PART TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
CHAPTER III

KINGSHIP

The Nature of Kingship

It is obvious from the scriptures and other recorded material of the past of India that the conception of Kingship occupied a paramount place in the minds of ancient and medieval thinkers and scholars. From the brilliant records that have historical significance for the student of history and polity of medieval India, we can agree with the viewpoint that there was a variegated pattern of polity, prevalent in medieval India. Though different in form and nature in different places and ages, the image of the ideal king and the idea of kingship have contributed to the enrichment and stabilization of political life of medieval India. Though the evolution and functioning of kingship in India seems to resemble those of the contemporary Western European countries, yet the distinguishing characteristic feature associated with Indian viewpoint of kingship, cannot be easily set aside. The ancient and medieval kings of India appear to have claimed and enjoyed divinely ordained absolute power, but unlike in the West they were subject to some law embodying the moral order. Kingship was conceived as a multi-functional unit in India. The king was looked upon, not only as a ruler in the true sense, but as a guide and patron of the people at large. Hence it was not unnatural that the
king performed manifold and numerous functions like administering justice and promoting well-being of the people in every respect.

The concept that figures frequently in the historical accounts of India, viz., Rajdharma, makes Indian kingship predominantly distinctive. The perennial stream of political thought is reflected in the great books of the past, from the Kautiliya Arthasastra and the Manu Smriti to the Sukra-Nitisara and the Amukta Malyada of Krishnadevaraya.

Manu expects a king to lead a moral and ethical life. He must protect his subjects from any evil forces internal or external and from disease or destruction. Further it is stated that the king should not hesitate to punish the wicked and anti-social elements ruthlessly. It was also one of the duties of the king to maintain the normative order of society and to safeguard the social order from chaos and calamity.

The protection of the religion and religious life of the people has been one of the many duties that were assigned to kings. Being a divinely appointed person himself, he was expected to carry out the divine message of establishing 'Dharmarajya', a "welfare state" on earth. He must patronise

2. Ibid., 2, 110, pp. 216, 223.
4. Ibid.
religions, strive to spread and perpetuate religious traditions amongst people.\(^1\)

One more function of the king was to undertake charitable works and philanthropic services for the people at large. This in its true sense implies social service and welfare schemes. It has been stated that as a vice­gerent of God on earth a king must establish institutions that specifically aim at the amelioration of the poor, the needy, the unfortunate and orphans in society.

With this general background and with this general frame to help understand the court and nature of kingship, an attempt has been made here, with the help of available sources to study and investigate the institution of kingship in Chitradurga.

It was generally believed that the Chitradurga kingship had not a divine origin. But these kings took interest in the welfare of the subjects, performed their duties for uplifting the downtrodden, and sought to grant social, economic and political security to the people.

The Chitradurga rulers adopted the traditional ideals of polity and strove to perpetuate the ideal of ancient kingship in their own land. From our records, it is evident that the rulers of Chitradurga were generally righteous and strove to rule their subjects righteously. The sources make specific references to the righteous rule

\(^1\) Apasthamba, II, 10th Khanda, 26, 1, p. 161.
of Baramanna Nayaka and Matti Timmanna Nayaka.

Functions of the King

The protection of the subjects was the main duty of a king. This implies a triple function: guarding against alien aggression, maintaining peace and order in the land, and redressing the grievances of the people. Baramanna Nayaka-II distinguished himself in courage and fighting. He defended the land from Hyder Ali and fought against him till the last.

The Chitradurga rulers performed another vital function of the king, that is, the administration of justice. The treatise on polity composed by Sukra affirms that proper and forceful punishment of the wicked forms an essential element in the performance of this duty. The Chitradurga rulers administered justice by punishing the offenders and by suitably rewarding the law-abiders and lovers of peace and order in the land.

The king protects and perpetuates the religions of the people and the religious sentiments of the people as a part of his duties. Perhaps this particular duty of kings had different implications at different times. The king patronises equally all the faiths, cults and creeds that exist in his land. The king has to perform a variety of tasks while performing his religious duties.

2. SC, XI, p. 93.
While studying the rulers of Chitradurga in this connection we find in the Nayakas the rare combination of profound faith in divine power and religious catholicity. The Chitradurga Nayakas were lenient in their gifts and donations in the form of lands, villages, and other royal grants to all religious groups and sects in their territory. The various religious sects constructed their temples, conducted their collective religious ceremonies, fairs, and religious gatherings and pilgrimages under the liberal royal patronage of the Nayakas.

The inscriptions fully bear out the above statements. Immadi Madakeri Nayaka (Rangappa) granted to the Brahmins the Kadalegadu village belonging to Chitrahalli sima as an agrahara. 1 Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka granted to a certain Timmappa, son of Puttanna, the village of Haluvadhava in the Durgi sima as an agrahara. 2 Kumar Chikkanna Nayaka made grants of fields to the poet Konappa's agrahara. 3 Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka made a rent-free grant of Uppaligere village to Bhimabhatta, a resident of Kasi. 4 Baramanna Nayaka made a grant of Pillekaranahalli, with a view to maintaining the sanctity and continuing the essential services of God such as burning perpetual lamps, offering prayers, flowers, and

2. Ibid., p. 76.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. Ibid., p. 111.
other articles. Baramanna Nayaka made grants to Raghunathatirtha-Shripad of Vyasaraya muth, establisher of Vaishnava Siddhanta, worshipper of the lotus feet of God Ramachandra, the village of Devanahalli in the Kodaganuru sima. 2

Baramanna Nayaka felt the necessity of making such an arrangement of automatic services to the image of the God Ahobala Narasimha of Niruttadi by granting land. 3 Here at the outset, the Nayaka perhaps pained by the stone image having been destroyed by the Delhi ruler’s army in 1636 A.D. got it renovated and reestablished by the ritualistic ceremony of "Pratishthapana".

