

VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE: NAYAKATANA SYSTEM- ORIGIN AND GENESIS

Vishwith Shetty

H.O.D. & Assistant Professor in History, Pompei College, Aikala Post,
Mangalore Taluk, D.K. District, Karnataka, INDIA- 574141

ABSTRACT

During the rule of Vijayanagara Empire in general and Tuluva dynasties ruler Shri Krishnadevaraya's reign in particular, there is a new administrative pattern called Nayaka system. It was one of the main consolidating factors of the Vijayanagara Empire in the 16th century era. It is also known as Nayankara, Nayakatana and Amaranayaka system. They ruled as feudal landlords and they took control over the production in their regions through a hierarchical network. They were supposed to provide military and administrative assistance to the king, which lessen the burden of the king in the state polity. They had administrative rights inherited from the King in their segmentary state. But they were not supreme authority in their jurisdiction. King was the eternal authority. In recent days of historiography, there is a healthy academic discussion on Origin and Genesis of Nayakas. This present article is an effort to shed a light on the some aspects of Origin and Genesis of Nayankara system.

Keywords: Nayakatana, Amaranayaka, Mandaleshwaras, Mahamandaleshwaras, Epigraphy

1. INTRODUCTION

During the rule of Vijayanagara Empire in general and Tuluva dynasties ruler Shri Krishnadevaraya's reign in particular, there is a new administrative pattern called Nayaka system. It was one of the main consolidating factors of the Vijayanagara Empire in the 16th century era. It is also known as Nayankara, Nayakatana and Amaranayaka system. They ruled as feudal landlords and they took control over the production in their regions through a hierarchical network. They were supposed to provide military and administrative assistance to the king, which lessen the burden of the king in the state polity. They had administrative rights inherited from the King in their segmentary state. But they were not supreme authority in their jurisdiction. King was the eternal authority. In recent days of historiography, there is a healthy academic discussion on various aspects of Nayakatana system. This chapter is an effort to shed a

light on the Origin and Genesis, interpretations on the term Nayaka, class, caste, Varna or community's to Nayakas belongs.

2. THE TERM PALEGAR: AN ANALYSIS

In the history of Karnataka Vijayanagara Kings have played a prominent role as a rulers, administrators and promoters of cultural aspects. Among all these their administrative pattern is unique and first in kind in the history of Karnataka. A new tradition started during the time of Vijayanagara Empire known as Palegars. Broadly speaking this system existed even in the past but not was in the Karnataka. In Karnataka it was introduced by the Vijayanagara rulers. Its renewed and reformed model we can see in the Tuluva Dynasties Sri Krishnadevaraya's rule. So he was main instrumental in expanding this system and it was zenith of the Nayaka System. In Kannada it is known as Nayakatana, Telugu as Nayankara and in Tamil as Nayakattanam. In one word they were known as Palegars. These Palegars called as Nayakas, Amaranayakas, Mandalikas, Mandaleshwaras, Mahamandaleshwaras, Samanthas and Mahasamanthas. Whenever they used to go to Vijayanagara, they used to stay in the tent or camp called Paleya, which was outside in the state capital. It was also the one reason to call them as Palegars. Their territorial area was known as Paleyapattu.

The Policy adopted by the Palegars was different. Vijayanagara kings had given powers of small regions to the local heads on the condition of paying the annual tax in between 1st September to 10th September and military help in case break-out of any war. These Palegars were the local people and popularly called by the names as Nayaka, Amaranayaka, Gowdas, Prabhus, Mandalikas, Mahamandalikas, Mandaleshwaras, Mahamandaleshwaras, Samanthas and Mahasamanthas. As long as the centre was strong and sound the Palegars were very obedient. They were eager to help the king in the course of war. These Palegars started working independently after ascending the weak rulers in the Vijayanagara throne particularly after the Battle of Talikota in 21.01.1565 which gave death blow to the very existence of the Vijayanagara kingdom. They had to fight for the rescue of the Vijayanagara rulers and Palegars became more powerful during the last weak nominal rulers of Araveedu dynasty. In the 16th century many Palegars families have ruled different parts of Karnataka in the first half under the control of rulers and independently in the later half of sixteen century. Some of the Paleyapattu were big in size and some of them were small. The most important among them were Palegars of Chitradurga, Nayakas of Keladi, Wodeyars of Mysore, Prabhu's of Yalahanka, Nayakas of Matthodi, Nidugal Nayakas, Jarimale Nayakas, Gudikote Nayakas, Bairaras and Alupas of Tulunadu and rulers from Barkur. Ultimately these Palegars rule was ended by Hyder and Tippu Sultan who was anti-Palegar landlordism.

