

According to Sir Thomas Holland<sup>1</sup>, the rocks of Coorg consist partly of the Mercara series and partly of intrusive members of the charnockite series. The Mercara series includes a very complex succession of highly metamorphosed rocks, many of which are almost certainly altered argillaceous sediments. Bands of greenstones are common in the Mercara series, and probably represent original dykes or flows of dolerites. It is probable that rocks of the Mercara series and of the charnockite series exist in the south-eastern portion of South Kanara.

The eastern edge of South Kanara is formed by the Western Ghats, partly in Mysore and partly in this district. These have been mapped in some detail in Mysore and it seems certain that some of the rocks of the Western Ghats as mapped in Mysore must appear along the eastern frontier of South Kanara. These rocks include several divisions of the Archaean Dharwar series of Southern India consisting of epidiorites, hornblende schists, greenstones, and chloritic schists, with probably some quartzites and ultrabasic rocks, and possibly also the granitic formation known as the Champion gneiss, as well as varieties of the Peninsular gneiss—the main gneissic series of Mysore.

Of minerals of economic value, specimens of corundum have been obtained from Kemár village in the Puttúr taluk. Corundum has been reported to occur also at Bandár, Kadicár, Hirébandady, Ellenír and Malekai in the same taluk.

Mica has also been reported as occurring in the Puttúr taluk and to the north of Mangalore; but these occurrences were investigated by Mr. G. V. Hobson of the Geological Survey of India and found to be of no value. The mica seen was all loose and no mica-bearing pegmatites were discovered.”

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

*Page 54.*—After the first sentence in this Chapter *add* the following sentence, the present second sentence becoming the third :—

A note on the early history of South Kanara up to its annexation by the British has been kindly compiled by Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., PH.D., D. PHIL., Professor of History and Economics in the Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona. He is a native of this district and has made a special study of Tuluva and Vijayanagara history. His note is added as Part II at the end of this Chapter. The Editor is much indebted to Dr. Saletore for his contribution.

<sup>1</sup> Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind., XXVIII, page 231 (1900).

Sources of information and antiquity of Tuluva—The origin of the word Tuluva—Political history: the Ālupas of Udayāvara—Vijayanagara and Tuluva—The Keladi kings and Tuluva—Tuluva under the Sultans of Mysore—Minor principalities.

1. *Sources of information.*—Tuluva, or as it has been called in our own days by the misnomer of South Kanara, has always had a distinctive history behind it. Perhaps it is the only province on the western coast of India the annals of which have till now remained undiscovered. The sources of information for the history of Tuluva are the following:—

Tradition both indigenous and foreign; literature both Hindu and Jaina; writings of foreign travellers and geographers; and finally, epigraphs.

Of these tradition is of particular importance to the student of Tuluva history. But here it should be noted that the hitherto accepted notion of foreign tradition being of primary importance for the history of Tuluva is to be rejected. Foreign tradition, so far as Tuluva is concerned, is mainly found in the legendary account of Kérala, the region lying immediately to the south of Tuluva. The legendary accounts of this province are called *Kéralólṭpatti* (or *Kéralótṭpatti*). The proximity of Tuluva to Kérala, the resemblance which some of the characters of the Tulu script bear to those of Malayalam, and the fact that a section of the Tulu Brahmins act as priests to some of the prominent Malabar communities, all these are responsible for the confusion between Tuluva and Kérala, and the consequent reliance placed on the *Kéralótṭpatti* for the elucidation of the history of Tuluva. Whatever may be the importance of the *Kéralótṭpatti* in the history of Malabar, it is not of any use for the annals of Tuluva.

Indigenous tradition is embodied in the folk-songs of Tuluva called *Pádadānas*, in the quasi-historical accounts of holy places known as *Sthala-Máhātmyas* or *Sthala-Purānas*, and in the narrative called *Grāmapaddhati*. The *Pádadānas* are essentially prayers but are popularly understood in the light of panegyrical songs sung in honour of the great heroes and heroines of ancient and mediaeval Tuluva. There are very many of these songs in the Tulu language but the most prominent ones centre round the brave deeds of the heroes who belonged to the following sections of the Tulu people—the Koragars, the Holeyas, the Billavars, and the Bants. Two features of these *Pádadānas* are that they are very simple in their style and that they contain details which can be verified even in our own days. A study of these *Pádadānas* is imperative for any reconstruction of the history of Tuluva. The annual recitation of these *Pádadānas* has done not a little for the preservation of these songs down through the ages.

Less trustworthy from a purely historical point of view but equally popular are the *Sthala Māhātmyas* or local accounts of the holy places of Tuluva. With the help of some of these *Sthala-Māhātmyas*, we are able to find out the importance of many of the religious centres of Tuluva. But these local chronicles are often vitiated by their ultra-*pauranic* vein which is however easily detectable by the reader.

