

A Study of Two *Nāyaka* Families in the Vijayanagara Kingdom in the Sixteenth Century¹⁾

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Introduction

It has already been pointed out by many researchers that *nāyakas* played an important role in the political and military set-up of the Vijayanagara kingdom.²⁾ But it can hardly be said that in terms of either quality or quantity there has been enough research on *nāyakas* based on the analysis of contemporaneous inscriptions and other primary sources. Consequently the present state of research is one in which even basic matters such as the financial foundations underpinning the political and military activities of *nāyakas*, their relationship with the king, and also their family backgrounds remain by and large unelucidated. There is even no clear agreement among researchers regarding the definition of *nāyakas*, that is, who should be counted as *nāyakas*. Generally, people who have the honorific title “Nāyaka” as (the final) part of their name are all regarded as *nāyakas*, but if we take *nāyaka* in this sense of someone possessing the honorific title “Nāyaka,” then an extremely large number of *nāyakas* appear even just in the extant inscriptions, and it would seem questionable whether it is possible to find any common trait among these large numbers of *nāyakas* with respect to their positions or roles in the state system of the Vijayanagara kingdom.

In another article, I undertook a study of the power structure in southern Karnataka (roughly corresponding to present-day Mysore and Chamarajanagara Districts) under the Tuḷuva dynasty (*ca.* 1505–1566), the third dynasty of the Vijayanagara kingdom. On the basis of contemporary epigraphical sources, I concluded that the main institution of dynastic control over the provinces during the Tuḷuva period was the allocation of land grants or fiefs called *nāyakatana* by the king to his vassals, which was generally made with a territorial division called *sīme* as an allo-

cation unit and that the *nāyaka* in the sense of someone who had been assigned a *nāyakatana* (literally, “*nāyaka*-ship”), served as the cornerstone of the state ruling system.³⁾ Another point which became clear from this study was that allocations of land grants to *nāyakas*⁴⁾ (*nāyaka*-fiefs) were basically short-term and were frequently rotated. In other words, as far as the Tuḷuva period is concerned, there was no evidence of any long-term close ties between *nāyakas* and particular regions. In past research on *nāyakas*, discussions have been premised on the assumption that *nāyakas* were relatively independent of central kingship and exercised hereditary rule over their territories, but it could be said that these assumptions need to be reexamined.⁵⁾

In my previous article, I examined the nature of the allocation of *nāyaka*-fiefs by focusing on a specific region within the Vijayanagara kingdom and tracing in a diachronical manner those who had been assigned *nāyaka*-fiefs there. In this article I shall change my approach and take up for consideration particular *nāyaka* families, and by elucidating changes in their *nāyaka*-fiefs on the basis of contemporary epigraphical sources I hope to clarify certain aspects of the allocation of *nāyaka*-fiefs and regional rule by *nāyakas*. The *nāyaka* families that I shall take up for consideration are two families who were based at Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura (present-day Hoḷēnaraśīpura) respectively in the upper valley of the Hēmāvatī river, a tributary of the Kāvēri river, and exercised hereditary rule over the surrounding areas from the time of the Āravīḍu dynasty (ca. 1566–1647), the fourth dynasty of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Using the names of the localities where they were based, I shall refer to them as the Bēlūru Nāyakas and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas. The Bēlūru Nāyakas were driven out of Bēlūru by the Keḷadi Nāyakas in the 1650s and shifted their base to Aigūru. They subsequently came under pressure from two major forces in the shape of the Keḷadi Nāyakas and the Mysore kingdom, and their territory shrank to a small area adjoining the Western Ghats, but nonetheless they survived until their subjugation by Tipu Sultan of Mysore. After the end of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1799, the *nāyaka* Veṃkaṭādri fought to recover their former lands, but he was captured by troops of the English East India Company and was put to death. The Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas, on the other hand, were overthrown by the Mysore kingdom in 1667, and the area under their rule was annexed to the kingdom’s territory.⁶⁾

If we take into account the rather inglorious history of these two *nāyaka* families, caught between two major forces in the north and south in

the shape of the Mysore kingdom and the Keḷadi Nāyakas, it is hardly surprising that there has not been much research on them, and there would seem to be some crucial errors in previous accounts of their history. First, it has been pointed out that their rule over Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura had its origins in the allocation of the Bēlūru region by Kṛṣṇa Rāya (r. 1509–30) of the Tuḷuva dynasty. This allocation of land is mentioned in many inscriptions dating from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, but as will be demonstrated below, it does not accord with the facts. Second, it has also been claimed that these two *nāyaka* families were kinsmen, with the person who was assigned the Bēlūru region by Kṛṣṇa Rāya being their common ancestor, but this too is at variance with the facts.⁷ In the following, I shall clarify as factually as possible on the basis of extant epigraphical sources the history of these two *nāyaka* families from the Tuḷuva period to the early Āraṇṇī period with a focus on their *nāyaka*-fiefs. In Section I, I shall reconsider their genealogy, a prerequisite for the elucidation of their history. It is an undeniable fact that in the study of South Indian history there are few substantial written source materials such as chronicles, and therefore even in the case of powerful families of the ruling élite the task of clarifying their genealogy and history entails considerable difficulties. In the following, I shall attempt to reconstruct the genealogies of the two *nāyaka* families with whom we are here concerned on the basis of fragmentary genealogies recorded in inscriptions and *praśasti*, or verses and titles extolling their ancestors. While hereditary regional rule by *nāyakas* and the dating of its commencement have been much discussed in past research, there have been almost no thorough examinations of the history of *nāyaka* families themselves, including their genealogies. After having reconstructed the genealogies of these two *nāyaka* families, I hope to show on the basis of these findings that there is a need to rethink the hereditary nature of regional rule by *nāyakas*, which has in past discussions been taken virtually for granted.

The epigraphical sources used are as follows:

Epigraphia Carnatica, revised ed., 9 vols, Mysore, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, 1972–90 (hereafter *EC*).

Epigraphia Carnatica, 19 vols, Bangalore, Mysore Archaeological Department, 1886–1965 (hereafter *EC-o*).

South-Indian Inscriptions, 26 vols, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India, 1890–1990 (hereafter *SII*).

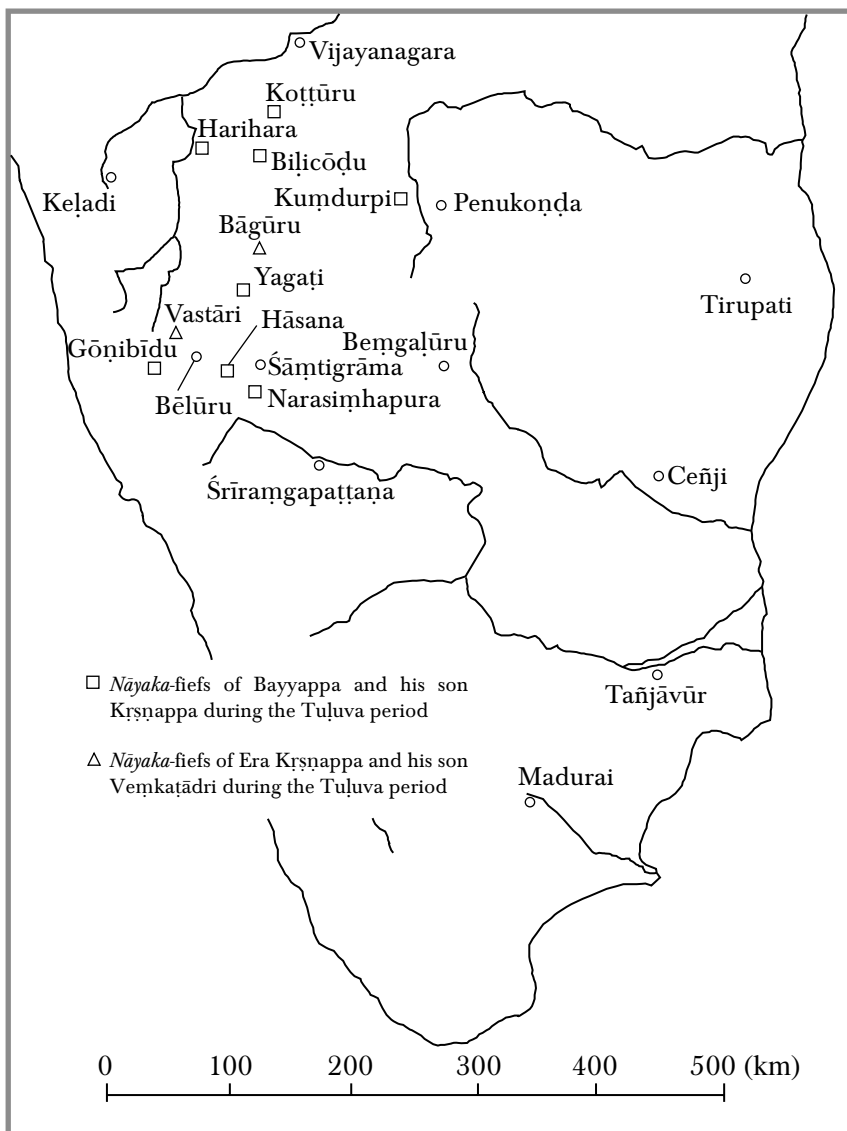
Annual Report of Mysore Archaeological Department, Bangalore, Mysore

Archaeological Department, 1886–1946 (hereafter *MAR*).

Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions, 6 vols, repr., Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1984 (hereafter *TTDI*).

Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India, 1887– (hereafter *AR*).

Map. South India under the Vijayanagara kingdom in the sixteenth century

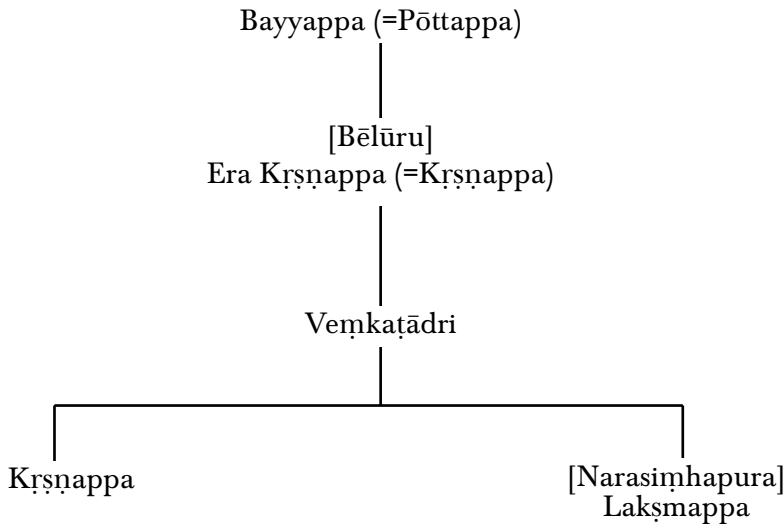


I. Reconstruction of Genealogies

As has already been noted, it is widely believed that the Bēlūru Nāyakas and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas were kinsmen. Veṃkaṭādrī, who ruled the Bēlūru region in the early Āravīḍu period, is said to have been their last common ancestor, and one of his sons, named Lakṣmappa, is said to have partitioned off the Narasiṃhapura region and inherited it (see fig. 1).⁸⁾ But a comparison of the genealogies of the two families given in inscriptions reveals that the ancestors down to Veṃkaṭādrī, who are supposed to have been the same, were in fact different. To state my conclusion first, it is to be surmised that there was not just one Veṃkaṭādrī, but that there was at roughly the same time a person named Veṃkaṭādrī in the *nāyaka* families of both Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura. While there is a possibility that these two *nāyaka* families had some shared background, they were not linked by any clear-cut genealogical relationship.

It has been taken for granted that there was only one Veṃkaṭādrī active in the early Āravīḍu period. For this reason, though it was sometimes pointed out that there were two versions of the names of Veṃkaṭādrī's forefathers, these were regarded simply as scribal errors or as different names of the same persons. But if it is assumed that there were two men

Fig. 1. Genealogical chart of the Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas (according to the commonly accepted view)



named Veṃkaṭādrī, the two different versions no longer present any sort of inconsistency. First, I wish to consider two genealogies recorded in inscriptions of the second half of the sixteenth century, when “Veṃkaṭādrī” and his children lived.

Veṃkaṭādrī Nāyaka, son of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Pōta Nāyaka (*EC* 9, Bl-66, 1580)

Vēṃkaṭādrī Nāyaka, son of Yara Kṛṣṇaya Nāyaka and grandson of Pōtappa Nāyaka (*EC* 9, Bl-219, 1583)

This gives family line (1): Pōtappa—Era Kṛṣṇappa—Veṃkaṭādrī.

Veṃkaṭādrī Nāyakayya, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka’s [son] Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka (*EC* 5, Kn-104, 1577)

Lakṣmappa Nāyaka, son of Veṃkaṭādrī Nāyaka, son of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka (*EC* 8, HN-12, 1588)

This gives family line (2): Bayyappa—Kṛṣṇappa—Veṃkaṭādrī. Two differences with family line (1) can be pointed out, namely, the name of Veṃkaṭādrī’s grandfather and the absence of the epithet “Era” prefixed to the name of his father Kṛṣṇappa.

Of prime importance is the fact that the inscriptions recording family line (1) were discovered within the territory of the Bēlūru Nāyakas, while those recording family line (2) were discovered within the territory of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas. Thus, if one assumes that in the early Āravīḍu period there were two men named Veṃkaṭādrī who were based in Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura respectively, there is no need to come up with reasons such as scribal errors or different names for the same person to explain the existence of the two genealogies. With respect to the father of “Veṃkaṭādrī,” Kṛṣṇappa and Era Kṛṣṇappa have been regarded as the same person in previous studies, but if one assumes that there were two men named Veṃkaṭādrī, it would be natural to regard them as different people.

That the ancestors differed in the genealogies of the two *nāyaka* families can also be ascertained in seventeenth-century inscriptions. There exist several genealogies recorded in inscriptions relating to the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas that begin with “Bayyappa’s [son] Kṛṣṇappa” (*EC* 8, HN-11; *EC* 8, HN-38; *EC* 8, HN-39; *EC* 8, HN-114; *EC* 8, HN-117). In two copper-plate inscriptions of 1665 the three generations “ Śrīgiri —

Yarra— Timma” have been added before Bayyappa.⁹⁾ In these inscriptions, it may be noted, the epithet “Era” has not been prefixed to the name of Veṃkaṭādri’s father Kṛṣṇappa.

Meanwhile, successive generations of the Bēlūru Nāyakas took the names Veṃkaṭādri and Kṛṣṇappa alternately. Accordingly, in the genealogies recorded in inscriptions too the names Veṃkaṭādri and Kṛṣṇappa are repeated with regularity. Apart from these simple genealogies, worth noting in inscriptions from the mid-seventeenth century onwards is the fact that special mention is made of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka as the “great ancestor” (*vr̥ddhaprapitāmaha*) and he is said to have been assigned the Bēlūru region by Kṛṣṇa Rāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty. As will be demonstrated below, this allocation of land is a fiction and does not accord with the facts. But precisely because it is a fiction, it could be said to show even more clearly that in the genealogical understanding of the Bēlūru Nāyakas themselves Era Kṛṣṇappa was regarded as the family’s progenitor. As might be expected, there are no references to any allocation of land by Kṛṣṇa Rāya to Era Kṛṣṇappa in inscriptions relating to the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas.¹⁰⁾

If one thus carefully follows the genealogies recorded in inscriptions, it becomes clear that the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas and Bēlūru Nāyakas were separate families. That being so, why have past studies regarded them as kinsmen, even going so far as to overlook these differences in genealogies or employ what could be described as far-fetched logic to identify separate names as different names of a single person? One possible factor behind this is the fact that, apart from the (partially) identical names appearing in their genealogies, inscriptions of these two families have quite a number of elements in common. Of special importance among these are the official title *haḍapa*, the claim of belonging to the Kāśyapa Gōtra, and a *praśasti* that includes the phrase “Lord of the excellent Maṇināgapura.”

