CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATION

The early inscriptions of South Kanara do not contain much information regarding the administrative set up of the region under the early Ḍūṣas. Naturally enough and as everywhere else, the king was at the top of the administrative hierarchy and wielded supreme powers within his kingdom. The absolute independence which the early Ḍūṣas enjoyed in their sway over the South Kanara region is clearly borne out by the fact that while inscriptions outside South Kanara which mention them refer to them as the feudatories of one or another imperial ruler, not one of their inscriptions found within the Tuḷu country ever ascribes them a subordinate title or epithet, let alone refer to a suzerain power over them. As a matter of fact, as has been pointed out in the earlier chapters, none of the Ḍūṣa inscriptions found in South Kanara, throughout the dynasty's long rule over that territory from at least the middle of the seventh to the end of the fourteenth century, betrays a status of subordination for the Ḍūṣas. The importance and sanctity attached by the

1 Accounts of administrative, social, economic and religious conditions, given in this thesis, are restricted to the material contained in the local inscriptions and are to be taken as supplements to the well-known writings of earlier scholars like Saletore, who have devoted sufficient space to such matters.
early Āḷupas to the formalities of coronation are revealed by the Udīyāvara inscription of Prithvisāgara which states that he had himself formally crowned (paṭṭam-gaṭṭisa) before fighting to capture the throne at Udayapura.

The inscriptions of the Āḷupas do not, even once, mention the name of the kingdom as Āḷuva-khēga though, as pointed out earlier, the region is referred to as Āḷuka and Āḷuva-khēga-6000 in certain records from adjacent territories. We have shown above that the Bārakāru inscriptions of Bānki-dēva I (c. A.D. 1020-50) give the name of the kingdom as Tuḷu-vishaya.

During the period of the early Āḷupas, their kingdom was primarily divided into divisions called nāḍu. Each nāḍu was placed in charge of an officer whose functions were expressed in the phrase nāṭṭu-mudime kevve which is best translated into English as 'headmanship over the nāḍu'. The Vajīsāra inscription of Āḷuvarasa I (c. A.D. 650-680) refers to the nāṭṭu-mudime of Gupḍapparasa. Further down in the same record

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5 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 296.
is mentioned Paḍuvaliya-naḍu which was, probably, the same as the naḍu under Gundapparasa's headmanship. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the name Paḍuvaliya-naḍu reminds us of Hāḍuvaliya-rājya, comprising parts of the North and South Kanara Districts, which came under the sway of a minor family of Jaina chieftains during Vijayanagara times. However, Paḍuvaliya-naḍu was the region around Vadgaḍarase in the Udipi Taluk while Hāḍuvaliya-rājya was much to its north and comprised portions of the Coondapur Taluk and North Kanara District.

The Kigga inscription of Ajuvarasa I refers to Kundavararasa's nāṭṭu-mudime, the naḍu in this case obviously standing for the region around Kigga, the findspot of the inscription. The Udiyāvara inscriptions of Prithvisāgara (c. A.D. 810-40) and Māramma (c. A.D. 840-70) speak of similar offices held, during their reigns, by Bōygavarma and Arakella respectively. The naḍu of these records was apparently represented by the region around Udiyāvara itself.

The Vadgaḍarase inscription leads us to the belief that the naḍu was further split into smaller divisions. The inscription, after referring to Gundapparasa's nāṭṭu-mudime, states that Sattigārī was holding the mudime of Banna or Banne.

7 Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.
8 Ibid., p. 23, No. VIII and plate.
It may be gathered from this that Satagiri was an officer under Gupdasparasa and that Banna or Bamine was a subdivision of Pahuvaliya-naga.

Surprisingly enough the offices of nattu-mudime and mudime cease to occur in inscriptions after the reign of Maramma. Inscriptions assignable to this period are so scarce that it is difficult to explain away this development. It may, however, be suggested that, during this period, the office of nattu-mudime was replaced by the establishment of minor feudatory principalities. This suggestion gains support from the Bantra inscription of the time of Maramma which refers to Nripamallaraja, Vilarittaliyarasa and a ruler of the Katambha-vaisha. These appear to have been minor chieftains ruling over tiny principalities within the Alupa kingdom. Again, the Barakuru inscriptions of Bankideva, referred to above, claim for the ruler suzerainty over 120 mandalikas and mahamanadalikas. This may be safely interpreted to mean that a number of minor chieftains in South Kanara were serving as the subordinates of Bankideva I.

During the period of the early Alupas, populous townships were designated nagara or nakara, pura and pustana. The capital city itself is mentioned as Udeyapura-nagara or Udeyapura-nakara. KoJala-nakara, which is the same as KoJala-giri, was another city. The city of Mangalore is referred to as Mangalapura-mahanaagara in the Veilvikkudi copper-plate grant.

9 ARSIS., 1930-31, No. 351.
of Pāṇḍya Neţunjadaiyaṇ and as Maṅgalapura in the Māruṭu grant of Vikramāditya I. Some of the early Āḷupa inscriptions refer to the padinentu-nattana. This name, when judged with reference to the context in which it occurs in one of the 12 Udyavara-inscriptions of Māramma discussed in Chapter III, appears to refer to administrative bodies belonging to eighteen (padinentu) cities. The cities were placed under the administration of officers who appear to have had the designation of nāyaka. One of the Udyavara inscriptions of Prithvisāgara refers to Udayapura-nāyaga i.e. the nāyaka of Udayapura, the capital city of the Āḷupas. Another inscription from the same place and belonging to the reign of Māramma refers to one Karasi-nāyaga (= nāyaka) as the administrator of Koḷalanakara.

Very little is revealed by available inscriptions of the early Āḷupas on how the rural areas of the kingdom were administered in their days. The Kīgga inscription of Chitra-vāhana I, discussed in Chapter III above, refers to one Nāgappa as the adhikāri of Kīlla. The Bantra inscription, also discussed in Chapter III, refers to some of the witnesses to the agreement as peggadegalu. From the context in which they occur in the records, it may be concluded that adhikāri and peggade were designations of village officials.

