CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM

Having formulated a model in our previous chapter, we attempt here to view the operation of the agrarian system of medieval Jayanagaracolamandalam in its totality and take its measure. Although, our sources for this endeavour are meagre, it is hoped that our efforts will contribute to the projection of a more lucid view of the South Indian Middle Ages.

It is perhaps best, then, to begin our analysis of the agrarian system of Jayanagaracolamandalam under Vijayanagara rule with an examination of the language and content of the inscriptions of the period, which are our main guide in this study. This is necessary both because the ideology of the time, as we have said before, was expressed in a religious idiom and because the overwhelming majority of the epigraphs record grants to temples. Here, however, we must strive to get behind the formal meaning of the words of these lithic records to arrive at the actual working of the agrarian system and this is all the more necessary given our great dependence on the inscriptions at Tirupati.

Most of the epigraphs at Tirupati refer to grants of money or of land to the temple to provide for the performance of certain specified services to be
conducted on specified days for an unlimited ('perpetual', 'as long as the sun and the moon last') period of time. Consider for example a typical Tamil inscription at Tirupati:

Hail, Prosperity! This is the śilāśānam executed by the sthānattār of Tirumalai temple in favour of Könerī, son of Sellan residing at Palavērkādu village in the Saka year 1458 while Śrīman Mahārāja-rāja Rajaparamēsvara Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Vira Achyuta-deva Mahāraja was ruling the kingdom, to wit.

Since you have paid the sum of 3,200 par-panam into the temple treasury for the purpose of propitiating Śrī Venkaṭēsa with 2 tirupponakam food offerings daily as your ubhaiyam donation - we shall utilise this sum of 3,200 panam for the improvement of the tanks and channels in the temple villages (tiruvvidaiyattam) and with the income obtained thereby [idil vilainda mudal kondu], shall be supplied from the temple-store for the preparation of 2 vellai-tirupponakam, 2 marakkai of rice, measured with the Tirumalai temple measure, 1 ulakku of ghee, 1 ulakku of green gram, salt, pepper, vegetables and curds.

You are hereby authorised to receive the quarter share of the offered prasādam due to the donor. The remaining prasādam shall be reserved for distribution during early adaippu.

This arrangement shall continue to be in force throughout the succession of your heirs, till the moon and the sun shine.

In this manner this deed is drawn up by the temple-accountant, Tiruniṅga-udaiyān, with the consent of the Śrīvaishnava-s. May these the Śrīvaishnava-s protect 1

It would be apparent from the above inscription that money granted to the temple was generally invested in irrigation projects – the construction of tanks and canals (ēri-kālavāy) – and that the consequent increase in production provided a constant income to the temples to support the offerings desired by the donor. Such projects were, as a rule, invested in the tiruvirudaiyattam villages where the temple, presumably, held the mēlvāram right by virtue of which it could appropriate the major share of the increment in production caused by the construction of irrigation tanks and canals. However, given the prevalent forms of land tenure – in which the cultivators received the kilvāram or minor share – an increase in production would also have been beneficial to the peasants. Further, as Stein had also noticed, the cultivators may have been employed as labourers in the construction of these irrigation projects and thus received additional monetary benefits.3

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2 Infra. pp. 314-6

One of the difficulties attendant upon this line of reasoning advocated by Stein is that we have no indication of the methods by which the temple authorities decided on the quantum of the increase in agricultural production accruing from the construction of irrigation projects. Unless the amount of increase in production was determined in some way, the donor of the grant could not be certain that the quantities stipulated by him for the various offerings would be fulfilled. Unfortunately, we cannot suggest a resolution of this difficulty which is glossed over by Stein, and consequently it has been merely recorded here.

There is however, no doubt that there was a marked preference on the part of the donors for making grants of money rather than of land as is shown in Table V-1.

Table V-1
GRANTS TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE, Śaka 1300-1487a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Śaka era) b</th>
<th>Total No. of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Grants of Land and Villages</th>
<th>Grants of money</th>
<th>Amount of money granted (panam)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1300-1309 (1378-1388)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310-1319 (1388-1398)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320-1329 (1398-1408)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
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</table>

contd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1340-1349</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1359</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360-1369</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-1379</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380-1389</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390-1399</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1409</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410-1419</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1420-1429</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>1430-1439</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440-1449</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1450-1459</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1460-1469</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1470-1479</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1480-1489</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1490-1499</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1509</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1510-1519</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1520-1529</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1530-1539</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1540-1549</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1559</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560-1569</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1579</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580-1589</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590-1599</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1609</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Based on the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam...*
Dates in the Christian Era are given in parenthesis.

Plus 530 chakrapanam.

Plus 225 chakram-pon.

Plus 150 rūka-s.

Any attempt to generalise from the evidence at Tirupati to the rest of Jayakondaḷaḻamandalaḥ is obviously hazardous as Tirupati was the most important temple-centre within the Vijayanagara Empire and the Rāya-s, especially Sāluva Narasimha (A.D. 1486-91), Krishṇadēvarāya (A.D. 1509-29), Acyutadēvarāya (A.D. 1529-42) and Sadāśivadēvarāya (A.D. 1547-76) refer to Śrī Venkaṭēśvara as their iṣṭadēvata or favourite deity. However, in the present instance, we are merely attempting to establish that there was a relative increase of money endowments over land grants to the Tirupati temple, and there is no reason to believe that a similar tendency did not exist elsewhere in the mandalaḥ.

Before we examine the reasons which led donors to choose to gift money rather than lands, we may perhaps examine the common factors which prompted them in the first place to make endowments to temples. One of the most
obvious reasons for the grants of land and money to these religious institutions was due to the prevailing ideology which led the donors to believe that they would receive spiritual merit from such endowments and these grants also invested them with prestige. In this connection, we have already seen from anthropological and historical studies, that conspicuous consumption was a means to attain political loyalties -- that is to say that prominent leaders, by advertising their wealth by their seeming generosity, attained important social and political ends.\(^4\) Similarly, one of the reasons which led merchants and artisans to make grants to temples may have been due to their need to obtain goodwill.

Further, the prestige of the temple would have been enhanced by the number and magnificence of the festivals conducted therein, and would thus attract large numbers of pilgrims, who would provide a market for goods and services. Centres of pilgrimage, as we have already noted, also promoted territorial integration. Stein had observed that the number of festival days in a year rose from seventy-five at about the middle of the fifteenth

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\(^4\) Supra, pp. 54-5; Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 432-3.
century A.D. to about four hundred and thirty in the early seventeenth century. Indeed, during the regnal period of Sāluva Narasimharāya alone, the number of festival days increased from seventy-five per year to one hundred and fifty per annum. Temple festivals also provided entertainment to the society at large and helped release tensions - like the gladiators did for Imperial Rome. In this connection, it is interesting to note that none of the inscriptive evidences that have been cited about social protests came from the major centres of pilgrimage during the Vijayanagara period. Another interesting feature of the religious policy of the Vijayanagara period was that while the Tirumala-Tirupati temples were certainly the largest recepients of state support, unlike the Cōla-s of the earlier period the Vijayanagara rulers supported both Śiva and Vishṇu temples. Thus, they also made a number of grants to temples in Kāncīpuram, Kālahasti, Tiruvorriyūr, Tiruvanṭāmalai, etc.


Loc. cit., while the regnal period of Sāluva Narasimharāya was A.D. 1416-91, his earliest inscription at Tirupati dates to A.D. 1456 and therefore Stein suggests in the passage cited here that the Rāya's actual exertion of influence in the affairs of the temple dates to A.D. 1456.

The Cōla-s were ardent Śaivites. There is also fn. continues...
We have no evidence of the actual numbers of pilgrims who visited Tirupati, or any of the other temples. This is only to be expected. We can, however, form an idea of the number of pilgrims at Tirupati.\footnote{previous fn.}

Evidence to their persecution of Vaishnavites – according to the Takkayagapparuni, the Kulottungacola and the Rajarajacola, Kulottungacola II (A.D. 1133-1150) removed the Vishnu idol from the Cidambaram temple. The deity at Srirangam was also taken to Tirupati for safe keeping and it was returned only during the Vijayanagara period. This was perhaps because the Cidambaram and Srirangam temples were centres of the Sri-Vaishnavite cult which was a social movement of the lower castes in a religious garb, in which it was stressed that caste was irrelevant in the attainment of grace. See Ravi A. Palat, 'Cidambaram: The Role of a Temple in the Evolution and Development of a Cola Urban Centre', Unpublished M.A. Seminar Paper, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 45-70, Burton Stein, 'Social Mobility and the Medieval South Indian Hindu Sects', in James Silverberg (ed.), Social Mobility and the Caste System in India, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement III, Routon, The Hague, 1968, pp. 78-94.

It may be of interest to note that a recent study reveals that approximately "900 persons arrive in Tirumala per hour while about 970 depart per hour after 'Darshan'" and that "(i) The (statistical) average waiting time of a person is 6.7 hours, (ii) average (statistical) number of persons waiting in queue for 'darshan' is about 6,000, and (iii) on an average, a pilgrim is allowed to spend about 3 seconds only for the actual darshan of the lord." The Hindu, Ombatore edition, 18 January 1979.
already noted that villages far removed from Tirupati had been granted to the temple on the banks of the river Tambraparni;\textsuperscript{9} in Pāṇḍya-\textit{mandalam};\textsuperscript{10} Cōla-\textit{mandalam};\textsuperscript{11} Udayagiri-\textit{rājya};\textsuperscript{12} and other areas. This indicates that pilgrims came from all over the Vijayanagara empire to the temple. Further, an inscription of Nādiṇḍa Gōpa from Koṇḍavīḍu (Guntur Dt.), issued by the order of Sālūva Timma, minister to Krishṇa Devaraya, in A.D. 1520 also assigned to the temple of Rāghava at Koṇḍavīḍu the customs (\textit{mūlaviśas}) at all places in Koṇḍavīḍu Ādyc and "at Vasanta \textit{garuvu-s} in the town of Koṇḍavīḍu, at water sheds, at salt-beds and market-towns, and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the Tirumala hills."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{9} e.g. TTDES/IV/60; V/127, 158. See also \textit{infra.}\textsuperscript{123-4}
\textsuperscript{10} e.g. TTDES/I/57.
\textsuperscript{11} e.g. TTDES/I/1, 15, 18, 26, 36, 45; II/49, 106.
\textsuperscript{12} e.g. TTDES/IV/148.
\textsuperscript{13} N. Venkata Rao (ed.), \textit{Selected Telugu Inscriptions}, University of Madras, Madras, 1952, No. 24, pp. 146-156. The translation is from H. Krishna Sastrī, \textit{XI/VI/22}, pp. 230-239. The rates of \textit{mūlaviśa-s} levied (line 125) in the inscription are:

\textit{fn. continues....}
Moreover, it was in the interest of the Emperor, the *nayaka*-s, the *sthānattār*, the merchants and the artisans to ensure that pilgrims were encouraged. Among the steps taken to increase the flow of pilgrims to temple towns were the establishment of *satram*-s or free feeding houses, where *prasādam* was also distributed freely — perhaps so that even poorer pilgrims were attracted to the temple — and above all, by not stopping

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Previous fn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Great millet, millet, ........, salt, mangoes, myrobalan, fruits brinjals, clearing nuts, māvena.</td>
<td>1/2 a <em>paikamu</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Green gram, Bengal gram, black gram, horse gram, red gram, wheat, sesame seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamrainds, gall-nuts, myrobalan seeds, yam, chāma, chirugadām (roots).</td>
<td>1 <em>paikamu</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Onions, turmeric, dammer, fenu-greek, cumin, mustard, <em>salaga</em>-s of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits and coconuts.</td>
<td>1 <em>damma</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, <em>sungadi</em>, flowers of the <em>Bassia Latifolia</em> (tree), dry ginger, iron, steel chisels.</td>
<td>2 <em>damma</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mango jelly</td>
<td>3 <em>damma</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, betel leves.</td>
<td>4 <em>damma</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves, nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, copper.</td>
<td>6 <em>damma</em> per bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Double bullock load of women's garments.</td>
<td>1 <em>chavela</em> (<em>ibid.</em>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the free distribution of prasādam to the general public at the temple itself, though the actual quantities set apart for such distribution declined drastically.

In this connection, we may mention that Burton Stein had noted that there was an increase in the offerings which were baked or fried and were thus perishable / sic/ than the ordinary offering which consisted of boiled rice. The reason for this increase in the more durable form of food offering was that it could be transported back to the village or town of the pilgrim and shared with others who could not make the pilgrimage. This was a more expensive offering and in considerable demand by the pilgrims.14

Stein made these observations on the basis of the data reproduced here as Table V-2.

Table V-2

DAILY FOOD OFFERINGS ENDOWED AT THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE, 1327-1640a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Daily Food Offerings Endowed</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooked Rice offerings</td>
<td>Baked or Fried Rice Offerings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327-1365</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Vijayanagar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1365-1456</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Dynasty Vijayanagar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contd....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1456-1509</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Dynasty Vijayanagar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509-1530</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnadévarāya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530-1542</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acyutadévarāya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1542-1565</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadāśivarāya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565-1640</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This table is based on the computations of Viraraghavacharya, *History II*, 768-69. It is derived from all Tirupati inscriptions which mention an endowment for a daily food offering. Not included in this table are those offerings which were established for special festival periods. As each of the endowments was a "perpetual" offering, the cumulative number of daily offerings reached 1,373 in 1640. This great number of daily offerings was prepared and offered at over twenty shrines of the temple though the largest number occurred at the shrines of Śri Venkaṭēśvara at Tirumalai and Śri Gōvindarājaswāmi in Tirupati.

It is perhaps because of the great demand for prasādam created as a result of pilgrim traffic that prasādam possessed economic value. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1495 refers to a grant of 3000 panam by Kandā dai Ramānujayyaṅgār, and 1000 panam of this sum of money was accounted by the proceeds of the sale of his share of the appa-prasādam and akkāli-prasādam. An inscription of A.D. 1536 refers to the sale of the donor's share of the prasādam by Šāluva Timmarasa to Tālilpākkam Tirumalaiyyaṅgār for 4,600 panam. Moreover, when

15 TTDES/II/133. It was equal to the 1000 panam received from him from the villages that had been granted to him by Šāluva Narasimharāya, also mentioned in the same inscription.

16 TTDES/IV/72. The quantity of prasādam sold as per this epigraph was 5 prasādam /2 akkāli-mandai, /4 palam of chandanam, 13 atirasam, 12/2 arecanuts and 25 betels. For other insessional references to the sale of prasādam at Tirupati, see TTDES/IV/74, 93; V/88. Further, in TTDES/III/157-159 Krīṣṇaḍēvaraya granted house sites to Vyasa-tirtha Śripāḍa Udaiyar to build his matham and the donor's share of prasādam in the offerings made in the name of the Emperor. Within 11 months of this, Vyasa-tirtha Udaiyar made an endowment of 14000 panam (TTDES/III/165). Surely, at least a part of this must have come from the sale of prasādam. The same inscription also stipulates that the sthānattar should donate a portion of their share of the prasādam for free distribution in the donor's matham. See also TTDES/III/ No. 175.
Kommaraja Širu-Rimmaraja Udaiyar, entitled Śrīman Mahāmāndalēśvara, Uttamaśāṇa, Ubhavaraśāṇa, Gaṇḍaragaṇṭa and Gaṇḍabhērunda deposited 1600 paṇam in the Śrī-Bhandaram to provide for some offerings the sthānattār initially issued an inscription by which they were to receive the donor's share of the prasādam. 17 A subsequent inscription, probably issued soon after, however, restored the right to the donor's share of the prasādam to the donor himself. 18 Further, an inscription of 1472 stipulates that the prasādam from the offering of Pallikondaperumāl-Karpūram Mūvarāyar of Viramāδakkipattī village shall be utilized by the manager of the Tirumahgaiyāṉvar temple for the construction of the Pallikondān-mantapam, the tirumadil (prākara walls) and other edifices in the temple. 19 All this clearly brings out the fact that the prasādam could be and was sold for money and

17 TTDES/II/91. See also TTDES/II/30 - an inscription of Saluva Narasimha in which it is recorded that the donor, in 1467 endowed 3 villages to provide for offerings in his name and that he agreed to the request by the sthānattār that they be permitted to distribute the share of the prasādam due to the donor from these offerings among themselves.