Lands and even villages were frequently granted to the religious institutions and to the Brahmins along with their incomes and taxes. 5 Raja Madakeri Nayaka granted the village of Goudanahalli, situated in the Hiriyuru sima, with a view to installing an "Anna-Chhatra" mutt or a free boarding house. That the Nayakas were unbiased in their treatment of the various sects and creeds in discernable in the charitable gift of the village of Naganahalli rent-free to the followers of Shri Ramanuja sect made by Kasturi Chikkanna Nayaka. He did this with a view to enhancing the

2. Ibid., p. 76.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
5. Ibid.
name and fame of his father.

In the performance of their religious duty, kings patronised and promoted religious bodies. The process appears to have been gradual. Let us take for instance the construction, renovation and maintenance of the temples. Kasturi Madakeri Nayaka took a keen interest in accomplishing a variety of religious duties. An inscription tells us that the Nayaka found the temple of the god Bhaktapala Venugopal Krishna in a dilapidated condition, then reconstructed the temple and got the god reinstalled. He made rich grants to the Archika, the priest, of the temple Venkatacharya Dikshit of Pancharatna sect, Atreya gotra, Boudhayana and Yaju Shakha. The grant also provided servants for cooking, flowers and garland suppliers for worship, the bearers of Palki, the sacred umbrella, and the sacred fan.

The next duty of the king was to promote the economic well-being and material achievements of the people as a whole. The king induced the people to participate in economic activities by donating lands. The Chitradurga kings donated lands to the people, specially to those who possessed high and distinguishing qualities in respective fields, to keep them free from economic worries. They also donated a large number of lands to the poor and the needy.

2. Ibid., p. 7.
It is stated in one of the inscriptions that Obanna Nayaka made a grant of land to the stone mason and carpenter, who had constructed the temple of God Hanuman of Chitradurga.  

We have further evidence from Kannada sources that the Nayakas offered presents to those who used to bring happy and good news for them.  

It is also said that gallant fighters and the heroic soldiers who sacrificed their lives were fittingly honoured and rewarded by the kings. It is learnt that they made ample grants to the soldiers in the form of lands, etc. and took interest in the nourishment and general welfare of the soldiers' children, with a view to building a healthy and strong combative force in the future.  

Visiting holy places and going for pilgrimages has been one of the outstanding cultural legacies, we have from our forefathers. The kings of Chitradurga had adopted plans that enabled them to extend their help and cooperation in preserving, developing and maintaining the tradition of pilgrimage. They provided security and comforts to the pilgrims, and maintained sanctity and sanitation of holy places. It is to be noted that the rulers like Baramanna Nayaka undertook pilgrimage tours to worship the deities like

1. EC, XI, p. 12.  
2. Patilwada, OP, pp. 4-7.  
3. Ibid.  
4. Ibid., p. 7.
The Chitradurga Nayakas' patronage was not confined only to the Hindu religion. The kings gave equal patronage to all religious sects and extended their help to all equally and impartially. The followers of the Vaishnava School, the Ramanuja sect, the Lingayat sect, and Muslim institutions too were equally treated. There is plenty of evidence to prove this. Saramanna Nayaka granted the village of Demalavanhalli to Raghunatha-tirtha-Shripad of Vyasarayamatt the renowned Dvaita teacher and scholar, worshipper of God Ramachandra. Besides, as mentioned in one of the inscriptions, Chikkanna Nayaka made a grant of Nagenahalli village to a certain Tirupati-Pedda-Jiyaraya as a rent-free grant to the Ramanuja sect. Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa's Dalwai Bharamappa is also said to have made grants to the Virakta matt at Jigher. Baramappa Nayaka built the Murgi Matt on the fort for the Lingayat sect.

The Nayakas had a number of Mahammadeans in their service, like Kutubuddin Khan and Salabat Khan. This is the typical attitude of religious catholicity and high

2. EC, XI, p. 78.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
5. WJS, XXXI, p. 362.
6. Ibid., XVIII, p. 147; Uchhangama, CR, p. 45.
cultured behaviour resulting from the kings of this land.

**Succession**

As regards Succession to the throne of Chitradurga, it appears that the law of primogeniture prevailed in the family. The data gathered from the study of inscriptions make it clear that the issue of succession in the Bedar family of the Chitradurga Kingdom is based on the hereditary principles. As the matter stands, Obanna Nayaka was succeeded by his son Madakeri Nayaka (Sarjappa) and the latter by his son Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka.

One of the inscriptions belonging to A.D. 1531 says that Madakeri Nayaka was the son of Obanna Nayaka, and grandson of Mahanayakacharya Kemageti Sagale Hanumti Nayaka. Next the inscription says that a certain Siddannagouda of Siddapura sold the goudike for 200 varahas to the above-mentioned Madakeri Nayaka. Whether this Madakeri Nayaka succeeded Timmanna Nayaka, the founder, it is not possible to say, because there is no evidence to support this statement. It, however, allows us to assume that only the ruling Nayakas are entitled to enjoy the status of the ancestral title of Madakeri Nayaka. Accordingly the ruling Nayakas of Holalkere and Hiriyuru became entitled to achieve that

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3. *KNV*, p. 130; *EC*, XI, p. 18.
status. But there is no doubt that this Madakeri Nayaka, mentioned as the grandson of Obanna Nayaka, belonged to the same line as that of the founder of the Madakeri Nayaka, for the inscriptions say that the grandfather of this person was called "Sriman Mahanayakacharya Kamagatiya Sagalaya Hanumí Nayakaraya Makkalu — Obanna Nayakara maga Madakeri Nayakarige". If this Obanna was one of the sons of the first founder of Madakeri Nayaka — Sagaliya Hanumi Nayaka, as the word Children (Makkalu) applied to Obanna suggests, who was his other son? This person was, as an inscription relates, no other than Timmanna Nayaka who probably ruled (as an Amarnayaka) sometime between the years A.D. 1581 and A.D. 1683. So Obanna might have succeeded Timmanna Nayaka and must have ruled between A.D. 1584 and A.D. 1590, his brother Obanna Nayaka having ruled the kingdom during the life time of Timmanna Nayaka's son can be traced in the above inscription. This is the only instance of this kind. Further Timmanna Nayaka's son (Sarjappa) ruled over the kingdom till A.D. 1689 and made a grant to a Virebhadra temple in Hosadurga Hobali.

