CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION

The nādu-s, as we have seen, were micro-ecological units which were the bases of medieval Tamil society. To achieve a valid perspective of the decline of these nādu-s we must go back a few centuries and examine the methods adopted by the Pallava-s and by the Cōla-s after them, to integrate the territories under their control. These strategies, however, well they may have been suited to the conditions of the latter half of the first millennium A.D., and a little later, were not perhaps adequate to meet the societal imperatives of the fourteenth century. Consequently new strategies of territorial consolidation were evolved under the Vijayanagara rāya-s. The process of transition from the Pallava-Cōla state to the Vijayanagara Empire was, of course, as we have endeavoured to show in the following discussion, gradual.

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The most important of the ways by which the Pallava-s and the Cōla-s attempted to achieve agrarian integration were the patronage extended by them to temples and places of pilgrimage and the support given by them to brāhmaṇa-s.
The importance of the temple during this period is reflected in the evolution of a new style of temple architecture. An inscription of Mahendravarman I (c. A.D. 610-30) from Maṇḍagapattu (Villupuram Tk., SA D.t.) records that the shrine built for Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva was constructed without bricks, timber, metal or mortar.\(^1\) While the Pallava-s do not appear to favour any particular sect in their construction of temples,\(^2\) the Cōla-s appear to have been Saivites and they even persecuted the Vaishnavites.\(^3\) In his study of medieval Orissa, where he observed royal patronage of pilgrimage, systematic large-scale settlement of brāhmaṇa-s and the construction of new imperial temples as factors of political integration,\(^4\) Herman Kulke argued

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3. [Kulottuṅga-Cōla II is actually said to have destroyed the Viṣṇu shrine at Cidambaram. See R.A. Palat, 'Cidambaram', pp. 45-47.](#)

4. [H. Kulke, 'Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms', in Anncharlott Eschmann](fn. continues...)
that the king selected an autochthonous cult according to the dictates of his political needs and from his dynastic and personal religious preferences. While such cults were enlarged, the king tried to influence and "to 'guide' it" by the agency of his patronage in a manner which furthered his own political and religious goals. Moreover, changes in the form of rituals, *et cetera* were introduced, if such innovations could be projected as restorations of the original practices. So too, in the Tamil country *Seyon* or *Murugan*, the folk deity of the hill regions, was portrayed as *Skanda* or *Subrahmanya*, the son of *Siva* and *Parvati* and the black god of the pastoral peoples, *Hayon*, was changed into *Krishna*.

It has been argued too, that the standardised enlogistic preambles contained in the overwhelming majority

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of the Cōla inscriptions dealing with grants to the brāhmaṇa-s and their institutions were meant to propagate throughout the area under their control 'the standardized message of a great kingship.' It is further suggested that this 'great kingship' was recognised and emulated by the lesser local potentates who thereby had conferred upon themselves 'the symbolic credentials of legitimate "little kings".' The idea of this 'great kingship', it has also been contended, was conveyed through the installation of the images of the king and his consort in the major temples though ostensibly these images were meant to symbolise the king's devotion.

The temples also played a considerable role in the maintenance of the internal resource base of the Pallava- and Cōla-states. This was achieved by the


8 George W. Spencer, 'Religious Networks and Royal Influence in Eleventh Century South India', Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. XII, 1969, p. 51. He was referring to the portrait sculpture of Rājarāja I at the temple at Tānjāvūr. For reports of the sculptures of the Pallava monarchs in the temples of Kāñcipuram and Māmallapuram see T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 126. Cōla portrait sculptures have also been found in the temples at Kumbhakōṇa, see R. Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of urban centres in South India: Kudāmūlku-Palaiyārai, the twin-city of the Cōlas', Studies in History, Vol. I, No. 1, 1979, p. 7.
adoption of a system by which the kings, members of the ruling class and others provided endowments to the temples which were passed down to the villages in return for payments of interest or performance of ritual services. The most important of these transactions were those in money for agricultural development and promotion of trade and in livestock provided to the pastoralists.9 These religious institutions continued to perform a similar function during the Vijayanagara period, though their importance was significantly higher in the latter age, as we shall see in a moment, due to their control of the management of water resources.

The most striking feature of Medieval South Indian history is perhaps the great influence attained by the brāhmaṇa-s.10 Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the epigraphs of the period refer to grants of money and land to brāhmaṇa-s and to their temples. This authority enjoyed by brāhmaṇa-s arose from the prestige attached to


10 Burton Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 51,52,141.
their religious functions and also due to their direct
control over land in many places, and nowhere else in
India as in the Tamil country were there so many brahmadeva-s
or villages granted to brähmana-s and governed by an
assembly of their most learned members - the sabha. One
obvious reason for this phenomenon was that this region lay
outside the control of the Islamic rulers.

A far more significant reason for the importance
of brähmana-s in the Tamil country perhaps is the absence
of Ksatriya lineages. Bishop Caldwell had argued that the
Ksatriya varna was absent in South India because the Aryan
emigration to the region comprised of brähmana priests and
not of Ksatriya warriors. However, this explanation is

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11 Ibid., p. 52.
12 Ibid., p. 53. Brähmana villages in medieval South India were variously called brahmadeya,
caturvedimangalam, mañçala, agharam, aghrabaram,
agra-brahmadeva, agra-brahmadeva, brahmadesam,
brahmapuri and brahma-mahgalam. Except for
agrabaram, all the other terms appear to have
been identical to brahmadeva. Agraharam seems
to have denoted "a set of privileges held by
Brahmans living in villages over which they did
not enjoy the same dominance as the Brahman of
the brahmadeva-s." Ibid., p. 145.
13 Ibid., p. 53.
14 Ibid., p. 47.
15 Suvira Jaiswal, 'Studies in the Social Structure
of the Early Tamils,' in R.S. Sharma and Vivekanand Jha (eds.),
clearly defective as modern scholarship has shown that
migration was not a significant factor in the dissemination
of the *varna* system. Stein argued that the most important
reason for the absence of *ksatriya*-s (except for the royal
families of the Pallava-s, Cōla-s, Saṅgama-s, Saḻuva-s and
Tuluva-s) was the 'entrenched secular power of the Brahmanas'
and that as they 'were firmly anchored in a satisfactory
alliance with localized peasant groups and their chiefs',
they had no inducement to collaborate 'with aspirants to
*ksatriya* status.' Other factors mentioned by Stein were
the persistence of 'quite narrow territorial segmentation
of significant social relations which inhibited widespread
marriage networks'; the peasant origin of 'most locality
warriors of South India' and the derivation of 'a part of
their local authority from their continued identification
as such'; and to the absence of a 'conquering elite which

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16 e.g. Suvira Jaiswal, 'Caste in the Socio-
Economic Framework of Early India', Presidential
Address (Section I) Indian History Congress -
38th session, (Bhubaneswar) 1977.

17 Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 71; B.
Stein, 'Brahmin and Peasant in Early South Indian
History', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vols. \text{XXI-}
\text{XXII} (1967-68), pp. 239-40. For his hypothesis
on the alliance between the peasants and the
*brāhmaṇa*-s see also supra, pp. 160-14.
might seek to preserve its identity through putative Ksatriya rank.\(^{18}\)

In such a situation the legitimization of rule could only evolve from a paradigmatic relationship with the brahmana-s.\(^{19}\) Furthermore, the spread of peasant agricultural villages presented problems of territorial integration for the Pallava-s and the Gōla-s. This was the result of the fact that while the extension of agriculture due to peasant colonization and assimilation of tribal peoples meant a potentially greater resource-base for taxes and manpower,

the multiplication at the periphery of a weakly-centralised dynastic state of quasi-autonomous segmentary units required a more vigorous exercise of royal leadership and the forming of more effective instruments of central administration if the court were not to steadily decline in authority relative to rural areas.\(^{20}\)

\(^{18}\) Stein, op. cit., p. 71. For some evidence of the tribal origin of the Pallava-s see R.A. Palat, 'The role of the brahmanavarna'.

\(^{19}\) "Because royal authority was not divisible, heritable or transferable without sacred intervention, it could only arise from the paradigmatic Brahman-Ksatriya relationship. Legitimate rule required service to great and learned Brahmans collectively, as in brahmādeva-s and temples, and it also required spiritual subordination by the would-be king to a single purohita or chaplain. Collective service to Brahmans is represented in the conventional 1108 Brahmans who are the recipients of gifts, individual subordination of the king is seen especially in the important role of Brahman advisors - brahmarañja in many gifts of the Gōla Period." Stein, 'The Segmentary State', p. 46.

To counteract these fissiparous tendencies and to foster 'loyalty' to their rule the Pallava-Cōla monarchs created brahmadēya-s or settlements of brāhmaṇa-s in the agrarian tracts. It may be added that while the Cōla copper-plate records show that the brāhmaṇa-s shared a common position in relation to the nāttār as others engaged in religious functions like the Jaina-s and Buddhists and that land and villages were also gifted to the latter as pallichandam, the brāhmaṇa-s were the only ones to maintain villages governed by their own learned members (the sabha or the mahāsabha). 21

As these settlements had a high proportion of 'non-productive' persons who nevertheless had relatively high-consumption, they were necessarily located in fertile areas, that is primarily in the Kāvēri basin and in certain areas in Toṅdaimāṇḍalam "where variations of swamp cultivation under river and monsoon fed tanks was possible." 22

21 Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 143-44.

22 B. Stein, 'Historical Ecotypes in South India', in R. Asher (ed.), Proceedings of the Second Seminar of Tamil Studies; Madras - India, Vol. II, International Association of Tamil Research Madras, 1971, p. 287; "Most brahmādēya-s... were concentrated in those fertile low lands drained by streams rising in the interior upland of the southern peninsula; few are found above the 250 foot contour'
In such regions of swamp cultivation of rice, as the uncertainty of returns were reasonably low, Stein argues, the most important tasks for the dominant sections were: "(1) to maintain control over land and labour, and (2) to maintain and extend the hydro-agricultural type of irrigation system." In the semi-arid parts of the Tamil country, where returns on investment were uncertain and depended on the decisions of the cultivators, brahmā settlements were very sparse. In these interior uplands, though the lack of a dominant peasantry which was essential for the maintenance of the brahmadeva-s was absent, the influence of the brahmā-s was maintained by the fact that most brahma villages carried out educational facilities at least on a small scale, and brahma-s from the uplands came to learn there and went back to disseminate the brahmanical culture. Indeed, it is likely that most

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23 B. Stein, 'Historical Ecotopes', p. 286.

24 B. Stein, 'The Segmentary State', p. 46.

25 B. Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 143, 154.
brahmāṇa-s lived outside the brahmadeva-s and hence the life of a brahmāṇa living in a brahmadeva cannot ipso facto be taken as the life of the ordinary brahmāṇa.

And Stein adds, "The implication of this line of speculation is that it would be false to exaggerate the gap between Brahmans and those peasant groups with whom they shared a common rural social context and culture." ²⁶

Moreover, it must not be assumed that only the brahmāṇa-s lived in the brahmadeva-s. We have numerous references to the effect that peasants, artisans and merchants were important groups in these settlements and in fact the only social group which seems to have been barred from settling in such villages were the Ilava-s. ²⁷ Indeed it is due to the fact that the brahmadeva-s were well integrated into the fabric of rural society that they served as places of record where important inscriptions were engraved. ²⁸

²⁶ Ibid., p. 150; see also ibid., pp. 143-4.
²⁸ Ibid., pp. 154, 155-6, 356.
The above discussion would indicate that the brahmana-s had spread all over the Tamil country and had an influence far beyond their settlements. Thus, they became "agents par excellence of social communication" who could be best used by the Pallava and Gōla monarchs to increase their "political "visibility" in the villages." 29

A note of caution: it must not be supposed that these brahmadeya-s were imposed on the local peasantry by an all powerful monarch. On the contrary there is evidence to show that the dominant peasantry continued to provide support to the brahmadeya-s during the period of the decline of the Gōla state. 30 The support of the peasantry was based on the mutual advantages derived by them and the brahmana-s from their common alliance. 31

However, from the twelfth century onwards we begin getting evidence for the decline of the brahmadeya-s.