The *Grāmapaddhati* is of unique importance as a source of information for the history of Tuluva. The word itself means "Usage of the Grāma." But it is more than that—it is a long and interesting account of Tuluva from the time it was created by Parasurāma down to the historical days when the Vijayanagara monarchs cast their sway over the district. The legendary origin of the Kadambas and the story of Mayūra Varma; the distribution of the land into thirty-two villages or *grāmas* among the Brahmins of Ahikshétra; the allotment of households among the Brahmins; the numerous rules and regulations pertaining to the assemblies of villagers and the officials of the king; the description of the trial of cases in a court of law; and various details connected with the holy places of Tuluva—these and other equally interesting details comprise the *Grāmapaddhati* the authorship of which, however, cannot with certainty be ascribed to any one writer. One version of the *Grāmapaddhati* narrates that it was composed by a sage called Bhattāchārya. This name is given to one of the Swāmis of the Bālakuduru matha belonging to the Smārthas who follow the Bhāgavata-Sampradāya. It is near Udipi. The real name of the *Swāmi* according to the tradition current among the followers of the Bhāgavata-Sampradāya sect is Battāchārya Prabhākara. An inscription dated A.D. 1298 mentions a Bhattāchārya (evidently of the Bhāgavata sect.<sup>1</sup>). If he is to be identified with Bhattāchārya Prabhākara, who is supposed to have been the author of the *Grāmapaddhati*, then, the composition of that work may be assigned to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.

Indeed, one determining factor which enables us to fix the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* is the reference to a viceroy called Vīra Bhūpati in whose provincial court a criminal case, described in detail, took place. Now, this viceroy was the son of a Vijayanagara prince called Yuva Bukka, who was the son of Harihara Rāya II. He was placed over one of the provincial capitals of the Karnāta in A.D. 1386.<sup>2</sup> We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that although the *Grāmapaddhati* may have existed in a cruder shape in earlier ages, it may have been

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII. Sa. 99, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XI. Mk. 31, p. 195.

put in the form it has come down to us only in the fourteenth century A.D.

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The second source of information is literature, Hindu as well as Jaina. Of the Hindu sources the epics, the *Purānas* and the *Kāvya*s are indispensable for the location of prominent places of pilgrimage in ancient Tuluva. Thus, for example, the hill Kunjara near Udipi famous in Tuluva tradition as the place where Parasurāma erected a temple in honour of his mother Rēnukā, is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* as well as in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*<sup>1</sup>. Tuluva has some reminiscences of the Pāndava heroes. Although the so-called Pāndava caves at Kadri near Mangalore, and at other places, cannot be associated with the Pāndavas at all—for they were built by the Buddhists in the early centuries of the Christian era—yet there cannot be any doubt that other centres in Tuluva had become prominent in the times of the epics. We have, for instance, at Adūru (seventeen miles east of Kāsaragōd) an old Saiva sculptured temple said to have been founded by Arjuna<sup>2</sup>. The same hero, as is well known, is said to have visited Gókarna after leaving Chitrāngadā. Gókarna in those days was within the limits of ancient Tuluva.

In the topographical lists of the *Purānas*, not only Kunjaragiri but other hill tops and rivers of Tuluva as well are mentioned. Pushpagiri near which stands the celebrated temple of Subramanya, and Kūtasaila or Kodasādri, the home of the famous goddess Mūkāmbikā, are but two of the hill-tops of Tuluva spoken of in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*. As regards the rivers of Tuluva, mention is made of the Kumāri also called Śrīkumāri (i.e., the Kumāradhāri), the Suktimati (i.e., the Gangāvali or Gangolli), the Pāsini (i.e., the Paiswāni or the Chandragiri), the Nalini, and the Nétrāvati rivers in the *Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu*, and the *Bhavishyōttara Purānas*.

Kālidasa's allusion to the sea which, though pushed far by the missiles of Parasurāma, appeared as if touching the mountain Sahya, while describing the conquests of Raghu, can only refer to the coast of Tuluva, since the hero is said to have crossed the mountain Sahya after having enjoyed to his heart's content the mountains Malaya and Dardura.<sup>3</sup>

Foreign travellers, who have left notices of Tuluva, may be grouped under the following heads: Greek, Tamil, Muhammadan, and European. The Greek notices of Tuluva date from the times of Pliny (A.D. 23), who refers to the pirates that infested the western coasts of India between Muziris (mod. Cranganōre)

<sup>1</sup> *Rāmāyana*, Kiskindhā-kānda, XLI, 35, p. 186 (Bombay, 1911), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, pp. 284, 290. (Pargiter).

