

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Introductory—Early allusions—Brahmin chronicles and local traditions—Kadamba dynasty—Mayúra Varma and his Brahmin allies—Humcha chiefs—Ráshtrakútas and Chálukyans—Hoysal Balláls—Bairasu Wodecars, Bhútal Pándia—Harihara Raya of Vijayanagar—Ibn Batuta—Abd-er-Razzak—Portuguese settlements—Ikkeri or Bednore dynasty—Della Valle—Petty Jain chiefs—Hegades and Balláls—Fryer's travels—Arab and Portuguese conflicts—English at Mangalore, 1737—Hyder Ali—Capture of Bednore—Siege of Mangalore—Deportation of Christians—Annexation of Canara by the British, 1799—Buchanan's journeys—Intrigues of Native officials—Coorg war—Archæology—Snake stones—Stone temples—Bettus, colossal statues—Bastis—Stambhas—Forts.

CHAP. II. No definite historic record relating to South Canara or Tuluva has been found of earlier date than the eighth or ninth century A.D., but it must certainly at one time have formed part of Kérala, or Chéra, the western of the three ancient Dravidian kingdoms mentioned in king Asoka's rock-cut inscriptions of the third century B.C. The date of the separation of Tuluva from Kérala is not known, but early in the Christian era Kérala was assailed from the north and east by the Pallavas, and afterwards by the early Kadambas, and by 700 A.D., when the Jews settled at Cochin, Kérala seems to have been a comparatively small state within the present Malayalam limits, ruled by a king who had the suffix 'Varma' to his name, the same suffix as was used by the Kadamba, Pallava, and, to some extent, by the early Chálukyan dynasties. The deed granted to the Jews at that time, and others granted to Christians not long afterwards, afford much assistance in the separation of fact from fable in the traditionary history of the west coast, and prior to the introduction of Brahmins under the auspices of Kadamba kings in the eighth century, the early agricultural population of Tuluva seems to have held a subordinate position to the Náyers or Bants, who were the military adherents of the chieftains who ruled as feudatories of an overlord, who, in his turn, recognised some more distant suzerain. The religion of the chiefs was probably Jainism, but the great mass of the people were then, as now, practically demon worshippers. As time passed on, and the dominant class increased in numbers, the

distinction between the classes became more and more marked, the process being, no doubt, greatly aided by the caste rules introduced by the Brahmins who were brought in by a Kadamba king, Mayúra Varma, about the middle of the eighth century, and the old proprietors of the soil gradually became mere agrestic slaves to the military classes and their priestly allies, an intermediate position being held by the artisan classes and the Billavas or toddy-drawers. Everywhere throughout Southern India traces are to be found of polyandrous habits amongst the early Dravidian races, a state of things which no doubt made it easy for the military immigrant classes to contract alliances with the women of the families of the early owners or cultivators of the soil, to whom they afforded protection, whence may have arisen the law of inheritance known as 'Aliya Santana,' under which property vests in the females of a family and descends from mother to daughter, though from the fact that titles descend to males, who also now ordinarily exercise management, it is usually described as a system under which property descends from maternal uncle to nephew or sister's son. The persistence of the custom, whatever may have been its origin, is no doubt due to the fact that it tends to prevent division of landed property, and enormous vested interests have arisen, which it is exceedingly difficult to touch. The Brahmins seem to have acquired great influence in Tuluva, as well as in Malabar, soon after their arrival; but the chiefs continued to adhere to Jainism, and throughout Tuluva a check seems to have been administered to Brahminical influence by a revulsion of feeling after the conversion to Vaishnavism of Vishnuvardhana, one of the Hoysal Ballál family which had overthrown the Chálukyas and succeeded to the suzerainty of Tuluva. When the Ballál family began to give way to the Yádavas of Dévagiri, the local Jain chiefs, the Bairasu Wodears, became independent, and established a rule which seems to have been so adverse to Brahminism, that in the Brahmin chronicles the prince who ruled at Barkúr about 1250 A.D. is confounded with the legendary Bhútaráya Pandiya of the Malayalam Kéralólpatti and other popular traditions. By 1336 A.D. the Bairasu Wodears had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, Barkúr was vacated, and became the seat of a governor of the northern part of the province nominated from Vijayanagar, another being stationed at Mangalore. The rest of the country was governed by means of feudatory Jain chiefs and Brahmin Balláls and Hegades, the most important of the Jain chiefs being the old Humcha family, now best known as the Bairasu Wodears of Karakal, Choutar of Mudbidri, Bangar of Nandávar, Ajalar of Aldangadi, Múlar of Bailangadi and Sávantar of Moolky. Amongst

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the Brahmins the most important was probably the Chitpádi Ballál of Udipi. Under the strong rule of Vijayanagar the country seems to have been in a very prosperous state, but the coast began to suffer owing to the struggle between the Portuguese and the Moors for maritime commercial supremacy, and by 1526 all the chiefs along the west coast had to pay a small tribute to the Portuguese. After the destruction of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans in 1565, several local chiefs joined a Muhammadan league against the Portuguese, under which Basrúr in the north was to have gone to Bijapúr, and Mangalore to the Zamorin of Calicut. This aroused the indignation of the Lingáyat Ikkeri king, who had for some time ruled Tuluva as a feudatory of Vijayanagar, and early in the seventeenth century he overthrew the representatives of the Bairasu Wodear family then in power at Barkúr, and completely put an end to all Jain influence in the northern part of the province. He then attacked the Jain chiefs farther south, but was unable to do more than partially reduce their powers, after which he recognised them as feudatories, and dealt similarly with the Hindu chiefs of Kumbala and Niléshwar. During all these struggles the prosperity of the country fell off considerably, and the sufferings of the people culminated in the Mysore conquest by Hyder and Tippu in the eighteenth century, when the power of the local chiefs was finally broken, and in addition to devastation by fire and sword, and fiscal exactions, whole tracts of country, especially in the neighbourhood of the ghauts, were driven out of cultivation owing to the closure of the coast markets to pepper and betel-nut. Peace was restored by the British annexation in 1799 A.D.

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allusions.

Amongst the names mentioned by early classical writers none are now identified as belonging to Tuluva. For some time it was supposed that the *Muziris* of Pliny the elder was probably Mangalore, and the *Nelkunda* of the Periplus, Niléshwar, but the view taken by Dr. Burnell and Bishop Caldwell that *Muziris* must be identified with an ancient town called Muyiri near Cranganore is now generally accepted as correct. Similarly *Nelkunda* is now understood to be Kallada near Quilon. This identification of *Muziris* with Cranganore renders untenable a suggestion frequently made that the *Barace* of Pliny and the Periplus which was near *Muziris* is Barcelore or Basrúr in the Coondapoor taluk. Similarly a suggestion that Kalianpúr in the Udipi taluk is identical with the *Kulliana* of the Periplus is seen to be impossible, as *Kalliana* was well north of the pirate coast, which is known to have extended as far as the Konkans. Kalianpúr, however, may be the *Kalliana* mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes early in the sixth century as the seat of a Christian bishop. Of course there

are to be found Brahmin chronicles, which profess to give an account of the district from the date of its creation, and, although these are known to be of late date, and their chronology is obviously imaginary, it may be well to mention them as probably containing some germ of valuable local tradition.

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The largest part of the present district of South Canara was the ancient Tuluva; but the northern portion, together with the southern portion of the coast of North Canara, belonged to Haiga. Five 'māganés' of the Southern taluk formed part of Malabar until a comparatively recent period. The present historical notice will deal only with Tuluva and Haiga, except after the period when the southern māganés were incorporated with Canara.

According to the 'Grāmapaditti' of the Tulu Brahmins, Tuluva and Haiga were created by Parasu Rāma by reclaiming from the sea as much land as he could cover by throwing his axe from the top of the Western Ghauts, and to secure Brahmins for the reclaimed tract he took a number of fisherman's nets, tore them up, and made Brahminical threads with which he invested the fishermen and turned them into Brahmins, after which he retired to meditate, informing the newly created Brahmins that if they were in distress and called upon him he would come to their aid. After some time, during which they lived happily, they called upon Parasu Rāma merely to test his veracity, and on his arrival he was so disgusted at being called to no purpose, that he cursed them and reduced them to Sudras again. After the lapse of years Brahmins were again brought to Tuluva from Ahi-Kshétra in the north by Mayúra Varma of the Kadamba dynasty. According to the Brahmin chronology Mayúra Varma reigned from 455 to 445 B.C.,¹ but it is now known that his probable date was about 750 A.D.²

Brahmin
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According to another tradition mentioned by Buchanan³ the reclaimed country was given by Parasu Rāma to certain Brahmins called Náyar and Matchy, who were not true Brahmins, and was afterwards taken from them by fishermen and pariahs, who kept possession of it till Mayúra Varma brought in Brahmins from Ahi-Kshétra.

In both these traditions there is a clear recognition of the important fact that Brahminical influence in Tuluva dates only from the introduction of Brahmins by the Kadamba king Mayúra Varma. Prior to this, Jainism had no doubt obtained a footing, as in king Asoka's inscription at Girnar it is stated that in Chola, Pándiya and Kéralaputra, as far as Tāmbraparni, the system of

¹ Buchanan, iii. 96. In another account given by Buchanan the date is 1470 B.C.

² Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, 86.

³ Buchanan, iii. 163.

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caring for the sick, both of men and cattle, followed by king Déva-
nampriya Priyadási had everywhere been carried into practice.

From copper plate grants⁴ found at Halsi in Belgaum, and also at Banavási in North Canara, it appears that the early Kadam-
bas of Banavási, a city which was mentioned by Ptolemy about 150 A.D., dispossessed the Pallavas, well known as lords of Kanchi or Conjeeveram, but who seem, in early days, to have had a capital at Vátápi or Bádámi in the Bombay Presidency, and in the opinion of Mr. Fleet, one of the latest approved authorities in these matters, their power culminated about the close of the fifth century, when they were overthrown by the early Chálukyas.

According to a tradition mentioned in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*,⁵ after Parasu Ráma had caused the sea to recede from the Western Ghauts, Siva and Párvati came to the ghauts to see the land which had been reclaimed, and while there a son was born to them under the shade of a Kadamba tree. It is not generally supposed to have been definitely ascertained whether the Kadam-
bas were of local or northern origin, but local traditions tell of numerous Kadamba chiefs ruling in Tuluva both before and after the advent of the Brahmins.

About 700 A.D. a colony of Jews settled at Cochin and obtained a grant from the king, or Perumal, of the ancient kingdom of Chéra or Kérala.⁶ The king was named Bháskara Ravi Varma, the suffix Varma, which is still used by Malayalam princes, apparently indicating some connection with the early Kadambras and Pallavas. To that deed no Brahmins are witnesses, but by 774 A.D. they were powerful enough to be required to attest the grant then made to the early Christians. The date of the separation of Tuluva from Kérala is not known. According to the Kéralól-patti—the Brahminical traditionary history of Malabar—the first separate king of Tuluva, Tulubhan Perumál, was brought in by the Brahmins, and gave his name to the country, fixing his residence at Kótéshwaram. The boundary of the two provinces—the present Chandragiri river, formerly called the Perumpula—probably represented the limit up to which some feudatory overlord succeeded in exercising effective control on behalf of the Chálukyas, probably the chiefs of Humcha in the Nagar district of Mysore.⁷ It is not likely that Kótéshwaram, which is merely a place of Brahminical importance, was ever the capital of Tuluva.

Mayúra
Varma and
his Brahmin
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The Mayúra Varma, who introduced Brahmins into South Canara, belonged to a collateral branch of the Kadamba family, which, about the middle of the eighth century, overcame the early

⁴ Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, 8, 9, 15.