18 TTDES/II/92.

19 TTDES/II/49.
that this is the reason why the inscriptions at the Tirupati temple mention in such elaborate detail the shares of different people in the distribution of prasādam. At Tirupati, the donor was entitled to receive one-fourth of the offered share of prasādam. However, the members of the imperial family, the navaka-s and the chief officers of state frequently granted their share of the prasādam to their ācārya, to the cultivators of flower gardens, to the Rāmānujakūṭam-s satram-s and matham-s, to the sthānattār and subordinate management officials (Kaṅgāni-ppan or supervisor, vagai or officials, the temple architect, the temple accountant, the public works officers, the adhi-kāri or manager, the dēśantāri-s or outsiders managing shrines, etc.), to the general public etc. In fact in the period between ...D. 1382 and 1530, there are sixty-two inscriptions recording endowments from state donors which describe the distribution of prasādam, and it was only in four of these that the donor reserved for himself, entirely or in part, the donor's share of the prasādam. In this connection we may also mention that in the eight inscriptions detailing the distribution of prasādam from endowments made by the merchants in the period Śaka 1308-1451 (A.D. 1386-1530), the donor appropriates a part of the donor's share of the prasādam in only one instance.
Apart from the donor's share, the balance was earlier distributed among the public. In later years, increasing portions of this balance was distributed among the temple employees. However, the free distribution of prasādam to the general public never stopped completely. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the inscriptions, it is extremely difficult to quantify the data on the distribution of prasādam.

The economic importance of prasādam led to the development of a class of men called the prasādakkār who leased the share of temple functionaries to prasādam and then sold the prasādam thus obtained to pilgrims. Thus, as Stein noticed, an inscription of 1547 mentioned eleven persons, four of whom were brāhmaṇa-s, who had the 'right to claim and sell the consecrated food'. These men were called prasādakkār. 20

20 Stein, op. cit., p. 100, citing TTDES/V/88; see also ibid., p. 115. In the present day, there has been frequent tussles between the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam administration and the Prasādakkār-s who clandestinely acquire the rights sell prasādam from the mirasdār-s and not directly from the administration, Times of India (New Delhi), 26 November 1978. For the practice of selling prasādam today in the black-market at Renigunta Station and at other places see Times of India (New Delhi), 13 December 1978.
Large quantities of various articles were also required for the offerings to be made at the temple. Consider, for example, the variety of articles which were required for the various offerings at Tirupati: rice, rājana-rice, samba-rice, aval (flattened rice) gōdhi (wheat), paruppu (pulse), maṇipparuppu (split pulse), elparuppu (sesamum), brushed sesamam, uluntu (black gram), payaru (green gram), kaḍugu (mustard), caṅkarai or vellam (jaggery) caṅkarai (sugar), paṅcatārai (refined sugar), dried ginger, turmeric powder, refined camphor, musk, saffron, jīракam (cumin seeds), milāgu, ney, tavir (curds), venai (butter), ennai, gingelly oil, uppu (salt), chandanam (sandal paste), honey, citrons, fenu-greek, elumiccampalam (limes), Palappalaṁ (jackfruits), mangoes, tēṅkāv (cocoa-nuts), ālanīr (tender cocoanuts), karumbu (sugar canes), valaipalaṁ (plantains), vegetables, adaiṅkāy (areca nuts) and vilai. Further, an inscription from Kuṅimēdu (Tindivanam Tk., SA Dt.), refers to taxes on rice and paddy, oil and ghee (ennai and nēy), palm jaggery (Karuppakattī, Kāḍaicaraku), pepper (milāgu), turmeric (maṅjal), betelnut (pākku), gallnut (cukku), kaḍikkāy, sugar (caṅkarai), ginger (jīракam), vendāyam, maṅjiliyīlām, textiles (tundappidavai-tīrvai), injī and sundry articles.
Given the large number of endowments made by the donors during the period under consideration it is highly unlikely that these commodities could have been supplied by the peasants' plots in the localities. Consequently, a large percentage of these products must have come from the large estates of the nayaka-s and other land owners. The existence of such estates can be inferred from the grants of large areas of land to the temple, and particularly by the reference to the cultivators employed on them. Indeed, large landed estates appear to have existed in the Tamil country even in the pre-Vijayanagara period. An inscription of the 22nd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Köñerinmaikoṇḍan

\textit{(cilḷarai-ccarakkukku undāna tīrvai).}^{21}

\textit{A Śrīraṅgam copper plate grant of Devarāya I (A.D. 1434-53), mentions the taxes on nañjai (wet land), puñjai (dryland), ḍomukka (areca grove), karn̄u, vaippu (margoa), tennemaram (cocoanut trees?), kolundu, valai (plantain trees), karum̄b (sugar-cane), mañjai (turmeric), inji (ginger), Senkalunar (flower), van-payir (minor cultivation), vaśal-vari, pērkadamai, tarikkadamai, kulavadai, idatorai, pulvari, mandai-kandēru, oḷugu-nīr-pattam, ullāvam, vil-pēnam, magamai, mallāvumgamai, ina-vari, nāttu-kanikkai, kaddāvam, kirukula-viśesham, arașupēru, nallerādu, nal-kidā, nal-puṣu, palata-li, ariśi-kanam, talaiyārikkan, madārikkan, ravaasa-varttanai, avusaravattanni, kattigavattanai, karani, jōdi, nirānivāri (water tax), nāttukanakkukai, akkaśālevari, alamanjai and ulānum (compulsory service?).}

\textit{fn. continues...}
from Kilaiyur (Negapatam Tk., Tanjavur Ut.), states that the cultivators (ulu-kudimakkal) of the village who had been exercising the right of performing certain village duties (tēvaigal) for which they were paid in kind, were excluded from these duties by the brahma-s who employed paid labourers in their place, the former represented their grievance to the king who redressed it by issuing a tirumugam ordaining that the established practice should not be violated. Moreover, the grants by merchants often stipulated that expensive items not easily attainable (saffron, for instance) be offered to the deity and such articles were probably supplied by the merchants themselves and they thereby derived profit from their endowments in this manner.

Another consideration that was perhaps important in the grants by artisans, peasants and others was the fact that the society of the time was characterised predominantly by peasant values. Thus, for example, in the

EI/XXII/17/pp. 138-145. An earlier copper plate inscription of the same ruler also refers to taxes on pūmpayir (inferior croos), kalavem (quarrying stones from hills), padai-kānikkai contribution made for the maintenance of the army) and Adi-karttkai natchhai (a present on important occasions). EI/XVI/81/pp. 110-17.

ARE, 85 of 1946-47.
social protests of the kaikkōlar emigration was used as a potent instrument of protest, except in a few exceptional instances, and flight is eminently a peasant form of protest. We have, too, some inscriptional evidence regarding the dealings in land by the kaikkōlar. An inscription of the twentieth regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (A.D. 1359) from Siddhalingamaḍam (Tirukkoyilur Tk., SA Dt.), records that the kaikkōlar-s and the mahaśevara-s of the Vyāgrapādēśvara temple met at Tiruppūṅgūr and came to a settlement about temple lands which though free had yet paid taxes and had it so entered in the register from the seventeenth year of the king. Another inscription, this time of A.D. 1563 from Perunagar (Kanchipuram Tk., Cg. Dt.), registers an agreement by the sthānattār of the temple that they would cultivate certain lands belonging to the kaikkōla-mudali-s of Puliyūr and pay the taxes on them to the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram.

23 *Infra.* pp. 342-3
24 *ARE*, 396 of 1907.
25 *ARE*, 346 of 1923; see also *ARE*, 356 of 1911.
In a thought-provoking article, George Foster argues that a peasant society is governed by a cognitive orientation of a Limited Good—that is the members of such a society, sharing the 'cognitive orientation' of a 'Limited Good' behave as though all the good things in life are limited, that one man's gain is another man's loss even though the loss might not be apparent (or, in fact, non-existent). Thus, "It is as if the obvious fact of land shortage in a densely populated area applied to all other desired things: not enough to go around. 'Good' like land, is seen as inherent in nature, there to be divided and redivided, if necessary but not to be augmented." In such a condition "an apparent relative improvement in someone's position with respect to any 'Good' is viewed as a threat to the entire community.... And since there is often uncertainty as to who is losing—obviously, it may be ego—any significant improvement is perceived not as a threat to an individual or a family, but as a threat to all members and

"A cognitive orientation provides the members of the society it characterises with basic premises and sets of assumptions normally neither recognized nor questioned which structure and guide behaviour in much the same way grammatical rules unrecognized by most people structure and guide their linguistic forms. All normative behaviour of the members of a group is a function of their particular way of looking at this total environment, their unconscious acceptance of the 'rules of the game' implicit in their cognitive orientation." George Foster, 'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good', American Anthropologist, Vol. LXVII, No.2 (April 1965), pp. 293-94.

Ibid., p. 296.
families." Thus, an individual who achieves an improvement in his economic condition attempts to hide his new gains or spends it in conspicuous consumption. Might not this be a part of the explanation for the endowments by private individuals and artisans?

Militating against the acceptance of Foster's thesis is an inscription of the Vijayanagara period which indicates social differentiation among weavers as it "says that out of 230 taxable looms in a manor "sic" 65 were those of Guivi āṭṭi of the padmasale caste of weavers, 100 those of Kunigiri Liṅgi āṭṭi and 16 loom(s) of Vijaya." 30

Epigraphical evidence also indicates

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28 Ibid., p. 297. Emphasis in the original.


30 Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, University of Madras, Madras, 1946, Vol. III, pp. 88-90, cited in Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Some Enquiries into the Condition of Weavers in Medieval Tamilnadu', Papers presented by teachers and research students of the University of Delhi to the 37th Session of the Indian History Congress, Calicut 1976, Department of History, University of Delhi, Delhi, 1976 (mimeographed), p. 74. She also says that there was an implicit reference to the putting out system in a seventeenth century copper-plate inscription, "It is in the form of conversation between Śiva...

fn. continues....
social differentiation by references to lower rates of taxes available to old looms. Perhaps the two seemingly opposed viewpoints may be reconciled if we suggest that while the bulk of the weavers remained tied to the peasant society, a few had begun a movement of upward social mobility, perhaps with the help and encouragement of the nayaka-s and merchants.

In addition to these factors - the prevalent ideology of the time, the function of temples as pilgrimage centres promoting territorial integration and acting as outlets for social tensions, the material benefits derived by persons of different social strata from the rise in the number of festival days, the values of a peasant society - which were common attractions for the grant of both land and money, gifts of the

Previous fn.

and Pārvati in which she urges Him to take the most profitable business of weaving. He should borrow the capital from Kubēra, the God of riches (referred to by the famous Tamil saint Pattinathar as Kubēra Cheṭṭy), employ the Dēva-s as His assistants and use the thread spun by the women of the divine household. The text of this inscription is unpublished but this has been cited in an article in a Tamil fortnightly journal Chefiṭoli, 5th April 1968, "Ibid., p. 72, n. 1. It however sounds a bit fanciful to postulate the existence of the 'putting-out system', on the basis of this evidence.

See Appendix V.
latter also possessed certain other advantages. It was because of these benefits that there was a rise in the quantum of money endowments that has been noted above.

Perhaps one of the most compelling reasons for the making of money endowments by religious donors, merchants and others was the fact that persons of these three categories did not hold considerable mēḻvāram rights relative to the state donors. This is shown by the fact that the overwhelming majority of grants of villages were by state donors as shown in Table V-3.

Table V-3

GRANTS OF VILLAGES TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE BY DONOR CATEGORIES, Śaka 1350-1487a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Śaka era)b</th>
<th>Total no. of villages granted</th>
<th>Grants by Donor Categoriesc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State Donorsd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1359 (1428-1438)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360-1369 (1438-1448)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-1379 (1448-1458)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380-1389 (1458-1468)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contd....
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1390-1399 (1468-1478)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(75.0) (25.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1409 (1478-1488)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(66.67) (33.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410-1419 (1488-1498)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>(16.67) (83.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1420-1429 (1498-1508)</td>
<td>1.125</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(88.89) (11.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1430-1439 (1508-1518)</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>(68.57) (11.43) (2.86) (17.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440-1449 (1518-1528)</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>(67.74) (19.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1459 (1528-1538)</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(32.73) (34.54) (18.18) (14.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460-1469 (1538-1548)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>(55.44) (30.43) (2.17) (11.96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1470-1479 (1548-1558)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>(73.44) (14.06) (6.25) (6.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1480-1487 (1558-1566)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 175.125 110 39 8.5 17.625

(62.81) (22.27) (4.85) (10.07)

a Based on the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series, Vols. I-VI, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, Madras, 1931-7. For the method employed in the construction of the table see supra. p. lli-iv

b Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis.

c Figures in parenthesis refer to percentages of total number of villages granted.

....
Refers to Emperor, queens, princes, navaka-s, royal officers, relatives of the Imperial family and members of the royal household.

Refers to temple functionaries and jīyar-s.

It will be seen from the above table, that apart from the state donors, the most important donors were those with religious functions. Most of such villages were perhaps granted to the latter by the former. Stein suggests that at least a part of the reason for such endowments was the fact that these religious donors - especially the jīyar-s of the matha-s, the ācāryapurusha-s, the sthānattār and the ēkāngi Śrīvaishnava-s (celibate priests) - were important leaders with followings of their own. Such persons therefore perhaps functioned as conduits in the transfer of resources and were hence not very different from the political leaders.

32 "This is a paradox which is scarcely dissolved by the observation that many, probably even most, villages were originally granted to these religious personages by the category of donors labelled 'state donors', for it is not certain what is to be understood by this complication in gifting. What were the advantages of or the needs for the political donor (a chief or military official), or the priestly or otherwise religiously marked donor (temple priest or mathādīpātī), or the temple managers, possessing a village or some money, to pass through the middle group of high ritual functionaries or heads of matha-s on the way from the original donor to the temple?"

Ibid., p. 432.

33 Ibid., pp. 432-3.
Acquisition of land was perhaps very difficult for peasants because the density of population in the regions around the major temple towns was very high. That the area around Tirupati, for example, was densely populated is indicated by the number of villages in the environs of the town - these villages were also divided into the ūlmaṇḍalam (inner division) and puraṁmaṇḍalam (outer division) - mentioned in the inscriptions, by the mention of the many irrigation projects which indicate that it had enough productive potential to support a large population, by the number of employees of the temple, by the evidence of brahmana-settlements, of the matha-s, of the relatively high degree of craft specialisation, etc. Indeed, if the population was not large, the money may better have been utilized in the purchase of land - a commodity which would be extremely difficult to buy in a densely populated region. The smallness of the size of peasant plots is also indicated by the relatively few endowments to the temple by the private individuals - only a small number had the adequate resources to provide for an endowment. In such a situation, the contacts of the peasant with the market are likely to be limited to sales to procure enough money to pay the taxes on lands leased by him and to buy essential implements (as the budgeting in a non-market
milieu is largely qualitative, he is likely to produce all his basic necessities). We have also noted that the peasants were subjected to two basic types of levies: payment of taxes and of the mālvārem. However, we have no evidence of the existence of an administrative machinery of the nayaka-s to collect these revenues. May we, therefore, advance as a tentative hypothesis, which should be confirmed or rejected by future research, that the peasants found ways to dodge the tax collector? If this was the case, then, some of them could have kept a part of their sale proceeds for personal consumption or investment, and thereby have moved upward on the economic, and perhaps even social scale. Such activities of the peasants would have also enabled the artisans and merchants also to increase their earnings. Indeed, may we ask whether those private individuals who made endowments to the temple, were themselves people who had risen in such a fashion?

The Emperors, the *nayaka*-s, the members of the Imperial family and the chief officers of the state were the major donors of money to the Tirupati temple, as will be apparent from Table V-4 below.

