 275.
Sarasvata Brahmans, II. 236 (n).
Sarasvati, II. 413.
Sargara Kathas, I. 277.
Sargur, II. 281.
Sari, II. 104.
Sarkar, Prof. Benoy Kumar, I. 192; II. 155.
Sarvajna, I. 41, 43; II. 58.
Sasanacharya Naga Deva, I. 91-2, 96, 98.
Sastri, S. N., II. 220 (n).
Satalige, I. 35.
Satalige-nad, I. 177-8.
Satigrama-Sthala, I. 269.
Sattarasa Nagarjuna, II. 157.
Sattatige-nad, I. 149 (n).
Sattimangalam (Satyamangalam), I. 429.
Sattiparam, II. 333.
Sattiyannavan Scramlap Perumal, I. 387.
Satuvali, I. 271, 448.
Sauvela Allala, II. 333.
Satyabharananallur, II. 393.
Satyamangalam Tuluks, I. 16, 75.
Satyananda-Svamigal, II. 318.
Satyanatha, Mr., II. 202 (n).
Satyatirtha Sripada, II. 347.
Satyavakya Permmanadi, I. 272.
Saulanadu, I. 224.
Saulanga, II. 239.
Saurashtra, II. 99.
Saurashtra, The, II. 50.
Savantnakaite, I. 221.
Saveyhalli, II. 362.
Savey-sayad, I. 265.
Sayananacharya, I. 13, 34, 110 (n), 257, 257 (n), 259 (n).
Sayappa, I. 346.
Shanmukha, I. 275.
Schorer, I. 391.
Seeva Ray, I. 416.
Sevyanagannallur, II. 199.
Selapillai, II. 337.
Sellappar Virararasimha Nayakar, I. 158, 260.
Semar Narasinga Devar, I. 358.
Sembandai, II. 364.
Sembiyamangalam, I. 195.
Semman, The, II. 56.
Senabova Annarasa, II. 351.
Senabova Bachaiyya (Bachanna), II. 339-40.
Senabova Kavanna, II. 321.
Senabova Madisayar-Kambayar, I. 344.
Senabova Malliyanna, II. 319.
Senabova Paduvanna, II. 224.
Senabova Setti, II. 200.
Senagumudym, see Anogundi, I. 117.
Seninamangalam, I. 234.
Sendikka-Devi, II. 226.
Sengai, II. 338.
Sengalumirapattu, I. 158.
Sengunra-nadu, I. 291.
Sengi, see Gingee, I. 15-6.
Seninnala-Kurram, II. 62.
Seravaran-nadu, II. 362 (n).
Sere, I. 227.
Seringapatam, see Seringapatam, see Srimangapatnam.
Serrur, I. 341.
Serrur-Kurram, II. 322.
Servanmahadevi-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 164.
Sessa Aiyangar, I. 40 (n).
Seth Bund Rameswar, I. 5; II. 29.
Settis or Chettis, I. 155; II. 33-5, 67, 76, 194, 201, 201 (n), 225, 341, 355, 356, 363.
Setti Gauda, I. 58; II. 89.
Setthihalli, II. 211.
Settipalli, II. 341.
Settisvarana-Devar, II. 338.
Setu, I. 346, 464.
Setu (Principality of), I. 448.
Seunas, I. 421.
Setupatis, The, II. 54.
Sevappa Nayakkarayan, II. 395.
Seven Malavas, II. 126.
Sevidapergadaiyar, II. 364.
Sevval alias Virakeralanallur, I. 233, II. 285.
Sewell, Robert, I. 4, 25, 25 (n), 81, 84, 89, 89 (n), 107, 112, 114-5, 125 (n), 259, 304, 421, 424 (n), 467 (n), 469 (n); II. 123 (n), 171 (n), 373 (n), 374 (n), 375 (n).
Shah Jahan, I. 228.
Shaik Malik, II. 230 (n).
Shimoga District, I. 287.
Shinna-Timmen, II. 114-5.
Sholapoor, I. 405.
Sidda-Mallikarjuna, II. 415.
Siddamra, II. 21.
Siddanna Gauda, II. 253 (n).
Siddhanti Yatisa, I. 165, 245.
Siddapa, II. 350.
Siddapura-Sime, I. 236.
Siddaramappa Nayaka, I. 172.
Siddasamudra (Tank), II. 350.
Siddavatta, I. 236.
Siddapur, I. 151 (n); II. 353 (n).
Sidi (Sedi), II. 370-1, 398.
Sidlagatta Taluks, II. 68.
Siddhara-Timma Raja, I. 317, 358, 407.
Sigalana-nadu, I. 207.
Sihati, II. 276, 392.
Sikkal, I. 182.
Sikkavi, II. 87.
Sila Bodi Nayak, I. 352.
Simasandra, II. 19.
Simhala Devi, II. 279 (n).
Simhavarandi Acharya, II. 244, 264.
Simpadipura-Sime, II. 275.
Simvarasa, I. 36.
Somanatha, I. 263, 410.
Somanathapura, I. 153.
Simoge (Shimoga), I. 60.
Simoja, I. 276.
Sinda, I. 40 (n).
Sindas, The, I. 90 (n), 351 (n).
Sindavadi, I. 1,000, I. 40 (n).
Singanna Odeyar, I. 259 (n).
Singappa or Singanna Dannayaka, I. 260.
Singapa Nayaka, II. 141.
Singananamala, II. 252.
Singappattana, II. 104.
Singapura, II. 15.
Singa Raja, II. 280.
Singatigere, II. 253.
Singe Gauda, II. 255.
Singeya Nayaka, II. 250.
Singa Raja, II. 216.
INDEX