The members of the two *nāyaka* families who served the Tuḷuva kings have sometimes prefixed to their names in inscriptions the title *haḍapa*. *Haḍapa* signifies a bag for holding betel nuts, a popular stimulant, and in the Vijayanagara kingdom it referred to someone whose duty it was to bear a betel-bag and attend on the king. *Nāyakas* who were *haḍapas* appear with comparative frequency in Tuḷuva inscriptions. For instance, the ancestors of the Madurai Nāyakas, one of the three foremost *nāyaka* families in Tamil country, were also *haḍapas*.¹¹⁾

Further, in inscriptions of both the Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura

Nāyakas it is stated that their *gōtra* was the Kāśyapa Gōtra. A *gōtra* is an exogamous group among the twice-born (*dvija*), and the Kāśyapa Gōtra is one of these. Although the origins of the two *nāyaka* families are unclear, it is doubtful whether they were “true” *dvijas*. In copper-plate inscriptions of 1665 relating to the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas (*EC* 8, Ag-16; *EC* 8, Ag-20), it is stated that their legendary forebears had been “born into the Solar race” (*ravikulejani*). That they professed to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra ought to be understood in connection with this claim that they were descended from the *kṣatriya* Solar race. In the Purāṇas, the sage Kāśyapa is said to have been the father of the sun god. By professing to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra, descendants of the sage Kāśyapa, both the Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas would have been laying claim to the status of *kṣatriyas* of the Solar race.

The Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas also share the same *praśasti* in some inscriptions. Their standard *praśasti* reads: “Siṃdhu Gōviṃda, Champion of white lustre (*sitakaragaṃḍa*), Bhīma in pure warfare (*dhavāḷāṃkabhīma*), Lord of the excellent Maṇināgapura (*maṇināgapuravarādhīvara*), Conqueror of the seven elements of the Barid Shahs (*barīdasaptāṃgaharaṇa*).” It has already been pointed out by others that this is partially identical with the *praśasti* of the Sinda dynasty, which ruled different parts of central and northern Karnataka from the tenth to thirteenth centuries. The phrase “Lord of the excellent Maṇināgapura” too may be considered to have been modelled on the *praśasti* of the Sinda dynasty. The corresponding phrase in the *praśasti* of the Sinda dynasty is “Lord of the excellent Bhōgāvātipura” (*bhōgāvātipura varādhīvara*). Bhōgāvātipura refers to the subterranean realm of *nāgas*, or snake gods, and it comports with the fact that the Sinda dynasty claimed to be descendants of *nāgas* (*nāga vaṃśa*). Maṇināgapura, which literally means “capital of gem-holding *nāgas*,” is probably a rephrasing of this Bhōgāvātipura.¹²⁾

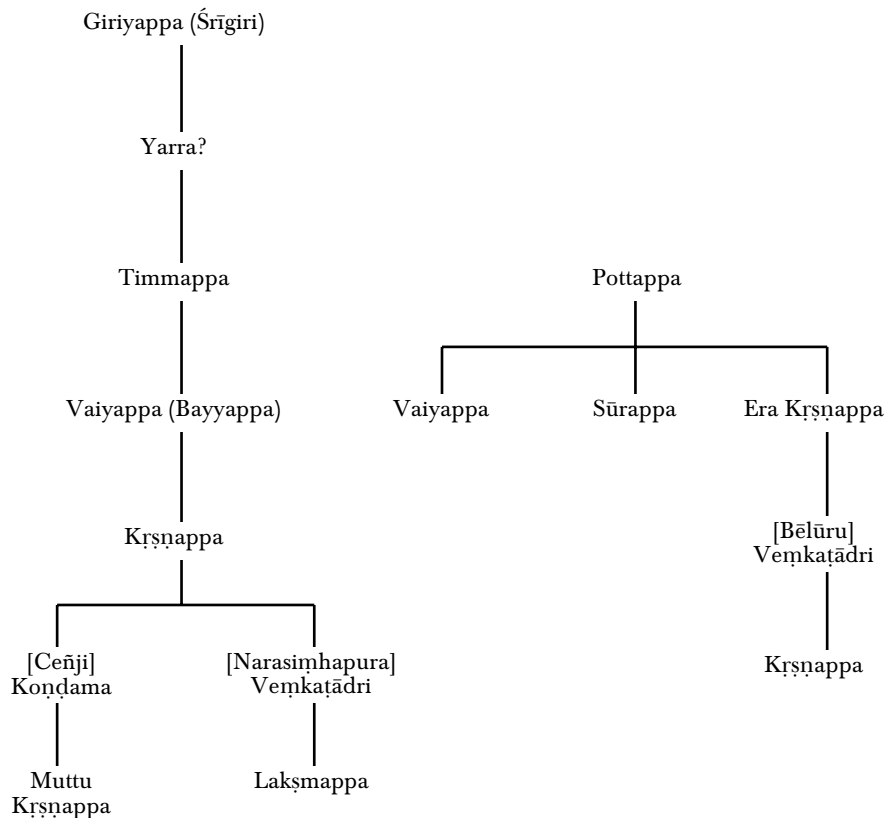
The identity of their *gōtra* and *praśasti* would suggest that the Bēlūru Nāyakas and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas may have had a common family background. But this is no more than a possibility, and even if it were the case, it would not mean that the two families were kinsmen. To repeat, there are no suggestions whatsoever in the genealogies recorded in inscriptions of either family that their forebears may have been genealogically linked to each other.

Now, the three points cited as distinctive elements shared by inscriptions of both families —*haḍapa*, Kāśyapa Gōtra, and “Lord of the excellent

Maṇināgapura”— are also found in the inscriptions of people surmised to have been the ancestors of the Ceṇji (Gingee) Nāyakas, one of the three foremost *nāyaka* families in Tamil country.¹³⁾ Might there have been genealogical ties between the Ceṇji Nāyakas and either the Bēlūru Nāyakas or Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas? Next I wish to examine this point.

In previous works, mention has been made of Vaiyappa, who was active during the reigns of Kṛṣṇa Rāya and Acyuta Rāya (r. 1530–42), and Sūrappa and Kṛṣṇappa, who were active after the enthronement of Sadāśiva Rāya in 1543, as members of the very earliest Ceṇji Nāyakas.¹⁴⁾ Kṛṣṇappa is said to have been succeeded by Koṇḍama, and it has generally been agreed in past research that Kṛṣṇappa and Koṇḍama were father and son. In contrast, there is no general consensus among researchers regarding the relationship between Vaiyappa, Sūrappa and Kṛṣṇappa, although it is widely accepted that they were in some way genealogically linked to each other. Of prime importance in connection with my arguments in this article is the fact that the name of Kṛṣṇappa's father is Vaiyappa. The father-son combination of Vaiyappa and Kṛṣṇappa was also found in the genealogy of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas examined earlier. (Bayyappa may be regarded as a variant spelling of Vaiyappa.) Further, in two copper-plate inscriptions of the seventeenth century (*AR* 1917, Nos. 860 & 861) there appears a person by the name of Śrīgiri Nāiḍu, said to have been a semi-legendary forefather of the Ceṇji Nāyakas.¹⁵⁾ This squares with the reference to the ancestor Śrīgiri in the 1665 copper-plate inscriptions of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas mentioned earlier. When one takes into account these two correspondences in their genealogies in addition to the identical *praśasti* and *gōtra*,¹⁶⁾ it would be fairly safe to say that the *nāyaka* families of Ceṇji and Narasiṃhapura were one and the same family and that the former's Kṛṣṇappa, father of Koṇḍama, was the same person as the latter's Kṛṣṇappa, father of Veṃkaṭādri.

Next, let us consider Vaiyappa, who is given as the first of the Ceṇji Nāyakas. As has already been noted, the name of Kṛṣṇappa's father was also Vaiyappa, but it is not clear whether or not they were both the same person. Inscriptions recording the deeds of the Vaiyappa regarded as the first of the Ceṇji Nāyakas do not appear to record the names of his forefathers, and therefore it is not possible to ascertain the relationship between the two on the basis of genealogical information. Meanwhile, Sūrappa, deemed to have been the next of the Ceṇji Nāyakas after Vaiyappa, had a brother named Vaiyappa whose father was called

Fig. 2. Genealogical chart of the Ceñji, Narasiṃhapura and Bēlūru Nāyakas

Pottappa. Since, as has already been mentioned, the name of the father of the Vaiyappa said to have been the first of the Ceñji Nāyakas is not known, it is again not possible to determine the relationship between this Vaiyappa and Sūrappa's brother of the same name. However, as was noted above, the name of the father of Kṛṣṇappa's father Vaiyappa was Timmappa, and it is therefore evident that he was not the same person as Sūrappa's brother Vaiyappa.