### Table V-4

**CLASSIFICATION OF MONEY ENDOWMENTS TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE BY DONOR CATEGORIES, Saka 1300-1487**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Saka era)</th>
<th>Total Amount of money granted (panam)</th>
<th>Grants by donor categories (in panam)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State donors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1309</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1378-1388)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310-1319</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1388-1398)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320-1329</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1398-1408)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330-1339</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1408-1418)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340-1349</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1418-1428)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1359</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1428-1438)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(84.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360-1369</td>
<td>38,620$f$</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1438-1448)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-1379</td>
<td>11,300</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1448-1458)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(10.62)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*contd....*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1380-1389</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1458-1468)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(20.00)</td>
<td>(73.33)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(6.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390-1399</td>
<td>25,910</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>3,169</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1468-1478)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(38.60)</td>
<td>(12.20)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(49.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1409</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>7,800</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1478-1488)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(56.52)</td>
<td>(28.98)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(14.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410-1419</td>
<td>45,050</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>24,360</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>9,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1488-1498)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(22.64)</td>
<td>(54.07)</td>
<td>(2.40)</td>
<td>(20.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1420-1429</td>
<td>24,810</td>
<td>3,825</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>11,805</td>
<td>7,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1498-1508)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15.42)</td>
<td>(8.06)</td>
<td>(47.58)</td>
<td>(28.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1430-1439</td>
<td>73,175</td>
<td>25,190</td>
<td>11,780</td>
<td>22,120</td>
<td>14,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1508-1518)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(34.42)</td>
<td>(16.10)</td>
<td>(30.23)</td>
<td>(19.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440-1449</td>
<td>70,326</td>
<td>16,460</td>
<td>28,276</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>21,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1518-1528)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(23.40)</td>
<td>(40.21)</td>
<td>(5.26)</td>
<td>(31.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1459</td>
<td>304,485</td>
<td>195,180</td>
<td>33,135</td>
<td>37,275</td>
<td>38,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1528-1538)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(64.10)</td>
<td>(10.88)</td>
<td>(12.24)</td>
<td>(12.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460-1469</td>
<td>365,555</td>
<td>156,115</td>
<td>76,177.75</td>
<td>58,757</td>
<td>75,505.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1538-1548)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(42.70)</td>
<td>(20.57)</td>
<td>(16.07)</td>
<td>(20.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1470-1479</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>7,520</td>
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<td>(1548-1558)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1480-1487</td>
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<td>16,500</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1558-1566)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(98.21)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1.79)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

a Based on the *Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series*, Vols. I-Vi, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, Madras, 1931-37. For the method employed in the construction of the table see supra ii-iv.

b Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis.

c Figures in parenthesis refer to percentages of total amount of money granted.

...
d Refers to Emperor, queens, princes, nayaka-s, royal officers, relatives of the Imperial Family and members of the royal household.

e Refers to temple functionaries and jīvar-s.

f Plus 530 chakrapanam.

g Plus 225 chakram-pon.

h Plus 150 rūka-s.

One of the more important considerations which led the state donors to make money grants to the temple may be the fact that as these donations were invested in the construction of irrigation projects, they would lead to an increase in agricultural production and consequently to an increase in tax revenues. This is because an increase in agricultural production would have led to an increase of the kilvāram, as well as of the mēlvāram. And an increase in the kilvāram would have resulted in the cultivators being liable to pay more by way of taxes, as taxes were assessed on the quantity of produce. This contention is supported by the fact that only a small number of the villages and land granted to the Tirupati

35 See for example, ARE, 91 of 1918, 1917-18, para 68, p. 164 and cited supra, pp. 204-05, fn. 120.
temple were declared tax-free or sarvamāṇya, as shown in Table V-5.

Table V-5

GRANTS OF LAND AND VILLAGES TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE, Śaka 1330–1487

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Śaka era) b</th>
<th>Inscriptions granting land or villages</th>
<th>Villages granted (nos.)</th>
<th>Sarvamāṇya villages (nos.)</th>
<th>Land granted (in kuli-s) c</th>
<th>Sarvamāṇya land (in kuli-s)</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1,630</td>
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<td>10,020</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,630</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>176.125</td>
<td>23.5 (13.34)</td>
<td>16,660</td>
<td>2,560 (15.37)</td>
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</table>


Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis.

Unspecified amounts of land granted to the temple, some as sarvamānya and grants of specified shares on unspecified areas of land have not been taken into consideration here.

Percentages of sarvamānya land and villages granted to the temple given in parenthesis.
It would be apparent from the above table that only a small proportion of the villages and land endowed to the Tirupati temple were declared tax-free. From this it would follow that in the case of most of the villages granted to the temple, the state or its nominees continued to draw revenues through taxation and that as it was normally stipulated in the inscriptions recording donations of money that tanks and channels for irrigation purposes were to be constructed in the tiruvidaiyattam villages, a rise in agricultural productivity would benefit the donors or the state. Further, an inscription from Kugaiyūr (Kallakurichi Tk., SA Dt.), of Śaka 1404 says that the same rates of taxation applied to all villages in the nādu including dēvadāya-s and brahmādēya-s. We have also seen that a passage in the koyilolugu says that the Rāya-s administered the dēvadāna-s and brahmādēya-s in the same way as they administered the palace lands. It may hence

36 ARE, 103 of 1918, 1917-18, para 69, p. 165 cited supra, p. 207; see also ARE, 226 of 1913, 1912-13, para 54 cited supra, p. 203.

37 koyilolugu, pp. 147-8, translated in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 42. The original has been reproduced in ibid., Vol. II, p. 56 and the passage has been quoted here, see supra, p. 195.
be argued that since the state and/or the nayaka-s continued
to draw revenues from most of the villages and lands granted
to the temples, one of the reasons why they made endowments
of money to these institutions was that such gifts would
enable them to draw larger revenues through taxation.\textsuperscript{38}

It is within this context that one of the more
important reasons for the endowments of money and land to
the temples by the nayaka-s must be examined. We have
already seen the nature of their obligations to the Emperor,
in terms of providing men and money, and we have noticed
too, that contemporary visitors to the Empire had observed
that the Emperors passed on a large part of the cost in­
curred by them on the purchase of Arabian steeds to the
nayaka-s.\textsuperscript{39} Further, it is likely that the nayaka-s bore
at least a part of the burden of the reparations that
were imposed on the Vijayanagara Empire, from time to time,
by the Deccan Sultanates.\textsuperscript{40} The nayaka-s and the chief

\textsuperscript{38} A corollary to the contention that most of the
lands and villages gifted to the temples were
subject to the levy of taxes would be that in
cases where lands and villages were granted as
sarvamāṇya, the state may perhaps have retained
its right to the mēḻvāram. This is obviously a
conjecture which would have to be verified by
future research.

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Supra}, p. 216.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Supra}, pp. 216-17.
officers of state, as well as the members of the Imperial family, also perhaps indulged themselves in luxury consumption — as it would also enhance their prestige — and this contention of ours is supported by the fact that Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese governor of Goa, considered the trade in Chinese silk profitable enough to demand the exclusive right to import it into the Empire, in his treaty with Rāmarāya in A.D. 1547.41

In the face of such increasing 'non-productive' consumption, requiring large outlays of money, the nayaka-s would have been faced with four possibilities: to refuse to meet their obligations of providing revenues and soldiers to the Emperor; to reduce the level of their luxury consumption; to increase their revenues from the people in their territories; or to raise revenue from other sources. While it is unlikely that powerful emperors would permit the nayaka-s to default on their monetary payments to the Imperial treasury, it is extremely probable that the latter, clandestinely at least, maintained less troops than required by the terms of their agreements with the Emperor. Thus, Muniz tells us that Sālvanayaka amassed wealth as he did not maintain 'the whole force'

41 For provisions of the treaty see supra, pp. 275-76.
that he was obligated to maintain.\textsuperscript{42} Except in extremely adverse circumstances, given the character of the luxury consumption of the navaka-s, it is unlikely that they would decrease the level of their luxury consumption. They would, of course, have attempted to increase their extractions from the peasantry. However, such extractions can only be increased within certain parameters.\textsuperscript{43} When these extractions exceeded these parameters, the peasantry resisted, primarily by flight, as we have noted already.\textsuperscript{44}

\begin{flushright}

\textsuperscript{43} In his analysis of the extraction of labour supply in medieval Poland Witold Kula makes a few methodological constructs that are useful. The \textit{physiological limit} is the volume of labour that can be extracted from a village without completely destroying it. This, however, was never reached due to the resistance from the peasants. Hence, we have the \textit{coefficient of realizable coercion} which would give us the \textit{social limit}. Even this was not achieved in practice due to the seasonal nature of agriculture and therefore we get the \textit{technical limit}. W. Kula, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Supra}, pp. 206-07.
\end{flushright}
In this situation, perhaps the most advantageous investment of resources was to grant money to temples to be used in the construction of irrigation works since by an increase in agricultural production the nayaka-s would secure an increment in their revenues. Further as we have said earlier, since it was unlikely that the peasant plots would be able to supply all the different articles required for temple offerings, the nayaka-s may by means of these endowments, have secured for themselves a captive market. Moreover, the flow of pilgrims and goods to temple towns would have brought them additional revenue by way of taxation. Finally, the material significance of prasādam may have also enabled them to partially reduce their monetary outlays, since prasādam could have been given as a form of remuneration as it could be sold for money by the recipient.

Similarly, merchants and artisans may have made endowments of money to temples as such grants would have resulted in an increase of agricultural productivity and therefore in a rise in the purchasing power of the peasantry. Further, in an epoch when agriculture was the pre-dominant form of economic activity, the avenues for investment would necessarily have been limited. Hence, we may even argue that endowments which yielded prasādam
(which had an economic and social value) was one of the few rational economic ways of investing money. 45

Stein also argued that money was endowed to the temples because it was easier for the śtānattār to administer money grants from the nayaka-s and the principal officers of state who came from all over the Empire. Thus, he says,

By having Tirupati temple villages concentrated in a relatively small area of one hundred square miles with no village in this area beyond ten miles from the temple, and by utilizing all money endowments as investments in temple villages, the Tirupati temple managers were able to achieve maximum control over all of the resources placed in their trust for the performance of ritual services. A single village granted to the temple could be made to support two or more services for as many

45 Stein recently wrote "Still, other large temples i.e. other than Tirupati] maintained a system of productive investment of endowment funds in temple lands; and there were at the time few more secure ways for temples to meet the responsibilities they incurred in accepting funds for perpetual ritual services and there were equally few ways in which those persons of wealth, capable of making such endowments, could assure to themselves the prestige of temple honours and a reliable return on some portion of their wealth then sic could be realized through such things as the sale of prasādam. Grants of income from land to temples by these and other donors had the further advantage of placing some portion of their land under temple protection, yet another form of insurance." Peasant State and Society, p. 429. See also Burton Stein, 'The Tirupati Temple', pp. 71-72, 83-85; B. Stein, 'The Economic

fn. continues...
This argument is substantially correct even though a few of the villages granted to the temple were far removed from Tirupati. Thus, for example, it is recorded that Naruttuvakudi grāmam in Mērkūru-Tirumigaichūr-parru in Uyyakonda sōla-valanādu in Tiruvārur-usāvadi on the southern bank of the Kāverī river in Cōla-māṇḍalām was granted as tiruvidaiyāttam to the Tirupati temple by Kōyil-Kēlvi Emperumānār-Jīyar, the manager of the Perarulālan-nandavanam. Similarly, there are instances of gifts of land in Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Cōla-māṇḍalām to the Śrī Raṅganātha temple at Śrirāṅgam (Tiruchirapalli Tk., and Dt.) in Cōla-māṇḍalām. Thus, for example, an inscription


TDES/II/106. See also e.g. TDES/II/9, 20, 45; II/34, 49; III/25, 64, 65, 147; IV/6, 23, 60, 122, 123; V/29, 45, 66, 77, 84, 127, 131, 155, 158, 159.
of the tenth of May, A.D. 1489 refers to the gift of the villages of Šattuvāntāṅgal and Arapperuṅchērī on the southern bank of the Pāḷār river in Paḍaiyīṭu-Ṇāvāṭī in Toṉḍaimāṉḍalām to the temple. 48

We have no clear idea on the way in which the sthānattār of the temples administered these distant villages. Perhaps, one of the ways in which the grants were managed, was by selling the endowed villages and then providing for the offerings stipulated by the donor from the proceeds of the sale. An instance of this method comes from the Ārāṅgam temple where an inscription records the sale of Valavanallūr village in Paḍaiyīṭu-Ṇāvāṭī to Anṇappa Nayaka. 49

Burton Stein had also noted that the Tirupati temple was "a place to record political loyalties." 50 This is perhaps an explanation for the enormous rise in money endowments to the Tirupati temple in the period A.D. 1535-1537 and from A.D. 1538-1541, as shown in Table V-6.

48 ARE, 13 of 1938-39; see also, e.g. ARE, 146 of 1938-39.

49 ARE, 46 of 1938-39.

50 Stein, op. cit., p. 96.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year (Śaka era)</th>
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<th>Grants by donor categories (in pañam)</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>State donors</td>
<td>Religious donors</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
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contd...
Based on the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series, IV and V, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, Madras, 1935. For the method employed in the construction of the table see supra. pp. iii-iv

* Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis.

* Figures in parenthesis refer to percentages of total money granted.

* Refers to emperor, queens, princes, navaka-s, royal officers, relatives of the Imperial family and members of the royal household.

* Refers to temple functionaries and jívar-s.

* Plus 150 rúka-s.

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</tbody>
</table>
It will be seen from the above table that the endowments of money made to the Tirupati temple by the nayaka-s rose considerably in A.D. 1535-36 and 1536-37 and in A.D. 1538-39 and 1540-41. These were years in which the Vijayanagara Empire was torn by internal dissensions. Acyutarāya, who had usurped the throne in A.D. 1529 on the death of Krishnadēvarāya had to suppress the revolts of Sāluva Narasimha and of the chieftains of Ummattūr and of Tiruvādi-rājya in the same year. A rebellion in Gutṭi was also defeated by the Imperial forces in A.D. 1536. Later, in the same year, Acyutadēvarāya was imprisoned by Rāmarāya. However, when rebellions in the south forced Rāmarāya to leave the capital city, Acyutarāya was freed by a servant in whose charge he had been left by Rāmarāya. This servant was rewarded with the post of chief minister for his services. However, he was soon killed by Salakarāja Tirumala who assumed the helm of affairs until the death of Acyutadēvarāya in A.D. 1542.\(^{51}\) Stein, argued, that in this period, the nayaka-s were perhaps forced to make large

donations of money to the Tirupati temple as a gesture of political loyalty to the Emperor. 52 Thus, for example, on the twelfth of January A.D. 1537, six nayaka-s deposited 15,000 panam each as donations to the temple. 53 Donations of similar amounts were also made on 16th January A.D. 1537 by Aḍaippam Baiyyappa Nayakkar, 54 on 31st December A.D. 1540 by two other nayaka-s, 55 and on 27th January A.D. 1541 by another two nayaka-s. 56

The reason why Tirupati was chosen for the making of these endowments was perhaps because Śrī Venkaṭēśvara was the favourite deity of Acyutadevarāya. Hence, a grant to the temple may have been a symbolic gesture of loyalty to the Emperor. We would also like to suggest here that another factor in the grant of money to the Tirupati temple during this period of civil strife

52 Stein, op. cit., pp. 93-6.
53 TTDES/IV/81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88.
54 TTDES/IV/110.
55 TTDES/IV/152, 153.
56 TTDES/IV/158, 159.
was perhaps the fact that such grants would generate more resources to the Emperor through an intensification of agriculture.

Having considered some of the reasons for the making of endowments to the Tirupati temple, it may not perhaps be out of place here to examine the pattern of such endowments.

Table V-7

ANALYSIS OF MONEY ENDOWMENTS TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE
Saka 1300-1487a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Saka era)</th>
<th>Total amount of money granted (in panam)</th>
<th>Grants by donor categories (in panam)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State donors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in panam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1455</td>
<td>414971</td>
<td>119415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1378-1534)</td>
<td>(39.81)</td>
<td>(25.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1456-1468</td>
<td>598125.25</td>
<td>330490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1534-1547)</td>
<td>(57.38)</td>
<td>(70.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1469-1487</td>
<td>29305</td>
<td>18565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1547-1566)</td>
<td>(2.81)</td>
<td>(3.96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>1042401.25</td>
<td>468470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Based on the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series, Vols. I-VI, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, Madras, 1931-7. For the method employed in the construction of the table see supra, pp. iii-iv
Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis. Figures in parenthesis refer to percentages of the total amount of money granted.

