

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(THE THIRUVENGADAM TEMPLES)

BY

T.K.T. VIRARAGHAVA CHARYA



Published by
TIRUMALA TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAMS
TIRUPATI

Vol.
II

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Thiruvengadam Temples)

Vol.II

T.K.T. VIRARAGHAVACHARYA



Published By

TIRUMALA TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAMS, TIRUPATI.

2003

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI - VOL.II

By

T.K.T. VIRARAGHAVACHARYA

T.T.D. Religious Publications Series No. 499

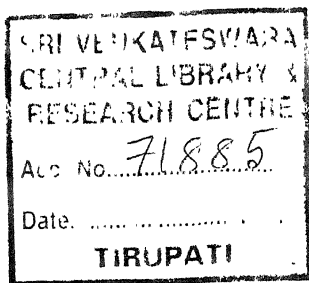
© All Rights Reserved.

First Edition : 1954

Second Edition : 1982

Re-Print : 2003

Copies:2,000



Published By:

Ajay Kallam, I.A.S

Executive Officer,

Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams,

Tirupati - 517 507.

Printed at:

adsprint :

T. Nagar, Chennai - 17.

FOREWORD

The period from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century, till the entry of the East India Company was a tumultuous period in the History of South India. There were bitter wars waged by one dynasty against the another. It was also the period when the Muslim rulers and the Mahrattas entered the fray to get a firm foothold in this part beyond the Vindhya and take maximum advantage from the internecine wars. We also find the arrival of the foreign companies ostensibly for trade and their gradual involvement in the political intrigues of the country which tilted the balance of power in their favour.

The period, however witnessed great Hindu revival under the dynamic rule of the Vijayanagar kings. The rulers of the Sangama, Saluva, Thuluva, and Aravidu dynasties of this empire considered Lord Venkateswara as their tutelary deity and the liberal grants and endowments, they made are a measure of their piety to Lord Srinivasa. The temple of Tirumala - Hill reached its zenith of glory during the period of the illustrious king Krishnadevaraya, the scion of the Thuluva dynasty. He not only gave fabulous gifts to Thiruvengadamudaiyan but also undertook major renovation to the temple and personally supervised its day-to-day administration.

In this volume, the author deals with the History of Tirupati from the last phase of the Sangama dynasty to the early years of the 19th century. The History of the recitation of Alvars' 'Divya prabandham' also finds a place in this book. The Alvars' concept of the Archa form of Sri Venkateswara is also dealt with at length in this volume.

EXECUTIVE OFFICER
Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams
Tirupati

T.T.D. Religious Publications Series No. : 499

Price : Rs. Rs. 40/-

***Veṅkaṭādri samaṃ sthānam
brahmāṇḍe nāsti kiñcana ।
Veṅkaṭeśa samo devo
na bhūto na bhaviṣyati ॥***

“There is no place equal to Venkatadri in the whole universe. A god equal to Venkatesa, there never has been and there never will be”.

Published by the Executive Officer, T.T. Devasthanams, Tirupati
and Printed at Ads Printers, T.Nagar, Chennai
on behalf of T.T.D.

PREFACE

(TO THE FIRST EDITION)

This volume deals with the history of the temple from about the closing years of the Sangama dynasty of the Vijayanagar Empire, say from 1450 A.D. to the early years of the nineteenth century when the English East India Company at Fort St. George, Madras, after dispossessing the Nawab of Arcot in 1801 A.D., assumed direct management of the temple and carried out a systematic investigation into its affairs till about 1830 A.D. It is only for the period from 1450 to 1638 A.D., that sufficient materials of historic value are available from the inscriptions on the walls of the temple. Although the last king of the Vijayanagar Empire continued to retain the title till 1665 A.D., the Carnatic country and our temple passed into the hands of Mir Jumla, former commander of the Golkonda forces, in July 1656 as his personal Jagir granted by the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan. The temple continued since then to be under the control of the Nawab of the Carnatic till 1801 A.D., except for a short period in 1758—59 as the French captured the temple in October 1758.

Materials for writing the history during the period of Muslim overlordship have not been obtained from inscriptions but from contemporary records of the English and the Dutch Factories in India and the East which came into existence in the early years of the seventeenth century. Foster's Book on English Factories in India throws some indirect light on our temple affairs also. After the building of Fort St.

George in Madras in 1641 our position improves. The Diary and consultations Book, Military and country correspondence and Reports of secret committees throw more light on the political game in which our temple became a pawn.

The Marattas entered the South as the comrades of the Bijapur muslim king in his invasions and established a principality in Tanjore. Sivaji a little later came in as the ally of the Golkonda King in 1677. The net result of the ambitions of the Marattas was a treaty with the Moghul Emperor which secured for them one fourth of the revenues technically known as the *chauth*. For the annual assessment of the *chauth* amount, all the accounts and connected records, including land registers, came to be maintained in the Modi script of the Maratta language. This is of interest to us because all the important old records of our temple, whether in the Devasthanam office or in the Madras Records office, are in that language and script. Until they are translated into English or Telugu an authentic history of the temple during the Muslim and the East India Company rule could not be written. Chapter XXII deals with this period. There is not much to learn therein about the internal affairs of the temple, its festivals, the changes in religious practices and so on. All that we learn is that for the first time in its history the temple and its properties were farmed out annually by bid to a renter who managed to secure all votive offerings into his hands and pay the Nawab the bid amount. He seems to have devised the method of collecting the bid amount by such exactions as—poll tax, *kanukas*, *varttanas*,

ārjitams, etc. These have continued to be levied as a permanent source of income. We are loath to believe that Hindu pilgrims who are deeply religious would not voluntarily give large donations for charitable purposes connected with temple administration without exactions made.

Chapters XV to XXI register only such voluntary offerings and endowments from the days of Sāluva Narasimhadeva Udaiyar to the end of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1665 A.D. Saluva Narasimha laid the foundation for the fame and popularity of the temple. It assumed superb proportions during the days of Sri Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya. The decline commenced with the battle of Talikota in 1565. But even during the decadent period the services in the temple retained their grandeur, those connected with Sri Ramanuja in particular.

One hundred and sixty eight inscriptions relate to the period of Saluva Narasimha and his son Immaḍi Narasimha (1445—1505 A.D.). Out of these only 136 are complete ones useful for writing a history. The others are either incomplete, fragmentary or undatable. The period of Sri Krishnadevaraya and his elder brother (1505 to 1530)gets two hundred and twenty nine inscriptions, out of which only 165 are complete ones. Achyutaraya's period (1530 to 1542) has two hundred and fifty one inscriptions, but only 176 are complete ones. Sadasivaraya's period has one hundred and seventy six inscriptions, but only 134 are complete ones. It will be seen that there are too many fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions. They testify to our national defect of not realising the historical value

of inscriptions. A workman would mercilessly break to pieces a valuable inscription if only he could get one broken piece to fit into his new masonry.

The Aravidu kings of the Vijayanagar Empire ruled after the battle of Talikota for ninety years from 1575 to 1665 A.D. Although there are one hundred and eighty five inscriptions classed by the epigraphist as relating to this period, only thirty three complete ones can be used for historical purposes. The remaining 152 inscriptions are either fragmentary, incomplete or undatable. Very many of these may well be ascribed to any period of our history.

Throughout the Vijayanagar period the management of the temple was in the hands of the Sthanattar who as we know (Chap. XIII, p. 374) formed a self-constituted autonomous body of twelve members. After 1600 A.D. their strength got reduced to six. They were completely extinguished and along with them Tamil as the language of the temple, presumably when the temple passed into the hands of the Golkonda Muslims about 1656 A.D. An inscription of the year 1684 A.D. confirms their disappearance and the appearance of a body of Telugu Sthānālavāru of four members who however had not the power to receive endowments. There is in fact no Tamil inscription after 1638 A.D.

All the endowments made during the long period of rule of the Saluva and the Vijayanagar kings are marked by three distinct features. They are in a sense different from the endowments made during the Pallava, the Chola and the Pandyan sovereignty. The

latter devoted more attention to the burning of perpetual lights or *Nandavilakku* while the provision for food offering was limited to the requirements of the temple establishment in ordinary days and for any additional members taking part in festival celebrations. The feeding of the pilgrims who turned up on such occasions was catered to by private charities. The Saluva period made a distinct departure. It was recognised that temple worship provided a course of self-discipline and attuned the body and the mind of the worshippers for concentrated meditation. It was also recognised that managers of temples have a responsibility for providing amenities for the accommodation and feeding of the devotees. The *Taittiriopanishad* starts with statement that food is Brahman. Therefore, in Sri Vaishnava temples consecrated water or Tirtham and consecrated food or Prasadam were made essential features of temple worship. The herbs used for the cold infusion of the Tirtham have health giving and curative properties. The menu for Prasadams has a wholesome body building value. Annadānam or free distribution of food in the name of God worshipped in a temple engenders in the donor the spirit of self-surrender or non-egotism. In a place like Tirumala which pilgrims approach after trekking over long distances and after negotiating on foot with an empty stomach several steep ascents and descents of the hill, wholesome tirtham and prasadam have great physical and psychic value. Endowments therefore became phenomenally numerous. The festivals and calendar days with which many of the endowments were associated appealed to the higher aesthetic sense of the pilgrims. The recitation of the Vedas and the

Tamil Prabandhams and the discourses which were conducted in the temple as well as in the homes and mutts of the religious preceptors served to awaken the desire for spiritual education. Thus tirtham and Prasadam, festivals and calender days, the recitation of the Vedas by Brahmins and of the Prabandhams by the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin Srivaishnavas on a footing of equality formed the three distinguishing features of the endowments made during the Vijayanagar period. Abuses did creep in the administration of these, but endeavours were being made from time to time for finding suitable remedies.

In this volume these aspects have been dealt with at length. The names of the donors, who came from all classes and all castes, have been given in annexures to the chapters wherein the purpose and nature of the endowments have also been described. They illustrate how in India those who amassed wealth in the material field applied their surplus wealth to encourage the activities of the spiritual workers who for that very purpose have to work in material poverty.

The recitation of the Prabandhams of the Alvārs has taken a deep root in the liturgy of Sri Vaishnava temples, although the Agamās did not contemplate it. The Prabandhams are also of special importance to the Tirumalai Temple as they alone bear the most authentic testimony for the Vishnu swarūpam of Sri Venkatesvara. In Chapter XXIII, the history of the recitation of the Prabandhams in the Tirumalai-Tirupati Temple is given in Sec. 2. In Sec. 3 the authorities from the alvārs' songs have been profusely quoted for proving beyond doubt that even in days which the alvārs

PREFACE

speak of as ancient Sri Venkatesvara has been considered to be Sriman Narayana, Self-Manifest as an Image for the furtherance of the archa form of worship.

The numbering of the chapters and pages of this volume are in continuation of those of Vol. I.

As there are a few more chapters of collective interest to print, the Index for Volumes II and III together will, soon be published if Sri Venkatesvara so wills and grants me a modicum of eye-sight and health.

I am thankful to Sri C. Anna Rao Garu, Executive Officer and to the staff of the T.T.D. Press, for their kind co-operation and interest in bringing out this volume.

THE AUTHOR

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XV

	Pages
Saluva Narasimha ..	389—405
Sāluva Narasimha and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyangar	389—391
Periya Raghunātha's Temple	392
Yugādi and Dīpāvali	392
Adhyayanōtsavam	392
Pavitrōtsavam	393
Pāḍiya Veṭṭai	393
Kōḍai Tīrunāl and Tiruppalli-ōḍam	394
Food offerings increase	394
Tīruvāṇḍu Eḷuttīḍal, or writing the New Year's Accounts	396
Tīruvēnkaṭa Mahātmyam	397
Puḷugukkāppu Murai	398
Sri Van Saṭhakōpan Maṭham (Ahōbila Mutt) ..	398
Endowments and offerings mainly Kāmyārtha ..	400
Names of villages endowed during Sāluva Narasimha's period	402

CHAPTER XVI

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and Saluva Narasimha ..	406—419
Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar	408
Kandāḍai Ramanuja took full advantage of his influence	410
The attitude of other donors	413
Kandāḍai Ramanuja's activities after the death of Sāluva Narasimha	416
Note on the disposal of the donor's share of prasadam by members of the Sāluva family	418

CHAPTER XVII

The Period from about 1492 to 1511 A.D. (Immadi Narasimharaya and Vira Narasimha Maharaya) ..	420—426
Achāryapurushas	425

CHAPTER XVIII

The Tiruvengadam Temple and Sri Virapratapa Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya (1509 to 1530 A.D.) ..	427—466
Krishnadevaraya's Religious Beliefs	429
Krishnadevaraya's attitude towards the Sthanattār ..	436
Nandavanams and Sāttāda Srivaishnavas ignored ..	439
Temple structures received no attention ..	440
Krishnadevaraya's gifts to Tiruvenkatanātha ..	440
Endowments and gifts by the generals and officers of Krishnadeva and others	444
The Jiyars	453
The Vaṇ Saṭhakopan Maṭham ..	456
The Vyāsaraya Maṭham	458
Ekākis	460
Scholars	461
Yagna Narayana Bhaṭṭar	461
Doḍḍaiyyangar Appai	462
Uḍaiyavarkoyil Anṇa	463
Merchants	463

CHAPTER XIX

Achyutaraya Maharaya and the Tirumalai Temple ..	467—505
Appointment of Muddu Kuppāyi for doing dancing service in the temple	470
Aḷvār Tirtham, construction of cutstone steps and Sandhyāvandana mantapams	474

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
Achyutaraya performed Srinivasa Sahasranāmārchana with his own hands	477
Lakshmidēvi Mahōtsavam	479
Sri Achyuta Perumāḷ and Achyutarayapuram ..	482
Achyutarayar Kōṇēri in Tirumala	483
Probable date of construction of Achyutaraya Kōṇēri	484
Palace influence	485
Transfer by sale in perpetuity of donor's share of prasadams made by Sāluva Timmarasa to Tāḷḷapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar	489
Prasadams—article of trade	496
Temple worship, Achārya purushās and other āchāryās	499
Agreement among cloth merchants and lessees ..	502
Annexure to Chapter XIX	506—512
Other donors—Adaippan Baiyyappa Nayakar, Periya Timmappan and Chinna Ramappan, Dalavay Timmarasayyar, Lēpakshi Virapparungal, Angaraja Nāgapayyar, Salakayyadeva Singaraja	506
Villages endowed in Krishnadeva's and in Achyutarāya's reign compared	508

CHAPTER XX

Sadasivaraya Maharaya's Period	513—546
The Sthanattar and the succession dispute—The Salakara- raja and the Aravidu family as donors compared ..	513
Prasadam Lessees-Prasadakkārar Mahamēdangal ..	522
List of Prasadakkārar	522
Temple palanquin and portion of daily prasadams gifted away to Tiruvenkata Manickam ..	524
New Minor temples and shrines ..	525
New Festivals	528
Tabular statements of endowments made from time to time (explained)	534

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

	<i>Pages</i>
Statement I	538
Statement II-(a)	540
Statement II-(b)	542
Income and Expenditure from Endowments discussed ..	545
Annexure to Chapter XX—Donors and their endowments during Sadasiva Maharaya's period	547—576
Endowments by military and other officers	553
Endowments by persons connected with temple ..	557
Archakas or Nambimars	558
Jiyars	558
Acharyapurushas	559
Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar, Tallapakkam Tiruvengada Ayyangar:	562
Tiruninra-ur-udaiyars	566
Emperumānaḍiyars	567
Temple door-keepers (koyilaḍis)	567
Viṅṅappam seyvār; Lessees of Temple Prasadams (Prasādakkara Mahamēdangal) and Temple astrologers ..	568
Endowments by persons unconnected with the temple ..	571
Classified list of donors and their endowments	574

CHAPTER XXI

The Aravidu Emperors of Vijayanagar and the Tiruvengadam Temple ..	577—608
Venkatapatideva Maharaya (Venkata I) ..	587
Sri Vira Rama Rāvudēva Maharaya (Rama IV) ..	592
Sri Virapratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Mahāraya (Ranga VI) ..	599

CHAPTER XXII

The Post-Vijayanagar Period ..	609—650
The temple passes into the hands of the Golkonda Muslim King ..	609

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
Cessation of Endowments explained ..	610
Maratta invasion in 1677 aggravated the situation ..	611
Sivaji Maharaja—His antecedents and aims in life ..	612
Sivaji's conquest of the Carnatic and premature death in 1680 ..	615
Aurangzeb's conquest of the Deccan down to Trichinopoly	616
Economic chaos in the Carnatic country	617
A solitary inscription in Telugu in 1684 by a Maratta officer	618
Surmise as to the disappearance of most of the endowed lands	621
The office of the Kanungōs	621
Temple lands how treated	623
How the protracted Moghul-Maratta War ravaged and impoverished the country	623
Sadet-ulla-khan and Tōḍar Mulji	625
The sudden incursion of the Marattas in 1740 A.D.; Dost Ali killed in Dāmalcheruvu battle	626
Bāji Rao's mother and wife worship Sri Venkatesvara ..	628
Subsequent political events	629
Duplix and Clive	630—650
Tirumalai Temple income goes to further succour Robert Clive	633
The motive for resumption of temple lands and the grant of tasdik allowances	643
Minor Temples	648

CHAPTER XXIII

The Alvars' Prabandhams and the Tirumalai Temple ..	651—713
--	----------------

SECTION I

Temples and the Prabandhams of the Alvars	652
Portions of the Prabandham culled out for daily recitation, called Nityānusandhānam	653

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

	<i>Pages</i>
Prabandham of the Alvars	655
Recitation of the Tiruvāymoli is attributed to Sri Nāthamuni	656
The superiority of Tiruvaymoḷi over the other three works of Sri Nammalvar and the works of all the other Alvars	659
Commentaries on the Tiruvāymoḷi	663
The other three thousand verses of the Prabandham ..	667
Other works comprising the Prabandham	670
Pantheon of the Alvars	678
Why the Tiruvāymoḷi is recited along side of the Vedas during the Adhyayanotsavam	680
Temple visited and, or sung by the Alvars	683—694
Shrines in the Vaḍa nāḍu	695
Shrines in Tonḍamaṇḍalam or Tonḍai nāḍu	696
Shrines in Chōḷa nāḍu and Shrines in Nāḍu nādu ..	696
Shrines in Pāṇḍi nāḍu	697
Shrines in Malai nāḍu	697
Birth dates of the Alvars	700—706
The order of succession as gleaned from the Prabandhams	703—713

SECTION II.

Recitals in Tirumalai Temple	714—767
Tiruppāvai recital in Tirumala (about 1250-1255 A.D.)	715
Tiruvaymoḷi recital in Tirumala 1360 A.D.	718
Tiruppāvai recital during Mārgaḷi month in Tirumala and next in Tirupati, 1390 A.D.;	719
Srivaishnava terms used in connection with the Aḷvārs' songs	721
Anusandhānam	724
Adhyayanam, Sevai, Anusandhigal, Anusandhanam ..	725

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
Shrines for the Aḷvārs	726
Tirumangai Aḷvar's Tiruvadhyayanam in Tirupati 1475 A.D.	727
Uḍaiyavar Emperumānar's Tiruvadhyayanam in Tirupati 1475 A.D.	728
Sri Ramanuja's twelve days Tiruvadhyayanam festival in Tirumala	728
Iyal	729
Adhyayanōtsavam explained	730
Adhyayanōtsavam of Sri Govindarajaswam, 1485 A.D.	731
Adhyayanōtsavam in Tirumalai, 1491 A.D.	732
Circumstances which helped Prabandham recital to gain ground	735
The beginnings of the Anusandhānam office and how it was viewed by some famous ācharyas	736
Change in the relationship between the Koyil-kelvi and the Van Saṭhakōpan Jiyar	743
Iyal Sāttumurai done at the Balipīṭham	746
Lakshmidēvi Mahōtsavam;—no recital of Prabandham	746
Attitude of Achyutaraya's generals and chief officers towards Prabandham recital	748
Instances when Prabandham reciters were not remun- erated	748
Payment for Anusandhānam	749
Post-Talikoṭa Period	756

SECTION III.

Sri Venkatesvara—Self-Manifest Archa Form of Narayana and Vengadam Hill, His Hallowed Spot	768—820
Preamble—Alvars' Devotion to Vishnu	768
References by the Early Alvars to Vēngadam and to other places of public worship	783

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

	<i>Pages</i>
Sanctity of the Vēṅgaḍam Hill and the Self-Manifestation of Vishnu thereon	785
Poygai aḷvār	785
Bhūdattāḷvār	789
Pey āḷvār	792
Tirumaḷisai Aḷvār	801
Sri Tiruppānālvār	804
Sri Kulasekhara ālvār	805
Sri Nammālvār	805

APPENDICES.

Appendix VI Copy of Firmans granted by Damarla Venkatappa (1639 A.D.) and Emperor Srirangaraya Maharaya (1645 A.D.)	35—38
Appendix VII Copy of inscription No. 237 T.T. (Vol. I, No. 179 of T.T.D. Inscriptions) in Telugu language and script (1359 A.D.)	39
Appendix VIII Edict of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devaraya Maharaya II, (1429 A.D.) in Kannada language and Telugu Script, Inscription No. 188. T.T. (Vol. I No. 192)	40—43
Appendix IX Elicit of Saluva Narasingayyadeva Maharaya (Inscription No. 8, G.T.) Vol. II, No. 30 in Kannada language and Telugu Script	44—48
Appendix X Extract from Devasthanam Tasdik Book, abstract of receipts and charges, Fasli 1233 (1823-24 A.D.)	

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Tirumala Tirupati Temples)

CHAPTER XV.

SALUVA NARASIMHA.

IT was left to *Saluva Narasingayadeva Maharaya* to open a new chapter in the history of the Tirumala and Tirupati Temples. His devotion to this God may, to some extent, be explained by the fact that he was the great grand-son of *Mahamandalesvara Misaraganda Mangideva Maharaja*, who however, had not the agnomen or birudu "Sāluva" prefixed to his name. It was he that gold gilt the Vimānam and the Sikharam of the Tirumala Temple in 1359 A.D. The inscription being in Telugu with a Kannada tinge in the language we may infer that he was in touch with the people of both countries. The capital of his ancestral territory was known to be Kalyānapuram (in Nizam's Dominions). We are aware that *Yadavaraya Sri Ranganatha* built a palace for himself in Tirumala in 1352 a short time before his death and that no *Yadavaraya* appears to have stepped into his place. *Mangideva* played the most prominent part in the military campaign against the Sultan of Madura under the command of Prince *Kumāra Kempanna*. We found that he was in Tirumala just about the time of *Sri Ranganatha Yadava's* death and the return of the God of Srirangam towards Srirangam; and he also did the unique service of making the Vimanam and Kalasam lustrous. It may reasonably be presumed that he was given the governorship of the erstwhile *Yādavarāya* country by the *Vijayanagar King Bukkaraya I*. But there is nothing to show that he transferred his capital to Chandragiri. His great grand-son, *Mahāmanḍalēsvara Mēdini Misaraganda Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Narasingayadeva Maharaja*, is said to have done so, and to have kept the Mūlabalam

or the strongest and best tried section of his army at Chandragiri. He would have inherited his great grand father's piety and a special reverence to the God of Tiruvengaḍam. This seems to have been a characteristic of all the members of the Sāluva family. The word Sāluva seems to be the name for 'hawk.' If so, he must have been regarded as swooping down on his enemies as a hawk does on its prey. There is an edict of his (II. 30) issued in December 1467 making a grant of three villages, Mupaḍuvēṭa, Māngoḍuvelada and Mananūru for making sumptuous daily offerings to Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati. This edict also permitted the Sthānikas in Tirupati to appropriate to themselves daily a quantity of prasadam similar to the practice in Tirumala; to have the donor's share of the Prasadam sent to his Rāmānuja-kūtam to be distributed there to pilgrims by his agent Kandaḍai Rāmānuja Ayyangar and above all to have a certain daily service of supplying parimalam (refined camphor, musk and saffron) carried out in the Tirumala temple by the non-brahmin Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas who were shown in return certain honours. The inscription is in Kannada showing that he wanted this important edict to be in his native language and not Tamil. *This unique privilege which he gave to the Sattada Sri Vaishnavas shows the catholicity of his religion.* The inscription also shows how ready he was to see that men doing service in the temple should be recompensed adequately.

In his political career, he withstood the temptation of making undue use of the power and influence which was his more than that of his overlord in Vijayanagar. He was able to keep himself above exciting the jealousy or envy of his numerous cousins and nephews, all of whom were powerful. He appropriated to himself no higher titles than they enjoyed. This self-control and consideration for others he seems to have evinced even in religious matters.

He was lucky in having as his co-workers in temple affairs a gentleman of wide understanding and experience in Sri Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar. He seems to have had implicit faith in his honesty, capacity and application to work. But it is too much to say that he was his spiritual teacher or guide. The terms in

which the Ayyangar is referred to in the inscriptions do not admit of that status being given. A separate chapter is devoted to considering in detail Sri Ayyangar and Saluva Narasimha.

He describes himself as the disciple of Aḷagiya Manavāla Jiyar of Kanchipuram. His life period is said to be from 1430 to 1496 A.D. and Saluva Narasimha's rule from 1445 to 1492 A.D. They worked together in the prime of life. For the Ramanujakūṭams which Narasimha started in Tirumala and Tirupati, Ramanuja Ayyangar was the unfettered manager. Appreciating his economical management of these institutions and the savings effected, he was made by Saluva Narasinga's son the Officer-in-charge of the Por-Bhandaram for jewellery and the silver and gold vessels in the temple (Por-Bhandaram Kāniākshi— “பொற்பண்டாரம் காணியாக்ஷி”) so that they may be kept in good repair. For the festivals which Saluva Narasimha instituted the budget was drawn up by Sri Ayyangar. The Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas were the exclusive disciples of Sri Ayyangar. They cultivated flower gardens and supplied parimalam everyday for the Alagappirānār Tirumananam of the God. Above all this, he made them share in the daily routine of temple service, the privilege of reciting Tiruvoymoḷi in company with the Brahmins and to receive their share of the emoluments. The credit for all these must be given to Saluva Narasimha and Ramanuja jointly. A very large part of Vol. II of the T.T.D. Inscriptions represents their joint work. Another instance of laying stress on social justice based on personal purity irrespective of the distinctions of caste created by the accident of birth is the importance attached to the reading of the *Kaisikapuranam* on the Utthāna Dvādasi Day before day-break by a member of the first Acharya purusha's family. Although the celebration of the Kaisika Dvādasi is mentioned as early as in the year 1308 A.D., it became a regular festival only in 1494 (II. 115) as is seen from an endowment made by Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan Māru Nayinar Perumakkal and Govindar. These are outstanding developments in the administration of the temple in which the secular as well as the religious side seems to have heartily co-operated.

Periya Raghunatha's Temple.

Until Sāluva Narasimha entered the scene there was very little improvement in Tirupati and its Govindaraja's temple. *During his reign* of about half-a-century the *festivals and food offerings increased* in number. There was also a *new temple for Sri Raghunatha—called Periya Raghunatha* to distinguish the deity from the other Raghunatha installed in Sri Ramanuja's¹ Shrine—constructed in 1480 (II. 73) by one Narasimharaya Mudaliar for the merit of Saluva Narasimharayar. An endowment for a supplemental food offering was also made on 29—10—1481 (II. 74).

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar constructed a *temple for Kulasekhara Alwar in November 1468 A.D.* for which the Sthanattar endowed as Sarvamanya the lands in Ilamanḍaiyam Kūraikkāl.

Yugadi and Dipavali.

From Samavai's days all festivals were being timed according to the solar calendar. It was only in 1491 A.D. (II. 914, 27-6-1491), that there is the *first mention of the Yugadi and Dipavali festivals* being celebrated with food offerings in an endowment by Sriman Mahamandalesvara Baichchraja Timmaya deva Maharaja. This shows that to suit the customs of the ruler of the land, the Chāndra-Saura-māna Panchanga was being brought into use. *The Yugadi and the Dipavali were ultimately to throw the Chittirai and the Tula Vishus into the shade.* They were to be classed among the principal Asthanam Festivals.

Adhyayanotsavam.

From the Sri Vaishnava point of view the most important festival introduced in Tirumala is the *Adhyayanotsavam*, although portions of the 'Alvārs' Prabandhams were being repeated on occasions from about 1360 A.D. Tiruvadhyayanam in the month

of Mārgali as a festival celebrated in Tirumala occurs only (and even that incidentally) in 1468 (II. 31) in an endowment by Saluva Narasimharaja Udaiyar. It reads, “மார்஑ழி மாதம் திருவத்தி யேனத்தில் பிற்பத்தில் திருத்துவாதசியில்” (“on the Tiruvadasiday occurring in the latter ten days of the Tiruvadhyayanam in the Margali month”). An endowment by Saṭhakōpadāsar Narasimharaya Mudaliar in the year 1476 (II. 68) distinctly mentions that in the month of Chittirai Udaiyavar Emperumānār hears on the 12 days of his festival the Tiruvadhyayanam.¹ In both cases the donor’s share of the offered prasadam went to the Ramanujakutam for distribution to Sri Vaishnavas by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. The *Adhyayanotsavam* is a festival repeated on two occasions in the year, that is, in the month of December as well as in April both being celebrated only in front of Udaiyavar (Sri Ramanuja) in his Tirumala Shrine. The festival in Tirupati is not being referred to here. The prasadam is first to be offered to Tiruvengadamudaiyān and then to Udaiyavar.

Pavitrotsavam.

Pavitrotsavam was another festival newly introduced during this period in an endowment by Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Mallayyadeva Maharaja in 1464 (II. 18) being a five day’s festival in the month of Āvaṇi. It has a ritualistic form.

Padiya Vettai.

Padiya Vettai (Hunting) festival (பாடிய வேடடை) first commenced in 1456 although one would expect it to have been a very old festival seeing that the God is on a thickly forested hill of which the original owner is believed to be Sri Varaha Swami (the Boar Avatāram of Vishnu).

1. “உடையவர் எம்பெருமானார் சித்திரமாளத்தில் திருவதி யேனத்தில்கேட்டருளும் நாட் பன்னிரண்டுக்கும்.”

Kodai Tirunal and Tiruppalli-Odam.

Kodai Tirunal and Tiruppalli-Odam, (கோடைத் திருநாள் திருப்பள்ளி ஓடம்,) or floating festival, in Tirumala is first heard of in 1468, when Sāluva Narasimharaya during 3 days of the latter ten days of the Kōḍai Tirūnāl instituted a floating festival during which occasion the Utsava Murti is entertained in a Vasanta-maṅṅapam constructed by him in the middle of the tank or Pushkarini. But *Vasanta-utsavam* itself is an older festival and Erramanchi Periya Pemma Nayakkar is said to have attended the same in 1360 A.D. The festival is in the Vasanta Rtu (month of Masi). Allied to this is the Nāvalūrṟu festival (நாவலூற்று) in Panguni month.

Dola Mahotsava Anna Unjal Tirunal is another festival (டோலா மஹோச்சவ அன்ன உஞ்சல் திருநாள்) introduced by Saluva Narasimha under the inspiration of Kandadai Ramanuja as a five days' festival. It may have been in the month of Mithuna.

Excepting perhaps the Pavitrotsavam, which his Vedic rituals associated with it all the others are of the luxury pattern.

Food offerings increase.

In the matter of food offerings also this period showed a marked increase. Without taking into account the offerings made during festivals of one sort or another, the food offerings, between the years 1454 and 1494 A.D., were 177 marakkals of rice daily in addition to 24 marakkals daily which obtained at the end of 1450 A.D. This does not include the Mahanaivedyam (Tiruppāvaḍai) of 200 marakkals offered on certain special occasions. This was contributed not by Sāluva Narasimha alone. There are several others also as noted below. They include princes and devotees. Even emperumāṅṅaiyars have made their contributions. Sāluva Narasimharaya Uḍaiyar, his Queen, his mother and his sons, his brother and his military commanders, other members of the royal family (5) Feudatory chiefs and subordinates 16) Jiyars (5); Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar, Tōlappar, K.

Appachchiyar Aṅṅa; Kumāra Tāttayangār; Ekakis (12); Brahmins (7); Tiruchchukanur Subhaiyar (5); Temple accountants (18); citizens and merchants of Tirupati (4) viz., Sathakopadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliar, Periyaperumal dāsar Ariyarāya Mudaliar, Puḍōliar Venkata setti Narayanan and Saranu setti; public works Officers of the temple (3) dancing girls (3) and others (7).

The list is given in detail to show that the Sri Vaishnava propaganda was having effect on the public at large and was not confined to a few prominent people.

The *festival and the Vissha divasam days* (special calendar days) on which food offerings were generally made to the Utsava Murti during this period are briefly summed up in an endowment by one of the Public Works Officers of the temple, Tiruvenkatāchcherukkan Emperumanar, for the spiritual merit of Immaḍi Narasingarayar Maharayar (Narasimha's son) II, 138; 20-9-1504.

For 7 Brahmotsavams @ 13 for each	..	91 days.
For Tiruvadhyanam from Iyalpatuvakkam to		
Tannir-amudu	..	24 ,, .
Kodai Tirunal	..	20 days .
Unjal Tirunal	..	5 ,,
Pavitrōtsavam	..	5 ,,
Tirukkārtikai	..	1 ,,
Arpisi Pūrāḍam (Senai Mudaliar birth)	..	1 ,,
Tiruvādasi (Mukkoti) for Venkatatturaivar	..	1 ,,
Sri Jayanti (to Periya Perumal)	..	1 ,,
Ani Pūrāḍam	..	1 ,,
Ani Pūsam:	..	1 ,,
Sri Rama Navami	..	1 ,,
Vasanta Purnami	..	1 ,,
		<hr/>
	Total ..	153 days.
		<hr/>

Thus in a year 153 festive days came to be observed.

On these 153 days there were more than the 153 taligais which this one individual alone offered. We may multiply this by at least 2 so that in a year there would have been 306 taligais in addition to the daily tastik of 177 taligais and a number of 200 marakkals-Tiruppāvaḍai. The provision of food on the 153 festival days would naturally have been sufficient to feed $8 \times 484 = 3792$ persons a day. On the ordinary days the temple food would have been ample for $8 \times 177 = 1416$ persons. We thus have a rough idea of the number of pilgrims who may have been daily visiting the temple. The temple servants who had their mamool share of the food offerings, sold it in their turn to pilgrims. This seems to have been a recognised practice.

The cash endowments made during this period were 70 in number and amounted to 1,15,605 panams.

The names of some of the donor's are Saluva Timmaraja, Tōlappar Ayyangar and Kumāra Tāttayangar, sons of Sottai Tirumalanambi Tiruvenkatattayangar, Acharya Purushas, of Rs. 7000 and Rs. 5000 respectively; their disciples Ravu Pinnanna Bhūpāla Nrisimha Naranāyaka and Kēsa Nayaka each Rs. 4000, Saṭhakopadasar Narasimharaya Mudaliyar a number of endowments amounting to Rs. 13,200 panams and Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's 10,300 panams in cash and the excavation of a large number of irrigation channels besides some villages.

Saluva Narasimharayar, his queen and the other members of his family also made endowments of lands. The total number of villages endowed during the period was $26\frac{1}{2}$. Their annual income has, however, not been stated anywhere, the details of the services to be rendered alone being mentioned in each case.

“ Tiruvandu Eluttidal ” or writing the New Year's Accounts.

One other noteworthy point is that the *Adi ayanam* has always (ஆடி அயனம்) been associated with a special function in the Tirumala Temple. It is called now-a-days, *Anivarai Asthanam*. (ஆனி

வரைய ஆஸ்தானம்). On this day, in the morning, after the usual Tiruvāradhanam or Nityarchana for Periyaperumal is over, the Utsavar, with the Nachchimar holds in the Tirumāṇi maṅṅapam what is really a Durbar. All the officers return the ensignia of their office and these are placed at the feet of Malaikuniya-ninra-perumal, the Utsavar. A fresh investiture ceremony is then held when the Archakas, Jiyar and the Trustee receive their ensignia afresh. The accounts for the new year are opened afresh.

This opening of the new year account came to be known as "Tiruvandu Eluttidal" (திருவாண்டெழுத்திடல்) or the new year's writing (of accounts etc.). Although Aḍi ayanam has always been (from 966 A.D.) observed by offering Tirumanjanam to Periya Pērumal, it is nowhere mentioned in clear terms that the accounts for the year open afresh on that day. The first mention of it is in an inscription dated 9th March 1494 relating to an endowment made by the accountants, Mārūnayinār Perumakkal and Govindan. It must have come into vogue some years earlier, although no mention is made thereof. In any case it seems to have attained an importance during Sāluva Narasimharaya's time.

TIRUVENKATA MAHATMYAM.

The most outstanding event during this period was the compilation (in what language we are not explicitly told, but must have been in Sanskrit) of a work called by its author Pasindi Venkatat-turaivar (alais Jiyar Ramanujayyan) 'Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam.' The compilation was for the first time solemnly announced and openly read out by the author in the presence of Malaikuniyaninrān and the Nachchimar on 27th June 1491 (II. 95.). We have nowhere been given an idea of the contents of that work, but shall consider it in a separate note. The object of the author seems to have been to give a mythical origin of the Archavatara Tiruvengadamudaiyan on the Tirumala Hills which would appeal strongly to the religious sentiments of the Hindus.

Pulugukappu Murai.

(புழுதுக்காப்பு முறை)

Another event which has appealed strongly to the imagination of succeeding generations is what has been called *pulugukappu* which means smearing the entire body of Periya Perumal with scented civet oil which is specially prepared in the temple.

The *custom of smearing the face of Periya Perumal every day at the time of the morning Tiruvārāadhanam (Nityarchana) from the month Adi to Margali (6 months) with speciality prepared civet oil was an innovation made by Mudaliar Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappiranar of Tirupati on 16—7—1434.* This must have been done at the time of the daily Tirumanjanam of the Silver image of Manavala Perumal. It has already been noticed that this daily Tirumanjanam of the Silver Image was made more attractive to the devotees by the addition of perfumery to the sweet smelling herbs which from the earliest times were added to the water used for Tiruvārāadhanam. This practice was inaugurated by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar on 18—1—1465 and was financed by Sāluva Narasimhadeva Rayar (27—12—1467). *This Tirumanjanam came to be known as Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam (II. 20 and II. 30).*

Van Sathakopan Matham (Ahobila Mutt).

In Tirumala as well as in Tirupati there existed from the beginning of the 14th century a habitation for the representative of this mutt, who enjoys certain honours and performs some services. It is perhaps worthwhile to find out something about the origin of this matham.

The earliest mention of a Van Sathakopan Nandavanam in Tirumala is found in an inscription I. 104. dated 1339 A.D. which gives an account of the transfer of the Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam and matham to a Jiyar who was charged with the duty of performing certain services to the temple. One of these was the offering of Amuduppadi and Sattuppadi to the Utsavar on the 4th festival day while seated in the Arisanalayam and the

Van Saṭhakopan Nandavanams. The endowment trust was made by Singayya Dannayaka in 1339. Singayya was a man from the Mysore country and was Maha Pradhani of the Hoysala King Vira Ballala-III. Therefore it may naturally be inferred that the Van Saṭhakopan Nandavanam was the creation of this man of the Mysore country. From the tradition of the Ahobila Mutt we learn that Adi Van Saṭhakopaswami was originally a native of Tirunārayanapuram. There is, however, some doubt as to the date of his birth, as to when he resided in Tirupati and when he went to Ahobilam where he was ordained as a Sanyasi by God Lakshmi Narasimha Himself. Epigraphically, it is certain that there was a Van Saṭhakopan Nandavanam at least from the date of Singayya's sojourn in Tirupati *i.e.*, from about 1320 A.D. It is possible that the dēsantari-in-charge of the Nandavanam was not a Sanyasi, but was only a celibate called Siyar (சீயர்). The next mention of a Van Saṭhakopa Jiyar (this time it is a Jiyar in clear terms) is found in an inscription II. 83 dated 6—6—1485 relating to the completion of the verandah of a mantapam in front of Sri Goṽindaraja's temple by one Nallar Angāṇḍai, the stone foundation of which had been laid by Van Saṭhakopa Jiyar some time previously (முன்பு) from the income of the Tiruvidaiyāṭṭam village of Pūngoḍu. As the village was temple property the Jiyar could only have supervised the construction of the Mantapam. The Tamil word 'munnāl' would only mean formerly. It may be that the Jiyar lived in Tirupati about the beginning of the 15th century. The traditional account places the first Jiyar in 1378 A.D. But that Jiyar could not have been the celebrated Adi Van Sathakopa Swami, who took ṣanyāsam in Ahobilam and founded the Ahobila mutt that is in existence to-day. The old Jiyars, who were his predecessors would have been just like any of the many ordinary Jiyars who had maṭhams in Tirumala and Tirupati to attend to the comforts of pilgrims coming from the Mysore country.

It is responsible to believe that the Van Sathakopan Jiyars of the Saluva Narasimha period were not the Ahobila mutt Jiyars, as their connection with Ahobilam is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. A further account of the mutt will be given later.

Endowments and offerings mainly Kamyartha.

A history of the Tirumala Temple is not like other histories. Its main object is not to trace the material prosperity of a country and its peoples from age to age. *The temple has been always considered a spiritually active centre to which those having faith resort generally at critical periods of their lives. Their visits and their offerings are more often for relief from troubles or for the achievement of their aims in life.* As has already been pointed out, the *Alvars* have said that the God of the Vengadam Hill bestows on His devotees whatever they desire to have in this life or the life hereafter. So, it may not be improper if we attempt to understand the motives of the donors. The motive in most cases is safe in God's keeping. It is nowhere divulged in the preamble to an endowment except when it was the intention of the donor that some one for whose benefit it was made should be informed of it. Of this nature are some endowments and gifts made by the King's Officers and dependents. When the King himself makes a grant, the motive behind it is seldom mentioned. There are however exceptions to this. For instance, Tirukkālattidēva Yādarāya while making a grant of Kudavūr, states clearly that he did so at the request of the Sthanattar. There are again grants which are Nishkāma Karma (done without the expectation of reward). Examples of these are Samavai's grants and the installation of Manavala Perumal; Parāntaka Devi's gift of a gold pattam and the grant of milk and curds by Rajendra Chola's Queen; so also the gift of a gold flower for the Vaikunṭha-hastham of Tiruvengadamudaiyan by King Hōbala. In most other cases a motive can generally be traced.

To the *Yadavarayas* in general Tiruvengadamudaiyan was a family deity. Their prosperity depended on His Grace. Their *gifts do not appear to have been made at critical periods in their rules as votive offerings.* But after the commencement of the Muslim incursions into the South most grants seem to have had some connection with their prayer for fulfilment of desires or achievement of ambitions. *Mangideva* for instance fixed a golden sikharam over the *Vimānam* just after his Military success over the Muslims and the assumption of office as Governor of Chandragiri Rajya.

Bukkaraya's Sandhi of two Tirupponakam daily and his Brahmotsavam (I. 178, about 1365 A.D.) seem to have had *some thing to do with his capture of Mudgal fortress*; and *Devaraya's (II) grant* of Vikramādityamangalam, Eḷamanḍiya and Kalaru Viḍḍale in 1429 seems to have had a definite connection with his completing the fortifications of the seven walled City of Vijayanagar as part of his preparation for aggressive military operations. After the death of Devaraya II in 1449 A.D. and when the rather young Mallikarjuna was ruling, Saluva Narasimha's operations in the east for consolidating and expanding the Empire and for curbing the Orissa King caused some apprehensions to *Mallikarjuna who went over to Penugonda* about 1456 with his Minister on the delicate mission of finding out what Saluva's activities and motives were. *Saluva Narasimha began then in all likelihood to pray to his Guardian Deity to create a good impression in the mind of the Emperor. We find him making at this time a grant of Alipuram village* as Sarvamanya for offering 12 Tirupponakam daily. The misrule of Virūpāksha who seems to have succeeded to the throne about 1468 must have caused considerable anxiety to Saluva Narasimha who was engaged in the task of consolidating his own territory and therefore the Empire also right up to Masulipatam. *Any interference from Virupāksha out of misunderstanding or jealousy would have caused him considerable embarrassment. So we find him making a grant on 16—3—1468¹ of five villages* (Vanjikuppam etc.) for 30 daily food offerings. In 1472 the death of the Orissa King and the succession dispute between Mangal and Hamber gave room for the Muslims to interfere in the East Coast affairs. This meant that Saluva Narasimha had to encounter the Orissa and the Muslim forces at the same time. In the early months of 1481 A.D., he was on the point of being attacked by Muhammad Shah III, but for some unaccountable reason the Muslim altered his plan and swooped down south, looted the Kanchipuram Temple and massacred the Brahmins there. Later on, after his return to Masulipatam, he attacked Saluva Narasimha; but suddenly turned his wrath against Hamber in Konḍaviḍ. It was when the danger first threatened him in 1472 that *Saluva Narasimha took on an Utthāna Dvadasi Day, a vow to grant Durgasamudram*

1. (II. 3*).

village to the Deity for the special purpose of constructing and repairing the temple buildings evidently in order that his own domains may as a boon stand unimpaired. *But he fulfilled this vow only in 1482 after the death of Muhammad III.* Shortly after this, *about 1485 A.D., he became the virtual Emperor and then he built a temple for Lakshmi Narasimhaswami at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill.* We thus see that *political turmoils and human ambitions determined in a large measure the religious tempo of men to seek divine help and to make endowments in grateful acknowledgement of that help.*

**Names of villages endowed during Saluva
Narasimha's period.**

A Sarvamanya grant of *Alipuram* village was made on 12—9—1456; *Mupaḍuveta* and *Mangoḍuvelada* in Paḍaviḍu Rajya and Maṇamūru below the Tirupati Tank on 27—12—1467; *Agaram Murukkampattu* in Taṇigai-nāḍu of Chandragiri Rajya on 16—3—1468; *Vanjipākkam, Mallimalai: Serulakkūr, Bhimapuram* and *Valaimankondon* on 16—3—1468; *Dommarappaṭṭi* in Padaivittu Seemai on 15—6—1473; *Durgasamudram* in Tirukkuḍavūr-nādu on 30—5—1482 as grant for constructions of buildings, gopurams, mantapams etc.; *Gundipundi* was endowed specially for Alagap-piranar Tirumanjanam on 11—8—1484 A.D.

One Vallabhayadeva Maharaya endowed some *village* in Poṭṭapinādu whose name *is missing* in the inscription. One Palli-konḍāperumāl Karpūram Mūvarayar endowed a village called *Enṇaivāsal* in Soḷamaṇḍalam for the special benefit of Tirumangai Alvār Temple making Emperumanar Jiyar as the trustee on 27—11—1472. One Dhonakonḍa Singāram Nayakkar and another Somanātha Dikshitar of Puruḍagunṭa *each endowed 215 kuli of wet land in Alipuram* in August 1473 A.D. One Mukkappalam Nagama Nayakkar endowed the Tiruppanipuram village of *Tiradam-pādi* in Kachchipeṭṭu Seemai (which was given to him by Narasimharaya Uḍaiyar for military service) on 1—8—1487. Koil kēlvi Emperumanar Jiyar secured from one Kōnēriraja two villages

Maruttuvakkuli and *Valaikulachcheri* in Soḷamandalam on 19-8-1493 A.D.

Periya Timmaraja Uḍaiyar endowed Puduchcheri, which is a part of Veṭṭuvakkulattūr for Sri Govindaraja on 5-6-1494. Ayōdhyārāma samudram (a new village being half of Pallam) was endowed by Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar for Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyan, Govindaraja and Kulasekhara Alvar on 8-7-1494. The villages of Kalavaiputtēri, Konrur and three other villages find place in the inscriptions as endowments; but the inscriptions being fragmentary the names of the donors and the date cannot be fixed.

A plot of land known as Onnatōṇḍān paḷḷam in “Tirumāneri seemai” was endowed by Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar on 26-8-1496 for certain food offerings to be made on the 10th festival day of each Brahmotsavam in a mantapam there. What is of special interest in connection with this endowment is an item of expenditure known as Tirukkaivaḷakkam or cash payments made to temple servants for the extra service rendered for such festivals. The same item occurs in a previous inscription (50) of the year 1473 in connection with Dōlamahotsava Anna Unjal Tirunal. The amount of Tirukkaivaḷakkam expenditure alone shown therein is 876½ panams during 5 days of the festival. This system of remuneration in cash was introduced in 1473; and it was left to be distributed at Sri Ayyangar’s discretion. But after he became Porbhaṇḍāramdar in 1494 A.D., he systematised the expenditure and named the Officers eligible to receive the remuneration, including himself as one, being the Porbhaṇḍāramdar. In the present instance this item of expenditure for one day of the Pushpayāgam festival was 140 panams. It is of great interest as the details of the expenditure are shown, the recipients and their share. Thus—

60 panam	for the 12 nirvāham of Sthānattār;
22½ „	for 4½ Vagai;
5 „	for Ramanujayyngar for Porbhaṇḍāram;
5 „	for Tiruppani Pillai(of Tiruppani Bhaṇḍāram);
4½ „	for Lachchinaikkarar;

- 4 panam for Prabandham reciters (two);
 2 „ for Ramanuja Timmayyengar;
 2 „ for Kangānippan;
 5 „ for Vāhanam bearers;
 1 „ to Adhikari;
 1 „ to Pachchaḍikkārar (distributors);
 2 „ to Viṇṇappam Seyvār (seekers of permission to
 start a function);
 3 „ to Tēvayal (temple cooks);
 4 „ to Sāttada Ēkāki Sri Vaishnavas of Ramanuja-
 kūtam;
 2 „ to Signamuraiyan (fuel supplier);
 1 „ to Tiruvettuvagai (announcer);
 1 „ to Kaikkōlar (servants);
 2 „ to Naṭṭuvar and Muṭṭukkārar (dance-master and
 tune keeper);
 2 „ to Emperumāṇaḍiyār (dancing girls);
 2 „ to Dōlanāgasvarakkarar (drummers and pipers);
 1 „ to Pāḍuvar (songsters);
 1 „ to Paṇimurai (skilled artisans);
 1 „ to Tiruvīdhimunaiyar (street sweepers);
 1 „ to Kuyavar (potters);
 1 „ to Sippiyār (Silpies);
 1 „ to Vāsal Kollar;
 1 „ to Uvachchan (the man using the small hand
 drawn);
 140 „ for 29 items (about 50 or 60 persons).

This item of expenditure exhibiting the persons eligible to receive payment was an innovation made by Sri Ramanujayyengar. This list gives an idea of the kind and number of servants employed in the routine work of a temple. Even the food offerings (except the $\frac{1}{4}$ share due to the donor) seem to have been distributed duly among these leaving very little for the desantari viniyogam (or

distribution among pilgrims). It also gives a rough idea of how temple administration was becoming more and more cumbrous. It is worth noting that while payment was made for reciting *Prabandham* (Tamil Tiruvāymoli recital), there is no mention of such payment being made for reciting *Vedaparayanam* till the end of the 15th Century A.D., in spite of the fact that *Devaraya Maharaya* made herculean endeavours to establish *Vedaparayanam* Service in the temple. The office of *Sthānattar* became a remunerative one and was losing its old prestige. The twelve mantapams constructed by them on the way to *Onnatōnda paḷlam Nāvalūrṟu* and the endowment of 390 panams as capital for offering 12 *vadaipadi* each year appear to be the only endowment made by them.

From the above account, it appears that even *Sāluva Narasimha* and the members of his family did not make any large cash or jewel endowments. Besides the villages granted by *Sāluva Narasingarayar*, there are numerous instances of endowment in the shape of excavating spring channels to improve the irrigation of the *Tiru viḍaiyāṭṭam* villages. The members of his family and *Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar* also have made such improvements. The additional income derived by means of such repairs was applied for such services as are detailed in the respective inscriptions. It was only where the donor had not the facilities to carry out such works himself that payment was made in cash, which was again used by the *Sthānattar* for improvements and repairs to irrigation works.

CHAPTER XVI.

KANDADAI RAMANUJA AYYANGAR AND SĀLUVA NARASIMHA.

FROM the point of view of temple worship in general it is worthwhile dwelling at some length on the career of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar who as the trusted lieutenant of Sāluva Narasimhaya made full use of all opportunities to gain distinction. Ramanuja Ayyangar is illustrative of a class of men found among all castes of Hindus even to-day. These men invariably start their career under an honest impulse to serve the cause of temple worship and strive for its furtherance and grandeur. As the years roll on they acquire influence and have generally also to handle some money. As it often happens with men similarly placed, in course of time they succumb to the insidious influence of vanity and personal ambitions. Ramanuja Ayyangar's career in Tirumala and Tirupati amply illustrates this. His patron Sāluva Narasimha started life as the devoted adherent of the Vijayanagar Empire. He was obviously trusted by Deveraya II and Mallikarjuna. However owing to the vicissitudes of power politics and in the interests of the Empire, Hindu religion and culture, he had to play the role of the de facto Emperor. Some say he even made himself the de jure Emperor. Whatever that might be, these two ambitious men were brought together. After the accession of Mallikarjuna to the Vijayanagar throne, the struggle between him and the Bahmini Kings made it imperative that Sāluva Narasimha should be away from Tirupati in his own interests and in the interests of the Empire. But as a devout (perhaps even superstitious) Hindu and with an inherited attachment to God Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān, whenever difficulties and doubts faced him, he seems to have turned to Him for guidance and protection, resolving at the same time to make votive or thanks offerings. Owing to his long absence from Tirupati he entrusted to Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar the work of giving effect to his grants and

offerings. There was also another Srivaishnava in Tirumala by name Hastigiri Ayyan whom he trusted, who did not however possess the dynamic power of Ramanuja Ayyangar and had therefore to circumscribe his field of activity to the satram (Choultry). How Ramanuja Ayyangar was able to magnify the extent of his influence, how he was able to make even the Sthānattār endow some of the temple lands to him for cultivation and for carrying on some charities in the temple according to his desires and how courtiers made endowments in his name instead of in their own name, will now be shown. It will also be shown that after Sāluva Narasimha's death the Ayyangar's personal ambition and vanity were openly manifested. About Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar, the T.T.Devasthanam Epigraphist has made certain surmises which seem to be unwarranted and incorrect. In note (3) on page 278 of Vol. III of the inscriptions he surmises that Kanadadai Doḍḍappa Ayyangar was probably a member of the collateral branch of the family to which Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar belonged. Doḍḍa Ayyangar is described in the inscription as belonging to Vādhula-gotra, Apasthamba-Sūtra and his father's name is also given. In none of the many inscriptions relating to Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar do we find mention of his father's name, his gotra, sutra and sākha. It is only a sanyasi who is prohibited from making any reference to his pūrvāsrama pravaram. A sanyasi would describe himself as the disciple of the guru who gave him the Presha mantram and the kāshāyam. Ramanuja Ayyangar is described (or prefers to describe himself) as the sishya of Aḷagiya Manavala Jiyar. We know however that the sishya was a Grihastha. Why he did not disclose his parentage and gotra is more than we can answer. We can see from his career that he was an ambitious man and over-fond of self-glorification. It may have stretched to the extent of his desire to be aligned with the three Mudal Alwars and Tirumalaisai whose parentage and pravaram nobody knew, or that of Andal; He was not one of the āchārya purushas or a spiritual teacher as the Epigraphist would make him out to be.

His disciple Mādhava Ayyangar is described by the Epigraphist as an āchārapurusha and the disciple and successor of

Ramanuja Ayyangar. The former is described in the original inscription in Tamil as இராமானுஜ அய்யங்கார் ஸிஷ்யரான கந்தாடை மாயவ அய்யங்கார். There is nothing in this wording to assume that he was his successor to the Ramanujakutam and Por-Bhandaram. Even in III-153 dated 2-4-1522 A. D. he does not style himself the Kartar of the Ramanujakutam but as only one among the managers. There is no reference to the por-bhandāram as having been in his charge.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar was a dēsantari or stranger, of Tondaimandalam who after his discipleship under Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Jiyar, went on pilgrimage to all the 108 Vaishnavite shrines in the country. He observed in detail how temple worship and the various festivals were carried on in the famous temples of the South. He is said to have done some notable service to the Kānchipuram and the Srirangam temples, as may be gathered from the incomplete memorial tablet on the east wall of the Paḍikāvali Gopuram in Tirumala. In what year he first came to Tirupati is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. That he must have come in some year immediately preceding the date on which Sāluva Narasimha appointed him as the Kartar (or manager) of the Rāmanujakūtams started by him in Tirumala and Tirupati may however be reasonably presumed. By his earnestness and personal magnetism he seems to have created a very favourable impression on Sāluva Narasimha and thereafter continued to exercise a decided influence over him in all matters relating to the temple so far as his endowments were concerned. His influence seems to have extended to the Sthānatīār also. We will therefore do well to examine together everything that was done by Sāluva Narasimha and Kandadai Rāmanuja Ayyangar jointly and severally.

Sāluva Narasimha's endowments are eight in number. Six of these make direct mention and two indirect mention of him. They range from 1456 to 1473 A.D. although one of them which was gifted in 1472 A.D. was actually incised on stone and given effect to in 1482 A.D. The indirect mention made in inscriptions

dated 1484 and 1494 A.D. goes to show that the grants were made much earlier than those dates.

The first inscription (II. 4) which shows the connection between these two men is dated 12-9-1456 A.D. We learn from it that some years earlier Sāluva Narasimha had made a sarvamānya grant of Alipuram village situated in Vaikunṭhavaḷanāḍu of the Chandrāgiri Rajya to Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān and that he proposed to set apart the svarnādāyam and the dhānyavargam taxes of this village for a daily food offering of twelve Tirupponakam, one Appapadi and one Tirukkanāmaḍai as Udayakāla sandhi; to send the one fourth part of these prasadam representing the donor's share to the Ramanujakutam established by him in Tirumala and Tirupati and to make Kandadai Ramanujayyan the Kartar of these institutions and the agent to see to the feeding of Sri Vaishnavas therein. The inscription shows that the office of Kartar was to descend to his 'Sishya paramparai' or line of disciples. These details are given to show that the credit for establishing the Ramanujakutam is claimed by Sāluva Narasimha to be his own. We have to note the termination in the name *Ramannujayyan* in the singular to form a correct impression of the relationship between the employer and the employee, to be Sishyaparamparai Manager and to feed all Sri Vaishnavas going to the Ramanujakutam. The precise Tamil expressions are "கம்மிடை தர்மமாக திருமலை திருப்பதியில் கட்டுவித்த ராமாநுஜ கூட்டத்துக்கு கந்தராக அழகிய மணவாள ஜீயர் சிஷ்யரான கந்தாடை ராமாநுஜய்யனை கட்டளை பண்ணி இந்த ராமாநுஜ கூட்டங்களிலே வெண்கலவர்களை அமுது செய்தருளப் பண்ணும்படிக்கு.....இராமாநுஜய்யன் சிஷி பரம் பரை சந்திராதித்தவரை இந்த ராமாநுஜ கூட்டத்துக்கு நடக்கக் கடவதாகும்"; The T.T.D. Epigraphist seems to have been under the impression that Kandadai Ramanujayyar, was the spiritual Guru or Achārya of Sāluva Narasimha. There is nothing in any of the inscriptions to warrant such an assumption. K. Ramanujayyengar was, however, a trusted lieutenant and his influence grew as the years rolled on. On 24-3-1467, Sāluva Narasimha made another endowment in the name of his queen Srirangāmbādēvi (II.25) for offering daily 4 Tirupponakams to Tiruvēngadamuḍaiyān and the donor's share of the prasadam was made over by him to

a Sri Vaishnava named Hastigiridāsar, who was maintaining a choultry and also cultivating Sāluva Narasimha's flower garden known as Ramanujan Tirunandavanam. During the next year (1468), Sāluva Narasimha made another endowment (II.31), dated 16th March) of the village of Agaram Murukkampaṭṭu for offering daily one atirasam and one vadai padi and also for certain other food offerings on the Tiruvādasi day and on the first day of the floating festival. In this case the donor's quarter share was given away to the Ramanuja Kutam founded by Narasimharaya and managed by K. Ramanuja ayyangar and his Sishya paramparai. On the same day (15-3-1468), he made yet another and larger endowment (II.34) of five villages Vanjipākkam, Mallimālai, Sērulakkūr, Bhimapuram and Vālālmaṅkonḍān) for making daily food offerings of 30 sandhis, one appapadi, one sugiyan and one Tirukkanāmaḍai. The donor's quarter share was in this case given away to Hastigiri dasar. He was also to be given daily 3 panam as mēlvechham.¹ The next recorded endowment (II.50) was on 15-6-1473 and related to the grant of the village of Dommarapatti for the celebration of a new annual festival to be called Dōla-mahōtsava anna-unjal tirunāl lasting for five days. The total expenditure of rice on prasadams on account of this endowment was about 1500 marakkals. The donor's quarter share was to go to the Ramanujakutam and all items of expenditure for the festival were left to Ramanuja's discretion. *All these go to show that Ramanuja Ayyangar had gained considerable influence over Narasimha between 1467 and 1473 A.D.*

From the above account, we are justified in concluding that Saluva Narasimha did not have a blind faith in Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and that the latter was only his trusted agent for certain purposes. *The Ayyangar, however, did not fail to make use of and even magnify that influence for his own purposes.*

**Kandadai Ramanuja took full advantage
of his influence.**

On 9-1-1467 he entered into a covenant with the Pallis (II.24), who were the proprietors of certain lands, to excavate irrigation

1. Concomitant sundry articles required for feeding pilgrims.

channels therein to cultivate the lands thereby, to pay the proprietors a certain agreed rent and to utilise the balance for upkeep of the Ramanujakutam. The arrangement was to hold good in the case of his sishyaparamparai also. On 25-4-1467 a similar arrangement (II.26) was made by him with the Sthānattār for cultivation of lands in Koṟṟamangalam village, which belonged to the temple, after excavating two channels in it. Here also the quarter share of prasadams was to go to the Ramanujakutam sishyaparamparai. In November 1468 he installed an image of Kulasēkhara Ālvar in Tirupati (II.36) for whose food offering every day he persuaded the Sthānattar to grant as sarvamanya certain lands in Elamanḍiyam Kūraikkāl which was temple property. On 20-2-1469 (II. 38) he entered into a similar agreement with the Sthānattar to excavate an irrigation channel for the cultivation of lands in the temple village of Tiruvēnkatanallūr, and arranged for offering 4 dadhyo-danam taligai daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan at the time of Tirumanjanam. The donor's share was in this case also to go to the Ramanujakutam sishyaparamparai. On 7-1-1470 (II. 44), the Sthānattar gave away to the Ramanujakutam as sarvamanya or tax free certain lands of the temple to the west of Tirupati. This also was to be enjoyed by him and sishyaparamparai. On 4-5-1470 (II. 45) the western half of the temple village of Munnaippūṇḍi was allowed to be cultivated by Ramanuja Ayyangar sishyaparamparai for offering in the name of Sāluva Narasimha some food offering during Kōḍai Tirunal in Tirupati. On 28-12-1470 (II. 47) another such agreement was entered into for irrigation channels to cultivate certain waste lands so as to make an ardhajamam offering to Sri Govindaraja.

During all this period it must be noted that Sāluva Narasimha was far away from Chandragiri and near Masūlipatam engaged on vital military preparations for the defence of his own territory and of the Vijayanagar Empire. It could have been only by a show of his influence with Sāluva Narasimha that the Sthānattar and the others were made to agree to all arrangements proposed by Ramanuja Ayyangar although it must be admitted that they were all in the interests of the temple and of his Ramanujakutam.

The following is *an instance of the magnitude of his influence over others*:—One of the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirupati by name Saṭhakōpadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliar made certain endowments not in his own name but in the name of Kandādai Ramanuja Ayyangar. These are 5500 panams (II. 64) on 30—12—1475, 1500 panams (II. 67) on 9—5—1476 and 5200 panams (II. 68) on 23—11—1476. The first one is for offering one atirasappadi daily to Sri Govindaraja Swami, the second for one Tirupponakam daily to Uḍaiyavar and the third for the celebration of a number of Sāttumurais of Ālvārs. In all these cases the donor's share went to the Ramanujakutam sishyaparamparai. The last named endowment is of special interest to us. This is the *first time that the birth stars or Tirunakshatrams of all the Alvars happen to be celebrated in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumala accompanied by the recitation of the portion of the prabandham of each Ālvār*. It was an innovation which if it had been attempted in Saṭhakōpadāsar's own name would have met with opposition from the Vaikhanasa Archakas and the Sthanattar. But these men dared not go against Kandādai Ramanuja Ayyangar. The Dāsar's zeal to have his heart's desire accomplished brought Kandadai Ramanuja's name into the endowment. That Saṭhakōpadāsar was a fervent Sri Vaishnava can be seen from other special endowments he made for Uḍaiyavar and Tirumangai Ālvār temples in Tirupati. His endowment (II. 68) dated 23—11—1476 has the further interest to us that it was on that date that the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas appear to have commenced sharing with the Sāttina Sri Vaishnavas the privilege of reciting the Prabandhams in front of Sri Ramanuja's Shrine and of receiving their own share of the prasadam as emoluments. *Without Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's influence, it would have been well nigh impossible for the Dasar to make these two innovations in Temple practices.*

In every one of the above instances, one point was made clear that the donor's share of the prasadam was to be enjoyed by Ramanuja Ayyangar's sishtyas in the Ramanuja kutam after his lifetime. The sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas were exclusively his disciples. There is no evidence of his having had any Brahmin disciples.

The attitude of other donors.

So far we have seen that Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar was successful in making his influence with Sāluva Narasimha recognised by the Sthānattar and by Sathakōpadasar. But during this period there were also other notables, who made endowments for food offerings. It is worthwhile and even necessary, to find out whether they extended their patronage to Ramanuja Ayyangar.

Most of them were Sāluva Narasimha's kith and kin and in the usual course would have been expected to patronise the Ramanujakutam which their kinsman and chief had brought into being. That they did not patronise the Ramanujakutam will be plain from a reading of the note attached (at the end of this chapter). If Sāluva Narasimha gave 10½ prasadams daily to the Ramanujakutam, he gave to Hastigiri Dasar's Satram 20 prasadams (including 1 by his queen). The total prasadams distributed daily in places outside the Ramanujakutam amounted to 34 prasadams by the end of 1494, whereas in the Ramanujakutam it was 15½. The latter seems to have been mainly for the benefit of Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas, whereas the others catered to all, irrespective of caste or creed. But the bulk of the income for the Ramanujakutam must have been by the sale of appam, atirasam, vadai, etc., which it got during the various festivals as Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar himself has shown later.¹ *Saluva Narasimharayar's interest seems to have slackened after about 1473 A.D.* He, probably, realised that the Ramanujakutam was not fulfilling his expectations.

There was really far too much food cooked in the temple than was needed to feed the pilgrims. So we find that more of baked and fried prasadams, such as appams, atirasams, vadai, Tirukkanāmaḍai and such other things as could be preserved for a longer period for sale and as could be taken by the pilgrims to their home as God's prasadams, came into vogue. By the sale of these the Ramanujakutam made money; and also those in

1. II. 1494 A.D.

the temple service who were entitled to a share in the offered prasadam. From the point of view of the religious sentiments which the temple was intended to spread it is doubtful if this development was healthy.

Whether this institution, known as Ramanujakūṭam, founded by Sāluva Narasimha Dēvarayar for the benefit and uplift of the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas stood the test of time and made itself appreciated by the public could best be judged by its life after the death of Ramanuja Ayyangar and Sāluva Narasimha. We have reason to believe that even in their lifetime it was not patronised by the majority of temple goers who made endowments.

Ūdiyam Ellappa Nāyakkar who made an endowment of three villages (III. 109; 2—6—1516) as Krishnadevaraya's dharmam stipulated that the quarter share of prasadams due to him should be delivered to the Ramanujakutam. This coming within about 22 years of the last mention of Saluva's Ramanujakutam might be taken to refer to Saluva's institution or it might refer to Ramānāyakkar's Ramanujakutam (III. 88 of 1514 A.D.). The next mention is in 1520 when Kandadai Madhava Ayyangar, the disciple of Ramanuja Ayyangar apportioned to the Ramanujakutam only a portion of the donor's quarter share after deducting the share allotted to the Iyal chanting Sri Visahnavas (III. 142; 28—11—1520).

Subuddhi Rāmadāsar allotted 3 nāḷi of prasadam to the managers of the Ramanujakutam who were cultivating his flower garden. We may presume that Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas were cultivating his flower garden (III. 147; 1—11—1521). Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar (presumably the son of the late Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar) who styled himself kartar of Tirumala Tirupati Ramanujakutam and the Por-Bhandaram, stipulated that the quarter share of prasadams due to him on his endowment (IV. 3) dated 31—3—1530 should be delivered to the Dharmakarta of the Ramanujakutams. The implication seems to be that he had appointed some one else to be the Dharmakarta, himself being the Kartar.

The word Ramanujakutam occurs incidentally and for the last time in an inscription V. 47 dated 3—7—1545. Whether it refers to Ramanuja Ayyangar's institution or to the other Ramanujakūtam of Ramanayakkar (already referred to) mentioned in connection with an endowment by Periya Obala Nayakkar Ramanayakkar on 8—1—1514, we cannot be sure of. But as the donor Tallapakkam Tirumalai ayyangar offered one padi in front of the Ramanujakutam it might refer to Ramanuja ayyangar's Ramanujakutam.

There is, therefore, reason to believe that the *institution founded by Saluva Narasimha and managed by Ramanuja was not popular and that it did not fulfil its purpose. It ceased to exist in the second half of the sixteenth century.* So much space has been devoted to this subject so that any one who cares to speculate may form his own ideas as to how the Sāttada Sri Vaishnavas who were drawn from all classes of the non-brahmins and specially trained by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar obviously at the instance of Saluva Narasimha for religious duties, who were accorded the privilege of providing every day the articles of perfumery for the Tirumanjanam and Tiruvārādhnam of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān, and receiving in return the daily honours and emoluments due to such service; who also enjoyed the privilege of reciting the Alvar's Prabandhams in the temples on a footing of equality with the Sāttina Srivaishnavas and received a share of the emoluments, and who were so well provided for with endowments by the King himself in the Ramanujakutam, failed to retain what all was theirs by right. That perfumery, which it was their right to supply, is now being taken by Brahmins with all temple honours round the pradakshinam before being presented in the shrine. They failed to become the successors of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar as Kartar of the Ramanujakutam. They were his sishtyas and should have been the kartars of the Ramanujakutam and the Por-Bhandaram in preference to Kandadai Madhava Ayyangar. They should have been allowed to recite Prabandham in Gōshti

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's activities in the temple after the death of Saluva Narasimha possibly throw some light on how the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas went into oblivion. Saluva

Narasimha seems to have died in 1492 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Immadi Narasimha.

Kandadai Ramanuja's activities after the death of Saluva Narasimha.

Ramanuja Ayyangar was obviously not content with being the Manager of the Ramanujakutam distributing food and selling appams and atirasams. In the secular administration of the temples, the management of landed properties and the construction and repairs of buildings had already become a separate department called the Tiruppani Bhandāram. There was still in the hands of the Sthanattar the treasury of gold, silver jewellery, costly silks, etc. Some of these required annual repairs. Ramanuja Ayyangar projected a plan for carrying out these repairs without a single panam being expended from the Sri Bhandāram. He placed before the Emperor Immadi Narasimha Rayar his scheme. Every year he could save 1000 panams from the sale amount of prasadam in the Ramanujakutams. He could save another 1000 panams from out of the income from endowments made for Kulasekhara Alvar temple, after conducting the daily worship. Also from certain other villages granted for specific services he could scrape another 1000 panams. With these 3000 panams he would be carrying out yearly all the repairs needed. The Rāyasam was obtained from the Emperor appointing Ramanuja Ayyangar as the kartar of gold and jewellery (which office he later called 'Por-Bhandaram' *Sishyaparamparai*). This (II. 133) was on 1st July 1495 A.D. All articles which needed repairs were to be selected conjointly with the Sthanattar, the repairs carried out in their presence and returned to them after due accounting. If 3000 panams were found insufficient for the purpose, the balance was to be met from the temple funds.

In the very next month of the same year (31—8—1495) he made an endowment (II. 134) not in cash, but by way of certain adjustments for celebrating some festivals. The noteworthy point in this endowment is that he himself made a provision of 20 panams for tying parivaṭṭam to four dancing girls (Emperu-

mānaḍiyar) who were engaged for singing the Ula songs in praise of himself on occasions when Sri Malai Kuniyaninra perumāḷ and Sri Govindarajan were taken out in procession (or stroll) round the Sanctum during Kōḍai Festival. If he was a highly respected person, his own Sāttāda Sri Vaishnava disciples and the Brahmīns reciting Prabandham would have agreed to sing these songs just as they do Ramanuja Nūrrandadi and Vāḷi tirunāmams. The singing of such songs in his praise by dancing girls in the presence of the Deity and himself making payment therefore would have been highly distasteful to all religiously minded Sri Vaishnavas. Furthermore his cousin Kandadai Appachchiyar Anna made an endowment (II. 136; 21—12—1496) for offering 2 atirasappadi on every alternate puḷugukkāppu murai Friday just after the singing of Ramanuja Ayyangar's Ula while Sri Venkateswara was being smeared with Puḷugukkappu. Again in another endowment made by K. Ramanuja Ayyangar after he became Por-Bhandaram Officer (II. 140—the precise date of the endowment is missing in the inscription) he celebrated his annual birth star in a manner which must have been revolting to all orthodox Sri Vaishnavas. To receive the appapadi sent down from Tirumala for the occasion he made *Sri Andal* being taken in procession to the foot of the hill in Tirupati and to accompany the appapadi and parivattam procession to Govindaraja's temple. Even his own disciples, the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas do not appear to have shown their enthusiasm or loyalty to him in these celebrations which were introduced after the death of Saluva Narasimha. Did he not sell away the prasadam which Saluva Narasimha intended for their exclusive benefit so that he might become the Por-Bhandaram officer?

When it came to the appointment of a Sishya (Disciple) as his successor, as Kartar of the Ramanujakutam and of the Por-Bhandaram he did not find after forty years tutelage a Sāttāda Srivaishnava to be fit for selection. Kandadai Madhava Ayyangar (possibly a cousin of his) was appointed. He was succeeded by Kumara Ramanuja the son of Ramanuja. So the stipulation 'sishya paramparai' gave place to 'Vamsa paramparai.'

**Note on the disposal of the donor's share of prasadams
by members of the Saluva family.**

We have seen that Saluva Narasimha's queen ordered the handing over of the donor's share of her own endowments to the satram under the management of Hastigiri Ayyan and that Saluva Narasimha also gave away the major portion of his share for the same. Saluva Ramachandrayya arranged that the donor's share of his own endowment (one fourth of four taligas) should be distributed to pilgrims during the Sandhi Adaippu in the temple itself.

Prasadams.

Saluva Mallayyadeva Maharaja did the same;	..	1
Saluva Parvataraja distributed his share among those maintaining his flower garden and the water shed at Muḷankāl murippan mantapam constructed by him;	..	1
Saluva Timmaraja gave his share to the Dāsanambi cultivating his flower garden;	..	1
Siddhanayar (Saluva Narasimha's Secretary) did not give anything to Ramanujakutam;	..	1½
Saluva Timmaraja expended his share during Sandhi Adaippu. So also Ahōbiladeva Kampayadeva Maharaja;	..	¼
Timmayyadeva Chola Maharaja also distributed his share during Sandhi Adappu (full);	..	1
Errāmaraja gave his share to the Dasanambis cultivating flower gardens;	..	¼
Timmayyadeva Maharaja of Bijjavada gave his share to the Sri Vaishnavas tending his flower garden;	..	
Vallabhayya dēva Maharaja gave his share to Tirupani Bhandarattar;	..	2
Ravu Pinna Bhupala Narasimha and Kesaya Nayaka gave their share to their ācharya Kumārā Tātayangar;	..	1

Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Uḍaiyar gave part of his share to Sthanattar and part for free distribution and to those tending his flower garden;	..
Baichraja Timmayyadeva Maharaja gave his share to nirvaham in part and for Sandhi Adaippu distribution	..
Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Uḍaiyar gave part to.. Nirvaham and part to flower garden keepers;	..
Kommarajū Periya Timmaraja Uḍaiyar for Tirunandavanam, Sandhi Adaippu and Nirvaham;	.. ¼
Lakshmi amman gave for Sandhi Adaippu and flower garden cultivators;	.. ¼
Periya Timmaraja Uḍaiyar gave 500 kuḷi of land as sarvamaṇya for feeding 12 Sri. Vaishnavas to Ramanuja Iyengar and ¼ share Tiruppatiyar, Sabbaiyar, Desantries and Tiruninra-ur-uḍaiyar, garden cultivators, etc.;	.. 1
Narasaraja Uḍaiyar likewise to Tirupatiyar Sabhaiyar, deśantries, etc.	..
It will thus be seen that most of the dignitaries do not seem to have appreciated the Ramanujakutam, if not its management by Ramanuja Ayyangar. Queen Srirangambadevi gave her share to Hastigiridasar's choultry	.. 1
Timmayyadeva Maharaja gave his ¼ share to Sri Vaishnavas looking after flower garden;	¼
Sundry endowments;	2¼

34

The prasadam's made over to the Ramanuja Kutam from 1456 to 1473 amounted only to 13 prasadam's excluding 10½ given by Saluva Narasimha and 2¼ more in 1494.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PERIOD FROM ABOUT 1492 TO 1511 A.D.

(Immadi Narasimharaya and Vira Narasimha
Maharaya.)

IT is generally believed that Sāluva Narasimha Maharayar died in the year 1492 A.D. and that his son Immaḍi Narasimha succeeded him and ruled till about the middle of 1505 A.D. With him the Saluva ascendancy came to an end. Narasa Nāyaka, the Commander-in-Chief and Chief Minister under Sāluva Narasimha, had been the de-facto ruler even when Immaḍi Narasimha Maharayar was the ruler. But he seems to have predeceased Immaḍi Narasimha. We are told by historians that his son Vira Narasimha usurped the Imperial Throne on the death of Immadi Narasimha some time in 1505 A.D. and that he ruled as Emperor till his death in 1509 A.D.

Sāluva Narasimha as well as his son Immaḍi Narasimha had the suffix 'Maharayar' attached to their names. But the prasasti (pedigree) prefixed to their name was not that of the Vijayanagar Kings, which was 'Sriman Maharajadhiraja Rajapamesvara Sri Virapratapa.' They preferred to retain their own family pedigree 'Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Mēdini Misaraganda Kathāri Sāluva Sāluva.' Neither of these therefore could have had succession legally as representing a branch of the old Sangama family. But not so Vira Narasimha. In one of our inscriptions III. 13 of the year 1508 A.D. (Saka 1430) he is described as Vira Narasimha Mahārayar. There is no other inscription where his name appears. But we know that he was a more powerful man than Immaḍi Narasimha and that during the short period he was on the throne he was fully engaged in putting down insurgents within the Empire. He claimed (at any rate his brother Sri Virapratapa Krishnadevaraya did) kinship with the old Sangama line of kings as will be shown later when writing about Sri Krishnadeva Mahārayar.

So far as the history of the Tiruvēngadam temple is concerned the period of these two Emperors (1492—1509 A.D.)—we may even say the period from about 1492 to 1511 A.D.—has a special significance. The activities of Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar had brought into the temple some undesirable innovations as well as some beneficial changes. But none of these took permanent root. The latter are:

(1) The status accorded to the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas by giving them the privilege of supplying certain articles of perfumery required every day for the Alagappirānār Tirumanjanam (or daily Abhishēkam for Bhōga Srinivasa).

(2) The status accorded to them by authorising them to recite the prabandhams in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumala in company with the Brahmins and also to receive prasādams.

The undesirable ones are given below.

(1) It has been pointed out that after the death of Sāluva Narasimha the prasādams representing the donor's share which used to be fully utilised for the benefit of the Sāttāda Srivaishnavas were diverted in part in 1494 A.D. by Ramanuja Ayyangar to enable him to become the Por-Bhandāram (பொற்றண்டாரம்) officer in Tirumala.

(2) The employment of Emperumānaḍiyars (dancing girls) for singing ula songs in praise of Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar for which parivaṭṭam (piece of sacred cloth) was tied to their head on payment of the necessary fee to the temple (II. 134; 1495 A. D. and II. 136, 1496 A. D.). This innovation was however not continued after his death.

(3) Taking Sri Andal to the foot of the Hill to receive Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān's *appa prasādam and parivaṭṭam* in honour of Ramanuja Ayyangar's birth day. This also was not continued after his death. (II. 140; date missing).

(4) The institution of a special festival (called Nāval ūṟṟu நாவல் ஊற்று) after he became the Por-bhandāram in 1496 A.D.

(II. 135). In connection with this festival he introduced an elaborate system of making cash payments under the heading *Tirukkaivalakkam*, to all the members of the temple establishment from the Sthānattar down to the sweeper. The object in doing this appears to have been to include his own name in the establishment as the Por-Bhandram officer. But as this was likely to raise some opposition, he included in the list the Tiruppaṇi Bhaṇḍāram, the dancing girls, the naṭṭuvars and the prabandham reciters. This inclusion of Prabandham as being entitled to receive cash payment under the appellation Tirukkaivalakkam, marks the beginning of the attempt of Sri Vaishnavas to achieve for the Prabandham of the ālvārs a permanent status in the Temple. In 1504 there appears a jiyar by name Anusandhanam Tiruvenkattayan. He obtained for Prabandham a permanent status in 1512. The history of the Prabandham will be dealt with in the chapter, 'Alvārs and Acharyas'. The only persons who were omitted in the list were the Vedapārāyanam reciters whom Sri Virapratapa Devaraya had with so much enthusiasm introduced in 1433 A.D. In the Dōla Mahōtsavam introduced by Saluva Narasimha and conducted under Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar's supervision, there was incurred a lump sum expenditure of 896 panams under Tirukkaivalakkam. The details of distribution were not given. We find however that in similar expenditure incurred in connection with the Pavitrōtsavam by Mallayya Dēva Maharaya (1464 A.D.) payments were made only to the Purana Bhattar and the Vedaparayanam reciters and that nothing was given to the Sthānattar, the prabandham reciters or the dancing girls. Again later in 1508 A.D. we find that one Appa Pillai instituted Dōla Mahōtsavam for Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati as the dharmam of Sri Vira Narasimha Maharayar and that in connection with this utsavam many of the items of cash payments started by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar were continued by him, the only omissions made being the Tiruppaṇi Bhandarattar, the Por Bhandarattar and the Prabandham reciters. The Vēdapārāyanam reciters were however brought in by him and the dancing girls (Tiruvedhi sanis) were given a larger share.¹

1. For a single day's festival in 1496 A.D, the Sthānattars were paid 60 panams as fee for the 12 Nirvahams; 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ panams for 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ vaḡai; 5 panams each

We are therefore in a position to surmise that the precedent set up by Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar did not appeal in full even to the people who were more or less his contemporaries. *Some seem to have favoured Vēda pārāyanam and some the Prabandham. But the dancing girls whom Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar brought into prominence began to acquire increasing importance in the temple, as we will have occasion to notice in greater detail when we come to deal with the reign of Achyuta deva and Sadasiva Deva Maharayas.* It is probable that these innovations would not have been made if Saluva Narasimha and his successors had lived in times of peace and had the leisure to pay some personal attention to the affairs of this temple to which they had a great attachment.

(5) The Sthanattar's complicity in the alienation of Temple lands to Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar ostensibly for the benefit of Saluva's Ramanujakutam and the temple of Kulasēkhara Āḷvār and the subsequent shufflings of the income from these lands which enabled him to create and occupy the office of Por-Bhandaram has already been noticed. There is reason to think that the Sthanattar suffered in reputation in consequence of these transactions. We see this reflected in the endowments made by the public after 1494 A.D. The members of the mercantile community in Tirupati and Chandragiri represented by Saranusetti, Sittanna Setti, Tippu Setti and Lingi Setti who were donors during the period however gave away the donor's share of the prasadam to the 12 nirvaham of the Sthanattars as usual. They would naturally have been looking to them for getting orders for supply of provisions to the temple. Ramayyan, son of the late Sathakopadāsar also continued to be loyal to the Sthanattar till 1507. But in his endowment made in 1508 he received the donor's share himself. Uddaṇḍa Rāyan Ulagappan and Appa Pillai, two of the independent persons who have made several endowments

for Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and the Tiruppani pillai Bhandaram; 4 panams for the prabandham and 2 panams each for the Nattuvar and the Emperumandiyar. For the five days, festival in 1508 A.D: Appa pillai, however, paid only 36 panams for the 12 nirvaham. He paid none for the Vaḷai or for por Bhandaram, or for prabandham; 6 panams for dancing girls and 6 panams for Vedaparanam.

during this period, appropriated to themselves the donor's share. Again Periya Ōbala Nāyakkar Rāmānayakkar, who was one of the Emperor's generals, assigned his share of the prasadams to a new Ramanujakūtam established by him without giving any portion to the Sthanattar. There are also three other private endowments (II. 124, 126, 127) where the donors distributed their share among the Tirupatiyārs, the Sabhaiyārs and the Tiruninraur-Udaiyars, excluding the Nambimars and the Jiyars. *These indicate that the Sthanattar as such were losing credit.*

The above analysis has been made so that we may correctly appreciate why Sri Vira Krishna Deva Maharaya ignored the claims of the Sthanattar and of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's Ramanujakutam, when he came to dispose of the donor's share of his own endowments.

In this place we may describe the new festival called Nāvalūṟṟu (நாவலூற்று) introduced by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. Sri Ayyangar constructed a tank and a mantapam on the way to the Nāvalūṟṟu or spring channel in a tank called Tirumāneri. The processional Deity Malaikuniya-ninra-Perumal with the Nachchimar was taken to that mantapam on the tenth day of the Panguni Tirunāl called the Pushpa yagam day. The place seems to have been situated at some considerable distance from the temple. Twelve mantapams were therefore constructed along the route at the rate of one by each of the twelve nirvahams. At every mantapam food offerings were made on the return journey. The entire temple paraphernalia seems to have accompanied the Deity to the Nāvalūṟṟu. We have festivals of this kind in almost all the temples in Southern India. At the fountain head of the spring channel a pavilion is usually put up to accommodate the Deity. The spring channel itself is made expansive so that by night there may be a slow procession known as Patti Ulāvudal (பத்தி உலாவுதல்) to the accompaniment of music and dancing by the Emperumanadiyars. The festival is commonly known as Ural Festival. In Tirumala we hear of this festival for the first time in August 1496 A.D., but it may have been in vogue even earlier. Almost all the festivals started by K. Ramanujayyangar after the death of Saluva Narasimha are of a type which

would induce lasciviousness in weak minded worshippers; what with the dancing and abhinayan of the emperumāṇāḍiyars and the scents, flowers and rich food on a full moon day.

The varieties of prasadams prepared in connection with the festivals during this period were about the same as were prepared during the reign of Saluva Narasimha. These were Tirupponakam, Rājāna Tirupponakkam, Paruppaviyal Tirupponakam, Dadhyodanam, Appam, Atirasam, Sukhīyan, Godhi, Sīḍai and Vadai.

Acharyapurushas.

We shall next examine the activities of the Acharyapurushas attached to the temple. These seem to have been carrying on their evangelical work. Some of their more prosperous disciples were making pilgrimage to Tiruvengadam. Among the Achāryapurushas the brothers, Tōḷappar and Kumāra Tāttayangar, sons of Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Tiruvenkata Tāttayangar appear prominently. Both have made fairly large endowments in addition to what their disciples have done. Kumara Tattayangar seems to have been held in great esteem by his disciples. The Tiru-ninra-ur-udaiyars stipulated in their endowment deeds that a part of the donor's share of the prasadams should be delivered in their acharya's Tirumāligai (or house). The social etiquette of those days would however have made it impossible for an āchāryapurusha to be one of the Sthanattar of the temple. Their work was more evangelical in character.

A point of some importance is made clear by the inscription relating to Kumara Tāttayangar's endowment of Rs. 3,500 in the year 1493. We learn therefrom that he constructed a mantapam at the south-west corner of the outer prakaram of the Tirumala Temple where the Utsava Murti during procession in connection with the Adhyayanotsavam the Kodai Tirunal etc. was to alight. The Iyal tuvakkam (or commencement of the recital of the Prabandham) used to take place in front of this mantapam. This is another attempt of the Sri Vaishnavas to

obtain for the recital of the Prabandhams a permanent status or usage. We have previously noticed an inscription dated 1360 A.D. which stated that the Prabandham was recited in front of the main gate of the temple. So between 1360 and 1493 A.D. a development had taken place and the starting point of the Iyal had been definitely fixed as Kumara Tattayangar's mantapam. Within the walls of the temple itself there was no recital of the Prabandham at any time.

In regard to the commencement of the Veda recital there does not appear to have been any definite rule.

The relationship which generally subsisted between the Acharyapurusha and his disciple can be understood by a reference to the prasasti given in II. 58 and II. 60 to the brothers Rāvu Pinna Bhūpāla Nṛsimha Naranāyaka and Rāvu Pinna Bhūpāla Kēsanāyaka. The prasasti in Sanskrit could not have been composed by the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar who invariably composed the material portion of the text of every inscription in Tamil. No other person in Tirupati would have been interested in extolling the prowess, achievements and virtues of these two men than their Acharya Sri Kumāra Tāttayangar. Exaggeration in such matters seems to have been consistent with the dignity as an Acharyapurusha.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE AND SRI VIRAPRATAPA VIRA KRISHNA DEVA MAHARAYA 1509—1530 A.D.

THERE was a distinct change in the character of the administration of the temple soon after Sri Krishnadeva ascended the Vijayanagar throne. To apprise it correctly we must have an idea of the man, his religious beliefs as revealed in our inscriptions and how he dealt with those who were conducting the secular and the religious affairs of the temple.

He was well-known for his accomplishments as a man of letters, a lover of fine arts and a patron of poets and artists even before he sat on the throne. There is a story that his predecessor and elder brother with a view to making the throne secure for his young son, ordered his minister Sāluva Timmarasu to put out the eyes of Krishna Devaraya and thus incapacitate him for life, but that Timmarasu allowed him to escape from this calamity as he thought it was in the best interests of the Empire and Hindu religion and culture that he should become the King. Whether for his part Krishna Deva was responsible for the death or disappearance of his brother's sons, no one can definitely say. Perhaps the only one who may have known the truth was Sāluva Timmarasu. Our inscriptions reveal that the great minister was reduced to the plight of selling to Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar the donor's share of the prasādams which as a large donor he was receiving. He must have fallen on evil days. Otherwise he would not have done so. But this was done when Sri Virapratāpa Achyuta dēva Maharaya was the Emperor. The story is that Timmarasu was suspected of complicity in a plot which brought about the untimely death of Krishna's young son about the year 1525 A.D. and that eventually Timmarasu was removed from office and lost royal favour. In February 1536 he first sold to Tirumalai ayyangar

the donor's share of prasadams due to his brother Govindaraja (donor), then he sold to the same gentleman the prasadams due to his brother and himself and lastly he sold his own share of the prasadams due to him as donor. The last act exposed in all nakedness the misery to which he had sunk. Within a fortnight thereafter Achyutarayar came to his rescue and instituted an endowment, the quarter share thereof being ordered to be delivered to Timmarasu's son-in-law Appayya (IV. 89. 12-1-1537). During Krishnadeva's reign we do not find that he ever allowed any of his near relatives to occupy any place of importance or influence in the Empire. The story goes that Achyuta and his brother were kept in detention in the Chandragiri Fort. He seems to have known well what amount of mischief palace intrigues can do and therefore probably preferred to take no risks. Historians seem to be unanimously of the view that he was just and even generous. He was at the same time feared by everybody. But he seems to have always been suspicious of the intentions and motives of those who tried to ingratiate themselves into his favour. We can reasonably infer this from the fact that two of his high placed officers, Appa Pillai, and Sāluva Govindaraya who made endowments as the dharmam of Sri Krishnadeva in 1511 and 1522 A.D. respectively, disappear from our view thereafter. In fact Sāluva Govindaraya like his brother, the great minister Saluva Timmarasu, was reduced to the condition of selling away to Tallapākkam Tirumalai, Ayyangar the quarter share of the prasādams due to him as donor.

During Krishnadevaraya's visits to Tirumala, his party seems to have consisted of only his two queens, his two purohiths Ranga Dikshitar and Siva Dikshitar, his ūḍigam servant Bagūri Mallarasu his secretary (rāyasam) and engraver Sripati son of Peddayyāsāri. In all the inscriptions relating to his gifts and endowments his prasasti is given in full. In the endowments made by his personal servants like Ekkāḍi Timmamman and his door-keepers Narasayya and Timmayya also, the full prasasti is inscribed. But all his officers and the Sthānattār avoid, perhaps deliberately, making any reference to his regnal year. It is likely that they considered it the safest course.

KRISHNA DEVARAYA'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

Krishnadevaraya was as has already been stated a great patron of arts and literature. He is credited with having held assemblies of poets and pundits during the Vasanta Ritu every year in Vijayanagar and to have rewarded them according to merit. His admiration for *Allasāni Peddanna's* attainments were according to stories which are still credited so great that he offered to be the foremost bearer of the palanquin in a procession held to honour the great poet. But it has nowhere been said that he attracted great philosophers to his court, or that he paid his obeisance to any āchārya or saint, although all great Hindu Kings have generally done so. Sivaji is, for instance, said to have placed his whole kingdom at the feet of his guru and to have received it back with blessings to administer in strict accordance with Hindu Dharma. Hindu Kings have from ancient times also tried to emulate as their ideal the court of Janaka, King of the Videhas, where periodical discussions took place between Yagnavalkya, the Saint and others. But Krishna Deva's tastes seem to have been confined to arts and literature. We however gather from our inscriptions that although he desired to propitiate other Deities like Kālahastīswara, the Supreme Deity in whom he had the greatest faith was Tiruvengatanātha. Therefore on important and critical occasions he first propitiated Tiruvengatanatha and then rode off to Kalahasti also to worship the God there. The Deity of Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati did not evidently attract him as he did not pay even a single visit to His temple. Tirumalai and Kalahasti were not however the only shrines visited by him. He visited several of the celebrated temples in Southern India, made gifts at each place bathed in the sea at Rameswaram and washed his blood-stained sword in its waters believing obviously that he was thus washing away all his sins. He seems to have been by training a firm believer in the Karma Kānda of the Vedas. The Gnāna Mārga and the Bhakti Mārga do not seem to have been studied or practised by him. His much admired *poet laureate Allasāni Peddanna was a great Sri Vaishnava and Bhakta. He was the famous disciple of the Saint Adi Van Satagōpaswami who founded the Ahōbila Matham. Peddannā's poetry alone seems to have commanded the admiration of Krishnadevaraya.* It may however be asked whether he did

not write the Telugu Kāvya *Amuktamālyada*. The answer to this is that it is not definitely established that he wrote it and that it is held by some that the real author of it was Peddanna. Nevertheless, unless Krishna Deva considered that he could conscientiously subscribe to the tenets of Sri Vaishnavism, he could not have written or agreed to father the work. *It is however a fact that he had no Sri Vaishnava acharya or purohit to initiate him into the Sampradāyas peculiar to that sect.* This is noticeable from Vol. III inscription No. 65, which gives his genealogy. The text of it with the exception of the first verse and a slight alteration in the second verse, is a copy of what appears on a stone tablet in the Pompāpati Temple in Hampi, dated Māgha Suddha 14, Sakha 1430. In that inscription the first verse is in adoration of Sambhu and the second is in adoration of Ganesa. It is stated there that Ganesa is worshipped even by Hari (*Harināpi cha pūjyate*). In our inscription the adoration is addressed to (Sri) Varāha, the lilavatar of Hari. This is because Tirumala is considered to be Varāhakshetram, and not Venkatesa Kshetram. But the second verse is addressed to Ganesa and not to Vishvaksēna. A Sri Vaishnava would naturally propitiate the latter. There is however a slight alteration by the substitution for the words “*Harina-pi cha pujiyate,*” of the words “*Panchasyenāpi lālitam,*” which means that Ganesa is being caressed or fondled by Panchasya (Siva). If there had been a Vaishnava, not necessarily a Sri Vaishnava, in Krishnadevaraya’s entourage, the second sloka would undoubtedly have been dedicated to Vishvaksēna.

One other feature which distinguishes Krishnadeva from his successor is his omission to end the inscription relating to his endowments with the usual charge ‘Sri Vaishnava Rakshai.’ We are not here referring to gifts of Tiruvabharanam, but only to the endowments for performance of puja, festivals and other charities in a Vishnu Temple. It was Sāmavai who started in 966 A.D. the practice of ending the endowment with this charge. The practice was followed by others except in the case of gifts of ornaments, (Tiruvabharanam). Vīra Narasinga Yādavarāya adhered to it. Sriranganatha Yādavarāya used the same terminology. But when we come to the Vijayanagar Kings we do not

find the practice followed which would go to show that they were not initiated into the Sri Vaishnava āchāra properly. Devaraya Maharaya simply ends his inscription with the words “ This is the dharma Sāsanam ” (I. 192, 5-12-1429 విశవరథ కొల్ల ధంపణాసన. Bukkarāya, the first of the Vijayanagar Kings, ended with the following admonition in Tamil,

இந்த தற்மத்துக்கு துரோகம் பண்ணினவன் கந்தைக்
கரையிலே காராம் பசுவை கொன்றான் பாவத்தைப் பெறக்
கடவான் .

வீதித்தாஃ வீகுணம்புண்யடி வரீதித்தா நுபாலனடி |
வரீதித்தா வஹாரேண வீதித்தம் நிஷ்டுமுலவேஃ ||

(I. 178, p. 167)

(“ Whoever frustrates this charity shall beget the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganga. To preserve a charity endowed by others is twice as meritorious as instituting a new one; misappropriation of other’s gifts nullifies the benefits of one’s own gifts”.

Krishna Devaraya’s imprecations are worse; he holds out the curse of incurring the sin of killing one’s parents and Brahmins. His queen Tirumala devi uses more persuasive language. She says “ *Dāna Pālanayor madhye dānāt sreyo’nupālanam: Dānāt svargamavāpnōti pālanāt achyutam padam* ” (By making a gift one attains svarga. But by preserving (the charity already in existence) one attains the state of immortality, Achyutam).

But the Sāmavai went further and said: “ the feet of those who protect this charity I place on my head ” (I. 8)—no threats, no imprecations and no persuasions were used by her. She had full faith that there will be real Bhaktas at all times in this world to protect religious trusts.

We cannot however belittle the fact that Krishnadevarayar’s gifts are incomparably large and costly; but as a devotee he was half-baked. He sought no guru and no one came forward to

initiate him, because he was not spiritually right-minded for the guru to take Krishnadeva into his charge.

The language used in our inscriptions relating to endowments for food offerings and similar services to the deity deserves special study. We will first take up one of Krishnadeva Raya's endowments (III. 65) and compare it with others. We select this inscription because it gives his ancestry both mythical and historical. The text of this must have had his approval. Mythically his ancestor is claimed to be Turvasu, the younger brother of Yadu of the lunar race. Yadu is the latest mythical ancestor claimed by the Vijayanagar rulers of the Sangama line. Krishna Deva's kinship with Turvasu is therefore evidently claimed to show that neither Vira Narasimha nor Krishna Deva Raya were usurpers. Historically, the two brothers were aware of the names of only their father, grand-father and great grand-father of Tuluva origin. The inscription credits Vira Narasimha with having made valuable gifts at all imaginable sacred places in India including Vēnkatādri. We have however no inscription showing any of his gifts made in Tirumala. Krishna Devaraya's greatness alone is dealt with at length. Coming to the object of the inscription namely the charity, we find that it is worded as follows: భువన భరణ సావధానాయ వేంకటేశాభిదానాయ శేషాచల నివాసాయ శ్రీనివాసాయ దత్త మిదం ధర్మసాసనమ్.¹ "Krishna Deva Maharaya's Dharmasasanam is in favour of Srinivāsa or Vēnkatēsa abiding on Seshachala, who has taken up the protection of this world I make this Dattam."

What property was given as dānam is not mentioned in the inscription which is entirely in the Sanskrit language. The Devasthanam Epigraphist has tacked on to the Sanskrit portion a Telugu inscription of which the first thirteen lines are missing. But there is a Kanarese version of this which shows that it is complete in itself without any indication of its being a continuation of the Sanskrit portion. It may be that in the Sanskrit portion there may be a few lines missing as well, which might have contained the details of the dānam made. We have to bear in mind that

1. Bhuvana bharana sāvadhānāya Venkatēsabhidhānāya Seshāchala niyāsāya Srinivāsāya dattamidam dharmasāsanam."

the Sanskrit portion was composed and inscribed in Hampi on the occasion of the festival of Krishna Devaraya's coronation on Magha Suddha 14, in Saka 1430 (say 4th February 1509). It is not unlikely that the same text, with the slight alteration we have already noticed, was inscribed in Tirumala temple also on or about the same date in 1509. The Kanarese and the Telugu inscriptions which were made in June 1513, making a grant of certain villages for the Thai Brahmotsavam may be quite unconnected with the grant made as mentioned by the Sanskrit inscription. The Kanarese inscription shows that the grant was made to the Sri Bhandāram of Tiruvengadamudaiyan and not to Tiruvengadamudaiyan Himself as shown in the Sanskrit inscription. In the Telugu inscription this piece of information is however missing. To say that it was given to the Sri Bhandaram is also not quite the appropriate expression. We would rather put it as the Sri Bhandaram of Tiruvengadamudaiyan's Temple, not His Sri Bhandaram.

It is something unusual, if not unthinkable for a mortal to say that he gives away (dattam) anything in favour of, or to, God. One may make a Dharmasāsanam using such words in the case of a grant for another mortal or for a charitable purpose. The usual form is to say that the dharma sāsanam was being executed for the purpose of certain offerings to be made, or for certain services to be rendered to the Deity. We may here refer to the language used in the Sanskrit portion of the Hampi inscription wherein Singanayakanahalli village was granted to the Virupaksha swami temple. It reads "*Bhuvana bharana sēvādhānāya Virūpākshābhīdhānāya vitirṇa vinitājana hēma kūtāya Hema kūtā yatana syālinē Sūline Madhuraphalāpūpādi hridapa neivedyaya Singanayakana hailiti vākyāna nāma chatussi mābhirāmō grāmō dattō vittō pakārīna.*"

"Gave a village, which was famous by the name of Singanayakanahalli and which was adorned with its four boundaries, for (providing) pleasant oblations (naivēdya) (consisting of) sweet fruits, cakes etc., to Sūlin (siva) called the holy Virūpaksha, to whom pious people have presented heaps of gold, who abides on the Hēmakūta and who is diligent in protecting the world." The

wording adopted in the Hampi inscription is in the spirit in which a gift should be made for oblations to God. The failure to use similar language in the grant for Sri Venkatesvara's temple can be explained only on the assumption that a Sri Vaishnava (or the Sthanattar) was not called in to draft the inscription suitably. This defect is noticeable in the dharmasāsana issued by his predecessors of the Sangama dynasty also. And they also had no Sri Vaishnava training. Bukkaraya I uses the words ".....
 வல-மோனியமாக திருவேங்கட முடையானுக்கு குடுத்தோம்
 (I.178). (We give away to Tiruvengadamudaiyan as Sarva manyam") treating the God as the grantee. Sri Devaraya Maharaya's language is
 சீ மக கருவர தேவந சீ மக மகராஜி ராஜா சரமேஷ்வர சீ பிரபுச
 தேவராய மகராஜ ரு பிரபலு டுவை சாநதீ. (I. 192, p. 182) (This is the dharma sāsana issued for Srimat Tirumala Dēvaru). It is worth trying to find out in what spirit the Pallavas, the Chola and the Pandyan Kings and the Yadavaraya ruler, made their grants. We have no inscription in Tirupati of any Pallava King; But there is an inscription of Vijayaditya whose ancestors were the feudataries of the Pallavas as well as the Cholas. He made a grant, though it was a small one. The fragmentary inscription relating to it reads:—“ சழஞ்சுட்பட படவ... குற்றேவற் கீழாக குடுத்தேன் விஜயாதித்த ” (I. 4) (“ I. Vijayaditya offered as my humble service including Kalanju..”). Mention of the services for which the grant was made follows immediately. In all the inscriptions in Vol. I (Nos. 22 to 25, 38) which relate to the grants made by individuals, the donee is not the God Tiruppaladisvaramudaiyan, but only the Sivabrahmanas who were doing the services. The purpose of the grant is always given in detail. During the Pandya period, Sri Vira Narasinga Yadavarayar made a grant of Pādirivēḍu for the amudupadi of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān.” திருவேங்கட முடையான்) அமுதுபடி நெயமுதுள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சைங்களுக்குடலாக..... வல-மோனியமாக திருவேங்கட... சந்திராதித்தவரை செல்வதாகச் சொன்னோம்” (I. 44). The purpose of the grant is fully specified. It is in no case given to the God, but for God's services.

Tirukkālattideva Yadavarāya's grant (I. -81) of Kudavūr reads: ‘ “...திருவேங்கடமுடையான் கோயில் காணி நிமந்

தத்துக்கு குடலூர் நாற்பால் எல்லைக்கு உட்பட்ட... திருவேங்கட முடையான் கோயிலுக்கு நாம் நிச்சமித்த நிமித்தம்... இப்படி நியந்தத்துக்கு தாரை வார்த்து திருவாழிக் கல்லு நாற்பாலெல்லையும் நாட்டிக் கொள்ளுவதாகச் சொன்னோம். இப்படி செய்வதே". ("All the nanjai and punjai lands within the four boundaries of Kuavūr together with... Having accordingly granted with libations of water for the nimandam, we have directed that Sudarsuna stones be planted along the boundaries. So be it done.")

Sri Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya's grant converting Tirupati into a Sarvamanyam reads:—(I. 100) " நாராயணன் சந்நிதிக்கு அமுதுபடி சாத்துபடிக்கு அடங்கலும் சந்நிராதித் தவரை ஸ்வ-மாமனியமாகக் குடுத்தோம். இன்னுள் முதல் இந்த திருவாராதனம் தாழ்வற நடக்கவும்...". ("For the Narayanan Sannidhi Amudupadi and Sattupadi we have given as Sarvamanyam. From this day forward let the Tiruvaradhanam be done without anything wanting'. .).