Now, the name of Sūrappa's father was Pottappa, and, as was noted in our earlier examination of the genealogy of the Bēlūru Nāyakas, the father of their ancestor Era Kṛṣṇappa was called Pōtappa. Pōtappa and Pottappa are orthographic variants due to differences between Kannada and Tamil, and they may be regarded as the same name, in which case Era Kṛṣṇappa may possibly have been a brother of Sūrappa mentioned in inscriptions from the Ceñji region. In inscriptions pertaining to Era

Kṛṣṇappa and Sūrappa there are, however, no references to each other's existence. Besides the title *haḍapa*, the claim to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra, and the title "Lord of the excellent Maṇināgapura," the only reason for regarding them as brothers is that their fathers had the same name. There are thus insufficient grounds for asserting that they were brothers, but it could be said that there is a strong possibility that this was the case.

In the above I have considered the two *nāyaka* families of Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura on the basis of references found in extant epigraphical sources. Fig. 2 is a genealogical chart summarizing my findings. In addition, among the three men considered by some researchers to have been Ceṇji Nāyakas of the earliest period –Vaiyappa, Sūrappa and Kṛṣṇappa – Kṛṣṇappa was the same person as the Kṛṣṇappa of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas, and there is a possibility that Sūrappa was a brother of Era Kṛṣṇappa of the Bēlūru Nāyakas. As for Vaiyappa, he may have been Sūrappa's brother or Kṛṣṇappa's father, but we cannot be sure.

II. *Nāyaka*-fiefs during the Tuḷuva Period

On the basis of the genealogies of the two *nāyaka* families reconstructed in the previous section, in this section I shall examine their history during the Tuḷuva period with a focus on their *nāyaka*-fiefs. By means of this examination it should become clear that *nāyakas* under the Tuḷuva dynasty do not accord with their image as hereditary regional rulers having long-term close ties with particular regions, which has been assumed implicitly or explicitly in most previous accounts of *nāyakas*. First, let us consider the case of the *nāyaka* families of Ceṇji and Narasiṃhapura.

In many studies on the Ceṇji Nāyakas, Vaiyappa and Sūrappa appearing in the Tuḷuva inscriptions discovered in the Ceṇji region are counted among the Ceṇji Nāyakas. However, as is clear from our investigations in the previous section, Sūrappa was almost certainly not a member of the Ceṇji Nāyakas. Although the genealogical ties of Vaiyappa and Sūrappa with the Ceṇji Nāyakas have been sometimes called into question, these questions were "resolved" in some way or another, and it has been commonly accepted that the commencement of the rule of Ceṇji by the Ceṇji Nāyakas went back to the time of Vaiyappa. Behind this prevailing view about their origin, one can detect the hypothetical premise that it was usual for *nāyakas* to rule a particular region hereditarily over a long period of time and that the *nāyakas* who ruled the same area would have all belonged to the same family in many cases. Further,

when discussing the history of the Ceñji Nāyakas, most researchers have relied almost exclusively on epigraphical sources from the Ceñji region. This is because it was tacitly assumed that their sphere of activity was limited to this region. But as is indicated by the fact that the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas were their kinsmen, in order to gain an overall grasp of their activities and history it will not suffice to examine only epigraphical sources from a particular limited region. As will be shown below, when one examines a broad range of epigraphical sources from throughout the Vijayanagara kingdom, there emerges a picture of *nāyaka* families that differs from the past image of *nāyakas* as hereditary rulers of a particular region.

First, I wish to examine briefly the date when their hereditary rule of the area around Ceñji began. As was mentioned earlier, Sūrappa was ruling over the area around Ceñji during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, but at that time Kṛṣṇappa of the Ceñji Nāyakas had also been assigned a *nāyaka*-fief in the vicinity of Ceñji. In the course of recording a donation of land made by Kṛṣṇappa, an inscription of 1547 (*AR* 1925, No. 382) discovered at Vadasiruvalur, lying 22 kilometres east-northeast of Ceñji (in Tindivanam Taluk of old South Arcot District), mentions that he was granted by the king a territorial division (*parṛu*). In view of the fact that this Kṛṣṇappa claimed to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra and his father's name was Vaiyappa, there can be little doubt that he was the Kṛṣṇappa of the Ceñji Nāyakas.¹⁷⁾ As far as can be judged from the geographical distribution and number of the Tuḷuva inscriptions relating to Kṛṣṇappa and Sūrappa, it is to be surmised that the *nāyaka*-fief of Kṛṣṇappa near Ceñji during the Tuḷuva period corresponded to only a very small part of the area which came to be ruled by the Ceñji Nāyakas under the Āravīḍu dynasty, and a considerable portion of the remaining area was then ruled by Sūrappa.¹⁸⁾ There remains much that needs to be elucidated in future research concerning the extent of the *nāyaka*-fiefs of Kṛṣṇappa and Sūrappa around Ceñji during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, and also the political relationship between the two, but at the present stage it is to be surmised that the hereditary rule of the entire area around Ceñji by Kṛṣṇappa's family began around the time of the founding of the Āravīḍu dynasty and does not go back as far as the Tuḷuva period.

Let us then examine the history of the family during the Tuḷuva period. As was stated earlier, it is not clear whether or not the Vaiyappa appearing in inscriptions from the first half of the Tuḷuva dynasty discovered in the Ceñji region was an ancestor of the Ceñji Nāyakas. On the

other hand, Bayyappa (Vaiyappa), who is very likely to have been Kṛṣṇappa's father, and also Kṛṣṇappa himself appear in the Tuḷuva inscriptions discovered in other regions of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Table 1 brings together references to Bayyappa and his son Kṛṣṇappa in the Tuḷuva inscriptions, most of which are written in Kannada, and arranges them by region. I have already mentioned that a 1547 inscription discovered in old South Arcot District, which is not included in this table, refers to Kṛṣṇappa. In addition, a Vaiyappa who was a *haḍapa* and claimed to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra and whose father was Timmappa appears in three inscriptions dating from the years 1519–38 that were discovered at Tirupati (*TTDI* 3, No. 135; *TTDI* 4, Nos. 53 & 110), and these too have not been included in the table.

As can be seen in Table 1, inscriptions in which Bayyappa figures have been discovered in the two regions of Kuṇḍurpi and Yagaṭi. He was assigned the former region as a *nāyaka*-fief during the reign of Acyuta Rāya,¹⁹⁾ and although it is not expressly stated in any inscription, it is to be surmised that he was assigned the latter region as a *nāyaka*-fief during the earlier reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāya. Bayyappa's name disappears from inscriptions dating from the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, and his son Kṛṣṇappa appears instead. Like his father Bayyappa, he was assigned Kuṇḍurpi as

Table 1. *Nāyaka*-fiefs of Bayyappa and his son Kṛṣṇappa during the Tuḷuva period (from left, date of inscription, gist of inscription, references to Bayyappa and Kṛṣṇappa, and source[s])

1-1 Yagaṭi

1526	donation of a village in Āsaṃdi-sīme	donated for the merit of Timmappa Nāyaka, father of Bayyappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i> of Kṛṣṇa Rāya	<i>EC</i> -o 6, Kd-26
1527	remission of the marriage tax in Yagaṭi-10,000-sīme	remitted by Bayyappa Nāyaka	<i>MAR</i> 1943, No.2
1527	unreadable by the physical damage	mentioning an agent of Jiyappa [Bayyappa?] Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i> of Kṛṣṇa Rāya	<i>EC</i> -o 6, Kd-20
1533	establishment of an agrahāra in Nīrugūṇ-da-sīme in the territory (<i>vaḷita</i>) of Yagaṭi	established by Acyuta Rāya on the request of Bayyappa, son of Timma Nāyaka and a <i>haḍapa</i>	<i>EC</i> -o 11, Hk-132