⁵ Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, p. 60.

⁶ Logan's *Malabar*, p. 267.

⁷ Rice's *Mysore*, iii. pp. 96, 97.

Chálukyas, who had succeeded the early Kadambas at Banavási about 560 A.D., and had held Tuluva as overlords of the Jain chiefs of Humcha, a town in the Nagar district of Mysore.

Regarding the introduction of the Brahmins two accounts are given in Buchanan.⁸

One represents the Kadamba rule in Tuluva as interrupted by Hubashica, a Koraga chief, who was eventually driven out by Mayúra Varma's son, Lókáditya of Gókarnam, who brought in a colony of Brahmins from Ahi-Kshétra. The other describes the country as being in the possession of Mcgérers or fishermen and Holeyas, the raja being of the latter tribe, until it was invaded by Mayúra Varma who brought a colony of Brahmins with him from Ahi-Kshétra. He and the Brahmins were again driven out by Nanda, son of Utanga, one of the Holeyas who recovered the ancestral dominions. His son Chandra Sayana had learned respect for the Brahmins from his mother, who had been a dancing girl in a temple, and he accordingly brought the Brahmins back again and eventually made over all his authority to them and made all the Holeyas slaves to the sacred order.

It seems to be probable that up to the time of Mayúra Varma or about the middle of the eighth century A.D., the authority of the Kadamba chiefs in Tuluva was more or less successfully disputed by adherents of the earlier dynasties, and about the time of Mayúra Varma their subjugation seems to have been finally accomplished by his son or relation, Lókáditya of Gókarnam, aided by Brahmins whose political influence was gradually extending. The Brahmins are said to have come from Ahi-Kshétra on the banks of the Godávári. The ordinary Ahi-Kshétra of Brahmin tradition has now been identified with Ramnuggur in Rohilkund. It is not apparent why a Jain Kadamba king ruling at Banavási in North Canara should have brought Brahmins into South Canara from either Rohilkund or the banks of the Godávári, and it is probable that the Ahi-Kshétra of Tulu Brahmin tradition is merely the Sanskrit form of Haviga or Haiga (the land of the snakes) in which Gókarnam is situated, that is to say, Lókáditya brought the Brahmins from his capital Gókarnam, which is situated at the northern extremity of the ancient province of Haiga. In support of this view it may be mentioned that in the local history of the Honalli Math in Sunda above the ghauts in North Canara Gókarnam is described as being in a place called Ahi-Kshétra.⁹ It might be objected that in the traditions of the modern Havig or Haiga Brahmins, as well as those of the Tulu Brahmins, Ahi-Kshétra is given as the name of the place

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Handwritten notes:
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⁸ Buchanan, pp. 96, 98, 110.

⁹ *North Kanara Gazetteer*, ii. pp. 83 and 346.

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from which Brahmins were brought to Canara and that Haiga Brahmins could not describe themselves as having been brought from Haiga. The modern Havika or Haiga Brahmins, however, are only a branch of the Tulu Brahmins separated from most of the others by religious differences of a comparatively late date, and to this day their family records are written in the character which was used for all old Tulu and Malayalam writings. The details of the tradition of the introduction of Brahmins by Mayúra Varma, which is found in many forms amongst the different branches of the Tulu Brahmins, refer generally to a distribution of Brahmins south of Gókarnam, and there is another tradition which speaks of the Havig Brahmins having come from Valabhipúr.¹⁰ This probably refers to the arrival of Brahmins at Gókarnam prior to their distribution throughout Tuluva, and it is suggested in the *North Kanara Gazetteer* that this movement of Brahmins from the north may have been consequent on the destruction of Valabhi in Kattiawar by Arabs about the seventh or eighth century A.D. In connection with this suggestion it is to be noted that in the *Mayúra Varma Charitra*¹¹ it is stated that Mayúra Varma was born at Valabhipúr and brought Brahmins from the north to the western coast and Banavási, whence they were distributed by his son throughout Haiga and Tuluva, and especially at Gókarnam. They seem to have been followers of Bhattáchárya, and this may have given rise to the tradition that they came from the banks of the Godávári.

The position held by the Brahmins after their introduction by Mayúra Varma is not clear. In Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*¹² it is stated that Brahmin governors were appointed at Barkúr, Mangalore, Kadaba and Kásaragód, but local traditions point rather to the assignment of groups of villages which were held by them under the title of Hegade or Ballál. Representatives of Brahmin Hegades or Balláls remain to this day, and, though they no longer are in the position of petty chiefs or poligárs, they are still in possession of at least a portion of those lands which they held as private property or on behalf of temples. There is no satisfactory evidence that any of these holdings date from so early a period as the time of Mayúra Varma, but they seem to have existed in some form or other when the Vijayanagar dynasty came into power. The influence of the Brahmins during the first four or five centuries after their arrival seems to have been very great, as a large majority of the non-Brahmin Hindus of South Canara still class themselves as Saivites, although

¹⁰ *North Kanara Gazetteer*, i. p. 117, note.

¹¹ *Mackenzie Collection*.

¹² i. p. 194.

the bulk of the Tulu Brahmins adopted the Vaishnavism of Madhaváchárya, who was born in the district in the twelfth century A.D. The Tulu-Brahmin Grámapaditti quoted by Buchanan and the Ráyapaditti given him by Rámappa Karnika, Shanbogue of Barkúr,¹³ though differing widely in chronology, both describe Balhica or Banhica Abheri and Mona families as ruling after the Kadamba successors of Lókáditya and before the advent of the Hoysal Balláls about the eleventh century, but these seem to be nothing more than names adopted from the Puránas.¹⁴

The mention in the 'Grámapaditti' of 81 cousins of Lókáditya as governing Tuluva during twenty-four years seems to point to petty Kadamba chiefs ruling locally as feudatories under an overlord, and the Brahmin traditions are not necessarily irreconcilable with the story given in Rice's *History of Mysore*¹⁵ that Jéná-ditta and his descendants, Jain Kadamba chiefs of Humcha near Shimoga, moved their capital first to Sisila at the foot of a pass in the Uppinangadi taluk and afterwards to Karakal near the ghauts in the Udipi taluk, where, under the name of Bairasu Wodears, they continued in power under the Chálukyan, Hoysala and Vijayanagar kings. The same account of the origin of the Bairasu Wodears of Karakal was given to Buchanan¹⁶ by the Karakal Jains; but from an inscription in a temple at that place he came to the conclusion that the first of the Bairasu Wodears, who was said to be a fugitive from Northern India, came himself from Humcha and Sisila to Karakal in the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is clearly much too late a date, as inscriptions of the Bairasu Wodears, which have been found in Kalasa to the north of the Kudre Mukh in Mysore, date from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

That the Kadamba kings of Banavási, to whom Mayúra Varma belonged, held power in North Canara up to the fourteenth century is proved by grants at Banavási, Savanúr and Gókarnam,¹⁷ but their enjoyment of dominion was by no means uninterrupted, and for some time, at any rate, they ruled only as underlords of the Ráshtrakútas, and afterwards of the Western Chálukyas. This underlordship, however, did not always extend as far as Tuluva. The mention of the subjugation of Tulu kings in inscriptions relating to the Kadamba king Kámadéva about 1189 A.D., and the Hoysal Ballál king Vishnuvardhana about 1137 A.D.¹⁸ points to a local chief, probably one of the Bairasu Wodears, who no doubt governed sometimes independently and sometimes

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¹³ Buchanan, iii. pp. 96 and 110.

¹⁵ Pp. 353, 374.

¹⁷ Buchanan, iii. p. 12.

¹⁴ *Introduction to the Mackenzie Collections.*

¹⁶ Buchanan, iii. p. 92.

¹⁸ Fleet's *Kanara Dynasties*, pp. 66-86.

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The Hoysal Balláls first held power at Dvárasamudra, the modern Halebid in Mysore, and in 1039 A.D., Vinayáditya, the first powerful member of the family, was a governor or a 'Mahá Mandaléshwar' under the Chálukyan king Vikramaditya VI.¹⁹ The third in succession from him, Vishnuvardhana, entered on a career of conquest in all directions between 1117 and 1137 A.D., and, amongst other places, is said to have taken Banavási. He did not hold it long however, and it is doubtful if his power ever extended as far as North Canara, but all local tradition speaks to the rule of the Ballál family in Tuluva, the local capital being at Barkúr. One of their strongholds on the ghauts overlooking the Bangádi valley is still known by the name of Ballálraya Drug, and the Narasingha Ráya mentioned by Buchanan as having founded a city called Narasinghangadi near Jamálabád in the same valley soon after the extinction of the family of Mayúra Varma may have been Vishnuvardhana's son and successor Narasingha.²⁰

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The Hoysal Balláls, like the Kadamba chiefs, were Jains by religion; but Vishnuvardhana was converted to Hinduism and became the patron of the Vaishnava reformer Rámánujachári. Some traditions speak to his having commenced a vigorous persecution of the Jains, while others say that he in no way molested them; but his conversion seems to have greatly weakened the position of the family in Tuluva, where Jain chiefs remained in power for many centuries later. The Hoysal Balláls were in constant warfare with the Yádavas of Dévagiri, who were aided by the Banavási Kadambas, who had acknowledged their suzerainty, and Kámadéva, who ruled at Banavási about 1184, is said to have reconquered Tuluva; but in 1192 Hoysal Víra Ballál succeeded in again taking Banavási. The struggle between the Yádavas and the Balláls seems to have continued with varying success until both were overthrown by the Muhammadan conqueror Malik Kafur early in the fourteenth century. During all this protracted fighting the chiefs in Canara were probably practically independent, according, at the utmost, a mere nominal allegiance to the family from time to time paramount above the ghauts, and by 1250 A.D., Barkúr, the alleged coast capital of the Hoysal Balláls, is said to have been in the hands of a local ruler called Bhútal Pandiya, who, in the story told to Buchanan, is said to have been brought by the Bhútagalu, or devils, from Pándava, and to have introduced the

¹⁹ Buchanan, iii. pp. 96, 110, 113.

²⁰ Buchanan, iii. p. 68.

Aliya Santána rule of inheritance from mother to daughter or from uncle to sister's son. He has also been described as a prince of the Pandiyan family of Madura, who took advantage of a civil war to invade Tuluva. Local tradition certainly ascribes the introduction of the Aliyana Santána system to one Bhútal Pandiya, but it also assigns him a much earlier date,²¹ and the Bhútal Pandiya of tradition is probably a mythical personage, representing the struggle of Brahminism against the supporters of the early demon worship of the country. The inscriptions at Kalasa above the ghauts in the Canara boundary above referred to show that the Bairasu Wodears were in power at this time. The inscription on the colossal statue at Karakal shows that Vira Pandiya was the name of the member of that family²¹ ruling in 1431 and it is probable that the name Pandiya alone gave rise to the idea that the prince who ruled at Barkúr about 1250 belonged to the Madura Pandiyans, whose power had begun to decay in the preceding century. All the Jains of Tuluva, except those of the priestly class, follow the Aliya Santána rule of inheritance, and extend toleration, to say the least of it, to the prevailing Bhúta or devil worship practised to this day by their fellow countrymen. The mention in the Brahminical 'Ráyapaditti' of a civil war, and the details relating to the army of devils or *bhútagalu*, point to a struggle in which local chiefs supported by the Bant landholders, who, whether Jains or not, are regular worshippers of *bhútas* or spirits, successfully defended the ancient worship and customs against the Brahmins, who had no doubt been elated by the conversion of the Ballál king Vishnuvardhana. Local causes were also at work which would tend to the Brahmins asserting themselves more than usual, as the great Vaishnavite teacher, Mádhavá-chári, who established the famous temple of Krishna at Udipi, was born at Kalianpúr near Udipi, about 1199 and his teaching was warmly adopted by the Shivalli Brahmins who had previously been adherents of the Smártha philosophy of Sankarácharya, which, it is to be observed, accorded a higher place to the favorite local deities than was assigned to them by Mádhavá-charya. That the chiefs, who were in power at Barkúr from 1250 to 1336, belonged to the family of the Bairasu Wodears there

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²¹ They were connected with a family of Pandiyans, who, as feudatories of the Chálukyas, ruled at Nonambavádi in the Chittledrug district of Mysore from the middle of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century, and in this connection it may be noted that inscriptions in Tulu have been found in the same district. Jagga-devi of Pattipombachchapura or Humcha as well as Vijaya Pándiya of Nonambavádi are mentioned in inscriptions of the twelfth century, and from others it appears that Jaggadéva of Humcha was overcome by the Hoysal kings Ballál I and Vishnuvardhana. The Tulu and Pándiya kings coupled together as overcome by Vishnuvardhana were probably the Humcha and Nonambavádi families.

