

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

AT present very little is known about the pre-history of the region. It may be said that the early man must have found it very difficult to settle in this area which was full of dense, trackless and mountainous forests infested by snakes and wild animals. Dr. B. A. Saletore is of the view that the western coast of India had trans-oceanic trade about the beginning of the second millennium B.C.1 Perhaps by that time, this tract also might have been inhabited to some extent. As an indication of the antiquity of the trade between Egypt and India, it may be mentioned that mummies of Egyptian tombs, about 4,000 years old, were found wrapped in Indian muslin; but it cannot be said with certainty that this Indian product reached Egypt by sea from the west-coast ports. But the later trade (about 900 B.C.) between Tyre and India, it is asserted by scholars, was unquestionably by sea, and the cinnamon and cassia, as well as the apes, peacocks and ivory said in the Bible to have been imported by King Solomon are common west-coast products.

The "Gramapaddhati"² of the Tulu Brahmins, which is a compilation of legends, says that Tuluva and Haiga were created by Parashurama by reclaiming from the sea as much land as he could by throwing his axe from the top of the Western Ghats. Probably, Parashurama (which means 'Rama with axe') was the leader of the early colonisers of the west-coast region who wielded the axe to clear the dense forests for making the area fit for human habitation. A tradition says that Parashurama erected a temple on the Kunjaragiri hill near Udipi in honour of his mother. According to a legend, Arjuna founded the Shaiva temple at Aduru in Kasaragod taluk (which is now in Kerala State). The local hill-tops, Pushpagiri, near which stands the celebrated temple of Subrahmanya and Kutashaila or Kodachadri near Kollur, the abode of goddess Mukambika, are said to be the same as are spoken of in the Markandeya Purana. Some of the rivers flowing in the region such as the Kumaradhara, Payaswini, Chandragiri and

**Traditions
and legends**

Netravati appear to be among those alluded to in the Markandeya, Vayu and Bhavishyottara Puranas.

Some traditions indigenous to this district are found in the folk-songs Paddanas and in the accounts of holy places called *Sthala-Mahatmyas* or *Sthala-Puranas* also. The Paddanas, which are simple in style, are mostly panegyrics composed and sung in honour of legendary heroes or heroines. The "Gramapaddhati" referred to already gives an elaborate traditional account of the region right from the time of its legendary creation up to some recent centuries. Details regarding the story of Mayurasharma who is said to have brought the Brahmins from Ahichchhatra,³ his allotment of lands among them, rules and regulations relating to village assemblies, duties of State officials, description of cases of trial in courts of law, details connected with holy places, all these and more find their place in this lore. Its authorship cannot be ascribed to any one particular individual with any amount of certainty, nor can its time of compilation be definitely determined. This narrative in some form or other must have been in existence for a long time, but the form in which it has come down to us might have taken its shape sometime in the 16th or 17th century.

**Earliest
references**

This region was known to the early Tamils as 'Tulunadu' which finds a mention in a song of poet Mamulanar⁴ of the Sangam age (the first three or four centuries A.D.). M. Govinda Pai identifies the island-kingdom of Harita mentioned in the Vishnu-Parva of 'Harivamsha' (placed in the third century A.D.⁵) (chapter 38) with the present Tulunadu and the word 'Mudgara' appearing therein with the word 'Moger' which is the name of the main caste of fishermen of South Kanara. He opines that 'Mudgara' is only Sanskritisation of 'Moger'.⁶ His other view is that once upon a time, the entire coastal strip from North Kanara to Kanyakumari had been inhabited by the Naga people (*i.e.*, people who had the serpent as their totem or who worshipped the serpent) belonging to the 'Shankhakula' or conch-shell tribe and was included in the region called Nagarakhanda, and that Shankhachuda of the story of Jeemootavahana appearing in several Sanskrit works including Shriharsha's famous play 'Nagananda' was a Naga of this Shankha tribe.⁷ This view, if confirmed by more evidence, would not only throw light on the religious beliefs of the very early period of Tuluva, but also take the antiquity of the district to the centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era, for the original story of Jeemootavahana, it is stated, appears in a Pali work called Jatakathakatha of that period.⁸ About identification of "Satiyaputo", "Satiyapute" and "Satiyaputra" appearing in Asoka's edicts, various views were put forth by scholars as to which part of South India was indicated by the name. After examining all the older theories and by a process of

elimination, Dr. K. V. Ramesh has arrived at the conclusion that the Satiyaputras of the Asokan edicts are no other than the people of this region.⁹ Dr. Gururaja Bhatt has pointed out that 'Sadiya' occurs even now as a family name among the Mogaveera and Billava castes.¹⁰

The trade between the west-coast of India and the Mediterranean countries has been frequently alluded to by Greek and Roman writers, and though the identifications of many of the place names referred to by them are doubtful, it may safely be regarded as certain that South Kanara had its own share in this ancient trade with the west, both directly from its own ports and by means of inter-portal trade with the large emporia. In the first century of the Christian era, the author of the *Periplus* states that the Egyptians exported woollen and linen cloth, wine and bullion to India and received in return spices, gems, silk, pepper, ivory, cotton, betel and tortoise-shell. Some of these probably went from South Kanara.

Early Greek notices

The earliest Greek notices of Tuluva date from the times of Pliny (A.D. 23) who refers to the 'pirates' that infested the western coast of India between Muziris¹¹ and a mart which he calls Nitrias. Some scholars are of the opinion that Nitrias should be looked for in the North Kanara district; but, as has been observed by Dr. Saletore, the resemblance between Nitrias and the Netravati is worth noting. "Pliny's Barace", says Dr. Saletore "is undoubtedly Basaruru, the Barcelore of later times".¹² The next Greek geographer in whose account the ports of Tuluva find mention is Ptolemy (about 150 A.D.) Ptolemy states that "in the midst of the false mouth and the Barios, there is a city called Maganur".¹³ This Maganur has been identified with Mangalore, though the meaning of 'the Barios' has not been made out. Ptolemy also speaks of one of the inland centres of pirates which he calls Oloikhora. This word has been interpreted to mean Alvakheda,¹⁴ meaning the Aluva or Alupa territory.

There is another very remarkable source of information of about the same age as Ptolemy's. It indicates that the ports of Tuluva were well-known to the Greeks in the second century A.D. A papyrus of the second century A.D. discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, contains a Greek farce with "some passages in an unknown language", which M. Govinda Pai has read as Kannada. The plot of this farce runs thus: A Greek lady named Charition fell into the hands of the king of this region (Tuluva). A Greek party arrived on the coast of Tuluva to liberate her and after making the king and his men drunk with wine, they effected their escape with Charition. Opinion is divided on the nature of the language of this farce; some scholars, agreeing with Pai, hold the view that it is a form of old Kannada. Dr. Saletore, for instance,

says: ".....there cannot be any doubt that they, (*i.e.*, the passages) are in Purvada Hale Kannada". He further states that the farce contains one name which conclusively proves that the scene of action narrated in the farce was laid on the coast of Tuluva¹⁵ This is the name of Malpe, the administrative official of which (Nayaka) is mentioned (Malpe Naik) in the clearest terms in the papyrus. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also supports this view. However, this opinion in regard to the Greek farce is not accepted by other scholars. Several theories have been put forth about the origin of the name Tuluva or Tulunadu, for which please see Chapter I.

The political history of Tuluva from the early centuries of the Christian era to the annexation of the district by the British in A.D. 1799 may be broadly divided into (i) the Alupa period; (ii) the Vijayanagara period; (iii) the period of the Keladi Nayakas; and (iv) the period of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. There were also several minor principalities in the district.

THE ALUPA PERIOD

The exact meaning of the word Alupa is a subject of controversy. According to Dr. Saletore, the word Alupa is derived from Aluka. "It stands for Shesha¹⁶ and, as Fleet rightly remarked, denotes the Naga origin of the dynasty".¹⁷ This theory gains some support from the researches of Govinda Pai mentioned earlier, in respect of the story of Jeemootavahana, etc. But if we accept the identification of Ptolemy's Oloikhora with Alvakheda¹⁸ of the Mavali inscription of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III (A.D. 793-814), the earliest variant of the name turns out to be Alva or Aluva rather than Aluka. The forms in which the name appears are also Alupa, Aluva and Alva, while the form Aluka appears only once in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesha, the Western Chalukyan ruler (596-610) and in the Maraturu epigraph of the seventh century.

Dr. Saletore says that the Alupas were of Naga origin which is "proved by two facts—the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Alupa stone inscription in the Gollara-Ganapati temple at Mangalore and the ultra-Shaivite tendencies of which the Alupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions"¹⁹ (Dr. Ramesh has rightly pointed out that the Alupas were Shaivites, but not ultra-Shaivites). The Vaddarse inscription of the seventh century A.D. clearly mentions the name of Aluva. Hultzsch has opined that the derivation of the word Aluva is from the Dravidian word 'Al' or 'Alu' meaning to rule, to govern: Aluvan (or Aluva), Alvan (or Alva) or Alupan (or Alupa) means a ruler or king. This derivation was first given by Hultzsch

and seems to have some truth in it. It is quite possible that the word originally meant only a 'ruler' or 'chief' and it became a family name only later on. We have a parallel instance of this kind in the survival of the name 'Vodeya' or 'Vodeyaru' in the modern surname or family name 'Odeyar' or 'Wodeyar'. A third derivation has been suggested for the word Alupa from 'Alive' or 'Aluve' meaning the mouth of a river in Kannada and Tamil or 'Aluvam' meaning sea, or coast in Tamil. This derivation, which appears to have been based on the geographical position of Udayavara, does not find enough support from scholars.

While there is controversy about the origin of the word Alupa, there seems to be little difference of opinion regarding the antiquity of the Alupa family. Undoubtedly, the dynasty, which, in all probability, was of local origin, was of considerable antiquity. In a Sanskrit work entitled 'Prapancha Hridaya' (pp. 3-4) (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 45), 'Aluva' is mentioned as one of the Sapta-Konkanas (seven Konkanas) reclaimed by Parashurama from the sea. But unfortunately, the exact period of this work is not known.

**Antiquity of
the Alupas**

We come across a reference to an Alupa ruler in the famous inscription of Halmidi (Hassan district) which is assigned by some scholars to about 450 A.D. It records a grant and mentions a battle fought on behalf of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman between the combined forces of the Kadambas, Sendrakas and Banas and those of the Kekayas and Pallavas. This grant was recommended by Pashupati who was the king of the Alupas and chief commander of the Kadamba forces.

In a lithic record of Kadamba Ravivarma (c. 485-519 A.D.) discovered recently at Gudnapur near Banavasi, which is considered to be of early sixth century, the Alupa ruler is mentioned as one of his subordinate chiefs. In an Aihole inscription of Pulikeshin II, dated in the year 634-635 A.D. also, there is a reference to the Alupa lord. The earliest inscription in which the form 'Aluva' occurs is the Harihara copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayaditya (A.D. 681-696); this grant is dated 694 A.D. But an earlier inscription, *i.e.*, the Mahakuta pillar inscription dated 602 of the Chalukya king Mangalesha referred to already, mentions 'Aluka' as one of the countries conquered by his predecessor Kirtivarma I (566-596) and this has been taken to mean the same as 'Aluva'. The epithet 'Mulah' used in connection with the Aluvas (as also the Gangas) in the Harihara grant clearly indicates that the family had already become an ancient one. Finally, if the identification of Ptolemy's Oloikhora with the Alvakheda of the Mavali inscription of Govinda III (791-814) is accepted, the antiquity of the Alupa dynasty goes as far back as the second century A.D.

The name of Bhutalapandya has taken deep roots in the Tuluva tradition and is held in great veneration by the Tulu people. According to a tradition, it was Bhutalapandya that gave the region its law of inheritance through the female line. Summing up his criticism of the story of Bhutalapandya, Saletore says: "On purely historical grounds, it may be asserted that there was never a person called Bhutalapandya in Tuluva, but that stories concerning the depredation of Pandyan agents gained currency in Tuluva resulting in a legend concerning an imaginary hero of the name Bhutalapandya."²⁰ But Venkoba Rao²¹ and M. Govinda Pai²², on the other hand, believe in the historicity of this figure. The latter derives the name from the three words Bhuta, Alupa and Pandya and opines that he was perhaps a product of the matrimonial relations between a Pandya prince and an Alupa princess. He further says that Bhutalapandya came to Tulunadu because it was his mother's place and perhaps became its king after his maternal uncle's death, according to the prevailing *Aliya-Santana-Kattu* (the system of inheritance through the female line). But this view is not accepted by other scholars.

Though thus there is some evidence for the existence of the Alupa dynasty during the early centuries of the Christian era, there is practically no very clear historical information available regarding the early history of this dynasty, upto the beginning of the sixth century A.D. But we may form a faint idea about the earliest period of the Alupas from the observations made by the Greek writers. The Alupas, in all probability, were in the beginning, tribal chiefs of local origin. The best evidence in this connection is, of course, Ptolemy, for it is he who speaks of Oloikhora and thus makes a direct reference to the Alupas. This Oloikhora, he says, was "one of the inland centres of pirates".²³ But this use of the word "pirate" has given rise to differing views among some scholars. M. Govinda Pai suggests that the form 'Andron peiraton' in the existing copy of Ptolemy's work may be a mistake and that Ptolemy might have originally written 'Andron Apeiranton' meaning 'the people of Aparanta'.²⁴ But Ptolemy is not the only person who refers to the 'pirates' of the west coast. As we have already seen, Pliny also refers to the pirates that infested the region between Muziris and Nitrias. Perhaps, in those days there were some tribes in the coastal region, each of which included a band of fighters headed by a chieftain, some of whom possibly lived by piracy.

Now when we come from the origin to the early history of the Alupas, we have no means to know what the condition was until about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Most probably, there were a number of petty chiefs who often engaged in internecine wars until about the beginning of the sixth century, when one of them ultimately rose above the rest. This person,

though we do not know his name, was, for all practical purposes, the founder of what has come down to us as the Alupa dynasty. It may be said with certainty that the Alupa kingdom had later gained sufficient prominence by about the beginning of the sixth century, since its subjugation has been mentioned by the Kadamba king Ravivarman as already mentioned and in the list of conquests of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (566-596).²⁵ The reference here is only to the dynasty or kingdom and not to the name of the Alupa ruler. It has been assumed that the relations between the Western Chalukyas and the Alupas remained the same under Kirtivarman's successor Mangalesha. From the Aihole inscription dated 634-635 of Pulikeshin II (609-642), alluded to earlier, it appears that the Alupas had rebelled and were reduced to submission by this Chalukya king. It is only when we come to Vikramaditya I's son and successor, Vinayaditya (681-696), that we come across the first prominent historical figure in the history of the Alupas. It appears that the Alupa ruler was one of those chiefs who helped Vikramaditya I in re-establishing the Chalukya empire after the disaster it had met with at the hands of the Pallavas. The Maraturu grant of Vikramaditya I dated in the year 663 A.D. invokes *akshaya-phala* upon Aluka-Maharaja and mentions him as having traversed a long way from Mangalapura.