11 Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological series, No.6, p.37 and plate.
12 This inscription has not so far been noticed. The text is furnished in the appendix below.
13 Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.
The Baptra inscription provides interesting testimony to the role played by common men in the administrative field. While recording a compact of peace and friendship between local chieftains, it mentions the physician of Sadanur, (Sadanur̓ marudag), those who arrange for service like playing instrumental music in the temple (võlagada-pāliyavaru), and a number of other individuals as witnesses.

The military administration of the early Āḷupas finds no elucidation in their inscriptions. Being a small territory, the king personally led his forces in the combats. The contents of all the hero-stones of the early Āḷupa period imply that the battles ensued when the armies were led in person by the contending prince in order to gain his entry into the capital city. The inscriptions make no reference whatever to the designation of the leaders of the armies other than the king. The common soldier was known merely as āḷu or as bhata. The early Āḷupa rulers were quick to recognise and reward meritorious service rendered by their soldiers on the battle fields. While a number of hero-stones record the valiant death of those who fought and fell for one or the other rival prince, a few record the compensation awarded in the memory of the deceased hero by his grateful master. Rapasāgara's Udīyavara inscription, which mentions his battle against Maygēsā, actually uses the word pāriyava (= Skt. pārihāra, compensation) in describing the nature of such a grant.

Though epigraphical information on their military ad-
ministration is scanty, the early Ijupas must have had ample opportunities to develop the art of warfare to a high degree. The eulogy showered upon the military skills of Chitravahana I by the Shiggaon plates of Vijayaditya, discussed in Chapter III, and the prolonged period of civil war in which the Ijupas found themselves in the eighth and ninth centuries bear witness to this view. Chitravahana II could not have given moments of anxiety to the imperial Rashtrakūta forces at Perggūjī, as averred by the Māvali inscription of Rashtrakūta Gōvinda III, before being defeated and beaten back, unless the Ijupas had developed a high degree of military administration.

References in early Ijupa inscriptions to the military strategies adopted by the contending forces are few and far between. Nor do elephants, horses and chariots find frequent references. The lone instance in which the chariot is mentioned with reference to the Tulu country is found in the Vēljikkudi copper plate grant of Neçuṇjaṇaiyaṇ which claims for the Pāṇḍya invader victory over the great charioteers (mahārathar) at Māṅgalapura. During the earlier but uncertain

period of Tuluva history, great armies of charioteers from Tulu-naulu reduced, according to the poets of the Sahgam age, the very heights of the Western Ghats on their way to subdue the recalcitrant chieftain of Mogur. So also an indication for the employment of steeds in battles is to be found in the description of a soldier, in the Udiyavara inscription of Ranasagara and Maygesa, as arali i.e., one who is an expert in mounting and riding (horses). Again the Mavalī stone inscription of Rashtrakuta Govinda III refers to the great tussle that ensued in the battle of Perggunji between the imperial cavalry and the cavaliers of Ajupa Chitravahana II. The army of foot-soldiers is named in one of the Udiyavara hero-stones as padati.

The strategy of arranging the armies for battles had reached much perfection under the early Ajupas. The Mavalī inscription, referred to above, refers to the right and left wings of the Ajupa forces. One of the Udiyavara hero-stones praises the deceased hero as an expert in breaking the Chakrawyūha (sahasad-ari-Chakra-vyūhaman-odevon). Among the arms used in warfare, the arrow (aṃbu), sword (vāl, nistriśa) and palaś (shield) find mention in the early inscriptions.

Citizens of various professions and pursuits organi-
ing themselves into representative groups, a common feature in the Tuju country from the time of the Medieval Āḷupas, had made a beginning even during the period of the early Āḷupas. The guild known as the padinēntu-pattana has been referred to above. Being a predominantly agricultural territory, the tillers formed themselves into organisations from early times. The 21 Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II refers to the guild of seventy tenancies of Udayapura (Udayapura-nakarada elpat-
okkalu) and to the Thousand of Sivāli (Sivāliya sāsirbhar).

Land was owned by the crown as well as by the citizens. The reference to Āḍakappa who was holding the right of cultivation over the fields at Voḍgarse, in the Vaḍgarse inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, immediately after mentioning administrative officers, leads us to believe that the fields in question were crown lands.

Naturally enough, taxes on land and water were the main sources of income for the royal treasury. Big townships like Udayapura, Kojala-nagara and Pombuchcha also yielded revenues. The taxes on land and water are referred to as jala-
dulaṁ sthaladulaṁ suṁka (i.e. taxes on water and land) in one Udiyāvara inscription of Māramma. The early inscriptions show that agricultural products were subject to taxation. By taxes on water is apparently meant tolls collected from marine and river trades.

22 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, p. 21, No.VI and plate.
Regarding administration of justice under the early Āḷupas, their inscriptions provide no information. The Kidga inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, referred to above, merely refers to dēva-danśa (divine retribution) and rāja-danśa (punishment by the ruler) in its imprecatory passages.

Information regarding administrative practices is found in greater detail in the inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas. While all the records of the early Āḷupas refer to their reigns merely as rāja, the inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas also use the more familiar terms of vijaya-rāja and Skachchhatrādhirāja. With the exception of Āḷuvarasa I, Chitravahana I and Mārama, the early Āḷupas received no other titles and epithets except the honorific śrī and śrīmatu. Āḷuvarasa I receives the title of Mahārāja in the Marupuru grant, referred to above, while Chitravahana I receives the same title in the Sorab grant of Chālukya Vinayāditya discussed in Chapter III. Mārama is ascribed in his inscriptions the sovereign epithet of paramēvara and the rather unusual title of Adhirājarāja. The medieval and later Āḷupas, on the other hand, were distinguished

23 The only exceptions to this statement are found in one of the Udyavara inscriptions and in the Bantra inscriptions, both discussed in Chapter III, wherein the word prithvi-rāja is applied to the reign of Mārama and of the unnamed Katambha ruler respectively.

by a string of sovereign titles and epithets including the imperial ones of Pāṇḍya-Mahārājaśhīraja and Paramabhattaraka.
The lofty title of Pāṇḍya-Chakravarti became, with the medieval and later Āḷupas, a dynastic distinction.