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can be no doubt, as that family was then too strong and has left too many marks of its supremacy about that time for it to be likely that an invading rival could have come into power for three quarters of a century and mysteriously disappeared without leaving any traces of a struggle with the Bairasu Wodears, whose authority extended from Karakal at least as far as Coompta in North Canara. In all these chronicles the Brahmins either ignore the local Jains or casually allude to them as petty local chiefs, which would account for one whose supremacy throughout Tuluva could not be denied, being described as an invading member of a well known royal family of widely extended dominion. That the Brahmins were hostile to Bhútal Pandiya is apparent, not only from the story about his being brought in by an army of devils and the nickname Bhúta, but also from the fact that the submission of the family to the Vijayanagar dynasty is said to have been brought about by the influence of the head of the Sringeri Math founded by Sankaráchárya.

Bhútal Pandiya gets the credit of having been the first ruler of Tuluva who levied the assessment in rice, or its equivalent in money, instead of in paddy, thus throwing the cost of husking on the landholders, and practically increasing the assessment by about ten per cent. This probably means no more than that the actual date of the change is not known.

From *Ferishta's History* it appears that a Ráni of Barcelore²² or Basrúr near Coondapoor paid her respects to Shankra Naik, one of the last representatives of the Yádavas of Dévagiri, who ruled from 1310 to 1312, when he was put to death by Malik Kafur. This is the only historical indication of the exercise of either Yádava or Ballál supremacy in any part of South Canara after the time of Bhútal Pandiya, and the local chiefs probably retained independence till the Vijayanagar dynasty made their power felt below, as well as above, the ghauts, and Déva Ráya, the third in succession from Bhútal Pandiya, is said to have made over, in 1336, the kingdom of Barkúr to Harihara Ráya, the founder of the city of Vijayanagar, and of the most powerful dynasty in Southern India within historic times.

Harihara
Ráya of
Vijayanagar.

Vijayanagar on the south bank of the Tungabudra and Ánegundi on the north, about 36 miles from Bellary, are now well known for their ruins, and early histories and books of travel describe them as cities of fabulous size and wealth. The origin of the two brothers who founded them—Harihara and Vira Bukka, commonly known as Hakka and Bakka—is variously told; but it is probable that they came from Warrangal in the dominions of the

²² Briggs' *Ferishta*, p. 140.

Nizam of Hyderabad after it had been taken by the Muhammadans in 1323. They are said to have been aided by the head of the Sringeri Math, which is situated on the Western Ghauts just above the Udipi taluk. This Math always possessed great influence amongst the Brahmins of South Canara, and the early extension of Vijayanagar power to the coast is proved by the evidence of Ibn Batuta, the African traveller, who went from Sadásivagar to Calicut in 1342, and mentions that the Muhammadan Governor of Honore was subject to an infidel king Harihara of Vijayanagar. Harihara promptly made arrangements by which, while not interfering with the exercise of power by the local chiefs, he secured for his authority something more than the nominal recognition, which alone had for some time been accorded to the paramount power. According to the history given by Shanbóg Rámappa Karnika to Buchanan,²³ he recognised the Jain Rájas as feudatories on the condition of their keeping up a certain number of troops to be at his disposal when necessary. The collection of the revenue remained in their hands, as well as all general administrative and executive powers, and they were allowed to enjoy certain portions of their territories free of tax. Similar, but less extensive, powers were granted to the Brahmin Hegades and Balláls in enjoyment of the villages said to have been assigned to them by Mayúra Varma, and all the revenue collected by them and the Jain Rájas were paid to an officer called 'Ráyaru' located at Barkúr and another stationed at Mangalore with the title of Wodear. A minor officer was also put in charge of the district of Bangadi.

Two inscriptions mentioned by Buchanan²⁴ tell of a Ráyaru at Barkúr appointed by kings of Vijayanagar, and in the grant by which the underlordship of Tuluva was made over to the founder of the Ikkeri family, Mangalore and Barkúr are described as separate provinces. The old fort at Barkúr is said to have been built by Harihara Ráya, but at Mangalore, the feudatory Jain chief, styled the Bangar, seems to be better known to history than the Vijayanagar Wodear to whom the chiefs are said to have paid over the revenue.

The land revenue of the country was revised and systematized by Harihara Ráya on the basis of one-half of the produce to the cultivator, one-fourth to the landlord, one-twelfth to the Brahmins and gods, and one-sixth to the Government. The land was not measured, but a rough estimate of the produce was made according to the amount said to be required as seed, and the Government share of the produce was commuted to a money assessment for

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Ráya of
Vijayanagar.

²³ Buchanan, iii. p. 122.

²⁴ Buchanan, iii. pp. 109 and 171.

CHAP. II. which the local chiefs were responsible. Under the rules adopted
HISTORY AND for the commutation the Government share amounted to one
ARCHÆOLOGY. pagoda for $2\frac{1}{2}$ 'kuttis' of land, while formerly that had been the
amount paid for three kuttis.²⁵

Ibn Batuta. As stated above the African traveller Ibn Batuta visited ²⁶ the coast of Canara in 1342, or six years after the date ordinarily assigned for Harihara Ráya's revision of the assessment. He went by land from Karwar to Calicut, and mentions a number of the places which he passed through along the coast. As is usual with Muhammadan travellers, he so changes the names of places that it is difficult to recognise them. Out of the names of those which seem from their position in his narrative to be in South Canara, it can only be conjectured that Fakanur is Bakanúr or Barkúr and Manjaruns, Mangalore. Of Manjarun he says that there are three merchants of Persia and Yemen, and the king of the place is the greatest of the kings of Malabar. The number of Muhammadan merchants he puts down at four thousand. He makes no allusion to the trade with China which Marco Polo, in speaking of Malabar about 1290, describes as being ten times more important than that with the Red Sea. He describes the coast road as well shaded with trees, and states that at every half mile there was a rest-house, a well, and a Hindu in charge. The obvious exaggeration here is in accordance with the style of all early Muhammadan records of travel, and indicates that we must not too literally accept the following statement: that in all the country there was not a space free from cultivation, and everybody had a garden with a house in the middle, and round it a fence of wood. People travelled as beasts of burden, and the king only on a horse, traders were carried on men's backs, and nobles on a box on men's shoulders, merchants were followed by two or three hundred carriers, and thieves were unknown, because death was the punishment of theft. After making all due allowance for exaggeration, it seems clear that Ibn Batuta found the country in a fairly prosperous state, but there was no wheeled carriage, and only nobles were allowed to use a palanquin, while horses were reserved for princes.

It was during the reign of Déva Ráya, the fourth of the Vijayanagar kings, that the Bairasu Wodears of Karakal completed and set up at that place the wonderful colossal statue of Gumta Ráya,²⁷ on which there is an inscription, dated 1431 A.D. (S. 1353), stating that it was erected by Rája Vira Pandiya to Bahubalin, son of Vrishaba, the first Tírthankara of Giant race.

²⁵ Wilks' *South of India*, p. 95.

²⁶ Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 169.

²⁷ A description of the statue is given under "Archæology."

In 1448 Abd-er-Razzak, an ambassador from Persia, landed at Mangalore on his way to the court of Vijayanagar; ²⁸ and states in his account of his travels that at a distance of about 12 miles from Mangalore he saw a temple which had not its like on earth. It was a perfect square of about 10 yards by 10, and 5 in height, made of molten brass with four platforms or ascents, and on the highest of them an idol of the figure and stature of a man, made all of gold with eyes composed of two red rubies. Passing on from that place he arrived each day at a town or village well populated, until a mountain rose before him. After this description of a temple in South Canara, it is not surprising to learn that he found Vijayanagar, a city of surpassing magnificence.

During the reign of Déva Ráya's two successors, the power of Vijayanagar greatly declined, and about 1490 A.D. the old family was set aside, and the kingly power assumed by one Narasinga Ráya, whose origin is doubtful, but who raised the kingdom to more than its former magnificence, and led to the whole of Southern India being described by early Portuguese writers as the kingdom of Narasinga. An inscription found by Buchanan in a temple at Baindúr shows that in 1506 one Kedali Basavappa Arasu Wodear had been appointed by Narasinga Ráya to the Ráyada of Barkúr. It was in the time of Narasinga Ráya that the Portuguese first made settlements on the west coast, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama landed on one of the islands of the coast of Udipi and set up a cross calling the island 'El padron de Sancta Maria,' ²⁹ which seems to be the origin of the name St. Mary Isles by which the islands are now known. He made no landing on the coast of South Canara. In 1505 an ambassador from the Vijayanagar court gave the Portuguese permission to build a fort anywhere in his dominions, except at Bhatcal, which he had ceded to another. So far as South Canara is concerned the permission was not taken advantage of for many years. In 1514 the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa visited the coast of Canara, ³⁰ and described 'Tulinát' as beginning north of Honore and containing many rivers and sea-ports in which there was much trade and shipping bound for all parts. He noticed each port briefly as he passed along the coast. At Baindúr much rice of a good quality is said to be gathered and sent to Bhatcal. At Barsola or Basrúr, belonging to the kingdom of Narasinga, many ships came from Malabar and others put in from Ormuz, Aden, and Xeher. Mangalore is said to be a very large town peopled by Moors and Gentiles, at which was shipped to Malabar for the

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Razzak.

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²⁸ Elliott and Dawson, p. 10.

²⁹ Kerr's *Voyages Castanheda*, p. 335.

³⁰ Stanley's *Barbosa*, pp. 78 to 84.

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common people a brown rice, better and more healthy than the white. A little specially good pepper was also shipped. He seems to have been struck with the appearance of the town, which he describes as follows: "The banks of the river are very pretty and "very full of woods, palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by "Moors and Gentiles and studded with fine buildings and houses "of prayer of the Gentiles which are very large and enriched with "large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly "honour Mahomed." At Kumbla he found a lord ruling and governing it for the kingdom of Narasinga. Much brown and very bad rice was here harvested and given to the people of the Maldivé Islands in exchange for thread for making cordage for ships.