The Aluka-Maharaja referred to in the Maraturu grant is identified with Aluvarasa I (650-680 A.D. ?). The inscriptions found at Vaddarse (Udipi taluk) of c. 650 A.D. and at Kigga (Sringeri taluk of Chikmagalur district) of c. 675 A.D. belong to his reign. Mangalapura (the present Mangalore city) was his capital and Mahadevi was his queen. It appears that in recognition of his services to the Chalukya emperor, he was given or confirmed in the overlordship of Kadamba-mandala and Pombuchcha. **Aluvarasa I**

The next Alupa ruler who seems to have ascended the throne in 680 A.D. was Chitravahana I who was the contemporary of Vinayaditya and his epigraphs throw some light on the early history of the Alupas. Some seven inscriptions concerning him have been found in various districts. A copper plate grant of 692 A.D. discovered at Sorab in Shimoga district, which pertains to the grant of a village by the minister for peace and war of the Chalukya king to one Divakarasharma who was proficient in the Rigveda, at the request of the Alupa ruler, calls the Alupa ruler 'Maharaja Chitravaha' and says that he was the illustrious son of Gunasagara. Another epigraph found at Harihara also pertains to the grant of land to a learned Brahmin. Since the grant is dated 694, only two years after the above grant, the Aluva Raja referred to therein has been assumed to be 'no other than Chitravahana (I) himself'.²⁶ Maharaja Chitravahana was a patron of learning. He also seems to have been particularly in the good grace of his suzerain. Both the villages granted on **Chitravahana I**

these occasions were included in the Edevolal Vishaya of the Banavasi region.

One of the Kigga inscriptions states that when Aluvarasa (who had the second name of Gunasagara) was ruling over the Kadambamandala, Aluvarasa, Mahadevi and Chitravahana, gave some grants to the Kilaganeshwara temple free of all imposts, on the death of Kundavarmarasa. The king Kundavarmarasa introduced in this inscription was, according to Rice, a Kadamba king.²⁷ But Saletore opines that this is not in keeping with the sense of the inscription and believes that he was Aluvarasar Gunasagara's father, and, therefore, Chitravahana's grandfather.²⁸ The latter view certainly fits more appropriately in the subject-matter of the epigraph. The name Kundavarma is not unknown to the Alupa genealogy, as later on, it was borne by another Alupa king. Thus, these three inscriptions would help us to trace back the Alupa history to two generations beyond Chitravahana, the contemporary of the Chalukya king Vinayaditya.

From the Kigga inscription referred to above, one more point emerges which requires some explanation. Therein we are told that Aluvarasar Gunasagara was in possession of Kadambamandala at the time when the grant in question was made. How this came to be had been a matter of some controversy. While dealing with Chitravahana, Rice says: "Why Chitravahana was ruling from Pombuchcha (modern Humcha in the Shimoga district) which was the Santara capital, does not appear clear"²⁹ Saletore's explanation for this is as follows: "Obviously after the repeated conquests of the Kadambas by Kirtivarma I and again by Pulikeshin II, they had joined hands with the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas. The only road along which the Keralas, who were the western allies of the Pallavas, could advance against the Western Chalukyas was either through Alvakheda or the ghat region across the Kongu country. If Pombuchcha, which later on became the capital of the Santalige-Thousand and the Kadambamandala, were entrusted to the charge of the Alupas who were the hereditary allies of the Western Chalukyas, the latter could not only safeguard their territory against an attack by the Keralas but direct safely their attention against the Pallavas along the eastern frontier."³⁰ Regarding the Alupa rule in the Kadambamandala, Moraes conjectures that Pulikeshin II, after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief and to realize this end he divided their territories among the Alupas who received the Kadambamandala, and the Sendrakas, who secured the Nagarakhanda division.³¹ Saletore says that his argument also explains the marked favour which Vinayaditya showed to Chitravahana I. There is no doubt that the Alupas were allies of the Chalukyas and Aluvarasa I must

have helped Vikramaditya I, thereby strengthening the relationship. But apart from political reasons, there appears to be another more natural and stronger reason; a Chalukya princess named Kunkuma Mahadevi³² was given in marriage to Chitravahana and hence there is no wonder if Vinayaditya showed any special favour to Chitravahana.

During the reign of Chitravahana, there broke out a civil war in Udayavara. Details of this strife are gathered from some stone inscriptions found near the Shambhukallu temple and in a private garden in Udayavara, in the Mahalingeshwara temple at Kota, at Kariyangala and in the Durga-Parameshwari temple at Polali-Ammunje. None of these inscriptions is dated; on palaeographical basis, however, they are all said to belong to the same age. It appears that Chitravahana I was away from his capital Udayavara for about two years from 692 to 694. During his absence, the capital seems to have been entrusted to the charge of one Ranasagara who may have been a brother or a near relative of Chitravahana I. That Ranasagara was ruling not only over Udayavara but over other parts of the Alvakheda also is proved by this inscription. We then see Chitravahana attacking Ranasagara, who, for some reason, seems to have proved hostile to him. Ranasagara was defeated. But after some time, he again appears to have attacked Udayavara which fell into his hands. But his success was short-lived; he was again attacked; this time by one Shvetavahana, presumably on behalf of Chitravahana who may have died by this time. What happened to Ranasagara is not known. Shvetavahana in his turn is then attacked by Prithvisagara who is crowned at the capital. It has been surmised that Shvetavahana was the son or a near relative of Chitravahana I and that Prithvisagara was the son of Ranasagara. Prithvisagara was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya, who assumed the title Adhiraja, in addition to the names Alupendra and Uttama Pandya which were also borne by Prithvisagara.

Civil war in
Udayavara

Aluvarasa II (c. 730-765 A.D.) succeeded Chitravahana as ruler. From the Mallam inscription of Nandivarman II (731-795 A.D.), a Pallava king of Kanchi, it appears that the Alupas now owed allegiance to the Pallavas. The rule of the Chalukyas of Badami had come to an end about 753 A.D. when the Rashtrakuta prince Dantidurga defeated the Chalukya king Kirtivarma II. With this, the Alupas lost control over the Kadambamandala, but their sway over Pombuchcha continued. In the context of the political configuration of the period, for reasons of security, they had to seek alliance with one or the other bigger power and in the circumstances, it is obvious, that they accepted the suzerainty of the Pallavas.

Aluvarasa II

Chitravahana II

If the reconstruction of the civil war in Udayavara given earlier is only 'probable', the identification of the successor of Vijayaditya Alupendra is also equally probable. There has been found in the Basti-Hittalu of Mavaligrama of the Sorab taluk, a stone-inscription of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III (783-814) which mentions one Chitravahana as ruling over the Alvakheda-6,000 as a rebel. This inscription is not dated; but it has been assigned to about 800 on the basis of the statements made in it that at that time Prabhutavarsha Govindarasa was ruling the 'whole world' and Rajaditya was ruling the Banavasi region. This Chitravahana was formerly identified with Chitravahana I. But Saletore says that the Chitravahana mentioned in the Rashtrakuta record cannot be identified with Chitravahana I and styles him Chitravahana II.³³ This Alupa chief appears to have ruled from 765 to 800 A.D. The Rashtrakutas after once establishing themselves by breaking the power of the Western Chalukyas in 753, had begun to extend their dominance in the south. Their king Dhruva (c. 780-793) vanquished the Ganga king Shivamara and imprisoned him and also extended his arms into the Pallava country. This state of affairs, quite possibly, was not accepted coolly by the Alupas who had been the feudatories and allies of and had very cordial relations with the Western Chalukyas for a long time. About this time, according to the Velvikkudi Plates, a Pandyan ruler named Sadaiyan Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira attacked Mangalapura (modern Mangalore) and Chitravahana was perhaps asked by the Banavasi viceroy Rajaditya or the Rashtrakuta vassal Kolli Pallava Nolamba (this is not clear in the Mavaligrama inscription referred to above) either to oppose Ranadhira or to assist them in repelling him. Chitravahana II did "not listen to orders" and a battle ensued between the two parties.

Prithvisagara

Now the Alupa territory shrunk further, as they were expelled from a part of the Pombuchcha region.³⁴ As a result of the civil war mentioned earlier, for a short time there were two rulers, namely, Shvetavahana (son of Chitravahana II?) and Prithvisagara (son of Ranasagara?). The latter seems to have gained the upper hand ultimately and was succeeded by Maramma Aluvarasar (c. 840-870 A.D.). He was also called Vijayaditya-Alupendra and Uttama Pandya. Taking advantage of the political situation of the period, he assumed titles like Parameshvara and Adhirajaraja. During his reign, there was peace and some prosperity in the region. At this time, one Arakella was administering the area around Udayapura. The Gangas of Talakad, who had taken up arms against the Rashtrakutas, were assisted by the Alupa ruler. Maramma was succeeded by Vimaladitya (c. 870-900 A.D.). During the latter's reign, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II (878-914 A.D.) sent an expedition to Alvakheda to chastise the Alupas who had helped the rebellious Gangas of

Talakad. This resulted in the death of Vimaladitya and Alva-kheda came under the firm control of the Rashtrakutas. It is interesting to note that Rananjaya was crowned by the Rashtrakutas and one Indapaiah was appointed to exercise control over the Alupa ruler. One of the inscriptions dated in the eleventh century A.D. mentions that Chagi Santara, son of Vikrama Santara, married Enjaladevi, a daughter of Rananjaya, and he became successor of the Alupa king from c. 900-930 A.D.³⁵

The next ruler we hear of is Dattalapendra Shrimara, who has been placed round about c. 930-950 A.D., on the strength of a solitary stone-inscription found in the Someshwara temple at Mudukeri in Barakuru. This inscription is undated, but it mentions the ruler's spiritual adviser named Ganga-Shivacharya whose age has been roughly determined on some other grounds. The queen of Dattalapendra Shrimara was Oddama Devi. **Dattalapendra Shrimara**

A broken lithic record at Venur in Karkal taluk assigns a reign of 30 years to Kundavarma (c. 950-980 A.D.). Another inscription of about 968 A.D. found in the Manjunatha temple at Kadri (Mangalore), which is in the Grantha script, says that he removed the traitor Datta-Alupa and recovered the kingdom. It describes the king "as equal to Karna in liberality or charity, to Arjuna in valour, to Indra in wealth and to Brihaspati in knowledge and wisdom". He continued to be a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. **Kundavarma**

The next ruler was Jayasimha I (c. 980-1010 A.D.), according to an undated inscription of about the tenth century A.D. found at Talangere in Kasaragod taluk (now in Kerala State). This record traces his descent to Gautama, Saradvat, Santanu, Kripa and Salya and extols him as the crest jewel among the Kshatriyas and as the abode of the goddesses of fortune, learning and victory. It mentions the gift made by him of a piece of land near Puttur to a damsel.³⁶ The Chola king Raja-Raja I and his son Rajendra and his general Panchava-Maharaya, in the course of their conquests, attacked the Alupa kingdom. In the fight that followed Jayasimha I perhaps lost his life. The Chola soldiers appear to have established themselves at the capital city of Barakuru for some time, for a part of it has been called Chauliya or Cholara-Keri. **Jayasimha I**

Bankideva Alupendra I, who was probably the son of Jayasimha I, strove hard to oust the Chola army from his kingdom. The Santara ruler and other chieftains joined hands with Bankideva for freeing their territories from the Cholas. On the evidence of contemporary foreign history and that of three stone-inscriptions (two of which are undated) which clearly deal with him, he has been placed from about 1020 to 1050 A.D. The two records **Bankideva Alupendra I**

specifically mentioning this ruler were found in the Someshwara temple at Mudukeri in Barakuru. Both break off at the end but give us some details about the titles of the king and the territories over which he ruled. The statements occurring in these records, that "he established his own command in the Tulu-Vishaya," that the Santalige-Thousand was under him, etc., taken together with his high-sounding *birudas*, would go a long way in proving that he was one of the great Alupa rulers, who had some conquests to his credit and who enjoyed complete independence within his kingdom.

The Humcha inscription of the year 1077 A.D. belonging to the reign of Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI and his feudatory Nanni Santara mentions that Biraladevi, the daughter of the Santara ruler, was married to Bankideva, and the younger sister of Bankideva namely Mankabbarasi was given in marriage to the younger brother of Biraladevi. An inscription found at Varanga in Karkal taluk that belongs to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Santara and his brother Kundana gives the following successive names of rulers after Bankideva Alupendra I:—Pattiyodeya; Pandya Pattiyodeya; Kavi Alupa; Pattiyodeya and Kulashekhara Alupa.

Pattiyodeya

Pattiyodeya (c. 1050-1080 A.D.) *alias* Aluvarasa V had given his daughter Achaladevi in marriage to Veerasantara of the Santara house. He was "constantly engaged in the destruction of the vice and protection of the good." He was defeated by Jayakeshi I, the Kadamba chief of Goa, as a result of which he was forced to accept the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Kalyana.

Pandya
Pattiyodeya

Pandya Pattiyodeya (*alias* Jayasimha II) (c. 1080-1110 A.D.) is mentioned as the successor of Pattiyodeya in an inscription of the eleventh century A.D. found in the Durga-Parameshwari temple at Polali-Ammunje. Odayadithyrasa, who is mentioned in a fragmentary record of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra, is said to be the same as Pandya Pattigadeva Alupa. The inscription found at the Durga-Parameshwari temple at Polali gives him sovereign titles from which it appears that he claimed to be an independent king. As he refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chalukyas, Vikramaditya VI asked the Hoysala ruler Vishnuvardhana to subdue the Alupa chief. Setty-Gavunda, a general of Vishnuvardhana, led an invading army to the Alupa kingdom. He succeeded in his campaign and on his return, he held the office of Gavunda in Karividi-Hirur.³⁷ Pandya Pattiyodeya, who was defeated in the battle with the Hoysalas, might have died in the battle field. From this time onwards, the Alupa rulers appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hoysalas.

Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra (c. 1110-1160 A.D.) succeeded Pandya Pattiyodeya. There are several lithic inscriptions belonging to his reign and they were discovered in Coondapur, Karkal and Udipi taluks. The earliest of these inscriptions dated 1114-1115 A.D. mentions the name of Kumara Udayadityarasa. The second inscription dated 1139 A.D. mentions the title of the king as Bhujabala and records a donation to the Markandeshwara temple of Barakuru in Udipi taluk. The inscription found at Venur in Karkal taluk dated 1118 A.D. and the other found in Ulepadi in Mangalore taluk dated 1119 A.D. mention Sevyagellarasa, a feudatory and his governance of Punjalike and Chalulke which were administrative units.