Sindaghatta alias Sangamesvara, II. 334.
Sindava-Kula, II. 105, 337.
Singana Deva, II. 339.
Singhiana, I. 3.
Singappiran, see Kaniyalal Brahman, I. 15-6.
Singanna Aiyangar, I. 170.
Singavaram, I. 15.
Singey Dannayaka, I. 19-20, 117; II. 115, 320, 340-1.
Singarasa, I. 273; II. 256.
Singisvaram-Udaiyanayanar, I. 35.
Sinja-Gamunda, II. 87.
Sinnappa Nayaka, I. 198.
Siramul Raghava Nayakar, II. 407.
Sirattimangalam, II. 338.
Siravanodu, II. 369.
Sirvante, I. 221.
Siriya Devi, II. 398.
Siriya Gauda, II. 242.
Siruru Gauda, II. 91.
Siriyanna, II. 244-5, 355.
Sirramaradi, II. 362 (n).
Siriyarur, I. 337-8.
Sirukadambur, I. 203.
Sirrukkudi, I. 234.
Siruchelomana, II. 347.
Sirugamma, II. 15.
Siryathala Gauda Dasappa, II. 354.
Sita, I. 27.
Sitakal Ganguappa Nayaka, II. 254.
Sitappa, I. 411.
Sittaravale Baresinda, I. 389.
Siva, I. 17-8, 48, 77, 105.
Sivaganga, II. 275.
Sivanasamudra, I. 234, 267, 349, 445.
Sivanasamudra-Sime, II. 286.
Sivanasamudra-Sthala, I. 15.
Sivamanya Gauda, II. 19.
Sivaneya Nayakar, II. 249.
Sivapura, II. 340.
Sivaputra, II. 20.
Sivarama Kulam, I. 352.
Sivaratrib, II. 21, 255, 279, 405.
Sivaratrit VIII thammal Mallanna, II. 359.
Sivasakti Pandita, II. 335.
Siyyada, II. 252.
Siyamangalam, I. 366.
Siyanam, II. 341-2.
Sogehalli, II. 278.
Solur Basavappa Nayaka, I. 268; II. 15.
Sokka-Ilingatton, II. 423.
Sokkanar Pallavarayar, II. 369.
Sokkisiyaru, II. 361.
Solamandalam, see Cholamandalam.
Sols-nadu, I. 163.
Solingapura-Parru, I. 295.
Solan Kumaran Parantaka Marayan alias Rajadhiraja Nilangara-
year, I. 193.
Soma (the Great Poet), I. 92, 97.
Somagondanahalli, II. 105.
Somaiya Nayaka (Minister), II. 326.
Somalapura, I. 199; II. 345.
Somana Odeyar, I. 267.
Somanatha, II. 5, 142, 168, 277, 307 (n).
Somanatha (a Nobleman), II. 323.
Somanatha Dikshitam, II. 369.
Somanna Gavundam, II. 339.
Somappa, I. 179.
Somappa (Minister), II. 235.
Somavve, II. 101.
Somayyar, II. 19.
Somayya, II. 224.
Somesvara Deva (Hoysala King), I. 38, 115-6, 215; II. 25, 102, 158, 233 (n), 250.
Somesvara Deva (Western Chalukya King), I. 149 (n), 167; II. 68.
Somesvara (Poet), I. 265 (n), 327.
Somesvara Nayaka, I. 60.
Someya, II. 248.
Someya Nayaka, II. 329
Someya Nayaka, see Koteya Someya Nayaka.
Someasila, I. 6 (n).
Sondeyakoppe Venthe, I. 223.
Sonnyanayan-Chaturvedi-nadu, II. 362 (n).
Sholetchi, II. 114.
Skunda Gupta, II. 215.
Smith, Dr. Vincent, I. 25, 228; II. 171.
Soddiga Nayaka, I. 448.
Sode Immedi Arasappa Nayaka, II. 17-8.
Sorada, I. 221.
Sorada Vira Gauda, II. 244.
Sorade (Mod Choradi), I. 337.
Soran Uyyaninruduvan alias Gurukulattarian, II. 251.
Sosavuru, I. 37.
South Kanara, I. 138.
Sovanna Jiya, II. 344.
Sovala Devi, II. 158.
Sovanna Odeyar, I. 177, 269, 300, 300 (n).
Sovappa or Somappa, I. 258, 258 (n); II. 108.
Soyi Deva (Kalachuriya King), I. 149 (n).
Soyya, see Kote Someya Nayaka.
Spain, II. 95.
Sravana Belgola, see also Belgula, I. 73, 103, 225, 458; II. 101-2, 184 (n), 212, 349, 407, 409.
Srvakrati Somanatha Dikshita, II. 236.
Svami Pampa Shala, see Hampe, Pampa, I. 115.
Sri Chakra, I. 86.
Srigiri, II. 13, 17, 21.
Srigiri Bhupala, I. 259 (n).
Srigiri Kudukur, II. 274.
Srigirinatha Odeyar, I. 176-7, 300; II. 4, 368.
Srigirisamudra, I. 194.
Srikanthagama, I. 110 (n), 262-3.
Srikanthadeva Odeyar, II. 17.
Srikantha Rajaya, II. 13, 21.
Sri Krishna Rayulu, I. 142 (n).
Srikantha Sashti, I. 259 (n), 260 (n).
Srimatha, see Sringiritha Matha.
Sri-Mula-Sangha, II. 243.
Srimushanam, I. 198.
Sringarama, II. 411.
Srinatha (Author), I. 58; II. 397.
Sringeri, I. 102, 108-9, 262, 264 (n).
Sringeri (Gurus), I. 101, 108.
Sringiri Matha, I. 19-20, 88, 95-6, 109-10, 110 (n), 170, 218, 410 (n), 413 (n); II. 263, 267, 316.
Srinivasa, I. 97.
Srinivasa Guru, I. 264.
Sripadapura, I. 263.
Sri Parakala Nambi, II. 266.
Sripurata, II. 36.
Sripatihalli, II. 280.
Sripati Raya Timmapya, II. 15, 276, 277.
Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharaasa, I. 160.
Sripati Timmapya, see Sripati Raya Timmapya.
Sriperumbudur, II. 387, 407.
Sriranga Desika, I. 198.
Sriranga Deva (Citizen), II. 387.
Srirangam, I. 9, 15-6, 62, 140, 273 (n), 289; II. 267, 330.
Srirangapattana, I. 155, 229, 238, 265, 290, 299, 310, 320, 325; II. 175, 212, 263, 380.
Srirangapura, I. 231; II. 631, 403.
Sriranga Raya I, I. 139, 142, 142 (n), 160, 172, 233, 238, 265-6, 268, 302, 307, 310-1, 315, 320, 369 (n), 412; II. 5, 20, 262 (n), 268.
Sriranga Raya II, I. 140, 290, 315, 321; II. 202, 238, 403.
Sriranga Raya III, II. 201 (n).
Sriranga Kingdom, II. 228.
Sri Rudra Sri-Mahasvaraya, II. 365.
Srisaila, I. 91, 97; II. 21, 131, 247, 266, 280.
Srisailanatha, I. 264.
Srisaila-rajya, I. 265.
Srisaila-vamsa, I. 264.
Sri-Samudaya, II. 243.
Srivaikuntham Taluka, II. 393.
Srivaishnavas, the, I. 103-4, 113 (n), 231, 372; II. 70, 102, 200, 267, 359, 379.
Sri Venga managerial Nayakar, II. 273.
Sri-Venkatesa (Sign-manual), I. 38.
Srivarupaksha, I. 91, 93-5.
Srutakirti Deva, II. 243.
Srutimans, the, II. 63.
Srutimunisvara, II. 243.
Stanley, Hon. E. J., II. 76 (n), 78 (n).
Sthanika, the II. 202 (n), 355, 359-60.
Strabo, II. 110.
Stri-rajya, II. 99.
Strotiraya, I. 230.
Subramanya, I. 97.
Subramah Pantulu, Mr., I. 89, 257 (n); II. 247 (n), 427 (n).
Sudi or Sundi, II. 68.
Sudaiya ..., II. 205.
Sudra Prapannas, the II. 196 (n).
Suras, I. 256; II. 3, 59 (n), 61 (n), 92, 100 (n), 129, 139, 152, 204, 205.
Sudhakara Deva, I. 276.
Sufdur Khan Seestany, I. 431.
Suganna, II. 188.
Sugatur, I. 161, 329; II. 260.
Sugatur Immadi Tammaya Gauda, II. 29.
Sugatur Tammaya Gauda, II. 236, 260, 284.
Sugatur Chikka Tammaya Gauda, II. 239.
Sugatur Timmapya Gauda-ayya, II. 19.
Sugatur Chikka Raya Tammaya Gauda, II. 260.
Suggala Devi, II. 249.
Sugriva, I. 114.
Sugur, I. 345.
Sujampa-Kula, II. 195 (n).
Sukracharya, I. 47, 57, 58, 62-3, 64, 120, 143-5, 148-9, 161-2, 191-5.
INDEX

Tadatala, I. 371.
Tadipatri, II. 253.
Tagdur, I. 229, 229 (n).
Talapa Deva, I. 149 (n).