We have thus the testimony of this traveller to show that the Vijayanagar dynasty had by 1514 established their supremacy in the extreme south of Tuluva. Though the Kumbla Rájá's territory lay to the north of the Chandragiri or ancient Perumpula river, the traditionary boundary line between Tuluva and Malabar, and the limit which no Náyar woman can cross to this day, the Rájás followed Malayalam customs, and Jain influence does not seem to have prevailed to so great an extent as in most other parts of Tuluva. In 1508 Krishna Rája ascended the throne of Vijayanagar, and at no time was that dynasty more powerful than during his reign, which lasted till 1542. He maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese, who helped him in his wars with the Muhammadan rulers of Bijapur. The Portuguese laid themselves out to destroy the Arab and Moplah trade along the coast, and, as Vasco da Gama heard, while running down the coast in 1524, that the Muhammadan merchants of Calicut had agents at Mangalore and Basrúr, he ordered the rivers to be blockaded.³¹ In 1526 under the viceroyship of Lopes Vas de Sampayo, Mangalore was taken possession of after a slight resistance offered by the Muhammadan merchants,³² and in the same year Franciscan friars began preaching in Mangalore and the neighbourhood, in pursuance of the Portuguese policy of securing facilities for the spread of Christianity in all treaties which they made with native princes. The Portuguese gradually made themselves masters of the whole of the trade of the coast to the exclusion of the Arabs and Moplahs, and then proceeded to levy a kind of tribute of grain from all the coast ports. The port of Barcelore had to pay annually five hundred loads of rice, the king of Barkúr one thousand, the king of Carnád near Mulki eight hundred, the king

³¹ *Three Voyages of Da Gama*, p. 399.

³² *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, Introduction, p. 92.

of Mangalore two thousand four hundred loads of rice and one thousand of oil, Manjéshwar seven hundred loads of rice, and Kumbha eight hundred.³³

Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar having died in 1542, he was succeeded by Sadásiva Ráya, but the affairs of the kingdom were practically managed by his minister Ráma Rája, who eventually usurped the supreme power. He found the Portuguese assistance so valuable that in 1547 he executed a treaty with them, under which the whole export and import trade of the country was placed in the hands of the Portuguese factors. The local chiefs, however, did not quietly acquiesce in these arrangements. Default in payment of the grain tribute, followed by reprisals by fire and sword, occurred from time to time, and shortly after the defeat and death of Ráma Rája and the capture and sack of Vijayanagar in 1565 by a confederation of Muhammadan powers, a league against the Portuguese, to which several of the local Canara chiefs gave their adhesion, was entered into by Ahmednagar, Bijapúr and Calicut. Under this league Barkalúr or Basrúr was to go to Bijapúr; and Mangalore to the Zamorin of Calicut, and after the capture of Ádóni by Bijapúr, the Queen of Gairsappa is said to have recognised the suzerainty of Bijapúr for the country between Goa and Barkalúr. Less progress was made by the Zamorin, a combined attack on Cheol by the fleets of Ahmednagar and Calicut having been entirely unsuccessful. As the Calicut admiral was on his way back from Cheol, the Queen of Ullal on the southern bank of the Mangalore river asked him to assist her in surprising the Portuguese port at Mangalore. He acceded to the request and landed a number of men secretly, but the attempt ended in failure.³⁴

With the defeat and death of Ráma Rája the connection of Canara with Vijayanagar came to an end, and, as is usual in such cases, the local chiefs began to act as if they were independent. The Bairasu Wodear family of Karakal is said to have ceased to reign at that place about the middle of the sixteenth century on the death of a Rája who left seven daughters. The last inscription of the family at Karakal is that on the colossal statue above referred to, dated 1431 A.D., and tradition speaks of the hills in the neighbourhood having been granted by a Bairasu Wodear to a Chitpávan Brahmin for the formation of areca-nut plantations about the middle of the sixteenth century. The dominions of the family are said to have been divided between the seven daughters of the last Rája, each of whom was known by the name of Baira Dévi. One of these reigned at Bhatcal on the boundary between

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³³ *Subsidios para da Historia da India Portuguesa*, pp. 246, 247.

³⁴ *Kerr's Voyages Faria-y-Singa*, vi. p. 439.

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place who made a treaty with the Portuguese in 1554. Another married Itchappa Wodear, the Jain chief of Gairsappa, and had a daughter, who is said to have re-united in her person the whole of the ancestral dominions, all her aunts having died without issue.³⁵ There is no trace of her ever having exercised power in the southern parts of South Canara, and when she joined the Muhammadan league against the Portuguese between 1570 and 1580, her territories do not seem to have extended farther south than Barkalúr or Basrúr. The current tradition in the Mangalore and Kásaragód taluks represents a Karakal branch of the family as reigning until it was extirpated by Sivappa Naik.

In the latter years of the Vijayanagar power there had arisen, on the borders of Canara above the ghauts, a family who gradually acquired supreme power throughout the province. A Gauda of Mallavar caste, a Sivabaktar or Lingáyat by religion, the headman of the village of Keladi, rose in the service of Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar, and about 1560 A.D., one of the family, who by this time had moved their residence to Ikkeri, obtained from Sadásiva Ráya a grant of the government of Barkúr and Mangalore as underlord, with the title of Sadásiva Naik.

It is probable that the natural desire of the local Jain chiefs to secure their independence on the decadence of the Vijayanagar power, was increased by their repugnance to be placed in subordination to a Lingáyat, and the relation between the Jain chiefs and the Ikkeri family seems to have been hostile from the beginning. Venkatappa Naik, who was ruling at Ikkeri when the Queen of Gairsappa and Bhatcal acknowledged the overlordship of Adil Shah of Bijapúr, was too strong a man to allow the territory assigned to his family by Vijayanagar to slip away from him in this manner, and by 1608 he had completely defeated and slain Baira Dévi, and almost extirpated the Jains throughout the province of Barkúr. By 1618 he had so far consolidated his power there, that he was in a position to add fifty per cent. to the land assessment, which, under the Vijayanagar family, had been fixed at a much lower rate in Canara than elsewhere, owing to the difficulty of dealing with so distant a dependency.

In the province of Mangalore, although Venkatappa Naik made his power felt, and at least temporarily reduced several of the most powerful of the Jain chiefs, including the Bangar, whose capital appears then to have been at Mangalore, he did not feel himself strong enough to deal with it as he had done with Barkúr, and the fifty per cent. addition to the assessment was only partially introduced there.

³⁵ Buchanan, iii. pp. 132, 166.

Some light is thrown on the relations between the Ikkeri family and the Jain chiefs of Mangalore, and on the condition of the country generally at this time by the letters of an Italian traveller named Della Valle, who visited the west coast of India about 1623, and accompanied an embassy which went from Goa to Ikkeri *via* Honore and Gairsappa. He went merely in his private capacity as a traveller, but he mentions in his letter that the object of the embassy was to secure the restoration of the chief of Banghel (Bangar) near Mangalore, an ally of the Portuguese, who had been defeated by the Ikkeri Rája Venkatappa Naik and had fled to Casselgode (Kásaragód), where there was another small but free prince. Venkatappa Naik agreed to allow the Bangar Rája 7,000 pagodas annually if he came to reside in Venkatappa's dominions or somewhere under the eye of the Portuguese, but he declined to do anything more or to make him an allowance so long as he remained at Kásaragód. The Portuguese ambassador knew that the Bangar Rája would not accept these terms; but, as Portugal was then at war with Persia and Acheen, it was resolved that further complications should be avoided for the present, and the embassy withdrew. A courier was sent to Bangar Rája, and Della Valle went with him, being desirous of seeing Barcelore (Basrúr), Mangalore, and above all the Queen of Olaya (Ullal), on whose behalf the Bangar Rája had been attacked by Venkatappa Naik. At Dharmapuram he allowed the rest of the party to go on and followed at his leisure, accompanied apparently only by his horsekeeper and a man to carry his baggage. He did this fearlessly, he says, as the highways in Venkatappa Naik's dominions were very secure. He came by the Kollúr ghaut and was able to ride part of the way down. He passed the night at Halkal, and remarked that the people there lived for the most part by sowing rice, and stated that they paid a very large tribute to the king, and were in great poverty. He crossed the river at Gulvádi and came by a short cut to Higher Barcelore (Basrúr), which belonged to Venkatappa Naik, while Lower Barcelore belonged to the Portuguese. After visiting the town, in which he found "a fair, long, broad, and strait street, "having abundance of palmettos and gardens and ample evidence "of good quarries and a considerable population," he moved on to the Portuguese settlement at Lower Barcelore (Coondapoor), whence he came by sea to Mangalore, landing on the way at the St. Mary Isles to take young wild pigeons from the nests, of which there was great abundance on the islands. The Portuguese seem then to have held the portion of Mangalore immediately north of the Ullal river, and the church Del Rosario was inside the fort. About a musket shot north of the fort was a small river crossed

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by a ruinous stone bridge, and which might also be forded. On the other side of this were the territories of the Banghel (Bangar) Rájá, whose palace had been destroyed by Venkatappa Naik, but the bazaar and market place remained, though not so stored with goods as in former times. Della Valle visited Ullal and sailed up the Gurpur river, and gives an account of the quarrel between the Queen of Ullal and her divorced husband, the Bangar Rájá, which ended in the queen calling in the aid of Venkatappa Naik and obtaining a decisive victory over the Rájá and his ally, the Portuguese Governor of Mangalore. He also tells of other petty chiefs in the neighbourhood who were subdued by Venkatappa Naik at the same time. These were evidently merely large Jain or Bant landholders. For instance he met the "Queen of Manel," out walking to inspect a new channel which she had had dug, and thought she looked more like a "dirty kitchen wench" than a queen. However, she showed her quality by her speech. Della Valle sailed for Calicut on the 19th December 1623.

During the early years of Venkatappa's power he does not seem to have been on good terms with the Portuguese, and the mission in the neighbourhood of Mangalore appears to have been temporarily abandoned at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably when the Portuguese ally, the Bangar, had to fly to Kásaragód. In 1631,³⁶ however, the Portuguese concluded a treaty with Bednore under which they were allowed to establish a fort at Basrúr, and though the Bednore Rájá objected to European priests, he seems to have made no objection to the deputation of native priests by the Archbishop of Goa to take charge of the Christians in Canara, whose number were swelled during the seventeenth century by immigrants from the neighbourhood of Goa, who left their own country on account of famine and the devastation caused by the Mahrattas under Siváji. Siváji's operations do not seem to have extended as far as South Canara with the exception of a raid by sea on Basrúr.

Petty Jain
chiefs.

In 1646 the Ikkeri family moved their capital from Ikkeri twenty miles further south to Bednore at the top of the Hossangadi ghaut, leading into the Coondapoor taluk, and Sivappa Naik succeeded to the throne in 1649. He reigned for twenty-two years, but as he had been minister and administrator from 1625 during the reigns of his cousins, two Bhadrappa Naiks, his rule practically lasted for forty-six years, during all which time he was engaged in strengthening himself throughout the southern parts of South Canara, where his name is known as the builder of a series of

³⁶ *North Kanara Gazetteer*, p. 124.

strong forts on the coast of Kásaragód taluk, the most important being Chandragiri and Békal. The Karakal family disappeared, and, as already noted, the Bangar was in difficulties, but on the whole the old families seem to have been strong enough throughout the Bednore rule to insist on their recognition as underlords. The most important of the Jain chiefs seem to have been the Bangar whose family now resides at Nandáwar, the Choutar of Mudbidri, the Ajalar of Aldangadi, the Múlar of Bailangadi and the Vittal Hegade.

