

ANTIQUITY AND TRADITION : RURAL SETTLEMENTS AND BRAHMAN FAMILIES OF DAKSHINA KANNADA

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The traditional brahmanical chronicle of Dakshina Kannada, *Gramapaddhati*,¹ mentions the divergent brahman families as being settled in thirty-two villages in Dakshina Kannada. The allusion to these villages testifies that brahmanas lived in these rural settlements where agriculture and horticulture were the main pursuit of the settlers. The brahmans are portrayed as the lords of the villages who were given temporal and religious functions. The *Gramapaddhati* mentions the names of different brahman families who were conferred the land and proprietary rights over them in these villages. The establishment of brahman settlements was due to few utilitarian factors. For one thing the local rulers needed a legitimising agency through the mode of *yagas* and sacrifices. Thus all over South India the tradition exists that brahmans migrated from the north. The Agastya and Parashurama tradition perhaps indicates such a migration. Agastya was able to subdue the hitherto insurmountable Vindhya Mountains and in the Tamil tradition it is said that Agastya compiled the grammar for Tamil language. Parashurama tradition avers that Parashurama, with the help of his axe, created 'Parashurama Kshetra' on the western coast. This later led to the brahmanisation of the non-brahmanic society. One can also notice social metamorphosis and assimilation of diverse cultural groups. This is perceived in the worship of both brahmanical gods like Vishnu and the worship of tribal gods, *daivas* and *bhutas*, together with the Vedic gods. More significantly with the establishment of brahman settlements, there was expansion of agrarian zone due to specialised knowledge of the brahmans regarding seasons, astronomy and also the new agricultural and irrigation techniques popular in other parts of India from where they migrated.

Brahman settlements were established in and around fertile agrarian tracts particularly near the river valleys like Sita, Gurupar, Suvarna river

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etc. Brahmins established themselves in the villages because only in a rural atmosphere they could have maintained their hegemony since the brahmanical literature condemned the urbanisation and the urban institutions, which made the people more revolutionary, rational and alien to *varnashrama dharma*. The brahmanical traditions inform us that the local rulers invited the brahmins to migrate and settle in the hitherto 'abrahmanya desa' (non-brahmanical country). The desire of the local rulers to bring brahmins from the north indicates the transition in the political structure. The brahmins played a significant role in the formation of the state. They communicated the ideology of the state to the common people. The land grants given to the brahmins not only helped in increasing agricultural production in the rural settlements, but without depending on military power it was possible for the state to maintain its control over the rural population.

Text and Tradition

In the context of details found in *Gramapaddhati* we intend to put certain questions as to where these villages are actually located? What brahman families existed in these villages? What continuing traditions are found among these brahman families? Thus here we do the exercise of trying to answer some of these questions. The *Gramapaddhati* categorises the village into western *gramas* and eastern *gramas*. Invariably the western *gramas* are located on the coast while eastern *gramas* are in the more interior regions.

Western Gramas

1. *Kandāvara* : Known differently as Skandapura and Skanda *grama*, Kandāvara is situated near Basrur in the Kundapur taluk. The association of this village with the worship of Skanda as its name suggests is supported by the existence of Ullūru Subrahmanya temple. The Udupas consider Skanda as their family deity. Usually all the brahmins with surname Udupa claim that they belong to Kandāvara. Vaidyas, a community specialised in the performance of *Naga Mandala*,² before travelling to other areas of South Kanara, worship this deity. To the south of the temple we have Hebbāra *kaṭṭe* and to the north of the temple there exists Udupara *kaṭṭe*. According to tradition during car festival the main deity must visit these two places. Ullūru Subrahmanya temple has connections with Bālekudru Matha,³ which has its branch

called Huttur Matha at Kandāvāra. The antiquity of the village is further proved by discovery of nine inscriptions⁴ from the precincts of Ullūru Subrahmanya temple. The inscription dating A.D. 1409 mentions the brahman families Udupas and Hebbāras. It also refers to an assembly of brahmans calles *grama hadinaru* (16). In the later period the brahmans of this village came to be called Kandāvāra brahmans.⁵

2. *Kōṭa* : This village is situated between Kundapura and Brahmavara in the Udupi taluk. *Gramapaddhati* mentions the brahman families like Tunga, Hoḷḷa, Kāranta, Herala, Hande, Nāvāḍa, Bāsari, Hebbāra and Ūrāla. These families are stated to have been distributed in the following *adhivāsa* of Kota.⁶ Karatattu (Chirapadi) - Karanta; Parampalli - Hebbāra and Holla; Karakadu (Karkada) - Navada; Haratattu - Mayya, Herala; Kotattu - Tunga; and Handattu - Basari, Hande.