Tayur-Sthal, II. 278.

Tekal, I. 35; II. 206, 216, 226, 285, 338.

Teknapud, I. 312, 343; II. 338, 341.

Tekala-Sime, I. 268.

Telakalambi, see Terakanambi.

Telik, I. 97.

Telinga, I. 25.

Telingana, I. 24, 27, 30, 439, 461; II. 29.

Talgo Country, I. 224.

Telugu Empire, I. 139.

Telugu Rahuttars, I. 155.

Telugus, the I. 25, 421, 429; II. 55, 240-2.

Telungalle, see Telugu.

Temirago (Tirumala), I. 136.

Temple of—

Achyula Raya, I. 44.

Adikesava, II. 406.

Adikesava Perumal, II. 407.

Adipurisvara, I. 96.

Adityavanamcelchu - varamudaiyan-Nayinar, II. 285.

Aduturai, I. 196.

Agastyesvara, II. 280.

Agnesvara, I. 163.

Ahobala, I. 321; II. 268.

Alagiyasinga Perumal, II. 253.

Aludaiyar-Tiruppan-ang Vudaiya Nayanan, I. 293.

Amaresvara, II. 162.

Anantasayana, I. 285.

Arunijasvara, II. 323 (n).

Arulada Perumal, I. 171-2; II. 275, 403, 403 (n), 404-6.

Arungalanathar, II. 357.

Bhairesvara, I. 159.

Bhima, I. 350.

Bhumisavasvami, I. 203.

Bhumisvaram, I. 367.

Brahmapurisvara, I. 182, 196; II. 406.

Brihadamba, II. 387.

Brihadambika, I. 203.

Chaturvinsati-Jina, alias Bhavya-Chudamani, I. 184.

Chaudesvari, I. 233; II. 277.

Chinameraya, II. 287 (n).

Chennakesava, I. 182; II. 387, 405.

Chennakesavara-deva, I. 233.

Chennakesavara-ya, II. 282.

Chidambaram, II. 277.

Chidambaresvara, I. 233.

Ekambaranatha, I. 374, 377, 384.

Ekannathesvara, II. 400.

Galagesvara, II. 319.

Gokarna, I. 321.

Gopalakrishna, I. 183.

Gopalswami, I. 340 (n).

Gopinatha, I. 358; II. 133.

Hanumanta, II. 413.

Hanumanta-Deva, II. 60.

Harishara, I. 321; II. 89.

Hassara Rama, I. 44; II. 14.

Hidimbesvara, II. 340, 400.

Hoyadasvara, II. 326.

Indranatha, I. 238.

Irajendra - Sola - Tekkisvaram-Udaiyananar, II. 338.

Jagannatha Perumal, I. 340.

Jambunatha, I. 159.

Kadi, I. 258 (n).

Kailasanatha, I. 193.

Kailasa, I. 350.

Kailayamudaiyanarian, I. 287.

Kakola, I. 394.

Kalahaasti, I. 321; II. 220, 277, 281-2, 433.

Kaliyur, II. 341.

Kallasvarasvami, II. 282 (n).

Kamesvara, I. 375, 377, 393-4.

Kanakadasas, I. 321.

Kapotesvara, I. 233 (n).

Kedara, I. 214.

Kanchi, I. 321.

Kesava Perumal, II. 363.

Kirtinarayana, II. 219 (n).

Kondasabavi, I. 398.

Krishna, I. 233.

Kumhabhoga, I. 321.

Kurudimal, II. 360.

Lakshmi-Narayana-Perumal, II. 199.

Madhavesvara, II. 16.

Mahadeva, I. 337.

Mallikarjuna, I. 233; II. 15, 21, 276, 279-80.

Margaahyesvara, I. 341.

Mekku-Nayanan, II. 282.

Minakshi, II. 407.

Mudigoda Cholisvaram, I. 155.

Mulaathanam Udaiyar, II. 347.

Mulugund Jendrem, II. 244.

Nakheesvaram-Mahadeva, I. 373.

Nandi-tirtha, I. 321.

Narayana, I. 182, 376; II. 246.

Nataraja, I. 194, 231.