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In the Udipi taluk there were the old Brahmin Hegades and Balláls, the best known being the Chitpádi Ballál who had a fort near Udipi. In the south the Kumbra Rája, a Hindu following Malayalam customs, continued to govern as he had done under Vijayanagar. The two forts above mentioned, Békal and Chandragiri, are really in the Malayalam country, and the district in which they are situated seems to have been subject to the Kollatiri or Chirakkal Rájas until the time of Sivappa Naik's invasion, after which it formed part of Canara. The territory of the Rája of Niléshwar was not annexed until 1737, during the reign of Sómasékara Naik, when the fort at Hosdrug was built and the Rája was compelled to submit after a struggle of twelve years, in which both the English and French took part. He also obtained aid from Coorg and made over to the Coorg Rája a number of villages now known as the Amara Mágané to supply Dodda Virappa with milk (Amara). The Rája at the same time purchased the Sulia Mágane with money taken from the Tale Kávéri temple to secure cocoanuts for the goddess. Particulars of the part taken by the French and English will be given farther on. Though the Bednore family objected to the introduction of European priests, they seem to have maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese throughout the seventeenth century, and entered into a number of treaties with them, the most important so far as South Canara is concerned being that of 1670, by which the Portuguese were allowed to establish a factory at Mangalore. In 1678, a further treaty enabled them to build churches and set up a factory at Kalianpúr in the Udipi taluk.

Hegades and
Balláls.

About 1673 the English traveller Fryer visited the coast of Canara, and was struck with the number of Christian converts, while those who had not been converted were marvellously conversant with the devil, alluding apparently to demon or Bhúta worship. He also noted that the people of Canara had good laws and obeyed them, and travelled without guides along broad roads, not along bye-paths as in Malabar.

Fryer's
travels.

In order to completely put down the trade with the west coast the Portuguese were in the habit of seizing every vessel

Arab and
Portuguese
conflicts.

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Arab and
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conflicts.

which left a Canarese port without a Portuguese pass. The Arabs retaliated in every way they could and succeeded in burning Mangalore in 1695. The seizure of a Bednore vessel in 1713 led to a dispute with the Rája and a squadron was sent from Goa, which captured a fort at Basrúr and at Kalianpúr and destroyed many ships and much merchandise. This brought the Bednore Rája to terms, and in 1764 he executed a treaty in which he promised not to allow Arab ships to visit the two ports. He agreed that the Portuguese should establish a factory at Mangalore, and allowed them to build churches where there were Christians and engaged that his officers should not molest Christian Missionaries.

English at
Mangalore,
1737.

Captain Hamilton, who visited Canara in 1718, mentions that the Dutch had by that time established a factory at Barcelore (Basrur) and that the Portuguese used to send rice from that place to Muscat and bring back horses, dates and pearls. The advance of the Bednore Rája Sómasékara Naik's general into Niléshwar in the first instance and afterwards across the Káveri river brought the Bednore power into conflict with the interests of the East India Company's factory at Tellicherry, and in 1736 the Malayális, assisted by the English, recovered the Álikunnu port at the mouth of the Kavoy river and three others to the south of it, after which Mr. Lynch, one of the English factors, went to Mangalore, and, in February 1737, executed a treaty with Surapaya, the Canarese Governor of Mangalore, under which the English obtained certain commercial advantages including a monopoly of all the pepper and cardamoms in the portions of the Kollatiri dominions, conquered by the Bednoreans, and the Bednoreans agreed not to advance to the south of the Valláratnam river. The English then vacated the Álikunnu fort at the mouth of the Kavoy river and the Bednoreans at once occupied it, thus securing complete command of the Niléshwar portion of the Kollatiri territories.³⁷ The Niléshwar fort, however, remained in the hands of the Rája of Niléshwar, the head of an offshoot of a branch of the Kollatiri or Chirakkal family, which had intermarried with the family of the Zamorin of Calicut. In 1750 Mr. Dowill succeeded to the charge of the Tellicherry factory, and under his administration the influence of the English factory with the Kollatiri family gave way to that of the French factory at Mahé. Mr. Dowill suggested to the Bednore Governor of Mangalore that he should seize the fort at Niléshwar, but the French forestalled him, and hoisted their flag both at Niléshwar and at Álikunnu at the mouth of the Kavoy river as allies of the Niléshwar Rája. A detachment was sent from Tellicherry to Hosdroog to aid the Bednore troops, but the

³⁷ Logan's *Malabar*, i. pp. 363, 371.

weather was unpropitious, and the commanding officer returned to Tellicherry without effecting a junction with the Bednoreans.³⁸ In 1752 the English made peace with the Kollatiri princes, and in 1753 Mr. Dowill was superseded by Mr. Hodges, who, while avoiding war, set himself to oust the French from Niléshwar by helping the third prince of the Niléshwar family in opposition to the first. The policy was successful, and by the time war next broke out between the French and the English, the country powers had been so completely withdrawn from the French alliance, that the latter were able to make but a poor stand at Mahé in 1761, and, as a consequence, all their minor posts were soon after recovered. In 1755 Áli Rája of Cannanore, in alliance with the Mahratta pirates of Angria, organised an expedition to ravage the Canara coast, and, amongst other places, they plundered Manjéshwar and landed an expedition further north, which is said to have marched eighteen leagues inland and secured a booty of 4,000,000 pagodas from the Kollúr temple.³⁹

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Under the Vijayanagar rule the assessment demanded by the paramount power was light, and though we know little of the relations between the local chiefs and the people, the accounts of travellers, the improvements effected in the agriculture of the country, and the temples and buildings left behind by the Jain rulers, all point to a high state of prosperity. Under the Bednore rule decline set in. The first Bednore ruler considerably raised the assessment wherever he could, but as this was mainly in the tracts in which he completely subverted the local rulers, it is doubtful whether the burdens imposed on the agriculturists were really greater than before, so long as there was a strong government like that of Venkatappa Naik, under which the traveller Della Valle was able to move about securely in the Coondapoor taluk with only one attendant, without any fear of thieves. The ruin of the old Jain cities, such as Karakal, Mudbidri and Barkúr was, however, an unquestionable loss to the country, and the continued fighting with the Jain chiefs in the Mangalore and Kásaragód taluks must have caused much suffering. In the later years of the Bednore rule there were a number of additional imposts and exactions, and the favourites and dependents of the Bednore Rájás, when placed in charge of districts, were often allowed to indulge in acts of oppression and extortion.⁴⁰

Notwithstanding this, there can be no doubt that South Canara was in a decidedly prosperous state when Bednore was captured

Hyder Ali.

³⁸ *North Kanara Gazetteer*, p. 137.

³⁹ Logan's *Malabar*, i. pp. 392-402.

⁴⁰ Sir Thomas Munro to the Board of Revenue, dated 31st May 1800.

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Hyder Ali.

in December 1760 by Hyder Ali of Mysore, who at once sent a detachment to take possession of Mangalore, which place he regarded as of great importance as a naval station. He established dockyards and an arsenal there, and also promptly commenced through the civil officers of the former government, an administration which, both under Hyder Ali and his son Tippu, seems to have had but one aim, namely, to see how much it was possible to extort from the agriculturists without diminishing cultivation. The experiment was carried too far, much land fell out of cultivation and the bulk of the remainder lost its saleable value. The embargo placed by Tippu on the exportation by sea of areca-nut and pepper also produced a most disastrous effect on the areca-nut plantations near the ghauts on which much labour and capital had been expended.

War between the English and Hyder Ali broke out in 1766, and in February 1768 Mangalore was taken by an English expedition from Bombay. Tippu, who was then in command of the troops in Canara, marched inland, until the arrival of Hyder, who appeared in person before Mangalore in May, on which the garrison embarked and sailed away abandoning their sick and their stores. Hyder then moved above the ghauts by the Subramanya pass. At this time Hyder ceded to the Raja of Coorg the Panja and Bellari Máganés of the Uppinangadi taluk, partly for aid received in money, and partly in exchange for territory above the ghauts; but about 1775 he resumed them both, together with the Amara and Sullia Máganés, which had been given to Coorg by Sómasékara of Bednore about forty years before.

Capture of
Bednore.

The second Mysore war began in 1790. In 1791 Sir Edward Hughes destroyed Hyder's infant navy at Mangalore, and early in January 1793, the month following the death of Hyder Ali, General Mathews landed at Coondapoor with a force from Bombay which achieved a remarkable and unexpected success, considering the smallness and unpreparedness of the force and the large numbers opposed to it. His landing was unsuccessfully opposed by 500 horse and 2,500 infantry, and, notwithstanding difficulties about provisions and transport, he reached the foot of the Hossangadi pass twenty-five miles off, in three days. Hossangadi, in the middle of thick forest at the foot of the pass, was defended by trees felled across the road, for about three miles in front the enemy lined the brushwood in the flanks and there was a breast work about 400 yards from the fort. The 42nd Highlanders under Colonel Macleod carried the positions at the point of the bayonet, and next morning the fort was found abandoned with fifteen guns. The first barrier on the pass mounting eleven guns was also abandoned, but the second had to be carried with the bayonet. From that

point there was almost a continuous line of batteries and breast works and at the top there was the fort of Hyderghur, the whole being defended by about 17,000 men. The different positions were all carried with the loss of 50 killed and wounded.⁴¹ General Mathews then advanced and entered Bednore on the 27th January, the gates having been thrown open by the Governor who had been a favourite of the late Hyder Ali, but had learnt that Tippu had determined to degrade him. The English General was, however, forced to capitulate on the 30th April 1793 on the arrival of Tippu with a large army.

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Before the surrender of Bednore, Tippu had dispatched a force to appear before Mangalore, and state that Bednore had fallen, but it was attacked and defeated twelve miles from Mangalore. On receiving news of this reverse, Tippu moved with his whole army against Mangalore, which was held by Colonel Campbell with a force of about 700 Europeans and 2,000 sepoy. After a preliminary engagement at an outpost on the 23rd May, in which four officers and ten Europeans and two hundred sepoy were lost, Colonel Campbell withdrew all outposts and made arrangements to stand a regular siege. Tippu soon perceived that either surrender or speedy capture by assault was not to be thought of, and sent off his cavalry as the monsoon was approaching, but they were overtaken by a storm and not half the horses reached the eastern cantonments. Three regular assaults were made, which ended in failure, though the fort was not only breached, but almost reduced to ruins in parts. Attempts to penetrate these became of almost daily occurrence, but the assailants were invariably repulsed, and on the 2nd August, after the siege had lasted for more than two months, Tippu agreed to an armistice, French aid having been withdrawn from him owing to the conclusion in Europe of peace between England and France. During this armistice General Macleod arrived with re-inforcements and took up his residence at Mangalore; but, notwithstanding clear proof of the systematic evasion by Tippu of the provision in the armistice regarding the victualling of the fort, he did not feel justified in effectually relieving Mangalore and sailed away again with his forces on the 2nd December. On the 23rd January 1794 the hospitals were filled with two-thirds of the garrison and the deaths were from twelve to fifteen a day. A large proportion of the sepoy were blind and the remainder so exhausted as frequently to fall down on parade. In these circumstances Colonel Campbell considered it useless to hold out any longer, and capitulated on the 30th January 1794 on condition of being allowed to go with the

Siege of
Mangalore.

⁴¹ Wilks' *South India*, ii. p. 54.

survivors of his garrison to Tellicherry, where he died on the 23rd March following.