**Bhujabala Kavi
Alupendra**

Another stone-inscription of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra found in the Vinayaka temple at Uppuru in the Udipi taluk is specially interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it calls the king by another name, *i.e.*, Pandya Chakravarti, and secondly, it gives us the name of another popular person, Parapali Nayaka, who, along with others, is said to have made a gift of gold on the day which works out to be 21st February 1137. The memory of Parapali Nayaka or Palipata Nayaka, as he is now called, is still held in veneration by the people of Tuluva, especially in the Udipi and Coondapur taluks.³⁸

The Basaruru inscription dated 1154 A.D., besides giving the usual epithets to the ruler, registers a grant made by Maunayogi to the deity Nakhreshvara of Basurepura or Basarur in Hosapatana for conducting worship. Another stone-inscription of this king dated 1155, found in the Panchalingeshwara temple at Koteri in Barakuru, says that he was ruling in peace and wisdom from his palace at Barahakanyapura³⁹ (modern Barakuru). It gives him sovereign titles from which it appears that he also claimed to be an independent king. The Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana seems to have attacked Tuluva in 1117 A.D. with the assistance of his general Bokimayya. But there was no territorial annexation. Alapadevi, one of the princesses of the Alupa house, was married to Irungolacholadeva who was a Mahamandaleshwara of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. During the course of his long reign, Alupendra shifted his capital from Udayavara to Barakuru.

Kulashekhara Alupendra or Pandya Chakravarthin Vira Kulashekhara Alupendra (c. 1160-1220 A.D.) succeeded Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra. He had also a long reign. An epigraph found in the Mahalingeshwara temple at Basaruru (Coondapur taluk) dated in the year 1176 A.D. gives sovereign titles to this ruler. An inscription dated 1204 A.D. found at Mangalore shows that Mangalore had once again become one of the capitals of the Alupas. The two records found in the Gauri temple are dated 1205 and 1215 respectively. While the former of these tells us

**Kulashekhara
Alupendra**

of a deed of charity by some prominent citizens of his kingdom, the latter informs us of the grant made by the king himself to the temples of goddess Durga and the Jaina Teerthankara Parshvanatha. The last mentioned inscription also proves the patronage extended by Kulashekhara Alupendra to the Jaina faith. This inscription also supplies the names of the queen Jakala Mahadevi, her younger brother Vira Bhupala and three Jaina priests Maladhari, Madhavachandra and Prabhachandra. Jakala Mahadevi dug a tank at Varanga and performed many acts of charity. She is said to have ruled over Kalasa-Karkala principality from her capital Kalasa in Chikmagalur district.⁴⁰ Not only for being long, his rule is also noted for the remarkable stability of the Alupa kingdom during its period.

Kundana

Kundana (c. 1220-1230 A.D.) succeeded Kulashekhara Alupendra. He was the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Santara, who had probably married a princess of the Alupa house. It had been earlier thought that Kulashekhara Alupendra was succeeded by Nurmadi Chakravartin and after the latter, Vibudhavasus ascended the throne. Dr. K. V. Ramesh has pointed out that Nurmadi Chakravartin and Vibudhavasus were not the successors of Kulashekhara and that these names are given in the Varanga record as the epithets of Tribhuvanamalla Santara, the eldest brother of Kundana.

Vallabhadeva Dattalpendra II and Veera- pandyadeva I

Vallabhadeva Alupendra *alias* Dattalpendra II (c. 1230-1250 A.D.) has been called Oddamaraja, Dattalupendra Srimara Oddamadeva in inscriptions. He was ruling "from his palace at the capital of Baraha-Kanyapura (Barakuru)". An undated inscription kept in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay records a gift made by him to Gaganashivacharya of Durvasa Muneendra family for conducting worship at the temple of Vighneshwara. Epigraphs of Veerapandyadeva Alupendradeva (c. 1250-1275 A.D.) have been found at Kota, Brahmavara, Nilavara, Koteswara, Coondapur, Puttige and Paduru. The inscriptions at Koteswara and Coondapur mention that the king Veerapandyadeva Alupendradeva I was jointly ruling with the queen mother Patta-Mahadevi from Barakuru. It is interesting to note that Veera-Jagadevarasa of the Santara family who was a feudatory of the Hoysalas, was also styled as a joint ruler. He was the brother of Patta-Mahadevi who might have taken his assistance during her regency when Veerapandyadeva was a minor.

Balla-Mahadevi

Balla-Mahadevi (c. 1275-1292 A.D.) succeeded Veerapandyadeva, Nagadevarasa being yet a minor. A lithic record, found at the Mahishasura-Mardini temple at Nilavara dated in the year 1277, mentions her as "*Pattada Piriyarasi*" (senior crowned queen). By about the year 1285 A.D. Bankideva, the nephew or son-in-law (*aliya*) of Veerapandyadeva, who had assisted

Balla-Mahadevi, rebelled against Balla-Mahadevi. It appears that as a result, she divided the kingdom into two parts and gave the Mangalore portion to him. There were thus two Alupa thrones during the period.

Nagadevarasa (c. 1290-1300 A.D.) was the successor of Balla-Mahadevi and Veerapandyadeva and he ruled from Barakuru. But by about 1300 A.D. Bankideva succeeded in setting him aside and he became the sole ruler. The Gollara-Ganapati temple inscription, which is dated 1302, calls Bankideva II (c. 1285-1315 A.D.) 'Pandya Chakravartin' and 'Raya-Gajakusha' and uses other phrases of a sovereign status. The record then narrates that when the king held his durbar in the 'mogasale' of his palace at Mangalapura on the anniversary of the death of the great queen Mochala Mahadevi, who was his elder sister, certain grants were made to temples. The Sujeru inscription, dated 1305, is interesting in that it reveals the concern of the Alupa ruler for the material welfare of his subjects. It relates that in order to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects caused by a famine, Bankideva Alupendradeva II prayed to the god Timireshwara for rain, and when his prayer was granted, he made a gift of land to the temple of that god in token of his gratitude.

Nagadevarasa
and
Bankideva II

Inscriptions refer to Soyideva Alupendradeva (c. 1315-1335 A.D.) as the successor of Bankideva Alupendradeva II. An epigraph dated in the year 1315 A.D. mentions him as Pandya-Chakravartin and Ariraya-Basava-Shankara. Another lithic record found in the Anantapadmanabha temple at Kudupu, dated in the year 1335 A.D. also gives him the sovereign title of 'Rayagajankusha', besides the above mentioned epithets. These *birudas* indicate that he was practically an independent king at the time. It appears that as a prince he had been entrusted with the administration of the area which now constitutes the southern part of North Kanara, which had been annexed by his father to his kingdom. Later, after assuming power as the king, Soyideva appointed one Basavadeva as the governor of that area, with Chandavara as his seat. A Hoysala force commanded by Sankaya Sahani attacked Chandavara and in the battle, the Alupas seem to have been defeated. Later, the Hoysala king Ballala III, in the course of his successful campaigns brought the Alupas completely under the control of the Hoysala power and this is evident from several inscriptions of his reign found in South Kanara.⁴¹ Chikkayitayi, an Alupa princess, was married to Ballala III. She is described as the "Pattada Piriya-rasi" (senior crowned queen). For some time thereafter there was joint rule of the Alupas and the Hoysalas over the region. Ballala III had maintained a military establishment at Barakuru and a record shows that he visited that place in 1338.

Soyideva
Alupendradeva

Successors of
Soyideva

Kulashekhara II (1335-1346 A.D.) was the next Alupa ruler. There was further weakening of the Alupa power during his reign. Ballala III appointed Lokanathadeva of the Santara family as the governor of the Karkala area. Some epigraphs of the period mention Chikkayitayi along with Ballala III as the joint ruler. After the death of Ballala III, Chikkayitayi made her son Kulashekhara II a joint ruler with her. Bankideva III and Kulashekhara III appear to have been the next Alupa rulers. But by this time, the Santaras had already gained ground within the limits of the Alupa kingdom and the Vijayanagara rulers had successfully cast their sway over the Santaras and the Alupas. The Barakuru inscription of Harihara Raya II dated in the year 1387 A.D. makes it clear that his viceroy Mahapradhana Mallappa Odeya was governing the region from Barakuru.

Some later
chieftains

Veerapandyadeva II (c. 1390-1400 A.D.) was perhaps the last Alupa king, at least according to the epigraphical evidence available at present. Though he was the last ruler of the dynasty, it need not be taken to mean, however, that the name Alupa disappeared with him. It is quite possible that it went on lingering for some time more. A stone-inscription dated 1405 found in the Hachavettu village in the Karkal taluk records a grant of land to the Mahadeva temple at Ittala by one Kantana Mara Aluva *alias* Komna. Perhaps he was a member of the royal family entrusted with the administration of some unspecified area. Whatever it may be, this Komna branch gave two more chieftains to Tuluva. One of them was Devannarasa *alias* Komna who is mentioned in two inscriptions—the first dated 1524 found in the Anantanatha *basti* at Nellikaru in the Karkal taluk and the second dated 1530 found in Sirtadi in the same taluk. The former records a gift of lands made by his sister Shankaradevi to the Anantanatha *basti* and the latter, the construction of a new *basti* and an endowment made to it by Devannarasa himself. The other name in the Komna branch is that furnished by an undated inscription written in Sanskrit and Kannada found in the Ananthanatha *basti* mentioned above. It refers to the building of a Chaitya hall by one Manjana Komna Bhupa.⁴²

VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

In the year A.D. 1346 or during the period from 1336-1346, the Vijayanagara kingdom was founded by the five brothers—Harihara, Bukka, Marappa, Muddappa and Kampana. Soon after the foundation of this kingdom, Alvakheda, like many other parts of Karnataka, was absorbed into it. The earliest inscription of the Vijayanagara period dated 1345 A.D. is found at Attavara in Mangalore taluk. From this time onwards, Tuluva was firmly ruled under an efficient and centralised government for about three centuries. The seats of Vijayanagara authority in

Tuluva were at Barakuru and Mangalore, both of which had been capitals during the Alupa period also. The importance of Tuluva, at one of the ports of which the Vijayanagara rulers had stationed one of their fleets under an admiral designated as the Navigada Prabhu, to the Vijayanagara kingdom can hardly be over-estimated and the importance they attached to Tuluva can easily be made out not only from the fact that it formed one of the most well-known provinces of the empire, but also from the fact that it included the Hayve and Konkana districts as well. For organising a strong cavalry, the Vijayanagara rulers needed good horses which they had to import from Arabia and other countries. For this purpose, it was necessary for them to have control over the ports of the western sea like Mangalore and Barakuru.

The early extension of the Vijayanagara power to the western coast is proved by the evidence of Ibn Batuta, the African traveller, who went from Sadashivagad to Calicut in 1342 and mentions that the Muslim governor of 'Honore' was subject to an 'infidel' king of Vijayanagara. It appears that in the beginning, all the local chiefs were recognised by Vijayanagara; the collections of revenue and the general administrative and executive powers remained in their hands; they were allowed to enjoy certain portions of their territories free of tax and the revenue collected by them was paid to a Vijayanagara officer, who had the title 'Wodeyar', stationed at Barakuru.

The Kantavara inscription dated 1348 A.D. states that Pradhana Gautarasa was governor of the Mangaluru *Rajya* as the successor of Shankaradeva Odeya. The old fort at Barakuru is said to have been built by Harihara Raya. He is also said to have revised and systematised the land revenue on the basis of one-half of the produce to the cultivator, one-fourth to the landlord, one-twelfth to the Brahmins and temples and one-sixth to the government. Shortly after his accession to the throne Harihara I made his younger brother Bukka I (1356-1377 A.D.) a joint ruler. The Attavara inscription dated 1345 A.D. referred to already mentions the reign of Mahamandaleshwara Bukkanna Odeya (*i.e.*, Bukka I) and also Shankaradeva Odeya who was governing the Mangaluru *Rajya*.

As mentioned above, Ibn Batuta visited the coast of Kanara in 1342. He has mentioned a number of places which he passed through along the coast from Karwar to Calicut, two of them being 'Fakanur' and 'Manjarur', conjectured to be Barakuru and Mangaluru. He describes the coast-road as well-shaded with trees and states that at every half-mile there was a rest house with a well in-charge of a person. Ibn Batuta, on the whole, found the

country in a fairly prosperous state; but there were no wheeled vehicles in the area and only nobles were using palanquins.

It appears that Maleya-Dannayaka governed the Barakuru *Rajya* for a long time from the time it was taken over by Vijayanagara. He is mentioned as such even in 1365. When he was the viceroy or governor, the Alupa throne was occupied by three rulers, *i.e.*, Kulashekhara II (1335-1346 A.D.), Bankideva III (1346-1355 A.D.) and Kulashekhara III (1355-1390 A.D.) He established the hold of Vijayanagara on the region.

There appear to have been several governors in Tuluva in the reign of Harihara Raya II (1377-1404). Some of the names met with in the inscriptions are those of Bommarasa Wodeyar under Muddiya Dannayaka, Hariyappa Dannayaka, Basavanna Wodeyar and Bachanna Wodeyar. An epigraph of 1387 A.D. mentions that the region included Barakuru and Mangaluru *Rajyas*. The Barakuru *Rajya* was governed by Jakkanna Odeya in 1386 A.D. and by Mallappa Odeya in 1387 A.D. Mallarasa ruled over Mangaluru *Rajya* in 1389 A.D. In 1390 A.D., the Mangaluru *Rajya* was governed by Mangarasa Odeya, while Mudabidre was administered by Manjanna Adhikari. The Tulu *Rajya* was administered from Barakuru by Singanna Odeya in 1392 A.D. and by Basavanna Odeya in 1401 A.D.

Two lithic records found in the Bhatkal taluk of North Kanara both dated in the year 1398 reveal that there was a rebellion in Tulunadu. They are hero-stones commemorating the death of two warriors. The Chautas were the rebels who were put down by Mahapradhana Mangapa Dannayaka. By this time, the Alupa power had practically disappeared. The Barakuru and Mangaluru *Rajyas* were sometimes united and called Tulu *Rajya* with one common governor and at other times they continued to be two *Rajyas* with separate governors.

Mahabaladeva, the governor of Barakuru *Rajya*, had meddled with the "office and functions of the *settiana* of the *halaru* of the *hattikeri* who included the *nakhara hanjamana* of the city of Barakuru".⁴³ Bukka Raya II ordered Mahapradhana Bachanna of Gove to inquire into the affair. This officer visited Barakuru and after holding an enquiry, directed that reparations should be paid to the parties that had suffered. This is disclosed by a lithic record of 1405 found at Barakuru and throws light on administrative justice under the Vijayanagara rule. This Bachanna was later appointed the governor of Barakuru *Rajya* and Mangaluru *Rajya*.