Kōṭa brahmans do not perform *puja* at Narasimha temple, Kota.⁷ Even now *puja* at Narasimha temple is performed by the Śivāḷḷi brahmans. Another feature of the Kota brahmans is that they consider God Narasimha as their *guru*.⁸ They do not accept the hegemony of any Matha. The deity at Sāligrāma itself is called Guru Narasimha. Those brahman families who settled in Kota came to be known as Kota brahmans. These brahman families are mentioned in epigraphs starting from 13th century A.D. They had their self-governing institutions like *Mahajagattu*, which was constituted by *Gramanis*, *Jannis*, *Madhyastas* and *Bhaṭṭas*.⁹ Another distinguishing feature of the Kota brahmans is that they believe in *poorva mimamsa*, which gives greater importance to study of Vedas and *grahasthashrama*, rather than *uttara mimamsa*, which believes in *sanyasahrama*.¹⁰ One inscription dating A.D. 1476 refers to Kota village and families like Horalā (Herala), Hoḷḷa (Holla), Mayya, Henje (Hande) and Bāsari. This inscription also indicates that these families enjoyed property rights and it refers to Horalā *gadi*.¹¹ Another inscription date A.D. 1587 refers to families like Kāranta, Tunga and Alase.¹²

3. *Brahmāvāra* : This village is in Udupi taluk. Its different names are Brahmāvāra, Brahmapura, Brahmura, Purahali, Brahmora *grāma*.¹³ D.C. Sircar believes that very word Brahmapura meant brahman settlement.¹⁴ The different *adhivāsa* of Brahmavāra are Chantāru, Maṭapadi, Herūru, Baikāḍi, Vāramabāḷḷi, Hārādi, Handāḍi and Kumragōḍu. The *agraharas* are situated in Chāntāru and Herūru. In the early times Brahmavāra was

divided into western and eastern parts. The western Brahmavara was under the control of the Vārambaḷli family and eastern Brahmavara was under the control of the Ugrampalli family. The Vārambaḷlis were a prominent brahman family of Brahmavara. An Āḷupa inscription dated saka 1267 records the gift of some land by the King Kulaśhēkharadeva Āḷupēdradēva to Anṇa Orambaḷi of Brahmavara.¹⁵ An inscription found at Vārambaḷli dated saka 1339¹⁶ refers to Nārana Aubhala Deva Varambaḷli of Brahmura making land grants for the worship of the deity installed in the Arasanakere Maṭha. The Varambaḷlis are considered to be the *gurus* of the Nairi community of Brahmavara.¹⁷ There is also a tradition according to which the kings of Bārkur gave *urambaḷi* land grants, to the brahman family and they later became Vārambaḷi. The place where they settled came to be called by the same name.¹⁸ The Ungurapali family too figures in inscriptions. An inscription at Maṭapādi dated saka 1336¹⁹ records the appointment by the king *ūraḅar* (residents) of the villages, of Alugatu-Ungurapali as the tenant of some land in the village Uḷḷūru or Uḷḷūraya mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* are mentioned in the inscription dated A.D. 1403.²⁰

4. *Varkādi* : This village is situated four kilometers away from Sunkadakaṭṭe, Kasargod taluk, Kerala state. It is on the banks of the tributary of the Bangara Manjeshwara river. The antiquity of this area may go back to several hundred years. Near the temple at an upper region there is a cave-like structure where some big earthenware pots were discovered. They are, in all probability, megalithic, and, therefore, may belong to early Iron Age, roughly corresponding to the turn of the Christian era. The Kāvu Subramanyesvara temple, the temple of the locality, is surrounded by the existence of brahman families, some whom are referred to in the *Gramapaddati*. Tālettāya is among the more prominent among them. Peruvaṅṅāya are at the *pavitrapani* of the temple, who possess the right to manage its affairs. The Netrattāya family before becoming extinct adopted three more families, with the same family deity, who were settled in Varkādi, Kemminje and Kuḍupu.²¹ There were kinship ties between brahman families of Kemminje and Varkādi.²²

5. *Karavoor* : At present in Dakshina Kannada there is no place called Karavoor. However, on the basis of the family details mentioned in the *Gramapaddhati*, one can come to the conclusion that this village covered areas like Manjanādi, Uchhila, Talapādi, Madyar and Munnūru.