The language in which the grants are couched shows a refinement which is characteristic of the Sri Vaishnava Sampradayam. It is this spirit that we find absent in the inscriptions detailing the grants made by the Vijayanagar Kings down to the days of Krishnadeva Maharaya. It may perhaps be said that we have inferred too much from the language of a single inscription and that we are not warranted in coming to the conclusion that Sri Krishnadevaraya's religious education was no better than that of the average Hindu, who has faith in a personal God, whom he must propitiate to get on well in this world and escape troubles and miseries. Krishna Deva Raya's numerous and costly gifts really appear in no better light. He washed his sins in the waters of the Rameswaram sea like any other Hindu. He made dānam as many do to ward off evils. But we look in vain when we wish to find out what he did for the propagation of Hindu religion and for the advancement of spiritual culture. He trusted solely Tiruvengathanatha for the achievement of his ambitions in this life. During none of his seven visits to Tirupati did he go to the temple of Sri Govindaraja swami there; nor is there anything on record to

show that he offered a namaskaram before Sri Ramanuja's image which is within the temple precincts of Tirumala.

Krishna Devaraya's attitude towards the Sthanattar.

We have next to examine from the inscriptions how he treated the Sthanattar who were in charge of the secular administration of the temple and how they regarded him. We have seen that ever since the reconstituted Sthanattar came into existence about 1390 A.D., it became increasingly customary for donors of food services in the temple to hand over to the Sthanattar a portion, if not the full quarter share of the donor. Donors who were residents in Tirupati and Chandragiri, the merchants in particular, seem to have considered that the Sthanattar should be duly respected in this manner. To the Sthanattar it became more or less a question of prestige. They were not salaried servants of the temple. They took it as honorary work. But gradually a share in prasadam came to be considered as the perquisite of office. The term Nirvāham used to connote this share implies that it was their source of livelihood. So also the dakshinas they received during special festivals and during the tirukkaivalakkam distribution of cash. We also saw that after the death of Sāluva Narasimha Maharaya, due to some of the activities of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and the complicity of the Sthanattar therein, the prestige of the Sthanattar suffered to some extent. Some of the donors ignored the Sthanattar and distributed the donor's share among others, to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar in particular. Some started their own chatrams where the donor's share was distributed to the pilgrims. Sāluva Narasimha's Ramanujakutam, managed by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar, was also ignored. The prestige of the Sthanattar suffered much more by the treatment which Sri Vira Pratapa Krishnadeva Maharaya gave them. Krishnadeva Maharaya made seven visits to the temple. On three occasions alone he made endowments for food offerings. As one of these inscriptions is an incomplete one, we do not know the quantity and the varieties he offered. But from the inscriptions we see that out of $2\frac{1}{2}$ prasadams due to him, he gave one to Ranga Dikshitar,

one to Siva Dikshitar (both being his purōhitas) and $\frac{1}{2}$ to Tiruppani Bhandarattar. He however sent to his own satram kept under the management of the Tiruppani Bhandaram 2 Tirukkanāmaḍai, 26 appams etc. His two queens gave more to the Tiruppani Bhandārattār and what remained thereafter to the satram. Thus the Sthanattar were completely ignored. There are many cases in which the donors who had other commitments gave only a small portion to the Sthanattar to respect their claim. Krishna Deva Raya's action would have been construed as a positive insult. We have to draw this inference from the manner in which the Sthanattar reacted. Their reaction consisted in ignoring the Emperor while inscribing endowment deeds. Except in the inscriptions directly made by Sri Krishna Devaraya's personal composers and engravers in almost all other cases the Emperor's name was omitted. Even where it had to be mentioned, the usual prasasti did not find a place. The rare instances where the prasasti are given are:—

(a) His palace door-keepers Narasayya and Timmayya describe him as “Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar” (III. 26).

(b) Uḍigam Ellappa Nāyakkar endowed three villages for the merit of Krishnaraya Maharaya (III. 109, 1516 A.D.). What is the Prasasti? (சுஜீராயமஹாராயர்க்கு தர்மமாக) as the dharmam of Krishnaraya Maharaya.

(c) Ekkādi Timmamman, daughter of Nalla Gangamman, made an endowment of 1500 Panam (III. 124) as Krishna Devaraya's dharmam and calls him “Sriman Maharajadhi raja Raja Paramesvara” (அம்மம் மஹாராஜாதிராஜ ராஜபரமேஸ்வர ஸ்ரீவீர வுதாப ஸ்ரீவீர சுஜீராய மஹாராராயர்க்கு ஸ்ரீமமாக).

(d) In giving effect to Sri Krishna Devaraya's Rāyasam to make over to Srimat Vyāsa tīrtha Sri Pāda Udayār, the Sthanattar gave the prasasti as “Sriman Maharajadhi raja Rajaparamesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar” (III. 159).

(e) In an endowment of only 300 panams, one Yatirajan disciple of Alagiya Maṇavala Jiyar and manager of a flower garden,

commences his inscription with "Hail, Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa." It is presumed this refers to Krishna Deva and not to his successor as the year is Sarvajit (1527 A.D.).

(f) In a similar endowment of 300 panam (III. 172) one Sriramayyan starts with "while Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar was ruling the earth."

(g) One Perumal making an endowment III. 180 of 1500 panams got the inscription to start with "When Sri Vira Krishna-
raya Maharayar was ruling the earth." பூதிவிராஜியம் பண்ணியருளாநின்ற சகாப் தம் சூசாரூடு (1450).

(h) Adaippan Bhaiyappa Nayakkar endowed for 6 Tirupponakkam for the combined merit of his own father and Krishna raya Maharayar. (III. 135) "சூஷிராய மஹாராயர்க்கும்.....திம்மனாயக்கர்.....".

(i) Sinnappa Reddi of Putalapattu endows "for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharaya" (III. 167 17—1—1527). "சூஷிராய மஹாராயர் யஜ்ஞமாக ஸமூய-ஃ. மஹண வுணை காலத் திலே.....".

There are 229 inscriptions in Vol. III. out of which 55 have been inscribed by Sri Krishnadevaraya's own men. There thus remain 174 relating to endowments, etc., by others. There are only 7 in which the Emperor's name or prasasti is given. None of his officers seem to have shown an anxiety to give his name and the full prasasti. These are given only in his own inscriptions. *Until the victorious campaign against the Kalinga country was completed the Emperor is described as Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharayar.*¹ *Thereafter he styled himself, "Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Parameswara Muvarāyaraṅanda Ariyarāyārā Vibhāta Ashtadikrāya manobhayankara Bhāshaga tappuvarāyara Pūrva-Dakshina-Paschima*

1. III. 73, (6-7-1514) gives the old prasasti and III. 76, (25-10-1515) gives the prasasti after the conquest of Kalinga rāja.

-*Samudradhisvara Yavanarājya-Sthāpanāchārya Gajapati Vibhāta Sri Vira Krishnaraya Mahārāya.*” Even his own officers showed no inclination to quote all these titles in any of the inscriptions relating to their endowments.

Nor did Sripāda Uḍaiyār to whom he gave with libations of water (ஊர்ப்பூர்வமாக) a piece of land to build his matham and to whom he made over his own share of prasādams (Vide III. 158 and 159)—15½ prasādams, 26 atirasams, 1½ palam chandanam, 75 areca nuts and 150 betel leaves daily, sufficient to feed about 200 persons—mention even the Emperor’s name in the endowments made by him. (III. 165, 8—11—1524 and III. 175. 2—4—1528).

Krishnadeva Maharayar took no notice of the religious heirarchy of the temple, the Achāryapurushas. It is a well-known fact that a member of the family of Soṭṭai Tirumalai nambi had settled down in Anagundi as the hereditary guru of the Sangama line of kings, and that the members of that family came to be known as Rāya-gurus. Their descendants are living there even now. But Sri Krishnadeva does not seem to have given any recognition to the members of that family who have been the first āchāryapurushas of the temple (his successors did not copy his example). Much less did he take notice of the other āchāryapurushas. In their endowments therefore none of these ever mentioned the name of the Emperor although, as we have seen, some of them extolled the achievements of even princes who were their disciples.

Nandavanams and Sattada Srivaishnavas ignored.

It was usual for the rulers, princes and the wealthy classes to establish and maintain nandavanams in Tirumala to supply flowers to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The Sātada Sri Vaishnavas used to be placed in charge of these and to be paid in cash as well as by being given a portion of the donor’s share of prasādams. They were also expected to take part in the Prabandham recital and in providing Sāttupadi. Krishnadeva did not follow this usage.

Temple structures received no attention.

We shall next see whether he took any interest in the improvements to the temple structures. There is nothing to show that he took any interest. *Not even a mantapam was constructed by him. He did nothing in the shape of providing facilities to pilgrims. His attachment to Tiruvengatanatha appears purely to have been a business affair.* He showed his gratitude by showering gold on the Murti and by presenting Tiruvabharanam on a lavish scale; but these have mostly disappeared. *The Prabhalī, the Kiritam and the swords alone remain.* While King Hōbala Yādava of Tanjai presented a gold flower for his Vaikunṭhahastam which promises salvation to mankind, Krishna's sword reminds us of punishment and vengeance. This perhaps indicates the difference in religious outlook between the two.

Krishnadevaraya's gift to Tiruvengatanatha.

All the gifts made by the Emperor at Tirumala seem to have been engraved on stone by his own engraver Sripati, son of Peddayāsāri, and the draft of the edicts was also composed by his own men either Gindi Basavarayulu or Baguri Mallarasa. The Sthanattar do not figure in any of these inscriptions except in III. 80, wherein they were empowered to collect certain taxes. In the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadam it was the Tirupañipillai that was empowered to appropriate to himself 1/5 share of the prasadam in each and to distribute the remainder to pilgrims in the choultries established by the Emperor and his two queens. The total quantity of the food offerings by the three is 20 tirupponakam, 4 tirukkanāmaḍai and 4 appapadi. The two purohiths who accompanied the Emperor, Ranga Dikshitar and Siva Dikshitar, also got each a large share of the prasadams.

**Gifts and Endowments made by Krishnadeva and
His two Queens.**

A. *Gifts made on 10—2—1513 A.D.*

1. One Navaratna Kirīṭam, the total weight of which was 3308 carats, Vommechchu 1555, Kundanam gold 1076.
2. One Trisaram (three-stringed necklace) containing pearls, māṇikyam, sapphires etc. With aḍḍigas all weighing 225 carats and one padakam weighing 61 carats.
3. Twenty-five silver plates for offering camphor harathi.

By Queen Chinnajiamma.

4. One gold cup for offering milk (செலபால அமுது செய்ய) at the nightly Ekanta Seva, weighing 374 carats (கூசாக).

By Tirumaladeviamma.

5. One gold cup for offering milk as above weighing 374 units.

B. *On 2nd May 1513.*

6. One Vuḍudhara ornament weighing in all 66 units, inclusive of 5 diamonds, 17 addikas, set with emeralds, rubies, old diamonds, gems and gold string.
7. One Kaṭhāri (sword) with sheath set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires; tassel for sheath composed of small pearls, big pearls and rubies. Total weight 326 units. In these the rubies, diamonds and emeralds alone weigh 165 units.
8. One Nichchala Kaṭhāri sheath for daily use 132 units set with rubies on top.
9. One small sword for daily use with tassel of pearls.

10. One sheath for above sword containing rubies, pearls and diamonds.

11. One padakam or pendant weighing 87 carats set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds etc.

12. One pair of Bhuja Kīrti or vanki weighing 573 units set with pearls, rubies, sapphires and old diamonds.

13. One Bhuja Kīrti for daily use weighing 198 units.

14. Two pairs of Bhuja Kīrti for daily use.

15. One gold string with 17 aḍḍigas, 30 more aḍḍigas in shape of peepul leaves, pearls, rubies, diamonds and emeralds weighing 205 units in all.

16. Another similar string weighing 276 units.

17. For the Utsava Murti and Nāchchimar—Three crowns weighing 380 units in total, containing pearls, old diamonds, rubies, cat's eyes and sapphires, (See III. 60, 61, 62, 63).

C. *On 6th July 1514.* (On his return journey after capturing Udayagiri Fort and after defeating Pratāparudra-Gajapati). (See III. 66, 67, 68).

18. Kanakābhishekam with 30,000 gold varahans (Chakra-pon), to Sri Venkatesa;

19. Three stringed ornament (కణ్ణపరంభిపరం) weighing 250 units inclusive of gold wire, gold clips, rubies, pearls sapphires;

20. One pair kaḍayam (Bāhuvaḷayam) (Talilpakkam village was granted for daily food offering).

By Queen Chinnajidevi Ammal.—(See III, 70, 71, 72).

21. One kanṭha mālai (necklce) with a padakam set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls weighing 200 units.

Muḍiyūr village also granted for daily offering.

By Queen Tirumaladevi.—(See III, 73, 74, 75).

22. One Chakra padakam weighing 225½ units and containing diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls.

(Pirāṭṭi Kuḷattūr granted for daily food offering);

By Krishnadevaraya—(See III. 76, 77, 78.)

D. On 25th October 1515—Yuva Kartika Bahula 3, after returning from his victorious eastern expedition against Kalinga.

23. One Navaratna Prabhāvali or Makara Toranam total weight 27,287 units; containing 25 kirtimukha leaves ஸ்ரீ, 13835 vommachchu beads (கொடி); gold wire weighing 16; solid gold 7978, silk and gold fringes hanging on the head of the makara-toranam 20 weighing 5474. The above contains 10994 red stones, 754 emeralds, 530 sapphires; 40 cat's eyes; 45 agates, 74 topazes, 920 old diamonds; 3933 pearls; 4 large sapphires fixed as eyes; 6 corals and 30 conch shells.

The total weight of the arch of the Makara Toranam weighs 14711 units. Grand total of the Prabhavali in weight is 31124 units.

The above is for the Lord who gave Krishna Deva Katakapuri (Orissa).

E. On 2nd January 1517 (After returning from Simhādri Potnūru where he set up his triumphal pillar (Kalinga desa capture). (See III, 80, 81).

24. One Kanṭha mālai.

25. One Padakkam.

26. For gilding Vimanam 30,000 varahas; (also ordered the Sthanattar to collect 1000 varahas from Godagūrnādu for the weekly puḷugukāppu expenses for Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān, and certain other taxes of Godagūrnādu amounting to 500 varahas for conducting daily morning offerings).

(Gold g lding of the vimanam completed on 9—9—1518)

F. A Kamalapuram inscription seems to say that he paid a visit to Tirumala with Queen Tirumaladevi on 16th October 1518. But there is no inscription in Tirumalai or Tiruapti to support this.

On 17th February 1521: (with Tirumaladevi alone accompanying). (See III. 83, 84, 85, 86).

27. Pītambaram set with nine kinds of precious stones.
28. Kullāvu (or head dress) set with pearls, rubies, emeralds and sapphires;
29. Two chāmaras (fly whisks) set with nine kinds of gems; and 10,000 gold varahas.
30. One padakam.
31. By Tirumaladevi, a Navaratna Padakam.

H. In addition to the above mentioned gifts he made in the early period of his reign during his third visit on 13—6—1513, certain endowments for the merit of his parents, (father Narasa Nāyaka Uḍaiyār and mother Nāgalammangaru), which consisted of some ornament set with nine kinds of precious stones (portions of inscription are missing), and an annual Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Tai for which he endowed the villages of Chatrāvādi, Tūrūru and Karikambādu, in Godagūrṇādu.

**Endowments and Gifts by the generals and officers
of Sri Krishnadeva and others.**

Besides the Emperor and his two Queens, there are a large number of his officers (numbering 24 in all), who visited the shrine and made endowments, some on more than one occasion. It is worth noting what form their gifts took and how they looked at the Sthanattar and the others who served in the temple. There are also the Jiyars, Acharya purushas, temple servants, merchants

and citizens who made endowments. A comprehensive view of the form in which it was the fashion to make endowments and gifts may be useful for our estimate of the nature of temple worship during this period.

Considered in chronological order the first officer to make an endowment during Krishnadevaraya's reign was a general of the army, named *APPA PILLAI* son of Karavaṭṭippuli ālvār and a resident of Uttaramēruṟ (Mahipāla Kulakālachchēri). He had made three endowments previously during the reign of Krishna Deva's elder brother Vira-Narasimha; the first, on 19—5—1506 for four tirupponakam to Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, a second on 30th December 1506 of a capital sum of 3180 nar-panam for food offerings to Sri Govindaraja, on a number of festival days while seated in the Nīralī Mantapam constructed by him and third on 18—7—1508 for the celebration of an Anna Unjal Tirunal to Sri Govindaraja (similar to the one in Tirumala). The last endowment was specially meant for the merit and welfare of Vira Narasingaraya Maharaya.

It has to be remembered here that Vira Narasingaraya had great difficulty in putting down revolts and rebellions, particularly around Kānchi and in Kongu nādu. Appa Pillai was the general in charge, at any rate of the country around Kānchi. He may therefore have considered it desirable to express his loyalty to his sovereign in this manner.

Soon after Krishna Devaraya succeeded to the throne one of his first acts was to turn his attention to the same part of his kingdom and to bring the Ummattūr Chief and the Sambuvarayas to subjection, where Appa Pillai continued to be the general even after this. He made a grant of Virakampanallur to Tiruvengadamudaiyan on 7—4—1511 for the merit of Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar. The days selected for food offerings are his own birth day, Pūraṭṭādi in Adi month, the Sraddha day of his mother, every new moon day, every māsa Sankranti and a fairly large number of other festival days. Such days are, according to Hindu conception selected to ward off evils. The usual prasasti of the

Emperor however is not given in this inscription. This was probably because Krishnadevaraya himself had not yet made his first visit to Tirumala. But before the end of 1512 Krishnadevaraya set matters right in the South and thereafter we have no more endowments made by Appa Pillai. Nor do we find his name mentioned again. From the offerings mentioned above, Appa Pillai received his share of the prasadams and gave one appam to Kumāra Tātayyāngar. Nothing was sent to the Ramanuja Kutam.

B. Mahānāyakāchārya (or Commander-in-Chief) *PERIYA OBALA NAYAKAR RAMA NAYAKAR* is the next officer whose endowments have to be noticed. He had formerly on 4—9—1504, during the reign of Immadi Narasimharayar, made a grant of Kaḍalūr in Tirukkuḍavur nāḍu—the grant was authorised by the rāyasam of the Rayar—and 100 cows for offering to Tiruvengadamudaiyan daily, 24 taligais and one Iddali padi, besides lighting a lamp before Raghunatha. He gave the donor's share to the 3½ vagai. During Krishna Deva's reign he made two endowments one on 14—7—1512 and the other on 8—1—1514. In the former he granted Sengōdupalli to propitiate Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Garudālvār with 4 tirupponakam daily and one atirasappadi, when the Garudadhvaja is hoisted during all the Brahmotsavams. He also offered one atirasappadi on every Visakha nakshatra, which was his birth star. He presented 50 cows to afford ghee for one lamp. This endowment was made by him just before the beginning of the campaign for the capture of the eastern possessions of the Orissa king. The Mahanayakacharya whose duty and ambition was to hoist the Vijayanagar flag on the Udayagiri fortress, obviously sought the grace of Garudalvar (the emblem of Vishnu's flag), but he did not forget to mention his own birth nakshatra. The donor's share in this case went to the Tiruppaṇi Bhandarattar. The endowment dated 8—1—1514 (III. 88), was made by the Commander-in-Chief after he had accomplished his task and had crushed the Gajapati forces. We therefore find him presenting 200 cows for a daily offering of Pāleḍukkuḷambu (milk boiled with spices and sugar until it becomes semi-solid) as an expression of his gratitude to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The donor's share was in this case ordered to be sent to his own

Ramanujakutam so that his kinsmen and followers may partake of it. The point to note is that these are made not for Krishnadeva's merit.

C. (1) The next officers to make endowments were *PRA-DHANI SALUVA TIMMARASAYYANGAR* and his brother *SALUVA GOVINDARAJA*. Timmarasa was the famous Chief Minister who saved the eyes, and therefore, the very life of Krishnadevaraya. It is not unlikely that he knew more about the inner life of the Emperor than any other man then living. Timmarasa was also a general. His wife *IAKSHMI AMMANGAR* who seems to have been a pious lady made an endowment for offering one tirupponakam daily in her own name and she ordered that the donor's share should go to her son-in-law Nādinḍla Appa who seems to have been then living in Chandragiri. In less than a month after this, that is on 13—1—1512, *Saluva Timmarasa himself* made an endowment by making a grant of Parantalūr in Poṭṭapināḍu for offering daily 8 tirupponakams and 1 atirasapadi to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and certain other vagai paḍis to Sri Govindaraja on certain festival days. But he took the donor's share himself except for one prasadam which he gave to the Sāttāda Sri Vaishnava Singayyan who maintained his flower garden. An undated inscription on the south wall of the Kalyana mantapam in Sri Govindaraja's temple in Sanskrit verse (grantha characters, composer's name not stated) very much praises Timmarasa for his great qualities of head and heart and loyalty and also the brilliance and beauty of the Pitambaram dress which he presented to Sri Venkatesa. It might have been engraved soon after the coronation of Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

C. (2) A brother of Saluva Timmarasa, named *SALUVA GOVINDARAJA* made an endowment on 27—8—1522 for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharaya (கிருஷ்ணதேவ மஹாராயற்கு தம்மமாக) by the grant of Mēlpāḍi village in Gandikkōṭṭai sirmai for propitiating Sri Venkatesa and for Sri Gopalakrishnan which was installed by Govindaraya in Tirupati, and for a number of other festivals. The donor's share in this case went to the 12 nirvaham and the 3½ vagai in equal shares.

D. *RAYASAM KONDAMARASAYYAR*:—After the capture of Udayagiri, this officer seems to have been its first Governor between June 1514 and February 1516. He also appears to have been the first Governor of Kondavidu and Kondapalli till about the beginning of 1519 A.D. He constructed a tank and a temple in Kaluvāyi in Nellore sirmāi. The temple was consecrated on 14—4—1519.¹ His endowment to Tiruvengadamudaiyan is dated 17—4—1519 (III. 130). It is probable that the endowment was made in absentia, as the installation ceremonies in Kaluvāyi would have taken about ten days from 14—4—1519, seeing that they were made for the spiritual benefit of his father and mother. The endowment consisted of the grant of Mulumpūḍi (probably a Tamilised form of Mulumūḍi), a village with an irrigation tank attached to it. The grant was obviously made in the later period of his official career when by God's grace he was the Viceroy in the land of his birth. The daily offering out of this grant was 16 tirupponakam, 1 appapadi and 1 tirukkanāmaḍai, by no means an insignificant offering. The donor's share of the prasādams was arranged to be sent to the satram which he have maintained in Tirumala. He too evidently did not wish to send the prasādams to the Ramanujakutam or to add to the income of the Sthanattar or the Tiruppani Bhaṇḍāratṭār. Nor did he dedicate his endowment "for the merit of Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya."

E. *MANNAR PILLAI* the brother of Appa Pillai seems to have been one of the officers in Krishna Devaraya's service. His first endowment (III. 23) was made on 27—6—1512 and was in connection mainly with a flower garden and a mantapam constructed below a tank known as Mannasamudram tank. The name suggests that it was excavated by Mannar Pillai or that it was named after him. The offerings were meant for Tirumangai Alvār and incidentally to Sri Govindaraja. His next endowment (III. 29) was made on 20—12—1512, that is six months after the former. This was for Malaininraperumal, Nāchchimār and Sēnai Mudaliar. His preference for Tirumangai Ālvār and Sēnai Mudaliar strongly suggests that he had a reverence for acharyas

1. Nellore Inscription Atmakur No' 28.

and deities of a military disposition or antecedents. The endowments were of the value of 1000 and 1200 panams respectively. The distribution of the donor's share was arranged to honour Kumāra Tātayyāgar, the Tiruppani Pillai, the 12 nirvahams, the Vagai and the Tirupati Sri Vaishnavas, himself receiving a share. These arrangements show his devotion to God.

F. *ELLAPPANAYAKKAR AND TIRUMALAINAYAKKAR.* Tirumalai Nayakkar was presumably in Krishnadevaraya's service. The first is the father and the second the son. The interest evinced by Tirumalai Nayakkar in all classes of people in Tirupati, shows that he was a native of Tirupati.¹ The father must be presumed from the inscription to have endowed 4600 panams for the offering of one tirupponakam daily and some atirasappadis on certain festival days to Sri Govindaraja, the donor's share being received by himself. The son Tirumalai Nayakkar (as the name would suggest) was named after the God of Tiruvengadam out of devotion and piety. In 1512 A.D. Tirumalai Nayakkar excavated an irrigation channel in Parittiputtur lands and from the extra income which accrued by this cultivation, he made a variety of offerings to Sri Govindaraja in the mantapam constructed by him in his flower garden in Tirupati. The most noteworthy feature of his endowment² is the distribution of the donor's share very widely so as to give satisfaction to all the men of his native town Tirupati. They were Kumāra Tātayyāgar Appachchiar Anna, Pāpavināsam Ayyagal, the 12 Nirvaham and 3½ Vagai, Nambimar, Tiruninraūr-udaiyar, Viṅṅappam saivar, Nōṭṭakkarar, Mudrai Manishi, Mahajanams, Dasa Nambis, Muṭṭukkārār, Naṭṭuvar, Kaikkōjar, Kammālar, Kusavar, Tevaiyāl, Singamurai, Tiruchchukanūr Nambimar, Sabhaiyar, Ammaiappa Nayanar etc. He must have been a popular figure in Tirupati; he makes no reference to his sovereign Krishnadevaraya. He seems to have been a great devotee of Sri Govindaraja Perumal.

G. *TAMMU NAYAKKAR AND TIRUVENKATAYYAR.* These were sons of Jillella Basava Nayakkar and grandsons of

1. III. 106. Uttiram, 10th thithi, year missing.

2. III. 127.

त्वदिति । भजतां पुंसां तत्सात्कृतैः तदायत्तीकृतैः त्वदीयै
 विभवरूपगुणैः विभवः, रूपं विग्रहः, गुणाः ज्ञानशक्त्यादयः, तैरुपलक्षित
 स्त्वं भक्तपराधीनत्वात् भवगत इति भावः । त्वत्साम्यं त्वया समानज्ञानादि
 धर्मवत्त्वं अभिवाञ्छसि उत्पादयितु मिति शेषः । ततो हेतोर्हि तव परमं
 साम्यं मुक्तिमाहुः । “निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यं मुपैति”, “मम साधम्यं
 मागताः” इत्याद्याः श्रुतिस्मृतयः इति भावः । विदुषां
 भगवदनन्यार्हशेषत्वरूप स्वात्मयाथात्म्यज्ञानवतां तत
 तादृशशेषत्वानुरूपतया प्रसिद्धं त्वद्दास्यं त्वदीयकैङ्कर्यं मेव परमं उत्कृष्टं
 मतम् । नीरन्ध्रेण संश्लेषो नाम परमसाम्यं मिति भावः ॥ ६५ ॥

तदेव सौशील्यं कारणान्तरेणानुसन्धत्ते -

तद्वै तथाऽस्तु, कतमोऽय महो स्वभावो

यावान्यथाविधगुणो भजते भवन्तम् ।

तावां स्तथाविधगुण स्तदधीनवृत्ति -

स्संश्लिष्यसि त्व मिह तेन समानधर्मा ॥ ६६ ॥

तदिति । श्रीभाष्ये “तत्क्रतुश्च” इति सूत्रस्य विषयवाक्यतया ‘यथा
 क्रतु रस्मिन् लोके पुरुषो भवति तथा इतः प्रेत्य भवति” इति श्रुति मुपादाय
 यादृशस्वरूपरूपगुणादिविशिष्टतया चेतनो भगवन्त मुपास्ते, तादृश-
 स्वरूपादिविशिष्ट मेव भगवन्तं प्राप्नोतीति तात्पर्यार्थः प्रतिपादितः । स
 एवाऽर्थः प्रतिपाद्यतेऽनेनश्लोकेन । तद्वै तथाऽस्तु, पूर्वोक्तं सौशील्यं हि
 तथा भवतु । यावान् यादृशपरिमाणज्ञानादियुक्तः पुरुषः यथाविधगुणः
 स्वकीयरुच्यनुगुण मुपास्यतया परिगृहीतयादृशप्रकारगुणविशिष्टः
 सर्वविद्यासाधारणानन्दादिगुणो वा, तत्तद्विद्यामात्रप्रतिपादित
 सन्मात्रत्वादिगुणो वा यस्य स तथोक्त स्सन्, यं गुणं यादृशप्रकारविशिष्ट
 मुपास्यतयाऽङ्गीकुर्वन् सन् इत्यर्थः । भवन्तं भजते । इह पूर्वोक्तमुक्तिविषये,
 तावान् तज्ज्ञानाद्यनुगुणविषयस्वस्वरूपः, तथाविधगुणः तदुपासितगुण-

called *bhētañikkai* (பேட்டணிகாய்) with $1\frac{1}{4}$ marakkal black gram, $1/2$ marakkal wheat flour and 8 nali of ghee and one ollock cumen seeds. The donor's share was divided by him equally between the 12 nirvahams and $3\frac{1}{2}$ vagai. Neither of these inscriptions makes any mention of Krishnadevaraya's name.

J. *UDIYAM ELLAPPA NAYAKKAR*. Father's name is unluckily missing in the inscription relating to his endowment.¹ This Udiyam Nayakkar must have been a personal attendant on Krishnadevaraya. His endowment (III. 109) made on 2—6—1516 was for the *merit of Krishnaraya Maharayar* and consisted of three villages, Kaṇṇalaippaṭṭu Nelvāy and Kolliḍumbai for food offerings of eight tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. From the fact that the one-fourth share of the donor was entirely given away by him to the Ramanujakutam (presumably of Periya Obala Nayakkar Ramanayakkar), it may reasonably be inferred that they were related to each other.

K. *EKKADI TIMMAMMAN*, daughter of Nalla Gangamma. She seems to have been a trusted servant in the harem of the Emperor and her endowment (III. 124) of 1500 panams for one tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan made on 4—10—1518 distinctly states that it was for the dharmam of Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar. From the absence of such a description in the other inscriptions, excepting the edicts of the Emperor himself, it looks as if she insisted on the full description being engraved. She gave away her share of the offered prasadam as charity to a certain Vaikunṭha Dikshitar of Tekkalur (probably one of the Tēvaiyars).

L. *ADAIPPAM BHAIYAPPA NAYAKKAR*, son of Timmappa Nayakkar of Kasyapa Gōtra. He was doing adaiappam service (betel leaf-bearer). His endowment for offering 6 tirup-

1. In the T T. Devasthanams Report on the Inscriptions (p. 201) he is identified with Vasalam Ellapa Nayakkar, but there is no authority for doing so. Nor is there any justification confusing him with another Ellappa Nayakkar, who was the father of Tirumalai Nayakkar. Neither of the individuals was doing Udiyam service.

ponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan was for the combined merit of Krishnaraya Maharayar and his own father Timma Nayakkar. This was made on (III. 135) 16—4—1519. The portion of the inscription relating to the manner of disposal of the donor's share is missing. It might have been just like Ellappa Nayakkar's inscription.

M. *TRYAMBAKA DEVAR*, son of Tipparasar. He is said to have been a military officer who commanded a regiment in the battle of Raichur in May 1520. He is stated to have been a resident of Sivanasamudram. He made an endowment (III. 116. 12—10—1517) of Moranḍai village in Tirumanichchirmai for offering to Tiruvengadamudaiyan daily 1 tirupponakam and other offerings on other visēsha divasams, aggregating to 47 Nayaka taligai and 13 atirasappadis. The donor's share was to be taken by the donor. Such an endowment ignoring Sri Govindaraja shows that he was quite a Desantari and followed Sri Krishna-devaraya in his faith.

N. *BAHUR MALLARASAR AND LAKKU NAYAKKAR*. These are two subordinate officers. The former made an endowment (III. 127. 16—10—1516) of 360 panams and the latter one of 1500 panams (III. 137) on 4—10—1519 for food offerings. The donor's share was given away to the nirvahams and vagais.

O. *SUBUDDHI RAMADASAR AND AMBIKAMUDUSILA*. The former was the son of one Sankaradāsar and the latter of Bhimarayar. They belonged to different gotras, but both were originally in the service of Gajapatiraya of Orissa and must have gone over to Vijayanagar as attendants on the daughter of that king when she married Krishnadevaraya. Tanḍalam and Taḍapalam were two villages which were granted to these two persons respectively by Krishnadevaraya by a copper plate grant. Tanḍalam's income gave enough for 2 tirupponakam and Taḍapalam's for one. They made a gift of these to Sri Venkatesa, by an endowment (III. 147) made by the two on 1—11—1521. The donor's share went to the managers of their flower gardens and to a Ramanujakutam. Perhaps they did not like the idea of

enjoying villages gifted by Krishnadevaraya and therefore got rid of them in this manner without hurting the feelings of the Emperor.

Before giving an account of endowments made by those who were attached permanently to or who had an abiding interest in the temple as devotees, it is desirable to find out the general trend of the endowments made by the Emperor, his officers and dependants.

The Emperor's attention was evidently fixed on Tiruvengadamudaiyan and not the temple or its environments or its festivals. The temple servants and the management received little or no encouragement from him. Many of his high ranking officers followed suit. Just as the Emperor had his own satram, the chief minister, the commander-in-chief and several others maintained their own satrams or Ramanujakutams. But officers who were sons of the soil did not fail to evince their attachment to the Tirupati Govindaraja's Temple also. Nor did they overlook the temple establishment in the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadam or in the payment of cash as Tirukkaivalakkam during minor festivals instituted by them. Ellappa Nayakkar and Appa Pillai showed beyond doubt that they held the temple servants on a plane higher than that of mere servants earning wages. The daily food offerings contributed by these officers amounted to 58 tirupponakam (food offerings of cooked rice) and the donor's share thereof would have been about 15 taligais enough to feed about 150 persons daily. This is exclusive of the large quantities of appams, atirasasm, vadais, gōdhi and tirukkanāmaḍai padis for which about 2,400 marakkals of rice besides other ingredients were used and which would have been enough to feed daily 60 more persons. A large part of this food went to maintain the Sāttada Sri Vaishnavas who were maintaining flower gardens and probably managing some of the satrams.

THE JIYARS

During this period we notice the existence of three separate mathams in Tirumala and Tirupati. The earliest of these is the

ARISANALAYAM NANDAVANAM AND MATHAM which as was already noticed came into the possession of one Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar sometime between 1387 and 1390 A.D. He was the first manager and Jiyar of that matham. He subsequently acquired the additional office of Koil Kēlvi Jiyar and was one of the Sthanattar of the Temple. He had a Junior Jiyar under him since one individual could not perform the daily duties of the Tirumala and the Tirupati temples. The religious portion of these duties consisted in rendering the paricharakam service to help the archakas during puja. The Kōyil Kēlvi, which was the secular portion of his duties consisted in exercising general control and superintendence over the temple stores, that is receiving and issuing provisions for the temple use.¹ During the period covered by Krishnadevaraja's reign, we come across the name of Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar. In III. 2 (19—7—1504) he is known as Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of the Tiruvenkatanāthan Tirunandavanam. The inscription also shows that he had a matham in Tirupati called the Tiruvenkatanāthan Matham. These indicate that he was the founder of the Matham and the flower garden. He made an endowment of 2000 panams. From the interest thereon certain food offerings were to be made annually in Tirumala for Venkateswara, in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja and for Udaiyavar. The beneficiaries of the donor's share in Tirumala were the Ekāki Sri Vaishnavas, managing the Matham and in Tirupati his own Matham. In III. 107, 9—5—1516 he is described as Kōyil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of the Tiruvenkatanathan Mathams, showing that he had by then become Kōyil Kēlvi Jiyar. He made an endowment of 1,000 panams this time and another Jiyar called Madhava Jiyar made an endowment of 850 panams (the total is however put down as 2850 panams in this inscription). In this inscription we come across the names of *Perarulalan matham and Van Sathagopan Matham*, as recipients of portions of the donor's share of the prasadam. The point to notice is that Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar became Kōyil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar in 1516. In III. 139, 6—10—1520. A.D.

1. Appendix I to Vol I shows that he continued to be the Store-keeper even during the period of management by the East India Co.

he is known a Periya Kōil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of Perarulalanar Tirunandavanam and Matham. The inference is that he became the senior Jiyar. He made this time an endowment of 1510 panams as capital for certain food offerings to Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindarajaswami and for Uḍaiyavar. A portion of the donor's share of this goes to the reciters of Prabandham, to the 12 nirvahams of the Sthanattar and to the 4½ vagais. These endowments seem to have been made to commemorate his rise in the religious order which he had entered. On (III. 143) 5th December 1520, he made a fourth endowment of 1,000 panams for making similar offerings. In the inscription relating to this he is styled as the Koil Kelvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of the Pankayachchelli Tirunandavanam at Tirumala, entitled "*Srimad vēda mārga pratishṭāpanāchārya*" and "*paramahamsa parivarājākāchārya*." We notice also changes in his managership of Tirunandavanams from Tiruvenkatanathan to Perarulalan and again to Pankayachchelli. More will be said in the Chapter on Alvars about this Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar and his contribution to the task of making Prabandham recital a part of the liturgy in Tirumala and Tirupati temples.

Still later in III. 173, 19—7—1527 we find that Ramanuja Jiyar is described as Kōil Kēlvi and the manager of Pankayachchelli Tirunandavanam in Tirumala. We have to infer that sometime between 1520 and 1527 or just about July 1527, Tiruvenkata Jiyar died and was succeeded in that matham by Ramanuja Jiyar. But the latter is not styled Periya Kōil Kēlvi. The inscription shows an endowment of 500 panams and another 350 panams was paid by one Yatirajyyan, making a total of 850 panam. We are told that he was a disciple of Alagiya Manavala Jiyar. These Jiyars and their mathams stand on a different footing from the Jiyars of the Van Sathagopan matham and the mathadhipatis of the Vyasatirtha matham. The latter render spiritual service to large circles of disciples. The Van Sathagopan matham caters to a part of the Vadagalai community of Srivaishnavas and the Vyasatirtha Matham to a part of the Madhva community scattered all over the Madras Presidency and the Hyderabad State. The Jiyars attached to the Tirumala Temples have no such function. Their activities are restricted to their daily duties in the temples.

THE VAN SATHAGOPAN MATHAM.

We have noticed that Singayya Dannāyaka, who founded the Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam and matham, founded at the same time the Van Sathagopan Tirunandavanam. While he handed over the former to a Jiyar, there is no record to show how he disposed of the latter. There must have been a celibate or a sanyasi for managing it also. This was about 1339 A.D.

The next reference to a Van Sathagopa is in the year 1485 A.D. when one Nallār Angāṇḍai¹ an accountant of the Tirumala temple, is stated to have carried out the completion of the verandah of the Vasanta mantapam, in front of Sri Govindarajaswami temple in Tirupati, which some time before (முன்னாள்) was commenced by Van Sathagopa Jiyar from out of the income of the Tiruviḍaiyaṭṭam (or temple) village of Pūṅgōḍu, but left incomplete. He (Angāṇḍai) paid 2000 panams to the Sthanattar as value of the work done up to the date of his taking over the further execution of the work. The exact wording of the inscription is “முன்னாள் வணசடகோபஜியர் திருவிடைமூட்டம் ஸ்ரீ பூங்கோட்டில் முதல் கொண்டு வஸந்த மண்டபத்துக்கு கத்தாராயாகக் குறடுக்கட்டு வித்து வெம்மண்டபம் கட்டு” “If in the year 1485 the period is described as some time in the past (முன்னாள்) we might perhaps be justified in assuming that it was at the commencement of the 15th century that Van Sathagopa Jiyar commenced the work. From I. 185 (13—11—1388) we find that Pūṅgōḍu was or had become a temple village on that date. The Ahōbila Mutt account which says that Van Sathagopa Jiyar was born in 1378 and lived up to 1488 may not therefore be inaccurate. The fact that he left the Vasanta mantapam verandah half-built and that it was completed by Nallar Angāṇḍai need not be taken to indicate that the Jiyar died and that therefore the work was left incomplete. We further infer from the wording of the inscription relating to an endowment made by one Dattirāja Tammayan (II. 101. 15—6—1493 A.D.) wherein he makes over a portion of the donor's share of the food offerings to Alagiya Singar (Narasimha-

1. II. 88 dated 6-6-1485.

swami) in Tirumala temple, to the disciples of his acharya Van Sathagopa Jiyar. The Tamil wording is "இந்த வகைப்படி அழகிய சிங்கம் தபமுடைய திருநந்தவனம் வறத்திககிற பேற்கு தம்முடைய ஆஜாரியர் வண்டகோபஜியர் ஸ்ஷி பரம் பரையாக பெற்றுவரக்கடவராகவும்." The words missing in the dotted portion might have denoted the name of the acharya Van Sathagopa Jiyar or they might have simply contained the usual திருவுள்ளப்படிசு, or நியமனப்படிக்கு. The latter is the more probable of the two. If so we may take it that Van Sathagopa Jiyar was alive in 1493 A.D. That he was not frequently visiting Tirupati is a fact which must be accounted for from the nature of the responsibility he had undertaken. He seems to have left Tirupati and gone to Ahobilam somewhere about the year 1420 during the reign of Devaraya II, assumed the Sanyāsa āsramam there and went about preaching the gospel of Sri Ramanuja in the country round that place. We have reasons to believe that he was responsible for making the Sāttāda Śrivaishnavas the archakas of the new temples which were then being constructed in several places in the Rayalascema and Nellore. He was likewise responsible for creating the class of persons called *māla dāsaris* and *konda dāsaris*, for instructing them in the language of the country and making them the religious teachers of the depressed classes. Van Sathagopa Jiyar, being a man of the Kannada Desa was best fitted to undertake and carry out this task with success. We know that he also became the ācharya of Allasani Peddanna, who later adorned the Court of Sri Krishnadeva Māharaya.

The earliest inscriptions which relate to endowments¹ made directly by one of the Jiyars of the Van Sathagopan matham are those made during Krishnadevaraya's reign. The Jiyar is called, in the first of these inscriptions, Sriman Narayana Jiyar, disciple of Sri Van Sathagopa Jiyar, and in the next he is described as Sriman Narayana Jiyar the disciple of Sri Van Sathagopa Jiyar entitled Vēdāntachārya. (வெணந்தாசாரியரான ஸ்வண்டகோபஜியர் நிரான ஸ்ரீமன் னாராயண ஜியர்). Although his acharya made a great name for himself, Narayana Jiyar displays humility

1., III, 110; 20-8-1519, III, 114, 7-11-156.

and simplicity. The only title he claimed for his great Acharya was "Vedantacharya." The value of his endowments were only 1860 and 3800 panams respectively. The offerings were for Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān, Govindarajan, the Alvars and Uḍaiyavar. From the second inscription we learn that he had constructed a mantapam in a flower garden in Tirumala. From the inscriptions of Anusadhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar also we know that he had his mathams in Tirumala and Tirupati. We hear no more about him as his mission was a peripatetic one and as he had no services to do in the temple in Tirumala or Tirupati.

There was no contact between the Van Sathagopan matham Jiyars and the Vijayanagar Kings as far as we can make out. The Jiyars' work seems to have been almost entirely confined to the public, cultured as well as the illiterate. They did not look to royal patronage, although in course of time, some of the petty rulers became their disciples. The matham is now-a-days known as the Ahobila matham; but in our inscription, it is described simply as Van Sathagopan Matham.

THE VYASARAYA MATHAM.

The third matham which comes to notice is the Vyāsarāya matham. The Swami of the Matham who first appears in our inscription, is Srimat Vyāsa Tīrtha Sripāda Uḍaiyār. He bore the titles of *Srimat Paramahansa Parivrājakāchārya Pada vākya pramānagnya, Dhurvāda garva sarva svā pahāra, Srimad Vaishnava Siddānta Pratishtāpanācharya Sakala vidvajjana-manah padma-vanasaupastikar*. There are three inscriptions, Nos. III. 157, 158 and 159 all dated 12th January 1524 which relate to the grant of house sites in Tirupati and Tirumala respectively with libations of water, by Sri Virapratapa Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar to this Swamiji for the construction of mathams in the two places. The Sthanattar of Tirumala on the authority of the rāyasam sent by the Emperor; it is stated, handed over the sites to the Swamiji. In the third inscription they were also ordered to hand over daily to the Swami the donor's share of the prasadam due

to the Emperor, viz., 15½ prasadams, 2 akkāli mandai, 26 appam, 26 atirasam, 1¼ palam chandanam, 75 areca nuts and 150 betel leaves, for the maintenance of the matham. How there came to be a donor's share is also described. Krishnadevarayar had previously granted to Sri Venkatesa the tax known as perāyam collected every year during Puraṭṭāsi Brahmotsavam at Tirumala. He had also granted half the village of Kaḍaikūttanpādi situated in uḷ-maṇḍalam and the six villages of Tāḷlapākkam, Pirādam, Dārattūr, Muḍiyūr, Satrapādi and Turaiyūr situated in pura maṇḍalam. It was from the offerings made out of the income from these sources that the quarter share of the prasadams became due to the Emperor and it was this quarter share that was transferred to Vyasa Tirtha Sri Pada Udaiyar to be used in his Matham, obviously for feeding his Sishyas, although not specially so stated in the inscription. இந்த மடத்துக்கு ஆக நடத்திக் கொண்டு.

It is not known whether Sripāda Udaiyār who was the founder of this matham had come to Tirupati from any other place where he had already a matham. It is generally believed that the first matham established by him was at Tirumala and Tirupati and that it was established in 1524 A.D. Whatever that might be, we find him making in that year an endowment of 14000 panams (III. 115; 8—11—1524) to be expended on the excavation of irrigation tanks in the temple villages and from the proceeds of these villages to make certain food offerings to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Govindarajaswami. The days selected for festivals in Tirumala were 222 in number made up of 96 days of the eight Brahmotsavams, Summer festival, Kōdai Tirunal 20 days, Adhyayanotsavam 24 days, Unjal Tirunal 5 days, Tiruppavitra Tirunal 5 days, Ekadasi Tirunal 25 days, Sahasra Kalasābhishēkam 5 days, Māsa sankramanams 12 days, Amavasya 13 days, Yugādi and Deepāvali 2 days, Pāḍiya Vēṭṭai 1, Tirukkārtigai 1, Krishna's Rōhini 13. Total offerings 222 appa padi. Similarly in Tirupati his endowment made provision for food offerings on 132 days. Besides the above, he also granted Sīyala pāṇḍur and Pasuvāsam villages in Paḍainādu Sirmai for daily offering to Sri Govindaraja, of 8 tirupponakam, 40 areca nuts, 80 betel leaves and one palam chandanam. The donor's share of all the appams he took himself. From, what

was offered on Yugadi and Deepavali days in Tirupati to Sri Govindaraja, he gave a portion to some temple servants and the rest to the 12 nirvahams and 4½ vagai. From out of the 8 prasadam to Sri Govindaraja daily and from other sources given by the Sthanattar the Vyasaiaya Matham was to get 4 prasadam daily for free distribution in the Matham. That Sri Vyasatirtha Sripada Udaiyar, who could not be expected to attach any importance to the Tamil prabandhams included 24 days of Adhyayana Utsavam among the festivals of his benefaction shows that he desired to respect the sentiments of the Sthanattar and the Sri Vaishnavas. The recital of the Vedas was only on 10 days of this festival.

He made a second endowment (III. 175; 2nd April 1528) by granting the Village of Oddampattu for conducting festival to Sri Govindaraja on the 13 full-moon days in the year with torch light procession. The food offering on each occasion was 14 tirupponakam. There are three points of special interest in this inscription.

(1) He describes himself as (the disciple of) Karakamala Sanjāta Srimat Brahmanya tirtha. Sripada Udaiyar. (2) This is the first instance we have in our inscriptions which gives the cash rent or income of a village. Here Oddampatti is stated to give 60 rekhai pon as the annual income. (3) Full details are also given of the provisions to be supplied for the festival. The Swamiji received the donor's quarter share in full. We are able to appreciate the Swamiji's attempts to make himself acceptable to all Sri Vaishnavas. He did as much in Sri Govindaraja's temple as in Tiruvengadamudaiyan's.

EKAKIS.

Two of these named Ekaki Tiruvenkatayyan and Ekaki Pattarpiran Ayyan, made three endowments amounting in all to 690 panams between 4—5—1514 and 21—10—1523. These were made in connection with certain festivals in Nammālvār temple and for Sri Venkatesa. The beneficiaries of the donor's share were the donors, the Iyal chanters and the Sthanattar.

It will be seen from the above analysis that the Sri Vaishnava Mathams favoured their own Iyal reciters and sect people, and that Vyasarayā preferred his own followers. Ekakis are Sri-vaishnavas who are widowers left in this world all alone without any family encumbrance which is the root meaning of the word. It should not be confounded with the term Ekāngis which in later times came to be used to designate the four assistants to the Jiyars who were also to be selected from amongst widowers but not men without the encumbrances of brothers and children dependent on them. There were among these Ekakis Brahmins and also Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas.

SCHOLARS.

Among the great scholars who came to Tirumala in Sri Krishna-devaraya's train in 1514, were: (1) *TALLAPAKKAM PEDDA TIRUMALA AYYANGAR* scholar, poet and musician, son of Tallapakkam Aṅṅamācharya whose sankirthanams are so well known in Tirumala and Ahōbilam; (2) Yagna Narayana Bhattar, son of the Emperor's personal purohit Ranga Dikshitar.

We learn from No. 66, Vol. III that the former's native village Tallapakkam was granted to Tiruvengadamudaiyan by the Emperor on 6—7—1514. He is said to be a member of the well-known Nandavarika Brahman family, the family to which the poet-laureate Allasani Peddanamātya belonged. His first endowment to Tiruvengadamudaiyan was made on (III. 122) 30—11—1517. It consisted of 1500 panams for providing one food offering daily. The amount was to be utilised for improvement of the water supply in the Tiruvidaiyattam villages and the increased proceeds used for the offering. Like many of the Desantri donors he gave away 1 uri out of the donor's share to be shared by the Sthanattar and the Vagai people and reserved for himself the remaining uri of prasadam.

YAGNA NARAYANA BHATTAR.

He was as has already been stated, the son of Ranga Dikshitar, the Emperor's Purohit, and might have accompanied his father

in 1514 A.D. during the time of the Emperor's visit. In III. 89: 10—7—1514 he made an endowment of 10000 panams to be utilised for the improvement of irrigation in temple villages and with the income so accruing, for offering 8 tirupponakams daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The donor's share of 2 prasadam was taken by himself. He made another endowment on (III. 152) 9—3—1522 of 1850 panams for offering atirasappadi on the 13 birth day stars of his father and on new moon and māsa sankramanam days. Even out of these, he took to himself the donor's share excepting 3 atirasams which he ordered to be given to one Siṟṟayyanar.

This Bhattar did not recognise the importance of the Sthanattar, the Mathams and Ramanujakutams. He was a true follower of Krishnadeva Maharaya in this respect.

DODDAIYANGAR APPAI.

Another great man who made an endowment was Doddaiyangar Appai (Vedāntācharya) son of Venrumālaiyiṭṭa Perumal Nayinar of the Vadhūla Gōtra, Apasthamba Sūtra Yajus Sakha and of the Kandadai family of Srivaishnavas. On (III. 132) 13—6—1519 he made an endowment of 2520 panam for making certain Vagaippadi offerings etc., to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Sri Govindaraja on certain days of the Brahmotsavam and on his own tirunakshatram days. Out of the donor's share he gave away one atirasam, one sidai and one dadhyodanam to Srivaishnavas and took the remainder for himself. He too did not give anything to the Sthanattar.

Udaiyavarkoyil Anna made an endowment of 2000 panam on 17—8—1514 and made the Sri Vaishnavas chanting the Iyal, share a portion of the donor's share.

There were also a number of endowments by other Brahmins (such as III No. 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 90, 91, 113, 172, 108, 142 and 163). In most of these cases the donor's share was taken away by the donors themselves.

These endowments though small individually amounted on the whole to about 14175 panams, 3 villages (Tivalaipūndi, Hanumānigunṭa and Gangalapūḍi) and 1630 kuliis of wet land.

TIRUNINRA-UR-UDAIYARS OR THE TEMPLE ACCOUNTANTS.

They made a number of endowments aggregating to 7800 panams (between the years 1517 and 1530; III. No. 121, 134, 138, 141, 160, 161, 179 and 181) for food offerings. Excepting for some small quantities of padi which they assigned to their achārya Kumara Tātayyāgar and some Nambiar, the entire donor's share was being taken by themselves.

MERCHANTS.

As was usual with the merchants, the endowments made by them were handsome. And as they invariably aimed at keeping the Sthanattar well pleased, the donor's share of the prasadam was invariably made over by them, to the 12 nirvaham and 3½ vagai in equal proportions. The names of the donors etc., are:—

No. 4 and 118	Sittamu Setti	18090 panams.
11 and 12	Tippu Setti	8305 „
16	Pachchi Lingu Setti	5030 „
28	Pappu Setti Ayyan	2500 „
119	Kondu Setti	(Chinatayapalli village half)
171	Sarunu Setti	3700 panams.

It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the prasadams and the occasions on which they were to be offered. *The point to note is that so far as the Desāntri or the bonafide pilgrim was concerned, there was no free distribution. He was always forced to purchase the prasadams from one or the other of the Sthanattar, the Vagai people, the Nambimar or the Jiyars.*

There are seventeen more inscriptions showing endowments made by devotees amounting in the aggregate to 32800 panams. Out of these one is for 11000 panams and another is for 4700. The others are mostly for about 1200 panams each. In six out of the 17 instances the donor took to himself the quarter share. In one case the donor handed over his share to his spiritual Guru Eechchambadi Appayangar. In all other cases it was the Sthanattar and the Vagai who were made the beneficiaries.

It is noteworthy that in two instances the Tiruppani Bhandarattar stepped in as Trustees and executed the silāsāsanam accepting the gift. The position of the Sthanattar appears to have been thus challenged. In one case the donor was one Sinnappa Reddi of Pūtalapaṭṭu, who on the occasion of a Solar Eclipse (III. 167: 17—1—1527) made a gift of valuable wet lands for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharayar. He gave the donor's share of the food offerings to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. In the other case (III. 178: 19—11—1528) the disciples of the Van Sathagopan Matham deposited 260 panams into the Tiruppani Bhandaram Treasury as capital for certain paruppaviyal food offering. The donor's share in this case was divided between the Iyal reciters and the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. It was therefore becoming clear that the *Tiruppani Bhandarattar were setting themselves up as rivals to the Sthanattar perhaps encouraged by the attitude of the Emperor.*

There are two more inscriptions, III. 180: Saka 1450 and III. 206, which deserve notice since they make reference to 'Sri Vira Krishna Maharayar' and 'Rājapamesvara Sri Vira Pratāpa Sri Vira Krishnadevarayar ruling the Earth.' The latter is an endowment by one Piḷaiporuttar and the former by one Perumal Nedungunram, both private individuals. They are both incomplete inscriptions.

We may safely infer from all the above facts that the Sthanattar were losing their moral and even their legal status in the temple administration during the reign of Sri Krishnadevaraya and that the Tiruppani Bhandarattar were rising in importance. We shall examine the reason for this in greater detail at a later stage.

The points to be noted in connection with the administration of the Tirumalai, Tirupati Temples during the reign of Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya are:

(1) Tiruvengadamudaiyan was embellished with jewels and ornaments in an unprecedented manner. His Ananda Nilaya Vimanam was gold gilded and costly pītāmbaram, kuḷḷāvu etc., were presented to Him.

(2) In memory of his late father and mother Krishnadevaraya instituted the Tai Brahmotsavam. Like his predecessors he and his two queens instituted daily sandhi offerings, known as Krishnaraya avasarams. The quarter share of the prasadams due to the donor were, excepting such portion as was given to his purohiths, transferred to his own satram to be expended there under the supervision of the Tiruppani Bhandarattar (6—7—1514). Later in 1524 even this arrangement was superceded by handing over the prasadams to Sri Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udaiyar to be utilised in his Matham for the feeding of pilgrims.

(3) Krishnadevaraya does not appear to have paid a visit to the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati nor did he make any endowments for that temple.

(4) None of the shrines dedicated to the Acharyas and Saints or Alvars received his notice;

(5) He did nothing to create the suspicion or impression that he had a special leaning to any of the Hindu religious sects.

(6) His making a gift of house sites in Tirumala and Tirupati to Sri Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udaiyar as dānam (தாரா பூர்வகமாக) and issuing a rayasam (or edict) to the Sthanattar, does not indicate any reverence for an acharya of Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udaiyar's sanctity. The permission to construct a matham and the handing over of prasadams for feeding pilgrims there may connote only a certain amount of trust in a Sanyasin, at a time when the Sthanattar of the Temple had lost the Emperor's confidence.

(7) The Emperor as well as his senior officers, showed, in dealing with the disposal of the donor's share of their endowments'

a tendency to see if the Tiruppani Bhandarattar would prove a more trustworthy agency for the free distribution of food to pilgrims.

(8) The usual tendency of those seeking the favour of the Emperor to make endowments "for the merit of" the king was less noticeable during Krishnadevaraya's reign. But a full statement of the prasasti is rarely met with excepting in his own inscriptions or those made by men in his personal service.

(9) It may be specially noted that the inscriptions relating to the grant of house site etc., to Sri Vyasa Tirtha are in the Tamil script and executed by the Sthanattar and not by the Emperor directly by an edict.

(10) No temple functionary and no native of Tirupati seems to have acquired any influence with the Emperor or to have approached him for any favour. None of the Acharyapurushas made any endowment during his reign. No one seems to have approached him or sought any favour of him.

(11) Krishnadevaraya instituted no new festival which could go to benefit the Sthanattar and the other temple servants either in the way of paniyaram or cash payments (Tirunum Kanikkai or Tirukkai Valakkam).

(12) The one festival, if it may be so called, which he instituted was the conversion of the bi-monthly Puḷugu Kāppu function (Friday Tirumanjanam) into a weekly one (Friday) (రేవునకి యెనిమిది దినం వరక పులికాపుకం) by allocating therefor the sunkam from Goḍagūrnāḍu amounting to 1000 varahas yearly. This is the only function which has stood the test of time. He also set apart 500 varahas for conducting morning food offerings (పొగ్గె నైవేద్యం)

As a far-seeing man Krishnadevarayar kept even those for whom he had the greatest affection viz., his brothers and their children away from his capital Vijayanagar and amidst the religious surroundings of Chandragiri and Tirumala evidently in order that no mischief maker could poison their minds and make them commit evil acts, or entertain evil designs, which might endanger the peace and tranquillity of the Empire. But this had its own disadvantage for the Empire and for the Temple, as will be seen when we examine Achyutaraya's period.

CHAPTER XIX

ACHYUTARAYA MAHARAYA AND THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE.

IN writing the history of this temple during the Vijayanagar period, it is convenient to divide it into periods which correspond to those of the Emperors of Vijayanagar. During the period when Saluva Narasimha was the Viceroy in Chandragiri, say from 1450 A.D. till he became the de facto Emperor in 1485, the history of the temple is concerned more with Saluva Narasimha than with the Emperor at Vijayanagar. His son became the Emperor and was in turn succeeded by Narasa Nayaka's son Vira Narasimha. Neither of these played a great part in the history of our temple. Vira Narasimha is said to have planned an attempt to put out the eyes of Krishnadeva and thereby assure the throne for his young son. But God willed it otherwise and Krishnadeva succeeded in ascending the throne. His faith in Tiruvengadamudayan was very firm as we have seen. But that faith did not prevent him from trying in his turn to put out of the way all who were likely to contest his claim to the throne. He therefore kept under detention and surveillance his late brother's young son as well as his half-brothers Achyuta and Ranga in the fortress at Chandragiri. Some go to the extent of saying that the latter were actually imprisoned. There is however nothing to support such a statement. On the other hand, Achyutaraya seems to have had all opportunities and facilities afforded for religious and cultural studies and also for relaxation by acquiring a taste for Abhinaya and Bharata Nāṭya. Achyuta has given ample proof in our inscriptions to justify the assumption. It seems to have been a carefully thought out scheme of Krishnadevaraya to place before Achyuta two avenues of instruction and enjoyment. There was on the one side the quasi spiritual side, the details of temple worship and the study of Vaishnavism and on the other side there was the Bharata Nāṭya and music of the Emperumāṇaḍiyārs of the temple. Achyuta was probably expected to follow one of these avenues. But he

seems to have followed both. We see him giving tangible proofs of this the moment he ascended the throne.

Achyutaraya was as much the son of the great soldier Narasa Nāyaka as were Vira Narasimha and Krishnadevaraya. But his virtual internment in the Chandragiri fortress and his association for a period of about 16 years of the most impressionable period of his life, with temple worshippers and Emperumānāḍiyārs, seem to have so deadened the warlike instinct in him that, when after ascending the throne, he led an expedition against his rebel subordinates into the Tiruvaḍi Rājyam, his brother-in-law Sālakam Timmarāja found it expedient to treat him more like a 'Uttara Kumara' and make him stay behind at Sri Rangam, worshipping the God, and to take into his own hands the prosecution of the campaign to a successful conclusion. Krishnadevarāya after the death of his young son in or about 1525 A.D. liberated Achyuta and the whole family from the Chandragiri fortress and commenced the process of educating Achyuta in the art of Government.

What would have been Achyuta's feelings when on one fine morning he was taken out of the fortress and asked to play the part of a Regent of the Crown? He had been continuously worshipping Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān for about 16 years and had no idea of individual freedom, much less of being associated in the Government of the Empire. His belief would have been that Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān made Krishnadevaraya to relent and that it was the reward for his continued devotion to God. Forgetting the past, Achyuta proved faithful to Krishnadēvarāya. And in 1529 it is said that he was with the best wishes of his brother ordained in Tirumala as the future Emperor and given an Abhishēkam in the presence of Tiruvengadamudaiyan with the sacred water of the Sankham used for God's service. We have to realise the importance of this consecration and why Krishnadevaraya preferred that way of celebrating the event. He knew that he had worked against such an event ever coming to pass and had done all he could to retain the succession to his own son. But God had willed it otherwise. Krishnaraya would have realised it when his son died. Achyuta was fully aware that it was not through

any effort on his part that he was going to become the Emperor. It was something unexpected. It was God's will. So it was in the fitness of things that his first Paṭṭābhishekam should be done by Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān Himself. When next it was repeated in Kalahasti, we have to note it was because Krishnadevaraya had faith in the God there and had paid many visits to that temple also. Achyutaraya was too much of a Sri Vaishnava to have thought of going to Kālahasti of his own free will.

Before going up the Tirumala Hill for the Paṭṭābhishekam, Achyuta would necessarily have taken a purificatory bath in the waters of the Alvar Tirtham. He should have found the pond in a condition not worthy of its sacred tradition. It is therefore likely that he would on that occasion have given orders for the construction of the cut-stone steps and the Sandhyavandana Mantapams. A trilingual edict shows that the work was completed and opened for the public on 25—6—1531 A.D.

The Devasthanam Epigraphist (page 220 of the Report) remarks: "Thus Achyutaraya appears to have been crowned thrice successively once at Tirumala immediately on release from his confinement in the Fort at Chandragiri, for the second time at Kalahasti and finally with all ceremonial and pomp at the capital city of Vijayanagar, all the three within an interval of about a month during October-November 1529 A.D." But Dr. S. Krishna-swami Iyengar states (page 201, part II of History of Tirupati), "the son (Krishnaraya's son) died early in 1525 A.D. Soon after, records in the name of Achyuta begin to appear. Achyuta seems to have been carrying on the administration for his brother during a period of, it may be illness, or perhaps absence. Whatever it was, during the last five years of Krishna's administration, Achyuta was associated with him." "Another person who comes into view about this critical period is Ramarāya already spoken of as the son-in-law; whether he was actually the son-in-law or not we find him associated with the administration from 1525 A.D." "*The coming of Aliya Ramaraja to power along with Achyuta coincided with the fall of the great minister Saluva Timma from power, all apparently the result of the death of the prince Tirumala.*

It seems the administration was actually carried on by Achyutaraya. even when Krishna was actually exercising authority."

From the above extracts we may perhaps opine that Krishna suspected that in some way or other his prime minister Saluva Timma was privy to the untimely death of his son Tirumala, that he realised the folly of keeping Achyuta, Ranga and the other members of his own family in prison and that since Achyuta would be the lawful successor to the throne and since his conduct during the long term of imprisonment showed no sign of hatred or disloyalty he immediately associated him in the Government of the country. Achyutaraya's apparent devotion to Tiruvēngalanātha and the orthodox way of life which he had acquired during his detention might have made a favourable impression on Krishna. So he had him consecrated in the Tirumala temple by having water from the hand of God Himself sprinkled over him with the appropriate mantras for Paṭṭābhishēkaṁ. We have every reason to believe that he had panchasamskāram, for one of our inscriptions refers to his Queen Varadajiamman giving away her quarter share of prasadams to her acharya (perhaps Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tāttayangar). Her brothers were also the spiritual disciples of the same acharya.

Achyutaraya has had no training either on the battlefield or on the administrative side. On the religious side he was not well read. All his knowledge seems to have been limited to a superficial acquaintance with the āchārams or practices and the general outline of temple worship. We will have occasion to point out the blunders he committed in connection with temple worship in Tirumala

Appointment of Muddu Kuppayi for doing dancing service in the temple.

The first act of Achyutaraya perhaps even before he was formally crowned in Vijayanagar in November 1529, was to order the construction of the cut-stone steps, Sandhyavandana mantapam etc., for the Alvar Tirtham pond. We shall have to say more

about this later. But his first formal act as Sriman Mahārajādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Sri Vira Pratāpa Sri Vira Achyutarāya Maharaya was to send to Tirupati one Muddu Kuppāyi, daughter of Vidvat Sabhārāya ranjakam Kuppāsāni on Tuesday Bahula Sashti of the Tamil month Mithuna in the cyclic year Khara, Saka 1453¹ with a rāyasam to the Sthanattar of the Tirumala Temple, ordering that Muddu Kuppāyi was to perform ūḍigam (service) in the Tiruvengadamudaiyan temple from that day onwards as long as the Sun and the Moon last and that she and her descendants should be in receipt of one taligai prasādam daily from the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati for doing the service. The remuneration of one taligai expressed in money value of those days would be $\frac{1}{2}$ panam (say 3 annas) per day. The prasadam should therefore not be considered as fair or adequate remuneration. It was more a mark of honour for one who was perhaps the then living best exponent of Bharata nāṭya. Her mother Kuppāyini or (Kuppāsāni) was the daughter of Ranjakam Srirangaraya and grand daughter of Tirumalainātha, all of whom were the most famous exponents of Bharata nāṭya and great devotees of Tiruvengalanātha. Kuppāyini had made in June 1512 A.D. an endowment of 1000 panams for one Sandhi offering.² Srirangaraja had made in December 1514 an endowment grant of Eraluppundi for offering one tirupponakam daily.³ The family must have considered it a mark of honour that Muddu Kuppāyi should have been singled out to do service to Tiruvengalanātha and to be honoured with one taligai of prasadam daily. Achyutaraya Maharaya must have been under the impression that so famous a temple should have so famous a sāni attached to it.

There may be readers who would like to know *why the existence of these Emperumānadiyārs or Tiruvidhi Sānis (vestal virgins) was tolerated.* According to the Agamas (all the agamas seem to be agreed on this) at a certain stage of the puja, music and dancing should accompany the Kumbha Hārathi. Also during street processions at important places and at street corners there should be music and dancing. Before the Deity is taken back into the temple from the Vāhanam, Kumbha Harathi should be offered

1. IV. II 6-6-1531

2. III. 24

3. III. 99

and the whole party including the vestal virgins carrying the Kumbha Hārathi should perambulate the vahanam and the Deity before the Hārathi is actually handed over by the Emperumāṇaḍiyār to the Archaka. But from the days of Sāluva Narasimha (we should rather say from the days of Emperumānār Jiyar) these women acquired greater importance. We have already seen how Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar made use of them to sing 'ula' songs in praise of him in the presence of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān. Although as a class they degenerated into prostitution, some of them have been known to be remarkably praiseworthy women. To render an Emperumāṇaḍiyār eligible for doing service, she must have had chakrāṅgitam (branding with red hot Sankham and Chakram) at the hands of an āchāryapurusha of the temple. Every such woman must therefore be a disciple of one of the āchāryapurushās. They maintain a code of morals and good conduct which they invariably have been known to observe. They were serving in these temples in the early part of the 13th century. They were later known as Tiruvīdhi Sānis. Emperumānār Jiyar gave them (I. 220; 1446 A.D.) a portion of the donor's share of the prasadam. Venkaṭavalli, daughter of Savaripperumal, who was a damsel attached to the Vira Narasimha swami temple in Tirupati made an endowment of 1000 panams in 1457 (II. 5). Jakkula Kannāyi, daughter of Tammu Nayakkaṇ made in 1481 A.D. (II. 77) an endowment of 1400 panams for food offerings. Vālandī, daughter of Tiruvīdhisani Anaimaḍai is another donor of 300 panams in 1486 (II. 86).

'During the reign of Krishnadevarāya, Kuppāyini (the mother of Muddu Kuppāyi), accompanied the Emperor to Tirupati. She seems to have visited Tirumala as a pilgrim in 1512, even before Krishnadevaraya's advent to the place (III. 24). After her visit in 1515 there seems to have been a change in the status of the Tiruvīdhisānis in Tirupati. Before that date they accompanied the temple processions and received wages therefor. After Kuppāyini's advent, there is no mention of Tiruvīdhisānis accompanying the procession or of being paid therefor. They seem to have restricted the display of their proficiency to within the temple limits only.

During the reign of Achyutarāya there were some notable women of this class who made endowments for food offerings. Govindasāni made an endowment (IV. 5.) of 300 panams in 1530. Again in 1534 (IV. 33.) she made an endowment of 1620 panams for a daily food offering to Sri Govindaraja. A third time along with her sister Chikkāya Savāyi she endowed 1750 panams in 1535 (IV. 39) for offerings to Sri Govindaraja. There was another woman by name Pērchchi (பேருச்சி) daughter of Sevvī who endowed 230 panams (IV. 44). Another lady Bejji, daughter of Selvi endowed 200 panams (IV. 16). Hanumāsāni was another lady specially sent by Achyutaraya and she made an endowment of 820 panams in 1540. (IV. 142).

But the most remarkable figures were one Tiruvēnkaṭa Mānickam and her sister Lingāsāni, both daughters of one Tippāsāni or Tiruvenkaṭadāsi. They owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumala. They made a series of endowments of 330 panams, 230 panams, 1650 panams and 1600 panams between the years 1533 and 1545 A.D. The climax was reached by Tiruvenkaṭa mānickam during the reign of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya, when Tiruvengaḍamudaiyān's own palanquin or Danḍigai was presented to her by the Sthanattar for her personal use. We shall have to refer to this in greater detail in the next chapter. She was also allotted one taligai of prasadam daily in Tirumala and in Tirupati to be taken and delivered at her door. The advent of such remarkable women to Tirupati began in the time of the Emperor Sri Virapratāpa Achyutarāya Maharaya in 1531 A.D. The last we hear of them was in 1548 A.D.

After about 1548 A.D. they do not figure in any of our inscriptions either as donors or as beneficiaries. The star seems to have set with Tiruvenkaṭamānickam. Achyutaraya's special interest in introducing Muddu Kuppāyi seems to have resulted in their complete exit from the temple after 1548 A.D. There is nothing in the inscriptions to warrant us to draw the inference that any one of them exercised an undesirable influence in the temple. On the other hand, they seem to have been ardent devotees of Tiruvengaḍamudaiyān making endowments for food offerings

on festival occasions in garden mantapams constructed by them. The donor's share of the prasadam was distributed by them for deserving Sri Vaishnavas engaged in temple services and for their own āchāryas.

Alvar Tirtham, construction of cutstone steps and Sandhyavandana mantapam.

During the many years of his internment in Chandragiri, Achyutarāya Maharaya would have been attending the Vaikasi and Ani Brahmotsavams of Sri Govindaraja including the Tirthavāri function in the pond formed by the waterfall which at least since the days of Sri Ramanuja seems to have been called the Chakra Tirtham, or the (Tiruvāli) Alvār Tirtham. The only early reference to this pond in our inscriptions is in Grantha characters on the inner west wall of the Nammālvār shrine at Alvār Tirtham (I. 58; 1287 A.D.). The inscription does not name the pond. It simply says (*tata parisāre*) on the bank of the pond (a muni lives). It must have been originally just like the other ponds formed by the numerous waterfalls on the Tirumalai Hills, say like the Mālavāni Guṇḍam in Tirupati. Again on the north wall of the first prakaram of Sri Govindarajaswami temple in Tirupati is an inscription in Sanskrit (Grantha characters) which gives the year in chronogram and is made out to be Saka 1389 (corresponding to May-June 1467 A.D.).¹ The gist of the inscription seems to be that with the holy waters of that pond wherein a bath purifies the devas and mortals of all sins, Snāpana Tirumanjanam (bath according to Āgama rites) as prescribed by Sri Ramanujarya was performed for Sri Govindaraja, Bhū Devi and Sri Devi.

It is a known fact that the Govindaraja temple had no Pushkarini (or holy tank) attached to it till the present Govinda Pushkarini (or Krishnarayan Koneri) appears to have been excavated and consecrated. From the day of installation of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati, the waters of the Ālvār Tirtham after consecration by Sri Ramanuja were used for His daily bath and Tiruvārāadhanam.

1 (II. 29: Saka 1839)

Every Sri Vaishnava is familiar with the daily consecration of the water in which he bathes, invoking all the 33 crores of sacred waters sanctified by the Devas to flow into the water in which he is bathing. Sri Ramanuja must obviously have done this consecration once for all associating therewith the Chakrattālvār (Sudarsana) known in Tamil as Tiruvāli Alvār. Hence the pond was familiarly known as Alvār Tirtham. The name has perhaps nothing to do with Nammālvār whose temple was also consecrated close by on its banks. Achyutaraya may have feared that if left uncared for, the new Govinda Pushkarini in Tirupati might eventually gain greater importance than Alvār Tirtham.

It was the rather untidy condition of this sacred pond where every year during the two Brahmotsavams, Sudarsana Alvār bathed to sanctify the waters for the public to have their bath on the occasion of the Tirthavari, that engaged the personal attention of Achyutadeva Maharaya, even before he actually ascended the throne. He had the holy tank properly constructed with flights of cutstone steps (సోనాన పంక్తి), and Sandhyavandana mantapam all round (చుట్ట) and had Sudarsana stones planted at the four corners (నల్లదిక్కుల). The inscription¹ is in three languages, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. The Telugu and Kanarese call it the Divya Tirtham of Tiruvengalanātha. The Tamil version says Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān's Divya Tirtham called Alvār Tirtham in Tirupati. திருவேங்கடமுடையான் ஐவ்வுத்தீர்த்தி மாந திருப்பதியில் ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தை. Achyuta Maharaya (the inscription says) for his own four-fold purushārtham, got performed the punahpratishtā (reconsecration). Even the Telugu inscription calls it 'Tirupati Chakratīrtham which is Tiruvengalanātha's Divya Tirtham.' All inscriptions say that the function was Punah pratishtā.

The construction of the cutstone steps with the conduit for the exit of the flowing waters and the Sandhyavandana mantapams on three sides would have taken at least a year's time. The reconsecration of the tank was performed on 25-6-1531 A.D. and the orders for construction should therefore have been given

1. IV. 8, 9, 10, all 25-6-1531 A. D.

soon after Achyutaraya's coronation in Tirumala about November 1529 A.D.

The term Tiruvengalanātha Divya Tirtham requires some elucidation. The Tirumala Hill contains many waterfalls and every one of these is considered sacred. This is because the Hill itself is sanctified by the Holy Feet of Tiruvengadamudaiyān who is standing thereon. Every water stream therefore issues from His Feet and becomes His Divya Tirtham.

That the Tirthavāri festival of Sri Govindapperumāl takes place in 'Alvār Tirtham' is distinctly mentioned in another inscription also (IV. 49. 1535). Sri Govindaraja being taken to "Alvar Tirtham" on Garudavāhanam is also specifically mentioned in yet another inscription (IV. 169, 1542). In connection with Nammālvār festival celebrated by Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar, distinct mention is made of the fact that on the bank of the Alvār Tirtham Nammālvār's car festival took place (V. 34 19—3—1544). Again there is reference to Tiruvāḷi Alvan being taken to Alvār Tirtham on Kārtikai festival day in Tirupati (V. 66 1546) and also of Sri Govindaraja on Makara Sankramanam day. The installation of Sri Lakshminārāyana Perumāl in the Tirthavāri mantapam situated on the bank of Alvār Tirtham is of a later date (V. 68; 1546). That Alvār Tirtham is Tiruvengadamudaiyān's Divya Tirtham got accentuated by the construction of His Shrine in the fourth cave above the waterfall and Potlapāṭi Timmaraja made a daily food offering for the Deity there (V. 92; 3—6—1547). In 1628 Matla Anantaraja established an annasatram at Alvār Tirtham (VI. 25; 1628 A.D.). For the first time on 10—2—1865 Mahant Dharma Dass called it 'Kapila Tirtham.'⁹

It was Achyutaraya Maharaya that made the appearance of this tank worthy of its sacred character. It really seems to have had no name until Sri Ramanuja sanctified its waters with the aid of Sudarsana Alvān. To call it Kapila Tirtham is a misnomer, but Saivites may prefer that name.

1. VI. 13.

The Silasāsanam is trilingual and made by the Emperor himself and not by the issue of Rāyasam to the Sthanattar. It is a mis-statement when, in the Report of the inscription (by the T. T. Devasthanam) p. 224, it is mentioned that Achyutaraya renamed Kapila Tirtham as Chakra Tirtham.

**ACHYUTARAYA PERFORMED SRINIVASA
SAHASRANAMA ARCHANA WITH HIS OWN
HANDS. IV. 16: 31—1—1533 A.D.**

What was however quite out of the ordinary and the only instance in the history of this temple was Achyutaraya's performing Srinivasa Sahasranāmārchana personally while the Nambimar (Archakas) were asked to recite the Sahasranāmams.¹ This took place about a year after the successful termination of his campaign against the ruler of Tiruvādi Rajyam (Travancore). It is common knowledge that the performance of the Archana is the special prerogative of the Archaka in any temple and that it would be considered an act of pollution necessitating a Samprokshana if any other person did it. Perhaps such a purification ceremony was performed after Achyutaraya finished doing the Archana and before the remaining items of daily worship were taken up. It may even be that after the daily worship was finished, Achyutaraya was allowed to do his own Archana, in which case also there must have taken place a purificatory Samprokshana. Achyutaraya during the period of his internment in Chandragiri would have witnessed the performance of the Sahasranāmārchana soon after Tomālaseva every morning and might have felt thrilled. The desire to do it himself must be attributed to his ignorance of or disregard for, Āgamic propriety in such matters. Or what is more likely, Achyutaraya sincerely believed that having been chosen by God and consecrated with the waters from His Hand for the throne, he was spiritually fit to perform the archana in person. Krishnadevaraya instituted the weekly Friday Tiru-

1. The right to recite the 1008 names and to perform the archana seems to have belonged to the archakas. A separate person is employed in recent times to recite the names.

manjanam in place of the bi-weekly one, but did not attempt to do the Tirumanjanam himself. Neither the Archakas nor the Sthanattar could have stood in his way if he had insisted on doing it. On this occasion Achyuta presented as his Ubhayam a Svarna Varsham for Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān just as Krishnadevaraya also poured 30000 varahālu as Svarna Varsha. Snāpana Tirumanjanam might have been performed for the processional Deity also in the Mukha mantapam. He presented a large number of ornaments.¹ The details given in the Tamil inscriptions are not identical with those given in the Telugu, which latter happens to be much damaged.

What is of special interest in connection with this visit is his abnormal action of doing the archana himself, displacing the archaka.

From the way the inscription ends, we have to conjecture that the Sthanattar would rather have suppressed incising the incident on stone but that they were probably commanded to inscribe.

1. (a) Two pairs of (some) gold ornament; (b) One pair of eye ornament (நிச்சன் கண் சோடு). (c) One string of tanikkay beads, each bead weighing 10 units of gold, probably 62 beads. (d) one string of validilaikkāi beads each bead weighing 10 units of gold (62 beads); (e) two Kapila pasu; (f) svarna Varsham (shower of gold); (g) a garland of 900 pearls; (h) one big kapha (garment) set with 200 pearls, 33 rubies, 10 emeralds and 18 diamonds (i) gold bangles (டொன் வளையம் 4). (j) கொச்சி 13; (k) one pair Uchchippū for the head set with 122 pearls, 16 rubies, 2 emeralds and 4 diamonds including 11 selected gems; (l) one Kūṭṭam ornament over the sikharam set with 709 black pearls (கருமுத்து), emeralds 3, rubies 30, sapphire 1(m)one pearl garland (முத்து தாவடம்) containing 600 pearls and 10 units of superior gold weighing 21 units of gold. Total 785 units gold weight including the Sāriṅgai (gold lace) made of 8 3/4 carat gold. (... அச்சுதராய மஹாராயர் கையிலே அற்ச்சனை அற்ச்சிக்கவும் அற்ச்சகர் ஸ்ரீநிவாஸ ஸஹஸ்ர நாமம் செவிக்கவும்...)

The Telugu script mentioned;

The Tamil inscription ends with the words:

“As ordered this silasasanam” (கட்டளை பண்ணிய சிலா சாஸனம், The usual ending should be “இப்படிக்கு முனி வைணவர்கள் பணியால் கோயில் கணக்கு திருநின்ற ஊருடையான் எழுத்து. முனி வைணவர டெசுடி.”

Although the two inscriptions give no indication of any daily food offerings having been instituted on this occasion, it has to be presumed that Achyutaraya did not fail to do it. Perhaps he did it on the occasion of his coronation in Tirumala in October 1529 itself. Every Emperor from the days of Bukkaraya had done so.

LAKSHMIDEVI MAHOTSAVAM.

(IV. 54: 55; 26—12—1535 A.D.)

The fourth incident that deserves notice is a new festival called Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam. The first of the two inscriptions describes it as “tirnāl (festival) for Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyān and Alaimelmangai Nāchchiyar” (திருவேங்கடமுடையான் அலைமேம் மங்கை நாச்சியாற்கும் திருநாள்). But the next inscription appears as a sort of post script or correction calling it “Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam” to commence on (ankurarpanam) in Uttirattādi day and Sāttumurai Rohini Nakshatram. What is noteworthy in the inscription is the manner in which Achyutadeva Maharaya’s name is mentioned. He is described as “*Swami Achyutarāya Mahārāya*” in every place to the inscriptiou where the donor’s name has to be mentioned. There seems to be a sting, rather grim humour, in it. Achyutaraya’s fancies appeared to the Sthanattar as being strange and he is described as “Swāmi” which is a term usually applied when referring to a spiritual leader. In an another endowment also by Sriranga Nayakkar for the

One Trisaram, six single sarams, containing 3 pearls; chakralu 500, some pratima, probably of Achyutaraya, etc, which are not quite intelligible; some gold in the name of Achyutaraya Maharaya, some in the name of his son are also mentioned. These show that Achyutaraya was accompanied by his Queen Varadajimman and his son Kumāra Venkatādri-

merit of the King, Queen and the Prince, Achyutaraya is called "Swāmi" (IV. 79; 15-12-1536).

In the first inscription (No. 54) the festival is described as 'Tirunāl for Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān and Alaimelmangai Nāchchiyar' but when the details of the festival were being worked out there was no room there for Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan. So they seem to have obtained the Rāyar's consent to call it (No. 55) "Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam." Alaimelmangai was only a human incarnation of Lakshmidēvi according to the *Venkatāchala Māhātmyam*. So Alaimelmangai's name was replaced by Lakshmidēvi. Somehow they wanted to introduce a festival and provide all the paraphernalia therefor. First and foremost a Lakshmidēvi pratima had to be manufactured (as there was no such idol in Tirumala) at a cost of 16 Rekhai pon. A pratima of Brahma for 1 R. P.; Samprokshana 1 R. P; for Soma Kumbham 5 panams, Brahma Maṇḍalam and Sēsha and other pratimas, cost 12 R. P. There was Achārya Dakshina, dakshina for Ritviks; invocation according to Srisūktam, Kalpa mantram, Lakshmisahasranāma Japa and Archana, Lakshmi Gāyatri, Navāgraha Pratimas 12 R.P.; Havis, Pāyasam etc., for homam every day. Dakshina and Vastram for 10 Sumangalis; Veda pārāyanam, Purānam reading etc., daily 60 taligai, Tirukkanamadai, 200 for 5 days, Atirasam daily 1 padi, appam, Vadai, godhi, sukhiyan etc. These are to be offered while the installed Lakshmidēvi was taken in procession to the seven mantapams constructed for the purpose; two each in the name of *Swami Achyutaraya and Varādajiamman svami*, Kumara Chikka Venkatadri mantapam, Narasanāyakkar and his wife Obachchi, one mantapam each. There was cash payment to be made for this new festival for yāgasālai, tiruppaṇi pillai, potters, kaikkolar, sippiyar, carpenters, tevaiyāl, singamurai, the twelve nirvaham, panimurai, anusandhānam, tiruman kānikkai, kangā-nippam, viṇṇappam saivar, and kaḍaikkūṭṭu. Also Brāhmana samarpana. It is refreshing to note that Emperumāṇaḍiyar did not find a place in this function.

(The day of inscription is Sravana Nakshatra; the festival may have commenced in Uttarattādi, say Panchami tithi in Margali month).

The Ankurarpanam was to be in Uttarāṭṭādi Nakshatram and Sattumurai Rohini Nakshatram. But the month is not mentioned. We presume it to be in the month Margali. To celebrate this festival in Tirumala for Lakshmi devi as apart from Tiruvengadamudaiyan must have appeared incongruous even to the most accommodating Sthanattar. But Swāmi Achyutat raya Maharayar had ordered it and allotted 300 Rekhai pon yearly being the Uttarāyam of Kondaviḍu Seema.

Because Achyutadeva Maharaya instituted this festival in Tirumala in 1535,¹ we find Nāmissetti, a merchant of Krishnarāya paṭṭanam, Chandragiri town, making an endowment of 1575 panams for a similar festival for Sri Govindaraja (in January 1537 A.D.).

In connection with this festival in Tirumala, one of the Archakas Venkaṭatturaivar handed over his portion of the dakshina in connection with the festival as fund for the performance of certain Kainkaryams to Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān on other festival days.² So he thought that he washed his hands off any sin he may have committed in accepting the dakshina. Ekāki Srinivasayan appears to have been the only Srivaishanava who approved of this festival and he provided 1 dossai padi for the last day of the festival.³

Somebody must have pointed out to the Emperor that while instituting a festival for a non-existent Lakshmi in Tirumala he forgot the existence of Sri Rama with his consort Sita Devi and his brother Lakshmana. So on the same day 26—12—1535 another Silasasanam was made for 60 Re kai Pon,⁴ being Uttarāyam from the same Konḍaviḍu Sīmai for the celebration of a festival on every Punarvasu Nakshatra day with Panchakavya Abhishekam, street procession and food offerings soon after abhishekam.

Lakshmidēvi festival in Tirumala looks like copying Saluva Narasimha's Anna-Unjal (Dola Mahotsavam) Tirunal there for Malaikuniya ninra perumal and Nachchimar in 1473 A.D.

1. IV. 95. 3I-I-1537

2. IV. 138. 17—9—1539

3. IV. 157 13—2—1541

4. IV. 58 26—12—1535

**SRI ACHYUTA PERUMAL AND ACHYUTARAYAPURAM.
(Suburb of Tirupati).**

The earliest inscription which tells us of the existence of a temple for Achyuta Perumal in Tirupati is to be found on the north wall (outer side) west entrance of a verandah of the old kitchen of Sri Govindaraja's temple. It is not anywhere in Achyuta Perumal temple and is dated Sāli Sakha 1458, Durmukhi, suddha navami of Makara month, Asvini Nakshatra (17—1—1537). The Achyuta Perumal Temple at that time should therefore have been a new one with walls not yet fit to be inscribed upon. Considering that Achyutaraya Maharaya constructed the stone steps and Sandhya vandana Mantapams of Alvār Tirtham close by in 1531 and that he constructed the Achyutarāyan Koneri in Tirumala about 1533 A.D., it is not too much to assume that the Achyutaraya temple in Tirupati was consecrated at least sometime soon after these two. Anyhow it is found that in 1537 Nāmi Setti of Chandragiri (merchant) made provision for food offerings to Achyutaperumal on the Pāḍiyaveṭṭai festival day in his mantapam in Pongalveli. The Deity was therefore having the usual festivals also.

Nearly two years thereafter¹ on 8—2—1539 there was the temple with walls fit to be inscribed upon. On the south base of the ruined gopuram of this temple, there is now found an inscription which states that “Sriman Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamesvara Sri Achyutarāya Mahārāya” erected the temple of Achyuta Perumal in a site of Koṭṭūr village purchased from Sri Venkatesvara's Temple by paying 2400 panams as compensation for the site. For the daily worship of the Deity he granted the village of Parittiputtūr, dividing it into 20 shares. He made a gift of 100 houses to Brahmins with full rights of possession, sale, mortgage, succession, transfer and gift. The other 20 house sites he gave to Brahmins who enjoyed also the 20 shares of the village assigned to the temple. The boundaries of the site are also given in detail.

Mention of this temple and village are also made in subsequent years.

1. IV. 123. 8—2—1539

- Vol. V. 17, p. 43, 14—6—1544
 „ 53, p. 134, 15—7—1545
 „ 68, p. 176, 20—6—1546 (Tirthavari mentioned)
 „ 133, p. 336, 10—3—1552

The last one mentions that Achyuta Peṭṭai is a suburb of Tirupati. The temple and the village have however fallen into ruins within four centuries of their construction. The site would have been highly malarial. The construction of a new temple while there was already one for Sri Govindaraja, requiring greater attention and five centuries older, must have also been against the wishes of the local people. The attempt proved a failure and led to waste of money. *Achyutaraya's Koneri in Tirumala also fell into disrepair, was filled up in recent times at huge cost and converted into a flower garden. Alvār Tirtham alone prospered.*

ACHYUTARAYAR KONERI IN TIRUMALA.

There is no inscription to show the year of construction of the Achyutarayan Koneri in Tirumala. The first reference to it is in connection with an endowment by *RAYASAM RAMACHANDRA DIKSHATAR* dated 1—7—1533.¹ His native village Agaram Kaḍalāḍi (which even today is its recognised name) received the surname of Kumāra Venkaṭāḍri Samudram in memory of Achyutaraya's son. He made a grant of Tāmarapākkam village with an annual income of 200 Re kai Pon for offering 8 tirupponakam daily and for certain other festivals to Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyān. On one of these Brahmotsavam festival days, the Utsava Murti is said to be seated on the bank of Achyutarāyan Kōneri. The same donor on 13—8—1533 made a further endowment of 5000 panams for 4 tirupponakam daily and 13 iddili padis for the processional image while seated in the same mantapam on the 13 Rohini Nak shatram days in the year, being his own birth star. He made another endowment (IV. 59) on 26—12—1535² of 5000 panams which provides among other

1. IV. 23. 1—7—1533

2. IV. 24. 26—12—1535

things 1 appapadi to Sri Krishna in his mantapam on the said Kōneri on every 5th festival day of all the Brahmotsavams.

ADAIPPAN VISVANATHA NAYAKKAR was another officer of Achyutaraya who constructed a mantapam on the bank of this Kōneri and arranged out of his endowment of 15000 panam to offer one appa padi per day on the 13 days of all the 9 Brahmotsavams.¹ *This donor was the founder of the Madura Nāyak dynasty.*

On the same date¹ as above *KRISHNAPPA NAYAKKAR*, son of Chinnappa Nayakkar made a similar endowment of 15000 panams wherein also there was provision for exactly similar appa-padi offering (117) in a mantapam constructed by him on the bank of the same tank. *BĀCHCHARASAYYAR*, son of Sriramayangar repeats the same³ in his own mantapam on the tank bund. So also *RAMABHATTARAYAN*, son of Bhūtnātha (Sishṭa) Sitta Bhaṭṭar; and *IMMADI ELLAPPA UDAIYAR*, also.⁴ *SALAKARAJA SINGARAJA* made an endowment of 15000⁵ panams for exactly similar purposes, but the inscription does not mention any mantapam constructed by him on the tank bund.

Probable date of construction of Achyutaraya Koneri.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar (Junior) who was the first to endow a wooden car for Sri Periya Raghunatha of Tirupati for the merit of Achyutaraya, made another endowment wherein provision was made for food offerings to Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān on several festival days and in various places, including a maṅṭapam on the bank of Malluraju's tank. Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar while endowing 4½ villages in 1530 A.D. for a number of offerings on various occasions, included among the latter one appa padi

1 IV 81. 11—1—1537

2. IV. 82, 12—1—1537

3. IV. 83., 12—1—1537

4. IV. 84, 86, 12—1—1537

5. IV' 88, 12—1—1537

on the day of what is called Achyutaraya Tirunāl and in front of his Sankirtana Bhandaram in the temple; also for 13 appa padi on the 13 birth Nakshatras of Achyutaraya, Mrigasirsha. There is no reference to any mantapam or even the Achyutaraya Kōneri. Rayasam Ramachandra Dikshitar among the objects of his endowment of Tāmarapākkam village mentions the offering of appa padi on each 7th festival day of the 9 Brahmotsavams, while the processional Deity was seated in the mantapam constructed by him on the Achyutarayar Kōneri Bank.

We may therefore assume that the Kōneri was constructed after 31—10—1530 and before 1—7—1533. From another inscription of the year 1532 (Saka 1454) we gather that Achyutaraya commissioned Tallapakkam Tirumala Ayyangar to reconstruct the old tank పూర్వమైన కోనేరిని పునః ప్రతిష్ఠగాను నూతన శిలం చేకను. We have to consider whether Achyutaraya who in June 1531 completed the reconstruction of the Alvār Tirtham tank in Tirupati would have left the sacred tank of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān in Tirumala in disrepair and would have asked Tāllapākkam Tirumala Ayyangar in 1532 to carry out the repairs, but himself undertook to construct a new tank in his own name, which he would have completed before 1—7—1533. There will however be nothing strange if he had done so. In that case he may have commenced the excavation of his own tank some time in 1532, completing the same by about the middle of 1533 A.D.

Ramachandra Dikshitar may have superintended the construction, and built his own mantapam on the bank as the first one for the merit of Achyutaraya. There were subsequently as many as six mantapams all built before January 1537.

Other endowments of the value of 15000 panams by some of the other officers are shown in the annexure at the end of this Chapter.

PALACE INFLUENCE.

While so many officers instituted food offerings endowing the amount required therefor, there were *two ladies Adāippam*

Padmada Amman and Adaippam Rukmini amman who (their official designation indicates they were betel-bearers to the monarch) made no payment but *arranged to get food offerings made on certain festival days every year at the expense of the temple itself, for their individual merit.* The Sthanattar purchased from the temple funds two gardens, constructed stone compound walls therefor, raised garden in each, paying monthly wages for 3 gardeners and constructed a mantapam in each which Malaikuniya ninra Perumal should visit on the occasions referred to for receiving food offerings. The *capital cost of each of these was 518 Rekhai Pon.* From the date of the inscriptions, we have to infer that they accompanied the Emperor during his visit to the temple.¹

There is yet another inscription² of more or less of this type which does not state that any amount was actually deposited with the Sthanattar for the services. This was in favour of one *Aravīṭi Lakshmiamma* whose precise status in the harem of the monarch is missing in the inscription. The inscription provides for the purchase of a garden site for 25 Rekhai pon, the construction of a mantapam costing 500 Rekhai pon and pay of one gardener 6 R.P. yearly, for offering one appa padi on a day during each of the ten Brahmotsavams, one atirasa padi on Hunting festival days and on another day also perhaps Mannasamudram festival. The date of this inscription must be some time after Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar instituted his Brahmotsavam in March 1539.

Another incomplete one whose date can be guessed (but *the donor's name missing*), mentions the payment of 557 Rekhai Pon for the purchase of a garden site at Tirumala for 500 R.P. the remaining amount being the cost of a mantapam and stone compound walls and pay of a gardener. For offering 10 atirasa padi during the 10 Brahmotsavams every year and another 15 appa padi, the capital amount deposited was 143 Rekhai Pon (Total 700 Rekhai Pon). The mention of 10 Brahmotsavams leads us to infer that the date must be soon after 1539 A.D.³

1. IV, 56 and 57; 26—12—1535

2. IV, 125, perhaps late in 1539

3. IV, 188, after 1539

There were also many endowments made by other classes of devotees besides the officers. *It may be of interest to see if during Achyutaraya Maharaya's reign the temple had greater patronage from the public than in the reign of his predecessor, Krishnadeva Mahārāya.* During both the periods in some cases the endowments were in the shape of grant of villages. Those endowed during Krishna's period do not state the annual net income whereas in Achyutaraya's period the annual income is given in Rekhai Pon in most cases. Again during the reign of Saluva Narasimha, the endowments were neither in cash nor in the shape of villages, but by the excavation of irrigation channels in the then existing temple lands (Tiruvidaiyāṭṭam and Sarvamānyam villages). What amount was expended on the excavation of these channels is in no case stated. Donors of this type were invariably men who had official influence as feudatory chiefs, or influential men like Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. After the Saluva period this type of endowment is not in evidence, but is replaced by a cash payment to the Sthanattar (or the Tiruppaṇi Bhandāram only during Krishnadeva Raya's time) charging them to utilise the amount for the excavation of, or repairs to, irrigation channels in temple villages. It was also pointed out that there was an appreciable number of endowments by the Emperor's officers which give an impression of having been forced contribution. All such amounts also were used for the improvement of irrigation sources, leading one to suspect that the exaction was for that purpose only.

It is worth-while giving comparative figures of the endowments made during Krishnadevaraya's and Achyutaraya's reign, under such headings as from Feudatory chiefs, officers of all grades, merchants etc.,

	during Krishna's in panams.	Achyuta's in panams
Feudatory Chiefs	..	34,600
Merchants	37,625	43,704
Officers	41,080	3,09,186
Poets and scholars	3,520	24,185

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Jiyars and Ekakis	..	14,800	7,880
Maṭhādhipatis	..	14,000	
Achāryapurushās and other Brahmins connected with Temple	..	14,175	21,925
Nambimars	..	350	305
Temple servants (accountants etc.)	..	7,800	7,910
Emperumanadiyars	..	1,000	8,030
Other Devotees	..	32,800	38,753
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		1,67,150	4,96,478
		<hr/>	<hr/>

There is no inscription to show whether and what amount or which villages Achyutaraya gave for any food offering although his Queen has stated that her own food offering should be immediately after the offerings in the name of Krishnadeva and Achyuta; 'திருவேங்கடமுடையான் நாள் வழி அமுது செய்தருளும் அச்சுதராயர் அவசரமும் கிஷிராயர் அவசரமும் அமுது செய்தருளின பின்பு அமுது செய்தருளும் வரதாஜி அம்மன் அவசரம் (para 2 of inscription). But Varadaji amman's offerings were to the value of 920 Rekhai pon annually for which she endowed six villages in 1534 A.D. (IV. 29; 5—4—1534 A.D.).

Chinna Maḍappalūr (income)	200	R.P.
Muttukur	200	"
Paliva	200	"
Valli	35	"
Munganur	35	"
Pamdapalle	110	"
Other sources	140	"

Yearly Total 920 Rekhai Pon.

For this amount 20 tirupponakam, 1 tirukkanamaḍai, 1 atirasa paḍi, 1 vaḍai, 1 siḍai, and 1 sukhiyan were to be offered daily. It will be seen that private endowments have been more

lavish than those of the Emperor and the Empress in the matter of food.

The endowments made in cash as well as in the shape of villages have been far more in Achyutaraya's period than in Krishnadeva's. Figures relating to the number of sandhi offerings during the early periods, the period of Saluva Narasimha and those of Krishnadeva and all his successors will be shown separately at a later stage (see Sadasivaraya's period.)

In the method of the disposal of the donor's one-fourth share and also of the other three-fourths share, there appears to be some change during Achyutadēva Mahāraya's period. In Saluva Narasimha's days and also for some time previous to that, the one-fourth share of the donor used to be distributed among a number of people, even the Iyal Prabhandam people sometimes coming in for a share along with the 12 nirvahams, the 3½ vagais, the nambimars etc. But we found that Krishnadeva Maharaya and some of his generals gave away the donor's share to the Tiruppaṇi Bhandārattār also or even exclusively to them. A possible explanation for this deviation has already been suggested. But soon after Achyutadeva Maharaya became the Emperor a definite change is observed. It can be seen from almost every inscription that the donor's quarter share was appropriated by the donor. There is nothing to show how the donor disposed of his share. We have reason to believe that most of these donors were not residents of Tirumala or Tirupati and could not therefore possibly have received the prasadams daily in person. A few like the Emperor, maintained their own sattrams where the food would have been distributed free to the pilgrims. The smaller donors however could not have maintained any such agency. It might be that donor's share was taken over by the Sthanattar by private purchase or annual lease. Sale and lease of donor's share of the prasadams have been a feature of the temple.

Transfer of donor's share of prasadams by sale in perpetuity made by Saluva Timmarasa to Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar.

But an outright sale of donor's daily share of prasādams of all kinds for value received in cash would have been considered

at the time an unusual and even unthinkable transaction between respectable men. Donors have been usually men in well-to-do circumstances who would consider it a pious act to distribute their share free to pilgrims in a holy place like the Tirumalai Hills. Even minor donors including the Emperumānadiyārs assigned their share (or a portion thereof) to deserving poor brahmins and Srivaishnavas who maintained flower gardens for the benefit of the temple, or appropriated the entire quantity for their own use. It was only the perishable variety of prasādams which accrued daily to the Sthanattar, Nambimar, Jiyars and the temple cooks that was (in full or in part) leased out to men who made a living by the sale of these prasādams. These men went by the name Prasāḍakkārar Mahāmēdangaḷ. Such leases were given from year to year and the Sthanattar as a body were not concerned in the transaction. An outright sale of the donor's share in perpetuity was an unheard of thing until in 1536 A.D. three such sales were registered by inscriptions made by the temple accountant (Tiruninra-ūr-udaiyar) on the walls of the temple. Although the name of the Sthanattar does not find place in the inscription their purpose was to have the transactions recognised and approved by them. There is no other instance of a similar sale in the history of this temple. These three sales therefore deserve special notice for more reasons than one—the circumstances which necessitated the sales and their registration by the temple accountant; the high social standing of the vendors and the vendee and the rather immediate reactions to such a transaction by, what appears to be, Achyutarāya Maharaya, the Emperor.

The vendors were the great Ex-Pradhāni Sāluva Timmarasa (Appaji of the Rayar appaji fame) and his younger brother Govindaraja. Timmarasa served as Pradhāni not only Sri Viṇa Krishnadeva Maharaya but also his elder brother Vira Narasimharayar. Maharayar and possibly Immadi Narasimharaya also. According to accepted tradition he was responsible for saving Krishnadēva's eyes from being gouged out as planned and ordered by his elder brother. Timmarasa therefore helped him to become the Emperor in succession to his brother. He was also Krishna's respected, trusted and famous Pradhāni. The sudden death of

Krishnadeva's only son, the young prince Tirumala, in 1525 A.D. resulted in suspicion being cast against Timmarasa of complicity in a plot for poisoning which brought about the death.¹ Timmarasa was removed from office and lived thereafter in obscurity. The sales we are now considering bear testimony to the financial ruin which overtook the famous Pradhāni. His younger brother Saluva Govindarāja continued to be in the service of the Emperor. The two brothers had made jointly and severally certain endowments between the years 1512 and 1524 A.D. in the temples of Tirupati and Tirumala. Timmarasa's wife Lakshmi Ammanāgar also had made an endowment in 1511 in Tirumala and the daily donor's share due to her on that account was assigned by her to her son-in-law Nāḍiṅḍa Appayyan presumably living in Chandragiri. Timmarasa presented probably in 1512 A.D. a valuable pītāmbaram cloak for Sri Venkatesa. He was greatly praised for this excellent gift in Sanskrit verses in an inscription in Govindarajaswāmi temple. He was also maintaining a flower garden in Tirumala. Between the years 1525 and 1535 A.D. he seems to have got on somehow in his seclusion. But his poverty was gradually driving him to the necessity of finding money by the sale of the one fourth share of prasadam which as a donor he was receiving all these years and which was being used for maintaining the flower garden and feeding a few hungry pilgrims. His own poverty was being kept under a veil. The great pradhāni had ultimately to veil the donor's share in perpetuity to Tāḷḷapakkam Tirumala Ayyangar—son of the great poet, bhakta and philosopher Annamayyāgar—who perhaps was the only one in Tirumala who could afford to purchase. The sale went in three instalments. The first sale was not of the donor's share on his own endowment but on that of his younger brother Govindarāja who was in service. Timmarasa acted for his brother, probably with his consent. It was probably hoped that it would not be construed as a sale forced by poverty or want.¹ The next sale is in inscription IV. 74. The date is not known as that part of the inscription is at a height of over 35 feet in the Tirupati temple. This endowment had been made jointly by

1. The story is told by Nuniz and repeated in Sewal's *Forgotten Empire* p p. 359—361.

2. IV, 72: 26—2—1536

the two brothers. The third and the last sale¹ was the donor's share of Timmarasa's own endowment to Sri Venkateswara made in 1512 A.D. at a time when he was the mahāpradhāni of Sri Krishnadeva maharaya. This was the last straw. The world came to know in all nakedness the depth of Timmarasa's poverty. There would have been great sympathy and astonishment. Thus within a period of ten months Timmarasa not only sold his brother's share of the prasadam and their joint shares but also the donor's share on his own endowment. Apart from these sales (Vikrayam) there were some prasadams, such as appams, aṭirasams and vaḍai, according to Timmarasa on festival occasions which he gave away as free gift with libations of water to Tirumalai ayyāṅgar and not as sale. The only stipulation to the gift was that Tirumalai ayyāṅgar should continue to reside in Tirumala and do service (Nitya sēva) to the Lord. “திருவேங்கட முடையான் சந்ததியில் நிற்வாசம் பண்ணிக் கொண்டு பெறக் கடவதாகவும். இதுக்கு தாரா பூர்வகமாக ஸ்ரீஸநம் பண்ணிக் கொடுத்தேன் சந்தான பரம்பரை சந்திரித்தவரை நடக்கக் கடவதாகவும். இப்படி கோயில் கணக்கு திருநின்ற ஊருடையான் எழுத்து.” The amounts realised by the vendor by the three sales were 4600, 5203 and 1900 panams (total 11,703 panams).