29 George W. Spencer, op. cit., p. 433. And he goes on to add "Just as royal patronage of Brahmins at court paid political dividends in the performance of royal consecration ceremonies and in the creation of heroic geneologies for royal line, so also the assistance in the creation of rural brahmadeya villages paid dividends in the spread of de jure political allegiance in the countryside." loc. cit.


31 Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 142.
During this period the temples began to be administered not by the sabha-s but by bodies of management, the 
sthānattār, who received and invested endowments of land and money and thereby reflected the deterioration of the role of the sabha-s.32 Further, an inscription of A.D. 1133 from Uttaramērūr records that a temple of that village had made a loan to the Uttaramērūr maha saba and had demanded its repayment. As the sabha did not have sufficient resources to repay the loan with interest, it transferred its share of income from the nearby village of Vennakuṭṭanallūr to the temple in order to discharge its debt.33 Stein also contended that even though the number of brahmādeva-s increased during the Vijayanagara period, a representative of the payaka participated actively in deliberations of the sabha and he frequently dictated decisions.34 Coupled with the

32 Ibid., p. 153.
33 ARE, 680 of 1898 cited in B. Stein, op. cit., pp. 156-7. Stein also argued that while the temples thus gained considerable autonomy from the twelfth century, they did not replace the brahmādeva-s when the latter declined. Ibid., p. 329.
decline of the brahmadēva-s was the decline of the nādu noted earlier and which Stein also said was reflected in poetical works of the Satakam genre where the mandalam, and not the nādu, was the territorial unit.35

Stein reasoned that the nādu-s and the brahmadēva-s declined in importance because of the growth of supra-local institutions which arose as a response to the need for co-operation across nādu boundaries.36 The chief agency by which this intercourse between the nāttār of the various nādu-s and between the nāttār and the powerful itinerant merchant guilds - the tisai ēvirattu ainnūrrsvav or nānādeśi-s - was carried on was, according to him, the citramēliperiyanādu-s, which were seen as large, peasant-

35 Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 442-8.

36 "The nādu was not a sealed world, nor was it a sealess one. Most of the constituent elements within a nādu had connections beyond its borders which were activated on occasion; the nāttār to other nāttār groups with whom, by the twelfth century, they co-operated on an almost continuous basis as the Periyanāttār; merchants of the nagaram with other locality merchant groups of the southern peninsula; Brahmans with other brahmadēva-s and with sacred centres; and chievers with others like themselves serving the armies of the kings to defend the kingdom or to seize booty or to add to the lustre of their kings by wars with other kingdoms." Ibid., p. 282.
dominated assemblies. Indeed, he even saw the rise of the citramēlī-s and the links between these organisations and the merchant guilds as evidence of the emergence of a 'supra-local elite' which was increasingly being divorced from the local peasantry and which was reflected by 'the development of a distinctive sub-culture' of the new ruling class. He also linked the disappearance

37 "Another dimension along which the powerful class of supra-local authorities was separated from the peasant bases and origins may be seen in the collaboration of the Periyanāttār with trade and artisan groups. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of this transitional period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that groups which before had no separate corporative existence now enjoyed increasingly independent identification: the powerful agricultural citramēlī periyannāttār; the itinerant, merchant tīsai ayirattu aṁmūrruvaṟ or nāṇadēśi; and mobile artisans, sometimes identified by an ancient title, rathakāra, at other times by such terms as kammalar [SII, Vol. III, pt. II, p. 203];", Ibid., p. 227. See also Burton Stein, 'Coromandel Trade in Medieval India', in John Parker (ed.), Merchants and Scholars: Essays in History of Exploration and Trade Collected in Memory of James Ford Bell, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1965, p. 55.

38 Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 223. He also says, "Simultaneously an increasingly differentiated ruling class in the countryside - the Periyanāttār found it advantageous to cooperate with those townsmen and the powerful, itinerant mercantile groups with whom urban merchants were affiliated. This is evident in the many inscriptions from most parts of the macroregion speaking of the citramēlī-periyanāttāvar and the tīsai ayirattu aṁmūrruvaṟ to

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of the itinerant trading guilds during the Vijayanagara period to the decline of the periyanaḍus. 39

Another form of supra-local associations was the dual division of castes - the īdāṅgai or the valaṅgai - which Stein characterised as 'potential social formations' capable of being mobilised for a number of purposes but 'which were not corporate or continuous in character'. While the brahmādeya-s fostered 'integrative cultural bonds among the dominant peasant folk', the īdāṅgai and valaṅgai fostered similar links 'among a variety of dependent peoples'. 40 Stein also argued that coalitions of castes was necessary because prior to the thirteenth century - when urbanisation provided a basis for cooperation on a level larger than that of the nādu, for the artisans and traders, at least - it was perhaps the only way by which non-brāhmaṇa groups could co-operate on a supra-local basis. 41

The logical culmination of

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which K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar and others have drawn attention. Supra-locality rulers dramatically extended the basis of their power beyond the locality peasantry from whom they had emerged and beyond an earlier alliance with rural Brahmans." Ibid., p. 252.

39 Stein 'Coromandel Trade', p. 56; Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian Structure', pp. 177-8.

40 Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 173-4.

41 Ibid., p. 181. See also ibid., pp. 173-215, for Stein's discussion on the īdāṅgai and valaṅgai groups.
these extra-nādu links he argued was the ejection of the nādu from its position of primacy in medieval Tamil culture and society, and the collapse of the system of localised management of resources— the nādu and the brahmadēya— also led to the fall of the Cōla state.

This perception of the decline of the nādu-s and the brahmadēya-s, we shall argue, requires some major modifications. In the first place it is doubtful whether the citramēli-s were territorial assemblies as maintained by Stein and by K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. The inscriptions of the citramēli-s cited by K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer and by Burton Stein all refer to grants of taxes to temples. There is nothing however to show that these bodies possessed any administrative power apart from the power to grant taxes, in association with other bodies like the padinen-vishayattom, nagarattom, 45 Elubattonpadanātatu Padinen-

42 Ibid., p. 174.
43 SII/VI/40,41,47; V.I/129. ARE, 601 of 1902; 21, 22, 154 of 1903.
44 People of the eighteen vishaya-s, SII/VI/40; VII/129.
45 Merchants, urban dwellers, SII/VI/40; VII/129.
Bhūmi, the Ṛṣṇudīśai Padiṇēn-bhūmi Dēśī Dīśai-vilāṅga-Dīśai- Aydınattānūṟṟuvār, Nāṭtu-cetti-s, Dēvala-cetti-s, Jayapaḷa-s, nam-makkal and Śirappudai-kāḷaṅgal. Indeed, Stein had himself realised that existing epigraphical records indicate that the citramēlis had only a few functions, primarily making endowments to temples. The role of these assemblies, we would like to suggest here, was limited to the making of these donations (which was almost entirely done by the granting of taxes, and consequently there is little evidence to show that they were 'provincial' or 'territorial' assemblies empowered to regulate all important matters affecting 'supra-local' areas.

46 People of the seventy-nine nādu-s SII/VII/129.
47 The 1500 traders within the eighteen vishaya-s ARE, 601 of 1902.
48 Traders of the nādu, ARE, 601 of 1902.
50 Caravan Traders, ibid.
51 'Our sons', a body comprising the flag-bearers of the army, ibid.
52 'The distinguished persons of mixed caste, ibid.
53 Stein, op. cit., p. 219.
Another way of viewing the citramēli-periya-nāgu-s would be by conceiving them to be agencies for the collection of revenue from the peasant populations and handing over these to the State, especially since Stein himself suggests that the Cōla state did not possess a strong centralised bureaucracy. While, further research on the distribution of places mentioned in the inscriptions of the citramēli-s, their social composition and their range of activities is urgently needed before we can reach even a rudimentary degree of certainty, may we add that during the Vijayanagara period the gift of certain toll-incomes (magamai) on articles of merchandise such as cotton, yarn, cloth, etc., made by the Vīra Balaṅja guild of Ayyavōle at Animala (Kamalapuram Tk., Cuddapah Dt.) in A.D. 1531-32 and the donation of fees by the nānādēsi-s to the temples at Nellore in A.D. 1364 at Tirukkalukkunram (Chingleput Tk., and Dt.) in

54 e.g. Stein, 'The State and the Agrarian Order', p. 73 ff.
55 ARE, 200-202 of 1937-38.
56 NDI/II/N/78; ARE, 80 of 1953-54.
A.D. 1376\textsuperscript{57} and at Śrīmushnam (Chidambaram Tk., Sa Dt.) in A.L. 1379\textsuperscript{58} and by the Ayyavōle merchants at Nārayana-\textit{vanam} (Puttur Tk., Ct.Dt.) in A.D. 1622\textsuperscript{59} tend to support our conjecture? If this was the case, it would explain, partially at least, the link between the periyana\textit{du}-s and the merchant guilds that was noticed by Stein. Thus, in the absence of a strong, centralised bureaucracy, the nānādēśi-s and the periyana\textit{du}-s perhaps performed the role of an agency for the collection of taxes from members of the mercantile and agricultural communities respectively. With the decline of the Cōla-s and the subsequent rise of the Vijayanagara state which was based on a centralised bureaucracy and a system of granting specified revenues from specified areas in lieu of salaries for the performance of military, secular and religious functions,\textsuperscript{60} the need to have agencies for the collection of taxes from agricultural communities, did not exist any longer and consequently the periyana\textit{du}-s were eliminated.

\textsuperscript{57} ARE, 173 of 1932-33 and para 37.
\textsuperscript{58} ARE, 360 of 1958-59.
\textsuperscript{59} IMP/I/Ct.; ARE, 377 of 1911.
\textsuperscript{60} Infra, p. 194.
There is, of course, one significant difference between the periyanādu-s and the guilds of merchants and artisans and it is important to recognise this as there is a superficial resemblance between them. Moreover, some guilds - that of the kaikkōla-s or weavers, for instance - were called wahānādu-s or jānādu-s which are terms similar to the periyanādu, but which is not considered by most historians to be a 'territorial assembly'.¹ The variation in the status of these two bodies arise from the disparities in the nature of the two social groups concerned, the peasants and the artisans. The peasants, as modern social science has quite rightly defined the term, are independent cultivators with an economic rationality peculiar to them.² Indeed in peasant societies, the cultivator values his independence so highly that to preserve it he often over-exploits himself

¹ For associations of artisans see infra. pp. 341-51
and the other constituent elements of his family labour unit so much that they may be at a lower standard of living than a wage labourer. Given this importance attached to their land as a consequence of the high value placed on their independence, the peasants are unable to take much effective action as a collectivity. This is because the dominant sections of society can always threaten to take away their land. As a result of this, the traditional forms of peasant protest have been, in medieval South India and elsewhere in the world, tax boycotts or migrations. The latter of these forms of rebellion - for which there is some evidence in medieval Jayankondamandalam - is in a sense self-defeating as it removes, at least temporarily, the basis for their status as a distinct social category. Consequently, such forms of protest were resorted to only in circumstances of extreme adversity.

The artisans, on the other hand, were more capable of sustained social action and this is shown clearly in inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period when they successfully attempted to raise their social status - an action which we do not see the peasants even attempting.

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63 Intra, pp. 106-07
to oppose, let alone make similar demands themselves.\textsuperscript{64} The artisans were able to mount effective challenges to established authority primarily because they could unite together more easily - concentrated as they were in large numbers in the larger urban centres and in the vicinity of the larger temples. This enabled them also to act as a collectivity, a social class, by the perception of the common elements of self-interest among them. The peasants, on the other hand were not united in a single place of work, spread out as they were on their separate plots of land. Further, the seasonal nature of agricultural operations perhaps, did not permit them to be away from their fields for considerable periods of time and this consequently reduced the effectiveness and scope of collective action by them. Similar constraints, quite obviously, did not apply to the artisans.