<sup>2</sup> Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*. I. p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Raghuvamsa*, IV, vv. 51-56.

and a mart which he calls Nitrias. Although scholars are of opinion that Nitrias should be looked for in the North Kanara district, yet we may observe that Nitrias has a close resemblance to the Nétravatí on the backwaters of which stands Mangalore. Pliny's Barace is undoubtedly Basarúru, the Barcelóre of later times.<sup>1</sup>

The next Greek geographer in whose account the ports of Tuluva are mentioned is Ptolemy (middle of the 2nd century A.D.). While describing the ports on the western coast, he mentions in detail those of Ariake; and relates that "in the midst of the false mouth and the Barios there is a city called Maganur."<sup>2</sup> Evidently Maganur could have been no other than Mangalore, although it cannot be made out what is meant by the name Barios. Ptolemy's testimony is invaluable in the sense that he speaks of one of the inland centres of pirates which he calls Oloikhora. This word has been rightly interpreted to mean Alva-khèda.<sup>3</sup> It must be confessed that Ptolemy has confounded the kingdom of Alva-khèda with its capital Udayávára which, as he correctly states, is a few miles in the interior on the Malpe river.

Of the same age as that of Ptolemy is another remarkable source of information which confirms our assertion that the ports of Tuluva were well-known to the Greek geographers of the second century A.D. In the papyri discovered by the scholars Bernard P. Greenfell and Arthur S. Hunt in 1899, a Greek Farce containing "some passages in unknown language" was discovered. The plot of this Farce runs thus: A Greek lady named Charition fell into the hands of the king of this region (Tuluva). With a view to liberate her, a party of Greeks arrived on the coast of Tuluva and after making the king and his party drunk with wine, they effected their escape with Charition. Although opinion is rather sharply divided on the nature of the language in which many of the passages of the Farce occur, yet there cannot be any doubt that they are in Púruvada Hale Kannada and that the Farce contains one name which conclusively proves that the scene of action narrated in the Farce was laid on the coast of Tuluva. This is the name of Malpe, the administrative official of which-Náyaka-is mentioned in the clearest terms (*Malpe Naik*). That there is nothing improbable in the most important towns of Tuluva, especially in the Udipi taluka, having had a *Náyaka*

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 111. In Scott's Map we have Serour. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 45. But this was Sirur and not Basruru.

<sup>2</sup> BK. IV.; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 552.

<sup>3</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 137. The people of the western coast of India seem to have appeared to the Greeks as pirates.

over them is fully borne out by the early Ālupa records of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Kosmos Indikopleustes, author of the *Christian Topography* (middle of the sixth century A.D.), also refers to the port of Mangarouth. The name Kalliena, however, occurring in the same context cannot be referred to the Kallyānpura of Tuluva, as has been wrongly supposed in some quarters.

We may now turn to the Tamil authors who are assigned to the second century A.D. and after. Mámúlunar (assigned to circa A.D. 130) is said to have visited Tulu-nádu<sup>2</sup>. Although the date of the anthologies like *Ahandnūru*, *Kurunt-toki*, and *Nárrinai*, in which these details are found, is by no means a settled question, yet it appears that Tuluva was known to the Tamils in the early ages of Christian era. In the eighth century A.D. the Pándyas inflicted a crushing defeat on the (allies of the) Rástrakútas at Mangalápura which is called "a great city". The victory was won by Sádaiyan, also called Ranadhíra, son or Asamasavarman, Mávavarman, over the feudatories of the Ráshtrakúta monarch Govinda III, Prabhúta-varsha.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest reference to the ports of Tuluva is found in an Arab Mss. of the beginning of the seventh century A.D. In this Mss. Mangalore is mentioned.<sup>5</sup> Rashíd-ud-Dín (A.D. 1310) speaks of the ports of Tuluva in the following order: "Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindabúr, then Fakanúr, then the country of Manjarur<sup>6</sup> . . . ." Of these Sindabúr seems to have been the same as Cundápoor, Fakanúr undoubtedly the same as Bárakúru or the Bárahakanyápura of the middle ages, and Manjarur, Mangalore. Although Rashíd-ud-Dín belonged to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., yet since he bases his remarks on the account of Al-Birúni, his narrative, as Elliot observes, "may be considered 'for all practical purposes', as presenting a picture of the Mussulman knowledge of India at the end of the tenth century A.D."<sup>7</sup>

We assert that Sindabúr was not the same as Basarúru on the strength of the evidence of Abdul-Fida (circa A.D. 1330), who not only mentions Sindabúr but refers to the "small city" of Basarúru in his narrative.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller treatment of the subject, read, Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, Appendix. Mysore Archaeological Report for 1926, p. II seq.; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1904*, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Topog. Christ. p. 337; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 161; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 552. On the wrong identification of Kalliena with Kallyānpura, see Sturrock, *S. Kanara Manual*, I, p. 56 (1st edn.)