Like the early inscriptions, the records of the Medieval and Later Āḷupas also do not delineate the functions of a king. These inscriptions, registering grants made or agreements entered into, almost invariably state that the ruler was personally present in the audience hall, along with his officials at the time the transactions were registered. At the head of the official hierarchy were the ministers who were known as pradhāna. The council of ministers present in the audience hall was referred to as samasta- (or sakala-) pradhānaru. It is not known if the number of ministers was fixed by convention or was left to be decided by the ruler concerned though the Kachchhūru inscription of Ballamahādevī, belonging to A.D. 1288, refers to the council of ministers as pañcha-pradhānaru i.e. five ministers. The designation mahāpradhāna, which was apparently applied to the chief of the council of ministers, also finds mention in a few medieval and later records of the Āḷupas.

Another set of officials who were present in the royal audience hall are referred to as deśi-purusharu. Deśi means 'guiding', 'instructing' and deśika means 'spiritual teacher'. Thus deśi-purusharu of these inscriptions may be taken to mean spiritual personages who guided the rulers in matters of administra-

25 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 257.
tion. The conventional seventy two departments of the palace household also make their appearance in these inscriptions as the bāhattara-niyogas. Among the others who are stated as present during royal audiences are the court-priests (purāhitārā) and sages (rishiyārā).

Besides these officials, princes and princesses of the royal family took active part in the administration of the kingdom. During the latter years of the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyaśāva-Āḷupendra (A.D. 1250-75), his queen Ballamahādevi, who later herself reigned as queen (A.D. 1275-92), is stated to be present in the audience hall along with the king and his officials. Prince (Kumāra) Udayādityarasā is mentioned in the Udiyāvara inscription of A.D. 1114-15 of Kavi-Āḷupendra. The Kōpakēri inscription of A.D. 1155 and the damaged Kadiri inscription, both of the same ruler, refer to Pāṇḍyaśāva's rule over the village of Pannirppāḷi. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1160-1220) is stated, in his Mangalore inscription of A.D. 1204, to have entrusted the administration of Mugaru-nāḍu to his nephew (āliya) Bāṅkīdeva. In A.D. 1254, when Vīrapāṇḍyaśāva-Āḷupendra was reigning, and again in A.D. 1281, when his queen Ballamahādevi was on the Āḷupā

27 Ibid., No. 376.
28 Being noticed in ARTS., 1964-65, App.B.
throne, the former's nephew Aliya Bahkidda, who later himself reigned from A.D. 1285 to 1315, was present, along with the council of ministers, in the royal audience hall.

Among the officials of lesser status than those who figure in the records as attending the ruler's court were the adhikari (or atikari), Odeva, grāmāṇi, sēnābōva, ṛājuva, hēsaade, hadapa, ērikaraṇa, sāhanī and bēhāri. The respective functions of these officers are only rarely referred to in the available inscriptions.

Of these, the adhikari (or atikari) was the administrator of the kingdom's divisions known as nādu. One Lokkyāgaha was serving as the adhikari of Bāyidduranagū in A.D. 1324 under Soyidēva (A.D. 1315-1335). The records reveal that the term adhikari (atikari) had come to be used as a surname by those who held the rank and office. The adhikaris are also mentioned with reference to the collection of taxes and as village administrators.

The head of a village appears to have borne the designation of Odeva. The Odeva of Pūttigeya-grāma is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1267 from Pūttige, Udipi Taluk. A Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1815 refers to the Odevas of

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30 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 500
The functions of the grāmapi do not find elucidation in any of the available records. As the very designation suggests, the grāmapi was concerned with village administration. Along with the king (arasu) and minister (pradhāna), the grāmapi figures in a number of inscriptions as the protector of the grants made in his village.

The sēnabōva, from the contexts in which this office is mentioned, may be interpreted as the village clerk. Many records end with the statement that they were written by the sēnabōva. The Mangalore inscription of Kulasēkhara I of A.D. 1204, referred to above, lays down that the sēnabōva should maintain a written record on the daily services in the temple of Bankesvara. The administration of a grant made by the king was, in some cases, entrusted to the care of the sēnabōva. Like the designation adhikāri, the term sēnabōva also appears frequently in inscriptions in the position of a surname.

The office of Ûraluva (ûr=village; āl=administrator) stands for the administrator or ruler of a given village. The word itself is of rare occurrence in the inscriptions of the Āḷupas.

32 The office of grāmapi is of much antiquity and was of importance during the Vēdic period. See The Vēdic Age, p. 431.
The office of heggade was the counterpart of the earlier office of mudime i.e. village headmanship. The exact significance of the term is brought home by such usages as Bilivüra heggade found in medieval inscriptions. It is also found written as veragade and had come to be taken as a surname.

Haddana designated the servant who prepared and furnished betel leaves with their ingredients. The term haddana also means a barber. (This is modern)

The srikarana was the royal scribe who wrote down official records and maintained them. This is amply illustrated by the Kotesvara inscription of A.D. 1261 of Vña-Papḍyadéva-Ālapendra which states that it was written by srikarana Māchāiyasōnabōśa.

Sāhani (= Sanskrit Sādhanika) stands for the tender of war horses. We have seen above that the damaged Uiliyāvara inscription of Mahāmandalēśvara Kāya-Santaradēva of A.D. 1058 refers to the darja-sāhani i.e. an officer who tends war-horses. Later inscriptions repeat the word sāhani many times but mostly as a surname.

Behari is the Kannada form for Sanskrit vyavahārin=trader or merchant. As it is, the term behari may have designated officers who looked after the interests of the ruling house in matters of trade.