The towns certainly played a significant role in the creation of a basis for supra-local cooperation among artisans and traders and perhaps provided an impetus to the \textit{vala\-\textit{sai-idangai}} division. The urbanisation

\textsuperscript{64} For collective social action by the \textit{kaik\textit{sai}s} and others see infra. pp. 342-51.
of the twelfth century also perhaps contributed to the
decline of the brahmādeva-s by replacing the latter to
a considerable extent in the sphere of secular functions.

However, a far more important reason for the
decline of the systems of localised management of resources
the nādu-s and the brahmādeva-s was perhaps the expansion
of peasant settlements to the interior areas of the Tamil
country, away from the relatively more fertile areas along
the coast and along the banks of the major rivers, as
more effective techniques were evolved for the management
of water resources. 65

The importance of irrigation was well recognised
in medieval South India. Vijñānēṣvara, who lived at
Kalyan, near Bedar, about the time of Vikramāditya (A.D.
1076-1127) wrote

When after obtaining the permission of the owner of the
field either by request or by payment of money, a man
wishes to erect a dam for water, or sink a well and if
the owner of the field obstructs him, the owner himself
is punishable. The construction of a dam to a water flow
should not be stopped by the owner of the field, even
though it destroys another's land, provided that it
causes little injury and is productive of much benefit
(to many). A well, moreover, as it occupies a small
portion of land, causes little injury but is beneficial

65 For a discussion on the spread of agriculture
see supra, pp. 94-97.
on account of the abundance of water (in it) should never be stopped. The use of a well, moreover, is indicative, by implication of a small well, a water pond and the like others.66

Irrigation, continued to play an important role during the period of the Vijayanagara Empire, as is clearly shown in a significant, prescriptive text of that age, the *Amuktamālyada*, which states that

The extent of a kingdom is the means for the acquisition of wealth. (Therefore) even if the land is limited (in extent), excavate tanks and canals and increase the prosperity of the poor (cultivator) by leasing him the land for low arī and kōru so that you may obtain wealth as well as (religious) merit.67


67 *Amuktamālyada*, 4. 204 ff cited in A. Lilakanta Sastry and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras University Historical Series, No. 18, University of Madras, Vol. III, 1946, p. 158. This passage is also translated as "The extent of the state is not the cause of its prosperity. When a state is small in extent then both virtue ("dharma") and prosperity ("artha") will increase only when tanks and irrigation channels are constructed and favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and service", quoted in A. Rangaswami, "Political Maxims of the Emperor-Poet Krishnadēva Rāya", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, pt. III, 1925, p. 69; cited in Burton Stein, "The State, The Temple and Agricultural Development; A Study in Medieval South India", *Economic Weekly Annual Number*, No. 12, 1961, p. 179. It is important to note here

fn. continues....
Given the well-recognised importance of irrigation in medieval South India and the necessity for such techniques for the regulation of water supply, it is surely pertinent, to ask, who constructed, managed and maintained these projects? Among the range of possibilities of persons, or groups of persons who could have carried out this function are the State represented by the king; the chief officers of the state; the naṭṭār; the periya-nāṭṭār; the sabha-s of the brahmādeva-s; and the temples.

While the king and the chief officers of state would undoubtedly have welcomed an intensification and extension of agriculture through the construction of irrigation works as such projects promoted the territorial extension and political integration of the peasant society and augmented their revenues at the same time, the costs of maintaining these works would have been

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that in the latter rendering of this passage 'Kōru' is translated as 'services', implying thereby that the cultivators had to pay labour-rents in addition to money-rents.

68 For example, the extension of agrarian settlements in the interior areas of the two Arcot districts and in Kongumandalam in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 216.
enormous. This is because the maintenance of irrigation
tanks and canals in good repair all over the territories
under their rule would have meant that the state would
have had to shoulder the costs of a large army of workmen,
and of a bureaucracy to oversee the deployment of the
former.

During the period of the Vijayanagara empire,
one of the methods by which the nayaka-s attempted to
maintain the irrigation works was to donate the fish-
revenue - the champala-rokkam, 69 or the ērimēṇppāṭam, 70
or the ērimēṇvileppanam 71 for the removal of silt in
the tanks. 72 Sometimes, in addition to the fish revenues,
other revenues like the vēlik-kuli-puṇam and the vēṣal-
kulippam were also set apart for this purpose. 73 And
there is an interesting inscription from Alluru (Ml. Tk.,
and Dt.) of a slightly later period (i.e. A.D. 1638-39)

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69 ARE, 133 of 1921.
70 ARE, 145 of 1924.
71 ARE, 47 of 1933-34.
72 See also ARE, 69 of 1909; 194 of 1921; 424 of
1922; 34 of 1933-34; 41 of 1934-35; 421 of 1937-38;
167 of 1943-44; 16 of 1944-45.
73 ARE, 47 of 1933-34.
which records a directive issued by Śrimat Velugōṭi Veṅkaṭapati Nayaniṅgāru ordering

that the tank mēra-s of the various villages collected in the prescribed manner should be spent for the maintenance of the tanks of the respective villages. Therefore, whether the village be under sandhāṭa or under an amaram or lessee, or whoever be the rulers, the grain collected as tank mēra-s must be spent on the tanks. If, in doing work to the tanks and channels with the grain realized as tank mēra-s, any one objects, or if any kāpu or karmam obstructs, or if any one removes this inscription, he will be considered to have been born to the vetti of this village and to have given his wife to the vetti of this village.74

Consider too, another inscription of the same period
from Kakaṭuru (Hl. Tk., and Dt.), which when recording
the grant of a village as an amaram states,

Therefore the different kinds of grain received from this village as mēra-s should be spent on doing earthwork to the tank. Therefore, we have given this with libations of water on the holy occasion of lunar eclipse on this aforesaid tithi. They should therefore do the tank work as long as the sun and the moon exist. Those who fail to do so will incur the sin of killing cows and brāhmaṇa-s on the river Ganges. They will be considered to have given their wives' honour to the toti; they will be considered to have sucked the yard of a horse. If they fail to keep this they will be considered to have given their (wives') honour to the vetti.75

74 NDl/II/1/1.
75 NDl/II/1/24; see also NDl/II/1/23.
The nayaka-s, as well as other persons of the time, also constructed tanks and canals. In addition, the nayaka-s appear to have regulated the supply of water resources by granting permission to dig tanks and to use water from the tanks. Thus, for example, an inscription from Siddhalingamaḍam (Tirukkoiyilur Tk., SA Dt.) records an order of an agent of Vaiyappanayaka giving the benefit of the irrigation canal flowing through Akkalimaṅgalam and Puduppālaiyam to the residents of those villages, as the people of Iḍaiyāru declined to utilise it. This transaction was ratified by the latter in the presence of muddirai-manushan Venkaṭayyan.

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76 e.g. ARE, 417 of 1905; 175 of 1921; 27, 54 of 1933-34; 227 of 1936-37; 31 of 1944-45; 82 of 1953-54.

77 e.g. SII/IV/722; ARE, 665 of 1904; 648 of 1929; 226 of 1931-32; 114, 156 of 1933-34; ADAS/1/224.

78 e.g. ARE, 87 of 1908.

79 e.g. ARE, 391 of 1911; 305 of 1953-54; 223 of 1961-62.

Further, an inscription from Koḍāṅgi (Og., Tk., and Lt.) of the time of Vīra Narasīṅgarāya Nayaka records that the rate of water-cess (nir-kūli) to be levied on the bhaṭṭa-vṛtti lands in Koḍāṅgi, Mellikuppam, Timmeṇan-kuppam, Veṅgalakuppam, and Paḷavēri was fixed by Lingamma-aiyya-Nayinār, the agent of the king.\(^{81}\) The water-tax was also granted occasionally to the temples.\(^{82}\) Moreover, while disputes concerning the use of irrigation facilities between villages were sometimes amicably settled,\(^{83}\) the state was also called in for arbitration on occasion.\(^{84}\)

Another agency which could have constructed and maintained irrigation projects were the sabba-s of the brahma-deva-s. Such brahma-deva-s containing a large proportion of 'non-productive' people would necessarily have to be located in areas which had a relatively high surplus. As the comparatively more arid areas of the interior Tamil country could not produce this large surplus, the brahma-deva-s were not established there in numbers sufficient to make them a major agency for the

\(^{81}\) ARE, 54 of 1934-35.

\(^{82}\) ARE, 353 of 1925.

\(^{83}\) e.g. ARE, 376 and 424 of 1909; 200 of 1923; 419 of 1925; 240 of 1936-37.

\(^{84}\) e.g. ARE, 357 of 1923.
management of water resources.

In the arid and semi-arid regions the nāttār and the periyanāttār, who as Stein observed were composed primarily of the more prosperous sections of the peasantry, were also likely to have been absent for a similar reason—the non-availability of a large surplus. Further, by the time of the Vijayanagara period, the periyanādu-s had declined considerably. Stein had argued that the extension of territories under the control of the navaka-s was an important reason for the decline of the periyanādu-s as the agriculturists who dominated these bodies could not adequately represent the interests of the people, mainly pastoral and nomadic, of these territories newly added to the 'macro-region'. He also said that another contributory factor to the decline of these organisations was the hostility of the navaka-s as the former represented potential rival centres of power.85 The decline of the

85 While Stein appears to think that the citramēli-periyanādu-s ceased to exist in the period of a hundred years that separate the fall of the Cōla-s from the conquest of Jayankōṇḍacōḷamandalam by the Vijayanagara rulers, we do have some epigraphical evidence of the existence of these bodies upto the sixteenth century. An inscription of the reign of Vira Buddāna Uḍaiyār from Sirukarumbūr (Arkonam Tk., NA 5t.) records, for instance, a gift of land as tax-free sarvamānya-agara in the village of Sirukarumbūr alias Huddana-

fn. continues...
itinerant trading guilds was further attributed by him to the demise of the periyanāduś.

In this connection we must also stress that it is not necessary to assume that people from sedentary agricultural villages colonized the interior areas after defeating nomadic and pastoral tribesmen. One of the possible ways by which peasant settlements were established in the interior regions of the Tamil country would be by the spread of agricultural technology including the techniques of water management without a concomitant migration of large populations of peasants. This process could possibly be aided by some inducements from the state or from its chief officers, as it would be easier to control sedentary populations than it would be to superintend non-sedentary peoples. Indeed, Stein had himself noted that the non-peasant peoples in South India had 'shared to a greater extent than similar peoples elsewhere

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dannayakka... alias citramēlichchaturvēdimāṇgālam in Kāvēripākkappāru in Puḍuvūr-köttam of Jayaṁ-kōṇḍacōlamanāṇḍālam probably by the Tōṇḍaimāṇḍalā-nāṭṭavar. ARE, 188 of 1966-69 and p. 12. Another inscription, this time from Araiśāṅkalarī (Saidapet Tk., Cg. Dt.) appears to register a grant of land, to the cittiṟamēlichchipurupalli of... nayakar-vilāgām in Puliyūr-köttam as Paliḻchhan-dam. This fragmentary and damaged inscription which is written in characters of about the sixteenth century is inscribed on a slab on the back of which is an ensemble of designs which form the emblem of the citramēli. ARE, 186 of 1961-62.
the culture of the peasantry. Another way in which peasant settlements may have spread is by the extension of agriculture by people of adjacent nāḍu-s into a single micro-ecological unit in one of the marginal lands. This possibility would be contrary to Stein's thesis that the nāḍu-s were an ethnic as well as an ecological unit as the nāḍu formed in this fashion cannot lay claim to a common ethnic origin.

The temple was another agency which was capable of undertaking the construction of irrigation tanks and channels. These institutions had one significant advantage over the other agencies in that the former were spread all over the Tamil country as they were the most important of the instruments adopted for the spread of what has been called 'the process of sanskritization'.