1-2 Kuṁdurpi

1536	donation of villages in Kuṁdurpi-sīme	Kuṁdurpi-sīme assigned to Bayyappa Nāyaka as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief	<i>SII</i> 9, No.576
1537	donation of a village in Būdigumma-sthaḷa in Kuṁdurpi-sīme	donated by an agent of Bayyappa Nāyaka for the merit of the latter	<i>SII</i> 16, No.114
1541	confirmation of revenue-free lands in Yerraguḍi in Būdigumma-sīme	confirmed by Bayyappa Nāyaka	<i>SII</i> 16, No.124
1545	donation of land in Yerraguḍi in Būdigumma-sīme	donated by an agent of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>SII</i> 16, No.146
1547	donation of paddies	donated for the merit of Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>SII</i> 9, No.627
1558	donation of land	donated for the merit of Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>EC-o</i> 11, Cl-47
1561	unreadable by the physical damage	mentioning Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>EC-o</i> 11, Cl-48

1-3 Koṭṭūru

1547	donation of a village in Raṁgapura-sthaḷa in Koṭṭūru-sīme	Koṭṭūru-sīme assigned by Sadāśiva Rāya to Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>SII</i> 9, No.626
1548	donation of a village in Koṭṭūru-sīme in the territory (<i>vaḷita</i>) of Kōgaḷi	Koṭṭūru-sīme in the territory of Kōgaḷi belonging to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	<i>SII</i> 9, No.630
1550	donation of paddy and money to a temple in the territory (<i>vaḷita</i>) of Kōgaḷi	Koṭṭūru-32,000 in the territory of Kōgaḷi assigned to Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i> , as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	<i>SII</i> 9, No.640
1551	remission of sheep tax in Koṭṭūru-sīme in Kōgaḷi-vēṁṭheya (province)	Koṭṭūru-sīme assigned by Sadāśiva Rāya to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i>	<i>SII</i> 9, No.641
1552	donation of a village in Moraba-sīme	Moraba-sīme assigned to Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	<i>SII</i> 9, No.647

1-4 Biḷicōḍu

1554	remission of sheep tax in Biḷicōḍu-sīme	remitted by an agent of Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, JI-2
1561	donation of a village in Biḷicōḍu-sīme	donated by Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, Dg-18

1-5 Harihara

1554	donation of a village presumed to be in Harihara-sīme	donated by Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i> of Sadāśiva Rāya	EC-o 11, Dg-22
1562	donation of a village presumed to be in Harihara-sīme	donated by an agent of Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i> of Sadāśiva Rāya	EC-o 11, Dg-83; EC-o 11, Dg-30

1-6 Hāsana

1548	donation of a village in Hāsana-sīme	sanctioned by Bayyappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a <i>haḍapa</i>	EC 9, Bl-37
1561	establishment of an agrahāra in Hāsana-sīme	established by Sadāśiva Rāya on the request of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka and a <i>haḍapa</i>	EC 9, Hn-9
1562	donation of a village in Hāsana-sīme	Hāsana-sīme assigned by Aḷiya Rāma Rāja to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka, as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief	EC 8, Hn-122
1562	remission of tax on temple-owned lands in Hāsana sīme	Hāsana-sīme assigned by Aḷiya Rāma Rāja to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka, as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	EC 8, Hn-79
1563	donation of a village in Hāsana-sīme	Hāsana-sīme assigned by Aḷiya Rāma Rāja to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka, as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara nāyakatana</i>)	EC 8, Hn-2

1-7 Gōṇibīḍu

1566	remission of tax on an agrahāra in Gōṇibīḍu-sīme	remitted by Bukkappa Nāyaka for the merit of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC 8, Al-44
?	reestablishment of an agrahāra in Gōṇibīḍu-sīme	reestablished by Bukkappa Nāyaka, an agent of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC 8, Al-48

1-8 Narasiṃhapura

1563	establishment of an agrahāra in the territory (<i>vaḷita</i>) of Narasiṃhapura	the territory of Narasiṃhapura assigned by the king (<i>rāyadatta</i>) to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bayyappa Nāyaka and grandson of Timmappa Nāyaka and great-grandson of Giryappa Nāyaka of Kāśyapa gōtra	EC 8, HN-47
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a *nāyaka*-fief, but in addition he was also assigned *nāyaka*-fiefs in Koṭṭūru, Bīlicōḍu, Harihara, Hāsana, Gōṇibīḍu and Narasiṃhapura. The fact that he was assigned more *nāyaka*-fiefs than his father Bayyappa would suggest that his position in the Tuḷuva state was higher than that of Bayyappa. A 1545 inscription (*SII* 15, No. 706) discovered at Bādāmi and not included in Table 1 is partially illegible because of damage, but it is thought to record the construction of a fort (*durggam*) by him.²⁰⁾ Bādāmi lies halfway between Vijayanagara and Bijapur, the capital of one of the Deccan Sultanates against whom the Tuḷuva state fought intermittently. Distinguished services in fighting with the Deccan Sultanates may have been behind his political advancement. The lengths of time for which each of Kṛṣṇappa's *nāyaka*-fiefs was assigned to him are not clear because of insufficient source materials, but as far as can be inferred from the dates of relevant inscriptions, the period during which he was assigned several *nāyaka*-fiefs simultaneously would seem to have been quite long.

In the final years of the Tuḷuva dynasty Kṛṣṇappa seems to have been assigned several *nāyaka*-fiefs throughout the kingdom, but only two of these remained in the hands of his family after the end of the Tuḷuva dynasty. One, situated around Narasiṃhapura, was assigned to Kṛṣṇappa's son Veṃkaṭādri, and thereafter his descendants became the heredi-

tary rulers of this region. The other, located in the vicinity of Ceñji, was enlarged probably by additional allocations to cover the entire region around Ceñji and was ruled over by Kṛṣṇappa himself. This region was subsequently ruled hereditarily by another son, Koṇḍama, and his descendants.

Next, let us consider the case of the Bēlūru Nāyakas. As was noted earlier, their rule of Bēlūru is said to have begun during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty. But there emerges a different picture of their history when one examines epigraphical sources of the Tuḷuva period discovered not just in the Bēlūru region, but throughout the kingdom. Table 2 brings together references to Era Kṛṣṇappa and his son Veṃkaṭādri in the Tuḷuva inscriptions, most of which are written in Kannada, and arranges them by region. As was discussed earlier, Sūrapa, who ruled over the Ceñji region during the second half of the Tuḷuva period, was very likely a brother of Era Kṛṣṇappa. As for Era Kṛṣṇappa's father Pōtappa, there are to the best of my knowledge no contemporary epigraphical sources that can with any certainty be said to record his activities. As can be seen in Table 2, Era Kṛṣṇappa makes his appearance during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya as a *nāyaka* with a *nāyaka*-fief in Bāgūru. A 1543 inscription (*SII* 20, No. 237) discovered at Bādāmi and not included in Table 2 records that Sadāśiva Rāya's *haḍapa* Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka erected a bastion (*kottaḷa*). There are, however, no inscriptions from the Tuḷuva period indicating that he was assigned a *nāyaka*-fief in the area around Bēlūru or was involved in ruling this region.