Nayanar Sokka-Narayana, I. 367.
INDEX

Nityesvara, I. 198.
Nivritti, I. 351.
Oppilada Ammai, II. 286.
Panchakshara-Nayanar, II. 286.
Parsivada, I. 371.
Parvataagirisvara, II. 54.
Perarulalap-Perumal, II. 227.
Ponparappi-Nayinar, II. 286.
Porerruppuramal, I. 177.
Prasanna-Virupaksha, II. 14.
Pulipparakovil, I. 154, 240.
Punyakotisvara, I. 206.
Ranganatha Perumal, II. 281.
Rajasimhesvara, II. 334.
Ramasetu, I. 321.
Ranganatha, II. 394.
Sampige-Siddharatnesvara, II. 400.
Sangama, I. 321.
Santisvaram, I. 168.
Sattan, II. 323.
Satyanagirinatha Perumal, II. 406.
Selva-Narayana Perumal, I. 174 (n); II. 343.
Senganmalluram Udayar Nayinar, I. 158.
Siddharatnesvara, II. 124.
Siva, I. 181, 338; II. 280.
Sola Pandya-Vinmagar Embrumana, I. 341.
Sona-Isvaram-Udayar, II. 365.
Somamesvara, I. 23, 160; II. 311.
Somisuram-Udayar, II. 347.
Sonasailam, I. 321.
Sri Devanayakasvami, II. 268.
Siranga, I. 321.
Siranganatha, I. 140.
Sirisalim, I. 321.
Sri-Somanatha, II. 235.
Sundareswara, I. 193.
Talapurisvara, II. 285.
Tindalasvar, II. 412.
Tirumalirunjolai (Alagarkoyil), I. 15.
Tirumalperu, I. 338.
Tirumayanan-Udayyar, I. 335.
Tirumigalechur, II. 395.
Tirumudukanramudaiya - Nayinar, I. 385.
Tirunalkunramudaiya - Nayinar, I. 388.
Tiruppuvulsi, I. 182.
Tiruppullagava-Nayanar, II. 274.
Tiruppurmissvaramudaiya, I. 203.
Tiruttandonri-Aludaiyaar, I. 366.
Tiruttandonri-Mahadeva, I. 366.
Tiruvakkisvaram-Udaya-Nayinar, II. 278 (n).
Tiruvalagalanda Perumal, I. 167 (n).
Tiruvalandur-Mahadevar, II. 196.
Tiruvallidaya-Mutfaiya-Nayanar, II. 71.
Tiruvalvanamudaiya Nainayar, I. 341.
Tiruvengadapuram, I. 373.
Tiruvirattanesvara, II. 393, 397.
Trikuta-Prasada, II. 224.
Tunandar, I. 366.
Tuyramamani-Nayinar, II. 395.
Varadaraja, I. 374, 377; II. 216, 233.
Venkatadri, I. 321.
Venkataramanasvami, II. 284.
Vijayaraghava Perumal, II. 405.
Virabhadra, II. 106, 277.
Viririrumuda-Perumal, I. 241.
Virupaksha Temple, I. 115, 140, 321; II. 123 (n), 219, 231 (n).
Vishnu, I. 179, 347; II. 139, 266.
Vishnu Perumal, II. 403.
Visvanatha, I. 182.
Viththalai, II. 163.
Tenaeserim, I. 290.
Tendattunadaivilagam, II. 347.
Tengal Vallappu Daanayakar, II. 341.
Tenkari, I. 341.
Tenkasi, I. 182.
Tentarur-Turavali-nadu, II. 364.
Teppada Narayana Odeyar, I. 37, 258, 258 (n).
Terakanambi, II. 36, 104, 107, 206, 277, 363, 424.
Terakanambi Bommarasa (Poet), II. 312.
Terakanambi-Sime, II. 16.
Terakanambi Sthala, I. 268.
Terku-nadu, I. 233.
Tevarapuram-Tadar, II, 341.
Tevatta, II, 346.
Tevar, I, 234.
Tigaig Perumal, I, 180.
Tigulas, I, 42.
Timpanayake, I, 305, 460.
Timma (Begara), I, 345.
Timma (Prince), I, 464.
Timma of Satuvali, I, 271, 448.
Timma Bhatta, II, 404.
Timmanaty, II, 413.
Timmambo, II, 222.
Timmanma, II, 20.
Timma Nayaka, I, 266.
Timmana Odeyar, I, 373.
Timanna (Citizen), II, 350.
Timmanma (Poet), I, 324.
Timmanma Dannayaka, I, 313.
Timmanma Hebaruva, II, 370 (n).
Timmanama Nayaka, II, 16, 261.
Timmanama Odeyar, I, 259 (n), 260 (n).
Timmanaradhy, I, 276.
Timmappa, I, 350.
Timmappa Nayaka, II, 403-4.
Timmappa Nayudu, I, 240; II, 49.
Timmappayya, see Timmarasa of the Treasury.
Timmapura alias Koppa, I, 270.
Timmapura Ganga Nayaka, I, 236.
Timma Raja, see also Saluva Timma, I, 207, 399.
Timma Rajayya, I, 265.
Timmarasa of the Treasury, see Timmappayya, I, 176, 206, 269, 294; II, 281-2, 357.
Thamasa, see Saluva Narasimha.
Timmayya (Citizen), I, 216; 412 (n); II, 282.
Timmayya (Minister), I, 264.
Timmya Deva Maharaja (Nandyala Chief), I, 327.
Timmi Nayaka, II, 397.
Timmoja (Timmoja), I, 71, 237, 237 (n); II, 38, 39 (n).
Timmaj, I, 261 (n), 304, 316, 406-7.
Tindivanam Taluka, I, 161.
Tippanna-Ayya, I, 168; II, 349.
Tippi (Official), II, 329.
Tippa Nayaka, II, 96, 282.
Tippanna Odeyar, I, 37.
Tippa Raja (Odeyar), I, 101; II, 216, 280.
Tipparasa (of the Treasury), I, 175.
Tipparasa (Citizen), I, 267.
Tipparasa-Ayya (House-Minister), II, 276.
Tipparasayya (Citizen), I, 346.
Tippasoma (Minister), I, 260; II, 227.
Tippaydeva Maharaja, I, 322.
Tippayya, II, 421.
Tippe Setti, II, 18, 234.
Tiptur, II, 279.
Tipu Sultan, I, 413 (n).
Tiraka Gauda, I, 318-9; II, 265.
Tira Pandi, II, 157 (n).
Tironamalee (Sonasaila), I, 321.
Tirthahalli, II, 20, 366.
Tirthahalli Taluka, I, 371.
Tirthamuttur Sankara Bharati Sri pada, II, 346.
Tiruchchenneri-Udaiyar, I, 164.
Tiruchchiri, I, 164.
Tiruchchirambala Bhattan, II, 127.
Tiruchchirappalli-Rajya, I, 294.
Tirukal, I, 138, 308.
Tirukkaecherur, I, 287, 291.
Tirukkadavur, II, 136.
Tirukkalakkudi, I, 193.
Tirukkalattti, I, 231.
Tirukkalaikudi, I, 394.
Tirukkalukkuvarapurru, I, 295.
Tirukkattupalli, I, 323.
Tirukkodikka, I, 234.
Tirukkondisvara, I, 234.
Tirukkoshtiyur, I, 237.
Tirunakudal, II, 212.
Tirukkurialyalur, I, 234.
Tirukkulir, I, 384 (n).
Tirumala Raya, I, 39, 130, 132, 135-6, 138-9 (n), 140, 261, 298, 298 (n), 299, 308-9, 311, 313, 315, 315 (n), 325, 351, 424, 426; II, 215, 260, 280, 284-5, 311.
Tirumaladevi, I, 162.
Tirumaladeviyarapattana, I, 227.
Tirumala Hill, I, 15.
Tirumalalai Nayaka, II, 277, 387.
Tirumalalai Kumbhakonam Tattacharya, I, 227.
Tirumalamba, II, 163.
Tirumalalai (Princess), II, 141.
Tirumalalai Rajayya, II, 211.
Tirumala Raja Odeyar, I, 270.
Tirumala Somayaji, II, 239.
Tirumale (Town), II, 271.
Tirumalalai-Nambri, I, 227.
Tirumalalai Penugonda, II, 20.
Tirumalalai Nayaka, I, 171; II, 247 (n).
Tirumalalai Tandan, I, 236.
INDEX