86 Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 76. He adds, "A measure of this shared culture has been the ease with which non- or partially-peasantized warriors of hills and dry plains were able to establish themselves as masters over peasant peoples until the nineteenth century. During the pre-Pallava period, when conditions were fluid and the peasant frontier constantly expanding, physical and cultural proximity provided the opportunity for close interaction even within a generally hostile and competitive context." loc. cit.
and as they were also an integral part of the strategies for territorial integration adopted by the rulers of Medieval South India. Furthermore, due to the construction of large, structural temples and to the forms of worship adopted therein, all temples attracted artisan populations which could help in the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The state, its chief officers and others assisted the temples in the mobilisation of the required resources by donating money to the Śrī-Bhandāram (temple treasury) to provide for offerings to the deity on specified occasions 'in perpetuity'. These sums of money were invested in Śrī-kālāvāy (tanks and channels) and with the income derived thereby (idil vilainda mudal kondu) the articles required for the specified offerings were to be supplied by the Śrī-Bhandāram. The villages where the irrigation projects were to be located were sometimes specified - at other times it was merely said that such programmes should be undertaken in the tiruvida-iyattam villages (i.e. villages granted to the temple). Stein also argued that money endowments were made to provide for perpetual offerings in preference to land grants because by the intensive development of the villages within an area of one hundred square miles around the temple, the ethānattār or temple managers were able to 'achieve maximum control' over the resources and thus
provide the required offerings 'perpetually'. He had also contended that the intensification of agriculture in the villages by irrigation provided additional income to both the temple and the actual cultivators, and he had implied that this cemented the political loyalties of the people. We also have some evidence to indicate that temples of different villages sometimes cooperated in the construction of irrigation tanks and canals. Thus, an inscription of A.D. 1584-85 from Tiruvāmāṭṭūr (Villupuram Tk., SA Dt.), records an agreement given to the trustees and treasurers of the Tiruvāmāṭṭūr temple jointly by the trustees of the Śiva and Vishṇu temples of Perumbākkam and several other people, permitting the former to dig a channel within the limits of Perumbākkam to carry water to the tank at Tiruvāmāṭṭūr in exchange for 300 kuli of wet land given as compensation in


Vēdampatītu. The deed was drawn up, it was further recorded, in the presence of Bommu-Reddi, the agent of Achyutappa Nayakkarāyyar. We also hear from an inscription that as the sṭhānattār of a temple had no funds to repair breaches in the irrigation tank of a village to enable the resumption of cultivation of some lands, they sold a portion of the temple lands. Another inscription, however, says that in A.D. 1486-87 portions of their lands were sold by the residents of Tiruvāmattūr 'to the local treasury' for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation channel of the village.

During the Vijayanagara period, while the state, the nāyaka-s, private individuals, and the villagers

89 ARE, 9 of 1922.


91 ARE, 7 of 1922, cited in Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 85. He also cites E.C. 259, in this connection for the Kāṇḍa country.

92 ARE, 417 of 1905; 87 of 1908; 391 of 1911; 410 of 1912; 648 of 1919; 133, 175, 194 of 1921; 424 of 1922; 145, 147 of 1924; 353, 498 of 1925; 27, 34, 47, 54 of 1933-34; 167 of 1934-35; 227, 265 of 1936-37; 218, 421 of 1937-38; 167 of 1943-44; 218, 222 of 1944-45; 82 of 1953-54.

93 ARE, 9 of 1922; 226 of 1932-33; 114, 156 of 1933-34.
as a collective group, all played roles of varying importance in the development of irrigational facilities in Jayakoṇḍacūlamamandalam, even a cursory glance at the inscriptions would show that the major part was played by the temples. We would like to maintain here that it is this function of the temple that enabled it to become one of the crucial institutions of Medieval South India and that the inability of the sabha-s, the periyarāṭṭar and the nāṭṭar to become significant agencies for the construction and maintenance of the irrigational facilities was an important factor in their decline.

The development of irrigational facilities all over the Cauvery macro-region made a degree of centralisation, or supra-local cooperation, imperative and thereby contributed to the decline of the nādu-s and the sabha-s in another way. This was because these projects depended vitally on rivers and there was consequently a need to regulate and allocate the supply of water between villages on the banks of rivers. While the temples could, and did, attempt to solve disputes concerning water supplies which resulted from canals constructed to provide for offerings in the temple, 95

94 ARE, 376 of 1909; 419 of 1925; 41 of 1934-35; 240 of 1936-37; 305 of 1953-54.

95 e.g. ITDES/I/224.
these institutions obviously did not have the structures necessary to perform this function on a larger scale. We have seen\(^96\) that in the Vijayanagara period this function was assumed by the state or by the nayaka-s and we have unfortunately no evidence on this aspect for the Cōḷa period.

Another cause for the decline of the local institutions - the nāy-s and the brahmādēva-s could be the period of political instability which followed the decline of the Cōḷa-s and lasted for almost a century. The inscriptive evidences for this period of instability are of three types. The inscriptions of the first category refer to invasions of the Jaṃil country by foreign warriors. Thus, for example, an inscription from Ārpākkam (Kanchipuram Tk., Cg., Dt.) refers to a Sinhalese invasion under the leadership of the generals Jagadratha Dandaṇayaka, Lankkānuri Dandaṇayaka, et cetera, of the Pāṇḍya country which forced King Kulaśēkhaṇa to flee Madura. The Sinhalese then attacked the feudatories of the Cōḷa-s but they were stopped by the worship of 'Śvāmidēva' by Edirilli-Cōḷa Śambuvarāya!\(^97\) An inscription

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96 Supra. pp. 183-4.

97 Dated in the 5th yr. of Parakāśarivarman alias Tribhuvanā-chakravartin Rājādhirāja Cōḷādēva (II), SIII/1/86·ff; ARE, 207 of 1899.
dated in the 14th year of Sakalalokachakravartin Venramankonda Sambuvaraya (i.e. A.D. 1335-36) from Aruvamattur (Villupuram Tk., SA Dt.) also refers to the destruction caused by an invasion by Muhammadans.98

The second category of inscriptions refer to the consequences of invasions. Thus, for example a record from Tiruvorriyur, of the seventh regnal year of Sakalalokachakravartin Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya records that certain lands and house sites were confiscated to the temple as the owners had dishonestly misappropriated the temple treasures buried underground which had escaped the Muhammadans (Julukkar) who had occupied the country before this.99

A third category of epigraphical records register political alliances - which is a symptom of insecurity - among the Cola feudatories. Thus an inscription from Chengam (Tiruvannamalai Tk., MA Dt.) registers a political compact in the twentieth year of Aulottunga Cola III

98 ARE, 434 of 1903. The Muslim chronicles refer to an invasion of the Tamil country by their warriors between A.D. 1324 and A.D. 1327 (see Indian Antiquary, Jan., 1914), LK/F/1/SA.

99 ARE, 203 of 1912; see also ARE, 287 of 1910.
between Karikālācōla-nāṭālvān and Śeṅgēni Aṃmayappan Attimallan. Sometime later, another inscription from the same place informs us that a political alliance was entered into by three chiefs — Karikālā Cōla Adaiyār-nāṭālvān and Śeṅgēni Aṃmayappan Attimallan or Vikrama Cōla Sambuvarāyān on the one hand and Viṭukādolagiaperumāl on the other. The signatories to the accord agreed that they should help one another in case of attack by others; not urge war against each other; and that they should not form alliances with certain chiefs, among whom Śiyagaṇpā was one.

These inscriptions seem to imply that in the face of invasions the powers of the local chiefs was further augmented and this may have been a factor which contributed to the decline of the local institutions.

100 ARE, 115 of 1900. See also K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Madras University Historical Series No. 9, University of Madras, Madras, 1975, p. 373.

101 ARE, 107 of 1900; for other instances see ARN, 516 of 1902; 223 of 1904. For evidence of political instability during this period also see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1976, p. 211 ff.
Further, the invasions would have had a greater effect in the relatively fertile areas along the coast and along the banks of the major rivers which had a larger surplus. It was precisely in these areas that the major part of the brahmādeya-s were situated and they must have consequently been weakened correspondingly. In support of this suggestion we may cite a passage from the Kōyilologa which states,

Originally when there was one ruler over all the lands of Cēra, Sōla and Pândya mandala-s and then there were three kings ruling over the three mandala-s, in fact, till the Śaka year 1249, Aksyaa, the three kings did not control the dēvadāna and brahmādeya lands, but left them under the control of the Brahmans and only enquired into complaints received regarding their administration and meted out justice duly. Then the Muhammadans came, laid waste the dēvadāna and the deity had to seek refuge in gardens and other places till he came back to Sēraṅgaṁ in Saka 1293, Paritāṇi; then all these mandala-s came under the Rāya, who was the Karapati; and the Rāya and his servants, viz., the many commanders of forts made gifts of many villages with libations of water and began to administer the tiruvidāyattam lands which were dēvadāna in the same way as they administered the palace lands (granmanai-cairmai) by appointing in Sēraṅgaṁ as their own servants a maniyam and a samprāti.102

Further, the decline of the Cōla-s was followed in the Tamil country by the rise of many small principalities and their gradual consolidation. Thus, for example, we are told that while the inscriptions of Venruman-kōndan Ēkāmbaranātha Sambuvarāya (c. 1321-1339) were found only in the present-day districts of Chingleput and North Arcot, those of his son, Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya (1339-1363) are found also all over the modern taluka-s of Cuddalore and Chidambaram and that the boundary on the south of the latter's kingdom was the Ğādilam river. Thus it included the large part of the area known as Jayāṅkōṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam. One of the consequences of the shift of the centre of political power from the Kāvēri basin to Virinchipuram on the north bank of the river Pāḷār and also to Paḍaivīḍu, the main fortress of the Sambuvarāya-s was that the political and economic power of the rulers became much stronger. This was because it was easier for these rulers to superintend areas close to the royal seats of residence. Moreover, as the territory ruled by the Sambuvarāya-s was much smaller than the

domains of the Cōla-s it was necessary for them to exercise greater control over the territories under their suzerainty, if they were to satisfy their large consumption requirements. In this connection, we may also observe that Burton Stein had noted that during the Cōla period the state had exercised far greater power in the Kāvēri basin than elsewhere in their domains. Therefore, it is suggested here that the rise of small principalities after the fall of the Cōla-s - i.e., the Śambuvarāya-s of Jayakonqacōḷāmanaṭalam - contributed to the decline of the nāḍu-s because the former assumed a more direct control over resources.

We have seen, then, that the major strategies for territorial integration adopted by the Pallava-Cōla rulers were the patronage of temples and places of pilgrimage and the support given by them to the brāhmaṇa-s. During this period, the brahmādeya-s and the nāḍu-s appear to have enjoyed considerable autonomy. However, the development of the economy and the growth of towns led to greater co-operation between peoples of the different nāḍu localities which began, by the twelfth century, to undermine the autonomy of the nāḍu-s and brahmādeya-s. Moreover, the spread of agriculture into the arid and

104 B. Stein, 'The Segmentary State', p. 44.
semi-arid regions of the Tamil country led to an enhancement of the role of the temples due to their role in the maintenance and construction of the irrigation projects. This rise in the status of the temples was probably at the cost of the systems of localised management of resources. The spread of the irrigation network which both caused and accompanied the agrarian expansion necessitated greater centralisation of authority to allocate and regulate the supply of water and this imperative made further inroads into the tottering fabric of local autonomy. The erosion of the powers of the nāqu-s and the brahmādeva-s were probably very significant in the demise of the Cōla state.

The fall of the Cōla-s was followed by a period of political instability and civil discord which wreaked havoc on the Tamil country. In this process the brahmādeva-s, which were largely situated in the more fertile areas, may have been devastated to a considerable extent. The nādu-s in these areas would also have suffered an almost identical fate. During this period, too, there arose small principalities on the ruins of the Cōla empire which perhaps made successful assaults on the nādu and brahmādeva autonomy. This was because it was easier for these small kingdoms to exercise power over their domains more effectively and to exploit the resources there more
directly than it was for the Cōla-s who had relatively much larger territories to control. Thus, by a combination of various factors a considerable erosion of the autonomy of the nādu-s and brahmadeya-s occurred by the fourteenth century.