It appears that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not allow the governors at Barakuru to enjoy an indefinite term of office. There

were as many as eight successive governors in the reign of Deva-
raya II (1424-1446) for the Mangaluru and Barakuru *Rajyas*.
The same feature of the Vijayanagara provincial government can
be witnessed in the reign of the next king Mallikarjuna (1446-
1465). One Pandarideva appears frequently as the governor at
Barakuru in 1455, 1465, 1478 and 1482 (in between these years,
there were also some other governors). This Pandarideva
seems to have been a very able officer and such a person was
indeed badly needed to maintain the authority of the central
government in the troublesome times of Mallikarjuna and Viru-
paksha (1465-1485).

During the reign of this king, the unrest that was slowly
mounting since the days of his predecessor reached its climax and
towards the end of his rule there was complete chaos at the
imperial capital. Saluva Narasimha, who was a provincial governor,
seized power at Vijayanagara in 1485 and crowned himself emperor.
He ruled till about 1491 and under him was Mallappa Nayaka
as the governor at Barakuru. The horse trade which was being
carried on through the ports of Mangalore, Barakuru, Bhatkal,
Honnavar, etc., had suffered much during the previous callous
regimes. Saluva Narasimha now improved this trade which was
important to the empire. According to an inscription found by
Buchanan in a temple at Baindur, one Kendada Basavarasa
Odeyar had been appointed in 1506 as the governor at Barakuru ;
this was probably in the reign of Tuluva Veera Narasimha (1505-
1509).

Under Krishnadeva Raya the great (1509-1529), four impor-
tant governors of the region are mentioned in the epigraphs,
namely, Ratnappa Wodeyar (1512), Vajayappa Wodeyar (1519),
Vitharasa Dannayaka (1523) and Aliya Timmanna Wodeyar
also called Timmarasa (1528). It seems that he did not appoint
any separate governor for the Mangaluru *Rajya* during the large
period of his reign since the chiefs of small principalities therein
were loyal and obedient. Under Achyuta Raya (1529-1542), there
was Kondappa Wodeyar over Barakuru between 1533-1536 A.D.
A record of 1551 shows that there was also a Muslim governor
named Ekadal Khan Odeyar at Barakuru during the reign of
Sadashiva Raya (1542-1570). He seems to have been succeeded
by Mallappa Wodeyar in 1554. The famous Sadashiva Nayaka
of Keladi (1544-1565) was entrusted with the overlordship of the
Barakuru, Mangaluru, Chandragutti and Araga *Rajyas*. Later,
under Ranga Raya I (1578-1586), a grandson of this Keladi
Nayaka governed the same provinces.

It was during the reign of Saluva Narasimha II (1491-1505)
that the Portuguese arrived in India, Vasco da Gama reached in
1498 one of the islands near Udipi and set up a cross and called

Portuguese
settlements

the island "El Padron de Saneta Maria", which, in all probability, is the origin of the name of the St. Mary Isles by which the islands are known today. In 1505, an ambassador of the Vijayanagara king gave permission to the Portuguese to build a fort anywhere in his dominions. So far as South Kanara is concerned the permission was not taken advantage of for many years.

Duarte Barbosa

In 1514, a Portuguese traveller, Duarte Barbosa, visited the coast of Kanara. He has described 'Tulinat' (Tulunadu) as beginning from north of Honore and containing many rivers and sea ports in which there was much trade and shipping bound for various places. At Baindur, he says, much good rice was collected and sent to Bhatkal. At Barsola (Basrur), belonging to the kingdom of 'Narasinga', it is said, ships came from Malabar, Ormuz, Aden and Zeher. Mangalore, he says, was a very large town peopled by "Moors and Gentiles", and studded with fine buildings, houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which were very large and enriched with large revenues and mosques where Mohamed was greatly honoured.

Portuguese grow strong

To return to the Portuguese, it is known that Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagara, who ascended the throne in 1509, maintained friendly relations with them. The Portuguese trade was gradually gathering momentum and they were striving also to destroy the Arab and Moplah trade along the coast. Once, in 1524, when Vasco da Gama heard that the Muslim merchants of Calicut had agents at Mangalore and Basrur, he ordered the rivers to be blockaded. In 1526, under the viceroyship of Lopes Vas de Sampayo, the Portuguese took possession of Mangalore after overcoming some resistance. In the same year, in pursuance of the Portuguese policy of securing facilities for the spread of Christianity in all treaties they entered into with the native chiefs, Franciscan friars began preaching in Mangalore and the neighbourhood. In a short time, the Portuguese became the masters of the whole trade of the coast. They later proceeded to levy a kind of tribute of grains at all the sea ports.

The Portuguese stormed the Mangalore fort again in 1530 alleging that a merchant had offended them by following his own policy with regard to rice. The Portuguese governor sent Diogo de Silveira with a fleet of vessels to Mangalore. The Mangaloreans did their best to build fortifications to guard the entrance of the river and started out with a small force armed mostly with bows and arrows to meet 240 musketeers who had landed in small boats. The unequal battle resulted in the utter defeat of the Mangaloreans whose merchant-leader lost his life while attempting an escape by the river.

The next great ruler of Vijayanagara, Aliya Rama Raya, appears to have thought that the Portuguese friendship and assistance were valuable, for in 1547 he entered into a treaty with them, by virtue of which practically the entire export-and-import trade passed into the hands of the Portuguese. But the local chiefs did not approve of this imperial arrangement. Default in payment of the tribute in form of grains levied by the Portuguese and reprisals by fire and sword occurred from time to time. This unrest, which was growing, took a serious turn later and on the defeat and death of Rama Raya in the famous battle of Rakkasa-Tangadgi (near Talikota) in 1565, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the powers of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Calicut, to which several local princes of Kanara extended their support. They made preparations in order to drive the Portuguese out of India. But in spite of this, the attempt met with failure and a fight which took place in 1571 between the Portuguese and Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur near Goa ended in a victory to the former.

Abbakkadevi, wife of a Banga Raja, the famous 'Queen of Ullala', was a staunch opponent of the Portuguese and put up a brave and persistent opposition to the Portuguese expansion. She worked in close alliance with the several chiefs of Malabar and against her own husband who was an ally of the Portuguese. She stopped paying tributes to the Portuguese when they collided with the chief of Cannanore, her erstwhile ally. Once in 1555, the city of Mangalore was almost lost when Dom Alvares da Silveira had been sent with a fleet of 21 ships against the queen; but the Zamorin of Calicut averted the crisis by bringing about a treaty between the Portuguese admiral and the queen. Only three years later, the queen invited the wrath of the Portuguese by assisting against them a naval engagement near Mangalore between Luis de Mello and a solitary vessel belonging to the Raja of Cannanore. The former was so incensed at this that he "reduced Mangalore to ashes and slew whomsoever he met on his triumphant march". Following a few years of peaceful relations, the queen, patriotic and loyal as she was, again ceased to pay tributes to the Portuguese, when they declared war on her ally, the Raja of Cannanore in 1566. A punitive expedition sent against her by the Portuguese Governor under Joao Piexote, after some initial success, ended in disaster with Piexote himself being slain.

**Ullala queen's
heroic fight**

Enraged at this, the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha himself started from Goa with 7 galleys, 20 galleons and 27 pinaces carrying a total of 3,000 fighting men, a veritable Portuguese Armada, determined to bring about the final subjugation of the Queen of Ullala. This was in September 1567. The Portuguese historian, Fr. Francisco de Souza, has left a colourful description of this famous siege of Mangalore. The Portuguese

had hardly encamped when the 'Moors' (Muslims) of Mangalore surprised them at night, played havoc in their camp and returned 'with great glory', a little before the arrival of the viceroy. The viceroy, after arrival, 'applied the remedy after the disaster' and ordered a ditch to be opened and a moat to be constructed before the palisade of the 'Moors', lest they should deliver a second attack. In the actual battle that followed, however, on the 5th of January 1568, the Portuguese obtained complete victory over the inmates of the fort, at a loss of some 40 men as against more than 300 on the other side. "Having set fire to the city and cut down many palm and other groves, the viceroy retired to the fleet in order to give some rest to the soldiers". According to another Portuguese historian, the queen fled to a mountain, thus conceding complete victory to the Portuguese. A fortress was built on the northern bank of the river on St. Sebastian day and named after the same saint. As a critic says,⁴⁴ "the fiery queen was always seeking for an opportunity to free herself from Portuguese control and if possible to undermine their authority in Kanara". She also built a fortress at Ullal opposite to the Portuguese fort at Mangalore, before negotiating a final peace treaty.

PERIOD OF KELADI NAYAKAS

In the latter years of the Vijayanagara power, there rose, round about the beginning of the sixteenth century, on the borders of Kanara above the ghats, a Veerashaiva agriculturist family of Keladi which gradually established its rule over a large region. Chaudappa Gauda (1500-1540) of this family was appointed by the then Vijayanagara king as the chief of that area with the title of Nayaka. His successor was Sadashiva Nayaka (1544-1565). With the accession of this ruler, the Nayakas of Ikkeri emerge from a period of comparative obscurity to one of political limelight. The territory governed by Sadashiva Nayaka is said to have covered Araga and Barakuru and Mangaluru (*Tulu Rajya*). He was a great warrior and rendered valuable military service to the Vijayanagara king Sadashiva Raya. One of the expeditions he led on behalf of the Vijayanagara king was to the south as far as Kasaragod, where he planted a pillar of victory to commemorate his conquest. Subsequently, he was made the ruler of this territory also which he governed efficiently till about 1565. The construction of the Kasaragod fort is, in fact, attributed to this Ikkeri ruler. The rulers of this family continued to be the feudatories of Vijayanagara until Venkatappa Nayaka I became independent about 1613. This Venkatappa Nayaka I, who ruled from 1586 to 1629, was a very powerful king and he has been described in the epigraphs as "a diamond elephant-goad to the lust elephants, the group of the bounding Tuluva Rajas".

These Tuluva rulers were the rulers of Gerasoppe, Karkal and Ullal (the first one of these places is outside South Kanara).

Venkatappa Nayaka's interference in the affairs of Tuluva was not without reason. Firstly, the chiefs of Gerasoppe and Bhatkal acknowledged the overlordship of the Adil Shah of Bijapur and the territory assigned to his family by Vijayanagara was slipping away from him in this manner; he, therefore, led an attack on Gerasoppe in which the queen was defeated and killed. Secondly, he wanted to stem the advance of the Portuguese in Tuluva, who had, by this time, gained considerable territory on the west coast of India and had, it seems, established, a factory at Mangalore with the help of the Banga Raja. With this end in view, therefore, Venkatappa Nayaka readily responded when the queen of Ullala, the divorced wife of the Banga Raja requested him for aid against her husband and the Portuguese. It is stated that Venkatappa Nayaka built Veerashaiva *Mathas* at Barakuru, Bennevali, Sagara, Boluru, Kodeyala, etc. The construction of the forts of Barakuru, Kalianapura, Kandaluru and Mallikarjuna-giri is attributed to him.

The letters of Della Valle, an Italian traveller, who visited the west coast of India about 1623 and accompanied an embassy which went from Goa to Ikkeri, throw some interesting light on the condition of the region in general and the relations between the Ikkeri family and the minor chiefs of Tuluva in particular. Della Valle states that the object of the embassy was to secure the restoration of the Banghel (Bangar) chief, an ally of the Portuguese, who, defeated and deposed by Venkatappa Nayaka, had fled to 'Casselgode' (Kasaragod), where there was another minor but free prince. The mission failed due to non-acceptance of terms and the embassy withdrew. Della Valle, who later visited Ullal, gives an account of the quarrel between the queen and her divorced husband, the Banga Raja, which ended in the queen calling in the aid of Venkatappa Nayaka and obtaining a decisive victory over the Raja and the Portuguese governor of Mangalore.

**Della Valle's
embassy**

On some of the roads of Tuluva, this foreigner travelled alone, accompanied only by his horse-keeper and servant; and he says he did this fearlessly, as the highways in Venkatappa Nayaka's dominions were very secure. Another observation which he makes is that he met the 'Queen of Manel' who was walking out to inspect a new channel she had dug and that she did not look like a queen. But, he says, she showed her quality by her speech.

Venkatappa Nayaka was succeeded by his grandson Veerabhadra Nayaka (1629-1645), whose reign was full of troubles to the kingdom. In 1631, the Portuguese concluded a treaty with this ruler, the terms of which were more or less of a compromising

**Shivappa
Nayaka**

nature. He changed the capital from Ikkeri to Bidanur in 1639. The Nayaka, who had no issue, abdicated in favour of his uncle Shivappa Nayaka. This Shivappa Nayaka, who ruled from 1645 to 1660, was the most important Ikkeri ruler after Venkatappa Nayaka. During Shivappa Nayaka's reign, the indecisive interference of Venkatappa Nayaka in the affairs of Tuluva gave place to a systematic conquest of the district. He strove incessantly and strengthened his rule in the southern parts of the region where he is known as the builder of a series of strong forts on the coast of Kasaragod taluk, the most important of them being those of Chandragiri and Bekal. Even before coming to the throne, he had subdued Bhairarasa Wodeyar of Karkala, who was the strongest amongst the contemporary local rulers. He continued the same policy after ascending the throne and extended his dominions as far as Nileshwara. This territory of Nileshwara, however, was not annexed until 1737, during the reign of Somashekhar Nayaka II (1714-1739), when the fort of Hosadurga was built and the Raja of Nileshwara was compelled to submit after a struggle of twelve years in which both the English and the French took part.

Battles with Portuguese

During the reign of Shivappa Nayaka, the relations between Bidanur and the Portuguese were again strained mainly due to the unwise policy of the latter. There were a series of battles between the two in 1652 and 1653, in which the Portuguese lost all their strongholds to Shivappa Nayaka. At the end of these battles, the Portuguese were completely crippled and Shivappa Nayaka became the undisputed master of the coast. He even issued gold coins bearing the figures of Shiva and Paravati on the obverse and the legend of Shri Sadashiva in Nagari on the reverse.

The Portuguese, however, again gathered some power during the reign of Somashekhar Nayaka I (1663-1671), who, wishing to keep friendly relations with them made new overtures to them. A treaty was concluded between the two parties in 1671, according to which the Portuguese were to be given sites at Honnavar, Mangalore and Barcelore for building factories with single walls and without any fortifications or erections of oil mills. Their boats were to be given free access to the ports of the kingdom. The Portuguese were, however, not to indulge themselves in conversion of the local people. After this treaty, the relations between Bidanur and the Portuguese continued to be cordial.

In accordance with the treaty of 1678 during the reign of Channammaji (1677-1697), widow of Somashekhar Nayaka, the Portuguese were *inter alia* authorised to erect churches at Mirzeo, Chandor, Bhatkal and Kalyana. As a result of this treaty, the Portuguese seem to have driven out the Arabs. The latter who

resented this, burnt Mangalore and Basrur and set sail after gathering a large booty. Immediately after the death of Somashekhara Nayaka, the Tuluva feudatories appear to have revolted, but they were soon put down by Channammaji.