Secondly, the ruler who succeeded Madakeri Nayaka (Sarjappa) appears to have been Chikkanna Nayaka or, as

1. EC, XI, p. 22.
2. Ibid., p. 188.
3. Ibid., p. 112.
4. Ibid., p. 209.
Linganna Kavi calls him in the *Kejadi-Nripa-Vijayam*, Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka. He is called Hiriya because there is another person bearing the same name in the Madakeri family. According to the inscription, this Hiriya Chikkanna Nayaka had a brother called Immadi Madakeri Nayaka, the agent for affairs of the Vijayanagara emperor Rangaraya in A.D. 1653. He made a grant of village Kadalegadu belonging to Hire Guntur Magani in Chitrakalli sima as an agrahara.

This is evidently the same Madakeri Nayaka, as that mentioned by Linganna Kavi and, who preceded Chikkanna Nayaka. Thus some Chitradurga rulers were succeeded by their brothers, as their nephews were too young to take upon themselves the responsibility of administration.

**Yuvaraja**

The office of Yuvaraja was important among the Chitradurga rulers as in earlier days. Generally the eldest son was nominated as the Yuvaraja, although it was not uncommon to see brothers assuming the responsibility of the kingdom under special circumstances.

Till A.D. 1721 we do not come across the word 'Yuvaraja' or 'Kumar' (Prince) in the inscriptions. Baramanna Nayaka-I called himself 'Arasu' (king) and his son the

Kumar 'Pattada' (crown prince) Chikkanna-III. An epigraph of this year confirms that Baramanna Nayaka-I appointed Chikkanna-III as Yuvaraja.2

Another instance also may be quoted. Sarjappa, who was a son of Timmananna Nayaka, the founder of Madikeri dynasty, is thought to have appointed Yuvaraja at the time of his uncle Obanna Nayaka's reign.3 The office of the Yuvaraja had a great constitutional importance. The crown prince assumed the titles of his dynasty, issued orders, made grants, and assisted ruling monarch, in his government, and wars. For instance, in A.D. 1721 Baramanna Nayaka's son Kumar Pattada Chikkanna granted Anesindri field for poet Konappa's agrahara.4 And again Timmananna Nayaka's son (Sarjappa) made a grant of land to the Virabhadra temple in Hosadurga Hobali.5

According to the Keladi-Nripa-Vilayam, Hiriya Madikeri Nayaka (Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka-III) was succeeded by three rulers. But we come across the name of only one ruler in epigraphs from A.D. 1628 to A.D. 1690 namely Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka. Linganna Kavi is probably

correct because although Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka is recorded to have ruled till A.D. 1690, an inscription states that in A.D. 1678 a ruler named Kamageti Kasturi Chikkanna Nayakaraya ruled. This Chikkanna could never have been Hiriya Chikkanna who was Karyakarta of the emperor Venkatapati in A.D. 1806, because Kamageti Kasturi Rangappa is recorded to have ruled after him. Therefore, it is possible that this was the son of Kamageti Kasturi (Rangappa-III) Nayaka and that he actually ruled in the name of his father who must have been quite an old man in A.D. 1690.

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1. EC, XI, p. 137.
2. HUI, VII, p. 12.
Central Government

During the medieval period the entire authority of the State centred round the king. In the sphere of administration he was considered to be absolute. The military power and the financial resources of the kingdom were entirely under his personal command. He was regarded as the fountain-head of justice.

Council of Ministers

It was believed that the king could not act without the approval and co-operation of his Council of ministers. The works on law and political treatises are all unanimous on the point. Manu calls a king foolish if he attempted to carry on the administration by himself. He regards such a king as unfit. 1 He lays down that the king must have colleagues, i.e., ministers and that in their midst and along with them he has to consider ordinary and extraordinary matters of the State. 2 Even ordinary business ought not to be done by one man, not to speak of the conduct of a kingdom. 3 Even Kautilya, the greatest advocate of monarchy, says that matters of State should be

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2. Ibid., 54-57.
3. Ibid., 30-31, 55-56.
discussed by the Council and whatever the majority decides, the king should carry out. ¹ Yajnavalkya is of the same opinion. ² Sukra and many others agree with this view.

There was a Council of ministers in the Chitradurga kingdom to assist the king in the work of administration. We do not know their exact number, but there seem to have been six to eight ministers. The king consulted his ministers on important occasions. We usually do not find definite references to the designations of the ministers in the Chitradurga sources. In many places the expressions are only suggestive. For example, Hyder Ali attacked Chitradurga in 1763. But the fort being impregnable, he hit upon a plan to entice the chief out of the fort. He sent a letter to the effect that he was anxious for a private consultation. But the chief of Chitradurga could see through Hyder's schemes. His brother Parashuramappa (probably the Chief-minister) advised him caution and prudence, and suggested that Hyder's plan should be exposed by diplomatic exchange of messages. So the next day in the open Darbar he explained the State of affairs before the Council of ministers and asked for their advice. Sarvottam Rao, who was presumably one of the ministers, suggested that Hyder Ali had been annoyed at the help rendered by the Nayaka to Madhavrao when he took Nijgal.