During this war Tippu suspected the Native Christian population of secretly aiding the English and a terrible persecution ensued. Having set guards over the villages in which they resided he seized in one night 60,000 according to his own statement, 30,000 according to another estimate, and forcibly deported them to Mysore. Their sufferings on the way were intense, and only a portion reached Seringapatam, where the men were circumcised and a number of the most able-bodied selected for service as soldiers. The remainder with the women and children were distributed throughout the villages of Mysore. All the lands of the Canara Christians were confiscated and the churches destroyed. The few who escaped deportation fled to Malabar and Coorg and remained there till after the taking of Seringapatam in 1799, when they returned, as did also the survivors of those deported to Mysore. The number of those which returned has been computed at about 12,000, which, in little more than three-quarters of a century, increased to 50,000, and they now form one of the most prosperous sections of the community.*

Except in the extreme south Tippu completed the suppression of the old local chiefs which had been begun under the Bednore rule, and dispossessed them of all but their private lands. The Kumbla Rájá was driven from the country, and when he returned soon afterwards and endeavoured to excite disturbances, he was taken and hanged. His younger brother was also hanged for joining the English at the first siege of Mangalore, and a nephew was similarly executed in 1794. His successor was received as a pensioner at Tellicherry where the Vittal Hegade had fled some time before. Two of the Rájás of Niléshwar were hanged in 1787 by the Commandant of Békal, but their successor came to terms and was in possession when Canara was annexed by the British Government.

As soon as the last Mysore war broke out in 1799 the Kumbla Rájá and the Vittal Hegade both returned to Canara, but the former at any rate acted more like a leader of banditti than anything else, and the Rájá of Coorg took the opportunity of raiding in the direction of Jamálabád and Bantval, and into the territories of the Rájá of Kumbla, who was an old enemy of the Coorgs. The country suffered very severely at this time, especially from the depredations of the Coorgs, but this was so little understood at the time, that on the downfall of Tippu, the English, in order to reward the Coorgs for the services rendered by that State above the ghauts during the several wars against Mysore, made over to

* They now number over 70,000.

them the Amara, Sullia, Panja and Bellari districts which had been before ceded to them by the Bednore and Mysore Rájás, and resumed by Hyder in 1775.

The last of the Bangar Rájás was hanged by the commandant of Jamálabád during the siege of Seringapatam. After the fall of Seringapatam, Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro was appointed Collector of Canara in June 1799, and from the 1st February 1800, he was placed under the control of the Madras Board of Revenue, though on political matters he continued to correspond with General Close, the Resident of Mysore. With the exception of an irruption of the followers of Dondia from Bednore into the taluk of Coondapoor, he seems to have found all quiet in the northern part of the district of South Canara, where the collapse of Tippu's power was complete, and the local chiefs had long before been deprived of all authority; but the fortress of Jamálabád in the Uppinangadi taluk held out on behalf of Tippu's family, the Vittal Hegade was plundering in the northern part of the present Kásaragód taluk, the Kumbala Rája in the same taluk, who had returned to his old district on the commencement of the war with Tippu, was offering a kind of passive resistance, and the Niléshwar Rája in the south was employing somewhat similar tactics. Jamálabád is a high rock near Beltangadi in the Uppinangadi taluk, the summit of which is accessible only by a narrow neck of land connecting it with a spur from the Kudre Mukh. Struck with the facilities which it afforded for the construction of an impregnable stronghold, Tippu Sultan, on his way back from Mangalore to Mysore, determined to build a fortress on the top of it, and on its completion he garrisoned it with a party of 400 men, and made the town at its foot the residence of an Asoph in charge of the southern part of Canara. The town was destroyed by the Coorgs during the Mysore war, and after its close the fort was captured by a party of British troops in October 1799,⁴² but again fell into the hands of adherents of the Mysore family. One Timma or Kistna Naik,⁴³ who had been a

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⁴² The following letter from Mangalore, dated 9th October 1799, appeared in the *Madras Courier* of the 30th October Jamalabad is about 20 miles to the east of Mangalore. The lower forts were stormed yesterday and with such good fortune that only one casualty occurred, one man being wounded, but in attempting the upper works 33 men of the Light Company of the 15th Regiment were killed or wounded The communication to these works is on the side of a bare rock about 1,700 feet high and nearly perpendicular. I have this moment received the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of the fort, and we are now in the entire possession of the Canara country; our loss from the commencement of the siege to the completion of it consists of 2 officers wounded, and about 65 killed and wounded

⁴³ Munro calls him Kishnam Naigue in official correspondence, but Buchanan, a year later, found that he was generally known as Timma Naik.

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petty officer in Tippu's fort at Békál, was taken into the Company's service on his undertaking to procure recruits for the Bombay Army, but he persuaded two hundred of them to go off with him and join Subba Rao, a former Sheristadar of Coimbatore, who had set up a pretender at Bailangadi under the name of Fatty Hyder, a natural son of Tippu Sultan. After joining Subba Rao he set out to try and surprise Jamálabád, and succeeded in doing so, as a young officer, who had just arrived to relieve the garrison, was sleeping for the night at the foot of the rock with all his men except a Naik's party.

The Vittal Hegade was the representative of an old family of hereditary renters under the Bednore Government which was at first expelled by Hyder, but restored when a number of the family pretended to become Mussulmans. They were again dispossessed, however, in 1768 for assisting the English, and the Hegade went to reside at Tellicherry as a pensioner of the East India Company. Under pretence of assisting the English he made incursions into Canara during all the subsequent wars, and continued plundering the country after the fall of Tippu and the English occupation. On being called to account for the plunder of the Manjeshwar temple, after he had been informed that all hostilities with Mysore had ceased, the Hegade fled from Tellicherry on the 15th December 1799, and joined his nephew at Vittal with a party of about 150 armed followers which he proceeded to strengthen with as many recruits as he could raise. Captain Munro considered that one of his objects was to induce the Government to make over to him the management of Vittal, and as his success in such an attempt would at once have led to the revival of a number of similar long extinguished claims in every part of Canara, he considered it necessary to call on Colonel Hart, the Officer Commanding the Province, to proceed against him without delay as a rebel, stating at the same time that as the inhabitants of the district were mainly peaceful Brahmins and Bants who had no attachment for the Hegade, a small force would be sufficient to deal with him. On the 7th May Subba Rao, who had by this time allied himself with the Vittal Hegade, attacked the temple at Uppinangadi, in which the Tahsildar of Kadaba was holding his office. The Tahsildar escaped by crossing the river in the dark, and several Potalis, who were there at the time, also got away with their collections which they afterwards duly brought in. Subba Rao then marched on Bantval, which he plundered and afterwards took up his quarters at Puttúr and began to collect the revenue. By this time Captain Munro had raised a body of two hundred armed peons and placed them under the orders of Kumára Hegade of Dharmastala, one of the Potalis of Bantval, who rendered good service on a former occasion at Jamálabád. Kumára Hegade marched against Subba Rao and

defeated him on the 11th, but was himself shot through the arm. The Tahsildar of Kadaba then took charge of the peons and pursued the rebels towards the Sisila ghaut, where he dispersed them on the 17th with the loss of forty or fifty men. The regular troops being fully employed in ordinary garrison work, and in the blockade of Jamálabád, Captain Munro raised his force of peons to seven hundred and reported on the 18th June that he had not the smallest apprehension that the Tahsildars would not, with the help of the peons, be able to establish themselves again in their respective districts. In the beginning of July the Tahsildar defeated the Vittal Hegade at Vittal, and made prisoners of nine members of his family including his nephew. With this event and the fall of Jamálabád, after a blockade of three months, all disturbances came to an end and the country settled down quietly. The Kumbala and Niléshwar Rájás had submitted and accepted pensions on realising that so far from gaining anything by holding out they ran considerable risk of losing everything. Though they had kept up armed bands of followers and had dissuaded the landholders from appearing before Captain Munro to complete a settlement of land revenue in the hope of regaining under the English what they had lost under the Bednore and Mysore Governments, they offered no active resistance nor did they resort to plunder like the Vittal Hegade.

Throughout the district generally, the landowners, like the chiefs above mentioned, endeavoured to delay coming to a settlement in the not unnatural desire to secure, on a change of government, the best possible terms for themselves, but so far from showing any signs of actual hostility their conduct was such that Captain Munro was able to report,⁴⁴ during the disturbances in the southern taluks, that the Potails had behaved remarkably well, several, whose private property had been plundered, having brought in their collections, while he knew of only one or two instances in which advantage had been taken of the disturbances to keep back rents. He especially mentioned the Potail of Uppinangadi, who, though kept in confinement by Subba Rao for fifteen days, and treated with great severity, refused to reveal where his collections were kept and eventually brought them all in.

In submitting proposals for the reduction of certain items of revenue after more than a year's experience of the district, Captain Munro reported⁴⁵ that the Coondapoor and Udipi taluks were in a flourishing condition, except the neighbourhood of Karakal which had suffered by lying in the track of invading armies. Kadaba, in the present Uppinangadi taluk, was the most desolate district

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⁴⁴ Letter dated 1st July 1800.

⁴⁵ Letter dated 9th November 1800.

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in Canara, owing almost entirely to the irruptions of the Coorgs. The neighbourhood of Jamálabád excepted, the rest of the Uppinangadi taluk, the Mangalore taluk and the northern portion of the present Kásaragód taluk were thriving districts. The southern portion of the Kásaragód taluk, especially the part of it which was formerly under the Rájas of Kumbla, suffered much from the devastations of the Coorgs.

In 1801 Dr. Buchanan was deputed by the Marquis of Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, to investigate and report "on the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce, the religion, manners and customs; the history, natural and civil and anti-quoties" in Mysore and countries acquired from Tippu Sultan. He was a most observant and painstaking officer, and the 130 pages of his account of his journey, which relate to South Canara, contain an immense amount of information on all the subjects mentioned.

Entering the district from the south he was struck on the way from the Malabar frontier to Hosdrug with the neglected appearance of the country owing to the want of inhabitants which his Náyar informant attributed to depopulation by war, and by a famine that ensued while they were forced to retire into the woods to avoid circumcision. As he passed further north towards the Chandragiri river, he found the country bearing the same signs of neglect, though there were traces of former cultivation, but remarked that, with the present paucity of inhabitants, it would be madness to cultivate any but the richest spots. In the neighbourhood of Kumbla he found the rice lands more neatly cultivated than farther south, and saw many traces of former gardens. At Manjéshwar he found numbers of Konkánies in flourishing circumstances, and after visiting Mangalore he expressed an opinion that to judge from appearances the occupiers of land in Tuluva were richer than even those of Malabar. He was compelled to judge by appearances only, as the cultivators whom he had assembled to give him information, and most of whom he states were as fat as pigs, gravely told him that they were reduced to live on conjee or rice soup. The cultivation he found carried on partly by slaves, but mainly by hired servants. These latter, however, were usually so deeply in debt to their masters that they differed little from the slaves, except that they got larger allowances, and their masters were not obliged to provide for them in sickness or old age. Their wages he considered sufficiently high to enable them to keep a family in the greatest abundance. On the road from Mangalore to Feringapett he noticed that the sides of the hills had been formed into terraces with less industry than in Malabar, and the natives informed him

that the pepper vines had been destroyed by Tippu to remove every inducement for Europeans to visit the country. At Bantval he noticed new houses building, the people were busily engaged in the bustle of commerce, and from their appearance were in good circumstances. On the way to Beltangadi he alludes to the devastations of the Coorgs and notices that hills formerly cleared had again become covered with trees. From Beltangadi he went to Muddidri, the neighbourhood of which he considered one of the poorest countries he had ever seen. Thence he moved on to Karakal, near which he noted many traces of enclosures and heard that many villages had been deserted since the time of Hyder. From Karakal he went to Udipi through Hiriadaka, where he learnt that about a fourth part of what was formerly cultivated was waste for want of people and stock. From Udipi he went northwards through Bramhawar and Coondapoor to North Canara. Near the Suvarna and other rivers he noticed fine coconut plantations, and remarked that north of Bramhawar the country looked well, as even the greater part of a high sandy ridge was enclosed and planted for timber and fuel. Between Coondapoor and Kirmanjéshwar he found the plantations poor owing to the want of inhabitants, many of whom had been carried off by an epidemic of fever followed by an incursion of a predatory band of Mahrattas.