These transactions probably reached the ears of the Emperor Achyutaraya Maharayar and touched his heart. There is an inscription which probably records his reaction to the news. It is dated (IV. 89) 12th January 1537 (Friday sukla dvitiya of Makara month of Durmukhi year) and records that under the orders (or as desired by) of Achyutarāya Mahārāyar “அச்சுதராய மஹாராயர் அப்பனைப்படிக்கு புதுக்க ஸ்ரீலாலாஸநம் பண்ணிக் கொடுத்தபடி திருவேங்கட செய்தருளும்படிக்கு விட்ட மல்லா புயம் கிராமம் கக்கு இதில் வுனைந்த முதல் கொண்டு”. The structure of the passage in Tamil gives no room for asserting that the name of the donor is lost in the inscription. Mallāpuram has always been a Tiruvidaiyaṭṭam village of the temple. In 1475 A.D. (II. 134) Kandadai Ramanuja ayyāṅgar made some irrigation improvements and from the extra income thereby accruing

1. IV, 93; 28—12—1536.

performed certain daily services. Now in 1537 A.D. Achyutaraya ordered the execution of a fresh Silāsāsanam (inscription) for utilising the income from the village for certain food offerings to be made on the 7th festival day of all the eight Brahmotsavams and for handing over the donor's one fourth share of the prasadam to 'Appayyan' after giving a portion to the gardener who was maintaining the flower garden, probably the one which was being maintained by Timmarasa. Appayyan's identity is not described in the inscription, for at the time every one would have known that it was Nadindla Appayyan, the son-in-law of Timmarasa. Achyutaraya's action was meant to be an indirect help to Timmarasa, done in a manner which would not wound his feelings.

The statement made in pp. 194, 195 of the T.T.D. Report (on the inscriptions) that Timmarasa served as Pradhani during Achyutaraya's time also is not borne out by the inscriptions. From IV. 153 dated 31—12—1540 it is seen that one Sōmarasayyar, father of Dalavāy Timmarasayyar (Kāsyapagotra, Āsvalāyana sutra and Rik-Sakha) was the Pradhani under Achyutaraya. He was probably appointed as Pradhani in 1525 A.D. after Sāluva Timmarasa's dismissal. That Saluva Timmarasa was not Pradhani in 1536 A.D. when the sale transactions of the prasadam were made is gathered from the description given by him as vendor, viz., Rachiraja's son Saluva Timmarasayyar (V.93 ராசச ராஜாவின் புத்திரச்சாலுவ திம்மரஸயர்). In his wife's endowment made in December 1511 (III. 19) and in his own endowment made in 1512 (III. 21) he is described as Pradhāni Sāluva Timmarasayyanḡar. His brother Govindaraja made one endowment in 1522 as the dharmam of Krishnadevaraya and another in 1524 for the merit of his daughter. These endowments made by the brothers were all before 1525 when Krishnadeva's son was poisoned and Saluva Timmarasa was dismissed. When numerous endowments of large sums of money. (15000 panams each) were made by Achyutaraya's officers and courtiers in 1536 and 1537 A.D. the names of Saluva Timmarasa and Saluva Govindaraja are not found among the donors. On the other hand they were selling away the donor's share of the endowments made in Krishnadevaraya's reign. Govindaraja's next endowment IV. 166 was made on 5th November 1541. There

is nothing in the preamble of the inscription to show that he was then an officer under Achyutaraya. It probably was a thanksgiving offering to Sri Govindarajasvāmi on the eve of his safe retirement from service. The donor's share of the prasadam he took to himself and distributed the three quarter share to the temple servants and the 12 nirvahams. If in 1536 A.D. Sāluva Timmarasa was the Pradhani he would not have committed (what would certainly have been considered) the unbecoming act of selling away even his brother's share of the prasadams.

We next turn to the vendee in the above transactions.

Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar was himself a munificent donor; he reconstructed a ruined temple in his village Alamel-mangapuram and instituted worship therein; he reconstructed the Svāmi Pushkarini in Tirumala with cutstone steps and also the prakaram and gopuram of the Varāhaswāmi temple there. He instituted a new Brahmōtsavam in Ani month in Tirumala at a capital cost of 2000 varahans. Such a man could not be mistaken for one who made a living by sale of temple prasadams. There is really something more interesting in the transaction. Tirumalai Ayyangar was getting his own quarter share from his endowments for food offerings. If he purchased something more from others, it should have been that he needed it not for cornering. There were more men of his kind in Tirumala during those days and even later. They generally had large living quarters where pilgrims accommodated. Any one with pretensions to being a representative of theocracy of the day became the centre of attraction for pilgrims who in addition to some intellectual feast were treated also to temple prasadams to satisfy sentimental craving and hunger. Such prasadams as could stand transport to their native village were taken with them by the pilgrims. The spiritual teacher received valuable presents in return and would have been largely advertised abroad by the pilgrim who received the kind attention of the spiritual teacher at Tirumala. Prasādam as an article of immediate sale was restricted to the cooked perishable class and was mostly handled by lessees whose presence in Tirumala will also receive our attention shortly. The deal in this case was advantageous to both parties. Prasadams (baked and fried)

which are less perishable have a higher value as transportable prasādams; so also God's chandanam, betel and nuts. Sripādarēnu is another rare article.

We can well understand why the Sthanattar made a scramble to obtain the donor's share of the prasādams and how the Tiruppaṇi Bhandārattar came in for their share also. During Achyutaraya's reign an attempt was made to put an end to this. It is likely that the donor in several cases sold his share or transferred the same for consideration.

For the unflinching and punctual performance of these trusts, the genuine co-operation of the Sthanatar and the Tiruppaṇi Bhandārattār was essential. The Sthānattār should expend conscientiously the monies entrusted to them for the repairs of existing irrigation sources and for the construction of new ones. The Tiruppaṇi people were responsible not only for the proper execution of the works, but also for the collection of the produce or rents as the case may be. They could report failure of crops, or impossibility of collecting rents. Where rents were not realised, the trust failed to function. Such cases were not infrequent in the history of this temple.

When we review the extent and volume of the different food offerings for which endowments were made from time to time, we begin to doubt whether all these offerings were daily cooked in the temple kitchen. Some may not have been offered to the Deity by collusion between the Sthanattar, the cooks and the Nambimars. Their own individual shares may have been appropriated in the raw state itself. We cannot blame them for what was perhaps impossible of accomplishment in a day of 24 hours. When Krishnadeva Maharaya gave a portion of his quarter share to the Tiruppaṇi Bhandarattar it was with a view to making sure of the food was cooked. A portion had also to be sent to his choultry for distribution to pilgrims. While this can ensure part performance daily, it cannot ensure full performance if the Tiruppaṇi Bhandarattar also collude with the others. But the baked and fried vagai padi and chandanam are prasādams which it is to the advantage of all to offer.

It appears to have been decided therefore in Achyutaraya's time that the best method was to see that the donor's share was given to the donor; and that none of the temple authorities should appropriate that share. The donor would thus be assured that his endowment was functioning.

How the three-quarters share of the prasadam which became temple property was disposed of has not been mentioned in any of the inscriptions. All that is invariably mentioned is that it should be appropriated for distribution in "Sandhi aḍaiḍḍu" time. Whatever might have been the ancient practice, we are told in one of Saluva Govindaraya's endowments¹ that the three-quarters share should be distributed first amongst Tevai, Singamurai, Panṇimurai, Kaikkōḷar and the balance among the twelve Nirvāham. The donor's quarter share went to the donor. The inscription stands damaged in parts and complete information is therefore not available. The existing practice will be fully detailed in the chapter dealing with "prasadams."

But it was not always the case that the three-quarters share was appropriated for distribution in Sandhi Aḍaiḍḍu. There are instances which go to show that the three-quarters share was perhaps distributed to pilgrims. The usual wording of the inscription would be, with reference to the disposal of the three-quarter share of the prasadams "we will receive them at Sandhi"
நின்றது பூரவத்தில் அடைப்பிலே பெறக்கடவேர மாகவும்.

PRASADAMS—ARTICLE OF TRADE.

How Prasadams became an article of trade in Tirumala deserves some explanation at length. We have noticed from our inscriptions that in the early days, perhaps even up to the end of the third quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., there was not enough prasadams in the temple to feed the Sthānikas and other casual employees, not to speak of the pilgrims. For the benefit of the last named satrams and maṭhams were established, and a portion of the donor's quarter share was used there to feed the pilgrims

1 IV, 166, 5—11—1541.

free. After the Sthanattar came into existence about 1390 A.D. and after the preparation of vagai padi (such as atirasams, appams, vaḍai etc.) increased, a portion of the donor's share was given by the donor for their maintenance or nirvaham. This practice seems to have been started in 1390 A. D. But some of the Sthanattars (Jiyars, Nambimars, Sabhaiyar, Tiru-ninra-ur-Udaiyar) held another status also in the temple as Sthānikas. In the latter capacity they had a share of three-quarter share of every food offering. A clear distinction must be made between Sthānikas and Sthanattars. The former form a group of all the temple employees who were there from long before the advent of the Sthanattar. So some of the Sthanattar secured for themselves prasadams in two capacities.

We also found that the Sthānikas of the Govindarajaswami temple complained to Sri Sāluva Narasingadeva Udaiyār that their emoluments were insufficient for their maintenance and had an edict issued that they may follow the Tirumala Temple practice and distribute among themselves all the three-quarter share of the prasadams offered in the Tirupati Temple. Even before the issue of this edict we found that Tirumalainambi Tōlappār Ayyangar distributed, from out of the donor's share of 13 appams, 6 appams among the 12 nirvaham of Sthanattar in Tirupati also. From a close study of the inscriptions thereafter, we have had ample reasons to infer that the Sthanattar got demoralised and began to appropriate for themselves and for the vagai people, the entire one-fourth share due to the donor in very many instances. We also noticed how Krishnadēva Mahārāya tried to remedy this state of affairs by making the Tiruppaṇi Bhandārat̄tār act as a check on the vagaries of the Sthanattar. In Achyutaraya Maharaya's time a further attempt was made by making the donor receive his share himself. This was the rule except in a few cases where the donor (mostly Tirupati merchants who had to be in the good books of the Sthanattar) of his own accord distributed his share between the Sthanattar and Vagai people; and in some case the Tiruppaṇi Bhandāram also came in for a share. We have also seen that Achyutaraya and some others did not specifically hand over even the three quarters share usually appropriated by the Sthanattar

during Sandhi adaippu. That portion may have been distributed in open assembly or āsthānam to bonafide pilgrims and devotees.

Above all we have seen that two very respectable persons, responsible officers of Achyutaraya's Government, sold their quarter share for valuable consideration to another respectable person who was a poet, philosopher and devotee, who was assigned several villages by Achyutaraya who himself made many valuable endowments and services to the temple and who styled himself "Srimad veda mār̥ga Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya..", the upholder and establisher of the vedic religion and particularly Ramanuja's Siddhantam. He was not a hotel-keeper or sweet-meat seller. But he did represent a class of people who found by experience that temple prasadam is really money and therefore power. He saw how the Nambimars and the Jiyars were drawing to themselves large crowds because they had with them large stocks of cakes (panyāram̥s), chandanam, Srīpādarēnu, betel leaves and nuts, all rendered sacred by having been offered to God. Religious sentiment which became second nature to the devout Hindu attached great value to these. The traffic in these articles of divine relics brought with it very many advantages to the possessor.

But we have not seen so far in these inscriptions any member of an Achāryapurusha family lining himself up with this fraternity. Their article of trade was their ancestry, or pedigree. They would have lost the respect which they commanded from princes and people if they had descended to exchanging prasadams for money. They were therefore mostly poorer than the other classes and we therefore find fewer endowments from them; and even such as were made were for smaller sums or were made by their disciples. Among the Acharyapurushās some members of the Toḷappar family have made large endowments. But these are mostly transfer of grants or gifts made by the kings or feudatory chiefs on some auspicious or inauspicious occasion, (such as an eclipse occurring perhaps on one's birth star day) to ward off the evil. The Acharyas were not slow to lay such grants and gifts at the feet of Tiruvengadamudaiyan, and thus avoid the sin of receiving such gifts.

Temple worship, Acharyapurushas and other acharyas.

We have necessarily to direct our thoughts towards the trend of temple worship—in this temple at any rate—from the days when Sri Ājavandār and Sri Ramanuja organised the same (11th Century A.D.) to about the middle of the 16th century A.D. Their aim appears to have been to encourage the Archa form of worship as a necessary preliminary to self-discipline and spiritual culture. To this end a theocracy of Achāryapurushas was created for this temple and they must have been functioning in the earlier days at least as propagandists. They gathered around them a large circle of disciples hereditarily. But what exactly they did in the temple is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. We get a glimpse of a succession of these men from inscriptions recording their endowments or gifts to the temple and from inscriptions of endowments made by some of their disciples either for the merit of the Acharya or by mentioning them for receipt of a portion or the entire amount of the donor's quarter share. None of the Acharyapurushas seems to have had a hand in the administration of the temple. Nor do they appear to have been sharers in the three-quarter share of the prasadam reserved for those who were doing the kankaryams. They occupied an honoured position in the temple worship and they obviously went about the country reminding people of the greatness of this temple.

But the great Acharyas who were the propounders of Ramanuja's philosophy and the cult of temple worship in its present form are nowhere mentioned in our inscriptions directly. Pillai Lōkāchārya, Vēdānta Desika, Manavāḷa Mahāmuni and their successors, Adi van Sathagopa Jiyar, Brahma-tantra swami, and others do not appear to have been recognised by the Sthanattar who administered the temple affairs. There is no inscription singing the glory of any of these, but we find only incidental mention of their names in some inscription or other by an ardent follower of their tenets. On the other hand we found Vijaya Gandagopala's greatness being magnified many times. The Pandya's glory was sung in glowing terms and so also the fame of the Yādavarāyas, even when the last of them was fading into silence. Guruparampara accounts tell us stories of Vēdānta Dēsika's miraculous birth, ās

being connected with the disappearance of the inner temple bell. But his visits to Tirumala do not find mention in any inscription. There have been the Vaṅ Saṭhagōpan maṭham and the Pārakālaswāmi maṭham. There is no record to show when these actually came into existence in Tirumala. The great Madhwa mutt is figured as the gift of charity of a great monarch to the pleading of a sanyasi for some space to found a mutt. We seem to miss the religious spirit in the inscription. It is a matter of doubt whether the temple was really serving as a centre for radiating spiritual culture. While there is much about prasādams, festivals and dancing, there is no sign of a college or synod for religious instruction or research. When one goes to the Kānchipuram Varadarajaswami temple, attention is invited to the part of the temple where Naḍādūr Ammāl was holding his kālakshēpam classes of religious instruction. Srirangam was famous for the great assemblage of learned men during festivals for holding religious discussion. But this most famous temple of ours in Southern India can lay no claim to fostering spiritual culture at any period of its history, if we are to judge by the tenor of our inscriptions.

It may have been the policy to leave religious instructions to the Acharya purushas and the Acharyas who were doing it in their homes and in mutts. The chronology of some of these may be inferred from some of the inscriptions.

Doḍḍayyangar Appai (Doddacharya of Sholinghur) was himself a donor in 1519 A.D.

Koyil Kandāḍai Annan was the ācharya of Periya Kommaman (Queen of Salakaraja Periya Tirumalayya Dēva). His name is found in 9—7—1475 as the Acharya of Amudan Tiruvenkatayya, a donor.

Kandadai Periya Appa's son was Kandadai Appa and his grandson was Tiruvenkatayyangar. Alvān Kōyil Tiruvenkatayyan was the disciple of Appa (1539). Periya Appa's birth star was Kēṭṭai in Masi month; Appa's birth star Āvaṇi Bharani. There is perhaps another Kandadai Appa (Acharya of K. K. Ramanuja Jiyar) whose birth star is said to be Makha.

Prativādi Bhayankaram Anna's son was P. B. Appayyengar; and the latter's son P. B. Emperumānār Appa whose annual birth star was Vaikasi Puradam. Ēkāki Perumālayyan was the disciple of Emperumanar Appa.

Paravastu Anna's disciple was the Sattada Sri Vaishnava Ekāki Pattarpirān Ayyan.

Van Saṭhagōpan Maṭham comes to notice in 1485—1506; one Tippu Seṭṭi (perhaps a disciple) assigned one atirasam to the matham. Sriman Narayana Jiyar, the disciple of Adi Van Saṭhagōpa Jiyar, appears as a donor. The disciples of this matham made an endowment of 260 panams with the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. Van Sathagopa Jiyar's birth star is Kettai.

Kōyil Kēlvi Vaḍa Tiruvenkata Jiyar's acharya was Tiruvoimoli Perumal Nayinar whose annual birth star is Purattāsi Dhanishtha. Vada Tiruvenkata Jiyar's annual birth star is Kārtigai Mrigasira; Parankusa Jiyar's birth star is Sathabhishak. Alagiya Manavala Jiyar's (Paramacharya) birth star is Ani Asvini.

Sirrayyengar was the son of Kōmāndūr Tiruvenkata Chakravarti whose annual birth star is Adi Mrigasira.

The following appear as Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Kumara Tattayyengar's disciples:—Feudatory Chiefs Pinna Bhupala Narasa Nayaka and his brother Kesa Nayaka, and the temple accountants represented by Vignēsvara Sriman. Appa Pillai, (one of the generals of the Vijayanagar Empire under Saluva Narasimha and Krishna Devarayar), Tirumalai Nayakkar; Mannar Pillai; other temple Accountants Kuppa Venkatattarasu, Tiruvenkatavan and some other accountants also; and Panditar Purushottamayyan, Salakaraya Singaraja was the disciple of *Kumara Tattayyengar's son Tirumalai Tattayyengar*.

Instances like these go to show that the acharyas did exercise some religious influence over their disciples who were votaries of this temple. The Sthanattar, although some of its members such as the Nambimars and the Jiyars had also religious duties in the temple, seem to have functioned strictly as the secular managers of the temple.

Iyyunni Appa, we learn, was the temple astrologer for fixing muhurtams. There was also another member Iyyuni Ramayyan, son of Tiruvenkatanatha Bhattar of the same family.

Agreement among cloth merchants and lessees.

IV. 112; 9—10—1538 A.D.

Among the numerous inscriptions there is one of peculiar interest to us. It is on the east base (outer side) right of entrance of the first (inner) gopuram of Sri Govindarajaswami temple in Tirupati and is dated Wednesday, Bahula Dvitiya in Tulā month of the year Viḷambi, Krittika nakshatram, Saka 1460 (9—10—1538) during the reign of Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Hariyarāya Vibhāṭa Bhāsekkatappuvarāyara-gaṇḍa Mūvarāya-gaṇḍa Pūrva Dakshina Paschima Uttara Samudrādhipati Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Achyutaraya Maharaya. It is an agreement between the cloth and yarn merchants of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, Puramaṇḍalam and Uḷmaṇḍalam on one side and the cow holders (lease holders) of Vijayanagaram, Magudhu paṭṭanam, Vidhura paṭṭanam and Pūranapuru on the other. In the weaving of coarse (சூகக், முத்துக்கு) cloth on handlooms, the Sadisarakku vaḍam (warp yarn) and the weft (ஊல்) should be in the proportion of 1 to 2 in numbers. Such weaving should be left to the muslim weavers exclusively. For any infringement of this agreement by members of either party, a fine of 12 gold vārahans shall be levied which shall be collected and credited to the Sri Bhaṇḍāram of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān. This was to hold good for all countries south of Tirupati and Conjeevaram.

It may be observed that there was no state interference in arriving at this agreement and that the agency for enforcing strict compliance and for collecting and crediting the fine to Sri Bhaṇḍaram was the assembly of the merchants only.

This inscription throws some light on the concern of the Hindus for the welfare of their fellowmen, the muslim converts. It also shows that the merchants had full faith in the organising capacity and commercial honesty of their own assembly to enforce the terms of the agreement. This was the state of affairs just about

400 years ago. The merchants were proud of the *prāsasti* of their sovereign and the inscription gives it in full.

Another fact which we have to note is that neither Achyutaraya Maharaya, nor his Queen Varadaji Amman made any endowments to the temple of Sri Govindaraja; nor have they shown any zeal for the temples of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala and in Tirupati. Their endowments like those of Krishnadēvarāya have all been for Sri Venkatesa's temple. A close reading of the inscriptions IV, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 54, 58, 123 and 29 will make this clear. The Devasthanam epigraphist presumes that IV, 97 refers to an Endowment by Queen Varadaji Amman. It is an incomplete inscription and the endowment was made by someone in the name of Varadaji amman “*ஓவராய மஹாராயர் வரதாஜி அம்மன் பேர்க்கு குடுத்தபடி*” The wording in IV, 29 (which is an endowment by the queen) is *அச்சுதராய மஹாராயரிட பட்டமகாதேவியார் வரதாஜிதேவி அம்மன் அவர்களிக்கு திருமலையில் ஸ்தானத்தாரோம்...*” (“To Varadaji devi amman the queen consort of Achyutaraya Maharayar, we the Sthanattar of Tirumalai. .”). Inscription IV, 97 however records something done in her name (or for her merit). The same inscription includes another item of endowment by one Villiyar in para 35 of the inscription. This Villiyar is probably the son of the temple accountant Venkatatturaivar and he made an endowment of 200 panam for some festival on the Kanu festival day in a mantapam constructed by him on the bank of the Govinda Pushkarini in Tirupati in January 1530. Soon after Achyutarayar accended the throne, there is nothing unlikely in some of the accountants making an endowment wherein some of the items were in the name of the Queen and for her merit. It was a well-established form of showing loyalty.

We may therefore feel assured that following the footsteps of his predecessor Krishnadeva Rayar, Achyutarayar and his Queen limited their worship to the God in Tirumala and they didnot show any attachment to Sri Ramanuja's temple. Achyutaraya takes care to describe the Tirupati Alvar Tirtham as the Divya Tirtham of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān and makes no reference to Govindarājaswami for whose special service Sri Ramanuja consecrated that waterfall. No wonder that the Srivaishnavas

in their turn let down Achyuta Perumāḷ temple and the agraharam founded by Achyutaraya.

It must be remembered that the temple of Sri Govindaraja was from the beginning entirely affiliated to the Tirumalai Temple and dependent thereon for financial assistance. But devotees from time to time did institute separate endowments for daily Sandhi offering as well as special offerings on tingal divasams and visesha divasams (special festival days) inclusive of the two Brahmotsavams. Having been consecrated by Sri Ramanuja himself, the temple was held in high esteem by all Srivaishnavas. It received special attention during the reign of the Yādvarāya and Sāluva Narasimha. But Sri Vira Krishnadevaraya did not extend his royal patronage. There were however a few officers of his who made endowments in its favour. Taking only the daily sandhi offering endowments into consideration, this temple received endowments for 21 tirupponakams during Krishnaraya's period, while the Tirumalai temple received 129 Tirupponakams. The panyārams are not taken for purposes of comparisons, as in fact Govindaraja got nothing excepting during the Visesha divasams. Mannar Pillai seems to be the only officer, who made an endowment of one Tirupponakam. All the other offerings were by private devotees including the one by Narayana Jiyar

During Achyutaraya's reign, there was the same indifferent attitude. Sri Govindarajaswami secured only 23 tirupponakams and one atirasam daily, while the Tirumalai temple got 276 tirupponakams, 3 atirasams, 3 vadai, 3 dosai, 1 sidai, 1 sukhiyan etc. The offerings on days of tingal and visesha divasams, are not considered here, as they are too numerous to go into a summary. Among the officers of the State the two who contributed to Sri Govindaraja temple are, Rāyasam Timmarasar, (16 tirupponakam and one atirasam) and Perungonḍai Vīrappannan (one tirupponakam daily). The others were all private donors.

As for the temples of Sri Ramanuja and the Āḷvārs, royal patronage was nil. The officers followed suit. But the Sri Vaishnava devotees as a class celebrated the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Ramanuja and the Āḷvārs in a befitting manner. The endowment

made by Paradēsi Tiruvenkatayyan describes in detail the manner of the celebration. It is rather strange that Sri Vira Achyutarayar, who was so prompt in reconstructing the Āḷvār Tirtham in a befitting manner, should have failed to extend his patronage to the festivals of the Āḷvārs and Sri Ramanuja. Nothing but the want of zeal on the part of the Srivaishnavas of Tirupati,—no doubt justifiable from their point of view—could account for the sorry fate of Achyutaperumal temple and the agraharam in Tirupati and the Achyutarāyan Kōṇēri and manatapams in Tirumala, which have now completely vanished. The reaction of the local residents showed itself in greater attachment to the temple of Sri Govindaraja and to the celebration of the Adhyayanotsavams. We will see more of this in Sri Sadasivarayar's reign.

Achyutaraya was certainly a staunch and sincere worshipper of Vishnu, particularly Tiruvēngadamuḍaiyān. But he failed to recognise that a temple consecrated by himself cannot flourish when in the same place there is a more ancient temple consecrated by Sri Ramanuja, wherein the Deity installed was one with a long tradition behind, dating to the Chola period. Nor was he able to realise the foolishness of creating a new Pushkarini in Tirumala to compete with the Swami Pushkarini which had all the ancient traditions behind it. When he practically pushed aside the archaka who had an Agamic halo around him and performed the archana himself every Hindu accustomed to pay unquestioning obedience to the rules and procedure enjoined in the Agamas would have set him down for an eccentric, if not an arrogant ruler.

ANNEXURE TO CHAPTER XIX.

(Vide page 486)

ADAIPPAM BAIYAPPA NAYAKKAR. Son of Timmappa Nayakkar, paid 15000 Panams on 16—1—1537 and another sum of 630 panams on 6—9—1538 for offering in all 300 appa padi a year and 9 atirasam padi, 309 palams of chandanam, 15450 areca nuts and 30900 betel leaves. The atirasam padis were to be offered in his own mantapam. He had already made an endowment of 53320 panams on 9—11—1535 and (perhaps another 9000 panams) on 16—4—1519 the two together being for 26 Tirupponakam daily.

PERIYA TIMMAPPAN AND CHINNA RAMAPPAN, sons of Basava Nayakkar endowed 15000 panams for a series of food offerings among which the main item is 117 appa padi to be offered during 9 Brahmotsavams at the rate of one appa padi on each of the 13 days of the Brahmotsavam in his own mantapam in Narasā Nāyakkar Street, Tirumala.

DALAVAY TIMMARASAYYAR (Commander of the Chandragiri Forces), not only paid 15000 panams, but also endowed Samapuram Tinnai village with an annual income of 150 Rekhai Pon for food offerings, chief among which are 117 appapadi, during 9 Brahmotsavams in his own mantapam in Narasā Nayakkar Street.

Similarly, *LEPAKSHI VIRAPPANNAGAL* endowed 15000 panams for food offerings, 117 appa padi being in his own mantapam in Narasā Nāyakkar Street;

and *ANGARAJA NAGAPPAYYAR*, 15000 panams, chief item of offering being 117 appa padi during the 9 Brahmotsavams in his mantapam in Narasā Nayakkar Street;

SĀLAKAYYADEVA SINGARĀJA endowed 15000 panam for offering 300 appa padi in the year, the beneficiary of the donor's share being his āchārya Kumāra Tāttayangar. He had already

endowed a similar 15000 panams on 12--1--1537, donor's share to be given to his sisters' (Queen) acharya.

It will be noticed that there were at least 4 mantapams constructed by the officers in Narasā Nayakkar Street. And there were as many as twelve endowments each of the value of 15000 panams by Achyutarayar's officers for food offerings whether on the Koneri bank or in Narasā Nayakkar Street. They were all between the years 1537 and 1542 A.D. The natural inference would be that they were made to please Achyutadevaraya.

The occasions on which the food offerings were made were practically the same.

117 appa padi	(on 13 days of each of the 9 Brahmotsavams)
9 atirasa padi	on one day of each
4 appa padi	on certain car festivals of
5 "	on 5 days of Anna-Unjal Tirunal
5 "	on 5 days of Pavitrotsavam
1 "	on Sahasra Kalasabhishekam day.
5 appa padi	on Vasantotsavam days.
20 appa padi	on 20 days of summer festival.
9 "	on 9 Floating festival days.
25 "	on 25 Adhyayanotsavam days.
12 "	on 12 Māsa Sankrantis.
25 "	on 25 Ekadasis of the year.
12 "	on 12 new moon days.
12 "	on 12 full moon days.
13 "	on 13 Mrigasira days.
13 "	on 13 Punarvasu days.
13 "	on 13 Uttiram days.
1 "	on Srijayanti day.
1 "	on Uri-aḍi day.
1 "	on Arpasi Pūrādam day.
1 "	on Hunting Festival.
1 "	on Sri Rama Navami.

300 appa paḍis Total.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Some add 1 appa padi on Uttāna Ekadasi day, 3 appa padi on Sri Ramanuja's Adhyayanotsavam, 1 on Mannasamudram festival and 1 on Vanni Maram day.

It looks as if there was a pre-arranged list by the Sthanattar to whom the money was paid as a matter of routine or necessity. We have to entertain this suspicion because the Yugādi and Deepavali festivals stand omitted. Vyasa Tirtha Sri Pada Udaiyai did not fail to include these two festivals so essential for those who observe the Luni-Solar Calendar, which the Vijayanagar Kings followed.

Villages endowed, Krishna's time.

BY OFFICERS

	Village.	year	Rekkai Pon Income
Kondamaraju	Mulumudi	1519	} 1300
Saluva Timmarasa	Parantalur	1512	
Saluva Govindaraya	Melpadi	1522	
Rama Nayakkar	Sengodipalli	1512	
Appa Pillai	Virakampanallur	1511	
Udigum Ellappa Nayakkar	{ Karralalpattu Nelvay Kollidumbai	1516	
Trymbaka deva	Morandai	1517	
Subudhi Ramadasar	Tandalam	1521	
Ambikamudusila	Tadapalam	1521	

By Officers 11 villages for offering daily 64 tirupponakam, 2 appa padis, 3 atirasa padi etc.

BY OTHERS

		year
Kandadai Madhava ayyengar	1630 kuli of wet land.	1520

ACHYUTARAYA MAHARAYA

<i>BY OTHERS</i>	Village.	year
Tatvaḍi Narayanan (3 tirupponakam daily)	Tivalaipunḍi	1514
Narayana Deva (for one pāyasa harivana daily)	Gangalapuḍi	1514
Pendli koduku Chenna ayya (6 Tirupponakams)	Hanumani gunṭa	1524
Srirangaraya (1 tirupponakam)	Erlampuḍi	1514
Konḍi Setti (3 tirupponakams)	Chintayapalli	1517
Surappa Reddi (one tirupponakam)	Pūtalapaṭṭu lands	1527

Total 17 villages, 1630 kuli of lands Putalapaṭṭu lands Annual Income about 300 R.P. yearly.

Total by officers and others=1600 R.P. yearly.

KRISHNADEVARAYA'S:—Tāllapākkam, Pirāḍam, Dārattur, Muḍiyūr Satrapaḍi, Turaiyūr and 1/2 of Kaḍaikkūttanpaḍi, also Pērāyam during Purattasi Brahmotsavam. These were for offering daily 62 tirupponakam, 8 akkali mandai, 2 appa padi, 2 atirasa padi, 5 palams chandanam, 300 areca nuts, and 600 betel leaves. Value of property $62 \times 1500 = 93,000$ panams.

Villages endowed in Achyuta's time.

<i>BY OFFICERS:</i>	Village.	year	R.P. yearly
Rayasam Ramachandra Dikshitar (8 tirupponakam)	Tāmarapakkam	1533	200
Dalavay Timmarasayya.	Samapuram Tinnai.	1540	200

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

<i>BY OFFICERS</i>	Villages	year R.P. yearly	
(Probably) Achyutaraya's orders (for 8 appa padi yearly)	Mallapuram	1537	
Penugondai Virappannan.	Pāsicalapād	1506	120
Rāyasam Timmarasayya	Chirāla, Perala & Anḍupalle	1538	500
Saluva Govindaraja (for 2 tirupponakam)	Village name not given (say)	1541	30
Ellappayyan	Rathagevalli	1541	200
”	Uttannapalli	1541	100
(For 18 tirupponakam, Total 300 R.P.)			
10 Villages by officers—Yearly say			1300

BY OTHERS

Tallapakkam P. Tiru- malai Ayyangar	Sōmayajulapalli, Rayalapuḍi, Tippanapalli, Kaṭṭamavaripalli and one half of Erraguntayapalli	1530	80
--	---	------	----

(for offering daily 4 tirupponakam and 365 atirasa padi in the year and daily 150 areca nuts, 300 betel leaves and 2 palams of chandanam.)

Tallapakkam P. Tiru- malai Ayyangar	Pūndi and Sangamakkōtai villages worth 1000 Rekhai pon (10000 panam)	1532	
--	--	------	--

(for offering daily 40 tirupponakam, 1 atirasa padi, 2 palams perfumed chan-

ACHYUTARAYA MAHARAYA

<i>BY OTHERS</i>	Villages	year	R.P. yearly
danam, 50 areca nuts, 100 betel leaves, 3 sacred threads and also one rosewater pot every Friday).			120
Tallapakkam P. Tirumalai Ayyangar (for daily one Kanda sambāra Elṭodi)	Maruvakarai & Kāvanur Kanda sarkarai and sambāra Elṭodi)	1537	200
Tallapakkam P. Tirumalai Ayyangar (for daily one godhumai tiruppaniyaram)	Pallipuram	1539	133
Tallapakkam P. Tirumalai Ayyangar (for daily 4 Tirupponakam and 126 more in a year)	Kuppam and Kilangunram.	1541	300
		Total	<u>833</u>
Yāṇḍalur Venkatadri Ayyan (for 24 tirupponakam and 24 nāyaka taligai)	village (no name)	1538	700
Vidyarthi Krishnayya	20 kuli wet land	1538	
Sālaipakkam Naga Ayyar (for 7 tirupponakam daily)	Muttukur village	1530	120
Trīvēdi Mahadeva Somayaji (for 14 tirupponakam daily)	Vaḷitirai	1534	240
Yāṇḍalur Malayapparāyan (for one tirupponakam daily)	Paṅchavanmadevi village		140

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

<i>BY OTHERS</i>	Villages	year	R.P. yearly										
V. Govinda Panditar	Achyutaraya- puram	1536	600										
(for 3 tirupponakam daily)													
Yāṇḍalur Venkatadri Bhattar	Gollapalli	1540	120										
(for 8 tirupponakam daily)													
Piḷaiporuttār Pillai	one-village Perumālpalli Penniyapalli Vittaru Marumani Gaundapuram	1535	<table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">200</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>100</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>20</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>10</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>30</td> </tr> </table>	{	200		100		20		10		30
{	200												
	100												
	20												
	10												
	30												
(for 20 tirupponakam daily)													
Ellāpillai	4000 kuli wet land worth 2500 panams for one tirupponakam daily.	1533											

Total:—22½ villages+4020 kuli of land; income yearly say, 2300 Rekhai Pon.

Approximate total income per year from landed property gifted during Achyuta's period by officers as well as others, 32½ villages+4020 kuli of wet land.

Annual income .. 3600 Rekhai pon.

CHAPTER XX

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA'S PERIOD.

THE exact date of commencement of Sadāsivarāya Maharaya's reign is not definitely known. The Devasthanam's report quotes from the Archaeological Department's Annual Report for 1908—19 (page 193) by the Director-General of Archaeological Survey and states that Sadāsivaraya was nominated as co-regent of Achyutaraya in 1537. But there is no indication in the Devasthanam inscriptions to support this view. The last available date in our inscriptions for Achyutaraya's reign is¹ 23—3—1542. On that date one Malai Perumāḷ, a disciple of Sri Vaṅ Saṭhagōpa Jiyar, made an endowment of 1600 panams for some appa paḍi offerings on behalf of himself and of his Acharya. There are also two other inscriptions both of the same date viz., 23—2—1542 to be considered in this connection. They were both executed just one month previously. One² records an endowment by Penugonḍa Virappaṅṅaḷ, son of Lēpakshi Nandi Lakkiseti and the other³ by one Appayyan. Virappaṅṅaḷ's endowment of 600 Rēkhai Pon (6000 panams) does not mention the name of the ruling monarch. Knowing, as we do, that Virappaṅṅaḷ was closely connected with and was largely dependent on the King for his prosperity during Achyutaraya's reign it is rather strange that the King's name should be omitted in this inscription of 23rd February 1542. In an endowment made by him on 27—1—1541 (one year before) of 15000 panams the name of Achyutaraya is mentioned as Emperor.⁴ But on the same day, i.e., 23—2—1542 Appayyan did not fail to have it recorded that his endowment of 300 panams was made in Achyutaraya's reign. Yet another inscription dated⁵ about a fortnight prior to that of Virappaṅṅaḷ, recording an endowment of 15000 panams by *Singaraja, son of Sālakayyadeva Maharaya*, mentions the name

1. IV. 174. 23—3—1542: 2. IV. 172. 3. IV, 173

4. IV. 158 5. IV, 170. 20—2—1542.

and the prasasti of the monarch as Achyutaraya. We are aware that the Sālaka family members were the *de facto* rulers in Achyutaraya's reign.

We however find that the name of Sadāsivarāya is mentioned as the Emperor in some earlier inscriptions. One of these inscriptions¹ records an endowment by one Sri Rama Bhaṭṭar, son of Yāṇḍalūr Tirumalai Jōsyar and shows that on that date, 21—7—1541, Sadasiva was the ruling sovereign. The prasasti and name as given there are "Sriman Mahārājādhirāja Rāja paramēsvara Sri Vira pratāpa Sri Vira Sadāsiva raya when ruling the earth. "ஆதிவிராஜும் பண்ணி அருளாநின்ற...". This Tirumalai Josyar was presumably the Tirumalai Temple astrologer. There is another son of his named Venkaṭādri Ayyan, who made an endowment,² wherein Achyutaraya is mentioned to be the ruling monarch. When we find his brother Sri Rama Bhattar stating on 21—7—1541 that Sadasivaraya was the ruling monarch, we have to conclude that Sadasivaraya was the monarch on that date. Kōyil Kēlvi Jiyar (presumably Yatiraja Jiyar) in an endowment³ records that Sadāsivarāya was the ruling monarch. But one Gangu Reddi, son of Bhasava Reddi of Ōgamapādi village, who made an endowment of 10,080 panam on 11—9—1542 does not mention the name of the King at the time. The same Gangu Reddi made an endowment on 19—2—1525 and on that occasion mentioned in full the name of the ruler at the time, Achyutaraya. The omission of the ruler's name in the endowment of September 1542 A.D. might not have been unintentional. It may be due to the doubt whether Achyutaraya's son or Sadasivarāya was the Emperor.

Two temple accountants *viz.*, Kuppa Venkatattarasu and Tiruvanantālvār Kuppayyan in their endowments (V. 5 and 6) dated 5th February and 16th February 1543 mention Sadasivaraya as the ruling sovereign. All inscriptions thereafter mention the name of Sadasivaraya.

It may therefore be surmised that between 21—7—1541 and 11—9—1542, there were some succession disputes. The Tirupati

1. V, 1. 2. IV, 115, 24—11—1538; 3. V, 2. 27—1—1542

and Tirumala inscriptions throw no light on this, nor would the matter have been of great importance to the Sthanattar of the temple. We have to look at it from one point of view only. The Sthanattar seem to have been indifferent, or preferred to be neutral so far as the rival claims were concerned. They could not have done better when such men as Penugonḍa Virappaṅṅan and Ōgam-pāḍi Gangu Reddi preferred not to name anybody as the emperor. It was only in 1543 (February) that the accountants of the Tirumala Temple considered it desirable and safe to mention the name of Sadasivarāya as Emperor. No special favours were shown by Achyutaraya to the Sthanattar and to the local Srivaishnavas to endear him to them. They seem to have preferred to mention in the inscriptions the name which the donors chose or to mention none.

Another point worthy of note is that the endowment made by Singaraja already referred to was the last endowment made by a member of the Salakarāja family. After the unsuccessful attempt made by Salakaraja Timmaraja and his brother to usurp the throne in the name of Achyutaraya's young son, Venkatadri, (whom Timmaraja himself is supposed to have killed later), the name of no member of this family appears as donor or as beneficiary among the inscriptions of the Devasthanam.

It is an assured fact that from February 1543 Sadasivaraya was the undisputed successor to the throne of Vijayanagar. It seems also to be accepted of all hands that Aravīṭi Aliya Rāmarāja (son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya) and his younger brother Tirumalārāja, were the *de facto* rulers as they were mainly responsible for securing the throne for Sadasivaraya. If during Achyutaraya's reign the Sālaka family was the power behind the throne, the Aravīḍu family may be said to have snatched that power from them by placing Sadāsiva on the throne. Whatever might have been said by certain poets unfavourable to Ramaraja, our inscriptions show that so far as the temple is concerned he and the other members of the Aravīḍu family have been greater benefactors than the Salaka family.

The total benefactions made by the members of the Salaka family amounted to only 34,600 panams and out of this the share of Singarāja alone was 30000 panams. No member of the Aravidu dynasty made any endowment during Achyuta's reign, (except 531 Rekhai-Pon made in the name of one Aravidu Lakshmiamma). During Sadasivaraya's reign no member of the Sālakam family made any endowments. But those made by the Aravidu family were substantial and numerous as will be shown later. Aliya Ramaraja and one Konḍarāja felt that it was the moral responsibility of the rulers to make adequate provision for the feeding of the pilgrims coming to the temple. They therefore made arrangements for this on a scale which was unprecedented in the history of the Devasthanam. The inscriptions show that although Sadasivaraya never took the initiative, he was not slow to approve of Ramaraja's arrangements.

It is interesting to note that the endowments show that the country was then passing through an economic crisis and that money was scarce, or perhaps was shy to come out owing to fear of impending political troubles which ended in the disastrous battle of Tālikota or Rākshasatagḍi.

The most noteworthy point about Sadāsivarāya Maharaya is that he did not directly make a single endowment large or small, for any of the temples of this Devasthanam. It cannot however be said that he was not as great a devotee of Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyān as any of the others. He seems to have visited Tirumala only once, that is, on a Makara Sankramanam day, 27—12—1553 (Vide V. 154; 2—7—1554). On this occasion, he made a free grant in favour of Konḍarāja's Nammālvār Ramanujakūtam in Tirupati of the income from 12 kinds of taxes in sixteen sirmais or provinces. He also made grants of villages to several deserving persons who in their turn endowed them for charities in the Tirumalai temples. There can therefore be no doubt about his religious temperament. We may then try to see why he failed to make any direct endowment. Perhaps the circumstances under which he became the Emperor account for this. From Ferishta's account of the events which happened at the time of the civil war

between Sālakarāja Timmaraja and Aravidu Aliya Ramaraja, in which the former backed the claims of Venkaṭādri, the young son of Achyutarāya and the latter took up the cause of Sadāsivaraya, we learn that Sālakaraja summoned to his aid the common enemy, Adil Shah of Bijapur, but that Ramaraja succeeded in inducing Sālakarāja to send him back to Bijapur by paying 56 lakhs of Rekhaj pon (2 million sterling). It is therefore likely that when Sadāsivarāya ultimately found himself firmly established on the throne, the treasury was much depleted, if not altogether empty. He must have been aware that Krishnadevarāya showered on the Deity on each of two occasions, thirty thousand gold varahans. He must also have known that his gifts of jewels, vessels etc., were befitting the emperor of Vijayanagar. He must likewise have known that Achyutarāya spent money lavishly on this temple by constructing in Tirumala a pushkarini and a number of pavilions on its bank and a new Achyuta Perumal temple and agraharam in Tirupati besides making improvements to the Āḷvār Tirtham. It would no doubt have been painful to him that he could not follow their example. Although his reign was very much longer than those of his predecessors, he seems to have made only one pilgrimage to the temple in Tirumala. Even on this occasion, he does not seem to have been in a position to make gifts of jewels or any large sum of money to the temple. All that he could do was to make a perpetual grant of a number of taxes as and when they came to be collected; and this he did not in favour of the temple, but in favour of the Ramanujakutam in Tirupati. Therein by this grant about 1500 pilgrims would have been fed daily with a sumptuous meal. It would thus seem that it was not the want of will but the want of money which made Sadasivaraya pay but one pilgrimage to the temple and even on this occasion to act in a humble manner. But we find his adherents of the Aravidu family and quite an army of religiously minded men who were benefited by his munificence filling up the gap.

It must be admitted that the explanation given above may not account sufficiently for Sadāsivaraya's failure to make endowments to the temple in his name. It was customary for the Hindu rulers including the Vijayanagar Emperors, soon after their accession

to the throne to make an endowment for a Sandhi offering called 'avasaram' for Tiruvengalanātha. We have thus the Narayanan Sandhi (Yadavaraya's), Sāluva Narasinga's Sandhi, Bukkarāyan Sandhi, Krishnadevarayan Sandhi, and Achyutarayan Sandhi. Some of these were large endowments while others were comparatively small. In the name of Sadasivaraya however, we do not find an endowment made for any Sandhi offering. It could not be accounted for merely on the score of a depleted treasury. He ascended the throne in 1542 or 1543 and was perhaps co-regent with Achyutaraya for some years before that. He visited Tirumala on 28th December 1553 on Makara Sankramanam day, that is, ten years after his accession. On 3—2—1554 Aliya Ramayādēva Maharaja executed (in an inscription) a charity with libations of water on the banks of the Svāmi Pushkarini in Tirumala by which two prasadams and four appams from out of the donor's share of what is known as Achyutarayar Sandhi, were to be daily handed over to Vaikhanasa Archaka Srinivasan and some others residing on the north bank of the Pushkarini. This was ordered in fulfilment of the dhāra pūrvaka dānam made by Sadasivaraya. We have to infer that the occasion was his visit to Tirumala in December 1553. If Sadasivaraya had any avasaram instituted in his own name Ramaraja would not have ordered the charity to be met from Achyutaraya's avasaram. It is usual for the Archakas and other permanent servants of the temple to approach important personages coming on pilgrimage for some mark of favour. When such personages make endowments for food offerings it is also usual for them to hand over a portion or even the entire quantity of the donor's share of the offerings to the applicants. It must have been in some such manner that the gift of a portion of Achyutaraya's share of his Sandhi offering was made over to the Archakas on this occasion. Judging from our inscriptions, the largest number of grants of villages to deserving men was made during Sadasivaraya's reign. But he did not endow a single village to the temple nor even to the archakas who approached him. The latter would very much have liked that Sadasivaraya should make a large endowment of Sandhi offerings with provision for the donor's share being made over to them. They would have preferred assignment of prasādams to assignment of a village.

There was always the difficulty in collecting rents or lease amounts from villages. But prasādams could always be sold at the door of the temple itself.

But Sadasivaraya seems to have thought otherwise. That he was liberal can be seen from his giving away a large number of taxes collected from sixteen different provinces to Koṇḍarāja's Ramanujakutam. Other considerations must have weighed with him in determining his attitude in the matter. Out of every Sandhi offering, three-fourths share was appropriated by the temple establishment. It is nowhere stated whether any part of this was ever distributed free to the pilgrims. With his knowledge of the administration he must have known that even the quarter share of the donor ultimately went partly into the hands of the Nirvāham and the Vagai people either as outright gift made by the donor or by sale and what was left went into the hands of those who exploited others in the name of religion. He must have known that a bonafide pilgrim had to purchase his prasadam at the temple gate from the leaseholders of prasadams, or from quasi-religious managers of mathams and choultries, who while supplying prasadams free, extracted kākukas and presents from those to whom they gave the prasadams. Aravidu Kōṇḍīrāja Koṇḍarāja saw through this and with a view to alleviating the sufferings of the pilgrims started a Ramanujakūtam in Tirupati where it was more needed than in Tirumala. In the latter place, prasadam could be purchased. But in Tirupati it could not be had even for money. There were no hotels in those days. There was also the difficulty of inducing orthodox people, Brahmins in particular, to partake of mass preparation and distribution of food known as sanghānam. To overcome this objection Koṇḍarāja first built a Nammālvār Temple in Sri Bhashyakār Street, (the present G. North Mada Street, Tirupati) and as an adjunct thereto, a free feeding house for Srivaishnava pilgrims. And as the manager of the institution had to be one who could freely enter the kitchen and whose sight or touch of any article of food would not be taken objection to by even the most orthodox Brahmin, he appointed to this office one Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Srirama Ayyangar, a junior member of the First Acharya purusha

family attached to the temples in Tirumala and Tirupati. No part of the three-quarter share, not even the 'Allu' of the prasadams offered to the Deity in Nammālvār temple, was to be appropriated by anybody. Nor was the quarter share to be appropriated by the donor. The entire quantity of 125 taligai which was enough to feed about 1200 Srivaishnavas was to be utilised for feeding such pilgrims. The food was likewise to be prepared with great care and samba rice was used. Four kinds of vegetables, green gram, ghee, curds and fruits were to be served. Payasam was to be served on all the 13 Visakha Nakshatrams in a year; gingelly oil and soap-nut powder were to be supplied for oil bath on all the 53 Saturdays in the year. Tāmbūlam and chandanam were also served on all days.

The Ramanujakutam servants were well paid. There were 15 cooks who were paid 180 R.P. yearly. The archaka for the Nammālvār Temple was a paid servant. Store-keeper, watchman, those who supervised the feeding, Brahmins who supplied drinking water, the accountants and even the Adhikari were all paid servants. The entire cost of this establishment was 3365 panams yearly and the total annual expenditure was 57130 panams. The first Kartar (dharmakarta) was Srirama Ayyangar. Aravidu Kōnētirāja Kondarāja made for this an endowment of ten villages with an annual income of 5713 Rekhai Pōn (Tarkōlam, Tāyanūr, Malaiyanūr, Āttiyūr, Āsūr, Palandai, Mullappaṭṭu, Kūdaippākkam, Mayyūr and Toruppādu). It may be remembered that there was already in Tirupati near the Alvar Tirtam a Nammālvār Temple. Aravidu Kondarāja seems to have felt the necessity of constructing another temple in Tirupati near the Govindaraja temple and to make such arrangements as to make the prasadams in the Ramanujakutam acceptable to all Srivaishnavas going on pilgrimage to Tirumala. It was because all temple prasadams whatever may be the quantity, were being exploited by the temple employees, that this Ramanujakutam seems to have been established. It was quite unlike the Ramanujakutam of Sāluva Narasingadeva and its arrangements were different from those which Krishnadevaraya and the others made for feeding the pilgrims. The idea may have emanated from the Achāryapurushās, who were free

from any self-interest in the prasadam distribution of the temples. They have always been entitled to a pidasa or handful, if present in person and that too on occasions when the distribution was made in an Asthanam or durbar. This was why one of their number was made the Kartar of the new institution.

That this arrangement was approved by Aḷiya Ramaraja (the man behind the throne) and by the Emperor Sadasivaraya himself, can be seen from a reading of inscriptions No. 155 and 154 of Vol. V. The latter has been already referred to and it states how twelve kinds of taxes from 16 provinces were ordered to be handed over to the Ramanujakutam. It was the Emperor's order to the Sthanattar of the Temple to see that the collections were used for the Ramanujakutam only. We are however not told what these taxes amounted to every year.

In November of the same year 1554 A.D. Aliya Rama Raja made an endowment of 4 villages, (Singalabhavi in Raichur Sirmai, Valagōlil in Mudgal, Yāralachchēri and Mākālipaṭṭu in Periyapālayam Sirmai) with an annual income of 4000 Rekhai Pon for a daily sandhi offering of 200 Vellai tirupponakams to Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha to be made soon after the Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam in the morning (V. 155). He ordered that the donor's share of 50 Tirupponakams or pongal taligai should be handed over to the Tirupati Nammālvār Ramanujakutam by adjustment with the offerings made in Govindaraja's temple. This additional quantity of 50 tirupponakam would have fed perhaps 500 more pilgrims daily. But we may ask why Aḷiya Ramaraja made provision for perhaps the largest single Sandhi offering in his own name, and not for the merit of Sadāsivaraya. He could as well have augmented Koṇḍaraja's 125 tirupponakams with his own 200 tirupponakams instead of handing over only the donor's share of fifty. The reason may be this, Sadasivaraya's endowment of the taxes to the Ramanujakūtam was made in December 1553. The Sthanattar would naturally have represented to Aliya Ramaraja that it was unfair to overlook the Temple in Tirumala where every Emperor had made provision for an avasaram. Knowing perhaps full well Sadasivaraya's views on this matter, Aliya Rama-

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

raja would have made the endowment of 200 tirupponakam in November 1554 in his own name. In this connection we may note that Aḷiya Ramaraja made an endowment (V. 29) on 19-1-1545 (two years after Sadasivaraya become Emperor) by the grant of Pudupaṭṭu village in Ārya Sirmāi with an annual income of 200 Rekhai Pon for the merit (పాపము. ప్రసాదము) of the Emperor Sadasivaraya for certain services being performed in Tirumala and Tirupati Temples, of which the reading of Tiruvenkaṭa Mahātmyam in Tirumala and Tirupati at the time of the Tiruvārāadhanam was an essential item. Perhaps because Aḷiya Ramaraja came to understand later the views of the Emperor in these matters, he omitted to state that this larger endowment in 1554 was for the merit of the Emperor.

Prasadam Lessees—Prasadakkara Mahamedangal.

It was mentioned above that pilgrims had to purchase the prasadam required by them from lessees who got their supply from the Sthanattar and others by a system of regular annual lease. That such a system was in vogue is evident from inscription No. 88, Vol. V. dated 6-2-1547. The names of as many as eleven lessees are mentioned therein. They do not seem to have been confined to any one particular caste or sect. Some also seem to have been richer than the others. But all of them seem to have considered themselves as belong to a fraternity with common interests to safeguard, and were known as Prasādakkārar Mahāmedangal.

List of Prasadakkarar.

KUNJAPPUR SRINIVASAN son of Nallān was the most prominent of them. He contributed 3590 panams while the other ten contributed from 60 panams (the lowest by one Nayinar) and 400 panams (by Sevvu Nayakkar). Their names and their caste give an idea of the kind of persons who plied this trade.

1. Kunjappur Srinivasan: He might have been a Brahmin.
2. Veṭṭamaru Venkatat-turaivar Annan: He too might have been a Brahmin.
3. Anpanār Pērāyiram alias Settalur Kuppan: He might have been a Brahmin.
4. Nayinar, son of Koneri Appan of Tanjaneri Kandāḍai family: He was also a Brahmin.
5. Nāchchi Annan, Bhasvayyan (or Sevayyan) son of Tiruvenkata Setti: He was a Trai-varnika.
6. Sungāsi Nanappan's sons Periya Timmayyan and Chinna Timmayyan: Probably Sudras.
7. Nāchchān, son of Tondi Angandai: He was a Kaikkolar.
8. Sevvu Nayakkar, son of Singa Nallappan: A Vellala of Prāngnadu.
9. Nōṭṭakkāra Vengalu Setti: A Trai-varnika.
10. Vangāpura Narayana Setti Narayanan: He was a Trai-varnika of Tirupati.
11. Panchalattar are the smiths of Tirupati.

Out of their earnings they contributed the funds required for the celebration of certain festivals yearly for Viṭṭalesvarapperumāl and Govindarajaswami in Tirupati.

The sale of prasadams directly or through lessees was thus a recognised source of income for the temple servants. Sadasivaraya does not appear to have interfered with this practice.

**Temple palanquin and daily prasadams gifted away to
a dancing girl Tiruvenkata Manikkam.**

There was also another evil which although it may have been in vogue from more ancient times, reached its climax in Sadasivaraya's reign. This is the prominence which the sānis (dancing girls) gained in the temple on account of their skill in Bharata Nāṭya. It was already mentioned that one *Tiruvenkata Mānikkam* was marked for exceptional honours by the Sthanattar under the influence of Poṭṭapāti Timmaraja (the local chief). She was not only given the very Dandigai (or palanquin) in temple use but in addition was allotted daily one taligai of prasadam, without any allu or alivu being appropriated by the archakas and cooks in Tirumala and one taligai likewise in Tirupati as a free gift for her and for her descendants in perpetuity. It was also ordered that the Prasadams should be given after the first bell and that the Tirupati prasadam should be delivered in her house. This happened about 3 years after Sadasivaraya's accession to the throne, and is recorded as a Dharmasasanam (V. 74; 23—7—1546). How this act, whatever the merits and character of the damsel might have been, was received by Sadāsivaraya, we are not in a position to know. But from the fact that this damsel does not figure in any of the subsequent inscriptions, and that except for an endowment made by her sister, Lingāsāni on 23—3—1546, these sanis as a class disappear from the temple inscriptions, we may perhaps infer that it was Sadāsivaraya who ordered their removal from the temple. Sadasivaraya's standard of moral conduct thus appears to have been of a higher order than that of Achyutaraya. But dancing girls seem to have continued to be attached to some other temples in Tirupati. For we hear in an inscription dated 30—1—1563 that one Sevvusāni described herself as an Emperumānadiyar of Tirupati.

This incident deserves special attention in these days when some of the great protagonists of Bharata Natya are agitating for its revival in temples. They are not content with the exhibition of their skill by artistes on the stage and the cinema. Have our morals far excelled those of our predecessors of the sixteenth century?

NEW MINOR TEMPLES AND SHRINES.

During the period covered by Sadasivaraya's rule, particularly between 1542 and 1550 A.D. a large number of minor temples and shrines came into existence in Tirupati. It was an inevitable result of the dissatisfaction felt by the residents of Tirupati at the difficulty experienced in receiving an appreciable part of the donor's share of the prasadams. We have seen that almost the entire quantity was being taken away by the temple employees and the Sthanattar. So far as the inconvenience experienced by the pilgrims as a result of this practice was concerned, it was to a great extent attempted to be removed by Kondaraja's Ramanujakūtam. The residents of Tirupati also sought relief for themselves by building new temples and shrines all over and endowing them as far as they could. Some of these are mentioned in our inscriptions.

(a) Govinda Krishna's Temple. V. 6; 16—2—1543.

The temple accountants resident in Tirupati headed by one Tiruvanantālvān Kuppayyan constructed a shrine for Govinda-krishna inside a mantapam in Bhashyakar Street on 16—2—1543 and made an endowment of 1500 panams for offering daily one Tirupponakam at the shrine. He also made an endowment (V. 58; 31—10—1545) of 2210 panams for making a night offering. Among the contributors to the endowment was one Bhattar Malaiyannan, alias Vēlaikkaḍainda Perumāl Dāsar, one of the Sthanattar (and obviously a Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur). Two other contributors were Chēḍiyarāyar Emperuman and Tirtar Tirumalai Appar Govindan.

(b) Sri Tiruvenkata Gopalakrishnan.

This shrine was also constructed in the same street in a mantapam (V. 82; 25—10—1546). There must have been some reason for the construction of a separate shrine for Tiruvenkata Gopalakrishnan in the same street. Perhaps it was the result of some personal misunderstandings. An endowment of 2240 panams for offering one Tirupponakam daily was made for the Deity.

It was constructed by Sāmiyār Govindan Periya Sōlai. There were also two Ubhayamdars, Tirtar Tirumalai Appar Govindan and Marappan Bhima Nāthar. It must be noted that in the case of both the temples it was arranged that the prasādams should be prepared in the kitchen of Sri Govindaraja's temple and brought over to the respective temples for offering.

(c) Tiruvenkatamudaiyan in Jiyar Matham.

Koyil Kelvi Vānamāmalai Ramanuja Jiyar constructed a temple of Tiruvengadamudaiyan in the eastern wing of his matham in Govindarajaswami Sannidhi Street on 13—10—1546 A.D. (V. 80) and endowed it with 2000 panams for daily offerings and lighting.

(d) Sri Viṭthalesvarapperumal.

V. 66; 25—3—1546 and V. 89; 6—3—1547.

Attached to the temple of Hanumān at the eastern end of Govindaraja Sannidhi Street, was constructed a shrine for Sri Viṭṭhalēsvara Perumal by one Udayagiri Dēvarāya Bhattar who was the Vāsai Kāryam (Superintendent of the gateway) of Potlapāṭi Siru Timmarāja, son of Aravidu Bukkaraya Timmaraja. On 25—3—1546 (V. 66) he made an endowment of some lands irrigated by a tank called Chennappaḍaiyan-ēri. He granted 4 shares of land in Nedunādu Kuḷattūr and 10 Rekhai Pon to be collected from the Komatis and the merchants of Tirupati and from the merchants of Kōttapālaiyam. The inscription gives details of the services to be performed at this temple daily and as ubhayams. What was the income from the sources mentioned above, we are not told. But the services covered lamp lighting and paruppaviyal offering on almost all the tingal divasams and visesha divasams, and 6 tirupponakam food offering daily. Govindaraja had also some share of these. The prasādams and panyarams were to be distributed freely to the pilgrims. That this temple became popular is seen from three inscriptions of the

very next year. The ones made on 2—2—1547 and 6—2—1547 (V. 87, 88) show that Vitthalesvara perumal was provided with offerings on 1st Chittirai and during the Māsi Brahmotsavam and for Pādiyavettai festival. These offerings were made by Sāttalur Kuppayyan and by the Prasādakkara Mahāmedangal. The other inscription (V. 89; 6—3—1547) deals entirely with the budget estimate of receipts and expenditure of the temple. The amount of this estimate is stated to be 870 Rekhai Pon. Whether it represented the capital amount subscribed by the merchants of Tirupati, or whether it represented the annual recurring contribution, we are not told. It is however not necessary for our purpose to go into these details. We learn that this small shrine which has gone out of existence now, was at that time made a popular place of worship by the endowments of Udayagiri Devaraya Bhattar.

(e) **Lakshminarayana Perumal in Alvar Tirtam
Tirthavari Mantapam. V. 68; 20—6—1547.**

Tāllapākkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar consecrated a shrine of Lakshminārāyana Perumal in the Tirthavāri mantapam on the bank of the Āḷvār Tirtham on 20—6—1546 and made an endowment of 2300 panam for a food offering of one Tirupponakam daily and a total of 44 more Tirupponakams on certain occasions (visesha divasams etc.). This shrine exists even now.

(f) **Sri Janardhana Perumal. (V. 101, 24—11—1547)**

In 1547 the Kōmatis of Tirupati consecrated an image of Sri Janārdhanasvāmi in a temple constructed by them in Kottapālayam, a hamlet of Tirupati. We have seen that they had already made contributions to the Vitthalesvara Perumal of Dēvarāya Bhattar. They now made an endowment of 1565 panams for Sri Janardhana Svāmi raised by subscriptions, for the merit of Potlapati Ramaraja Chinna Timmaraja Maharaja. In addition thereto Aravidu Ramaraja Timmayadeva Pappu Timmayya Maharaja also made an endowment grant of Kollur village yielding

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

100 Rekhai Pon yearly. With these two endowments provision was made for lighting and for offering two vellai tirupponakam daily in this temple. Provision was also made for tirumanjanam and food offerings on most of the tingal and visesha divasams.

Thus in the small town of Tirupati as many as five small temples were constructed in the course of 5 or 6 years to satisfy class and communal aspirations. The only purpose they could have served was to make sure that the prasadam offered were distributed in full among the local residents. Incidentally the archaka in charge would have been in a position to earn some money from pilgrims who would have been regularly invited to visit these shrines, a practice which is prevalent even now.

NEW FESTIVALS.

From Saluva Narasimha's days, it was usual for each Emperor to make an endowment for one or more new festivals in Tirumala and in Tirupati. Whether the idea was their own, or whether it was under the inspiration of people in whom the Emperor had some confidence, it is not known. All endowments for food offerings, called Sandhi offerings or offerings on tingal and visesha divasams, benefited almost exclusively the Sthanattars and the other permanent employees of the temple. But there were also a large number of brahmins and non-brahmins who made a living by doing odd jobs in the temple and by catering to the pilgrims. Festivals gave an opportunity for such men also for deriving some pecuniary benefit by officiating in the Vedic and Agamic rituals connected with the proper conduct of such festivals. A detailed analysis of even one festival will be sufficient to elucidate this statement and to show that these festivals served to reduce economic inequalities to some extent. We shall take the Lakshmidēvi mahotsavam instituted by Achyutaraya Maharaya as an example and consider how the bounty of the King's endowment was spent. They were:—Anugraham (blessing); Iyanni Appa (the astrologer who fixes the auspicious moment for commencement); Lakshmi pratima (the image would have been made of gold), Soma Kumbham (perhaps of silver), Soma pratima, female cloth for the Kumbham,

Brahma maṇḍalam and Sesha and other pratimas concomitant thereto; Āchārya, 8 Ritviks; Bhūdānām; the jaṇams with Sri Sūktam and Kalpā mantram; Lakshmi Sahasranāmam; Lakshmi Gāyatri; persons connected with the performance of daily hōma and daily archana; 10 Sumangalis; Vedapārāyanam by as many persons as were available; and the reading of Puranas. Besides these there were the daily street processions in connection with which those who made flower garlands for decorating the Utsava-mūrti and Nāchchimaras, those who bore torches, the musicians and dancers, and the makers of fire works came in for a share. The potters who supplied mud pots for cooking, the firewood supplier and the cooks received extra remuneration. It may be stated here that no pot is used twice for cooking. New ones are procured every time and immediately after a single use they are broken. Thus by design or accident, festivals helped in the wider distribution of wealth and patronage among the people. The members of the permanent establishment of the temple and a few learned men were benefited by the cash payments under the headings. Tirukkaivaḷakkam and Tirumunkainikkai. During the reign of Sadāsivaraya (before the battle of Talikota) a larger number of such festivals were started, although the Emperor himself did not institute any in his own name. Very many of the old festivals were also rendered more elaborate in style. Some of these festivals are indicated below:—

(a) One Kālatti Setti, resident of Srinivasapuram, a suburb of Tirupati, made an endowment for a *NITYOTSAVAM* for Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyan for 30 days during the Tai-Masi month every year (V. 10; 31—12—1543).

(b) *Mukkoti Dvādasi* in Tirumala was made a grand festival day by Aliya Ramaraja by granting Puduppaṭṭu village yielding 200 Rekhai Pon for the merit of Sadasivaraya (V. 29; 19-1-1545; Saka 1466 Krōdhi, 8th day of Makara month, Aṣvini nakshatram).

(c) *Vanabhojanam festival* was instituted by Tallapakkam Periya Tirumala Ayyangar (V. 47 A; 3—7—1545). This was to be celebrated for Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān on Kārtikai Pournami day of the year. In connection with this festival we learn the

interesting fact that Malayappan (the utsavamūr̥ti) halted at the 12 mantapams or pavilions built by the twelve nirvāham and received food offerings at each of them.

(d) *Pallavotsavam* (V. 51; 5—7—1545) for Tiruvengaḍa-mudaiyān was instituted by Vitthalēsvara Mahāraja. This was to last for five days in the month of Vaikhasi.

(e) *Kalyānōtsavam* (V. 153; 19—2—1554) was instituted by Tāḷḷapākkam Tirumala Ayyangar for Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan. This was celebrated for five days in the month of Panguni. Three villages yielding 620 Rekhai Pon a year were granted for this festival.

(f) *Phalōtsavam in Tirumala, Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati* in the month of Māsi, *Mārgali Nirāttōtsavam for Andāl in Tirupati* and *Adhyayanotsavam for Tirumalai Udaiyavar* and several other minor ubhayams were instituted by Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasayyanar.¹ He granted the village of

1. (*Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambi*) Srinivasa ayyanḅar is described in this inscription of 1547 A.D. (IV.92) as the son of Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumala nambi Kumāra Tattayanḅār of Sathamarshana ḅōtram Āpastamba sūtra and yajus Sākha, one of the Tirumalai ācharyapurushas. There is another Eṭṭur Tirumala Kumāra Tatacharya ayyau who appears as donor in inscription VII 5 dated 25-9-1583. He is also of the same ḅotra Sutta and Sākha as the Kumāra Tattayanḅār above mentioned. The name of the father of Srinivasa ayyanḅar is Sottai Eṭṭur *Tirumalai nambi Kumara Tattayangar, acharyapurusha* which may be different from *Eṭṭur Tirumalai, Kumāra Tatachariarayyan* (not called an acharyapurusha). Tirumalai nambi Kumara Tattayanḅar comes to notice in our inscriptions as the acharya of two men of the princely order as early as 1475 A.D. He himself made two endowments one in 1485 and the other in 1549 (or 1554, the year is doubtfully recorded). He had two sons, Srinivasaayyanḅar being one (perhaps the younger) and Tirumalai Tattayanḅar the other. Srinivasa ayyanḅar's endowments are two, one in 1547 and the other in 1562 A.D. Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumār Tatachariar ayyan's activities in Kanchipuram are said to commence in 1754 A.D. and extend to about 1516 A.D. It is a strange proposition to state that the person whose activities commenced later in the 1754 A.D. was the father of the person whose activities commenced before 1547 A.D. and in 1562 A.D.

The Devasthanam Epigraphist obviously created a confusion for himself by certain false assumptions. There is a Tolappar ayyanḅar (brother of the above mentioned Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tattayanḅar and therefore uncle of Srinivasa ayyanḅar) who made an endowment (II. 20)

Periya Ekkalur yielding 2000 Rekhai Pon yearly for these festivals. This village was given to him as a free gift (*dhārāpūrvaka dānam*). This Srinivasa ayyangar instituted in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja another Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Avani (V. 171; 28—7—1562) and also costly atirasappadi offerings to be made in front of his house in Tirumala on all the festival days, tingal divasams, and visesha divasams occurring in a year. These would cost 900 Rekhai pon per year. The inscription being incomplete other charities included therein are unascertainable. The genealogy of this donor is incorrectly given in the report on the T.T.D. Inscriptions pp. 311 to 313 and on page 34 of Vol. VI Part II. The accompanying foot note gives correct information.

(g) *Vasantotsavam* for Tiruvengadamudaiyan for 5 days in the month of Masi was instituted by Penḍlikoḍuku Timmarājayya.

dated 7-3-1464. He appears again in the inscription of Srinivasa ayyanḅar's endowment of 1547 A.D, from which it is seen that Tolopper ayyanḅar's disciples gathered round Srinivasa ayyanḅar probably because Tolappar had no son, and all show honour to Tolappar in the distribution of the donor's share of prasadam, etc. There is another Tolappachariar who was the grand-father of Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariyar ayyen and the father of one Ayyāvanyyanḅar. He is not described as acharyapurusha. The Epigraphist assumed that the two names Tolappar ayyanḅar and Tolappachariar refer to the same person and that therefore Srinivasayyanḅar was the son of Kumara Tatachariar ayyan.

The fact is that Kumara Tatachariar are collaterals descended from the same ancestor Tirumalai nambi, the former from Pillai Tirumalai nambi the first son and the latter from Pullān (Tirukkunrakaippirān pullān) the second son (and gnanaputra of Sri Kamanuja). Soḷṭai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambs Kumara Tattayyanḅar and his brother Tolappar ayyanḅar represent the fifteenth generation from Pillai Tirumalai nambi Eṭṭur Tirumalai Tolappachariar of the Pullān family may represent about the same degree from Pillan in which case the members of the two collateral families just ceased to be Trirātraḅnātis. How a member of the original family was granted the three villages Eṭṭur, Immadi and Bodipad, or (Rayadurḅam) was already narrated in Chap. XIV p. 55. The name of the village where a member of the family had his holdings added the village name as aḅnomen to his usual family name. Thus there are Eṭṭur Tatachari, Immadi Tatacharis and Kayadurḅam Tatacharis. Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar who is said to have done the coronation ceremony of Venkata pathi I, in 1616 would have been different from Immadi Tirumalai Kumara Tatachari who did the same for Venkata II, in 1630.

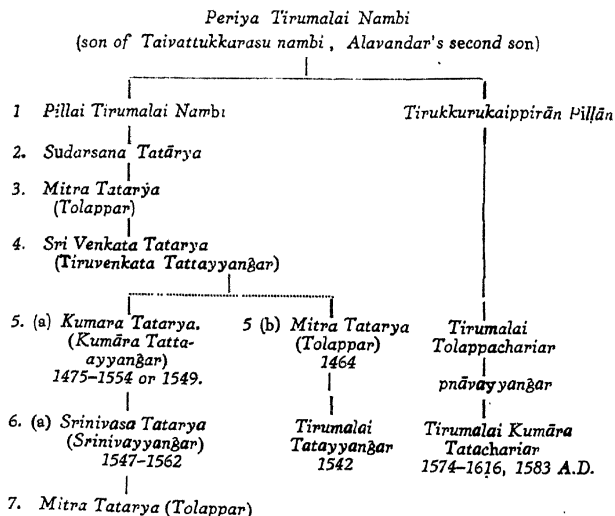
Three villages yielding 200 Rekhai Pon were granted by him for celebrating this festival (V. 93; 8—6—1547).

(h) *Vaivāhikōtsavam* (marriage festival) was instituted in Tirupati by Tāllapākkam Chinna Tirumalai Ayyangar for five days in Chittirai month (V 99; 17—8—1517). The village of Neḍiyam and Veḍumapālaiyam were granted for the festivals of Sri Govindaraja, Lakshminarayana, Kaṭṭāri Hanumān, Nara-simhaswami, Achyuta Perumā, Periya Raghunathan etc.

(i) *Sahasranāmārchana* festival for Tiruvengadamudaiyan for 5 days was started by Sūrappa Reddi. He granted Villiyanallur, yielding 400 Rekhai Pon for this festival (V. 127; 10—5—1557).

(j) *Aravidu Konētirāja Kondarāja* endowed for the celebration of *Sri Rāmānuja's Sāttumorai* festival in the Ramanujakūṭam

The correct genealogy is given hereunder;—



Nammāḷvār temple, Tirupati by granting 10— $\frac{3}{4}$ share in Nagari village. The annual income from these was 400 R.P. yearly (V. 141; 25—5—1553).

(k) *Mārgali Nirāṭṭam* festival in Tirupati was instituted by Tiruvadi Raja (Travancore) by the grant of half of Kuḷayapaṭṭam village on Tambaraparani banks. This endowment covered also the Friday festival of Aṇḍāl. (V. 158; 16—9—1557).

(l) *A shrine for Sudarsana āḷvār* was consecrated on the west bank of the Govindapushkarini and food offerings were instituted by Tāḷḷapākkam Tiruvēnanathan, son of Tirumalai Ayyangar by granting Koṭṭur village, yeilding 280 Rēkhai Pon annually (V. 159: 13—1—1558).

(m) *Endowment* was made for *civet oil ablution* on all the 53 Fridays in Tirumala by Rāyasam Venkatādri by grant of 2 villages yeilding 646 R.P. This must have supplemented or superceded the grant made by Krishnadevaraya. (V. 117; 5-2-1561)

(n) *Ratha Sapthami* festival in Tirumala and Pallavōtsavam for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati for 5 days were instituted by Kāranikkam Appaḷayyar. He granted Sengalteru, yielding 150 R.P annually for conducting these festivals. (V. 173; 26-1-1564).

A longer recital of such festivals may not be of interest to the average reader. It is therefore unnecessary to go here into the details of even the festivals enumerated above. They will however be described in detail in a chapter dealing with Festivals.

The dates given refer to the dates of endowments wherein the names appear. Members of the Pillān family are not acharyapurushas of Tirumala, and Tirupati.

Note :—Mitra Tatsrya (or Tolappar ayyangar) represents the fifteenth generation from Pillai Tirumalai Nambi. He and Tirumalai Tolappa-chariar of the Pillān family would have crossed the degree of agnateship known as Trirātra gnāti.

**Tabular statement of Endowments made
from time to time.**

The statements given hereunder summarise the endowments made during the various periods from two view points. The first has been prepared from the point of view of the quantity of Prasādams and Panyarams offered, which are the primary needs of the pilgrims. The second gives at a glance the endowments made during the same periods, whether in the shape of cash which the Sthanattar were authorised to utilise for repairs to and for the improvement of irrigation sources in the temple-owned lands or in the shape of whole villages and other lands endowed with the object of their yearly income being utilised for the performance of specific services, such as celebrations of festivals, daily and occasional offering of prasādams, burning of akhanda dipams, maintenance of flower gardens, repairs to temple buildings etc.

The first statement differentiates the food offerings made in Tirumala temple from those in the Tirupati temples. The former includes also offerings exclusively meant for Sri Varahaswami, Sri Narasimhaswami, Sri Ramaswami, Sri Krishna, as in almost all cases they were actually offered in the main shrine of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. In Tirupati although the main Temple is that of Sri Govindarajaswami, there are a number of minor shrines including that of Sri Ramanuja and some of the Aḷvārs not to speak of the independent temples of Periya Raghunatha, Achyuta Perumal, Sri Narasimhaswami and several smaller ones. Wherever the food offerings might have been made, they were all ultimately distributed among or sold to the pilgrims. It was only in the Ramanujakutam of the Nammāḷvār temple that food was served freely to every Srivaishnava.

Endowments by individuals for the offering of what was known as sandhi tiruppōnakam, came into vogue only from about 1328 A.D., when the Sita araganḍam Sandhi was first endowed. This was followed by the Nārayanan Sandhi in 1332. Previously there were some villages which had been endowed by the Yādava-rāya rulers, in particular, for the conduct of temple worship in general. There were also two villages on the banks of the river

Kāvēri which had been endowed by the old Chōla or Pandya Kings, one in Manavirkōṭṭam and the other is Payurkōṭṭam. Even the names of the villages have however disappeared in the inscriptions. In 1193 A.D. Vira rākshasa Yādavarāya gave some lands in Kuḍavūrnāḍu, the particulars of which are missing in the inscription. In 1209 A.D. Tirukkālattidēva Yādavaraya made a grant of all the nanjai and punjai lands within the limits of the village of Kuḍavūr. In 1253 the Yādavarāya ratified the edict of the Pāndyan kings granting some lands as determined by the residents of Kuḍavūr nadu, Tonḍapaḍipaṟṟu and the Vāriya-manattān of Agarapaṟṟu as asked for by the Sthanattar. The extent is not stated. In 1234 the second half of Payiṇḍipalli village was granted to Sri Govindarājaswāmi Temple, the other half being stated to have been already the property of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān. There may not have been much of wet cultivation in these villages since we notice that irrigation channels were excavated more in the 15th century A.D. The income from all the above properties may have been just enough to keep up the establishment. In 1365 A.D., there were only 5 Sandhi offerings including two by Bukkaraya, the first king of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar. Dēvaraya Mahāraya-II instituted 32 Sandhis daily in Tirumala in 1429. By the end of 1454 A.D., the sandhi offerings rose to 49 a day.

It will be observed from Statement I,¹ how inadequate had been the arrangement for the food supply to pilgrims in Tirupati as compared to Tirumala. The town of Tirupati and the Temple of Sri Govindaraja were founded by Sri Ramanuja to serve as a base for the pilgrims before they commenced their ascent of the hill. But it was only during the reign of Sadasivarāya that this defect was attempted to be remedied. It must have been this defect which was responsible for the emergence of the large number of pilgrim receivers who came into existence in Tirupati. Konḍarāja's Nammālvār temple and Ramanujakūṭam seem to have been the only place where decent and wholesome food were supplied to the pilgrims. But it catered only for Srivaishnavas.

1 See page 538.

Statements II (a)¹ and II (b)² enable us to form an idea of the financial aspect of temple management during the periods shown therein. Statement II (a) gives the total amount of endowments in cash and in the shape of lands during the six periods into which the history of this temple has been divided in Volumes I to VI of the T. T. D. Inscriptions. Statement II (b) shows the value of endowments by the Kings, their officers, the temple hierarchy, the religious hierarchy, merchants and all other Bhaktas. The difference between the two is only in the classification made. Till we reach the reign of Sadasivaraya, details are not given as to the yearly income from the whole villages and other lands endowed but only the services which the endowment was expected to meet are mentioned. The value or cost of the service is not clearly stated. The cash endowment for offering one tirupponakam or taligai per day perpetually on all the days of a year which was in earlier times 1000 panams or 1200 panams came to be fixed at 1500 panams from the 15th century onwards and till the end of Sadasivaraya's reign. Judging from small endowments for one taligai on a festival occasion in a year, we have reasons to presume that the rate of interest was 12% per annum. Even when the endowed amount was meant to be expended on the excavation of or repairs to a source of irrigation the increased yield was taken to be equivalent to 12% rate of interest on the capital expended. Thus if 1500 panam was capital endowment for 1 taligai, the amount being expended for improvements to a kasakkāl, the increased yield would be valued at 180 panam, the rate of interest being 12%. This would give the cost of 1 taligai per day to be equivalent to 180/365 panams. But from several large scale endowments for which details are given in the inscriptions, what is called a Vellai tirupponakam made with 1 marakal rice and 1 ollock greengram, etc., cost only 1/3 panam per taligai. But 1/2 panam may on the average be taken to be the cost of 1 taligai. During Sadasivaraya's reign a number of varieties of prasadams called 'Ogarais' Ven pongal came into vogue which cost from 1 1/2 panam to 2 panams a taligai on the average. For purposes of forming an idea of the finances of the temple, 1/2 panam is taken

1. See page 540.

2. See page 542.

as the cost of 1 tirupponakam. There were also cakes which were offered in the shape of iddali, dosai, vadai, manoharam, sukhiyan, atirasam, appam, tentolai, godhi, payasam etc., which varied in cost from 2 to 3 panam for dosai; to 6 to 10 panams for atirasam, appam and tentolai. The costlier preparations were usually lesser in quantity than the cheaper varieties. They were all classed as vagai padi. The average cost per padi has been taken for our purpose at 4 panams per padi.

The annual income from lands endowed, wherever not specifically given in the inscription, has been estimated on the assumption that the cost of the service would have been entirely met from the annual income. Some of the inscriptions however lead us to think that in several instances the village failed to yield the estimated income and that the donor, or one of his descendants had to endow some other village or pay an additional sum in cash. There is no inscription which states that any part of the income was set apart as contribution for a reserve fund for repairs to buildings and for repairs and maintenance of irrigation sources. Such repairs whenever found necessary seem to have been carried out from cash endowments made by another donor, entirely unconnected with the original donor of the village. Just as barren cows gifted to a temple and the temple is made to maintain them, so also villages whose maintenance was a burden seem sometimes to have been endowed to a temple. It then became the responsibility of the managers of the temple to do the necessary repairs to irrigation works and get such annual income as the lands might yield. If the income was not sufficient to meet the cost of services, the latter ceased to be performed. Instances of these have been referred to in this history.

A consideration of the figures shown in Table I would perhaps lead to the following conclusion. At about the end of 1565 A.D., the number of daily taligais of cooked food which should have been cooked in the temple kitchen in Tirumala amounted to 958. Each taligai is prepared with 4 measures (nali) of rice. As has already been stated, in a temple metal pots are not used. And mud pots are generally so fragile that most of them break soon after the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Statement

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

Periods	Daily Ubhayams		Yearly Ubhayams	
	Prasa- dams Taligais	Vagai Padi	Prasa- dams Taligais	Vagai Padi
Vol. I. T.T.D. Inscriptions				
In 1365 (from 1328 A.D.) in- cluding Bhukkarayan Sandhi.	5	..	21	1
On 1454 (after Bukka)	.. 44	1	671	50
Vol. II. Saluva Narasimha				
After 1454 & in or about 1500 A.D.	.. 158	11	3484	675
Vol. III. Krishnadeva Raya's period.				
After 1500 A.D. and on 1528 A.D.	.. 159	9	3429	1175 (b)
Vol. IV. Achyutharaya				
After 1528 & on 1540 A.D.	.. 309	11	2986	562 (d)
Vol. V. Sadasivaraya				
After 1540 & on 1565 A.D.	.. 283	3	450	2595
Vol. VI.				
After 1565 and on say 1640 A.D.	25	3	5978	457 (g)

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA

I.

TIRUPATI TEMPLES

Daily Ubhayams		Yearly Ubhayams		Remarks.
Prasadam Taligais	Vagai Padi	Prasadam Taligais	Vagai Padi	
1 and feeding 32 Brahmins	3	399	18	
34	4	1027	587 (a)	Includes (a) 116 panyarams
25	24	2038	1334 (c)	(b) 58 panyarams (c) 299 panyarams
19	2	1178	716 (e)	(d) 397 panyarams. (e) 398 panyarams
373 (f)	4	7005	3984	(f) 50 deducted from Tirumalai & added on to Tirupati as per arrangement. (g) 99 panyarams
35	53	778	1449 (h)	(h) 605 panyarams

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Statement

Periods	In cash Rekhai Pon	Number of villages
Vol. I. T.T.D. Inscriptions.		
From about 1193 & on 1454 ..		13 villages and Tiru- chukanur lands.
Vol. II. Saluva Narasimha's time.		
After 1454 & upto 1500 A.D. ..	15890	31½ villages +4600 kuḷi
Vol. III. Krishnadevaraya's time		
From 1500 to 1528 A.D. ..	16720 +61000 (Krishna devaraya)	23½ villages +1630 kuḷi
Vol. IV. Achyutaraya's time.		
From 1528 to 1540 A.D. ..	49630	38½ villages +4020 kuḷi
Vol. V. Sadasivaraya's time.		
After 1540 & upto 1565 A.D. ..	19590	64 villages +144 shares +10000 kuḷi
Vol. VI. After Sadasivaraya upto 1640 A.D. ..		
	525	11 villages

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA

H (a).

Annual income
Expected
Rekhai Pon

Remarks

Includes 7100 and old kuli of wet lands gifted by Samavai. Annual income not possible to assess. The value of prasadams and Panyarams may be worth about 1400 R.P.

4700 12 irrigation channels were excavated at an approximate cost of 36500 panams included in the cash shown.

4000 17 villages + 1630 kuli of land by the public would yield about 2000 R.P. yearly. Krishna-devaraya's 6½ villages would yield about 2000 R.P. judging by the extent of services to be performed.

4520 Includes villages granted by Varadajiamman 6 villages; yield 920 R.P.

23800

5030 In addition to village grants, irrigation channels were renovated in 11 cases.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Statement

Table showing Endowments in cash, and

	Saluva Narasimha's time.	Income from villages R.P.
	Cash	
	R.P.	
1. Endowments made by the king, his feudatory Chiefs and his officers and palace officials ..	3760 1650 (irrigation channels)	4124
2. Endowments by those connected with the temples and dependent thereon viz., Jiyars, Nambimars, Acharya-purushas, Mathadhipathis, Accountants and Emperumanadiyars ..	2300 2300 (irrigation channels)	
3. Merchants and residents of Tirupati and Chandragiri indirectly depending on the temples ..	2228	(1650 kuli of lands)
4. Other Devotees.		40
Total ..	16492	4164

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA

II (b)

by *Excavation of irrigation channels.*

Krishnadevaraya's time.		Achyutaraya's time.		Sadasivaraya's time.	
Cash R.P.	Income from villages R.P.	Cash R.P.	Income from villages R.P.	Cash R.P.	Income from villages R.P.
35108	3170	34380	2400		
5565	100	7024	1720	4088	6349
763	210	4370	90	5084	
3290 (approx- imately)	280	2875	3620 (approx- imately)	5433	1583
47716	3760	49649	7730	1964	23734

cooked rice is poured on a specially erected stone platform. For facility of handling, pots capable of cooking about 2 measures would generally be used. This means that about 1900 pots would have been used every day. If the pots were twice as large, half the number of pots would have been used. In any case 1900 pots (or 950 if bigger), must have been on the oven each day for the unfailing daily offerings called Sandhi offerings. Considering the space available in the kitchen, not more than 100 pots would have been on the hearth at a time. If each cooking takes 45 minutes, the hearth must have been worked 19×45 minutes every day; or 14 hours per day. Major part of the sandhi offerings (say $\frac{3}{4}$ th) are made before 2 P.M. Unless the kindling of the fire starts at about 4 A.M., in the morning it would not have been possible to complete the three-fourths portion of the cooking before 2 P.M. This is unlikely since we have seen that there came into vogue as many as 439 Vissha divasams in a year of 365 days, when special offerings had to be prepared in addition. In some cases what is known as Tiruppāvadai and Periya Tiruppavadaī had to be prepared necessitating the cooking of 200 marakals of rice, all to be offered before sunset at least.

We may therefore conclude that some at least of the daily sandhi offerings for which endowments have been made were not really cooked and offered. A perusal of the figures given in Part E, of the Chapter on Prasadams would show how the price of food stuffs went on increasing from year to year and century to century and along with it the cost of cooked food offerings and vagai padi. The Sthanattar would have been put to the necessity of discontinuing very many of the food offerings for which endowments had been made in the past in cash or as lands. There is also the other consideration that in Tirumala alone there should have gathered daily at least $958 \times 8 = 7664$ pilgrims even in the months of June and part of July; but we know that even in recent times there would have been less than 1000 pilgrims a day resorting to Tirumala.

Income and Expenditure from Endowments.

Note:—The income from cash endowments has been calculated at 12% interest per annum and the annual income from lands (which are explicitly given only during Sadasivaraya's reign) has been calculated from a valuation of the services to be met from the income. The periods covered are approximately in accordance with the division made in the different volumes of the T. T. Devasthanam publications of the inscriptions.

Vol. I. from about 870 A.D. to 1450 A.D.

<i>Income (Rekhai Pon)</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>
1400 (approximately):	Daily 58 Taligais @ 18 R.P per annum each 1044
	1070 yearly @ $\frac{1}{2}$ panam each .. 54
	1 Vagai daily @ 4 panams each .. 206
<hr/> 1400 R.P. <hr/>	<hr/> R.P. 1304 <hr/>

Vol. II. (1450—1500)

	R.P.		R.P.
Interest on 1590		192 daily @ 18	.. 3456
@ 12%	@ 1907	3511 yearly @ $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 175
From lands (about)	4700	7377 Vagai @ 4 per annum each	.. 2950
	<hr/> 6607 <hr/>		<hr/> 6581 <hr/>

Krishnadevaraya	Vol. III.	(1500—1530)	
Interest on 47720		184 daily @ 18	.. 3312
@ 12%	.. 5706	5467 yearly @	
From villages		$\frac{1}{2}$ each	.. 273
about	.. 4000	15258 @ 4 P. each	.. 6103
	<hr/> 9706 <hr/>		<hr/> 9688 <hr/>

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Achyutaraya Vol. IV. (1530—1545)

<i>Income (Rekhai pon)</i>		<i>Expenditure.</i>	
Interest on 49650		328 daily @ 18	.. 5904
R.P. @ 12%	.. 5958	4164 yearly @	
From lands about	.. 4600	$\frac{1}{2}$ each	.. 208
		11143 vagai @ 4 P.	
		each	.. 4457
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	10558		10569
	<hr/>		<hr/>

Sadasivaraya Vol. V. (1545—1565)

Interest on 19590		556 Daily @ 18	.. 1008
@ 12%	.. 2350	11155 @ $\frac{1}{2}$ each	.. 558
From lands	.. 23800	9134 Vagai @ 5 P.	
		each	.. 4567
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	26150		15133
	<hr/>		<hr/>

In the above approximate estimates, the cost of a vagai padi has been taken to be 4 panams per padi down to the end of Achyutaraya's reign. During Sadasiva's period, it has been assumed at 5 panam per padi, for the reason that the more costly ones were offered in larger quantities and also because the prices seem to have risen.

It looks as if the income and expenditure just balanced till we reach Sadasivaraya's period. To realise the amount needed for the services it should have been necessary to expend all the cash endowments for keeping the sources of irrigation of all the endowed lands in good repair. We however find no inscription to give us an idea of how, when and on what works the cash was spent.

ANNEXURE TO CHAPTER XX

DONORS AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS DURING SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA'S PERIOD.

We will now go into the endowments made during the reign of Sadāsivarāya, the men who made them and the purpose for which they were made. We have already noticed that during the reign of Achyutarāya Mahārāya, the only Feudatory Chiefs who made endowments to the temple were Achyutaraya's father-in-law Timmaraya Salakaraja and his three sons Periya Tirumalaraja, Siria Tirumalarāja and Singaraja. Of these the largest were those made by Singaraya. He made endowments amounting to 15000 panams on two occasions. The father-in-law's endowment was only 600 panams for a water shed in the Chiṭṭekkuḍu hill, the second ascent on the way to Tirumala. Periya Tirumalai, his wife Tāthukkōnamma and Siria Tirumala made endowments of 1300, 1500 and 1200 panams respectively¹. The last named was for laying out a street in Tirumala called Ankanam street for the merit of his sister, Queen Varadajiamman. Excepting these members of the Salakaraja family, there were no other feudatories who made endowments. When however we go to the period of Sadāsivarāya, we find that the members of the Araviḍu family, the Maṭṭa family and Manamapōli family appear as donors and presumably therefore all of them were the supporters of Sadāsivarāya. Araviṭi Aliya Rama Raja, who was the Mahā-pradhāni and the brother-in-law of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya made the largest endowments. The very first one (V. 29) made by him on 19—1—1545 shows signs of the solidarity of the Aravidu family. Aliya Ramaraja is the son of Sri Rangaraja and the latter's brother is Poṭṭapāṭi Timmaraja. The inscription not only shows that Aliya Ramaraja endowed *Puduppatti* village for the celebration of the festival of Mukkoti Dvadasi in Tirumala and Tirupati for the merit (புண்ணியம்) of Sadāsivarāya, but also mentions a smaller endowment by Poṭṭapāṭi Timmaraja of 50 panams for the reading of Tiruvēnkaṭa Māhātmyam in Tirumala and in

1 IV. 31 of 1534, IV. 66 of 1536 and IV. 168 of 1541 A. D.

Tirupati during the time of God's Tirumanjanam for the combined merit of Sadasiva Maharaya and the Rayar's father-in-law Sri-rangaraja (the donor's own brother and father of Aliya Rama Raya). Tiny as that contribution is it serves as a solemn declaration made in the temple that Poṭṭapāṭi Timmarāja and his sons will be faithful allies of Sadāsiva Mahāraya and Aliya Ramaraya. In furtherance of this we find that all the sons of Poṭṭapāṭi Timmarāja, viz., Timmarājayyan, Viṭṭalēsvara Raja, Chinna Timmaraja and Pappu Timmaraja, made their own endowments.

TIMMARAJAYYAN'S endowment of 13220 panams (V. 53; 15—7—1545) mentions that it was for the merit of Sadasivarāya and Aliya Ramaraja. It provided for a special panchāmrita offering in memory of Krishnadevarāya in order perhaps to please at the same time Aliya Ramaraja's wife who was one of the daughters of Krishnadevaraya. This endowment was followed by another of a larger amount in cash (the amount is missing), for several services to Sri Venkatesvara and to Govindarāja, all for the merit of Aliya Ramaraja (V. 78; 21—9—1546).

PAPPU TIMMAYYA DEVA MAHARAJA made an endowment (V. 101; 24—11—1547) of Kollūr village yielding an annual income of 100 Rekhai pon plus a cash amount of 1565 panams, which was paid by the Kōmaṭis of Kottapālayam, Tirupati for the merit of his elder brother Chinna Timmayyadeva Maharāja, the income from the endowment to be utilised for the upkeep of the temple of Janārdhanaperumāl in Kottapalayam, Tirupati. He also endowed Vēnaḍu village on 14—4—1555 with an annual income of 250 Rekhai Pon for the tirumanjanam of the Utsava murti and Nāchchimār while seated in his mantapam at the end of Sannidhi Street, Tirumala.

VITTALESWARA MAHARAJA made a grant of three villages (Pālamangalam Paranūr and Venakattūr) yielding annually 500,250, 250 Rekhai Pon respectively, for the celebration of a new festival *Pallavotsavam* for *Sri Venkateswara* for 5 days in the month of Vaikasi and ending in Rohini Nakshatra which was the donor's birth star. There are also other offerings included in this endowment. (V 51; 5—7—1545).

MATLA VARADARAJA who married another daughter of Krishnadevaraya and who was therefore the shaddaga of Aliya Ramaraja, showed his adherence to Aliya Ramaraja by making an endowment of 312 Rekhai Pon in cash early in 1544 A.D. for offering daily one tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara, besides some other ubhayams (V. 11; 1544).

MANAMAPOLI SRIRANGARAJA, son of Öbalaraja, made a grant of half the village of Eranapākkam yielding 100 Rekhai Pon annually for offering 5 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesvara. (V. 27; 19—1—1545).

SRIPATI ÖBALESVARA RAJA, son of Mäurāju Ramarāja made a grant of Pērur (income 300 ghatti varahams) in Konākarai Sirmāi for offering daily to Sri Venkatesvara one junnu padi and 8 vellai tirupponakam. (V. 75; 13—8—1546) (Junnu is prepared by boiling down to thick consistency two marakkāls milk with one viss white sugar and some refined camphor).

TIRUVADI RAJA OF TRAVANCORE also showed his adherence to Sadasivarāya by the grant of half the village *Kulāiyapāṭṭam* on the banks of the Tampraparni (குழயபாட்டம்) having an annual income of 350 Rekhai Pon for the merit¹ of Vittalesvara Mahārāja for offering daily 12 tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara and similarly for Sri Govindaraja. (V. 158; 14—9—1557).

PENDLI KODUKU TIMMARAJA son of Manampoli Kamparaja obtained from Erra Timmaraja three villages (1) Bangāram yielding 100 Rekhai Pon yearly (2) Viṭṭasēri, yielding 50 R.P. and (3) Bhūdapuram including Kuppam, yielding 50 R.P. annually. He endowed these for the purpose of conducting annually *Vasantōtsavam* for Sri Venkateswara for five days in the month of Masi ending in Sravana Nakshatram (V. 93; 8—6—1547).

NANDYALA NARAPPA RAJA endowed two villages Pallipaṭṭu and Gūṇḍippūṇḍi, yielding 100 Rekhai Pon for offering

1. (ஸ்ரீ மஹா மண்டலேச்வர ராமராஜ திம்மய்ய தேவ மஹா ராஜாவின் குமாரர் விட்டல ராஜய்யனுக்குப் புண்ணியமாக)

4 vellai tiruppōnakam daily to the Dvarapālakas, whom he installed in Sri Govindaraja's Temple. (V. 122, 18—3—1549).

TIRUMALAI RAJA, the brother of Aliya Ramaraja, made a cash endowment of 16500 panams for offering 515 atirasa paḍi on 515 festival occasions to be offered in the Unjal mantapam constructed by him in Tirumala (V. 168; 15—12—1561) called the Tirumalarayan mantapam.

ARAVIDU RAMARAJA KONETIRAJA KONDARAJA was the step nephew of *ALIYA RAMA RAJA*. There are four inscriptions which give particulars of his endowments viz., Nos. 125, 133, 141, 154, (Vol. V). The first endowment V. 125 was made by him on 2—10—1550, by granting ten villages for the purpose of making daily food offerings to Sri Nammālvār for whom he constructed a new shrine in the present Govindaraja North Mada Street. The annual estimated income from these villages was 5713 Rekhai Pon. Their names are:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Tarkoḷam | 6. Palandai |
| 2. Tāyanūr | 7. Mullappaṭṭu |
| 3. Malaiyanūr | 8. Kūdaippākkam |
| 4. Attiyūr | 9. Mayyūr |
| 5. Asūr | 10. Tiruppāḍu. |

The food offerings so made were to be used for feeding Sri Vaishnava pilgrims in the Ramanujakutam attached to the temple. Every arrangement was made to make the food acceptable to even orthodox people. The second endowment (V. 133) was made on 10—3—1552. This consisted of 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ shares of land in six different places, yielding 30 Rekhai Pon annually and 27 Rekhai Pon to be collected as taxes in Ālvār Mudaliyar Palayam etc. The total sum of 57 Rekhai Pon was to be used for the Sāttumurai festival of Sri Uḍaiyavar in Tirupati (costing 51 R.P. and 9 panam) and for certain ubhayams for Sri Govindaraja, Nammālvār, Sūḍikkoḍutta Nāchchiar, etc., costing 6 and odd R.P. The third endowment (V. 141) was made on 25—5—1553 by the grant of Nagari village and Viḍu Grāmam with an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon for the purpose of conducting Adhyayanotsavam

of the Nammalvar installed by him and for the Ani Car Festival and the celebration of the tirunakshatram of all the twelve Ālvārs and Acharyas installed in Tirupati. The fourth endowment (V. 154) was made on 27—1—1554 in appreciation of the charitable work that was being done by Kondaraja. The Emperor Sadasivarāya on the meritorious occasion of his visit to Tirumala on the previous Makara Sankramanam day made a dānam with libations of water of several kinds of taxes. A rayasam was issued on 2—7—1554 enumerating these taxes and charging the officers in the provinces enumerated therein to collect the taxes and to hand them over to the Trustees of the Tirumalai Temple for conducting the charities in Konḍaraja's Nammālvār Temple and Ramanujakūṭam. The Emperor also presented 200 bulls bearing the Hamsa mudra for drawing the provision carts such as Teppedu¹ Pachchaivaḍām, ghee, oil and vegetables. (தெப்பாட்டுச்சரக்கு) The taxes to be collected and handed over were:

Navasaranyāsa Vargam	.. நவசரநூஸ வறகம்
Teppāṭṭu Sarakku	.. தெப்பாட்டுச்சரக்கு
Mēlakai	.. மேலகை
Magamai	.. மகமை
Kōdai	.. கோடை
Āyam	.. ஆயம்
Aṟuppu	.. அறுப்பு
Uḷḷāyam	.. உள்ளாயம்
Pērāyam	.. பேராயம்
Magamai	.. மகமை
Mulaivisam	.. முலைவீசம்
Taragu	.. தரகு

The sīrmai, nādu and rājyam where these taxes were ordered to be collected for the benefit of the Ramanujakūṭam were:

Paḍaiviḍu Rajyam	படைவீடுராஜ்யம்
Senjee (singee)	செஞ்சி

1. We do not know what these names of Taxes indicates.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tiruvadi	திருவதி
Bhavanagiri	போனகிரி
Paṭṭanam	பட்டணம்
Solamaṇḍalam	சோழமண்டலம்
Tiruvannamalai	திருவண்ணாமலை
Kānchīpuram	காஞ்சிபுரம்
Chandragiri rajyam	சந்திரகிரிராஜம்
Paḷaiyam	பாளையம்
Paḷaverkādu	பழவேற்காடு
Mudupankarai pattanam	முதுபாந்கரைப்பட்டணம்
Penukoṇḍa sirmai	பெனுகொண்ட சிர்மை
Vaḍarajyam	வடராஜம்
Udayagiri	உதயகிரி
Koṇḍaiviḍu sirmai	கொண்டவீட்டு சிர்மை

ALIYA RAMARAJA: Aliya Rama Raja made an endowment in his own name (V. 155; 11—11—1554) besides the one already mentioned, (V. 29 in 1545) which was for Sadasivaraya's merit of four villages (1) Singala bhāvi (in Raīchur Sirmai (2), Vala Koil (in Mudgal sirmai), (3) Yāralachchēri (in Periyapākkam sirmai), (4) Mākālipaṭṭu (in Periyapākkam sirmai), with an annual income of 4000 Rekhai Pon for offering *daily* 200 *tirupponakam* to Sri Venkatesa as the Mudal or first prasadam after the dadhyodanam (Matrai) offering. It was also arranged that the donor's share of 50 taligais should be daily handed over to Koṇḍarāja's Ramanujakutam in Tirupati from out of the offerings in Sri Govindarajaswami's temple.

The total of the endowments made by Aliya Ramaraja and his kinsmen during the reign of Sadasiva Maharaya was 34585 panams in cash and 24½ villages and 10¾ shares of sarvamānyam lands having an annual income of 13040 Rekhai pon (130,400 panam). The endowments made by the Sālakarāja family during Achyutaraya's reign¹ amounted only to 34600 panam in cash.

1. The Devasthanam epigraphist seems to have been under a misapprehension that Srirangaraja Maharaya (mentioned in V. 143) was a feudatory chief under Sadasiva Maharaya (vide page X. Vol. V). The prasasti of

No lands were endowed. The Aravidu chiefs showed great solidarity and loyalty to Sadāsivarāya and to Aḷiya Ramaraja. In this respect we may compare Aḷiya Ramaraja to Saluva Narasimha, who had the support of all his cousins and kinsmen.

Endowments by Military and other officers.

Another set of people who usually made endowments during the reign of every Emperor are the Generals or Military officers serving in the Empire. Some of them usually mentioned that the endowments were for the merit (புண்ணியம்) of the Emperor at the time. During the reign of Achyutaraya Maharaya almost all of them uniformly made endowments of 15000 panams each. Even the Ubhayams for which the income from the endowment had to be utilised became stereotyped so that 3000 appa padi were offered in the aggregate during the year in each case. Adaiappam Bhaiyappa Nāyakkar also had to make such endowment

Sriranḡaraja Maharaya therein given is "Sriman Maharejadhi Raja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Sriranḡaraja Maharaya". This is unmistakably the prasasti of the Emperor of Vijayanaḡar. The year mentioned is Visvāvasu. There are three Visvāvasu years which may be considered for deciding the identity of the person viz. 1548 A.D., 1605 A.D., 1665 A. D. The only Sriranḡa or Ranḡa who can with any pretence bear the titles of the Emperor was Sadasiva Maharaya's own father, who died before Sadasiva ascended the throne in 1542. In the year 1605, Venkatapati I. was the ruling monarch and not Sriranḡaraja. In 1665 A. D. Sriranḡaraja was the Emperor and he was at the time according to historians trying to guard against the treachery and intrigues of his own Provincial rulers the Nāyaks and the Golkonda Sultan. It is very likely that he worshipped Tiruveḡatanatha on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the Jyeshtha month in the year Visvāvasu (may be 29th May 1665) as is mentioned in the inscription. That inscription should have found a place in Vol. VI. and would fill in the gap between the years 156-1638 (VI 23) and (No. 24, Vol. VII.) 19-3-1684. In 1638 Sriranḡaraja is mentioned in the inscription with the full prasasti of the Emperor. In 1684 there is no mention of any Emperor. The former inscription is in Tamil and the latter in Teluḡu. Inscription No. 143 of Vol. V. is also in Teluḡu and mentions Sriranḡaraja (with the full prasasti at the Emperor) as having visited Tirumalai (1665 A.D.).

although he had already made a much larger endowment of 53,300 panams. During the reign of Sadāsivarāya we do not find military officers making any such large endowments. Whatever they did seems to have been done out of their free will. Some of these endowments furnish us with interesting information about the economic condition of the country.