¹. Artha-Sastra, Bk. I, Ch. 15, p. 29.
². Yajnavalkya, Bk. I, 311.
Another minister advised the Nayaka to send some excuse for not being able to meet personally. So the Nayaka wrote to Hyder Ali that he too was anxious to meet him, yet it was not possible, because of his ill-health. He sent his minister with a present to explain the matters personally. We also find instances where the Nayakas took the opinion of the Council in judicial matters. An inscription shows that the king used to respect the views of the Council and of other officials.

The number of the ministers in the Council is recommended by Manu to be seven or eight. The number ten or eight had become nearly fixed when the Shukraniti was written. The official designations of the ministers for different portfolios varied from time to time. In the Council of ministers all the members held their office during the king's pleasure. They enjoyed more or less an equal status. We do not get sufficient details in the available sources for forming a complete picture of this body. The minister who was very close to the king, and who sometimes acted on behalf of the king, if he was absent, was a sort of Chief Minister. We come across the names of some Chief Ministers in the Chitradurga kingdom. Gutunur Mallappa, for example, was the Chief Minister of Obanna.

1. JHS, XVIII, 1927-28, p. 146.
3. SNS, II, pp. 2-4.
Simes, The Largest Administrative Divisions in The Chitradurga State (1568 to 1779)

1) Chitradurga
2) Chitrahalli
3) Hiriyuru
4) Baguru
5) Kodaganuru
6) Bilichodu
7) Holalkere
8) Challakere
Nayaka. The next important minister in the Chitradurga kingdom was the minister for Revenue and Agriculture. The Revenue Department was styled the Athavane Chavad*. This, of course, followed the Vijayanagara model. If it was found necessary to introduce any new regulations, then after stating the same to the palace and obtaining the consent of the king, the minister or the secretaries (here called Managers of Athavane) transmitted orders under the royal signature and seal to the 'Parupatyagar' of the province for execution.

There were officials under this ministry to collect the revenue. The grants made by the kings were intimated to this department, and from this department to the officials by sending Sasana. In A.D. 1556 Timmanna Nayaka granted a Sasana to the Tammadis of Hiriyuru and the holders of the temple and Brahmin endowments, freeing them from all taxes. There are other examples to show that the boundaries of the lands were marked in the presence of officials. An inscription says, "By order of the Mahanayakacharya Kamageti Kasturi Baramanna Nayaka's son, Kumar Chikkanna came, and in the presence of the farmers, and village servants (he) marked out the four Boundaries of Ane-Sindri fields". All such

1. Manu, VII, p. 54.
2. Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptins, p. 471.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
transactions came under the jurisdiction of the Revenue department and its Chief was known as Parupatyagar whom we may call Minister for Revenue and Agriculture.

The next minister was the 'Duta' or Vakil. He was an envoy, there being no regular ambassadors or plenipotentiaries. He dealt with matters relating to peace and war with foreign powers. We find a few instances where the Nayakas sent their Vakils for negotiations. When Hyder Ali attacked Chitradurga in A.D. 1763 the Nayaka sent his Vakil to explain to Hyder Ali how owing to ill-health the Nayaka was not in a position to meet him personally. On another occasion the Nayaka sent his Vakil Balappa Sadhu Chamrao to Hyder Ali with the annual tribute.

When Hyder Ali attacked Chitradurga in 1777, the Nayaka sent one Purushottama to Haripant Tatya requesting succour. But Haripant was himself very uneasy as he was not quite sure of his own hold on his troops. Receiving no assurance from the Marathas, the Nayaka sent his envoy to Hyder Ali for treaty negotiations.

The king was the fountain-head of the justice. He heard the important cases himself. But sometimes he took the advice of other officials while giving the judgement. For ordinary offences the punishment was fine or confiscation of property. In A.D. 1609 the priest of a temple dedicated to the God Virabhadra of Hullur was fined 24 hanas for the misappropriation of temple funds. The amount had been given to the temple for offerings of the great festival.
of the god. In the year A.D. 1665 the goldsmith of a certain village was granted lands and villages. The "restu" (grain or money stored for the army) was collected and deposited in the house of two residents called Kembhavi Irappa and Appanna. The robbers broke open the house of Kembhavi and took away the bags containing money. Satyappa (the Revenue Collector) reported the incident of theft to the king. He suspected Kembhavi Irappa and Appanna as the possible thieves. So the king ordered to institute an enquiry into the matter, with the Court officials and others as the members of the enquiry body. Irappa and Appanna were arrested and were found guilty in the enquiry. A fine of 120 varahas was imposed on them. But the village officials were pained to know the verdict as it was unexpected for them. Naturally they appealed to the mercy of the king requesting him to reconsider the order of the punishment given by the Court, as they suspected Satyappa himself was the real culprit. The king issued orders to the watchman to trace the real culprit within a short period. Finally Satyappa admitted his offence and his son surrendered all the ornaments belonging to his wife. The officials induced the king to accept the ornaments and return the fine to Satyappa recovering the money from Irappa and Appanna. Satyappa said to the king that he had no other means for his livelihood, and hence he committed the above offence.

1. SC, XI, p. 22.
2. Ibid., p. 93.
This inscription reveals many matters connected with the administration of justice in Chitradurga. (1) Even though the king was the fountain-head of justice and claimed to decide the cases himself, there were regular officials and regular Courts appointed by the king for this purpose, (2) In some cases the disputes were settled by the king with the help his ministers and local officials, (3) The law administered in the Court was not necessarily the traditional law. The king could give his own decisions in some cases, (4) The king was not an autocrat in dealing with judicial matters.