34 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 278.
The kingdom was divided into divisions called, as in earlier times, the nadu. The region around Baindur in Coondaput Taluk, was known as Bayindura-nadu. Mugarunadu was another division around Mangaluru. Besides, small regions were under the administration of feudatory rulers. One such was Mahamanilasavara Sevyagellarasa who was ruling over two tracts called Pumjale and Chalule (comprising portions of the Karkala and Mangalore Taluks respectively) in A.D. 1115-19 when Kavi-Ajupa was on the throne.

Guilds and associations find frequent references in the inscriptions of this period. In some records the whole village (uravaru, grama), in which the grant registered therein was made, is stated to be a party to the grant. Inscriptions which record the amount of tax assessed against a given village declare that the order was passed for the whole village (uravarige or gramadavarige kotta sasana). So also, some inscriptions declare that the grant recorded was to be protected, among others, by the whole village.

Villages had the advantage of representative bodies in the field of administration. We have already noticed the 1000 of Sivalli (Sivalliva-sasiravaru) figuring in the Udyavara inscription of Ajuvarasa II. The inscriptions of the medieval and later Ajupas refer to the 'thousand' of Handa and Koja, the 'three hundred' of Miruvara and Kujikuru and the 'hundred and two' of Brahmapura and Sivapura. The mahajanap of Brahmapura, referred to in the Brahmapura inscription of A.D. 1254.
of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupēndra, appear to be the same as the 'One hundred and two' of Brahmavura. The basis and principles on which these bodies were formed are not known from the available inscriptions of South Kanara. They appear as donors, donees, protectors of grants and as assessors of taxes to be paid by their villages.

Populous trade-centres like Bārakūru, Basarūru and Mūḍa-bidure had their trade or merchant guilds called nakharā (or nagara, nakara, samasta-nakharā, nagara-samūrha etc.), settikāra and the hañjāmana, also referred to as the nakharā-hañjāmana. Of these, nakharā, which is to be derived from Sanskrit nagara, is to be understood in the sense of 'merchant community' or 'guild of merchants' or 'a mercantile town'. The word nagara also occurs in these senses in Tamil inscriptions.

The origin of hanlamana has been convincingly traced to the Avestic haŋjamana and Persian anluman and taken to mean the settlement of the Parsees. Dr. D.C. Sircar, the eminent epigraphist and historian, however, feels that there is little possibility of the reference to haŋjamana in South Kanara inscriptions being to Parsee settlements in that district and that, therefore, haŋjamana should be understood in the sense of pāṇcha-vappa of the lexicons, the same as Tamil Aṉiuvappam (Sanskrit Pāṇcha-vappa) meaning the five artisan classes viz., the goldsmiths, black-smiths, brasiers, carpenters and stonemasons. This fivefold expansion, which holds good for Aṉiuvappam, is not found so explained in any available record for the term haŋjamana. On the other hand, the Avestic and Persian origin for haŋjamana stands vindicated by the fact that "the Arabian Sea, a vast expanse separating the two peninsulas of India and Arabia and bounded on the north by the barren coast-line of Persia, is one of the vital seas of the world. As a result of the seasonal monsoon it has been for at least 3000 years a great highway of commerce and intercourse. The Indians and the Phoenicians, the Arabs - in fact all the seafaring nations of the East - have considered this to be the chief area of Navigation".

"The excavations at Arikamedu have clearly proved . . . . that the people of the south were in close commercial relations with the Mediterranean people, that long before the time

37 Ind. Ant., Vol.XLI, pp.173-76
of the Romans their ships had sailed up to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, that intimate commercial and cultural contacts existed between them and the people of Western Asia and Egypt.  

The above historical facts suggest the possibility of Arabic and Persian merchant settlements in the coastal kingdom of the Āḷupas. It is significant that during the Vijayanagara period, when the empire had to import, of necessity, war horses from Arabia and such other lands, the inscriptions of South Kanara make frequent references to the haṇḍamāna and nakharahaṇḍamāna guilds. In this context, we may refer to the haṇḍamāna-mukhya (i.e. chief of the haṇḍamāna), by name Ummara-marakkāla, who figures prominently in the Kaikiṣa inscription of A.D. 1427 of the reign of Dēvarāya I and his feudatory Saṅgirāya of Nagire as an adversary of the imperial governor Timmappa-Qēdeva. Ummara is the same as Umar, a persian proper name and marakkāla means a sailor. This fact lends good support to the view that haṇḍamāna was the guild of Arabic and Persian merchants settled along the west coast. The nakharas in the Āḷupa

40 Ibid., p. 28.
42 For further support, see Sheikh Zein-ud-dien who, in his Toh fut-ul-Majahideen, p.5 (Translation by Lt. M.J. Rowlandson, London, 1883) says "A compny of Moslems having emigrated to certain ports of Malabar, and subsequently there taken up their dwelling, the population by degrees became proselytes to the religion of God (Islam)". I owe this reference to Dr. G.S. Dikshit.
kigdom appear to have been of a religious bent as is shown by temples for Śiva built by them and hence named Nakharēsvara. One such temple was built in the important trade town of Easarūru.

The medieval and later Alupa inscriptions contain frequent references to eradu-kōla-bali as present in the royal audience hall and the Pādebeṭṭu inscription of A.D. 1224–25 of the reign of Vīra Sōyidēva-Alupēndra refers to the balaru of hattu-kōla-bali. Kōlu means, among other things 'an arrow' and 'a kind of military exercise.' Bali means, among other things, 'race', 'lineage', 'company' etc. kōla-bali may therefore be interpreted to mean the military division or companies. The prefixes eradu (two) and hattu (ten) may either stand for the number of regiments or denote the number of army leaders who formed themselves into a council and were present in the audience hall. The association of kōla-bali to a military organisation is further supported by expressions such as tamā samasta eradu-kōla-bali vīra-parivāra sahaśāi daṇḍatti hōdalli occurring in some hero-stone inscriptions of the Nagēre and Nācuvalli rulers.