Tirumala Setti, II. 105.
Tirumalirunjolai Ayyan, I. 227.
Tirumalisaal, I. 63, 340.
Tirumalperu, I. 337.
Tirumalli Nayaka, I. 375, 377.
Tirumangalakkudi, I. 234.
Tirumanattun-nambi, I. 15.
Tirumarasa, I. 313.
Tiru Mayilapur, II. 114.
Tirumeechur, I. 234.
Tirumeelsalvar, I. 171.
Tirumukkudal, I. 241.
Tirumuttam, I. 234.
Tirunuyanam, I. 164; II. 322, 406.
Tirumerkottai, II. 281-2.
Tirumurugal, I. 234.
Tirunagari, I. 234.
Tirunanganur, I. 234.
Tirunamippalli, I. 234.
Tirunarayanapuram (Melukote), I. 15.
Tirupati, I. 15, 69, 128, 321; II. 12, 12 (n).
Tirundudevankudi, I. 234.
Tirupati Rama Raja-ayya, II. 285.
Tirupati Tirumala, I. 15.
Tiruppalavainam, I. 231.
Tiruppenangadu, I. 181, 293; II. 280.
Tirupparuttikurru, II. 273.
Tiruppasur, I. 239.
Tiruppiddavur, II. 62.
Tiruppugalur, I. 234.
Tiruppukkuli, I. 177, 295; II. 405.
Tiruppungur, I. 234.
Tiruppottur, I. 217, 342.
Tiruppattur Taluka, I. 171.
Tirupperundurai, I. 341.
Tiruppeyarrur, II. 407.
Tiru-Sivamanduru Thala, II. 19.
Tiruvadi, I. 270 (n); II. 393, 397.
Tiruvadira-ayya, I. 307; II. 199, 277.
Tiruvadil-Sirmai (Desa), I. 240, 270.
Tiruvahindrapuram, II. 268.
Tiruvagavur, I. 183, 203.
Tiruvallangadu, I. 231.
Tiruvaliputtur, I. 234.
Tiruvallam-Udaiyar (Villages of), I. 150.
Tiruvallidayan, see Padi Tiruvalludayam, I. 155.
Tiruvalliayngudi, I. 234.
Tiruvavallur, I. 239.
Tiruvavalundur, I. 234.
Tiruvamattur, II. 206.
Tiruvanaiyakaval (Jambukeswaram), I. 340.
Tiruvandarkoil, I. 340.
Tiruvannamalai, see Unnamalai.

Tiruvanaranga, (Srirangam), I. 340.
Tiruvanamalai, I. 357.
Tiruvarur, I. 182.
Tiruvai, II. 62.
Tiruvavanittirunal (Festival), I. 321.
Tiruvellarai, II. 62.
Tiruvellur-nadu, I. 175.
Tiruvengada Ayyan, II. 280.
Tiruvennagar, I. 234.
Tiruvvidai Churam, II. 43.
Tiruvidaimaradur, II. 127.
Tiruvavidanai, II. 232.
Tiruvorriyur, I. 196, 231.
Tissa (Orissa), I. 298.
Tittarapillai, I. 281.
Tiyagapanjavanci, I. 233.
Todar Mall, I. 261.
Todaramalla (Family), II. 414.
Togarasi, I. 221.
Tombalur, II. 337.
Tondaimanar, I. 285.
Tondaimanuart-Tunjina-Udaiyar, I. 337.
Tondainadu, I. 163.
Tondanabetta Hill, I. 76.
Toravala-Vritti, II. 342.
Tora vasamudra (Village), II. 257.
Torevalinadu, I. 357.
Totada Uchchappodeyar, I. 176.
Toti, I. 412.
Tottigans (Tottiyans, or Kambalattar), I. 153, 229; II. 37-8, 38 (n), 55, 206, 305.
Tragambar, I. 78.
Travancore, I. 2, 199, 270, 307, 330, 290, 290 (n), 319, 393, 463 (n); II. 57, 127.
Trechendur, I. 78.
Tri bhuvana, II. 158.
Tri bhuvana Chakravarti Kulottunga Chola Deva (I), II. 124, 193.
Tri bhuvana Chakravartini Konerimai-
kondan, King, II. 406.
Tri bhuvana Chakravartini Rajadhi-
raya, I. 336.
Tri bhuvana Chakravartini Vira-
Pandya Deva, I. 388.
Tri bhuvana-Mahadevi-Parru, II. 199.
Tri bhuvana Malla Deva (Western Chalukya King), II. 253, 398.
Tri bhuvana Pandya Deva, II. 126.
Tricebemca (Triyambaka), II. 144, 144 (n).
Trichinopoly, I. 7 (n), 260 (n), 321, 466; II. 37, 162 (n).
Trichinopoly District, I. 156, 289; II. 62, 69, 196, 246, 395.

Trimenava, I. 78.

Trininapatam, I. 78.

Trinmurti, II. 144 (n).

Trinetranatha Kachehirayar, I. 197, 197 (n).

Trivalur, II. 391.

Trivyambaka, I. 258, 460 (n); II. 130.

Trivyambakarasa, I. 267.

Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, I. 329.

Tunceruri, I. 78.

Tugadaghatta-Sime, II. 350.

Tulaja Bai, II. 21.

Tulapurushadana, I. 21.

Tulikeshallay, II. 315.

Tuluvu-nadu, I. 27, 28, 45, 72-4, 200, 202, 260 (n), 288, 297, 308; II. 14, 53, 347, 396, 400, 420 (n).

Tuluvu-rajya, see Barakura-rajya.

Tuluvas, I. 23.

Tuluvu Veellala, II. 37, 37 (n), 42-3, 43 (n), 45-6, 48, 67, 70, 114, 206-7, 356.

Tumbala, I. 265.

Tumbaravalli, I. 178.

Tumukunte, II. 106, 261, 344.

Tumkur, II. 49, 47, 352.

Tumayirundanambi Kongarayar, I. 372.

Tundira-Mandala, I. 299; II. 141.

Tunga, II. 195.

Tunga, River, I. 227.

Tunganahada, the I. 24, 40 (n), 59, 60, 86, 90-1, 94, 104-5, 110, 114, 117, 118 (n), 121, 140, 170; II. 12, 280-1, 295, 310, 345.

Tungala (or Tungale), II. 35.

Tungo, I. 412.

Tungodu, I. 413.

Turaivali-nadu, II. 341.

Turavar Nambiravi Settiyar, II. 273.

Turavar-nayam, II. 342.

Turivastha Kali-Gotra, II. 387.

Turkey, II. 305.

Turks (Turushkas), The, I. 4, 12, 14-5, 29, 32, 38, 412, 421, 430-1; II. 251, 305.

Turuvekere, II. 16.

Turvar Savukka Devar, II. 342.

Turuvakere Sihala, II. 14.

Turugel, I. 412.

Tyaganna Gauda, I. 268.

Tyakulu, I. 155.

Tynarasappa, I. 139.

Tyaya, II. 89.

U

Udbhaya Nana-Desi, II. 108.

Uchehaisravas, I. 48 (n).

Uchehangi, I. 35, 293.

Uchehangi Venthe, I. 269, 294, 339, 347; II. 278.

Udayagiri-Rajya, I. 294, 298.

Udugani, I. 221.


Udayan Sethapathi (Udayian Setu-pati), II. 269.

Uddhare, I. 73; II. 87.

Uddandar, I. 233.

Udayagiri, I. 298, 306; II. 104, 397.

Udahura-Vamsa, II. 244.

Udipi, II. 396.

Udayanapalli, II. 364.

Ujjaini, I. 40, 86.

Ujjenu Bayicharasa, II. 354.

Ujjenu Rama Gaud, II. 354.

Ukkaik alias Vikrama-Bharana-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 341.

Ulaga-daiya-Perumal, I. 287.

Ulakayiuri, I. 336.

Ulemenhalli, II. 367.

Ummattur, I. 158, 319, 306, 323; II. 263, 263 (n), 266, 278, 403, 423.

Untakkallu, I. 199.

Unnamalapattana, (Tiruvannamalai), I. 5-7; II. 203.

Uppanelli, I. 291.

Uparikaralhalli alias Vengalapura, II. 16.