During next reign, that of Basavappa Nayaka I (1697-1714), the Bidanur-Portuguese relations again went astray. The Portuguese appear to have been in arrears of payment for the rice taken by them from Kanara. The Arab-Portuguese trade jealousies made the matters more complicated. There were skirmishes between the Portuguese and forces of Bidanur in 1704 and 1707. At last there took place a regular battle in 1713-14, in the course of which, a squadron sent from Goa captured forts at Basrur and Kallianpur and destroyed several ships and a good deal of merchandise. They also bombarded Mangalore, Kumta, Gokarna and Mirzeo and spread terror in the area. The Nayaka of Bidanur ultimately came to terms and entered into a treaty in 1714 under which he promised not to allow the Arab ships to visit the Kanara ports.

Portuguese
Offensive

Basavappa Nayaka II ruled from 1739 to 1754. The fort of Dariyabadgad near Malpe and Manohargad at Kapu and those of Mallaru, Tonse and Coondapur and the palace at Bennegere are said to be his constructions. When the queen Veerammaji (1757-1763) was looking after the administration of the kingdom, Ali Raja of Cannanore, in alliance with the Maratha followers of Angria, organised an expedition to ravage the coast of Kanara. They plundered, amongst other places, Manjeshwara and led the expedition further north to Kollur, where they are said to have secured an enormous booty at the temple of Mukambika. It was at the time of Veerammaji that the power of the rulers of Bidanur came to its end. Haidar Ali, taking advantage of the internal feuds at Bidanur, annexed its territory in 1763.

About 1673, an English traveller, Dr. Fryer, visited the coast of Kanara. While he was struck with the number of Christian converts, he says that those "who had not been converted were marvellously conversant with the devil". The allusion here, perhaps, is to the Bhuta worship in the region. He also observes that the people of Kanara had good laws and obeyed them well and that they travelled without guides along broad roads, not along bye-paths as in Malabar. In connection with the roads in Tuluva, the words of Della Valle may also be remembered here; he says that after reaching the town of Basrur, he found 'a fair, long, broad and straight street.'

Fryer's travels

Captain Hamilton, who visited Kanara 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.

Captain
Hamilton

MINOR RULING FAMILIES

Apart from the powerful kings of the Alupa family and the Vijayanagara and Bidanur governors, there were some minor local rulers who played their own roles in the history of this region. Perhaps the most powerful amongst them, who sometimes aspired to the rank of kings, were Bhairarasas of Karkala. Amongst the lesser chiefs may be enumerated the Chauta, Banga, Savanta, Ajila, Moola, Tolahara, Honnakambali, Vittala, Kumbala, etc. Some of them had come to prominence after the Alupas faded away.

Bhairarasas

The Karkala chiefs claimed to be of the Santara stock and of the Ugra-Vamsha. They hailed from Humcha in Shimoga district and were called Bhairarasas. They are found to be ruling in this area from an early part of the 14th century. Prior to that, they had their capital at Kalasa in Chikmagalur district. In this district, at first, they had their capital at Kervase in Karkal taluk. A record dated in the year 1408 mentions Veerabhairava Kshemapala⁴⁵ who was succeeded by Veerapandyadeva. It was in the latter's reign that the famous monolithic statue of Gommata was erected at Karkal in 1432. Later, we come across Immadi Bhairarasa Wodeyar in 1501 who is mentioned as ruling Kalasa-Karkala *Rajya*. Then came one Veera Bhairarasa Wodeyar also known as Veerapandya Wodeyar (1531-1565). His successor Bhairava constructed the Chaturmukha Basadi at Karkala in 1586. Later, Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi vanquished the Karkala chief and annexed a large part of this principality. The power of this family appears to have come to an end at the time of Shivappa Nayaka of Keladi.

Bangas

The origin of the Bangas is not definitely known. According to a theory which assigns their origin to Gangavadi, the Bangas, who were Jaina by faith, came to Tuluva to find shelter under the Alupas. They settled down at Bangady in Belthangadi taluk. Some of the rulers of this family were Veeranarasimha, Chandrashekhara (1208-1224), Shankaradevi (1325-1350), Lakshmapparasa I (1401-1430), Kamaraya I (1461-1480), Lakshmapparasa II (1481-1500), Kamaraya II (1565-1595), Shankaradevi II (1630-1650), etc.⁶⁴ A Banga ruler had married the famous Chauta princess Abbakkadevi whose fight against the Portuguese has been already dealt with. At the time of Shankaradevi II, the Bidanur king took Mangalore from the Bangas. In 1763, when the Banga chief failed to pay the tribute, Sheikh Ali, Haidar Ali's governor, annexed his territory to Mysore. The Banga Arasu, who had taken part in the Coorg insurrection in 1837, was hanged by the British.

The Chautas have been an old family, originally belonging to Puttige.⁴⁷ By about A.D. 1390, they appear to have been in possession of the area round about Puttige. In 1398, the Chauta chief was defeated by the Vijayanagara governor. During the reign of Channaraya (about A.D. 1410), the Chautas extended their territory considerably, taking Manel, Pejawara and Mundakuru from the Bangas. Another Chauta ruler is mentioned in connection with the construction of the famous Tribhuvana Chudamani Basadi in 1429.⁴⁸ Later a Chauta chief, who visited Vijayanagara, was honoured by Krishnadeva Raya. It appears that early in the 16th century, a branch of the family began to rule from Ullal also. This branch had a notable queen named Abbakkadevi in the later part of the 16th century. She fought with the Portuguese and the Bangas. She had married a Banga chief. Inscriptions reveal a few more chiefs of Puttige who ruled upto the end of about the 16th century. After her, her daughter came to the throne and she also married a Banga chief. She was killed in a bloody battle with the Karkal ruler near the Sanur valley.⁴⁹ Her son and successor Chandrashekhara Chikkaraya (1606-1628), in retaliation, asked Venkatappa Nayaka of Bidanur for help. The latter marched in 1608 against the Karkal ruler and completely defeated him. During the reign of Bhojaraya (1630-1644), the Ullal area was taken by the Bidanur ruler.

Chautas

Savantas, another minor ruling family of the region, had their capital at first at Simantur and later at Moolike (Mulki) and Valalanke. Much is not known about this line of chiefs. Dugganna Savanta, who was hailed as *Deenajana Chintamani* and *Bhavya-shiromani*, was ruling in c. 1542.⁵⁰ A few chiefs of this family are found mentioned in records of the 17th century also.

savantas

The Ajilas had originally their capital at Venuru. They claimed to be a branch of the Saluvas. Their family deity was Mahalingeshvara of Venuru. The most important ruler of this line was Timmanna Ajila IV during whose reign was erected the famous statue of Gommateshwara at Venuru in 1604. Later, they shifted their capital to Aladangadi. Their territory was annexed by Haidar Ali. The family has its descendants and residence still at Aladangadi.

Ajilas

The Moolas had their capital at Bailangadi, now a small village in Belthangadi taluk. The most noted ruler of this family was the spirited queen Somaladevi (c. 1630) who had married a Banga Raja.

Moolas

Another line of petty chiefs of Tuluva was that of Tolaharas of Surala in Udipi taluk. This chiefship dates back to the middle of the twelfth century A.D., when it was called Suraha. A Tolahara ruler in co-operation with the Honnakambali chief is stated

Tolaharas

to have defeated a Portuguese force which had taken possession of the Basrur fort in 1569.⁵¹ He had also refused to pay any tribute to the Portuguese. He was however later subdued by the Portuguese and had to sign a peace treaty with them. The Tolahara chief was later vanquished by the Keladi Nayaka.

Honnakambali chiefs

The family of the Honnakambali chief referred to above was ruling from Hosangadi⁵² and held sway over the Kollur area in Coondapur taluk and also another adjoining area above the ghats. A lithic record of Kollur shows that Banki Arasu of this line gave grant to the Mookambika temple of that place in 1482. Several other inscriptions of the Honnakambali chiefs who ruled in the 16th century are also found. During the next century, their territory was absorbed in that of the Keladi rulers.

Other chiefs

A branch of the ancient Kadamba family which was ruling from Chandavara in North Kanara in the 13th and 14th centuries, had under its control a northern portion of South Kanara. Similarly, the principalities of the Saluva chiefs of Haduvalli near Bhatkal and Nagire (Gerasoppe) in North Kanara, who ruled in the 15th and 16th centuries included some northern portions of South Kanara.

Reference will be made later to the chiefs of Vittala and Kumbala who figure to some extent in the days of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan and the English.

Ballalas and Heggades

There were also some still minor chieftains called Ballalas and Heggades under the petty rulers. The Ballalas of Chittupadi, Nidamburu and Kattapadi are notable among them. Nidamburu is met with as early as 1281 A.D. Its Ballalas are often mentioned in epigraphs later as acting in union with the Hoysala and Vijayanagara governors. In the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., the signature of the Nidamburu Ballalas was required for confirmation of public grants made by the officers of the king and the citizens. Thus a stone record dated 1437-38 contains the 'Nidamburu Gramada Voppa'. One Marda Heggade, chieftain of Kapu (Kaup), is mentioned in several records.

The local chiefs effected improvements in the agriculture of the region. The accounts of travellers and the temples and other buildings left behind by the chiefs point to a considerably high state of prosperity during the period.

Decline of Portuguese power

After about the middle of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese power began to wane gradually. As early as 1635, the king of Portugal had warned his viceroys in India not to intervene in the internal politics of the Kanara chiefs as it was considered detrimental to their trade. Some of their fortresses, like those of

Basrur, Honnavar, Cannanore and Mangalore, were in a dilapidated condition due to neglect. And, as the final outcome of a protracted struggle between the Portuguese and Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, the fort of St. Sebastian had been finally lost to the Kanara chiefs, this loss being a crucial disaster for the Portuguese power in India. Later, they lost the Honnavar and Basrur forts also. By about the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, their position had been considerably weakened and Somashekara Nayaka II of Bidanur dictated his own terms to them. The Portuguese could build their forts only in selected spots and among the terms of a treaty of this period are : "The proposed factories should not be surrounded by double walls ; no bastions should be erected thereon ; no oil mills should be established and native weights and measures should be employed and no one should be made a Christian against his will." In the later years, the Portuguese had to be content with only trade, abandoning all their schemes of conquest. Even in this limited sphere, they had to share profits with the Dutch and the French, who had also erected forts and factories in or near Mangalore. The English arrived last.

The English do not figure as rulers in the history of South Kanara until 1768, when an English expedition from Bombay took Mangalore. But before that, they had appeared once at Mangalore in 1737 in connection with a treaty with the Bidanur governor of Mangalore. The advance of the Bidanur general under Somashekara Nayaka II into Nileshwara in the first instance and afterwards across the Kawai river brought the Bidanur power into conflict with the East India Company at Tellicherry, and in 1736, the Malayalis, aided by the English, recovered the Alikunnu fort at the mouth of the Kawai river and three others to the south of it. Afterwards, Mr. Lynch, one of the English factors, went to Mangalore, and in February 1737, executed a treaty with Surappayya, the Bidanur governor of Mangalore. According to the terms of this treaty, the English obtained certain commercial advantages including a monopoly of the pepper and cardamom trade in the portions of the Kollatiri dominion, conquered by Bidanur. The English then vacated the Alikunnu fort which was immediately occupied by the Bidanur officers. By doing so, Bidanur got complete command over the Nileshwara portion of the Kollatiri territory. The Nileshwara fort, however, remained in the hands of the Raja of Nileshwara, the head of an offshoot of the Kollatiri family.

**The English at
Mangalore**

PERIOD OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

All was not well with Bidanur during the rule of the queen Veeramraji (1756-1763). Its affairs drifted from bad to worse till 1763, when Haidar Ali captured Bidanur and sacked the city

which he renamed as Haidarnagar. Immediately after the capture of Bidanur, Haidar turned his attention towards this region. He occupied Basavarajadurga, Honnavar and Mangalore and also Ballalaraya Durga where the Bidanur queen had taken shelter. Haidar regarded Mangalore as of great importance as a naval station and established a dockyard and an arsenal there. He kept Mangalore, now 'Courial' or Port Royal, under the command of one Latif Ali Baig. Haidar is said to have made a grant to a temple in Tuluva in 1765.⁵⁸

The English watched with apprehension the seizure of Bidanur by Haidar Ali. Mangalore, well fortified and converted into a naval bastion, could very well be used by him to intercept English shipping in the Western or Arabian Sea. Therefore, when war broke out between the English and Haidar Ali in 1766, an English expedition was sent from Bombay under Admiral Watson which arrived at Mangalore in February 1768. Latif Ali Baig failed to withstand the onslaught of the English, who succeeded in capturing the city without much difficulty.

The capture of Mangalore was, perhaps, considered by the British at that time as a very significant event in the history of their expansion in India, for "the news was announced to the people by one hundred and one cannon fired from the Fort St. George". It, however, turned out to be only a temporary victory. On receipt of the news, Tipu made a lightning attack on the port to drive the English away. He was immediately followed by Haidar Ali in person. It was too much of a surprise for the English army which was completely routed. Tipu had already taken Mangalore before the arrival of his father on the spot. The English left the port and sailed away abandoning 80 Europeans sick, 180 sepoy and all the guns they had. Mangalore had thus been retaken within a week of its seizure by the English who were now ready to make peace with Haidar Ali. The Portuguese who had joined the English fondly hoping that the latter would be the masters of Kanara were greatly disappointed at this turn of events.

Haidar Ali, on coming to know of the Portuguese assistance to the English, is said to have summoned the Portuguese merchants and priests and asked them what punishment was meted out to traitors in their home country. When they told him that it was death, he said he would not be so harsh as to do that. He only ordered all of them to be imprisoned and their properties to be confiscated until the treaty with the English was signed. This treaty was signed in September 1770. One of the terms of this treaty provided for supply of rice to Bombay from Mangalore and other ports. The following year, Haidar Ali concluded a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese also, concerning the latter's

interests at Mangalore and the surrounding areas. He restored to the parish priests their privilege to administer justice to the christians under their care and also permitted voluntary conversions to Christianity. In 1776, he revoked all these privileges and ejected the Portuguese from their factory at Mangalore and ordered a navy of considerable size to be built and kept at the mouth of the river. After taking Mangalore from the English in 1768, Haidar moved above the ghats by the Subramanya Pass. At this time, he ceded to the Raja of Coorg the Panja and Bellare *maganes* in the Puttur taluk, partly for the aid he had received from him and partly in exchange for the territory above the ghats. But later, in 1775, he resumed them together with the Amara and Sulya *maganes* which had been given to Coorg by Somashekhara Nayaka II about forty years before. Thus the end of the First Mysore War saw Haidar Ali the complete master of the South Kanara region.