II

In about a hundred years after the fall of the Cōla-s a new form of agrarian integration crystallised in the Tamil country. The most significant feature of this form was perhaps the nayanākara system.105 This system, which Appadorai tells us was first mentioned in an inscription of AD 1314,106 appears to be a system whereby the emperor granted land called amaram or śirmai to officers called nayaka-s or emaranayaka-s. They were to administer the revenues to these territories and then remit a portion of the revenues to the king and were also required to contribute men and horses to the Imperial

105 As mentioned earlier, at some points in his recent book, Stein denied the existence of the nayanākara system as system, see supra, pp. 40-1.

army. Such tenure was called the nayakātānam service and is termed as 'revenue farming' by Appadorai.107

In his most consistent formulation of the nayaka system Stein saw them as warriors who fled from Muslim persecution in the north and who captured the nuclear areas of the former Cōla state. These seizures he argued were merely validated by the Vijayanagara ruler as the de facto power was vested in the nayaka-s.108 The basis of the power of the nayaka-s was their superior military technology109 and the support offered to them by Telugu and Kannada migrants - as most of the nayaka-s themselves were from these linguistic communities. This base was further strengthened by alliances with peasant groups who had held an inferior status under the nāṭṭār - the Palli-s, for instance, in South Arcot and in Koṅgu and the Naravar-s in Nadurai.110 As we have already described the method of surplus extraction by the nayaka-s in Stein's

107 Ibid., p. 692.
108 Elsewhere Stein had also argued that the nayaka-s were creatures of the Raya. See supra, p. 43.
110 Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 442-3.
In this reasoning, of the consequences of the new form of agrarian integration. Perhaps, most important of the results of the crystallization of the nayaka system was that the village rather than the nādu became the basic unit of agriculture. Further, the management of agrarian activities was done by "well-differentiated, individual 'big-men' [and] not [by] the anonymous nāttār of Gōla times." This also resulted in the 'rural entrepreneurship of village big men'.

The nayaka system also continued the process of integrating those parts of the 'macro-region' which had only marginal significance as agrarian regions earlier - parts of the interior of South Arcot and the upland areas of Kōngu. Some further consequences of the establishment of the nayaka system were as follows: the promotion of urbanization in a bid to maximise control over resources; the increase in the status of local traders at the expense of the itinerant guilds and the restriction of the functioning of the older trade network to the supply of essentials and luxuries; and to an

111 Supra, p. 33.
113 Ibid., p. 216.
114 Ibid., p. 481; Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian System', p. 193; supra, pp. 33-4.
115 Stein, 'Coromandel Trade', p. 58; supra, p. 34.
unstable system of power as there was constant competition among warriors for the control of more resources. Stein also argued that the Rāya appointed brāhmaṇa officers to check the fissiparous tendencies of the nayaka-s.116

The most persuasive evidence against this conception of the nayaka-s is perhaps the constant references that have come down to us of the military conquests of, and campaigns by, the Imperial forces in the Tamil country.117

Further evidence of royal power comes from the reign of Dēvarāya II. An inscription of A.D. 1447-48 registers an order (rāyasam) of the king to the trustees (tēnattār) of the temple of Tiruvorriyūr (Saidapet Tk., Cg. Dt.) in Chandragiri-rājya which records that "the mahēśvara-s of the temple complained to the king that the tenants, servants and other residents of the villages owned by the temple had been much distressed by the imposition of taxes such as jōdi, mugampārvai, aṅgasālai, sambadum and viśēshādāyam and also by the lease-system introduced by government officers for adoption by the trustees. The

116 Supra, p. 39.
117 Supra, pp. 44-5.
worship in the temple, too was not conducted as usual, for the same reason. Thereupon, it was ordered that the above taxes together with ariśi-kāṇam, good bull (nallerudu), good cow (naḻ-paṇu), veṭṭi and kattāvam be thereafter collected by the mahēsvaram-s of the temple; that the leased lands already paid for, be redeemed (by money received from the royal treasury); and that worship in the temple be revived as before. Inscriptions of the same ruler, dated in A.D. 1429 also record the resentment of the villagers against the harassment by royal officers and holders of land on jīvita tenure (i.e. with the right to use the revenue from the lands or village granted in lieu of a salary) and their appeal to the king. Thus an inscription from Vṛiddhāchalam (Vriddhachalam Tk., 3A Dt.) of April 29, 1429 records that

the members of the valaṅgai and idaṅgai (castes) met together in the courtyard of the temple of Tirumudukun-ṟamudaiya-Nāyinār at that village (i.e. Vṛiddhāchalam)

118 ARE, 1912-13, 226 of 1913 and para 54. See also ARE, 313 of 1954-55 from Kanchipuram, Kanchipuram Tk., Cg. Lt., for a similar inscription dated in the same year. For similar inscriptions in areas outside Jayankondamandalam in the same year, see for example ARE, 113 of 1936-37 and para 56 from Jambu-Kesvaram, Tiruchirapalli Tk., and Dt.
and came to the decision that, since the officers of the king (rājanya-s) and the owners of jivita-s oppressed.... and the kāpiyālam and the brāhmaṇa-s took the rājakam (i.e. taxes), none of the Valaṅga and Īdaṅga people should give them shelter and that (none of the people of the two sects) born in the country should write accounts for them or agree to their proposals. If anyone proved a traitor to the country (by acting against this settlement), he should be stabbed.119

Another inscription from the same place dated the 7th of July 1429 record the rates of taxes in grain and money fixed by the nāṭturvar of Īruṅgōlapadi, the ūrār of Brumbūrparru, Vīragōmapurā-parru and another, by the people of the eighteen districts, the kaikrōlar, the tandemirār, the senaik-kuda-iyār, the manrādi-s, the karpālar, the san...., the six classes of kudi-s and the oil mongers after their meeting in the Vidivitaṅka
Tirukkāvāṇam.120 Similar inscriptions dated in the same

119 ARE, 1917-18, 92 of 1918 and para 68, p. 163.
120 ARE, 1917-18, 91 of 1918 and para 66, p. 164.
The record gives the following rates of taxation:

"On one mā of wet lands on which dry crops were cultivated and on one mā of dry land on which wet crops were raised including the cultivation of plantains and sugarcane.... One kalam of paddy on each mā.

fn. continues....
year have come from a number of places - from Peṇṇāḍam (Vriddhachalam Tk.)\textsuperscript{121} Elavānāsūr (Tirukkojilur Tk.) (both from Sā Dt.),\textsuperscript{122} for example. From areas outside Jayakoḍaḷamaṇḍalam, similar inscriptions dated in the same year have been found. One of them, from

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For dry crops raised on wet lands ... Two tūṇi of grain on each mā

For wet crops raised on dry lands ... One tūṇi and one padakku on each mā

On each person doing Vetti service in the several countries and the eighteen districts ... Half panam

On kaikkōla-s ... Half panam on each loom (tari)

On Šenaikkudaiyār ... Half panam each

On fishermen ... Half panam each

On mārādi-s ... Half panam on each kudi

On each of the six classes of kudi makkal ... Half panam on each kudi

On the loom of the paraiya-s ... Quarter panam on each loom

On the kottīl of the Vetti-s ... One-eighth panam on each kottīl (Ibid.).

\textsuperscript{121} ARB, 246 and 254 of 1928–29.

\textsuperscript{122} ARB, 490 of 1937–38 and 1938–39.
Korukkai (Hayavaram Tk., Tanjavur Dt.), says

that the ninety-eight sub-sects of the Valangai and the ninety-eight sub-sects of the Idangai joined together and...

'because they did not tax us according to the yield of the crop, but levied the taxes unjustly... we were about to run away. Then we realized that because we of the whole country (mandalam) were not united in a body, we were unjustly (dealt with).... Hereafter we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully.'

An inscription of Devaraya II dated 30th September 1446 from Tiruvennainallur (Tirukkoyilur Tk., SA Dt.) also records that as the Inavari and Idangai-vari collected from the Valangai and Idangai communities were exorbitant and the villagers had migrated elsewhere, the king sent an order to Nāgarasa-Udaiyar authorising him to cancel these taxes, and as Annapa-Udaiyar to whom this order was communicated for execution engraved it only at certain places, a further petition was presented to Nāgarasa-Udaiyar and this order was then caused to be engraved at Tiruvennainallur. Migration of villagers due to excessive taxation has often been noted, before

123 ARE, 1917-18, 216 of 1917 and para 68, pp. 163-4. See also an inscription from Tiruvaigavur (Papanasam Tk., Tanjavur Dt.) dated in the same year, ARE, 1914-15, 59 of 1914 and para 44.

124 ARE, 426 of 1921; see also ARE, 1904-05, 23 of 1905 from Kili in the same taluk and district.
and after the reign of Devarāya. 125

One particularly interesting incident is when the peasants of Kavuntala śīma took refuge in the territory of Adil Shah during the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and when the latter, after deciding to declare war on the former, called a meeting of his officers, Nuniz reports that Saḷuva Timma proposed that the surrender of refugees harboured by Adil Shah should be demanded by the Rāya, Venkataramanayya identifies these refugees - the 'many land-owners and debtors to his highness' in Nuniz's words 126 - as the 'ryots' of Kavaṭāla śīma. 127

From the inscriptions cited above it is apparent that the king had the powers to enforce decisions regarding the collection of taxes; that officers of the king were stationed in different parts of the empire; and that contrary to prevalent belief, popular

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125 e.g. ARE, 1900-01, 276 of 1900 and para 10; 36 of 1913; 1915-16, 246 and 247 of 1916, pp. 141-3; 1917-18, 103 of 1918 and para 69, p. 165; p. 165; 2 90 of 1928-29; 208 of 1934-35; 362 of 1936-37; 426 and 483 of 1921. For migrations of shepherds (marrādi-s) see, e.g. ARs, 450 of 1921; 13 of 1933-34. Also see A. Appadorai, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 310 fn. 959; B.A. Salestoe, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346-1646), B.G. Paul, Madras, 1934, Vol. I, p. 198; N. Venkataramanayya, Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Madras University Historical Series No. II, University of Madras, Madras, 1935, pp. 95, 241-5.


rebellions occurred in the Vijayanagara period. But we must also attempt, to provide an explanation for the extraordinary spread of discontent and unrest during the reign of Devarāya II. In this endeavour, we must remember, that the peasant revolts that we have just noticed, are likely to be the result of long years of oppression and not caused merely by one or two arbitrary actions by a few unscrupulous individuals. Also, to be able to engrave their decisions against the arbitrary actions of local officials (but not, be it noted, against the emperor, as they are willing to pay lawful taxes) on stone, their movement must have had widespread and continuous support, which is difficult to generate almost simultaneously.

The political historians of the Vijayanagara empire ¹²⁸ tell us that following the death of Devarāya I, the empire entered into a 'time of troubles'. Devarāya was succeeded by Rāmacandra who died within a few months and was succeeded in his turn by Vīra Vijayarāya. In the same year, A.D. 1422 Vijayanagara city was devastated by Ahmad Shah Bāhmani, and at the conclusion of the war

¹²⁸ For an excellent account of the political history of the Vijayanagara period see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, pp. 277-312.
in March of the following year, the Vijayanagara empire was forced to pay enormous reparations. Then, in A.D. 1428, Devarāya II who had succeeded to the throne two years earlier annexed the Kondavīdu country and attempted to invade the Gajanati kingdom of Orissa, but Allāda Reddy of Rajahmundry brought about peace between the two rulers before the commencement of the war. Then in A.D. 1435, Devarāya helped the ruler of Rajahmundry to drive back the Gajapati forces who had invaded his country. In 1435, too, Devarāya subjugated the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains in the south. However, in the next year he was compelled to pay a vast tribute to Ala-ud-Din II, the Bahmani Sultan. Later, in A.D. 1443, Devarāya attempted an invasion of the Haichūr doāb and was able to capture Nudgal before he was defeated by the forces of Ḥalik-ut-Tujjar. He died finally in A.D. 1446, after a reign of twenty years, in which he had undertaken five major military campaigns. All these years of war would have imposed an enormous burden on the exchequer which would have been transferred to the people.