Refers to Emperors, queens, princes, 

nayaka-s, royal officers, relatives of the Imperial family and members of the royal household.

Refers to temple functionaries and 

jiyar-s.

It would be apparent from Table V-7 above that 57.38 percent of the total money endowments made to the Tirupati temple in the 187 years covered in the table were granted in the 13 years from Šaka 1456 to 1468 (A.D. 1534-1547) and in this period 70.55 percent of all endowments by state donors were also made. The figures for the religious donors, merchants and others were 45.42 percent, 50.92 percent and 45.23 percent respectively. The state donors accounted for 55.25 percent of all money endowments made in this period, though in the entire period of time covered they accounted for only 44.94 percent. Similarly the religious donors accounted for 15.64 percent, merchants for 11.47 percent and others for 17.64 percent in these 13 years, though their shares for the entire period was 19.76 percent, 12.93 percent and 22.37 percent respectively. It will also be seen that the first 156 years covered here accounted for only 39.81 percent of the total endowments and that
of the endowments made in this period the state donors, religious donors, merchants and others contributed 28.78 percent, 26.79 percent, 15.94 percent and 28.49 percent respectively. Further, while the religious donors, the merchants and others made 53.97 percent, 49.08 percent and 50.70 percent of the total amount of their donations, in these 156 years, the state donors made only 25.49 percent of their total donations. It should also be noted that in the 18 years after Śaka 1468 (i.e. A.D. 1546-47) there was a drastic fall in the quantum of money endowments with this period accounting for only 2.81 percent of the total money endowments, 63.35 percent of which was contributed by the state donors, 4.30 percent by religious donors and 32.35 percent by others. This period also witnessed no donations by merchants, and during this time the state donors, religious donors and others contributed 3.96 per cent, 0.61 per cent, and 4.07 per cent respectively of their total donations.

We have seen in this table that 1042401.25 panam was granted to the temple in the 187 years between Śaka 1300 and Śaka 1487. This implies that on an overall average 5,574.3379 panam was endowed to the temple each year. However, the average for Śaka 1300-1455 works
out to 2660.0705 \text{panam} per annum; for \text{saka 1456-1468} to 46,009.634 \text{panam} and for \text{saka 1467-1487} to only 1,628.0555 \text{panam}.

We have similarly analysed the grants of villages to the Tirupati temple as follows:

\textbf{Table V-8}

\textit{ANALYSIS OF VILLAGES GRANTED TO THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE, Saka 1350-1487a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Saka era)(^b)</th>
<th>Total no. of villages granted</th>
<th>Grants by donor categories(^c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State donors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1455 (1428-1534)</td>
<td>72.125</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(63.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1456-1468 (1534-1547)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(52.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1469-1487 (1547-1566)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(73.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>175.125</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(62.81)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates in Christian Era given in parenthesis. Figures in parenthesis refer to percentages of the total number of villages granted. Refers to Emperor, queens, princes, nayaka-s, royal officers, relatives of the Imperial family and members of the royal household. Refers to temple functionaries and jiyar-s.

It will be seen from the above table that while in the first period a village was granted to the temple every 1.46 years on an average in the second and third periods 4.31 and 2.61 villages respectively were granted every year. Further, 41.82 percent of the total number of villages endowed by the state donors were donated in the first period, 26.82 percent in the second and 31.36 percent in the years between saka 1469 and 1487 (A.D. 1547 to 1566). The comparative figures for religious donors were 47.44 percent, 33.33 percent and 19.23 percent; for merchants 5.88 percent, 70.59 percent and 23.53 percent; and for others 40.43 percent, 42.55 percent and 17.02 percent.

There are also donative inscriptions at Hirupati to say that 215 kuli of land was donated each by the state donors and by others in the period between saka 1390-1399 (A.D. 1468-78). State donors also donated 500 kuli in saka 1410-19; 10,000 kuli in saka 1460-69.
These donors accounted for 64.80 per cent of the 16690 kuli of land granted to the temple between Saka 1390 and 1487 (A.D. 1468-1566). Religious donors granted 1,630 kuli of land in the period, Saka 1440-49 (A.D. 1518-28) and accounted for 9.70 per cent of the total lands granted. Merchants endowed 4,000 kuli in the years between Saka 1450 and 1459 (A.D. 1528-38) accounting for 23.97 percent. Apart from the 215 kuli noted above, others also granted 20 kuli in the years between Saka 1460 and 1489 (A.D. 1538-48) and 10 kuli in Saka 1480-87 (A.D. 1558-66) and accounted for 1.47 percent. The figures on grants of land are however suspect due to the large number of inscriptions which mention endowments of unspecified amounts of lands.

Burton Stein also noted that the grants to the Tirupati temple during the regnal period of the emperors of the first dynasty (A.D. 1326-1486) was far fewer than in other periods and he explained the lack of endowments and the lack of interference in temple affairs by these rulers as being due to "their preoccupation with extending their control into the southern parts of the
peninsula."\(^{57}\)

Perhaps a more important factor for the relatively fewer grants during the period of the first Vijayanagara dynasty was that during this time the armies of the Empire were frequently worsted in battle by the forces of the Sāhmanī Sultanate.\(^{58}\) In such a situation the Emperors may not have been in a position to compel the navakā-s to fulfill their obligations and consequently they would not have been under great pressure to seek ways and means to increase their revenues. Further, as references to social conflicts during the reign of Devarāya I noted earlier\(^{59}\) indicate, the navakā-s may have first attempted to increase their revenues by increasing the rate of taxation. Indeed, there is no

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\(^{57}\) Stein, 'The Tirupati Temple', p. 47. Here he does not realise that this explanation refutes his views on the navaka-s as warriors who established de facto control over the amaram-s which were merely recognised by the Rāya-s. If it is argued that the rulers of the first dynasty could not make endowments to the temple because they were busy conquering new territories, it means that the amaram-s were not seized by warriors fleeing from Muslim persecution in the north. Also see supra, pp. 44-5.


\(^{59}\) Supra, pp. 202-06.
reason to suppose that the nayaka-s immediately hit upon the idea of enlarging their revenues by making endowments to temples when they were first faced with the need for larger revenues. Moreover, we have already noted that widespread destruction of the Tamil country followed the collapse of the Cōla-s and led to the decline of temples, brahmadesās and trade, apart from the other 'supra-local associations'. Here, we would like to emphasize that the process of reconstruction, carried out under the aegis of the Rāya-s at Vijayanagara required time to be completed. The process of rebuilding the economy was also aggravated by the need to defend the Empire against frequent armed incursions from beyond its borders. In this connection it is significant to note that there was not a single endowment to the Tirupati temple by a merchant during the regnal period of the first dynasty and that the first endowment by a person of this social group was made in Śaka 1415 (A.D. 1493-94) and was for an amount of 600 panam.  

60 Supra, pp. 193, 195.  

61 TİDES/II/112.
From Tables V-7 and V-8, it would be seen too that while both money endowments and grants of land to the Tirupati temple declined in the period Saka 1469 to 1487 (A.D. 1547 to 1566) the decline in the case of the former was far greater than in the case of the latter. Noting the decline of monetary endowments between A.D. 1541 and 1566, Stein went on to say,

There is no ready explanation for the decline of money endowments in the period 1541-1564. It is possible that the political conditions of this period which preceded the Talikota battle of 1565, when the Vijayanagar empire suffered a decisive defeat, may have produced caution on the part of money donors as Viraraghavacharya has suggested (Viraraghavacharya, History of Tirupati, Vol. II, pp. 739-40). But this explanation does not account for the continued, though relatively fewer, grants of land to the temple in this period unless donors of money responded more sensitively to the probable political crisis than did donors of land. This would seem unlikely since the value of land would be more stable in times of crisis and persons would probably prefer to hold land and use money.

Now, a glance at any of the traditional histories on the period 1541-1564 would give us an adequate evidence that it was a period of political crisis: Rāmarāya had imprisoned the Emperor, Acyutarāya in A.D. 1536-37. The Emperor was subsequently freed by Ṣalakarāja Tīrūmala who took the helm of affairs. The death of Acyutarāya in 1542 was followed by troubles of succession. Meanwhile

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62 Stein, op. cit., p. 53.
the Portuguese had begun to make war on Vijayanagara with
the attack and plunder of the Shatkal port in A.D. 1542;
you even plundered Tirupati in A.D. 1545. And these
are only a few of the instances of the period. In
such situations, when the irrigation projects themselves
were likely to be destroyed in the course of invasions
by foreign powers, or in the course of the civil wars,
it would have been foolish to invest in them. Secondly,
in this period of troubles, the nayaka-s themselves would
have had to reduce their level of luxury consumption due
to the decline of trade that is normal in periods of
危机. As an indication of the decline of trade we may
cite the fact that in the period Saka 1469 to 1487 there
are no endowments of money to the Tirupati temple by
merchants and that they only granted two villages in
this period. These two villages were granted in Saka
1470, that is to say at the very beginning of this

\[\text{63 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 276-83.}\]
\[\text{64 Supra, Table V-7.}\]
\[\text{65 TDVS/V/122 which records the grant of the village of Pallipat\'\'u in Nagiri-
Sirmai and of Gundippundi village in Ajjur-Adaippu, both of them together
yielding an annual income of 100 rakhai-pon.}\]
period. Moreover, since at least one of these villages were situated in a śīrmāl it is likely that it was bestowed on the donor by a nāyaka and that the donor granted it to the temple as he lacked sufficient funds and inclination to administer it. We may also note here that when using endowments by merchants as an indicator of trade, village endowments are not of great importance since the donor does not obtain them, as a rule, due to his commercial activities. The nāyaka-s also, we must remember, were likely to have taken sides in the civil war and must have spent considerable time in actual fighting. In war if they were defeated their resources, monetary and otherwise would have been plundered, and if they were victorious, they would have plundered themselves—in which case they would not have to make endowments to increase their revenues. Thirdly, this would have been a period of decline in pilgrim traffic—and hence the greater difficulty of obtaining a price for prasādam.

We have seen that the temples as centres of pilgrimage and as important social institutions promoted industrial activities by the employment of large numbers of artisans. We have also noted that as the temples were actively involved in the construction of irrigation projects, they maintained public works officers, the
tiruppañipillai-s, who even had their own treasury (tiruppiñi-bhandāram) and that villages and even śirmai-s were endowed to them. The tiruppañipillaivār were also the only group other than the sthanattār to issue a śilāsāsanam at the Tirupati temple. There are also inscriptive references to artisans living in the premises (tirumādaivilāgam) of the temples, and to the gift of taxes from cetti-s (who were merchants, of course), vānicar, kaikkōlar, sekku-vānicar, and others comprising the eighteen pattadaī castes to the temples. Thus, for example, an inscription of 6th March A.D. 1495 from Puduppālayam (Polur Tk., Nā Dī.) records the grant by Tirumalai Hayaka of the taxes due from the kaikkōla-s, cetti-s, vānicar and others of Kēsavappurmāḷendai alias Adirunkalar-perumāḷnallūr in Murugamaṅgalapparū in Tachhūr-nādu for providing plantains to the deity at Tiruvanṟamalai for

66 e.g. TTEDES/II/49, 87; III/167.
67 TTEDES/III/167.
the merit of Narasa Nayaka.69

Burton Stein had noted that there was a substantial growth of urban centres during the Vijayanagara period as the "style emulation and the requirements of defence prompted even the most minor warriors to create a fortified headquarters."70 He also maintained that efforts were made by the nayaka-s to attract communities of artisans by offering them special privileges.71 Due


to the predominance of textiles in Medieval South Indian trade, it was natural that the weavers or kaikkōla-s should have been the major beneficiaries of these marks of special favour.72

The economic importance of the kaikkōla-s can be seen from a number of inscriptions which record that as the kaikkōla-s migrated from villages as a form of protest against the rates of taxes imposed on them, the villages were ruined. Thus a record of A.D. 1404 tells us that the kaikkōlar-s living in the tirumādaivanālāgam of Olakkuṛ (Tindivanan Tk., SĀ Dt.), migrated in a body 'and without paying the dues to the temple deserted the premises and left it in ruins. In consequence, the worship in the temple had to be stopped and the doors closed'. Subsequently, the kaikkōlar-s

72 Vijaya Ramaswamy, op. cit., had noted the importance of the weavers. Unfortunately, she does not appear to have understood the significance of Stein's article on the Coromandel trade, an article that marks a decisive break with the impressionistic economic history written primarily by political historians, by stressing the organic connections between the agricultural and mercantile sectors both of which together constitute the system of production in the pre-industrial epochs.
were perhaps consoled and returning to their homes, opened their looms and agreed to pay the assessments decided by the authorities." 73 We are also told by an inscription from Tiruppullivanam (Kanchipuram Tk., Cg. Dt.) that the weavers of the village who had emigrated elsewhere owing to their inability to pay taxes were given an assurance in A.D. 1388-89 that except for a consolidated amount of 5 pāṇam on every loom per annum no other tax would be levied on them. 74

The increasing economic strength of the weavers was reflected in the social sphere by a process of upward social mobility. Towards this end, they made a claim to divine origin by asserting that they were the descendants of Vīrabāhu, the aide to Kārtikēya in legend. This claim first appears in the Kandapurāṇam which was translated into Tamil by Kachchiyappa Jivāchāriyar and quoted in all the subsequent books of the kaikkōla-s like the Seṅgunthar Kula Prakasikai, Seṅgunthar Purāṇam,


74 ARE, 201 of 1923. For other instances of the migration of weavers and the consequent desolation of villages see also ARE, 471 of 1920; 100 of 1922; 370, 381 of 1923; 429 of 1925; 277 of 1928-29; 218 of 1930-31; 376 of 1913.
The Devanga weavers claimed descent from Manu and Narada. They also asserted a claim for brahmanical status and wore a sacred thread. Thus, Vijaya Ramaswamy tells us that a priest of the Devanga weavers, Sambalinya Murthy, wrote:

Manu was born in the Brahman caste,
He was surely a Brahman in the womb,
There is no Sudraism in this caste
Devanga had the form of Brahma.

The success of their attempts is borne out by inscriptions which record the grant of social privileges, usually the right to use royal insignia like the Saṅgu (Conch-shell) and Dandu (staff). Thus an inscription from Brahmadēsam (Villupuram Tk., SA Dt.) tells us that the kaikkōla community were allowed the use of dandu and saṅgu by Aramvalartta Nayiṅār in the reign of Virapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāja on the analogy of the practice being

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75 V. Ramaswamy, op. cit., p. 74; Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras, Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, Madras, Part XI-A. Handlooms in Madras State, Madras, 1964, pp. 98-99. The term kaikkolar is derived from kai (Hand) and kōl (Shuttle) while the term saṅyunthar means a red dagger, ibid.

76 V. Ramaswamy, op. cit., p. 74.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., p. 73.
in vogue in Kāncipuram, Virinchi puram and Tiruvādi-rāja. In order to attract the kaikkōla-s they were given remission of taxes by the navaka-s. Thus an inscription from Perunagar (Kancipuram Tk., Cg. Dt.) tells us that a remission of one-fifth of the taxes on the weavers were granted by Tirumalai Nambi Śakkiparāyar, the agent (kāryakarta) of Īṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Pātācārya and by the trustees of the temple of Perarulālar. Remissions of taxes were also ordered when the kaikkōlar-s first set up their looms in a settlement for a specified number of years. Thus an inscription from Śārāmadi (Chingleput Tk., and Dt.) fixes the rates of taxes to be paid by the kaikkōla-s and smiths settling in the new street on the southern side of the Tirukkarapuramañḍaiya-Nāyiṇār temple after granting a remission of taxes on looms for the first three years. The taxes payable by the kaikkōlar were tari ḫadamai (a tax on looms, also called accutari or tari-irai), Pāṭṭadainūlāyam (a

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79 ARE, 158 of 1918, see also ARE, 162 of 1918; 473 of 1921; 41 of 1922; 422, 424 of 1925; 272, 285, 291 of 1928-29.