In 1781 began the Second Mysore War, in the course of which, in December 1782, Haidar Ali died in camp near Chittur and was succeeded by Tipu Sultan. In January 1783, closely following the death of Haidar Ali, General Mathews landed at Coondapur with a force from Bombay which achieved a remarkable and unexpected success, considering the large numbers that opposed it. His earliest success was the capture of the fort of Hosangadi, which guarded the Hosangadi Pass. He marched towards Hosangadi, and reached the fort of the Hosangadi Pass in three days, notwithstanding difficulties about provisions and transport. The place, situated in the midst of a thick forest, was defended by trees felled across the road and there was a breast work of about 400 yards from the fort.

The English soldiers under Colonel Macleod marched forward, and next morning they found the fort abandoned with fifteen guns. The first barrier on the pass had also been abandoned; but the second had to be removed. From that point, there was almost a continuous line of batteries and breast works and at the top was the fort of Haidargad, fully defended by about 17,000 men. The different positions were all carried with a total loss of 50 killed and wounded. General Mathews then advanced towards Bidanur, which fell into his hands 'owing to the treachery of Iyaz Khan', who had been appointed to look after 'Haidarnagar' and 'Courial Bunder'. It is said that Iyaz Khan, who, in fact, had been a favourite of Haidar Ali, threw open the gates of the fort on the arrival of the English, as he had learnt that Tipu had determined to degrade him. But the success of the English was short-lived and they were forced to capitulate when Tipu arrived there with a large army at the end of March 1783.

In the meantime, before the surrender of Bidanur, Tipu had sent a large force to appear before Mangalore. But this force was

**Siege of
Mangalore**

attacked and defeated about twelve miles from Mangalore. On receipt of the news of this reverse, Tipu moved in person with a large army against Mangalore which was held by Colonel Campbell with a force of 700 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. A line of minor forts had been built along the route to Mangalore, the remnants of which can be seen even now at Madanakapu, Arkula, Adyar and Kannur. After a preliminary engagement at an outpost on 23rd May, in which four officers and 200 sepoys were lost, Colonel Campbell withdrew from all outposts and made arrangements to stand a regular siege.

Tipu, on the other hand, sent off his cavalry as the monsoon was approaching; but it was overtaken by a storm on its way, when more than half the horses were lost. Afterwards, Tipu made three regular assaults which ended in failure. The fort was not only breached at several points but even reduced to ruins in parts, and attempts to penetrate were made almost everyday. On the 2nd August, after the siege had lasted for more than two months, Tipu agreed to an armistice. During these days, the inmates of the fort were put to untold hardships because of the terrific monsoons that broke in. During the armistice, General Macleod arrived with reinforcements and took up his residence at Mangalore. But not feeling strong enough to help in effectively relieving Mangalore, he sailed away with his force on 2nd December. The condition inside the fort was growing more and more hopeless everyday and by 23rd January 1784, more than two-thirds of the garrison were in hospitals, and deaths were twelve to fifteen a day. A large proportion of the sepoys had become blind and the remainder so exhausted as frequently to fall down. In these circumstances, Colonel Campbell considered it useless to hold out any longer and capitulated on the 30th January on the condition of being allowed to go with his garrison to Tellicherry. Tipu was assisted in this siege by the French auxiliaries who were in his employ. But it is said that by the time the English were about to capitulate, the hostilities between the English and the French in Europe had come to a close and hence Tipu's French auxiliaries now refused to fight.

**Suppression of
local chiefs**

Except in the extreme south of the region, Tipu completely suppressed all the old local chiefs and dispossessed them of all but their private lands. Among these chiefs were those of Kumbala, Vittala and Nileshwara. The Kumbala Raja was driven from the area and when he returned soon afterwards and tried to recover his territory, he was captured and hanged. His younger brother was also executed for joining the English at the time of the first siege of Mangalore. A nephew of his was also put to death in 1794. The Heggade of Vittala had already fled to Tellicherry some time before. Two of the princes of Nileshwara were hanged in 1787 by the commandant of Bekal; but their successor, who came

to terms, was spared and he was in possession of his territory when Kanara was annexed by the British.

AFTER 1799

As soon as the last Mysore war broke out in 1799, the Heggade of Vittala and a prince of the family of the Kumbala Raja returned to Kanara and started activities to regain their territories. The Raja of Coorg also took advantage of the situation and raided in the direction of Jamalabad and Buntwal and into the territory of the Raja of Kumbala. On the downfall of Tipu, the English in order to reward the Raja of Coorg for the services rendered by him during the wars against Mysore, returned to him the *maganes* of Amara, Sulya, Panja and Bellare, which had been seized by Haidar Ali in 1775.

After the fall of Srirangapatna in 1799 in the last Mysore War, the political supremacy over the west coast passed into the hands of the English, the forts that Tipu built—the famous ones being those of Jamalabad and Daria Bahadurgad—remaining the only vestiges of his memory. Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro was appointed Collector of Kanara in June 1799. 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 for Mysore.

With the exception of one irruption of the followers of Dhondia from Bidanur, in the Coondapur taluk, Captain Munro seems to have found all quiet in the northern part of the district of South Kanara. But in the southern part, a prince of Kumbala was offering a kind of passive resistance and the Raja of Nileshwara was also employing somewhat similar tactics. Jamalabad is a high rock near Belthangady, the summit of which is accessible only by a narrow neck of land connecting it with a spur from the Kuduremukh peak. Struck by the facilities afforded by the place for the construction of a stronghold, Tipu, on his way back from Mangalore to Mysore, decided to build a fortress on its top. After the completion of the work of construction, he garrisoned it with a party of 400 men. The town at the foot of the hill was destroyed by the Coorgs during the Mysore war and afterwards the fort was captured by a party of British troops in October 1799. But it again fell into the hands of the adherents of Tipu's family.

We have seen above that the Heggade of Vittala, who had fled to Tellicherry during Tipu's campaign of Kanara had returned to his place on the commencement of the last Mysore war. After his return, he made incursions into the territory in order to regain

Vittala
Heggade's
rising

his power and in December 1799, joined his nephew at Vittala with a party of armed followers which he began to strengthen steadily. Captain Munro at once called on Colonel Hart, who was the commanding officer of the province, to proceed against the Heggade. On the 7th May 1800 Subba Rao, who was formerly a Shirastedar of Coimbatore and now an ally of the Heggade, attacked the office of the Tahsildar of Kadaba. The Tahsildar escaped by crossing the river in the dark and the several village officers, who were there at that time, also got away safely with their collections. Subba Rao then marched on Buntwal and plundered it. He ultimately took up his quarters at Puttur and began to collect the revenue. Captain Munro raised an armed body of 200 men and placed it under the orders of Kumara Heggade of Dharmasthala, who had rendered service on a former occasion at Jamalabad. Kumara Heggade marched against Subba Rao and defeated him on the 11th May 1800 but was himself shot through the arm. The Tahsildar of Kadaba then took charge of the armed men and pursued the rebels towards the Shishilaghata where he dispersed them with considerable loss. In the beginning of July, the Tahsildar defeated the Vittala Heggade at Vittala and arrested nine members of his family including his nephew.

The Jamalabad fort was captured by the British after a blockade of three months. The Rajas of Kumbala and Nileshwara submitted and accepted pension. 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 their territories, they offered no active resistance.

The economic condition of the region was by no means satisfactory at this time. The region, which was a prosperous province at the time of Vijayanagara, had suffered a great deal by the close of the period of Tipu Sultan, owing to the continued fall in trade and commerce. The worst affected of all by this state of affairs were the cultivators.

**Buchanan's
observations**

In 1801, Dr. Buchanan was deputed by the Marquis of Wellesley, the then 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 antiquities in Mysore and other areas newly acquired. Buchanan was a most observant and painstaking officer, and the 130 pages of the report of his journey, which deal with South Kanara, contain an immense amount of information.

Buchanan entered the district from the south. From the Malabar frontier to Hosadurga, he was struck with the neglected

appearance of the country owing to the want of inhabitants, which his Nayar informant attributed to depopulation by war and by a famine. Passing further north towards the Chandragiri river, he found the country showing some signs of neglect, though there were traces of former cultivation. In the neighbourhood of Kumbala, he found rice lands more neatly cultivated than in the south. He saw there many traces of former gardens too. At Manjeshwara, he found number of Konkanis in flourishing circumstances. After visiting Mangalore, he expressed the opinion that to judge from appearances, the occupiers of land in this region were richer than those in Malabar. The cultivation he found was carried on mainly by hired servants. Their wages he considered to be sufficiently high. On the road from Mangalore to Ferangipet, he noticed that the sides of the hills had been formed into terraces with less industry than in Malabar.

He was informed by the natives that the pepper vines had been destroyed by Tipu to remove every attraction for the European to visit the country. At Buntwal, he noticed the people busily engaged in commerce, and from their appearance, were in good circumstances. On the way to Belthangadi, he alludes to the "devastations caused by the Coorgs". Then he went to Mudabidri, the neighbourhood of which he considered to be the poorest. Thence he moved on to Karkal near which he noted numerous tracks of enclosures and he was told that many villages in that part had been deserted since the time of Haidar Ali. From Karkal, he went to Udipi through Hiriyaadka, where he learnt that about a fourth part of what was formerly cultivated had gone waste for want of people and stock. From Udipi, he proceeded to North Kanara through Brahmavar and Coondapur. Near the Swarna and other rivers, he noticed fine coconut plantations, and remarked that north of Brahmavar, the country looked well. Between Coondapur and Kirimanieshwara, he found the plantations poor owing to want of inhabitants, many of whom had been carried off by an epidemic of fever followed by an incursion of a predatory band of Marathas.

An account⁵⁴ of Mangalore as it appeared to a traveller in 1829 while on a voyage round the coast from Bombay to Calcutta was published in the issue of the *Oriental Herald* for 20th August 1829. The account is interesting because of its minute observations of persons, places and things. The traveller says that he and his colleagues were taken to the house of the Deputy Collector of Customs in palanquins. The country surrounding Mangalore, he found, was as fine as could be conceived, while the town itself contained little worthy of observation. The ruins of the fort, which still remained, formed a conspicuous eminence, as compared with the general level. The houses of the English gentlemen were all situated above the fort on higher ground. The population of

Mangalore in
1829

the town and its immediate neighbourhood was about 20,000. The Hindus, who were the most numerous, were, in general, worshippers of Shiva, clean in their appearance and respectful in their deportment. He further says that the Mohammadans were the least numerous as a body and that the Christians were the most upright and intelligent class and were so numerous as to have great weight and influence in the community. In their dress and general appearance, they differed little from the Hindus. The officiating Christian priests were native Indians, who were sent, while yet children, to Goa, where they were educated for their office.

The trade of Mangalore had declined since the days of Haidar Ali, in whose time it was the chief sea port on the coast. It had still further fallen off recently owing to the interruption caused by the 'Joassamee pirates' in the Persian Gulf to the free passage of vessels in that sea. The imports consisted of 'foua', a substance like madder root used for dyeing red from Muscat, coarse cotton cloths and ghee from Surat and Cutch, salt from Bombay and Goa, manufactured cloth from Madras and sugar from Bengal and raw silk occasionally from China. The exports were rice, pepper, small spars, sandalwood, betelnut, turmeric and cassia. The climate of this part was found by the traveller to be superior to that of most parts of India. "On the whole", he says, "it may be considered as one of the most agreeable countries for a residence in India, to those who can quit the gayer circles of the Presidencies without regret."

**No-tax
campaign**

The Collectors that came after Munro were enforcing heavy revenue demands.⁵⁵ During the period of roughly ten years from about 1830, there prevailed in the district a state of general unrest, both economic and political. For some years after 1820, there was an acute depression in the trade, commerce and agriculture of the region and low prices prevailed in all parts. Under such an adverse situation, the land revenue imposed by the Company rulers fell heavily on the impoverished peasantry and serious difficulties were experienced in certain cases in collecting the land revenue. In the years that followed, the situation went from bad to worse, ultimately reaching the worst in 1831, when the poor people, unable to bear any longer and having no other alternative, staged a no-tax campaign. There arose, in that year, a number of "riotous assemblages" and in these 'Kutas', the raiyats met together and decided to decline flatly to pay *kists*. The situation being grave and the movement being justified, the British administration, though late, thought discretion the better part of valour and made general reductions in land revenue and thus saved itself from an awkward crisis.

It is stated that on an enquiry being held, it was found that the trouble was also due to the "intrigues" of the Head Shirastedar and other officials with a view to "discrediting the Collector's administration"⁵⁶ In other words, these "intrigues" were the local manifestations of distrust and dissatisfaction about the British rule entertained throughout the length and breadth of India and of a burning desire to get out of that, which later led to the great revolt in 1857.

In 1834, Chikka Veerarajendra Wodeyar (1820-1834), the last Raja of Coorg, took objection to the increasing domineering interference of the Company in the internal administration of Coorg. On the 29th March 1834, Colonel Jackson marched from Kumbala with a force. On the 1st April, they reached Ishwara Mandala, where Colonel Jackson learned that there was a strong stockade between Madduru and Bellare. On the 3rd April, a reconnoitring party was attacked, causing a loss of two officers and more than sixty men. Seeing that his force was obviously unequal to the task entrusted to it, Colonel Jackson retreated from the Coorg territory. In spite of this initial setback, the conflict later ended in a victory to the British who deposed the Raja and appointed a Company Officer, a Superintendent by designation, to administer Coorg with the help of the former Raja's native officials. The parts of the territory of Coorg which were below the ghats were joined to Kanara.⁵⁷ This gave rise to serious dissatisfaction in those parts. The change caused considerable hardships to the people of these parts. Assessments were being paid to the Raja in kind; but the Collector of Kanara demanded it in cash. Money was then dear and the raiyats were thrown to the mercy of the usurious money-lenders who purchased their produce for a very low sum. It was now very hard for the raiyats to pay even their assessments. This situation caused grave resentment among them against the Company's rule.

**Resentment
against the
company's rule**

Though the famous first Indian War of Independence broke out in 1857, sporadic attempts to throw out the British rule are not unknown even before that. One such attempt was made in Coorg and South Kanara as early as 1837. As has already been mentioned, there was already discontent amongst the people of a portion of South Kanara against the Company's rule on account of the change that had taken place in Coorg. It may be said that the people below the ghats were in fact waiting for a favourable opportunity to rise against the British and to overthrow their rule. Such an opportunity presented itself to them in the appearance, after the deposition of the Coorg Raja, of one Kalyanaswami, a native of the northern part of Coorg, who claimed himself to be the only surviving heir to the Coorg throne, being the second son of Appaji, uncle of the deposed Raja of Coorg. When he proclaimed himself as the Raja of Coorg, people in large numbers

**Kalyana-
swami's rising**

joined him. Finding that there was more support for him below the ghats, he descended the Bisle ghat in Yelusavira-Sime and reached Bellare fort below the ghats in April 1837, where people flocked to him in large numbers. Kalyanaswami issued proclamations to the people of South Kanara and Coorg appealing for their support to overthrow the Company's rule. He then marched at the head of his party of armed, unarmed and poorly armed men to Puttur. At the news of this large-scale rising of the people, the Collector of Mangalore marched to Puttur with two companies of sepoy. But the two companies were easily routed by Kalyanaswami and his followers and the Collector fled to Mangalore on horse. Kalyanaswami then triumphantly marched to Panemangalore where he was joined by Lakshmappa Banga Arasu, the pensioned descendant of an old feudal chieftain of that place. Both of them together marched to Mangalore.