There is reference to Karuru in the Sanskrit work *Bhāvaprakāshika*, which is dated circa 14th century A.D., which was written by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitāchārya. This work refers to Vāsudeva (earlier name of Madhwācharya) crossing Netravati river and coming to Kutyaḍi Matha²³ in Karevooru *grama*.²⁴ In Manjanāḍi there was the family of Manjanāḍittāya, which is now extinct. But they had adopted Munūraya who settled in the present Manjanāḍi village, who were given the designation of Ballāḷas. Another Ballāḷa family Talepaḍittāya is now extinct. The family of Ichalantāya at Uchila now have the designation Tantri.²⁵ These details suggest that the traditions of the brahman families have continued to exist even today.

6. *Pāḍi* : This village is in Kasargod taluk, Kerala state. Some of the families mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* are now found in Barikkāḍi, Chāpāḍi, Tauḍupāḍi, Mullampāḍi, and Kakkola. The brahman families who migrated from this place have settled in Pattilla and Pullūr in Kerala. Some families have settled in Nilēśvara. Kamatatāya, now called Kamada, have settled in Barikkāḍi.²⁶ In a document of Eḍaneer Maṭha dated A.D. 1850 we find reference to some of the families mentioned in *Gramapaddhati*.²⁷ It refers to Kamada of Barikkāḍi, Kuṇikullāya, Kakkilāya and Ballullāya.

In *Madhwa Vijaya*, Pāḍi has been sanskritised as Vāṭa.²⁸ The Pāḍi village consists of *adhivasas* like Muttutodi, Pāḍi and Chengala. It is also called Pāḍipadippare which means the place where justice is given. It was under the control of the Mayippāḍi kings who had their palace at Mogral. The women of the Mayippāḍi household were married to the male of any one of the following eight Sivallī brahman families : 1. Irnirāya 2. Kakkillāya 3. Kuṇikullāya 4. Koṭekunjattāya 5. Tombalantodittāya 6. Baipaḍittāya 7. Pijettāya and 8. Ballullāya.²⁹ This shows the matrimonial alliance between those who claim kṣatriya caste status and the above brahman families in the *sambandham* style typical of Kerala. The house of Mayippāḍi follows the matrimonial system of inheritance. The male members generally marry into the Nāyar community.³⁰

7. *Mogral* : It is situated five kilometers away from Kumbale, Kasargod taluk. Anantpur Tulu inscription belonging to 15th century A.D.,³¹ which is concerned with land grant to the temple, mentions the village Mogral. Some of the brahman families mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* lived in

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Mogral. Koṭtekunjittāya lived in Mogral. The family of Ijalampādtāya has its branches in Bela, Arikkādi, Mantappādi and Kidūru. This family even today has connections with the Mahalingeshwara temple, Nayikkapu.

8. *Kuḍalu* : It is situated near Mogral, Kasargod taluk. The brahman family of Koṭakunjettāya had connections with Mayippādi royal. Dekunjittāya family is living in Kasargod. Deranjattāyas are in Kanhangad, Kerala state. Pudunkolattāya are in Nileshwara. Pijettāyas are still living in Kuḍālu and they have maintained the earlier tradition. The Pijettāyas are now called Kavū Patteri, which in Malayalam means Pandita. In *Madhwa Vijaya* Kuḍālu is referred to as Kuḍu and Kuḍil (Amaralaya).³² In Kuḍalu Madhwacharya defeated Trivikrama Paṇḍitācharya who accepted the Mādhwā philosophy. In *Madhwa Vijaya* Pijettāya are referred as Likujanvayodbhava. Trivikrama Paṇḍitācharya belonged to this family.³³ The house of Pijettāya enshrines an image of Lakshmi Narayana which is supposed to have been given by Madhwāchārya to this family.³⁴

9. *Mittanāḍu* : The present name Mittanāḍu is Ubrangaḷa, Kasargod taluk. But the brahman families mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* like Nūjittāya, Saralāya and others are not found in this village at present. Now Nujittāyas live in Ramakunja, Puttur taluk.

10. *Tenekala* : This author identified this village with the present Talekala near Manjeshwara in the Kasargod taluk. According to the local people here in the past there existed a family of Mittantāya, who now live elsewhere. The only brahman family living in this place are Permudannāya and they too had migrated from Permuda near Kāṭil.