Uparahalli, II. 20.

Upendrapura, see Maddur.

Upendrapattana, II. 140.

Uppakuntipale, II. 415.

Unnamalepattana, see Unnamalepattana.

Uraiyyur Chola Pottaya Solan Mahara, I. 322.

Urratt, II. 63, 395; II. 69.

Urratt Kurram, I. 357.

Urvakonde-Sime, I. 238; II. 59.

Urvana Bomma Nayaka, I. 89.

Uttamasolan (Mandapa), II. 69.

Uttama-Nambi, I. 16.

Uttipakam, I. 287.

Uttama-Chola-Chaturvedimangalam I. 334.

Uttaramkul-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 365; II. 45-6.

Uttarameru alias Rajendrasolo-Chaturvedimangalam, I. 341.

Uttipakam alias Adinayaka Chatur-
INDEX

V

Vadakudi, I. 182.
Vadakka-nadu, I. 233.
Vadapa-nadu, II. 405.
Vada Pulinadu, I. 291.
Vada Tiruvengadaiyir, II. 404.
Vadda Irana-bova, I. 345.
Vademalluna, I. 384.
Vadhula, I. 276.
Vahnipura, II. 254; II. 395.
Vaigai, the I. 352.
Vaigal, I. 234.
Vakiti Adepa Nayingaru, II. 311, 403.
Vakiti-Timmappa Nayinivar, I. 240.
Vaikuntha, II. 89-90.
Vaikuntha Tirtha, II. 347.
Vaipur, I. 78.
Vairagi Santayya, II. 21.
Vaisandagali Deva, II. 337.
Vaishnavas, the I. 73; II. 66-7, 198, 327.
Vaissravana, I. 250.
Vaizes, the I. 155, 189, 225, 256; II. 3, 59 (n), 92, 100 (n), 127-8, 139.
Vaisy-Vaniya-Nagattar, II. 343.
Vattti-Battar, II. 364.
Vaivasvata Manu, II. 24.
Vaiyanan Komuppan, I. 343.
Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka, I. 233; II. 61 (n).
Vaiyappa Nayaka Aliyan, I. 159.
Vakhilagere-nad, II. 104.
Valaiyans, the II. 57 (n).
Valangal-Mattar, II. 67.
Valavanda-Prumal, I. 414.
Vali, I. 114.
Vallabha Deva, I. 259 (n).
Valla-nadu, I. 291, 357; II. 356, 369.
Vallappa Dannayaka, see also Ballappa Dannayaka, I. 19-20, 101; II. 364.
Vallatchi, II. 114.
Vallur, II. 114.
Valluvanadalvan Irungolars, I. 286.
Valmiki, II. 239.
Valaikulam, I. 294.
Valudalmattu-usavadi, I. 183, 295.
Valudilambattu-Rajya, II. 196.
Valuvur, I. 175.

Vamaana, I. 167, 351.
Vamana Bhatta, I. 367.
Vamanathapura alias Mylapore, I. 79.
Vamasakti Deva, I. 214.
Vanapuram, II. 323.
Vanara-Dhvaja Kingdom, the I. 114.
Vanavannadur-Bhatuvvedimangalam, I. 164, 227; II. 87.
Vanavolu, II. 96.
Vandaraya Ulaganada Mudaliar, II. 114.
Vangipuram, I. 438.
Vani ... II. 255.
Vaniyagere alias Somasamudram, II. 278.
Vanniyans or Vanniyars, I. 155; II. 31 (n), 45, 45 (n), 46.
Vanyarajas, the I. 14.
Varadacharya, II. 12.
Varadamba Queen, II. 163, 221, 281.
Varadan, I. 286.
Varada Nayaka, II. 285.
Varadaraja Deva, II. 275.
Varadarajamannapattana, I. 227.
Varadi (Dancing-girl), II. 226.
Varagur, I. 155.
Varanasi, see Benares, I. 4, 407; II. 103.
Varanasi Varadappanna, II. 395.
Vartheena, I. 45, 49, 54, 70-1, 119, 121, 123, 129, 242, 393-4, 415, 429; II. 27, 29, 51, 298, 300, 303, 422.
Varugana Pandya, II. 313.
Varuna, I. 250; II. 100.
Varuvakonde Some, I. 207.
Vasal Adiyappa Nayaka, I. 198.
Vasal Timmappa Nayaka, II. 277.
Vasishta, I. 217 (n), 233, 369; II. 2, 58 (n), 110, 136, 148, 187 (n), 191 (n).
Vasishtha-Gotra, I. 269, 294.
Vasudeva, I. 103.
Vasudeva Nagaya, II. 314.
Vasudhara Some, I. 270.
Vata, II. 275.
Vayalaikkavur, II. 237 (n).
Vayalur alias Jananathanallur, I. 155.
Vayara-Nayanar, II. 287.
Vayijanna, II. 108.
Vayiyr, II. 361.
Vayiririyar, II. 360.
Vayu, I. 250.
Vedas, the I. 9, 230, 362, 378, 446; II. 31, 35, 120, 131, 136, 139, 154, 163, 187 (n), 294, 339 (n), 364.
Veda—
Atharvana, I. 80, 257 (n); II. 139.
Rig, II. 139.
Sama, II. 139.
Yajur, I. 264; II. 139.
Vedanta, I. 13.
Vedanta Desika (Acharya), I. 8, 13, 16.
Vedanti-Ramarajiyapa, II. 200.
Vedars, see the Bedars.
Vedaranyam, II. 113.
Vela, II. 86.
Velamas, the I. 349.
Velangudi, I. 171, 197.
Velidakalai, I. 413.
Velapa Nayaka, I. 455.
Velapura (Velsupuri), I. 38-9; II. 404.
Vellai-Nadars, II. 206-7.
Vela-Surukalai, II. 287 (n).
Vellala Sudras, I. 286.
Vellalers, see Tuluva Vellalars.
Vellaluru, II. 252.
Vellavur, I. 167 (n).
Velliyar alias Sri-Vishnu-Vardhana, II. 414.
Vellore (Velur, Velore), I. 138, 141-2, 264, 399; II. 83, 287 (n).
Veluru Bommi Nayaka, I. 159.
Velur Kalappa Nayaka, II. 392.
Velurnadu, I. 294.
Velugotivaru, II. 220.
Velurupaliyam, II. 323.
Vemana, I. 8, 54, 58, 59, 137, 138 (n), 152 (n), 155 (n), 212 (n).
Vembuenu, I. 357.
Venbarnadu, I. 76.
Vengadam Udayali, I. 174 (n); II. 343.
Vengala Deva Maharya, II. 208.
Vengala Raja, II. 15-6.
Venkatadri Nayakas, II. 17; II. 283.
Venkatadri Rajaya, II. 239.
Venkatagirikotes, I. 155.
Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka (Dalawayi), I. 466.
Venkaya Krishnajiyammas, II. 20.
Venkata Krishnaasagaram, II. 21.
Venkatapatapi Deva Rayas (I.), I. 140-1, 256, 283 (n), 305, 310, 399; II. 114-5, 214, 222, 252, 254-5, 262 (n), 285, 322, 335.
Venkatapatapi Deva Rayas, II., I. 140-1, 310, 315, 320, 325, 346; II. 20, 22, 61, 69, 83, 175 (n), 264, 264 (n), 413.
Venkatapatapi Nayanagaru, II. 22.
Venkata Ramanayya, Dr., I. 32 (n), 89 (n).
Venkataryaya Deva Choda Maharaya, II. 268.
Venkatacharya, II. 201 (n).
Venkatatatarya, II. 266.
Venkatesa, I. 15.
Venkayya, Mr., I. 20, 29, 88-9, 99 (n), 366 (n).
Venkoba Rao, Mr., I. 100, 342.
Venkoba Rao, B., Mr., II. 220, 226, 267 (n), 396.
Vennajary-nadu, I. 294-5.
Veppambattu, I. 203.
Vettangudi, II. 281.
Veyur-nadu, II. 364.
Vibhuramu (Ibrahim!), II. 268.
Vidal alias Madevi-Arandidamgalam, II. 159.
Vidyadharas-Mahapatra-Arasu, II. 16.
Vidya, I. 91-2, 15, 112.
Vidhyadharas Kingdom, The, I. 114.
Vidyanganara (Vidyanagar), I. 86, 88, 91, 93, 95, 100, 108, 111-2, 299, 301-2; II. 200.
Vidyaranayapura, I. 91.
Vidyatirtha-svami, I. 17, 89, 96, 101, 109, 110, 110 (n), 257 (n), 262.
Vidyavasi, II. 100 (n).
Vijaya, I. 90, 94-5, 106, 112-3, 121.
Vijaya (Prince), I. 312.
Vijaya Bhupati Raya Odeyar, I. 154.
Vijaya Chudamani Dugganna, II. 414.
Vijayadananayakapattana alias Hiri- yur, II. 105.
Vijayaditya (Western Chalukya King), I. 116.
Vijayanagara Empire, I. 18, 22, 22 (n), 23, 29, 31, 40, 43, 57-8, 72, 81-2, 88-3, 88, 103, 112, 116, 120, 130, 132, 140-1, 149, 160, 172, 194, 200, 208, 230, 224 (n), 235,
INDEX