Apart from the local Palegars the dalapathis of Bijapur also had formed Paleyas. Marathas attacked several times into Karnataka and among them few received jageers which later turned as Paleyapattu. This Palegar landlordism existed only for the very short span of time.

There were lot of study undertaken and are going on these Palegars. But it has never reached eternal end. It is good sign that research is going on this field.

First of all we should critically analyze the term Palegar. In the history of Vijayanagara as their pillars these Palegars known as Nayakas and Amaranayakas and have played prominent role. Vijayanagara rulers were the creators of these Palegars. The pioneer in the field of the study of these Palegars was M.S. Puttanna¹ who was Amaldar by profession and research bent of mind. As an Amaldar he used to go from one village to another village and during this time he collected the documents related to these Palegars from their respective present family members. It was a herculean task to him. He has thoroughly studied the epigraphical volumes of B.L. Rice. He has utilized all these available source materials for his study and brought out it in the form of book namely Palegararu: Iydu Upanyasagalu (Palegars: Five Lectures) in 1923. It was a five lecturer series presented by M.S. Puttanna in Chikkamagaluru. In this work he has defined Palegar as *one who ready to the war with his army and the term Palegar was a respective title.*²

According to him the term Palegar might be derived from following two circumstances:

- i. In small territories as minor chieftains under the Vijayanagara rulers they ruled and collected tax and received gift from the subjects. Traditionally people called them as protector of good and destructor of the evils.³
- ii. During the Vijayanagara rulers in the war against their enemy states these Palegars participated in the war by supporting the Vijayanagara with their militia and encamped in outskirts the capital known as Paleya and its head was Palegar.⁴

Later researches, gazetteers and encyclopedias refer minor chieftains of post-Vijayanagara rulers as Palegars. But we should be very cautious while using the term Palegar. In reality there is no space for Palegar or Paleyapattu in the Political history of Karnataka. That is why except two records there was no reference of term Palegar or Paleyapattu in the contemporary and Post-Vijayanagara inscriptions. It can be seen only in two inscriptions.

For example: The 59th inscription of Periyapattana Taluk of Mysore district refers Vijayanagara ruler Tirumala in 1607 A.D. gave Malalavadi Seeme to the Changanvalva ruler Rudragana for the adoration of Mallikarjuna Swamy. It reads as :

Navu kotantha Malalavadi Seemeya Piriyaarajana

($\text{ÉÁ}^{\text{À}}\text{Å} \text{PÉ} \text{ÉI} \text{A} \text{x} \text{Á} \text{ }^{\text{À}} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{1}} \text{4} \text{À} \text{ }^{\text{®}} \text{Á} \text{r} \text{ }^{\text{1}} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{a}} \text{É} \text{Ä} \text{A} \text{i} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{/j} \text{A} \text{i} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Á} \text{d} \text{£} \text{À} \text{ })$

Koodidu Bitantha Pagudirokavu Piriyaajanige bitu

($\text{P} \text{Ä} \text{Æ} \text{r} \text{z} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{©} \text{I} \text{A} \text{x} \text{Á} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¢} \text{g} \text{É} \text{Æ} \text{P} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{a}} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{/j} \text{A} \text{i} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Á} \text{d} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{U} \text{É} \text{ } \text{©} \text{I} \text{Ä} \text{ })$

Kotudu Munde Srirangapatana Bandu Nindantha

($\text{P} \text{É} \text{Æ} \text{I} \text{Ä} \text{z} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{a}} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{A} \text{z} \text{É} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{2}} \text{æ} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Ä} \text{A} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{I} \text{t} \text{P} \text{É} \text{ } \text{§} \text{A} \text{z} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{A} \text{z} \text{Ä} \text{A} \text{x} \text{Á} \text{ })$

Doreyagali Mamniyaragali Parupathyegaranagalee

($\text{z} \text{É} \text{Æ} \text{g} \text{É} \text{A} \text{i} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{ }^{\text{a}} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{A} \text{i} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Á} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{v} \text{É} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Ä} \text{£} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{Ä} \text{ })$

Prabhu Paligaranagalee Eee Apanage

($\text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{æ} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{s}} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{1}} \text{2} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{g} \text{Ä} \text{£} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{ } \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{C} \text{¥} \text{Ä} \text{u} \text{É} \text{U} \text{É} \text{ })$

Thapidava Thanna Hettha Thayi Thane

($\text{v} \text{Ä} \text{/z} \text{Ä} \text{ }^{\text{a}} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{v} \text{Ä} \text{A} \text{£} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{É} \text{v} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{Ü} \text{ } \text{v} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{v} \text{Ä} \text{£} \text{É} \text{Ä} \text{ })$