(a) *ATTILANGU NAYAKKAR* of Vemapatti pālayam endowed 550 panams for making 11 appa padi offerings during the course of a year and for offering 11 palam chandanam, 550 areca nuts and 1100 betel leaves during the 10 Brahmotsavams and the Nāvālūṟṟu festival. (V. 13; 5—6—1544).

(b) *MURTI NAYAKKAR* of Kumārapalli purchased 4½ shares of land in Rajēndra Singanallūr village yielding an annual income of 50 Rekhai Pon and half the village of Puduppaṭṭu Konēṭi Kālway with an annual income of 25 Rekhai Pon and endowed them for certain services among which were the Tōppu festival in his garden mantapam in Tirumala on Sravanam in Ani month. A number of food offerings in the name of his parents, brothers, sisters, his secretary and others were also to be made on specified days out of this endowment. The cost of several articles are given in the inscription. Perhaps it is this Murti Nayakkar who constructed the Murti nayakkar tank in Tirumala (V. 19; 7—8—1544).

(c) *KRISHNAPPA NAYAKKAR* made an endowment of 780 panams. The inscription is however not complete. (V. 30).

(d) *SEVVU NAYAKKAR* of Prangnāḍu (along with six others) made an endowment of 2480 panams for the Pāḍiya vēṭṭai festival of Periya Raghunatha in Tirupati. He supplemented this by another endowment of 50 Rekhai Pon so that the Pāḍiyavēṭṭai festival of Sri Govindaraja and Sri Krishnan also may be celebrated. Potlapāṭi Chinna Timmayya deva Maharaya contributed 15 Rekhai Pon to this endowment which would show that Sevvu Nāyakkar was an important person. His endowments were confined to Tirupati. (V. 86; 13—1—1547 and 102; 4—1—1548).

(e) *SEVVAPPA NAYAKKAR* of Maḍippākkam Village made an endowment of his own village Maḍipākkam yielding an annual

income of 70 Rekhai Pon for offering daily to Sri Venkatesa 2 vellai tirupponakam and to Sri Viṭtalesvara in Tirupati one appa padi on each Amavasya day. *The point to note about this endowment is that he retained in his own hands hereditarily the management of the village (Kāniyākshi) and only agreed to pay 70 Rekhai Pon every year to the temple.* (V. 98; 8—7—1547).

(j) *SURAPPA NAYAKKAR* made an endowment of the village of Villiyanallur in Viḷuppuram Sirmai having an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesa and in addition for the celebration of a *Sahasra-nāmārchana festival for Sri Venkatesvara* for five days in the month of Masi with ankurarpanam in Makha Nakshatram and ending in Chitta nakshatram. The details of the festival are given in the inscription. He also owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumala. The details show that he was a man conversant with Sri Vaishnava forms of worship. (V. 127; 10—5—1551).

(g) *ARANI TIRUMALAI NAYAKKAR* made an endowment of the village of ATTIMALAIPPATTU on the bank of Seyyāru River, (in the district of Tachchur attached to the Gaṇḍagōpalan division of Raja Gambhira Nādu in Pālagunrakoṭṭam in the province of Paḍaiviḍu in Jayangoṇḍa Sōḷa maṇḍalam), yielding an annual income of 80 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 3 sandhi tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara. (V. 138; 1—8—1552). *He however reserved to himself and his heirs the right of Kāniyākshi (Kuḍivaram) and paid only 80 Rekhai Pon annually to the temple.* This is the third instance we notice of such an arrangement during Sadāsivaraya's reign. We know that Ogampadi Gangu Reddi did the same (in V. 84 dated 3—11—1546).

Besides the above Military Officers, there are also *civil officers* who have made endowments. Some of these endowments are on a liberal scale for special festivals instituted by them.

RAYASAM HARIAPPAR'S endowment is for offering daily 1 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara and the amount therefor was 1580 panams. (V. 21; 11—9—1544).

RAYASAM VENKATADRI and his younger brother *RAYASAM KONAPPAYYAR* (sons of Timmarasayyar who was the son of Viramarasayya) of Musalimaḍugu, made two endowments. The first one was made (V. 129) on 8—7—1551 and was by Venkatadri. It consisted of 2½ villages, viz., Dēsūr grāmam, Velanjineru gramam and half of Timmasamudram. These yielded an annual income of 1030 Rekhai Pon. The services consisted of a daily offering of 4 vellai tirupponakam and one atirasappadi on the 110 days of the ten Brahmotsavams; similarly 134 atirasappadis on 134 tingal divasams and 6 more for some visesha divasams. All these were for Sri Venkatesa only. He seems to have considered that his endowment was defective. He therefore made a further provision in V. 167 dated 5—12—1561 for 104 atirasappadi for 52 Pulugukkappu days in a year and also for 13 Purvaphalguni nakshtrams which might have been his birth star. He did not omit making offerings to Sri Govindaraja. So he made provision for one alankara taligai daily (costing 117 Rekhai Pon in a year), also for one appa padi daily. His brother *KONAPPAYYAN* made in the same endowment a provision of 120 Rekhai Pon yearly for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja. He also granted a number of villages and shares of land (or vritti) in some villages—Āpyūr, Ākāsa Śūriyampaṭṭu, Ghantakāna kuppam, Ilaiyāṇḍānpaṭṭu, and Perumanāmbaṭṭu, 16 vritti in Satravāḍa, 20 shares in Vēpagunta, 4 shares in Sri Ramachandrapuram, 28 shares in some village the name of which is missing; 10 shares in Panaippākkam and two shares in Puttūr village. The annual income from these villages and lands is stated to have been 646 Rekhai pon. These endowments and the ones made by Karanikam Appalayyar and Karanikam Bhasavarasar are of interest to us for the detailed information they furnish of the Sirmai Nadu, Kottam and Province in which the endowed villages were situated in those days and also for the division of shares in villages (presumably inam villages). They also furnish detailed information about the cost of every item of service.

KARANIKA APPALAYYAR, son of Kāmarasappa made two endowments one V. 161 on 19—5—1508 and the other V. 173 on 26—1—1564. They were in the shape of lands and a village. The income from the lands was 155 Rekhai Pon and 8 panams.

The village gave a yearly income of 150 Rekhai Pon. In Tirumala, his ubhayam was during the summer festival in the mantapam in his flower garden and also on Brahmōtsavam days. For Sri Govindaraja his ubhayam was on all Hastha nakshatra days. The second endowment (annual yield of 150 Rekhai Pon) was for celebrating *Rathasaptami* festival in Tirumala with day as well as night processions. In Tirupati he endowed for the celebration of *Pallavotsavam* (as was being done for Sri Venkatesvara in Tirumala for 5 days. The total cost of the Pallavōtsavam was 114 R.P and 5 panam. The village of Sengallēru in Gandikkōṭṭai Sirmai was endowed for these. The details of lands endowed are:—

(V. 161) 1 share of land in Tāyanur (income	20 R.P.)
2 shares in Vīraganḍanallur	22 „
100 Kuli mānyam land in	
Pēraviyal village	30 „
12 Vritti in Tāḷimarappūr	51-2 „
5 Shares in Alli tuṇai	11-6 „
3½ shares in Dēvarasappalli	21 „

155-8 R.P.

KARANIKKA BHASAVARASAR seems to have made two endowments. As the inscriptions are incomplete, we do not know what these were, in detail. (V. 145 of 1553 and V. 147 of 1554 grant of Kalyanūr). The sum total of the endowments made by these civil officers consisted of cash+6½ villages and 96 shares of land; their value was 1580 panam plus 1981 Rekhai Pon annually. They compare rather unfavourably with the endowments made by men of this class during Achyutaraya's reign, which amounted to 309186 panams in cash and 10 villages with an annual income of 1300 Rekhai Pon.

ENDOWMENTS BY PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE TEMPLE.

We have so far considered endowments by persons who had some connection or other with the Emperor and Aliya Ramaraja.

We will next see what endowments were made by those who were hereditarily connected with the temple.

Archakas (or Nambimars).

VENKATATTURAIVAR, son of Malaininran Bhattar Appayyar made a cash endowment of 2657 panam to be utilised for irrigation improvements to temple lands and from the increased income to perform ubhayam in connection with the Uri-adi festival, for Vannimaram, Vijayadasami and Pādiyavēṭṭai in Tirumala; also for certain festivals in Tirupati for Govindaraja and Periya Raghunatha (V 60, 26—11—1545).

APPAYYAN VENKATATTURAIVAR, son of Govindan. He made an endowment (amount not known) for food offering during Tiruppaḷli-eḷuchchi days to Sri Govindaraja.

Jiyars.

One *KOYIL KELVI JIYAR*, who was Kartar of Alagiya Manavālan matham and tirunandavanam and who was the disciple of Vānamāmalai Jiyar and another Vānamāmalai Jiyar, the disciple of Ramanuja Jiyar, jointly endowed in cash 2500 panam for ubhayams in connection with Sri Ramanuja's āṭṭai tirunakshatram; the āṭṭai tirunakshatram of Ramanuja Jiyar, for offerings during Brahmotsavam in Tirumala etc. (V. 2; 27—1—1542).

The second endowment, V. 80 dated 13—10—1546, was by Vānamāmalai Ramanuja Jiyar (who was Koyil Kelvi also) of 2000 panam for one Tirupponakam to be prepared in Sri Govindaraja's temple and to be offered to Sri Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan installed by him in his matham at Tirupati. This obviously was meant to enhance the reputation of his matham in the eyes of the pilgrims. This is in fact not an endowment to any of the Temples directly attached to Tirumala. *VADA TIRUVENKATA JIYAR* (not described as Koyil Kelvi nor does he appear to have owned a matham or tirunandavanam) made an endowment of 840 panam (date not mentioned) for offering manoharappadi to Tiruvengada-

mudaiyan in connection with Koyilalvar Tirumanjanam during the 10 Brahmōtsavams and some other ubhayams (V. 94 no date or year). We know that Vangapuram Narayana Setti, one of the merchants of Tirupati made elaborate provision for the conduct of Koyilalvar Tirumanjanam. (Vide V. 25, 19—10—1544).

The total of the three endowments made by the Jiyars is 5340 panams.

Acharyapurushas.

We next go to the āchāryapurushas. The earliest endowment was made by *Anandāmpillai Appayyangar*, son of Singamayyangar of Bharadwaja Gotra, Yajussakha etc. This consisted of the interest on a sum of 500 panams and was for offering during Adhyayanotsavam 1 tiruvōlakkam in Tirumalai as well as in Tirupati on the Kannianun siruttambu day. V. 7; 1-9-1543. His disciple Vangapuram Narayana Setti made a large endowment of 48900 panams which will be noticed later.

KANDADAI SRIRANGACHARIAR, son of Kandadai Bhāvanachāriar (Vādihūla gōtra, Apasthamba Sūtra, Yajussākha), made an endowment of 1500 panam, V. 48; 5-7-1545, for making dōsai offerings to Sri Venkatesa and to Sri Govindaraja on certain occasions, such as his father's monthly tirunakshatram Visakham, Kandadai Appan's birth star Avani Pūram, Kandadai Appu-Annān's, Chittirai Mūlam, his own nakshatram (Ani Svati), Sri Ramanuja's Attai Nakshatram etc. From V. 51; 5-7-1545 we know that Viṭṭalēsvara Maharaja was his disciple and that he made over to his acharya the quarter share of prasadam due to him as donor.

SOTTAI ETTUR TIRUMALAI NAMBI SRINIVASAYYANGAR. He was the son of Kumara Tattayyangar Saṭhamarshana Gōtra, Āpasthamba Sūtra, Yajussākha) and one of the Tirumalai Acharyapurushas. He made an endowment of a village called Periya Ekkalur in Jagadabhi Gutti sirmai yielding an annual income of 2000 Chakram Pon, V. 92; dated 3—7—1547, which was granted to him by the Emperor Sadasiva Raya with libations of water

and copper plate grant. He made provision for the under-mentioned services:—

- (a) one Alankāra taligai daily for Sri Venkatesa consisting of 2 rajāna tirupponakam, 4 kūtūkari; 4 porikkari, 4 sauces, 1 cup of milk, 1 cup rasāyanam etc., costing 207 Rekhai Pon per year.
- (b) celebration of Phalotsavam at Tirumala, lasting for 5 days, costing 240 Rekhai Pon.
- (c) celebration of Kīlāroḷi—īlamai day of Adhyayanotasvam (2nd day of latter 10 days) of Sri Venkatesa and celebration of Taṅṅirāmuḍu festival in Tirumala. The two together cost 64 Rekhai Pon.
- (d) certain other ubhyams for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Ramanuja costing 29 Rekhai Pon. The total cost of the Ubhayams in Tirumalai was 540 Rekhair Pon.

For Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati.

- (e) 4 vellai tirupponakam and 1 alankāra taligai daily as in Tirumala;
- (f) 2 tirupponakam to be offered daily to Sri Venkatesa installed by Poḷlapāti Timmaraja in the 4th cave of the Āḷvār Tirtham. These two items cost 617 Rekhai Pon per year.
- (g) celebration of a new Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati in the Tamil month of Māsi (13 days) commencing with Ankurarpana in Arudhra Nakshatram (being the birth star of Sri Ramanuja) and ending with Tirthavari in Visakha nakshatram being the birth star of Sri Nammālvār. The expenditure on this festival was 670 Rekhai Pon and 1½ panams. There was an additional endowment of 85 Rekhai Pon by some of his disciples mentioned in the inscription and several other minor ubhayams. Srinivasa-ayaangar made another endowment (V.171); on 28-7-1562

(the latter portion of the inscription which is on the south wall of the second prakara of Sri Govindaraja Temple, is missing). The name of the villages granted commences with திருவினையாட்டம் உள் மண்டலம்... . . . and there the inscription is left incomplete. But the cost of the services amounts to not less than 930 Rekhai Pon a year. The endowment provided for offering atirasappadi on 205 visēsha tirunals 217 tingal divasams, 14 visēsha divasams altogether 436 atirasa padis costing 482 Rekhai Pon; also for offering daily 4 tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja along with 2 palam chandanam.

SOTTAI ETTUR TIRUMALAI NAMBI KUMARA TATTAYANGAR is the father of Srinivasayyengar. We have noticed that during the reign of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya, he was the most prominent man among the Acharya Purushas. He made certain endowments and was the recipient of the donor's share in the offerings made by his numerous disciples. He should have been far advanced in age when he made an endowment (V. 123) (either of 1549 or 1554 A.D.) of 3420 panams during the reign of Sadasivaraya making provision for offering 2 vellai Tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa and also to Sri Govindaraja on the occasion of the sattumurai of Senai Mudaliar on Arpasi Puradam. The day of the inscription is given as Thursday, Bahula Dasami and Sataiyam Nakshatram. The Tamil numeral given for the year is சூசியளடுக (saka 1471). No Thursday in the Saka year 1471 has Bahula Dasami and Sataya Nakshatra concurrent. On March 29, 1554 (Mesa 2, Saka 1476) there is Bahula Ekadasi, 52 day and 97 day Satayam. The error being one tithi; but such an error is possible. He seems to have had two sons. One of them Tirumalai Tattayyengar came to notice as the Acharya of Singaraja, son of Salakayyadeva Maharaja, during the reign of Achyutaraya Maharaya (IV. 170; 10-2-1542). The other son whom we noticed above was Srinivasa Ayyengar who was honoured by Sadasivaraya with the munificent grant of Pedda Ekkalūr village. The two brothers occupied the place of Acharyas to one or the other of the two powerful rival political parties.

The Endowments made by the three Acharya Purusha families (Anandampillai, Kandadai and Sottai Tirumalai Nambi) during Sadasivaraya's reign amounted to 5420 panams in cash and villages yielding annually 2930 Rekhai Pon.

The Devasthanam Epigraphist has shown one Ramanuja Timmayyan as an Acharyapurusha (I. 26; 22-10-1544) which is a clear mistake. Neither in this inscription nor in No. 3 of Vol. III is he described as an Acharyapurusha.

TALĻAPAKKAM TIRUMALAI AYYANGAR and the members of his family: (Bhāradwāja gōtra, Āsvalāyana sūtra and Rik. Sākhā). Their endowments are to be found in inscription Nos. V. 34, 47, 47-A, 55, 68, 71, 99, 153; and 159. Their names are Pedda Tirumalai Ayyangar, Tiruvenkatanāthar, Chinna Tirumalayyengar, Tiruvenkatayyan and Tiruvengalayyar. The total amount of their endowments was 7932 panams in cash and 2060 Rekhai Pon by way of annual income from villages. The family has been connected with the temple from the later days of Sri Krishna Devaraya, as poets, musicians, and propagandists of Sri Vaishnavism in Rayalaseema. TIRUMALAIYYANGAR made an endowment (V. 34; on 19—3—1545) of 1020 panams for celebrating the sattumurai of Āḷvār Tirtham Nammālvār (Visakham nakshatram being the 10th day of his Adhyayanotsavam). Again he obtained from Sadasiva Maharaya and Aliya Rama Raja, orders for validating the grant of the village of Muttiyālappaṭṭi which he had made sometime earlier for the celebration of ubhayams during Ani Brahmotsavam in Tirumala, but which had to be discontinued subsequently as the village did not yield the income (V. 54 dated 3—7—1545). He made now in V. 47 dated 3—7—1545 a last payment of 386 Rekhai Pon to repair the tank and to carry on the ubhayams uninterruptedly. Besides the ubhayams during the Ani festival, the endowment provided for offering 6 vellai tirupponakams daily to Sri Venkatesa. There was also provision made for the announcement of Arulappāḍu in front of his San-kīrtana Bhandāram, for singing songs on the occasion of Nachchiyar tirumanjanam on all the Fridays and for the supply of turmeric powder for the bath. Provision was made for the daily tiru-

manjanam of the Utsavar and Nachchimar of Sri Govindaraja also. The cost of these services was 280 Rekhai Pon a year. The next endowment V. 47-A made by him was probably on the same day. It was for the celebration of a Vana Bhōjanam festival in Sravana nakshatra of Kartikai month for Sri Venkatesa; 50 dadhyodhana taligais and 19 vaḍai padi were to be offered in this connection. *The noteworthy information contained in the inscription is the mention of 12 mantapa padi in the names of the twelve nirvaham people (Sthanattar of the temple), the 4½ vagai people, one in the name of Nārana Setti and the last in the name of Tiruppaṇi Pillai.* He appears to have attempted to appease all those who had influence in the management of the temple. The names of the Sthanattar according to the inscription are: Āḷvār Mudaliar, Narasingaraya Mudaliyar, Ilaya Mudaliar, Ariyārāya Mudaliar, three Nirvaham Sabhaiyar (names not given), two Nirvaham Nambimar (names not given), Periya Kōyil Kēlvi Jiyar and Ilam Kōyil Kēlvi Jiyar (names not given), and Nirvaham of temple accountants. Although this list gives two places for Nambimar and one for accountant, we know that the original and the correct apportionment was two seats for the temple accountants and one for Nambimar. The four and half Vagai as noted in this inscription are: Tirupati residents; (திருப்பதியார்) 1, Sabhaiyar (சபையார்) 1, Nambimar 1, Desantries 1, Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar (accountants) ½—total 4½ Vagai.

There were also some honoured recipients of prasadams who were not concerned with the administration of the temple. Their names as given in the inscription are Narayana Setti, Tāllapakkam Tirumalayyengar (himself), Kumara Tāttayyengar, Chakravarthi Appayyengar, Kandāḍai Appayyengar, Anandāmpillai Ayyengar, Tirumalayyengar, Doḍḍayyengar Appai, Sukavaṣṭu Annan, Appu Annan Appan, Appu Tiruvenkatayyengar Jiyar, Annan Nayinar, Venkatatturaivār, Appāchchi Annan Appan, Paḷḷibhaṭṭar Malaiyannan, Tiruppaṇi Pillai, managers of Ramanujakutam etc. We see from this distinctly that at least four acharya-purusha families were then in existence. We also see that the Prativadhi Bhayankaram family was one of these acharya purusha families. As there is neither a date nor a separate endowment

mentioned as having been made for this festival, it must be presumed to have been included in the preceding endowment. The next endowment (the third in fact), V. 55 dated 2—8—1545, was the grant of the village of *Ganḍama Timmapuram* yielding an annual income of 100 Rekhai Pon and a cash payment of 14 Rekhai Pon and 2 panam, for offering daily 2 tirupponakam taligai and one alankāra taligai to Sri Venkatesa. Two of his Sāttāda Srivaishnava-disciples also made separate endowments amounting to 16 Rekhai Pon for making food offerings as ubhaiyam. The fourth endowment of Tirumalaiyyangar, V. 68 dated 20—4—1546, was a cash payment of 2300 panams for making daily food offerings to Sri Lakshminarayana Perumāl, whose image he had installed in the Āḷvār Tirtham mantapam at Tirupati and also for ubhayams on the Tirthavari days of the three Brahmotsavams for Sri Govindaraja, for floating festival, Kartikai Sankramanam etc.

The next endowment, V. 71; 17—7—1546, was made by Pedda Tirumalayyengar's son Tallapakam Tiruvenkaṭanāthan. It consisted of the grant of the two villages Sēndalūru and Mallavaram, yielding an annual income of 500 and 120 Ghaṭṭi Varāhans respectively for the celebration of a marriage festival (Vaivahikōtsavam) for 5 days for Sri Venkatesa. It was to commence in Anuradha nakshatra and end in Uttirāḍam in the month of Panguni. He made provision for certain ubhayams also. Among these were a hunting festival for Tiruvenkatakrishnan in Tirumala, the celebration of Panguni Uttiram for Alarmel Mangai Nāchchiyār in Tirumala, the celebration of the Avatāra nakshatra of Sri Varahaswami in Sravananakshatra in Arpasi month, an ubhayam in Chittrai Mrigasira being the aṭṭai tirunakshatram of his father Pedda Tirumalayyengar, the Sraddha day of his mother Arpasi Bahula Traiyodasi, the aṭṭai tirunakshatram of Sri Vedanta Desika, the Sraddha day of his elder brother on Ani Sukla Chathurthi, Vaikasi Vaisakham, the tirunakshatram of his grand father Annamayyengar etc. Ubhayams were made for Sri Govindaraja also on the Hunting festival day. The next endowment, V. 99 dated 17—8—1547, made by a member of the family was by Siru Tirumalayyengar (another son of Periya Tirumalayyengar). He made a grant of half the village of Neḍiyam, yielding an annual

income of 150 Rekhai Pon for the celebration of a Vaivahikotsavam for Sri Govindaraja for five days in the month of Chittirai, the sattumurai being in Rohini nakshatra. The same inscription mentions an endowment of the village of Veḍumapākkam for making daily food offerings to Sri Govindaraja, Lakshminarayana-pperumāl and Vira Narasingapperumāl within the temple of Kaṭṭāri Hanuman. Numerous other festival offerings are also mentioned. The grant by Kandāḍai Appan of Vādhūla Gotra, of half the village of Puṇṇiyam with an income of 60 Rekhai Pon for making certain paḍi offerings on certain festival days is also included in this inscription. The inscription also shows that several persons holding high places in the temple were anxious to add their own quota of service

TALLAPAKKAM TIRUVENGADAYYANGAR, son of Siru Tirumalayyengar and grandson of Periya Tirumalayyengar, made his own endowment V. 153 dated 19—2—1554. Mallavaram which he endowed in 1546 (V. 71) for celebrating the Vaivāhikotsavam of Sri Venkatesa, failed to yield the anticipated income. So he endowed in place of it Devarayapalli in Vinukonḍa Sirmāi yielding an annual income of 470 Rekhai Pon. Out of this amount 140 Rekhai Pon were to be appropriated for the Vaivāhikotsavam leaving 330 Rekhai Pon for certain new services. These new services consisted of a daily offering of navanītam (3 ollocks butter 1 ollock honey, one uri ghee and $\frac{1}{2}$ visai sugar) and one rājāna tirupponakam all costing 109 R.P. and 5 panam and 2 Bhagālabāth taligai daily costing 39 R.P. and 5 panam yearly. These were daily offerings for Sri Venkatesa. Besides these he arranged for certain ubhayams and for cash payment to those who sing Iyal Prabhandams and his father's Sankirthanams during the processions. The inscription also mentions the grant of 20 shares of wet land in Tūppil agraharm by Tallapakkam Tiruvengalappa, son of Chinna Tirumalayyengar, for certain ubhayams. An endowment of Ambattūr village with an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon is also included in this inscription. One point of interest is that a Tiruvenkadamuḍaiyan was installed by him in the Pedda Chimugu Hill and 2 tirupponakam taligai were offered daily to this Deity for the merit of his mother Pedda Mangamma.

TIRUNINRA-UR-UDAIYARS. The temple accountants have also made their endowments, *KUPPA VENKATATTARASU* made an endowment of 1282 panams, V. 5; 5-2-1543, for the merit of his mother Piramatal for making offerings to Alarmel-Mangai and Gnānappirān. He made a second endowment for 530 panam, V. 64 on 11-3-1546, mainly for Varahaswami. A third endowment was made by him and some other members of his family (V. 67; 11-3-1546). This was partly in the shape of an irrigation channel costing 400 panam and a cash payment of 565 panam. The object of the endowment was the celebration of Nūrrandadi (நூற்றந்தரதி) festival during Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja.

TIRUVANTALVAR KUPPAYAN. He made five endowments in all. His first endowment, V. 6; 16-2-1543, was made in 1543 and consisted of a sum of 1500 panam for offering one tirupponakam daily to Govinda Krishnan, installed by him in Bhashyakar street, in Tirupati. The second endowment (V. 15) was made in 1545 and consisted of 300 panams presumably for the Tirumanjanam of Govinda Krishnan every Rohini nakshatra, for food offerings during Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Udaiyavar in Tirupati, for Tannir amudu festival etc. The third endowment (V. 52 A) is found in an inscription which mentions neither the date nor the amount, but mentions only the nature of the services. They were tirumanjanam and paruppaviyal offering for Sri Hanuman. The fourth endowment (V. 58; 31-10-1545) was made on 1545 and was for an amount of 2210 panam for offering 1 tirupponakam daily to Sri Govinda Krishna. The fifth endowment is found in an inscription V. 115 which does not give the date or the amount, but mentions only certain dosai padi offerings.

An endowment of 2240 panams for offering one tirupponakam daily to Tiruvenkata Gopala Krishnan (V. 39; dated 18-11-1545) installed by another donor Periyasōlai (a temple accountant) in the Bhashyakar Street in the eastern end. This was probably in competition to the former. A second endowment (V. 82), was made by the same donor on 25-10-1546 for food offerings to the same Deity including a night offering of one tirupponakam.

The total of the endowments by the temple accountants was 11702 panams.

EMPERUMANADIYAR.

The vestal virgins were not behind the others in making endowments. Among them were Selli, Hanumasāni, Lingāsāni, Tiruvenkatamanikkam, Senbaka Vengu, Nāgāsāni and Sevvu Sāni.

Selli (belonging to the Kaikkolar caste) made an endowment of 1120 panams for the tirumanjanam of Utsavar in Tirumala in Rohini in the month of Tai at the time of the harvest festival. (V. 9; 21—11—1543).

Lingasani and Tiruvenkata Manikkam. They were the daughters of Tiruvenkata dāsi and disciples of Kumara Tattayangar. They made an endowment of 1600 panam for food offerings during the summer festival in the stone-car mantapam in Tirumala. There is another inscription in favour of Lingasani, but this does not show the amount. (V. 32 dated 26—2—1545 and V. 104 dated 23—3—1548).

Senbaka Vengu. She was the daughter of Tungachchelvi Timmi and the disciple of Kumara Tattayangar. She made an endowment of 600 panam for making food offerings.

Nāgāsāni. She was sent by Achyutaraya. She made an endowment, but the amount of it is missing in the inscription. (IV. 46; 20—7—1547).

TEMPLE DOOR-KEEPERS OF THE BIG GOPURAM.

(Koyiladis).

The temple door-keepers headed by Tirumalikaran, made an endowment of 570 panam for food offering on the Yugadi day and on a Brahmotsavam festival day. (V. 70; 20—6—1546).

Vinnappam Seyvar.

One of the Viṇṇappam Seyvār Tiruvenkata Bhayakkāra Ayyapaṭṭar, son of Tiruvenkatapperumālaraiyar constructed a

mantapani in front of his house and made an endowment of 2455 panams for making food offerings to Utsavar during festival. He was obviously performing in Tirumala the same function which the Araiyaars have been doing in the Srirangam Temple.

Lessees of Temple Prasadams (Prasadakkarar Mahamedangal).

The lessees of temple prasadams made endowments of 1850 and 3260 panams for making food offerings to Sri Viṭṭalēsvaramswami and for Sri Govindaraja. (V. 88; 6—2—1547).

Temple Astrologers.

We came across during the latter part of the reign of Achyutaraya one Venkatadri Ayyan, son of Yāṇḍalūr Tirumalai Josyar (Vishnuvardhana Gōtra, Asvalāyana Sūtra, and Rik Sākha) who on 20—11—1538 endowed a village (name missing) in Poṭṭapinādu Sirmai with an annual income of 700 Rekhai Pon for offering daily to Sri Venkatesa 24 vellai tirupponakam, 24 nāyaka taligai and one Akhandam fed with one marakal of ghee. Another son of Tirumalai Josyar by name Sri Rama Bhattar endowed (V. 1) on 21—7—1541 two villages, Muttūr in Siddhavattam Sirmai with an annual income of 100 Rekhai Pon and Pudukkal in Padavidu Rajyam yielding annually 200 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam. A third son by name Malayappar made an endowment (V. 131; 30—7—1551) of two villages Tadapālam in Silakonda Sirmai (Uttara rajya) and Tanḍalam in Padavidu Rajyam with annual incomes of 100 Rekhai Pon and 200 Rekhai Pon respectively for a daily offering of 4 vellai tirupponakam.

The endowments of the three brothers would have yielded annually 1300 Rekhai Pon. It does not appear that they were in any way connected with the Tirumalai temple administration. But considering that the villages endowed by them were situated as far apart as Paḍavidu and Uttara rajya, the family should have had a high reputation as astrologers and should have been in affluent circumstances.

Another donor who deserves notice is *UDAYAGIRI DEVARAYA BHATTAR*, the son of Udayagiri Narasinga Bhattar of

Vasishṭha gotra, Asvalāyana Sutra and Rik Sākha. He was evidently an Archaka by birth. But we are not sure whether he was so by profession. He appears first as the recipient of 1½ taligai of prasadam daily in Tirumala. Manamapoli Singaraja bestowed on him which on 19—1—1545 (V. 28) as charity. We next find him on 8th January 1546 as the donor of 1600 *panam* for maintaining two water sheds (V. 61). In this connection we are told that the Sthanattar made to him a free gift of 2½ taligai of prasadam daily from the common pool of prasadams or *Sthana-ppoduvu* in Govindaraja temple, Tirupati. Part of this (1½ taligai) was to be used by him for feeding those employed in his water shed. The latter were paid monthly wages of 4 panams. The water sheds were situated in the Vyāsarāya mantapam in Govindaraja North Mada Street and in a mantapam constructed by him in the Sanna kanava near the first ascent of the Hill. He appears next as one invested with some authority. In V. 66 dated 25—3—1546 he is described as the வாசல்காரியபேரர் (managers of affairs outside the palace doors) of Poṭṭapāti Chinna Timmayyadēva Maharaja. He founded a small village below the Chennapaḍaiyān tank, named it Viṭṭhalesvarapuram, received a gift of 4 shares of land in another village called Neḍunāḍukulattur and obtained the right to collect 30 Rekhai Pon from the Tirupati Komatis and from the Tirupati and the Kottapalayam merchants. He also excavated an irrigation channel Vittalesvaran Kālvāy for the cultivation of certain lands in Varadarajapuram alias Tiruchchukanur. All these he endowed for the maintenance of the temple of Vittalesvarasvāmi and for Sri Govindaraja. This shrine of Viṭṭhalesvara was in a part of the Hanuman Temple opposite to Sri Govindaraja Temple. The Tirumanjanam and food offerings were arranged with great discrimination and included several tingal divasams, visesha divasams and festival days. We are not told what the total income from the endowment was; but the services are listed in the inscription. He evidently wanted to do more, for we find him (V. 89) on 6—3—1547 (*i.e.*, 1 year later) making another endowment by raising subscriptions from the merchants of Tirupati. The amount is not mentioned in the inscription, but the total expenditure amounted to 1280 Rekhai Pon a year. This inscription is of very great value to us, as it gives in detail all the items of expenditure which an ordinary temple

had to incur in a year in those days. We also see at a glance the various services to be performed. These details will be used in considering with the economic condition of the country during that century. He made two other endowments, one (V. 90; 12-5-1547) for an expenditure of 104½ panams yearly for the 5th day festival of Kodai Tirunal for Sri Govindaraja, and the other (V. 91; 1547) of a capital sum of 2800 panam for certain Ubhayams for Sri Govindaraja and Achyutaperumāl and for certain food offerings during Sri Venkatesa's Puraṭṭāsi Brahmotsavam.

We have seen that the merchants of Tirupati responded to Devaraja Bhattar willingly. On his account some of them have made large endowments.

He made a last endowment (V. 100 dated 14-11-1547) for the benefit of Sri Vittalesvara temple by collecting yearly 52 Rekhai Pon from the merchants of Tirupati 30 R.P. to be paid as magamai by the merchants trading in the ankanam of Periya Rājaviḍhi constructed by Poṭṭṭapaṭi Timmaraja; 10 Rekhai Pon to be paid by the pearl merchants and 12 Rekhai Pon by the merchants who trade during Puraṭṭāsi Brahmotsavam in the Viṭṭhalesvaraswami temple site. There was already surplus of 70 Rekhai Pon on hand to be added to this.

Kālatti Setti made an endowment of 1085 panams on 31-12-1543 for certain food offerings on days selected by him for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Varahaswami.

Vangāpuram Narayana Setti, son of Periya Nāgu Seṭṭiar made an endowment of 48,900 panams of which 43,900 was by him and the remaining 5000 by 17 members of his family. *He was the disciple of Anandampillai Ayyangar.* It is also seen that he was a shroff dealing in gold (Kāsukkaḍai). Even in those days it seems to have been the practice for pilgrims to purchase 'Kāsus' in exchange of current coin, so that those who have taken a vow (particularly children to put into the hundi or Koppara, handful or dōsuḍu of Kāsulu) may do so. The ubhayams were in Tirumala as well as Tirupati. In Tirumala he instituted his ubhayam of *Koyilālvār tirumanjanam*. For Sri Govindaraja he arranged a daily offering of one Vaḍai paḍi and pānakam etc., every day

during the evening tōmāla seva (cost of Tirumala and Govindaraja offering 187 R. P); one Sandhi offering daily to Tiruvāḷi Āḷvān, 160 Rekhai Pon a year, etc. He did not forget to offer some in the name of his acharya. His acharya was the recipient of a large portion of the donor's share.

One *Appayya Setti* made an endowment of 850 panam for food offerings on occasions.

One *Govindi* made an endowment of 2180 panams for making food offerings to Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja on festival days. She was a shepherdess and the endowment was for the merit of her parents and sister. She owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumala.

Two others of shepherd caste *Ellan* and *Narasayyan* (Vadukkur Idaiyar) made an endowment of 850 panams for the purpose of food offerings to Sri Govindaraja and Sūḍikoḍutta Nāchchār and Tiruvāḷi Āḷvān on festival occasions.

Endowments by persons unconnected with the temple administration.

Endowments were made by persons who were meré devotees and who had no financial interest in the temple. The more prominent of these were:—Bhayakkara Ramappayyan, Gangu Reddi, Nagara Padandaiyan, Vangāpuram Timmana Uḍaiyar, Channamman, daughter of Pratapa Ellamarasar.

BHAYAKKARA RAMAPPAYYAN. He was the son of Rayasam Timmarasayyar, who flourished during the reign of Achyutaraya Maharaya and made endowments in his time. One of these was the grant of the villages of Chīrāla, Perāla and Anḍupalle on 8—9—1538 with an expected annual income of 500 Rekhai Pon for the purpose of offering daily 16 tirupponakam and one appapaḍi to Sri Govindaraja. After a few years the Sthanattar found that it was not possible to realise the income from these villages and that the services had to be stopped. Therefore his son Bhayakkāra Ramappayyar granted in lieu of these three villages half of the villages of Kulattūr (east of Neḍunāḍu Eechambāḍi).

village) with an annual income of 150 Rekhai Pon and the whole village of Koppoli in Manamapoli Sirmai with an annual income of 350 R.P. In this manner he made sure that his father's endowment did not fail. (V. 17; 14—6—1544).

The same inscription includes other endowments made in his own name—an endowment of the villages of (1) Parachūr in Addanki Sirmai yielding 150 R.P. yearly, and (2) Karuchchūru in Gaṇḍikōtai Sirmai yielding 80 Rekhai Pon (Total 450 R.P.). With this amount he arranged for offering 19 more tirupponakam taligai daily to Sri Govindaraja, (15 in his own names and 4 for the merit of Rachcharasayyar's son Krishnappayyar). He also arranged for offering daily one tirupponakam to Tiruvāli Alvān, Lakshminarayana, Sri Andal and Achyutaperumāl. The total was 26 tirupponakam daily.

GANGU REDDI of Ōgampāḍu village. He made three endowments. The first for which 1500 panams was made in Achyutaraya's time on 19—2—1535. His second and third endowments were made during Sadasivaraya's reign. They consisted (V. 3) of 10080 panams on 11—9—1542 and one village and a half (Koralagunta $\frac{1}{2}$ and Alamelmangai full) V. 84 on 3—11—1546 with an annual income of 120 R.P. The ubhayams on the former were 6 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa and to Tiruvāli Alvān, Govinda Krishna and Govindaraja in Tirupati on certain occasions. Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan was offered 4 tirupponakam daily and certain ubhayams on other days.

NĀGARA PADANḌIYAR. He seems to have obtained a gift of some village with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon from Sadasivaraya and to have endowed it to the Tirumala Temple for offering daily 4 tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesa. As this village failed to yield that income he endowed instead half the village of Tippanapuram in Penukōṇḍa Sirmai with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon. He also paid in addition 100 ghaṭṭi varāhan for improving the tanks and channels in that village. (V. 77; 10—8—1546).

This is the only inscription in which Sadasivaraya is mentioned with the prasasti "*Purva Dakshina Paschima Uttara Samudradhi-*

swara" in addition to the usual Maharajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa. It is however an exaggeration to include Uttara Samudram as having been under Sadasivaraya's rule.

VANGAPURAM TIMMANNA UDAIYAR. He made an endowment (V. 81; 13--10--1546) of 12000 panam for offering daily 6 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Venkateswara. The donor's quarter share was to be delivered to Vangāpuram Narayana Setti, a merchant of Tirupati, for the purpose of maintaining a water shed in a mantapam which had been constructed by his father Ellappa Uḍayār at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill.

CHINNAMMAN daughter of PRATAPA ELLAMARASAR. She made a grant of the village of Vankayalapaṭṭu (Sriramachandrā-puram) in Koṇḍaviḍu Sirmai with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 10 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja and 2 to Sri Viṭṭhalesvara (V. 118; 8--7--1547).

There are also a number of other donors whose endowments are noted below. They are for various services and not exclusively for services to Sri Venkatesvara..

		Panams.
	1. Āttukūru Singarayya (21-3-1545)	.. 150
	2. Vangapuram Tiruvenkatayyar (1-5-1545) Kaṭṭilarpaṭṭu village income yearly	.. 300
	3. Sēttalūru Kuppayyan	.. 2550
	4. Dēsantri Pērarulālayyan	.. 140
	5. Eṭṭur Srinivasar	.. 450
V-8	6. Ellappa Pillai (3-10-1543)	.. 2580
V-12	7. Sevvu Setti (11-5-1544)	.. 980
V-24	8. Ārumilli Appayyan (13-9-1544)	.. 1800
V-31	9. Tirumalamman (15-2-1545)	.. 4100
V-42	10. Periya Kōnēri Setti, 1545	.. 3200
V-44	11. Singarayya (21-3-1545)	.. 150
V-56	12. Hanumayyan (26-10-1545)	.. 3750
V-49	13. Tiruvenkata Kouri (5-7-1545)	.. 40
V-76	14. Tirumalamman (18-8-1546)	.. 1000
V-85	15. Koppū Setti (14-12-1546)	.. 2000
V-108	16. Timmayyan	.. 600
	17. Tiruvenkatadasar (1545)	.. 3650
		26,990

**CLASSIFIED LIST OF DONORS AND THEIR
ENDOWMENTS.**

Aliya Ramaraja and other Chiefs.	Cash.	No. of villages.	Annual income in panams.
V—29 Aliya Ramaraja	50	Puduppattu	.. 2000
V—53 P. Timmarajayyan	13220		
V—78 do.			
101 Pappu Timmaraja	1565	Kollur	.. 1000
156 do.	..	Venadu	.. 2500
51 Vittalesvara Maha- raya	..	{	Palamangalam Paranur Venakattur
do.			
do.				10000
11 Matla Varadaraja	3120		
27 Manapoli Sriranga- raja	..	Errapakkam	.. 1000
75 Sripati Obalesva- rappa	..	Perur	.. 3000
158 Tiruvadi Raja	..	Kulaiyapattam	.. 3500
93 Pendlikoduku Timmaraja	..	{	Bangaram, Vittaseri, Bhudapuram
168 Tirumalaraja	..16500		
125 Araviti Kondaraja		Ten villages	.. 57130
133 do.	..		570
141 do.	..	Nagari & Vidu	.. 4000
155 Aliya Ramaraja	..	Four villages	40000
	<hr/> 34455 <hr/>	<hr/> 27½ villages <hr/>	<hr/> 126700 <hr/>

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA

Generals, etc.	Cash.	No. of villages.	Annual income in panams.
13 Attilangu Nayakkar	550		
19 Murti Nayakkar ..		$\frac{1}{2}$ village + $4\frac{1}{2}$ shares	750
30 Krishnappa Nayak	780		
86 Sevvu Nayak	2480		
102	500		
98 Sevvappa Nayak ..			700
127 Surappa Nayak ..			4000
138 A. Tirumala Nayak			800
	<hr/> 4310	<hr/> $3\frac{1}{2} + 4\frac{1}{2}$ shares	<hr/> 6250

Civil Officers.

21 Rayasam Hari- appar	1580		
129 „ Venkatadri		$2\frac{1}{2}$	10300
167 „ do. his brother	..	4+96 sh.	6460
161 } Karanika Appa- 173 } layyar (two)	..	1+lands	3058
145, 147	..	1	
	<hr/> 1580	<hr/> ..	<hr/> 19818

Archakas.

V—60 Venkatatturaivar 2657

Jiyars.

V— 2 Koyil Kelvi Jiyar 2500
80 Vanamamalai
Ramanuja „ 2000
V—94 Vada Tiruven-
kata „

5340

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

	Acharyapurushas.	Cash.	No. of villages.	annual income in panams.
V— 7	Ananda Appayyar	500		
	Kandada Sriranga- chariyar ..	1500		
97	} Sottai Tirumalai nambi Srinivasa- ayyengar ..		1	20000
171			not known	9300
123	do. Kumara Tattayyengar	3400		123
		5420	1	29300
Others connected with the Temple.				
	Tallapakam Tirumalai Iyengar ..	7932		20600
Tiruninra-ur-Udaiyar.				
V— 5	Kuppa Venkattarasu	1282		
64	do.	530		
	do. ..	1065		
Tiruninra-ur-Udaiyar				
6	Kuppayyan ..	1500		
15	do. ..	300		
58	Another ..	2210		
59	Periyasala ..	2240		
82	do. ..	2575		
		11702		
	Emperumanadiyar	3329		
	Door-keepers ..	570		
	Prasadakkarar ..	2455	1	
	Tirumalai Josyar sons			13000
	Udayagiri Devaraya Bhattar ..	4600		13320
	Merchants ..	53865		
		69920	1	26320

CHAPTER XXI

THE ARAVIDU EMPERORS OF VIJAYANAGAR AND THE TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE.

1565—1665.

HISTORIANS have not told us what was the fate of Sadāsivadēva Mahārāya after the battle of Rākshasa tangaḍi or Tālikota in 1565 A.D. and when he died. It is also doubtful whether Aravīṭi Bukkarāja Ramarāja Srirangarāja Tirumalarāja (the brother of Aliya Ramarāja) really ascended the throne as Emperor in succession to Sadāsiva Mahārāya and if so when. Whether Sadāsiva Mahārāya left any sons whose claims were superceded is also not known. Nor is there any inscription in Vol. V or in Vol. VI of the Devasthanam inscriptions to show that Tirumalarāja was at any time recognised as the Emperor. The first member of the Aravidu dynasty to appear in the inscription as Emperor is Srirangarāja. This inscription is dated (V. 3) 16—1—1583.

The period between 1565 and 1583 deserves scrutiny in the light of two of our inscriptions, *viz.*, No. 174, of Vol. V and No. 2 of Vol. VI. We have already noticed that No. 173 (Vol. V) dated 26—1—1564 which was made one year before the battle of Talikota distinctly states in the preamble that Sriman Mahārājadhirāja Rājapameswara Sri Virapratāpa Sri Vira Sadāsivarāya Maharayar was the Emperor ruling at the time. The next inscription in Vol. V. No. 174 is dated Friday the 7th tithi of the pūrva paksham in Kumbha month and Bharani Nakshatra of the cyclic year Srimukha, Śaka 1495 (29th January 1574 A.D.). In this inscription the preamble gives a prasasti slightly different from the usual form. It omits or leaves blank the name of the Emperor ruling at the time. It reads: “When Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Rājādhirāja Rajaparamēsvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira..... was ruling the kingdom.”

The birūdu Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Rajadhiraja denotes perhaps a lower dignitary than Mahārājadhirāja. It would not have been

used if at the time Sadāsiva Maharayar was alive, or was ruling the kingdom. Reading through the text of the inscription, another peculiarity is noted. The Sthanattar, evidently acting under the orders of some one whose name is left blank, but who is described as the son of "Araviṭṭu Bukkarāja.....ḍeva mahārayar of Atrēyagōtra, Apasthamba Sūtra and Yajus Sākha," are stated to have made over in perpetuity to two persons Aṛuḷāḷar and Karunākarayya (related to Marudūr Appan) the one-fourth share (donor's share) of the prasadams which were being offered in the name of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The name of the then Emperor, who was evidently not Sadāsivaraya, is omitted. The order authorising the Sthanattar to dispose of once for all Achyutaraya's share emanated not from the Emperor but from the son of a certain Araviṭṭi Bukkarāja...Maharayar. We know that at this time Araviti Bukkarāja...Tirumalarāya was the most prominent man in the Empire, even if he was not the Emperor. We may therefore conclude that Tirumalarāya was the Emperor at this time and that it should have been one of his sons, either Sriranga or Venkaṭapatidēva, who empowered the Sthanattar to act in the manner they did. But though Tirumalarāya was the Emperor, he was evidently not for his name being mentioned in the inscription as Emperor. Considering the tragic circumstances of the Empire when he was called upon to ascend the throne and the uncertainty of retaining the Empire such an attitude may be considered natural in a person of Tirumalarāya's nature. The omission of the names in the inscription might have been deliberately made.

The next inscription relating to this transition period is VI.2 of the date 27—11—1579. The preamble in this inscription shows a clean break from all the previous and the subsequent ones. There is no reference to any ruling Emperor. It starts with 'Subhamastu, Svasti Sri' and proceeds to recite the date of the inscription as Śaka 1501, Pramādi samvatsaram, Vrischika māsam, purva paksha dasami, Friday, Uttiraṭṭādi nakshatram. The details about the donor are given next, Komāndūr Appayyan, son of some Appa Ayyangar of Jayangoṇḍa Sola maṇḍalam. Next come the details of the food offerings to be made and the nature of the endowment, this being the excavation of a spring channel for irrigation (kasakkāl).

The Sthanattar in Tirumala state that they accept the endowment under the orders of the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirumala. This is not the usual form of subscription in inscription. The usual ending is

இப்படிக்கு ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்கள் பணியால் கோயில் கணக்கு திருநின்ற ஊருடையான் எழுத்து. இவை ஸ்ரீவெணுவ இரடுசுஷி.’’

But this inscription ends thus “ திருமலையில் ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்கள் பணியால் திருமலையில் ஸ்தானத்தாரோம்... இப்படிக்கு கோயில் கணக்கு திருநின்ற ஊருடையநெழுத்து. யிவை ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவரடுசுஷி.’’ In the next inscription viz., VI. 3 (16—1—1583) the usual preamble “Subhamastu Svasti Sri Sriman Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Sri Virapatāpa Sir Vira Srirangadēva Mahārāyar, ruling the kingdom....” makes its appearance again.

The confusion during the interval might have been due to the fact that the capital of the empire was somewhere away from Vijayanagar or Chandragiri and that the Sthanattar did not get any authentic information about the state of the Empire and the Emperor.

The Devasthanam Epigraphist in his note on page 2 (Vol. VI) and in his Report (page 309) states that Tirumalarāya ascended the throne about 1575 A.D. having at the same time shifted his capital to Penugonda and that his reign was a brief one lasting for two or three years during which time his second son Srirangaraja (Ranga II) was co-regent with him. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar also states on pages 308, 309 of Vol. II. of his History of Tirupati that as the battle of Talikota went against the Hindus, Tirumalarāya removed the capital from Vijayanagar to Penugonda and that his reign commenced about 1575 A.D. Dr. Ayyangar also states that Tirumalaraya in his own life-time appointed his third son Venkatāpati as the Governor of the southern part of the Empire with headquarters at Chandragiri. We have seen that in inscription VI. 2 which is dated 27—11—1579 there is no mention of an Emperor. If an Emperor was believed to be ruling, the Sthanattar would not have omitted all references to him.

Inscription No. 3 (16—11—1583) reverts as has already been pointed out to the recognised pattern of preamble. It therefore

looks as if for nearly 18 years after the battle of Talikota, the Sthanattar did not definitely know whether the Hindu Empire continued to exist or not. The donor in No. 3 is one Tillappa Nayakkar, residing in Vijayanagar City. This perhaps shows that although the capital of the Empire was removed to Penugonda, people were still living in Vijayanagar leading a normal life. He owned a garden in Tirupati and there was a mantapam in that garden. He is therefore likely to have been a native of Tirupati residing in Vijayanagar, probably as one of the Officers under Srirangarāya. His endowment was in the nature of excavating an irrigation channel in the (tiruvidaiyāṭṭam) Temple village of Pāḍi in Uḷmaṇḍalam. It was expected that this improvement would yield 85 putties of paddy valued at 34 Rekhai Pon at the rate of 4 panam per putti of paddy. His ubhayams consisted of festivals on the Hunting festival day and on the day of his own birth star (āṭṭai nakshatram) both being celebrated in Govindaraja's temple. This inscription affords interesting information about the prices of several kinds of grains and provisions as well as of cooked and baked food offerings current at the time.

All the inscriptions from 3 to 8 of Vol. VI mention Srirangadēva Mahārāyar as the Emperor. Their dates lie between January 1583 and 1588 A.D. (Saka 1510). The next inscription (No. 9) which is dated 14th July 1592 mentions Sri Vira Venkatāpatidēva Mahārāyar as the ruler of the Kingdom. The date on which Srirangaraya's reign came to an end and Venkatāpatidevaraya's reign commenced cannot be definitely stated. In regard to the end of the rule of Sri Venkatāpatiraya also there is some uncertainty. Dr. Ayyangar states that it ended in 1614, whereas inscription No. 19 shows that it extended even to 1616 A.D.

There really is no need for us to know for certain the names of the rulers in whose time the inscriptions in Vol. VI were made. All that we have to note is that the Tuluva dynasty came to an end with Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya. When it actually ended is not definitely known. We are also not certain whether Tirumalarāya actually reigned as Emperor. Inscription No. 1 in Vol. VI mentions his name as Tirumaladēva Mahārājulungāru and Tirumalarājayya. He is not called Tirumalarāya Mahārāyar in any

inscription. It is likely that after the calamities that had happened to the empire he was not inclined formally to crown himself as the Emperor and assume all the *prāsasti*. But it is significant that the Araviḍu family assumed the Government of the Empire as the undisputed successors of the Tuluva family even though the Tuluvas belonged originally to the Kannada country, and the Aravidus hailed from the Telugu country since known as Rāyalaseema. We do not also find any sign of the Kannada language in any of the inscriptions of this period.

As ministers of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya, Araviṭi Aliya Ramarāja and Tirumalarāja made munificent endowments to the temple. But after ascending the throne of the decadent Empire, not a single endowment was made by any member of the Araviḍu dynasty. The endowments made after 1574 A.D. were made by some of the officers serving under them, by the Achāryapurushass and Jiyars attached to the temple or by well-to-do devotees. This dynasty ruled for nearly a century from 1575 to 1665 A.D. It is stated that Venkatāpatirāya got himself crowned in Tirumala, that he made Chandragiri his capital and that he was frequently visiting the Tirumalai Temple¹. Certain Vijayanagar coins bearing the inscription 'Sri Venkatēsvarāya Namāh' are referred to as evidence of his close association with Tirumala. But none of the Araviḍu Emperors made any endowments.

Another feature worth noting is that out of 192 inscriptions clubbed together in Vol. VI, it is only in the case of 32 inscriptions that a date can be assigned with certainty and only eight of these inscriptions find a place on the walls of the Tirumala Temple, the last one belonging to the year 1616 A.D. All the others are found on the walls of Sri Govindarājasvāmi Temple in Tirupati or on the Alipiri structures at the foot of the hill ascent. *THE CENTRE OF INTEREST THEREFORE SEEMS TO HAVE SHIFTED TO TIRUPATI AFTER 1616 A.D.* This might have been due to the want of adequate feeding arrangements in Tirumala, perhaps on account of the failure of the annual income from the lands endowed to the temple caused by the ruined or neglected

1. Pages 321. 352 of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's History (Vol. II).

condition of the irrigation channels. We however find that Ramarājayya's avasaram (sandhi offering) of 200 taligai was being offered in Tirumala in 1616 (page 116, Vol. VI) and that from out of the Sthanattar's share of this the Srivaishnava Ramanujakūtam was allotted 12 taligais from that date. We also find from Narayana dasari's endowment that in 1606 A. D. (page 96. Vol. VI) the Ramanujakūtam in Tirupati was providing food to pilgrims at a cost of 50 Rekhai Pon. The only Ramanujakutam in Tirupati was the one started by Araviṭi Kondaraja in 1547 A.D. This was the one which provided food for nearly 2000 pilgrims a day. How these pilgrims fared after 1616 A.D. we cannot say for certain. The bulk of the food offerings made during the century following the battle of Tālikōṭa was made for specific festivals or ubhayams, most of which were in Tirupati. The food offerings would therefore have benefited the natives of Tirupati more than the visiting pilgrims.

After the death of Venkatāpatidēvarāya I, say in 1616 A.D., there was no peace in the country for a long time. The observations contained in "the English Factory records" against the dates shown bear out this statement. They were in search of suitable places for establishing factories:—July 20, 1620 (From Batavia to the company). ".....We referred the sending of people to remain in Pulicat until we are better furnished with factors, being unable to spare any from hence until the President's coming. Were it not for future hopes, that factory at Pulicat were not worth the establishing, being at present all in wars with one another. It is in time of peace the place of best cloth and paying in all coromandel coast."

Again about the invitation the English had from the Naick who owned Amagaon (Dugirāja patam) to seat themselves within his territory, they stated that when they visited him on January 26, 1626 he was conducting a siege of some fort twenty miles away. They presented him a cannon and got the concession; but at the same time they felt doubtful about the Naick continuing to hold his possessions. They observed that "the Naick stood on doubtful terms whether he shall keep his country or he is an usurper and that the true king doth daily take from him and his fellow confederates." A letter dated August 29, 1629 contains the Statement that the

great king of the jentues (Chandragiri rajah) reduced all the Naicks to submission save the one in whose territory Amagaon was situated and they feared that the latter would not long be able to hold out."

On January 23, 1633, Christopher Read wrote: "Masulipatam and Amagaon are sorely oppressed with famine, the living eating up the dead, and man durst scarcely travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten." The Golkonda army subsequently overran the whole country and Amagaon itself was occupied by a neighbour. *There was confusion everywhere when Venkatapathy I died in 1642.* There was always the trouble from Golkonda particularly from about 1638 A.D. This was made worse by civil wars of succession. Rama IV, Venkata II, and Sriranga II, had all to fight for the throne in succession. The agricultural economy of the country would have been much upset by these wars. There was also a great famine about 1630 A.D. These circumstances possibly account for the absence of inscriptions (particularly in Tirumala) showing any endowments made. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says (page 373, History of Tirupati, Vol. II), "...the wealth of Mir Jumla was enormous because of the vast plunder that he got from the South Indian temples that he conquered, while among the temples which came within the purview of his conquests, the temple at Tirupati would be one of the most prominent one and surely it must have been one of the richest Temples like Kālahasti, Conjivaram and a number of others that could be mentioned certainly do come within the sphere of his activity. This is about all that we could hear of regarding Tirupati in these campaigns in addition to the fact that Sriranga made three efforts on separate occasions to recover Tirupati. He succeeded in recovering it in 1656 and perhaps lost it again so that it remained under Golkonda's possession afterwards." Mr. Ayyangar does not however specify the three occasions referred to above. But it was pointed out already (while reviewing the inscriptions shown in Vol. V. of the T. T. Devasthanam Inscription No. 43) that on Jyeshtha Bahula 10 in the cyclic year Visvāvasu Sriman Mahārajādhirāja Rājapamesvara Sri Virapratāpa Sri Vira Srirangaraja Maharaja visited the Tirumalai Temple. "శ్రీ తిరువెంకట నర దేవుని శ్రీమద్రాజాది

రాజరాజ వరహోత్సవ శ్రీవీర....శ్రీరంగరాజ సదాసేవ" and that the Visvāvasu year can be only 1665 A.D. when one Srirangaraya was the Emperor. Unless the Tirumalai Temple was within his Empire, he would not have paid a visit to it. But it is curious that the inscription on a separate slab in Tirumala and not on the walls; and that no mention is made of his attempts to reconquer Tirupati from the Muslims. Nor did he make any thanksgiving offering to the Deity.

There is mention of a Koil Kelvi Vaṇ Saṭhakōpan Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar கோயில் கேள்வி வண்டகோபன் அழகிய மணவாள இராமானுஜஜீயர் in Inscription No. 12 dated 19th April 1596 A.D. relating to an endowment made by Silambidaiyār setṭi, one of the merchants of Rāmāpuram. This Van Sathakopa Ramanuja Jiyar seems to have been the Jiyar of the Ahobila Mutt about the same period. This matham being a Vadagalai matham its Jiyar must have been a Vadagalai. In the Ahobila matham there used to be three Jiyars, ranking according to seniority. This Vaṇ Saṭhakōpa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar was presumably the Vadagalai Jiyar and Koyil Kelvi also, though not Periya Koyil Kelvi. Even now there is invariably a Vadagalai Ekāṅgi attached to the Periya Jiyar in Tirupati. The Devasthanam Epigraphist translates the expression கோயில் கேள்வி வண்டகோபன் அழகிய மணவாள இராமானுஜஜீயர் as "Koyil Kelvi Sathakōpan and Koyil Kelvi Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar," as if the Tamil words indicated two different persons. He completely ignores the prefix 'vaṇ' to Saṭhakōpa. The translation is obviously incorrect. There was friendly relationship between the Vadagalai and the Tengalai Jiyars in those days. For instance in Vol. VI. 10 dated 16—1—1594, it is stated in the endowment by Koyil Kelvi Annan Ramanuja Jiyar that the Tirumanjanam and the food offerings to Sri Govindaraja were made while seated in the Vaṇ Sathakōpan matham which is a Vadagalai matham. Thereafter we do not find Ramanuja Jiyar as making endowment or receiving any Prasadams as donee. The name occurs again in No. 18 dated 4—11—1614 to describe a mantapam as one constructed in the name of Periya Timmappan through the agency of Tirumalai Tirupati Periya Koyil'

Kelvi, Annan Ramanuja Jiyar. The use of this expression for describing a place and a mantapam would not by itself mean that he was alive in 1614. It may be that the Van Saṭhakopan Jiyar was his junior in 1594 and that in 1596 he became Koyil Kelvi Jiyar. We note from these inscriptions that there was harmonious relationship between the Tengalais and Vadagalais in those days.

This Van Saṭhakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar¹ is probably the same as the Van Sathagopa Jiyar who in 1584–1585 was instrumental in liberating the Ahobilam temples from the hands of the rabid Śaivites known as Hunḍais and the Muslim Ibrahim Qutab Shah of Golkonda. The temples were captured by the Muslims with the assistance of the Hunḍais in 1578. The village was pillaged and the temple structures mutilated, a fact to which the carved figures in the unfinished Kalyāna mantapam bear testimony. Upon this the Srivaishnavas deserted the place. And although Van Sathakopa Jiyar persuaded Srirangaraja to reconquer the place under the generalship of Konḍarāju Venkatarāju and plant a Vijaya Sthambham in the Temple, the village soon became depopulated. Van Satakopayati himself might have left for the branch matham (rather the original home) in Tirumala sometime after 1586. Here in consideration of the great service he had done for the cause of Srivaishnavism, he might have been appointed as Koyil Kelvi Jiyar in succession to Annan Ramanuja Jiyar who died sometime about 1594 A.D. At any rate we find that he was the Jiyar in Tirumala, when Venkatapatidevarāya, the spiritual disciple of Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāra Tatachariar (a Vadagalai), was the ruling Emperor. This is a matter of some importance to the two sects of Sri Vaishnavas in Southern India.

1 One of the predecessors of this Jiyar, Vedānta Saṭhakōpa Jiyar, was the recognized recipient (*sishyaparamparai*) of betel leaves and nuts which represented the donor's share of his *sishya*, name not given in the inscription (V. 65) nor the date. The T. T. D. Epigraphist presumes, in the footnote furnished by him to the inscription, that the *sishya* was Narayana Narapparaja (V. 122) who made his endowment in 1549 A. D. One Parankusa Jiyar is said to have been his successor and predecessor to Van Sathakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar.

*ETTUR TIRUMALAI KUMARA TATACHARIAR*¹ mentioned above was a prominent person among the Srivaishnavas of the day. He is known to have made several endowments in Kānchipuram and his descendants have always been holding the key position in the temple of Sri Varadarajaswami there. He is stated to have had the Vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's temple regilded. But there is no inscription in Tirumala or Tirupati which mentions so important an event. There is however an inscription which enumerates the villages endowed by him from the income whereof several festivals and services were arranged to be celebrated every year. This endowment (V.I. 5; 25—9—1583) was made when Sriman Mahārajādhirāja Rājapamesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Srirāgarāyadeva² Maharāyar was ruling the kingdom and perhaps before he became the acharya or guru of Sri Vira Venkata-pathideva Maharaya, the successor of Sri Rangarayadeva Mahārāyar. It is possible that he was the guru of Venkatapati even before he became the Emperor and that the ritualistic portion of this coronation was performed by him as is generally believed. He did not make any endowments during the period when his sishya was the Emperor. There is only the legend that he did the regilding of the Vimanams. But four entire villages were endowed by him (in 1583), just fifteen years after the battle of Talikota. The expected annual income from these villages was 720 Rekhai Pon.²

1. The correct genealogy of *Ēṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāra Tatachariar* is given as foot-note in connection with *Seṭṭai Ēṭṭur Tirumalainambi Siinivasayangar* in Sadasivaraya's period. Chap XX pp 760, 761.

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 2. 1. Ayyambakkam in Pālavettu Sirmai near Terku maganai division | income 300 R. P. |
| 2. Pisāttur in the same Sirmai | „ 210 „ |
| 3. Pulivāyi in the same Sirmai | „ 3 „ |
| 4. Mullai vāvi in Tulai parivayi | „ 150 „ |

The villages were endowed for the following purposes :—

(a) two Poṅg Taligams to be offered daily to Sri Venkateswara at the time of the Dādhyedana Sādhanā after Tirumanjanam costing 146 R. P.

(b) the celebration of a Tirukkoṭṭittirunāl yearly in the month of Arpaṣi. Among the vahanams to be used during this festival specific mention is made of Nanji (Hamsa), Garuda and Anai (elephant) vahanams. The expenditure

Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar ayvan is described as the grandson of Tolappachariar and the son of Ayyavayyanganar of the Saṭhamarshana gotra, Apasthamba Sutra and Yajus-sakha. But he is not described as an acharyapurusha. This shows that his ancestors had separated themselves from the main family of Tirumalainambi long before and had lost the right to be called acharya purushas of the Tirumala Temple. But the branch family has been allowed to retain the right of reading the Kaisika purana in Tirumala while the main family does it in Tirupati. This will however be dealt with at greater length when we come to the Acharyapurushas of this temple.

We see that in this period except for the endowment made by Kumara Tatachariar, the others were all of minor importance. But they show that the irrigation sources stood in need of repairs and that the Sthanattar were prepared to celebrate ubhayams in exchange for repair work done to these irrigation sources. No cash endowments were made during the period of Srirangarayar *i.e.*, (till 1588 A.D.).

Venkatapatidevaraya Maharayar I.

We next pass on to the period of *Venkata I.* The inscriptions of this period are those numbered from 9 to 19 (July 1592 to

on this festival including the various food offerings on all the 11 days, amounted to 410 R.P., 8 ½ panams

(c) the flower crown festival (Tirumugakkaṭṭu) for 11 R. P. and 5 ½ panams.

(d) the provision of a special Puḷugukkāppu murai for the Mula Beram on the Friday occurring during the Tirukkodittirunāl. The manner in which this is performed has already been described in the chapter on daily worship. This costs 136 R.P. and 1 ½ panam.

(e) a Uri adi festival for Malayappan and Sri Krishna at a cost of 8 R. P. and 7 panams;

(f) the most significant item is however the provision made for the Kaisika Puranam ubhayam in Tirumala at a cost of 6 R. P. and 7 ½ panams. This consists in the reading of the Kaisika puranam (already described) on the early morning of Kaisika or Urtana dvadasī day. The right of reading the puranam on this day is a right which has been since then and is still being exercised by the Kanchipuram Tatachar family. Distribution of Jyalpaḍi offerings at Sri Ramanuja's shrine to those who recite the Prabandhams during the Prahmotsavam.

November 1616). There are only three endowments showing grant of villages for the performance of ubhayams. In two cases services alone are mentioned, but not the endowment. In other cases, irrigation channels are stated to have been excavated. Nine such channels are mentioned, all being in temple villages. There was no endowment in cash.

A small endowment (VI. 17; 8-11-1613) which consisted of the re-excavation of a spring channel in Pūṇḍi village was incised on stone in the presence of Venkatapatideva Maharayar. The irrigation channel was called Nāṭṭu Kālvāy in Pūṇḍi village and it entitled the donor for offering one tirupponakam daily in the Tirumalai temple (Inscription No. VI. 17; 8-11-1613). The presence of the Emperor himself on that day probably made the Sthanattar mention that fact. It is also for that very reason that it is specially noticed here. It is generally believed that Venkatapatiraya having removed his capital to Chandragiri, was frequently visiting the temple and that he was so great a devotee of Sri Venkatesa that he even issued coins bearing the figure of Sri Venkatesa with the words "Sri Venkatēsāya Namah" inscribed. But in view of the fact that he made no endowments to the Temple it is doubtful whether the belief is well founded. We have seen that money was scarce in those days and that the restoration of irrigation channels was the only manner in which the temple services could be kept going. But Kānukās or voluntary gifts of money, coins of various kinds, jewels, etc., put into the Koppāra (or hundi) of the temple would have continued to be made by the pilgrims, for this was a long established practice. It is not unlikely that the Emperor was reduced to the plight of making use of all the surplus income of the temple for maintaining an army in defence of the Empire. He and his spiritual mentor Kumāra Tatāchariar would have considered such a diversion of temple funds as having Sri Venkatesvara's sanction. The coin might therefore have been issued in the name of Sri Venkatesvara. This is a possible explanation of the coins bearing the inscription "Sri Venkatēsāya Namah."

It is worth noting that during this period there were three instances of endowment of whole village. The first of these (VI. 9;

14¹—7—1592) was made by one Periya Timmappa Nāyakkar residing in Vijayanagaram in 1592 A.D. The village endowed by him was known as Agaram Pūdamalli situated in Pālaiyam Sirmai of Terku Magamai (Southern Province) yielding an annual income of 320 Rekhai Pon. All the ubhayams of this endowment were in the temples of Sri Govindarajaswami and Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati. The second endowment (VI. 10; 16-1-1594) was that of the village of Timmānāyakapuram situated in Konḍaviḍu sirmai of the Vaḍakku Magamai (Northern province) yielding an annual income of 200 Rekhai Pon. It was made by Kōyil Kēlvi Annan Ramanuja Jiyar in 1594. Some of the ubhayadars of this endowment were in Tirumala and some in Tirupati. The third instance was the endowment (VI. 15; 2-3-1607) by one Nārāyana Dāsari Nāyakkar of Timmāpuram village situated in Chandragiri Rajyam (Uḷmaṇḍalam) and yielding an annual income 600 Rekhai Pon. All the ubhayams of this endowment were in Tirupati for Sri Govindarajaswami and for Sri Raghunathaswami installed by him on a mantapam on the banks of the Govinda-pushkarini.

There is however a defect or flaw in the recording of the inscription relating to the last endowment. The preamble states that the date of record was “Parābhava Samvatsara Mina month, aparapaksha panchami, makha-nakshatram, Saka 1528, when Vira Venkatapatideva Maharayar was ruling.” The week-day is missing. Neither the aparapaksha nor the purvapaksha panchami of that month in that year was concurrent with makha nakshatram. There is an error of 6 nakshatras. Aparapaksha panchami is concurrent with Visakha nakshatra. So large an error can be explained only by assuming that the inscription was made a long time after the grant. It may also be that the grant itself is spurious.

The endowment of villages situated in the Northern, the Central and the Southern provinces may be taken as evidence of the existence of a stable government in the country and the absence of the turmoils of war. The provision made in the endowments for the celebration of ubhayams in the temples of the Alvars and of Sri Ramanuja, indicates the influence which Venkatapati-devaraya, as a Srivaishnava, was exercising over his officers.

Endowments in the shape of grants of whole villages cease with the cyclic year Parābhava Saka 1528 (1606—1607). Thereafter the endowment is invariably made in the shape of re-excavation of old spring channels or the excavation of new ones for the irrigation of the lands in the tiruṣaiyāṭṭam villages, all of which are situated in Ulmaṇḍalam, near to Tirumala and Tirupati. Between the years 1596 (Saka 1518) Durmukhi, and 1616 (Saka 1538) Nala ten irrigation channels were re-excavated in this manner by six donors. Silambūṣaiyār Seṭṭi of Rāmāpuram (VI. 12; 19-4-1596) renovated the disused channel called Rayaneri Kālvāy in Rāmāpuram, so as to increase the yield annually by 140 Rekhai Pon. Bokkasam Narasayyan of Vijayanāgaram (VI. 13; 31-3-1606) improved an irrigation channel so as to make the lands watered by it yield annually 27 Rekhai Pon more than [the former yield. Hanumayyar Annangar, commander of the Vijayanagar forces, stationed at Mālyavantam Hills, Vijayanāgaram, (VI. 14; 28-11-1606) re-excavated three irrigation channels in Kallaru and Nariyaru river limits and also granted 3/4 share of a new village founded by him called Aṇṇangārpālayam the annual income derived out of the endowment being 365 Rekhai Pon. Singayanayakan re-excavated (VI. 17; 8-11-1613) the Nāṭṭukkālvāy in Pūṇḍi village and also gave 2 shares of Pallam lands and in return for it obtained the right to offer 1 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa. Noṭṭakkāra Venkaṭayyan of Dānnāyaka Achyutapuram village founded by Venkatapatirayadeva Mahārayar (VI. 18; 4-11-1614), re-excavated two irrigation channels in 1614, one in Nāyakan Kālvāy village in Kuṣavūr nāḍu which gave an increased yield of 400 puṭṭis of paddy, the price of which was 4 panam per puṭṭy. Lastly Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Chinna Timmarājayyan through his agent Ghaṭṭu Tiruvēnkaṭa Ayyangar of Tirunārāyanapuram (VI. 19; 4-11-1616) excavated two irrigation channels, one in the temple village of Ilamaṇḍaiyam and the other in a village, the name of which is missing in the inscription. The lands irrigated by the channels yielded paddy valued at 281 Rekhai Pon and 6 panams over and above what they were previously yielding.

In all the above cases, the excavation of channels in the villages of *Uḷmanḍalam* would have been done only at the request or the suggestion of the Sthanattar. The donors were men of influence, who could muster local labour and execute the repairs. This form of endowment shows to some extent the pitiable economic condition into which the country was drifting after 1606 A.D.

Another reason for making endowments of this kind might have been the impossibility of realising income from lands situated far away from Tirupati owing to the disturbed state of these regions. For aught we know the Sthanattar and the Tiruppaṇi Bhaṇḍarattār had to supervise the management of more than 200 villages situated in different nāḍus, sirmais, and magamais of the Vijayanagar Empire. It does not however appear that any serious difficulty was felt in the management of landed estates even so late as 1616 A.D. For instance, Mahāmandalesvara Chinna Thimmayyan's endowment states that *Ramarajayyan's avasaram of 200 taligais every day was regularly functioning in November 1616 A.D.* It may be remembered that two out of the four villages granted for the purpose, Singalabāvi and Vaḷākōḷil were situated in Raichur and Mudgal sirmai, which were then distracted by war and that the other two villages Yāralachcheri and Mākālipaṭṭu, were situated in Periyapākkam sirmai (probably in Terku magamai). *We also learn (VI. 9) that by the year 1616 A.D., the number of annual Brahmōtsavams for Sri Govindarajasvami had risen from three to four, and that the other festivals were also being celebrated as usual. Eleven Brahmotsavams were likewise being celebrated in Tirumala every year. Ubhayams were plentiful, many of them being those which were instituted after 1580 A.D. The Ramanujakūṭams in Tirumala and in Tirupati were functioning. The irrigation sources and channels alone appear to have been much neglected, either on account of the disturbances or on account of the continuous failure of rains.*

There are two points worth noticing from these inscriptions:

Lakkappa Nayakkar granted three fourths¹ share of his new village called Anṅangārpalayam and reserved¹ the remaining one-fourth share for the maintenance of his own men. A very large part of the prasadam was also ordered to be distributed free to the pilgrims in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumala to the detriment no doubt, of the Sthanattar's māmūl rights.

The second point to note is that the re-excavation of the spring channels did not always add, in any marked way, to the original yield of the lands. The increase in yield was generally expected to be something more than the old. To that extent the donor was entitled to making food offerings in his own name. But in several cases it was only a portion of the offering of the old endowment that was transferred to the name of the new donor. This is found clearly stated in Sri Chinna Timmarajayyan's endowment. Twelve taligais out of the two hundred taligais of Ramarajayyan's old endowment was transferred to the credit of the new donor (Chinna Timmarajayyan) in consideration of the re-excavation of the channel done by him.² These twelve taligais were sent to the Ramanujakutam. But the Sthanattar took out of this, 2½ taligais as their share, leaving only 9½ taligais with the necessary adjuncts of Kuttu, kari, ponkkari, curds etc., for distribution to the desantris.

Sri Vira Rama Ravu deva Maharaya (Rama IV).

We next pass on to the period of Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Rāma Rāvu dēva Mahārāyar. Although it is the general belief

1. The Tamil expression used for this reservation is “தங்கள் வகையாருக்கு நிறுத்திக்கொண்ட”. The Devasthanam Epigraphist translates this as reserving one-fourth share of the land and the rights of the channel “for the purpose of maintaining your officers and army”. The Tamil expression can hardly mean all this. Under the Vijayanagar Empire, so far as we know, no private army was maintained by any of the commanders.

2. “திருமலையில் திருவேங்கடமுடையான் ஞள்வழி அமுது செய்தருளும் பிரஸாதத்திலே ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரத்துக்கு வரும் பூலா. தந்து காணியாக்ஷி கிறயமாகக் கொண்டு திருமலையில் ராமானுஜ கூடத்தில் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் அமுது செய்தருளப்பண்ண.”

that Venkaṭapatidēva Mahārāyar I died in 1614, we found from inscription No. 18 that he must have been alive on 4—11—1616. It has also been generally accepted that he was succeeded by Ranga III, son of his elder brother Rama III,² whom he had actually nominated as his successor and that the latter shortly after he ascended the throne, was murdered, along with all his adherents, by the Gobbūri chief Jaggarāya, the brother of one of the queens of Venkaṭapati. The only one who escaped is stated to have been surreptitiously removed by a washerman by concealing him among soiled clothes and subsequently crowned in Kumbakonam as Rama IV. Historians presume that Ranga III was murdered some time in 1614 after Venkaṭapati's death and that after a civil war of succession, Rama IV was crowned as Emperor in 1616. But according to our inscription Venkaṭapati was alive till November 1616. His death, the succession of Ranga III, and the massacre must therefore have taken place after 1616 and the ultimate coronation of Rama IV must have taken place in 1618 A.D.

There is only one inscription (VI. 20; 25—5—1627) of the reign of Rama IV, or Sriman Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparameswara Sri Vira Pratāpa Sri Vira Rāmārāvu dēva Mahārāyar as he was styled. He is believed to have been the Emperor till 1632 A.D. when he was succeeded by Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāya, or Venkata II. We however find that Venkata II was the reigning monarch on 20—9—1631. Some correction therefore seems to be necessary in the generally accepted dates of accession of these Emperors.

The donor of the endowment (VI. 21) mentioned above was one Nōttakkara Narāyanan, son of Venkatayyan and grandson of Konappayyan all of whom were attached to the Tirumalai Temple as Nottakkarar (apprisers). He executed repairs to two irrigation channels in Kuḍavūr nāḍu, so as to make the land irrigated by them yield an additional produce of paddy valued at 440 Rekhai Pon a year. The price of paddy was calculated at the rate of 6 panam per putty. According to the previous inscriptions the price was only 4 panams per putty. (Vide VI. 4—11—1614). There was thus a fifty per cent rise in the price of paddy owing

2. Rama III was one of Tirumalarāyā's sons.

perhaps to famine conditions. The festivals for which the amount was to be used were all celebrated in Tirumala only. There were no new festivals, but only the proper performance of the old ones, such as Vasanta navami, ubhayams during Brahmōtsavams and festival ubhayams on all the 53 Fridays and 53 Sundays. A perusal of the long list¹ of food offerings and processions contained in the inscription shows that there was no lowering of the standard in the celebration of festivals in spite of the rise in prices.

It was during the reign of Rama IV that inscriptions describing the numerous gifts and charities made by Maṭṭa Kumara Anantaraja, son of Tiruvengalanātha and Chennamma, were made in Tirupati. He belonged to the Dēva Chōla family of the solar race and was perhaps related to Krishnadevaraya, one of whose sons-in-law was one Maṭṭa Varadaraja.

Matla Anantaraja's gifts and charities were made in 1628 A.D. and are described in two inscriptions. Of these Inscription VI. No. 25 is on the east wall of the Pādāla (Sripāda) mantapam in Telugu script and No. 26 is on the west wall of the mantapam in grantha script, the language being a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. The Sripāda mantapam itself was constructed by him at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill. The gifts and charities mentioned in the inscriptions are numerous and should have cost several lakhs of varāhans. The most noteworthy point about them is that not even a single item of endowment was left to the management of the Sthanattar of the Tirumala, Tirupati temples. The inscriptions also enumerate gifts and charities to be administrated in religious centres other than Tirupati and Tirumala. One aspect of these endowments deserves our attention. They were made at a period of history of the Vijayanagar Empire when there were succession disputes and massacres in the royal family. He does not seem to have been affected by them. The country which he ruled lay as stated in the inscription between Ahobilam and the Tirumalai Hills. It lay to the north and west of the Velugōti

1. Puḷiḍḍarai, uḷunduḍḍarai, appam, atirasam, iēntalai, manōharam, vaḍai, kuṇḍukku, eḷḷunḍai, manipparuppu unḍai, iḍḍali, dōsai, tiruppaniyāram, pori, dadhyōdanam.

Yāchamanāyak's territory and perhaps to the south and east of the Gobbūri chief's territory. It cannot be considered to have been at any time so rich a tract of country as to spare the enormous amount of money which Anantaraya was able to spend on charities. The inscription says that he fought a number of battles and overcame his enemies at the places mentioned in the inscription—Pālagiri, Alimēla, Pīlēru, Chappalli, Vēnupalli, Koṭṭikala, Dalakaḍa, Guṇḍlūru, Muvvūru, Kumālla kālvāy. It is not stated whether these battles formed a part of the civil war in connection with the succession dispute. Historians also state that a certain Maṭṭarāja proved treacherous to Sri Rangarāya Mahāraya in 1578 A.D., when Ahōbilam was captured and looted by the Muslims. All that we know for certain is that he had the wealth and that he spent it in gifts and charities lavishly.

There is a story connected with the construction of the big gopuram in Govindaraja Sannidhi Street in Tirupati, built by him. It is stated that the architect, a man belonging to the southern country, was ordered to accompany the bandies which were loaded with bags of coins at Matla and despatched to Tirupati. The bags formed the first batch. To test the financial capacity and the earnestness of Anantaraya, the architect cut some holes in the bags so that when the bandies reached Tirupati, it was found that the bags were not full and that there was leakage along the route. Anantarāya was however not perturbed by this loss. He sent word that whatever money was needed would be supplied promptly, and that no delay should occur in the execution of the work on that account. Upon this the architect assured his patron that he might regard the work as good as executed. The story would seem to show that the Rajah was not only very rich, but that he was also generous. Various structures are enumerated in the inscription as having been executed by him. At that time of famine these works would have afforded great relief to the poor. The Rajah's gifts and charities were distributed among both Vaishnavite and Saivite temples. They are mostly in the region, now called the Cuddapah district—at Udayagiri, Nandalūr, Vontimitta, Siddhavaṭṭi, Rāyachōṭ, Pushpagiri, Anantarājampet and Cuddapah. The gopurams and prakaram walls of most of these temples were constructed by him. In some of these temples he

made provision for the daily worship also. In Tiruvallur (Chingleput Dt.) he constructed the Vasanta mantapam. To Kālahastisvara he presented a golden peacock and a mōhana vimanam. To Sri Venkatesvara he presented three vāhanams (golden horse, elephant and Sarva Bhūpāla Vahanams); he presented a Ratnādhyā makūṭa (gemset crown). He also constructed a flight of stone steps to Tirumala, the agra gōpuram and a Unnata Kēli Mantapam. His charity consisted also in establishing free feeding houses for pilgrims in as many as twelve places, most of which lay in the Cuddapah district besides the two in Tirupati, one at Alvar Tirtham and the other on Sēshachala Kuruva on the Hill.

For the proper supervision of his charities, he employed his own agent Koṇḍayya. He should have commenced his numerous works long before 1628 A.D. They would have normally taken about 10 years to execute. Tirupati did not form part of his own territory, but lay just outside it. It formed a part, and the most important part of the Vijayanagar Empire. Rama IV commenced his reign in 1618. But Matla Kumara Anantaraja makes no mention of the Emperor's name in the inscription of his endowments. He seems to have acted independently of even the Sthanattar of the temple.

It is believed that Rama IV was not certain that he would rule long and that therefore he nominated in 1622, two persons as his successors. One of these was Peda Venkaṭa II, son of Ranga IV and grandson of Aliya Rāmarāja; the other was Sriranga, a nephew of Peda Venkata II. It is not certain in what year Rama IV died. It cannot be 1632 as is generally believed. Contemporary records of the English Factories in India and the Dutch go to show that after the death of Rama IV there were succession disputes between Peda Venkata II and his nephew Sriranga in or about August 1631. These disputes or civil wars were rather between the adherents of the two claimants than between the uncle and the nephew, Damarla Venkatappa, the brother-in-law of Peda Venkata espousing the cause of Venkata, and the northern chiefs espousing the cause of Sriranga. In an inscription dated 29-9-1631 (VI. 21) Kumara Venkatapatideva Maharayar (Peda Venkata II) is named with the usual prasasti of the emperor and as being the

ruler on that day. Peda Venkata II was perhaps actually crowned as the Emperor in 1632, as is generally believed. He continued to rule till 1642 A.D. Although Sriranga succeeded him as Emperor only in 1642, he seems to have from the commencement of 1632 considered himself to be the emperor. For we find that in inscription No. 23 dated 15-6-1638, Sriranga is mentioned as being the ruler¹ and his name is associated with the Emperor's prasasti. The possible explanation for these inconsistent statements by the Sthanattar would be that so far as they were concerned, both had equal claims and that they had no business to take sides.

For our purposes it may be taken that Kumāra Venkaṭapati (Venkata II) ruled from about September 1631 to October 1642. Srirangaraya succeeded him as Emperor although the Damarla Nāyak and some of the other Nāyaks were opposed to Sriranga. The Golkonda King was at this time invading the territories of Sriranga. The English were also fortifying the factory which they built in Madras, having obtained a grant from Damarla Muddu Venkatappa on 22 August 1639 and confirmed by Venkata II subsequently on a gold plated cowle deed which was lost in the sea in 1693. A fresh grant was also made in November 1645 corresponding to the month Karthikai and in the dark fortnight of the cyclic year Parthiva. True copies of these documents as given in the English Factory records are given as Appendix.

There are three inscriptions relating to the period of the reign of Peda Venkata II, or Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Venkaṭapatirāya dēva Maharaya, as he was styled. The first is VI. 21 dated 29-9-1631 and describes an endowment made by one Ramachandrayyan who excavated an irrigation channel in the temple village of Vādirājapuram and thereby increased the annual yield from the irrigated lands. Out of the additional income a number of ubhayams were arranged to be celebrated in Tirumala and Tirupati. We learn from the

1. “.....ஸ்ரீமநு உலாஸாஜாதுராஜ ராஜவரமெழாஸ்ரீவீரபுத்ராவ ஸ்ரீவீர ஸ்ரீரங்கதேவ உலாஸாயர் வ.
 ிஷ பண்ணி அருளாநின்ற ஸ்காப்தம்.....”

inscription that the maṭham of the Iḷan Kōyil kēlvi Jiyar in Tirupati was situated in the street south of the south sreni of the Govindaraja Sannidhi street. It is now in the south sreni of the Sannidhi street itself and west of the big gopuram. The second inscription VI. 22 dated 2-1-1636 gives details of an endowment by Prativādi Bhayankaram Anṅangaracharyar, one of the Achārya Purushas of the temple. He lived in the Ayyangār tiruvīdhi, also called Bhāshyakār Agrahāram and now known as Govindaraja North Mada Street. A spring channel in the temple village of Avilāli was renovated by him. He also made a contribution of 25 Rekhai Pon on the occasion of the installation of Lakshminarayana-pperumāl and Periya Ālvār in a temple built by him in the South Mada Street. From the increased yield ubhayams were arranged to be celebrated. All these ubhayams had a definite Sri Vaishnava complex about them. In this inscription there are three points of interest to us. (1) the numebr of Nirvahams of the Sthanattar which was 12 till 1631 A.D. was reduced to 4. There was no share in the nirvaham for the Sthanattar. But there was one for Tirupatiyār, one for Nambimar, one for Periya Koyil Kelvi Jiyar and one for the Sthalakarnam. This is a significant change. (2) Nāthamuni temple in Nāthamuni Street in Tirupati is mentioned for the first time. (3) We learn that land was being measured with a rod of 32 spans, one such square rod making up one kuḷi of land.

The third inscription is VI. 23 dated 15-6-1638. Although the Emperor's name is given in this inscription as Srirangadēva Maharaya with the usual prasasti we know that Venkatapatidēva was the real Emperor at the time. The name of the donor is missing, but we learn that he was a brahmin living in Kundanāla village, in Uravakonḍa Sirmai. From these details, we see that his village lay in the territory which was under the governorship of Srirangarāja. He therefore seems to have regarded him as the Emperor. He excavated two irrigation channels in two temple villages. One of these villages was called Agaram Maṇiyakkōn paṭṭu. The name of the other village is missing in the inscription. He was a man of some status and owned a garden with a mantapam in it in Tirumala. *The main point of interest in this inscription is the information that it furnishes about the re-arrangement of*

the nirvakams of the Sthanattar. Their composition according to the earlier inscriptions was Tirupātiyar 4; Sabhaiyar 3; Nambimar 1; Jiyars 2; Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar 2; total 12. *We learn from this that the new Sthanattar was composed of 6 persons and that the Nambimars, Jiyars, Tirupatiyar Sabhaiyar and the Tiruninra-ur-Udaiyars did not form members of that body.* We also notice that the Tirupatiyars were reduced from 4 to 1, the Sabhaiyars from 3 to 1, and the Tiruninra-ur-Udaiyars from 2 to 1. *This change must have taken place some time between 1636 and 1638 A. D.*

**Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Vira
Pratapa Sri Rangaraya deva Maharayar or Ranga VI.**

Sri Rangarāya dēva Mahārāya ascended the throne in October 1642 and probably reigned till 1665. He was previously *i.e.*, from about 1632, the Governor of the province of Chandragiri which included all the districts lying to the north of that place. The ascendancy of Damarla Venkatappa, brother-in-law of Venkatapati deva and the grand vizier of the Empire, and the ill-feeling subsisting between Venkatappa and Yāchama Nāyakka, who was the supporter of Srirangaraya, resulted in a permanent estrangement between the Emperor Kumāra Venkatapati and his nephew Srirangaraya. The two factions in the Empire which first made their appearance soon after the death of Venkatapati I in 1616 and during the succession dispute and the consequent civil war, seriously affected the Empire. Destruction of life and property and the uncertainty in the country about the security of private property, brought about dislocation in trade and agriculture. Foreigners, like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English found it risky to make advance payments to local merchants and middle men. Their trade on the east coast in handwoven fabrics was in a flourishing condition till the troubles arose within the empire. Famines caused by failure of rains and the frequent wars made agriculture a risky undertaking. There was a great famine in 1630-31 which lasted some years. Such in short was the state of the country up to the year in which Srirangaraya VI ascended the throne.

This explains why there were so few endowments after 1616 A.D. Between 1616 and 1638 there were only four endowments; but none of these could be compared to those made during the pre-Talikota period. During Srirangaraya's (VI) reign there was not even a single endowment. It could not have been due to any growing lack of faith in temple worship among the people. All through the centuries the class of people who made endowments were Emperors, and their kinsmen, the feudatory chiefs, the rich land owners and merchants from all parts of the Vijayanagar Empire and Tellingana country, the residents of Tirupati and its surroundings, religious leaders, acharyas, acharya-purusahas and all others connected with the temple including the servants. Every one owed his prosperity to the flourishing condition of agriculture, trade, industries and commerce and safety to pilgrim traffic. There was complete dislocation of these as the result of the unwise and unpatriotic conduct of the members of the ruling family and the Nāyaks who were the provincial governors. Their differences made it easy for the Muslim kings of Golkonda and Bijapur to extend their conquests to the South and to divide the Hindu Empire between themselves. Srirangarāya was the last victim of this unwise policy of the Hindus.

The observations and events chronicled from time to time by the English and the Dutch Factors are the main sources of information relating to this period. In 1642, soon after Sriranga became the Emperor, Damarla Venkatappa opened negotiations with the Golkonda invaders with the object of making them act against the Emperor. The treason was found out and Venkatappa was seized, imprisoned and stripped of most of his territories. His brother Ayyappa then raised an army to effect his release. When Sriranga found himself harassed on one side by the Muslims and on the other by Ayyappa he pardoned and released Venkatappa. The English Factors at Pulicat wrote on August 25, 1643: "The country hath been and still is at present in broyles, one Nāgue against another and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand. But the king by means of the king of Vizapore (Bijapur) who for 15 lakh of pagothas and 24 elephants, has sent some thousands of horse for his assistance, is likely to have the better." In 1644 Damarla Venkatappa again proved treacherous and rose

in open rebellion. There was also a fresh invasion of the Carnata country by Mir Jumla, the vizier of the Golkonda king well known for his iconoclastic frenzy and plundering propensities.¹ Damarla was then replaced by one Mallaya (a rich merchant and agent of the Dutch). This man in his turn proved treacherous and was likewise dismissed, after he had, without a struggle surrendered in 1646 the strong fortress of Udayagiri to Mir Jumla. "The country was distracted by the war between three of the chief Nayaks on the one side and Sri Ranga on the other. The latter was at the same time being attacked by Bijapur on the west and by the Golkonda forces under Mir Jumla on the east. Eventually Sri Ranga after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a large sum as indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army. The Nayaks sobered by the successors of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the king in maintaining the independence of the country." These events happened before May 1646 A.D. To the turmoil of war and the troubles on the coast was now added a great famine as a result of which the people gave themselves for slaves to any man that will but feed them. "The price of food rose to an excessive extent."

"Before the end of 1646 Mir Jumla conquered all the neighbouring districts and came within two days march of the King's court."

"In October 1647 the English factors bewailed the fact that the company sent them no liquor to drown the stench of the corpses that lay unburied wherever they went and the cries of the dying people." They stated that Mir Jumla had almost entirely conquered the kingdom and that the English would do well to get their grants made by the fled Jentue king (Sri Ranga) in 1645 (November) confirmed under the great seal of the king of Golkonda, which was made possible by the offer of a brass gun to Mr. Mir Jumla.

This was in the middle of October 1647. In January 1652 hostilities broke out between the two Muslim kings of Golkonda

1. Vide Introduction. The English Factors' records 1646-1650.

and Bijapur and Mir Jumla was surrounded by the Bijapur troops. The poor Vijayanagar king was watching his opportunity to break off his miserable yoke. The factors wrote that these events so distracted the country that they could not adventure the company's monies abroad. The war in the Carnatic was continued strenuously. The Bijapur Commander-in-Chief captured the fortress of Penukonda in March 1653 and wanted Mir Jumla's permission to pass through his territories on his march to Gingee (Chenji). Thereupon Mir Jumla became alarmed at the successes of Bijapur and therefore instigated the Nayaks of Mysore and Ikkeri to take up arms and proceed to Vellore to his help. The Bijapur General however succeeded in capturing Vellore after a long siege and concluded a treaty with Srirangarāya by which Chandragiri with the revenues of some districts was left to the Raja. This happened about *November* 1654 and Tirupati would therefore have nominally remained in the hands of the Raja. For in fact it formed a part of the countries conquered by Mir Jumla, the Golkonda commander.

In September 1654 an open breach however occurred between Mir Jumla and the King of Golkonda, Abdulla Kutubshah. This drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb and proved disastrous to Golkonda. In 1656 Golkonda which was attacked by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla had to enter into a humiliating treaty with Aurangzeb. Mir Jumla was kept in Delhi and was rewarded with a grant of the Jagir of the Carnatic held directly under Shah Jehan the Emperor and the king of Golkonda was asked to recall all his officers in the Carnatic (July 1656) so that the now Nawab Mir Jumla might appoint his own men. The retention of Mir Jumla by the Emperor in Delhi was taken in the light of a political detention and the Hindus in the Carnatic were consequently encouraged by the King of Golkonda to revolt against Mir Jumla's Officers. There was a strong expectation that the Chandragiri Raja Sriranga would seize this opportunity to recover his ancestral throne. The English factors at Pulicat, Greenhill and Chambers, writing about these events say on 19th November 1656, "The Nawab's (Mir Jumla's) absence gave occasion to jentues rising in several places of the kingdom, some part whereof

is reduced to the King and Naiques obedience, who have sent forces to these quarters and are now at the siege of Pulicat and Pundamalle. What the issue will be we know not; but the Nawob's party are very much disheartened and weak." In another letter to Surat dated 5-11-1656, they say. "All these countries formerly conquered by the Nawob are now of late on the revolt, the Jentue King with divers Naiques being in arms. Here is nothing but taking and retaking of places. On 10-11-1656 it was stated by the English that the king of Golkonda had let the country of the Carnatic to the Rayalus upon which the Rayalus father-in-law took possession of part of the country and came to Peddapalam." Greenhill and Chambers however wrote on 28-1-1657 that it was gathered that Conār Chetty who was the Rajah's General treacherously delayed attacking the Nawob's (Mir Jumla's) party until the latter which was led by commander Tuppacki Krishnappa Chetti gathered his forces and then fled from the town with his army pursued by the enemy. They add that he allowed himself to be captured and was treated well as he was related to Tupacki Krishnappa. A letter from Batavia of January 1657 said that the Chandragiri Raja with an army of 8,000 men had *captured the pagoda of Tirupati* and tried to conquer Conjeevaram, Chingleput etc. This shows that Tirupati had gone out of the Rajahs' control in 1646 when Mir Jumla conquered the Carnatic.

In 1657 Mir Jumla's commander-in-chief Tupacki Krishnappa laid an ambush, defeated and dispersed a party of the Chandragiri Raja's house which was returning to Vellore from a plundering expedition. The king and his adjutant Shangee with 1000 horses managed to retreat to Arni. There they tried to recruit a fresh army with the help of Bijapur and again take the field. Tupacki Krishnappa also besieged in August 1658 Pūdamalli which was in revolt against Golkonda. Kūli Beig, commander of the Golkonda forces, inflicted on him a severe defeat; he was wounded and took him prisoner. During this period the fight for power was between the Vijayanagar King, Mir Jumla's commander Krishnappa Chetty, the King of Golkonda and the King of Bijapur. As the English sided Golkonda and had captured Mir Jumla's jank, Krishnappa Chetty laid seige to *Madras* between September 1657 and April 1658 when a treaty was concluded according to

which the English were to pay annually 380 pagodas in satisfaction of all demands. Such was the disturbed condition of the country during these years.

Mir Jumla died in July 1663 and Neknam Khan became the Nabob of the Carnatic in succession. In his turn he came to the Carnatic with an army of 40,000 men to bring to submission all the recalcitrant elements. He kept one Chennampalli Mirza as general of the army at Madras and also as his agent. He subdued the whole country by about 1668. From Nagalapuram camp he dictated terms to the English Factors at Chennapatnam also in December 1663. The English Factors wrote about him and his men thus: "They are of such insulting disposition that unless curbed, we shall daily find it worse and worse." In a letter of December 1664 the factors wrote "The Jentues are now gathering to a head against the Moores and if they should be victorious they would endeavour to do us a discourtesy."

Sri Rangarayulu's visit to Tirumala at this juncture to worship Tiruvengalanatha in the summer of 1665 A.D. Visvvasu (V. 143) might have been to appeal to God to grant Divine help for victory in his attempt to regain his kingdom. In fact this is the only inscription in Tirumala made during the reign of Sri Rangaraya and is given below as foot note.¹

The inscription records this visit or it may also be that he did not actually visit Tirumala but only sent the slab bearing the inscription to be deposited in the temple. The year of the inscription is given as the cyclic year Visvvasu and the corresponding Sali Saka is not mentioned. But the prasasti shows that it refers to the Vijayanagar Emperor Srirangaraya.²

1. V. 143.

1. విశ్వావసు సంవత్సర జ్యేష్ఠ ది 10 లా
2. శ్రీ తిరువెంగళనాథ దేవుని..... శ్రీమ
3. ద్రాక్షాశిలాజ రాజ పరమేశ్వర శ్రీ వీర
4. శ్రీరంగరాజ సదాసేవ

2. The Devasthanam Epigraphist has erroneously placed this inscription as No. 143 in Vol. V. which records the inscriptions of Sadasivaraya's period.

He lost his territories to the Golkonda and the Bijapur Muslims. It went to the share of Mir Jumla, commander of the Golkonda army, in 1656 as a jageer held directly under the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan. Tuppakki Krishnayya Chetti was Mir Jumla's commander of the army and Syed Ali was his agent in Madras during his absence in Delhi and Bengal between 1656 and 1663 when he died. Neknam Khan was appointed as Nawab in succession. He had therefore to bring to submission all the revolted elements. Tirupati temple could not have been a revolted element. Srirangaraya is said to have captured it in 1657. But it is not known if he was in actual possession in 1663 when Neknam Khan succeeded Mir Jumla. In any case Neknam Khan came with an army of 40,000 men. Even the English and the Dutch Factors had to agree to the payment of rents to him. He even increased it from 380 pagodas to 1200 pagodas a year in the case of Madras. Neknam Khan's agent was Chennampalli Mirza who camped in Tirupati in 1668 A.D. Srirangaraya's visit in 1665 lies between the dates 1663 and 1668. If he had been the ruling Emperor at least of Chandragiri in 1665 his visit would have been recorded in language with greater flourish and the inscription could have been on the wall of the temple and not on a separate slab.

This inscription is a landmark in the history of our temple. It is not couched in the usual style with the preamble to such inscriptions. It is not in the Tamil language and script. The last inscription which was in the year 1638 (15th of June) was in Tamil language and script. The next inscription is this one of the year 1665, in the Telugu language and script. It is also in a different style, a style which an ordinary private pilgrim would adopt to record his visit. The prasasti also is rather an abridged one. The purpose of the visit, rather the inscription, is to state that he will be always worshipping Tiruvengalanatha. తనవేంకటేశ దేవుని సదాసేవ (Tiruvengalanātha dēvuni sadāsēva). We have to remember here that there are only two classes of people who do Sadā sēva or always think of God. Yogis and Bhaktas who

But as there is no Emperor of the name Srirangaraya in whose reign the cyclic year Visvuvasu would come, except the one which corresponds to 1665 A.D., the inscription records Sri Rangaraya's visit.

have attained a certain stage of mental development do so. The other class consists of those who in spite of their best endeavours have miserably failed to achieve their desires and who realise that faith in God is their only prop in life. He made his last great effort in 1664 to regain his kingdom, but failed to muster sufficient strength. Mysore let him down. The inscription of 1665 A.D. has therefore to be construed as a final appeal to the mercy of Tiruvengalanatha deva. There was no hope but to pray incessantly to Him. **This year 1665 might be taken to make the end of the Vijayanagar Empire.**

The second point to note is that the Tamil language ceased to be the official language of the temple perhaps from even before 1665 A.D. Mir Jumla completely conquered the country in 1646. He and his men came from the Telingana. He would have placed the secular management of the temple in the hands of Telugu knowing men of the locality or from among his Hyderabad men to ensure the receipt of the income from the temple.

He was a rapacious adventurer in the service of the Golkonda King as his vizier. He was himself a military genius. The commander of his army was an equally able and unprincipled Hindu, whose nearest kinsmen were the army leaders under Srirangaraya Maharaya. They were all intent on feathering their own nests even at the expense of the interests of their master. When the king of Golkonda envied his wealth and became suspicious he turned against his master and went into the arms of Aurangazeb (the son of Emperor Shah Jahan) in 1655 and invaded Golkonda. But the Emperor was not for extinguishing Golkonda. Aurangazeb managed to send him over to Delhi to convert the Emperor by working on the latter's cupidity by the offer of the famous Telingana diamond Kohinoor as a specimen of the wealth that was waiting for the Emperor's touch. It is no wonder that under such conditions there were very few endowments. Pilgrimage to Tirupati would have been a dangerous attempt for Hindus.

The connection of the history of our temple with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar may be considered to have commenced with the gilding of the Vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's temple by Sri

Mangideva Maharaja in 1359 A.D. and to have ended with the memorial slab left by Srirangaraya Maharaya in the temple in 1665 A.D. It lasted for just over three centuries. The sway of the Shiah Muslim Kings of Golkonda and Bijapur over the Carnatic country was but a passing phase. Aurangazeb after he became the Emperor at Delhi was keen on extinguishing the former for the reason that they were Shiah Muslims. The other overpowering ambition of his was to capture and annex the Deccan and the Carnatic countries to his empire and destroy Hinduism. He captured the Carnatic but failed to annex it to his empire. Nor was Hinduism destroyed. The inscrutable Will of God checkmated his ambitions by the rapid insurgence of the Maratta power, by the entry of Shahji under the aegis of his Bijapur Muslim king into the south and the establishment of a Maratta principality in Tanjore and later by the entry of his son Sivaji on the plea of settling succession disputes with his brother Venkaji over their father's estates and finally by the daring attempt to establish a Maratta supremacy over the entire Carnatic by baulking the ambitions of his personal enemy Aurangazeb. As in the days when the Vijayanagar Prince Kumāra Kempana fought the Sultanate of Madura so also when Sivaji and his successors had to fight against the Muslim armies of Aurangazeb the fortress of Chengi (Jingee) played a prominent part. The mutual destruction of the Muslim and the Maratta powers and the consequent rise of the British power were inevitably connected with the fortunes of our temple which stood in need of a thorough overhauling to purge it of those evils which the accumulation of lands and wealth from the votive offerings of devotees had brought with them. The next chapter will be devoted to a short account of this.

Before closing this chapter we have only to bear in mind that the members of the Aravidu dynasty failed to realise that the Hindu Empire was a sacred trust and that its governance could be successfully done only by the combined effort of all its members and not by mutual jealousies and civil strife with blood stained hands. The inevitable Divine punishment had to be borne with resignation by Srimad Rajādhirāja Rāja Paramēsvara Sri Virapratāpa Sri Vira Srirangaraya Maharayar. Before the end of

1646 his kingdom in the Carnatic was conquered by Mir Jumla for the Muslim king of Golkonda. The king of Bijapur was at the same time invading and capturing the Mysore plateau and marching down to Chengi and the Maratta Shahji, father of Sivaji, was in his employ having been sent by God to establish a foothold for the Marattas first in Tanjore and later in Chengi. Owing to the clash of interests between the King of Bijapur and Golkonda, the former while capturing the Vellore Fort from Sriranga in 1654 agreed to the latter holding possession of Chandragiri and some adjoining districts which had been conquered by Mir Jumla. Tirupati therefore temporarily was reoccupied in 1658 by Sriranga. The final struggle which he organised against the Muslims in 1664 seems to have proved an abortive attempt. In the summer of 1665 (Jyeshta Bahula Dasami of the year Visvavasu) he bade good bye to his kingdom and devoted himself to offering unceasing prayers to his god Tiruvengādanatha (Sadā sēva). The whole of South India was ravaged by four armies and there was no safety for Hindus going on pilgrimage. Mir Jumla and his successors would not have been slow to appropriate the endowed lands of our temple or the annual income therefrom.