Vijayanagara Penugonda, I. 139.

Vijaya Baghava Nayaka, I. 62, 329; II. 123-4, 415, 420.

Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha Nayaka, I. 217.

Vijaya Nandivarman, III., II. 323.

Vijayapura, II. 206, 369.

Vijaya Rayal, I. 85.

Vijayassamudra, I. 90, 90 (n), 94.

Vijaya-Somanathaputra alias Nuggiyahalli, II. 246.

Vijayavirupakshanapura, I. 31.

Vijendra Raya, I. 461 (n).

Vijendra Vodeyar’s Matha, II. 239.

Vijnanesvara, I. 247.

Vijnasara Dikshitapadhyaya, II. 140.

Vikkirama Solamanda, I. 192.

Vikrama-Chola-Deva Perumal, II. 66.

Vikramaditya (Chief), II. 255.

Vikramaditya, VI., (Western Chalukya King), I. 346; II. 98, 166, 317.

Vikramanka (Kalachuriya King), II. 319.

Vikrama Pandya, II. 158.

Vikrama-Sola-Deva alias Irungolsaniyani Vanarayar, I. 256.

Vikrama-Sola-Muttaraiyar, I. 358 (n).

Villinur, II. 414.

Vina Ramappa, II. 413 (n).

Vinayaditya (Western Chalukya King), I. 114, 151.

Vinayakara Deva, I. 465.


Vinikonda (Vinukonda), I. 233, 462; II. 268.

Vinnajo, I. 351.

Vipravinodins, The, II. 59, 59 (n), 60, 196 (n).

Vira Ariyapa, see Harihara, I.

Vira Bacheana Odeyar, I. 259 (n).


Vira Ballala, III, see also Ballala, III., I., 84, 89; II. 328, 337, 341, 352.

Vira Ballala, IV., see Virupaksha Ballala.

Vira Banajas, I. 58, 64, 174, 213 (n), 358 (n); II. 98, 98 (n), 99, 101-4, 118, 224.

Virabhadra, The Gajapati Prince, I. 236, 233, 467; II. 418.

Virabhadra (Maha-gana), II. 224.

Virabhadra Nayaka, II. 257.

Virabhadrayya (Poet), II. 183.

Vira Bhairava Odeyar, II. 14.

Virabhattriya, II. 364.

Virabhupa, Prince, II. 263.

Vira Bhupati Odeyar, I. 196, 277, 278 (n); II. 293.

Vira Bukkanna, see Bukka, I.

Vira Chikka Odeyar, II. 423.

Vira Devarasa Vallabha Raya Maharaaya, I. 36.

Vira Heggade, I. 177-8.

Vira Kaya, I. 35.

Vira Maji Hiriya Pennmaya Nayaka, I. 12.

Vira Mallappa Odeyar, II. 251.

Vira, II., I. 278.

Vira, IV., I. 278 (n).

Vira-ayya, II. 284.

Vira-Nann, I. 89.

Vira Narasimha (Saluva), I. 263, 307, 321; II. 19, 77-8, 227, 233 (n), 246, 263, 266, 275-6.

Vira Narasimha (Hosala), I. 4, 388 (n); II. 184, 250, 319, 327, 330-1.

Vira Narasimha Nayaka, I. 261.

Vira Narasimha Sellappa, I. 319.

Vira Nayaka, I. 257.

Vira Naranayanaachirmnai, I. 233.

Vira Odeyar, I. 318-9; II. 19, 265, 284, 368.

Vira Odeyar, I. 268.


Vira Pandya, I. 5.

Virappa, I. 169; II. 257.

Virappa Odeyar, I. 449.

Virappa Nayaka, I. 310; II. 202, 273, 320, 369.

Vira Parvati Raja Odeyar, II. 424.

Vira Raja Odeyar, II. 17.

Vira Rajendra, I. 164, 274.

Vira Rajendra Chola Deva, see Kulottunga, III.

Vira Raudra, I. 85-6.

Vira Saiva Pratapa Chola Maharaja, I. 155, 189; II. 33.

Viraasivas, The, see Jangamas.
Virasani-Ammayappan Aragiya Soran, alias Edirib-Sora Samburavanayar, I. 347.

Virasena, II. 244.

Vira Setti, II. 18.

Virasingha-nadu, I. 353.

Vira Sri Sovanna Odeyar, I. 58.

Vira Vasanta Madhava, I. 300.

Viravenbamalai, Princes, I. 182.

Vira Vijaya, I. 112, 202 (n).

Vira Vijaya Bhupati Raya Odeyar, I. 240.

Vira Vijayavirupaksha, I. 7, 31.

Virupaksha Raya, I., I. 28-9, 171, 280, 278, 303, 312, 340, 348, 413; II. 4, 205, 275, 279 (n), 422 (n), 423.

Virupaksha Raya, II., I. 375.

Virupaksha Ballala, IV., I. 5, 11, 17-9, 21, 36, 232.

Virupaksha Pandita (Poet), I. 111 (n); II. 182.