The next member of the Council of Ministers was probably the Dalavayi. The rulers of Chitradurga were the feudatories of Vijayanagara until the time of Baramappa Nayaka-I. It appears that except some all had generals under them. In Chitradurga unlike in Vijayanagara the Chief of the army was called 'Dalavayi' which was, of course, a lesser designation. In Vijayanagara he was called Dandanayaka or Dannayaka. Probably the 'Dalavayi' was both the military leader in the field and the military member in the Council. Because a Brichar (Baichar) written by Bhimaji Pant relating to Shrimant Madhavrao Peshwa says that Dalavayi Parashuramappa sat left to the king in the

1. SC, XI, p. 78.
2. Ibid., p. 157.
Council. He was probably a member of the Council.

The next important Department in the Chitradurga kingdom was that of finance. We come across the names of treasurers in the inscriptions. An inscription says that in the reign of Baramanna Nayaka a fort bastion was constructed under the management of Treasurer Timmappa. Another inscription says that a grant was made by Gangamma, the daughter of the Treasurer Maddanna.

It seems that even in Chitradurga the Yuvaraj sometimes acted as a minister. He was generally a Prince of the blood — uncle, brother, nephew, son, or grandson. Like other ministers he was a colleague of the king. We find in some inscriptions that the prince also took part in the work of administration. For instance, by order of the Mahanayakacharya, Kamageti Kasturi Baramanna Nayaka's son Madakeri Nayakaraya (the prince) Kumar Chikkanna came, and in the presence of the farmers and village servants, marked out the boundaries of Anesindi fields.

Provincial Government

The rulers of Chitradurga divided their kingdom into territorial divisions for administrative purposes, viz.: the Sime, Magani, Hobali and Halli. These territorial

3. Ibid., p. 125.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
divisions were generally borrowed from Vijayangara. The kingdom was divided into about seven large divisions called simes as under: (1) Chitradurga sime, (2) Chitrahalli sime, (3) Kodagnur sime, (4) Bilichodu sime, (5) Hiriyuru sime, (6) Holalkere sime, and (7) Baguru sime. Most of the inscriptions mentions the 'Simes'.

Next to the sime was the 'Hobali'. From 4 to 10 of these Hobalis constituted a 'Sime'. 'Hobalis' were further divided into villages. Each Hobali included 10 to 40 villages. This system continued even after the fall of Chitradurga. Mentioned below are the Hobalis and the villages contained in them:

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<th>HOBALIS</th>
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<td>1. Chitradurga</td>
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<td>9. Bheem Samudra</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Chitterhalli</td>
<td>25 etc.</td>
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1. EC, XI,
3. Ibid.
We get another division in the inscription which is called 'Magani'. We do not get much information about this division. But the village granted to a certain, Puttanna says that Kadalegadu belonging to 'Hire Guntur 1 Magani' in our Chitraballi sima, is the only example we get in Chitradurga. But its real significance, however, is not clearly known. Rev. Kittel also says that the 'Magani' is a division of Taluka or the District. 2

The head of the sima was Parupatyagara who was also the head of the Athavane Chavadi of the sima. In an inscription we find the name of a certain 'Parupatyagara' Timmanna who was present at the time of granting a village. 3 The Athavane Parupatyagara, the Chief officer of the Revenue of the Sima, arranged the forms of account and issued all orders relating to that department. But he could not do anything of his own without the king’s permission.

The Nadiga was the revenue officer, who collected revenue from the Hobalis. He was the head of the Hobalis and was appointed by the palace. This Nadiga went to the office of the Athavane at the end of the year, accompanied by some of the principle people (Desasts), to clear the accounts of proceeding year, according to the settlement

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2. Kittel, p. 1231.
3. SC, loc. cit., p. 86.
or arrangement made in the beginning of the year.

If the managers of the office (Athavena) found it necessary to introduce any new regulations, they did so after stating the same to the palace and obtaining the consent of the king and then orders were issued under the royal signature and seal to the Parupatyagara for execution.

Local Government

The lowest unit of administration was the village, which was self-sufficient. There was a village assembly. It carried on the administration of the village through its hereditary officers, such as the village accountant or the Gouda, Shanubhoga, the village watchman or Telavar and others. These officers were paid by way of grants of land or by a portion of agriculture produce.

The Gouda was the head of the village. He received the grants of lands and also various perquisites such as dues from the fairs, presents during the festivals etc. He was the executive head of the village. He performed a number of important functions such as maintaining peace and order in the village, trying petty criminal cases, organising the village militia, looking after the construction and maintenance of tanks, temples etc. and above all collecting the revenue from the villagers.

In the places the gouda gave one varaha as the

2. Satyam, Gaz., p. 258.
offerings to the rulers whenever they came across any village during their pilgrimage.

Sometimes the Gouda granted lands to individuals. An inscription says that a certain Chennayya built the temple of the God Hanumanta of Nandan-Hosur, to which the Gouda of the place made grant of Goudankote field.\(^1\) Again in A.D. 1711 Baramanna Nayaka built the fort under the management of Chikkanna Gouda.\(^2\) The 'gaudike' could also be sold as is evident from an inscription which states that a certain Siddanna Gouda of Siddapura of Kerre sold the Goudike to Madakeri Nayaka for 200 varaahas.\(^3\)

The next village official was the Shanubhoga. The main duty of the Shanubhoga was to adjust all accounts relating to the revenue matters at the end of the year, and to settle the rent of ensuing year according to the estimate made by the government. To the Shanubhoga, as accountant of the village, the ryots paid the full amount 'ayam'. If he had a share of any charity lands from the inhabitants or from the Sirkar, he paid the 'Jodi' to the government. To him the inferior classes rendered their rents or shares of the revenue.

The other village communities discharged their functions through the village officials or Panchayats.