43 ARSIE, 1930-31, No. 374.
44 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.
The medieval and later Alupa inscriptions contain very little information of the administration of Justice. The imprecatory passages of many records of this period show that excommunication was one of the most widely prevalent modes of punishment. For the same crime, punishments differed in their severity and application in accordance with the caste to which the offender belonged. Thus, the Mangalore inscription of A.D. 1204 of the reign of Kulaśēkhara I, for instance, states that if a brahmaṇa should choose to flout the grant registered therein, he will be expelled from the four castes (nālkū-śāṭiyāṃ paragū); that if a setṭi (person belonging to the trading community) should commit the offence, he will be expelled from the merchant caste (sarvasva balāṇjadiḥ paragū); if the grant should be flouted by the agriculturists, they will pay a fine of 1000 honnu per head (vokkalu-makkalu māḍidade ondu tale sāvira honnu).

The administrative changes introduced by the Hoysalas are not reflected in their inscriptions from South Kanara. Bālāka III was represented at Bārakūru by his queen Chikkayi-Tāyi who, in all probity, was an Alupa princess. She was aided in administration by Vaijappa-dappāyaka, Ajjappa-sāhapi ani Hariyappa-dappāyaka whose tenure in office is referred to in the inscriptions as their pradhānike. Indigenous organisations like the nakhaṇa, nakhaṇa-hāṇijamāṇa and the setṭikāraṇas were associated

with the Hoysala administration as in the case of the medieval and later Äupas. Among village committees, the '14 of Niruvvara' are mentioned in the Nilavara inscription of A.D. 1333 of Vira Ballaläa III.

For the first time, the Hoysala inscriptions from South Kanara mention the settkaras in specific numbers, a feature which becomes more common in Vijayanagara inscriptions from the region. The 'three settkaras of mürkeri', a quarters in Bārakūr as also the 'eight setitia' of Bidure (i.e. Mūdatidure) appear in the records of the Hoysala period.

From the inscriptions of the Hoysalas, we also come to know of a few organisations which find no mention in the available records of the earlier periods. One such is the nādu which apparently stands for an administrative body of representatives drawn from a given district. The Hiriyangadi inscription of A.D. 1334 of Lokanāthadeva, the feudatory of Ballaläa III, refers to the nādu and nakara of Karkala while the Mūdatidure inscription of A.D. 1342 of Ballalā III refers to the nādu and nakara of Bidureyanagara. The same record also mentions the halaru of Karaka and the Ubbaya-narādēśigalu. Of these halaru which means 'the many' served as the common word for

47 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 492.
49 Ibid., No. 213.
any 'association'. We had seen above reference to the halaru of the hattu-kola bali. The halaru guild may be generally considered to have been made up of persons belonging to different professions. An inscription from Basaruru, of A.D. 1433, for example, refers to one Dugapaseṭṭi as the hūvinakāra (i.e. cultivator and seller of flowers) belonging to the halaru guild of mūrūkāri, a quarters of Basaruru.

"The nānādesi... were powerful autonomous corporations of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries". As the very name implies, they conducted trade activities in all countries. The prefix Ubhava may be understood in the normal sense of two, the inscriptions, in all probability, referring to two nānādesi guilds. It has been suggested elsewhere that Ubhava is to be taken as denoting local (svādesi) and foreign (para-desi) merchant communities.

The Mūgabidure inscription mentioned above refers to sālikeva aruvaru ballālugalu and aivaru horahinavaru. Sālike, according to Kittel, means 'business in a room or shop'.

50 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 444.
51 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Colas, p. 537.
52 Hyderabad Archaeological series, No. 13, Glossary, p. 211.
53 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.
interpretation of ballālugalu with reference to sālike is difficult to make. The term ballālu actually means ‘a man who is able, skilled, erudite’ or ‘a man who knows’. We have seen in Chapter VI that the Sujēru inscription of A.D. 1528, while recording a compact between Tuḷuvarasa-Chauja and Viḷa Narasimha Baṅga, prohibits the capture by either of the parties of the ballālugalu belonging to the other. In view of this it may be suggested here that sālikeva ballālugalu, mentioned as six in number, were members of a guild of businessmen, who were considered as citizens of importance.

The reference to the five horahinavaru must be read with reference to sālike (i.e. as sālikeva aivaru horahinavaru). Horahinavaru means outsiders and from the context of their reference, it may be understood that they were connected with sālike but hailed from outside Tuḷuva. It may be that they secured, for the ballālu traders, commodities from outside the Tuḷu country.

Ballāḷa III’s inscription of A.D. 1336, from Mūḍakēri in Bārakūru, mentions the nūra-aivattu (= 150) elāme while his Mūḍa-bidure inscription of A.D. 1342, mentioned above, refers to nālvaru (= 4) elamegalu. Elame finds frequent reference in Vijayanagara

53 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.
54 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.
records from South Kanara and is more often than not associated with the number 150. Kittel equates \textit{alam} with Kannada \textit{gga} (Tamil \textit{ipal}) meaning union, connexion, fellowship, equality etc. \textit{Alama} may thus be understood to stand for an association of people, though the exact nature of its composition and functions finds no elucidation in the available records. That \textit{alam} was indeed a guild or an association with its own binding regulations is attested to by the reference, in many Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara, to its members as \textit{alamam alagudavaru} i.e. those who were bound by or included in the \textit{alam}. The figures 150, 4 etc., appear to pertain to different guilds with the common name of \textit{alam}.

When the empire of Vijayanagara extended its power over South Kanara in A.D. 1345 it did not enter the region as its sole master. For almost three years, during A.D. 1345-48, Bārakūru was the seat of three powers, those of the ancient Āḷupas, the decaying Hoysalas and the growing empire. In A.D. 1348, the Hoysala power made its exit, but the Āḷupas continued their compromised existence until the end of the 14th century. From then on, the authority of Vijayanagara held good for most of the Tulu country. While it becomes evident from available inscriptions of the period that the new imperial administrators fostered and freely associated themselves with the existing administrative

55 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.
institutions, there was one important shift in the region's political set up in that the Tuļuvas, for the first time in their long history, came to be ruled, not directly by the king, but by his representatives.