For some years after 1820 low prices led to difficulties being experienced in certain cases in collecting the land revenue, and in 1831 there were a number of riotous assemblages or 'kúts,' in which the ryots met together and declined to pay their kists. On an enquiry being held, it was found that the trouble was not really due to the heaviness of the land assessment, but to the intrigues of the Head Sheristadar and other Brahmin officials with the view of discrediting the Collector's administration, and bringing about the dismissal of the Naib Sheristadar and other Native Christians employed in the Collector's office. Quiet was restored without any difficulty, special measures being adopted to meet hard cases, and a rise in prices soon led to a general improvement in the prosperity of the district.

In 1834, during the Coorg war, Colonel Jackson advanced on the 29th March from Kumbala with a small force and fell in with the Coorg picquet about 9 miles inland. On the 1st April they reached Íshwara Mangala, where Colonel Jackson learned that there was a strong stockade between Maddúr and Bellari, and on the third a reconnoitring party was attacked and lost two officers and more than 60 men killed and wounded. His force being obviously unequal to the task entrusted to it, Colonel Jackson quitted Coorg territory and fell back on Kásaragód.

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Coorg war.

At the close of the Coorg war, the districts which had been ceded to Coorg in 1799 were retransferred to South Canara, and in 1837 some malcontents succeeded in raising a disturbance and made a successful attack at Puttúr on the Collector and two companies of sepoys who had advanced from Mangalore to meet them. The Collector and his troops were compelled to return to the coast, harassed on their flank by increasing bands of raiders, one of which succeeded in reaching Mangalore and opening the jail and burning the kutcherry. The troops at Mangalore, however, had no real difficulty in holding their own. The raiders were soon dispersed and the disturbance died away.

In 1862 the administration of the portion of the district of Canara to the north of the Coondapoor taluk was transferred to the Presidency of Bombay, mainly on commercial considerations connected with the development of the cotton trade.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

Archæology.

The archæology of South Canara has not yet been properly worked out and the known architectural remains are not of any great antiquity. No discoveries have been made of any ancient cave or rock-cell sepulchres, similar to those which have been found in Malabar, and the early religious edifices of the Dravidian inhabitants of the country, were probably built in wood, as is done to some extent to this day throughout the western coast, as well as in Burmah and other places where somewhat similar climatic conditions lead to abundance of wood being available. In Canara, as elsewhere, the teaching of the Brahmin immigrants, who came in about the middle of the eighth century, did nothing to stimulate architecture, and though there are many Brahmin temples which probably existed in some form or other from a period soon after the arrival of the earliest representatives of the Tulu Brahmins, there are none of any architectural importance, nor have any inscriptions been deciphered which show at what date any portion of any of those now standing was erected.⁴⁶

Snake stones.

Snake stones or stones with the figure of serpents sculptured on them abound all over the district placed in groves, or set up by the roadside, or on raised platforms at the foot of the sacred peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and although many of them are probably of great antiquity, there is nothing whatever to indicate from what period they may be held to date. Tree and serpent worship does not seem to form an essential part of the ancient

⁴⁶ The temple at Baidur mentioned in the *Mackenzie Collection* is of comparatively modern date in its present form at any rate. It bears inscriptions of the sixteenth century.

Dravidian demon and ancestor worship, which still prevails in the district, and, as there is ample evidence of its incorporation into both Jainism and Vaishnavism, it is by no means certain that any of the stones preceded the Jains and Brahmins.

As the Rájás of the Kadamba dynasties which ruled at Banavási in North Canara and elsewhere in the early centuries of the Christian era were Jains at one time, it is probable that Jainism in South Canara preceded Vedic Brahminism, but no traces of early Jainism are now left, and building in stone seems to have begun only after a dynasty of Jain chiefs who first ruled Tuluva, as underlords of the Chálukyas, at Humcha above the ghauts, moved their capital down into Tuluva eventually to establish it at Karakal. Fergusson, the best known authority in Indian Architecture, declares that the Jain temples in Tuluva are neither in the ordinary Dravidian nor Chálukyan style, nor in that of Northern India, and thus there can be no doubt that much of the work is a reproduction in stone of the forms in use in Tuluva in wood from a very early period. Why the Dravidians of the west coast should have a style of their own resembling nothing nearer than Nepaul and Thibet and whence it came are questions which have yet to be settled. In this connection, however, it may be worth noting that the demon worship, which prevails amongst all the lower castes throughout Southern India and especially in the west coast, is probably identical with the Shamanism of High Asia, the old religion of the Tatar race.

The exact date of the migration of the Humcha chiefs from Humcha to Kalasa near the Kudre Mukh on the eastern border of the Mangalore and Uppinangadi taluks, and afterwards into Tuluva is not known, but their grants have been found at Kalasa bearing dates in the twelfth century, and they seem to have come down the Sisila ghaut and moved northwards again, taking the name of Bairasu Wodears, and eventually fixing their capital at Karakal, where a large temple was built by them in 1334 A.D. The conversion of the Ballál king Vishnuvardhana to Vaishnavism in the beginning of the twelfth century probably led to some of the Jain master-builders transferring their services to the powerful Jain chief of Tuluva, thus introducing into South Canara the practice of stone-building acquired in a country where stone is abundant and wood comparatively scarce. Besides the Bairasu Wodears there were a number of minor Jain chiefs, the most important being the Choutar of Mudbidri, the Bangar, the Ajalar, and the Múlar. All seem to have adopted the practice of building in stone without, however, changing the style of architecture.

The Jain remains of interest are of three classes, *bettus* or walled enclosures with a colossal statue, *bastis* or temples, and *stambhas* or pillars.

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Bettus, colossal statues.

The most singular of all are the *bettus*, of which only three are known to exist in the world—two in Canara, at Karakal and Yénúr and one at Srávana Belgóla in Mysore. The statue in all three represents ‘Gumta Ráj,’ with regard to whom Fergusson remarks⁴⁷ that he is not known to the Jains in the north, and no one seems to know who he was or why he is worshipped. The largest of the Canara statues is that at Karakal, which is 41 feet 5 inches in height, and is estimated to weigh about 80 tons. That at Yénúr is smaller, being only 35 feet in height. From an inscription on the Karakal statue, it appears to have been completed in 1431–32 A.D. and from the greater prominence given at Yénúr to serpents on steles alongside the legs of the statue, Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that it is older than the one at Karakal. The ground given for this opinion, however, is clearly insufficient, as at Srávana Belgóla the serpents are even less prominent than at Karakal, which would make this statue the most modern of the three, while in fact it is much older than that at Karakal. Local tradition assigns it to the time of the ancestors of the Ballál kings⁴⁸ who were first known historically in 1047 A.D. However this may be, the statue was certainly built before the conversion of the Ballál king Vishnuvardhana in the beginning of the twelfth century, after which the political power of the Jains in South India was transferred from Mysore to South Canara, and building in stone introduced into that district.

Besides being of a colossal size, the Karakal statue is rendered more striking by its situation on the top of a huge granite rock on the margin of a most picturesque little lake.

The following description of it is given in Mr. Walhouse’s article in *Fraser’s Magazine*⁴⁹ already referred to: “Upon the out-skirts of the town rises a rocky hill of generally rounded form like a basin reversed approaching 300 feet in height, its base rough and bushy, the upper slopes smooth and steep. Looking up the hill from a distance the enchanted castles of fairy tales come back to mind, for on the top is seen a castle-like wall pierced with a wide-arched entrance, and a dark gigantic form towering over it waist high. This is one of those colossal statues that are found in this part of the country, statues truly Egyptian in size, and unrivalled throughout India as detached works. On the hill-top a crenelated quadrangular wall encloses a stone platform 5 feet high, on which rises the stupendous image 45 feet in height. Nude, cut from a single mass of granite, darkened by the monsoons of centuries, the vast statue stands upright, with arms hanging straight, but not

⁴⁷ *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 267.

⁴⁸ Buchanan, p. 411.

⁴⁹ *Fraser’s Magazine*, May 1875.

“awkwardly, down the sides, in a posture of somewhat stiff but simple dignity. The form and lineaments are evidently the same with those which, from Ceylon to China and utmost Tartary, have handed down with unvarying tradition the habit as he lived of that most wondrous of mortals that ever wore flesh, Gautama Buddha

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“Remarkable it is too that the features show nothing distinctively Hindu. The hair grows in close crisp curls; the broad fleshy cheeks might make the face seem heavy, were it not for the marked and dignified expression conferred by the calm forward gazing eyes and aquiline nose, somewhat pointed at tip. The forehead is of average size, the lips very full and thick, the upper one long almost to ugliness, throwing the chin, though full and prominent, into the shade. The arms which touch the body only at the hips are remarkably long, the large well-formed hands and fingers reaching to the knees; the exigencies of the posture and material have caused the shoulders where the arms join to be rather disproportionately broad and massive. The feet, each 4 feet 9 inches long, rest on a stance, wrought from the same rock, that seems small for the immense size and weight (80 tons) of the statue, a lotus stem⁵⁰ springing at each foot is carried up in low relief twice round each leg and arm. A brief inscription at the side below tells that the image was erected by king Vira Pandia in 1432 to Bahubalin, son of Vishaba, the first Tirthankara of giant race, himself a giant, and therefore so represented, but still in the shape of the founder of that faith whence the Jain heresy diverged. A low cloister runs round the inner side of the enclosing wall, and a massive stone rail of three horizontal bars surrounds the platform. Once in sixty years the scattered Jains gather from all quarters and bathe the colossus with cocoanut milk.”

Jain *bastis* or temples are to be found, some in use at the present day, others in various stages of ruin, all over the district, but especially in the Udipi and Mangalore taluks and the northern portion of the Uppinangadi taluk. In many cases most picturesque sites have been selected for them, and with regard to Mudbidri in which there are no less than eighteen temples, Mr. Walhouse writes: ⁵¹

“No Cistercian brotherhood was wiser in choosing a dwelling place than the Jains. Their villages are ever marked by natural

⁵⁰ According to Fergusson, this is a twig of the Bo-tree of Sakyamuni, the *Ficus religiosa* or peepul, and he attributes its presence there together with the serpents on the steles to the incorporation of much of the old tree and serpent-worship in popular Buddhism and its offshoot Jainism.

⁵¹ *Fraser's Magazine* for May 1875.