CHAPTER XXII

THE POST—VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD.

The Temple passes into the hands of the Golkonda Muslim King.

IT was surmised at the end of the last Chapter that June 1665 marked the end of the Vijayanagar Empire. It seems to be certainly so with reference to our temple. We know that after the death of Mir Jumla in 1663 one Neknam Khan was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic Country. But we do not know whether he held it on the same terms as his predecessor, that is as a Jageer bestowed directly by the Delhi Emperor Aurangazeb, or was appointed by the King of Golkonda with the approval of the Emperor. In any case he came with an army of 40,000 men and took effective possession of the Jageer. Early in the year 1668 Nawab Neknam Khan was again at Pundamally¹ with his army for the purpose of appointing as a symbol of his overlordship an Avuldar in the town of Madras; and Chennampalli Mirza was appointed as the general of the army and his agent at Madras. About the end of that year the English in Madras sent their Brahmin agent Venkatapati to Tirupati where Mirza was camping to obtain a fresh Cowle or Firman for the fort and town of Chennapatnam and for fixing the annual rent to be paid. Mirza sent the brahmin to Golkonda where Neknam Khan was staying. These were actually settled only in April 1672.² The rent was raised to 1200 pagodas a year from 380 pagodas which Mir Jumla had settled before. Soon after this, Neknam Khan died in the same month and his successor Musa Khan also confirmed the cowle or Firman. These transactions serve to show that the Muslim Nawab was in full possession of the Carnatic before 1668. There is also a note in the Diary & Consult-Book dated 28-8-1673 which states

1. English Factory Records (1665-1669) p. 151.

2. Diary & Consult-book (F.S.G.) 11-4-1672 and 23-4-1672.

that great quantities of cloth of three former years were lying upon Kasa Viranna's hands by reason of the troubles in the country. Again from the fact that the English factors were put to the necessity of conforming to the practice of making annual mamul payments or presents to the Golkonda King and his officers it is plain that the Nawab of the Carnatic was enjoying in fact a subordinate position.¹ By the end of the year 1676 one Lingappa, nephew of Maddanna, and some other Brahmin officers became very powerful and were considered so corrupt and unsympathetic that the English Factors have recorded thus: "Since thus Bramany Government of Maddanna and his complices with whom neither promises, cowls nor phirmands do appear to be of any validity, they minding nothing but interest and advantages."

Cessation of Endowments Explained.

The receipts of our temple from the votive offerings of pilgrims have always been dependent on the economic prosperity of the country—its agriculture, manufacture, trade and the availability of currency. The long continued wars had ruined production, manufactures and trade. In the matter of currency also Aurangzeb's policy depleted the country of its standard gold pagoda and the consequent currency manipulations of which he was a past master made the country poorer. "They advise there is great scarcity of money and the people are so fleeced and harassed by the Governors that there is no quick market for anything. And the King having got almost all the pagodas in his country into his own hands, for want of them to pay in their rents have raised their value to a strange height, giving a while since seven rupees for an old pagoda and near 170 new pagodas for 100 old when the real value of an old pagoda, give it a knock with the hammer, is not worth more than a new. By this device the King makes as much more of his country's (letting them still out for as great a quantity of old pagodas as formerly) as will serve to pay his

1 For the King 495 pagodas worth; Maddanna, the great Mazundar and the chiefest person in power, 184 pagodas Pullapalli Yençanna, controller general 52¼ pagodas, Narasa Viççala and other great men 98 pagodas: muskima Nabob 98½ pag; Mahamad Ibrahim Sarkail, 98½ pagodas

tribute to Aurangzeb; and by this means makes the manufactory of his country, where old pagoda is the thing all things are valued by, to be 40 per cent dearer than it used to be, paying but the same quantity of old pagodas and no more, for it than they did before."¹

Maratta invasion in 1677 aggravated the situation.

It was while the country was in this deplorable condition that Sivaji, King of the Marattas, invaded the country of the Carnatic in May 1677 and marched past Tirupati, Kalahasti and Kanchipuram with an army of 40,000 foot and 5000 horse. The English refer in their Diary & Consult Book (9-5-1677) to the sad experience of all countries and places where he used to frequent. He is stated to have then entered the service of the Golkonda King, perhaps as an ally, to capture the fortress of Chengi (Jingee) which from about 1669 was in the hands of the Bijapur King with whom Golkonda was at war.

But Sivaji's ostensible object was stated to be to settle with his half-brother Venkajee a partition of the family properties left by their father Shahji Bonsle. As Sivaji and his successors played a dominant part in counteracting the ambitious programme of Aurangzeb to conquer and annex the whole of the Southern Peninsula to his Kingdom, to destroy all Hindu temples and Hinduism and make the entire population embrace the religion of Islam, it is necessary to go into the antecedents of Sivaji and the Marattas in general, their ambitions and their zeal as the champions of Hinduism. The Marattas inhabited, as is well known, the Konkan country lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea. Their strength lay in the inaccessible fortresses of the ghats. From being peaceful and frugal husbandmen mostly of the Sudra caste they were transformed into a hardy race of warriors. The Muslim kings of Ahamadnagar and Bijapur were mostly responsible for this change. They were first employed in the revenue department where their language, an offshoot of Sanskrit, and script came to be the official ones. Then they were employed in the army on garrison duty and then

1. English Factores India 1665-1669 (December 1667).

in the light cavalry or troopers where they displayed extraordinary aptitude. Some of them rose to offices of importance in Bijapur and Golkonda after the annexation of Ahmadnagar by Aurangazeb in the early years of the Seventeenth Century. Their religious reformers rose from all castes, including the Mahars. Birth and caste counted very little in their ideals of love of mankind and love of country. They achieved a remarkable community of language, creed and life even before Shahji and Sivaji were born. A cake of millet flour was all they wanted while engaged in active war.

Sivaji Maharaja—His antecedents and aims in life.

The tradition relating to the birth of Sivaji might largely have been responsible for moulding his character and mission in life. His grandfather Malloji Bhonsly was a native of Verol near Daulatabad and was the son of the Patel of the place. At the age of twenty five in 1577 and under the patronage of Lookji Jadow Rao, a Maratta chief (Deshmuk of Sindkar and a descendant of the Rajah of Devagiri) he entered the service of Murtiza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. His patron-deities were Mahadev and Devi Bhavani. For a long time he had no sons; and due to the blessings of a Muhammadan saint (peer) named Shah Sharif a son was born in 1594, who was named after the saint as Shahji. The father Malloji was rising in favour and in 1599 A.D., on the occasion of the Holi festival was invited by his patron Jadow Rao, to attend the fifth day festival in his house when his young son Shahji aged about five, accompanied him. Jadow Rao's daughter Jeeji Bai and Shahji happened to sit together and in a temper of good humour Jadow Rao remarked that they would make a good match. He asked his daughter whether she would marry him, when it also happened that they splashed the coloured water on each other. The company present considered it a good augury. But when Malloji was next invited to a dinner he said he could do so only if Jadow Rao would consider Shahji as his son-in-law. As there was considerable social disparity between Jadow Rao and Malloji there was some perplexity caused. To overcome this Malloji acquired more wealth, which he alleged

was due to his patron-goddess Bhavani bestowing on him a vast treasure. Wealth brought with it more power and a higher social status. He became Malloji Rajah Bhonsly in command of 5000 horse and Jageerdar of Poona and Sopa. The Sultan himself attended the wedding of Shahji with Jeeji Bai. Shahji subsequently took a second wife by name Tooka Bai. By the latter Venkaji was his son; by the former Sambaji and Sivaji. While bestowing the treasure on Malloji, Goddess Bhavani is said to have appeared to him and told him, "there shall be one of thy family who shall become a king; he will be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambhu; he will re-establish and preserve justice in Maharashtra and destroy all who molest Brahmins and desecrate the temples of the gods. His reign will form an epoch and his posterity will mount the throne for twenty seven generations." Sivaji was born in May 1627 in Seonir fort; his greatness was due to forts and his death was in a fort. His father lived more with his second wife Tooka Bai Mohitay. His elder brother Sambaji who as the favourite of his father was always with him died early in life. Sivaji who was neglected by his father lived with his mother in Poona and one Dadaji Kondeva was his guardian. His education was all from his mother who fed him with tales of bravery from the Epics and the Puranas and inspired him with zeal for protecting the four castes and cows. She thus moulded his character. The words of Goddess Bhavani would have been inspiringly narrated to him by her. He commenced his independent career in 1646 by attacking and taking the hill fort of Torna.

After the extinction of the Ahmadnagar kingdom Shahji entered the service of the Bijapur king with the cognizance of Emperor Shah Jahan. He entered the Carnatic along with the Bijapur troops in 1637 and marched right down to Chengi Fort and to Tanjore. As a result of the enmity between the king of Madura and king of Tanjore, Shahji's son Venkaji is said to have defeated both and to have occupied Tanjore. We are not sure of the date and year. The point to remember is that in the early years of the Seventeenth Century the Marattas found a footing in Tanjore. Shahji is said to have visited Sivaji in the ghats in 1662 along with his son Venkaji. At one time Shahji was arrested by Bijapur and was released on sureties being given for the good conduct

of his son Sivaji. But Sivaji went on extending his dominion playing upon the enmity between the Delhi Emperor and the Bijapur king. He was consequently taken captive but the Emperor treated him with such undisguised contempt that the former opponent escaped in 1666 to be the sworn enemy of Aurangzeb. He resumed war in 1669; sacked Surat for the second time in 1670 and demanded 'chanth' in 1672, crowned himself in 1674 as Chatrapati Sivaji and pledged himself to fulfil his obligations as a devout Hindu king as foretold by Goddess Bhavani. Meanwhile, the death of his father and the settlement of the family properties with his brother Venkaji in Tanjore gave him a plausible excuse for entering the Carnatic country with an army in 1677, having become an ally of the king of Golkonda. The other reason was to wrest the fortress of Chengi from the king of¹ Bijapur who had been occupying it from 1669.

There is no doubt that the complications created in Hindustan by Aurangzeb largely favoured and even encouraged Sivaji in his bold campaigns. Aurangzeb was a stern Puritan of the Sunni school of Islam. "For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples....For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his empire, as to bring the lands of the heretical Shiah's within the dominion of orthodox Islam...."¹ Further the Marattas were getting their funds from the Bijapur and Golkonda kings who paid blackmail to the brigands. Aurangzeb's plan was first to exterminate these two Shiah kingdoms. His religious persecution set the whole of Hindustan in a ferment. Learning that the Brahmins of Benares and other places were in the habit of teaching their Upanishads and the Yoga practices to Muslims also, he wreaked his vengeance in 1669 by destroying the temple of Vishnu in Benares and razing to the ground the shrine in Mathura and building a mosque thereon. The idols removed from there were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque so that pious Muslims might tread over them. There was subsequently an insurrection in Mewat of the Satnamis (expounders of the eternal truth) several thousand strong who perished in the

¹ Lane Poole's *Mediaeval India under Muhammadan Rule*—p 359.

struggle as martyrs. He reimposed the poll tax on Hindus which his predecessors had abolished. The Rajputs were in revolt for these reasons and also because their sons were being taken away to Delhi to be educated in Islamic culture and to be converted thereafter. Such was the situation created by Aurangzeb.

While Aurangzeb's plan was to destroy the two Shiah kingdoms first and then exterminate the Marattas, Sivaji's plan was to play Golkonda against Bijapur and extend his own territories and power. He therefore entered the Carnatic in 1677 as the friend of Golkonda, because the Carnatic was far away from Delhi where the affairs in Hindustan were engaging Aurangzeb's attention.

Aurangzeb's religious zeal resulted in forced conversion, mass executions, rape and plunder of the Hindus and destruction of temples. The lessons which Sivaji had learnt from his mother made him behave in a humane manner, particularly to captured Muslim women and children. Everything that would go to provision and feed the enemy forces was destroyed and wealth looted (scorched earth policy). Aurangzeb's policy was similar to the policy of our western nations who use the atom bombs to destroy life, property and all. Sivaji's policy was similar to that adopted by the vānaras (monkeys) to destroy everything that would go to feed the enemies' forces. The Marattas would allow the enemy to march through territories where even the grass for fodder had been cut down and burnt and at the end of the campaign find himself starved. They avoided facing the enemy for a decisive battle unless their numerical strength was far superior to that of the enemy. "To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to strike blows upon water."

Sivaji's conquest of the Carnatic and premature death in 1680.

In February 1678 peace was however concluded between Bijapur and Golkonda and the former intended to send an army to re-take Chenji from Sivaji. In April 1678 Sivaji's general

Santoji concluded a firm peace with Ekkaji (son of Venkaji) and his territories were handed back to him. Santoji was feasted in the Tanjore castle and sent back to Chenji. In the middle of August 1678 Abdulla Khan the commander of the Bijapur forces in the Vellore castle surrendered to Sivaji's forces after a siege. Before the end of 1678 Sivaji had got full and quiet possession of all the countries between Chenji and Vellore, having 72 strong hills and 14 forts with a revenue of 22 lakhs of pagodas a year. It was feared that very soon he would conquer the whole of the Golkonda country. But his ambitions came to an end by his premature death in 1680 by a sudden illness. "There was nothing of the libertine or brute" about him. He was moral and religious; a staunch and devout Hindu, he was tolerant to the Muslims and venerated their saints and the Koran. Ramdas and Tukaram were his gurus.

Aurangzeb's conquest of the Deccan down to Trichinopoly.

Aurangzeb pursued the fulfilment of his aim to conquer and annex the Bijapur and Golkonda kingdoms. The great unpopularity of the two corrupt Brahmin Ministers of Golkonda (Madanna and Akkanna) helped greatly to detach the Muslim subjects and officers of Golkonda from their allegiance to the king. Although the Carnatic country was the Jageer of Musa Khan (after the death of Neknam Khan in 1672) Madanna interfered in its affairs and appointed his nephew Podeli Lingappa as Collector of rents. Both were corrupt and oppressive. When Madanna's brother Akkanna went over to these parts in 1681, and was camping for seven days in Tirupati, the agent of the English at Golkonda was sent over by Madanna to Tirupati to arrange for the payment of adequate presents to Akkanna. The merchants of Pulicat who declined to make adequate presents were seized and put in irons. Madanna was also attempting in vain about 1685 to bring about a triple alliance between Sambaji (Sivaji's son and successor) Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzeb's son Prince Mo'azzam besieged the capital of Golkonda in 1685 and consented to a treaty of peace. On this occasion Madanna and Akkanna were called

to a durbar and dismissed. On their way home they were mobbed and beheaded. There was a general slaughter of Brahmins. Aurangzeb again invaded Bijapur and Golkonda and conquered them in 1686 and 1687 respectively. Bijapur city was completely ruined. Sambaji was also captured and put to death in 1689. The Moghul army continued the campaign and conquered the Southern Peninsula right down to Trichinopoly. Thereupon the Maratta forces from Chenji began to plunder the villages which lately belonged to Golkonda and to lay waste the country. They took the Akkara fort and killed its Muslim governor. Their flying squad captured three forts and a hundred towns in few days, robbing and plundering everywhere. Kanchipuram was plundered on 13th January 1688.

One of the life guards of the Moghul's had to apply to the English at Ft. St. George for a guard of horsemen and soldiers up to the river Krishna to transmit safely large revenue collections made, since the whole country had become extremely unsafe. The captive King of Golkonda Abul Hasan was beheaded in July 1688 on suspicion that a Maratta relief force was coming to capture the fort where he was lodged. In the Southern Peninsula the struggle for power was now between the Moghuls, the Marattas and the Hindu principalities. The Dutch, the English and the Portuguese suffered in their trade.

Economic chaos in the Carnatic country.

The chaotic condition of the country is well described in a reply which the newly formed first Joint Stock Company of the native merchants of Madras gave to the President in Council of Fort St. George on 1—5—1690 when they were called upon to explain why they failed to fulfil old contracts entered into. They stated that they made a Joint Stock Company with 50,000 pagodas subscribed capital and had suffered losses. In 1688 also they suffered losses. "They sent kanakapillays and peons with 20 merchants to the several parts for the provision of cloth, but the Moghul's visiting these parts together with the sad mortality and famine put a check thereto by the weavers going over to other

parts which necessitated them to solicit their return by promising houses, looms, yarn and money beforehand in those hazardous times when Yetta Matara Timmappa, a general of the Moghul was at Cuddapah. The Marattas in the interim sent Vittala Ballarao Gopal Pundit to Conjeevaram to rob and plunder that Government, afterwards taking it upon themselves." "The present troubles and revolutions in the country is such that which side so ever gets the victory they will plunder and ransack the houses, men, women and what else they meet with; so ravenous are they grown none escapes them. Of late one Brahmana Pundarikaksha is come to Conjeevaram and has rented the said country forcing money from merchants, weavers, etc., and therefore they have all relinquished the place some coming here (to Madras) and others absconding in woods. The Marattas also at Chenji forced money from the people there for defraying the charges of the army which has made them leave that place too as the others. The Sadraspatam, Tegnapatam merchants complaining of their losses."

"The countries Adoni and Gutti whence comes all the cotton and cotton yarn is embroiled in war and troubles, which is the reason none comes from thence and what remains in these parts is all spent. If your honour commands us in anything we shall readily obey to the utmost of our powers provided the Hon'ble company runs the risk of our trade in the country from their war with the Moghul." The company agreed that the troubles in the country were daily increasing, that trading would be hazardous owing to robberies, seizures and obstructions. The same conditions prevailed in the Porto Novo and the Northern country (Circars). For the safety of their goods the English decided on purchasing the Tegnapatam Fort from the Rajah of Chenji.

**A solitary inscription in Telugu of 1684 by a
Maratta officer.**

From the above passage we can well understand why there were no inscriptions of endowments on the walls of the Tirumalai and Tirupati temples during all the years after 1638. There is however a solitary inscription dated 19th March 1684 (Sali Saka 1606, cyclic year Raktakshi, Chaitra Suddha 14, Angaraka varam

Hasta nakshatram¹). It is on the south wall of the second prakaram of the Tirumalai temple and is of special interest to us. The language and the script are Telugu of the ordinary grāmya style and not Tamil. The preamble is not in the old grand style giving the name of the King with prasasti. The reason would have been the difficulty to state who the King at the time was, the country being in a distracted state of war although the Golkonda Muslim had become *de facto* ruler. We have seen that Madanna and Akkanna had been to Tirupati about 1681 making a fairly long stay. The endowment with which we are now concerned was for a food offering of the Suddhāna Alankāram variety, that is cooked rice, some cooked green gram pulse, and curds, for Sri Venkatesvara and for Sri Varahasvami and one pot (goon) of pāyasam and pacchadi and dosaippadi. The distribution of the offered prasadam was to be made among the persons actually doing services such as singamurai (fuel supply), paṇimurai (public works of the temple), the two jiyangars, sthānāla varu, kangānip-pān and dēsai (or strangers), paḍikāvali, utara parapatyam, adhyapakam and sundries and also for viniyōgam or free distribution to pilgrims in gōshṭi; also sthala Srivaishnavas. The time-honoured procedure for distribution had thus been broken by 1684. The measurement of rice continued to be by the time-honoured sōla and half sōla (Kōvīla sōla, the temple sōla, and not the bazar measure). The endowment amount was not placed in the hands of the old or the new Sthanattar. The new managers were called Tirumala Tirupati Sthānālavāru. The endowment was not in cash but in the shape of a gold Khanti of aparānji gold (ornament worn round the neck). It was already pointed out how the value of the old varāhan had gone up by more than 40% and was rare to obtain, owing to the rapacity of Aurangazeb to corner all the old varāhans to play a currency fraud on the people. Even the Kanthi was left in the possession of one Kunrapākkam Ayyavāru Timmanayyavaru who was expected to supply the articles required for the performance of the services, the Sthānālavāru being responsible for making the offering to God daily,

1. Tuesday however was Suddha Dvadasi and Pūrva Phalguni Naksharam and 18th March.

“ఇందుకు పదన రూద 200 కుండపాకీ
 ఆయ్యవారి పాళ్ళణం మా వితవణ అనుభవిచ్చేది
 యీలాగున తమ పారంపర్యం నడవగలది ”
 (Towards the expenses 200 is kept in the possession of Kunra-
 pakkam Ayyavaru. This endowment may be enjoyed. In
 this manner this may go on through your posterity). The Khanti
 was of aparajji gold weighing 25 varāhan weight and valued at
 525 Srirangaraja gāga (గ గ). The donor is one “Raja Sri
 Sivarāja Ramachandra Yadamālēra Dabirsa of Srivatsa gōtra,
 Āsvalāyana sutram and Rik Sākha.”

The prasadam was asked to be offered to the Deity immediately after another one for which endowment seems to have been made by one Mahārāja Sri Shūda Bhānūji Pantulu garu. From the details given for distribution of the prasadams it is inferred that the sthānālavāru (which we take to be the same as the word Sthanattar) had been reduced to four in number from the number six which they were in 1638 and that the new managers were Telugu people. Previously the inscriptions were used to commence with the words “Subhamastu; Svasti Sri” This inscription commences with “Sri Vēnkatēsa, Subhamastu.” The word ‘Nirvāham’ as referring to the share of the Sthanattar has disappeared and no distribution of the prasadams on that account was made. The donor himself stipulated how the distribution should be made; it was not left to the old manual procedure. Those who were doing the actual manual work were given the lion’s share. The Sthānālavāru were given a nominal share. The dēsāntaris received a share. The terms Periya Koyil kelvi and Ilam Koyil kelvi to designate the jiyars gave place to Peda Jiyangaru and Chinna Jiyangaru. This would indicate that the Koyil kelvi office was abolished. A new office Uttara Parapatyam had come into existence. The donor’s share called Viṭṭavan viḷukkāḍu was only a nominal one. Adhyāpakam and Sthala Srivaishnavas got a share. The traditional subscription to an inscription disappeared and the new one is “యీలాగున తమ పారంపర్యం నడవగల దయిట
 తిరుమల తిరువతి కోయిల్ స్తలకరణలు చేసెను.”
The old Sthanattar and the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar seem to have gone out of the temple and Telugu seems definitely to have supplanted Tamil.

Lastly even the very name by which a food offering to the deity was usually known came to be altered. Formerly, from the earliest days, the food offering used to be designated as Tirupponakam or Sandhi Tirupponakam whether it was Suddhānam (cooked rice only) or other preparation. The name given in this inscription is 'Avasaram' (అవసరం). One of the meanings given for the word 'Avas' in a Sanskrit Vedic dictionary is Āhāram or food. This term is noticed also in three previous inscriptions of the years 1554,¹ 1579² and 1616³. The inscription also tells us that there was a similar food offering (avasaram) instituted by one Maharaja Sri Shūdāji Bhanuji Pantulu. There seems to be some justification to infer from this inscription that Aliya Ramaraja's food offerings ceased after the conquest of the country by the Golkonda Kings and that the few who were continuing to do service in the temple stood in need of some wholesome food like Suddhānam.

Surmise as to the disappearance of most of the endowed lands.

It is not improbable that all the endowed lands scattered over the country were taken over by the Nabob of the Carnatic as they, according to usage, formed part of his Jageer and were treated as part of the Jageerdar's property. Aurangazeb after he conquered the Deccan is said to have divided his Empire into a number of Subhas, Jageers etc. The limits of each Subha, Jageer etc., were settled and entered in registers maintained by an officer known as *Kanungo*. The information given about this office in the Diary and Consultation-Book of F.S.G. 11—7—1695 is worth quoting in this connection.

The office of the Kanungos.

“By the conquest of Golkonda and Vizapore (Bijapur) Aurangazeb's dominions consisted of 56 Kingdoms or Principalities divided under several Kanungos who kept an account of the value

1. V. 155

2. VI. 2.

3. VI. 9.

and contents of all lands and always resided with the King and gave directions for the distribution of lands to the several Subhas and Principal officers as they were appointed by the King, and resolved questions and disputes that arose among the Subhas concerning their limits: and once a year each Kanungo presented unto the King a general state of the accounts of the lands under the several Subhas; viz., the value and contents of lands distributed into jageers, rented by the formers and remaining in the King's hands, the Subhas being accountable for the two latter, *but the Jageers being lands allotted to the general for the maintenance of a proportionate number of horses they were accountable for their own Jageers.*

These Kanungos receive no salary from the King, but are allowed to take one or two per cent upon the produce of the lands, not out of the King's part but the part belonging to the farmers and husbandmen whereby they are enabled to keep a great number of servants in all parts for gaining intelligence and keeping accounts.

Among the head Kanungo is Banpany Maha Dev, Maratta Brahmin, as most of them are either Marattas, Guzerattis or Coity, the Moors and Persians being very ill-accountants who about seven years ago were taken by Sambaji and by the King made Kanungos of Golkonda and Bijapur Kingdoms to Aurangazeb among whom is Vissagu Banchurra Kanungo of the Carnatic country from Kistna river to the extent of Chengee country, viz., all that part wherein lies the Kingdom of Golkonda and the part of the Kingdom of Bijapur. The latter is by them termed the new conquered Kingdom wherein by the Moghul's order the Kanungos receive 2 per cent, but in the part which lies within the Kingdom of Golkonda they receive but $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This Vissago doth attend constantly (either himself or men of his own family) with the Nawab, Diwan or other officers of the King's revenues and sometimes travel from place to place to oversee and regulate the particular accounts of towns and countries, and *whenever the Nawab has occasion to make out a jageer or farm the Kanungo's accounts do determine the particular towns to be assigned and their value, so that it is much in his power either to favour or prejudice. Therefore those that are concerned in the King's lands take care not only to get the lands right entered in his*

accounts, but to engage him to declare in their favour when any question arises relating to these lands."

Temple lands how treated.

The English had to experience difficulties in some cases by their neglect to keep the Kanungo in their favour. *From the fact that in later days we have rewards to show that the temple lands were farmed out by the Nabob treating them as his own lands, we may safely assume that they were so treated during the closing years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century after conquest by Aurangzeb who converted the Carnatic into a Jageer under a Nawab within the Golkonda Subha.* The revenues from the villages would naturally have been appropriated by the Nawab leaving the temple services to be carried on from a portion of the votive offerings received from time to time. Owing to the great insecurity for pilgrims traffic and the dearth of money the services in the temple would have been reduced to the lowest scale possible. This perhaps explains the endowment of Dabirsa in the shape of a gold ornament to provide an income for the simple food offering described in the inscription.

How the protracted Moghul-Maratta war ravaged and impoverished the country.

Aurangzeb's campaign in the Carnatic was under the command of his son Kam Baksh and his minister Asid Khan, father of Zulphikar Khan who was the general in Command. Santoji Gharapura who came with Sivaji continued to be the Maratta commander throughout the campaign even after the death of Sivaji and Sambaji. Santoji well understood the weakness of Zulphikar Khan *viz.*, his love of plunder. The latter's aim was to prolong the war and make up as much wealth as he could by plunder, ransom and such other means. Santoji gave full opportunity for this and thereby wearied out the Moghul army driving it even to the verge of starvation. When a seige threatened to become so effective as to end in a capture, the general of the weaker side was allowed the facilities to escape. It became a public scandal and was even reported to Aurangzeb. He

suspected even Kam Baksh of traffic the King's imperial honour with the Marattas. The English (F.S.G.) wrote on 28-10-1696 that Zulphikar Khan (Nawab of the Carnatic) pursued Santoji till he came to north of Trivellore and Santoji went on plundering the country right up to Kistnapatam. The Nawab made his halt at Trivellore and Santoji went away to Tirupati, having an eye on some treasure at Kaveripak. Another statement is to the effect that on 30th September 1696 the Nawab went out from Arcot to fight the Marattas who were 25000 strong and who surrounded the Muslim's camp. The Nawab's provision having been spent (after he had sent messages to Santoji) made his way through the thinnest of the Marattas and went back to Arcot; "there hath hitherto seemed to be an understanding between the Nawab and Marattas and perhaps it will end in a good piscash."

It was the Divine Will that the Moghulls and the Marattas should only ravage and plunder the country but not fight a war to the finish. Throughout this war which lasted for over twenty years the Marattas do not appear to have transgressed the rules of warfare and adhered to Sivaji's principles. The sufferings of the populace was limited to the plunder of provisions and fodder for feeding the army. Even the merchants of Madras complained only to that extent against the Marattas. They respected the Muslim mosques, their Koran, their women and children who were non-combatants. Zulphikar khan's avarice made him prolong the campaign and plunder the country of its wealth and even desecrate the temples. It was only when peremptory orders came from Delhi due to complaints received that a decisive action was fought and Chenji captured in 1698. Even in doing this he allowed Rama Raja (Raja Ram) King of Marattas to escape to the Vellore Fort. Gusafarkhan was appointed governor of Chenji Fort and country. He pursued Rama Raja as far as Sirpa and then marched to Gurrampakonda and returned. During this campaign the population of every other religious centre in the south suffered but not so in Tirumala. The finance of the temple however suffered because pilgrims could not possibly undertake a journey. In this connection the prayer of Sri Vedanta Desika to Sri Ranganathaswami of Srirangam offered in his *Abhitisthavam* about

1360 A. D., after the successful campaign of Prince Kumara Kempanna and the return of the Idol to Srirangam may be quoted here:—

“ *Abhi pranidhi lakshanaiah kalita sākya lōkāyataih
Tulushka yavanādi bhirjagati jrumbha māṇam bhayam
Prakṣata nijasaktibhili prasabhamāyudaih panchabhih
Kohiti tridasa rakshataih kshapaya Ranganāthakshana.*”

(22nd Slokam)

It became a war of attrition to the Moghuls. “The Deccan was a desert, where the path of the Marattas was traced by pillage, ravaged fields and smoking villages. The Moghul army was enfeebled and demoralised; those ‘infernal foot soldiers’ were croaking like rooks in an invaded rookery, clamouring for their arrears pay. The finances were in hopeless confusion and Aurangzeb refused to be pestered about them.” There was much less blood of the Hindus shed.

After Aurangzeb’s death in 1707, the scene of war and confusion was confined to Hindustan. The Marattas played a great part in it. Zulphikar Khan who played the game in the Carnatic became Bakshi of the whole empire under Bahadur Shah in the middle of 1711. About the same time a Rajaput by name Svarup Singh was appointed Governor of Chenji. Owing to war between him and the English there was much loss of property to the Hindus in those parts. When Farruksaiyar became Emperor at Delhi Zulphikar Khan was beheaded by his orders about 1713 and all his treasures which were kept in Ft. St. George were confiscated. That was the fate of the man who plundered the Carnataka country during the protracted campaign which he conducted.

Sadat-ulla Khan and Todar Mull.

Sadat-ulla Khan was appointed in October 1713 as the Nawab of the Deccan country and Phousdar of Carnataka Golkonda countries. The Jageer of Zulphikar Khan was made over to him. *He was a peace-loving man.* One Todar Mullji was considered to wield the greatest influence with. The Statue of this Todar

Mull with those of his mother and wife is in the Tirumalai temple from which we may infer that he did some real good to the temple during his life-time. The English in Ft. St. George in sending some presents to him wrote (January 4, 1714) that he was very influential with the Nabob and would manage to prevent the Nabob's marching towards Chennapatnam side. The Nabob was at that time beseiging Chenji and calling upon Svarup Singh to surrender. Sadat-ulla Khan died in 1733 and one Dostalikhani was appointed as Nawab and Gulam Hussain Khan as the Divan. The appointment was made by Chinchiklis Khan by order of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Patcha Gausji. We have no information about the affairs of the Tirumalai temple during all this period. The political conditions in the whole of India were such that there would have been no safety for pilgrim traffic, nor were the ryots in a condition to accumulate wealth. But the Tirumalai temple and the surrounding country seem to have enjoyed a fairly quiet period.

**The sudden incursion of the Marattas in 1740:
Dost Ali killed in Damalcheru battle.**

This tranquillity was however disturbed in 1740. An invasion of the Carnatic country seems to have been thought of under the command of Baji Rao (during the reign of Sahu) in the year 1738 to avenge an insult offered by the Moghulls to the Maratta Royal family in Tanjore.¹ But it was put off due to Nadir Shah's invasion into the Empire of the Mughulls. So in August 1739 the Maratta invasion of Carnataka matured into a fact after the departure of Nadir Shah. This invasion seems to have also been instigated by Nizam Ali, the son of the Nizam of Hyderabad who as the Subhedar of the Deccan and the Carnatic had some

1. In 1737 one Aycoji Raja (Baba Sahib) died after a reign of only one year. His minor son Pratap Singh succeeded him and the mother Seejan Bye acted as regent. The Nawab of the Carnatic, Dost Ali captured Trichinopoly and interfered in the affairs of Tanjore, dethroned her and appointed one Sahuji a distant relation. This is the insult offered to the Tanjore family. Sahuji himself was nearly stabbed to death by the Muslim minister of the Nawab of Arcot in 1741.

time about 1731 entered into a treaty with the Marattas agreeing to the payment of the chanth and sardeshmukhi contribution to them to avoid war between the two. Dost Ali Khan did not pay this contribution ever since he became the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1733 nor did he pay his tribute due to the Nizam. He was thus six years in arrears to the tune of 60 lakhs of rupees. The Nizam agreed to the Marattas invading the Carnatic to collect the arrears. The Maratta force consisted of 50,000 horse and came by the Kallur pass via Damalcheruyu on the western flank of the Tirumalai Hill.

Dost Ali had previous intimation of this. The Nawab of Cuddappa had struck up a peace with the Marattas by making a present of two lakhs of rupees and two elephants. He had also withdrawn the forces he had sent to guard the defiles of Guvvalacheruvu kanama which opens a way to Arcort. Bangar Yachamma Naik, Meer Asad and other Poligars however went and drained the Piter tank of all water so that the Marattas might suffer for want of drinking water. The Chikka Rayulu (Prince) of Punganuru acted as guide to the Maratta army 10,000 strong through a narrow defile with sharp thorns on both sides. The rest of the Maratta army was in the rear and came down the Hill's rear. The Nawab was attacked both in front and rear and was killed along with his second son and some other nobles. The money and riches which the Nawab kept in the tents were plundered by the Marattas. The eldest son Safdar ali Khan who was coming from Lalapet to succour his father heard of the incident and retired to Vellore Fort for safety and was pursued by Bhaskar Roy, Narahari Roy and Bheem Roy. This happened on 9th May 1740. The President of the Council of Fort St. George in recording this incident in the Diary and Consult-Book on 12th May 1740 states that he saw no room to doubt that the Marattas will range over the whole province. He made defence arrangements for the Fort by mounting 200 guns. Kanchipuram, Trivellore and all the villages between Madras and Arcot were plundered and burnt. Poligars joined in the looting. Muslims with their families took refuge in Ft. St. George. Subsequently villages adjacent to Ft. St. David, such as Manalurpet, Kalasapakkam, Wulundore and even Porto Novo were plundered on 14th May. The kill-

ing of Nawab Dost Ali and his son was a serious matter and Nazir Jung, the son of the Nizam and the instigator of the expedition, did not contemplate such acts being perpetrated. The Maratta commander who was called upon to explain replied that he did it and Nazir Jung might do what he pleased. It was considered certain that the Marattas would soon capture Chenji also. Portions of the broken up Muslim army proved as dangerous to the people in the villages as the Marattas were to the towns.

Baji Rao's mother and wife worship Sri Venkatesvara.

In a letter dated 18th May 1740 written by Ravanutla Audiappah, spy of the English at Kodakanti near Arcot, there is a piece of information that on that date Baji Rao's mother and his wife had arrived at Tirupati (to worship Sri Venkatesvara) and that *Krishnaji Pantulu had gone out from Arcot to receive them.* Their accompanying an army of invasion might have been more to fulfil a social obligation of offering condolence to the Queen Regent Seejan Bye who lost her husband in 1767 and whom the Nawab of Arcot (Dost Ali) had insulted by deposing her from the Regency. The same spy Ravanutla Audiappa wrote to the English a letter on 27th September 1740 received on 1—10—1740 (Country Correspondence) from which it is seen that the income from the Tirupati temple was being systematically appropriated by the Nawab of Arcot and that a sum of rupees fifty thousand was ordered to be handed over to the Vakils of the Marattas as an urgent and partial measure of satisfaction of demands. Out of this amount the Vakils had the sanction of Baji Rao to distribute Rupees Twenty thousand on charities in the Tirumalai temple. The distribution might have been in compliance with the intentions of Baji Rao's mother and wife when they worshipped the deity on 18th May last. This letter of Ravanutla Audiappa is of interest as it shows the difficult plight in which Safdar Ali (Nawab) was placed at the time "The Vakils belonging to the Marattas have already made a very urging demand of the Nawab for their money. Although he was much displeased with them for their ill-behaviour yet used them civilly, and allowed them some money for their expense and promised to pay them one hundred thousand rupees

on account of their Masters—*fifty thousand rupees is already ordered to be paid them at Tirupati out of the money that place produces to the Sircar.* I am told the Vakils before mentioned sent their people to Tirupati to receive the money and to *distribute twenty thousand rupees for charity there at the Pagoda (agreeable to their masters orders)* and to bring the remainder to them. The other fifty thousand rupees it is not yet known when or in what place it will be paid.¹

Subsequent Political Events.

About the state of the Province there is a letter dated July 9, 1740 written by the President (F.S.G.) to Bombay which states:—*“There remains a considerable sum yet due to Marattas of that which was stipulated to be paid them upon which account their vakils talk in very high terms. The Maratta army which consisted upward of 40000 horse under the command of Futta Sing and Raghuji have since been joined by 20,000 more under the command of Siddhoji. They are now in the dominion of Mysore and have raised great contributions. They seem inclined to march further southward before they return again to northward. This province continues still without any Government and without any force to protect it. The late Nawab and his son were greatly indebted to their soldiers who refuse to list again until they are paid their arrears.”* The Marattas captured Trichinopoly on 13th March 1741 and Chanda Saheb had to agree to pay 14 lakhs of rupees, half of which cash down on the spot and the other half after he went to Pondicherry. Murari Gadbeda was made temporary Governor of Trichinopoly with an army 30,000 horse. Safdar Ali Khan was murdered on October 6, 1742, in the Vellore Fort by his brother-in-law Gulam Murtaz Ali Khan who proclaimed himself Nawab of Arcot. On hearing this Murari Gadbeda plundered a large number of villages around Walikandapuram. But Nizamul-mulk Asaf Jah² recaptured Trichinopoly from the

1. Quoted from the letter of Ravanutla Audiappa.

2. Anandaranḅam Pillai in his diary of the 21st February 1743 writes that the Nizam with his sons, kinsmen and nobles advanced, as though the sea was risinḅ, with an overwhelminḅ force of 70,000 horse and foot

Marattas in August 1743 and finally appointed Anwar ud-din (Anvardikhan) as the Nawab of Arcot.

Although the Marattas did not make any serious attempt to recapture Trichinopoly and establish their supremacy in the South, there was the scare that at any moment they might do so. On 4th January 1744 came the news that when the Nizam and his son were near the Kistna river crossing on their way to Golkonda, they were faced with a Maratta army on the other bank and therefore withdrew three days march to Pocatore. The Marattas crossed the river and some skirmishes took place. Kajee Niyamatulla Khan (temporary Governor of Chenji) was sent back so as to prevent the Marattas going to Trichinopoly. The whole country was alarmed at this. Again on November 25, 1745 the Nizam sent a letter to the Nawab of Arcot when he was at Trichinopoly asking him to repair at once to Arcot and from thence to join the Subhas of Cuddappah and Kandamur (Kurnool) to oppose the passage of the Marattas who were gathering to invade the Carnatic. Again on 7th February 1746 news was received that the Nizam was facing a Maratta army on the banks of the Kistna river. In the meantime war was declared between France and England and the news was received in Madras on January 18, 1745. This was the beginning of the end of the Muslim and also the Maratta power in India and particularly in the South. Dupleix and Clive are the heroes of this struggle.

DUPLEIX AND CLIVE.

Siege of Arcot, Tirumalai money for Clive's relief.

Historians, some at least, are of the view that if Baji Rao had not cast his eyes on conquering the North (Hindustan) but had followed up his successes in the South and had consolidated the Maratta supremacy there, there would have been a permanent

and elephants (about 500). About 14 Poligars with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot accompanied him. The Marattas accompanied the Nizam with 20,000 horse under the command of Raja Chandra sen and Raja Nimbai Singh. The latter proceeded to Tirupati to worship the God of that place.

Hinduraj in this province His successor Balaji Baji Rao committed another blunder. He deviated from the old ideal of having a purely Hindu army of lightning-speed cavalry and of improving and consolidating its strength with artillery men. Men of other religious persuasion having different ideals in life were allowed into the army and predatory warfare caught his imagination more largely. The truth is that it seems to have been the Divine Will that the Muslims and the Marattas had to fulfil their mission of mutual destruction. The fanaticism of the one and the crude philosophy mixed up with lust of power of the other were equally unsuited to the systematically developed philosophical Hinduism of South India and its norm of temple worship. The Sri Vaishnava temples of the South in particular would have lost their special features if the Marattas had established their supremacy here. The latter could possibly never have accepted the Visishtadvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja and the Tamil Alvars. Aggressiveness and violence in thought and word are opposed to Sri Vaishnavism. It seems to have been the Divine dispensation that men of an alien religion owing allegiance to similar principles of love and service (when smitten on one cheek to show the other also) should hold sway for some time lured by the opportunities for appropriating the surplus income of the temples but all the while looking at our faith with contempt. The English made it their policy not to interfere with our religious beliefs and practices. Their own Christian Missionaries went a step further and insisted on complete withdrawal from the management of our temples, leaving it to us to manage or mismanage our religious institutions. Such an attitude the Marattas would not have taken.

How the English happened to interfere with the affairs of the Tirumalai temple will now be explained. The English and the French were the two powers who were rising in importance in the South from the time Monsieur Dupleix became Governor of Pondichery in 1742. His dream was to establish the French power here. When war broke out in Europe in 1745 between France and England it was extended to India as well and the Nawab of Arcot had to warn both not to carry on their sea fight within his territorial waters. The Nawab was an ally of the English. Madras was captured by the French on 21st September 1746 and

was restored to the English on 18—8—1749 under the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle. The power of the French and their influence with one faction of the Muslims was considered to be more than that of the English even before Madras was captured. When Nizam-ul-mulk recaptured Trichinopoly from the Marattas, in 1743 the English from Fort St. George sent their congratulations and handsome presents. The envoys who went to Trichinopoly were made to wait several months before they could get an interview and the presents could be got accepted. But the French had easier access. Even the Zamindar of Bommarazupalem (the present Karvetnagar) tried to court the favour of Dupleix through his principal Dubash Ananda Rangam Pillai as is told in his Diary dated 17th May 1746. Kārvetiraja of Bommarāzupalaiyam sent the following presents through his palace priest Aiyābirālayan and Srinivasachari, the son-in-law of his ācharya (priest) and four temple archakas of Tirupati, viz., sacred offerings from the shrine of Sri Venkateswaraswami, an Arab horse, an embroidered silk cloth, a Guzarati sash, a silk turban, a shawl and a dagger inlaid with gold. These were taken to be presented to Ananda Rangam Pillai who lodged them in his country house at Tiruvengadapuram near Pondichery. The purpose of the visit was to get Bommarazu Zamindar into the favour of Dupleix through Ananda Rangam Pillai. The full story need not be repeated here. It is enough for us to know that the temple heirarchy considered it expedient to be friendly with Dupleix as he was the rising man who might one day take over the management of the temple from the hands of the then Nawab. The Zamindar of Bommarazupalaiyam was the spiritual disciple of one family of the first acharyapurushas of Tirupati and Anandarangam Pillai was the disciple of another branch (his acharya's name being Singarachariar). Srinivasachari who was one of the envoys was the son-in-law of Singarachariar. The Bankers Bukkanjis were the bankers of the Tirumalai temple and also of the Nawab of Arcot. So one of their men Hari Sankar Tarvadi went as if casually to visit Anandarangam Pillai after visiting Tirumalai. And Mr. Pillai sent his Siddhavaidya Pandaram to see the Bommarazu Zamindar and administer medicine for his ailment. These were not mere courtesy visits.

Consequent on the death of Asaf Jah (the Nizam) Nazir Jung, his son and Muzaffar Jung his grandson both claimed the Subhaship of the Deccan. For the Nawabship of Arcot, after the death of Anwar-uddin in the battle at Ambur on 21st July 1749, Muhammad Ali and Chunda Sahib were the contestants. Nazir Jung and Muhammad Ali joined hands and were supported by the English. Muzaffar Jung and Chunda Sahib joined hands and gained the support of the French. The war centred round Chengi and Trichinopoly. The French were meeting with more success. Muhammad Ali whom the English were supporting was closely besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Saheb in 1751 and the English were unable to relieve him. At this critical moment the genius of Robert Clive saved the situation. With a view to draw Chanda Saheb away from Trichinopoly Clive marched with a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 Indian sepoy and seized Arcot. He successfully and gallantly defended it against Rajah Saheb (son of Chanda Saheb) who invested the place.

Tirumalai Temple income goes to succour Robert Clive.

It is in this connection that Tirupati figures. Captain Clive was despatched to Arcot in the expectation that Nawab Muhammad Ali's agents at Tirupati would send him money from the collections made in the temple and that although about two lakhs of rupees had been collected nothing was handed over to Divan Sampat Rao who had the orders to send the money¹. *Clive stood blockaded and wrote to the Deputy President of the Council (F. S. G.) that he would be unable to act unless the money was sent expeditiously. Delay would be giving time to the enemy to gather strength.* The Zamindar of Bommarazupalaiyam who had undertaken to send 1000 peons of his to see that the money was conveyed safely, pleaded that as he was being threatened by Chunda Sahib he could not do so. Finding that the Zamindar could not be relied on the English sent their own men. Sampat Rao handed over Rs. 32500 and Pagodas 5000. He said that the remaining amount could be realised as soon as it is known that Muhammad Ali's affairs are taking a better turn. In that year the collection is said to

1. (Diary and Consult F.S.G. dated Wednesday 12th November 1751).

have amounted to fifty thousand pagodas and that Bukkanji's shroffs were ready to receive the collections and send bills for payment to the English. The amount is inclusive of the collection from lands farmed out for cultivation. This is clear from the letter dated Monday 9th December 1751, which also stated that Nawab Muhammad Ali's men collected all the moneys and that Chunda Sahib never had to the value of one rupee. Again on 20th December 1751 the English wrote, . . . "though the Tirupati money has been collected by your people yet the best part of it is not paid which Sampat Rao must know of."

To those who fully believe that the hand of Providence guides and shapes the destinies of men and nations it would be clear that it was His Will that brought success to the English in the person of Robert Clive. From this year (1751) onwards there are records to show what amounts were collected every year, the agency employed for doing it and how eventually the management of the Temple and its lands was handed over by the Nawab of Arcot to the English. The large collections made annually lured the French to aspire mastery over the temple. In this connection Anandarangam Pillai's statement in his Diary that the renter Srinivasachari absconded without paying the Kists due and that one Vasudevachari was appointed in his stead as the renter for three years from 1750—51 on condition of paying one lakh of pagodas towards outstanding dues and 47,000 pagodas every year, had not taken all facts into consideration. But Vasudevachari did not actually enter into a contract. The political conditions at the time were such that Srinivasachari could not have been sure whether Chanda Saheb would be the Nawab of Arcot or whether Muhammad Ali would continue. The best course for him was to procrastinate payment. Vasudevachari seems to have served as a screen. Srinivasachari seems however to have continuously been the renter so far as the temple was concerned. There is an entry¹ on 3rd January 1752 which states that "Shanavas Archaloe" had promised to pay the remainder of the Tripetty money to Boeconjre cosidoss. The excuse which the renter pleaded for the delay was due to the removal of

1. F.S.G. Diary and Consultations.

THE POST-VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

Buccanji's people to a place "Vencatygary" on account of the troubles in the country. By *November 6, 1752 the President* acquainted the Board of Directors that he had received bills from Tirupati to the amount of Rupees 41,250 and Pagodas 10,000 which was carried to the credit of the Nabob, Muhammad Ally Khan. The revenues came to be assigned in due course to the English who punctually and vigorously collected every rupee received in the temple. They were received in three principal instalments known as the September, December and June kist (Brahmotsavam, Mukkoti and Anivarai Asthanam).

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Collections received</i>	
	<i>in Pagodas.</i>	<i>in Rupees</i>
1753—54	56,432	92,000
1754—55	59,124	58,841
1755—56	52,665	53,235
1756—57	45,296	51,240
1757—58	45,245	50,866

On October 27, 1755 Mr. Pigot reported to the Select Committee F. S. G. that Capt. Polier had escorted with his troops the Nawab to Arcot where he made a splendid entry. The Arcot poligars were subdued by Kilpatrick. Bangaru Yachama Naik settled for 1,40,000 rupees and Bommarazu for Rs. 2,37,000 a year.

The despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee at F.S.G. states:—

"November 20, 1756. The Nawab has again assigned to the Company for the current year 8 lakhs of rupees from the Arcot country. Bommarazu - palayam poligar paid 7994 Palliput pagodas and will pay Rs. 70,000 more in four months time. The Tirupati renter paid regularly in 3 instalments yearly rent of 45,000 Sadut-ulla Khan Pagoda (4 or 5% better than current pagoda) and 52,000 North Arcot rupees."¹

There is an entry dated October 13, 1757 "the Superiority of the French forces compelled the English to recall the troops

1. Dodwell's statement of this referred to on p. 515 both of Dr. K. Iyyengar's History of Tirupati is from this source:

from Conjeevaram to Madras and to order back Polier who was marching north to protect Tirupati from Nazib-ulla-khan....” Information obtained from some subsequent entries is given below. November 10, 1757:—The Nabob’s debt on April 1756 stood at 13, 71, 906 pagodas; by June 30 last it had fallen to 11, 91, 324 pagodas; this was rendered possible by his paying his assignment in full, *the full receipt of* Tirupati rents and the mortgaged countries of.....October 2—15—1758. The Tripetty rent has been regularly paid, the principal collection is now beginning and it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French. Post Script to the above says. “The French have occupied Arcot, Tripetty and Conjeevaram.”

A letter from Mr. Pigot to the company dated July 28, 1759 while estimating revenues of various provinces etc., says “..... Other revenues are reckoned as follows: *Tripatty*, 2,50,000 Tripassore, 2,00,000; Conjeevaram 1,50,000.”

It is therefore a safe assumption to say that the English Company was getting annually about 2½ lakhs of rupees from the Tripetty temple and the lands attached to it.

Note:—Dr. S. K. Ayyangar’s version found on p. 519, Vol. II. of his History of Tirupati, is that Madam Dupleix sent one Rajagopala Pandit ousting Vasudevachari to be Amuldar of Tirupati about the end of the year 1751. The Diary & Consult-book of the F.S.G. however goes to show that throughout the year 1751 Sampat Rao the Diwan of the Nabob was collecting and remitting the revenue of the temple to the F.S.G. to keep Robert Clive’s forces actively engaged.

From the entries of the diary dated 3rd January, 11th, 24th, February and 23rd March it is seen that Srinivasachari was the renter for the year 1751—52 and that he continued to be the renter in 1753 also. The lease was being renewed every year. In 1751 the English complained that there was negligence on the part of Diwan Sampat Row in taking steps to have the Tripetty collections sent to the Governor of F.S.G. punctually by means of Sowcar’s Bills. The Nabob thereupon sent special instructions

to Sampat Rao to pay personal attention to the matter since it affected the safety of his country. Money used to be collected by one Abdul Bob Khan a relative of the Nabob stationed at Chandragiri. The English Governor wrote to him on August 18, 1753. "You tell me that you will order your people to send the Tripatty money; May I not with reason ask you how you could order than to receive it; how often do you call me your Brother and tell me the Nabob owes his welfare to my assistance." Abdul Bob Khan's reply to this dated 7th September 1753 reads, "I am extremely pleased to receive your letter wherein you was pleased to desire me to send the Tripatty money." In July 1753 Abdul Bob Khan had intercepted 50,000 rupees and the Nabob had to write a severe letter on 31st July 1753 to Bob Khan to see that his men did not collect any money from the renter, but that the latter should be allowed to hand over to Diwan Sampat Rao who would settle all accounts. Bob Khan threw the blame on one Yeklas Khan. The lease for the year 1753—54 was actually given to Srinivasachari about the middle of September 1753 and at the request of Sampat Rao the English sent a detachment of some Europeans and Sepoys. They also wrote to Kumara Yāchama Naik, Damarla Venkatappa and Guruvaraz to assist the renter in collecting the money during the approaching annual festival. Srinivasachary was asked to pay the full amount of the collection to the English. Srinivasachary reached Tirupati on the 6th day of the festival. In the meantime Mahamad Kamal an adventurer from Nellore turned up to capture the temple and appropriate the income. Nazeb-ulla, Captz Hott and Damarla Venkatappa engaged him in battle on the plains of Tirupati and cut off his head on 2nd October 1753. Srinivasachari complained that Mahamad Kamal had collected already 13049 pagodas and another Esarar Khan had received Rs. 60,000/-. He therefore requested the English to write to Anwarde Khan and excuse the renter from paying Rs. 50,000 to the 'Nabob which amount represented also charitable gifts made by the pilgrims to the renter. This latter is of interest to us. These charitable gifts really represent collections made from the Tirukkaivaḷakkan and Tirumun kanikkai amounts which in former times used to be paid to the Sthanattar and which in later times were given to the Nabob and the renter

on the occasion of the numerous festivals, etc., celebrated by the pilgrims.

Nazibullah and Bob Khan however complained that the real income for the year was very large and that the renter was duping the English. Thereupon the English guards at Tirupati seized the renter on 18th December 1753 and carried him to Madras whereon the Governor had all the accounts audited by Diwan Sampat Rao in Kanchipuram. The accounts were settled and he was permitted to go back to Tripatty which he did on 9th May 1754 after paying star pagodas 35383 and odd to the company in settlement of all dues to the end of December 1753. In September 1754 the Nabob formally assigned in full the rents of the Tirupati Pergana to the English. Srinivasachary was again confirmed in September 1754 as renter for the following year and one Krishnaji Pant was appointed and joined on 23—8—54 as Tahsildar to assist him. On 28th July 1755 Srinivasachary reported to the English that the army of the Nabob of Cuddappah with a Maratta named Narasinga Rao, was camping near Avedula sanna Canama with a view to capturing Tripatty at the time of the September festival. But actually there was no disturbance caused.¹ In July 1757 the Tahasildar, the renter and Damarla Venkatapathy wrote to the Governor of Madras that Nazibullah Khan had written to Venkatapathy that he was the Deputy of the Moghull and that he would be marching to take possession of Tripatty and settle the revenues of Tripatty, Kalahasti and Venkatagiri. The Nabob of Arcot also wrote on 22nd July 1757 that Nazibullah had been induced by the French at Wandiwash to join them and to proceed against Tripatty. He wanted the English to send some Europeans and sepoys to Tripatty. In the meantime Balvant Rao, the Maratta commander informed the renter that he would be going to the Hills with an army of 2,000 horses to worship the God on 13th August 1757. The Governor wrote to him "you are sensible that the place has been under the care and management of the English for some years past and not to cause any disturbance considering the friendship between him and the English."

1. On p. 522 and 523 of History Vol. II. Dr. K. Ayyan̄gar speaks of Nazebulla marching on Tirupati in 1756. But neither Srinivasachari nor the company's diary mentions the incident. Srinivasachari was the renter.

But Keiredy Khan wrote to the Nabob that Balvant Rao, intended to take possession of the place. The sepoy sent by the Company arrived in Tripatty on 30—7—57. Balvant Rao who came on 12th August with 3000 Horse, was met by the renter at a distance of 4 crosus (8 miles) from Tripatty where the army was left and Balvant Rao went alone to the Mount and paid his devotion to God and then marched with his army to the Canama. But in fact an attempt to capture Tripatty was made by Nazibullah who according to Srinivasachari's report to the Governor of Madras was camping on 26—8—1757 at Cadwar (perhaps Kodur) after capturing the fort there. On 29th August an army of Europeans and sepoy was despatched to Naidupet to join there Damarla Venkatapathy and Bangaru Yachama Naik and to oppose Nazibullah. Nazibullah is said to have coaxed the renter to join him, but in vain. Perhaps no attack was actually made on Tripatty.¹ From the beginning of 1758 however real danger was apprehended. Abdul Bob Khan entered Chandragiri with 1000 horses, 1000 sepoy and 5000 peons on 28th January. Acting on the complaint made by the renter the Governor of Madras wrote to Bob Khan to desist from doing any harmful act. Balvant Rao and Amrita Rao were molesting Damarla Venkatapathy and the other Zamindars and Poligars for payment of more than the legitimate 'chanth' amount. The renter wrote that Balvant Rao had occupied the Siddhaut Fort and that Abdul Hamid Khan had handed over to his Diwan Vasaji Pant the Gurrankonda Fort with half the country. The Diwan also intimated to the renter that he would go to Tripatty with 4000 horses in five or six days to pay his devotion to God. Abdul Bob Khan was in correspondence with the Marattas and residing in Chandragiri. So mischief was suspected. Bangaru Yachama Naik complained that the Marattas were insolent and obstinate and that they protect the Zamindars who were friendly to the French but molest those who were friends of the English.

1. We are told in the Madras Despatches (p. 126) from the Select Committee dated October 13, 1757, that the superiority of the French forces compelled the English to recall their troops from Conjeevaram to Madras and to order back Polier who was marching north to protect Tripatty from Nazibullah Khan.

Meanwhile Amrita Rao, the Maratta, died in Tiruppattur while fighting on the side of the English. There were also two other individuals, viz., Balakrishna Sastri and Raghavachari, who on the alleged authority of a Sannad granted by Balaji Rao came to demand the Chanth in the Carnata country. They approached Balvant Rao for help; but he declined on the plea that the people of Arcot were his friends. At the end of March 1758 after waiting for a while at Cumbum and Cacarla, they came via Settigunta and Karakambady with the help of the Matlavara Raja to capture Tripatty. In a battle fought on the plains to the east of Tripatty Raghavachari was killed by Srinivasachari the renter on 5th May. Abdul Bob Khan who was then in Chandragiri did not go to the help of the renter although approached. On the other hand he had applied to the French for assistance being given to him by sending troops to Chandragiri. It was also reported by the renter to the Governor of Madras that Monsr. Bussy jointly with the chief of Matchelipatam had crossed the Kistna and was camping with his army on the other side of the Pennar at Nellore. He requested that English troops might be sent to intercept him at Naidupet. Damarla Venkatappa wrote another letter that Balaji Rao had written to him to seize Tripatty and Chandragiri Fort. The attempt was to see that the temple and Chandragiri Fort were surrendered to Balakrishna Sastri and 2,000 Maratta horse had already arrived at Rayachoti and more were coming. Monsr. Bussy also sent letters to all Zamindars. Jaffar Hussain Khan and the Chittoor Zamindars enlisted troops. On 3rd September 1758 it was learnt that Bussy was on his way and that Nazibullah Khan was coming with him via Kalahasti to join Abdul Bob Khan at Chandragiri. The renter warned the Governor of Madras against the evil consequences of Bussy's taking possession of the Pergana and wanted that troops should be sent to intercept the army. The Governor wrote back that the Poligars must be persuaded to resist and that this should be sufficient for the occasion. Balaji Rao however wrote to Damarla Venkatappa through his general Gopal Hari that his design was to join Venkatappa and act against the French. There was also the false belief that Jaffar Hussain and Abdul Wahab who were kinsmen of the Nabob would not join the French. On the 7th October 1758 the Tahsildar

informed the Governor that the French with the help of the chief of Machelipatam, Nazeabulla Khan of Nellore, and Abdul Wahab Khan of Chandragiri having entered into a confideracy took possession of the Tripatty Pergana. Abdul Wahab fixed his standard and employed his people to maintain security. But the French demanded that Abdul Wahab should first furnish security and rent the Pergana. He was unable to comply and Srinivasachari was sent for and the Pergana was rented to him after obtaining security for the first feast kist and Seerapaw and Sanand given. This was on the 7th October 1758 which was the fifth day of the Brahmotsavam. The Tahsildar wrote to the Madras Governor to send troops and recapture the temple and the Pergana. The Governor found fault with Srinivasachari for betraying his masters. But Damarla Venkatappa replied that he used his discretion wisely so that the Pergana did not pass into the hands of Abdul Wahab. It may be stated here that when the French entered Tripatty on 6th October the company's troops dispersed and went via Rayalcheruvu to Madras. On the 16th October Nazibullah and the French Chief went to Chandragiri. The Governor found fault with Bangaru Yachama Naik and Damarla Venkatappa for having allowed the small French force to pass through their territory without any attempt to prevent the entry. He wanted them to show better fidelity to the Nabob and the English. He indicated that further action would be taken after the rainy season was over. The sanad of Srinivasachari was given by the Chief of Machelipatam. Abdul Bob Khan obtained in the name of his son the Tahsildari of Tripatty. Srinivasachari was not agreeable to this and found his affairs in confusion. The capture of Tripatty by the French was not an unexpected event. The despatch from the Select Committee to the Secret Committee of F.S.G. dated October 2nd and October 5th 1758 reads, "The Tripatty rent has been regularly paid; the principal collection is now beginning and *it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French.*" The post-script says that "*the French have occupied Arcort Tripatty and Conjeevaram.*"

The Diary and Consultation-Book and the Country correspondence after 1758 do not yet appear to have been printed by

the Government yet. A reliable history relating to the further period cannot therefore be written until they are available. It is however seen from a report made by Pigot to the English at (F.S.G.) dated April 8, 1762 that after the surrender of Vellore by the French the English army marched to the Nellore country. Nazibullahkhan, Killadar of Nellore was attacked and he took refuge with the Poligar of Udayagiri who, out of fear delivered him up. Bangaru Yachama Naik, Poligar of Venkatagiri compromised for 2½ lakhs rupees; Damarla Venkatapati Naik, Poligar of Kalahasti made peace for 1½ lakhs and Bommarazu settled in a few days. Tirupati was thus rendered safe and secure for the English. It continued to be the sure and unfailing source of income for them even till September, 1800, as we have seen from Lord Clive's letter to the Nawab of Arcot in connection with the arrangements to be made for the pilgrimage of Raja Raghottama Rao to Tirupati although the temple along with the pergana of Tripatty was nominally the property of the Nawab of Arcot. The revenues stood assigned to the English. In 1801 the East India Company dispossessed the Nawab and assumed the administration. Vigorous steps were then taken to look into the internal administration of the temple. The religious and the secular office holders of the temple were examined. The details of these are contained in what is known as the *Savāl Javābatti*, that is, register of questions and answers. The duties of all the parties were set down in what is known as the *Kaṅkaryapatti* (register of services to be rendered). Then a set of rules known as the Bruce's Code (from the name of the civilian officer who drew it up) was drawn up and approved by the District Collector on 25th July 1821. It was meant to regulate all the usual affairs of the temple. It does not however appear to have been sanctioned by the Government by a formal Government Order after due consideration by the Governor in Council. These were however the registers consulted by the executive authorities in all cases of doubt and acted upon. But they could be and were challenged by the affected parties in law courts. For purposes of history this was the first time an attempt had been made to set the affairs of the Temple on a logical basis. All the events that take place from day to day during the 365 days of a year are recorded by the Parapatyadar in the day

book called *Amulnāma*. This is meant to ensure that ancient usages are duly adhered to and that no innovations creep in by the back door. The power which the Parapatyadar possesses may be misused to record innovations continuously, thus giving the innovations in course of time the colour of ancient usage. This may well be compared to the power which the Kanugoes wielded with the Nabobs in the matter of effecting alterations in land registers to favour or injure a land owner or Jageerdar. For, what the Parapatyadar writes in the day book is known at the time only to him. Twenty or fifty years later it may be summoned in a law court and be considered valid evidence.

The motive for resumption of temple lands and the grant of tasdik allowances.

The immediate result of the administration passing into the hands of the English Company was the resumption of all temple lands all over the country as a matter of determined policy. The motive appears to have been to ruin all Hindu temples and to destroy once for all the influence of the Brahmins in this country. There was probably some reason for this hatred against the Brahmin. The brahmins of those days considered the European to be a *mlēchcha*. If he had to converse with a *mlēchcha* the sacred thread which he wears should be shifted from the Upavita to the Nivita posture. After the interview he should, even if he does not take a bath, wash his hands and feet then shift the sacred thread back to the upavita posture and then do āchamanams (sipping water uttering the prescribed mantram). It is also on record that the Acharyapurushas declined to meet the District Collector in his catchery when under instructions from the Government he wanted in 1841 to investigate the possibility of forming them into a committee to whom the management of the Devasthanam could be handed over. They preferred to see that the District Collector meets them at the temple gate. The District Collector keenly felt the insult.

It is worth referring here to the extract from the article of the Asiatic Quarterly which is added as Appendix I to Vol. I of this

book. The repetition here of extracts therefrom may be excused:—
 "...The annual nett proceeds from this source is about eighty-seven thousand rupees. In 1822-23 the collections were one lakh forty two thousand and odd; but this is exclusive of expenses wherewith twenty thousand may be deducted. In 1820—21 or fasli 1230 the collections were 1,02,000."

"You may perhaps start at such organised system of religious, or rather you will say profane, plunder on the part of the Government; but such, strange as it may appear, is far from the case. Those who without just reflection join the spiritless cry against our government are rejoiced in soul to start such a topic as this, as an admirable specimen of what, with other things, should draw down vengeance of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by musalman government, for services earned with blood and pressure, and that at the risk of losing our trade on the Coromandel coast. One of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue, and it has been paid unremittingly eversince. We found the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds lead to the grossest imposition upon settlement of kists; more than that, the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of Brahmins who cannot legally touch a plough; and therefore all other castes of riots were virtually their slaves; and it was absurd for them to dream of holding lands when embraced competition with Vishnu's Brahmin's, under the very nose of the sacred Hill; the consequence was, the priests had it all their own way; labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones; and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village pagoda was the petty oppressor of its range, and the influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but determined piece of policy when throughout the country the pagoda lands were resumed by the company and tustik allowances granted in their place; the lands passed into other hands and the riches solely grasped by the brahmin are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil and the coffers of the state replenished by the new stimulus thus offered to every branch of native manufacture.

Our tenure of the country was then very precarious; and while as to the Hindu he has fought and will fight again perhaps sooner than we think of; and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm or fanaticism—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? Why, we secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it. We could not if we would. Now let us contemplate the result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other pagodas are ruined, unmaintained. Brahmins are in trade, serving in the army and generally learning that even to them begging is no livelihood. The oppressive hand of the Brahmin was removed from the neck of the people, and the influence they once had will never again be felt to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripatty are on a gradual decline and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off. But there are still, alas, many more strongholds of the devil.”

We doubt whether the above extract really reveals the real motives of the East India Company for the resumption of temple lands. The impious wish of the writer of that article stands unfulfilled and will it is hoped for ever stand unfulfilled. The Tirupati revenues have been increasing marvellously not from lands but by kanukas from the willing hands of the votaries of all classes and sects. The oppressive hand of the old type Britisher has been removed from the neck of the Indian people and God willing Hinduism will thrive. The Hindu and the Britisher will live as honest and well intentioned friends. Not only have the revenues of the Devasthanam mounted to fifteen crores of rupees a year, the administration of its funds is in the hands of a devout and enlightened Board of Trustees and an Executive Officer subject to control by a popular Government having a minister for controlling Hindu Religious Institutions. Its funds are utilised for various philanthropic and charitable purposes. It would look like flattery if names are singled out for apportioning credit. The temple will do well to maintain a roll of honour.

The writer of that article gave the gross income of the Tirumalai temple as Rs. 1,47,000 for 1822 and Rs. 1,02,000 for 1820 A.D.

The expenditure for the temple he has shown to be about Rs. 20,000. He has not stated what the *tastik* amount was which the Government gave in place of the resumed lands, whether it was in cash or in the shape of provisions shown in the *moyne Japtha paditharam* of *fasli* 1227 brought into force from 1819 A.D. There is available to us the *Devasthanam Tasdik Book* for ten years from *Fasli* 1233—34 to 1242—43 which gives an abstract of the sources and amount of income from each source, the total income and also the charges incurred under certain classified heads of account. As a sample the one relating to the year 1233—34 is attached hereto. This detailed statement (of the sources of income and the items of expenditure) shows that the income was made up of (a) *Fasaki* and other miscellaneous items (b) *Kanukas* and *Arjitams* (c) income through *Dharmakartas* for certain services (d) cash from *circar*. The last named item (d) would represent the cash payment made by the Government in place of the income from lands which were resumed. The expenditure side was made up of (e) *Horavetsam*, or daily ration of rice to certain persons (f) expenditure on *Devasthanam* religious services (g) *circar* establishment (h) income from *inam* lands in the enjoyment of *sibbandhis* (i) establishment maintained by *Dharmakartas* (j) payments to *mirasdars* (k) amount paid to other minor dependent temples. There are nineteen temples classed therein as major ones and eighteen classed as minor. The temple of *Sri Venkateswara* alone will be considered here as the others are really of little importance and have not been dependent on the former. Every other temple had its own sources of income which therefore limited its expenditure to suit its finances. We are concerned with the total income, the *circar* contribution in cash, *kanukas* and *arjitams* and the collections made by *Dharmakartas*. The *Fasaki* income has been a fairly constant amount ranging between Rs. 31,650 and Rs. 31,780. The contribution made by the *circar* should have been a fixed amount; but it is found to vary from year to year, probably due to the fluctuation in the price of commodities. But the quantities shown in the *paditharam* would have been fixed once for all. *Kanukas* and *Arjithams* would naturally vary from year to year.

THE POST-VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

RECEIPTS.

Years.	Circar contribution.	Kanukas etc.	Dharmakast.	Total receipts.	Nett income and circar.
1823-24 ..	31,763	95,557	17,999	1,77,024	95,548
1824-25 ..	34,972	1,46,356	14,933	2,27,976	1,46,357
1825-26 ..	31,427	1,07,785	13,007	1,83,933	1,07,785
1826-27 ..	24,511	1,24,138	11,907	1,92,258	1,24,114
1828-29 ..	25,184	1,25,827	11,089	1,93,888	1,25,828
1829-30 ..	25,403	1,18,246	11,124	1,87,504	1,18,247
1830-31 ..	25,360	1,17,447	13,029	1,90,567	1,17,448
1831-32 ..	28,262	1,18,361	13,050	1,91,371	1,18,361
1832-33 ..	27,140	72,614	10,330	1,41,863	72,515
1833-34 ..	31,210	59,468	14,672	1,37,021	55,468

Under expenditure horavetsam, inam lands to udigamdars (about 31,500 Rupees), establishment charges by circar (varies from 4400 to 5000), establishment charges met by Dharmakartas (varies from Rs. 5500 to Rs. 6800). The expenditure incurred for the temple worship alone need be considered as compared to the total expenditure. It will be seen that the Circar contribution is less than the actual expenditure on temple worship.

Years.	Temple expenditure.	Total expenditure
1823-24 ..	37,848	81,476
1824-25 ..	39,872	81,619
1825-26 ..	34,358	76,148
1826-27 ..	25,749	68,144
1827-28 ..	25,781	68,060
1828-29 ..	26,884	69,257
1829-30 ..	30,178	73,119
1830-31 ..	30,199	73,010
1831-32 ..	27,027	69,249
1832-33 ..	34,662	71,553

It is observed that there is an item of expenditure called "Payable to other Devasthanams." It means that, that particular temple was paying a certain amount to one or more other temples for services rendered by the latter. There is only one temple of this kind, viz., Sri Kothanda Ramaswami temple in Tirupati which was paying Rs. 60 a year, probably to the Govindarajaswami temple to cover the expenses incurred for the latter Deity to visit the former on certain days of its festival. This practice has been commented upon in Chapters X and XI. Similarly the hereditary office holders of the Tirumalai temple do some service to the other temples for which they were being remunerated. These are shown under items (12) of the headings. Dharmakartas of certain endowment services had to maintain an establishment at their cost. These come under item (11).

Some of the temples, though classed as major ones, had no income from Kanukas, Arjitams and Dharmakartas. They depended entirely on the tasdik amount which the circar gave and their expenditure was limited to that amount. (Examples are Kapilesvaraswami, Hanumantaraya, Sanjeevaraya, etc.). The expenditure on all these temples have mounted up enormously; Kapilesvaraswami temple enjoys more than fifty times the Circar tasdik. The Mahants after they became Vicharanakarta in succession to the East India company failed to claim the tasdik amounts from the Government, or failed to credit these amounts to the account of each temple. This statement is subject to verification and correction. It is not known whether all or which of the horavetsams are still being continued as there is no voluntary agency making collections from shopkeepers etc.

Minor Temples.

The East India Company took over for management eighteen minor temples in addition to nineteen major ones given in the statement. It is unnecessary to show the minor ones in the forms of a Statement showing annual receipts and expenditure. None of these temples was maintained by the Tirumala or the Tirupati temple; each had its independent finance. Even the East India

Company did not pay any tasdik amount for these, except for the Uttaradi mutt Sanjivarayaswami temple which received 6 25/64 pagodas (=Rs. 22—6—0) for its upkeep. It had no other income. Temples which derived income from shop rents, weaving tax, and kanukas are Sri Varahaswami temple, Bhashinga Narasimhaswami, Alipiri Narasimhaswami, Lakshminarayanawami in Alvar Tirtham, and Bedi Hanumantarayaswami. Varahaswami temple had also income from its Dharmakartas (the archakas); so also Nathamuni temple. The temple of Sri Lakshminarayana Swami in G. South Mada Street, Tirupati, had inam lands which yielded about Rs. 402 including meras but excluding jodi. The following five temples shown in the list were not handed over to the Mahant in 1843 for maintenance. Sri Krishnaswami in Buggamutt; Sanjivarayaswami near Raghavendrachar's house; Agastyeswaraswami on the bank of Ramachandra Gunta, Tirukkachchinambi, Tatayya Gunta Gangamma.

Minor Temples.	Income and expenditure.
	Rs.
1. Tirumalai Sri Varahaswami	.. 229 (Kanukas and dharmakarta)
2. Bhashinga Narasimhaswami	.. 105 (Kanukas)
3. Alipiri Narasimhaswami	.. 105 „
4. Lakshminarayanawami near Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
5. Venugopalaswami, near Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
6. Sri Lakshminarayanawami, G. S. Mada Street, Tirupati	.. 402 (Inam lands)
7. Bedi Hanumantarayaswami	.. 52 (Kanukas)
8. Sanjivarayaswami, Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
9. Sanjivarayaswami, (Govindaraja temple)	.. — „
10. Sanjivarayaswami, (Ramaswami temple)	.. — „

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Minor Temples.	Income and expenditure.
11. Nathamuni	.. 74 Through dharmakartas
12. Nammalvar (Alvar Tirtham)	.. 7 From Kanukas
13. Uttaradimutt Sanjivarayaswami	.. 23 Circar tasdik
14. Sri Krishnaswami in Seetaladas mutt (Bugga mutt).	
15. Sanjivarayaswami near Raghavendrachar's house.	
16. Agasthyesvaraswami on the bank of Ramachandra Gunta.	
17. Tirukkachchinambi in Beri Street.	
18. Tatayya Gunta, Tallapakkam Gunta Gangamma.	

None of the temples, whether classed as major or minor, had a claim on the funds of the Tirumala temple. Every temple was made to be self-maintaining. This principle was broken by the Mahants and their successors have been construing that all the constituent temples have to be maintained by the Tirumala temple, on a scale which the Trustees consider as equitable or desirable.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ALWARS' PRABANDHAMS AND THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE.

THE Prabandhams of the Alvars are the Bhakti songs of those Tamil saints collected together. The appropriateness of devoting a chapter therefor has to be explained to readers who are unacquainted with the liturgy of Sri Vaishnava temples. The most noticeable feature of such temples is the unflinching recitation of verses from these works at certain stages of the daily worship as a necessary adjunct or complement to the vedic rituals, although logically there is no place for such recitation.

Who the Ālvārs are, why and how their songs came to be recited in temples where the form of worship is conducted according to āgama rituals are matters which require elucidation. This association of the Prabandham with Sri Vaishnava temples assumed peculiarly demonstrative forms in the shape of festivals. In Tirumala and Tirupati the start was made much later than in the temples of the south where the Tamil language was more prevalent. The stages by which and the manner in which this recitation and the festivals connected therewith became a permanent feature in these two temples could with some accuracy be traced from the inscriptions in the temples.

The Prabandhams are also of paramount historical interest to us as they alone furnish the materials for forming a correct picture relating to the accepted sanctity of the Vengadam Hill and the ancient belief that Sriman Narayana manifested Himself on this Hill in His Archa (image) form for affording to mortals and immortals alike facilities to worship Him on a footing of perfect equality. It must be remembered in this connection that these Ālvārs—the earlier Alwārs decidedly flourished in centuries before Sri Sankaracharya and his philosophy of Advaitam came to be known. (Sri Sankaracharya's life period is said to be from

737—769). The only religious sects known to the Alwars were Vaishnavism, Saivism (Lingam worship), Buddhism and Jainism. All the Āļvārs have unequivocally declared that Vengadam Hill is sacred to Vishnu who has manifested Himself there. We learn from their songs the condition of the Hill with its dense forests, its wild animals (elephants, panthers, monkeys, lions, and pythons), its rivulets and flowering plants and the kuravars or primitive huntsmen whose main occupation was capturing and taming the elephants. That the Dhruva Murti was standing without a walled structure around and that in later times a wooden structure was built are also vividly described.

The subject will therefore be dealt with in three sections. In the first section an over-all picture of the āļwārs, their Bhakti songs, how they came to be known to the world and the spiritual and social equality of all Hindus depicted therein will be given. In the second section the stages by which the recitation of these songs acquired a permanent place in the temple liturgy will be traced. In the third section the early history of the temple will be set out as is disclosed in the āļwārs' songs, treating the Murti as the form of Vishnu as pictured by every alwar.

SECTION I.

TEMPLES AND THE PRABANDHAMS OF THE ALWARS.

The Alwars and how their works were given publicity.

In Chapter III a brief reference was made to the religious rivalries in South India which resulted in the upsurge of the Vaishnavite Āļwārs. Vishnu worship in temples and in homes was however more ancient perhaps than even the āgama form which was discussed at length in Chapter XII. It was surmised therein that the āgamas would appear to have been composed in that part of India which lies to the north of the Vindhya mountains and brought into use in South India at some later date. The form of āgama worship is bound up with Sanskrit texts and Vedic Riks and gives no room for the intrusion of verses, songs

or other forms of praise of the Deity in any other language. The only exception, which perhaps was made in later times, was that at a certain stage of the rituals in connection with the celebration of the Brahmotsavam open invitation is permitted to be made in the local languages along with the ritualist one in Sanskrit to all created beings in the universe to attend the festival and enjoy the hospitality. We however see in the present day form of worship that the recitation of portions of the Tamil Prabandham of the Āḷwars is a prominent feature of daily worship and of festival processions.

When, how and why this was brought about, what are the portions of the Prabandham so recited daily and those pieces which sometimes stir the smouldering fire of sectarian controversy and hatred will be stated in this Chapter. The narrative will inevitably be mixed up with traditions which are implicitly believed in and are considered as absolute truths. Even the stages by which the songs of the Āḷwars were recovered from the oblivion into which they had gone for some time and came to be recited in temples after overcoming the objections raised by the other worshippers of Vishnu (who however were not followers of the tenets of Sri Nammalvar) are matters of tradition. The inscriptions on the stone walls of the Tirumalai and Tirupati temples however help us to trace with some degree of accuracy the stages by which the recital of all the four thousand verses of the Prabandham on a footing of equality with the recitation of the Vedas during the annual festival known as the Adhyayanotsavam was effected. So long as the Vedas alone were recited this festival lasted for ten days. But when the Prabandham recital also was tacked on it was extended gradually to twenty two and even twenty five days (divided into two parts popularly known as Pakalpattu and Rāppattu).

**Portions of the Prabandham culled out for daily
recitation, called Nityanusandhanam.**

In every Vishnu temple where the daily worship is being performed by and primarily for the benefit of Sri Vaishnavas—

that is followers of the Visishtādvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja—the recitation of these pieces is considered essential and even obligatory. They are wedged in so as to form a part of the liturgy of the temple.¹ This is where the difference could be seen between the two sects of Vishnu worshippers, the Sri Vaishnavas and the Madhvas. The recitation of the Prabandham verses is not a part of the āgama form of worship. The archaka may be engaged in doing his puja but the Sri Vaishnavas would be reciting the verses.

The recital of these verses does not form a part of the Nityārchana ritual as prescribed in the āgamas, but are recited while the archaka is engaged in his routine work pronouncing the appropriate mantras. The ritualistic work ends with the Nyvēdyam (food offering) and the Nityotsavam or the offering of Bali prasadam to the large number of attendant deities in the temple.

Soon after the Bali is done Sri Vaishnavas have a function known as the Sāttumurai (சாத்துமுறை) or the recitation of portions of the Prabandhams in praise of God. This occasion

1. These are (1) the Tiruppallāṇḍu (తిరుప్పల్లాండు, திருப்பல்லாண்டு) of Periya Alvar; (2) the Tiruppallēluchchi (తిరుప్పల్లెలచ్చి, திருப்பள்ளிச் சி) of Tonḍarāḍippoḍi ālvār for waking the Deity, (3) Nirāṭṭam (நீராட்டம்) of Periya ālvār inviting for a bath, (4) l'oochchoottal (పూచుట్టర్ పుచ్చుట్టల్) from Periyalvar's Tirumoli for flower decoration (5) Kāppiḍal (కాప్పిడర్ కాప్పిడిల్), from the above Tirumoli for invoking protection to the idol under worship during the night from evil spirits and mischief makers. All these are devotional songs. There are also verses which describe Sri Andal's dream of the Divine marriage called (6) Vāraṇamāyiram (వారణమాయరమ్ వారణమాయరమ్), (7) Tiruppāvai (తిరుప్పావై, திருப்பாவை) are verses composed by Sri Āṇḍāl for recitation during the thirty days of the Tamil month of Mārḡali and (8) the ten verses composed by Madhura kavi ālvār (మధురకవి అల్వార్, మధురకవి ఆழ்வார்) known as Kaṇṇinnuṇ siruttānibu, the continued recital of which enabled Sri Nathamuni (నాథముని) to obtain direct from the spirit of Sri Nammalvar the full text of the Tiruvaṇmoli by word of mouth. Other appropriate selections from Sri Nammālvār's Tiruvoymoli and the Amalanāḍipiran (అమలనాడిప్పిరాన్, అమలనాడిప్పిరాన్) of Tiruppānālvār are also recited.

is now-a-days principally availed of for singing the praise of the ācharyas of the particular sect of Sri Vaishnavas (Tengalai or Vadagalai) which has gained the upper hand in a particular temple. There is perhaps no temple where an agreed common formula has been arrived at in this matter. The commencement or prologue is known as Toḍakkam and Pātram (தோடக்கம் and பாட்ரம் தொடக்கமும் பாட்ரமும்). After this the selected portion of the Prabandham which is the same for both the sects, is recited. Then follows a sort of "long live" songs in commemoration of the particular acharyas, known as Vāḷi Tirunamam (may their names be long remembered) (வாழ்க்கைகள், வாழிதிருநாமம்). This last may be called the epilogue. The actual text of the Prabandham which is common to both fades into insignificance when compared to the zeal for the Pātram and the Vāḷi Tirunamam. It is not necessary for our history to go into the causes of the controversy which has developed itself into communal wrangle of the worst type.

Prabandham of the Alwars.

The word Prabandham only means "the works" or compositions (of the alwars). It has come to be accepted that there were only twelve āḷwārs (whose names will be given later) and Sri Ramanuja is taken as the thirteenth. They lived at different times and their works were therefore not composed simultaneously. They do not seem to have been called Āḷvārs in their own days; nor would they have imagined that twelve of them would be deified and formed into a pantheon with Ramanuja as the thirteenth. The distinctive names given to the works of the āḷwārs were obviously coined by the ācharyas who ferretted out the works and catalogued the whole for the benefit of posterity. They are mostly devotional songs about different deities in different temples and have therefore been called Tirumoḷi or sacred songs or words (தருமொழி திருமொழி). Thus there are the Tirumoḷi of Periya Alvar; the Tirumoḷi of Sri Āṇḍāl called Nāchchiār Tirumoḷi; Kulasekhara ālvār's Tirumoḷi and Tirumangai Alvār's Tirumoḷi. These sacred words were probably first written on cadgeon leaves. The sacred words of Sri Nammāḷvār however has been called Tiruvoymoḷi (தருமொழி).

மெழி, திருவாய் மொழி) because it was not written but revealed by word of mouth directly to Sri Nāthamuni by the spirit of Nammālvār. In fact Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvoyymoḷi appears to have been the first of the Prabandhams made known to the Tamil world. The works of all the ālvārs had gone into oblivion and Sri Nathamuni resuscitated the Tiruvoyymoḷi first and the others were discovered later by others from time to time.

Resuscitation of the Tiruvoymoli is attributed to Sri Nathamuni.

The date of birth and the life period of the Alvārs and the date of composition of their works could not be ascertained with certainty. An attempt to fix approximately the period of time when they might have flourished will however be made in due course in this chapter. The dates of recovery from oblivion of the works which make up the Prabandham are also equally uncertain except in the case of Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvoyymoḷi about which there is an accepted tradition.

Sriman Nathamuni was a great Yogi, a great scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil, a Vedantin and musician. He had travelled all over India bathing in all the sacred waters and visiting all the famous sacred places of worship. He finally settled down in what is believed to be his native village of Viranarayanapuram in the present South Arcot District. Some devotees of Vishnu who came as pilgrims to his place visited the local shrine and sang some devotional verses in Tamil commencing with “ஆராவமுதே! அடியேனுடலம் நிற்பாலன்பாயே.....” “అనవముదే! అడియేనుదలం ఎన్సంసృయే.....”. Deeply stirred by the spirit of the verses Sri Nathamuni desired to hear more of those songs of Sri Nammālvār. But although the pilgrims were natives of the birth place of the ālvār they told him that they first heard and learnt by heart the verses only when they went to Tirukkuṇḍandai (Kumbakonam) to worship the Deity Arāvamudan where the verses were being daily recited. On going to that place to learn more Nathamuni was told that not more than those ten verses were known to them and that by going over Tirttoṅkurugur (తిరుక్కూరుగురు, திருக்குருகூர்) now called Alvar Tirunagiri — Sriman

Nathamuni could have his desire fulfilled. There one Parānkusa dāsar (a disciple of Madhura Kavi ālvār who was the disciple of Sri Nammalvar) advised him to repeat the eleven verses of Madhurakavi ālvār's *Kaṇṇinuṅ siruttāmbu* twelve thousand times deeply meditating on Sri Nammalvar when his spirit would appear to him. Even that was only a tradition and no one had tried it before. Sri Nathamuni being a Yogi went through the exercise and established direct contact with the spirit of Sri Nammālvār. The thousand verses of his Tiruvaymoḷi were then revealed to Nathamuni by word of mouth. He being an *Ekasantagrāhi* (one who could remember well what was once heard) mastered the same. It is also believed that the Brahma Sutras, the central truths of all the Upanishads and other sacred scriptures, were also revealed to him on that occasion.¹

Sriman Nathamuni was the first to make known to the Tamil world the greatness of Sri Nammalvar and his Tiruvaymoḷi in a Sanskrit verse which is invariably recited as a Taniyan² or prefatory verse by all those who commence to recite or study the Tiruvoymoli.

The Taniyan composed in Sanskrit by Sriman Nathamuni for the recitation and study of Tiruvoymoli runs thus:—

1. The tradition goes a little further and attributes to Nāthamunigaḷ the revival or resuscitation of the recitation of the Tiruvaymoli along with and on a footing of equality with the Vedas during a festival called Adhyayanotsavam held annually in the Tamil month of Mārgali (Mārgasira). The residents of Tirukkurugur gave him to understand that such annual recitation used to take place during the life-time of Tirumangai alvar (the last of the alvars) and that for that purpose the idol of Nammalvar used to be taken over to Srirangam. But that story could hardly be believed by us since Tirumangai ālvār did neither ever visit Tirukkurugur nor sing a verse in praise of the Deity there although he visited and sang verses in praise of the Vishnu shrine in Tirukkurungudi (திருக்குருங்குடி) nearby. He has not in any of his songs mentioned the name of Nammalvar. For all we know he was not aware of the greatness of Nammalvar.

2. The greatness of every devotional literature and its worth is invariably summarised in a verse called 'Taniyan' தனியன் தலகம் (in Sanskrit or Tamil) composed by some great scholar and expounder who first sponsored the study of the same or who first rescued the work from oblivion.

“ *Bhaktāmrutam visva janānu mōdanam*
Sarvārthadam Sri Sathakopavāᅅgmayam
Sahasra sākᅅhōpanishad samāgamam
Namāmyaham Drāviᅅa vēᅅa sāguram.”¹

This verse gives in a nutshell all that is claimed for the Tiruvoymoᅇi as sacred literature. Translated into English it would read:—

“ My obeisance to those words which came from the mouth of Sri Saᅅhakopa and which make up the ocean called Dravida Vedam wherein are gathered together in harmonious blending all the numerous branches of the Upanishads, which confer immortality on Bhaktas, which elevate the mind and gladden the heart of all shades of men and which makes it possible for men to achieve everything imperishable and worth possessing.” The expression “ *Saᅅhakōpa vaᅅgmayam* ” assures us that the Tiruvoymoᅇi was revealed to Nathamuni by word of mouth by Sri Saᅅhakopa, and that therefore it revealed unreservedly and unequivocally the whole truth. The expression ‘ *Veda sāguram* ’ is construed to mean that the other three works² of Sri Nammālvār were also revealed simultaneously. But the *taniyans* prefixed to them which were composed by others go to show that they were not revealed to Nathamuni but were discovered by others at a later period. Tiruvoymoᅇi is said to give the essence of the

1. “ भक्तामृतं विश्वजनानुमोदनं सर्वार्थं श्रीशठकोपवाङ्मयम् ।
 सहस्रशास्त्रोपनिषत्समागमं नमाम्यहं द्राविडवेदसागरम् ॥ ”

“ తక్రామృతం విశ్వజనానుమోదనం సర్వార్థం శ్రీశఠకోపవాఙ్మయమ్ ।
 సహస్రశాస్త్రోపనిషత్సమాగమం నమఱ్యహం ద్రావిడవేదసాగరం ॥ ”

2. The other three works are Tiruviruttam (తిరువిరుత్తం, తిరువిరుత్తతమ్, which gives the essence of the Rig Veda; Tiruvāsiriyam (తిరువాశిరియం) తిరువాశిరియమ్) which gives the essence of the Yajur Veda and Periya Tiruvandādi (పెరియ తిరువందాది, డెరియ తిరువంతాది) which is the essence of the Atharva Veda.

Sama Veda and was therefore set to music in two styles¹, one called the Dēvagānam and the other Manushya gānam. The latter represents the Ragam, Tālam etc., now used by the musicians. The Devagānam follows the style and tune of the Sama Vedam copied by those who recite the verses in temples.

The Superiority of Tiruvoymoli over the other three works of Sri Nammalvar and the works of all the other alvars.

The importance attached to a religious and philosophical work may be judged by the number of 'Taniyans' recited before commencing its study and also by the number of commentaries which later ācharyas have written on it. Judged by this standard no other work which forms a part of the four thousand verses of the Prabandham can be said to be a close second to the Tiruvoymoḷi. A *taniyan* is usually composed by an ācharya who first discovered the existence of the work or who for the first time gave publicity to its excellence and the greatness of its author. In the same manner a commentary is usually written by an acharya of ripe experience, age and learning bringing out clearly the beauty of language and diction, the esoteric meaning or meanings and the great truths which are enshrined in the original text. This is done to awaken the spirit of enquiry in the readers. When a work has a number of taniyans and a number of commentaries written by acharyas of commanding spiritual stature, it may safely be assumed that the work deserves serious study. Judged by this standard Sri Nammālvār's Tiruvoymoḷi stands unrivalled among the works forming the Tamil Prabandham. Besides the Sanskrit taniyan composed by Sriman Nathamuni there are as many as five taniyans in Tamil, the authorship of some of these being however attributed to different acharyas by the protagonists of

1. It is also the tradition that Nathamuni trained two sets of people to recite in the two styles both of which were exhibited before the Chola King in Gangai Koṇḍa Chōlapuram. The King is said to have appreciated the manushya ganam. Gangai koṇḍa Chōlapuram was built by Rajendra Chola I (1013-1045) who assumed the surname Gangai koṇḍa Cholan. As he lived at least two centuries after Sriman Nathamuni, the tradition reduces itself to a fable.

Nammalvar as the projenitor or kulapati of the Sri Vaishnava sect.¹

3. ஏய்ந்தபெருங் கீர்த்தி இராமா னுசமுனிதன்
வாய்ந்த மலர்ப்பாதம் வணங்குகின்றேன்—ஆய்த்தபெருஞ்
சிரார் சடகோபன் செந்தமிழ்வே தம்தரிக்கும்
பேராத வுள்ளம் பெற.

வியஸ்பெருகீர் தி யிராமா னுசமுநிதன்,
வாய்ந்தமலர் புரம்பாதம் வணங்குகின்றேன்,
சிரார் சடகோபன் செந்தமிழ் வேதந்தரிக்கும்,
பேராதவுள்ளம் பெற.

(author Tirukkurukaippiran pillan born 1061 or Ananthavar born 1048).

4. வான்திகழும் சோலை மதிளரங்கர் வண்புகழ்மேல்
ஆன்ற தமிழ்மறைக ளாயிரமும்—சுன்ற
முதல்தாய் சடகோபன் மொய்ப்பால் வளர்த்த
இதத்தாய் இராமா னுசன்.

வான்திகழும் சோலை மதிளரங்கர் வண்புகழ்மேல்,
ஆன்ற தமிழ்மறைக ளாயிரமும், சுன்ற
முதல்தாய் சடகோபன் மொய்ப்பால் வளர்த்த
இதத்தாய் இராமா னுசன்.

5. மிக்க விறைநிலையும் மெய்யாம் உயிர்நிலையும்
தக்க நெறியும் தடையாகித்—தொக்கியலும்
ஊழ்வினையும் வாழ்வினையும் ஒதும் குருகையர்கோன்
யாழிணிசை வேதத் தியல்.

மிக்கவிறைநிலையும் மெய்யாய் உயிர்நிலையும்
தக்கநெறியும் தடையாகித்—தொக்கியலும்,
ஊழ்வினையும் வாழ்வினையும் ஒதும் குருகையர்கோன்,
யாழிணிசை வேதத்தியல்.

(author Tirukkurukaippiran pillan born 1061 or Bhattar born 1062).

1. Mātā pitā yuvatayastanayā vibhūtiḥ
Sarvam yadēva niyamēna madanvayānām
Ādyasya nah kulapatēr vakuḷābhirāmam
Śrīmattadāṅghriyugaḷam pranamāmi mūrḍhnā.

This was written as a prefatory verse to his Sanskrit devotional work known as ' *Stōtra ratnam* ' but not as a taniyan in connection with the recitation and study of the Tiruvoymoḷi. These acharyas were not perhaps great Tamil Scholars for one thing. It is even doubtful if Sri Ramanuja studied closely all the verses of the Tiruvaymoḷi as will be pointed out later. The Tiruvoymoḷi alone came to be well known as the standard work of devotional literature, or the Bhakti form of worship of Viṣṇu. The works of the other āḷvārs were obviously not known, or less known and could not have been classed as philosophical, but only devotional. Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvoymoḷi was compared by Sriman Nathamuni to an ocean which had received the essence of all the Upanishads. There was however no philosophical work in Tamil or Sanskrit which could counteract the influence of the new Advaita philosophy of Sri Sankaracharya. Nammalvar's Tiruvoymoḷi makes no reference to and does not attempt to refute the Advaita philosophy. The fact may be that the latter sprang on the world in full force after the days of Sri Nammalvar. It was left to Sri Ramanuja to promulgate his Visishtadvaita philosophy to counteract Advaitism. And he is said to have done it in fulfilment of one of the three injunctions of Sri Alavandar during the last moments of his life by keeping three of the fingers of his hand folded the meaning of which was understood by Sri Ramanuja. Bhakti is the basis of his Visishtadvaita philosophy. His treatment of the subject is based solely on the Vedic texts and Smritis. Ramanuja has not quoted a single Tamil verse from the Tiruvaymoḷi as authority, or even as a parallel. This might have been due to his desire that his work should find acceptance in the whole of India and not merely in the extreme south. So it could not with justification or in fairness be said that his philosophy was to any extent inspired by the teachings of the Tiruvoymoḷi. Another of the folded fingers of Sri Alavandar was taken to represent his desire that a commentary on the Tiruvaymoḷi should be written to make known that its teachings are quite in consonance with the Vedic religion and the philosophy of the Bhagavat Gīta for which Sri Alavandar himself had written a short commentary. Sri Ramanuja has also written his commentary on the Gīta. There was no dearth of great Tamil

scholars among the four castes in South India who could well have written splendid commentaries in a style of Tamil which the rank and file could easily understand and appreciate. (Great philosophical truths had been expressed in verse by Bhutattalvar who prided himself as one who could sing in Gnāna Tamil. Such men might have lived even during Alavandar's days).

The reason behind Ramanuja being asked to undertake this work is easily seen. Sri Nammalvar was born in the fourth caste and whatever may be the merits of his work and philosophy there would have been a natural hesitation on the part of the members of the three higher castes to acknowledge him as the 'Kulapati' of all Sri Vaishnavas, which Sri Alavandar's aim was to overcome. It was imperative that all those who look to the Vedas in the Sanskrit language as the fountain-head of all spiritual culture should be made to appreciate and acknowledge the greatness of the Tiruvoyamōḷi. Any Tamil commentary on it to achieve this end should be replete with parallel quotations from the Upanishads and Srutis written in a high style. All the commentaries were therefore written in the Composite Tamil-Sanskrit or 'mani-pravāḷam' style. This would have appealed strongly to the Brahmin and the other Sanskrit scholars and helped to regard Sri Nammalvar as one who had the Divine spark in him (an amsa of God). There were serious objections raised in later days by great Sanskrit pandits to the recital of the Tiruvaymōḷi until Sri Vedanta Desika overcame them and gave to the Tiruvoymōḷi the name 'Dramidopanishad' (the Dravida Upanishad).

Sri Ramanuja commissioned his gnanaputra Sri Tirukkuru-kaippiran Pillan (the younger son of his uncle Sri Tirumalai Nambi) to write this Commentary and fulfil the second of the injunctions given by Sri Alavandar. This was done because he was a great scholar in Tamil as well as Sanskrit, one of the best exponents of Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya and a descendant of Sri Alavandar.

Commentaries on the Tiruvoymoli.

Sri Ramanuja and Embar (also known as Govinda Bhattar) were the sons of Tirumalai Nambi's two sisters. Neither of these

has written any original religious work in Tamil though they might have been good enough to understand and appreciate the writings in that language. Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan became the Gnana-putra and a disciple of Ramanuja. One Kūrattālvār, a devoted disciple of Sri Ramanuja, had his twin sons, named as Parasara Bhattar¹ and Sriram Pillai. Bhattar was a genius and within his short life of about 28 years wrote many mighty philosophical works in Sanskrit. His Commentary on the Vishnu Sahasranamam had the approval of Sri Ramanuja. The twins were the disciples of Embar.

One Nanjiyar, also known as Vedanti jiyar who was a native of Tirunarayanapuram went about the country in great style challenging any one who could hold disputation with him in Vedānta. The young Bhattar worsted him and made him his disciple. Nanjiyar does not appear to have been descended from any of the disciples of Sri Alavandar or his immediate predecessor. Nanjiyar's birth date may be 1053 while Bhattar's was 1063 A.D. Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan was born in 1062 A.D., and his commentary on the Tiruvaymoli known as the *Ārāyirappadi* (అరయిరప్పడి శ్లోకములు) is likely to have been composed when he was about 60 years of age. That commentary was undertaken as desired by Sri Ramanuja, and had received his approval as correctly representing the ideas of Sri Nammalvar and in consonance with his own Sri Bhāshya. It was therefore named 'Bhagavad Vishayam' or 'Concerning God.' This was probably why none of the other disciples of Sri Ramanuja attempted to write a Commentary. Nanjiyar however became a free lance after the untimely death of Bhattar. He therefore wrote his *ஒன்பதினாயிர பది* (Nine thousand paḍi) as against the Six thousand paḍi of Pillan. He wrote also some other commentaries (*viz.*, two thousand paḍi on Tiruppavai, Tiruppallāṇḍu etc., works which were not mentioned or not known to Sri Nathamuni). They

1. The second son of Sri Tirumalai Nambi was renamed as Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan and one of the twin sons of Kūrattālvār as Parasara Bhattar in compliance with wish of Sri Alavandar who wanted that two of the most promising boys in the family of his disciples should bear the names of Parasara and Tirukkurukaippiran or Nammālvār to whose greatness he has paid tribute in his Stotra ratnam.

had not received the approval of Sri Ramanuja and were perhaps composed after his death (or after 1137 A.D.).

Nampillai who was one of Nanjiyar's disciples wrote commentaries on the Tiruviruttam, etc. His disciple Periya āchchān pillai wrote a commentary on the Tiruvaymoḷi known as இருபத் துநாலாயிரப்படி (the twenty four thousand paḍi) besides a number of commentaries on the other twenty three works which make up the Prabandham. He is a great commentator and was the first to write about all the works of the Prabandham. His birth date was 1227 A.D., and his commentaries might have been written about 1280 A.D. The fourth commentary on the Tiruvaymoḷi was by Vaḍakku Tiruvidhi pillai (வடக்குத் திருவிதிப்பிள்ளை) and is known as (முப்பது லாயிரப்படி முப்பத்தாறாயிரப்படி or ௩௬) the thirty six thousand paḍi. The year of its composition may be taken to be about 1290 A.D. Each succeeding commentary is more voluminous than the preceding one. The natural inference is that a section of the Sri Vaishnavas felt that Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan's commentary though it had the approval of Sri Ramanuja and was considered the standard one, did not do full justice to Nammalvar's Tiruvaymoḷi, or that it was not illuminative. Those who wrote the subsequent commentaries did not come from among the disciples of Pillan, but from disciples of Nanjiyar. This appears to be the starting point of the cleavage among the followers of Sri Ramanuja. In later times two of the Vadagalai¹ acharyas wrote commentaries based on Pillan's Arāyirappadi (Sri Vedanta Desika and Sri Vedanta Ramanujaswami).

The point is clear that Nammalvar's Tiruvaymoḷi was considered to be a work of so high an order that numerous commentaries were written on it. The other twenty three works did not receive so much attention. It was left to Periya Achchan Pillai to write an omnibus commentary so late as 1280 A.D., a century after the death of Sri Ramanuja.

I. The terms Vadagalai and Tegalai although used in this connection are really of recent origin. It will be seen from section 2 of this chapter that the terms do not occur in any of the T. T. D. Inscriptions even till 1684 A.D.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

A word has to be said about the origin and the style of recitation of the Prabandham. The tradition is that Sri Ramanuja received tuition in this from Tiruvarangapperumāl araiyar (திருவரங்கப்பெருமாள் அரையர்), one of Sri Alavandar's sons and disciple born in 947 A. D. who was considered an expert in abhinayam and the fine arts. The study of the text was made under Tirumalai Āndan who was also one of Sri Alavandar's disciples. It has therefore to be presumed that the recital received special attention as early as about 1100 A.D. Those were days when there was no printing of a large number of copies of a valuable literary work. With the steel style on the cadgeon leaf every one had to transcribe what was read out or recited by another. Memorising of religious and other valuable works was done by studying under a teacher and by a large number of learners reciting together what was uttered by the teacher. Congregational recitation gave opportunities for acquiring the correct pronunciation etc. Whether the recital was done systematically and daily in the Srirangam temple is a moot point. The Araiyyar was known as Ramanuja's Chintana āchārya. The Prabandham gosṭi that we now witness may be said to have been started in the days of Araiyyar and Sri Ramanuja.

There is the tradition that the recitation of the Tiruvaymōḷi on a footing of equality with the Vedas was commenced in Srirangam. This seems to be confirmed by an inscription which is said to be referable to the reign of Kulottunga Chola I which records that in a certain festival in Srirangam the recital of some portion of the Tamil Prabandham was permitted by the King.¹ The date may be taken to be 1117 A.D., *i.e.*, twenty years before the death of Sri Ramanuja and at a time when he was an exile in the Mysore country. The practice has been to commence the recitation on the Sukla Ekādasi tithi of the Tamil month of Margali and continue it for ten days as is done in the case of the recitation of the Vedas and alongside of it. This was presumably done only in the Srirangam temple and not in other places. The other

1. Vide Vol. I, p. 274 of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's History of Tirupati who however does not give the full text or even the gist of the inscription nor the exact year of the inscription.

three thousand verses of the Prabandham were tacked on later, two thousand being recited on the preceding ten days and one thousand on the succeeding two or three days. The Ramanujan Nūṅṅandāḍi was also a later day suffix.

So far as Tirumala and Tirupati are concerned there are a large number of inscriptions which help us to prepare a regular history in Section 2 of this Chapter.

The other three thousand verses of the Prabandham.

The taniyans prefixed to the other three works of Sri Nammalvar and to the other works of the Prabandham show that these works were discovered by later acharyas. The commentaries on these are of still later dates. They do not appear to have been known to Sri Ramanuja. The names of the authors of the taniyans, their date of birth, the names of the commentators and their date of birth are given in the accompanying statement. The average date of the taniyans may be taken to be 1100 A. D.; Nanjiyar's commentary on the Periya Tiruvandādi would have been made about 1180 A.D., and Nampillai's commentary on the Tiruviruttam about 1250 A.D. Periya Āchchān pillai's commentaries would have been composed about 1280 A.D. and Tiruvaymoli pillai's about 1360 A.D.