Era Kṛṣṇappa disappears from inscriptions in the second half of the 1550s, and from around this time his son Veṃkaṭādri begins to appear instead. Like his father, he was assigned Bāgūru as a *nāyaka*-fief,²¹⁾ and in addition he may also have been assigned Vastāri. After the establishment of the Āravīḍu dynasty, Veṃkaṭādri not only retained (or acquired) Vastāri, but also newly acquired Hāsana and Gōṇibīḍu to the south of Vastāri and made Bēlūru his base.²²⁾

In this fashion, the ancestors of two *nāyaka* families who were based in Ceñji, Narasiṃhapura and Bēlūru and exercised hereditary rule over the surrounding areas after the founding of the Āravīḍu dynasty were active as *nāyakas* also during the Tuḷuva period. But most of the *nāyaka*-fiefs that they were assigned at that time were located in regions other than the areas over which they ruled during the Āravīḍu period. Furthermore, even when both the father and son were active as *nāyakas*, the size and location of their *nāyaka*-fiefs differed considerably. The

Table 2. *Nāyaka*-fiefs of Era Kṛṣṇappa and his son Veṃkaṭādri during the Tuḷuva period (from left, date of inscription, gist of inscription, references to Era Kṛṣṇappa and Veṃkaṭādri, and source[s])

2-1 Bāgūru

1543	donation of a village in Bāgūru-sīme	Bāgūru-sīme assigned to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Ponappa [Pōtappa] Nāyaka as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	MAR 1941, No.3
1546	remission of tax on barbers in Bāgūru-sīme	remitted by Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, Hk-110
1552	donation of a village to a temple at Bāgūru	donated by Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, Hk-114
1554	donation of land (?) in Bāgūru-sīme	donated by a son of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 6, Tr-91
1554	reconstruction of a market	Bāgūru-sīme administered (<i>pāru-patya</i>) by an agent of Pōtappa Nāyaka's Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, Hk-112
1555	donation to a temple at Bāgūru	donated by Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka	EC-o 11, Hk-118
1555	donation of villages to a temple at Bāgūru	donated by an agent of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, son of Bomma Nāyaka and a <i>haḍapa</i>	EC-o 11, Hk-113
1559	donation of a village in Bāgūru-sīme	Bāgūru-sīme assigned by Sadāśiva Rāya to Veṃkaṭādri Nāyaka, son of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and a <i>haḍapa</i> , as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	EC-o 11, Hk-21

2-2 Vastāri

1558	gift of land presumed to be in Vastāri-sīme	gifted by Pāpa Timma Nāyaka, an agent of Veṃkaṭādri Nāyaka	EC 9, Bl-526
1569	donation of a village in Vastāri-sīme	donated by Veṃkaṭamma, daughter of Pāpa Timma Nāyaka being a <i>haḍapa</i> of Veṃkaṭādri Nāyaka of Kāśyapa gōtra, son of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and a <i>haḍapa</i> of Sadāśiva Rāya	EC 9, Bl-151; EC 9, Bl-142

Note: The 1569 inscription has been cited only for reference.

length of time for which a region was assigned as a *nāyaka*-fief cannot be accurately known because of a dearth of source materials, but it is thought to have been comparatively short. There were also instances in which several regions distant from each other were simultaneously assigned as *nāyaka*-fiefs. The two families preserved their status as *nāyakas* from the Tuḷuva period to the Āravīḍu period, but there were considerable differences in the nature of their possession of *nāyaka*-fiefs and their regional rule between the two periods.

III. The Creation of “History”

It was only after the founding of the Āravīḍu dynasty that the two families of the Ceñji/Narasimhapura and Bēlūru Nāyakas began to exercise hereditary rule over their respective territories. But according to the widely accepted view, their hereditary regional rule began during the Tuḷuva dynasty. That this view is not supported by epigraphical sources dating from the Tuḷuva period was demonstrated in the foregoing section. But in epigraphical sources of the post-Tuḷuva period we find statements about the Bēlūru Nāyakas that clearly say that their hereditary rule of the Bēlūru region went back to the Tuḷuva dynasty. In this section, I shall take these passages up for consideration and, after reconfirming their fictitiousness, consider the background to the creation of statements that push the commencement of their hereditary rule back from when it actually began to the earlier Tuḷuva period.

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards it is frequently stated in inscriptions of the Bēlūru Nāyakas that their land holdings were assigned by Kṛṣṇa Rāya to “our great ancestor” (*namma vṛddhaprapitāmaha*) Era Kṛṣṇappa (*EC*-o 5, Ag-9; *EC* 8, Ag-8; *EC* 9, Bl-180; *EC* 8, Ag-23; *EC* 8, HN-40; *EC* 1, 28; *EC* 9, Sl-2; *EC* 9, Sl-40; *EC* 9, Sl-3; *EC* 9, Sl-51; *EC*-o 14, TN-256; *EC* 9, Sl-52; *EC* 9, Sl-53; *EC*-o 14, TN-255; *MAR* 1938, No. 17). The earliest of these inscriptions is one that bears a date from 1650 (*EC* 9, Sl-10).²³⁾ Further, in a document called “Cikkamagaḷūru Kaiphiyattu,” written around 1800, it is stated that Kṛṣṇa Rāya assigned Bēlūru to Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka as a *jagir* (*jahāgīru*).²⁴⁾ This could be said to indicate that around 1800 Kṛṣṇa Rāya’s allocation of Bēlūru to Era Kṛṣṇappa had become widely accepted as a historical fact. But as is shown by the inscriptions relating to Era Kṛṣṇappa examined earlier, he is mentioned for the first time in inscriptions dating from the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, and the period when he was active as a *nāyaka* does not overlap with

Kṛṣṇa Rāya's reign. Furthermore, there is no evidence in extant inscriptions indicating that he was assigned a *nāyaka*-fief in Bēlūru or the surrounding area. In light of these points, it would seem clear that there was no historical fact of his having been assigned the Bēlūru region by Kṛṣṇa Rāya. But here I wish to ascertain once again the fictitiousness of this allocation of land on the basis of the Tuḷuva inscriptions from Bēlūru and the surrounding area.

Under the Tuḷuva dynasty, the area surrounding Bēlūru was divided into Vastāri-sīme in the north and Hāsana-sīme in the south, with Bēlūru more or less on the border between the two. It should be mentioned that inscriptions from the Tuḷuva period make no mention of any territorial divisions prefixed by the place-name Bēlūru. Under the Āravīḍu dynasty, the land holdings of the Bēlūru Nāyakas were composed of Vastāri-sīme, Hāsana-sīme and Gōṇibīḍu-sīme, while those of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas were composed of Narasiṃhapura-sīme and Śāṃtigrāma-sīme, and the important inscriptions referring either directly or indirectly to the allocation of these territorial divisions as *nāyaka*-fiefs during the Tuḷuva dynasty are given in Table 3. The last two *sīme* are not directly related to the Bēlūru Nāyakas, but they have been added for the sake of reference. As is evident from Table 3, the territorial divisions that would later make up the land holdings of the Bēlūru and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas were during the Tuḷuva period assigned as *nāyaka*-fiefs to other *nāyakas*. The fictitiousness of the allocation of *nāyaka*-fiefs to Era Kṛṣṇappa is demonstrated not only by the negative fact that there are no extant contemporary inscriptions referring to any such allocation, but also by the existence of contemporary inscriptions referring to the allocation of these divisions to other *nāyakas*.²⁵⁾

It was a fiction and not a historical fact that Kṛṣṇa Rāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty granted the Bēlūru region as a land holding to Era Kṛṣṇappa, the ancestor of the Bēlūru Nāyakas. Why, then, did this fiction come to be created in the middle of the seventeenth century and recorded in inscriptions? Although it is difficult to fully clarify the reasons for this, it is possible to draw certain inferences from examples of historical fictions created by other *nāyakas* and from the historical background.

Wagoner, who has analyzed the *Rāyavācakamu*, a work composed by a person associated with the court of the Madurai Nāyakas, has written as follows about the date of and background to its composition.²⁶⁾ The *Rāyavācakamu* takes the form of a report sent by an ambassador residing

Table 3. The allocation of *nāyaka*-fiefs in the area around Bēlūru under the Tuḷuva dynasty (from left, date of inscription, relevant details, source [s])

3-1 Vastāri

1524	Vastāri-sīme assigned by Kṛṣṇa Rāya to Basavappa Nāyaka as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief	EC 9, Bl-159; EC 9, Bl-182
1539	Vastāri-sīme assigned by Salaka Tirumala Rāja (?) to Raghupati Rāya Oḍeya as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amara māgaṇi</i>)	EC-o 6, Cm-80

3-2 Gōṇibīḍu

1522	Gōṇibīḍu-sīme assigned to Siṃgappa Nāyaka as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief	EC 9, Bl-11
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3-3 Hāsana

1516	Hāsana-sthaḷa assigned to Dhanamjaya Rāya Oḍeya, a <i>daḷavāyi</i> (general) of Kṛṣṇa Rāya, as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amarada paḍeya nāyakatana</i>)	EC 8, Hn-219
1531	Hāsana-sīme assigned by Acyuta Rāya to Cennappaṇṇa as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amarada nāyakatana</i>)	EC 8, Hn-1
1535	Hāsana-sīme assigned to Mānaṃdi Raghupati Rāja Mahāarasu as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief	EC 9, Bl-476