On receipt of the news that Kalyanaswami was marching towards Mangalore with thousands of followers, the English officials at the port got frightened and left for Tellicherry by sea-route. After entering the city, Kalyanaswami broke open the prison-gates and freed the prisoners, took over the treasury and set fire to the houses of the English officers at Mangalore. For nearly a fortnight Mangalore was in the possession of Kalyanaswami and his flag flew on the present Light House Hill in place of the Company's flag. His rule ended when, as the British forces advanced from Tellicherry to Mangalore, his ill-disciplined and poorly armed followers melted away. This made an easy way for the British to enter the city and capture the leaders. Kalyanaswami, Lakshmappa Banga Arasu and some other prominent leaders were hanged at Vikrama Kote in Padav in Mangalore, while the rest were deported to Singapore for life.⁵⁸

Partition of Kanara

Until 1860, the Kanara district was under a single administration. In that year, however, a division of this area which had a natural and cultural unity was brought about. The district was partitioned into North Kanara and South Kanara. In 1862, the former was tagged on to the Bombay Presidency, while the latter portion was retained in the Madras Presidency. In 1860, the Coondapur taluk was included in North Kanara, but while transferring that district to the Bombay Presidency, it was re-included in South Kanara. It was claimed that the transfer of North Kanara to Bombay was "mainly on commercial considerations connected with the development of cotton trade."⁵⁹

Subsequent history of the district runs on the general pattern of Indian districts, under the administration of the British Collectorate with passive acquiescence of the people for a period. The district had the benefit of early introduction of modern education. The Catholic and Protestant Missions did a lot for the growth of

Mangalore town, and they were pioneers in the fields of education and industry in the district. In accordance with the Town Improvement Act, 1865, the internal administration of towns was entrusted to municipalities. Under the provisions of this Act, the Mangalore Municipality was constituted in 1866. South Kanara got its first District Board in 1884, while Coondapur, Uppinangadi and Mangalore taluks were given Taluk Boards. In 1870 was started the Upasana Samaj in Mangalore, which was reorganised as the Brahma Samaj in 1903. This body worked for bringing about social and religious reforms.

The later period saw rapid growth of political consciousness among the people of the district, due to the activities of the Indian National Congress, spread of education and publication of journals. It may be remembered that South Kanara was the cradle of Kannada journalism. The fight for freedom was the main source of inspiration for some of the South Kanara papers like the 'Tilaka Sandesha' (1919), 'Satyagrahi' (1921) and 'Swadeshi Pracharaka' (1940) (see also Chapter XVIII). South Kanara played its own part in the freedom movement and gave such leaders as Karnad Sadashiva Rao, U. S. Malya, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and H. V. Kamath.

Political
awakening

The non-co-operation movement of Gandhiji gained great momentum in Karnataka, and Karnad Sadashiva Rao was the pioneer of this nationalist agitation in the district. He was a leading lawyer of the Mangalore Bar and had taken up social reform work and had applied himself to the cause of the advancement of women and the depressed classes. He was among the first from Karnataka to sign the Satyagraha pledge and worked indefatigably for strengthening the movement in the area. Gandhiji accompanied by Shaukat Ali visited Mangalore in August 1920 and addressed a gathering when he explained the principles of the non-co-operation movement and called on the people to give their fervent support. Many offered cash contributions and some ladies gave away their ornaments at this memorable meeting. Shri Mohanappa Thingalaya resigned his office of honorary magistracy. Shri A. B. Shetty and Shri B. V. Baliga relinquished their membership of the Madras Provincial Assembly. Some advocates gave up their practice, some students left schools and colleges and a few government officials resigned from their jobs to join the movement. Foreign goods were boycotted and Swadeshi articles were encouraged. Picketing of courts and government offices was resorted to. Every taluk court was vigorously picketed and this resulted in the arrest of about 75 workers and lathi charges. Mangalore and Udipi became the centres of the movement.

After stopping the non-co-operation movement as per Gandhiji's direction, the nationalist workers engaged themselves

in the constructive programme which included Khadi, upliftment of the Harijans, prohibition, etc. Thousands of *Charakas* were distributed for spinning yarn in the district. Two national institutes of education were started, one each at Mangalore and Udipi. In carrying out the programme, Shri Karnad Sadashiva Rao was assisted by Shriyuths Arebail Bhoja Rao, K. R. Achar, K. R. Karanth, A. B. Shetty, K. K. Shetty, H. K. Thingalaya, Kadan-gondlu Shankara Bhatta, V. S. Kudva and many others. In 1922, an All-Karnataka Political Conference was held at Mangalore under the presidentship of Smt. Sarojini Naidu and this gave a fillip to the movement. Now and then, district political conferences were also being held for chalking out programmes. In 1923, two volunteers from the district participated in the Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur. During the next phase of the movement, the civil disobedience programme also received mammoth support in the district. At a number of places on the coastline, Salt Satyagraha was enthusiastically resorted to. There were arrests and a number of very severe lathi charges in the district.⁶⁰ The fishermen evinced keen interest in the Salt Satyagraha and the police were unable to snatch away the salt from these people. There was picketing of the toddy shops and shops selling foreign cloth. Many women and students also faced lathi charges and courted arrests in the course of picketing.

In February 1934, Mahatma Gandhi again visited the district and addressed several public meetings which inspired the people to give determined support to nationalist endeavours. During the next year, another All-Karnataka Political Conference was held at Mangalore under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In 1937, Pandit Nehru visited Mangalore in the course of his whirlwind tour of the country. In 1940-41, in individual Satyagraha also, a good number of nationalist workers of the district participated. In August 1942, when the national leaders were arrested by the British Government and repression was let loose in the country, there was spontaneous reaction of the people in the district as in other parts. Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Shriyuths A. B. Shetty, K. R. Karanth, B. V. Baliga, Vitthaladasa Shetty, Shrinivas Mallya, K. K. Shetty, Shankar Alva, Joachim Alva, Nagappa Alva, M. D. Adhikari were among the many who took a leading part in the movement. There were also underground activities to protest against the attitude of the British Government. The epic struggle waged by the people of India convinced the alien rulers that it was no longer possible to hold this nation in bondage and consequently followed the transfer of power on the 15th August 1947. The South Kanara district had formed a part of the Madras State prior to the 1st November 1956. On that day, as a consequence of the re-organisation of States, the district was included in the new Mysore State and became one of the latter's 19 districts.

ARCHAEOLOGY

It may be made clear at the very start that archaeology of South Kanara has not been yet fully and systematically surveyed. So far as the pre-historic section of the subject is concerned, no important discovery seems to have been reported from the area comprising the district, of any ancient cave or rock-cell sepulchres, similar to those which have been found in Kerala, for instance, to cite a coastal example. Two alternative inferences may possibly be drawn; the first, that the region might not have been sufficiently ancient from the point of view of human habitation, this being true to some extent, especially when compared with the inland districts of the Deccan, and second, that the ancient people of the South Kanara region built in a perishable material like wood and therefore, their structures have failed to come down to us. This inference is more probable in view of the practice still in existence throughout this area, as well as in Burma and other places where wood is easily and abundantly available. The common use of stone for sculptural and architectural purposes in this district does not seem to date back earlier than the mediaeval days. What the monuments of South Kanara lose in point of time, they seem to gain in point of style. On account of some of their very special contributions to Indian architecture and on account of some peculiarities which are their own, these monuments have a unique place in the Indian architectural gallery. Most of the local dynasties that ruled over the region successively from about the fourteenth century A.D. right upto the beginning of the British period were Jaina and the Jaina monuments were developed under royal patronage.

The Jaina archaeological remains of South Kanara can conveniently be studied under three main categories, namely, the *Bettas* or walled enclosures containing a colossal statue, the *Basadis* or *Bastis* (temples) and the *Stambhas* or pillars.

There are three such old *Bettas* in the Mysore State—two in South Kanara district, and one in Hassan district at Shravanabelagola which is the most famous. The monolithic statue in all the three cases represents 'Gommataraya' with regard to whom Fergusson remarks that he is not known to the Jains in the north. Of the two statues in South Kanara, the one at Karkala is the larger, being 41 feet 5 inches in height and about 80 tons in weight, that at Venur being only about 35 feet high. From an inscription carved on the Karkala statue, it is known to have been completed in 1431 A.D., while according to the inscription on the Venur statue, the exact date on which this was set up was 1st March 1604.

Gommata
statues

The Karkal statue, besides being of a colossal (or of "truly Egyptian size") is rendered more striking by its situation on the top of a big granite hillock on the margin of a lovely little lake. Walhouse, who gives a graphic account of the site and the statue in his article in the Fraser's magazine⁶¹ says: "Upon the outskirts 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 On the hill-top a crenelated quadrangular wall encloses a stone platform five feet high, on which rises the 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 awkwardly down the sides, in a posture of somewhat stiff but simple dignity". His further remarks are worth noting. Says he: "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 knees. The feet, each 4 feet and 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.".

Basadis

The *basadis* or *bastis* are Jaina temples which are found (some in use at present and others in various stages of ruin) all over the district particularly in the Karkal taluk. One remarkable feature about these temples is the picturesque site selected for them. Walhouse's remarks⁶² about Mudabidri that "no Cistercian brotherhood was wiser in choosing a dwelling place than the Jains", that "their villages are ever marked by natural beauty and convenience", and that "shade and seclusion brood over the peaceful neighbourhood, and in the midst stands the greatest of Jain temples built nearly five centuries ago", apply to several other places as well.

From the point of view of the *basadis*, the most important place in South Kanara is Mudabidri, which contains as many as 16 examples of these, built, according to Fergusson, in a style that is neither Dravidian nor the so-called Indo-Aryan and which is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal.⁶³ In Percy Brown's words, these

temples are "less like copies of the Newar shrines of Nepal, but still resembling the architecture of the Himalayas.....".⁶⁴ The resemblances between the architectural styles of these two distant regions is indeed very striking and Fergusson considers it so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than re-invented. Percy Brown says that "in the case of these Mudabidri temples, some of the similarity to the Himalayan style may be accounted for by the builders in each region endeavouring in their construction to solve the problems presented by the extreme changes of climate, in mitigating the effect of the fierce tropical sun alternating with heavy monsoon rains. Yet it is difficult to believe that the analogy between the two styles of building and methods of construction is due to both these people reasoning alike".⁶⁵

Dr. S. U. Kamath is of the view that this style must have been introduced into Tuluva by the followers of the Natha Pantha, the *jogis* of which hailed from Nepal and other Himalayan regions and the (Manjunatha) temple at Kadri is the best example of this style⁶⁶. One thing seems beyond doubt about these temples and that is that although built of stone masonry, these buildings are clearly copies of wooden constructions, as is proved by the shape and design of their verandahs which have pillars resembling chamfered logs of wood, the sloping-roofs imitating planks and gables formed on the penthouse principle, with wide overhanging eaves.

The finest temple at Mudabidri is the Chandranatha *Basti*, which appears to have been built in phases between the years 1429 and 1462. The temple, three storeys high, with the roofs rising over one another, is contained within a high-walled enclosure having an entrance on the east, which opens immediately on to a fine pillar (*manastambha*) in front of the main doorway. The building consists of three halls, corresponding to *mandapas*, all combined and connected with the *vimana* containing the cell in which the image of worship is installed.

Coming to the sculptural aspect of these Jaina temples, it may easily be said that the exterior of these temples is much plainer than that of the Hindu shrines. But the interior portions, in marked contrast with this, are profusely decorated and "nothing can exceed the richness and variety with which they are carved". The pillars of these temples have a grandeur of their own. "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"⁶⁷ To take again the Mudabidri temple as a typical example, here is a description by Percy Brown of the Mudabidri type of pillar: "The Mudabidri

type of pillar is a thickest solid production, in all some twelve feet in height, with the lower third consisting of a square prism, in marked contrast to the remainder of the shaft, which is circular in section and profusely moulded. As to the capital, this is a composition of brackets and pendant lotus buds around a square abacus, the whole a most ornate conception. In their design, these pillars are closely allied to what may be referred to as the Chalukyan order, as this prevailed at the time in the country of Mysore. They were produced also by the same technical process, the heavy rounded mouldings being obtained by turning the monolithic shaft in a large lathe. The pillars in the Bhiradevi *mandapa* of the Chandranatha temple are exceptionally elaborate, the shafts being moulded and chiselled into all kinds of fine patterns. Certain parts of these are undercut into detached lotus petals and miniature balustrades all executed with incredible precision, patience and skill".⁶⁸ Regarding the rest of the sculptures, Walhouse's observation⁶⁹ may be repeated here: "It (*i.e.*, the temple) is very extensive and magnificent, containing, it is said, on and about it a thousand pillars, and no two alike; . . . there 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, but with admirable cleanness. One quadrangular face bears a hymn graven curiously in twenty-five small square compartments, 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—Sitting amongst the wonderful columns, the ponderious 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 to 10 feet in height standing within. This is Chandranatha, 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". On the whole, it can be said the finest example of sculptural workmanship in the district is to be found in the Chandranatha *basadi* at Mudabidri.

The *basti* at Karkal, though lesser in size to that at Mudabidri, is not without interest. In plan and appearance, it differs considerably from most of the Jaina temples in the district, and seems to bear a greater resemblance to the old Jaina temples in other parts of India. The temple, which is called the Chaturmukha temple, is built in the form of a *mandapa* or hall (cruciform

in plan) with a lofty doorway and pillared portico on each of its four sides and a verandah running all round. The roof is flat and formed of massive granite slabs. Inside the temple are enshrined twelve large polished black stone standing images of Jaina saints. They are in groups of three, each group facing one of the four doorways or four faces of the building.