Thakisikonde Hoda Hage

($\text{v} \text{Ä} \text{Q} \text{ }^{\text{1}} \text{P} \text{É} \text{Æ} \text{A} \text{q} \text{Ä} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{É} \text{Æ} \text{Ä} \text{z} \text{Ä} \text{ } \text{ }^{\text{°}} \text{Ä} \text{U} \text{É} \text{ })$. ⁵

The summary of this inscription is:

The Malalavadi region was given to the king of Periyapattana by the Vijayanagara ruler Tirumala. The ruler of Periyapattana had the right over that village and its entire income is to him and to the Mallikarjuna Swamy. In future if any new ruler, Prabhu or Palegar confiscate it or disobey this rule then it is like he is having intercourse with his mother.

Since ancient times generally it is a method to keep an outsider to not to occupy the land which was donated to the temple. Such a shapasana (curse) part we can see in some ancient Indian inspirations which relating to the land grants to the temples. This inspiration might look like Vijayanagara ruler considered Palegar as low grade officer or minor chieftain.

Quite contrary to this in the 63rd inscription of Mandya district explains about the quarrel between the Brahmins and Arakavadas of Arkagupta (Presently Gutthale) of Keregodu taluk in 1654 A.D. regarding the performing of rituals to the Goddess Devamma, God Sidila Basava and God Bairava. Finally they approached the Sivoji Nayaka and reached out consensus. This inscription reads as :

Sri Palyegaru Si Vo Ji Nakaru Ruju

(ಸ್ರೀ ಪಾಳೇಗಾರು ಸಿ ವೋ ಜಿ ನಾಕಾರು ರುಜು)

Sri Amaldar Venkatapa Nayakara Ruju

(ಸ್ರೀ ಅಮಲ್ದಾರ ವೆಂಕಟಾಪಾ ನಾಯಕಾರು ರುಜು).⁶

By seeing this it reflects like Sivoji Nayaka called himself as Palegar.

Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Francois Buckhanan, M.S. Puttanna, gazetteers and recent works called Basavapattana Chitradurga, Hagalavadi, Harappanahalli, Madhugiri, Nidugal, Sugatur and other minor rulers of Post-Vijayanagara rule as Palegars. In the Kaifiyats there is many times repetition of the term Palegara. In Kaifiyats or genealogies of rulers they never called themselves as Palegars. But while corresponding to the other chieftain they used the word Palegar.

For example: Majority of the recent researches called Chitradurga rulers as Palegars of Chitradurga and rulers of Keladi as Keladi Nayakas. But none of the records of Chitradurga-inscriptions and genealogies- never called themselves as Palegars. But while referring to Keladi rulers Chitradurga Palegars called them as Palegars of Keladi.⁷

By critically analyzing above documents it is clear that we should be very cautious while using the term Palegar. Here rulers rather than calling themselves as Palegars they called other chieftains as Palegars. So it denotes that Palegars might be lower level officials or to keep themselves on upper position these minor chieftains called others as Palegars.

Inspirations are the official records of contemporary age. That is why while calling one as Palegar, It is better to study inscriptions of respective contemporary rulers and call according to titles assigned in that epigraphs like Palegar, Nayakas or Prabhu.

3. ORIGIN AND GENESIS : A SURVEY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

When did Nayaka system start? This is fundamental question. For this tricky question various scholars have expressed divergent views. But it is unanimous opinion that Nayankara system was an integral part of administrative system of Vijayanagara Empire.

The following lines drawn by the N. Venkataramanayya, who is the first to take study on Nayaka system of Vijayanagara Empire, in his work *Vijayanagara: Origin of the City and the Empire* – The system of granting the land to the Nayakas were rampant during the first dynasty of Vijayanagara Empire.⁸

Prior to 1964, except A. Krishnaswamy none of the scholars have taken it seriously in the academic course of discussion. His work *Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* published in 1964 clearly indicated about his scholarly interest in the study of Nayankara system. According to him, era of Sri Krishnadevaraya witnessed tremendous changes in the administrative pattern in the local governance to smooth conduct of the state affairs. He introduced a Nayaka system under the control of provincial governors who popularly known as Mahamandaleshwaras.⁹ According to him in the early rule of Vijayanagara these Mahamandaleshwaras played a unique important role. But in the early half of the 16th century their role was slowly and gradually diminished and their role was played by these Nayakas. They became the central part in the administration in Vijayanagara during 16th century A.D. But its real origin can be seen in the Tamil Nadu during 14th century A.D. There also it was started by the Vijayanagara rulers when they invaded that part in 14th century as part of their territorial aggrandizement. At the end of 14th century A.D., when Vijayanagara rulers occupied Tamil Nadu, they have introduced Nayankara system in there and they were made under the control of Mahamandaleshwaras.¹⁰ So by this we can account that, the origin of the Nayaka system under Vijayanagara rulers in Karnataka dates back to 16th century and in occupied territory it was 14th century. Totally in India its origin has goes back to 14th century and in Karnataka 16th century A.D.