The costs which accrued to the Imperial treasury may be classified into two categories: the payment of reparations and the costs of maintaining an
army. The reparations paid by the Vijayanagara rulers are difficult to estimate, even roughly, due to exaggeration. However, it must certainly have been high. For example, Firuz, yet another Bahmani ruler was said to have defeated Devaraya I in 1406 and received by way of reparations, the gift of a daughter in marriage, with Bankapur as her dower, pearls, 50 elephants, 2000 boys and girls skilled in singing and dancing, and a cash indemnity.129

Every battle, every siege, every war during these ages was a major undertaking. To illustrate our point, let us look at Fuzi's description of the king's camp during Krishnadevaraya's siege of Raichur. He says:

All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain's division had its own market where you found all kinds of meat; such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance; so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Binsaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grain, Indian-corn, vetches (minguo) \(\text{\underline{\text{minguo}}, \text{probably mungo or green gram}}\) ("Hobson-Jobson"). Ibn Batuta calls in \(\text{\underline{munj}}\); others \(\text{\underline{mungo}}\), and other seeds that they eat. Besides, these things, which are necessary, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you wanted; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters \(\text{\underline{Regatoes d'artez}}\). There were craftsmen also working in their streets, so that you saw made there golden

129 Ibid., p. 238.
jewels and geowgs, and you will find all kinds of precious stone for sale. There were also to be seen sellers of cloths, and those were without number, as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance [as Raichur is barren - hence to feed animals].

Even if we make allowances for Muniz's tendency to exaggerate - a tendency he shared with most other pre-modern European writers on India, the armies of Vijayanagara must certainly have been impressive in terms of numbers of men, horses, and elephants and in its military equipment. Muniz also says that King Chitarao (icyutayaraya)

has foot-soldiers paid by his nobles, and they are obliged to maintain six lakhs of soldiers... and twenty-four thousand horse, which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like rentiers who hold all the land from the king, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of rents as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty lakhs of which they must pay sixty to the king, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. For this reason the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical. Of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue every year he does not enjoy a larger sum than twenty-five lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses, and elephants and foot-soldiers, and cavalry whose costs be defrays.

131 Also see Domingos Paes, Narrative of Domingos Paes, Tr. by R. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 269-70.
Hence, according to these visitors to Vijayanagara, the Empire was divided into a number of territorial units of varying sizes, each under the control of a captain or 
nayaka who provided a fixed sum of money annually to the Empire and contributed a fixed quota of soldiers, horses and elephants to its army and that these contributions were determined by the revenue yield of each unit of territory.¹³³

¹³³ Muniz gives the following details of the revenue and obligations of the nayakas during the reign of Acyutarāya: Salwanayaka, the lord of Charamaodel (Gōlamandalam), Nagapatao (Nagaraṭṭana), Tamgor (Ṭaṅjāvūr), Bomgarin (Brahmagiri?), Dapatao (Devippatana or Iripatip?), Truguel (Irukōyilur) and Caullin (Kovila alias Sīrungam) received a revenue of 1 million 100 thousand gold pardaos of which he pays a third to the king; the remainder is to defray the cost of maintaining 30,000 foot soldiers, 3,000 horse and 50 elephants. Ajaparcatimapa, lord of the cities of Hudugary (Udayagiri), Jondovin (Jondavīḍu) and Penagundin (Penneponde or Peṅnakopḍa) and of Codegaral (?) had a revenue of 800 thousand pardaos of gold and was to maintain 25,000 foot soldiers, 1500 horse and 40 elephants and to pay the emperor 300 thousand pardaos. The lord of Rosyl (Rachol), Tiper, Ticalo and Bigolam (Bichim?) received 600,000 pardaos in lieu of which he was to supply 2500 horse, 20,000 foot and 20 elephants and pay 150,000 pardaos. The nayaka of Vinngapor (Bankapura) received 300,000 pardaos to supply 1200 horse, 20,000 foot and 28 elephants and pay 80,000 pardaos. Narahari, the captain of the new city of Ondegama and lord of the cities of Diguoty (Duggavati in Harpanhalli division of Bellary district?) Darguem (Droog or Lurgam?) and Entarem and of the lands bordering Bisnaga city was granted a revenue of 400,000 pardaos, of which he was to pay

fn. continues...
sources. Venkataramanayya maintained that the army of the empire consisted of troops maintained by the emperor and those maintained by the nayaka-s. He also observed that the figures mentioned in the Rājavāchaka — i.e., 200,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry and 120 ghat-s of ten elephants each — were more modest than the figures supplied to us

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200,000 to the Emperor and he was to maintain 12,000 foot, 600 horse and 20 elephants. Cinna-panayaka the lord of Calaly (kalale, 15 miles s. of Hampi) had a revenue of 300,000 pardoas, and supplied 100,000 pardoas, 800 horse and 10,000 foot (pracos). Krishnappanayaka, lord of the Hoysala country received a revenue of 20,000 gold pardoas, paid the Emperor 7,000 pardoos and maintained 500 horse and 700 foot-soldiers. Bachappanayaka of Budihala received 300,000 pardoas, paid 10,000 pardoas, maintained 800 horsemen, 10,000 foot and 15 elephants. Mallapanaraque (?) of Alvaly (?) country received 15,000 pardoas, paid 5,000 of that and maintained 400 horse and 6,000 foot Adapanayaka (Pandyappanayaka?) of the jhat regions received 300,000 gold pardoas excluding precious stones and paid 40,000 (or 100,000 — both figures mentioned, one after the other) and all diamonds exceeding 20 mangelins (4 mangelins — 5 carats) maintained 8,000 foot, 800 horse and 30 elephants. Bajapanayque of Mudkal received 400,000 pardoas, paid 150,000 pardoas, maintained 1000 cavalry, 10,000 foot and 50 elephants. Nuniz, op. cit., pp. 366-70; V. Hildeziet, The Vijayanagar Empire As Seen by Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz (Two 16th Century Portuguese Chroniclers), Tr. by R. Sewell, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 162-65. See also R. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 131, 143, 357-60, 370; K.A. Vihakanta Sastrī, op. cit., pp. 254-256, 274, 286; T.Y. Shalingam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 28, 35-36.
by Paes and Nuniz. 134

The fact that the nayaka-s had to pay a portion of their revenues to the Imperial Treasury may be gleaned from The Andhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika which records that,

One day, Krishṇadēvarāya summoned to his presence, in the audience hall the nine sampratī-s, and commanded them to produce accounts on the following items: the number of provinces in the empire, and the amount of money collected therefrom; the number of mountain fastnesses, forts, forest strongholds, and fortifications surrounded by water; the number of forts and villages; the amount of money that stood to the credit of each durgā or rājya in the account books of the treasury; the amount of cash and the value of jewellery and precious stones of nine kinds; the value of the buried treasure; the money which the manšagars of the different Śima-s had paid; and the unpaid balance standing against their names; and the description of the imperial forces (infantry, cavalry and elephants) that received their salary directly from the treasury. 135

These nayaka-s were stationed, according to the Rājavācaka at Ādavani, Ceyyeṭidurgam, Guṭṭi, Gandikōṭa, Chandragiri, Gurramkoṇḍa, Saddūr, Sōnagiri, Irīśirapura, Aunnattūr, Penugonda, Nandyāla, Śrīraṅgapāṭṭanam, Umnattūr, Daḷanayakulakōṭa, Vallamkōṭa, Nādura, Pāḷaiyamkōṭa, Lindigal, Satyavīḍu, Kotṭikallu, Danginīkōṭa, Nārāyaṇavānam


"and other forest strong-holds." From this Venkataramanayya concludes that three-fourths of the Empire was under the control of the *amaranayaka*-s. More reliable is perhaps the estimates for the Tamil country made by A. Krishnaswami on the basis of an exhaustive survey of the inscriptions. He finds a total of fifty-eight *nayaka*-s in the period between A.D. 1371 and A.D. 1530 divided as follows: 6 each in the time-periods 1371 to 1422 and 1440 to 1459; nine between 1465 and 1491; ten between 1491 and 1508; and twenty-seven between 1509 and 1530.

It is suggested here that the Emperor perhaps passed on a part of the burden of the payment of reparations imposed on him to the *nayaka*-s, whom we have seen had to pay a portion of the revenues to the Imperial treasury and also had to bear a portion of the costs of maintaining the army. In support of this suggestion we

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137 Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

may perhaps cite here a statement by Luniz which states that the Emperor passed on the costs of purchasing horses to the nayaka-s. One of the ways that the nayaka-s could meet these additional obligations would be to increase their exactions on the peasantry and this could perhaps explain the evidences of social protest that we have noted above.

It may also perhaps not be out of place here to add that in addition to the costs of maintaining an

139 Luniz says that "the horses which [the chief-master of the horse] gives [to the horsemen... royal guards, on the death of one of their mounts] are mostly country-breds which the king buys, twelve or fifteen for a thousand pardaos. The king every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Oermuz, and country-breds of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains, and gains much money by them, because often taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred, and gives five for a thousand pardaos and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September, and with the money so obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys off the Portuguese in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the treasury." Luniz, op. cit., p. 362; see also ibid., pp. 354-5, 357-50, 370; see too, Pass, op. cit., 269-70; R. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 131, 143; Milakanta Jastri, op. cit., p. 274.
army and paying reparations when defeated, parts of the Empire would suffer from the devastation during the war. These would also be experienced very adversely by the population. While we have no reliable evidence of the actual dimensions of destruction we may perhaps get an inkling from the exaggerated accounts that have come down to us. Thus, we are told that the third Bahmani sultan, Muhammad I, after defeating Bukka I in 1367 at the battle of Autha killed 400,000 Hindus and 10,000 brāhmanā-s. 140

Or, to take another example, another Bahmani sultan named Muhammad, the third this time, is reputed to have destroyed the temple at Konädavīdu, erected a mosque in its place and earned the title of ghazi by killing the brāhmanā priests with his own hands in 1478. 141 But what of the crops destroyed, the animals killed, the women molested, the psychological effects of these senseless acts of violence—on all these our sources are silent.

We also have inscriptional evidence to show that the amaram-s or ārīma-s—variously translated as

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140 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 235.
Nilakanta Sastri appears to have based himself on Kerishta's account.

141 Ibid., p. 246.
units of 'rent-farming',

'governorships', and as another term for 'nādu' — were granted by the emperor to the nayaka-s. Thus an inscription from Tirupati records that a sīrma was granted to the donor of the record to perform his nāyakāṭṭanam.

Another inscription stated that

Namasivayā Nayaka, who received as a gift the village of Sembiyamāgalam as a ulava-kāniyakshi in the Saka year 1436 (A.D. 1514-15) in the reign of Krishnadēvarāya, was required to pay ten panam and ten kālam-s of paddy in the first year, but in the fifth year, fifty

142 "The term 'Amaram' implies ease and under that relative application may be construed into favourable rent", John A.C. Boswell, A Manual of Vellore District in the Presidency of Madras, Government of Madras, Madras, 1873, p. 265.

143 Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 274.

144 A. Krishnaswami, op. cit., p. 180-1. Stein rightly argues that the sīrma-s cannot be considered as fiefs. See B. Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian System', p. 191; B. Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 379.

145 B.A. Saleatore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 295. Venkataramanayya had argued that the word sīme was the Cannarese equivalent of the Telugu and Tamil nādu. He also said sīme was used to denote both 'a tract of land commonly regarded as a unit', and 'an artificial group of villages created by the government for the purposes of administrative convenience'. Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 146.