3-4 Śāṃtigrāma

1530	Śāṃtigrāma-sīme administered (<i>maṇiha</i>) by an agent of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, ruler (<i>karta</i>) of Śāṃtigrāma	EC-o 5, Cn-187
1532	Śāṃtigrāma-sīme assigned by Acyuta Rāya to Kereya Timmarasayya as <i>nāyaka</i> -fief (<i>amaradannāyakatana</i>)	EC 8, Hn-166

3-5 Narasiṃhapura

1516	Narasiṃhapura-sīme ruled by Bāgūru Mallarasayya, a <i>mahāmaṃtri</i> (grand minister)	EC 8, HN-124
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at the court of Kṛṣṇa Rāya to his master, one of the Madurai Nāyakas, but it was actually composed towards the end of the sixteenth century, half a century after the time of Kṛṣṇa Rāya. Why, then, would a “spuri-

ous work” such as this have been written? In the late sixteenth century, the Madurai Nāyakas were in a state of intense conflict and tension with the Āravīḍu kings regarding the provision of tribute and military service. For the Madurai Nāyakas, placed in a pressing political situation, it became necessary to seek legitimacy for their rule over their land holdings somewhere other than in their suzerain, that is, the Āravīḍu dynasty, with whom they were in conflict. In this context the authority of the Tuḷuva dynasty was brought forth from the historic past, and a work stressing the ties between Kṛṣṇa Rāya, who created the golden age of the Tuḷuva dynasty, and the Madurai Nāyakas was composed.

Prompted by a political situation marked by conflict between the Āravīḍu kings and themselves, some *nāyakas* must have started to seek out measures to reinforce the legitimacy of their possession of territories in the late Vijayanagara kingdom. The creation of a “history” that emphasized their ties with the regal authority of the former Tuḷuva dynasty may have been one such measure. One can, I believe, detect in the fabrication of the allocation of land holdings to Era Kṛṣṇappa by Kṛṣṇa Rāya this same intent on the part of *nāyakas* of the Āravīḍu dynasty to justify their existence by invoking the authority of the Tuḷuva dynasty. The Bēlūru Nāyakas were actually in a critical situation in the mid-seventeenth century when their inscriptions came to mention this fictitious allocation. In 1647 Śrīraṃga Rāya, the last Āravīḍu king, was driven from his final stronghold of Ceñji, and the Vijayanagara kingdom together with the Āravīḍu dynasty effectively came to an end. But Śrīraṃga Rāya did not abandon the idea of rebuilding his kingdom and actively engaged in political activities in which the Bēlūru Nāyakas also became directly embroiled. In 1658 the Keḷadi Nāyakas extended an invitation to Śrīraṃga Rāya, who had been wandering from one region to another, and installed him in Bēlūru, which they had previously seized from the Bēlūru Nāyakas. There can be little doubt that the Bēlūru Nāyakas would have seen the Keḷadi Nāyakas and Śrīraṃga Rāya, the former Āravīḍu king who had received the backing of the Keḷadi Nāyakas, as political threats endangering their very existence. It is to be surmised that, filled with a rising sense of crisis, the Bēlūru Nāyakas created the “history” of the allocation of their land holdings by Kṛṣṇa Rāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty, predecessor of the Āravīḍu dynasty, and thereby reinforced and reconfirmed the legitimacy of their regional rule.

Concluding Remarks

While there is a possibility that the Bēlūru Nāyakas and Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas shared some family background, it is not possible to clearly trace any genealogical ties between them. Era Kṛṣṇappa, the father of the Bēlūru Nāyakas' ancestor Veṃkaṭādri, and Kṛṣṇappa, the father of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas' ancestor Veṃkaṭādri, were two different people, and the latter was also the ancestor of the Ceṇji Nāyakas. Having clarified these genealogies, in this article I have examined the *nāyaka*-fiefs held by these two *nāyaka* families, chiefly on the basis of contemporary Kannada epigraphical sources. As a result, I have made clear that both families were active as *nāyakas* already during the Tuḷuva period, having been assigned *nāyaka*-fiefs in different parts of the kingdom, but their long-term close ties with the Bēlūru, Narasiṃhapura and Ceṇji regions were born only after the establishment of the Āravīḍu dynasty. This tallies with the fact, which I have pointed out elsewhere, that no close ties are to be found between *nāyakas* and particular regions during the Tuḷuva period. The hereditary nature of regional rule by *nāyakas*, a premise of past research, does not necessarily apply to the Tuḷuva period.

Meanwhile, in later sources one occasionally finds statements that agree with the commonly accepted view that *nāyakas* were exercising hereditary regional rule from the Tuḷuva period. For instance, in connection with the origins of the Ceṇji Nāyakas a chronicle states that Kṛṣṇa Rāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty dispatched an army with four commanders, one of whom was Vaiyappa, to put down a rebellion in northern Tamil country and subsequently made them rulers of the pacified area.²⁷⁾ In the case of the Bēlūru Nāyakas, attempts to claim a close relationship with Kṛṣṇa Rāya were made in the mid-seventeenth century, more than one century after his death, in the form of statements in inscriptions that he assigned land holdings to their ancestor Era Kṛṣṇappa. Many researchers, influenced by these later sources, have taken the view that the process whereby *nāyakas* became independent of the king as hereditary rulers of particular regions had begun already under the Tuḷuva dynasty and that the dynastic change and the weakening of Vijayanagara kingship accelerated this trend. A view that regarded powerful and semi-independent *nāyakas* in the post-Tuḷuva period as vestiges of the mighty Tuḷuva dynasty and downplayed the positive role of the Āravīḍu dynasty in the development of *nāyakas* into hereditary regional rulers has formed

the main current of research history. But this view is one that has been overly swayed by a fiction that was created by *nāyakas* in order to assert their own independence from the Āravīḍu dynasty in the midst of rising tensions between themselves and the Āravīḍu dynasty.

NOTES

- 1) This article is a revised version of my Japanese article entitled “16 seiki Vijayanagara ōkoku ni okeru nāyaka ichizoku o megutte” 16世紀ヴィジャヤナガラ王國におけるナーヤカー族をめぐって [A study of a few *nāyaka* families in the Vijayanagara empire during the sixteenth century], *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 81-4 (2000), pp. 32-57.
- 2) Recent representative studies of *nāyakas* include the following: Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), chap. 8; Karashima Noboru, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- 3) It is to be surmised that while *nāyakas* were permitted to collect and receive taxes from the territorial divisions that they were assigned as *nāyaka*-fiefs, their duties to the king obliged them to provide military forces of a stipulated size and to pay tribute of a stipulated amount. I hope to discuss this in detail in a separate article. In addition to *nāyakatana*, terms such as *māgaṇi*, *amara māgaṇi* and *amara nāyakatana* are also used in inscriptions to refer to *nāyaka*-fiefs. Since there would not appear to be any essential differences in the meaning of these terms, they have not been differentiated in this article, but this is a point that requires further examination.
- 4) Hereafter “*nāyaka*” will be used in the sense of someone who was assigned a *nāyaka*-fief in the Vijayanagara kingdom. *Nāyakas* do not necessarily bear the honorific title of “Nāyaka.”
- 5) For further details, see Ōta Nobuhiro 太田信宏, “Vijayanagara ōkoku Turuvachōki no chihō seiji kenryoku kōzō ni kansuru ichi jirei kenkyū” ヴィジャヤナガラ王國トゥルヴァ朝期の地方政治権力構造に關する一事例研究 [A case study of the local political system under the Tuḷuva dynasty of Vijayanagara], *Kyōai Ronshū* 共愛論集 12 (1999), pp. 29-50.
- 6) B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore: A Gazetteer Compiled for Government*, rev. ed. (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1897), vol. 2, p. 360.
- 7) For past research on these two *nāyaka* families, see the following: “Introduction,” in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 9, pp. cxix-cxxi; Satyanārāyaṇa, “Maisūrīna kiriya rājavamśagaḷu,” in K. S. Śivaṇṇa (ed.), *Karnāṭaka Caritre*, vol. 3 (Hampi: Prasārāṅga, Kannaḍa Viśvavidyālaya, 1997), pp. 446-448, 450-454; Keḷadi Guṇḍājōyisa, “Bēlūru Nāyakaru,” in Rājārām Hegade and Aśōka Śeṭṭar (eds.), *Malekarnāṭakada Arasu Manetanagaḷu* (Hampi: Prasārāṅga, Kannaḍa Viśvavidyālaya, 2001), pp. 284-307.
- 8) “Introduction,” in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 9, p. cxxi; Satyanārāyaṇa,