Krishnaswamy has used contemporary epigraphs while expressing his views on Nayaka system. Before this many of the studies mainly relied upon the Portuguese records. Eventhough N.Venkataramnayya done extensive research on Nayaka system but he has failed to utilize contemporary inscriptions. But Krishnamurthy successfully used these inscriptions in the study of Nayaka system. It is major breakthrough in understanding of Nayaka system.

According to Japanese scholar Noboru Karashima, Nayaka system as a pattern of administrative set up was started under the Vijayanagara Empire during the late half of the 15th century. This statement is mainly based on his analysis on Tamil inscriptions which referred the term Nayakatanam. In his own words Nayakatanam denotes disbursement of territories to Nayakas.¹¹

The views of Karashima and Krishnamurthy in relates to Nayaka system under Vijayanagara Empire is different:

- i. According to Noboru Karashima, origin of Nayaka system was late half of the 14th century.
- ii. Krishnamurthy held that it was at end of 15th century.

But these duos have agreed that, the referred term Nayaka in Tamil inscriptions' indicate the origin of Nayakas. We will have to consider their views very cautiously after examining the original source materials. After chronologically and systematically arranging the original Tamil

inscriptions referred by Karashima which referred the terminology Nayakatanam, we can say that in the pre 14th century there were less references of term Nayakatanam.¹²

Same model have applied by the another scholar Tolbat in his research on Nayaka system under Vijayanagara Empire. He analyzed the term Nayaka, Nayakatana which referred in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh which was under the control of Vijayanagara Empire. According to him only after 1490, the term Nayankara was gradually used in the inscriptions.¹³ He opines that under Vijayanagara rule this administrative pattern was introduced in Andhra Pradesh in late 15th century. His opinion is almost nearer to the views of Noboru Karashima.

Eventhough there is a dearth of study on Nayaka system by utilizing Kannada epigraphs, the scholar D.N.Yogeeshwarappa by studying the inscriptions of Karnataka, Andhrapradesh and Tamilnadu held that:

Under the SriKrishnadevaraya of Tuluva dynasty the Nayankara system reached its high watermark. It was a zenith and apogee of Nayankara system.¹⁴

There were references of more number of Nayakas in the inscriptions of SriKrishnadevaraya. If we critically analyze it, in the era of SriKrishnadevaraya there were more in number of Nayakas. It means there was prevalence of Nayaka system in the Pre-Krishnadevaraya's era. Its number might have been less. It was systematically and effectively reorganized by the SriKrishnadevaraya. When during the late half of the 15th century the rule of Sangama dynasty disintegrated- that led to political anarchy and political vacuum- , to protect themselves from this and to enhance their political power, Vijayanagar rulers could have introduced this system.

Another Japanese scholar Ota Nobohiro, whose extensive study on the Nayaka system, held that at the end of the 15th century A.D., more and more regions were included in the Nayaka system under the Vijayanagar dynasty.¹⁵

Except Venkataramanayya above all the debates gives clear picture that this Nayaka system worked as unique administrative pattern under the Vijayanagara empire during the late half of the 15th century A.D.

There are genuine questions in related to the Nayaka System:

- i. Whether this system introduced by the Vijayanagara rulers?
- ii. Whether it was imbibed from somewhere else?

For this question, a befitting answer has given by N.Venkataramanayya. According to him, the Nayaka system was important part of administration during the last two rulers of Kakathiya

dynasty of Warangal. It was commonly believed that, Prataparudradeva- II- the famous ruler of the dynasty- has introduced this system. The book Prathapa Charitha reveals that Prataparudradeva- II has given the responsibility of protecting his capital Warangal to the 77 Velama Nayakas and he has divided his kingdom into 77 districts and assigned the duties to 77 Velamas to rule. These seventy Velamas had ruled their respective regions without having any dilemma. This historical event was documented in the form of Kaluvacheru Sanskrit copper plate inscription of 1432. After the demise of Prataparudradeva- II, Mohammadans attacked the Kakathiya state. But it was successfully resisted by the Telagana district's Nayaka Kapanayaka and later he has become the ruler of Warangal and he acknowledged the rule of the other 76 Nayakas. Whatever circumstances led to the emergence of Nayankara system, but without doubt we can say that during the last two rulers of Kakathiya dynasty this new political structure was emerged. Except Warangal (presently the State of Telangana), none of the Deccan and South Indian states were familiar to this system. Vijayanagar rulers imbibed this system from the State of Warangal.¹⁶