11. *Simantūru* : This village is located near Mulki, Mangalore taluk. The families mentioned in *Gramapaddhati*, Simanturaya, Shibaruraya and Muchyantaya live in and around Simantūru. All the brahman families of Simantūru who lived in the past belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and many brahman families belonging to Kāśyapa gotra in Dakshina Kannada trace their origin to Simantūru. Hence the brahmans of this village have maintained their earlier traditions and remember their previous connections with the village. The brahmans in this region had become prominent land lord by 13th century and they were patronised by the local kings.³⁵

12. *Mārane* : This author could not clearly identify *Mārane*. In fact there are two, one in Udupi taluk and the other in Karakal taluk. However, Poyyatāya family mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* are found in Kanantūru and for several generations they have been worshipping *bhūta* called Todakukkinār or Vaidyanātha Swāmi.³⁶

13. *Kolavinadu* : It is found near Manchi, Bantwal taluk.³⁷ Brahman families lived in Saletore, Sullya, Manchi and Mankuḍe. The Gopalakrishna temple of Manchi has connections with Kāvu Subrahmanyeshwara temple, Varkāḍi. The Mahadeva temple is owned by Sullyanṇāyas.

14. *Nīlāvara* : Nīlāvara, which is also called Nīruvāra is in the Udupi taluk. We find traditional account of Nilavara and brahman settlements in *Nīlāvara Kṣetra Mahātme*, which is considered as the part of *Skanda Purana*.³⁸ It mentions Kallūrāya as *agnihotri*. It also mentions other brahman families like Eḍabettāya, Paḍetāya, Tumbikallāya, Kakratāya and Hebbāratāya. This work states that nobody in this *grama* goes against the wishes of these eight families. It also mentions that the family of Madyastha had come from outside and that he was originally an Uḍupa. Since he interfered in the quarrel among the eight families regarding the ownership of the temple, he was named Madyastha and was made to settle in Nīlāvara. However from the Tamil documents in the Chola country, the impression that we get is that the Madyastha was not an arbitrator, but that he was a secretary to the *sabhā*.³⁹ It is possible that in the context of the Tulu country, too, this was the case. Inscriptinal evidence is also available regarding the village Nīlāvara and some of the brahman families. As early as A.D. 1259 an inscription alludes to Nīlāvara.⁴⁰ The fact that Nīlāvara was an important brahman settlement is proved by the reference to three hundred *Mahajans* of Nīruvāra in the above inscription. The Mahiṣa Mardini temple at Nīlāvara has yielded six inscriptions. One of them refers to the village assembly called *Jagattu Munnūru*.⁴¹ Another inscription belonging to A.D. 1451 refers to Kalukura (Kallūrāya) in Nīruvāra *grāma*.⁴² The existence of place name *bhaṭṭara beṭṭu* (abode of brahmans) in Nīlāvara indicates that Nīlāvara was a brahman settlement in the historic times.

15. *Śivalli* : This village is situated in Udupi taluk. We have discussed about the significance of this village somewhere else.⁴³

16. *Nirumarga* : Nirumarga is in Mangalore taluk. According to Ganapati Rao Aigal, there were Ballaḷs in Nirumarga.⁴⁴ In Nirumarga we find even today the existence of brahman families like Kambarannāya and Kannarannāya. The place where Kambarannāya family is living is called *bhaṭṭarakōḍi*, which indicates that this area, during the earlier times, was inhabited by brahmans. The house of Kannarannāya family is known as Bolamāraguttu where we find the existence of Jārantaya daiva. There is a tradition that this house previously belonged to the Jains who suffered from leprosy disease, which was cured by the brahmans who were rewarded with this house. The Kannarannāyas are expected to perform the rituals relating Jārantaya daiva. The Iravattayas claim origin from Nirumārga village.⁴⁵

Eastern gramas

1. *Sripāḍi* : Sripadi is in Bantwal taluk. Now it is known as Ajjibettu. During historical times it included Ajjibettu and Punjalakaṭṭe. In Srīpaḍi there existed brahman families like Baipadittāya, Pāngannāya, Kunhimannāya, Kavudampadittāya, Artadittāya and Srīpadittāya.⁴⁶ Kunhimannāyas are now known as Kunhannāya and are the *povitrapani* for all temples in Srīpaḍi. Regarding the Pāngannayas there is a tradition that they came from Pāngāḷa near Udupi. In a document dated c. 1800 A.D.⁴⁷ we find reference to Pāngannayas in Srīpaḍi. The Pāngannayas are attached to Naḍvantādi Matha. They are expected to give one *mudē* rice to Sode Maṭha to meet expenses. There is a tradition that Atrādittāya went to Baḍakkila and became Baḍekillaya.⁴⁸

2. *Vodila* : Vodila is in Belthangadi taluk. According to Ganapati Rao Aigal Vodila was under the rule of Kāliya Baḷḷala.⁴⁹ At present we see here Kermunnāya and Ammunnāya. The Kermunnāya own a temple at Padangāḍi called Voḍil temple with its deity Ísvara. This family subscribes to Subrahmanya Matha. Ammunnāya and Kudrettāya belong to the same family. At Voḍil if the Ammunnayas committed any mistake, they can be questioned only by brahmans of Srīpaḍi and not others. Ammunnāyas belong to Sode Matha. In reality, they did not possess the right to wear *mudra* (a Mādhwa symbol) and this they obtained by paying money to the Matha.⁵⁰

3. *Nāḷa* : This village is in Belthangadi taluk. The brahman families found here are Sampagettāyas who came from Kārandūru and

Banginnāyas, who came from Subrahmanya.