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“ beauty and convenience. This one named Mudbidri is in a
 “ slight hollow on the verge of a wide rolling plain, covered after
 “ the rains with vast expanses of tall grass between flat lined
 “ elevations which are often studded with beds of a light blue
 “ gentian. The village is embowered in fruit and flower trees
 “ and intersected by a labyrinth of hollow ways or lanes worn
 “ deep by the rains and tread of generations. Rough steps
 “ ascending to a covered entrance like a lych gate lead up to the
 “ houses that stand back amongst the trees. The banks and walls
 “ built of laterite blocks black with age are shrouded with creep-
 “ ing plants, azure convolvuli, and a profusion of delicate ferns
 “ sprouting from every crevice, and words are wanting to de-
 “ scribe the exquisite varieties of grasses that wave everywhere
 “ on walls and roofs. Bird-of-paradise plumes, filmiest gossamer,
 “ wisps of delicate spun glass, hardly equal in fairy fineness the
 “ pale green plummy tufts that spring in unregarded loveliness
 “ after the monsoon. Shade and seclusion brood over the peaceful
 “ neighbourhood, and in the midst stands the greatest of the Jain
 “ temples built nearly five centuries ago. It is undesecrated,
 “ very extensive and magnificent, containing, it is said, on and
 “ about it a thousand pillars, and no two alike. In the prophylæum
 “ are several of great size, the lower halves square, the
 “ upper round and lessening, recalling Egyptian forms, and all
 “ covered with a wondrous wealth of sculptured gods, monsters,
 “ leaf and flower work and astonishing arabesque interlacement,
 “ cut with admirable cleanness. One quadrangular face bears a
 “ hymn graven curiously in twenty-five small square compart-
 “ ments, each containing four compound words, which may be
 “ read as verses in all directions, up or down, along or across. On
 “ the outer pediment there is a long procession of various animals,
 “ living and mythical, among them the centaur and mermaid and
 “ an excellent representation of a giraffe

“ The temple is of three storeys with roofs rising over one
 “ another in a curious Chinese fashion, the uppermost covered
 “ with copper sheets, laid on like slates, a very beautiful pillar
 “ stands in front inferior in height only to that at Karakal and
 “ crowned with a capital and canopied entablature of delicate
 “ open stonework ending in a highly enriched flame-like finial.
 “ Sitting in the prophylæum amongst the wonderful columns, the
 “ ponderous doors, themselves most elaborately carved, are pushed
 “ back, and a dark interior disclosed. Entrance is forbidden, but
 “ presently down in the gloom a light glimmers and small lamps
 “ are lit, encircling a high arched recess, and revealing a polished
 “ brass image, apparently 8 or 10 feet in height standing within.
 “ This is Chandranáth, the eighth Tirthankara, bearing all the

“invariable Buddha form and lineaments. The tall brazen image seen far down in the mysterious gloom wears a strange unearthly appearance, and after gazing for some time the limbs and features seem as though moving under the flickering play of the light.”

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Two illustrations representing the exterior of this temple and a wood cut of a richly carved pillar inside it are given in Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*,⁵² and he states that the architecture of the Jain temples in Tuluva is neither the Dravidian style of the south nor that of Northern India, and indeed is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepaul. The reverse slopes of the eaves above the verandahs is the feature which specially resembles the styles common in Nepaul, and he considers it so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than re-invented. He describes the exterior of the temples as much plainer than Hindu temples usually are, and he considers that the sloping roofs of the verandahs are so evidently wooden that the style itself cannot be far removed from a wooden original; in support of this view he mentions that in many places on the west coast below the ghauts the temples are still wholly constructed in wood without any admixture of stone, and almost all the features of the Mudbidri temples may be found in wood at the present day. With regard to the interiors of the temples he remarks that they are in marked contrast with the plainness of the exteriors, and nothing can exceed the richness and variety with which they are carved. No two pillars seem alike and many are ornamented to an extent that may seem almost fantastic, and this again is an indication of their recent descent from a wooden original as long habit of using stone would have sobered their forms.

In this connection, Mr. Logan, in his *Manual of the Malabar District*, states that the buildings of the kind in Malabar are invariably built of wood in all their characteristic portions, and points out that the style of architecture noted by Fergusson marks out better than anything else the limits of the ancient kingdom of Chéra; for the style prevails all through the west coast country from the limits of Canara to Cape Comorin, having been adopted even for Muhammadan mosques.⁵³ Building in stone in Canara seems to date from the time when Jain stone-cutters followed the Jain chiefs of Humcha down the ghauts from the Mysore plateau, where stone is much more easily procured than wood.

The Jain temple at Karakal, though inferior in size to that at Mudbidri, is not without interest. In plan and general appearance,

⁵² Pp. 271-273.

⁵³ *Manual of the Malabar District*, pp. 185 (note) and 186.

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it differs considerably from most of the Jain temples in the district, and seems to bear a greater resemblance to the old Jain-temples found in other parts of India. It bears the earliest inscription which has been found, 1334 A.D., and may have been built before the builders introduced or trained by the Bairasu Wodears had conceived the idea of adopting the local wooden forms. Mr. Fergusson does not allude to it, but in Mr. Walhouse's article already quoted from, the following remarks on the Karakal temple come after his description of the statue: "On a broad rocky platform below the hill on the side next the town stands a remarkable Jain temple, much differing from the ordinary Hindu style; square with a projecting columned portico facing each of the four quarters. The columns, quadrangular for a third of their height, pass into rounded sections separated by cable bands, and have the sides and sections richly decorated with deities, and most graceful and intricate arabesque designs, rosettes and stars, leaf and scroll work, in endless combination, all made out of the carver's brain, wrought almost as finely as Chinese ivory work. The friezes and pediments round the porticoes and temples are ornamented in like manner, and frequently a stone in the wall displays some quaint wonderfully well-cut device; a hundred-petalled flower disc, two serpents inextricably intertwined, or a grotesque head surrounded with fruitage. The temple is roofed with immense overlapping flagstones, and bore some sort of cupola now ruined in the centre. On the massive folding doors of one of the four portals being rolled back, a strange sight is disclosed. In a large dark square recess immediately facing the entrance stand three life-sized images of burnished copper, the counterparts of the great statue on the hill above, each resembling each, and looking weird and unearthly in the gloom of the adytum as the light through the opening doors falls upon them. A like triad stands within each of the other three entrances."

As an instance of a different variety of the characteristic style of Tuluva Jain architecture, Fergusson gives an illustration of small five-pillared shrine beside a Jain temple at Guruvayankere⁵⁴ with three upper chambers and at the base a number of stones bearing images of serpents, and states that he knows no other instance of a shrine with five pillars or with access to the upper chambers. On the following page he portrays some of the tombs of priests at Mudbidri and remarks: "They vary much in size and magnificence, some being from three to five or seven storeys in height, but they are not, like the storeys of Dravidian temples,

⁵⁴ Misspelt as "Gurusankerry" at p. 276 of Fergusson's *History of the Indian Architecture*.

“ornamented with simulated cells and finished with domical roofs. CHAP. II.
 “The division of each storey is a sloping roof like those of the HISTORY AND
 “pagodas at Katmandhu and in China or Thibet. In India they ARCHÆOLOGY.
 “are quite anomalous.”

The *stambhas* or pillars are certainly the most beautiful of Stambhas.
 the architectural remains of Canara, and though not peculiar to
 Jain architecture, it is in connection with Jain temples that the
 only really fine specimens are to be found, and these are said in
 Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture* to be more frequent and
 more elaborately adorned than anywhere else. He gives a wood-
 cut of one at Guruvayankere⁵⁵ which he considers a fair aver-
 age specimen of its class, and describes the sub-base as square and
 spreading, the base itself square and changing into an octagon,
 and thence into a polygonal figure approaching a circle, and
 above a wide-spreading capital of most elaborate design. Un-
 doubtedly the finest *stambha* remaining in the district is at
 Haléangadi close to Karakal, with reference to which Mr. Wal-
 house writes:⁵⁶ “A single shaft of stone, 33 feet in length,
 “stands on a high pedestal composed of three stages square at the
 “base, each side of which bears a large four-sided panel, filled
 “with an indescribably intricate design of interlaced lines, cut
 “sharply in relief; each different, and framed with a different
 “quilloched border. A band of scroll work and monsters runs
 “round beneath, differing in design on each side, and above there
 “is a deep fringe of tasselled ornament, over which the figure on
 “the hill is cut in relief. Above this the monolith rises in eight
 “segments, separated by mouldings, the first octagonal, each
 “face bearing a different arabesque ornament, the next two seg-
 “ments are sixteen-sided with every alternate face decorated, and
 “the following two, each with thirty-two sides, one in four being
 “engraved. Then comes a segment left smooth and plain, next
 “one with a deep tassel and fringe pattern, and lastly the capital
 “rests on a segment slightly narrowing, then swelling, richly
 “adorned with fretwork and beaded mouldings. It is not easy
 “to describe the capital; a broad concave moulding ribbed on the
 “surface bends round umbrella like over the neck of the shaft,
 “and above this are two other solid round mouldings, the upper
 “and larger supporting a solid square abacus, from whose corners
 “depend stone pomegranates. The whole is crowned with an
 “elegant shrine of four short pillars carrying a voluted canopy,
 “under which is an image of the deity. Nothing can exceed the

⁵⁵ *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 276. The place is by mistake called Guru-
 sankere.

⁵⁶ *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1875.

“stately grace and beautiful proportions of this wonderful pillar, whose total height may be 50 feet.”⁵⁷

In most parts of Canara, and notably at Karakal and Muddidri the Jain chiefs were allowed to retain power as feudatories under the Vijayanagar kings, and to some extent even under the Bednore Rájas, and consequently buildings there show merely such signs of decay as are necessarily to be found in the case of a waning faith whose adherents are gradually dying out, but Brahminical supremacy does not seem to have been obtained without leaving some traces of religious persecution behind, and at Barkúr the traditional capital of Tuluva under the old Jain Kadamba kings, and which again appears to have been a stronghold of local Jainism after the death of the royal convert to Vaishnavism, the Hoysal Ballál king Vishnuvardhana, not a single remnant of the Jain faith is now to be found, except in a state of utter ruin. The Védic Brahmins came in the middle of the eighth century as allies of the Banavási Kadambas, and there is no reason to believe that any religious war occurred at that time. Traditions differ as to whether Vishnuvardhana marked his conversion by persecution, but there seems to be no doubt that his successors' overlordship was not acknowledged by the local Jain chiefs, one of whom after a civil war attained to power in Barkúr in the middle of the thirteenth century, and it was not till nearly the middle of the fourteenth that a Vijayanagar governor was installed there. It is probable that some damage was done then, and the destruction completed in the beginning of the seventeenth century when a Lingáyat Ikkeri Rája defeated and slew Baira Dévi, the Jain Queen of Bhatcal and is said to have almost extirpated the Jains in the province of Barkúr. The present state of that place is thus described by Mr. Walhouse: “Barcore in the north of the province was of old the capital of the Jaina kings. It must have been a vast city, and the long lines of grassy mounds, hillocks and hollows, and remnants of walls and masonry extend over hundreds of acres, and upright stones richly sculptured with battle scenes or mythological subjects may be noticed on all sides. Groves and clusters of trees cover most of the area now with here and there a group of houses and a temple, but always a Brahmin temple; the conquering religion rules there, and no Jain passes through, for the broken and headless images of his Tírthankaras may be picked up by the dozen among the grass and bushes that have crept over his shattered temples, and here and there one may be seen laid before the entrance of a Brahmin temple over which all must tread.”

⁵⁷ See remarks about Bhútal Pandiya at p. 62.

With reference to the allusion to the 'conquering religion,' however, it is to be remarked that in Canara there are no traditions of religious wars and persecutions and massacres of Jains, such as prevail throughout the ancient kingdom of Madura. Jains and Brahmins seem ordinarily to have lived peaceably together, and Jain landowners at the present time take part in the management of Brahmin temples. The sweeping destruction of Jain edifices at Barkúr seems to have been quite exceptional.

The old forts in South Canara possess little or no architectural or archæological value. The ruined fort at Barkúr is assigned by tradition to Harihara Raya, the Vijayanagar Rájá, who first established his power in Canara. The old fort at Mangalore, of which only traces remain, is probably on the same site as that of the Bangar chief, which Della Valle in 1623 described as situated to the north of the Portuguese Settlement of Mangalore and destroyed by the Bednore Rájá, Venkatappa Naik, a short time before his visit. The forts to the south of Mangalore, notably Chandragiri, Békál and Hosdrug, were strongholds of the Bednore Rájás, who never had more than a somewhat precarious footing in that part of the district. Probably they were in existence long before and were merely improved by the Bednoreans. The Chandragiri fort occupies a very strong position on a high hill overlooking the Chandragiri river. The Békál fort is a very large one picturesquely placed above a rocky sea-shore.

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