- “Maisūrīna kiriya rājavaṃśagaḷu,” p. 446.
- 9) An inscription of 1563 recording the donation of a village to Brahmins by Kṛṣṇappa (*EC* 8, HN-47) lists as his ancestors his great-grandfather Giriappa (presumably Śrīgiri), his grandfather Timma and his father Bayyappa, but there is no mention of anyone called Yarra.
 - 10) Copper-plate inscriptions of 1665 (*EC* 8, Ag-16; *EC* 8, Ag-20) refer to “Narasimhapura-sīme previously assigned by the king” (*pūrvadimda rāyadat-tavāgi bamdamtha Narasimhapurada sīme*), but there is no mention of either Kṛṣṇa Rāya or Era Kṛṣṇappa. In a copper-plate inscription of 1660 (*EC* 8, Ag-79) recording the donation of a village by Narasimha Nāyaka of Narasimhapura it is stated that Narasimhapura-sīme was assigned to their ancestor Era Kṛṣṇappa, and this is the only inscription relating to the Narasimhapura Nāyakas in which Era Kṛṣṇappa is mentioned. In this copper-plate inscription, the name of Narasimha’s grandfather, which ought to be Veṃkaṭādri, is given as Kṛṣṇappa. If one takes such errors into account, it could be said that the content of this inscription, including the reference to Era Kṛṣṇappa as an ancestor of the Narasimhapura Nāyakas, is not entirely reliable. Further, in an inscription of 1654 (*EC* 9, SI-62) it is stated that Kṛṣṇa Rāya granted Bēlūru to the Bēlūru Nāyakas’ ancestor “Bayyappa Nāyaka’s [son] Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka.” This is the only instance in which Bayyappa is clearly mentioned as an ancestor of the Bēlūru Nāyakas. This inscription is incomplete and ends abruptly after the section referred to here. Would it be going too far to suggest that the engraving of the stone was discontinued when it was realized that an error had been made in the genealogy? It is interesting that the dates of these inscriptions with “erroneous” genealogies are comparatively close to each other. Did the *nāyaka* families of Bēlūru and Narasimhapura for a time attempt to combine their genealogies?
 - 11) R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, repr. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991), p. 49.
 - 12) See “Siṃḍaru,” in *Karnāṭaka Viśaya Viśvakōśa* (Maisūru: Maisūru Viśvavidyānilaya, 1979), pp. 1498–1500. Some researchers, positing genealogical ties between the two *nāyaka* families and the Sinda dynasty, identify Maṇināgapura with present-day Maṇināgara in Badami Taluk, Bijapur District, which was formerly under the rule of the Sinda dynasty (“Introduction,” in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 9, p. cxix). I am highly sceptical both of positing any genealogical links between the *nāyaka* families and the Sinda dynasty and of identifying Maṇināgapura with any real place-name.
 - 13) Vaiyappa, regarded as one of the Ceṇji Nāyakas, assumed the title of *haḍapa* (*AR* 1933–34, No. 41), while Sūrappa, also one of the Ceṇji Nāyakas, claimed to belong to the Kāśyapa Gōtra and used the title “Lord of the excellent Maṇināgapura” (*AR* 1921, No. 312).
 - 14) On the Ceṇji Nāyakas, see A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1964), pp. 246–256; Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, chap. 1. On inscriptions pertaining to

these three figures that have been discovered in Tamil country, see also Karashima Noboru, *A Concordance of Nāyakas: The Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

- 15) Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, p. 248.
- 16) In the seventeenth-century copper-plate inscriptions mentioned above, it is stated that the ancestors of the Ceñji Nāyakas migrated from Mañināgapura to Vijayanagara (Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, p. 248).
- 17) See Karashima, *A Concordance of Nāyakas*, p. 130 (No. 0388).
- 18) Several people called “Kṛṣṇappa” appear in Tuluva inscriptions discovered in the area around Ceñji, but it would seem that only one appearing in the inscription mentioned in this article can definitely be said to correspond to the Kṛṣṇappa of the Ceñji Nāyakas. See Karashima, *A Concordance of Nāyakas*, pp. 121–123, 131–135. On inscriptions relating to Sūrappa, see *ibid.*, pp. 165–168.
- 19) Since the inscriptions discovered in Kuṁdurpi give only the name “Bayyappa,” it cannot be stated definitely that he is the person of the same name with whom we are here concerned. But, as can be seen in Table 1-2, Bayyappa’s son Kṛṣṇappa figures after him in inscriptions from this region, and it is highly probable that the Bayyappa appearing in inscriptions of 1536 to 1541 is Kṛṣṇappa’s father.
- 20) Because of damage, only the date “Krō... varamāgha śukla daśamī” and the constructor “Baiyyapēṁdra... Kṛṣṇa bhūpa... Nāyaka” can be deciphered. The editor suggests Krōdhana for the date and equates the constructor with Bayyappa, but I would read the date as Krōdhi.
- 21) The Kṛṣṇappa who appears in Table 2-1 in two inscriptions of 1555 may be a different person from Era Kṛṣṇappa. One of the inscriptions (*EC*-o 11, Hk-113) mentions his father’s name as Bomma Nāyaka, besides stating that he was a *haḍapa*. If this name is not a scribal error or misreading, then he must be considered to be a different person from Era Kṛṣṇappa. In that case, it would seem highly likely that the Kṛṣṇappa appearing in the other inscription of 1555 (*EC*-o 11, Hk-118), which gives nothing more than his personal name, is also Bomma Nāyaka’s son Kṛṣṇappa. Supposing that this is so, there then emerges the possibility that after having been the *nāyaka*-fief of Era Kṛṣṇappa, Vastāri was assigned to another *nāyaka* before being assigned to Era Kṛṣṇappa’s son Veṁkaṭātri.
- 22) An inscription of 1566 discovered at the famous Cennakēśava temple in Bēlūru (*EC* 9, Bl-92) records that Veṁkaṭātri built the Garuḍa shrine. An inscription of the previous year (*EC* 9, Bl-104) records a donation of the right to obtain “left-overs” (*prasāda*) of offered rice from the same temple, and the merit from this donation is directed to Era Kṛṣṇappa. Little is known about the donor, named Yerapa Nāyaka, including his relationship with Era Kṛṣṇappa. Although the content of these two inscriptions does not clearly show that Bēlūru was under Veṁkaṭātri’s rule, it could be said that there is a strong possibility that he began to rule over Bēlūru from around

- 1565.
- 23) Among the Āravīḍu inscriptions, an inscription of 1583 (EC 9, Bl-219) states that Śrīraṃga Rāya, the then king of the Āravīḍu dynasty, assigned Vastāri as a *nāyaka*-fief.
 - 24) M. M. Kalaburgi (ed.), *Karnātakada Kaiṭhiyattugaḷu* (Haṃpi: Prasārāṃga, Kannaḍa Viśvavidyālaya, 1994), p. 51.
 - 25) The Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka who ruled over the Śāṃtigrāma region during the reign of Acyuta Rāya was the son of Sōlūru Basavappa Oḍeya and was a different person from both Era Kṛṣṇappa and the Kṛṣṇappa who was the ancestor of the Narasiṃhapura Nāyakas.
 - 26) Phillip B. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rāyavācakamu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 23–33.
 - 27) Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p. 19; Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, pp. 246–248. With regard to the origins of the Madurai Nāyakas of Tamil country, there are passages in later sources that trace their origins back to the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāya, but Venkata Ramanayya rejects their reliability on the basis of contemporary epigraphical sources and argues that the Madurai Nāyakas' hereditary rule of Madurai began around the time of the founding of the Āravīḍu dynasty (N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, repr. [Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1986], pp. 453–461). But even today it is common practice to seek the origins of the Madurai Nāyakas in the first half of the sixteenth century; see, for example, Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 121.