The large number of commentaries on the Tiruvaymoḷi should not be taken to mean that the first one written by Tirukkurukaipirān Pillan and which bore the seal of approval of Sri Ramanuja as representing the intentions of Sri Nammalvar and as being in accord with the teachings of the Brahma Sutras of Sri Vyasa Bhagavan and the mythology expounded in Sri Parasara Bhagavān's Vishnu Puranam (both of which are well expounded in Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya) is in any way defective. The other commentaries only go to show the pre-eminent position which the Tiruvaymoḷi had attained to. Each commentator studied the text independently and expounded his own views on what he considered to be the real intentions of Sri Nammalvar. So also every scholar who in our age studies the original text seriously

could throw new light on many essential points based on the development of Bhakti form of worship in other parts of India and in other countries. Pillan's commentary is the standard one and has been honoured as "Bhagavad Vishayam" by Sri Ramanuja.

The Prabandham of the Ālvārs was considered by the acharyas to be as sacred as the Sanskrit Vedas with the added advantage that the meaning would be intelligible to the reciter. Despite the fact that all the works are in Tamil great Andhra poets and thinkers like Allasani Peddanna, Tallapakkam Annamacharya and his sons and grandsons (Pedda Tirumalai Ayyangar, China Tirumalai ayyangar etc.), studied the Tamil language for understanding the Prabandhams in original. Like the Hebrew Bible and the Tamil Tirukkural they are worth translating into other languages if only men gifted with the spiritual fervour of the Alvārs would undertake the task.

Commentaries on the Tiruvaymoli.

The taniyans to the Tiruvaymoli and their authors with birth dates have already been given on pages 659-661. The names of the commentators with birth dates are given below.

(1) Tirukkurukaippirān Pillān, the second son of Sri Tirumalai Nambi who is the maternal uncle of Sri Ramanuja and the grandson of Sri Ālavandar (Yāmuna Muni). Pillan's birth date is 1062 A.D., (K. Y. 4163, Plava) and birth place Tirumalai (Vengadam). His commentary known as Ārāyirappāḍi may be assigned a date between 1100 and 1130 A.D.

(2) The next commentary was by Nanjiyar (or Vedanti jiyar) whose birth date is rather difficult to ascertain. He is considered to have become the disciple of Bhattar who was born in 1062 (K. Y. 4163) Subhakrit year and died when 28 years of age in 1090. Nanjiyar's commentary known as (ஒன்பதினாயிரப்படி ఒప్పదినారప్పడి) does not appear to have been known to Sri Ramanuja, in which case, it must have been written after Pillan's commentary or after about 1100 A.D.

(3) The third commentary is by one Periya Āchchān pillai who was one of the disciples of Nampillai alias Lokacharya alias Varadaraja alias Tirukkaḷikanri dasar who was Nanjiyar's disciple. His commentary is known as இருபத்திருவாயிரப்படி அகவந்நு ஸாலரபுடி. He was born in 1227 A.D., (K. Y. 4328, Sarvajit year) and lived for 95 years; his commentary might have been composed about 1280 A.D. He wrote commentaries on all the 24 works of the Prabandham.

(4) The fourth commentary was by one Vaḍakku Tiruvīdhi Pillai (வடக்குத் திருவிதிப்பிள்ளை வடக்கு-உதிர விரிப்படி) who is said to have been born in K. Y. 4328 (the same year as that of Periya Āchchān Pillai 1227) and lived for 75 years. His commentary is known as முப்பத்தாறுயிரப்படி (முப்பதுசாலரபுடி 36000 padi). He is also one of Nampillai's disciples. His commentary would have come sometime after Periya Āchchān Pillai's say about 1290 A.D. Besides the above there are two more commentaries by acharyas who could claim lineal discipleship from Sri Ramanuja and Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan and perhaps represent the present day Vadagalai views. One is by Sri Sākshāt swami (alias Srimad Vedantā Ramanujaswami) known as இருபத்து நாலாயிரப்படி (அகவந்நு ஸாலரபுடி) and the other known as the எழுபத்து நாலாயிரப்படி அழகந்நு ஸாலரபுடி or Nigamaparimalam by Sri Vedanta Desika. The latter is said to have been lost. Its date would have been about 1340 A.D. Besides the above Sri Vedanta Desika has written two works one called Dramidōpanishat Tātparya Sārāvali and the other Dramidopanishat Sāram.

Nanjiyar wrote in addition commentaries on Tiruppāvai, Tiruvandādi, Kaṇṇinuṇ Siruttāmbu and Tiruppallāṇḍu.

Periya āchchān pillai wrote on all the other twenty three work of the Prabandham.

One Tiruvaymōli Pillai alias Tirumalai ālvān born in 1325 A.D. (K. Y. 4426) Vibhava year) wrote a commentary on Periya ālvar's Tirumōḷi. He is the son of Pillai Lokacharya.

OTHER WORKS COMPRISING THE PRABANDHAM

Poygai Alvar's.

- | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Name of work. | Taniyan. ¹ | Commentary. |
| 1. Mudal (First) Tiruvandādi, முதல் திருவந்தாதி 100 verses, மூடல் ஆய்வு.....), 1280 A.D. | Taniyan by Mudali āndān or Dāsarathi (born 1033 A.D.) about 1100 A.D. (கைதைசேர் பூம்பொழில் | Periya achchan Pillai about 1280 A.D. |

Budattalvar's.

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1. Irandām (second) Tiruvandadi, இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி; 100 verses, ஏரண்டம் (100 ^{ம்}) ஆய்வு.....) | Tirukkurukaipiran Pillan (born 1062) about 1100 A.D. திருக்குருகைப்பிரான் பிள்ளான் (என்பிறவி தீர இறைஞ்சி) 1100 A.D. | Do. |
|---|---|-----|

Peyalvar's.

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 3. Mūnram (Third) Tiruvandadi, மூன்றாம் திருவந்தாதி; 100 verses, மூன்றாம் ஆய்வு.....) | Kurukaikkāvalappan (born about 900-1000 A.D.) (குருகைக்காவலப்பன்) கருகு குருகைக்காவலப்பன் (சீராரு மாடத் திருக்கோவில்) காலம் மூல ஆய்வு.....) | Do. |
|---|---|-----|

Tirumalisaipiran's.

4. Tiruchchanda viruttam
திருச்சந்த விருத்தம்
120 verses, கைப்புவ
கைப்புவ
Tirukkachchinambi திருக்கச்சி நம்பி கைப்புவும்,
Coeval with Priyanambi about 1100 A.D.
திருச்சந்தப்பொழில் கைப்புவழி

Do.

Periya Tirumalainambi 1100 A.D.
பெரிய திருமலை நம்பி, கையெழுத்து
மழிசையம்...'' கையெழுத்து

“ உலகம்

5. Nānūkan Tiruvan-
dādi, நான்குகள் திரு
வந்தாதி 96 verses,
நான்கு கைப்புவ
Sirampillai (சீராம் பிள்ளை) கைப்புவ (born 1062)
1100 A.D. “நாராயணன் படைத்தான்...”
கையெழுத்து

Do.

Tondaradippodi Alvar's.

6. Tirumālai (திருமலை);
45 verses, கைப்புவ
Tiruvrangapperumalaraiyar திருவரங்கப்
பெருமானாரையர் கைப்புவ கைப்புவ
(born 947) 1000 “மற்றொன்றும் வேண்டா”
கையெழுத்து

Periya āchchan

Pillai about

1280 A.D.

1. In column three the first few words of the taniyan are only given; the date of birth and the probable date of composing the taniyan are also given.

Name of work.	Taniyan.	Commentary.
7. Tiruppaḷi eḷuchchi (తిరుప్పాళి అచ్చుచి) 10 verses తెలుగులో అచ్చుచి	Tirumalai āndān (తిరుమలై ఆండాన్) తెలుగులో ఆండాన్ (born 988) 1040 A.D. “Tāmevāmarivā paravāsudēvam” కవీశ్వరుని పరవాసుదేవం Tiruvarangapperumalaraiyar (born 947) 1000 A.D. “మండలంగుడి అంబర్” మల్లెపాడి మేనల్లుడు	Do. Do.
Tiruppanalvar's.		
8. Amalanāḍipirān (అమలనాడిపిరాన్) 10 verses	Periya nambi (పెరియనాంబి) పెరియనాంబి (born 937) 1000 A.D. “Apādachūḍamanubhūya” అపాదచూడమనభూయ Periya Tirumalai nambi (పెరియతిరుమలై నాంబి) పెరియతిరుమలై నాంబి (born 973) 1030 A. D. “కాట్టలవే కండ” కాట్టలవే కండ	Do.
Periya Aivar's.		
9. Tiruppallāndu (తిరుప్పల్లాండు) పల్లాండు (12 verses)	Nāthamuni (born 823) 900 A.D. “Gurumukham anadhīya” గురుముఖమనాధీయ Pāndya Bhattar “మిన్ద్రాన్ తడమతిన్ద్రాన్” మిన్ద్రాన్ తడమతిన్ద్రాన్	Nanjīyar (1170) Nampillai 1280 A.D. Periya āchchān 1280 A.D.

10. Tirumoli (திருமொழி) கைமொழி
கைமொழி
Pāṇḍya Bhattar “பாண்டியன் கொண்டாட”
சாந்தியக் கோவை
Tiruvaymoli Pillan
about 1380 A. D.,
Manavalamuni
1420.

Sri Andal's.

11. Tiruppāvai திருப்பாவை கைமொழி
கைமொழி
Parāsara Bhattar (பராசரபட்டார்) (born 1062)
1090 ஸாரசர கீழர் “Nīlā tunga” நீலகங்க
“அன்னவயல் புதுவை” அந்நயல் புகழ்
Uyyakkondar (உய்யக்கொண்டார்) (born 826)
900 A. D. உய்யக்கொண்டர் “சூழிக்கொடுத்த
சுடர்க்கொடி” சூழிக்கொடுத்த கதர் கீழி

12. Tirumōḷi (திருமொழி) கைமொழி
கைமொழி
Tirukkaṇṇamangai āṇḍān (திருக்கண்ணமங்கை
ஆண்டான்) கைமொழி 900 A. D.
“அல்லிநாள் தாமரை மலர்” அந்நாள் சாந்தியக்

Kulasekhara alvar's.

13. Perumal Tirumōḷi (திருமொழி) 105 verses
கைமொழி
Uḍayavar (1100) or Maṇakkāl nambi
“இன்னமுத முட்டுகை” இன்னமுதமுட்டு
(உடையவர் அல்லது வணக்காலநம்பியே)
(born 831) 900 “ஆரம் கெடப்பரன்” 900
3833

Name of work.	Taniyan.	Commentary.
	Madhurakavi alvar's.	
14. கண்ணிலுண் சிறுத் தாம்படி Kanninun Siruttambu; 11 verses கீழ்ச்சீர் கருதூரை	Nathamuni னஹமுனி (born 823) 900 A.D. “Avidita Vishayāntara ஁விதித விசயாந்தர “வேலெருன்றும் நானறியேன்” “வேழமுனைநவீதன்”	Nanjyar 1170 Nampillai 1260 Periya achchan 1280
	Tirumangai alvar's.	
15. Periya Tirumoli பெரிய திருமொழி பெரிய கருநெழி 1084 verses	Tirukkṛṣṭyūr nambi திருக்கோட்டியூர் நம்பி (born 927) 1000 A.D. கைக்ஷீர்த்தியூர் நம்பி “Kalayami Kavivamsau” கலையமி கவிவம்சௌ	Periya āchchan
16. Tirukurumtandakam திருக்குறுந்தாண்டகம் கைக்குறும்பை சாக்கம் 20 verses.	Emperumanar (1100 A.D.) (எம்பெருமாரார்) ஁ம்பெருமான் (வாழிபாகாலன்) வாழிபரகாலன்	Do.
17. Tirunedum tandakam திருநெடுந் தாண்டகம் 30 verses கைநெடுந் சாக்கம்	Alvan..... “நெஞ்சக்கிருள்கடி” ஁லவர்கடிகடி Embar 1100 “எங்கள் கதியே” ஁லவர்கடிகடி	Do.

- Manavālamamuni 1420 "மாலாத் தனியே வழி"
 சூ உ உ உ உ உ உ உ
18. Tiruveḷukkūṟṟirukkai
 திருவெழிக்கூற்றிருக்கை
 உய்ப்பீழ்கூற்றிக்கு
 Do.
19. Sīriya Tirumaḍal
 சிறிய திருமடல் லீயல்
 உகைசுடல் 77½ verses
 Do.
20. Periya Tirumaḍal
 (பெரிய திருமடல்)
 ஸீயல் உகைசுடல்
 148½ verses (15 to 20)
1361 461 verses.
 Do.
- Sri Nammalvar.**
21. Tiruviruttam (திரு
 வீருத்தம்) 100 verses
 உகைசுடல்
 Nampillai and
 Periya achchan 1280
22. Tiruvasiriyam திரு
 வாசிரியம் 7 verses
 உகைசுடல்
 Periya achchan
- Arūḷapperuman அருளாளப்பெருமாள்
 1100 A.D. அகராசுபுக்கமன் "காசினி
 யோர் தாழ்வாழ்" காலையர் அழைப்பு

Name of work.	Taniyan.	Commentary.
23. Periya Tiruvandādi பெரிய திருவந்தாதி 87-verses பரிக்கேதவந்தாதி	Emperumanar (எம்பெருமானார்) 1100 A.D. “முந்துற்ற நெஞ்சே” ஸுயந்றஸ்தே	Do.
24. Tiruvoymoji 1102 v.		
Sri Nammalvar's 1296	Grand Total 4000 v.	

Whether the *Tiruvaymōḷi* was seriously studied before the appearance of the commentary by Tirukkurucaippiran Pillan and whether the other twenty three works which make up the Prabandham were known to and were studied by Sri Ramanuja are matters open to doubt. To illustrate this point let us consider the anecdote, which even some Sri Vaishnavas believe in, that when a dispute arose whether the Dhruva Murti in Tirumala represented Vishnu or Siva. Sri Ramanuja had the Sankham and Chakram of Vishnu and also the Trisūlam and Damarakam of Siva placed before the Deity on a night before closing the temple doors to see which of these would adorn the Deity the next morning. The anecdote is that Sri Ramanuja being the avatar of Ādisēsha became a cobra, went into the Garbhagriham through the Gomukham or the drainage hole in the north wall and put on the Deity the Chakram and Sankham. He is also said to have carved on the chest of the Murti the Sri Devi. How absurd such a story looks is plain to us who know that Sri Andal and Sri Nammalvar have both referred to the presence of Sri Devi on the chest. These Saints lived about three centuries before Sri Ramanuja. The presence of Sankham and Chakram has been mentioned in the *Silappadhikaram* also which again is three centuries before Sri Ramanuja's time. The works of the three Mudal Alvars and of Tirumalisai Alvar distinctly show that the Murti in Tirumala has always been considered to be Sriman Narayana manifesting Himself in Tirumala. If the early Sri Vaishnavas, at any rate in that part of South India known as Tondaimandalam, had been conversant with the meaning of the verses in the Prabandham the absurd anecdote mentioned above would not have gained currency. The appearance of commentaries in times so late as 1220 A.D. to 1360 A.D., leads to the suspicion that in the early days the recitation of the Prabandham (or adhyayanam) alone was practiced without knowing the meaning of the verses just as is being done even to-day. The recitation of the Vedas without knowing anything about what is recited is another example of this.

Pantheon of the Alvars.

It is also doubtful if Sri Ramanuja was responsible for the creation of a pantheon of twelve Alvars. He has nowhere said one word about the ālvārs not even about Sri Nammālvār (Sri Sathakōpa). Tradition ascribes many things to him. The Tamil word Ālvār was honorifically used to designate Sri Nammalvar only and for the first time by Sri Tirukkurucaippiran Pillan in his commentary on the *Tiruvaymoli* which might have been composed a few years before the death of Sri Ramanuja. Pillan does not say any where therein that he executed the work in obedience to Sri Ramanuja's command and that it had the seal of his approval. There is not even the usual "Mangala Slokam" prefixed to it. There is one Sanskrit verse which stands prefixed. Its authorship is vicariously attributed in recent times to Tirukkurucaippiran Pillan by the Vadagalais and to Parasara Bhattar by the Tengalais. It however cannot appropriately be considered to be a prefatory verse to a commentary on Sri Sathakopa Muni's *Tiruvaymoli*. This will be considered in detail presently.

Pillan commences his commentary on the first Tamil verse of the *Tiruvaymoli* "உயர்வற உயர்நலம்" (ఉయర్వఱ ఉయర్నలం) thus.

"అస్మాక్కుత స్వాసాధారణ దివ్యరూప భూషణాయుధ మహిషీ
పరిజన స్థానవిశిష్టనాయ్, నిఖిల ఆగదుదయ విభవాది లీలనాయరున్ద
పరమ పురుషనై ఉక్లపడియే ఆழ்வార్ తామ్ తమ్ముడైయ తిరుఉక్ల-
త్రై అనుభవిత్తు

అప్ర్రాక్రత స్వవాసాతారణ తివ్యరూప ప్రుషణాయుత మఱిషీ
పరిజన స్తాన వినిషిడయై నికిల ఇకతుతయ విపావాతి లీలన
యిరున్ద పరమపురుషణై ఉల్లపడియే ఆழ్వార్ తామ్ తమ్ముడైయ
తిరువుల్లత్తాలే అనుబవిత்தు.....".

It is in this commentary that Sri Sathakopa is referred to as "Alvār." Neither Sri Nathamuni nor Sri Yamuna muni (Alavandar) gave that name to Sri Sathakopa muni. This word is not used in the *Tiruvaymoli* or in any of the Prabandham works.

The selection of twelve great Tamil Vishnu Bhaktas to form the pantheon of Alvars and naming them in a certain order (apparently meant to point to their chronological order of birth) was not the work of Sri Ramanuja. The order in which they are mentioned in a Sanskrit verse prefixed to the *Tiruvaymoli* and attributed differently to Pillan or Bhattar is given below.

“ భూతం సరశ్చ మహదాహ్వయ భట్టనాథ
 శ్రీభక్తి సార కులశేఖర యోగివాహన్ ।
 భక్తాంఘ్రినేణు పరకాల యతీంద్ర మిశ్రాన్
 శ్రీమత్ పరాంకుశ మునిం ప్రణతోఽస్మి నిత్యం”॥

“ *Bhūtam Sarascha Mahadahvaya Bhaṭṭanātha*
Sree Bhaktisāra Kulasekhara Yōgivāhān
Bhaktānghrirēṇu Parakāla Yatīndra Misrān
Srīmat Parānkusa munim praṇatōsmi nityam ”

The verse says that the thirteen saints mentioned therein (including Sri Ramanuja) should receive daily our obeisance. It does not show that it has any connection with the *Tiruvaymoli* or the commentary thereon. The authorship of this verse is also a debated point. The Saint. Bhuta is placed before Saraścha or Poygai ālvar. The current general belief is that Poygai ālvar was the oldest of the Ālvārs. In fact the arrangement of the other ālvārs also is not in chronological order. Sri Ramanuja's name (yatindra) is also mixed up in the verse. It was possibly composed by some acharya after the death of Sri Ramanuja. There is the further consideration that none of the ālvārs excepting Sri Nammālvār and Sri Ramanuja figure in the acharya parampara which every Srivaishnava reminds himself and meditates upon as part of his daily duty. Even Bhaṭṭanātha (or Periyā ālvār) is not considered to be one of the acharyas. The acharyas in the ascending order are thus given— “ *Asmad dēsikam asmadīya paramāchāryān asēshān gurūn; Srīmal Lakshmana yōgi pungava Mahāpūrnau Munim Yāmunam Rāmam Padma vilōchanam Munivaram Nātham Saṭhadvēshiṇam Sēnēsam Sriyam Indirā sahaçharam Narāyaṇam samśraye.*” One's acharya is mentioned

first and then right on in a chain are mentioned other ācharyas up to Sri Ramanuja; thence Mahā Pūrna (alias Periya Nambi), Yāmunāchārya, Rama (or. Maṅakkāl Nambi); Padmavilochana (or Uyyakkondar), then Srīman Nāthamuni, Sri Śaṭhakopa (alias Sri Nammalvar), then through Vishvaksēna, Sri Devi and to Narāyana. This is the order of gurus who obtain salvation for a Srīvaishnava.

The other ālvārs are not treated as acharyas. They were however considered to be very venerable elders, Bhaktas and Bhagavatas. The latter seems to be the place assigned to them in the Sanskrit verse “*Bhutam sarascha.....*” There is yet another consideration. *Tiruvaymoli* has been the only portion of the Tamil Prabandham which was permitted to be recited along side of the Vedas during the ten days of the Adhyayanotsavam commencing with Sukla Ekadasi of the Margali month. The recital of the other three thousand verses (as prefixes and suffixes to the *Tiruvaymoli*) was a later innovation. In Tirumala it was adopted only about the end of the fifteenth century A.D. The natural inference therefore is that Sri Nammalvar and his *Tiruvaymoli* only were given preference in the very early days.

Why the *Tiruvaymoli* is recited along side of the Vedas during the Adhyayanotsavam.

Srīman Nathamunigal compared the *Tiruvaymoli* to an ocean which has received the essence of all the Upanishads and his grandson Sri Yamuna muni (Alavandar) acclaimed its author Sri Śaṭhakopa muni as the Kulapati or progenitor of all Sri Vaishnavas, although Sri Śaṭhakopa was by birth a Sudra. These should have been sufficient to show to men of all the four castes that Sri Vaishnavism was a broad based religion. We may wonder whether there was any urgency or necessity to hold a special festival every year during which the *Tiruvaymoli* and the Vedas should be recited together. In this connection it is worth stating that in temples dedicated to the worship of Siva, worshippers of the four castes used to be accommodated in the caste order in separate compartments one behind the other in the mukha mantapam

in front of the Lingam or the Mula Beram. But in Vishnu temples the members of all castes have always been accommodated together in one compartment only. The very thought of touch pollution within the precincts of a temple was considered a sin. The Tamil devotional songs of the Saivite Nayanars were not permitted to be recited during the daily puja in Siva temples. The result was that independent non-brahmin mutts sprang up known as Pandāra Sannidhis or Adhīnams where separate worship was conducted reciting the Tamil songs of the Saivite saints. In Vishnu temples although all castes were allowed to stand in one compartment in the mukha mantapam Bhakti songs in Tamil were not permitted to be recited in the early days. That there was a touch of grievance on this score may be inferred from one of Sri Kula-sekhara ālvar's songs.¹ Therein he gives expression to his intense desire to see the day when those Bhaktas to whom Tamil and Sanskrit are equally sacred could do as they desired best and worship with flowers gathered with their own hands. That there was congregational singing in praise of God in Srirangam in Kula-sekhara's days (the early years of the eighth century A.D.) is seen from stanza 11 of the Tirumoli.

We may therefore reasonably assume that there was a real desire in the minds of the non-brahmin bhaktas that devotional songs in their mother tongue should be recited in the same way that the Vedas and Sanskrit devotional verses are done. Sri Nammalvar's creed is that even a chandāla by birth is a person fit to receive our obeisance if he is only a Narayana Bhakta; caste is no barrier. It therefore appears to have been considered incumbent that the principle of equality should be observed not merely in words but in practice also by giving *Tiruvaymōḷi* a status equal to the Vedas. The celebration of the Adhyayanotsavam

அமரர்நள் தலைவனை அந்தமிழ் இன்பப்
பாவினை அவ்வட மொழியைப் பற்றற்றூர்கள்
பயிலரங்கத் தரவணையில் பள்ளி கொள்ளும்
கோவினை நாவுற வழுத்தி எந்தன் கைகள்
கொய்ம்மலர் தூய் என்று கொலோ கூப்புநாளே.

பெருமாள் திருமொழி, 4.

appears to have been considered a necessary demonstration of that equality. Acharyas who came after Sri Ramanuja extended this equality by wedging in the recitation of selected pieces from the works of the other ālvārs as well in the course of the daily puja called Nityarchana without in any way interfering with or impairing the grandeur of the āgama rituals. The experiment seems to have been first tried in Srirangam in the twelfth century, its extension to Tirumala was achieved only in the fifteenth century in connection with the Utsava Mūrti. In Srirangam this equality was and is still being observed by a member of this Sattada Srivaishnava family being served with the tirtham (consecrated water) preferentially. In Tirumala the Sattada Srivaishnavas recited the Prabandham along with the Brahmin Srivaishnavas and received prasadam on a footing of equality. They enjoyed also the privilege of supplying all the prepared articles of perfumery for the daily abhishekam of the Deity and to receive emoluments therefor.

The course adopted by the Sri Vaishnava acharyas brought together the four castes in the sphere of religious practices and obviated the creation of separate non-brahmin mutts and temples which was a feature of the Saivite religion in South India.

Sri Ramanuja's genius also created a decentralised administration in the religious sphere. Before his death he created seventy four *Holy sees*. Four of these were given jurisdiction for the exposition of his own Sri Bhasya in Sanskrit. The other seventy were given jurisdiction for the exposition of the Tamil Prabandhams. H. gnanaputra Tirukkurucaippiran Pillan was given a two fold jurisdiction, for the exposition of Sri Bhashya as well as the *Tiruvaymōḷi*. Pillan was made in fact the central and final authority. Thus Ramanuja created seventy four acharyapurushas with hereditary right of succession. They were called Simhāsanādhipatis. Their duty was to spread throughout India the tenets of the Visishtadvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja and maintain the form of temple worship of the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancharatra system as modelled by him. *While the recitation of the Vedas was the monopoly of the Brahmins the recitation of the*

Prabandham was made the common right of all the castes and both sexes.

The bulk of the people in South India have always been non-brahmins and therefore was the creation of seventy sees for the Tamil Prabandham. Besides he also pressed into service an army of seven hundred ascetics to go out and preach his philosophy. For the benefit of the yet uncivilised people living in forests and on hills some Sattāda Sri Vaishnavas were given the seal of authority to preach and to convert.

The recitation of the Tamil Prabandham was therefore made an essential feature in Vishnu temples administered by the Sri Vaishnavas and every endowment made for their maintenance was under their control (Sri Vaishnava Rakshai). It is the symbol of the observance of equality in the religious field in whatever part of the world the temple might be. The Adhyayanotsavam is an annual demonstration of this principle.

Temples visited and/or sung by the Alvars.

The Prabandham or works of the Alvars give us an idea of the type of Vishnu worship current during their days and how they themselves practised it and were successful in having God realisation in this life itself. They laid great stress on a high standard of morality, implicit faith in God and a strict routine of personal worship by concentrating the mind on a material image made of stone or metal, a carving or painting or an image formed in the mind, when one rises to that level of concentration. No definite type of worship seems to have been current then. All that was required was complete concentration on the image, with eyes fixed thereon, and to worship the image with flowers, incense and light. The thousand and eight names of Narayana are to be uttered and meditated on. If one had not mastered these names a single name say Narayana, Madhava, Govinda, may be repeated endlessly. Control of the five senses is the essential requisite for success. They had full faith in all the anecdotes of the Vishnu Purana. It is Tirumalisai āḷvār who for the first time

seems to mention the Bhagavat Gīta¹ and the essential feature of its teachings.¹ Sri Nammālvar however is the only Ālvār who has given a systematic exposition of his philosophy based on Bhakti.

As a recreation and also to re-enforce Bhakti they visited some shrines where worship was being carried on regularly and in an impressive manner and have referred to them in the songs recording their itinerary. The Srivaishnava cataloguing of the places so visited by them shows that there are one hundred and eight shrines of this character spread all over India. All these were not visited by any of the twelve Ālvārs, nor even by Sri Ramanuja who is taken as the thirteenth Ālvār. The itinerary as recorded in the songs of each Ālvār shows that some places only were visited by each. Their ambit was in most cases limited to the region in which they were born and wherein their work in the main lay. The names of the 108 sacred places and those visited and sung by each Ālvār are given in the accompanying chart. The × mark against a place shows that the places was visited by the Alvar whose name appears on the top of the column. In those early times South India was divided into regions ruled by kings of the Pallava, the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera clan.

1. சேயன் அணியன் சிறியன் மிகப்பெரியன்
ஆயன் துவரைக் கோளாய் நின்ற—மாயன் அன்று
ஓதிய வாக்கதனைக் கல்லார் உலகத்தில்
ஏதிலாராய் மெய்ஞ்ஞானமில்

(*Nan. Tiru. An. 71*)

He is Anor aṇiyan Mahato mahiyan. Those who have not learnt the lessons he gave on that day (when he came as the king of Dvaraka) will remain in darkness without true knowledge.

1. இல்லறமல் லேல் துறவறமில் லென்னும்
சொல், அறமல்லனவும் சொல்லல்ல—நல்லற
மாவனவும் நால்வேத மாத்தவமும் நாரணனே
யாவது ஈதன்றென்பாரார்?

(*Nan. Tiru. An. 72*)

Diverced from Grihasthadharmas there can be no Sanyasam¹ or giving up of all the dharmas ordained. All good acts ordained in the Vedas are to be done in the name of Narayana. Who can deny this?

A—PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP SUNG BY THE EARLY ALWARS

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Mudal alvars				Sri Tiru- malisai ālvār
		Sri Poygai ālvār	Sri Būdat ālvār	Sri Pey ālvār	Sri	
In Vada Nadu (Country north of Vengadam Hills)						
1	Tiruvengaḍam	×	×	×	×	×
2	Singavelkunram (Ahoḃilam)	..	..	..	..	..
In Tondai Naḍu						
3	Vehka	×	..	×	×	×
4	Kachchi (Attigiri)	..	×	..	..	..
5	Aṣṭabhujakaram	..	..	×	×	×
6	Vēlukkai	..	..	×	×	×
7	Pāḍagam (Pandavadutar)	..	×	×	×	×
8	Ūragam	..	..	..	..	..
9	Tiruvevul (Trivellore)	..	..	..	..	..
10	Tirunīrmalai	..	×	..	×	×
11	Māmallai	..	×	..	×	×

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Mudal ālvārs			
		Sri Poygai ālvār	Sri Bcdat ālvār	Sri Pey ālvār	Sri Tiru-malisai ālvār
12	Tiruvallikkeni	::	::	×	×
13	Tirukkattigai (Shola Singapuram)	::	::	×	::
14	Tirukkoyalūr	×	×	::	::
Nadu Nadu					
15	Tiruvarangam	×	×	×	×
16	Tanjai (māmaṅkoyil)	::	×	::	::
17	Tiruvaṅbil	::	::	::	×
18	Tiruppernagar (Kōvilāḍi)	::	::	::	×
19	Tirukkuḍandai (Kumbakonam)	::	×	×	×
20	Tiruvīṅṅar	×	::	×	::
21	Kapistalam	::	::	::	×
Sola Nadu					

Pandi Nadu

22	Tirumālimsōlai	..	×	×	..
23	Tirukkoṭṭiyūr	..	×	×	×
24	Tiruttankāl	..	×	..	..
25	Tirukkuruṅṅuḍi	×	..	..	×
Total		5	12	12	13

Note :— Tiruppānālvar who sung in praise of Tiruvarangam incidentally mentions Tiruvengadam and Paramapadam. His 1.3 is not shown although he may be considered to be one of the early Alvārs.

All the Alvar's sang Ksheerabdhi and Paramapadam also.

B—PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP SUNG BY OTHER THAN EARLY ALVARS.

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Sri Periya ālvār	Sri Andal	Sri Nam-mālvār	Sri Tiru-mangai ālvār	Sri Kula-sekhara ālvār
Vada Nadu						
1	Tiruvengadam	×	×	×	×	×
2	Singavēḷkumaram (Ahobilam)	..	..	..	×	..
3	Ayōdhya	×	..	×	×	×
4	Naimisāranayam	..	..	..	×	..
5	Sālagrāmam	×	..	..	×	..
6	Badri (Kāsamam)	×	..	..	×	..
7	Devī payāg	×	..	..	..	..
8	Nanda prayag (Tiruppiridi)	..	..	..	×	..
9	Dvāraka	×	×	×	×	..
10	Gōvardhan	×	×	×	×	..
11	Gōkulam	×	×	..	×	..
12	Kshcerābdhi	×	×	×	×	×
13	Paramapadam	×	..	×	×	..
Total Vadu Nāḍu		10	5	6	12	3

21	Tirukkachchi (Attigiri)	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Tirukkachchi (Attigiri)	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	Ashṭabhujam	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	Tiruttankā	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	Vēlukkai	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	Pāḍagam (Pāḍavadhutar)	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Tirunīrakam	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	Nilātingal tuṇḍam	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Uragane	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	Vehka	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	Tirukkārakam	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	Tirukkarvānam	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	Tirukkalvanūr	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Tiruppavalavaṇṇam	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	Paramesvara Viṇṇagaram	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	Tiruppuṭkuḷi	..	..	..	..	..	..
29	Tiruniravūr	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Tiruvevuḷ	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Tirunirmalai	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Tiruvīḍavendai	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Tirukkaḍalmalai (Māmallai)	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Tiruvallikkēni	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Tirukkaḍigai (Sholasingapuram)	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total Tondā Nāḍu					21	

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Sri Periya ālvār	Sri Andal	Sri Nam-mālvār	Sri Tiru-mangai ālvār	Sri Kula-sekhara ālvār
36	Tiruvayindirapuram	..	..	..	×	..
37	Tirukkōvalūr	..	..	..	×	..
Nadu Nadu						
Total Naḍu Nāḍu						
2						
Sola Nadu						
38	Tiruvarangam	×	×	×	×	×
39	Uraiyūr	..	..	..	×	..
40	Tanjai mamanikoyil	..	..	..	×	..
41	Tanjai yāli nagar	..	..	..	×	..
42	Tiruvaṅbil	..	..	..	×	..
43	Tirikkarambanur (Uttamar koyil)	..	..	..	×	..
44	Tiruvellarai	×	..	..	×	..
45	Puḷḷam pūdamguḍi	..	..	..	×	..
46	Tiruppērnagar (Kovilaḍi)	×	..	×	×	×
47	Tiru-ādanūr	..	..	×	×	×
48.	Tiruvaḷandūr	..	..	..	×	..
49	Tiruchirupuliyūr	..	..	..	×	..
50	Tiruchchērai (Sāraکشهترام)	..	..	..	×	..

Serial No.	Kshetram or Place (sung)	Sri Periya ālvār	Sri Andal	Sri Nam- ālvār	Sri Tiru- mangai ālvār	Sri Kula- sekhara ālvār
75	Kāvaḷambādi	..	..	..	×	..
76	Tiruveḷḷakkulam (Kaṇṇan koyil)	..	..	..	×	..
77	Tiruppattan paḷi	..	..	..	×	..
Total Sōla Nāḍu		5	2	5	38	3
Pandi Nadu						
78	Tirumāḷirum Sōlai	×	×	×	×	..
79	Tirukkōṭṭiyur	×	..	..	×	..
80	Tirumeyyam	..	..	..	×	..
81	Tiruppullāṇi (Darbhāsayanam)	..	..	..	×	..
82	Tiruttaṅkā	..	..	..	×	..
83	Tirumōkur	..	..	×	..	..
84	Tirukkūdal (Tenmadurai)	..	..	..	×	..
85	Srivilliputtur	×	×	..	..	..
86	Tirukkukur (Alvār Tirunagari)	..	..	×	..	..
87	Tolai villimangalam	..	..	×	..	..
88	Sirivara mangai (Vānamāmalai Nānguneri)	..	..	×	..	..
89	Tiruppulinguḍi	..	..	×	..	..
90	Tirupperai	..	..	×	..	..

THE ALWARS' PRABANDHAMS

91	Sri Vaikuntham	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
92	Varaguṇa mangai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
93	Tirukkuḷandai (Perunguḷam)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94	Tirukurunguḍi	X	..	..	X	..	..	..
95	Tirukkōḷūr	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Pādi Nāḍu		4	2	12	7	..	..	..
Malai Nāḍu								
96	Tirumūḷikkaḷam	..	..	X	X	..	..	..
97	Tiruppuliyur kuttanāḍu	..	..	X	X	..	..	..
98	Tirunāvāy	..	..	X	X	..	..	..
99	Tiruvallavāḷ	..	..	X	X	..	..	..
100	Tiruvananthapuram	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
101	Tiruvapparisāram	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
102	Tirukkāṭkarai	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
103	Tiruchchengunrūr	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
104	Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
105	Tiruvāttaru	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
106	Tirukkaḍittānam	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
107	Tiruvāranvīlai	..	..	X	..	..	..	..
108	Vittuvakkōḍu	..	..	..	..	..	X	..
Total Malai Nāḍu		..	..	12	4	..	1	..
Grand Total		20	9	35	84	..	6	..

NOTE:—Places sung exclusively by one *ālvār*.

By Kulasekhara (Vittuvakkudi No. 108) } In Tonḍaināḍu and nāḍu
 By Nammālvār (Pāṇḍi nāḍu ten, No. 83, 86 to 93 and 95) } nāḍu Nammalvār has sung none.
 By Nammālvār Malai nāḍu eight Nos. 100 to 107

By *Tirumangai ālvār* exclusively

in Vaḍa nāḍu one; No. 4.
 in Tonḍai nāḍu eleven, (Nos. 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32
 in Sola nāḍu thirty one (39, 43, 45, 47 to 51, 53, 56 to 77) Pāṇḍi nāḍu two (80, 82).

In between the Pallava and the Chola country lay an undefined small region called the Naḍu nāḍu or mid country. The Pallava country was also known as Tonḍaimaṇḍalam or Tonḍai nāḍu which was bounded on the north by the Svarnamukhi river and on the south by the South Pennar. The Chola country known as Sōḷa nāḍu lay between the South Pennar and the Cauvery rivers. The Pandyan kingdom lay South of the Cauvery right down to the sea. The western half of the extreme south (ruled by the Chera king) extending to the Arabian sea was called the Malai nāḍu or Hill country. The remaining part of India to the north of the Tonḍai maṇḍalam was known as the Vaḍa nāḍu or Vaḍugar nāḍu (the country of the northerners). The chart shows the sacred places arranged on the above regional basis adopted by the Sri Vaishnavas.

Shrines in the Vada Nadu, Nos. 1 to 13.

Out of the thirteen places shown, Nos. 12 and 13 are imaginary ones (Ksheerāb̄dhi and Paramapadam) which nobody has seen or could visit with this human body. Nine more, *viz.*, Ayōdhya, Naimisāraṇyam, Sāligrāmam, Badri, Dēviprayāg, Nandaprayāg, Dvāraka, Gōvardhan, and Gōkulam are in North India which the early Alvārs neither visited nor sang about. It is not certain whether the other Ālvārs who have sung had actually visited the place or places, or composed verses in praise of them as a matter of convention.

There remain only two more places in Vaḍa nāḍu *viz.*, Singavēḷkunram and Tiruvēṅgaḍam. The former lay and is in an unfrequented part of the Eastern Ghats in the present Kurnool district. It was visited and sung only by Tirumangai, the last of the Alvars.

Tiruvēṅgaḍam is the only holy place of the Vaḍa nāḍu which was sung as 'the Gloria in excelsis' by all the early ālvārs and by the later ones also excepting Madhura kavi ālvār and Tonḍaraḍip̄pōḍi Ālvār. The itinerary of the Ālvārs shows that Tiruvēṅgaḍam (this holds good of many other shrines also) was probably visited only once by each ālvar excepting Sri Nammālvār who

has sung more than four times and has visited at least twice. This will be commented on at length later in the third section of this chapter.

Shrines in Tondaimandalam or Tondai Nadu.

In Tondai nādu there are twenty two places which were visited and sung in all by five ālvārs. Out of these only eleven places were visited by the four early ālvārs all of whom belonged to that region. The other eleven places were sung by Tirumangai ālvār only. In fact none of the ālvār who belonged to the Pandya and the Malai or Chēra nādu visited any of the temples in Tondai nādu, although some of them (particularly Sri Nammalvar) managed to visit Tiruvengadam after visiting Tiruvinnagaram and Tirukkudandai (Kumba konam). This would justify the assumption that the Tamilians of the extreme south had not in those days an attachment to the northerners and did not care to assess the greatness of the early ālvārs in combating the heretic religions of Buddhism and Jainism long before the people in the extreme south had to face the problem.

Shrines in Chola Nadu.

There are forty sacred places in the Chola country. The more famous ones are Tiruvarangam (Srirangam), Tirukkudandai (Kumbakonam), Tiruchchitra kūṭam (Chidambaram), Tirukkaṇṇapuram and Tiruviṇṇagar. Some of the four Mudal ālvārs visited eight of these places. Kulasekhara alvar visited in the Chola country only two places, viz., Tirukkannapuram and Chitrikūṭam. From the latter place he went straight to Vēṅgaḍam. Periya alvar visited only five places and Sri Andal two and Sri Nammalvar five. Tirumangai was the only one who visited thirty eight out of the forty places and he hailed from the Chola country. The chart shows the details.

Shrines in Nadu Nadu.

Naḍunāḍu has only two places viz., Tirukkōvalūr and Tiruvēndipuram. The former was visited by two out of the four

early alvars and later by Tirumangai alvar, who visited Tiruvēndi puram also. None of the Pāndinadu ālvārs visited these two shrines although Tirukkoyalur is a very ancient one.

Shrines in Pandi Nadu.

It has eighteen sacred places, the more famous ones being Tirukkurunguḍi, Tirumālirumsōlai and Tirukkōṭṭiyur. Tirumālisai ālvar (one of the early alvars from Tonḍaimaṇḍalam) visited Tirukkurunguḍi and Tirukkottiyur but not Tirumālirumsōlai probably because the last named had not become prominent in his days. Nor did Kulasekhara visit the shrine.¹ But it has been visited by the later alvars (four). It will also be noticed from the chart that except in the case of Tirumālirumsolai and Tirukkurunguḍi the shrines which were visited by Sri Nammalvar were omitted by Sri Periya Alvar and Sri Andal. Apart from the circumstance that the two ālvārs belonged to different castes there may have been some other reason also for this noticeable attitude. There is also the fact that they did not visit the place of birth of each other as they seem to have been contemporaries. If they were not contemporaries we would expect the one who was born later to honour the older's birth place by a visit. The Deities in their birth places (Alvar Tirunagari and Srivilliputtur) were not visited or sung by any other ālvārs excepting themselves. This leads to the suspicion that the greatness of Sri Nammalvar and Sri Periya Alvar was recognised only after their death and perhaps due to the publicity given by Sri Nathamuni and some of the later āchāryas.

Shrines in Malai Nadu.

It has thirteen sacred places and all of them including Tiruvanantapuram owe their importance to the visit by Sri Nammalvar. Tirumangai visited some of these places, all being to the east of the ghats.

1. This may be due to the fact that it was consecrated by a Pandyan King whose image was in the temple. Tirumalisai would not bow to a human being.

The above analysis shows that the ālvārs were not great itinerants and that Tirumalisai ālvār may perhaps be considered the more adventurous one considering the times in which he lived.

During the days of Poygai ālvār there appear to have been only five sacred places or those so considered by him. During Būdattalvar's days the number increased to fourteen; but he visited only twelve and omitted even Vehka in Kānchi the birth place of Poygai, his senior in age. He however visited (in Kānchi) Pāḍagam. His own birth place Māmallai was sung by him but by no other ālvār excepting the last one Tirumangai. During the days of Pēyālvār (the third one) the number rose to 17; but he visited only twelve, including Triplicane (Tiruvallikkeni) which is near his birth place, also Tiruvaḷḷūr (Tiruvevvuḷ), Pāḍagam, Uragam and Vehka, the last three being in Kānchi. Tiruvarangam (Srirangam) and Vēngadam were visited by all of them. Tirumāliṛumsōlai was visited by Budattālvār and Pēyālvār, but not by Tirumalisai; and Poygai ālvar. During Tirumalisai ālvār's days the number rose to 23 but he visited only thirteen. Tirukkurunguḍi was visited by him alone among the early ālvārs. But Tirumāliṛumsolai which was visited by Budattālvār and Peyalvar was not visited by Tirumalisai. He might have considered that Tirumāliṛumsolai was only a recent temple probably consecrated by a Pandyan King and having no ancient traditions and that Tirukkurunguḍi though situated in the southernmost corner of South India had traditions behind it.

Kulasekhara ālvār's itinerary is worth pondering over. He was a ruling prince who had to carry the burden of governing his territory. But he found time to visit some sacred places of hoary tradition. Vittuvakkuḍi he visited in Malainādu probably because it was within his territory. The next place is Tiruvarangam in the Chola country. He did not set foot on the Pandyan soil. Even in the Chola country after visiting Srirangam (Tiruvarangam) he went to Tirukkannapuram and Chidambaram (Chitrakūṭam) which are in the border land. From Chitrakūṭam he went to Tiruvēngadam, ignoring all the holy places of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. Out of forty sacred places in the Chola country Sri Periyalvar and Sri Nammalvar each visited only five places of which Tiruva-

rangam, Tiruppērnagar, Tirukkuḍandai and Tirukkannapuram were considered worthy by both. Sri Andal visited only two places, Tiruvarangam and Tirukkannapuram. Out of the eighteen places in Pāṇḍi nāḍu only two were visited by both Sri Periya alvar and Sri Nammālvar. Ten more were visited exclusively by Nammalvar; and two more exclusively by Sri Periya alvar.

If the sacred places of North India, which probably have been sung out of veneration even without visiting, are not taken into account Sri Periya ālvār may be said to have visited only eleven places, Sri Nammalvar thirty places and Sri Tirumangai alvar seventy four places. Of the last mentioned seven only are in Pāṇḍi nāḍu and four in Malai nāḍu.

It will now be apparent that the ālvārs were not great itinerants nor were they mendicants and sanyasis as Dr. Svamikannu Pillai has presumed.¹ Each had a calling in life. Kulasekhara was a ruling prince; Nammalvar was a feudatory of the Pandyam king; Periya alvar was a lordly priest with a following of disciples; Tirumangai ālvār was a petty ruler. At the end of every ten songs sung by these ālvārs the eleventh one shows who each is and some evince a pride in their profession. It is only the early ālvārs of Tondaimandalam who refrained from disclosing their name, parentage, and calling. But Poygai ālvār makes it plain that he did not practice beggary. He distinctly says that he never coveted another man's belongings (பிறர் பொருள் நயவேன்) Their spare time alone was devoted to visiting sacred places. Their object obviously was to make the Agama form of worship in temples acceptable to the Tamil loving people of the country. Sri Alavandar in latter times acclaimed Sri Nammalvar (a sudra) as the Kulapati of Sri Vaishnavas of all the four castes and even of those outside the pale of caste. At the same time he recommended universal acceptance of the Vedic Agama form of worship. He worked for a fusion of the Sanskrit and the Tamil cultures in the religious and social field. He was only following the footsteps of Sri Nammalvar. The latter's visits to temples and his unqualified praise for the Brahmins who were reciting the Vedas

1. See Appendix VI of Dr. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris.

and performing punctually the Vedic rites were mainly intended to make the people accept the agama form of worship. Before his days Tirumalisai ālvār laid stress on accepting the precepts of the Bhagavad Gita¹ and he was the first to travel down even to Tirukkurungūdi in the extreme south.

Birth dates of the Alvars.

A few words have to be said about the birth dates of the Alvars and of the Acharyas as well. Among the scholars who devoted earnest attention to an investigation of this Dr. Svamikannu Pillai stands foremost. He inevitably came to the conclusion that the pursuit was of a Will-o'-the-wisp nature. He depended for dates upon a work known as the *Divya sūricharita* of Garuḍavāhana Pandita who is said to have professed himself a contemporary of Sri Ramanuja. He seems to have been responsible for the traditional dates which assigned the Mudal alvars and Tirumalisai to Dvāpara yuga and Sri Nammalvar to the commencing months of the Kali yuga and so on. If Dr. Svamikannu had only perused (1) the taniyan composed by Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan (the gnanaputra of Ramanuja) commencing with "Bhutam Sarascha" (2) the order in which the ālvārs stand arranged in the Ramanuja Nūṛṇḍādi (இராமானுஜ நூற்றந்தாதி, రామానుజ నూర్ణండాది) composed by Tiruvarangattu amudanār, one of the disciples of Sri Ramanuja (3) the order assigned to them by Sri Ramanuja (3) the order assigned to them by Sri Vēdānta Desikar in his *Prabandhasaram* (பிரபந்த ஸாரம், ప్రబంధసారం) which gives also the calendrical details of month and asterism (4) the order assigned to them by Sri Periya jiyar (alias Manavāla mahāmuni) in his *Upadesaratnamālai* (உபதேச ரத்ன மாலை ఉపదేశ రత్నమాలై) which adopts the aippasi month as the starting point of his chronology and (5) the *Vali Tirunāmam* (வாழி திருநாமம், వాళితిరునామమ్) of the ālvārs composed by Appillai who was one of the disciples of Sri Manavāla Mahāmuni, he would not have attempted to find the birth dates of the alvars. *Ramanujanūṛṇḍādi* may be assigned to the second quarter of the twelfth century after the death of Sri Ramanuja. Tiruk-

1. Nanmukhan Tiruvantadi 71, 72.

kurukaippiran Pillan's taniyan might have been composed in the first quarter of that century. Sri Vēdānta Desikar's Prabandhasaram may be given some date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, at a time when he was busy combating those who opposed the recital of the Prabandhams in Srirangam. Sri Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's life period was from 1370 to 1443 A.D. His Upadēsaratnamalai may be given some date about 1430 A.D. Sri Appillai being a disciple of the former, his Vāḷi Tirunāmam may be assigned to about the end of the fifteen century.

The first to assign in writing a month and asterism of birth for each āḷvār was Sri Vedanta Desika probably in some year after 1330 A.D. Neither Pillān nor Tiruvarangattu amudanār who were contemporaries and disciples of Sri Ramanuja gave the month and asterism of birth. If the information had been available in their days Amudanar who wrote 108 verses would not have failed to incorporate such a valuable piece of information. The order in which the alvars are arranged by these two is also not the same. Pillan's arrangement is Bhuttatalvar, Poygai, Peyalvar, (Bhattanātha or) Periya alvar; (Sree) Andal; (Bhaktisāra alias), Tirumaḷisai; Kulasekhara, (Yogivāha alias) Tiruppānan; (Bhaktānghrīrenu, alias) Tonḍaraḍippoḍi; (Parakāla, alias) Tirumangai; Yatindra (Sri Ramanuja); Misra (Madhurakavi) and Parānkusa.

Sri Tiruvarangattamudanār's arrangement is—Poygai, Bhūtam, Peyan, Tiruppānan Tirumaḷisai, Tonḍaraḍippoḍi, Kulasekharan, Periya alvar, Āṇḍāl, Tirumangai, Mathurakavi, (Satakopa) Nammalvar, Nāthamuni, Yāmunamuni, and Sri Ramanuja.

There is considerable difference between the two arrangements. The only point on which both agree is about the Mudal alvars and even there there is a slight difference. The inevitable inference is that nothing definite was known during Sri Ramanuja's days about the birth dates of the āḷvārs nor was there any anxiety to ferret out the information. There obviously was some speculation during the two succeeding centuries. Among Hindus the month and the asterism of birth used to be noted or remembered in the case of most births since even the name of the person is deter-

mined generally by the asterism of birth. So Sri Vedanta Desika probably accepted a tradition of a certain order of birth which perhaps was current in his days or he himself devised such an order and assigned to each a month and nakshatra as a matter of convention. His arrangement is:—Poygai (in Kanchi Arpasi Sravanam); Bhutam (in Kadalmallai or Māmalar—Arpasi Aviṭṭam); Pēy (in Mayilai, Arpasi Satayam); Tirumalisai (in Malisai; in Tai Makham); Nammālvar (in Kurukai; Vaikāsi Visākham); Mathurakavi (in Tirukkōḷur, Chittirai, Chitta), Kulasekhara (in Vanjikkalam in Māsi, Punarvasu); Periya āḷvār (in Sri Villiputtur Āṇi Svāti); Sri Andal (in Sri Villiputtur, Āḍi Pūram), Tondaradippodi (Maṇḍamkuḍi, Margali Jyeshtha); Tiruppānan (Uraiyur, Kārti, Rohini); Tirumangai (Kannamangai, Kartigai, Krittikai). The place of birth also is given in the above.

The next arrangement was by Sri Manavālamāmuni who, it is no surprise to find, made yet another arrangement of the names keeping only the month and the asterism as before for each alvar. His arrangement in the *Upadesaratnamalai* is—

Poygai, Bhutam and Pey (in Arpasi Sravanam, Aviṭṭam and Satayam respectively); Tirumangai (in Kartigai Krittikai), Tiruppānan (Kartikai Rohini); Tondaradippodi (Mārgali, Jyeshtha); Tirumalisai (Tai, Makha); Kulasekhara (Māsi, Punarvasu); Nammālvār (Vaikāsi, Visakam); Periyālvār (Āṇi Svāti); Sri Andal (Āḍi Pūram); Mathurakavi (Chittira, Chitta); Sri Ramanuja (Chittirai, Arudra). He omitted the place of birth.

The *Vaḷi Tirunamam* by Appillai arranges thus :—Poygai, Bhutam Pey alvar, Tirumalisai, Nammalvar; Kulasekhara, Periyalvar, Tondaradippodi; Tiruppanan, Tirumangai, Mathurakavi, Āṇḍal. This is more in accordance with Vedānta Desika's arrangement.

The arrangement by Manavālamāmuni differs from that of his disciple Appillai. The only possible inference is that even to the end of the fifteenth century there was no agreement about the dates of birth of the alvars. The month of birth and the

Nakshatra only were agreed upon. If Dr. Svamikannu Pillai had only read these works he would not have made the Will-o'-the-wisp attempt to fix the dates of the alvars. The accompanying chart shows all the arrangements which have been discussed above. It may be added here that the celebration of the festival known as Āṭṭai-Tirunakshatram (annual birth star) of the alvars was commenced in Tirupati only in 1468 A.D. with the one for Kula-sekhara alvar. Sri Andal's Tirunakshatram was not celebrated till 1496 A.D., although she was being given a holy bath every Friday. Even Sri Ramanuja had his Tirunakshatram celebration only 1475 A.D. in Tirupati. All the āḷvars got it in Tirumala in 1476 A.D. These will be discussed in Section 2 of this chapter. The coining of a birth day for the alvars might have been due to the desire to celebrate it as a festival. Whether in the South Tamil country the Āṭṭai-tirunakshatrams of the āḷvārs were being celebrated earlier than in Tirupati has to be ascertained from other evidence.

It may be noted that in no case have the acharyas told us on what considerations "the order of succession" (if such an expression may be used) shown by them was adopted. How the month and the asterism of birth of each āḷvār was ascertained is also not given. Sri Manavala māṃuni arranged them in the order of the month commencing with aippasi (Tula). His disciple Appillai arranges the succession for Vāḷi Tirunāmam obviously in the chronological order of birth, but places Mathurakavi and Sri Andal at the end.

The order of succession as gleaned from the Prabandhams.

But certain features noticeable in the Prabandhams seem to warrant an arrangement or order of succession of the Āḷvārs. This order is given in column 7 of the chart.

Poygai Alvar.

From *Poygai Āḷvār's* "First Tiruvandadi" it is seen that in his days the Vengadam Hill was the habitat of elephants which

CHART SHOWING SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE BIRTH DATES OF THE ALVARS.

Pillan's <i>Tavian</i> 1130 A.D.	Amudanar's Ramanuja <i>Nurran-dadi</i> 1150 A.D.	Vedanta Desika's <i>Prabandhasāram</i> about 1330 A.D.	Manavalamamuni's <i>Upadesāratnamalai</i> 1440 A.D.	Appillai's <i>Vali Tirunamam</i> 1500 A.D.	Dr. Swami kannu's consideration.
Bhūdat-tālvār	Poygai	Poygai, in Kachchi, Aippasi Sravanam	Poygai Aippasi Sravanam	Poygai in Kachchi, Tula Sravanam	Poygai 719 A.D.
Poygai ālvār	Bhutam	Bhutam in Kadalmallai Aippasi Avittam	Bhūtam Aippasi Avittam	Bhūtam in Kadalmallai Aippasi, Avittam	Bhutam 719 A.D.
Pēy ālvār	Pey	Pey in Mayilai Aippasi Satayam	Pey alvar Aippasi Satayam	Pey in Mayilai Aippasi Satayam	Pey 719 A.D.
Periya ālvār (Bhaṭṭanātha).	Tiruppanan	Tirumalaisai in Malisai Tai, Makhham	Tirumangai Kartikai, Krithika	Tirumalaisai Malisai, Tai Makhham	Tiru-malaisai maisai 720 A.D.

Sree Āṇḍāl	Tūmalisai	Nammālvār in Karukur; Vaikasi, Visakam	Tiruppānan Kartigai Rohini	Nammālvār in Kurukur Vaikasi Visakham	Periyal- var 725 A.D.	Tirup- panan
Tiru- malisai (Bhākti- sāraṇ)	Tonda- radippodi	Mathurakavi in Tirukkōhur Chittirai, Chittira	Tondaradip- podi Margai Jyeshta	Kulasekhara in Vanjik- kalam Masi, Punarvasu	.. .. Kulase- khara 767 A.D. ..	Kulase- khara
Kulase- khara	Kulase- khara	Kulasekhara in Vanjik- kalam Māsi, Punarvasu	Tirumalīsai Tai, Makha	Periya alvar in Villiputtur Āni, Svāti	Āṇḍāl 776 A.D.	Tondar- adip- podi
Tirup- panan (Yōgi vāhan)	Periya alvar	Periya ālvar in Villiputtur Āni Svāti	Kulasekhara Masi, Punar- vasu	Tondaradi- ppodi in Man- danguḍi Mar- ḡali, Jyeshta	Tiru- mangai 776 A.D.	Periyal- var
Tonda- radippodi (Bhaktan- grirēnu)	Sri Āṇḍāl	Sri Āṇḍāl in Villiputtur Āḍi, Puram	Nammalvar Vaikasi, Visakam	Tiruppānan in Urayur Karti- kai, Rohini	Tonda- radi 787 A.D.	Āṇḍāl

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Pillai's <i>Tanjan</i> 1130 A.D.	Amudana- nar's <i>Ramanuja</i> <i>Nurran-</i> <i>dadi</i> 1150 A.D.	Vedanta Desika's <i>Prabandhasaram</i> about 1330 A.D.	Manavala- mamuni's <i>Upadesaratna-</i> <i>malai</i> 1440 A.D.	Appillai's <i>Vali</i> <i>Tirumam</i> 1500 A.D.	Dr. Swami kannu's ..	On critical conside- ration. ..
Tiru- mangai (Parakāla)	Tiru- mangai	Tondaradip- podi in Man- dangudi Mar- gali, Jyeshta	Periyalvar Āni, Svāti	Tirumangai in Uraiyalur Kartigai, Krithika	Mathura Kavi 797 A.D.	Nam- malvar
Sri Rama- nuja (Yatindra)	Mathura Kavi	Tiruppanan in Urayur Karti- gai, Rohini	Āṇḍāl, Adi, Puram	Mathurakavi in Tirukkōlur Chittirai, Chitta.	Nam- malvar 798 A.D.	Mathura Kavi
Misra (Mathura Kavi)	Nammal- var	Tirumangai in Kannamangai Kartigai, Krithikai	Mathurakavi Chittirai, Chitta	Āṇḍāl, in Villiputtur Adi Pūram	..	Tiru- mangai
Paran- kusamuni, alias Nam- malvar	Natha- muni, Yamuna Muni and Sri Rama- nuja	..	Sri Ramanuja Chittirai, Arudra	..	..	..

the 'Kuravars' or Kurbas who inhabited or frequented the hill used to capture and tame by a certain primitive and ingenious method¹ and also how they scared away huge pythons² which sometimes obstructed their path. The autogenous and all bamboo forests are also described. It is also stated that wise Vedic scholars from all parts of the country who were engaged in evolving from the Srutis an agreed philosophical system would go to the hill and worship the Deity seeking enlightenment on the real import of seemingly conflicting Srutis (*bhedābheda Srutis*).³ There is no reference made in the songs to Buddhism, Jainism or Saivism, not to speak of Advaitism. The last named does not appear to have been current during the days of any of the ālvārs. Sri Sankaracharya's life period is presumed to be from 737—769. Therefore not only Poygai ālvār but all the other ālvārs as well seem to have flourished before the date of death of Sankaracharya and before Advaitism had any large following. None of the ālvārs refers to it in the Prabandham. The date of Poygai ālvār may therefore be assigned to a time when the Vengadam Hill was an unexplored forest infested by elephants and inhabited by kuravars (or the kurbas).⁴ Nor was there a temple structure then.

Bhudattalvar.

The description of the hill, the wild animals and the primitive inhabitants given by *Bhudattalvar* is similar to what was given

1. First Tiruvandādi I. 40.

2. First Tiruvandādi I. 38.

3. First Tiruvandādi 37.

4. The Tamil term Kuravar used by the early Alvārs is presumably a corruption of 'Kuraba.' These Kurabas seem to have been inhabiting this part of the country as also Kurnool, Mysore, Salem, Coimbatore and the Nilgris. Kurabalakota is an existing village in the Madanapalli taluk of the Chittoor District (Lat 13°-39' North, Long. 78° 25' East). Kurbalapatti is in Ooty Lat. 11°-34' North and Long. 77°-41' East. Kuraba Nagalapuram in Kurnool Lat. 15°-45' North and Long 77°-54' East. Kurumba palayam in Coimbatore. Kurumbapatti and Kurumbarahalli in Salem. The Kurubas (Kuravar) appear to have been a virile set of people who were in possession of the Tirumalai Hills and the surrounding country even before the Pallava conquered it. Poygai Alvar's may thus have flourished even before 550 A.D.

by Poygai ālvar. The only improvement is that he found the Deity decorated with flower garlands (Tuḷāyalangal)¹ and dressed up as Bālakrishna with the tuft tied up into a knot (தொண்டை) over the forehead.² There were flower bearing creepers on the banks of the hill³ streams Bhudattalvar's birth place was "Māmallai" (the present Mahabalipuram) a flourishing seaport during the reign of the Pallava King Narasimha Varman I, surnamed Māmalla 630—660 A.D. The place got to its name from the name of its king but was subsequently known as Kadalmallai. Bhudattalvār prides himself on his skill to express in chasty Tamil the philosophic ideas of the Upanishads "ஞானத்தமிழ் புரிந்த நான்" Bhudattalvar may therefore be presumed to have flourished about 600—650 A.D. Poygai ālvar would have been his senior. His date may be taken as 500 or 550 A.D.

Pey alvar.

Pey ālvār describes the hill in about the same way as did the other two. He says in addition that the Kuravars were taking to the cultivation of dry crop (Italian Millet or Tinai or Koṭṭa) in addition to their Shikari occupation of capturing elephants. *Pey ālvār's* date may be put down a few years after Bhudattalvar's.

Tirumalisai alvar.

Tirumalisai ālvār's description is more elaborate. He definitely has stated that the Deity was standing on a deforested plot of ground, had flowers placed on Him by worshippers and that the image was standing tall and clearly visible from all directions.⁴ His description of the hill shows that elephants, lions and panthers were infesting the forests. He changed his religion from Buddhism to Jainism and Saivism successively and at last found rest and salvation by pinning his faith in the worship of Narayana. He

-
1. Second Tiruvandādi 53.
 2. Second Tiruvandādi 33 and 76.
 3. Third Tiruvandadi 89.
 4. Nanmukhan Tiruvandādi 45.

had studied the Bhagavat Gita in Sanskrit and his work shows that he was well versed in the Puranas etc., and had great reverence for the Vedic religion and culture. In fixing his date we have to take note of the description given in the Tamil classic *Silappadhikaram* which describes the Vengadam Hill and the Deity as having been decorated with flowers and having Sankham, Chakram and Bow in hand which are not mentioned by Tirumalisai. *Sitiappadhikaram* is assigned to 756 A.D. by Dr. Swamikannu Pillai. Tirumalisai might have flourished about a century earlier.

Tiruppana alvar.

His successor or contemporary or predecessor in point of time may be *Tiruppanālvār*. The description which he gives in his "*Amalanadippiran*" of the image of Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam has to be taken into consideration in this connection. He describes the Deity from foot to head as he worshipped for the first time in his life. He does not mention the image of Sri Devi on the form of the Deity. The description given in *Silappadhikaram* distinctly mentions the existence of the image of Sri Devi (திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்). Therefore Tiruppanalvar should have flourished before 756 A.D. The use of a relatively large number of Sanskrit words within the short space of his ten verses and the strict adherence to the use of chaste Tamil words (as far as could be managed) by Tirumalisai and his predecessor would warrant his being placed next to Tirumalisai in point of time, or about 700 A.D. although Dr. Swamikannu gives the date 610 A.D.

Kulasekhara alvar.

Kulasekhara ālvār's Tirumoli shows that Sri Ranganatha in Srirangam was being worshipped six times a day (as prescribed in the agamas); whereas in Tirumala such was not at that time the case. In his days elephants seem to have become scarce in Tirumala. The use of the 'Tambaka' wood is mentioned in his song leading to the inference that there was a wooden temple

(or makeshift for one) with doorstep etc. The use of a gold cup for receiving the water used during worship is also mentioned. His visit would therefore have been after 756 A.D. He was a ruling Prince and his rapid marches avoiding the Pandyan, Chola and even the Pallava country have also to be given consideration. While in Srirangam he gave expression to his dissatisfaction that worshippers were not singing and praising God in their own mother tongue in addition to the routine agamic Sanskrit texts. Tonḍaraḍippodi ālvār has composed verses in Tamil for waking up the Deity in Srirangam from sleep, for adorning with flower garlands and so on. His description of Sri Ranganatha shows that many additional images were added to the pantheon so as to make up what, in the language of the agamas, is called Bhoga Sayana Murti. He therefore might be placed next after Kulasekhara ālvār. He refers also to Buddhists, Jains etc., in his songs.

Periya alvar.

Periya ālvār's reference to the Pandyan King Neḍumāraṇ alias Varaguṇa Maharaja (765--815 A.D.) in Periya alvar *Tirumoli* IV. 2. 7¹ and his references to one Selvan, the purohīṭ and court pundit of that king in IV. 4. 8 and *Tiruppallandu*. 11. go to show

கொன்னவில் கூர்வேற் கோன்நெடு மாறன்தென் கூடற்கோன்
தென்னன் கொண்டார்டும் தென்திரு மாலிருஞ் சோலையே
Periyālvār Tirumoli IV. 2. 7

நளிர்ந்த சீலன் நயாசலன் அபிமான துங்களை நாள்தொறும்
தெளிந்த செல்வனைச் சேவகங் கொண்ட செங்கண்மால்

திருகோட்டியூர்

குளிர்ந்துறை கின்றகோவிந்தன் குணம்பாடு வாருள்ள நாட்டினுள்
Periyālvār Tirumoli. IV. S.S.

அல்வழக் கொன்றுமில் லா அணி கோட்டியார் கோன் அபி

மான துங்கள்

செல்வனைப் போலத் திருமாலே நானுமு னக்குப் பழவடியேன்.

Tiruppallandu, 11.

that he was their contemporary, as the references are made in the present tense.

Sri Nammalvar.

Sri Nammalvar sings the praise of Narasingaswami (Who however he said was far away from him) soon after singing the praise of Tirukkurun-gudi Nambi. His original name is Kāri Māran and he got the honorific name Sathakopan by virtue of his dispelling spiritual ignorance. The builder of the cave temple of Narasimha in the Anamalai Hill was Māran Kāri. This temple was consecrated by Mathurakavi in 770 A.D. Madhurakavi was a pious and learned Brahmin attached to Māran Kāri before he became the famous disciple of his son Kāri Māran Sathakopan. It is but natural that after singing the praise of Tirukkurungudi Nambi (Tiruvāy. I. 10. 9) at whose temple his father and mother did a long penance to be blessed with a worthy son he should sing (Tiruvāy. II. 4. 1 and 2) the praise of Narasinga the Deity whose cave temple was built and consecrated by his father and Madhura Kavi. Sri Nammalvar also sings the praise of Varaguna Mangai Deity.¹ Varaguna Maharaja reigned from 765 to 815 A.D. He was also known as Māran Saḍayan, Neḍunjaḍayan Neḍumāran and aṭila Parāntaka (1). These references point to the probability that Sri Nammalvar was a contemporary of Varaguna Maharaja and also of Sri Periya alvar. Sri Nammalvar also specially mentions² that the compound walls of the Tirukkannapuram temple were built of cutstone. A special mention of it warrants the inference that in older times the compound walls would have been of burnt brick. Building with cutstone commenced sometime after con-

-
1. புளிங்குடிக்கிடைந்து வரகுண மங்கை யிருந்து
வைகுந் தத்துள் நின்று தெளிந்தஎன் சிந்தை
யகங்கு யாதே என்னையாள்வாய்.

(Tiru. 9. 2. 4.)

கல்வி லேய்ந்த மதில்கும் திருக்கண் ணபுரம்
சொல்ல நானும் துயர்பாடு சாராவே.

(Tiru. 9. 10. 10.)

struction of cave temples hewn out of rock had become common and therefore would have been a feature of the eighth century.

Tirumangai alvar.

Tirumangai ālvār:—The period in which he flourished is usually fixed with reference to two historical incidents referred to by him in his *Periya Tirumoli*. In 2-8-10 he says that the Deity Ashṭabhujakaran is in Kachchi (Kānchipuram) where reigned at that time one (Niḷmuḍi Malai) Vairamēghan to whom the King of the Tondaiyars (a Pallava) was paying obeisance. Kachchi was twice conquered from the Pallavas—once from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (710—775 A.D.) by the Chalukya King Vikramarka II in 743—746; for a second time from Nandivarman's successor Danti Varman (775—826 A.D.) by the Rashtrakūta King Govinda III in 804 A.D. In 746 Nandivarman reconquered the place from Vikramaditya and did not therefore continue it to be subordinate to Vikramaditya. But Dantivarman submitted to the Rashtrakuta King by paying a tribute. Perhaps Govinda III was also known as Vairamēgha. It may therefore be taken that Tirumangai ālvār refers to the incident in 804 A.D. He was therefore a contemporary of Dantivarman. The other reference is contained in the ten verses about the Deity in Paramesvara Viṅṅagaram (*Periya Tirumoli* 2-9) ten verses. In the first verse the following occurs.

மல்லவன் வில்லவன் என்று உலகில்
பலராய்ப் பலவேந்தர் வணங்குகழல்
பல்லவன் மல்லயர் கோன்பணிந்த
பரமேச்சுர விண் ணகரமதுவே. (2. 9. 1.)

There is the further information in the next verse

தேர்மன்னு தென்னவனை முனையில் செருவில்
திறல்வாட் டியதிண் சிலையோன்
பார்மன்னு பல்லவர் கோன்பணிந்த
பரமேச் சுரவிண் ணகரமதுவே. (2. 9. 2)

A Pallava King is said to have defeated a 'Tennavan' Southern King (meaning Pandya King) in past time and the Pallava King who defeated him is said to have worshipped (also in the past) the Deity in the Paramesvara Vinnagaram temple. Early accounts of South Indian History tell us that Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (710—775) conquered the countries of Vallabha, Kalabra, Kērala, Pandya, Chōla, Tuluva and Konkana. So far as Tirumangai alvar is concerned the conquest of Pandya was an incident at some past date by Nandivarman II. We may therefore assume that Tirumangai alvar flourished sometime after 775 A.D. and that he was not a contemporary of Nandivarman II but only of his successor Dantivarman (775—826 A.D.). There is one observation worth making. It is strange that he has not said one word about Periya alvar, Sri Āndal, Madhurakavi and Sri Nammalvar. They were not perhaps considered great religious leaders in those days; or Tirumangai alvar had not a high regard for the kings and people of the extreme South. He calls Varaguna Maharajah by the name தென்னன் (the man of the South) which is not quite a respectable way of referring to a king. The same indifference may have been shown by him to the religious leaders of the South. He did not visit Srivilliputtur and Tirukkukur (Alvar Tirunagari).

The order of succession of the ālvārs as deduced from incidents mentioned in their songs is shown in column 7 of the chart.

CHAPTER XXIII—(Contd.)

SECTION—2.

TIRUMOLI RECITAL IN TIRUMALAI-TIRUPATI TEMPLES.

IN this section an attempt will be made to trace the stages by which the recital of the Prabandham of the Āḷvārs was introduced in the Tirupati and the Tirumalai temples.

The first attempt was made by some one whose name is not given in the incomplete inscription (I. 61) but who endowed lands for which the Kaikkolars attached to the temples of Sri Govindarajaswami and Sri Venkatesvaraswami were made the permanent tenants who were to deliver annually certain quantities of paddy from the lands which were in their enjoyment for the purpose of making food offerings to Sri Govindaraja during the annual Vaikasi festival for eight days *i.e.*, from the second to the ninth day in connection with the recitation of *Tirumoli* (called *Tirumolippaḍi*) and to Sri Venkateswaraswami for Nimandam during the annual Chittirai festival. The inscription (I. 61) is dated the fourth regnal year of Vijayagandagopala and is to be found behind the Dvārapala on the proper right side of the entrance into the shrine. A few letters at the commencement of each line are stated to be covered by a stone pillar. Vijayagandagopala's reign is presumed to extend from 1250 to 1285 A.D. The date of the inscription may therefore be taken to be 1253 A.D. He was not however the ruler of the Tirupati region at that time as Sri Vira Narasingayadavaraya continued to be the ruler till 1265 A.D. The latter made in 1234 A.D., a golden Sikharam for the four faced wooden car of Sri Govindaraja (I. 86). It is not known whether within this period he was at any time conquered by Vijayagandagopala. It is also stated in this inscription that there was a Chittirai annual festival in Tirumala. It is only from a much later inscription (V. 129 p. 354 dated 8th July 1551) that we learn that this Chittirai festival was instituted by an accountant of the Temple whose name ends

with Mēḷuḍaiyar (கணக்கப்பிள்ளைய... ..மேலுடையார் கட்டிந
சித்திரை திருஞள்).

Tiruppavai recital in Tirumala (about 1250—55).

The recital of *Tirumōḷi* was commenced in 1253 A.D., in Tirupati only but not in Tirumala. It is not stated whether the recital was done in street procession or in the temple itself. With the above inscription may be linked another one (I. 74) of which the first portion is missing and therefore the year could not be stated. But as the endowment was made in the shape of gold coins called Gandagopalan māḍai (గంధ గోపాల మూడై, கண்ட கோபாலன்மாடை), it is reasonable to presume that it was made sometime during his reign (1250—1285). The inscription is now found on the north wall of the third prakaram of the Tirumalai temple. We have reasons to believe that some of the inscribed stones which were on the old prakaram walls of the Tirumalai temple were not properly reset in their original position when the renovation of the temple and the prakaram walls was made under Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya's orders about 1250 A.D. Stray ones found their place subsequently in all odd places. This inscribed stone is one such. It may therefore be assigned a date about 1250—1255 A.D. The inscription gives the information that *Tiruppavai* was sung in Tirumala during the Chittirai festival. Being a composition of 30 verses only it was sung perhaps when the utsava murti was in āsthanam or durbar. The food offering made in this connection was called Tiruppāvaiḍḍi (திருப்பாவை ப்படி உக்புடி). *Tirumōḷi* however was not sung then in Tirumala; nor was *Tiruvaymōḷi*. This was done perhaps soon after the renovation of the temple in 1250 A. D. (Vide I. 88).

We may remind ourselves here that the commentaries (Vyākyaṇams) for the several portions which compose the Tamil Prabandham excepting the first one for *Tiruvaymōḷi* were made by different ācharyas from time to time but all of them later than the one for *Tiruvaymōḷi*. For facilitating memorising, among other reasons, Adhyayanotsavam was taken advantage of to recite the *Tiruvaymōḷi* in particular on a footing of equality with the

Vedas. It would therefore be natural to expect that the *Tiruvāymoḷi* should have been the first to be recited in Tirumala and Tirupati. Such was not the case. The recitation of *Tirumoḷi* and *Tiruppavai* however happen to be the first attempts. The reason is not far to seek. It would have been a difficult matter to train a choir of singers to recite the 1102 verses of *Tiruvāymoḷi*. Those were days when there were no printed books and cadgeon leaf books too would have been rare as copying would have been a laborious task. So the shorter pieces of the Prabandham seem to have been selected for recitation. There is also the fact that Prabandham recital was not an enterprise of the local residents. It was an exotic adventure which had to be carefully nurtured. There was not in those days an indigenous Sri Vaishnava population worth mentioning in Tirupati and Tirumala. Strict measures had to be adopted to compel Sri Vaishnavas to build houses and reside in Tirupati if they desired to do service in the Tirumalai temple. They had also to feel satisfied with the kind and quantity of food which the temple supplied. Therefore for the recitation of the Alvārs' songs Sri Vaishnavas had to be got from other places during the festivals and endowments were made to provide such men with food. The number of men so imported would have been very limited nor would all of them have been men fully versed in all the prabandhams.

After Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan wrote the first commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḷi* called (6000 padi) *Arāyirappadi*, Nanjīyar (Vedanti) wrote commentaries on the *Tiruvāymoḷi* as well as on *Tiruppāvai*. His disciple was *Nampillai*, also known as *Varadaraja*, *Tirukkalikanriḍāsar* and *Lokacharya*. He was also a commentator. For our history he may be taken to be one of the four bhaktas who prevailed upon the Chola king Rajarajadevar in the 19th year of his reign to issue an edict asking the inhabitants of the villages of Kudavar nāḍu to contribute annually, as *mēra* for the shrine of Tirumangai ālvar newly installed in Tirupati, 5 tūmbu of paddy per acre of land (I. 40, 1234 A.D.). He was born in 1207 A.D. He may have been responsible for the endowment made (I. 61) for the recital of *Tirumoḷi* during the Vaikasi festival of Sri Govindaraja in 1253, he would then have been about 46 years old. He might equally have been responsible for

the singing of Tiruppavai in Tirumala about the same period (I. 74).

Inscription I. 61 speaks of Tirumoḷippaḍi but does not state which Tirumoḷi was recited. There are four Tirumoḷis. One is called Periya ālvār's Tirumoli, the second is known as Nāchchiyār Tirumoli by Sri Āṇḍal; the third is known as Kulasekhara Alvar's Perumāḷ Tirumoli and the fourth is known as the Periya Tirumoli of Tirumangai āḷvār. Although the suggestion was made above that Nampillai might have been responsible for the installation of Tirumangai alvar in Tirupati it does not follow therefrom that he would have selected Tirumangai āḷvār's Periya Tirumoḷi for recitation during the Vaikasi festival in Tirupati. Seeing that Tiruppāvai was selected for recitation in Tirumala, it may be presumed that Sri Āṇḍal's Tirumoli was selected for recitation in Tirupati as it consists of only 143 verses. The commentaries on the twenty two works of the Prabandham were made by Periya Achchan Pillai only about 1280 A.D. and they would have been available to the public in general very much later.

Tiruppavai songs were not composed for recitation in procession during a festival but for recitation during the early hours of the morning in the month of Margali (Margasira). The probability therefore is that Tiruppavai was sung while the utsava murti was in āsthanam or durbar and that immediately thereafter a food offering would have been made.

The above two are the only early instances when any portion of the Prabandhams was recited. In Tirupati it was soon after the presentation of the four-faced car by Vira Narasinga Yadavaraaya and in Tirumala soon after the renovation of the temple. These would have been occasions which induced religiously minded men to undertake a pilgrimage and make endowment. Thereafter although endowments were made for daily sandhi food offerings and special ones during the Brahmotsavam festivals (such as the ones mentioned in I. 98, 103, 104 and 106) nothing followed to encourage the recitation of the Prabandhams of the Alvars in Tirupati and Tirumala.

**Third attempt Tiruvāymoḷi recital in Tirumala
1360 A.D.**

The recital of Tiruvāymoḷi—and that in connection with the Tirunāḷs or festivals—is mentioned in an inscription (l. 107, 26-1-1360 A.D.) which is on the south wall (inner side) of the first (or inner) gopuram in Tirumala Temple. The inscription is incomplete and fragmentary, but sufficiently intelligible. It was made in the reign of Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya which commenced in 1336 or 1337 A.D. The name of the cyclic year is also missing. It was on a Monday, 10th day of the bright fortnight in the Tamil month of Kūmbha concurrent with the asterism Rohini. The 26th of January 1360 A.D. satisfies these data. The endowment was for a cooked food offering (Tirupponakam) to be made when the Deity was at the Tiruvasal or main gateway, seated in a (mantapam) on all the ten days and after bearing the Tiruvāymoḷi recital.¹

The wording does not warrant the interpretation that the recital was done in the festival procession. It conveys the impression that it took place when the Deity was seated in a mantapam known in later centuries as the Tiruvāymoḷi mantapam in front of or near the main gateway. The donor's name is given as “the Chola Chēḍirāyan of Kulatilaka Chaturvēdi mangalam in Cheyyur koṭṭam¹ (குலதிலக சதுர்வேதிமங்கல—செய்யூர் கொட்டத்தில் சோழ — ஆன செதி ராயன் போலே). The description is enough to show that the donor was subject to the Chola king and by race a Chera nobleman. He was not personally in Tirumala at the time. The endowment stood in his name (பேராலே). So this attempt to recite the Tiruvāymoḷi was not made by the natives of Tirupati or Tirumala. The donor did not take the initiative, but it was some other person whose name is not given in the inscription. It is however possible to guess the name. It has already been stated that a little before 1360 A.D., the Muslim

1. “...திருநாள்கள்தோறும்—செய்து அருள நிச்சயித்த திருப் போனகம்—திருவாசலில் அமுதுசெய்து—அரு—திருவாய் மொழி கேட்டருளுட பத்து—ல் ஏறி அமுது செய்தருளும்—”

power was annihilated in the south by the Vijayanagar Prince Kuṁhara Kempanna and that Sri Gopanna (Gopanaraya) the Vijayanagar Commander and Viceroy at Chengi Fort safely conveyed Sri Ranganatha's Utsava murti from Tirumala to Srirangam. The Prabandhams were recited there with great demonstrations after the objections raised by non-Sri Vaishnavas were overcome by Sri Vedanta Desika in a special assembly convened for the purpose. Among the younger enthusiasts of those days there was one Tiruvāymoḷippillai (also known as Tirumalai ālvān alias Tirumalai āṇḍān). He is the grand-son of Nampillai (alias Lōkacharya, Tirukkalikanridasar) whose name we associated with the Tirumoli recital in Tirupati in 1253 A.D. Nampillai's son was known as Pillai Lōkacharya whose name is associated with Sri Ranganatha's utsava murti being conveyed to Tirumala about 1330 A.D. for safety. Tiruvāymoḷippillai is Pillai Lōkacharya's son. His birth was perhaps in Tirumala and the date generally assumed is 1328 A.D. He therefore seems to have been named Tirumalai āḷvān. His unrivalled skill in Tiruvāymoḷi recitation seems to have got for him the popular surname Tiruvāymoḷippillai. He might have been responsible for the endowment by the Chēḍirayan (a Chera prince) in 1360 A.D. The recitation was not done in a walking procession in the streets but in front of the Tiruvāsal (the main entrance to the temple). There was no gopuram at that time over the gateway, but was constructed in the fifteenth century by Saluva Narasimha who made a grant of the village of Durgasamudram for that purpose and for constructing the compound walls.

**Tiruppavai recital during Margali month in Tirumala
and next in Tirupati—1390 A. D.**

The next important step was an endowment made by Sri Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar in 1390 (No. I. 187) when he had become one of the Sthanattar of the temple in addition to his office as the Kartar of the Arisanālayan tirunandavanam and matham. This inscription is an instructive one. It states that in connection with the recitation of the Tiruppāvai songs (of Sri Aṇḍāl) in the presence of the Utsava murti (Malaikuniyaninra perumal and

Nāchchimārs) during the thirty days of the month of Margali (Dhanus) this jiyar made a provision for daily food offering (Tiruvolakkam) for the middle ten days of that month. The same inscription also states that during the Adhyayanam of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati one Tiruvolakkam food offering should be made on each of the ten days when Tiruppavai would be recited.¹

In speaking of the Tirumalai temple utsava murti the term "Tiruvadhayanam" is not used but only "மார்கழி மாதத்தில் கேட்டருளும் திருப்பாவை" "Tiruppavai heard in the Mārgali month"; whereas in reference to the Tirupati temple of Sri Govindarajaswami the month Margali is not mentioned but only the words 'Tiruvadhayanam' days "திருவத்தியேனத்தில் நாள்". The inferences to be drawn are that in Tirumalai during the thirty days of the month of Margali (Dhanus) the Tamil work Tiruppāvai consisting of thirty stanzas was being recited daily and that there was no Tiruvadhayanam; that in Tirupati Tiruvadhayanam was being celebrated but not in the month of Margali and that the Tamil Tiruppāvai was sung for ten days in that month (which ten days not stated). The term 'Tiruvadhayanam' has always been applied to connote the recitation of the Vedas in full during the month of Mārgali (Dhanus). The commencement is on the first Sukla (bright) Ekadasi tithi of that month and the ending on the Bahula (dark) Panchami. This ritualistic festival was obviously not being observed in Tirumala in 1390 according to the wording of the inscription. In Tirupati it was being observed but not in the month of Margali. The custom in Tirupati seems to have been that the commencement should be on the succeeding Sukla Ekadasi which may happen in Margali month or in the next month

1. Lines 2 and 3 ".....திருமலைமேல் மலைகுனியநின்ற பெருமாளும் நாச்சிமாரும் மார்கழி மாதத்தில் கேட்டருளும் திருப்பாவையில் நடுப்பத்து நாள் நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு திருஓலக்கத்துக்கு"

Lines 4 and 5 "... ஸ்ரீகோவிந்தப் பெருமாள் திருவடியேனத்தில் (நாள்) திருப்பாவை நாள் பத்துக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு... திருஓலக்கத்துக்கு .." "சாத்துமுறை நாள்விடும் அப்படி ஒன்றும்..."

(Paushya). It is so observed now and seems to have been the case in 1390 also. This festival is principally intended for the recitation of the Vedas. *In Tirupati in addition to the Vedas, the Tamil Tiruppavai also was sung.* Whether the latter was on the same ten days as the Vedas or on some succeeding days the inscription does not state.

It is a revelation to us that Adhyayanam was not being celebrated in Tirumala in the old days. This curious omission perhaps caught the attention of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devaraya Maharaya II (1422 to 1449 A.D.) when he visited the Tirumalai temple on Monday the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Margasira in the Saumya year (Saka 1351) which corresponds to 5th December 1429. It was then the Margali month. His remark made on that occasion to the chief Srivaishnava of Tirupati (Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappirānār) resulted in an effective arrangement being made in 1433 (Nov. 22, I. 201) for the daily recitation of the Vedas by two persons. The arrangement was that twenty-four brahmins should receive a portion of the income from Siddakkuttai village (a temple village) and that by turns two persons should do the service each month. *It is therefore a fact that till 1433 A.D. there was no recitation of the Vedas in Tirumala even during the Margali month,* when there should be an Adhyayanotsavam. It was perhaps as a substitute that Sri Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar made his endowment in December 1390 for the recitation of the short Tamil piece known as Tiruppavai in the presence of the Utsava Murti. Even this Utsava Murti came to notice only in 1339 A.D. (I. 104, 1339 3rd year of the reign of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya).

Srivaishnava terms used in connection with Alvars' songs.

At this stage it is desirable to refer to and explain some of the expressions and terms used by Sri Vaishnavas which are also found in our inscriptions in connection with the recitation of the Prabandhams of the alvars. These are given as foot note below.¹

1. The expressions used by Sri Vaishnavas in connection with the works of the Alvars, and their recitation on special occasions such as festivals to celebrate their annual birth star.

They called their composition as *Pāḍal* and those who have mastered them as *Pāḍavallar* (பாடல்கள் and பாடவல்லார்).

Prabandham.—The Sanskrit word Prabandham means “a collection of outstanding sayings or works on a subject.” Synonymous expressions are Alvar Pāsurams, (ஆழ்வார் பாசுரங்கள்) Alvar Sri Sūktis (ஆழ்வார் ஸ்ரீஸூக்திகள்) and Alvar Pāḍal (ஆழ்வார் பாடல்). The Alvars themselves did not give a Sanskrit name to their writings or songs.

Prabandham is the word used for the work or collection of songs of each ālvār.

Adhyayanam is the recitation of all the songs of an ālvār. This is usually done in connection with the celebration of the annual birth star or the Attai Tirunakshatram of the alvar. The term occurs in our inscriptions for the first time in 1475.

Iyal tuvakkam first occurs in 1476 (II. 68) and means the commencement of the recitation of a portion or portions of the works of the ālvārs. The reciters would join in a procession, make a commencement in the presence of the Utsava Murti at an appointed place. The songs will be recited in duet in the style known as Iyal (இயல் ஐயல்) as distinct from Isai (இசை ஐசை). The Iyal or natural style is an adaptation of the manner in which Vedic texts are chanted. Correct pronunciation, punctuation, modulation and pause are its distinctive features. Isai style is singing to rāgam and talam to the accompaniment of some musical instrument and with appropriate abhinayam or gestures.

Iyal Sevai (இயல் சேவை, ஐயல் சேவ) refers to the course of recitation. Iyal Sattu (இயல் சாத்து ஐயல் சத்து) is the termination or closing of the recital and is invariably done in the presence of the utsava murti at an appropriate stage of the procession.

Sattumurai (சாத்துமுறை சத்துமுறை) means the procedure observed on the closing or last day of the recital of an alvar's works. (Sattu—close or shut down). The word was first used in our inscriptions in 1475 in connection with Udaiyavar Sattumurai day in Tirupati.

Anusandhānam is prefixed to the name of a person who regulates the recitation in unison by the congregation. The persons who could function as such should be proficient in the recitation of the works of all the ālvārs (or the Vedas where the word refers to the Vedic recitation) should give the start and arrange the order in which the different portions should find precedence and be able to exercise due control over all the members so that the effect of the recital would be pleasing and grand. The reciters are known as Anusandhigal.

Adhyāpaka—means a competent teacher of the Vedas or the Prabandham. It is the same as Veda Bodhaka. The word occurs only once in the year 1684 A.D. (VI. 24).

The term Prabandham occurs in our inscriptions for the first time in II. 68; 23-11-1476 which gives particulars of an endowment by one Sri Sathakopadāsar Narasimha rāya Mudaliar in which provision is made for the recitation of the works of all the ālvārs in Tirumala in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine.¹ When the ālvārs' works first came to be recited the description laid stress more on the food offering made than on how the recitation took place. Thus we have "towards tirumolippadi during the Vaikasi tirunāl from the second day to Tirthavari...." (I. 61; 1253 A.D.).² "Towards Tiruppāvaippaḍi during the Chittirai and Purattasi tirunal...." (I. 74).³ The wording does not make it clear when and where the recitation was made. But in I. 107; 26-1-1360 the inscription clearly states that the endowment was for the recitation of Tiruvāymoli and the offering of a paḍi (food) in that connection in front of the Tiruvāsal, or main entrance to the temple, on all the ten days of all the festivals after hearing the Tiruvāymoli and while seated in the mantapam....." The wording lays stress on the point that the recitation was done to the hearing of the Deity and not far away somewhere.⁴ So also in inscription I. 187; 5-12-1390 the stress is on the recitation of Tiruppavai to the hearing of the Utsava Murti and Nāchchimār in the month of Margali. "...⁵ in Tiruppavai heard by Malai-kuniyaninran and Nāchchimār in Tirumala in the month of Mārgali

1. ".....இவர்கள் இலர்கள் ஶ்ரபந்தங்கள் உடையவர் எம் பெருமானார் ஸந்நதியில் கேட்டருளி....."

2. ".....வைகாசித்திருநாள் இரண்டாம் திருநாள் முதல் தீர்(தட்டாரி வரைக்கும்) திருவமாழிப்படி செலகைக்கு.

3. ".....திருவேங்கட முடையாணுக்குச் சித்திரைத்திருநாளி லும் புரட்டாசித் திருநாளில் திருப்பாவைப் படிக்கு"

4. "திருநாள்கள்தோறும்.....செய்தருள நிச்சயித்த திருப் போனகம்—திருவாசலில் அமுதுசெய்து அரு . திருவாய்மொழி கேட்டருளும் பத்து-ல்ஏறி அருளி அமுது செய்தருளும்....." (I. 107, 26-1-1360). For

5. திருமலைமேல் மலைகுனிய நின்ற பெருமானும் நாச்சிமாரும் மார்கழி மாத்தத்தில் கேட்டருளும் திருப்பாவையில்....."

....."Beginning from the Panguni Tirunal on every Pushpa-yagam festival day Malaikuniyaninra perumal hearing the Tiruvāymoli while being seated in the mantapam....."¹

Anusandhanam.

It is only in the last named inscription that reference is made in line 11 to those who recited the Tiruvāymoli in the words "திருவாய்மொழி அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீலெவ்வர்களுக்கு ஸ்ரீஸாதம்". Prasadam for the Sri Vaishnavas who recited (Anusanditta Sri Vaishnavas) the Tiruvāymoli. In the previous inscription the distribution of the food offerings to the reciters is not mentioned specifically. In later inscriptions these men are called 'Anusandhigal' அனுஸந்திகள் and the recitation is called Anusandhānam. For a long time there seems to have been no definite expression adopted to designate the recitation.

The Aļvārs did contemplate the memorising and recitation of their songs and they used the Tamil word ஒதுதல் (Odudal) and those who did it were known as ஒதுவார் (Oduvār). These words are still used by the Saivites who recite the Saivite Tamil works like Tiruvāchagam. Thus, Sri Nammalvar says—

“மாதவன் பால்சட கோபன் தீதவ மின்றி உரைத்த
ஏதமில் ஆயிரத்து இப்பத்து ஒதவல் லார்பிற வாரே.

Tiruvāymoli I. 6. 11.

தீதி லாதவொண் தமிழ்கள் இவையாயிரத்துள் இப்பத்தும்
ஒத வல்ல பிராக்கள் நம்மையா ளுடையார் கள்பண்டே”

Tiruvāymoli 9. 1. 11.

1. I. 220; 17-2-1446; “..... பங்குனித்திருநாள் முதலாக ஸ்ரீ புஷ்பயாகத்து நாள் மலைகுனியநின்ற பெருமாள் மண்டபத்திலே ஏறி அருளித் திருவாய்மொரு கேட்டருளி.....”

பாட லானதமிழ் ஆயிரத்துள் இப்பத்தும்
பாடி யாடிப் பணிமின் அவன் தாள்களே ”

Tiruvāymoli 9. 10. 11.

காலை யெழுந்துஉலகம் கற்பனவும் கற்றுணர்ந்த
மேலைத் தலைமுறையோர் கேட்பனவும்—வேலைக்கண்
ஒராழி யானடியே ஒதுவதும் ஓர்ப்பனவும்
பேராழி கொண்டான் பெயர்,

Mudal Tiruvandādi 66.

.....நமக்கென்றும்
மாதவனே யென்னும் மனம் படைத்து மற்றவன்பேர்
ஒதுவதே நாவினா லோத்து.

Second Tiruvandādi 38.

ஒத்தின் பொருள்முடிவும் இத்தனையே உற்தமன்பேர்
ஏத்தும் திறமறிமின் ஏழைகள்—ஒத்ததனை
வல்லீரேல் நன்னுஅதனை மரட்டிரேல் மாதவன்பேர்
சொல்லுவதே ஒத்தின் சுருக்கு.

Second Tiruvandādi 39.

“ நன்கோதும் நால்வேதத் துள்ளான் நறவிரியும்.....

.....

Third Tiruvandādi 39.

.....மறை யென்னும்
நன்கோதி நன்குணர்வார் காண்பரே...

Third Tiruvandādi 12.

Adhyayanam, Sevai, Anusandhigal, Anusandhanam.

Sri Vaishnavas however seem to have decided not to use the words Odal and Oduvar in connection with the recitation

of the Alvar's Prabandham. It may have been for two reasons. One, as hinted above, is that the words are in use in Saivite temples where Tamil songs are sung. The more potent reason might be that the Prabandhams having been considered to be as sacred as the Sanskrit Vedas and as it was settled that they should be recited side by side during the annual Vedic festival called Adhyayanotsavam, the recitation of the Tamil Prabandham on that occasion at least should also be designated as *Adhyayanam*. On other occasions it is called *Sēvai* (சேவை) and those who take part in the recitation as *Anusandhigal* (II. 135, 26-8-1496) *Anusandhikum Srivaishnavas* or *Sevikkum Srivaishnavas* (II. 68, line 14 end).¹

Shrines for the Alvars.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the Prabandhams of all the āḷvārs were not recited together at any one time. There were no shrines for all the āḷvārs in Tirupati. In Tirumala no āḷvār had a shrine whether within or outside the temple. Anything done to commemorate their name had to take place in front of Rāmanuja's shrine in the temple or in the presence of the Utsava Murti when He was taken out of the Garbha griham for asthanam or procession.

In Tirupati the first shrine for an āḷvar was that of Tirumangai alvar who was installed in 1234 A.D. Sri Nammalvar's shrine which might have been in existence from earlier days was renovated and made a grand one in 1287 A.D. A shrine for Sri Āṇḍal was cordoned off a portion of the Chitrakūṭa mantapam in front of Sri Govindaraja's shrine sometime after 1308 A.D. A shrine for Kulasekhara āḷvar was built by Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar and endowed in November 1468 A.D. (II. 36) for daily Naivedyam and for Sattumurai celebrated in Punarvasu Nakshatram in the Tamil month of Masi.² It was a one day function.

1. (அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் (I. 220, line 11 also II. 68 68 23-11-1476) II. 122, 2-4-1494).

2. ஸ்ரீ குலசேகர ஆழ்வாற்கு மாசிமாஸம் புனர்பூசம் சாத்து முறையாக.....''

**Tirumangai alvar's Tiruvadhyayanam in
Tirupati, 1475.**

The first recognition of the greatness of an ālvār by the Sthanattar of the Tirumala temple was made on 20th October 1475 (II. 62)¹ in connection with the celebration of the annual birth asterism (or Āṭṭai Tirunakshatram) (krittikai in Kārtika month) of Tirumangai ālvār when the Tiruvadhyayanam or recital of his works took place. This was also a one day function. A new convention was then set up of the ālvār being taken in the morning to Sri Govindaraja's temple for bringing by formal invitation Sri Govindaraja's Utsava Murti with Nāchchimar to his own shrine, of giving the latter a ritualistic bath (or abhishekam) and food offering. In the meantime food offered (on payment) to Sri Venkateswara in Tirumala and appappaḍi, sandal paste, betel leaves with split nuts and a piece of cloth called parivaṭṭam first placed over the feet of the Deity² were all conveyed from Tirumala to Tirupati. At the foot of the Hill, the ālvār would receive these praśadams and take them over in procession to his shrine. There would also be going on the recitation of his works (or Adhyayanam) throughout the day. In the evening there might or might not have been held a street procession of Sri Govindaraja along with the ālvār. By what name the reciters were known and whether they received any special remuneration are not mentioned in the inscription. The kartar of the shrine was Emperumanar jiyar. It records in Tamil the events as detailed in English above. In line 10 the following expressions are used

விட்டவர் விழுக்காடு நீக்கி நின்றபுலாதம் அக்காளிபுலாதம்
ஆழ்வார் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் திரு ஓலக்க அடைப்பிலே சில

1. திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார் காந்திகை மாதத்தில் ஆட்டை நகூழீம் திருக்காந்திகை நாள் கோவிந்தராஜன் கோவிலிலும் தம்மிட கோயிலுக்கு எழுந்தருளி திருவடீழும் செய்தருளி.....''

2. "திருவேங்கடமுடையாடு அமுது செய்தருளி வரங்காட்டி அருளிந அப்பப்படியும், திருத்தம்பளப் பிளவும் சாத்திக் களைந் தருளின் திருப்பரிவட்ட புலாதமும் கற்புலாதமும்.....",

II. 62, p. 116. Vol. II.

வழித்துக்கொள்ளக் கடவாராகவும். “The portion of the prasadam excluding the donor’s share and the akkāḷi prasadam shall be distributed at the time of the Tiruvolakkam distribution during the Adhyayanam.” The inscription also shows that the kartar of the āḷvar’s shrine was one Emperumānār Jiyar and that the shrine had its own treasury.

Udaiyavar Emperumanar’s Tiruvadhyayanam in Tirupati, 1475.

There was likewise a Tiruvadhyayanam festival for Sri Udaiyavar Emperumanar in the Tirupati temple instituted by that same ardent Sri Vaishnava, Sathakopadāsar Narasimharaja Mudaliar. The endowment was made in favour of Yatiraja Jiyar the kartar of the shrine of Udaiyavar (II. 63, 20–10–1475¹) for the celebration of the Sattumurai (closing day festival) of the Attai Tirunakshatram or the annual birth star day of Sri Ramanuja, Chitta in Chittirai month. This seems to have been a Tiruvadhyayanam lasting for some days. The inference is that Sri Ramanuja’s *Sri Bhashyam* and other works would have been read and recited on those days. But no attempt was made to bring prasadams etc., from Tirumala as was done for Tirumangai alvar’s Tiruvadhyayanam. It may be due to the fact that there was in the Tirumalai temple itself a shrine for Ramanuja and there would have been a celebration there though on a smaller scale. The celebration of the Tiruvadhyayanam was in itself an innovation.

Sri Ramanuja’s twelve days Tiruvadhyayanam festival in Tirumala.

The two innovations mentioned above seem to have been made more as feelers for doing what followed next on (II. 68)

1. “உடையவர் எம்பெருமானாற்கு சிஷ்யமாஸத்தில் திருவ றெழுந்தத்தில் ஆட்டை திருநகையும் சாத்துமுறையில் அமுது செய் தருளும்.....”

23—11—1476. On that date an endowment was made by Sri Sathakopa dasar Narasimharaya Mudaliar for the celebration of Sri Ramanuja's Tiruvadhyayanam in Tiurmala for twelve days when his works would have been recited to his hearing during the twelve days “உடையவர் எம்பெருமானார் சித் மாஸத்தில் திருவடியெனங் கேட்டருளும் ஞட பன்னிரண்டுக்கு”. In addition to this provision was made for the recitation of the works of all the twelve ālvārs (including Sri Āṇḍāl) on the day of the birth asterism of the respective ālvar in the solar month of his birth (called Āṭṭai tirunakshatram, ஆட்டைத் திருநகூத்திரம் பட்டே திசைச்சுடம்) and for the observance of the monthly asterism of Sri Ramanuja. These occasions are enumerated in detail in the inscription which gives also the name of the works of the concerned ālvār which should be recited. The word used for ‘works’ is *prabandhams* (புரபந்தங்கள்). The recitation should be made in every case to the hearing of Sri Ramanuja in his shrine “இவர்கள் இவர்கள் புரபந்தங்கள் உடையவர் எம்பெருமானார் ஸநந்தியில் கேட்டருளி.” This inscription also tells us in clear terms as to who the reciters were and how they were treated in the matter of sharing prasadam. The dvija and the non-dvija Sri Vaishnavas called *Sāttina* and *Sāttāda Srivaishnavas* took part in the recitation and all received the prasadam due to them.¹ This inscription makes it clear that the Prabandhams were equally open to all for recitation in the temple and that they were not the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmin Sri Vaishnavas or of any one section of them.

Iyal.

The expression இயல் ஸேவிக்கும் ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்கள் (ಇಯಲ್ ಸೇವಿಕ್ಕುಂ ಶ்ரீವೈಷ್ಣವர்கள்) appears for the first time but the word Iyal is not explained. The word இயல் (Iyal) is used when the recitation is made by a number of men walking in one or more lines in procession so that every word would be pronounced

1. Line 13 “உடையவர் ஸநந்தியில் ஆழ்வார்கள் புரபந்தங்கள் அநுஸந்திக்கிற சாத்தின ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கும் சாத்தாத ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கும் புரஸாதிக்கும் புரஸாதம்”

clearly but not to the accompaniment of any musical instrument. That might have been the intended meaning. The wording given in inscription II. 109 (17-10-1493)¹ brings out the meaning more clearly. The donor Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tattayangar constructed a mantapam near the south-east corner of the madil or prākāram wall of the Tirumalai temple. On each of the twenty three days, of the Adhyayanotsavam the Utsava murti would be taken in procession. After going upto the end of the blind lanc called Sokkar kōḍi and returning to the corner of the prakaram the Deity would be seated in the above mentioned mantapam. Those who took part in the recitation of the prabandham would have stood in a line called Iyal gōshtī and after prostrating before the Deity and receiving the Saṭhāri blessing the recitation would commence. The difference between the procedure given in II. 68 and that in II. 109 consists in the fact that in the former the recitation was not in procession nor in the presence of the Utsava Murti but before Ramanuja's shrine whereas in 1493 it was done in the presence of the Deity and in walking procession.

Adhyayanotsavam explained.

It is not to be inferred from II. 109 that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala was first instituted in 1493. In 1433 A.D. Sri Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya II had made arrangements for 24 Brahmins to recite the Vedas daily (two persons by turns being resident in Tirumala every month). The celebration of the Vedic ritual called Adhyayanotsavam would have been regularly celebrated since then. The recitation commences on the Sukla Ekadasi day in the Solar month of Dhanus (Tamil Margali) and the Sattumurai or closing day will be on the Bahula Panchami day of the same month. The period covered was only 10 days. It is

1. Line 8 “ திருவேங்கடமுடையான் சொக்கர் கோடி மட்டாக எழுந்தருளி மீண்டு எழுந்தருளுகிறபோது திருமதிள் கோடியில் தாம் கட்டுவித்த மண்டபத்தில் எறியருளி இயல் துவக்குகிற போது திருவத்தியேநம் நான் இருபத்து மூன்றும்.....”

during these ten days that Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvāymoli consisting of 1102 verses came to be recited along side of the Sanskrit Vedās. The other portions of the Tamil Prabandham were tacked on later, the major portion (about 2000 verses) being recited on the ten days preceding the Sukla Ekādasi and some portion (about 1000 verses) after the Bahula Panchami day. The latter period was extended gradually from one day to three or four days. Thus the Adhyayanotsavam covered a period of 21 to 24 days gradually. It does not appear that the work known as *Ramanuja Nūṟṟandādi* (இராமா நுஜ நூற்றந்தாதி ஸாஸூசு நூர் லாடி), hundred verses composed by one of Sri Ramanuja's disciples known as Tiruvārangattu amudanar (திருவரங்கத்து அமுதனார், ௧ - ௧௨௦௦௬ ௪௬௬௬) was originally recited; but in later times it was added to be recited on one of the days from 21st to 25th days.