Similar view has expressed by Prof Laxmana Telagavi. According to him, for the first time Kakathiyas of Warangal introduced this unique new administrative set up. Kakathiya queen Rudrambe's (Rudrama Devi) (1262-1286) grant inscription clearly justifies this system.¹⁷

This Nayaka system was undoubtedly invented by the Kakathiyas of Warangal and later it was taken by the Vijayanagara rulers in the modified form as held by Cynthia Talbot.¹⁸ If we taken into consideration of Cynthia's view, it indicates that, there was modified form of Nayankara system under the Vijayanagara rule. It means there were slight differences between the Nayankara system of Vijayanagara and Nayankara system Warangal. According to Talbot:

Under the Kakathiyas of Warangal Nayakas size of the territory was very small and having of only few in number of villages. Nayakas were also represented from the low level officials.¹⁹

So in the whole Kakathiyas rule the area of their ambit and their political power was very limited and restricted. They just only a assistants of the king. By critically analyzing the epigraphs of Hoytsalas, Kakathiyas and Sevanas who ruled prior to the Vijayanagara's rule, we get the reference of the term *Seeme* which implies provincial administrative division. Only during the last rulers of Kakathiya dynasty we can see the term *Seeme*. Same term can be seen in the inscriptions of Reddi dynasties who ruled in the Andhra Pradesh as successors of Kakathiya dynasty.

Based on this, the view of N. Venkata Ramanayya is:

- i. The *Seeme* administrative unit was first emerged in the eastern coast of Andhra Pradesh during the reign of Kakathiyas.

- ii. When the Vijayanagara Empire was expanded, this system had entered to the west coast.²⁰

Under the Kakathiyas rule these *Seeme* was under the preview of Nayankaras. During the rule of SriKrishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara, entire *Seeme* (administrative unit) was given as a tenet to the Nayakas. It was also justified by the contemporary inscriptions.²¹

The study of Cynthia Talbot reveals the inscription of early half of the 19th century refers Nayakas and their territories less in numbers. In the year 1933 N. Venkataramanayya in his work has enlisted the epigraphs that have referred the regions of the Nayakas in the Vijayanagara's Sangama dynasty era. They are:

- i. In 1339 A.D., Poddilapalli Singama Nayaka was administered Naykara (Nayakatana, Nayakaship) of Denuvakonda village.²²
- ii. In 1352 A.D., son of Mahasavanthadipathi Balavanthada's Arike Nayaka received Anjudunadu as a Naykara.²³
- iii. In 1392 A.D., the grandson of Theppada Naganna was probably a Naykara of Tirumalanatha.²⁴
- iv. In 1412 A.D., Somagandanahalli of Hirasunadu was under the Nayakatana of Hiriya Mudiya Nayaka.²⁵
- v. In 1418, the Hammiranadu was under the Nayakatana of Jakamudde Nayaka.²⁶

By critically analyzing the above inscriptions, it is evident that, the territorial limits of these Nayakas were equal to the Village or Nadu. Even though we do not get more in number of these Nayaka lands in inscriptions, but it is vogue in Vijayanagara Empire. The rulers had given these Nayakatana to their subordinate officials. The very beginning of the Vijayanagara Empire this system was worked as a unique feature of the administration. Even though Nayakatana lands size was equal to the villages or the Nadu during the Sangama dynasty, the role of Nayakas in assisting the administration was minimal like that of Kakathiya state.

Some scholars have taken the origins of Nayankara system under the Vijayanagara Empire to the *Iqta* system of West Asia which was introduced there by Mohammadan rulers. According to Ravi Aravind Palat, *Vijayanagara rulers adopted the Iqta system in India with certain modifications as Nayankara system.*²⁷ Based on the inscriptions he proved that Nayaka lands were need not be a hereditary one. But neither he never gone deep into the study of this system in detail nor he explained the *Iqta* system of West Asia and Nayaka system of Vijayanagara Empire in detail.²⁸

Noboru Karashima identified the origins of the Nayaka system under Vijayanagara Empire with the contemporary Islamic political systems namely Iqta and Jagirdari system.²⁹ He further argued that, it is not easy to disapprove the origin of the Nayaka system with the Iqta, Jagirdari system of contemporary medieval Indian Mohammadan political system. In 1996 South Asian 25th History Conference Wagener Philip and other two American scholars originates the historicity of Nayaka system to the Iqta system of medieval India in their research paper.³⁰