80 ARE, 356 of 1923; see also ARE, 170 of 1932-33; V. Ramaswamy, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

81 ARE, 228 of 1930-1; see also 207 of 1929-30; 104 of 1935-36.

82 e.g. L.I/ΧVI/8/pp. 110-117; ᾳII/17/pp. 138-
tax on silken thread),\textsuperscript{83} Pērkadamaı (a tax on individuals)\textsuperscript{84} and other minor levies, which were also charged from members of other professions like āttaičhammādam,\textsuperscript{85} pērchchemādam (probably the same as pērkadamaı),\textsuperscript{86} mādacirati,\textsuperscript{87} adiyenādam,\textsuperscript{88} kadaı,\textsuperscript{89} vāsalpanam (or vāsalvari)\textsuperscript{90} and idangai-vari.\textsuperscript{91} In certain cases these taxes payable by the kaikkōlar had been lumped together

Previous fn.

145; SII/XVII/679/pp. 311-13; ARE, 138 of 1904; 364 of 1908; 293 of 1910; 323 of 1911; 59 of 1914, 1913-14, para 44; 622 of 1915; 91 of 1916; 284 of 1920, 1920-21, para 43; 88, 203, 204, 284, 510 of 1921, 1921-22, paras 41 and 43; 207 of 1922; 376, 400 of 1923; 220 of 1934-35; 507 of 1937-38.

\textsuperscript{83} e.g. ARE, 221 of 1910; 272, 364 of 1912; 284 of 1920, 1920-21, para 43; 170 of 1932-33, para 37; 490 of 1937-38, para 64; 68 of 1958-59.

\textsuperscript{84} e.g. ARE, 293 of 1910, 1910-11, para 51; 203 of 1921, 1921-22, para 41; XI/XVI/8/pp. 110-117; XXIII/17/pp. 138-45.

\textsuperscript{85} e.g. ARE, 170 of 1932-33, para 37.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{91} e.g. ARE, 217 of 1916, 1915-16, p. 139; 207 of 1929-30; 315 of 1954-55; 193 of 1961-62.
and they have had to pay only a consolidated amount.

Thus an inscription of Kampana Udaiyar from Tirukkalukkunram (Chingleput Tk., and Dt.) mentions that the king granted exemptions of the taxes of pattadai-nulayam, attaichammadam, perrchammadam, Madaviratti and adiyamadam to the kaikkola-s of the village and imposed instead the levy of a consolidated tax (katuttukuttagai) of 70 panem per annum payable by them on pudavai (clothes) exported to Pattinam (modern Sadras) for sale and on the commodities imported from there and on the purchase of paddy from the several division(?) 92

The grant of such privileges to the kaikkola-s did not go unopposed by other social groups. An inscription from Villiyarur (Pondicherry) for example,

states that the Ilaivanggar (betel-sellers) claimed certain biruda-s of the kaikkola-s as belonging to them, and with the connivance of the king's officers who had been won over by bribes engraved this document on the Kumudappadai of the temple. The kaikkola-s and Deevanga weavers therefore emigrated from the place in protest. The officers of Tirumalaideva-Maharaja named Vijayaraya and others enquired into the matter and

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92 ARE, 170 of 1932-33, para 37; see also ARE, 16 of 1934-35. For other taxes on kaikkola-s see e.g. IMP/I/Cg./193-D; ARE, 65 of 1908; 252 of 1916; 1915-16, p. 140; 414 of 1928-29; 190 of 1929-30; 62, 264 of 1934-35; 104 of 1935-36. See Appendix V for rates of taxation kaikkola-s.
after referring to the communal copper-plates deposited at Kāncipuram decreed that the kaikkōla-s were entitled to use the biruda-s of Kândiyadēva, Kalingarāyan, Pañ-tamānayāttān and Vulagelam-Venrān and had this epigraph substantiating this right engraved on the Kumudappadāl of the Tirukkāmiyappar temple.93

Such conflicts were perhaps also embraced within wider social conflicts between the Valangai and Idaṅgai castes, both of which were comprised of 98 sub-castes, for which there is some inscriptional evidence. An inscription from Guḍimallūr (or Kuḍimallūr, in Walajapet Tk., NA Dt.) dated to the twelfth regnal year of Māravarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkharā Pāṇḍyadēva (I) (accession A.D. 1268) refers to the I-ḍaṅgai and Valangai castes.94 Much later, an inscription from the same place dated in A.D. 1383-84 refers to a fight between the Valangai and Idaṅgai which lasted four years.95 An inscription from the

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93 ARE, 201 of 1936-37, para 61. "It is of interest to note that many of the communal copper-plate āsana-m(s) were deposited in the Kamākshiamman temple at Kāncipuram, whose regulations and decisions the artisan leaders all agreed to follow (see also 237 of 1902)." Ibid., see also ARE, 299 of 1921; 257 of 1927; 277 of 1928-29.

94 ARE, 419 of 1905; see also ARE, 103 of 1906; SII/I/81.

95 ARE, 477 of 1905. See also .RE, 1912-13, p. 109. For other disputes between these castes see e.g. ARE, 185 of 1921, 1920-21, para 47 (Malayampaṭṭu, Gudiyattam Tk., NA Dt.), 204 and 205 of 1949-50 (Nazerethpeṭṭai, Sripurumbudur Tk., Cg. Dt.) and 253 of 1926 (Kilapalavūr, Udayarpalaiyam Tk., Tiruchirapally Dt.).
reign of a later Vijayanagara king, Śrīraṅgadevarāya records an undertaking by the residents of Tiruvamāttūr (Villupuram Tk., SA. Dt.) that the three artisan communities Kamāḷar, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths of the several villages in the northern pārru should no more be treated ill or deprived of their privileges, that the same rights and privileges that were enjoyed by members of these groups in Paḍaivīḍu, Śeṇji, Tiruvanṇāmalai and Kāncipuram should be accorded to them and that in default a fee of 12 pon should be paid by the residents.96

The necessity of uniting to attain privileges and social status, and to protect these honours and to secure their economic fortunes also led these artisans to group together in guilds or associations. The guild formed by kaikkōla-s was divided into 72 nāḍu-s which were further classified into 18 Kilai-nāḍu-s and 4 Diśa i-Nāḍu-s. The Diśai-nāḍu-s were—(a) Sivapuram, East of Kāncipuram where goddess Kamākshi-ammān is said to have placed Nandi as a guard; (b) Thondiipuram, where Thondai Vinayar was stationed; (c) Virinjiipuram (Virinćiipuram) to the west guarded by Subrahmanya; and (d) Shōlingapuram to the South watched over by Bhairava. The Mahānāḍu was at Kāncipuram and the supreme head of the kaikkōla-s was the Mahānattan.

The guild organisations and their location have been discussed in detail in Sabapati Mudaliyar (ed.),

96 ARE, 65 of 1922.
Sengunthar Prabhanda Thirattu, Madras, 1926. The guild also had its own code and the weaver who violated the code was put out of his caste, association and naçu.

Thus an inscription from Tirupati (Chandragiri Tk., Ct. Dt.) records an agreement between the cloth and yarn merchants of Tonḍaimandalam and Puramandalam and Ul mandalam (these latter two mandalams refer to the tiruvidaivāṭtam villages of the Tirumalai-Tirupati temples which are located in the outer and inner divisions respectively) on the one side and the lease-holders of Vijayanagaram, Magadhapaṭṭānam, Viḍūrapaṭṭānam and Purunappūr on the other to the effect that in handloom weaving, one-third of the ādīsarakkuvaḍam (common known as achhukāṭṭu) should be drawn lengthwise and two-thirds of the cotton should be used in crosswise weaving and "this mode of weaving should be done only by the Muslims (and not by the Hindus). As a reward for their services in this style of weaving they are authorised to collect the income from the gifted lands for their living..."

Both the parties agreed also that a fine of 12 varāhan (180 pāṇam) will be imposed on anyone violating this rule and that it should be paid into the śrī-bhandāram of śrī Veṅkaṭēśa and that this decision shall be communicated to every Hindu village and Muslim dwelling, to

every cloth merchant and agent for implementation in Tirupati, Kāncīpuram and other places in the South.  

Guilds of other professions are also mentioned in epigraphical records of the period, mainly in connection with making grants to temples. Such guilds or professional associations are of the Vāniyars (sometimes called Vānigar-nagaram), the āetti-s, the manrai-s, the āṇiyan-s, etc. We have also references to the five artisan castes Adju-jāti-Pańchalattār (Tamil, in Telugu pańchālamvārū) comprising the blacksmiths, the carpenters, the goldsmiths, the architects and the brass workers, An association of the eighteen pattādai (castes) is also mentioned. Some of these guilds often cooperated together - the weavers and merchants of Mārgarāl (Kancipuram Tk., Cg., Dt.) made a joint gift to the temple of Tirumāyaraḷudaiya-Nayanār from rates raised among themselves in A.D. 1419.

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98 TTDES/IV/112.
99 e.g. ARE, 211 of 1934-35.
100 e.g. ARE, 413 of 1921; 340 of 1926; cp. 7 of 1934-35; 493 of 1937-38.
101 e.g. ARE, 221 of 1910, 1910-11, para 51; 328 of 1915.
102 ARE, 148 of 1923. An inscription from Paṭṭisēvaram (Kumbhakonam Tk., Thanjavur Dt.) fn. continues...
It is interesting to note that the headquarters of the major political divisions, the rājams-s the pārru-s and śīrmāi-s were not located in the most important centres of pilgrimage like Kāṇḍīpuram, Kālavastī, Tirupati, Tiruvāṇāmalai, etc., but in other towns like Chandragiri, Paḍāivigu, Puliyur, Tirukkuḍavūr, etc. This would imply as Burton Stein had already said that the nayaka-s established new urban centres and patronised artisans. 103

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registers an agreement between the pattunūlk-kārār (weavers of silken thread) and the āṭṭi-s settling the question of precedence in the matter of receiving betel and nut on marriage occasions, ARE, 257 of 1927.

Burton Stein, 'Cormandel Trade', p. 58; "In comparing the Cōla and Vijayanagar inscriptions one cannot avoid noting the change in the idea of 'important place'. During the earlier period 'place' was conterminous with the nuclear area and its constituent institutions, During the Vijayanagar period, 'important place' was the headquarters of a warrior, be he the nayaka or a subordinate, and territorial names were frequently the same as the major headquarters towns." B. Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian System', p. 193. Much later Abbe Dubois who visited India from 1792 to 1823 recorded that "Just before returning to Europe I travelled through some of the manufacturing districts and nothing could equal the state of desolation prevailing in them. All the work rooms were closed and hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants composing the weaver caste were dying of hunger. I found countless widows and other women out of work and consequently destitute

fn. continues....
The proliferation of such centres may also suggest why it was so easy for weavers and other artisans to emigrate in protest— they need have no fears of not being able to find employment.

While, urban centres other than the centres of pilgrimage thus existed, most of our evidence on trade during the period under review here comes from inscriptions in temples. Indeed, one historian has maintained quite rightly that it is the donations to the temple and the activities centred around it that most clearly suggest 'the commercial ethos' of urban centres in medieval

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who used formerly to maintain their families by cotton spinning. The collapse in the cotton industry has indirectly affected trade in all its branches by stopping the circulation of money and the cultivators can no longer reckon on the manufacturers who in the days of their prosperity were wont to buy up their surplus grain and even to lend them money when they were in arrears of taxes. This has led the cultivators to the hard necessity of relinquishing their grain to \[sic\] and thus become prey of remorseless usurers." Abbe Dubois, Hindu Manners and Customs, Vol. I, cited in the Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras, op. cit., p. 1, which goes on to say that this evidence by Dubois has to be taken to mean that the decline of handloom industry in the nineteenth century India was due not only to the competition from cheap mill made cloth but also due to the decline of court patronage, Loc. cit.
India. We have already mentioned that temples as employers of large non-food producing populations and as centres of pilgrimage provided relatively extensive markets for traders, artisans and peasants. And we have seen too, that taxes were imposed on the movement of goods to Tirupati. Further, grants of lands at distances far removed from the temples would indicate an extensive communications network.

Though historical writing on medieval South India has concentrated primarily on political history, trade has also received considerable attention. This has undoubtedly been due to the long period of mercantile activity which has linked South India to areas as far apart as Rome and China and for as much as two millenia. The earliest datable reference to commercial contacts between South India and China come from the latter portion of 'The Geography of the Provinces of Kwangtung and


Kwangsi' in The History of the Former Han Dynasty (Vol. 28, II), according to which the furthest place in the South Seas ever visited by the Chinese was Hwang-Chikuo which has been identified as Kāñcipuram. Merchants from China during the reign of Han Wu-ti (Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty) (140-87 B.C.) went on long voyages to Kāñcipuram which lasted several years and brought back to China "brilliant pearls, glass, rare stones and curious products, for which they gave gold and various silks." During the reign of Tang Tai-chung (i.e. Emperor Tai-chung of the Tang Dynasty), the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan Chung visited India and stayed in the country between A.D. 607 and 643 during which time he travelled to South India and wrote a book about his experiences in India. From Southeast Asia we have


108 Da-show Huang, op. cit., p. 365.
an increasing body of archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic and ethnographic data which evidences close cultural and commercial contacts with South India. References to South India are also found in The Periplus of the Ethyrean Sea and in Pliny's Historia Naturalis which is datable to A.D. 77. The links with Rome are confirmed by the discovery of the coins of the Roman emperors Nero (A.D. 54-68), Trajan (A.D. 98-117) and Hadrian (A.D. 117-38) and even more significantly by the excavation of a Roman settlement at Arikamedu near Pondicherry.

Though the trade with Rome declined considerably after the fourth century A.D., it did not cease completely as we are told that in A.D. 883 when King Alfred of England sent the Bishop of Sherborne, Sighelmus, to Rome with presents, he went from Rome to visit the tomb of St. Thomas at Melaipour (i.e. Mialapūr).  


110 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 141.

111 William Milburn, Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China and Japan, with fn. continues....
Trade with Southeast Asia, Ceylon and China however, continued to flourish. While the Cōla-s were attaining predominance in South India, the Sung government in China made foreign trade a monopoly of the state and strove to increase its volume by sending embassies to foreign countries to lure foreign traders to Chinese ports and to purchase goods from abroad. The Cōla rulers also sent embassies to China, and a brisk trade followed in their wake, in textiles, spices and luxury articles.

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their Produce. Manufactures and Trade, including the Coasting or Country Trade from Port to Port; Also the Rise and Progress of the Trade of the Various European Nations with the Eastern World, Particularly that of the English East India Company from the discovery of the Passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the Present Period; With An Account of the Company's Establishment. Revenues, Debts, Assets, etc., at Home and Abroad: Deduced from Authentic Documents and Founded upon Practical Experience obtained in the Course of Seven Voyages to India and China, London 1813, Vol. I, p. i, cited in A. Appadorai, Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.), Madras University Historical Series No. 12, University of Madras, Madras, 1936, Vol. II, p. 488.

The sea-route to China followed by a mission sent by the Gōla emperor to the Chinese court was described as follows in the Sungshi.

After leaving Chu-lien, they had sailed for 77 days and nights, during which they passed the island or headland of Na-wu-tan and the island of So-li-si-lan (Ceylon of the Gōla-s?) and came to the country of Chan-pin (presumably in Pegu). Thence, going 61 days and nights they passed the island of I-ma-lo-li and came to the country of Ku-lo (possibly on w. coast of Malay Peninsula), in which there is a mountain called Ku-lo, from which the country takes its name.

Proceeding again 71 days and nights and passing the island of Xja-pa, the island of Chan (or Ku-pu-lau (Champulo) and the island of Chou-pen-lung (not identified), they came to the country of San-to-ts'i (eastern Sumatra).