The wording of the festival as given in II. 31, 16-3-1468 shows that the Adhyayanotsavam covered only a period of 20 days (two tens).¹ Veļļai Tiruvōlakkam (food offering) was offered on the Tirudvādasi day (Mukkōṭi dvadasi) which occurs in the latter ten days of the Tiruvadhyayanam in the Margali month.

Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Govindarajaswami, 1458 A.D.

The next step was to celebrate the Adhyayanam as a Vedic ritual in Tirupati for Sri Govindarajapperumal and to attach thereto the recitation of the Prabandhams of all the āļvārs. There was already in Tirumala this Vedic ritual celebrated annually from about 1433 (as already stated). One Nallār Angāṇḍai, one of the accountants of the temple and a disciple of Tiruvenkata Chakravarthi ayyangar, one of the acharyapurushas of Tirumala, constructed a mantapam in the Tirupati temple and made an endowment (II. 83; 6-6-1485) for seating the Utsava murti therein on several festival occasions. The Adhyayana utsavam of Sri Govindaraja running for a period of twenty three days was one of the festivals. The portions of the Prabandhams to be recited

1. "மார்கழி மாதம் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் பிற்பத்தில் திருத் துவாதசியில் விடும் வெள்ளைத் திருவேலக்கம்"

are, from Iyalpa to Nūṟṟandādi.¹ In addition to this there is separate provision for food offering in connection with the Āṭṭai Tirunakshatrams of Periya ālvār, Namṁālvār, Tirumangai ālvār, Kulasekhara ālvār and Uḍaiyavar on which occasions they would be taken to this mantapam (obviously accompanying Sri Govindarajaswamy). Thus the intimate connection of the ālvārs with the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Govindaraja was established in 1485 by Nallar Angāṇḍai's endowment. The co-operation of Kumara Tattayangar, the representative of the Prathamācharya purushas, was probably secured by tacking on to it the festival of "repairing the pathway to the water-fall for the Taṇṇir amudu function" (II. 85). It is a fragment of an inscription, but possibly of the date as the same former.

In August 1488 (II. 88) one Vignesvara Sriman, an accountant of the temple and disciple of Kumara Tattayangar, installed in the Uḍaiyavar shrine an idol of Raghunatha (Sri Rama) and endowed for its daily worship and also the celebration of a large number of monthly and annual calendar days. The significance of this is that at any time the Uḍaiyavar temple could be freed from the control of the Sthanattar. The recitation of Tiruppalli eluchchi and Tirumoli was a special feature. Food offerings were made to Sri Govindaraja and Sri Venkateswara on special occasions.

Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala, 1491.

The celebration of the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala itself (for 23 days) is seen from an endowment made by one Pāsindi Venkattaturaivar, alias jiyar Ramanuja ayyan, (II. 95, 27-6-1491).²

1. ஹோவிந்தராஜன் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் இயல்பா முதல் நாற்றந்தாதி—இருபத்து மூன்றுக்கு.....”

2. திருவேங்கடமுடையானுக்கு தம்மிட உபயமாக மார்கழி மாதம் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் கடைக்கோழி நாச்சியார் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் மற்றை நாள் தண்ணீர் அமுதுவழி திருத்துகிறபோது அமுது செய்தருளும் திருப்பாவாடை.....”

Herein Jiyar Ramanuja ayyan associates himself with the festival of Taṅṅīramudu which commemorates the tradition that Sri Tirumalai nambi (the progenitor of the Prathamacharya puruṣa family of which Kumara Tatayyāgar was the most prominent member at that time) was throughout his life-time bringing daily a pot of water from the Akāsa gāṅga water-fall for the abhishekam and puja of Sri Venkatesvara. The same inscription refers to the publication in open assembly in the Tirumalai Temple of a work called Venkatachala Mahatmyam which the jiyar compiled. Again Yatiraja jiyar, kartar of a private flower garden called the Malaikuniyaninrān Nandavanam made an endowment (II. 107, 21-8-1493) for special food offering on the third day of the second ten days of the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala (called Oḷivilkāla chirappu).¹ The Prabandham reciters were not given any share in the prasadam.

As was already discussed at length the most noteworthy endowment (II. 109, 17-10-1493) was made by Soṭṭai Tirumalai nambi Kumāra Tatayyāgar, *because it made the recitation of the Prabandham an organised affair with a definite place where the commencement should be made not only on all the 23 days of the Adhyayanotsavam but on 41 other festival occasions as well.* Thus the Iyal recitation in walking procession came to be as important as the Vedas during all festivals and it was made to commence with the blessings and sanction of the Utsava murti at the mantapam constructed for the purpose by Kumara Tatayyāgar. But he did not set up the practice of distributing among the Iyal reciters any portion of the donor's share of the prasadam.

Although the recitation of the Prabandhams in Iyal had become a regular feature of the festivals in Tirumala and Tirupati the reciters' claim to a share in the donor's share of the offered prasadam does not appear to have been considered. Koyil kelvi Ramanuja jiyar in his endowment II. 122 dated 2nd April 1494 (on behalf of his disciple Aruvilli Anantayyan Abhayan) for food

1. The tradition is that consequent on the hearing of an exposition of the ten verses by Sri Alavandar, Tirumalai Nambi went over to Tirumala and commenced doing the service of bringing water from Akāsa Gāṅga.

offerings to be made on a number of festival occasions in Tirumala and Tirupati made provision for the distribution of two appams out of thirteen for each padi of the donor's share to the reciters of Tiruvāymoḷi.¹ But his example does not appear to have been followed by other donors of the same period. One Periya Perumal dāsar, disciple of Periya Perumal Jiyar of the Pinsenravalli Nandaṣānam, did not apportion anything from out of the donor's share of the food offering provided by him in II. 123 dated 8-4-1494 on the occasion of the Tiruvāymoli Sattumurai (Adayavalam) in Tirumala in connection with the second ten days of the Tiruvadhyayanotsavam. So also Mahamandalesvara...Narasaraja Udaiyar (the first donor from among the princes to make an endowment in connection with the Adhyayanotsavam among other festivals) in his endowment II. 127 dated 5-6-1494 did not distribute any portion of the donor's share of the prasadam to the reciters of the Prabandham. Other endowments of this type are II. 129 dated 6-11-1494; II. 130 dated 24-12-1494, and II. 138 dated 19-9-1504. The first is an endowment by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanoor known as the Nūrreṇmar (நூற்றெண்மர்) or the assembly of 108 persons. The inscription tells us that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala was only for twenty two days. The last one is an endowment by one Tiruvenkata chirukkan as the dharmam of Immaḍi Narasimharayar the son of Narasimharaya Maharaya which tells us that in 1504 the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala lasted for 24 days, that is from Iyalpa tuvakkam to Taṇṇīramudu tiruttunāḷ.¹ On the same date there is another inscription (which is included in Vol. III of the T.T.D. inscriptions) III. 2 which gives details of an endowment by one *Anusandhānam* (அனுஸந்தானம்) *Tiruvenkata jiyar* of the Tiruvenkatanathan Tirunandavanam. Among the items of his endow-

1. Line 10. அமுது செய்தருளின அப்பம் அதிரஸ ஸ்ரீஸாதத்தில் விட்டவர் விழுக்காடு நாலில் ஒன்றில் திருவாய்மொழி அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைவீவர்களுக்கு படி ஒன்றுக்கு இரண்டாக.....''

II. 122; 2-4-1494.

2. (திருவத்தியேனம் இயல்பா துலக்கம் தண்ணீரமுது திருத்துள்ள வரைக்குள்ள இருபத்துஐலுக்கு அதிரஸப்படி''')

ment were food offerings called Iyalpa tuvakkam Sirappu, special offerings on the day of commencement of the Tiruvadhyanotsavam in Tirumala and also certain offerings in Udaiyavar's temple in Tirupati on the days of the monthly birth star of the ālvārs. Those who took part in the recitation of the Prabandhams were given a share in both places.¹

It will be seen that so far as the Iyal was concerned those who took part therein were called இயல்சேவித்த Srivaishnavas and with reference to the Srivaishnavas who recited each ālvar's Prabandham the term used is அனுசந்தித்து. The latter number would have been very limited. The difference in phraseology may be noted. The donor styled himself as Anusandhānam Tiruvenkata Jiyar. It is the first time that such an epithet was used to describe a person.

Circumstances which helped Prabandham recital to gain ground.

It may be noted that Prabandham recital has been gaining ground from about 1468 A.D. It achieved marked success in 1476 A.D. as the result of the combined efforts of Srivaishnavas of all castes. In other religious centres there is stated to have been some opposition from devotees of other sects who were also worshippers of Vishnu. In Tirumala and Tirupati the case was

1. "Line 5. ஆழ்வார்கள் மாஸ திருநகூத்திரம் பதினமூன்றுக்கு உடையவர் அமுது செய்யும் திருப்பணியாரம்....."

Line 6. "திருவேங்கடமுடையானுக்கு மார்கழி மாஸத்தில் திருவத்தியேனத்தில் இயல்பாச் சிறப்புள்ள அமுதுசெய்தருளும்....."

Line 13. "அமுது செய்தருளினப் பிரஸாதத்தில் விட்டவர் விழுக்காடு நாவில் ஒன்றும் பெறும்வகை திருமலையில்.....இயல்சேவித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு ஶ்ரஸாதம்.....பெறக்கடவர்களாகவும்..." "உடையவர் திருப்பணியாரம் பிளவுகள் ஶ்ரஸாதம் அனுசந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் ஶ்ரஸாதிக்கக் கடவர்களாகளாகவும்....."

different. From the days of the earliest ālvārs (say from about 500 A.D.). Tirumala was exclusively a Vishnu Kshētram. No Saivite saint has claimed Tirumala as a place sacred to Siva. There were no Saivite mathams (nor even Advaita mathams) there. The Vaikhanasa archakas were the only class of Vaishnavas who did not recognise the ālvār's worth. They wielded great influence in the early days. But the lure of greater emoluments melted their opposition. They were the sole Dharmakartas of the temple of Sri Varahaswami in Tirumala and of the Āṇḍāl's shrine in Tirupati which added to their emoluments. One member of that family (Siṟṟappayyan) was accused of stealing the temple jewels. It was during Saluva Narasimha's rule, that is, between 1460 and 1492 A.D. He was expelled from the temple, his properties and houses were confiscated then. Subsequently the house sites were granted in 1524 to Sri Vyasa Tirtha Sripāda Udaiyar (founder of the Uttarādi mutt in Tirupati and Tirumala) by Sri Krishna-devaraya Maharaya for building his mutt. The Archakas were consequently under a cloud during the rule of Saluva Narasimha. It was obviously during this period that the recitation of the Prabandhams received the recognition of the Sthanattar of the temple. Saluva Narasimha the ruler, was far away from Tirupati between the years 1472 and 1492 and his trusted lieutenant in temple matters Sri Kandadai Ramanuja ayyangar, with the co-operation of Sri Sathakopadasar Narasimharaya Mudaliar, Pasinḍi Venkatathuraivar and Kumara Tattayangar, brought about rapid developments. After Saluva Narasimharaya's death in 1492, the weakness of his son's administration made further advances easier. His successor the Tuluva Vira Narasimha could not bestow any attention to the temple and his religious tenets as all his time till his death in 1509 A.D. was taken up with quelling insurrections in the Empire. It was during this period from about 1468 to 1509 A.D. that Prabandham recitation to Tirumala firmly established itself.

The beginnings of the anusandhanam office and how it was viewed by some famous acharyas.

During the reign of Immadi Narasimha, Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar instituted a new festival (II. 135 dated

26—8—1496). The Utsava Murti with the Nachchimar was taken over to a distant place called Onna tonḍān paḷḷam for a day and a host of temple servants accompanied the Deity. Cash remuneration was paid to the twenty nine members who accompanied and two of these were called Anusandhanis (அனுஸந்தானியன்). This shows that Prabandham recital had come to be recognised as a part of the temple 'liturgy'; and recognition was given to two persons for doing this work. This enables us to surmise how Tiruvenkata jiyar came to call himself Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata jiyar in the inscription of 1504 A.D. He was not one of the two Koyil kelvi jiyars. He assumed a different role called Anusandhanam. Others who took part in the recitation were presumed to join him. The Sthanattar seem to have had no objection to the assumption of the title Anusandhanam by a person but the donors were not obliged to pay a cash emolument or even a portion of the prasadam to the person. Several inscriptions¹ which record endowment of food offerings during the 23 days of the Adhyayantsavam show that there was no distribution made to the Prabandham reciters nor is any person mentioned as the Anusandhanam officer.

One Mannar Pillai (III. 29; 28-12-1512) made an endowment for a festival in his flower garden in Mannasamudram village where amongst other temple servants the anusandhanam officer was paid a cash remuneration of one panam. But such an office does not appear to have been recognised by all Srivaishnavas. In subsequent endowments for food offerings during Adhyayantsavam the claims of even the reciters for a portion of the food offerings were not recognised; but food was distributed to all Srivaishnavas present. One instance worthy of notice is contained in the endowment (III. 97; 17-8-1514) made by one Ekāki Tiruvenkatayyan, manager of the Tiruvāliparappinān tirunandavanam and disciple of Prativādi Bhayankaram Appāvayyāngar (son of Vedantacharya P. B. Annan). He distributed the prasadams to all Srivaishnavas who took part in the Iyal and took no notice of the Anusandhanam officer. So also in III. 98 dated 17-8-1514

I. III. 9; 30-12-1506; III. 11; 4-10-1507; III. 13; 8-7-1508; III. 14; 19-9-1508. III. 16; 31-10-1508; III. 28; III. 12-9-1512).

an endowment by *Anusandhanam udaiyavar Kovil Annan*. He seems to be a rival claimant for the Anusandhanam office, “இயல் ஸேவிக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கும், எம்பெருமானார் ஸநந்தியில் திருப்பாவை திருப்பள்ளி எழுச்சி அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கும், நூற்றந்தாதி அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கும். Yatiraja jiyar Kartar of the Nammālvar temple accepted an endowment (III. 102; 4-5-1514) made by one Sattāda Srivaishnava Pattar pirān ayyān for food offerings to be made on the 11th day of the Adhyayanotsavam in that temple and distributed a portion among the Prabandham reciters “வரபந்தம் அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்.....”. One Kārṇika Bhasavarasar made an endowment (III. 105; 12-9-1515) for taking out the Utsava Murti in Tirumala to his garden. The temple servants who accompanied the Deity were paid in cash for the extra labour involved. Among these were two anusandhanis who were paid two panams. It is probable that one was the agent for the recitation of the Vedas and the other for the Prabandham.

In the meantime Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata jiyar of the Tiruvenkatanathan nandavanam who made an endowment on (III. 2) 19-9-1504 which provided for the distribution of a decent portion of the donor's share of the prasadams and panyarams to Iyal reciters (one prasadam, two appams, two atirasams and one akkali maṇḍai per day) became one of the Koyil kelvi jiyars and therefore one of the Sthanattars of the temple. He made another endowment (III. 107) on 9-4-1516 perhaps to commemorate that event. It is seen from this inscription that he was attempting to fraternise with the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan mathan in Tirumala by giving over to the agent of that mutt—the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan matham was not a resident of Tirumala—a portion of the donor's share of the food offerings ignoring in this manner the claims of the numerous nandavanam jiyars resident in Tirumala and Tirupati. There might have been some jealousy displayed by the other nandavanam jiyars which made Tiruvenkata jiyar to retaliate in this manner. The Koyil kelvi jiyars were also cultivating nandavanams and playing the part of respectable pilgrim receivers. The other Jiyars were all competitors in the same field. Tiruvenkata jiyar might have

looked to the help and co-operation of the absentee Van Sathakopan jiyar in his possible desire to be the anusandhanam officer in addition to the Koyil kelvi office to which he had been recently called. But the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan mutt, Sriman Narayana jiyar, did not reciprocate. He made two endowments (III. 110; 20-8-1516 and III. 114; 7-11-1516) which were in connection with the Adhyayanotsavams of Sri Venkateswara, Sri Govindaraja, the ālvārs (Nammalwar, Tirumangai alvar and Kulasekhara alvar) and Sri Uḍaiyavar. There were food offerings made on these occasions. But no portion of the donor's share was given to Koyil kelvi Tiruvenkata jiyar nor even to the Prabandham reciters in those temples. He made only these two endowments. They were probably intended to show that while he was not behind the Koyil kelvi and any of the other jiyars in making the Prabandham recital a permanent feature of the Tirumalai temple he had no desire to entangle himself and his disciples in the unseemly wrangle for the anusandhanam office and its probable emoluments. The anusandhani would commence the recital in a formal manner, he would select the portions to be recited and keep order. Therefore there was a glamour about the office, if one such had been recognised by the Sthanattar. One Sittamuseti of Narasingapuram (III. 118; 27-11-1517) who was probably a disciple of the Van Sathakopan mutt did not distribute the donor's share to the Iyal reciters. The temple accountants (III. 121; 31-10-1517) did not recognise the anusandhanam office, while the Iyal reciters were recognised. But Koyil kelvi Tiruvenkata jiyar continued to show his regard for the Van Sathakopa jiyar even till November 1520 as will be shown presently.

The famous Vedantacharya Doḍḍa ayyangar Appai¹ made an endowment (III. 132; 13-4-1519) which mainly provided for the recitation of Tirumangai alvar's *Tirumoli* while the Utsava Murti (Malai kuniya ninra perumal) would be seated in the Shrine

1. “வாயலமொ தீத்து ஆப ஸ்ரீ தீம்பஸூ தீத்து கந்தாடை வென்று மாலை இட்டப்பொருமாள் நயனார் குமாரர் வேழிந்தா சாரியரான தொட்ட(ய்)யங்கார் அப்பைக்கு.”

of Sri Varahaswami on 40 days during eight Tirukkoḍi Tirunals (Brahmotsavams) and also for the recitation of the portion of Sri Nammalvar's *Tiruvāymoli* known as Kilaroli-iḷamai during the Adhyayanotsavam. The wording of the inscription shows that a portion—one atirasam and two sidai—out of 13 of each which was the donor's share was distributed among Srivaishnavas in general but not exclusively to the reciters. That this famous acharya preferred not to single out the reciters for preferential treatment is probably because neither the Vedas nor the *Tiruvāymoli* should be recited for profit whether in the shape of food or of coins.

An endowment by one Perumāḷ Mudaliar of Nāgalapuram (III. 136; 10—9—1519) tells us that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati lasted for 25 days and no portion of the donor's share was distributed among Srivaishnavas. Kuppa Venkatattarasu and Venkatatturaivar Siddhayan, accountants made a special endowment (III. 138; 11—12—1519) in connection with the *Nurṇandādi Sirappu* in Tirumala and in Tirupati during the Adhyayanotsavam. In Tirumala no portion of the donor's share was distributed whereas in Tirupati a portion was distributed among all Srivaishnavas.¹ In another endowment of Venkatattarasu (III. 141; 24—11—1520) for Tiruppalli eḷuchchi recital no part of the donor's share was distributed.

Koyil kelvi Tiruvenkata jiyar later became Periya Koyil kelvi jiyar and an endowment made by him (III. 139) on 6th October 1520 shows that he continued his regard for the Van Sathakopan matham by handing over to the manager of that matham the donor's share of the food offering made in connection with the celebration of his own annual birth star Uttiram. In Tirupati he had it distributed to the Sri Vaishnavas who took part in the recitation of the Prabandham. In the next endowment also (III. 140) made on 24th November 1520 in connection with the Tiruppallāṇḍu Sirappu and the Ārāvamudu Sirappu during the

1. “மொவிடராஜநு நூற்றந்தாதிச் சிறப்பில்
வர்களுக்கு பருப்பவியல் வு. க.....”.

Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala the donor's share was given away to the brahmin in charge of the Van Sathakopan matham. In two other items of food offering the donor's share was distributed to the reciters of the Prabandham (அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்) In his endowment (III. 143; dated 5th December 1520) he is described with the titles "*Srimad Vēdamārga Pratishtāpanāchārya Paramahamsa parivrajakāchārya*."¹ Therein provision was made for food offering on a number of days of the Brahmotsavams and in the Tirumangai alvar temple. The Van Sathakopan matham is not one of the beneficiaries of the donor's share. It is divided among the managers of the Pankayachelli-matham, Malaininran matham, Tirumangai alvar koyil jiyar and the reciters of the Iyal.² This inscription indicates the high water mark of Tiruvenkata jiyar's life, for by the month of December 1520 the differences which existed between him and the other Nandavanam jiyars seem to have been solved. There was no necessity to court the friendship of the manager of the Van Sathakopan matham.

How the Prabandam recital was viewed by some great Vishnu Bhaktas who were not Sri Vaishnavas is contained in Inscription (III. 165; dated 8th November 1524) which records a munificent endowment made by Srimat Vyāsathirtha Sripāda Uḍaiyar, Srimat paramahamsa parivrājakāchārya Padavākya pramāṅgīa, Durvādi-garva sarvasvāpahāra, Srimat Vaishnava Siddhānta pratishthā-panāchārya and Sakala Vidvat jana mana padmavana Saupastika.³

1. "ஸ்ரீசீவெஹாமஹ ஸகீஷ்டாபநாசாரிய பரமஹம்ஸ பரி விருசிகாசாரியரான கோயில் கேள்வி.....".

2. "இயலனு ஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு அப்பம் உய ." திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார் அமுது செய்தருள பயற்றமுது அடைக்காயமுது இலைஅஉசந்தனம் அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக்கடவராகவும்".

3. ஸ்ரீசீவரஹம்ஸ வரிவ்ரஹகாஅராரியருமாய் பத வாசுதேவரஹம்ஸருமாய் ஹவாஹிமவஹ ஸவஹ வ்ரஹாஹிஹம்ஸருமாய் ஸ்ரீமத்வெஷ்ணவ ஸித்தாந்த வ்ரஹிஷ்டாபநாசாரி யருமாய் ஸகல வித்வத்தனு மனவத்மவந் செளபத்திகருமான வியாஸ தீர்த்த ஸ்ரீபாத உடையற்கு.....

He was granted on 12th January 1524 (III. 157) two sites for building his mathams in Tirumala and Tirupati which during the reign of Saluva Narasimha were confiscated from one of the Archakas (Sirrappayyan) as he stole some temple jewels. He was also shown some other favours by Sri Krishnadeva Maharaya the grantor. He made endowment; to Sri Venkateswara and to Sri Govindarajaswami for food offerings on a number of festival occasions. These include the ones made in connection with the Adhyayanotsavams in Tirumala for 24 days and in Tirupati for 22 days. The noteworthy point about these offerings is that no portion of the donor's share was distributed to the Sri Vaishnavas, not to speak of those reciting the Prabandhams. The Sthanattar and the other temple servants were given their usual shares. This shows that although Sri Pāda Udaiyar respected all festivals celebrated in the Temples, he did not countenance the Prabandham recital to any extent.¹

Koyil kelvi Ramanuja jiyar, kartar of the Pankayachchelli nandavanam who seems to have succeeded Tiruvenkata jiyar in that matham made an endowment (III. 173; 19—7—1527)—probably to commemorate that event—which provides for food offerings to Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and in the alvar temples. From the donor's share the reciters of the Iyal Prabandhams were remunerated.²

Some of the disciples of the Van Sathakopa jiyar also made an endowment (III. 178; 19—11—1528) through one Ulagapperumānār of Paramesvara mangalam for food offerings in connection with the Arāvamudu Sirappu celebration during the Adhyayanot-

1. “அமுது செய்தருளின வகையனில் விட்டவர் விழுக்காடு உள்ளது தாமே பெறக்கடவராகவும்”.

2. விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு ஐஸாதம் வகை ஆழ்வார்கள் கோயிலில் திருப்பாவை அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக்கடவர்களாகவும் கோவிந்தராஜன் அமுதுசெய்தருளின..... திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார் கோயிலில் அனுசந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறும்.....”.

savams of Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and Udaiyavar. They divided the donor's share equally between the Tiruppani Bhandarattar and the Iyal reciting Srivaishnavas. This was done probably to show that they had as much interest in the Prabandhams as the Koyil kelvi and other jiyars although their own acharyas was not a resident of Tirumala.

Change in the Relationship between the Kovil kelvi and the Van Sathakopan jiyar.

A close reading of inscriptions (III. 143; 5—12—1520; III. 173, 19—7—1520 and III. 178, 19—11—1528) shows that a change was taking place in the relationship between the Koyil kelvi jiyars and the Van Sathakopan matham. Tiruvenkata jiyar who was fraternising with the Van Sathakopan matham till the 24th November, 1520 ignoring the existence of the numerous other jiyars of his own tenets seems to have changed his attitude on 5th December of the same year which is to be seen in his endowment (probably on the occasion of his assuming the honorifics of Srimad veda mār̥ga etc.) wherein the distribution of the donor's share of the prasadam was made to jiyars of his own tenets. Sriman Koyil kelvi Ramanuja jiyar (probably his successor in office) made an endowment on 19—7—1527 which shows that although the food offerings were made for Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja the donor's share was not distributed to the Iyal reciters in general in these temples. They were taken over to Tirumangai alvar shrine to Udaiyavar Shrine and to the shrines of the other alvars to be distributed there among the Iyal reciters in those shrines.¹

1. “விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு ஸ்ரீஸாதம் வகை ஆழ்வார்கள் கோயிலில் திருப்பாவை அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக்கடவர்களாகவும்; மொவிந்தராஜன் அமுது செய்தருளின..... விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு உள்ளது திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார் கோயிலில் அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்..... திருக்கணமடை..... பங்கயச் செல்லி திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு கற்றரான மடபதி பெறக்கடவராகவும்; எதிராஜஜீயர் தோசை..... திருப்பணி கோயிலார் கற்ற

There was thus a new policy adopted with the result that the Iyal reciters in general did not enjoy the benefits. This might have been done with a view to make the ālvār's shrines places where also the Prabandhams should be recited on such occasions before food distribution is done. The endowment made by the disciples of the Van Sathakopan matham (III. 178; 19—11—1520) seems to express their disapproval of the above disruptive tendency. The trustees for this were not the Sthanattar but their rivals the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. The latter were given prominence in the temple by the Emperor Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya himself. In the eyes of the Van Sathakopa matham's disciples the presence of the Koyil kelvi jiyars as members of the Sthanattar was sufficient to make them veer to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar to whom they assigned one half of the donor's share. The other half was distributed in the temple itself among all Srivaishnavas who recited the Prabandham.¹

On 31st March 1530 (IV. 3) Kandātai Ramanuja Ayyangar manager of the temple gold treasury and kartar of the Ramanujakutam made a large endowment providing for food offerings to Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja on many festival occasions and also during the Adhyayanotsavams of Sri Nammalvar, Sri Tirumangai alvar, Sri Kulasekhara alvar and Udaiyavar. He did not distribute to the Iyal reciters any portion of the donor's share, but had it all sent over to the Ramanujakutam to be distributed there to pilgrims. But Sri Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar made a distribution of two atirasams out of thirteen

ரான ஜீயர் பெறக்கடவராகவும்.....விட்டவன் பதின் மூன்றில் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு 6 திருப்பொன்காரன் மடத்துக்கு கந்தரானவர் பெறும் சீடை 6; திருக்கணமடை விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு உடையவர் சன்னதியில் அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக்கடவராகவும்...''.

1. "விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு பூஸாதத்தில் திருப்பணி பண்டாரத்திலே பாதியும், திருவத்தியிலே அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு பாதியாக பெறக்கடவர்களாகவும்''.

per day which was the donor's share of atirasappadi to the Iyal reciters (IV. 6; 31—10—1530) in the temples only.¹

One Rama Bhaṭṭar son of Bhūtanātha Sishta Bhattar of Chandragiri made an endowment (IV. 18) on 18—2—1532 for the celebration of certain festivals for Sri Govindaraja and Sri Rama when the Utsava Murtis were taken out in procession. In this connection cash payment called Tirukkai vaḷakkam (திருக்கை வழக்கை) was made to the temple servants engaged in the task. One panam was paid to 'Anusandhani' (அனுஸந்தானி). The word being in the singular number, whether it refers to the person who recited the Vedas or to the one who recited the Prabandham is not clear. *The probability is the latter, in which case the policy adopted by Ramanuja jiyar had the effect of uniting all the discordant jiyar elements in Tirumala to acknowledge one man to be the anusandhanam officer in the temple. Whether it was one of the Koyil kelvi jiyars or some other person is not clear.*

The next endowment (IV. 31; 3—7—1534) by Srimati Periya Kommmamman, queen of Sriman Mahamandalesvara Sālakarāja Periya Tirumalayya deva Maharaya and spiritual disciple of Sriman Koyil Kandā dai Anṇan (of Srirangam) is interesting as it is the first instance of a member of the royal family making an endowment in which the recitation of the Prabandham of the alvars was formally recognised. She constructed a mantapam in a flower garden called the Varadanārāyaṇan Nandavanam (probably for the merit of Achyutaraya Maharaya's queen Varadaji amman). *She provided for food offerings to be made there on some festival occasions. THE ERECTION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE SHRINE FOR THE THREE MUDAL ALVARS IS ALSO MENTIONED IN THIS INSCRIPTION FOR THE FIRST TIME. She made over twelve atirasams out of thirteen which was the donor's share of the food offerings to the Iyal reciters and one atirasam*

1. “இயலனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு அதிரஸம்

to the desantri in the Tiruvāliparappinān Tirunandavanam.¹ The nandavanams in which she seems to have been interested are திருவேங்கடத்து நின்றான் திருநந்தவனம், and திருவாழி பரப்பினான் திருநந்தவனம்.

Iyal Sattumurai done at the Balipitham.

Periya Koyil kelvi Yatiraja Jiyar of the Perarulālan Nandavanam and Koyil kelvi Vaḍa Tiruvenkata Jiyar made endowments (IV. 45; 19—10—1535 and IV. 46; 7—7—1535 respectively) wherein food offerings to be made in Tirumala and Tirupati are mentioned. Out of the donor's share of thirteen in the latter endowment nine were made over to his acharya Tiruvāymolipperumāl Nayinar; two only for distribution to the Iyal reciters and two to the Pankaya chelli matham. From another offering a small portion was given to the Iyal reciters in the Udaiyavar shrine. The former inscription does not show clearly what portion the Iyal reciters received.

The second inscription dated 7th July 1535 is interesting for we learn therefrom for the first time that the Iyal recital took place at the Balipitham in Sri Venkatesvara's temple after the Utsava Murti's return from the street procession during the festival.² The old procedure was to recite the Tiruvāymoli when the Utsava murti was seated in a mantapam in front of the main door-way of the temple (Tiruvāsal) after returning from the street procession.

Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam—no recital of Prabandhams.

The Emperor Achyutaraya Maharaya made an endowment IV. 54 dated 26th December 1535 for the annual celebration in

1. “அமுது செய்தருளின ஆஸாதத்திலே விட்டவந் விழுக்காடு அதிரஸம் யந்-க்குயியல் சேவிக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் அதிரஸம் யஉ ம் திருவாழி பரப்பினான் திருநந்த வனத்தில் தேசாந்திரி பெறும் அதிரஸம் க.”

2. Line 4 “மலைகுனியநின்ற பெருமாள் திருவீதி எழுந்தருளி மீண்டு மெலி பீடத்தடியில் இயல் சாத்தும்போது அமுது செய்தருளும் இட்டலிப்படி க.....”.

Tirumala of a new festival commemorating the marriage of Sri Venkatesvara with Alarmel Mangai Nāhchiyar, also called Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam. In that connection payments for the recitation of the Vedas and the reading of the Puranas were provided (4 and 3 rekhai pon respectively) but none for the recitation of the Prabandhams or Iyal. While making payments for the paraphernalia and the persons composing the daily procession the members of the temple establishment were given cash. The anusandhānam was paid 2 panams in this connection. Whether this amount was paid to the leader of the Vedaparayanam or the Prabandham or to both is not clear. What is clear is that Prabandham was not placed on a footing similar to the Vedas and the Puranas in the marriage ritual.

When street processions were taken out for the Utsava Murti and when he was taken over to gardens outside the usual temple limits it became the practice to engage the Iyal reciters as part of the paraphernalia and the anusandhanam officer, or head of the Iyal reciters. was paid one panam. Thus Rayasam Ramachandra Dikshitar of Kaḍalāḍi and Ramabhaṭṭar ayyan of Chandragiri (IV. 59 and IV. 61 dated 26—12—1535) paid one panam to anusandhanam in connection with their ubhayams in their garden mantapams during the Summer festival and a portion of the donor's share was distributed among the Iyal reciters. One Ellappāpillai (IV. 67; 23—3—1536) paid one panam for anusandhanam during his Brahmotsavam ubhayam. One Ramanuja dāsar (obviously a Sāttāda Srivaishnava and disciple of Kāndur Appaiyangār) in connection with his ubhayams on similar occasions (IV. 69; 16—3—1536) not only made no payment for anusandhanam but also distributed three iddali out of thirteen which was the donor's share of prasadam to the Nāṭṭu Srivaishnava Iyal reciters and another share to the Sattada Srivaishnavas. From IV. 77. 15—12—1536 it is seen that Vaḍa Tiruvenkata jiyar was cultivating a flower garden which belonged to one Perunkonḍai (Penukonḍa) Virappaṅṅan, son of Lepakshi Nandi-Lakki Setti and received a portion of the donor's share of prasadam for that work; that Periya Koyil kelvi jiyar got another share and so on. In this race the Iyal reciters got nothing.

**Attitude of Achyutaraya's generals and Chief officers
towards Prabandham recital.**

There are more than a dozen principal officers under the Emperor Achyutaraya Maharaya who made large endowments for the celebration of ubhayams on numerous festival occasions such as the nine Brahmotsavams and the 25 days of the Adhyayantsavams (including the one for Udaiyavar). In no instance was a portion of the donor's share of the prasadam distributed among the Iyal reciters.¹

**Instances when Prabandham reciters were not
remunerated.**

One Koyil kelvi Tiruvenkata jiyar of the Perarullalan nandanam made an endowment (V. 137, 8-11-1539) for celebrating Tiruppallandu and Neḍumārkadimai sirappu during the Adhyaya-

1. The names of the officers are:—

IV. 81. 12-1-1537; Adaippam Visvanātha Nayakkar (the founder of the Madura Nayak dynasty). Gardener is the recipient.

IV. 82; 12-1-1537; Krishnappa Nayakkar. Recipient Perarulāla Nayinar Appai.

IV. 83; 12-1-1537; Bāchcharasayyar son of Srirāmayingar Recipient, self.

IV. 84; 12-1-1537; Rāmābhattarayan son of Bhutanātha Sishta bhattar of Chandragiri. Recipient self.

IV. 86; 12-1-1537; Immadi Ellappa Udaiyar of Vāngāpuram. Recipient flower gardener Narayanan.

IV. 88; 12-1-1537; Salakaraja Singaraja, Recipient his sister's ācharya.

IV. 110; 6-9-1538; Adaippam Baiyappa Nayakkar. Recipient self.

IV. 152; 31-12-1540, Periya Timmappan and Chinna Timmappan sons of Basava Nayakkar. Recipient, Sattāda Srivaishnava Tiruttani Appayan cultivating his flower garden.

IV. 153; 31-12-1540; Dalavāy Timmarasayyar (commander, Chandragiri Fort). Recipient self.

IV. 158; 27-1-1541; Perunkondai Virāppannagal. Recipient self.

IV. 161; 28-5-1541; Rayasam Kondamarasayyar. Recipient self.

IV. 166. 5-11-1541; Saluva Govindaraja. Recipient self.

IV. 170: 10-2-1542; Sālakaraja Singaraja. Recipient his acharya Tirumalai Tāttayangāi.

,notsavam in Tirumala (திருப்பல்லாண்டு and நெடுமாற்கடிமைச் சிறப்பு). Even he did not distribute the donor's share among the Iyal reciters. There are also other notable instances where no portion of the donor's share was distributed among Iyal reciters.¹

Payment for Anusandhanam.

A perusal of the endowments made in Vol. V. of the T.T.D. Inscriptions shows that whenever the Utsava Murti was taken out to a flower garden or similar place payment was made for anusandhanam as was done for the other services. Wherever Vedapārāyanam and Prabandham were recited the payment was 2 panams, but where Prabandham alone was requisitioned one panam was paid. The distribution of a portion of the donor's share of the prasadam offered to the Deity was a matter which the donor decided according to his discretion. In some cases the distribution was made among all Sri Vaishnavas, in some to Nāttu Sri Vaishnavas only and in some to the Iyal reciters only. There seems to have been no hard and fast rule in the matter. The Anusandhanam seems to have been generally paid for; but who the recipient was is not mentioned in any case. It probably was not one of the Koyil kelvi jiyars. If one of the two jiyars was the recipient the fact would have been stated since both were members of the committee of Sthanattar and commanded influence.

In V. 2. (27—1—1542) which provided for the celebration of the annual birth star of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala, anusandha-

1. Sri Tāḷḷapākkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar's (IV. 155. 1-2-1541) ubhayams for Tiruppalli eluchchi and during Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala.

Ekangi Pērarulālayyan disciple of Prativadi Bhayankaram Emperumānār Appa grandson of P. B. Annan (IV. 156, 13-2-1541).

Srimati Venkatattar daughter of acharyapurushas Siru Tiruvenkata Chakravarthi Ayyangar (IV. 162; 8-6-1541).

Periya Koyil kelvi Yatiraja jiyar disciple of Alagiya manavāla jiyar of the Perarulālan matham. (IV. 163; 21-6-1541) Recipients Nāttu Srivaishnavas, Periya Koyil kelvi Yatiraja jiyar and the gardener of Perarulālan garden. There is also a payment of one panam for anusandhanam because the Utsava Murti was taken to the Perarulālan flower garden in connection with the Vidāyarri festival of the Ani Brahmotsavam.

nam was paid one panam. The donor being one of the Koyil kelvi jiyars, Vedapārāyanam was obviously not paid for. A portion of the donor's share of the prasadams was distributed among all Srivaishnavas and other portions were given to Anandam pillai jiyar, Koyil kandaḍai Aṅṅan, kartar of the Alagiyamanavalan matham etc.

Anandampillai Appayyengar, one of the acharyapurushas of the temple who made an endowment (V. 7; 1—9—1543) in connection with the 11th day of the Adhyayanotsavam (Kanninun Siruttāmbu Sirappu) distributed one prasadam and one appam out of thirteen which was the donor's share of the offered prasadams in Tirumala and Tirupati among the Nāṭṭu Srivaishnavas who recited the Iyal Prabandham. Maṭṭa Varadaraya made an endowment (V. 11; 5—1—1544) for ubhayams during Brahmotsavam in Tirumala, also for Hunting and Vannimaram festivals. From out of the donor's share of the prasadam the Nāṭṭu Srivaishnavas reciting Iyal Prabandham were given one appam out of thirteen which was the donor's share. But payment was not made for anusandhanam.

So also Sevvu Setti (V. 12; 11—5—1544) whose endowment was in connection with festivals when the Utsava Murti was taken to different mantapams far away from the Tirumalai temple gave two vadai out of thirteen which was the donor's share for distribution among the Nattu Srivaishnavas while the major share was given away to Kumara Tāttayyengar and Tirumalai Appayyengar. Nothing was set apart exclusively for the Iyal reciters. Anantālvān Kuppayyan (V. 15; 1545 A.D.) made an endowment in connection with Sri Ramanuja's Adhyayanotsavam including Nūṅṅandādi and Tanniramudu festival. He was himself the recipient of the donor's share and there was no distribution made of the prasadams to Iyal reciters. One Kaṭṭa Mūrti Nāyakkar (V. 19; 7—8—1544) made a large endowment for food offerings in connection with his ubhayams during the Āni Brahmotsavam in Tirumala. The donor's share of the prasadams was distributed freely to all devotees, Srivaishnavas getting of a portion of the better varieties. There was a payment of 2 panams for anusandhanam which would mean that the Vedas and Prabandham were both remunerated.

One Vangāpuram Narayana Setti, a merchant of Tirupati and disciple of Anandam pillai Ayyangar made a large endowment (V. 25; 19—10—1544) for celebration of Damarārōhana Vasantotsavam festival for Sri Govindaraja, Koyil alvar Tirumanjanam etc. Among the payments for special services rendered by the temple staff there was 5 panams for recitation of the Vedas, one panam for *Tiruvāymoḷi* and one panam for anusandhanam (the last mentioned would refer only to the Prabandham recitation). The major portion of the donor's share of the prasadam and paniyarams was distributed among prominent men like Kumara Tāttayangar, Anandam pillai Ayyangar, Sthanattar etc. There was a small portion *i.e.*, two panyarams out of 13 which was donors' share to be distributed among Naṭṭu Sri Vaishnavas and dēsāntaris. But the Iyal reciters did not receive special attention

One Ramanuja Timmayyan (V. 26; 22—10—1544) whose endowment was in connection with the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala did not distribute any portion of the donor's share among Iyal reciters nor even to Srivaishnavas in general. The donor's share was divided between the donor and his flower gardener.

Aravidu Bukkaraja Aliya Ramaraja made an endowment in connection with the Mukkōṭi Dvadasi festival in Tirumala and in Tirupati (V. 29; 19—1—1545). The temple servants who had to do extra work were paid therefor. But Prabandham recital does not appear to have been made. There was no payment for anusandhanam nor was any portion of the food offerings given to Prabandham reciters.

Sri Tāḷapākkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar made an endowment (V. 34; 19—3—1545) for celebrating the Sattumurai festival of Sri Nammalvar's Adhyayanotsavam in Alvār Tirtham, Tirupati. Payment was made to all the temple servants for the extra labour involved. The Iyal reciters do not find a place nor the anusandhanam. The donor received the entire quantity of prasadam due to him. He made another endowment V. 47-A. (1545 A.D.) for celebrating a Vanabhojanam (garden party to the Deity). Large quantities of food offering were made. All the temple servants were given extra remuneration. There was

a payment of 2 panams for anusandhanam which would mean that Vedic and Prabandham recitation were both paid for. The omission of this payment in two previous endowments of his was remedied by its inclusion in this endowment. Thus Anusandhanam was fully recognised by Tirumalai Ayyangar although there was some delay or hesitation in the matter. There was however no distribution of food offerings to Iyal reciters.

Kandā dai Srirangachariar, son of Bhavanacharya, made an endowment to commemorate the birth nakshatrams of his forebears and his own and the annual birth star of Sri Ramanuja and also in connection with the car festival in Tirumala during Brahmotsavam (V. 48; 5—7—1545). There would have been Prabandham recital on these days. There was no distribution of food offerings to Iyal reciters as such but two dosais per padi were distributed to Naṭṭu Srivaishnavas. There was no payment made for anusandhānam.

Araviti Bukkaraja Ramaraja Tirumalarajayyan disciple of the above Kandadai Srirangachari instituted a new festival called Pallavōtsavam on a grand scale (V. 51; 7—7—1545). There was provision made for Vedic recitation at a cost of 15 panams; *Tiruvāymoḷi* at 4 panams among other items. Anusandhanam was paid one panam. The donor's share of the prasadam was giving away entirely to his acharya.

One (Potlapāṭi) Timmarajayyan (V. 53; 15—2—1545) made a large endowment for food offerings in connection with several festivals. Although the major part was given away for special services the food offerings made in connection with the singing of *Tiruppaḷṭi eḷuchchi* during the Margali month were distributed freely to all devotees, and not exclusively for Sri Vaishnavas. There was no payment for anusandhanam.

Udayagiri Devaraja Bhaṭṭar (V. 66; 25—3—1546) made a large endowment for celebration of certain festivals for Sri Venkatesvaraswami and Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati. Payment was made to all the members of the temple establishment for extra work done in that connection. There was no payment

for anusandhanam nor was Prabandham recited in Vithalesvaraswami temple. All the prasadams offered on the days of the Brahmotsavam were distributed freely to all devotees. So also Tallapakkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar distributed freely the donor's share of the offered prasadams to the devotees in connection with the installation of Sri Lakshminarayana Perumal in Alvar Tirtham (V. 68; 20—6—1546). There was no payment for anusandhanam. In connection with the celebration of the Vaivāhikōtsavam of Sri Venkatesa instituted by Tallapākkam Tiruvenkathanathar, son of Tirumalai ayyangar (V. 71; 17—7—1546), several special services were paid for among which 'anusandhanam 2 panams' is one; again in connection with Hunting festival one panam for anusandhanam was paid.

Araviti Timmarajayyan, son of Timmaraja in his endowment (V. 78; 21—9—1546) for food offerings to be made on several occasions has included one iddali padi per day on all the 12) Brahmotsavam festival days for *Tiruvāymoli-sāttu* when the Utsava murti arrives at the main entrance on Vahanam presumably after the street procession. It was also the occasion when the *Tiruvāymoli* was first recited in Tirumala and food offering made in that connection (Vol. I. 107; 26—1—1360). Perhaps the old endowment made by one Chedirayan was defunct and Timmarajayyan renewed it. That part of the inscription which would show how the prasadam was distributed is covered by a mantapam. *Tiruvenkata Bhayakkara Ayyā Bhaṭṭar* built a mantapam in front of his house in Tirumala called Tirumolippaḍi (V. 83; 1—11—1546) mantapam where the Utsava Murti would be accommodated and *Tirumoli* sung after parivaṭṭam was tied to his head on payment of fees. The dosaippadi offered on this occasion was distributed freely to all as was the old usage “*தொன்மையாக வினியோகக் கடவதாகவும்*”. One panam was paid for anusandhanam. Sevvu Nayakkar (V. 86; 13—1—1547) paid one panam for anusandhanam in connection with the Hunting festival of Periya Raghunatha in Tirupati. There was no distribution of food offering to Iyal reciters.

In connection with the Hunting festival celebrated for Vithalesvarapperumal in Tirupati by the Prasādakkārar Maha-

mēdangaḷ (V. 88; 6—2—1547) payment was made for all other services. Anusandhanam was omitted and there does not appear to have been Iyal recital. Udayagiri *Devaraja Bhattar* does not appear to have encouraged Prabandham recital. For it is found that in his endowment (V. 89; 6—3—1547 and V. 90; 12—5—1547) making provision for payment to every kind of service for daily worship of Sri Vithalesvaraperumal Prabandham recital has not found place. For daily Vedaparayanam 1 Rekhai pon and 2 panams were paid per month. But in his endowment (V. 91; of 1547) for celebrating certain festivals for Sri Venkatesvara, Sri Govindaraja, Sri Achyuta perumal etc., he provided that three prasadamams out of every taligai offered to the Deity should be distributed to the Iyal reciters *as per the ancient usage*.¹ *It is thus learnt from the above wording that Iyal recital in festival processions had become a usage and also distribution of a certain portion of the food offerings to the reciters an established usage.*

Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa ayyangar son of Kumara Tāttayangar (acharyapurusha) endowed a large village yielding an annual income of 2000 Rekhai Pon called Periya Ekkalur for the celebration of a number of festivals when food offerings were made (V. 92; 3—6—1547). Phalōsavam was a new festival instituted by him in Tirumala. In this connection Vedaparayanam was paid 5 panams and anusandhanam 2 panams. For the Tanniramudu festival in Tirumala anusandhanam was paid 2 panams. In connection with the newly instituted Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindarajasvami in Tirupati in the Tamil month of Masi anusandhanam was paid 4 panams. It is learnt from the details given of this endowment that during Brahmotsavams when Sri Govindarajasvami arrives in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine Iyal recital had become an ancient usage.² In the festival processions *Tirumolī* was recited and food offering therefor made.³

1, “இயல் சேவிக்கும் ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு தொன்மையாக பிறசாதிக்கும் படி க-க்கு பிறசாதம் ஈ போக்கி.....”

2. உடையவர் சந்நதியில் இயல் சாத்தும்போது தொன்மையாக பருப்பவியல் உசெ. Vol. V.P, 256.

3. திருமொழிப்படி திருப்போனகம் 40.

It is learnt from this endowment that it was the practice (presumably of Kumara Tattayangar and his sons only) to distribute all the offered prasadam freely to all those who were present on such occasions.¹ This privilege of distributing the entire quantity of food offerings freely to all the pilgrims was enjoyed only by Kumara Tattayangar and his son Srinivasa Tattayangar. The Sthanattar and the servants of the Devasthanams allowed this procedure out of their free will. The practice of taking over the prasadam to the Akāsaganga on the occasion of the Tanniramudu festival (தண்ணீரமுது வழி திருத்தல்) — the transport charges being borne by the temple—and of distributing them freely to all including the Sthanattar and other employees, was started in 1491 (Vide II. 95; 27—6—1491) in connection with the endowment made by Pasindi Venkatattur ivar when the *Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam* compiled by him was first read in the temple.² From Srinivasa Ayyangar's endowment it is seen that the entire quantity offered by him to the Deity was taken over to Ākāsaganga and distributed

1. திருமலை திருப்பதியில் அமுது செய்தருளின பிறஸாதம் பண்ணியாரங்களில் தொன்மையாக தாம் வினியோக பண்ணும் வகை திருமலைநம்பி திருந்குத்திரம்.....பருப்பவியல் 13; பவோச்சவத்திருஞள் உடையவர் சந்ததியில் இயல்சாத்தும்போது இட்டிலிப்படி 3, தண்ணீரமுது வழிநாள் சந்தனப்பாறையில் வகைப்படி 4, மாசித்திருநாள் கோவிந்தராஜன் கோயில் உடையவர் சந்ததியில் இயல் சாத்தும்போது பருப்பவியல் 24, அப்படி 20, ஆக இந்த வகை தொன்மை எல்லாம் தாமே வினியோகம் பண்ணிக் கொள்ளக் கடவராகவும். ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தில் ஞலாம் சுனையில் திருவேங்கடமுடையார் ஞள்வழி சந்தி விட்டவர் பிறஸாதம் இருநாழி சேவிக்க வந்தபேர்க்கு தாமே வழிநடையாக வினியோகம் பண்ணிக்கொள்ளக் கடவராகவும்.

2. “.....விட்டவன் விழக்காடு பிறஸாதம் அக்காளி பிறஸாதம் உள்ளது ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலே சுமை கூவி இட்டு எடுப்பித்து கறிகாய் தயிர் இவையனும் பாக்கு வெற்றிலை சந்தனம் ஏலமும் ஆகாச கங்கையிலே கொண்டுபோய் விானத்தார் முதலான எல்லாரும் பிறஸாதப்படக் கடவராகவும்.....”³

freely.¹ Thus a practice commenced in 1491 A.D., became an ancient usage (தொன்மையாக) in 1547, that is within 56 years. The hearing of the Prabandham of the Alvars which was commenced in Udaiyavar Emperumanar's shrine in Tirupati in 1475 (II. 63) extended to the Tirumalai Udaiyavar shrine and became a common feature in 1476 (II. 68). In inscription II. 95; 27—6—1491 the Adhyayanotsavam of Tiruvengadamudaiyan is distinctly mentioned. That the Utsavamurti was hearing every night the recital of the Prabandham of the ālvars is mentioned in V. 92 of 1547 as an ancient usage. The payment for anusandhanam whenever a festival procession was held had also become an ancient usage. We saw that Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar made good his past neglect. An endowment for the Sahasra nāmārchana festival for Sri Venkatesa in Tirumala newly instituted by one Sūrappa Nayakkar (V. 127; 10-5-1551) shows that Iyal recital was held in Sri Ramanuja's shrine and food offerings were made to Sri Venkatesa in that connection as an ancient usage. There was also a payment of 3 panams for anusandhanam.² An endowment V. 141; 25-5-1553 made by Araviti Kondarāja for the celebration of the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Nammalvār enshrined by him in the temple he built in G. Mada Street, Tirupati (which was in direct competition with the Alvar Tirtham temple) shows that payment was made for anusandhanam.

Post Talikota Period.

We next pass on to the period which followed the battle of Talikota in 1565 when the Vijayanagar Empire received a rude

1. தண்டிரமுது வழி திருத்துஞள் பெரிய பெருமாள் அமுது செய்தருளி ஆகாச கங்கை வழியில் சந்தனப்பாறையில் தொன்மையாக வினியோகம் பண்ணும் வடைப்படி கோதிப்படி இட்டலிப்படி கூடியன்படி.....”

2. “உடையவர் சந்தனதியில் மியல் சாத்தி யருளிணுப்போலே அமுது செய்தருளி தொன்மையாக ஞுஸாதிக்கும் இட்டலிப்படி ..

shock from which it did not recover, although it struggled on for about a century more. There were fewer endowments to the Tirumalai temple during this period. Such as were made were mostly by Srivaishnavas many of whom were in the king's service.

The Period of the Aravidu Kings.

The payment made to the anusandhanam officer during festivals having street procession and journeys to mantapams was continued even after the battle of Talikota. From two inscriptions VI. (3) and VI. (4) both dated 16th January 1583, the donor for the former being a resident of Vijayanagaram City and for the latter a native of Kunravardhana Kottam in Jayankonda sōḷa maṇḍalam, it is seen that anusandhanam was paid one panam as in the case of the other service holders of the temple.

The next inscription VI. 5; dated 25th September 1583 furnishes more interesting information. The endowment was made by *Srimad vēda mārḡa pratishtāpanāchārya Ubhaya Vedantacharya* Kumāra Tātāchāryar Ayyan son of Ayyāvayyangār and grandson of Tōlappāchāryar of Sathamarshana gōtra āpasthamba sūtra and yajus sākḥā during the reign of Srirangadeva Maharayar. He was not an āchāryapurusha of the Tirumalai-Tirupati temple. This is the first time in our inscription that the title Ubhaya Vedantacharya is prefixed to a person's name. It shows that being a lineal discendant of Pillān he had perfect claim to do so. His endowment provided for the celebration of a Brahmotsavam in Tirumala in the Tamil month Arpasi, Pulugukkāppu Tirumanjanam on the Friday falling within the festival period, the Uriyaḍi festival and for the reading of the Kaisika Puranam in Tirumala by himself and his descendants. Another interesting piece of information is that *Tirumōḷi* was sung during the Brahmotsavam and seven iddalipadi were offered to the Deity in that connection. It also refers to the ancient practice of distributing 21 iddali padi freely to all Srivaishnavas in the shrine of

Sri Bhashyakār (Ramanuja) during that period.¹ There was also the ancient practice of the free distribution of prasadams (cooked food) in that shrine to all Sri Vaishnavas on the 12 days of the Brahmotsavam.² There are other ancient practices also referred to therein. The necessity for making specific mention of these in the inscription might have been due to the fear or suspicion that as a consequence of political changes they may be discontinued on the plea that they might be new innovations. There was also payment of one panam for anusandhanam, small though the amount may appear.

One Venkamarasa Reddiar of Avilāla (near Tirupati) made an endowment (VI. 6; 18-10-1584) for a festival for Sri Govindaraja in his garden mantapam and in that connection one panam was paid to anusandhanam. But no portion of the donor's share of prasadams was distributed either to Sri Vaishnavas or to Iyal reciters. One Avasaram Chennappar, resident of Naṣilukkūr village endowed (VI. 7; 22-4-1586) for certain Vidāyaṛṇi festivals during Brahmotsavams in Tirumala. Although payment was made for the service rendered by other temple servants nothing was paid for anusandhanam nor was any food distributed.

During the reign of Venkatapatideva Maharaya.

There is an endowment VI. 9 dated 14th July 1592 made by one Periya Timmappa Nayakkar, resident of Vijayanagaram. There is a sub-endowment in this by one Meykkōṭṭi Timmappa

1. ... யிட்டலிப்படி விவரம், திருமொழிப்படி எ (7); ஸ்ரீஹாஷீகாறர் சந்நதியில் ஸ்ரீவயிலீவர்களுக்கு தொன்மையாக யிட்டலிப்படி உடிக (21).....”

2. “.....அமுது செய்தருளின ஸ்ரீஸாதம் பண்ணியாரத்தில் தொன்மையாக ஸ்ரீஸாதிக்கும் வகை அற்பசி திருக்கொடித் திருநாளில் தொன்மையாக ஸ்ரீஸாதிக்கும் ஹாஷீகாறர் சந்நதியில் ஞள் டெ 12)-க்கு ஸ்ரீவயிலீவர்களுக்கு இயல்படி உடிக (4).....”

Nayakkar. The principal festival for which the endowment was made is the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati for twelve days. An interesting ancient practice is referred to here. On the 12th (or last) day of the festival when Sri Govindaraja with His consorts and also Sri Ramanuja arrive at the temple gate-way the accounts of the temple relating to Tiruvengadamudaiyan would be read out.¹ The village of Pūdamalli (near Madras) was the endowed village mainly for the purpose of celebrating Sri Ramanuja's Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati for 12 days. The major part of the prasadams offered to the Deity was distributed freely to all devotees. The Iyal reciters were singled out for on all special favours. Anusandhanam was paid 1 panam occasions when procession took place.²

Koyil kelvi Annan Ramanuja jiyar made an endowment (VI. 10; 16-1-1594) of the village of Devarayapalli (income 150 R.P.) for celebrating the Chitrā Purnami festival in Tirumala in the Van Sathakopan matham. This perhaps indicates that there was not even till 1594 any sectarian differences between the Koyil kelvi jiyars and the Van Sathakopan mutt jiyar. There were also other ubhayams celebrated in his own garden mantapam in Tirumala such as Uriyadi festival, Sri Jayanti festival, Vidayaṛṇi festival and others in Tirupati. There were other festivals endowed for by sub-donors (Mādabhūshi Appayyengar, Kuppayyengar and Tiruvenkatayyan). Anna Ramanuja jiyar did not make payment for anusandhanam but the sub-donors did so. *From this we may draw the inference that the Koyil kelvi jiyar was himself the anusandhanam officer.* The wording of the inscription does not show clearly how the food offerings were distributed. The Iyal

1. “எம்பெருமானார் திருவடெஜீநம் ஸூ-ம் (12) திருநாள் கோயில் வாசலில் கோவிந்தராஜனும் ஞாச்சிமார் எம்பெருமானாரும் திருவேங்கடமுடையான் விய.....வாய் கணக்கு கேட்டருளும் போது தோசைப்படி க” (விய the word might have been வியப்புக்கு, to elucidate.

2 “அமுது செய்தருளின ஸூஸாதம் பண்ணியாரத்தில் தொன்மையாக ஞாள் 12 க்கு பருப்பவியல் எயூ (72) இட்டலி டெ (12).....”

reciters are not mentioned in the inscriptions, but all Sri Vaishnavas are mentioned.¹

In inscription VI. 11; 13-3-1594 being an endowment by an agriculturist Dharasi Nārāyanār Reddi for celebrating a number of Vissha diwasams in Tirupati payment of one panam was made for anusandhanam. The Iyal reciters are not mentioned; at any rate the inscription is incomplete in the concluding portion. Inscription VI. 12; 19-4-1596 (Emperor was Venkatapati Devaraya Maharayar) gives details of an endowment by Silambīḍaiyār Setti of Ramāpuram. He built a shrine for Sri Varadarajaswami and Tirukkachchi Nambi in Tirupati and instituted festivals wherein Sri Govindarajaswami was also associated. There was no payment for anusandhanam nor is Iyal sāttu mentioned. There was payment made for extra service rendered by the members of the Temple establishment. The more interesting portion, of it is the one which mentions one Koyil kelvi Van Sathakopan Alagiya manavāla Ramanuja jiyar as a sub-donor for the Chitrā purnami festival of Sri Govindaraja. The name occurs in two places, in one as donor and in the other as beneficiary of prasadams.² Both descriptions refer to the same jiyar. It is seen from this that a jiyar of the Van Sathakopan mutt or a jiyar who bore the name Van Sathakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja was the sub-donor. There was no sub-sectarian import in the name. *There was no payment for anusandhanam nor was food distributed to Iyal reciters. The jiyar took the donors' share himself.*

The next inscription VI. 14; 31-10-1606 being endowment for offering daily five Sarkaraippungal (Sweetened pongal) taligai

1. “விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு.....பொலியூட்டு..... ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்... ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களே பெறக்கடவர்களாகவும்... ..”

2.கோயில் கேழ்வி அழகியமணவாள இராமானுஜ ஜிய்யர் பொலியூட்டு சித்திரை மாஸத்து பவுற்ற மைஞள் கோவிந்தராஜன் அமுது செய்தருளும்... ..”

.....நின்ற படிவகை வுஸாதம் பண்ணியாரம் விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு னாலென்றும் கோயில் கேழ்வி வஞ்சடகோபன் அழகியமணவாள இராமானுஜ ஜிய்யர் பெறக்கடவராகவும்... ..”

was made by Hunumayyar Annangar son of Lakkappa Nayakkar, commander of the Vijayanagar forces stationed on Malyavanta Hills. The inscription mentions that the distribution of a portion of the offered prasadams freely to all deovtees in front of Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirumala was an ancient practice and that in this case two out of the five taligais were so distributed.¹ It is not possible to trace from previous inscriptions how such distribution made on some occasions grew to be an ancient usage (Tonmaiyaḡa).

From a lengthy inscription (VI. No. 18 dated 4-11-1614) during Venkatapatideva Maharayar's reign of an endowment by one Nōṭṭākkār Venkātayan, it is seen that a mantapam in front of the gōpura vāsal was known as the *TIRUVAYMOLI MANTAPAM* and that on every day of the 10 Brahmotsavams *Tiruvāymoli* was recited there and 132 Dadhyodanam taligais were made in all. On the day of the Vasantotsavam during the Chittirai Brahmotsavam anusandhanam was paid two panams. Iyal reciters are not mentioned as receiving any special treatment. But there was free distribution of a certain quantity of the offered prasadams excluding the quantity of 44 sandhi offerings which old but then defunct endowments had provided for.

Inscription VI. 19; 4-11-1616 also gives details of an endowment by Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmarajayyan for celebration of some festivals in addition to the old ones by the re-excavation of certain irrigation channels so as to increase the yield from the temple lands served by them. The services covered by the prior endowments had to be carried out before the new ones were executed. The old endowments are referred to by the epithet, ancient (தொன்மையாக). The old endowments which were benefitting the reciters of the Prabandham reserved 21 iddali padi in Tirumala and Tirupati during the Tiruvadhyayanam festival.² "Twenty

1. அமுது செய்தருளின பொங்கலில் தொன்மையாக எம்பெருமானார் சந்நிதியில் ஐஸாதிக்கும் பொங்கல் உபாயம் ..'

2. திருமலையில் திருவடேஜ்நத் தொன்மையாக ஐஸாதிக்கும் திருப்புரட்டாசி திருநாள் ஐஸாதிக்கும்

one iddali padi to be distributed among Sri Vaishnavas who take part in (Anusandhikkum) Tiruvadhayanams in Tirumala and Tirupati". There was no payment of money to anusandhanam officer.

Similarly, Noṭṭakkāra Nārayanan, (VI. 20; 25-7-1627) excavated irrigation channels in certain villages of Kuḍavur nāḍu and increased the yield. The old services were given precedence not only in the quantity to be offered to the Deity but also in the quantity which had to be, as an old usage, distributed freely to pilgrims.¹ There was no payment for anusandhanam or distribution of food to Iyal reciters exclusively. There was free distribution to all devotees. This inscription was made during the reign of Sri Vira Rama Rāvu deva Maharāyar. The next endowment (VI. 21; 29-9-1631) made in the reign of his successor Sri Vira Kumara Venkatapatiraya deva Maharāyar (Venkata II) was by one Ramachandrayyan. This also consisted in renewing the irrigation channel in Vadirajapuram in Kuḍavur nāḍu so as to increase the yield and make old endowments workable. There is provision for observing all old commitments in the distribution of the food offerings to pilgrims. There is no reference to 'anusandhanam nor to Iyal reciters. The next inscription (VI. 22; 2-1-1636) also in the reign of Venkata II, of an endowment made by Sri Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṅṅangarachariar son of Alagarayyengar and grand son of Venganacharya is of interest from the Prabandham point of view. He installed a new Deity, Lakshmi Narayana Perumal, and also Periya ālvar in Tirupati and instituted Adhyayanotsavam in that connection. There were also festivals celebrated for Sri Govindarajaswami and for Sri Āṇḍāl. A portion of the

...திருப்பதியில் கோவிந்தராஜன் .. திருவசெறிநத்திருஞள்...
 வுஸாதிக்கும் யிட்டலிப்படி ஆக திருமலை திருப்பதியில் திருவ
 செறிநத்திருஞளில் அனுஸந்தாநம் பண்ணும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு
 வுஸாதிக்கும் இட்டலிப்படி உயக (21).....

1. ஆக தொன்மையாக வுஸாதிக்க . . . உய (30)...
 ...வடைப்படி (க)-க்கு.....பொயி... . நின்ற வுஸாதம். பண்ணி
 யாரத்தில்.....''

offered food was distributed to pilgrims and a portion to local Sri Vaishnavas. But Iyal reciters as such were not singled out nor was anusandhanam paid for. This endowment by an acharya-purusha of the Tirumala, Tirupati temples made in 1636 is a pointer to the hold which Iyal recitations and the anusandhanam officer failed to have on men who had a stake in the customs and usages of the temple during those days.

The next one happens to be the last inscription in the Tamil language and script composed by the accountants called Tiruninraur-udaiyar and the old Sthanattar (though reduced in numbers). It was made as if in the reign of Virapratapa Srirangadeva Maharaya by some Ayyan (whose name is missing in the inscription but who was a Brahmin of Kundanāla village in Uravakonda Seema, on 15th June 1638 (VI. 23). The only point of interest to us is that during the ubhayams in Tirumala on the 4th day of each of the eleven Brahmotsavams in his garden mantapam anusandhanam was paid 1/16 panam and during the ubhayams in Tirupati to celebrate the asterism of his birth Mulam the payment for anusandhanam was 1 panam. There was no distribution of food offerings to the Iyal reciters.

The last inscription with which we are concerned is VI. 24; 19-3-1684. This inscription was discussed at some length in Chapter XXII. p. p. 885 to 889. The details of the distribution of the food offering in Tirumala called Avasaram (sandhi Tirupponakam) therein made show a complete departure from the old practice. The Sthanattar had disappeared long before 1684, possibly in 1646 or thereabouts when Mir Jumla captured the country for the Muslim king of Golkonda. Those members of the staff who were actually doing work in the temple got each a share. The dosai padi was distributed as below. Singamurai 4 Dosais, Paṇimurai 6, Pedda jiyangar 1, Chinna jiyangar 1, Sthanalavaru 4, Kanganippan 1 (శ్రీశయ), Desantris (pilgrims) 1, 4 (name missing) Paḍikavali 2, Uttara Pārapatyam 1, (అశ్వాపకం) Adhyapakas 2, Sundry 1, Viniyogam or free distribution 18, Vithavana (Viṭṭavan Vilukkadu) 1. A similar scale of distribution is shown in the case of prasādams.

The term *Adhyapaka* appears for the first time and its plural *Adhyapakulaku* denotes that more than one got a share. It is a Sanskrit word used to denote a person who is competent to teach the Vedas to others (*Adhyapaka* is equivalent to *Vēda bōdhaka*). It was not used in any of the previous inscriptions as a namē for a Prabandham reciter. The only possible explanation for the adoption of this new name is that after the complete conquest of the country and the temple by Mir Jumla about 1646 A.D., all the endowed villages of the temple were taken away by him and that the daily services in the temple had to be carried on with the help of endowments of the kind shown in this inscription made by devotees. There was no land endowment. But gold ornament was entrusted to a private trustee who invested the sale proceeds of the jewel and from the interest which it earned provided for the conduct of the service. The old *anusandhanam* officers who were perhaps by usage receiving a portion of the *prasadam* and some cash during *ubhayams* were deprived of their earning. When a Maharashtra military officer like Ramachandra Dabirsa made an endowment it would have been difficult to make him realise that the recitation of the Tamil Prabandham by an *anusandhanam* officer was an essential part of the liturgy of the temple. A great pandit who could recite well the Vedas and teach others also has always been known as an *Adhyapaka*. So the Sri Vaishnavas of the day would have represented the reciter of the Veda and the Prabandham as two *Adhyapakas* and so got for both a portion of the food offering. This word has in the centuries after 1684 come to denote exclusively the Prabandham reciter and we therefore now call the Veda reciter *Vedapārāyanika* and the Prabandham reciter *Adhyāpaka*. As an analogy the change in the import of the term *Emperumānadiyar* from a devotee of Vishnu to a vestal virgin therein may be noted.

The distribution made in 1684 by Sri Ramachandra Dabirsa was not however the last word on the subject. In subsequent periods there were alterations therefrom which deprived the *Adhyapakas* of a share in the daily *kattala*. When free distribution is made in *āsthanam* they appear to have received a share.

The continued and persistent efforts of the Sri Vaishnavas to establish a right for the recitation of the Prabandham and for a

share in the offered Prasadam resulted in making the recital tolerated and even considered a very desirable factor in the liturgy of the temple. It was optional on the part of the donors to recognise or ignore distribution of their share of prasadam for the Prabandham. The efforts to obtain recognition for the anusandhanam office did not also succeed fully. We have seen that Prativadi Bhayankaram Anṅangarāchariar an acharya purusha of the temple in 1636 did not recognise the Prabandham recital and the anusandhanam in the festivals which his endowment provided for.

But usage was asserting itself in favour of Prabandham recital on festival occasions, but not as a part of the daily liturgy of the temple. The Iyal sāttu which in 1360 A.D. was conducted in front of the main-gate way of the temple in Tirumala gradually came to be done at the Balipiṭham inside the temple. There were also recitals held in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine and in the presence of the Utsava Murti. But there does not appear to have been any instance of a recital having been held in the Garbhagriham in front of the Mūla Beram. Nor was there a daily Sāttumurai in the wake of the daily puja. These innovations were perhaps made during the Muslim and the British rule. But we cannot be dogmatic. The terms Vadagalai and Tengalai; Pātram and Vāḷi Tirunāmam of either variety are nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions. Rivalry between the resident jiyars and siyers in Tirumala and Tirupati for the anusandhanam office is indicated. The Sthanattar seem to have taken a neutral attitude in the matter. It was purely a matter for settlement by Sri Vaishnavas without distinction of caste. During the Muslim rule by the Nawab of Arcot and in the early years of the British rule it would have been an easy matter for Sri Vaishnavas to establish new conventions, since no member of the ruling class set foot on the Tirumalai Hill. They were interested in getting the maximum possible annual income from the renter who was a Sri Vaishnava.

NOTE—1.

Referring to the *Tiruvaymoḷi* recital in Tirumalai for the first time in 1360 A.D. (vide pages 1021 to 1023) an assumption

was made therein by the author that one Tiruvaymolippillai may have been the young enthusiast who lead the recital, the basis for it being his ancestry. The endowment for food offering in that connection was made in the name of a prince (சேதிராயன் பேராளன்) Chēḍiyarayan of Chaturvedi mangalam of Seyyur koṭṭam. As it was not directly made by the prince himself a further suggestion was thrown out (lines 11, 12, of p. 1023) that Tiruvaymolippillai might have been responsible for getting the endowment made. While re-reading the printed matter for preparing the 'Index' it struck the author that there was no plausible basis for this assumption, considering that Tiruvaymolippillai would not have at his young age attained to that eminence and fame which alone would enthuse people to carry out his wish or request. There was however during those days Sri Vedanta Desika who, by his great learning, immaculate life and unparalleled service for the spread of Sri Vaishnavism had attained to the pinnacle of fame. He successfully resuscitated Prabandham recital in Srirangam shortly before 1360 A.D. (Vide page 1022). He would more likely have been responsible for the Chedirayar's endowment for the *Tiruvaymoli* recital in Tirumala also. The only consideration which precluded mentioning his name in the first instance was that he was so high-souled that he never sought a favour or accepted an offer from any one. His *Vairagya Panchakam* is sufficient to prove this. For establishing the excellence of the Prabandhams he however induced his disciple Gopanna (Governor and commander of the Chengi fortress and country) to convene a religious assembly. Again, for the benefit of a single person Singayya (Dannayaka) son of Madappa he composed his Tamil tract "Srimat Tatva sandēsam." (Inscription 104 of Vol. I gives Singayya's name as Immaḍi Rāguttarayan Mādappan Singayya Dannayakar. The father's name is given by Sri Vedanta Desika as Mādhavan). It is therefore more probable that the Chēḍirayan whose territory was likely under Gopanna's jurisdiction had the endowment made in his name agreeably to or anticipating the wishes of the great spiritual preceptor Sri Vedanta Desika.

NOTE—2.

Vide Page 731 (lines 7 to 9)

There are indefinite and even contradictory statements in the inscriptions about the period or number of days of the Adhyayanotsavam, what was being recited on each day and when *Ramanuja Nurrandadi* came to be recited. This subject will appropriately be fully considered in the Chapter on Festivals.

CHAPTER XXIII—(Contd.)

SECTION—3.

SRI VENKATESWARA, SELF-MANIFEST ARCHA FORM OF NARAYANA

AND

VENGADAM HILL, HIS HALLOWED SPOT.

SRI Nammālvār's firm faith that the Supreme Being has of His own choice and for the spiritual benefit of mortals settled Himself on the Vengadam Hill and that therefore the hill itself is a hallowed spot for mankind has been stated in chapter II p.p. 41 to 43. It was also mentioned that Sri Nammālvār alone has given his mystic reason for His manifestation as an Idol. That statement should not be taken to mean that the other ālvārs have not expressed the same belief. They have said the same thing but not in the manner that Sri Nammālvār has done. In this section (of Chapter XXIII) the religious faith of all the other ālvārs, and particularly of the early ālvārs, in the worship of Vishnu will be considered at some length. This is necessary to show that from the earliest times Vengadam has been considered to be the most hallowed spot on earth for worshippers of Sri Vishnu and that the Idol on the hill has been taken to be self-manifest Para Brahman to make it possible for bhaktas to do the archa form of worship for obtaining salvation without resorting to the more arduous methods which were extensively practised in the previous ages.

Preamble.

As a preliminary to a correct appreciation of the Ālvār's Prabhandams with reference to Vengadam a few points have to be borne in mind. The Hill is referred to as Vengadam and

not by any other name except in two stanzas of Pey ālvār's Third *Tiruvandādi* (Nos. 63 and 75) where the term Tirumala is used. The genuineness of these two stanzas is open to doubt and will be discussed later. The other names with which we are acquainted, viz., Seshādri, Seshāchalam, Vēnkaṭādri, Vrishādri, Vrishāchalam etc., do not appear to have been known to the ālvārs. These seem to have been in use even in the Fourteenth century A.D.¹ They became more common after the compilation of the book 'Venkatachala Mahātmyam' about the end of the 15th century A.D. Even a cursory reading of the Prabandhams will show that the ālvārs were well versed in the Puranas and that they frequently refer to incidents connected with the different avatars of Sri Vishnū. But there is not a single reference in the Prabandhams to any of the anecdotes mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa and other Puranas mentioned in the *Venkatachaiā Mahātmyam* which assign a reason for the manifestation of Vishnu on the Vengadam Hill.

None of the numerous rivulets and water-falls on the hill is mentioned by name in the Prabandhams. They are collectively mentioned as the cool and swift flowing tortuous torrents of the hill streams. Anecdotes connected with the sanctity of each water-fall or stream seem to be of later origin. The ālvārs do not mention the existence of any village or of any other place of worship on the hill or nearby in the plains. It was either that none existed or that they were too insignificant to be mentioned. Even the Deity Sri Varāhaswāmi has not been mentioned by any of the ālvārs; nor Tiruchanoor and the Deities therein; nor Tirupati and the Parthasarathyswami there. The names of Kings are not given by them (except by Tirumangai, the last of the ālvārs). They do not refer to their compeers or contemporary great men. Tirumalaisai ālvār plainly states,² "My tongue will not sing a human being." Poygai ālvār says that he will approach only God's feet, will sing every day only His praise, will place flowers only at His Feet (the feet of the one who has the Chakram in his hand)—

1. These terms have been used by Sri Vedānta Desika in his *Dayāsatakam* and other works.

2. "நாக் கொண்டு மானிடம் பாடுடன்"

“ what care I about what happens to me.”¹ None of the early ālvārs has described even cursorily the form and the features of the Image, the divine ornaments depicted thereon and the divine weapons borne. We have to draw the inference that they attached little importance to these. But they were all staunch Vishnu bhaktas and their faith in Narayana as the Supreme Being was unwavering.² They attached great importance to concentration

1. “நாடினும் நின்னடியே நாடுவன் நாள்தோறும்
பாடினும் நின்புகழே பாடுவன்—சூடினும்
பொன்றழி யேத்தினான் பொன்னடியே சூடுவேற்கு
என்னுகில் என்னே எனக்கு (I. T. A. 88).

నాదియమ్ నిన్నడియే నాడువన్ నాళ్తోఱమ్
పాదియమ్ నిన్ పుకళే పాడువన్ — సూదియమ్
పొన్నుళి యేత్తినాన్ పొన్నడియే సూడువేఱు
ఎన్నుగిల్ ఎన్నే ఎనకు. (I. T. A. 88)

2. ఆయలనిன்ற వల్లిణియె అఱ్ఱుసినేన్ అఱ్ఱుసి
உயநின் திருவடியே சேர்வான்—நயம்நின்ற
நன்மால்கொண்டு நமோ நாரண வென்னும்
சொல்மலை கற்றேன் தொழுது. (I. T. A. 57).

అయల్ నిష్ట వల్లిసైయి అఱ్ఱేనేన్ అఱ్ఱే
ఉయనిన్ తిరువడియే శేర్వాన్—నయమ్ నిష్ట
వన్మలైకొణ్ణు నమో నారణ వెన్నుమ్
సొల్మలైకర్తేన్ తొழுదు (I. T. A. 57)

Fearing the consequences of my hard past acts (karma), the only way open to me to escape it is to seek salvation at your feet. To reach it I learnt to worship with my sweet songs about Namō Narayana (T. A. 57).

నావాయి లుండే నమో నారణ వెన్ఱు
ఱువా తురైక్కమ్ ఁరైయండే—మ్రువత
మాక్కతిక్కణ్ శెల్లమ్ వకైయండే ఎన్ఱెరువన్
తిక్కతిక్కణ్ శెల్లమ్ తిఱమ్? I. T. A. 95).

వాయిణ్ణే నమో నరణస్థు
 ఓనదులైక్కుమ్ ఉరైయ్ణే - మూవద
 మాక్కడిక్కుణ్ణే కైయ్ణే ఎన్నోరున్
 ఓక్కడిక్కుణ్ణే కొయ్ణే తియ్. (I. T. A. 95).

There is therefore the way (open to all) to obtain salvation by uttering ceaselessly His name Namō Narayana. Why then should any one go to Hell? (I. T. A. 95).

సొల్లునతణైయుమ్ తొమ్మిదమ్మిన్ విమ్మిడిమ్మి
 సొల్లునతణైయుమ్ తిరుమాళై—నల్లవిమ్మి
 తామత్తాల్ వేల్వీయియియి తన్తీరత్తాల్ మన్తీరత్తాల్
 నామత్తాల్ ఇత్తుత్తిరైల్ నన్దు. (I. T. A. 70).

కొయ్ణైయ్ణే కొమ్మిన్ విమ్మిడిమ్మి
 కొయ్ణైయ్ణే తిరుమాళై—నల్లవిమ్మి
 తామత్తాల్ వేల్వీయియి తన్తీరత్తాల్ మన్తీరత్తాల్
 నామత్తాల్ ఇత్తుత్తిరైల్ నన్దు (I. T. A. 70).

Worship Sri Vishnu as long as you possess the power of speech and till the body falls dead. Do it with flowers, with rituals, tantras, mantras and his thousand names. It will do you good.

కమ్మలెత్తు వాయ్మెత్తు కణ్ణుమ్మిన్ మార్తొర్
 అమ్మలెత్తు తిన్తయియియి అమ్మ—తమ్మలెత్తు
 పోరాళి యేన్తొయ్ణే పోన్మలర్శ్ శేవడియి
 పోరాళి నెన్దొయ్ణే! ఉకన్దు. (II. T. A. 7).

కమ్మలెత్తు వాయ్మెత్తు కణ్ణుమ్మిన్ మార్తొర్
 అమ్మలెత్తు తిన్తయియియి అమ్మ—తమ్మలెత్తు
 పోరాళి యేన్తొయ్ణే పోన్మలర్శ్ శేవడియి
 పోరాళి నెన్దొయ్ణే! ఉకన్దు. (II. T. A. 7).

When the tongue could not speak, when the mouth could not open, when the eyes swim in vacancy and when those around in the death chamber in helpless sorrow give up all hope, even then, O thou my mind, fix yourself with cheer on the golden feet of the One who wields in His hand the flaming Chakram. (II. T. A. 7).

மண்ணுலகம் ஆளேனே வானவர்க்கும் வாளுவராய்
விண்ணுலகந் தன்னகத்து மேவேனே—நண்ணித்
திருமாலேச் செங்கண் நெடியாளை எங்கள்
பெருமானைக் கைதொழுத பின். (II. T. A. 90).

சுண்டுகம் அநீநீ வசந் கும் வசவநாய்
விண்டுகம் சந்நகத்து மீவீநீ —நண்ணீ
உருமாலெய்யுளில் நெடியாவை வளர்
பெருமாவைக் கைதொழுத பின். (II. T. A. 90).

After having worshipped with loving devotion our Lord, the tall one with red eyes, I would not care to be the ruler of the earth nor would I desire to enter the abode of the celestials. (II. T. A. 90.)

பகல் கண்டேன் நாரணனைக் கண்டேன் கனவில்
மிகக் கண்டேன் மீண்டும் அவனைமெய்யே—மிகக்கண்டேன்
ஊன் திகழும்நேமி ஒளிதிகழும் சேவடியான்
வான் திகழும் சோதி வடிவு. (II. T. A. 81).

வகர் கணீந் நரணவைக்கணீந் கவநீ
மிக்கணீந் மீண்டும் அவனை மெய்யே—மிகக்கணீந்
கைதொழுத பின் உருமாவை நெடியான்
பெருமாவைக் கைதொழுத பின். (II. T. A. 81).

I had the beatific vision of Narayana by day, again by night in my dream I saw Him very well; for truth, I saw him well. There was the brilliant form of the Chakram, His shining feet and the Jyoti of His Form which lit the whole sky. (II. T. A. 81).

வாழும் வகையறிந்தேன் மைபோல் நெடுவரையாய்
தாழ மருவிபோல் தார்கிடப்ப—சூழும்
திருமா மணிவண்ணன் செங்கண்மால் எங்கள்
பெருமானடி சேரப் பெற்று. (III. T. A. 59).

வாழும் வகையறிந்தேன் மைபோல் நெடுவரையாய்
தாழ மருவிபோல் தார்கிடப்ப—சூழும்
திருமா மணிவண்ணன் செங்கண்மால் எங்கள்
பெருமானடி சேரப் பெற்று. (III. T. A. 59).

I found the way to salvation only after by placing myself entirely at His Feet. (III. T. A. 59).

of all the senses¹ on the image during worship, whether that

சார்வு நமக்கு என்று சக்கரத்தான் தண்துழாய்த்
தார்வாழ் வரைமார்பன் தான்முயங்கும்—காரார்ந்த
வானமரு மின்னிமைக்கும் வண்தாமரை நெடுங்கண்
தேனமரும் பூமேல் திரு (III. T. A. 100).

சார்வு நமக்கு எஃது சக்கரதான் தன் துழாய்த்
தார்வாழ் வரைமார்பன் தான்முயங்கும்—காரார்ந்த
வானமரு மின்னிமைக்கும் வண்தாமரை நெடுங்கண்
தேனமரும் பூமேல் திரு (III. T. A. 100).

At all times and under all circumstances our support is the One who wields the Chakram, whose breast is adorned with tulasi garlands and whereon resides on the lotus flower Sri Devi. (III. T. A. 100).

இனி யறிந்தேன் ஈசற்கும் நான்முகற்கும் தெய்வம்
இனி யறிந்தேன் எம்பெருமான்! உன்னை—இனியறிந்தேன்
நாரணன் நீ, கற்றவை நீ கற்பவை நீ நற்கிரிசை
நாரணன் நீ நன்கறிந்தேன் நான்: (III. T. A. 96).

இனி யறிந்தேன் ஈசற்கும் நான்முகற்கும் தெய்வம்
இனி யறிந்தேன் எம்பெருமான்! உன்னை—இனியறிந்தேன்
நாரணன் நீ, கற்றவை நீ கற்பவை நீ நற்கிரிசை
நாரணன் நீ நன்கறிந்தேன் நான்: (III. T. A. 96).

O, My Lord! I have now realised you. I have learnt that you are the God of Isa and of the Four Faced (Brahma). I have realised that you are Narayana, all that is known and all that is worth knowing. You are everything that is good. I have realised you, O Narayana (N.T.A. 96).

- வாரிசுருக்கி மதக்கனி றைந்தினையும்
சேரிதிரியாமல் செந்நிறீஇ—கூரிய
மெய்ஞ்ஞானத்தால் உணர்வார் காண்பரே மேலொருநாள்
கைந்நாகம் காத்தான் கழல். (I. T. A. 47).
வரி கருக்கி மதக்கனி றைந்தினையும்
சேரிதிரியாமல் செந்நிறீஇ—கூரிய
மெய்ஞ்ஞானத்தால் உணர்வார் காண்பரே மேலொருநாள்
கைந்நாகம் காத்தான் கழல். (I. T. A. 47).

God-realisation can be achieved only by keeping chained in the stand the five rogue elephants, not allowing them to run amuck about the cheri (or village) and by acquisition of true knowledge in the approved manner (I.T.A. 47).

அரியபுல னைந்தடக்கி ஆய்மலர் கொண்டு ஆர்வம்
புரியப் பரிசினால் புல்கில்—பெரியரைய
மாற்றூது வீற்றிருந்த மாவலிபால் வண்கைநீர்
ஏற்றனைக் காண்பது எளிது. (I. T. A. 50).

அரியபுலநெய்தல்க்கி ஆய்மலர் கொண்டு ஆர்வம்
புரியப் பரிசினால் புல்கில்—பெரியரைய
மாற்றூது வீற்றிருந்த மாவலிபால் வண்கைநீர்
ஏற்றனைக் காண்பது எளிது. (I. T. A. 50).

By control of the five precious-sense organs and by doing worship with the choicest flowers and with loving devotion, it is easy to realise Him who deigned to receive from the proud Maha Bali a gift with libations of water (I. T. A. 50).

அறிந்து ஐந்தும் உள்ளடக்கி ஆய்மலர்கொண்டு ஆர்வம்
செறிந்த மனத்தராய்ச் செவ்வே—அறிந்து அவன்தன்
பேரோதி யேத்தும் பெருந்தவத்தோர் காண்பரே
காரோத வண்ணன் கழல். (II. T. A. 6).

அறிந்து ஐந்தும் உள்ளடக்கி ஆய்மலர்கொண்டு ஆர்வம்
செறிந்த மனத்தராய்ச் செவ்வே—அறிந்து அவன்தன்
பேரோதி யேத்தும் பெருந்தவத்தோர் காண்பரே
காரோத வண்ணன் கழல். (II. T. A. 6).

This is similar to I.T.A. 50.

அறிவென்னும் தாள்கொளுவி ஐம்புலனும் தம்மில்
செறிவென்னும் திண்கதவம் செம்மி—மறையென்றும்
நன்கோதி நன்குணர்வார் காண்பரே, நாள்தோறும்
பைங்கோத வண்ணன்படி. (III. T. A. 12).

அறிவென்னும் தாள்கொளுவி ஐம்புலனும் தம்மில்
செறிவென்னும் திண்கதவம் செம்மி—மறையென்றும்
நன்கோதி நன்குணர்வார் காண்பரே, நாள்தோறும்
பைங்கோத வண்ணன்படி. (III. T. A. 12).

image be a painting or sculpture or metal casting.¹ The image should be to the best taste of the worshipper,² should be identified as Narayana and treated in every respect as God Himself.

God realisation is achieved by those who with wise discrimination slam the door of right conduct against the five senses, put on the hasp and staple and study well and with understanding the scriptures (Vedas) III. T.A. 12.

ஓர் த்த மனத்தராய் ஐந்தடக்கி ஆராய்ந்து
பேர்த்தால் பிறப்பேழும் பேர்க்கலாம்—கார்த்த
விரையார் நறுந்துழாய் வீங்கோத மேனி
நிரையார மார்வணையே நின்று. (III. T. A. 79).

ஓர் த் மனத்தராய் ஐந்தடக்கி ஆராய்ந்து
பேர்த்தால் பிறப்பேழும் பேர்க்கலாம் — கார்த்த
விரையார் நறுந்துழாய் வீங்கோத மேனி
நிரையார மார்வணையே நின்று (III. T. A. 79).

By worship of Him who is adorned with the tulasi garlands with wise discrimination and in the choicest manner one could root out the seven births (III. T. A. 79).

1. அவரவர் தாம்தாம் அறிந்தவாறெத்தி
இவரிவ ரெம்பெருமான் என்று—சுவர் மிசைச்
சாத்தியும் வெத்தும் தொழுவர் உலகளந்த
முர்த்தி யுருவே முதல். (I. T. A. 14).

அவரவர் தாம்தாம் அறிந்தவாறெத்தி
இவரிவ ரெம்பெருமான் என்று — சுவர் மிசைச்
சாத்தியும் வெத்தும் தொழுவர் உலகளந்த
முர்த்தி யுருவே முதல். (I. T.A. 14).

Every worshipper would worship according to the best of his understanding an image placed resting against a wall or seated on a base and consider it his God. The original Murti which these represent is however the One who measured the earth with His Feet (I. T. A. 14).

2. தமருகந்தது எவ்வுருவம் அவ்வுருவம் தானே
தமருகந்தது எப்பேர் மற்றப்பேர்—தமருகந்தது
எவ்வண்ணம் சிந்தித்து இமையா திருப்பரே
அவ்வண்ண மாழியாளும். (I. T. A. 44).

There are however a few verses of Poygai ālvār and one of Pey ālvār which may raise a doubt whether after all these two ālvārs were not as much votaries of Siva as they were of Vishnu. The verses of Poygai ālvār are Nos. 5, 74 and 98. If they are read along with verses 7, 11, 15, 28, 46, 52, 67, 75 there will be no reason to doubt that the ālvār was a devoted bhakta of Sri Vishnu alone.¹ The former make a bare statement of the fact that

శమరుగనదు ఎవ్వరువమ్ అవ్వరువమ్ తానే
 శమరుగనదు ఎప్పేర్ మనోహ్రప్పేర్ — శమరుగనదు
 ఎవ్వణ్ణుమ్ శిన్దిత్తు ఇమ్మయాదిరుప్పరే
 అవ్వణ్ణు మూళ్యనామ్. (I. T. A. 44).

The One who bears the chakram manifests Himself to the worshipper in that form which pleases him most. He bears that name which is most dear to the worshipper and in whatever posture or disposition the worshipper concentrates his attention in that manner would He be seen (I. T. A. 44).

1. త్రిశాయుమ్ త్రిశాయురు త్తెయవముమ్ త్తెయవత్
 త్రిశాయుమ్ కరుమంగు గెలల్లమ్—అశైవలిశీర్క్
 కణ్ణణన్ నెరుమాల్ కడలకడైన్ద కాఱోరై
 వణ్ణణన్ పడైత్త మయక్కు. (I. T. A. 7)

శైయమ్ శైయణ్ణు దెయవముమ్ దెయ్య
 శైయమ్ కరుమణ్ణు శైయణ్ణు — అశైవలి శీర్
 కణ్ణణన్ నెరుమాల్ కడలకడైన్ద కాఱోరై
 వణ్ణణన్ పడైత్త మయక్కు. (I. T. A. 7).

పణ్ణుగిన్ద నాన్మఱైయోన్ శెన్ణణిప్ప పలియేఱ్ఱ
 వెణ్ణుగిన్ద్రుల్ మార్పణ్ణు విణ్ణెత్తీరప్ప—పణ్ణుగిన్ద
 శ్చైవత్తాన్ తాన్పణ్ణివార్ కణ్ణణ్ణు అమరార్త్తమ్
 పోకత్తాల్ ప్పూమియాన్ వార్. (I. T. A. 46).

పణ్ణుగిన్ద నాన్మఱైయోన్ శెన్ణు బ్బురియేఱ్ఱ
 వెణ్ణుగిన్ద్రుల్ మార్పణ్ణు విణ్ణెత్తీర్ — పణ్ణు గిన్ద
 అగణ్ణు తాన్ పణ్ణివార్ కణ్ణణ్ణు అమరగిన్దమ్
 పోకత్తీర్ బామియాన్. (I. T. A. 46).

எண்மர் பதினொருவர் ஈரறுவர் ஓரிருவர்
வண்ண மலரேந்தி வைகலும்—நண்ணி
ஒருமாலையால்பரவி யோவாதுளப் போதும்
திருமாலேக் கைதொழுவர் சென்று. (I. T. A. 52).

ஐயூர் ஸதநாகவர காரணவர் ஓரிருவர்
வல்லு வரேந்தி நெய்யும் — நண்ணி
ஒருமாலையால்பரவி யோவாதுளப் போதும்
திருமாலேக் கைதொழுவர் சென்று.

பெயரும் பெருங்கடலே நோக்கும்ஆறு ஒண்பூ
உயரும் கதிரவனே நோக்கும்—உயிரும்
தருமனையே நோக்கும்ஒண் தாமரையான் கேள்வன்
ஒருவனையே நோக்கும் உணர்வு. (I. T. A. 67).

பெயரும் பெருங்கடலே நோக்கும்ஆறு ஒண்பூ
உயரும் கதிரவனே நோக்கும்—உயிரும்
தருமனையே நோக்கும்ஒண் தாமரையான் கேள்வன்
ஒருவனையே நோக்கும் உணர்வு.

காப்புஉன்னை யுன்னக் கழியும் அருவினைகள்
ஆப்புஉன்னை யுன்ன அவிந்தொழியும்—மூப்புஉன்னைச்
சிந்திப்பார்க் கில்லை திருமாலே நின்னடியை
வந்திப்பார் காண்பர் வழி. (I. T. A. 75).

காப்பு உன்னை யுன்னக் கழியும் அருவினைகள்
ஆப்புஉன்னை யுன்ன அவிந்தொழியும்—மூப்புஉன்னைச்
சிந்திப்பார்க் கில்லை திருமாலே நின்னடியை
வந்திப்பார் காண்பர் வழி.

நாடினும் நின்னடியே நாடுவன் நாள்தோறும்
பாடினும் நின்புகழே பாடுவன்—சூடினும்
பொன்னாழி யேந்தினான் பொன்னடியே சூடுவேற்கு
என்னாகில் என்னே எனக்கு. (I. T. A. 88).

நாடினும் நின்னடியே நாடுவன் நாள்தோறும்
பாடினும் நின்புகழே பாடுவன்—சூடினும்
பொன்னாழி யேந்தினான் பொன்னடியே சூடுவேற்கு
என்னாகில் என்னே எனக்கு.

Siva and Vishnu have each distinctive functions and appurtenances. Thus (verse 5) one is called Hara and the other Narayana, one rides the bull and the other flies on the eagle; one has given us his 'Nūl' or āgama and the other the Vedas; one resides on the hill (Kailas) and the other on the ocean; one works destruction and the other gives protection; one has the Trident in his hand and the other the Chakram and lastly one is of the hue of flaming fire and the other of the colour of the sky (5).¹ Again verse 74² says, one rides the bull and the other the eagle, one burnt to ashes the Tripuram and the other tore open the breast of Hiranya; one smears his body white with ashes and the other is bright sky blue in colour; one shares his body with his spouse and the other keeps her on a flower over his chest; one has long matted hair (jaṭa) and the other wears a high peaked crown; one wears the Ganga on his head and the other receives the waters safely on his feet. Verse 98³

1. அரன்நா ரணன்நாமம் ஆள்விடை புள்ளூர் தி
உரைநூல் மறையுறையும் கோயில்—வரைநீர்
கருமம் அழிப்பு அளிப்புக் கையது வேல்நேமி
உருவ மெரி கார்மேனி யொன்று. (I. T. A. 5).
அரன் நரணன்நாமம் அகீவதெய்வகூட
கரெசூர் மதையுதையுள் கோயில் — வரெநீர்
கருமம் அழிப்பு அளிப்பு துயுடைய நீர்நீய
கருவ மெரி கார்மேனி யென்று
2. ஏற்றூன்புள் னூர்ந்தான் எயிலெரித்தான் மார்விடந்தான்
நீற்றூன் நிழல்மணி வண்ணத்தான்—கூற்றெருபால்
மங்கையான் பூமகளான் வாசடையான் நீள்முடியான்
கங்கையான் நீள்கழலான் காப்பு. (I. T. A. 74).
ஏற்றூன்புள் னூர்ந்தான் எயிலெரித்தான்
நீற்றூன் நிழல்மணி வண்ணத்தான் — கூற்றெருபால்
மங்கையான் பூமகளான் வாசடையான் நீள்முடியான்
கங்கையான் நீள்கழலான் காப்பு
3. பொன் திகழு மேனிப் புரிசடையம் புண்ணியனும்
நின்றுலகம் தாய நெடுமாலும்—என்றும்

says that although the golden hued Siva (Puṇṇiyan) with the matted locks of hair and Nedumāl (Vishnu) who strode the earth may be considered by us to have two different bodies, one has his abode only within the body of the other. The precise relationship between the two is given by the alvar in verses (15 and 28)¹. The first and foremost beings in creation (in the manifested universe) are three and of these the highest is the one who manifested himself on the primeval waters (*Mūr-nir vaṇṇan*). Without His grace the good offices of the others will be of no avail for salvation (verse

இருவரங்கத் தால்திரிவ ரேனும் ஒருவன்
ஒருவனங்கத் துஎன்று முளன். (I. T. A. 98).

ఏకాకగ్రు మేవిపురికడైయమ్ పుణ్ణియనుమ్
విసులగమ్ తాయ నెఱుమాఱుమ్ — ఎనుమ్
ఇరువరజ్ఞ త్తరివ రేనుమ్ ఒరుఱు
ఒరువరజ్ఞ క్కుఎను ముఱు

1. முதலாவார் மூவரே அம்மூவ ருள்ளும்
முதலாவான் மூரிநீர் வண்ணன்—முதலாய
நல்லா னருளல்லால் நாமநீர் வையகத்து
பல்லா ரருளும் பழுது. (I. T. A. 15).

మదలవార మూవరే ఆమూవ రుక్కుమ్
మదలవాఱ మూరివీర్ వణ్ణుఱు — ముదలాయ
నల్ల నరుకల్లార్ ననునీర్ వైయగకు,
పల్లారరుకుమ్ పఱుదు

கைய வலம்புரியும் நேமியும் கார்வண்ணத்து
ஐய! மலர்மகள்நின் ஆகத்தான்—செய்ய
மறையான்நின் உந்தியான் மாமதிள்மூன் றெய்த
இறையான்நின் ஞகத் திறை. (I. T. A. 28).

తైయ వలమ్పురియమ్ నేమియమ్ కారవణ్ణకు
ఐయ! మలఱ నుగవీఱ ఆగత్తర్ — తెయ్య
మఱైయాఱ విఱ కప్పియాఱ మానుదీమా న్రియ్య
ఇఱైయాఱు న్నొక త్తై

15): O Thou of the dark hue! in thine hands are the right winded Sankham and the Chakram (Nemi); She who is seated on the flower is on your body (Chest), (Brahma) who gave the four Vedas is in your navel and He who destroyed the three castles. (Tripura) has his residence in your body (verse 28). (Verse 11)¹ says that the āḷvār's mouth would not praise any other Deity, nor his hands worship another. In verse 46 reference is made to the Puranic account that Siva had to get his sin of nipping off one of the heads of Brahma absolved only by the grace of Vishnu. In verse 52 we are told that the eight Dikpālas, the Ekādasa Rudras, the Dvādasa Adityas and the matchless two (Brahma and Siva) daily worship Tirumāl (Vishnu) with flowers gathered with their own hands. Verse 67 says that all rivers direct their course to the ocean; the flower turns its face to the rising Sun; life looks to Yama (Dharman); so also True knowledge seeks the Lord of Padmavati. Verse 75 says that by prayerful meditation of Tirumāl all evil spells and incantations vanish and so also the oppressive effects of all bad karmas are destroyed; weakness of old age not felt and the way to salvation is assured.

It will be clear from a reading of the verses quoted above that Poygai āḷvār being an out and out Narayana bhakta has only given a reply to those who in his days entertained the notion that Siva and Vishnu are only different aspects of the one Supreme Being. He flourished in days when the relative merits of the ritualistic worship of Siva and Vishnu were being seriously discussed and also the philosophy on which such worship was based. Even

1. வாய்அவனை யல்லது வாழ்த்தாது கைஉலகம்
தாயவனை யல்லது தாம்தொழா—பேய்முலைநஞ்சு
ஊனாக வுண்டான் உருவொடு பேரல்லால்
காணுகண் கேளா செவி. (I. T. A. 11).

வாய் அந்நெ யல்லது வாழ்த்துது கைஉலகம்
தாயவனை யல்லது தாம்தொழா — பேய்முலை நஞ்சு
ஊனாக வுண்டான் உருவொடு பேரல்லால்
காணுகண் கேளா செவி

the Agamas recognised the worship of the Trimurtis and Dvimurtis and temples were constructed accordingly.

Bhūdattāļvār's (second) *Tiruvandādi* gives no room for doubt in the matter. In verse 17¹ he says that Siva who wears the Moon on the matted locks of his head waited on (Māl) Vishnu and got his sin expiated. Pey āļvār commences his (Third) *Tiruvandādi* with a description of the beatific vision of Sri Devi and Narayana in dazzling golden colour, the Sankham and Chakram in the Hands—and worshipped His Feet (III. T.A. 1 and 2). He restates his conviction in the last verse (III. T.A. 100) by stating that we depend only on the One who bears the Chakram in hand for our Salvation.

சார்வு நமக்கு என்றும் சக்கரத்தான்.

சுய நமக்கு அநும சக்ரஹந்.

There is however one verse (III. 63) which describes the form of Sri Venkatesa as a composite one of Vishnu and Siva. This verse will be duly considered a little later in this section of the chapter while dealing with what each of the āļvārs has said about Vengadam and its presiding Deity.

Tirumāļisai āļvār's views given in his *Nanmukhan Tiruvandadi* are more emphatic than the views of his predecessors. Poygai āļvār stated the Puranic version that Sri Devi, Brahma and Siva all have their abode in the body of the Supreme Being, Narayana. But in what order they emerge during creation is not mentioned.

1. மற்றுரிய லாவார்? வானவர்கோன் மாமலரோன்
சுற்றும் வணங்கும் தொழிலானை—ஒற்றைப்
பிறையிருந்த செஞ்சடையான் பின்சென்று மாலைக்
குறையிரந்து தான்முடித்தான் கொண்டு. (II. T. A. 17).

மற்றூயலாவை வனவகோன் மாமலரோன்

சுற்றும் வணங்கும் தொழிலானை — ஒற்றை

பிறையிருந்த செஞ்சடையான் பின்சென்று மாலை

குறையிரந்து தான்முடித்தான் கொண்டு.

Tirumalisai however commences his *Tiruvandadi* with the unequivocal statement that “Narayana created the Four-faced One (Brahma) and the Fourfaced One from out of his forehead created Sankara (Siva). I am commissioned to let the world know this great truth through this *Andādi* of mine. Take every bit of what is said herein as tested truth” (Nan. T. 1). With reference to the Trimurtis he says that all those who have become Devas and from among them the three who stand out as the foremost, in fact they are what all they appear to us to be only because they represent Nedumāl. All the learning of those who do not realise this truth is rubbish *kaḍai* (Nan. Tiru. 54¹). We infer from this that in the view of this Āḷvār sincere and consistent Upāsana or worship of any Deity is worship offered to Narayana because it ultimately leads the worshipper to become a Narayana Bhakta.² The Āḷvārs were all out and out Narayana bhaktas because their spiritual evolution had reached that stage.

The early Āḷvārs have given in their works greater importance to the direct offer of individual daily worship than to resorting to temples for attending the worship offered there. The number

1. தேவராய் நிற்கும் அத்தேவும் அத்தேவரில்
மூவராய் நிற்கும் முதுபுணர்ப்பும்—யாவராய்
நிற்கின்ற தெல்லாம் நெடுமாலென்றேராதார்
கற்கின்ற தெல்லாம் கடை. (Nan. Tiru. 54).

தேவராய் நெடுமால் அத்தேவும் அத்தேவரில்
மூவராய் நெடுமால் முதுபுணர்ப்பும் — யாவராய்
நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால்
நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால்
நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால் நெடுமால்

2. See pages 513 and 514 of Vol. I of this History may be perused in this connection. See also Tiruvāymoḷi 3-9-6.

‘ நும்இன்கவிகொண்டு நும்நும் இட்டா தெய்வ மேத்தினால்,
செம்மின் சுடர்முடிஎன் திருமாலுக்குச் சேருமே.’

சும் ஊர் கவிஞர் சும்சும் ஊர் தெய்வ மேத்தினால்
சேருமே ஊர் கவிஞர் சும்சும் ஊர் தெய்வ மேத்தினால்

of places of temple worship seem also to have been very limited in those days.

An analysis of the number of verses devoted by them in praise of the presiding Deity in temples will now be presented. It will be seen there from how greatly Tiruvengadam loomed large in their eyes in comparison with other places.

References by the early Alvars to Vengadam and to the other places of public worship.

Poygai ālvār's Mudal Tiruvandādi consists of one hundred verses. Five Temples only are referred to in eleven verses. *Eight out of the eleven verses are exclusively in praise of Vengadam.*¹ Tiruvarangam or Srirangam is referred to in verse 6; and *Tiruk-kōvalūr* in v. 86. In the eleventh one (v. 77) four places (Vēngaḍam Viṇṇagar, Vehka and Kōval) are sung in one lot to illustrate the different postures of Images for worship, viz., the standing, the sitting, the reposing and the walking.