According to Wagener Philip B the Nayaka system of Vijayanagara Empire was synonym to the Iqta system of medieval Indian Mohammadan administrative pattern.³¹ While explaining the terminology Iqta, he held that, head of the Iqta was Iqtadar. He was entitled to collect the revenue and in return he will have to provide the military service to the sultan. In the Vijayanagara Empire also Nayaka was the head of their respective region. He has to perform administrative as well as military duties. Administrative duty is in the sense of collecting revenue, and military duty was by providing military assistance to the king in the time of outbreak of any war. Here he clearly draws the parallel between Nayaka system of Vijayanagara and Iqta system of medieval rule. But an interesting factor is they never referred the Nayaka system of Kakathiya dynasty who was front runners in this field.

By evaluating the opinions of above scholars we can say that these Islamic rulers imbibed the Iqta system of West Asia into India and some contemporary South Indian rulers introduced it in their administration in the modified form of that Iqta namely Nayaka, Naykara or Nayakatana.

Shshir Kumar Pandey's research on medieval Indian Nayaka system has its own view regarding its origin. The founders of Later Gangas of in Orissa Vajrahasthadeva-III and Anathavarma started the Nayaka system in there by giving Nayakatana. These Nayakas originally locals and their power and respect enhanced by receiving the Nayakatana.³² So the antiquity of Nayakatana was goes back to the period of Later Gangas in Orissa. His argument is based on the inscription of 1037 A.D. of Kalinga. According to this:

Vajrahasthadeva-III has invited the Ganapathi Nayaka son - of Kutadi Nayaka of Kanchidesha- to the Kalinga and given him a Nayakatana of Sathtivada village.

Above statement is clearly evident that Vajrahasthadeva-III of Later Gangas of in Orissa was instrumental in Nayaka system and Orissa (Then Kalinga) is the pioneer State in adopting this system. Shshir Kumar Pandey strongly argued this based on the archaeological evidence. In my opinion it is very clear that undoubtedly Nayakas were the local influential people and were not the exogeneous people.

One can make note of that, there was direct contact between Delhi Sultanates and the State of Warangal. Delhi ruler Ala-Ud-Din Khilji invaded the State of Warangal during the rule of

Prataparudradeva- II in 1310. Here there might be direct or indirect connection between the Delhi and Warangal with regarding to the administration. The State of Warangal might have witnessed this Iqta system and might have adopted it as Nayaka system in their administration. This Warangal and Orissa were neighboring states and SriKrishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara had direct contact with Orissa by defeating its ruler Gajapathi king of Orissa Prataparudradeva- II in 1514 and he witnessed this.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the source materials- archaeological and literary evidences- I conclude that the route of Nayaka system was lies with the Iqta and Jagirdari system of medieval period- Delhi Sultanates and Mughals. Among the Hindu rulers Later Gangas of Orissa imbibed this system. Then it penetrated to the Kakathiyas of Warangal. Later it was introduced as a part of administrative pattern in the modified form as according to the time and need by the Vijayanagara rulers. SriKrishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara reorganized and systematized it and it became a part and parcel of Vijayanagara Empire. Here we can draw the parallel between the SriKrishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara and Akbar of Mughal Empire. Even though Jagirdari system rampant in during the Delhi Sultanate, Mughal ruler Akbar the Great reorganized and systematized it and it constituted the important part of the Mughal administration. In the same manner Nayaka system was existed in the Orissa and Warangal during 14th century A.D., its matured form we can see in the SriKrishnadevaraya's era. SriKrishnadevaraya's rule was an apogee of Nayakatana. The above theory can stands and continues till to the new historical discoveries are to be made. It mainly relied upon the future research. I hope the further researches will continues and bring forth the new historical facts. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Nayakas' strength and independence increased further. In the seventeenth century, however, there occurred again in Vijayanagara a chain of invasions and internal wars which greatly weakened the Nayakas rule.

END NOTES

01. M .S. Puttanna, (1923). Palegararu: Iydu Upanyasagalu. Bangalore.
02. Ibid., p. 3.
03. Ibid., pp. 2-4
04. Ibid.
05. Epigraphic Carnatica, Vol. – IV, Reprint. Mysore University, Periyapattana- 59.
06. Epigraphic Carnatica, Vol. – VI, Reprint. Mysore University, Mandya- 63.
07. Hullur Srinivasa Jois, (Ed.) Chitradurgada Bakhairu. p. 20.
08. N. Venkata Ramanayya. (1933). *Origin of the City and Empire*. pp. 108-109.
09. A. Krishnsawamy (1964). *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*. p. 194.
10. Ibid., pp. 181-191.