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1. EC, XI, p. 121.
2. Ibid., p. 104.
3. Ibid., p. 13.
CHAPTER V

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

The medieval theorists attached great importance to the fighting forces, and hence they regarded the army as an integral part of the State. The rulers also felt the necessity of maintaining the armies because of the need of the times which were marked by frequent external invasions and internal disturbances. The Chitradurga State was no exception to this. The entire army of Chitradurga was graded into three main divisions, viz., (1) the Infantry, (2) the Cavalry and (3) the Artillery.

Infantry and Cavalry:

Some references which speak of the military organization of the Chitradurga rulers can be found in the contemporary State papers and also in the Peshwa Daftar. In this context Jos. Watson's account as regards Chitradurga is useful. According to him, the revenues of the country amounted to Rs. 40 lakhs, the expenditure of which was meant for army consolidation. The army consisted of 4000 horse, 2000 foot and 30000 carnaticas. The same records mention that the Chitradurga Nayaka (Baramanna Nayaka-II) had 10000 men in an encounter with Hyder Ali in A.D. 1779. In 1773 A.D. one Halappa Nayaka of Mithod backed by Mohiyuddin

Saheb captured the cattle in Masavana Kanive and it was reported to Madakeri Nayaka by the peasants of the place. Madakeri Nayaka became furious, and sent 4000 horse for recapturing the cattle. At the time of Hyder's final attempt at besieging Chitradurga, Madakeri Nayaka is said to have possessed 10000 cavalry, 29600 infantry and 5000 carnatic horse. It is learnt that in A.D. 1766 the Chitradurga ruler joined Madhavrao Peshwa against Hyder Ali and helped him by sending 30000 foot. Kirmani says that it was the bravery of the chief of Chitradurga that enabled the Marathas to take the fort of Nijjal. The same thing is described by Krishnarrao Ballal too. Krishnarrao Ballal wrote to Nana Fadnis that the Chitradurga Raja had come with 6000 foot and 15000 cavalry. The Palegar had employed a good number of Muslims in his army. He was maintaining one full unit, formed into a corps of 3000 regularly armed men.

Thus the Chitradurga infantry ranged from 2000 to 10000 and cavalry from 4000 to 16000.

The infantry was classified into different categories according to the different types of fighting or combating

1. OJMS, XVIII, 1927-28, p. 147.
2. Ibid.
5. SPR, 37 (194), p. 765.
groups, such as Swordsman, the musketeers, and the best marks-men. In the year 1696 A.D. Santaji attacked the camp of Khanjad Khan, and he was accompanied by the Chitradurga Nayaks. Commenting upon the incident J. Sarkar \(^1\) describes that the enemy number was overwhelming and they had a very large body of Kala-piada Musketeers, the best marksmen and the bravest infantry of Deccan. Col. Wilks mentions another instance of heroism of the Nayaka, and in his opinion Bedars (Chitradurga Army) never returned without penetrating into the trenches, carrying off a certain number of heads to offer at the shrine of Kali. Aurangzeb made a treaty with the Nayaka and took his help in his campaigns. \(^2\) Probably after having heard of the heroic events of the Chitradurga army. Buchanan says that being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in woods, they were excellent marksmen with their match-locks. \(^4\)

Madhavrao Peshwa also sought the friendship of the Chitradurga Nayaka as he was impressed by the discipline of the army and heroic events. The Chitradurga Nayaka lent his help to Peshwa Madhavrao in his Nijgal expedition, which was against Hyder Ali. \(^5\) In the words of Wilks, because of brave marksmen and brave soldiers of the Nayaka, Marathas could win

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5. SPD, 37 (194), p. 155.
The Nayakas never neglected the well-being and comforts of his soldiers. He gave landed property as a gift to their soldiers, and proper arrangements were made for the welfare of their children and families. Soldiers who consecrated their lives on the battle-ground were honoured by awarding prizes, and also soldiers who displayed uncommon valour and heroism in fighting would obtain all sorts of State honours.

Formerly these police were performing the duties of Police Officers known as 'Cavaliars' or Security Officers who were assigned to important and affluent shrines and mansions of the locality. This hunter class was known to be loyal and trustworthy, most faithful to those whom they served. Having heard of the superb qualities of material race of Matti Timmanna Nayaka, the Vijayanagara king appointed him as Nayaka of Halalkere. Even Hyder Ali, when he captured the fort in 1779 A.D., formed a regular battalion of captive converts of Chelas who were of good service to him.

Weapons:

As regards weapons, it is learnt that the Chitradurga rulers knew a variety of war weapons. The pikes, the lances,

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the swords of different types such as Varasekatta, Karakarakatta etc. were used under the Chitradurga rulers. Besides, the Chitradurga Nayakas used different types of guns for their military operations. Some specimens of such guns can be seen even today in the Museum of Chitradurga. The Chitradurga rulers used a typical yellow cotton — called Moorugada Hatti — as arsonic matter in their guns. The cotton was placed in between the flint and the trigger. The trigger shot burnt the cotton and produced fire from it. The fire sparks passing through the barrel of guns exploded the gun-powder inside.

The armour made of steel, which the Nayakas used to put on at the time of war, would protect their body from the enemies' assault. Hand bombs, helmets and daggers were also used by them.

There were round stones having a hollow in the middle ending in a tiny hole on the top of the stone. These were known as Phirangi gundus. These pots were meant for storing gun-powder to enable the army to use the same against the enemies attempting to climb the fort.