Going again for 18 days and nights and having crossed or passed by the mouth of the Nan-shan river (in Camboja?), and the T'ien-chu islands (Pulo Aur?), they came to the Pint'ou-lang headland (Cape Padara). Proceeding 20 days and nights and having passed by Yang Island (Pulo Gambir) and Kin-sing island, they came to Pi-p'a island of Kuang-tun (Canton).113

However, this trade suffered a severe setback when the Chinese government was forced to restrict trade in the twelfth century due to a drain of precious metals which was itself a consequence of this trade.114


Trade between China and South India however revived in the fourteenth century with the establishment of the Min Dynasty in 1368. In the next year, Liu Shu-mien was sent to the Coila country by the first Min Emperor, Min Tai-tsu and he returned to the Chinese coast in 1370 accompanied by an ambassador who presented the Chinese ruler with a memorandum carved on a piece of gold foil and many other products of South India. 115

John De Marignolli, writing in the fourteenth century observed that ships from China used to go to Mylāpūr. 116 This has been confirmed by Duarte Barbosa who was a visitor to 'Mālāpūr' in the early sixteenth century and who recorded that in the markets of Malacca, Pegu, Sumatra and China, cloths from Mylāpūr and Pulicat were to be found. He, however, goes on to say, that these were costly and consequently cloths from Bengal had a larger market. 117

115 Da-show Huang, op.cit., pp. 365-6.
Merchants from Jayankondacolamandalam, as from other parts of South India, were a familiar feature in the trade with Southeast Asia. Their ships, the noble Marco Polo tells us

are of fir timber. They have but one deck, though each of them contains some 50 or 60 cabins wherein the merchants abide greatly at their ease, every man having one to himself. The ship hath four masts; and sometimes they have two additional masts, which they ship and unship at pleasure. 118

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p. 165. Marco Polo describes the fabrics from South India as "the best and most delicate buckrams and compared them to the tissues of a spider's web" A.C. Moula and Paul Eliot (Trans.) London, Marco Polo, 11, 1938, p. 361, cited in Vijaya Ramaswamy, op. cit., p. 67; B.A. Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 78. Barbosa, Vijaya Ramaswamy notes, also, "specifically praised the dyes used by the Indian weavers and said that the colours did not fade but became brighter with every wash." V. Ramaswamy, op. cit., p. 67. The Tamils were also known to have traded with Pegu or Lower Burma in the 5th century A.D., A. Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 504.

118 The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East, ed., by George B. Parks, Macmillan Co., New York, 1927, pp. 217-8. Marco Polo was impressed, too, with the large size of the ships, Ibid. Nicolo Conti also said that the Indian ships were far larger than those of his own country. "It is interesting to note that nail was not generally used in the construction of the ships. But the pieces of wood were sewn together by coir made from

fn. continues....
A large part of this trade, during the Gōla times was carried out by the famous itinerant trading guilds about whom we will have more to say in a moment.

During this period (circa A.D. 800-1500) Jayan̄kondacōlamanḍalam maintained trading relations with the west primarily through the Arabs. The route followed by the Arab ships according to Sulaiman, was as follows: the ships start from 'the sea of Ṣarkand' after Kauccamali, and then steer towards 'Calabar' - 'the name of a place and kingdom on the coast to the right, beyond India.' Ten days later the vessels reach 'Betuma' (or San Thome). Considering this, Appadorai says

even assuming that Mahomedan traders had already begun to touch at the ports on the east coast, we must take it that their part must have been limited. This may also be inferred from the fact that the earliest use

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the husks of the cocoa nut. Sails were made of mats. Compared to the Chinese ships, the Indian ones appear to have been poorly provided with mat, oars, rudder, etc. They had generally only one mast and one sail." T.V. Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara, Part II – Social Life, Second Edition, University of Madras, Madras, 1975, pp. 156-7. For contrary evidence regarding the provision of oars, smaller boats, etc. See The Book of Ser Marco Polo, pp. 247-8.
of the Arab word Maabar with reference to the east coast is at the beginning of the thirteenth century.119

The trade between the Arabs and the Tamils increased after the arrival of the Portugese who severely restricted Arab trade with the west coast of India. Thus, Barbosa says

And throughout all this Cholmender [i.e. Coromandel-R.A.P] much spice and drugs, and goods of Malaca, China and Bengal are to be met with, which the Moorish ships bring here from those parts, since they do not venture to pass to Malabar from dread of the Portugese.120

The trade between places on the Coromandel Coast and Malabar is also traceable to the very distant past and it was recorded in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea that Coromandel merchants traded in their own vessels with Malabar.121 During the Vijayanagara period, Barbosa


120 Barbosa, Stanley, p. 174; Dames II, p. 125; both cited in B.A. Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 78. For Portugese trade see supra, pp. 268-74.

wrote with reference to the Coromandel coast

And many ships of Malabar came here to load rice, and they bring goods from Cambay to this country, that is to say, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, pepper and other goods.... And although this country is very abundantly provided, yet if it should happen any year not to rain, it falls into such a state of famine that many die of it, and some sell their children for a few provisions, or for two or three fanams, each of which will be worth thirty-six karavedis. And in these times the Malabars carry rice and coconuts to them, and return with their ships laden with slaves....

Trade between Malabar and the Coromandel is also referred

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122 Barbosa, Stanley, p. 174; Dames II, p. 125 cited in B.A. Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 78-9. The same passage in Barbosa (Dames II, p. 125) is quoted differently in Appadorai. He says, "Barbosa says that while Coromandel 'is the best supplied of all the lands in this part of India sawing only Cambaya, yet in some years it so happens that no rain falls, and then there is such a dearth among them that many die of hunger, and for this reason they sell their children for four or five fanems each. At such seasons the Malabarees bring them great store of rice and coconuts and take away ship-loads of slaves." Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 316-7. For reference to slaves see also Narrative of the Voyage of Abd-er-Razzak c. 1442 A.D., in R.H. Major (ed.), India in the Fifteenth Century Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century Preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope from Latin, Persian, Russian and Italian Sources Now Translated into English, First Pub. by Hakluyt society, London, 1857, reprinted by Deep Publications, Delhi, 1974, pp. 29-30.
to by Ludovico di Varthema who however, also says that

It must be known that the pagans do not navigate much, but it is the Moors who carry the merchandise; for in Calicut there are at least fifteen thousand Moors, who are for the greater part natives of the country. 123

We are also told that the Moors or Arabs settled in the sea-ports of the Coromandel coast for trade. 124

There are only a very few epigraphical references to ports of this period. An inscription from Tirukkalukkunram, 125 records that in the ānanda year of his reign Kampana Udayār, among other things registered the levy of a consolidated rent (Kattukkuttagai) of 70 paṇam per annum payable by the Kaikkōlar-s on pudavai exported to Pattinam (modern Sadras, forty miles south of Hīlāpur) for sale and on the commodities imported from there and on


124 Barbosa, Stanley, p. 174; Dames II, p. 125 cited in Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 29. Appadorai also says that the Muslim "settlements of Manar and Mantotte on the north-west coast from their local situation naturally became the great emporium of the trade carried on by them with Egypt, Arabia, Persia and the coast of Malabar on the one side and the coast of Coromandel, the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas and China on the other." A. Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 562-3.

125 ARE, 170 of 1932-33, para 37.
the purchase of paddy from the several divisions (?-RAP). Apart from the inference that Tirukkalukkunram was primarily a centre for handloom production, dependent on the supply of paddy from other places, this inscription also refers to the town of Paṭṭinam or Chaturaṅga-paṭṭinam which was an important port during the time. Another inscription, from Nagalāpuram (Tiruvallur Tk., Cg.Dt.) of A.D. 1521 refers to the grant by the nagaratār of Cōla-ṁandalam, Paḍaivīḍu-rājyaṁ, Chandragiri-rājyaṁ and other ṭhānḍalams, of among other taxes to the Kariyamāṇikka Perumāl temple the customs levies at ports like Ananta rāyan Paṭṭanām alias Palavēr-kāḍu at the rate of 1 panam on the export of cloth and 1/4 panam on the export of other articles by ship. By an inscription at Kālahasti of Acyutadēvarāya in A.D. 1532 we are told that the king granted the export and import duties from certain specified ports to the deity

126 T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 156.
Tirumānīkkēngi Uṣaiya Nayanār. Other important ports during this time, we are told were Devanāmpattinam (near modern Cuddalore), Nagapattinam, Tranquebar, Collimat (probably the same as Collim of Nuniz, which is identified as Kūnīmēdu eleven miles to the north of Pondicherry) Mailāpur and Pulicat.

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128 ARE, 157 of 1924. Unfortunately the Annual Report on Epigraphy does not give us the names of the ports. This inscription has been published in SII/IX/550, which we have not been able to consult.

129 A long list of cities along the Coromandel coast in A.D. 1506 is given in an account: "The first the kingdom of Bīsnagā contains 200 leagues, and these Towns: Tarancurī, Manapur, Vaipur, Trecendur, Caligrande, Charcacadē, Tucucurī, Benbar, Calicare, Beadala, Manancort and Cannameira, whence takes the name that Cape that stretched out there in 10 degrees of North latitude; then Negapatam, Habor, Triminapatam, Tragembar, Trimenava, Colororam, Puduchiera, Galapate, Connumeira, Sadrapatam and Meilapur, now called St. Thomas, because that apostle's Body was found there. From St. Thomas to Palicata are nine leagues, then go on Chiricole, Arengom, Coleturo, Calacirc, Pentipalli, where ends the kingdom of Bīsnagur and begins that of Oriya...." Fariah Sousa, Asia Portugesa, I, p. 97. It is regrettable that in the hands of this writer the names of the cities have suffered such a distortion as to elude all identification - B.A.S. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 78.
Textiles were exported from Mālāpūr and Pulicat to Malabar, Cambaya, Sumatra, Pegu and Thailand. To Pulicat, came traders from the interior to buy rubies, spinels and musk from Pegu. Also available at this port where the Muslims were the main traders and which exported cotton textiles in large quantities, were “copper, quicksilver and vermillion besides other Cambaya wares, dyes in grain (Mecca velvet) and rose water.” It is also said that the Vijayanagara Emperor maintained a Governor at Pulicat to collect duties. Nagapatţinam was an important port during the time of Barbosa who referred to many vessels arriving from Malabar to take cargoes of rice, and from Cambaya bringing copper, quick silver, vermillion and pepper. Caesar Fredrick noted however that its importance had declined during his visit.

133 Barbosa II, p. 215, cited in Mahalingam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 165. However, Caesar Fredrick has been quoted by Saletore as follows: "From fn. continues..."
Dévanāmpaṭṭinam exported all kinds of cotton textiles, saltpetre and indigo and imported sulphur, lead, pepper, alum, cloves, sandalwood, speauter, alenghout, nutmeg, raw silk from China, silk manufactures, musk, vermilion, quick-silver, and camphor from China and Borneo. 134

Cosmos, the Egyptian monk who visited India in the sixth century, Abu Zaid the Arab in the ninth century, Gracia da Orta in the fifteenth century and Boccaro in the sixteenth century all speak of the export of Chank from the Tamil country to Bengal. 135 Conch-shell has a long tradition of being exported from India to Ceylon, 136 and excavations at Arikamedu (identified as the Paduka of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea) have revealed a large number of conch shells which were possibly used

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the Island of Zeilan men are to goe with small ships of Negapatam, within the firme land, and seventy two miles off is a very great citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of small trade' / Caesar Fredric, Purchas, Pilgrimes, X, p. 108; Heras, Aravidu, p. 175/. Salestore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 79.


to cut bangles, though no finished bangles were found. The *Manimēkkalai* (canto 28) also refers to chank cutters
and to perforations of pearls at Kānci.\(^{137}\) We are also
told that jewels from Pegu and Ceylon were sold at the
city of Vijayanagara and at many other places in the
Empire.\(^{138}\)

Other exports from the eastern coast of South
India included rice to Ceylon, Aden, Ormuz and to other
places in the west,\(^{139}\) sugar\(^{140}\) and myrobalan which was
used for dyes.\(^{141}\) Imports included elephants from

\(^{137}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7. It is also said "Beyond this
city [Malēpur, i.e., Mailēpur] is another which
is called Cāhillā where pearls are found", *The
Travels of Nicolo Conti in the East in the Early
Part of the Fifteenth Century*, in R.A. Major(Ed.),
*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 7.

\(^{138}\) Shukla, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 26; T.V. Mahalingam,
*op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 129, 131; V. Ball, "A
Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient
India", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiii (1894),

\(^{139}\) T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 129-30,
citing Barbosa, I, pp. 25, 56, 64, 123, 178, 188,
195-96; and Jones, *Varthema*, p. 192.

\(^{140}\) T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 130,
citing Barbosa I, p. 186. See also T.V.

\(^{141}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5, 130, citing Barbosa I,
pp. 161, 188-89, R.H. Major, *India in the
Pegu and especially Ceylon, Sumatra and the Moluccas, camphor, frankincense and aloeswood from Bengal, Malacca, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and China, lac, water melons and sandalwood from Java, opium and brassware from China, saffron and rosewater from Jedda, musk from Ava, and copper, quicksilver, vermillion, pepper, Meca velvets and rose water from Malabar and Cambay. We

142 T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 126, citing Barbosa, II, pp. 113, 115; and Elliot, History of India as told by its own Historians, IV, pp. 105, 111. Mahalingam says that the reason why elephants could not be imported into the Vijayanagara Empire from northern India was because of the presence of the Balwant sultans in the Deccan. Ibid., pp. 126-7. See also Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 51; For some contrary evidence see supra, pp. 24-5.


146 Ibid., citing Barbosa I, p. 129.


are also told that the cetti-s brought pepper from the cultivators immediately after harvest, stored it till it was ripe and then sold it to the ships of foreign merchants along with other articles.\textsuperscript{149}

There is very little evidence on the rates of customs charged at foreign parts on Indian products. Abd-er-Razzak had reported that in circa A.D. 1441 a rate of duty of one-tenth of the value was levied on all goods, excepting gold and silver atOrmuz.\textsuperscript{150} In table V-9 we reproduce the details on customs duties levied at foreign ports, given by Appadorai.

**Table V-9**

**DUTIES LEVIED ON INDIAN PRODUCTS AT FOREIGN PORTS A.D. 1277-1441a**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Product/s</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1277</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Fine articles</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>$6^{2}/_{3}%$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{150} Narrative of the Voyage of Abd-er-Razzak, p. 7.
1293 China all goods 10%
1314 China fine articles 20%
1314 Coarse 13 1/3%
1441 Ormuz all goods with the exception of gold and silver 10%

Based on A. Appadorai, Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.), Madras University Historical Series No. 12, University of Madras, Madras, 1936, Vol. II, pp. 659-60.

It will be observed from the above table that the rates of duties imposed in China doubled in 37 years. Unfortunately, we have no data on the possible causes for such an increase in duties which may conceivably had led to the reduction of trade between China and South India.

It is also said that the setti-s were to be found all over India "as they are very sharp, great accountants and dexterous merchants."151 Barbosa reports that in Malacca there were some chetige merchants from the Tamil country "who were very corpulent with big bellies, they

go bare above the waist and wear cotton clothes below." 152

While the traditional historians concentrated on trade, in so far as they considered it as a subject worthy of study, they dealt in the main with foreign trade and did not attempt to consider, in any significant way, aspects of internal trade and so we must amble along as best we can.

Thus far we have dealt with foreign sea-borne trade and now we shall attempt to consider the internal trade routes. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, for instance, it is likely that a large part of the trade between places in Jayankondacolamandalam and the Arabs were routed through Kerala. The southern trade route from Jayankondacolamandalam was along the rivers and the coastal plains to Tañjavur Kumbhakonam and Srirangam, all of which were connected to coastal Kerala where the Arabs traded by a number of ways. 153 Cöla inscriptions

152 Barbosa II, p. 177, quoted in T.V. Mahalinga, op. cit., p. 149.

153 Inscriptions from the Tirumalai Tirupati temple refer to Malai-Mandalam, e.g. TTDES/I/169; to Malai-nādu e.g. TTDES/I/57; to the grant of villages on the banks of the river Tamraparni in Tiruvadi-rājyam e.g. TTDES/IV/60; V/127, 154, 158. Similarly there are references to Cöla-mandalam e.g. TTDES/I/1, 15, 18, 26, 36, 46, 119; II/149, 106; V, 154; and to Pāṇḍya-mandalam e.g. TTDES/I/57.
had frequently referred to the **Kudiraichchettilgal** coming from Malai-nādu or modern Kerala. Unfortunately, the occasional inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period which refer to taxes on horses, **Kudirai Kānkkai** do not refer to the place of origin of these animals.