11. Noboru Karashima. (2002). *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagara Inscriptions in South India*. p. 16.
12. Ibid., p. 66
13. Cynthiya Talbot. (2001 B). The Nayakas of Vijayanagar Andhra: A preliminary Prosography. In Kenneth, R Hall. (Ed.). *Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honor of Noboru Karashima*. p. 255.
14. D. N. Yogeeshwarappa (2011). *Charitreya Putagalu*. pp. 90-110.
15. Nobuhiro Ota. (2008). A Study of Two Nayaka Families in the Vijayanagara Kingdom in the Sixteenth Century. In the Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko. p. 108.
16. N. Venkata Ramanayya (2010). *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*. pp. 109-111.
17. Laxmana Telagavi. (2009). Vijayanagarada Amara Nayakaru Matthu Palegararu. In Virupakshi, Poojarahalli. (Ed.). *Charitre Adhyayana*, Vol. 4, Issue 2. p. 26.
18. Cynthia Talbot. (2001 A). *Pre-Colonial India in Practice- Society, Religion and Identity in Medieval Andhra*. pp. 165-166.
19. Ibid.
20. N. Venkata Ramanayya. (2010). *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*. pp. 106-108.
21. D N. Yogeeshwarappa. (2011). *Charitreya Putagalu*. pp. 92-93.
22. Nellore District Inscriptions (NDI) by Butter Worth and Venugopala Chetty. ii. 035.
23. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Davngere. No. 29.
24. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. X. Bangalore. No. 15.
25. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Anantapur. No. 44.
26. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Anantapur. No. 4.
27. Ravi Aravind Palat. (1987). The Vijayanagara Empire Reintegration of the Agrarian Order of Medieval South India- 1336-1565. In H J M, Classen. & Pieter, Van De Velde. (Eds.). *Early Sate Dynamics: Studies in Human Society*, Vol.2. p. 174.
28. Ibid., p. 175.
29. Noboru Karashima (1999). Vijayanagar Nayakas in Tamilnadu and the King. In Noboru, Karashima. (Ed.). *Kingship in Indian History*. p. 157.
30. Noboru Karashima (2002). *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagara Inscriptions in South India*. pp. 25-26.
31. Philip .B. Waganar. (2002). Harihara, Bukka, and the Sultan: The Delhi Sultanate in the Political Imagination of Vijayanagar. In David, Gilmartin. & Bruce, B Lawrence. (Eds.). *Beyond Turk & Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*. p. 318.

32. Shishir Kumar Pandey. (1988). Nayaka system in Medieval Andhra. In K K Das Gupta & P K Bhattacharya. (Eds.). *Shraddhanjali, D.C Sarkar Commemoration Volume*. p. 105.

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

01. Derret, J D M. (1957). *The Hoytsalas- A Medieval Royal Family*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
02. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Anantapur. No. 4.
03. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Anantapur. No. 44.
04. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX. Davngere. No. 29.
05. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. X. Bangalore. No. 15.
06. Epigraphic Carnatica, Vol. – IV, Reprint. Mysore University.
07. Kanaka Durga, P S. (1983). *Role of Nayakas in Medieval Andhra (1000 A.D.-1259 A.D.)*. Andhra Pradesh History Congress, Vol. VII.
08. Karashima, Noboru. (1992). *Towards a New Formation of South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
09. Karashima, Noboru. (1999). Vijayanagar Nayakas in Tamilnadu and the King. In Noboru, Karashima. (Ed.). *Kingship in Indian History*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
10. Karashima, Noboru. (2002). *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagara Inscriptions in South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
11. Krishnsawamy, A. (1964). *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*. Annamalai Nagar: Annamalai University.
12. Mahalingam, T V. (1940). *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*. Madras: University of Madras.
13. Nirupama. (2010). *Shri Krishnadevarayana Amuktha Maulyada*. Hampi: Prasaraanga, Kannada University, Hampi.
14. Ota, Nobuhiro. (2008). A Study of Two Nayaka Families in the Vijayanagara Kingdom in the Sixteenth Century. In the *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko. pp. 103-129.
15. Palat, Ravi Aravind. (1987). The Vijayanagara Empire Reintegration of the Agrarian Order of Medieval South India- 1336-1565. In H J M, Classen. & Pieter, Van De Velde. (Eds.). *Early Sate Dynamics: Studies in Human Society*, Vol.2. Leiden: E. J. Brill. pp. 170-186.
16. Pandey, Shishir Kumar. (1988). Nayaka system in Medieval Andhra. In K K Das Gupta & P K Bhattacharya. (Eds.). *Shraddhanjali, D.C Sarkar Commemoration Volume*. Delhi: Sandeep Prakashana.
17. Paramashiva Murthy, D V. (Ed.). (2010). *Krishnadevarayana Shasanagalu*, Vol. I. Hampi: Prasaraanga, Kannada University, Hampi.
18. Puttanna, M S. (1923). *Palegararu: Iydu Upanyasagalu*. Bangalore.