146 tamkku nāyakāṭṭanatukku narasimharāya udayār pālittunādanvarom kaccipa /pettu /sīrma, TIES/II/87.
panam about fifty kalam-s of paddy had to be paid.\textsuperscript{147}

We also hear of the rights of cultivation granted to the Kannadiya nayaka-s who had settled in Karudaraśar-Paḍaṇiṇdu.\textsuperscript{148} Some inscriptions also refer to the donor's own śīrmaï,\textsuperscript{149} and the śīrmaï which is the donor's hereditary chieftainship.\textsuperscript{150} Further, an inscription from Madanapalle (Madanapalle Tk., Ct. Dt.) records that Yadava Narasimharāja Rāmalinācāri, Kūnapuli, Peddēvināyuḍu, Cinadēvināyuḍu, Kaipasōmayajula and Malla Venkaṭaraṇḍi of Kasanūru paid homage to Krishnādēvarāya with 50 varaḥ-s and received certain offices and service inam-s (\textsuperscript{151}) in the village of Omada. Another inscription says that Venkaṭadri-nayaka, son of mahaṇāyimkārācārya Kumbham

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{147} ARE, 389 of 1912 cited in B... Talelore, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 195.
\item \textsuperscript{148} ARE, 352 of 1912, 1912-13, p. 122 cited in \textit{ibid.}, pp. 158-59, also see e.g. \textit{TTDE}/III/I, 147; ARE, 238 and 249 of 1916; 169 of 1929-30; 64 and 159 of 1933-34; 363 and para 60 of 1936-37; Op. 9 of 1912-13, \textit{MDI}/1/5/108; II/N/34 A and 104.
\item \textsuperscript{149} tammida śīrmaïv, \textit{TTDE}/III/90, 213.
\item \textsuperscript{150} paluvanāyakāṭṭananāna, \textit{TTDE}/II/126.
\item \textsuperscript{151} ARE, Op. 9 of 1912-13.
\end{itemize}
Timmanāyaniguru obtained the Kandanaśīla-Sīma as nayaṁ-kāram from Acyutadēvarāya. Moreover, an epigraph states that the village of Huttiyālapatţu yielding an annual revenue of 280 rēkhai-pon had been granted to the Tirumalai temple by Tālilpakkam Tirumalai Ayyāngār. The income from the village had however stopped. Later, on the accession of Sadāśivadēvarāya the donor applied for renewal of the gifted village and obtained the grant. After retaking possession of the village, the donor spent 100 rēkhai-pon on repairs to its irrigation tank and then gave rights of possession to the temple.

Or, to take another instance, a donor records that as the income of three villages in Koṇḍavīdusīrmāi—Chirala, Pērala and Āṇḍupalli—granted by his father and yielding annually 150 rēkhai-pon had stopped, the donor granted in its stead the first half of the village of Kulattūr which yielded an annual income of 150 rēkhai-pon after reserving the second half of that village for its residents. The donor of the record under consideration

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152 A.B. 368 and para 10 of 1936-37. See also e.g. Ḍīl/II/4/34, 104; Ḍīl/3/108; A.B., 238, 249 of 1916; 169 of 1929-30; 64 of 1935-34.

153 T.M.N.S./Y/47.
also gifted the villages of Koppoli in Kavanamoli-Sirmai in Kondaṉīdu-rājyaṁ yielding an annual income of 350 rēkhai-pon, the three villages of Paruchchur in Addanki-Sirmai in Kondaṉīdu-rājyaṁ yielding an annual income of 150 rēkhai-pon, Aṟuchchuru in Gaṇṭikōṭṭai-Sirmai yielding an annual income of 80 rēkhai-pon and Kuppayinigantai in Vellimukha-Koṇḍai-Sirmai. These instances appear to show that during the period under consideration in this study, the Vijayanagara emperors bestowed Sirmai-s on their officers rather than merely recognizing the control over localities by warriors as itin would have us believe.

In support of our contention we would also cite the evidences that have come down to us of instances where the Vijayanagara emperors granted villages at the request of their chief officers who in turn had been approached by lower officers. This would indicate as it was widespread, at least in Jayankonṭacōlanandaḷam, that the ultimate authority on the bestowal of villages was the Emperor. Thus, for example, we are told and Sirumāṉikkuppa alias Chinnatimnārāyaṇapura in Chandragiri-rājaṁ was granted to the Vedic scholar Purushottama-śaatța at the request of Rāmarāja, the minister on behalf of
Araviṭi-Timmarāja and Chinna-Timmarāja by Sadāśiva-varāya in Saka 1477. 155 Or, that the village of Sadappēri (Vellore Tk., Nā Dt.) was granted to the Jvarakaṅḍēśvara-svāmi temple at Vēlūr by Sadāśivadēvarāya at the petition of Rāmarāja Śrimuḍēśvarāya who had been petitioned in turn by Śimmai Bommu-nayaka of Vēlūr. 156 We are informed too, that the villages of Tengūru and Valla-gulam in Kunravardhana-Kōṭaka were gifted by Ścyutadē-varāya at the request of his minister Pedda Śimma in Saka 1456. 157 In such cases it is perhaps possible that by obtaining the sanction of the king, in the grant of a village, the nayaka could reduce his obligations to provide horses, men and money to the Imperial Court. The corollary of this submission would be that when the holders of Śirmais gifted villages without reference to the king, their obligations were in no way affected.

We have instances, too, of the people of the Śirmais gifting land and villages. An epigraph from Kūṣaiyūr (Kallakurichi Tk., Sā Dt.) records, for instance, the

155 = ARS, Āp. 12 of 1924–25.
156 = SII/1/46.
157 = ARS, Āp. 11 of 1905–06, see also e.Ś. SII/1/44, 45; II P/III/M/571–4.
gift of lands in a number of villages in Teñkarai-śirmai to Raṅgappayyar for mid-day offerings to Periyamāl (goddess) by Śūrapparāṇḍāyar and all the residents of Teñkarai-śirmai.\textsuperscript{158} In this case, too the taxes on the lands granted may perhaps be borne by the residents themselves as there is no mention of these lands being free of taxes or servamāṇya, and nor is there any reference to an exemption by the Vijayanagara Emperor, his subordinate officer, or by the nayaka.

While śirmai was primarily given to military officers and other administrative officials it was also given once in a very long while to temples. Thus, for example, we are told that ḫappedu-śirmai (named after ḫappedu, Tiruvallur ḫk., Cg. Ṛt.) was gifted as dēvas-thānām to the deity Śīṅgīśuramuḍaiya-Tanciraṇār by Tirumarājayan who was so directed by the Emperor Badvāśivā-

dēvarāya.\textsuperscript{159} This inscription also provides us with additional support to the contention that the śirmai-s were granted by the emperor and that they were not merely the de jure recognition of a de facto control over a locality by a nayaka.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[158] ARE, 105 of 1918.
\item[159] ARE, 61 of 1947-48.
\end{footnotes}
As will be apparent from the maps and appendices attached to this study, the size of the śīrmais varied greatly. It is interesting to note that an inscription even mentions that the Paḍaivīḍu-rājya was the nāyakāṭṭana-śīrma of Vīra Narasingarāya Nayaka. While the śīrmais were as a rule compact units, we have evidence also of śīrmais that were fragmented. Thus, an inscription records the gift of the villages of Vēlaṇjīneru-grāmam and Deśūr-grāmam, both of which were said to be in Jagadvāchchēri-śīrma, but the former was in Tanigai-nāḍu in Kūnavaḍhāṇa-kōṭṭam while the latter was in Nēyyūr-nāḍu in Palaṇṇuṇa-kōṭṭam. A copper-plate grant also mentions that the village of Chikkatachchurū alias Rāmasamudram in Śēṇji-śīrma was granted to brāhmaṇa-s. If this village is identified with Rāmasamudram (Timdiwath Tk., NA Dtl.), it would immediately be obvious that other territorial

160 ARK, 27 of 1934-35.
161 TDJS/IV/129.
162 ARK, Sp. 18 of 1953-54.
units separate this village from the other villages of Senji-śīrmaī. This, however, does not pose many problems as śīrmaī was primarily a means of remuneration to the chief officers of state.

The grant of śīrmaī-ś by the king also perhaps explains how the king could order the grantees to reduce their exactions on the people. Thus, the inscription from Kīlūr that we have noted above, records an order of the king which states that the ministers took presents by force from the idāṅgai and valaṅgai castes at the beginning of each reign and that as a consequence the villagers had migrated elsewhere and the land was desolate. The king therefore prohibited such extortion and had the order engraved throughout the country.163 A possible reason for this extraction of presents by coercion could be that the revenue and military contributions were fixed anew at the beginning of each reign.

In support of our contention that the Vijayanagara Kāya-ś exercised considerable control over the territories within the Empire we may also point out to the references that have come down to us of the

163 ARE, 1904-05, 23 of 1905; LIF/I/Sa.
maintenance of governors at different places in the Empire. Thus, Barbosa records the presence of a governor of the 'king of Marsyngua' at Pulicat who collected duties on exports and imports. 164 We are also informed that in A.D. 1424, while a brother of Devaraya II was ruling from the capital of the Maratkapuri rājya, he granted the village of Kipatuka alias Vijayarāyapuram (identified by Saletores as Kaḍappēri village, Mā. Jt.) to Sampatkumāru Panḍitā, a learned brāhmaṇa. The donee divided the village into fifty-six parts and after retaining twenty-two of these for his personal use, he distributed the rest among his brothers, relatives and learned persons. 165

The 'provinces' ruled by these 'governors' were called rājya-s and during the period of Vijayanagara rule two rājya-s - the Chandragiri rājya and the Paḍaiviḍu rājya - covered the entire area of Jayankondacōlāmanḍalam and perhaps also of a part of Maḍuvil-manḍalam. 166


166 The rājya-s were as follows: "In the eastern part of the Empire was the Jayagiri-rājya which included the present Kellorc and Cuddapah districts (El, III, p. 24). A little to its
Krishnaswami had also rightly recognised that, "The division of the Tamil country into rājya-s depended more on historical accidents and local peculiarities than on any deliberate or scientific principles followed by the Vijayanagar government." 167 He also observed that these rājya-s were formed as and when the forces of the Empire

Previous fn.

west was the Penugonda-rājya (Ibid., p. 10). To the south of it was the Chandragiri-rājya (Ibid., bg. 70). Adjoining it was the Rājagiri kingdom which comprised portions of the modern North Arcot and Chingleput Districts (225 of 1909; A.R., 1919, para 73; Co. 7 of 1914-15). The Siruvādi-rājya which included portions of the South Arcot, North Arcot and Salem Districts lay to the south of the Rājagiri kingdom (118 of 1897; 426 of 1909). Another division was the Uluvayi-rājya which took its name from Ulubaga, its headquarters and was during the Vijayanagara period generally the Viceregal seat of the government of the eldest son of the reigning king. It included portions of the modern districts of Kolar, Salem, North Arcot and Shittore (sic) (A.S.R., A., Intro., p. 196 of 1910; 324 of 1912). Parts of the modern Shimoga and a part of the South Canara districts constituted what was called Sāntalige 1,000 (Ibid., VIII, I. 154). A little to the north of it was the province of Araga with its capital Candragutti or Guttii and comprised a good portion of the modern districts of Shimoga and North Canara. The Tuluvā country formed another province of the Vijayanagar Empire and had for its capital Mānagalore (A.S.R., 1907-08, p. 237, fn. 737). T.V. Mahalingan, Administration and Social Life, p. 185. Also see K. Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 143-5.

conquered an area large enough to require a 'governor'.

The Emperors often exercised their royal power through their officers in the various rāja-s. Consider, for instance, an inscription which states that at the request of the temple authorities of Tirupputkuli, Devarāya ordered his officer Śrīgirinātha at Chandragiri to assign the jōdi on Tirupputkuli due to the Chandragiri-rāja to the temple of Pōrēra-Perumāl at Tirupputkuli in Dāmar-Kōṭṭam in Chandragiri-rājvan. We also hear of the existence of a rāja-Bhandāram or royal treasury at Chandragiri.