The *stambhas* or pillars, which are locally called *manastambhas*, are among the important architectural remains of South Kanara. Though they are not peculiar to the Jaina architecture, it is in connection with Jaina temples that the really fine specimens of them are to be found. According to Fergusson, these are more elaborately adorned here than elsewhere.⁷⁰ He gives a wood-cut pillar from Guruvayanakere as the fair average 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 polygonal figure approaching a circle, and above a wide-spreading capital of most elaborate design. There is a difference of opinion as to which is the best pillar in the district. According to some, the *manastambha* standing in the enclosure of the Chandranatha temple at Haleyangadi is the best. Thus, Sturrock says: "Undoubtedly the finest *stambhas* remaining in the district is at Haleangadi close to Karkala. . . ."⁷¹ With reference to this, Walhouse, in his article referred to above, also observes: "Nothing can exceed the stately grace and beautiful proportions of this wonderful pillar whose total height may be 50 feet". But in the opinion of Longhurst, "in point of size, it is certainly the largest and highest, but in proportion, workmanship and design it is much inferior to several at Mudabidri or the one at Venur".⁷² It may be said that there are several excellent pillars in the district which vie with one another in points of beauty and elegance, and there is no doubt that, as Percy Brown says, "they form an artistic and impressive introduction to the temple entrance"⁷³ It is noteworthy that these extra-ordinary monuments were built by chiefs of small principalities in the district.

Stambhas

Apart from a seeming similarity in the temples of the region on account of a queer type of overhanging roof which was necessary on account of the heavy rainfall, each temple has its own grace and charm. The temples at Barakuru and Baindur are fairly massive structures, and those at Udipi and Dharmasthala are by no means devoid of architectural taste and excellence (see also Chapter XIX).

In addition to the above three classes of Jaina architectural remains in the district, there is, however, one more category of Jaina monuments, again, peculiar to this district and to be found only at Mudabidri. This is of the Jaina tombs situated on open grass-land close by the roadside about one mile due east of the famous Chandranatha temple. In all, there are 23 tombs in

Tombs

various stages of decay. With the exception of two tombs which stand separate on the north side of the road, all the rest are situated close together on the south side of the road. The two solitary tombs on the north side are said to have been set up over the ashes of two wealthy Jaina merchants. All others are said to be those of Jaina priests. Three of the latter contain inscribed granite tablets.

These are all built of carefully-cut laterite stone and were originally ornamented with tall granite finials, most of which have since fallen and are reported to have been set up in the compounds of the temples or private houses in the town as ornaments. The tombs are rectangular on plan and vary from 4 to 15 feet square in area and from about 5 to 20 feet in height. They are built up in two or three tiers which diminish in size from base to top. At the junction of each tier is a sloping projection all round, representing a spreading canopy or roof like those so common in the wooden temples of Northern India. About these tombs, Fergusson 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, ornamented with simulated cells and finished with domical roofs. The division of each storey is a sloping roof like those of pagodas at Katmandu and in China or Tibet."⁷⁴

Palaces and Forts

The palaces and forts form the bulk of the secular architecture in the South Kanara district. Most of the palaces, of which there were many in this district, which, prior to the British period, was full of petty Jaina chiefs, are in ruins at present. At Karkal, the remains of the palace of the Bhairarasas can be seen close to the famous *basti*. At Venur, which was the capital of the Ajilas, all that remain of the old palace are the foundations of buildings and two stone elephants. These elephants stood at the gates of the palace, which, according to tradition, was seven storeys high. Of the four palaces, which the Moolas of Bailangadi are said to have had, only one remains, in parts at least, along with some 15 tombs, said to be those of old Moola chiefs, in a field about a mile and a half away from the town. The palace of the Chautas at Mudabidri is an insignificant looking building, the only objects of interest in it being the four beautifully carved wooden pillars, a coffered wooden ceiling and a fine old carved wooden door leading into a passage on the east side of the inner courtyard.

Coming to the forts, their condition is also the same, as or even worse than that of the palaces. The older forts are completely in ruins and possess little or no architectural or archaeological value. The ruined fort at Barakuru is assigned to Harihara Raya of Vijayanagara. Mangalore city itself is said to

have had four forts at different periods of its history. Of these, the remains of only two can be seen to-day. The Mangalore fort, said to have been built by Basappa Nayaka of Bidanur (1739-55) and dismantled by Tipu in about 1784, was fairly extensive, consisting of two forts—an upper and a lower—the latter being the larger. A section of the moat on the western part of the hill still exists. A few remains of the St. Sebastian fort, built by the Portuguese in 1568, can still be seen on the sea-shore. The forts in the southern part of the district were strongholds of the Bidanur kings. Probably they were in existence long before and were only improved by these rulers. Among these, those of Chandragiri, Bekal and Hosadurga were important. The first mentioned, in particular, occupied a very strong position on a high hill overlooking the Chandragiri river.

The only fort that is really interesting from the archaeological point of view is the Jamalabad hill-fort, built by Tipu Sultan in 1794 in honour of his mother Jamal Bi on the summit of a lofty granite hill 1,788 feet above the sea-level, four miles to the north of the town of Belthangadi. The only approach to the citadel is by a flight of stone steps on the eastern side of the hill. Most of the steps and passages on the upper portion of the hill are cut out of the solid rock and are good works of engineering skill. The walls, bastions and gateways are built of carefully-cut granite blocks and must have been of great strength. Inside the citadel are two tanks and a small spring of good water. On one of the ruined bastions lies a dismantled iron cannon of European manufacture. The fort was captured by the British in 1799, but was soon after surprised and taken by one Timma Nayaka. It came into the possession of the British in June 1800.

Very few old paintings have survived in the district. Some palmyra manuscripts called *Dhavala Granthas* (Jain religious works), preserved in a *basadi* at Mudabidri have many exquisite miniature paintings dating back to the 12th century or to the Vijayanagara period.⁷⁵ The pictures of Teerthankaras, Yakshas, Yakshis, kings, queens, devotees, etc., are vividly drawn in them using different colours; there are also some fine ornamental flower designs. Some panels of faded paintings, which may be probably of about the later part of the last century can be seen on the walls of a few temples such as the Karnika (Mukhya Prana) temple, Mangalore, and Panduranga temple of Brahmavara. They depict scenes from the epics and puranas and indicate that the art of painting was fairly well cultivated in the district.

Paintings.

(The Chapel of the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore, has a marvellous gallery of paintings done by Br. Anthony Moschemi from 1902 to 1904. (see Chapter XIX under Mangalore).

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1. Saletore, B.A., Karnataka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts, p. 26.
2. Literally, it means "The usage of the *grama* (village)". Though its authorship cannot be ascribed with certainty to any one person according to one of its own versions, it was composed by Bhattacharya. (Statistical Appendix, together with a Supplement, to the two District Manuals for South Kanara District—1938—hereinafter referred to as the Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals, 1938, p. 170).
3. The Brahmin families are said to have come from Ahichchhatra situated on the banks of the Godavari. That place has been identified by some with Ramnagar in Rohilkhand also. But it is quite possible that as has been suggested in the Madras District Manuals, South Kanara (1894), Vol. 1 (page 59), this Ahichchhatra or Ahikshetra of the Tulu Brahmanic tradition may be merely a Sanskrit form of 'Haiga' or 'Haviga' (the land of snakes, from the Kannada 'havu' meaning snake). In support of this view, the Manual says that in the local history of Honali (Swarnavalli) Math at Sonda (Swadi) above the ghats in North Kanara, Gokarna is described as being in Ahikshetra.
4. Ramesh, K.V., "A History of South Kanara", pp. 12-13.
5. Hopkins, "The great Epic of India", pp. 387-388.
6. *Tenkanadu*, pp. 3-4.
7. In support of his surmise, he tells us that the area round about Manjeshwara (now in Kerala) was once called 'Sankara Male' (here the word 'Sankara' has nothing to do with 'Shankara', but means 'of the Sankas'), that an ancient kingdom south of Quilon was called 'Changanadu' and that neither 'Naga' nor 'Shankha' is originally a Sanskrit word, but only a Sanskritisation of a non-Aryan word.
8. Govinda Pai, *Tenkanadu*, p 4.
9. Ramesh, K. V. *op. cit.* pp. 1-12.
10. Gururaja Bhatt, P. "*Dakshina Kannada Tuluvaroo Tuluva Samskritiyoo*", p. 5.
11. This was for some time supposed to be Mangalore. But the present opinion is that Muziris should be identified with an ancient town called Muziri near modern Cranganore.

12. "Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals" (1938)
p. 172.
13. Hosbson-Jobson, BK. IV, p. 552.
14. (i) Rice, "Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions",
p. 137.
(ii) "The History and Culture of the Indian People",
Vol. III (the Classical Age), p. 274.
15. "Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals" (1938),
p. 172.
16. 'Aluka' appears as one of the synonyms for 'shesha'
(serpent) in Hemachandra's 'Abhidhana Chintamani' (Sl. No. 1,307).
17. "Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals", (1938),
pp. 174-175.
18. This, in fact, has been the view of many scholars, *e.g.*,
(i) Rice, "Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions", p. 137;
(ii) Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals, (1938), p. 172;
and (iii) R. Sathianathaier, Chapter on the Dynasties of South
India in 'The classical Age'. (*op. cit.*), p. 274.
19. Saletore, B.A., "Ancient Karnataka", Vol. I, History of
Tuluva, p. 61.
20. *Ibid*, p. 366.
21. Epigraphic Report of the Southern Circle for 1926-27,
p. 107.
22. *Tenkanadu*, pp. 30-31.
23. "Appendix to South Kanara District Manuals" (1938),
p. 172.
24. *Tenkanadu*, p. 7, Note 8.
25. Desai, P. B., "A History of Karnataka", p. 93.
26. Saletore, B.A., "Ancient Karnataka", Vol. I, p. 72.
27. "Epigraphia Carnatica", Vol. VI, Intro. p. 5.
28. "Ancient Karnataka", *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 74.
29. "Epigraphia Carnatica", Vol. VI, Intro. p. 10.

30. "Ancient Karnataka", *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 78.

31. "*Kadambakula*", p. 76.

32. Lakshminarayan Rao, N, The Chalukya genealogy, an article in 'Karnataka Darshana'.

33. "Ancient Karnataka", *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

34. Ramesh, K. V., *op. cit.*, 80.

35. *Ibid*, p. 93.

36. *Ibid*, p. 100.

37. *Ibid*, p. 109.

38. The following story concerning Parapali Nayaka is still current in the region :—Parapali Nayaka was a native of Bannanje in Udipi, where a temple of Hanumanta and a piece of land are still associated with him. His master was a learned Brahmin who was in search of the philosopher's stone. One day he asked Parapali Nayaka to get ready a plantain tree to be planted in a certain place at a given time. The inquisitive Nayaka brought two trees instead of one and gave one of them to the Brahmin. At the auspicious moment, the Brahmin planted the tree, Parapali Nayaka doing the same without telling his master. In due course, startling results occurred. The master's tree remained barren, while the Nayaka's bore a bunch of golden-coloured plantains. The poor man, being perturbed by the strange fruit, approached his master and confessed his doings. The kind-hearted Brahmin, instead of being angry, asked him to take the bunch of plantains to the sea on a particular day and after doing obeisance to the ocean, throw it into the waters, and also told him that the ocean would then send three waves and that he should take home whatever would come along with the third wave. Parapali Nayaka followed the instructions carefully. With the first two waves came a number of precious metals and diamonds; but he did not touch them. The last wave swept the beach clean, leaving behind a single pebble in the shape of an axe. After some moments of doubt and hesitation, Parapali Nayaka picked it up, took it home and threw it in a niche where he had kept his scythe. Next day, when he started for work, he was astonished to see his scythe turned into gold! Running to the Brahmin he narrated the whole story. The Brahmin explained to him the use to which the stone could be put, but warned him to use it sparingly.

Thereafter, Parapali Nayaka turned a lot of iron into gold, but never made use of the wealth for himself. He continued to serve his old master and to live in the same old dilapidated hut.

He bought land at enormous prices and bestowed it on the poor. He is said to have done this not only in Tuluva, but also in Kerala and in the region of the ghats. His deeds mainly consisted of gifts of land for the cattle. There are, in many places in Udipi taluk, large plots of waste land now shown as 'Palipata Nayaka's dharma'. When the Nayaka became old, he wished that the stone should pass into the hands of an equally generous person. His master advised him to entertain the men of the locality with a feast, the stone being thrown into one of the huge pots containing the main dish to be served at the same. It was agreed that the stone should go to him on whose leaf it would be served. But serve as they would, the stone dropped only on Parapali Nayaka's leaf. It thus being proved that there was none who was worthy of getting the stone, it was, again on the advice of the Brahmin master, thrown by Parapali Nayaka back into the ocean where it had come from. ("Ancient Karnataka", *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-106).

39. Barahakanyapura is the same as Barakuru of which the older variant seems to be Barakanuru. This is said to have been the capital of the Alupas from the beginning of the 9th century A. D. till the end of the 13th century A. D. except for a short period in the reign of Kundavaramarasa who had shifted his capital to Mangalapura (modern Mangalore).

40. Ramesh, K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 118.

41. *Ibid*, pp. 136-140.

42. The name Alva still survives among several families chiefly of Udyavara and Udipi.

43. Ramesh K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 162.

44. George Moraes quoted by 'Mangalore', a Souvenir issued by the Canara Industrial and Banking Syndicate Ltd.

45. Kamath, S. U., "Tuluva in Vijayanagara Times", Thesis, typescript, p. 60.

46. *Ibid*, pp. 26-36.

47. *Ibid*, p. 37.

48. *Ibid*, p. 38.

49. Kudva, K. K., "Dakshina Kannadada Itihasa" (*Tuluva Charitre*), p. 148.

50. Kamath, S. U., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
53. "Historical Inscriptions of Southern India" p. 304.
54. The Mangalore Magazine (The organ and record of the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore).
55. Kudva, K. K., *op. cit.*, p. 156.
56. Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol. I, p. 83.
57. At the time of the annexation, the principality of Coorg had included the two taluks of Amara-Sullia and Puttur below the ghats, comprising an area of about 580 square miles. In 1834, these two taluks were separated from Coorg and added to the Collectorate of Kanara, and the remaining territory was formed into a separate province of Coorg. (Coorg District Gazetteer, 1965, p. 77).
58. Krishnayya, D. N., The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society—Vol. XLVII: The South Kanara Insurrection (1837), p. 82.
59. Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol. I, p. 84.
60. Halappa, G. S., "History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka", p. 201.
61. Fraser's Magazine for May 1875.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Fergusson, James, "History of Indian Architecture", pp. 271-273.
64. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 156.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Kamath, S. U., *op. cit.*, p. 349.
67. Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol. I, p. 89.
68. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 156.
69. Fraser's Magazine for May 1875.
70. Fergusson, James, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

71. Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol. I, p. 91.
 72. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, for 1913-14, p. 40.
 73. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 162.
 74. Fergusson, James, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
 75. (i) Karanth, K. S., "*Karnatakadalli Chittrakale*", pp. 28-30.
(ii) Kamath, S. U. says that there is "enough evidence to conclude that they must be of the Vijayanagara days when Jainism was at its zenith in Tuluva" (*vide* his Thesis "Tuluva in Vijayanagara Times", typescript p. 345).
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