Right from the time of its entry into the empire, the Tuļu country was divided into two administrative units called Bārakūru-rājya and Maṉgalūru-rājya, with the cities of Bārakūru and Maṉgalūru for their headquarters. The two rāivas were generally placed under the jurisdiction of two governors who were appointed from time to time and for varying lengths of terms. Frequently enough, however, both the rāivas were brought under the rule of one governor. The authority who made these appointments was either the emperor himself (mahārāvara nīrūpadim) or an imperial officer (dapḍañavakara nīrūpadim etc.) or both (mahārāvara dapḍañavakara nīrūpadim etc.). The imperial officers who were thus empowered to appoint the governors held high positions and were designated Mahāpradhana and / or dapḍañavaka. The authority which some of these imperial officers exercised over the whole empire is expressed in terms such as samasta-rāivavaru pārputavya māduva kāladalu, samasta-rāivavam pratipalisuvu kāladalli, samasta-rānuveva pārputavyavām chittai, samasta-rānveyagalaru pratipalisutt-iralu, etc. Perumāḷādēva-dappāyaka, among them, is actually stated to be ruling over the empire along with the emperor Dēvarāya I (Dēvarāva-mahārāvara Perumāḷādeva-dappāyakaru Viḷavananagarīva nele-vīdinal-iddu . . . rāivav-prevya kāladalu a Rāvara dappāyakara nīrūpadim etc.)

Some of these officers were important enough to have had ministers (pradhāni) under them.

In some cases either or both of the rājyas was conferred on an imperial officer who, in his turn, appointed a man of his own choice to govern the territory. An interesting instance at hand is the case of Ratnappa-Oṛēya who, when Krishnadevarāya conferred the Bāraṅgurājya on him, made his own son, Vijayanappa-Oṛēya, governor of the province.

Some of the governors of the earlier days themselves bore the epithet of Mahāpradhāna and even had ministers designated pradhāni to assist them in administration. The lists of governors for the successive reigns, given in Chapter VI above, show that the same person was, often enough, reappointed to the post after an interval, sometimes more than twice. For instance, Mallappa-Oṛēya served as governor of the Bāraṅguru-rājya on five different occasions: during A.D. 1512-20, Ratnappa-Oṛēya and his son Vijayappa-Oṛēya frequently alternated in the office of the governor for the same rājya. The lone instance of a Muslim being appointed to the post is met with when, in A.D. 1551, during the reign of Sadāsiyavarāya, Ekādaḷa-khān was serving as the governor of Bāraṅkuru-rājya.

The governors were changed at the will of their superiors, without any regard for duration. We may, in this regard, contrast

57 See Chapter VI above.
the long tenures of service in this office of Maleya-dappayaka (A.D. 1345-65), Sañkaradëva-Odeya (A.D. 1408-20) and Vîtharasa-Odeya (A.D. 1465-78) with the short periods during which the other known governors sat in the office. In a few cases, the governor of one râïya was transferred as governor of the other râïya. To cite only one instance, Basavappa-Odeya, who served as governor of the Bâarakûru-râjya from A.D. 1400-03, was, for a short while, transferred as governor of MângâJI-luru-râjya during A.D. 1405-04, before being brought back to his post at Bâarakûru.

The lists of governors given in Chapter VI also show that the same governor was often enough, entrusted with the administration of both the Bâarakûru and MângâJI-luru râiyas. This was obviously done for administrative convenience until in A.D. 1515, when Krishpadevarâya was on the throne, the very practice of appointing governors for the MângâJI-luru-râjya was discontinued. Again, from the time of Achyutarâya onwards, the entire Tûlû country came to be bestowed as a fief on the members of the Kèladi ruling house and was, invariably, known as the Tûlû-râjya. The Kèladi rulers appointed their own governors who, from their headquarters at Bâarakûru, administered the entire district of South Kanara.

Even during the period of Vijayanagara authority over South Kanara, considerable parts of the district were under the sway of a number of local ruling families most of them Jaina by religious faith. The most powerful among them were the Kâlasa-Kârakâla family, which not only ruled over the region around Kâra-
kaḷa but also ruled over the Kaḷasa region in the Chikamagalur District, the Nagire ruling house, which ruled over parts of the South and North Kanara districts from its headquarters at Gere-soppe and the ruling house of Hāḍuvaliya-rājya which also comprised of parts of the South and North Kanara districts. In the Maṅgalūru region, which abounded in tiny principalities, there were the Baṅgas, Chaṭas, the Madda-hēgḍes, the Kinnika-hēgḍes, the Ajilas, the Nālinas and the Sāmantas. Some of the inscriptions of these chieftains refer themselves to the reigns of Vijayanagara emperors while the rest omit all references to imperial authority showing thereby the degree of independence which these local rulers were allowed to enjoy. This is further proved by the fact that imperial interference in the affairs and mutual feuds of those petty rulers are only very rarely recorded in the available inscriptions. We have noticed in Chapter VI above the fact that the Baṅga, Chaṭa and Ajila chieftains even assisted the imperial governor in carrying out his responsibilities.

During the Vijayanagara period, the territory of South Kanara provided the interesting sight of a country divided into parts on more than one basis, the various parts overlapping each other. Thus, as we have shown about for purposes of imperial administration, the region was divided in two, the Bāarakūru and Maṅgalūru rājvas. Then there were the feudal principalities like the Hāḍuvaji, Nagire, Kaḷasa-Kārkala rājvas which were situated within and also beyond the bounds of the above two rājvas. Besides, the region was also divided into a number of subdivisions known as the nādu. Vijayanagara epigraphs contain references to

The governor was at the top of the administrative hierarchy. He was assisted by a council of ministers who had the designation of pradhāna. Adhikari was an office held by persons at different levels. We thus hear of nāḍa-adhikārī (i.e. the adhikārī of a district), Bārakūra-adhikārī, Bīḍureva-sthalada-adhikārī etc. (i.e. adhikārī of a city) and grāmada-adhikārī (i.e. adhikārī of a village).