4. *Kareya* : Now known as Karāya, is situated in Belthangadi taluk, three kilometers away from Uppinangadi. Karaya was under the rule of Bangaḍi Ballalas.⁵¹ It is believed that in the early times this region was a Viraśaiva settlement.⁵² The brahman families who live here now are curiously not mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* as living in this village. Now here we find Kuddannāya, Vailāya, Kedilāya and Nūrittāya. The Vailāyas brought Durgapārameswari from Kollūr and hence now they are not allowed to go to Kollūr.⁵³ Kuddannāyas were the hereditary Patels of the village and it is claimed that they were living in this village at least from 16th-17th century.⁵⁴

5. *Ujire* : This village is in Belthangadi taluk. In *Madhwa Vijaya*, Ujire is referred as Ujirya.⁵⁵ The original place of Kakraṇṇāyas may be Kakke. They came and settled in Kuḍuma and they became Kuḍumattāya. At present we see Kakrannayas in Bandāru near Karāya.⁵⁶ The Aramanettāya family had the right to worship in Anantaśayana, Trivandrum. Muḍaṇṇāya and Paḍuvaṇṇāya are considered as branches of Aramanettaya family.⁵⁷ Ujire is very near to Dharmasthala, a place of religious significance. The Kaifiyats, the record of villages kept by Shanbhogs of the villages, give a list of traditional legends regarding Kuḍuma.⁵⁸ At present there are several Śivali families in Dharmasthala.

6. *Karandūru* : It is in Belthangadi taluk. Sampagettāya was the prominent brahman family here. The deity here is Annapūrṇēswari, which has connections with the family of Sampagettāya. Another temple is Viṣṇumūrthi temple, which belongs to Sampagettāya, who have connections with Nagabrahma temple, which is managed by Mucchinnāyas.⁵⁹

7. *Kāvala* : It is near present Kārinja, Bantwal taluk. According to Ganapati Rao Aigal, Kāvala was under the rule of Ijjetotṭu Ballala.⁶⁰ At Karinjēswara temple Peradatāyas are *pavitrapani*. The places in Kāvala are Kāvala Muḍūru, Kāvala Paḍūru Dēvasya Muḍūru and Dēvasya Paḍūru. There is a tradition that in the earlier period, there existed a Iśhwara temple here and later Madhwāchārya came and established Mahiṣāsuru Mardini temple. Earlier there existed the family of Alampurittāyas, who are now extinct. The families like Peraḍatāya, Mucchinnāya and Yelachittāya were considered as *grāmanis*. They still

live at Kāvāla. The families, which migrated to village, are Shibarūrāya, Kekunṇāya, Baipāḍttāya, Nadvantillāya, Lattūrāya and Kermunnāya.

8. *Kunhimarga* : At present there is no village called Kunhimarga. It is possible that it has changed its name beyond recognition in the course of time. But on the basis of brahman family names mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* one may suggest the Kunhimarga existed in the area around present Kurāya Bandāru. Now in Kurāya Bandāru we find Korangināya and Kakrannāya.

9. *Kokkada* : Kokkada is near Uppinangadi. The name of the village is rendered in Sanskrit as Kukkatapura.⁶¹ Since it is situated on an elevated area it was called Kokkada. It is said that Madhwācharya visited this place.⁶² It is said that before the arrival of Madhwācharya, there existed Divākara Muni, who later became famous as Lilaśuka. He went to Anantapura temple, Trivandrum and after his death his descendants, Tuḷu brahmans from Kokkada, were requested to come to Trivandrum for worship.⁶³ Even today we find several Shivallī brahman families in Ananraśayana temple in Trivandrum, Kerala state. The family of Banillāyas are now called Baltillāyas and now they live in Upparu and Kokkada. The Yaḍapaditaya, Sabarāya, Uparanna and Toḍitillāya are in Kokkada, Nelyāḍi, Āladka and Belālu respectively. We find the existence of migrated brahman families like Puṅchittaya, Jogittaya, Parvattaya, Kedilāya, Yedapaditaya in villages in the neighbourhood of Kokkada. These details show that Kokkada was an important brahman settlement and that it had connections with Kerala. There is also a practice of Shivalli brahmans going to Kerala seeking employment as priests in temples. They were known as 'Pottis' or 'Embrantiris'. Some would return after some time. But some of them have adopted Kerala as their permanent place. Thus there was migration of the brahmans both within Dakshina Kannada and outside.