Jayāṅkoṇḍacōlāmaṇḍalām was also connected to the other regions of the interior by a variety of routes. Thus we are told that the city of Vijayanagar was connected to Mylāpūr through Chandragiri, Tirupati and Pulicat.

Thus, Nicolo Conti says,

The very noble city of Pelagonda [Penugonda?] is subject to the same king; it is ten miles in circumference and is distant eight days' journey from Bizenegalia [Vijayanagara]. Travelling afterwards hence by land for twenty days he arrived at a city and sea port called Peudifetania, on the road to which he passed two cities, viz., Odeschiria and Genderghiria [Chandragiri?], where the red sandalwood grows. Proceeding onwards the said Nicolo arrived at a maritime city which is named Malepur [Mailāpūr] in the Second Gulf beyond the Induā [i.e. the Bay of Bengal].

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155 See for example an inscription from Elavānāsūr (Tirukkoṭilur Tk., SA Dt.), ARE, 490 of 1937-38 and para 64; or another one from Rishivandiyam (Kallakurichi Tk., SA Dt.), ARE, 111 of 1943-44.

The routes of Krishnadevaraya's campaigns in the eastern country and the subsequent visits he undertook to the temples in the south provide us epigraphical evidence of routes in the Vijayanagara period. Thus, from an inscription at Tirumalai (Chandragiri Tk., Ct. Dt.) dated 15th October 1515, we learn that Krishnadeva went to Udayagiri via Raichur, Gutti and Gandikota and captured Udayagiri, Addanki Vinikonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangadu, Ketavaram, Kondividu and other forts and that he built the Amaresvaram temple at Dharanikota, and at Tiruvannamalai he built the 1000 pillared mandapam, the tank near the same mandapam, the 11-storeyed gopura, etc. A later inscription from Tirumalai, records that on the 17th of January 1517, Krishnadevaraya visited Tirumalai after another campaign to the eastern country when he captured Bezwada, occupied Kondapalli, Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Urlakonda, Arupapalli, Jallipalli, Kanidikonda, Kappaluvayi Nallakoqda, Kambetta, Kanakagiri, Saikaragiri and other forts in the Telugu-rājya; and that he returned

157 R. Sewell, according to T.V. Mahalingam, refers to a road from Vijayanagar city to Raichur via Adavani, ibid., p. 161.

158 TDES/III/76-78.

159 ARE, 574 of 1902.
to Vijayanagara after going to Simhadri-Pottanūru and planting a pillar of victory there. These were of course, only a few of the routes along which trade was carried on by carts, pack animals and headloads.161

160 TTDUS/III/80. See also II/XXV/32, pp. 297-309; SII/VIII/495; ARE, 574 of 1902; 74, 288 of 1903; 125, 175 of 1904; 511 of 1905; 142 of 1906; 381 of 1908; 167, 226, 235, 251 of 1925; 214 of 1926; 137, 157 of 1927; 355 of 1907; 80 of 1911; 210, 235 of 1917. An inscription from Cidambaram (Chidambaram Tk., SA Dt.), also says that Krishnadēvarāya visited the town after planting the pillar of victory at Simhadri-Pottanūru, ARE, 371 of 1913. T.V. Mahalingam, citing S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's Sources of Vijayanagar History (p. 116) mentions that Krishnadēvarāya went from Vijayanagara to Ramesvaram and Dhanuskōdi via Kālahasti, Tirupati, Kānci, Tiruvanppāmalai, Cidambaram, Madurai, Ramesvaram and Dhanuskōdi, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 161.

161 "Articles were carried over long distances by carts and pack animals (Jones, Vathema, pp. 179-80*; Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 254). But it appears that carts were not used on a large scale in some parts. Articles were usually conveyed by kavadi-s head-loads, pack-horses, pack-bullocks, pack-ponies and asses. Barbosa observes that goods were carried by means of buffaloes (EC, IV. N; 266; VI, VI, pp. 230-39; 18 of 1915; Rep. para 48) oxen, asses and ponies and refers to the consignment of pepper from Malabar on oxen and asses (Barbosa (Stanley), pp. 85 and 86). Oxen and sumpter mules as beasts of burden are referred to by Paes and Nuniz also. The former says that to Bhaṭkal come every year five or six thousand pack-oxen (Sewell, op. cit., pp. 237, 238 and 366). Caesar Fredrick also observes that the people rode on bullocks with panels, girts and bridles and that they had a very commodious pace (Purchas, His Pilgrims, X p. 83)."
Rivers and irrigation canals also served, here as elsewhere, as important tradeways. Among the types of indigenous boats that have been mentioned as of being in use during this type were the almadia, the atalaya, the bargatin, the capel, the chaturi, the champane (sampan), the fusta, the jase, the kiatu, the parao, the puni (catamaram), the sanguical (which was so called because it was built a-t Cinguical), the terada and the Zambuquo. Of these the fusta and the Zambuquo were used for long voyages. The atalaya, the bargatin, the Chaturi, the parao and the terada were rowing vessels used for coastal work. While the almadia was a canoe made of one single piece of wood, the kiatu was said to have been built like the grain measures. The parisu and the masala were other types of boats used in the coastal regions of the Tamil country. The former was made of wicker and leather, while the latter was

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Barbosa gives the interesting information that usually there was one conductor or driver in charge of twenty or thirty oxen (Barbosa I, p. 163). The use of horses is referred to in the Amuktamālyada (Canto, II, V. 96)". T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 162.

constructed by sewing wooden planks with jute twine and the seams were 'caulked with coarse grass, not a particle of iron being used in the entire construction.' Both ends of the masala type boats were 'sharp and narrow and tapering to a point' in order to penetrate the surf. Other crafts - rafts, dugouts, canoes, et cetera - were also used. 163

The information on the establishment and location of markets in Jayaṅkoṇḍalamaṇḍalam during this period is very sparse. The Hamsavimśati, a work composed in the eighteenth century gives a list of 175 places where merchants conglomerated. Among these places were Gingee, Kāncipuram, Kappara, Ādavāni, Podili, Nāndyala, Āraṇi, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Puttūr, Kalavāyi, Nellore, Vellore, Kadiri, Bāgūr, Puṅganūr, Tiruttāni, Kālahasti, Pākāla, Kāvēripāka, Mailāpūr, Rāmasamudram and Kuraṇji. 164

163 Mahalingam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 158. He also says, "Canals were used for transport of articles. Barbosa mentions that from the inland regions great store of cloth came down the river (Barbosa I, p.615). For that pariśu-s were largely used. After the cargo had been disposed of, the boats were broken up and sold away for what the bamboo would fetch, while the leather was doubled up and carried by the owners to be used again in a similar manner." Ibid., pp. 162-3.

164 N. Venkataramanayya, Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Madras University Historical Series No. 11, University of Madras, Madras, 1935, p. 301 fn.
We also have references to the establishment of weekly markets during the time of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1364 from Nellore records an agreement concerning the Friday market at Nellore established by Kāṇchaṇamgāru (Kachanṇa of Nellore) by the nānādēśi-s whereby they agreed to donate the fees raised in the market to the goddess Irukalā Paramēśwari for the merit of Kāṇchaṇamgāru165 (probably as a reward for enabling them to make money by his establishing a market). Another record from Tiruvannamalai (Tiruvannamalai Tk., NA Dt.) records that Śevappa-nayaka reduced the taxes on certain articles of merchandise and remitted those on others in the markets on Thursday and Wednesdays.166 An inscription from Kaḍattūr of A.D. 1440

165 NDI/II/N/78/p. 848; ARE, 80 of 1953-54.

166 ARE, 427 of 1928-29; see also, e.g. Imp/I/ Cg. 14-A; ARE, 226 of 1930-31; 440 of 1937-38. Such weekly markets continue to exist in many villages and small towns in the modern states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamilnadu. Some of such markets are only for particular commodities like cattle for instance. In such market networks, the traders move from one market to another and it would be an interesting exercise to plot the routes of this trade, determined by the weekly market days and see whether these weekly days coincided with those of the Vijayanagara period.
also refers to taxes on each shop opened at the markets of Varugūr (allāyamānyam) and of a fee also on such shops called adikāṣu. A reference to a fair (Sandai) for the monthly Krittika festival of the deity Kumāra-svāmin also comes to us from Pālūr (Chingleput Tk., and Dt.).

The Kondā vidū inscription of Nādiṇḍla Gōpa, we have seen gives the rate of assessment of tolls on articles of inland trade going, among other places, to the Tirumalai hills. Another inscription from Kurnāyi (Palamner Tk., Ct. Dt.) this time, of A.D. 1361 informs us that Mahāpradhāni Śomappa-Udaiyār and the treasurer Viṭṭappayyan issued an order to Meydēvar who was in charge of taxes in Puli-nāḍu to assign certain duties imposed in kind on all articles passing through the district (nāḍu? - R.A.P.).

Unfortunately, the traditional historians of South India made no attempt to connect commercial

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167 ARE, 196 of 1910; for market duties, see also, e.g. A RE, 294 of 1910; 244 of 1937-38.

168 ARE, 36 of 1932-33; see also ARE, 159 of 1933-34.


170 ARE, 309 of 1912, 1912-13, para 51; see also, e.g. NDI/II/N/105; ARE, 103 of 1932-33; 200 of 1937-38; 216 of 1963-64.
activities with the larger socio-economic system, of which it was a part. Here again, it was Burton Stein who, by endeavouring to view trade as an integral part of the agrarian system, made a decisive break in South Indian historiography.

Stein began his consideration of South Indian trade, after a short introduction tracing its antiquity, with a study of the early South Indian trade organizations, the Vīravalluṭiḷaḷ, the pānāḍēśi-s, the Ayyavōle and the Manigrāmam which were active from the eighth to the seventeenth centuries, though they began to decline from the thirteenth century. While none of the numerous inscriptions of these traders found all over South India contain much information about their internal composition, Stein argued that "a consistent aspect of internal organization is the bond between the local merchants and the itinerant merchants." He also noted that town officials, pāṭṭanāsvāmi-s appear to have been connected with the most famous of these mercantile organisations,

171 The latest date of the Ayyavōle guild was A.D. 1680 according to Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 391.

172 B. Stein, 'Coromandel Trade', p. 51.
the Ayyavole traders, and also that certain towns called virapattana-s which had special privileges were created during the time of the Cola-s. A logical corollary is an attempt to link these associations to those with political and military power.

We have seen that Stein had viewed the agrarian system during the regnal period of the Cola-s as a decentralised one, where considerable power was exercised by large territorial assemblies dominated by peasants, the citrameli-perivanadu-s. He had also argued that the large number of inscriptions mentioning grant of taxes in money and in grain to the temples by the perivanattar in association with groups of merchants showed the interdependence between the two. Consequently, the virtual

173 Ibid.
174 Ibid., p. 52.
175 "Without the ability to combine the enterprise of the numerous constituent trade groups and without some cooperation from those with military power, trading organizations like that of Ayyavole could not have operated over such a vast area for so long. Their accomplishment is the more remarkable when we realize that the social and economic context they operated in was not urban and mercantile oriented but dominantly agrarian. Vigorous and powerful as they appear to be, the medieval trade organizations must be seen as essentially integrated within the principal forms of social and economic organization of medieval South India in general and Coromandel in particular." Ibid., pp. 52-3.
disappearance of the latter was due to the decline of the former.\textsuperscript{176}

We have also examined in some detail Stein's conceptualization of the periyanādu-s and the changes wrought in the agrarian system under the Rāya-s of Vijayanagara.\textsuperscript{177} Therefore, we shall mention here only two points which are of importance to our primary concern here - the examination of the probable causes of the decline of the merchant guilds. First, Stein had argued that the nayaka-s were de facto independent of the Rāya-s and this contention we have argued is based on a mis-conception of the role of these nayaka-s and of the nature of the Vijayanagara state.\textsuperscript{178} Second, he had maintained that as each nayaka had tried to achieve maximum control over the resources of his amaram, the nayaka-s attempted to enhance the scope of the local merchants at the expense of the larger itinerant guilds. As a result of this policy the older trade network was confined

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{176} Supra, pp. 29-30, 32-33, 169-70.
\item \textsuperscript{177} Supra, p. 166ff.
\item \textsuperscript{178} Supra, pp. 31-45, 199-225.
\end{itemize}
to essentials like salt, iron and horses and essentials like fine textiles and precious stones. If this was indeed the case, how are we, for example, to explain the inscription of Nādirīla Gōpa which, as we have seen, was issued at the instance of a minister to Krishna- dévarāya and which levied taxes on good in transit? 180

We have also noted above that the nānādēśī- s continued to exist during the Vijayanagara period though they had lost their earlier prominence, and we have some inscriptional evidence that some towns, at least, retained special ties with these guilds. However,

179 Supra, pp. 34, 201.
180 Cited supra, pp. 242-3
182 None of these towns are, however, in Jayakonda- gajamandalam. An inscription from Hospet (Hos- pet Tk., Bellary Dt.), dated A.D. 1531-32 records that Kampadēva Ṭrīna, an officer of Acyutādēvarāya gifted some duties on crops and the fee on marriages to the temple of Gaurēs- vara with the consent of the Nānādēśa merchants, ARE, 1922-23, 679 of 1923 and para 83. Another inscription from the same place dated A.D. 1535-36 records that Abbarāja Timmappa the agent of Pradhāna (minister) Tirumalarāja granted the (mūlavīṣa) of certain villages for offerings to the deity Tiruvengalā- nātha with the consent of the Āṭṭi-pattanasvāmī.
the itinerant trade guilds suffered a mortal blow with the onset of almost a century of political instability following the decline of the Cōla-s in the mid-thirteenth century. One historian has mentioned the following causes for the decline of the itinerant trading guilds of South India: the efforts of the Chinese emperors to restrict the volume of trade in luxury articles with South India due to the enormous drain of currency and precious metals from China in the twelfth century; the end of the era of political stability in Ceylon from the end of the twelfth century and the division of the island into the southern kingdom controlled by Sinhalese and the northern kingdom controlled by the foreigners; the absence of political stability in South India and the growth of Arab competition in trade. 183

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(presiding merchant) of the villages of the mahānāgu, ARE, 1922-23, 681 of 1922, para 83. An inscription from Puttanam (Pollachi Tk., Combatore Dt.), dated in A.D. 1508 records that some getti-s converted the village which had been deserted from a long time into a pāṇāṭāṭi-pattanaṁ named Srinātha-pattanaṁ and resettled refugees there (āṇjanā-pugalidam), ARE, 395 of 1954-55. See also ARE, 210 of 1910.

183 K. Indrapala, op. cit., p. 102.
184 Ibid., p. 113.
There is considerable evidence to indicate that there was a long period of political stability consequent upon the decline of the Göla-s.\textsuperscript{185} In such conditions, when wanton and senseless murder, meaningless destruction, looting and a constant sense of insecurity were the norm for almost a hundred years, no trade network, no matter how widespread, powerful and influential it may have been, can hope to survive, and nānāḍēśi-s did not survive these catastrophic events. Other events like the political instability in Ceylon, the decline of trade with China in the twelfth century and competition from Arab traders may have also contributed to the decline of the trade networks.

With the re-establishment of an era of relative political stability under the Rāya-s of Vijayanagara, the merchant guilds could not re-establish themselves in their old positions of pre-eminence. One reason for this was of course the severity of the collapse of the trade network. If we use, as a very rough yardstick to measure the economic conditions of societal groups, the social origin of the donors of endowments to the Tirumalai-Tirupati temples, we find that no merchant figured as

\textsuperscript{185} Supra, pp. 192-95, see also Nilakanta Sastrī, op. cit., p. 211 ff.
a donor during the period of reign of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the Saṅgamas (A.D. 1336-1485). This indicates that trade required time to complete its recovery process. Later, of course, we hear of the nagarattār making grants to the temple and an inscription from Tirupati refers to a grant made by the kōmatti-s of the vaśya-jāti. Another inscription from the same place records a grant of 12,281 panam obtained from the merchants of Tirupati by Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar. However, during this time that was required for trade to revive, the other social groups were not immobile. And one reason for the inability of the merchant guilds to recover their former positions of influence and authority must surely be due to the fact that there were other organised groups like the kaikkōlar-s, the vāniyar-s and aṇju-jāti-panchalattār, the eighteen pattadai castes, etc., which by trying to defend and augment the social

186 Supra.
187 e.g. ARE, 283 of 1905; 273, 275, 276 of 1959-60; SII/XVII/679/pp. 311-13.
188 TTDES/III/16. Vaiśya-jāti Kōmattikalil Paulastva gotrattu pachchalingu-cetti mudavam kōmatti-kalukku.....
189 TTDES/V/89.
and economic position of their own members would also almost automatically oppose the rise of other groups—
and trade, as we have seen, had suffered grievously during the period of political instability in the Tamil country.