Artillery:

The artillery formed another unit in the Chitradurga Army. The antiquity of gun-powder goes back to the age of Sukra. The manufacturing of huge quantities of gun-powder and bullets was undertaken in the fort only. This was one of

the most remarkable arrangements made by the Nayakas. This assumes an interesting structure on the hill. It is circular, systematically constructed by masonry about 6 feet deep and 21 feet in diameter. On its edge in the four cardinal points were fixed, on two stone beams, huge hill stones 5 to 10 inches in diameter. The lower stone being 1 foot 10 inches thick and the upper 10 inches. The upper stones have round the rim 38 square holes each 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long and 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches deep. There were two steps leading down into the well. These mile-stones were supposed to have been used for grinding gun-powder at the time of the Nayakas, and this supposition was confirmed by the discoveries of a great quantity of charcoal powder at the sides of the mile-stones. Even today we can see these pieces of charcoal round about the pit. 1 We also get some references to show that there were some elephants in the Chitradurga army. For example, in 1748 A.D. Somasekhara Nayaka-II of Bidnur fought the battle of Mayokonda against Chitradurga, when Baramanna Nayaka was slain while fighting seated on the back of an elephant. 2

Military Ranks:

Till the period of Baramanna Nayaka-I, the rulers of Chitradurga were the feudatories of the emperor Vijayanagara. It appears that except for some, all others had

1. I noticed it during my visit to this place.
2. Rice, Mi, pp. 502-3.
generals under them. The Commander-in-chief was called Dalavayl which implies a lower rank or designation as compared with that of Dandanayaka or Dannnayaka of Vijayanagara. Thus Immadi Madakari Nayaka (Rangappa-II) had a general called Dalavayl Mallappa in A.D. 1609. In A.D. 1655 Madakari Nayaka (Rangappa) also had Dalavayl called Chennayya. Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka had a Dalavayl called Bharamappa who made a grant of land to the Virakta matha of Jigluru.

Another rank in the Chitradurga army was that of Jamadar. During the last siege of Hyder Ali, some Mohammedan officers who were Jamadars in charge of a corps of 5 or 6 hundred horses are mentioned. No information about other military ranks of the Nayakas is forthcoming.

Operation of War:

As regards the War tactics and the nature of military operations of the Chitradurga rulers, the information available is rather scanty, although some details are fortunately available, as regards the march of the army, the siezing of the forts and the like. The Nayakas were worshippers of Kali. A temple dedicated to the goddess Kali was erected by them on the Summit of the hill fort. Every Monday, the

1. EC, XI, p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 86.
3. Ibid., p. 157.
Nayaka army used to assemble there and perform devotional rites. After this, the Bedars made religious sorties. This had become almost a regular feature of the Bedas. If somehow the besiegers came to know this aspect of the fort, the Bedars were conscious of the enemy attack on them at this prayer hour. Therefore, they had made some arrangements for giving prior intimation of the attack. For example, a horn (i.e. a kind of musical instrument) was blown, that could give intimation by its peculiar sound.

The Nayakas slew many men among the enemy by showering Phirangi gundu and big stones on them, and by charging with the sword. The Nayakas presumably used various other kinds of weapons such as daggers, lances, spears etc. It is also learnt that Bedars were adept in guerilla warfare. This must have led Madhavrao Peshwa to give them the command of the army in Nijgal expedition, in A.D. 1762. Col. Wilks writes that Narayanrao, the brother of Peshwa, was wounded in directing the operations of the siege. Madhavrao Peshwa was indignant at being detained by the wretched place, entrusted this work to the Chitradurga Nayaka and his army. The Palegar, placing himself at the head of his brave Bedars, carried the place. The Bedar military men easily climbed the fort of the Chitradurga from the rear side. Surmounting formidable hurdles, taking risks, facing the dangers, they scaled the walls and towers with ladders, started shouting

'Koo, Koo' and attacked them almost pouncing upon them desperately and killing many of them recklessly. ¹

When Khanzam Khan and Kasim Khan were attacked by Santaji, the Chitradurga Nayaka assisted Santaji. Kasim Khan took shelter in the fort of Dodderi. Before storming the fort they cut off the supply of food grains and other provisions coming by pathways for their army, and laid close siege to the fort. ² Under the Mughals also we find a similar practice of constructing the passes and pathways called the sabats or covered ways for approaching the enemy. Here in the Dodderi fort Kasim Khan died in the fort. ³

Such tactics of running trenches towards the fort-walls, throwing guns from the fort-walls, and adopting guerilla tactics, were known to the Chitradurga Nayakas in the operation of war.

The Nayakas were very particular about the discipline in the army. In A.D. 1773 Halimkhan, the Hakim of Kirpa, and the Nayaka of Chitradurga expelled, at the instigation of Ibrahim Khan Dhoonsa of Hyderabad, and at the request of the chief of Adoni and the Hakim of Gooty, the news-writers of Hyder Ali from their towns, and then with their troops and stores they assisted the Dhoonsa. ⁴ But when the Hakim of

¹ Kirmani, pp. 153-54.
² MA, p. 331.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Kirmani, p. 323
Kirpa and the Nayakas of Chitradurga found that Dhoonsa, being exceedingly vain of the discipline of his troops and the excellence of his artillery, did not attend to their advice on a united invasion, this alliance broke up.

FORTS

The Chitradurga Fort:

The old town was situated within the area of strong fortifications with a wide space at the centre, wherein six look-outs or watch-towers were installed. From its early age the hill created wide-spread alarm everywhere by its elegant situation and lured the kings and warriors because of its military grace and vision. An examination of inscriptions shows that the Chalukyan governor Mangi Raghayya was here in the 11th century, and the Hoysalas called it Bammattanakellu. In the 13th century this was changed to Perumalapura by the Hoysala governor Perumale Dandanayaka. The valley and the peaks of the hill were covered by a large number of monuments, at least a thousand years old. The battlements, bastions, hill batteries, magazines and watch towers were added to the old walls of Vijayanagara period by the Chitradurga Nayakas.