Bhūdattālvār's second Tiruvandādi also consists of one hundred verses. Twelve temples are referred to in seventeen verses. *Seven verses out of the Seventeen are devoted exclusively in praise of Vengadam.*² Srirangam is referred to in v. 88; Pāḍadam in v. 94; Kachchi (Attīyūr) in v. 95 and 96; Tirukkōṭṭiyur in v. 87; Tirukkudandai in v. 97; and Tirumāl-irum-sōlai in v. 48. The other places, viz., Tanjai, Taṅkāl, Vēlai, Māmallai and Koval occur in combination with Vengadam, Srirangam, Tirumālirum-solai, Tirukkudandai and Tirukkottiyur in verses 28, 46, 54 and 70. It will be seen that *Vengadam has been largely sung exclusively as well as in combination with other places.*

Pey ālvār's Third Tiruvandadi also consists of one hundred verses. Twelve temples are referred to in nineteen verses. *Ten verses*

1. Verses 26, 37, 38, 39, 40, 68, 76, 82 and 99.
2. Verses 25, 33, 45, 53, 72, 75 and 76.

out of the nineteen are exclusively devoted in praise of Vēṅgaḍam.¹ In five more verses it is sung in conjunction with other places.² Tiruvallikkeni is sung exclusively in verse 16 and Ashtaḅhujam in v: 99. In v. 62 Srirangam, Tirukkōṭṭiyur, Vehka, Tirukkudandai Kaṭigam (Sholinghur) are sung together; in v. 64 Vehka, Velukkai and Kachchi are sung together and in v. 30 Paḍagam shares with Vengadam.

Tirumaḷisai āḷvār's Nanmukhan Tiruvandādi consists of ninety six verses only and his *Tiruchchanda viruttam* one hundred and twenty verses. The total number of his verses are Two hundred and sixteen. Thirteen temples are sung in twenty-six verses (seventeen in the *Tiruvandādi* and nine in *Tiruchchanda viruttam*). Fourteen verses out of the twenty-six are exclusively in praise of Vengadam.³ Srirangam, exclusively in v. 3, 30, 60, of N.T.A. and v. 49, 55 of T. Viruttam; Tirukkudandai exclusively in T.V. 56, 61, 62, Tiruvallikkeni in N.T.A. 35, and Kapisthalam in N.T.A. 50. In N.T.A. 36 and 34, Srirangam, Vehka, Tiruvevvullur, Tirupernagar and Tiruvanbil occur in combination. In T.V. 63, 64 Pāḍagam and Uragam are exclusively sung.

In the final analysis out of a total contribution of 517 verses by the four āḷvārs, seventy-three verses only refer to temples (or places of public worship). Out of the seventy-three verses thirty-nine are exclusively in praise of Vengadam and its presiding Deity. In nine more it occurs in conjunction with other places. Srirangam is exclusively sung in seven verses only. Our Deity is invariably referred to as Vēṅgaḍattān or Vengadattu mēyan and not by any of the other names with which we are now familiar (Sri Venkatesvara, Srinivasa, Seshachalapati etc.). They likewise call Ranganātha, as Arangattu meyan and the Deity in Tirukkottiyur, Tirukkottiyūr meyan. The āḷvārs do not describe the features of any Murti nor do they state if there were any attendant deities.

1. Verses 14, 39, 40, 45, 58, 63, 68, 73, 75 and 89.
2. Verses 26, 30, 32, 61 and 62.
3. N. T. A. 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48 and 90; Tiruchanda Viruttam 60 and 87.

It will be plain from the above analysis that to the early ālvārs Vengadam was the foremost place of Vishnu worship. That they considered the Murti to be the self-manifest Image of the Supreme Being Narayana, will be clear from their verses. A clear exposition of this from their songs is necessary to set at rest the vague impression in the minds of some people that at some period in the remote past the Image represented a form of Siva or Sri Subramanya although positive proof of it is not till now forthcoming and that Sri Ramanuja by some device converted the image into one of Vishnu. The early ālvārs flourished at least six centuries before Ramanuja and bhaktas have to be told what these alvars considered the deity to represent and to which deity Vengadam has been considered the hallowed spot.

**SANCTITY OF THE VENGADAM HILL AND THE
SELF-MANIFESTATION OF VISHNU
(TIRUMAL) THEREON.**

Poygai Alvar.

Poygai Ālvār's songs seem to be the earliest literary authority on the subject. From verse 26¹ it is seen that even in his days those who strove whether for material or spiritual advancement (எழுவார், ఎఱవార్, Eḷuvār) and those who desire to have and who wait for the Divine grace in response to their higher desires (விடைகொள்வார்; విదైకొవ్వార్; Viḍai kolvār) would daily worship the One who wears the fresh Tulasi garlands (சந்துழாயான், ఈస్తులాయన్), with unswerving faith on that hill Vēngadam because it destroys the effects of all past karmas of the terrestrials and invigorates the spiritual faculties of the

-
1. எழுவார் விடைகொள்வார் சந்துழாயானை
வழுவா வகைநின்று வைகல்—தொழுவார்
வினைச்சுடரை நந்துவிக்கும் வேங்கடமே வானோர்
மனச்சுடரைத் தூண்டும் மலை. (I T A 26)

ఎఱవార్ విదైకొవ్వార్ ఈతులాయనై
వఱవా వగైవిష్టు. వైగర్ — కొఱవార్
వివైచ్చుడరై నస్తువిక్కుమ్ వేజ్గడమే వానార్
మనచ్చుడరై తుఱుమ్ మరై.

celestials. From verse 37¹ it is gathered that (in his days) great Vedic scholars of the different parts of the country who were applying their mind to the proper elucidation of those extremely abstruse srutis which appear to be in conflict with the main ones (bheda-abheda srutis) would all go to Vengadam carrying with them incense, light, flowers and water and with prostrations pray for enlightenment. They did so because Vengadam is the hallowed spot on earth for Māl (Vishnu) whose mouth once (as Sri Krishna) blew the white Sankham (as the sure sign of banishment of fear and spiritual ignorance)—it was He who dispelled Arjuna's confusion about what is dharma and what is adharma. These two verses are enough to convince us that in Poygai āḷṅṅar's days the Deity was considered to be Vishnu who specially selected this Hill as the hallowed spot for His Archāvātāram. The Āḷṅṅar had obviously in mind the assurance vouchsafed by Sri Krishna's after-death apparition in the Sun's disc that He was appearing on earth in that archa-form for being worshipped by all (Vide page 257, Vol. I): "*Bhūmaugatam pūjayatām pramēyam*" (Maha-bharatam Mausala Parvam). In the next verse 38 Vengadam is described as the place selected by Māl (Vishnu) whom the Asuras claimed as their dear one—that is during his avatar as Mōhini (வேங்கடமே மேலசுரர் எம்னென்னு மாலதிடம் ¹ *వేంగడమే మేలసరర* ఎమ్మెన్ను వారిదిం). In verses 39 the Deity is identified with Sriman Narayana reposing on the waters of the wide ocean. There He is reposing, while in Vengadam He is standing (கிடந்துதவும்—² *நீரோத மாகடலே நின்றதுவும் வேங்கடமே—* కిడదువుం నీ² దమాకడలే ని²నదువుం వేంగడమే). In verse 40 the hill is

1. வகையறு நுண்கேள்வி வாய்வார்கள் நாளும்
புகைவிளக்கும் பூம்புனலும் ஏந்தித்—திசைதிசையின்
வேதியர்கள் சென்றிறைஞ்சும் வேங்கடமே வெண்சங்கம்
ஊதியவாய் மாலுகந்த லூர். (ITA 37)

வகையறு நுண்கேள்வி வாய்வார்கள் நாளும்
புகைவிளக்கும் பூம்புனலும் ஏந்தித் — திசைதிசையின்
வேதியர்கள் சென்றிறைஞ்சும் வேங்கடமே வெண்சங்கம்
ஊதியவாய் மாலுகந்த லூர்

identified as the place selected by Him who killed the mighty king of the asuras Ravana (வேங்கடமே மேலசுரர் கோன் வீழ்க் கண்டுகந்தான் குன்று; వేంగడమే మేలసురర్ కోన్ పీఠక్కండుః ఙ్గాన్ కస్తు.) The idea that the Hill is sacred to Sri Rama is repeated in verse 82¹ in the words “ the hill (sacred to Him) who once in the past shot the elusive deer to death ” (..... మేలొరునాఱ్, మాన్మాయ వెవ్యతాన్ వరై; మేలొరున్ మాన్మాయ వెయ్యన్ వరై). The same verse also tells us that the Pāraśi or Mukkōṭi dvādasi attracted 10 Vengadam large concourse of pilgrims, women in particular who took with them flower garlands and incense for the worship. The belief expressed in verse 39 that the Deity in Vengadam and He who is on the ocean are one and the same is reiterated in verse 99² which affirms—“ my good heart know Thou that He is Immanent,” that He is the Highest (the Living God on High), know thou in truth that He who is on the waters of the ocean and He who lords over all from Vengadam is also

1. படையారும் வாட்கண்ணూర్ బారశినాఱ్ బైమ్బున్
 తొడైయలొరు ఁన్తయ తూబమ్—ఇడైయిడైయిల్
 మీన్మాయ మాక్రణ్ణుమ్ వేవంగడమే మేలొరునాఱ్
 మాన్మాయ వెవ్యతాన్ వరై. (I. T. .82).

వడైయారుమ్ వొక్కణ్ణూర్ పారశిన్ పైమ్బు
 తొడైయలొరు ఁన్తయ తూబమ్—ఇడైయిడైయిల్
 మీన్మాయ మాక్రణ్ణుమ్ వేవంగడమే మేలొరున్
 మాన్మాయ వెయ్యన్ వరై.

2. ఁలన్కణ్డాయ నన్ఁనెన్ఁశే ఁత్తమనెన్ఁఱుమ్
 ఁలన్కణ్డాయ ఁన్ఁనెన్ఁశే నున్ఁనెన్ఁశే—ఁలన్కణ్డాయ
 వెన్ఁనెన్ఁశే నున్ఁనెన్ఁశే వేవంగడత్తు మేయారణ్ణుమ్
 ఁన్ఁనెన్ఁశే నున్ఁనెన్ఁశే నున్ఁనెన్ఁశే. (I. T. A. 99).

కళన్కణ్డాయ నన్ఁనెన్ఁశే ఁత్తమనెన్ఁఱుమ్
 కళన్కణ్డాయ కళన్కణ్డాయ—కళన్కణ్డాయ
 వెన్ఁనెన్ఁశే నున్ఁనెన్ఁశే వేవంగడ మేయారుమ్
 కళన్కణ్డాయ నన్ఁనెన్ఁశే ఁత్తమనెన్ఁఱుమ్.

the one who is 'our hearts' “ வெள்ளத்தி னுள்ளானும் வேங்கடத்து மேயானும் உள்ளத்தினுள்ளா னென்று ஓர்” (செந்திமுநுமம் சேங்கடத்து மேயானும் செந்திமுநு நெய்து ஓர்). In verse 76,¹ the Deity is also identified with Trivikrama who measured the worlds with His Feet. It says that Tiruvengadam, the abode of Him who measured the earth will without placing obstacles grant us Heaven (Viṅ); also that those who keep to the righteous path and worship in the ordained manner will rise to be Murtis (Brahma and Rudra) who stand steadfast to truth.

It will be seen from the above quotations that the Deity on the Vengadam Hill is identified by Poygai alvar with the avatars of Krishna, Rama and Trivikrama. The Archa form of Sri Krishna which was observed in the Sun's disc seems to have had neither Chakram nor Sankham in hand. Sri Devi alone was on the chest. The marks on the shoulders of Sri Venkatesvara may be taken to indicate the marks left by the slings which carried the arrow packs of Sri Rama. The lower right hand pointing to the right foot reminds us that for the salvation of our souls we must depend on that foot which gave salvation to Maha Bali.

Lastly the ālvār addresses the Deity in these words in verse 68² “ who can comprehend your greatness and your form even

1. வழிநின்று நின்னைத் தொழுஷார் வழுவா
வழிநின்ற மூர்த்தியரே யாவார்—பழுதொன்றும்
வாராத வண்ணமே விண்கொடுக்கும் மண்ணளந்த
சிரான் திருவேங் கடம். (I. T. A. 76).

வழிவழி வநெய்துழைவர் வழுவா
வழிவழி மூர்த்தியர் யாவார்—பழுதொன்று
வாராத வண்ணமே விண்கொடுக்கும் மண்ணளந்த
சிரான் திருவேங் கடம்.

2. உணர்வாரார் உன்பெருமை ஊழிதோறுழி
உணர்வாரார் உன்னுருவந் தன்னை—உணர்வாரார்
விண்ணகத்தாய்! மண்ணகத்தாய்! வேங்கடத்தாய்!

நூல்வேதப்
பண்ணகத்தாய்! நீகிடந்த பால். (I. T. A. 68).

contemplating over them from aeon to aeon. O Soul of the Heavens, Soul of the Earth, the Lord of Vengadam, Soul of the Four Vedas and of the Hymns, who knows the place You lie in."

Bhudattalvar.

Bhūdattālvār also identifies (in verse 25) the Deity in Vengadam as Sri Rama who killed Rāvana in battle. He stands on the Vengadam Hill clothed with the tall bamboo forests on its slope and He is loudly praised by the celestials.¹ In verse 28 He is identified with Sri Krishna who tore the mouth of the horse— "He is in our hearts. He is in Vengadam, He is on the ocean, also in Arangam island; He is called the Deva of all Devas."² In verse 33³ he expresses his joy that he fixed his faith in Him who

ఉణర్వారర్ ఉఱ పెరుమై ఉఱ్ఱిదోఱుళి
 ఉణర్వారర్ ఉఱ్ఱురువన్ తఱ్ఱై--ఉణర్వారర్
 విణ్ణగఱ్ఱయ్ : పుణ్ణగఱ్ఱయ్ : వేఱ్ఱగఱ్ఱయ్ : నఱ్ఱేద
 పుణ్ణగఱ్ఱయ్ : ఏ కిదన్ఱ పఱ.

1. "నిன்றతువుమ్ వేయోంగు సారల్ వేవంగుడమే"

"విణ్ణవారతమ్ వాయోంగు తొల్పుకఱ్ఱాన్, వన్ఱు"

విన్ఱువుమ్ వేయోంగుఱ్ఱర్ వేంగుడమే
 విణ్ణవర్తమ్ వాయోంగు తొల్పుకఱ్ఱాన్ వంద

2. మున్ఱొరుఱ్ఱాన్ మఱవఱయ్ పిణన్ఱ మఱన్
 మున్ఱొరుఱ్ఱాన్ మఱవఱయ్ విళంద మఱన్.

3. తుణ్ణిన్ఱత్తు తిన్ఱతై తుఱ్ఱఱయలన్ఱకల్ అన్ఱకమ్
 అణ్ణిన్ఱవన్ఱేపర్ ఉన్ఱన్ఱత్తుప పల్కఱల్—పణ్ణిన్ఱత్తువుమ్
 వేయ్ పిఱ్ఱిన్ఱకు సఱరల్ వఱఱిల్వేవన్ఱ కుడవన్ఱేయే
 వఱయ్ తిఱ్ఱిన్ఱకన్ఱ సొల్లమ్ వకై. (II. T.A. 33).

కుణ్ణిన్ఱదు కన్ఱై కుఱ్ఱఱయలన్ఱకల్ అన్ఱకమ్
 అణ్ణిన్ఱవన్ఱేపర్ ఉన్ఱన్ఱత్తు పుర్తఱర్—పణ్ణిన్ఱదువుమ్
 వేయ్ పిఱ్ఱిన్ఱకు సఱరల్ వఱఱిల్ వేఱ్ఱగఱ్ఱయ్
 వఱయ్ పిఱ్ఱిన్ఱకు సొల్లమ్ వంద.

wears the Tulasi garlands and who is the Lord of Vengadam whose slopes are studded with tall bamboo forests. Him the āḷvār says that his voice praised to the best of its powers. In Bhūdattāḷvār's view, the Deity is undoubtedly Vishnu wearing the Tulasi garlands. In verse 45¹ he says that those that worship His feet would never be proud of their possessions (wealth); nor would they feel dejected on account of their poverty when they become poor. Vēngaḍattān is enshrined in the boundless Vedas and at His Feet all celestials place their crowned heads. Verse 53² describes how he found the Deity decorated to look like the young Krishna with the forelocks done up into a knot over the forehead and the rear tuft hanging behind. He looked like a hillock. Vengadam with its hill streams studded with flowery creepers entwined on either bank was the very place which he adored most. It has to be inferred from this that in Bhūdattāḷvār's days it was usual to decorate the Image to look like Bālakrishna, probably in the belief that the Deity is Sri Krishna. In verses 72 to 77 the āḷvārs

1. உளதென் றிறுமாவார் உண்டில்லை யென்று
தளர்த லதனருகுஞ் சாரார்—அளவரிய
வேதத்தான் வேங்கடத்தான் விண்ணோர் முடிதோயும்
பாதத்தான் பாத பயின்று. (II. T. A. 45).

ఉళదెఱ ఱిరుమావార్ ఉండెల్లెయిన్లు
తలర తలతనరుకుఁజ్ శారార్—అలవరియ
వేదతాన్ వేఙ్కడతాన్ విణ్ణోర్ ముడితొయమ్
పాదతాన్ పాద పయిన్లు.

2. நெறியார் குழற்கற்றை முன்னின்று பின்தாழ்ந்து
அறியா திளங்கிரியென் றெண்ணிப்—பிரியா து
பூங்கொடிகள் வைகும் பொருபுனற் குன்றென்னும்
வேங்கடமே யாம்விரும்பும் வெற்பு. (II. T. A. 53).

నెఱియార్ కుఱ్ఱరకెరైయై ముప్పిన్లు పిఱతాఱ్ఱిన్లు
అఱియా దిళిఱిరియెన్ జెణ్ణి—సిఱియాదు
పూఱ్ఱిఱిగళ్లై గుమ్ పొరుపునర్ కుఱ్ఱున్లుమ్
వేఱ్ఱిఱిమే యామ్విరుమ్ముమ్ వెరైపు.

revels in contemplation of Vengadavan. Monkeys going back to their rendezvous in the caves, plucking and strewing the flowers, appeared to him as if they worshipped Vengadavan there. To his mind it was an appeal that he should also worship with flowers repeating all His names. In the next verse 73¹ he feels proud that as a sincere devotee he could recite His thousand names from beginning to end, in the reverse order and also from any place in the middle. In the next verse 74² he expresses his conviction that as successful tapasvi of seven continuous births he with pride laid at His feet the garland of his inimitable songs in the purest high class Tamil.³ Verse 75 describes Vengadam as the hill where the he-and the she-elephants exchange courtesies by the former presenting to the latter tender bamboo shoots dipped in the honey of the honeycombs for repast. In verse 76 we are told that the Deity is no other than the Omniscient Being (Sri Vishnu—Arivan, அறிவன் அஃவன்) who in the hoary past (Ādikkan) beyond our ken of his own Will took His stand there and that therefore He

1. ஆய்ந்துரைப்பன் ஆயிரம்பேர் ஆதிநடு வந்திவாய்
வாய்ந்த மலர் தூவி வைகலும்—ஏய்ந்த

அய்யுரெய்யுன் அய்யுரெய்யுன் அய்யுரெய்யுன்
வாய்ந்த மலர் தூவி வைகலும்—ஓய்ந்த

2. யானே தவம்செய்தேன் ஏழ்பிறப்பும் எப்பொழுதும்

யானே தவமுடையேன் எம்பெருமான்—யானே

இருந்தமிழ் மாலை இணையடிக்கே சொன்னேன்

பெருந்தமிழ் நல்லேன் பெரிது. (II. T. A. 74).

யானே தவம்செய்தேன் ஏழ்பிறப்பும் எப்பொழுதும்

யானே தவமுடையேன் எம்பெருமான்—யானே

இருந்தமிழ் மாலை இணையடிக்கே சொன்னேன்

பெருந்தமிழ் நல்லேன் பெரிது.

3. யானே இருந்தமிழ் நன்மாலை இணையடிக்கே சொன்னேன்
பெருந்தமிழன் நல்லேன் பெரிது; யானே இரவம்மிழ் நன்மாலு
இணையடிக்கே சொன்னேன் பெருந்தமிழன் நன்மாலு இணையடிக்கே
சொன்னேன் பெரிது.

should be worshipped in the proper manner by repeating (His thousand) names. The Image is described as being smeared all over with the paste of the hill grown sandal-wood, as being adorned with the divine ornaments (Divyābharanam), dressed in silk and profusely decorated with highly fragrant white jasmine flowers.¹ This is the first time that such a description is given in the Prabandhams. In verse 77 he exhorts himself to feel assured that He is the Highest (Uttaman) and that He should reverently be worshipped daily reciting his thousand names.

Bhudattalvār's firm belief was that the Image is self-manifest Brahman who deigned to stand on this Hill to give facilities to all men to worship Him and that He has been there from times unknown to man. He seems to have worshipped Him on two occasions—once when the Image was decorated to look like the youthful Krishna perhaps on a Srijayanthi day: again when the Image in the natural state was dressed in silk, covered over with sandal paste and profusely decorated with jasmine flowers. This profuse decoration with flowers is mentioned in *Silappadhikaram* also. Tulasi garlands would have been a part of this decoration. It was given the name Poovalangal or Pūlangi sēva in later times. The divine ornaments referred to by Bhudattalvār are the ornaments which are integral with the Image and mentioned in the Puranas and Agamas as (not the ones made by human hands and put on the Deity) those always on the body of Para Vāsudeva in Vaikuntham.

Pey Alvar.

Pēy ālvār also represents the Deity on the Vengadam Hill as self-manifest Vishnu and associates it with His incarnations

1. வரைச்சந்தனக் குழம்பும் வாண்கலனும் பட்டும்
விரைப்பொலிந்த வெண்மல் விகையும்—நிறைத்துக்கொண்டு
ஆதிக்கண் நின்ற அறிவ னடியினையே
ஓதிப் பணிவ துறும். (II. T. A. 76).

వరైచ్చందన కుఱ్ఱుంబుం వాన్కలనుం పట్టుమ్
విరైచ్చొలింద వెణ్ణులికైయుం—విరైచ్చుక్కొండు
అదిక్కణ్ నిన్ఱ అణివ వడియిజైయే
ఓది పుణివ దురుమ్.

as Trivikrama and Krishna. Himself being a bhakta who achieved God Realisation he tells us in verse 14 of the only way to achieve it—to concentrate one's thoughts on Māl (Vishnu) one must observe strict celibacy by giving up associating with women, should worship the Holy Feet of Vengadattān who shines in the four Vedas and at whose Feet the celestials place their heads in worship and take to the serious study of the sacred texts.

In verses 36, 37 and 38 he praises Narayana whose bhakta it was his good fortune to be by recounting His divine weapons (Divyāyudhas)—the flaming chakram, the pure white sankham which came out of the ocean, the Gada, the Saṅgam and the sharp sword and then the eagle (Garuda); how He measured the worlds and the seas (v. 37). His bhakta he was proud to be. He pervades our hearts, also every thing else outside and the briny waters of the ocean. On His chest shines the coral-colour-lipped Lady seated on the flower and the brilliant Hāram of many coloured gems (v. 38). He is incomparable. All things are of His Form, He is Tapas, He is the sustainer; He is the flaming fire and the great mountains, the eight diks (cardinal directions) and the twin fires of the Anḍam. In v. 39¹ he says that this Supreme Being is Vengadattān, the Rakshaka (இறை ஐதே), the worlds (நிலன் னென்), the eight diks, (எண் திசை ஁தே), the Vedas (மறை ஁தே), the soul of Vedas (மறைபொருள் ஁தேபுருள்), and the Skies. He is (there on the hill) surrounded by the sparkling and the gurgling waters of the hill streams. “He is filling the innermost recesses of

1. இறையாய் நிலனாகி என் திசையும் தானாய்
மறையாய் மறைப்பொருளாய் வானாய்—பிறைவாய்ந்த
வெள்ளத் தருவி விளங்குகொலிநீர் வேங்கடத்தான்
உள்ளத்தி னுள்ளே உள்ளன். (III. T. A. 39).

ஐதே யாய் னென் ஁தே யாய் ஁தே யாய்
஁தே யாய் ஁தே யுருளாய் வாய்—஁தே யாய்
஁தே யுருவி ஁தே யுருவி ஁தே யுருவி
஁தே யுருவி ஁தே யுருவி ஁தே யுருவி

my heart.”¹ In v. 40² he exhorts his heart (நெஞ்ச நெஞ்ச), “ Know that He is Real (உளன் உள்), He is the Highest (உத்தமன் உத்தமன்) He resides in the hearts of those who meditate on Him. Vengadattān stands Real on the hill which rises touching the skies; He is the one who measured the entire earth with His foot.”

There is therefore no room to doubt that the Deity on the Vengadam Hill was considered by this ālvār to be the self-manifest Image of Sri Vishnu. In verses 45 and 58 and 61 he identifies the Deity as Vishnu in his previous avatars.³

1. உள்ளத்தினுள்ளே உளன்;

2. உளன் கண்டாய் நன்னெஞ்சே உத்தம நென்றும்
உளன்கண்டாய் உள்ளுவா றுள்ளத்து—உளன்கண்டாய்
விண்ணொடுங்கக் கோடுயரும் வீங்கருவி வேங்கடத்தான்
மண்ணொடுங்கத் தானளந்த மன். (III. T. A. 40 .

உள்நகண்டாய் நன்னெஞ்சே உத்தம நென்றும்
உள்நகண்டாய் உள்ளுவா றுள்ளத்து—உள்நகண்டாய்
விண்ணொடுங்கக் கோடுயரும் வீங்கருவி வேங்கடத்தான்
மண்ணொடுங்கத் தானளந்த மன்.

3.வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்
மண்கோட்டுக் கொண்டான் மலை. (III. T. A. 45).

..... வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்

மண்கோட்டுக் கொண்டான் மலை.

.....வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்

மண்மதியில் கொண்டுகந்தான் வாழ்வு. (III. T. A. 58).

..... வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்

மண்மதியில் கொண்டுகந்தான் வாழ்வு.

பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடம் பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்

கொண்டங் குறைவார்க்குக் கோயில்போல். (III. T. A. 61

பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடம் பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்

கொண்டங் குறைவார்க்குக் கோயில்போல்.

Verse 61 to 64.

Then the names of several places where Vishnu deigned to manifest Himself in the alvar's days are mentioned in 61, 62 and 64.

பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடம் பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்
கொண்டங் குறைவார்க்குக் கோயில்போல்—வண்டு
வளங்கிளரும் நீள்கோலை வண்பூங் கடிகை
இளங்குமரன் தன்விண் ணகர். (III. T. A. 61).

ஃஜெல்லம் வேங்கடம் பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்
கொண்டங் குறைவார்க்குக் கோயில்போல்—வண்டு
வளங்கிளரும் நீள்கோலை வண்பூங் கடிகை
இளங்குமரன் தன்விண் ணகர்.

விண்ணகரம் வெஃகா விரிதிரைநீர் வேங்கடம்
மண்ணகரம் மாமாட வேளுக்கை—மண்ணகத்த
தென்குடந்தை தேனார் திருவரங்கம் தென்கோட்டி
தன்குடங்கை நீரேற்றான் தாழ்வு. (III. T. A. 62)

விஜயம் வெஃகா விரிதிரைநீர் வேங்கடம்
மண்ணகரம் மாமாட வேளுக்கை—மண்ணகத்த
தென்குடந்தை தேனார் திருவரங்கம் தென்கோட்டி
தன்குடங்கை நீரேற்றான் தாழ்வு.

தாழ்சடையும் நீள்முடியும் ஒண்மழுவும் சக்கரமும்
குழரவும் பொன்னாணும் தோன்றுமால்—குழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைக்கு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்து. (III. T. A. 63).

தாழ்சடையும் நீள்முடியும் ஒண்மழுவும் சக்கரமும்
குழரவும் பொன்னாணும் தோன்றுமால்—குழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைக்கு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்து.

இசைந்த அரவமும் வெற்பும் கடலும்
பசைந்தங் கமுது படுப்ப—அசைந்து
கடைந்த வருத்தமோ கச்சிவெஃ காவில்
கிடந்திருந்து நின்றதுவும் அங்கு. (III. T. A. 64).

ఇశైస్త అరవమున్ వెణ్ణున్ కడలున్
పశైస్త ఘముదు పదుప్ప—అశైస్త
కడైస్త వరుక్కమో కచ్చు వెఱికావిల్
కడల్దువు నిన్దువున్ అచ్చు.

Verse 63 which is between 62 and 64 is the one which has been construed by some to indicate that in Peyalvar's view the Deity in Vengadam was of the dual form of Hara and Hari (Siva and Vishnu). The first word of this Verse 63 is the last word of the previous (62) one. It reads:

தாழ்சடையும் நீள்முடியும் ஒண்மழுவும் சக்கரமும்
சூழரவும் பொன்னாணும் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைக்கு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்து.

தாய்கடైయున్ நீர்முடியுన్ உள்முழுவும் சக்கரமுன்
சூழரவுன் பொன்னாணுன் வீழ்ந்துமாள்—சூழுன்
திரண்டருவி பாயுன் திருமலை மேலெந்நைக்கு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்து.

The long hanging Jaṭa and the High peaked crown; the shining maḷu (axe) and the Chakram; the encircling (or coiling round) serpent and the gold waist thread are seen (on the form of the Deity); Therefore in my Father on the Tirumalai (hill), where flow the winding streams swollen with water, the two forms seem harmoniously to combine into one. The inference is that the Image was decorated with the long flowing Jaṭa of Hara, the high crown or Kireetam of Hari; the serpent coiling round half the body of the image and the gold waist-thread over half the loins; and in one hand the maḷu while in the other hand there was the Chakram. It is an absolute truth that the Image has no jata

depicted integrally on the Image, there is no serpent coiling round any portion of the body. There is however the waist string (kaṭi sutram) depicted on the body. Neither Chakram, Sankham or Ma'u is an integral part of the Image. Not one of the Mudal alvars (Tirumalisai also is included in this term) has mentioned Chakram and Sankham or any other weapon as being a part of the Image. These are invested under certain conditions only and may be omitted in other cases. This matter has been fully explained in Vol. I in Chapter VIII (Murti Svarupam) and in Chapter XII. It is possible that in the early years of the Seventh Century the image was sometimes decorated in the above manner because there probably was in those days the belief that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are only different forms of the One Being. Peyālvār says that when he worshipped he found that the Deity was decorated in that manner. But he did not subscribe to the theory that the two represent the same Being. There is however the strong probability that this verse and another one 75 are spurious interpolations made during the Chola period, that is after 1000 A.D. The name used in these two verses for the hill is Tirumalai. In the Prabandham of the ālvārs covering the period from about 500 A. D. to about 800 A. D., this name is not used but only Vengadam. Sri Nammalvar uses the term Tirumalai to designate the hill adjoining the Tirumalirumsolai temple (Tiruvoy. 2-10-4 and 10-7-7), but not for the Vengadam Hill. Even in Peyalvar's songs the term Vengadam alone is used in all other places.

From the inscriptions in Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchchanūr it is seen that the term Tirumalai is used for the first time in an inscription dated the seventh day of the reign of Rajendra Chola I (Vol. I 19, 1013 A.D. para 3) எண்ணை கட்டி திருமலைக்கு ஏற்றி எரிப்பிக்க கடவர்களாக..... ". It is therefore probable that the verse is an interpolation which displaced some old verse which also commenced with 'தாழ்' and ended with இசைந்து. The early years of the eleventh century was the period when in Tiruchanur the Siva temple of Parasaresvara was consecrated as a rival to the older Vishnu temple viz., Tiruvilankoyil and the Tiruvengadattu Perumanadigal temple in that place. That was also the period when Sri Ramanuja's cousin Govinda Bhattar

was living in Kalahasti as a zealous Saivite nayanar attached to that temple. Again it was in those times that Sri Ramanuja was asked to affix his signature assenting to the slogan “ *Sivāt parataram nāsti* ” which emanated from the court of the Chola King and which resulted in his voluntary exile to the Mysore country of the Vira Ballalas. It was later in the same period that Sri Ramanuja had to establish that the weapons on the Image should be Chakram and Sankham. If these circumstances are taken into consideration the probability of a spurious interpolation (or substitution) of this verse gains ground.

That verse 63 is a later day interpolation being a substitute for the original verse which appears to have been deleted will be apparent if verses 61 to 64 are read together. It will now be shown that the present verse 63 creates a sudden break in the continuity of thought which should obviously have existed from verse 61 to 64.

In verses 61 and 62 the ālvār gives what is practically the origin of temple worship. He states in verse 61 that “ in days of yore (பண்டெல்லாம், ஸௌந்தரம்), His Koyils for worship were on the Vengadam Hill, the milky ocean (பாற்கடல், சூழ்ச்சி) and Vaikuntham. The great one who condescended to receive a gift with oblations of water has also made the following places His abode—Nil solai Tirumāl-irum-solai, Katigai or ghaṭikachalam, Viṇṇagar (of the young Kumara which is perhaps the name for Paramesvara¹ Vinnagar (61); Viṇṇagar (perhaps the name for Uppiliyappan temple or Kālichchirama Vinnagar), Vehka, Vēngadam (with its rivulets); Vēlukkai, Ten Kudandai (Kumbakonam), Tiruvarangam (Srirangam); Ten Kōṭṭiyur (Tirukkōṭṭiyūr) (62).

In verse 64 the ālvār continues in the same strain and speaks of the three postures (கிடந்திருந்து நின்றதுவும் அங்கு) in one place. In Kachchi and Vehka, the standing and the reposing postures are referred to. The sitting posture in அங்கு i.e., Kānchipuram itself, remains unsaid. It is this that was obviously given by the ālvār in a verse for which the present verse 63 has been substituted.

1. Paramesvara Potavarman reigned from 670 to 690 A.D.

It will be evident that the mind of the ālvār was devoted to making a list of the places of temple worship which had since come into existence in his days and the posture of the Image. In 61 and 62 the places were listed. In 64 the recent places for the standing and reposing postures are given. For the sitting posture, corresponding to the one in Vaikunṭham, a temple in Kanchipuram should have been given. The original verse 63 probably gave that. It is now missing having been replaced by the substituted verse “தாழ்சடையும் நீள்முடியும்...”. The ālvār commenced by giving Vengadam, the milky ocean and Vaikunṭham as the original places for the three postures. The recent one for the standing and reposing posture, have been stated, but not for the sitting posture. He would have devoted a verse for this also. As the ālvār has given instances from the temples in Kancheepuram the probability is that Pāḍagam¹ was given for sitting posture.

Verse 62 ends with the word தாழ்வு, சூழ்வு and the present verse 63 commences with தாழ்சடையும் (சூழ்சூழ்வு) and ends with இசைந்து.. Verse 64 commences with இசைந்த (சூழ்வு) The original verse 63 would have commenced with தாழ்வு and ended with இசைந்து. The temple of Paṇḍava dutar could well have been described commencing with தாழ்வு and ending with இசைந்து. A reading of the 95th Adhyaya of the Udyoga Parva of the Mahabharata shows that Sri Krishna deigned to appear before Dhritarashtra as the ambassador of the Pandavas and actually stood as a suppliant (a Yāchaka) for peace with a view to save the lives of the great princes who were present at the durbar and of the millions of the subjects of the Empire which a war was bound to destroy. He reasoned out his case convincingly (இசைந்து). The present verse 63 commencing with தாழ்சடையும் is decidedly a spurious interpolation.

In verse 75² திருமலை appears to have been substituted for பெருமலை just to show that the ālvār has used the term திருமலை

1. Pāḍagam being for the sitting posture. See, also verses 29 to 32.

2. சார்ந்தகடுதேய்ப்பத் தடாவிய கோட்டுச்சிவாய்
ஊர்ந்தியங்கும் வெண்மதியி னெண்முயலைச்—சேர்ந்து

twice in his work. The conception in v. 75 that the hill shot up to touch or graze the heavens (சார்ந்தகடு தேய்ப்பத் தடாவிய கோட்டுச் சிவாய்) would be better expressed by calling it பெருமலை (or great hill) than திருமலை (Tirumalai). In verse 68 Vengadam Hill is said to belong to the one (Sri Krishna) who in times of yore pelted a calf to make a wood apple fall from the tree “வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள், விளங்கனிக்குக் கன்றெறிந்தான் வெற்பு; వేంగడమే మేలొనాల్, విళంగనిక్కు కున్నెఱిందాన్ వెఱ్ఱు.” In verses 70, 71, 72 and 73 also the hill is said to be the place of Sri Krishna.

Verse 73 gives the further information that during his northerly course the sun moves over to the Vengadam hill. This perhaps shows that the āḷvār visited Tirumalai in Uttarayanam, just after the Rathasaphthami, since the seven horses of the sun’s chariot are referred to therein “Having directed Ravi’s Ratha yoked to the seven (horses) right and left. He rests in the Vengadam Hill in the north.”

“ இடம்வல மேழ்ப்புண்ட இரவித் தேரோட்டி
 வடமுக வேங்கடத்து மன்னும்—.....”
 “ ఇదమవం మేఘాం ఇరవి త్రేరోట్టి
 వడముక వేంగడు మన్నుం.....”

Verse 89 distinctly says that Vengadam is the hill of the one who applied the exquisite flute to His lips (Sri Krishna) and that the Kurabas or Kuravars when they could spare time ploughed the ground and sowed the seeds of Tinai (திரினை சீன) which sprouted and grew to the size of tall bamboos piercing the skies. We thus learn that in Pey āḷvār’s days the Kuruvars were taking

சினவேங்கை பார்க்கும் திருமலையே ஆயன்
 புனவேங்கை நாளும் பொருப்பு. (II. T. A. 75).

శాస్త్రకడు తేయ్యత్తదవియ కోట్టుచ్చివాయ్
 ఊర్లొయంగువ వెణ్ణుదియ నొణ్ణుయల్—శ్రీమన్
 శవవేంగై పార్కుం తిరుమలయే ఆయన్
 పున వేంగై నామ పొరుప్పు.

to the raising of dry food crops when they could spare the time from their elephant capturing occupation.

“ முடிந்த பொழுதில் குறவாணர் ஏனம்
படிந்துழசால் பைந்திணைகள் வித்த—தடிந்தெழுந்த
வேயங்கழைபோய் விண்திறக்கும் வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்
திங்குழல்வாய் வைத்தான் சிலம்பு. (II. T. A. 89).

ముద్దిన్ పోముదిర్ కుఱవాణర్ ఏనమ్
పడిన్దుఱుశాల్ పైన్దిన్దై కళవిత్త శడిందెఱున్దు
వేయిఙ్గఱై పోయ్ విణ్ తిఱిక్కుమ్ వేంగడమే మేలొఱునాళ్
తింగుఱుల్ వాయ్ వైత్తాన్ శిలంబు.

There can be no doubt that Sri Peyālvar considered Vengadam as the sacred place of Vishnu for His archa form.

Tirumalaisai Alvar.

Tirumalaisai Alvar's *Nanmukhan Tiruvandādi* and *Tiruchchanda viruttam* contain verses which give a realistic picture of the hill, its rivulets and the wild animals leading their natural life therein. It is unnecessary for us to go into details about these. They are however interesting. He seems to have visited the hill on more than one occasion and to have made a close study. The unexploited virgin forest of the hill is described in *Tiruchchanda viruttam*, v. 60. “He stands on the Vengadam hill characterised by its dense fog. The autogenous tall bamboos fall to the ground, dry up, decay, sprout again and grow to great heights.”

“ செழுங்கொழும் பெரும்பனி பொழிந்திட உயர்ந்தவேய்
விழுந்துலர்ந்து எழுந்து விண்புடைக்கும் வேங்கடத்துள்நின்று

“ శ్రీమద్కొఱుమ్ పెఱున్దువి పొఱువిద కయిర్వనైయ్
విఱున్దు లర్ను ఎఱున్దు విణ్ పుదై క్కుమ్ వేఱుద క్కుళ్ విన్దు ”

About the wild life therein he says (*Nan-Muk, Tiruvandādi* v. 47) that therein live lions and lionesses; therein are precious

stones, pearls, flowering plants and trees in the forests through which roll the cool waters of the rivulets, and therein also thrive in plenty elephants and monkeys.”

“ தன்மணி வண்ணனூர் ஆளியும் கோளரியும்
பொன்மணியும் முத்தமும் பூமரமும்—பன்மணி நீ
ரோடு பொருதுருளும் காணமும் வானரமும்
வேடுமுடை வேங்கடம். (N. M. T. 47).

శన్మణి వణ్ణనూర్ ఆళియుమ్ కోళరియుమ్
పొన్ మణియుమ్ ముత్తముమ్ పూమరముమ్—పన్మణి నీ
రోడు పొరుదురుళుమ్ కానముమ్ వానరముమ్
వేడు ముడె వేడ్డముమ్.

It is interesting to read about his pilgrimage to Vengadam. In verse 34 he says that his desire (குறிப்பு சுதியு) was to go to Tirukkoṭṭiyūr to worship the Deity there (கோட்டியூர் மேயானை ஏத்த கோட்டியூர் மீயானై ఏத்த); but how could the Deity on the Vengadam Hill be ignored? வெறுப்பனோ வேங்கடத்து மேயானை, వెண்புனி வேங்கடத்து மீயானை). He has the power to protect us from the ill-effects of the karmas of our life (மெய்வினைநோய் எய்தாமல் தான் நடத்தும் தன்மை யான் தாள், மெய் வினைநோய் உண்டாமல் தான் நடத்துமி தன்மைநான் தாள்) N. M. T. 34. He then says that He used to call Tiruvengadattan in order to see him (அழைப்பன் திரு வேங்கடத்தானைக் காண, அழைப்பன் திருவேங்கடத்துநோய்) to go to his Hill (v. 39). He corrects himself and says I sang it as Hill! I stand here looking forward to go to Heaven (Viḍu வீடாக்கி நிற்கின்றேன், வீடாக்கி நினைக்கேன்), standing here I contemplate on it. I am caught in the net of the Feet of the Consort of the Lady (Lakshmi), நூலாட்டிக் கேள்வனார் (மூலாட்டிவேந்தர்) caught in the net of the form of sacred Lore, v. 40. He continues in v. 41: “ I long to attend the Ṁṇam festival so vociferously celebrated and see the rivulets which shed pearly stores along their beds. O Vēṅgaḍavā, you are lovingly approaching me. By going over to Vengadam You have got into my heart.” The āḷwār could not contain himself. He wants every Bhakta to share his joy. So in verses

42 and 43¹ is the exhortation to all men to go and worship the high Vengadam hill because it possesses the virtue of steadily rooting out all Karmas—there the Four-faced one seated on the lotus and the Three-eyed one daily worship His Holy Feet (of the Deity there). Siva (who wears the Moon on his Jata and Brahma who is on the Lotus flower go there by night holding aloft the umbrellas befitting their position to seek salvation (కங்கుల్ పుక్రంతార్కన్ కాప్పణి వాన్, కంగుల్ పుగుంఠో కాప్పణిన్). In verse 44 he exhorts all men who have children (family) (కుమరుణ్ణిన్, కుమరకల్లీర్) to go and worship there. He then describes in verse 45² where and how the Image is. He says that the great One deigned out of His loving concern for our salvation to rest His Holy Feet on deforested ground which was decorated with the choicest flowers placed by devotees and is standing out prominently so as to make Himself visible from everywhere. That place Vengadam with the cool waters of its rivulets is (therefore) the most valued sacred asset for celestials and terres-

1. మంగుల్తోయ సెన్ని వడవేవంగ్ కడత్తాణే
కంగుల్ పుక్రంతార్కన్ కాప్పణివాన్—తింగ్కన్
శడైయేయై వైత్తాల్లమ్ తామరై మేలొణ్ణమ్
కుడైయేయై తాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు. (N. T. 43).

మంగుల్తోయ సెన్ని వడవేవంగ్ కడత్తాణే
కంగుల్ పుక్రంతార్కన్ కాప్పణిన్—తింగ్కన్
శడైయేయై తాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు
కుడైయేయై తాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు.

పురిన్తు మలగిండు పుణ్డికప్ప బాతమ్
పరిన్తు పుక్రంతార్కన్ కాప్పణిన్—తింగ్కన్
తాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు తణ్ణుణ్ణు వేవంగ్కడమే
వాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు తణ్ణుణ్ణు వేవంగ్కడమే. (N. T. 45).

పురిన్తు మలగిండు పుణ్డికప్ప బాతమ్
పరిన్తు పుక్రంతార్కన్ కాప్పణిన్—తింగ్కన్
తాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు తణ్ణుణ్ణు వేవంగ్కడమే
వాంగువిత్తుక్ కొణ్ణు తణ్ణుణ్ణు వేవంగ్కడమే.

trials alike. We learn from this description that there was not in those days any structures enclosing the Image, but that the Image stood high and was visible to bhaktas coming from every direction.¹ In verse 48 the āḷvār reaffirms that it is a fact that Vengadam is the place where celestials go to for worship, that Vengadam is really the place which destroys the ills of Karmas, and that Vengadam is the hill which is the (earthly) abode of Him who with his chakram and other weapons destroys the Dānavas and assures protection to the celestials. From verse 46 it is seen that in the āḷvār's days elephant hunt by the Kuravars (Kurabas) was common.

The benefit accruing from an unwavering faith in and sincere worship of the Deity on the Vengadam Hill is thus summed up by the āḷvār in verse 90—“Those whose ambition it is to sit in state and reign in the heavenly regions have been with unfaltering devotion placing the choicest flowers at the Feet of Vengadattān in sincere worship and those who prefer to lead a higher and nobler life have been at all proper seasons doing sincere worship in the proper manner and with humility.”²

Tiruppanalvar.

There is only one point worth noting about Vengadam in the ten verses sung by this āḷvār. Vengadam is the place where

1. The படுகாடு means படுக்கப்பட்ட காடு, forest which has been felled down. பரிந்து means in loving condescension; வைப்பு means a legacy or bequest.

2. வீற்றிருந்து விண்ணுள வேண்டுவார் வேங்கடத்தான்
பால் திருந்த வைத்தாரே பல்மலர்கள்—மேல்திருந்த
வாழ்வார் வருமதி பார்த்து அன்பினராய் மற்றவர்க்கே
தாழ்வா யிருப்பார் தமர். (N. M. T. 90).

வீற்றிருந்து வினாசவேண்டுவார் வேங்கடத்தான்
பால் திருந்த வைத்தாரே பல்மலர்கள்—மேல்திருந்த
வாழ்வார் வருமதி பார்த்து அன்பினராய் மற்றவர்க்கே
தாழ்வா யிருப்பார் தமர்.

Vānavar or the celestials worship the Supreme Being at Sandhi (at dusk and dawn). "He who in Arangam is reposing on the

“ మந்த్రీ బావ్వద వేవంగద మామలై వానవార్కల్
 శన్త్రీ శెయ్యనీన్ గ్రున్అరన్ కత్తర వినణ్ణయాన్”

“ మంకిసాయ్ వడ వేజ్గడ మామలై వానవార్కల్
 శన్త్రీ శెయ్యనీన్ అరన్జత్తర వినణ్ణయాన్”.

Serpent, is standing on the monkey infested Vaḍa Vengadam Hill to be worshipped by the celestials at the Sandhis.” (v. 3) His impression probably was that terrestrials worship in Srirangam and only celestials in Vengadam Hill.

Kulasekhara alvar.

From the songs of Kulasekhara āḷvār known as *Perumāl Tirumoli* (IV. 1.) we learn that in his days there was some sort of a Koyil or temple in Vengadam wherein the timber of the Tumbaka and Champaka trees were used. The Kōṇēri or sacred pond is referred to, Rudra, Brahma and Indra daily turn up to worship the Lord of Vengadam (Vengadakkōn) (IV. 3).

“ పిన్ణిడ్డ శడెయ్యానూమ్ పిరమనూమ్ ఇన్తీరనూమ్
 తున్ణిడ్డుప్ప కులగియ వైక్రన్త నీన్వాశల్
 పిన్వడ్డశ్ శడరాழి వేవంగదక్కోన్ తానూమిழుమ్
 పొన్వడ్డిల్ పిడిత్తుడదణే పుకప్పెరువే శ్రవేణే,”

పిప్పిట్ట శడెయ్యానూమ్ పిరమనూమ్ ఇన్తీరనూమ్
 తుప్పిట్ట పుగలియ వైక్రన్త నీన్ నాశల్
 పిన్వట్ట చ్చుడరాళి వేజ్గడక్కోన్ శనుమిళుమ్
 పొన్వట్టిల్ పిడిత్తుడదణే పుకప్పెరువేనానీన్.

It is also seen from this verse that there was some kind of daily worship carried on by an archaka and that devotees had to stand outside the door-step of the Nīlvāsaḷ.

Sri Nammalvar.

To Sri Nammāḷvār the Vengadam Hill and the Deity thereon are as sacred as to the Early āḷvārs. At the different stages of

his spiritual advancement and psychic experiences Tiruvēṅgaḍa-muḍaiyan (Sri Venkatēsvara) has been considered as the archa (Image) manifestation of the Supreme Being Narayanā for our benefit.

The first hundred verses of his *Tiruvāymoḷi* are devoted to a concise exposition of the Upanishadic philosophy and the Puranic account of the celestial and the cosmogonic creations—how the Formless Supreme Being assumed innumerable forms having special attributes and powers concomitant thereto and comprehensible to the appropriate jiva as—

“He who is Pure Sat (having no form) and assumed a Form which is the seed from which sprang the Three (Mūvar) and the numerous Heavenly Beings (Nityas), Munis, others and all else without exception. Further It manifested itself on the unfathomable waters and took its abode thereon. He is the Inscrutable One (Māmāyan), Vaikunthanathan, the Lord of the Nityas and my Lord.”¹

The Ālvār sings the glory of the Lord and how the Nityas and the other heavenly beings enjoy His company. Mortals can have no more than an imaginative conception of it. For the maintenance of the Dharmas, for the protection of His bhaktas and for the destruction of Adharmas (evil forces) He manifested Himself in His Vibhava Forms at different times. Jivas of those times enjoyed His company. Sri Nammalvar then says that for the benefit of mortals of this age He has manifested Himself on

-
1. தானோ ருருவே தனிவித்தாய்த் தன்னில் மூவர் முதலாய
வானோர் பலரும் முனிவரும் மற்றும் மற்றும் முற்றுமாய்த்
தானோர் பெருநீர் தன்னுள்ளே தோற்றி யதனுட் கண்வளரும்
வானோர் பெருமான் மாமாயுள் வைகுந் தனெம்பெ ருமானே.

ಶನೋರುಪೆ ಕನಿವಿತ್ತಾಯ್ ಕನ್ನಿರ್ ಮೂವರ್ ಮುದಲಾಯ
ವನೋ . ಪಲರಮ್ ಮುನಿವರಮ್ ಮறೈರಮ್ ಮறೈರಮ್ ಮುறೈಮಾಯ್
ಉನೋರ್ ಪೆರುನಿರ್ ಕನ್ನು ಕೈತೈರ್ಥಿ ಯದನುಟ್ ಕಣ್ವಳರಮ್
ವನೋರ್ ಪೆರುಮಾನ್ ಮಾಮಾಯನ್ ವೈಕುನ್ತನಪ್ಪೆ ರಮಾನೇ.

the Vengadam Hill in a Form adored equally by the celestias and the terrestrials (immortals and mortals).¹ The Hill itself is sacred to the heavenly beings as it is to terrestrials. Tirumalaisai ālvār has characterised the hill as legacy for celestials and terrestrials.

“ வானோர்க்கும் மண்ணோர்க்கும் வைப்பு ”

వాన్ , గుమ్ మణ్ణోక్కుమ్ వైప్పు.

It has to be noted that Vengadam is the first place on earth mentioned by the alvar whereon the Supreme Being deigned to manifest Himself as an Image. In verse 1—5—4 His manifestations on the ocean and in Vaikuntham (the Heavens) were referred to. The same assurance has been given us by Sri Pey-ālvār in verse 61 of his *Mūnrām Tiruvandādi* already referred to on page 1129 infra.² The psychic experience of Sri Nammālvār at the time he made this statement about the sanctity of Vengadam should be duly taken into account. The feeling was that God had taken complete possession of his body and soul purely out of His grace and not as the direct result of the ālvār's wish or attempts.³ How then

1. கண்ணாவா நென்றும் மண்ணோர்விண் ணோர்க்குத்
தன்றார் வேங்கட விண்ணோர் வெற்பனே.

(Tiruvay. 1-8-3).

కణ్ణవా నెన్దుమ్ మణ్ణోర్ విண் ணోர்கு
தன்றார் வேங்கட விண்ணோர் வெற்பனே.

“He who has at all times been equally the most beloved (Kaṇṇāvān or the apple of the eye) of the celestials and the terrestrials has manifested Himself on the Vengadam Hill (which is also) so dear to the celestials”.

2. பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடம் பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்
கொண்டங் குறைவார்க்குக் கோயில்போல்—.....

పణ్డెల్లమ్ వేంగడమ్ పాఱ్కడల్ వైకున్డమ్

కొండమ్ కుఱైవారుక్కు కోయిల్ పోల్.....

3. யானொட்டி யென்னு ளிருத்துவ மென்றிலன்
தானொட்டி வந்தென் தனிநெஞ்சை வஞ்சித்து
ஊனொட்டி நின்றென் னுயிரிற் கலந்தியல்
வானொட்டு மோவினி யென்னை நெகிழ்க்கவே. (1-7-7).

could He ever desert him.² “For those who (seek Him for a boon and then) part from Him He will be far off, for those who approach Him (for no boons) He will always be with them. . . . Let us without a feeling of fatigue or satiety sing His glory by day and by night ceaselessly.”

Incidentally it is worth mentioning here that the second archa form of the Supreme Being which the ālvār glorifies is Tirukkurunguḍi Nambi¹ (1-10-9). The tradition is that not having a son for many years the ālvār's parents made a long penance before Tirukkurunguḍi Nambi to be blessed with a worthy son and that Sri Nammalvar (Kāri Māran) was the Divine gift in answer to their prayers. No wonder that the ālvār sang the glory of that

యానొట్టి యెన్ను శిరువత్తువ మెన్దిలన్
 తానొట్టి వన్నెన్ తనినెఱై వణ్ణత్తు
 ఈనొట్టి నిన్ఱై నుయిరిళ్ కలన్దియర్
 వానొట్టు మో విని యెన్నై నెగిళ్ళక్కవే.

1. అకలి లకలు మణుకి లణుకమ్
 పుకలు మగియన్ బెర్రువల్ల నెమ్మాన్
 న్రికగిల వన్పుకల్ బాడి యిఱైప్పిలమ్
 పకలు మిరవుమ్ పడిన్తు కుడైన్దే. (1-7-10).

అగరి లగలు మణుగి లణుగమ్
 పుగలు మరియర్ పొరువర్ల నెమ్మాన్
 నిగరిల వన్పుకల్ పాడి యిఱైప్పిలమ్
 పగలు మిరవుమ్ పడిన్తు కుడైన్దే.

2. నమ్పియైత్తే తెన్కరున్దు కుడిన్దెన్ద్రాశ్
 శెమ్బెబాన్ త్రికముమ్ త్రికముమ్ త్తియై
 ఒమ్బర్ వానవర్ ఆత్తియిఱ్ఱోశో త్తియై
 ంబిర్రా ఱైఱన్ శొలలిమర్రప్పణై. (Tiruvāy. 1-10-9).

నమ్పియై త్తే కురున్దే నిన్ద్రాశ్
 శెమ్మో త్రికముమ్ త్తియై
 ఒమ్బర్ వానవర్ ఆత్తియిఱ్ఱోశో
 ఎమ్బిర్రానై శొలలి మర్రప్పణై.

Deity next after Vēṅgaḍam. But for his faith that on the Vengadam Hill the Deity is self-manifest Brahmam he would have placed Tirukkurungudi first (see also verses 1 and 2 of *Tiruvaymoli* 3-9).

The second centum is devoted to a detailed description of the stages of spiritual development experienced by the ālvār. He appreciates that this was made possible only by the association of the soul with the perishable body which in itself is a divine gift as much as the spiritual experiences made possible thereby. In the short period of a single birth it was by the Divine grace that he was enabled to achieve all that he did which in the normal course could only be accomplished by the successful practice of Karma yoga, Jñāna yoga and Bhakti yoga over a series of births.¹

He glorifies in *Tiruvāymoli* 2-4 and 2-5 this achievement in the company of a congregation of bhaktas singing, dancing and describing in detail the numerous forms and names of the Supreme Being, His divine ornaments and weapons. Although beyond description by our limited knowledge, still He allows Himself to be seen in the only manner open to His bhaktas. The different stages of spiritual conception are described in (2-6) until the ānanda stage is reached (2-6-8).²

1. குறிக்கொள் ஞானங்க ளாலெனை யூழி செய்தவமும்
கிறிக்கொண் டுப்பிறப்பே சில நாளி லெய்தினனயான்
உறிக்கொண்ட வெண்ணெய்பா லொளித் துண்ணு

மம்மான்பின்

நெறிக்கொண்ட நெஞ்சமாய்ப் பிறவித் துயர்கடிந்தே.

(Tiruvāy. 2-3-8).

குகூக் ஈவள ஈவநை யூழி தேயுநமும்
குகூக் ளீ பிவப்பு ளெனக் கெய்தினன் யான்
குகூக் ளு வெணையு ளெனக் கெய்தினன் யான்
குகூக் ளு வெணையு ளெனக் கெய்தினன் யான்

2. மாறி மாறிப் பலபிறப்பும் பிறந்தடியை யடைந்துள்ளந்தேறி
ஈறி லின்பத் திருவெள்ளம் யான்மூழ்கினன்

It is at this climax that the āḷvār sees in the Deity on the Vengadam Hill his Father, the Supreme Being and the one who destroyed Vāli. “You have rubbed yourself into me. How can you go elsewhere hereafter.”¹

In the next verse (2-6-10) he again says that He the Paraman is on the Vengadam Hill; the Paraman the Lord of the three worlds who in the past, the present and the future is his mother, father and saviour has got into his heart and that He will not be allowed to depart therefrom (பரமா தண் திருவேங்கடமேகின்றாய், ஸரமாதன் உய்வென்றே மீட்டினாய்). Immediately after reaching this stage the alvar sings his ‘Hallelujah’ of the twelve sacred names of Narayana (*dvādasa nāmam*) — Kēśava, Narayana, Madhava, Govinda, Vishnu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Sridhara, Hrīshikēśa, Padmanabha, and Dāmōdara. The āḷvār was not

பாறிப் பாறி யசுரர்தம் பல் குழாங்கள் நீறெழுப் பாய்பறவை
யொன்று
ஏறி வீற்றிருந்த தாயுன்னை என்னுள் நீக்கே லெந்தாய்.
(Tiru. 2-6-8).

மாலை மாலை ஸ்ரீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
கலை லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
கலை லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
கலை லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ

எந்தாய் தண்திரு வேங்கடத்துள் நின்ற யிலங்கை செற்றாய்
மராமரம்
மைந்தா ளேழுருவ வொருவாளி கோத்த வில்லா
கொந்தார் தண்ணந் துழாயின யமுதே யுன்னை யென்
னுள்ளே குழைத்தவெம்
மைந்தா வானேறே யினியெங்குப் போகின்றதே. (2-6-9).

பொன் லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
பொன் லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
பொன் லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ
பொன் லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ லக்ஷ்மீ

content with reciting verses in praise of the twelve names only; he wedges in the Deity on the Vengadam Hill¹ (வேங்கடம்நல் வெற்பன் పేంగడమ్ నల్ వెల్పన్) between Padmanābhan and Damōdaran, because the Supreme Being is self-manifest on the Vengadam Hill and should be remembered at the proper moment. The spiritual experiences of the Alvār mount to the highest pitch. He prays to God to admit him to be always under His Holy Feet and keep him away from evil thought and deed. He gives expression to his realisation of the relationship between God and man in verses 2-9-8, 9 and 10. "Take full possession of me as my Eternal Father and abide therein. I will never wish for anything more unable to realise myself I have been under the delusion 'I and Mine.' "I am Thyself and am Thine" "Take me to Thy Feet. Do not allow me to be separated therefrom." He was in the prime of life at this period. The mind had achieved the highest spiritual development. He was anxious that the activities of the sense organs of the material body should also be diverted from the material to the spiritual plane. Image worship offered the only possible means for this diversion. The nearest hallowed place for such worship was Tirumal-irium-solai. He repaired to this famous temple, worshipped and sang verses in praise of the Deity—who like the Deity on the Vengadam Hill is a standing Murti. The desire grew in him to worship the Deity on the Vengadam Hill itself. So he repaired thereto. His firm faith in the Lord of the Vengadam Hill and the stirring appeal which his devotional songs in praise of that Deity made to the hearts

-
1. பற்ப நாபனு யர்வறவுயரும் பெருந்திறலோன்
 எற்பர னென்னை யாக்கிக் கொண்டெனக்கே தன்னைத்தந்த
 கற்பகம் என்னமுதம் கார்முகில் போலும் வேங்கடநல்
 வெற்பன் விசும்போர் பிரானெந்தை தாமோதரனே. (2-7-11)
వల్ప నాశను యర్వఱవుయకుమ్ పెరున్దిఱల్
ఎల్పఱ నెన్నై యాక్కిక్కణ్ణై నక్కే తన్నైత్తన్ద
కల్పకమ్ ఎన్నముదమ్ కారుగిల్ పోలుమ్ వేణ్డ నల్
వెల్పఱ విఱమ్పూర్ విఱనెన్దె ఁమోదరనే.

of Sri Tirumalai Nambi and to Sri Anandālvār are of classic importance to all Sri Vaishnavas (*Tiruvaymoli* 3-2, 3-4 and 3-5). In the ten verses of 3-2 he exhorts bhaktas to repair to Vengadam before old age sets in and to worship Sri Vengadattan carrying on their head water, flowers, deepam and dhūpam just as the celestials are said to do for worship there. These verses will be found in Chap. II (Vol. I). He describes the Deity as seen with his spiritual eyes in the ten verses of 3-4. Those who feel puzzled about the identity of the Murti may well be referred to verse 10.¹ "He is every thing living and non-living in creation and yet He is untouched by their respective conditions of life, He is beyond description by our senses; He could be perceived by the mind, He pervades all embodied souls but unaffected by their acts and desires. If one rises to the height of complete detachment from the material body and its weal and woes, He could be got at."

In the height of joy to sing the praises of Vengadam he advises all to forget themselves, their position in life, and how others will look at them, but go on singing His names and dancing through towns and deserts² (3-5-8). Such men will be worshipped by

1. யாவையும் வவரும் தானாய் அவரவர் சமயம் தோறும்
தோய்விலன் புலனைந் துவக்கும் சொலப்படான் உணர்வின்
மூர்த்தி

ஆவிசே ருயிரி னுள்ளான் ஆதுமோர் பற்றிலாத
பாவனை யதனைக் கூடில் அவனையும் கூடலாமே. (3-4-10).

யாவையும் வவரும் தானாய் அவரவர் சமயம் தோறும்
தோய்விலன் புலனைந் துவக்கும் சொலப்படான் உணர்வின்
மூர்த்தி

1. வார்புன லந்த ணருவி வடநூரு மவங்கடதமதநதை
பேர்பல சொல்லிப் பிதற்றிப் பித்தரென் றேபிறர் கூற
ஊர்பல புக்கும் புகாதும் உலோகர் சிரிக்க நின்றடி
ஆர்வம் பெருகிக் குனிப்பார் அமரர் தொழப்படு வாடு.

the Immortals. This visit of the ālvār to Vengadam marks the third stage of his spiritual advancement and is his first visit. In the pattern of Bhakti worship which Sri Nammālvār describes and which exacts the admiration of even the celestials all can take part without distinction of caste—caste has no place therein. The ālvār posits that even to a non-caste chandala who is a Vishnu Bhakta he would with pride be a slave¹ (3-7-9).

He implores all to become Vishnu bhaktas. In his appeal to poets not to prostitute the great gift of the Muse to sing the praise of men just to make a living, he says that he for one would sing only the praise of the God on the Vengadam Hill (3-9 ten verses) and next of the Deity in Tirukkurungudi (his family Deity). He found it desirable and even necessary to start a propoganda campaign to wean away men from the worship of the lower deities for obtaining temporary and temporal boons. There were also other religions which have no faith in the Vedas and the Vedic Deities. The ālvār realised that his evangelical work should not end with preaching to those who believe in the Vedas and in Vishnu worship. He therefore inaugurated his campaign in the Vishnu

నాకున నంద ఇరువి వదలరు నేజ్జరై నై
 నేర వల కొల్లిప్పిరుణ్ణి ప్పిత్తరై నై పిఱర్ కూఱ
 ఊర్ వల పుక్కుమ్ పుగడుమ్ ఉళోగర్ శిరిక్కు విఱ్ఱడి
 ఆరవమ్ పెఱ్ఱుక్క శిప్పార్ ఆమరర్ కొఱ్ఱుపుడువారే.

1. కులంతాంగు సాత్రుకల్ నాని లుంగ్కొఱ్ఱిఱ్ఱిన్దు గత్తణై
 నలంతా నిలదా శణ్డదా శణ్డదాగర్ కణాఱ్ఱిలై
 వలంతాంగు సక్కరత్ తణ్ణణల్ మణివణ్ణణర్ క

కాఱ్ఱెణ్ణుఱ్ఱున్

కులంతార్ ఆఱ్ఱియార్ తమ్ ఆఱ్ఱియార్ గమ్మఱ్ఱిక్కణై. (3-7-9).

కులన్దైఱ్ఱి కాడిఱ్ఱి నలియ జ్ఱొఱ్ఱిఱ్ఱిన్దు ఎత్తనై
 నంద నిలద శణ్డశ శణ్డశర్ కళాఱ్ఱిమ్
 వలన్దైఱ్ఱి కక్కరత్తణ్ణర్ మణివణ్ణర్ క్కొఱ్ఱెఱ్ఱు ఉళ
 కలనార్ ఆడియార్ దమ్ ఆడియార్ ఎమ్మడిగళే.

temple of Adinātha in his own village Tirukkukur (4-10 ten verses) and addressed himself specially to Saivites, Lingaits, Jains, Buddhists (followers of Sākya muni) and in fact to followers of the six systems of philosophy (ஆறு சமயம்). His efforts met with success which he exultingly sings in the verses of 5-2.¹ He says that 'Kali Yugam has ended and Krita Yugam has set

1. பொலிக பொலிக பொலிக போயிற்று வல்லுயிர்ச் சாபம்
 நலியும் நரகமும் நைந்த நமனுக்கு இங்கு யாதொன்றுமில்லை
 கலியும் கெடும்கண்டு கொண்டின் கடல்வண்ணன் பூதங்கள்
 மண்மேல்
 மலியப் புகுந்துஇசை பாடி ஆடி யுழிதரக் கண்டோம்
 (5-2-1).

పొలిక పొలిక పొలిక పోయిற்று వల్లయిర్ శాపమ్
 నలియుమ్ నరకముమ్ నైన్ద నమనుక్కు ఇంకు యాదొన్దుమిల్లై
 కలియుమ్ కెడుమ్ కెడుమ్ కొట్టన్ కడర్ వణ్ణన్ భూకణ్ణ్ మణ్మేర్
 మలియప్ప కున్దు ఇళై సాఠి ఆఠి యుళిరర క్కణ్ణ్మ్.

కండోమ్ కండోమ్ కండోమ్ కண்ணుక్ కినియన
 కండోమ్
 తొண்டిర్ எல்லீரும் వாரీర్ தொழுது தொழுதுநின்
 றுர்த்தும்
 (5-2-2).

కణ్ణ్మ్ కణ్ణ్మ్ కణ్ణ్మ్ కణ్ణ్క్కినియన కణ్ణ్మ్
 కొట్టర్ ఎట్లయి వారిర్ శొழுదు శొழுదు నిన్ ఱొర్త్తుమ్.

திரியும் கலியுகம் நீங்கித் தேவர்கள் தாமும் புகுந்து
 பெரிய கிதயுகம் பற்றிப் பேரின்ப வெள்ளம் பெருக
 (5-2-8)

రియుమ్ కలియుగమ్ నీళ్లీ త్రేవర్గ్ శముమ్ వుగున్దు
 పెరియ కివయుగమ్ వణ్ణ్ప్పేరిన్దు వెళ్ళుమ్ పెరుగ.

இடங்கொள் சமயத்தை யெல்லாம் எடுத்துக் களைவன
 போலே
 தடங்கல் பற்றிப் பெருமான் தன்னுடைப் பூதங்க ளேயாய்

in; Yama has no more work and the angels of the Lord are come and are dancing in ecstasy because the heretical seats have been destroyed. May this gain in strength and glory. He found that Vishnu bhaktas had grown in numbers and in strength.

He exhorts all to worship Achyuta the true God reciting the Vedic Riks without swerving from the path prescribed for jñāna mārga (true knowledge) with flowers deepam, dhūpam, chandanam and water¹ (5. 29).

He continued to carry on unabated his evangelical mission, visited and sang the praise of the Deity in many temples some of which were probably newly consecrated at his instance. He sang about Tirukkurunguḍi Nambi who gave the āḷvār a distinct vision while yet awake (5-5 ten verses); about the Deity in Sirīvara mangalam (Vānamāmalai) (5-7 ten verses); about Sri Arāvamudan of Tirukkudandai (5-8 ten verses); and about the Deity in Tiruvallavāḷ (5-9 ten verses). His prayer, in addition to the evangelical work, was to see God face to face; and therein he did not succeed. He

கிடந்தும் இருந்தும் எழுந்தும் கீதம் பலபாடி
நடந்தும் புறந்தும் குனித்தும் நாடகம் செய்கின்றனவே
(5-2-4)

ఇదజ్ఞోఁ శమయతై యెల్లామ్ ఎరుత్తు క్కడైవన పోలే
తదజ్ఞుడల్ సజ్జిప్పెరుమాఁ తన్నుడైన్ భూతజ్ఞశే యాయ్
కిదన్దుమ్ ఇరున్దుమ్ ఎழுన్దుమ్ గీతమ్వం వంపాడి
నదన్దుమ్ పుఱన్దుమ్ కునిత్తుమ్ నాడకమ్ శేయగిన్దువే.

1. மேவித் தொழுதுயம்மி னீர்கள் வேதப் புனித விருக்கை
நாவிற் கொண்டச் சுதன்தன்னை ஞான விதிபிழை யாமே
பூவிற் புகையும் விளக்குஞ் சாந்தமும் நீரும் மலிந்து
மேவித் தொழுமடி யாரும் பகவரும் மிக்க துலகே. (5-2.9)

மேவிழுகுயுயம்மி னீர்க் வேதப்புனித பருதூ
நாவிற் கொடி யுதன் தன்னு ஞான விதி பிழையுமே
பூவிற் புறையும விசுடூக் சாந்தமும் நீரும் மலிந்து
மேவிழுகுடி யாரும் பகவரும் மிக்கதுலகே.

sang about the Deities in Tiruvaṇṇāḍūr (6-1 ten verses); Tiruvinnagar (6-3). Tiruttolaivilli mangalam, (6-5) Tirukkōḷur (6-7). He could not rest content without seeing God. He did Saranāgati to the Deity in every temple he sang. As his desire remained unfulfilled he sang in great distress and in the highest pitch the ten verses of 6-9. (கொடியேன் பால்வாராய் ஒருநாள்). There was no response.

It was in this predicament that he decided to throw himself at the Feet of Tiruvengāḍattān. From the wording of the last line of every verse (6-10) it does not appear that he actually went to Vengadam for this Saranāgati. But his body and soul would have been psychically at the feet of the Lord. He appeals to Him through Goddess Sri Alarmēlmangai who is on his chest, to Him of matchless glory, the Lord of the three worlds, to Him whom the Immortals and Munies adore, as He is his only Saviour.¹ (6-10-10).

Note:—These ten verses as well as the twenty verses of 2-3 and 2-4 distinctly describe the features of the body, the divine ornaments and the divine weapons which the āḷvār had observed. These have been briefly dealt with in Vol. I. Chapter VIII (section 3). The presence of Sri Devi on the chest, the Sankham, Chakram and Saṅgam in the hands, the posture of the right lower hand

1. அகல கில்லேன் இறையுமென்று அலர்மேல் மங்கை
 யுறைமார்பா
 நிகரில் புகழாய், உலகம்முன் றுடையாய், என்னை
 யாள்வானே
 நிகரிலமர் முனிக்கணங்கள் விரும்பும் திருவேங்கடத்தானே
 புகலொன் றில்லா அடியேன்உன் னடிக்கீழ்மர்ந்து
 புகுந்தேனே (5-10-10)

அகல ரிசே ஐதேயுமென்று அலர்மேல் மங்கை யுறை மார்பா
 நிகரில் புகழாய் உலகம்முன் றுடையாய் என்னை யாள்வானே
 நிகரிலமர் முனிக்கணங்கள் விரும்பும் திருவேங்கடத்தானே
 புகலொன் றில்லா அடியேன்உன் னடிக்கீழ்மர்ந்து
 புகுந்தேனே (5-10-10)

pointing to the Feet for Saranāgati as the only means to obtain salvation are the principal ones.¹

This saranāgati proved ineffective because the ālvār himself was aware that he was still the servant, if not the slave, of the five senses. Complete detachment had not been achieved (7-1 ten verses). Sri Ranganatha is praised in (7-2) as if by the mother of the ālvār. He sings about the Deity in Tirupperai (7-3) and goes through more psychic and spiritual experiences; and one of these opened his eyes to the fact that it was the divine command that he should sing for the benefit of mankind his philosophy fully in the *Tiruvaymoli* (7-9). Alvar expresses his gratitude to the Supreme Being 'for singing His praise through his tongue' the words however are all His own.²

1. அடிக்கீழ் முமர்ந்து புகுந்து அடியீர்! வாழ்மி னென்றென்
 றருள்கொடுக்கும்
 படிக்கேழில்லாப் பெருமானைப் பழனக் குருகூர்ச் சட
 கோபன்
 முடிப்பான் சொன்ன ஆயிரத்துத் திருவேங் கடத்துக்
 கிவைபத்தும்
 பிடித்தார் பிடித்தார் வீற்றிருந்து பெரிய வானுள்
 நிலாவுவரே (6-10-11)

அடிகீழ் முமர்ந்து வுருந்து அடியீர்! வாழ்மி நென்றென்
 றருள்கொடுக்கும்
 படிக்கேழில்லாப் பெருமானைப் பழனக் குருகூர்ச் சட
 கோபன்
 முடிப்பான் சொன்ன ஆயிரத்துத் திருவேங் கடத்துக்
 கிவைபத்தும்
 பிடித்தார் பிடித்தார் வீற்றிருந்து பெரிய வானுள்
 நிலாவுவரே (6-10-11)

2. என்றைக்கும் என்னை உய்யக் கொண்டு போகிய
 அன்றைக் கன்றென்றனைத் தன்னாக்கி என்னால் தன்னை
 இன்தமிழ் பாடிய ஈசனை ஆதியாய்
 நின்ற என்சொதியை என்சொல்லி நிற்பனே? (7-9-1)

என்றைக்கும் என்னை உய்யக் கொண்டு போகிய
 அன்றைக் கன்றென்றனைத் தன்னாக்கி என்னால் தன்னை
 இன்தமிழ் பாடிய ஈசனை ஆதியாய்
 நின்ற என்சொதியை என்சொல்லி நிற்பனே? (7-9-1)

“It is by His sheer Grace that Sri Vaikunṭhanatha selected me to be the medium for His sweet songs in preference to the several eminent poets who exist. How can I repay this? I am myself His property. There is therefore no way of repaying His grace either here or there” (7, 9—2, 6, 10).

என்சொல்லி நிற்பன்? என்னின் றுயிரின் றென்றாய்
என்சொல்லால் யான்சொன்ன இன்கவி யென்பித்து
தன்சொல்லால் தான்தன்னைச் சீர்த்தித்த மாயன்என்
முன்சொல்லும் மூவுருவாம் முதல்வனே. (7-9-2)

ఎన్ శొల్లి నిజ్ఱున్ : ఎన్నిష్టుయిరిన్ జొష్టయిన్
ఎన్ శొల్లల్ యాశొన్ను ఁకా కవి యెన్ విత్తు
కన్ శొల్లల్ తాన్ శనై చ్చీర్తిత మాయన్ ఎన్
మున్ శొల్లమ్ మూపురువామ్ ముదల్యనే.

இன்கவி பாடும் பரம கவிகளால்
தன்கவி தான்தன்னைப் பாடுவி யா துஇன்னு
நன்குவந் துஎன்னுட னாக்கிஎன் னால்தன்னை
வன்கவி பாடும்என் வைகுந்த நாதனே. (7-9-6)

ఁకా కవి సాదుమ్ పరమ కవికలల్
కా కవి తాన్కన్నై స్పూరువి యాదు ఇష్టు
నన్కు పన్దు ఎన్నుడ నాక్కి ఎన్ నల్ శనై
కన్కవి సాదుమ్ఎన్ వైగున్ నాదనే.

உதவிக்கைம் மாறுஎன் னுயிர்என்ன உற்றெண்ணில்
அதுவும்மற் றுங்கவன் தன்னது, என்னால்தன்னை
பதவிய இன்கவி பாடிய அப்பனுக்கு
எதுவும் ஒன்றுமில்லை செய்வது இங்குமங்கே. (7-9-10)

ఉదవైక్కై మూఱు ఎన్ నుయిర్ ఎన్ను ఉత్తెణ్ణిల్
అదువుమ్ మల్ తాన్కన్ శన్నుదు ఎన్నాల్ శనై
పదవియ ఇన్కవి సాదియ అప్పనుక్కు
ఎదువుమ్ ఒష్టు మిల్లై శెయ్యుదు ఇన్కున్ణి.

His unsatisfied spiritual craving to see God face to face so much disabled him physically that his attempt to reach Tiruvāran-
viḷai and read out his *Tiruvaymōḷi* in the presence of the Deity there
proved abortive. He meditated and came to the conclusion that
his failures were due to the material attachments which he still had.
He therefore swore to have complete detachment from all material
ties. He confesses that his unfulfilled desire to see Vengadavānan
had completely broken down his physical body (Tiruvay 8-2-1).¹
It should be clear from this that it was Sri Nammālvār's conviction
that Sri Venkatesvara is Self-manifest Brahman in the Archa
form.

Thereafter he had some exhilarating spiritual experiences
including visits to the temples in Tiruchengunrūr (Chittattamkarai)
(8-4) and Tirukkāṭittānam (8-6). In (8-8) he describes his vision
of the Brahmam within his own heart. In (9-3) he sings in great
satisfaction and exhorts his heart to be always with Narayana
who is everything.² In this climax he again refers to the Deity
standing on the Vengadam Hill and affirms that He alone destroys
all karmas, good and bad, puts an end to this body (with its the

நோக்கு கின்றேன் எங்கும்காண மாட்டேன்
சங்கம் சரிந்தன சாயி ழந்தேன்
தடமுலை பொன்னிற மாய்த்த ளர்ந்தேன்
வெங்கண் பறவையின் பாகன் எங்கோன்
வேங்கட வாணனை வேண்டிச் சென்றே. (Tiruvāy. 8-2-1).

2. அவனே அகல்ஞாலம் படைத்தி டந்தான்
அவனே அஃதுஉண்டு உமிழ்ந்தான் அளந்தான்
அவனே அவனே அவனும் அவனும்
அவனேமற் றெல்லாமும் அறிந்தனமே. (9-3-2)

அவனே அகல் ஞாலம் படைத்தி டந்தான்
அவனே அஃது உண்டு உமிழ்ந்தான் அளந்தான்
அவனே அவனும் அவனும் அவனும்
அவனே மற் றெல்லாமும் அறிந்தனமே.

cycle of birth and death) and gives salvation even to the Devas who for that purpose daily go and worship Him there¹ (9-3-8).

In the advice which in (10-5) he gives to those who have attained a state of detachment from material ties he refers to the Deity in Vengadam who is none other than Madhava.

மேயான் வேங்கடம்—காயாமலர் வண்ணன்
பேயார் முலையுண்ட—வாயான் மாதவனே. (10-5-6)
மேயான் வேங்கடம் காயாமலர் வண்ணன்
பேயார் முலையுண்ட வாயான் மாதவன்.

In the course of his praise of the Deity in Tirumāl-irum-solai (10-7) he again thinks of Tiruvengadam (10-7-8).

திருமாலிருஞ் சோலையே திருப்பாற்கடலே என் தலையே
திருமால் வைகுந்தமே தன் திரு வேங்கடமே. (10-7-3)
கருமலர் னீரெய் கருப்பாழைநீர் வந்தெய்
கருமலர் வையெய் கன் கரு வேங்கடம்.

NOTE:—The subject has been dealt with at some length for the benefit of bhaktas who would like to know what the āḷvārs have said about the sanctity of the Hill and the Murti standing thereon in days of yore when there was not even a temple structure to house the Image.

இன்றிப் போக இருவினையும் கெடுத்து
ஒன்றி யாகை புகாமை உய்யக்கொள்வான்
நின்ற வேங்கடம் நீள்நிலத்து உள்ளது
சென்று தேவர்கள் கைதொழு வாரர்களே: (9-3-8)
கருப்பாழை கருவையெய் கருத்து
கரு யாழை புகாமை கருப்பாழை
கரு வேங்கடம் நீர் வந்தெய் கரு
கரு கைவர்க்கு கையெய் கருவர்க்கு.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX VI.

(Vide page 597 of the text)

**“ Extract from the English Factories in India
by W. Foster.”**

**Firman granted to Mr. Day for priviledges in Madras-
patam by the Nague Damarla Venkatappa.
Copy dated 22nd aug. 1639.**

Firman granted by Domela Venkatadri Nague unto Mr. Francis Day, cheife for the English in Armagon, in behalf of the Honorable company, for their trading and fortifieing at Madraspatam, to this effect as followeth, whereas Mr. Francis Day, captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises often made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Madraspatam and had personal conference with us in behalf of the company of that nation, concerning their trading in our territories and friendly commerce with our subjects, we out of our spetiall love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said captain, or whomsoever shall be deputed to idgitate the affairs of that company by vertue of their firman power to direct and order the building of a fort and castle in or about Madraspatam, as they shall think most convenient; the charges where of until fully and wholly finished to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaid when the said English shall first make their entrance to take possession thereof. And to make more full expression of our affection to the English nation (wee) do confirm unto the said Mr. Francis Day or whatsoever other subjects or agents for that company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the government of Madraspatam for the term and space of two years next insueing affter they shall be seated there and possesst of the said fortifications; and for the future by an equal division to receive half the custom and revenewes of that port. Moreover whatsoever goods or merchandize the English company shall either import or export, for as much as concernes the duties and costomes of Madraspatam,

they shall not only for the prementioned two years in which they enjoy the government, but for everafter, be customfree. Yett if they shall transport or bring any commodities up into or through my country, then shall they pay half the duties that other merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said commodities either in my dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever. Also that the said English company shall perpetually enjoy the priviledges of mintag, without paying any dewes or duties whatsoever, more than the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall quoyne the moneyes. If the English first acquaint us before they deliver out any money to the merchants, painters, weavers etc., which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or territories and take our word for their sufficiency and honest dealing, then do we promise in case those people faile in their performances, to make good to the English all such sums of money as shall remaine upon their accounts, or else deliver them their persons if they shall be found in any part of my territories. That whatever provision the English shall buy in my country, either for port or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any custom or duties for the same. And if any ship or vessel belonging to the English or to any other country whatsoever which tradeth in that port shall by mis-adventure suffer shipwreck and be driven upon any part of my territories, they shall have restitution upon demand of whatsoever can be found remaining of the said wreck."

The above grant was confirmed by the Emperor Venkatapati-raya Maharaya at some date which is not ascertainable now. Among the title deeds handed over by Governor Gifford to his successor in 1687 was one gold plated cowle from Venkataputty Roywelly. It seems to have been lost at sea about 1693 A.D. The new settlement which was growing up near the Fort was given the name of Chennappattanam after Venkatadri's father.

Owing to the changes in the political set-up of the country the English factors considered it desirable and necessary to get the old privileges reconfirmed by Srirangaraya Maharaya, the successor of Venkatapati devaraya Maharaya by obtaining a fresh grant in November 1645 A.D. at Vellore.

**Contemporary version of Srirangaraya's grant
November 1645.**

“In the year Parteeva, the month Carthida, the moon in the wane the King over all Kings the Colliest (Holiest) and among all caveleers the greatest, Zree Ranga Raya, the mighty King-God gives this cowle unto agent Thomas Ivie, chief captain of the English and the company of that nation.

For as much as you have left Armagon and are come to Zree Ranga Rayapatam, my towne at first but of small esteeme and have there built a fort and brought trade to that port; therefore that you may bee the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the town which bears our name, we do freely release you of all customes or dutyes upon whatsoever goods bought or sold in that place appartaining to your company. Also we grant unto your company half of all the customes or dutyes which shall be received at that part; and the rents of the ground about the village Madraspatam as also the jacall ground; we give you towards by way of piscash. Moreover for the better managing your business, we surrender the government and justice of the towne into your hands. And if any of your neighbours of Pundamallee shall injure you we promise you our ready assistance. And for what provisions shall be brought out of that country, we will that no junckam (పంజం) be taken thereon. If it fortune that any of your companies ships shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore at that port, whatsoever can be saved shall remain your own. And that the like touching all merchants that trade at that port, if the owners come to demand it; but if the owner bee not to be found, then our officers shall seize on the same to our behoofe. We also promise still to retayne the towne in our protection and not to subject it to the government of Pundamallee or any other Nague. And whatsoever merchandise of yours that shall pass through the country of Pundamallee to pay but half custome. In confidence of this our cowle you may cheerfully proceed in your affairs; wherein if any our people shall mollest you, wee give you our faith to your cause into our own hands to doe you right and assist you against them; that your port and

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

this our cowle may stand firm as long as the sunn and moone endureth.

Zree Rama.

*Note:—*The above is in all probability a translation made of the Telugu original grant by Paupas Brahminy (Avadānam Paupiah) the old linguist of Madras under the orders of the East India Company (Diary and Consult. F. S. G. September 24, 1750 A.D.).

APPENDIX VII.

Vide pages 69 and 366 Vol. I of the History.

The earliest inscription in the Telugu language and script is No. 179 of the first volume of the inscriptions 237 T. T. which records the fixing of gold gilt sikharam over the Vimānam of the Tirumalai Temple by Mahamaṇḍalesvara Misaragaṇḍa Mahārāja on 14th June 1359 A.D. during the reign of the Vijayanagar Emperor Bukkaraya I of the Sangama dynasty.

No. 179.

(237—T.T.)

(On the north base (front left side)) of inner gōpura in the second prakāra of Tirumala Temple).

Text.

1. స్వస్తిశ్రీ జయాభ్యుదయ శక [వ]
2. రుషంబులు ౧౨౮౧ [అగునేంటి] వికా
3. రి సంవవర ఆషాఢ శుద్ధదశమి మ [ం]
4. దవారానా స్వస్తిశ్రీ [మ] న్మహామండ [లే]
5. శ్వర మీసరగండ మంగిదేవమహా
6. రాజులు తిరుమలదేవరకు ప
7. [టా] దినగగు సువజాఁదిపిఠ
8. రమును ఎఠించెమ మంగళ
9. మహా శ్రీశ్రీశ్రీ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity! On Saturday, the 10th (lunar) day of the bright fortnight in Āshāḍha in the (cyclic) year Vikāri, corresponding to the victorious Śaka year 1281, the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Misaragaṇḍa Maṅgidēva Mahārāja fixed a golden *sikhara* (vase) over the *Vimāna* (dome) of Tirumaladēva (Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha). May prosperity abide!

APPENDIX VIII.

(Vide page 400 of Vol. II of the History).

The edict of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devaraya Maharaya II of the Sangama dynasty numbered I. 192 (No. 188—T.T.), is in the Kannada language and Telugu script, and the date corresponds to 5th December 1429 A.D. It records the grant of three villages and a cash endowment for a sumptuous daily food offering and the celebration of a Brahmōtsavam in Asvija month to Sri Venkatesvara.

No. 192

(No. 188—T.T.)

(On the Baṅgāru-vākili, i.e., door jamb covered with gilded copper-plate, at the entrance to the Central Shrine in Tirumala Temple).

Text.

1. శ్రీజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివా [హ]
2. [న] శకవరుష ౧౩౫౧ నేయ సామె¹ [సం]
3. [వ] త్వరద² మాగణానిర సు ౧౦ సో లు
4. [శ్రీ]మతు తిరుమలె దేవరిగె శ్రీమ[ణ]
5. [మ]హారాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమే
6. [శ్వ] ర [శ్రీ] వీరప్రతాప దేవరాయ మహా [రా]
7. [య] రు పొడవట్టు కొట్టధంమశాశనదే
8. [కొ]నదింద చంద్రగిరియ భండారకెక
9. జాదిరాజ భండారప్రసాద లిసిషన
10. రహసావిరద యింనూరు హొంనుచంద్ర

1. Read సొమ్మ

2. Read మార్గశిర శుద్ధదశమి సోమవారదలు.

11. [గిరి] య భండారవాడద విక్రమాదిత్య మం
12. [గ] శక్రా య చిరుకూరకాలు సహ ఎళమం
13. [డి]యగ్రా య ముంన దేవరిగె సందుజ[జోనా]
14. కళరు విద్దాలె గ్రా య అంస్తు గ్రా ౩ కం.
15.సావిర హొంసు ఉభయం వరహా ఎరదు
16. [సా] విరదయంనూరు హొంననూనహ....
17.[చంగరి] మాడిద కట్టళె నంమహెస [ర]
18. నడవ అవసరకె పడి య.....హరివా [ణ]
19. ౩ం పాయసదహరివాణ య అప్పదహ [రివా]
20. [ణ] య అంస్తు హరివాణ [౩౩] సుగంధద్రవ్యతి.
21. . గె ఎరదు హిరియపుణుగినసమప్పణ
22. . కొట్ట అవసర య ఆశ్వయజమాసద¹.
23. పునవణసు నక్షత్ర ఆదియాగి స్వాతి నక్ష [త్ర]
24. తీర్థణవాగి నడవ తిరునాళగళ. ఆమిగ.
25. యవరు సంప్రతియ హొంనినలుదరిగె
26.హరివాణ [బ్రతి] యహరివాణ గళను
27. . సషంప్రతియలు మాడిసి కొంబహాగి
28. . ర సందిగెయ [లు] సమప్పిణి సౌమ్యసం
29. [వ] త్వరదకాత్తిక కుద్ద ఉద్ధానద్వాదళి హ[రి]
30. [వద*] కాలదలు సహిరంణ్యోదక దానధా
31. [రా] పూర్వకవాగి సర్వమాన్యవాగి బిచ్చైవా
32. న[ంమ] హెసరలు నడవ అవసరసుగ [ం]
33. ధ ద్రవ్యపుణుగిన పూజిపరు [సం]
34. [వ్ర] తిమ తిరునాళగళనూ జీవం....
35.షంప్రతిమిగ తెయ హెంనను....

1. Read ఆశ్వయుజమాసద.

36. . దహరివాణ బిళ్ళిహరివాణ....
 37.భీతయ సుతాబహరు
 38.మూరుగ్రామద బిట్టిసి గ్రా [మ]
 39. . [ఱు] దాయతకవాణక....
 40. హ సవమాన్యవాగి బిట్ట
 41.ఆచం [ద్రా]
 42. [క] వాయి.....
 43. . పోదవరటు కొట్టధమశా
 44. [స] న

Translation.

1-7. This is the *dharmā-śāsana* (record of charity) issued for the propitious God of Tirumala (*i.e.*, Śrī Vēṅkatēśvara) by Śrīman Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Virapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya, after his visit, on Monday,¹ being the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira in the Saumya year, current with the victorious Saka year 1351.

8.—to the *Bhaṇḍāra* (treasury) of Chandragiri.

9.—out of the income of the *Rāja-Bhaṇḍāra*...

10-14. thousand and two hundred *honnu* (*pon* or *varaha*), and the villages of Vikramādityamaṅgala, Eḷamaṅḍiya including Chirukūrakālu belonging to the *Chandragiri-Bhaṇḍāravāda*, and the village of Kalaru viḍḍāle previously (granted) to God, totalling three villages....

15-16. one thousand *honnu*, the two (gifts of) *varahā* together making two thousand and two hundred *honnu*....

17-22. the arrangement stipulated, *avasara* (offering) to be made in our name is 1 *padi*, 30 platefuls of...*harivāṇa* (offering),

Note 1:—The equivalent English date is 5th December 1429 A.C.

1 plateful of *pāyasa* (rice boiled in sweetened milk), 1 plateful of *appa* (sweet cakes), totalling 33 plates; for the holy water prepared of the fragrant herbs two big (cups) for offering *puṅgu* (civet) are presented.

22-34. a festival to be conducted during the month of Āṣvayuja commencing from (the day of) the star Punarvasu to (the day of) Svāti star being the *tīrthavāri* (day) with various platefuls of offerings during the different *sandhis* (occasions), (the expenses thereof being met) from the *honnu* now paid and (from the income of the villages) granted with gold through libations of water on the meritorious occasion, sacred to Hari (Vishṇu), of the *Uththānadvādaśi*¹ (day) in the bright fortnight of Kārtika in the Saumya year, so as to serve for the offering of (holy food), incense and civet for smearing (the holy body) during the festival. . . .

35-37. for the *honnu* shall continue to be offered platefuls (of holy food), platefuls of fresh food. . . .

38-44. This is the *dharma-śāsana* issued for the grant of the three villages as *sarvamānya* (tax-free) after a visit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun endure.

1. Note :—On this day God Vishṇu is believed to wake up to activity after His four months' repose.

The English date is Tuesday, the 8th November 1429 A. C.

APPENDIX IX.

(Vide p. 389 of Vol. II of the History).

The edict of Mahamandalesvara Saluva Narasingayya-
deva Maharaya contained in II. 30 (No. 8-G.T.) (pp. 48, 49, 50) is
in the Kannada language and Telugu script bearing a date corres-
ponding to 27th December 1467. It records the grants of three
villages for the daily food offerings on a sumptuous scale to Sri
Govindarajaswami in Tirupati.

No. 30.

(No. 8—G.T.)

(On the north wall, outer face, of the central shrine
of Sri Govindarajaswami Temple in Tirupati).

Text.¹

1.స్తుస్వస్తి శ్రీకాబ్దిం ౧౩౮ [౯] మేలెనడవ పవ
జీతు సంవత్సరద పుష్యశుద్ధ ౧ ఆ లు శ్రీమమహామండలేశ్వర
మేదినిమీసరగండ కళాసాలవ నరసింగయ్యదేవమహా రాయరుగళు
తిరుపతియ స్థానికరిగె అటద... ..గోవిందరాజదేవర ప్రసాద.....
తిరుమలెయ మరియు నావెల్లరు హంచికొండు జీవినబేకెందు....
నమగెహెకలాగినావు మావాపరవను.

2. శనాధదేవర మరియుదయలె గోవిందరాజ
దేవరిగె ఉ [భ] య భవనదయజరుసాల బగెయవరు తిరుమలెయ
.....వశమాడబేకు. గోవిందరాజదేవర నయివేద్య ప్రసాదవనూ
తిరుపతియపరిగె కాణకరాగినావు హరివాణ ఆరోగణెయ
మాడువ కటకెయ ఆరోగణ హరివాణదలూ బదుమిక హరివాణ

¹ Note:—Some of the inscribed slabs are much damaged and the letters
on them are almost obliterated.

గళను తిరుమలెయ సంధి అడపినలి విసుక్కాడునలూ హంచికొంబు
దునాగి గోవిందరాజదేవరిగె మకర సంక్రాంతి ... కాలదలూ నంమ

3. వేద్యేదకటళెగ పడవిద్రాశ్యద ముపదువెట
మాంగొడువెలద గ్రామగళలూ అరమనెగెయత్తి బహువిధ మాలవరి
గళను బిటు తిరుపతియ కెరెగె మణనూరు హోదవను కొట్టు కటళె
యను మాడిద నయివేద్యక హరివాణ యిపతారు.... .. హరివాణ
వొండు తిరుకణామడె గ కె యెరడరలెఖదలూ దేవరనయివేద్య నడవ
హాగె కటళెయ మాడి హరివాణదప్రసాద ప్రసాద దహరి వాణగళ
..... విట్టవన్ విఠకాడిగె హరివాణ ఆరువరె అప ప్రసాద హది
మూరు ఆకాళియప్రసాద....

4. . . భవనూ నమగెదమహిషి తిరుపతియలూద బణతిరువి
గోవిందరాజదేవర సంన్నిధియలొనాయకదేస్త శ్రీ రామానుజకూట
దలూ ప్రతిదివసగళలూ స్వదేవ పరదేశగళ శ్రీ వయిష్ణవరుగళిగె....
మాడిదరాగి యీప్రసాదవనూ కందాళ రామానుజయ్యగళ శిష్య
పారంపరయాగి నంమ రామానుజకూటకె నడసిబహుదు తిరుమలెయ
మేలె నాఉకటిద రామానుజకూటదలూ తిరువేంగళనాధదేవర తిరుమ
జనకాలకె నాఉకటళెయ మాడిద కపూర కస్తూరి కుంకుమ.

5.వర ఆరతియ కపూర అడకఅముదు ముంతాద
ఉపచారగళు నంమ రామానుజయ్యగళ శిష్యపారంపరయాగి
శాతాద శ్రీవయిష్ణవరు నేవెయమాడిబహుహోగ నాఉకటళెయమాడిద
ప్రకారదలె ఆగోవిందరాజదేవరిగె తిరుమజ [న*] కాలదలూ నంమ
నేవయాగి నడసువ. రామానుజయ్యగళగె కటళెయమాడిద
అవరశిష్యపారంపరయాగి నడసిబహుదు యిదుమొదలాగి గోవిందరాజ

దేవరు ఆరోగణయ మాడువ నయివేద్య అవను తిరుమలెయ
మరియాదయలె హంచికొండు తిరుమలె దివస తింగళుమొదలద
వయిభవ [గ]ళ మరియాదయలె నడసికొండు బహుదు తిరుచానూర
అళజయపెరుమాళదేపరిగె నాడి తిరువేంగళనాధ దేవరభండారదలి
కటశెయమాడిద యెరడుమఖాణనయివేద్యవను నడసి బహుదు. తిరుపతి
యలూ తిరుపతియవరిగె నడవసామ్యగళనూ మరియాదయలె
నడవహాగె కటశెయ తిరువేంగళనాధదేవరు గోవిందరాజదేవర
నేవెయనూమాడికొండు సుఖదలూ యిహదు శ్రీరామచంద్ర ॥

Translation.

1. May prosperity abide! Hail! On Sunday,¹ the first lunar day of the bright fortnight of the Pushya (month) in the (cyclic) year Sarvajit, current with the Saka year 1389, Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdinīmīsaragaṇḍa Kāṭhāri Sāḷuva Narasingayyadēva Mahārāya (issued) an edict to the *Sthānikas* (*Sthānattār*) of Tirupati(complying with) their request to us (Narasingayyadeva) that they might be permitted to distribute amongst themselves the *prasāda* offered to Gōvindarājadēva, similar to the practice (obtaining) at Tirumala, so as to maintain themselves therewith..

2.In the manner of the practice (of the temple) of Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthadēva for Gōvindarājadēva....shall hand over at Tirumala. We (have granted), as a present to the men of Tirupati, the *prasāda* offered to Gōvindarājadēva....*hariharivāṇa* (platefuls of cooked rice)....that five *harivāṇa* out of the *harivāṇa* to be distributed, as already ordered to be served for eating, shall be reserved from the *viḷukkāḍu* (donor's share) during the *sandhiadaiṅṅai* (hour of distribution of the offered *prasādam*)....On the occasion of the *Makara saṅkranti* (winter solstice) for (the offerings of) Gōvindarājadēva, as our (charity)....

3.for the conduct of the stipulated *naivēdya* (offerings) having granted the villages Mupaduvēṭa and Māṅgoḍuvelada in

1. Note:—The equivalent English date is 27th December 1467 A.C.

the Paḍavidurājya as well as the taxes on property and wares (*i.e.*, octroi duties) (hitherto) collected towards our palace, and also granted Maṇanūru below the tank of Tirupati to cover (any additional expenses), having provided, for the offering to the deity, of twenty six *harivāṇa*, one (*appa*)-*harivāṇa* and one *tiruk-kaṇāmaḍai* as the *naivēdya*,...six and a half *harivāṇa* thirteen *appa-prasāda* and...*akkāḷi prasāda* forming the share of the donor out of the offered *harivāṇa-prasāda* and *prasāda-harivāṇa*..

4.our queen....this *prasāda* will be delivered each day, through the disciples in succession of Kaṇḍāḷa Rāmānujaya, to our *Rāmānujakūta* situated within the temple of Gōvindarājadēva in Tirupati, for being distributed among the Srivaishnavas, both local and outside.

Towards the refined camphor, musk and saffron stipulated (to be offered) from (our) *Rāmānujakūta* to Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthadēva at the time of the holy bath.....

5.crude camphor for waving a light, areca-nuts and other articles offered in homage...the Sāttāda-Srivaishnavas, the disciples of Rāmānujaya, in succession, shall supply from our *Rāmānujakūta*.

Just as we have stipulated, (the perfumery) shall continue (to be supplied) as our service to the above Gōvindarājadēva. And this duty shall be discharged by his disciples in succession in consonance with our stipulations to Rāmānujaya.

From this time onwards (an equivalent of) the offerings made to Gōvindarājadēva will be appropriated from the offerings (made) at Tirumala, and this practice will be observed both in the case of the daily, monthly and other (occasional) rites (contributing) to the splendour (of worship) of the deity.

The offering of two platefuls of butter which we have stipulated to be made to Alagiya-Perumāḷ of Tiruchānūr from the stores of Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthadēva will be accordingly carried on.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

It is also ordered that the fees and perquisites (pertaining to the office) of the men of Tirupati . . in Tirupati . . shall be paid in accordance with the prevailing custom.

May (the Sāttāda-Srīvaishṇavas) thus live happily, rendering service to Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthadēva and Gōvindarājadēva!

Srī Rāmachandra!

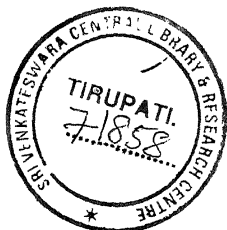


ADDENDUM TO VOL. I.

Page 378, Andal Shrine:—Add the accompanying note after “ Thus it is only from 1495 A.D. that Andal emerges into full notice.”

In addition to inscription I. 98 of the year 1308 A.D. (No 51. G.T.) there is another inscription II. 141 (No. 50 G.T.) on the same north wall, inner side of Andal's shrine which was made when Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar was in high light. A portion of every line of this inscription is covered by the rear wall of the Sanctum and the latter part by the masonry pedestal or base of the Idol. The best years of Sri Ayyangar extended from 1470 to about 1500 A.D. Therefore, the sanctum would have been constructed sometime after 1470. The inscription states that it was made on a Monday of the Mesha month Sukla ashtami and the Ayyangar was only the kartar of the Ramanujakutam. He became the kartar of the Por-Bhandāram also on 1st July 1495.

In inscription II 83 (No. 70 G.T.) dated 6-6-1485 food offerings on the occasion of the sātturnais of Nammalvar Periya alvar, Kulasekhara, Tirumangai alvar and Udaiyavar are mentioned. As Andal is not included in the list the inference is that there was no shrine for her till 1485. Again II. 118 (No. 66 G.T.) (paras 7,8 (page 261) dated 9-3-1494 provides abhishekam and food offering to Sita Devi in Hanuman's shrine on the Kanu festival day sacred to Andal which indicates that Andal had not come into existence till March 1494. An undated inscription II. 140 (No. 624, I.T.) made after the Ayyangar had become Por-Bhandaram kartar mentions Andal and weekly abhishekam for her which show that the shrine was constructed sometime after 1495 and before 1500 A.D.



T.T.D. Religious Publications Series No. 499



Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, Tirupati List of Publications

<u>S.No</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Price</u>
1.	The Gains and Glories of the Gita	English	-- 15-00
2.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. I	English	-- 35-00
3.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. II	English	-- 60-00
4.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. III	English	-- 60-00
5.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. IV	English	-- 60-00
6.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. V	English	-- 70-00
7.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. VI	English	-- 19-00
8.	108 Vaishnavite Divyadesams Vol. VII	English	-- 30-00
9.	Stotramalika	English	-- 25-00
10.	Stotra Ratna	English	-- 15-00
11.	Goda Stuti	English	-- 10-00
12.	Spiritual Heritage of Annamacharya	English	-- 30-00
13.	Tirumala The Panorama of Seven Hills	English	-- 10-00
14.	Pancharatragama	English	-- 35-00
15.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Report	English	- 145-00
16.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. I	English	- 100-00
17.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. II	English	- 120-00
18.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. III	English	- 125-00
19.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. IV	English	- 130-00
20.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. V	English	- 150-00
21.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. VI	English	- 100-00
22.	T.T.D. Inscriptions Vol. VII	English	- 120-00
23.	History of Tirupati - Vol.I	English	- 40-00
24.	History of Tirupati - Vol.II	English	- 40-00
25.	History of Tirupati - Vol.III	English	- 10-00
26.	Geetha Makarandam - Part III	Hindi	-- 20-00
27.	Geetha Makarandam - Part IV	Hindi	-- 20-00
28.	Chittira Thiruppavai	Tamil	- 15-00

For further Titles/Copies please contact The P.R.O., Sales Wing of
Publications, T.T.Ds., Tirupati- 517 501.

**Published by Ajey Kallam I.A.S., Executive Officer,
T.T.Devasthanams, Tirupati and Printed at adsprint, T.Nagar,
Chennai - 17, on behalf of T.T.Ds.**