Another reason, perhaps for the failure of the guilds of merchants to re-assume during the Vijayanagara period the positions of influence and power attained by them under the rule of the Cōla-s was the existence of strong associations of the Idaṅgai-s and Valaṅgai-s. These organisations probably comprised within them the smaller, trade-based guilds as the terms 'the 98 sects' of the Valaṅgai and Idaṅgai seems to convey and as the references to the joint action by these groups that we have noticed above appears to show that they, jointly, accounted for almost the entire non-brāhma population. An inscription of A.D. 1449 from Paḍaivīḍu (Polur Tk., NA Dt.) refers to a gathering of the great men of the Valaṅgai and the Idaṅgai of the Paḍaivīḍuraḷīvam at the temple of Sōmanāṭhēśvara nayānār at the village. 190

However, apart from this fragmentary inscription we have no other reference to the internal organisation of the

190 SII/I/81/110-111.
Valaṅgai from the inscriptions of the period and region under review. We do have on the other hand, inscriptions referring to collective action by the Iḍaṅgai community. An inscription from Valakāmpādi (Tiruttani Tk., Cg., Dt.) refers to the meeting of the Iḍaṅgai-mahā-sēṇaiyār of the Chandragiri-rājya meeting at a place called Iḍaṅgai nikāman-tiruvāsal and agreeing to give certain taxes to the temple of Vijayātisvaramuḍaiya-Nayaṇār of the village. Another inscription from Venmanampudūr (Tiruvallur Tk., Cg. Dt.) refers to a meeting of the Iḍaṅgai community residing in the various parru in Chandragiri-rājya at the Iḍaṅgai Nikāman-mandapa and making a sarvamārya gift of the village.

Burton Stein, is certainly right when he says the nayaka-s would not have encouraged the growth of rival centres of power as represented by the trade guilds, etc.

191 e.g. ARE, 4 of 1906; 215 of 1910; 217 of 1916, 1915-16, p. 139; 315 of 1954-55; 193, 194 of 1961-62.

192 ARE, 126 of 1943-44. Reign of Harihararāya.

However, this would be only a minor contributing factor in the failure of the merchant guilds to revive their past glory. It does not, however, follow from this that the 'new warrior regime' under the Rayas of Vijaya nagara did not promote long-distance trade, or was in fact, actually hostile to such trade as Stein appears to think.

Indeed, available evidence appears to denote that the Vijayanagara rulers attempted to encourage trade by offering protection and privileges to the merchants. Thus, it is said in the Āmuktamālyada that

A king should govern his ports so as to increase their trade by encouraging the import of horses, elephants, gems, sandal, pearls, etc.; he should offer protection suited to the conditions of their race to people who migrate from other countries owing to famine, pestilence, and (other) calamities; he should send his faithful servants to superintend his gardens, cattlepens and mines. 194

One of the best documented indications of this policy comes from Motothalli (Bapatla Tk., Guntur Dt.), which was of course not located within Jayahkonda𝑐𝑜 𝑔𝑎𝑙𝑎𝑚. An inscription of the Kākaṭiya ruler Gaṇapatiḍēva of

194 Āmuktamālyada, 4.204.35 cited in Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 159. Discussing the number of ports in the Empire it is also said that the Āmuktamālyada which does not refer to the number of ports in existence "enjoins that the ruler should so govern the
A.D. 1244 engraved here stated

By the glorious Maharaja Ganapatidēva the following edict has been granted to traders by sea starting for and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities. Formerly kings used to take away by force the whole cargo, viz., gold, elephants, horses, etc., carried by ships and vessels which, after they had started from one country for another, were attacked by storms, wrecked, and thrown on shore. But we, out of mercy, for the sake of glory and merit, are granting everything besides the fixed duty to those who have incurred the great risk of a sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more important than even life. The rate of this duty is one in thirty on all exports and imports. This is followed by a list of commodities with a schedule of customs.  

This edict was renewed by the successors of the Kākaṭiya-s in this region - by the rulers of the Reddi kingdom in A.D. 1358 and by the Vijayanagara ruler, Dēvarāya I in A.D. 1390. 

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ports as to increase their trade by offering facilities to traders, and protection to the strangers that might land therein ([Amuktamal- yada 4:25]) Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 113.

195 ARE, 256 and 342 of 1912-13 and paras 25 and 30 cited in B. Stein, 'Coromandel Trade', p. 52.

196 Loc. cit.; Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 655-6. Dēvaraya's edict also said that "According to the custom obtaining in the port of Kotupalli for all the articles brought down from the ships, the suṅka will always be charged at the rate of five; for the imported golden Kaṭavati (?) articles (the suṅka is) eight per gariśa; the suṅka-s in the royal karuka are 650(?); for a parcel of coral five rūka-s and an addaga; for sealed articles two kābu-s; for Pomnura white paccada-s and sari-s

fn. continues...
We have also seen that the Haravilāśamu mentions that Tippaya Čeṭṭi of Nellore, to which it was dedicated, and his brothers had imported articles from the Punjab, Jalanogi, Ceylon, Ormuz, Goa, Chautang and China and supplied these to Harīhara of Vijayanagara, Kumāragiri of Konḍavīḍu, Feroz Shah Bāhmanī and to the Gajapati ruler of Orissa. It may be noted in this connection that it is further enjoined in the Āmuktamālyada that the king should acquire the friendship of merchants of distant islands who import elephants and horses, by granting them villages, spacious houses in the capital, frequent audiences, presents and (facilities to secure) good profits, so that they (the elephants and horses) may not reach your (i.e. the king's) enemies.

Thus, it would appear that the guilds of merchants could not re-establish themselves in their former positions of power during the period under review here because of the decline of trade in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century had weakened their organis-

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of delicate texture of the same appearance, for sari-s of the same kind manufactured by kaikkōla-s, one kāśu. The officers of the king who collect the dues should give a third to Dēvarāya."


197 Supra, pp. 24-5.
tions considerably, and that when trade began to revive under the Rāya-s, the corporate bodies of other social groups may have acted as a check on the merchant guilds. The rival guilds were also possibly encouraged by the navaka-s who would have welcomed opportunities to prevent the emergence of rival centres of power. The decline of the guilds however does not appear to have affected the volume of trade. Rather, long-distance trade seems to have been carried on by wealthy merchant families in place of the trading guilds.

Trade points to a growth of commercialization and of commodity production. It is of course, a complete fallacy to believe that as the fall of the Gōla-s led to a decline in trade there was a restitution of the 'natural economy'. The growth of commercialization and of commodity production is used here to denote merely an increase in the volume of transactions involving the use of money. The most significant indicator

199 See the brilliant article by M.M. Postan, 'The Rise of a Money Economy', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. XIV, 1944, pp. 123-134, for clarification on the use of the term 'the money economy'. 
of this process is the number of inscriptive references that have come down to us regarding the sales and leases of land and to the sales of the rights of cultivation. 200

We have also seen that grants of money and land to temples may perhaps have been an investment which ensured the donor a constant market for the produce of his lands and that donors at times endowed lands to the temples while reserving the right of cultivation for themselves and their heirs. 201 For further evidence of commercialization of land we may turn to an inscription from Elavanăsūr (Tirukkoyilur Tk., SA Dt.) which records that on an order from Tirupurāridēvar in A.D. 1404-05 the lands which had been assigned to Nayadēva Anṇagāl were reclassified according to the old scale to minimise the difficulty of collecting its tax in money. 202

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200 Supra, pp. 245-247, 248-251.
201 Supra, pp. 251-252.
202 ARE, 491 of 1937-38. An inscription from Tiruvaigāvûr, which we had cause to refer to earlier regarding the agreement between the nāṭṭār of Parantaka-nādu in Innambār-nādu and the Valaṅgal 98 sub-sects and the Idaṅgal 98 sub-sects regarding the payment of dues to the king gives the following rates of tax assessments on lands, a sizeable amount of which is expressed in money terms.

fn. continues...
'Old scale' here perhaps referred to the scale of taxation prevalent during the time of the Cōla-s. What it does

Previous fn.

"Class of land  Assessment in paddy on  Other taxes such as
on one Vēli including Kānikkal, Śammādam, araśupērū; ilakkai, etc.
pāṭta-vattam, kāni-kūli, etc. on each Vēli.

A

Of the Karpeśana (i.e. wet) lands, those that die in the planting (nattuppu), those that yield only blighted grain (gāvi) and those that are otherwise damaged (alivu) not being counted; and of the pumpeyir (i.e. dry lands) pāl, gāvi and alivu being likewise not counted, the remaining holdings are charged at the reduced rate of 8½ in 10, it being however, provided that in the excluded lands where an inspection they are found to have yielded ⅓ crop, a third of the produce will be charged as vāram from each holder.

1. Paddy fields  50 kalam of paddy and ⅓ panam  20 panam
2. Uncultivated waste  40 kalam of paddy  18 panam (brought under cultivation)
3. Forest reclaimed  20 kalam of paddy  2 panam

B

5. Plantation and sugarcane gardens in wet lands  60 panam (including araśupērū, kānikkal etc.)
6. Plantation and sugarcane gardens in padukaitākku  50 panam

fn. continues....
signify however is the fact that it was increasingly being realised in the fifteenth century that money was

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<td>Previous fn.</td>
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<td>7. Marshes in which red lotuses are grown</td>
<td>40 panam</td>
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<td>8. Lands producing turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic etc.</td>
<td>25 panam</td>
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<td>9. Lands producing brinjals (valtilai), pumpkins, etc.</td>
<td>30 panam</td>
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<td>10 Lands producing nelluparutti (?) castor seeds, Varukuparutti (?) mustard, Bengal gram, wheat and kusumpai (carthamus tinctorious) srivay, thalkavay, and puluti (lands producing gram (kanam) lands producing paddy and cambaladi)</td>
<td>20 panam, (including arasuparu, neralai, etc.)</td>
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<td>11 Lands producing gram, greenpulses, taninparutti, taniamanakku, tinai, naniyaraku, cama, etc.</td>
<td>1 panam</td>
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<td>12 Lands, producing sesamum (taxed for first crop)</td>
<td>3/4 of the above?</td>
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<td>13 Lands yielding vetikolundu (?)</td>
<td>200 panam</td>
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<td>14 Lands yielding Olimudukolundu (taxed for first crop)</td>
<td>100 panam</td>
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<td>Dry crops (vamaviru)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Every five areca palms yielding over 1,500 nuts per tree</td>
<td>1 panam (including arasuparu).</td>
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fn. continues...
essential for purposes of day-to-day transactions.

We have also seen that prasādam had an economic value and that it was sold in temple towns for money.203

Another indication of the promotion of commercial activities by the temple is found in the inscriptionsal references to the sale of privileges in the temple. An inscription from Jambukāśvaram (Tiruchirapalli Tk., and Dt.), records the sale of the right of worship in the temple of Tiruvānaikka, with the privileges that go along with it

Previous fn.

Every coconut palm yielding ..... ½ panam not less than 40 fruits per tree

N.B. Tender trees which have not borne fruit, barren trees and trees in backyards of houses are exempted.

Every jack fruit tree yielding ..... Lost not less than 20 fruits per tree

The surrounding other trees are not taxes." ARE, 59 of 1914-15, para 44. Note especially the N.B. to the tax on coconuts which says that trees in the backyards of houses are exempted. Does it imply that such taxes were only imposed on large plantations?

203 Supra, pp. 296-9
including house-sites, by the four sets of _sthanika-s_ to a certain Bagavāgar Andeperumāl of Kai(ta)vanallūr in _Tonḍai-mandalam_. Similar records have come from Kūgaiyr (Kallahurichchi Tk., SA Dt.) and Kālahasti (Kalahasti Tk., Ct., Dt.).

The establishment of weekly markets that we had noted also indicates the growth of commercialization and of commodity production as they provided a means to most villagers to sell or exchange products and thereby obtain money for revenue purposes and for consumption needs.

Regarding the currency of the Vijayanagar Empire, Abd-er-Razzak said there were three kinds of coins made of gold mixed with alloy. Of these three types of coins, the most useful was _fanom_ (i.e. _panam_), ten of which made a _pertab_. Two _pertab-s_ made a _varahan_.

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204 ARE, 103 of 1936-37.
205 ARE, 100 of 1918.
206 ARE, 1969 of 1922. See also ARE 378 of 1928-29 (From Suruttupalli, Ponnneri Tk., Cg. Dt.). An inscription from Valaiyattūr (Valajapet Tk., Nā Dt.), records the sale of accountant rights in Sivapādasēkhara-chaturvādimāṅgalam alias Valai-viyyarrūr in Meyur-nādu in Palkupra-kōṭṭam in Jayahkondacōla-mandalam for 300 _panam-s_ to Nityakalyāṇa Bhaṭṭan Taluvakkulaiyāndan since the previous incumbent Ākkāli-Bhaṭṭan had died without issue ARE, 29 of 1933-34.
207 Supra. pp 379-80
(i.e. varāha) which weighed one mithkal and was worth 2 dinars kopeki. There was also a silver coin called tare which was one-sixth the value of a fanom and a copper coin known as djitel at one-third of a tare.  

Ludovico di Varthema, who visited the Vijayanagara Empire half a century after Abd-er-Razzak said that sixteen cas (kāśu?) made one tare; that sixteen tare made one fanom; and that twenty fanom was equal to a pardao.  

ten years later, Barbosa wrote that a pardao was worth 320 reis, while Paes said that it was worth 360 reis.  

Appadorai equates Abd-er-Razzak's pertab with the pardao and thus finds that while this pardao equals ten panam, the pardao mentioned by Varthema is equal to twenty panam. He solves this difficulty by saying that it appears fair to say that 'Abdu-r-Razzak's pardao was the pagoda of 10 panam containing 52 gr. of gold, while

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209 The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema, p. 53.  
211 Narrative of Domingos Paes, Tr. by R. Sewell in Vasundhara Fillozat (ed.), The Vijayanagar Empire, As Seen by Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz Two 16th Century Portugese Chroniclers, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1977, p. 61.
his varāha of 20 fanom was the double Pagoda of later days. Varthema's 20 fanom pardaē must have been the double pagoda.212

Appadorai also mentions that bills of exchange were in use at that time. He refers, in support of this contention, to an instance when Ariyanātha Nudaliār "appointed villages to remit mundi-s (or bills of exchange) to Cāśi (Benares) for the purpose of daily feeding there of one thousand Brahmans."213 He however adds that no clear understanding of the nature of these bills of exchange are possible from the available data.214

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212 Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 714-5. Elsewhere he says that the panam "was a gold coin whose average metal content was 5.28 gr." Ibid., p. 712. Citing EI/XIII/58 and BC/XIII/58 and EC/V, Ar. 51 Arokiaswami said 1 pon equals 10 panam or 1 varāha. He also said that kāsū was a gold coin equal to pon though it at times meant a copper coin equal to 1 pie of the currency of pre-1951 India. Further he said that a panam was equal to 6.5 annas and that a pon was equal to Rs. 3.5 to Rs. 4. M. Arokiaswamy, The Kongu Country: Being a History of the Modern Districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the Earliest Times to the coming of the British, Madras University Historical Series, No. 22, University of Madras, Madras, 1956, p. 344, fn. 2. The basis of the conversion of the values of the Vijayanagara period to those of the modern day eludes us.


214 Loc. cit.
Finally, we may add that the widespread use of a single currency system, the increasing monetization of the economy and the growth of pilgrim traffic which was encouraged by the rulers as a strategy for territorial integration and which is reflected in the economic value of the prasādam and on the 'commercial ethos' of the temple towns neatly knock the bottom out of Stein's thesis that the nayaka-s largely achieved economic self-sufficiency in their amaram-s.