Of the other offices already discussed, Odeva, grāmani, senābōva, āraluva, haggade, śrīkarana (also as karpa and karapāke) and bōhāri continue to be referred to in Vijayanagara inscriptions. While these officers were generally concerned with village administration that of the senābōva was of different categories. We thus meet with references to nāḍa-senābōva, sthalada-senābōva and, of course, the village senābōva. An official designated senābōva also served in the various guilds and was, perhaps, entrusted with the task of maintaining their records. An inscription of A.D. 1472 from Basarūru, for instance, refers to one Saṅkara-senābōva as pāduvākerīva halaru-settikāraka senābōva. The village headman was also known as nāyaka.

References also occur in inscriptions of this period to appanekara (= ājūapti, executor of grants), athavara (tax collector), ölevakara (messenger) and madhyastha (arbitrator, mediator or Judge).

Internal and international trades in South Kanara received a fillip during the Vijayanagara period. This is amply illustrated by the frequent references, in important contexts, to the trade-guilds of the region. In particular, trade guilds in important townships, such as Bārakūru, Basarūru, Miḍabidure and Vēpūru, rose in importance and their activities and jurisdiction came to govern many aspects of the citizens' lives.

The interests of the traders bringing their commodities from outside for sale in South Kanara were well protected by agreements entered into by local traders. Thus, the Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1430, of the reign of Devaraya II, recording an agreement between the trading communities of mūrukēri and chaulyikēri of Bārakūru, contains a clause reserving a particular place (thavu) for the foreign merchants (paradesi-bavāharigalu) to store the loads of sugar they bring from beyond the Ghāts (Ghāṭada mōlapinda).

Bārakūru was not only a busy trade centre but was also the headquarters of the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya and was, therefore, the largest city in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period. The city was divided into a number of quarters called

keri of which records of the period contain frequent references to müru-keri, chaulya-keri, manigara-keri, hattu-keri, köta-keri and paduva-keri. Each keri had its own trade guilds called settikara, nakhara and nakhara-hañjamana. We learn from the inscriptions that the settikara guild was made up of three members (müvaru) in the case of müru-keri, chaulya-keri and manigara-keri, of four members (nälvaru) in the case of köta-keri and of sixteen members (hadinäru-mandi) in the case of hattu-keri.

Basaruru, also an important trade centre, was also divided into keris of which the paduvakeri and müdakeri are referred to in the available records. They too had their own trade guilds of the above description. Müdabidure, referred to in the records as Bidireya-nagara and Vamsa-pura, had an eight member settikara guild. Venüru had a settikara guild of sixteen members. Besides these, other important townships such as Mahagururu, Karakaja and Bainduru also had these trade guilds. The nakhara and nakhara-hañjamana are mentioned with reference to Bārajkuru and Basaruru. The Ballalugalu and the horahinavaru, organisations referred to above, continue to make their appearance in Vijayanagara records but only less frequently.

We learn from inscriptions that these guilds as such and also their members as individuals owned lands. While the nakhara guilds generally owed allegiance to Saivism, built a number of temples dedicated to Nakharetvara and made numerous grants for their maintenance, the settikara guilds generally belonged to the Jaina faith, built or renovated many of the Jaina bastis and made grants for their maintenance. These guilds figure,
even as in the earlier periods, as donors, donees, administra-
tors and protectors of grants and as arbitrators in disputes 
between the state and the people and between themselves.

Representative bodies such as the nādu, halaru also 
referred to as the samasta-halaru and the ejame (also referred 
to as ejamegal-olagādevaṟu and ejameg-olagādevaṟu) figure in 
the records of the Vijayanagara period. The ejames are men-
tioned as 150 in number for the mūrukēri and manigērekēri 
and as 770 in number for the hattukēri of Bārakūr, as 4 in num-
ber for Mūḍabidure and as 4 and 360 in number for Vēpūr.

Other representative bodies already heard of such as 
raja, ūru and grāma figure in the records of this period. Be-
sides these, frequent references occur also to the corporation 
of cultivators, okkalu (usually accompanied by various numeri-
cal distinctions) and to the jagattu and Janani or janni. Of 
the last two jagattu appears to have been an organisation of a 
general nature. The word janana occurs in South Kanara inscrip-
tions in the sense of landed property. Janani or janni may 
therefore stand for a guild of landlords. As in the case of 
Okkalu, the jagattu and jannini also are invariably mentioned in 
association with different numerical figures for different 
villages.

Members of the traders' guilds and of assemblies of 
ordinary citizens appear to have been chosen on merit. May ins-
criptions vouchsafe to the high calibre of the men who were in-
cluded in such organisations. For instance, an inscription from Muddabidure eulogises the members of the settikara guild and the samasta-kallaru of Bidire as well-versed in the Sciences, as builders and renovators of new and old Chaityas and as embellished by all noble qualities. In another inscription from the same place the mahaianas of that town receive such lofty epithets as para-purusharthakaarigal, danasilar, gurujana-bhaktar, kavi-jana-stutar, parama-davaparar, parahita-charnar, Jina-marga-dibakar etc.

These trade and citizens' guilds and the various officials, mentioned above, were together referred to, in the field of administration, as the kattalevararu or samasta-kattalevararu. They helped the imperial governor of the raalsa to which they belonged in matters of administration. We have seen above that, according to the Udipi inscription of A.D. 1437, the samasta-kattalevararu of the hattukaari of Bavaruru had acted as the arbitrators in a serious dispute between the imperial governor Annappa-Odeya and the residents of Sivalli.

During Vijayanagara administration, these organisations rose to great power, wealth and influence. An inscription from

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60 Ibid., No. 196.
62 Ibid., No. 296.
63 ARSIE., 1927-28, No. 395. 
Yermmal, Udipi Taluk actually refers to the 1000 warriors (sāvirālu) of the Samasta-halaru. From this, it may be concluded that these guilds had their own armed followers whose duty was to protect the interests of their respective guilds. A further attestation to their power is furnished by the Kaikīpi inscription of A.D. 1427 from which we learn that the nakhara-hāṃjamāna was powerful enough to challenge the authority of the governor and thereby invite an attack by the imperial forces.