According to Edward Moore, Chitradurga had even been

2. IC, XI, p. 32.
3. JJS, XXXI, 1940-41, pp. 248-49.
deemed to be the strongest hill in India. Its structure disclosed defence talent; so there appeared no possibility of taking it.

The fort has been popularly called the 'Elusuttin Kote' or the fort of seven circles or rounds. Out of the seven folds of the fort three circles were at the ground level and the four circles were on the hill. The walls of the fort were built of typical huge stone blocks more often of the length, breadth and height of 3 feet. The stones used for erection appears to have been neatly cut into shape and size and fixed with calculation. The walls vary from 15 feet to 40 feet in accordance with the local requirements. At some places the height of the inner walls has been raised by the bricks of four to six feet in height. The walls were provided with numerous bastions of various shapes and sizes—round, square, hexagonal, and octagonal. The three other lines of the walls are found to be surrounded by deep and broad moats. While they were in use they were filled with water that made the passage almost impossible and dangerous. Moreover there grew various aquatic plants and grasses, where the poisonous reptiles and creatures hid themselves. In the entire fort there were 19 gateways, 38 pasterngates, 35 secret entrances and 4 ambiguous entrances. The doors were made of strong and thick wooden beams fastened with iron plates. The doors of the main gateways were...

1. Edward Moore, Narration, p. 128.
addition, bristling with iron spikes and pegs to ward off elephants.

The outermost wall had four gateways, namely, (1) Rangayyana Bagilu or Siva Darwaja in the east, (2) Santor Siddayyana Bagilu or Fateh Darwaja in the north, (3) Sihinirin hond or Uchhangi Bagilu in the west, and (4) Lolkote Bagilu in the south.

Watch-Towers:

The most striking feature of the ancient monuments of the Chitradurga hill is the remarkable series of fortifications which made the place well-nigh impregnable. The Nayakas added these watch-towers to the old Hindu walls of Vijayanagara. These watch-towers are situated on the seven main peaks of the fort: (1) Zanda Bateri, (2) Basawana Buruza, (3) Rana Bateri, (4) Lal Bateri, (5) Kiahale Bateri, (6) Hidimbeshwar Bateri, (7) Tuppadakodada Bateri. These watch-towers are built in such a way that, the soldiers inside the towers were not disturbed by the sun's heat, rain, storm and the bombs of the enemies. The upper portions of these watch-towers are built with bricks of 10.5" x 7.5" x 2" in length. The small holes on these watch-towers were used for watching the enemies' activities outside, and for shooting at them. The soldiers could secretly sit inside the towers, where small caves were carved. There is a citadel known as Lal Bateri on the highest peak of the hill. A large pavilion that is recognised as Bopayyan Chavadi and three ponds where water used to be stored are to be seen in
the relic form even today.

Besides these seven Bateris, there exist many other watch-towers in the premises of the Chitradurga town. It is reported that the Chitradurga Nayakas made use of the below-mentioned watch-towers for defence operation when Hyder Ali attacked Chitradurga in A.D. 1717: (1) Ranamandala, (2) Panchakanive Gudda, (3) Nelliikeri Siddappana Gudda, (4) Madan Gudda, (5) Makti Shiveleya, (6) Vidumbeshwara Gudda, and (7) Sawant Gudda. Over the hill the following bastions were constructed: (1) Lal Gudda, (2) Jogina Maradi, (3) Patte Darwaj, (4) Hebbuli Kallu, (5) Nagar Suttu, (6) Vanike Kindi Darwaj, and (7) Shirappana Kallu. The line of defence was constituted as follows: (1) From Hebbuli Kallu to Vedalarappana Gudda, (2) From the Margi Matha to Tomar Katte, (3) From Rangavvana Kanive to Gonur Kanive, (4) From Devappana Kanive to Hingaldhal, (5) From Siddeshwara Kanive to Matalada Kanive. An arrangement of danger signals from one bastion to another was made.

Moving Bridges:

The fort is surrounded by an extended moat, filled with water. On the top of the moat, moving bridges were created in between every two watch-towers. When the enemy entered the fort, the moving bridges were lifted up disconnecting the entrance passage.

1. JNS, XVIII, 1927-28.
Water System:

The arrangement made by the rulers of the Chitradurga Nayakas for collecting rainwater is worth mentioning. Rainwater was collected in a tank called "Doddannana Kere", which when filled, let the water to other tanks situated below. "Timmanna Kere" and "Sanna Kere" were two equally big tanks which stored water and then allowed it to flow in the next two reservoirs which were called "Dhabdabha" and "Teeti Vaddu". All these tanks and reservoirs were regulated to store water. After this storing process was over, water freely flowed and joined the moats round the fort wall.

Similarly, the rainwater falling on the Meludurga or the upper fort filled a series of reservoirs one below the other. They were called the (1) Aramane honda, (2) Gopakrishna honda, (3) Akkatanger honda, (4) Vyvika Kindi honda, (5) Sihinru honda, and (6) Sante honda.

As water reservoir and water supply were most diligently organised by the Nayakas, the Chitradurga fort never had to meet any crisis of shortage of water in its history.

Before invading Chitradurga in 1777, Hyder gathered the information that it had a perennial water supply and that the store would not be reduced in the near future even if the rains failed.

Col. Wilks emphasises the fact that the Palegar had

1. QJS, XVIII, 1927-28.
a good number of Mohammedan officers appointed in his army. The Muslims formed into a corps were 3000 men regularly armed. He narrates further that Hyder Ali exploited the religious sentiments of these Muslim Jamadars, through the media of the Holy scripture and the Holy instructor.

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1. Col. Wilks says, "I have seen and conversed with this holy personage whose service on this occasion was liberally rewarded by Hyder Ali", (II, pp. 180-81).