10. *Rāmakunja* : It is situated near Uppinangadi. It is said that the place where Rāma worshipped came to be called Ramakunja. It was under the rule of Nēranki Chāvaḍi Heggāḍe.⁶⁴ The Nūruttaya family, mentioned in *Gramapaddhati*, still lives in Ramakunja. Nēranki we find a place, which is supposed to have been visited by Madhwācharya. During that time it was known as Saridantara kṣetra. Now there is a family by name Paḍḍillāya in Rāmakunja.⁶⁵

11. *Pude* : It is in Sullya taluk. Pudenāyas are living in Pude, which is now a part of Murulya village, Sullya taluk. They own a small temple. In a nearby place called Pirlampādi there exists the family of Niḍvannāya. The other families that are found in the surrounding areas are Murḍitāya and Muchintāya. It is also said that Pude temple, Kerpata Durga Parameswari temple and Edamangala temple were managed by Pudenāyas. There is a place called Pudennaya kaṭṭe.

12. *Balapa* : It is in Sullya taluk. According to Ganapati Rao Aigal, in the earlier times Balapa was under the rule of Mardāḷa Ballaḷa.⁶⁶ An inscription dated A.D. 1562 found in a place called Ariguḍi near Balpa, registers the gift of the village Balpa by Sadāshivarāya Nāyaka of Keḷadi for offerings and lamp in the temple of Subrahmanyadeva at Kukke.⁶⁷ During that time Kukke was under the control of Sthānika brahmans.⁶⁸ It is possible that the authorities in Kukke might have sent the Sthānika brahmans to Balpa to manage the affairs there.⁶⁹ The Śivalḷi brahman families found here are Ammaṅṅāya, Kallūraya and Yaḍepāḍittāya. The Yajñamūrthy Matha belonged to Yaḍepāḍittāya.

13. *Iḍekiḍu* : At present it is called Iḍkidu and it is in Bantwal taluk. At present this village is known for Havyak brahman⁷⁰ settlements. According to local people, nearly hundred years earlier there existed Śivalḷi brahman families like Śaḍanga⁷¹ and Keletāya.

14. *Pariṅja* : Earlier this place was also known as Paliṅja and Paḍiṅja. Now this place is known as Angiṅje and it is situated in Puttūr taluk. Here we find Śvalḷi brahman families like Angintāya, Nakṣatrintāya, Madikullāya, Śagarittāya, Purrūrāya and Kannarāya. In a title deed, which dates back at least fifty years, it is referred as Pavinja.

15. *Kemmiṅje* : Kemminje is in Puttūru taluk. The main temple here is the Shanmukha. Earlier there existed the Vishnumurthi image under Pejettaya and when their family got destroyed the temple came under the control of Maḍamballitāyas whose family deity was Subrahmaṅya and it replaced Viṣṇumūrthi. The families seen here are Pejettāya, Moḍamballitāya and the Kemminje Tantri family. When Nettrattāyas of Varkādi had no inheritors they adopted Perruvaṅṅayas who settled in Kemmiṅje. They are also known as Uppaḷa Tantris.⁷²

16. *Ayirnāḍu* : Now it is called Aivarnāḍu and it is situated in Sullya

taluk. It is believed that it got the name Aivarnāḍu, the land of five people, since the Pandavas stayed here. However, here at present, there are not many Śivalḷi brahman families.