Virupakshapattana, I. 6, 89, 112.

Vira Virupanna, I. 139.

Virupakshapura, I. 7; II. 21, 273.

Viraya of Hiriyur, I. 346.

Virayya, see Tipparesayya Kare Virayya.

Virayya, I. 411.

Vireshalingam Pantulu, Rao Bahadur, I. 99 (n).

Virkudi, I. 234.

Virudara-Bhayankarvalanadu, II. 196.

Virupakshapura, I. 7.

Virupapura, I. 224.

Virupambika, II. 130.

Virupambika (Wife of Bamma Raja), I. 300.

Virupanna (Citizen), II. 367.

Virupanna Nayaka, I. 278 (n).

Virupanna (Virupaksha, Udayagiri Vandagiri, Yadagiri), Odeyar, I. 155, 169 (n), 197, 209, 299, 300, 341, 349, 371; II. 18, 351, 365-6.

Viruparaja (Poet), II. 183.

Virupa Raya (Prince), II. 272.

Virupa-amma, II. 20.

Visaja Nagar (Vijayanagara), I. 85, 107, 298.

Visana Ravutta, II. 278.

Visnmitra-Gotha, I. 169.

Vishnu (Pundarikaksha), I. 250.

Vishnu (Law-giver), I. 230, 362-3; II. 92, 97, 109, 111, 152-3.

Vishnu Bhatta, I. 169, 170.

Vishnu-Kambali-Nayaka, II. 347.

Vishnusumudra, alias Kereyasanthi, II. 356.

Vishnusumudra, II. 335.

Vishnuvandhana Bitti Deva (Hoysala King), I. 33, 38, 76, 152, 182; II. 124, 173, 180 (n), 233 (n), 335.

Visvakarma, I. 9.

Visvamitra, II. 135.

Visvanatha Nayaka, I. 233, 261, 270, 330-1, 331 (n), 340, 352-4, 436; II. 223, 263 (n), 269, 285, 285 (n), 385, 422 (n).

Visvanatharya, I. 277.

Visvanatha Rautta, II. 32.

Visva Panditar, II. 406.

Visvesvara, II. 227.

Vittaraga, II. 245.

Vitha (thala) Raya, I. 15.

Vithapa, II. 18.

Viththal, see under Viththanna Odeyar.

Viththal (Cousin of Rama Raya), I. 317.

Viththal, I. 2, 264.

Viththal Bhatta, II. 17.

Viththal Odeyar, II. 232.

Viththanna (Official), I. 215; II. 350, 354.

Viththanna Nayaka, II. 106, 269.

Viththanna Odeyar, I. 177-8, 300-1; II. 28, 32, 32 (n); 130, 239, 348-9, 367.

Viththalappa Nayaka, II. 49, 268.

Viththaladivasa, see Viththanna Odeyar.

Viththalaraja (of Aravit), II. 17, 197, 208.

Vitta (Chinta?), II. 37.

Vittappar (Vittappar of Aneugundi), I. 372.

Vithappa Ayyan, I. 179.

Viththaras Odeyar, I. 260.

Vitta-parru, I. 196.

Viththapa, I. 170 (n); II. 188, 346-9.

Vittasandra, II. 17.

Vittimangala-Parru, II. 341.

Vitula Sinay, II. 301, 309.

Vizagapatam District, II. 59.

Vizianagaram Penukondai Patnam, I. 139-40; II. 385.

Voba, I. 345.

Vodacheieri, I. 182.

Voddarhalli, II. 369.

Vodeyara, II. 197-8.

Vodina (Channel), II. 255.

Voduva Tirumalamma, II. 163.

Volu-Narasimhapuru, II. 360.

Vommachihalli, II. 254.

Vom-Sathagopa-Jiyamgaru, II. 263.
Vridhachalam, I. 385; II. 61.
Vridha Manu, see Manu.
Vuppugavu, I. 413.
Vunnakonda-Venthe, II. 60.
Vyaghnapuri, see also Chidambaram, I. 8.
Vyasa, I. 325.
Vyasaraya, I. 260-1, 263, 450 (n); II. 5, 126, 142, 226, 267 (n).
Vyasasaya Matha, I. 410.
Vyassamudra, I. 264.
Vyasatirtha, II. 405.

W
Warangal, I. 2, 4, 7, 10, 23, 24-7, 29-3, 84, 86, 88; II. 228.
Wassaf, II. 157 (n).
Western Ghauts, I. 73, 75.
Wengali, I. 399.
Wenectadra, Prince, II. 134.
Wenectadrapa, see Venkatapati Deva Raya, II.
Wilson, H. H., I. 24, 27, 87, 306.
Wilks, Col. Marks, I. 24, 190, 354 (n).
William Finch, I. 311.
William Ward, II. 149 (n).
Wiyalwar Paleyagaras, II. 42, 43, 44.

X
Xavier, Saint Francis, I. 137, 305.

Y
Yachama Nayaka, I. 305.
Yadavas, The, I. 2-3, 6, 8, 29 (n), 141, 448; II. 41.
Yadu, I. 90.
Yaduvamsa, I. 29, 37, 40, 106; II. 32 (n).
Yadoja, I. 276.
Yadava-Gotra, II. 50.
Yajusha, I. 276.
Yajus-Sakha, I. 269, 276; II. 227, 247.
Yajna Bhatta, II. 323.
Yajnavalkya, II. 67, 98 (n), 193 (n).
Yajnavatika, II. 294.
Yalarasa Odeyar, II. 257.
Yalanale Bommayya, II. 260.
Yalapaya Sime, I. 224, 236, 427.
Yallappa Odeyar, I. 376.
Yaleyr-shala, II. 355.
Yallappayya, Hebbaruva Upadhyaya, II. 394.
Yama, II. 234 (n).
Yaragudi, I. 91.
Yarama Nayaka, see Yereme Nayaka.
Yasovati, Queen, II. 156.
Yasodha, I. 22.
Yatiraja Ayyangar, II. 387.
Yedduru Mummayya Bagadilingar, II. 49.
Yedatore, II. 227, 228 (n), 339.
Yelankana-nad, see also Elahankana-nad, I. 329; II. 274-5.
Yeleya Sankapa Setti, II. 275.
Yelamur Jagir, II. 273.
Yelamudu, I. 329.
Yelahangti, I. 198.
Yellappa, II. 394.
Yellappa Nayaka, I. 267.
Yelavandur, II. 201.
Yembanudiaver, I. 17.
Yenne-nad, II. 108, 355.
Yeraharasa, I. 149 (n).
Yereme Nayaka, I. 216.
Yera Timma Raja, I. 299.
Yeri Setti, II. 344.
Yirigi Setti (Father and Son), II. 106.
Yoosof Adil Khan, I. 406.
Yojaya Nayaka, II. 364.
Yuvaraja Vikramaditya, see Vikramaditya, VI. (Western Chalukya).
Yuan Chwang, I. 387.
Yudhistira, II. 130.
Yusuf Adil Khan, II. 77.

Z
Zachariae, Prof. Theodor, II. 96 (n).
Zeilen, see also Ceylon, I. 66, 79.
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