19. Ranga, N G. (1971). *Kakathiya Nayakas and their contribution to Dakshinapathas Independence*. Nidobrolu: The Indian Peasant Institute, Nidoborulu, Andhra Pradesh.
20. Rao, R Narasimha. (1967). *Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra*. Secundarabad.
21. Reddy, Soma. (1994). Nayankara System in Medieval Andhra: Some observations. In the *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, 14th session*. Tirupathi.
22. Reddy, Soma. (1994). Nayankara system in Medieval Andhra: Some observations. In the *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, 14th session*. Tirupathi. pp. 308-314.
23. Salettor, B A. (1934). *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara empire*, Vol. II. Madras: B.G.Paul and Com.
24. Sarkar, D C. (1966). *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. New Delhi.
25. Sasthry, Parabrahma. (2009). *Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Rulers*, Vol. IV. (Telugu Inscriptions) (1351-1665 A.D.). Bangalore: ICHR Southern Regional Centre.
26. Sewell, Robert. (1900). *A Forgotten Empire: Vijayanagar - A Contribution to the History of India*. 2nd Edition. London.
27. Shivanna, K S. (1983). *The Agrarian System of Karnataka (1336-1761)*. Mysore: Prasaraanga, University of Mysore.
28. Srinivasa Jois, Hullur. (Ed.) Chitradurgada Bakhairu.
29. Stein, Burtein. (1980). *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
30. Stein, Burtein. (1989). *Vijayanagar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
31. Subbarayulu, Y. (1996). Socio Political Formation of South India Vijayanagara Period. In K K N Kurup. (Ed.). *New Dimensions in South Indian History: Felicitation Volume in Honor of Dr. M R Raghava Warier*. Calicut: Association for Peasant Studies, University of Calicut.
32. Subbarayulu, Y. (2005). The Vijayanagara State. In J S Grewal. (Ed.). *State and Society in Medieval India: History of Indian Science Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. VII. Oxford: OUP.
33. Talbot, Cynthia. (2001 A). *Pre-Colonial India in Practice- Society, Religion and Identity in Medieval Andhra*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
34. Talbot, Cynthiya, (2001 B). The Nayakas of Vijayanagar Andhra: A preliminary Prosography. In Kenneth, R Hall. (Ed.). *Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honor of Noboru Karashima*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India.
35. Telagavi, Laxmana. (1988). Eppatthelu Palegararu. In Suryanath, Kamath. & Laxmana, Telagavi. (Eds.). (Kannada). *Ithihasa Darshana*, Vol. III. Bangalore: Karnataka Ithihasa Academy.
36. Telagavi, Laxman. (2009). Vijayanagarada Amara Nayakaru Matthu Palegararu. In Virupakshi, Poojarahalli. (Ed.). *Charitre Adhyayana*, Vol. 4, Issue 2. Vidyananya: Prasaraanga, Kannada University, Hampi.

37. Venkata Ramanayya, N. (1933). *Origin of the City and Empire*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
38. Venkata Ramanayya, N. (2007). *Origin of the City and Empire*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
39. Venkata Ramanayya, N. (2010). *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
40. Waganar, Philip B. (1993). *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethno Historical Analysis of the Rayavachakamu*. Honolulu: University of Hawali Press.
41. Waganar, Philip B. (2002). Harihara, Bukka, and the Sultan: The Delhi Sultanate in the Political Imagination of Vijayanagar. In David, Gilmartin. & Bruce, B Lawrence. (Eds.). *Beyond Turk & Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*. Florida: Gainesville University Press of Florida.
42. Worth, Butter & Chetty, Venugopala. Nellore District Inscriptions (NDI). ii. 035.
43. Yogeeshwarappa, D N. (2009 A). *Madhyakaleena Karnatakda Palegararu*. Bangalore: Dhathri Book Publication.
44. Yogeeshwarappa, D N. (2009 B). Vijayanagara Kalada Tumkur Pradeshada Nayakaru. In R, Gopal. (Ed.). *Tumkur Zilla Ithihasa Matthu Purathathva*. Mysore: Department of Archaeology and Museum, Mysore.
45. Yogeeshwarappa, D N. (2011). *Charitreya Putagalu*. Bangalore: CVG India.