The above exercise, undertaken with a view to establishing the identity of the villages, shows the antiquity of their historical tradition. One important tradition found in these villages is the Mādhwa tradition. During the thirteenth century we find the emergence of Madhwācharya. Nārāyana Paṇḍitācharya's *Sumadhwa Vijaya*⁷³ speaks about the intellectual campaigns by Madhwācharya's. Most of the people who came into contact with him were won over. The details in *Sumadhwa Vijaya* make it clear that the Śivalḷi brahmans had settled not only in Śivalḷi but also in a far away place like Kuḍalu, now in Kerala State. *Sumadhwa Vijaya* mentions the arrival of Madhwācharya in places like Kokkaḍa, Ramakuṅja, Pādi, Kuḍalu, Ujire and Koḍipāḍi. This shows that there was extension of brahman settlements in Dakshina Kannada along with the spread of Mādhwa philosophy. Also it is discerned that during the Madhwa and post-Madhwa period, Śivalḷi, Brahmāvara, Nīlāvara and Kandāvara emerged as the most important brahman settlements. It is in these places that we find maximum epigraphic evidences regarding patronage by Vijayanagar kings to the brahmans on the west coast. Thus there was the philosophical movement on the one hand and political patronage on the other, which essentially went a long way in consolidating the dominant position of the brahmans in the society. Another important tradition that is found in this region is the tradition regarding the creation of the coastal region by Parashurāma, thereby gaining the name Parashurama kṣetra. Perhaps the tradition that Parashurāma created this land out of sea and granted this to brahmans justified the ownership rights claimed by the brahmans. Thus the myths and tradition written in the brahmanical chronicle *Grāmapaddhati* indicated the ideology of the brahmans - to establish control over fertile tracts in the coastal region.

Thus above we have located the rural and brahman settlements in Dakshina Kannada and an attempt has been made to identify the antiquity of these settlements and the present scenario. One may do well to venture futher fieldwork in these villages to discover more details about the family history in this region and the present study is only a beginning in this regard.

Reference

1. *Gramapaddhati*, written in both Kannada and Sanskrit, claims to be a Puranic work and that it was part of *Skanda Purāna*, one of the 'Mahāpurāṇas' of India. This claim to great antiquity is, however, not supported by the content of this work, which was written by the bramans of locality to legitimise their status in the society. At best we can consider this work as medieval work.
2. *Nāgamandala* is a ritual in the form of *Nāga* (snake) dance by the *Nāga* priest. This indicates the continuous worship of snake god by the people of South Coastal Karnataka. In fact in the Purāṇas this region is described as place of snakes i.e., *Nāgalōka*. It is a taboo to kill cobra and those who commit that sin are cursed with severe punishments as described by the astrologers as *nāga dosha*.
3. Bālekudru Matha follows the Smārta tradition and according to its authorities, this Matha existed prior to the establishment of the eight Mathas in Udupi, which follow Mādhwa tradition.
4. Dr. P.N. Narasimha Murthy did decipherment of the inscriptions and the author likes to thank him for allowing him to use them.
5. P. Gururaja Bhat, *Tulunadu*, (in Kannada), Udupi, 1963, p. 145.
6. Kota Shankaranarayana Karanta, *Kota Mahajagattu*, (in Kannada), Saligrama, 1958, pp. 15-19; Regarding the customs and rituals of Kōṭa brahmins also see, P.N. Mayya, *Kotadavaru*, (in Kannada), Mangalore, 1996.
7. Shankaranarayana Karanta believes that this is because the Kōṭa brahmins considered that those who perform *pūja* at temple are not high grade brahmins. see Kota Shankaranarayana Karanta, *Kota Mahajagattu*, p. 35. However according to *Gramapaddhati* there were following two broad categories of brahmins : i. *Trikarmis* who were given secular functions like managing the affairs of the temple and the villages through villages assembly. ii. *Shaṭkarmis* who were given religious functions.
8. Kota Shankaranarayana Karanta, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
9. P. Gururaja Bhat, *Antiquities of South Kanara*, Kallianpur, 1969, p. 9.
10. This detail was given to me by Nitilapura Krishnamurthy, Manipal.
11. *South Indian Inscriptions (S.I.I.)*, Vol. VII, No. 346.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 331.
13. B. Vasanth Shetty, *Brahmavarada Itihasa*, (in Kannada), Brahmavara, 1988, p. 3ff.
14. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 62.

15. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy (A.R.S.I.E.)* 1929-30, No. 603.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 601.
17. Alphonsus D'Souza S.J., 'Economic and Social Conditions of the Nairis of Dakshina Kannada', *Samaja Shodhana*, Vol. 2, No. 2, October, 1993.
18. This information was given to me by Nagaraja Varamballi, Brahmavara.
19. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1929-30, No. 604.
20. B. Vasanth Shetty, *Brahmavarada Itihasa*, p. 40.
21. At present these three families have adopted the surname Tantri.
22. This detail was given to me by Krishna Tantri, Kemminje.
23. This author could not locate the Kutyadi Maṭha.
24. Dr. Uppangala Rama Bhatta, *Manasa*, (in Kannada), Udupi, 1990, p. 10.
25. These details were given by Rama Ballala, Manjanadi, who belonged to the Munnuraya family adopted by Manjanadittaya before becoming extinct.
26. This detail was given to me by Ratankumar Kamada, Barikkadi.
27. Dr. Uppangala Rama Bhatta, *Gadinadu Kasaragodu*, Udupi, 1994, pp. 128-130.
28. *Idem*, *Manasa*, p. 13.
29. Padmanabha K., "Shivalli Brahmanara Kulanamagalu Ondu Adhyayana", (in Kannada) Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Madras University, 1982, p. 43, H. Vishnumurthy Rao (Ed.), *Brahmavani*, (in Kannada) Kasargod, p. 56.
30. This detail was given by Ratan Kumar Kamada, Barikkadi.
31. K.V. Ramesh, 'Anantpur Tulu Inscriptio', *Tuluva*, Volume 4, Udupi, 1980, p. 36.
32. Dr. Uppangala Rama Bhatta, *Manasa*, p. 30.
33. *Ibid.*, p.15.
34. This detail was given to me by Vasudeva Kavu Patteri, Kudalu.
35. K.G. Vasanthamadhava, *Mulikeya Itihasa*, (in Kannada) Mulki, 1988, pp.38-39.
36. Rasika Puttige, *Kananduru Dharma Arasu Sri Todakukkinar Daivasthanam Paricaya*, Kananduru, 1967.
37. There is another village on the coast called Kolnadu. But on the basis of the brahman family names we arrived at the above inference.

38. Venkatakrishna Adiga (Ed.), *Nilavara Mahisa Mardhini Suprabhata Mattu Sri Ksetra Mahatme*, (in Kannada) Nilavara, 1992, Second edition.
39. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras, 1984, p. 510.
40. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1929-30, No. 490.
41. *Ibid.*, No. 498, Regarding such assemblies and significance of certain brahman families like Munnuraya see, Kesavan Veluthat, 'The Nature of Agrarian Corporations in South Canara under. The Alupas and Hoysalas', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Delhi, 1992, p. 111.
42. *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy.*, 1929, No. 494.
43. Nagendra Rao, "Shivalli: A Brahman Settlement of Dakshina Kannada", *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol. XCI, No. 3, July-September 2000, pp. 72-81.
44. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Itihasa*, (in Kannada) Mangalore, 1923, p. 391.
45. This detail was given to me by Harikrishna Tantri, Udupi.
46. Manchi Narayana Acharya, Baipadittaya, Manchi, 1994.
47. This document is with Shashidhara Pangannaya, Sripadi.
48. This detail was given to me by Ganapati Shastri, Punjalakatte.
49. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 413.
50. These details were given to me by Rama Kermunnaya, Vodila.
51. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 412.
52. This detail was given to me by Sitarama Bhat, Uppinangadi.
53. This information was given to me by Gopala Krishna Vailaya, Karaya.
54. This detail was given to me Vishnumurthi Kuddannaya, Karaya.
55. Dr. Uppangala Rama Bhatta, *Manasa*, p. 13.
56. This information was given to me by B. Sripati Rao, Puttur, who belonged to Kudumattaya family.
57. This detail was given to me by Ramakrishna Muddannaya, Ujire.
58. K. Kushalappa Gowda and K. Chinnappa Gowda (Eds.), *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Kaifiyattugalu*, (in Kannada), Ujire, 1983, p. 23.
59. These detail were given by Vishnumurthi Sampagettaya, Karanduru.
60. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

61. Y. Umanath Shenoy (Ed.), *Sri Vaidyanatha Kripa, Kikkada*, (in Kannada) 1987, p. X.
62. *Ibid.*, p. XI.
63. *Ibid.*, p. XIV.
64. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
65. It is said that since this family settled on the western side of the temple they came to be called Paddillayas.
66. Ganapati Rao Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
67. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1930-31, No. 348.
68. *Annual Report of Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1943, Mysore, 1944*, pp. 146-147. An inscription dated A.D. 1407 refers to Sthanikas in Kukke.
69. Another place where Sthanika presence can be seen in Pavanje, near Suratkal.
70. Havyak brahmans might have migrated to Dakshina Kannada after 17th century from North Kanara. Now they have settled in those regions, which are suitable for arecanut production. There is slight difference in the languages spoken by Havyaks of North Kanara and Dakshina Kannada.
71. There is a family of Chadaga, which may be a transformation of Şadanga.
72. Keshava Tantri, Kemminje, gave this detail. The fact that a copy of *Gramapaddhati* has been found in this house suggests the continuing tradition maintained by this brahman family.
73. Narayana Panditacharya (Vyasankere Prabhanjanacharya Tr.), *Sumadhwa Vijaya*, Bangalore, 1988.