The importance of these organisations and the sanction accorded to them by local traditions were clearly understood and conceded by the imperial authorities. The Bārakūru inscription A.D. 1405 of the reign of Bukka II informs us that the emperor restored to the samasta-halaru, including the nakhara-hāṃjamāna of the hattkēri of Bārakūru, all their rights and privileges and their conventional status, which had earlier been taken away from them by the imperial governor Mahābaladeva for reasons not stated in the record.

Details regarding military administration in South Kanara during this period are only rarely met with in inscriptions. We had seen above that a number of governors themselves had the title of dandanāyaka. In all military expeditions within the region, imperial forces were led in person by the governor himself. So also, the local rulers were personally at the head of their armies in times of war.


It is very likely that standing armies of the empire were stationed in South Kanara. These standing armies, while they were strong enough to maintain the empire's hold on South Kanara, do not appear to have been strong enough to meet serious challenges. We learn from the Kañasa inscription of A.D. 1516, of the reign of the Kañasa-Karkaḷa Chief Immiḍi Bhairaraṇa, that an act on insubordination on his part necessitated the invasion of the Tuḷu country by the imperial forces led in person by the great Krishṇḍevarāya himself.

The Sujēru inscription of A.D. 1528, recording a compact between the Chauṭa and Baṅga chieftains, makes a reference to their armies and to the army and cavalry of the Kañasa-Karkaḷa ruler. From this, it may be concluded that while major chieftains of the region maintained their own mounted troops, the minor rulers could not afford the same.

The armed forces of the local rulers appear to have been made up of soldiers recruited not only from Tuḷuva but also from the adjacent tracts. Thus the Hiriyāṅgaḍi (Karkaḷa Taluk) inscription of A.D. 1598 refers to the 5000 soldiers of the kōlabali and the 5000 soldiers of Malaha (i.e. Malabar, the northern parts of Kēraḷa State, south of the Chandragiri river). Though this inscription, by virtue of its late date, falls outside the scope of this thesis, it may be pointed out that its contents

66 Ep.Carn., Vol.VI, Mg. 41.
67 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.
reveal the interesting fact that these standing armies had become a source of trouble and apprehension for their masters. The port-city of Mangalore was the headquarters of an imperial official called navigada-prabhu (i.e. 'Lord of Ships'). It is not possible to say if this officer was the head of a naval fleet or was merely the chief of merchant ships.

The modes of administering justice are not expressly elucidated in records from this region. While for the earlier period no references whatever to the modes of punishment occur in inscriptions, with the exception of conventional curses upon the destroyers of grants, the medieval records show that the system of imposing fines was a popular mode of punishment. Some records of the medieval Ājupas, while prescribing the amount of money any erring individual will have to pay as fine to some temple, do not fail to pronounce curses upon and prescribe such punishments even to the ruler, should he also err.

Another form of punishment was to expel the culprit from the four castes thereby depriving him of the privileges enjoyed by the rest of the society under this classification.


70 See, for instance, SII., Vol.VII, No. 185.
Capital punishments are nowhere referred to and penalties imposed even for serious crimes were of a mild nature. In A.D. 1347, when Maleya-dappayaka was governing Bārakūru-rājya, Govinda and krishiṇa were obliged to make certain grants to the deity Trimūrti for allegedly murdering a brāhmaṇa. In A.D. 1444, some members of the nakha-guild of Basarūru were involved in the murder of Tirumahāvāla and Bomma-setti. The settikāra-guild of the paduvakari of Basarūru enquired into the case and passed a judgement to the effect that the nakha-guild should expiate their sin by making certain gifts of gold to the god Mahādeva of the Nakharēsvāra temple. It is interesting to note that the settikāra-guild personally supervised the implementation of their judgment.

In matters of disputes between imperial authority and the local rulers, between the local rulers themselves and between the guilds and other organisations, arbitration as a means of obtaining justice was frequently resorted to. We had seen above that, when, in A.D. 1436, the imperial governor Appappa-ōdeya had invaded and laid waste the village of Śivalli in Udipi Taluk, the kattalevavaru of the hattukari of Bārakūru used their good offices to re-establish peace in that village. We have also seen above that in A.D. 1528 Krishiṇananda-ōdeya and his disciple Vedananda-ōdeya acted as the arbitrators in bringing about a political compact between the Chauḍa and Baṅga chieftains.

74 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.
It was customary for the local rulers to sign such agreements in the presence of a non-aligned chieftain to whom they could appeal whenever the terms of such pacts were in jeopardy.

In A.D. 1430, a dispute arose at Bārakūru between the sūrya-halaru of chauliyakāri and the mūraya-setṭikāraṇu and the samasta-halaru of mumukṣu regarding sugar trade. The dispute became serious enough to result in disturbances. Finally, Chandrārasinga-Odēya, the then governor of Bārakūru-rajya was made to act as the arbitrator and an agreement defining the rights of the two kēra in sugar trade was arrived at and duly signed.

When in A.D. 1455 a dispute arose between the setṭikāra guilds of padūvakāri and mūdakāri at Basarūru, the disputants assembled at the temple of Vishṇumūrti at Chiruligūḍa, accepted the priests of the our mathas of Basarūru and the village assembly of Kandāvura-grama as arbitrators, and arrived at an agreement regarding the boundary and the rights of their respective locality and guild and the paths through which the setṭikāras of each locality had to take sheep and areca-nuts to the temple of Dēvi on occasions of festivals.

Disputes between individuals are not referred to in the available records. But it may be reasonably supposed that when such disputes arose, they were enquired into by the official

75 SII., Vol.VII, No. 340. This record is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII below.

76 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 457.
madhyavastha (i.e. arbitrator). The system of expiating a crime committed by making grants to temples, however serious the crime may have been, was in wide practice. Such act of expiation is referred to in the records as prāyaschitta.

It may be pointed out in conclusion that for the period immediately following the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565, the administrative set up discussed above held good in almost all respects. Whatever minor changes were effected by the Koḷādi overlords after A.D. 1565 falls beyond the scope of this thesis.