According to the Attavānatana all the affairs connected with the revenue of the state were under the jurisdiction of the atthavana or the simamula. At the central office of the department, registers containing the description of the boundaries of the villages sthala-s, sima-s, nādu-s and rāja-s; their respective areas; the names of land-owners with the extent of their holdings, and the crops raised thereon; and the details of revenue from each ryot and village were maintained. If the Local Records may be trusted, these registers were consulted by the local officials, and the ryots from time to time (L.K.I (Mañdipād), p. 267. In a village dispute about the boundaries which was taken before Bēvaraya II (A.D. 1428), the parties were directed to go back to their village and settle their

168 Ibid., p. 162.

169 ARE, 172 of 1916.

170 TEMS/I/192. See also ARE, 294 of 1910, 1910-11, para 51; B.A. Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 154-76.
disputes in the presence of the reddi-s, karnam-s and elders of the neighbouring villages according to the directions contained in the Royal (Records) 171.

Another administrative division of the Empire was the parru which was first mentioned, as far as we have been able to determine, in an inscription assigned to the twenty-seventh year of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulottunga-gacoladeva (III?-RAP) from Vēdal (Vandiwash Tk., MA Dt.) which recorded the gift of the village of Śivirī by the inhabitants of Teḷḷārru-parru to Karaikkanḍīsuraḷuṣaiya Nāyaṇār temple at Viḍāl in Viḍur-parru. 172 Parru as a territorial division is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the later śāngya-s 173 and of the Śambuvārāya-s. 174

An inscription of the 7th year of Rājandraya Śambuvāra (A.D. 1343-44) from Guḍimallūr (Walajapet Tk., MA Dt.) registers the remission of taxes in favour of a temple.

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172 ARE, 73 of 1908. In a recent article, Subbarayalu maintains that parru-s were formed by the splitting up of nadus—due to the pressure of population and the emergence of new social groups. He does not cite any evidence in support of his assertion. Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Peasantry of the Tiruchirapalli District from the 13th to 17th Centuries', Studies in Socio-Cultural Change in Rural Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, India No. 1: Land Control and Social Change in the Lower Kaveri Valley from the 12th to 17th Centuries, K. Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu; P. Shanmugam (eds.), Institute for the study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1980, p. 24.


In continues...174 also
at Karaivali Kāl-pparru in Kalavai-pparru. The mention of a Kāl-pparru within a parru may indicate that parru-s were divided into smaller regions as 'Kāl' means 'a quarter'. However, too much should not be read into this as it is a solitary inscription.

In these cases the parru appears to have been a revenue division both because most of the villages mentioned are located in a parru when such villages are granted or when a temple in the village receives a gift, and because the inhabitants of the parru makes a grant of taxes.\textsuperscript{175} Both of these factors can be seen in the Cōla inscription that we have just cited.

Another reason for considering the parru as a unit of revenue administration is the instances that we have of the Vijayanagara emperor assigning taxes from parru-s to temples or individuals. Thus we are told by an epigraph of the reign of Bukka, the son of

\footnotesize

Previous fns.

\textsuperscript{173A}
\begin{center}
See InP/īŚ/179.
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{174}
\begin{center}
\textsuperscript{ARE}, 420 of 1905
\end{center}

\begin{center}
e.g., 420, 230 of 1901; 416, 420, 425 of 1905; 362 of 1911; 64 of 1922; 377 of 1923; 139 of 1924; 17 of 1932-33; 28, 72, 92 of 1933-34; 213 of 1934-35.
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{175}
\begin{center}
 Also see supra, pp.152-53.
\end{center}
Harihara, that the right of collecting the taxes on behalf of the king in Palaṅgur-pāru and Audiyana-pāru in ṍānadai-mandalam was granted to Tripurakaru Lēvvanpan-gal.176 Or, for example, an inscription of Śaka 1336 from Kūgaiyur (Kallakurichi Tk., SA Dt.) records an order of Karnayya-Nayakkar to the nattavar of Ṭānadai-mandalam stating that as a certain amount of money was received as subsidy in lump sum (kānīkkai), it was unlawful to demand varuṣa-kānīkkai (annual payment of kānīkkai) in future years from the people of the pāru.177

We also know that some pāru-s were transformed into nayakkuttanam-s or territories assigned to military officers and others, who in lieu of a salary drew the revenues from the areas given to them. Thus, for example, an undated inscription from Teḷḷār (Ṭandiwash Tk., Na Dt.) records that the income from the three villages of

176 ARE, 411 of 1937-38.

177 ARE, 109 of 1918, 1917-18, p. 165; see also for evidence of the king's right to levy taxes, TA DES/V/154; ARS, 23 of 1904; 425 of 1905; 2 41 of 1906; 309 of 1912; 226 of 1913; 216 of 1917; 92 of 1918, 1917-18, para 68; 510 of 1921, 1921-22, para 43; 246, 254 of 1928-29; 113 and para 56 of 1936-37; 490 and para 64 of 1937-38; 313 of 1954-55; 387 and p. 17 of 1958-59.
Kōṇalūr, Kāṇcīpuram and Puduchchēri in Tēḷāṟṟu-pāṟṟu were granted by Kōṇḍāma-Nayaka, the son of Krishṇappa-Nayaka who held the pāṟṟu as his nāyakkattanam. The revenues from these villages were granted for the maintenance of a matha. Kāṇi-pāṟṟu also appears to have meant 'free hold' or land free from taxes. Thus, an inscription from Tenmahādevaṁgaḷam records the gift of the right of Kāṇi-pāṟṟu over certain lands of the community of Kavarai Nayaka-s headed by Hallaiyan, son of Vāsava Nayaka. Land was also gifted as araṇiśai-pāṟṟu which has been interpreted in the Annual Reports on (South) Indian Epigraphy as that which signifies "the enjoyment of produce in equal halves by the landlord and the tenant. In the Telugu country round about Nellore, this system is known as Kōramēdi-pāḷa and in the Vizagapatnam district as Šaṅgōṟupāḷu (evidently a construction [sic] of saganukōra-pāḷu). Another

178 AKE, 75 of 1934-35.
179 AKE, 46 of 1933-34; see also AKE, 31, 52 of 1933-34; 164 of 1934-35; 127 of 1956-57.
180 AKE, 1937-38, para 60; see also AKE, 455, 457 of 1937-38.
indication that the parru-s were divisions of revenue administration during the days of the Vijayanagara Empire is that there are a few parru-s that are not named after villages but according to the area they covered — hence, we hear of the ḫiravēlippārru, the ḫrandāyiravēlī-parru and the ḫrāyiravēlippārru meanings respectively, parru-s of 1000, 2000 and 6000 vēli-s. parru-s were also granted to temples as ḫivita-parru.

It will be noted that the nādu, the śirmai and the parru were different types of territorial divisions and that their boundaries did not coincide as a rule. The first of these divisions denoted an agricultural region, the second identified villages from which revenue was assigned to various officers of state as remuneration for their services; and the third denoted the revenue divisions of the Empire. Take for example, the case of Narugamaṅgala parru, which is named after Narugamaṅgalam (Arni Tk., ḫā Dt.) and which most inscriptions agree was in Palakunra-kōṭṭam and in Paḍaiṅdu-

181 See Appendices I and II.
182 İRE, 59 of 1914, 1914-15, para 44.
183 İRE, 87 of 1887, Op. 6 of 1966-67 and 50 of 1934-35, if ḫajagambhira-kōṭṭam is taken, as it has been here, to be another name for Palakunra-kōṭṭam.
ñājyam. 184 However, there are also references to it being in Melkunra-ñāḍu, 185 in mãṇḍalaikula-ñāḍu, 186 in Rājagambhiran-malai 187 and in Tachchûr-ñāḍu, on the north bank of the Cheyyar. 188 One inscription even records that Nâdukunram (Nâdu-kunam, Sandiwash Tk., Nâ D.) was in Hērkunra-ñāḍu in Palakunra-kottam in kurugamañkalapparru in Kulaippulûr-ñāḍu, in Chandragirirajya in Jayañkonḍacölamañdalam. 189 Further, inscriptions from these ñāḍu-s sometimes mention that they were included in kurugamañgalapparru. For instance, in one epigraph, we are told that Tachchûr-ñāḍu was in kurugamañgalaparti (i.e. kurugamañgala-parru) in Palkunra-kõta. 190 A chronological list of inscriptions mentioning kurugamañgalapparru 191 shows that there is

184 T.I.S./III/10; L60; I/15, 99; ARE, 120 of 1921; Op. 6 of 1936-67; J11/1/80.
185 ARE, 352 of 1912.
186 SII/I/72; see A. Krishnaswami, op. cit., p. 163 fr. 4 for a complete failure to understand the nature of the parru and ñāḍu divisions.
187 ARE, 54 of 1933-34.
189 SII/XTI/761.
191 See Appendix IV.
no apparent order in the territorial divisions. However, if we consider the parru division as being a territorial division for the purposes of revenue collection, then, it can be argued that Maṇḍaikula-nāḍu and Ėlknra-nāḍu clearly fall within Īurugamaṅgalapparru and that the confusion arises because the villages were said to be first in Īurugamaṅga-parru and then in the nāḍu concerned. This is amply borne out by the pattern of the location of villages as shown in our maps.

One difficulty faced by this argument is that some nāḍu-s are mentioned as being also in other parru-s. Thus for example an inscription dated 1-d-1522 A.D. refers to Tachchur-nāḍu as being in Īaṇḍagōpalan-parru and another mentions that Ėeqünkunnam was in Śrī-Ramamaṅgal-parru in Ėlknra-nāḍu in Palkunra-kōṭṭam. Neqünkunnam has also, as we have seen been mentioned as a part of Ėrkunra-nāḍu and of Īurugamaṅga-pnarru and on the other hand Tachchur-nāḍu has been mentioned

192 SII/XVII/765.
193 TIDES/III/180; IV/15, 99.
to be in the northern part of Paṅgala-ṇāḍu and on the north bank of the Cheyyar. This apparent difficulty can however be resolved fairly satisfactorily as we have submitted that the ṇāḍu and the parru are units based on different functional classifications. It follows therefore that the boundaries of these units need not coincide. Thus, a ṇāḍu may stretch across two or more parru-s and vice-versa. Then it can be argued that Tatḥchīr-ṇāḍu was in both Gaṇḍagōpalan-parru and in Gaṇugamaṅgala-parru.

On the other hand, we have only one inscriptional reference to Śrīramaṅgala-parru. Here, it appears that it would be more cautious to maintain that this parru was an alternative name for Gaṇugamaṅgala-parru rather than to maintain that the Kēlkunra-ṇāḍu which was in Paḷakaṇna-Kōttam formed parts of both Gaṇugamaṅgala-parru and Śrī Rāmaṅgala-parru. One reason for the different treatment of Śrī Rāmaṅgala-parru and Gaṇḍagōpalan-parru is that in the case of the latter there are many more villages nearby where the territorial divisions in which they are located are not mentioned. These have consequently been included in this parru. In the case of Śrī-Rāmaṅgala-parru on the other hand, there are no such villages.

194  
Amd, 55 of 1933-34.
Thus, it appears to us that contrary to Stein's view that the Vijayanagara state was a form of the segmentary state, there was a good deal of centralisation of power. Indeed, Stein seems at times to wantonly ignore the abundant evidence that we have to show that the Rāya exercised considerable power all over his domains. This may be clearly demonstrated by an example. Inscriptions of Kampaṇa-/XML\textsuperscript{195} and of Harihararaya II\textsuperscript{196} recorded that special agents of the king were deputed to the Iruvoor Rāya temple to solve the dispute between the Ishabattaliyilār and the Devaradiyār regarding the order of precedence to be followed in the temple during services. Stein considers this evidence as misleading as he argues that "most of the time.... the king is not only a distant figure, but one of such god-like majesty or fierce war-like mien as to make him an utterly improbable agent for the resolution of minor local problems."\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{195} AR3, 195 and 208 of 1912.

\textsuperscript{196} AR3, 196 of 1912.

\textsuperscript{197} Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 281.