<sup>3</sup> Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1,800 years ago*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, p. 293. For the identification of the Ráshtrakútas, read Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, Ch. III, Sec. 6.

<sup>5-7</sup> Elliot-Dawson, *A History of India as told by her own Historians*, I, pp. 42, 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68, n. (4).

The most important sources of information for the history of Tuluva are the stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants which have been found in Tuluva and over the ghats. It is mainly with the aid of these documents that we are able to give a connected account of the ancient dynasty which ruled over Tuluva for more than ten centuries.

2. *The origin of the word Tuluva.*—The origin of the name Tuluva has been wrongly traced to the activities of a person called Tulumbhan Perumál who is said to have fixed his capital at Kotésvara in the Coondapoor taluk. Since no such person is met with in the history of Tuluva, and since Tuluva never in any period of her history formed a province of Kérala, we may dispense with the above account as unhistorical. An equally fictitious origin of the name of the district has been traced to a legendary ruler called Ráma Bhója, who is supposed to have made many gifts like *tuládána*, *tulá-purusha*, etc. Since he gave these gifts, his dynasty came to be known as the Tolár line, and the country, Tulu. The history of the Karnátaka knows no such ruler called Ráma Bhója. A third untenable view is that which attempts to derive the name Tuluva from the meek character (*tuluve*) of the people. But it is only in comparatively recent times that the Tulus have been an inoffensive people.

Historical evidence leads us to opine that the word Tuluva is to be traced to the Kannada root *tulu* meaning *to attack*, which appellation seems to have been given to the people by their northern and more ancient neighbours, the Karnátaka people. This was because of the many deprivations and continual havoc which the Tulu people gave their northern neighbours. Indeed the repeated epithet *Tuluva badavánalam* (submarine fire (to) the Tuluva forces) given to the Karnátaka kings in relation to the Tulu soldiers in historical times, and the many warlike reminiscences which are easily detectable in most of the Tuluva games and in the aboriginal faith of the Tulu people prove that in the remote ages the Tulus were a people of warlike habits.

3. *Political history: The Álupas of Udayávvara.*—The political history of Tuluva till the annexation of the district by the British in A.D. 1799, falls into the following divisions:—(a) The Álupa sway which extended over a thousand years from the second till the fourteenth century; (b) the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara monarchs which lasted from the fourteenth century A.D. till the end of the sixteenth century; (c) the hegemony of the Ikkéri or Bednore kings for nearly a century; and (d) the rule of the Sultans of Mysore from whom the British wrested the district.

The word Álupa is derived from Áluka which is the earliest variant of the name. It stands for *Seṣha*, and, as Fleet

rightly remarked, denotes the Nága origin of the dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The Álupas were a family of great antiquity. This is proved not only by the epithet *maulah* (of ancient standing) given to them in inscriptions of the later half of the seventh century A.D., but also by the fact that some of the most celebrated kings of the Karnátaka were content merely with winning the Álupas over to their side rather than exterminating them altogether and annexing their territory. These considerations strengthen the identification of Álvakhéda with Oloikhora mentioned by Ptolemy, thereby lending support to the view that the Alvakhéda or the kingdom of the Álupas existed in the second century A.D.

But no historical information regarding the history of the Álupas is met with till we come to the middle of the sixth century A.D. In this century however it is certain that the Álupa kingdom had become prominent, since its subjugation is mentioned in the list of the conquests of the Western Chálukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 566-597). The name of the kingdom is given as Áluka<sup>2</sup>. And the contemporary of king Kirtivarman was Máramma Álvarasar. Relations between the Western Chálukyas and the Álupas continued to be cordial till the times of the Western Chálukya ruler Vinayáditya I (A.D. 680-696) when the Maharaja Chitraváhana I ruled over the Álvakhéda Six Thousand province<sup>3</sup>.

With Chitraváhana I we enter into a period of civil strife in the history of Tuluva. His rival to the throne was Ranaságara whose claims were contested by Swétaváhana and Prithviságara. The end of the civil war saw Vijayáditya firmly seated on the throne at Udayávvara, the capital of the Álupas. Vijayáditya's (son and) successor was Chitraváhana II (A.D. 800) whose period is remarkable for the aggressive designs of a great Karnátaka family.

These were the Ráshtrakútas who now had cast their sway practically over the whole of the Karnátaka and Tuluva. For nearly a century the history of the Álupas after Chitraváhana II is a blank; but in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. there appears Alva Rananjaya who had intimate relationship with the Sántaras of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura (modern Humcha in the Nagar taluka, Mysore State). The Alúpas had now shifted their capital from Udayávvara to Bárakúru; and had successfully retrieved their honour in the political field. A prominent Álupa figure is now met with in Bhujabala Kavi Álupéndradéva who ruled from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. The Álupas under him regained their independence, although they

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, I.A. XIX, pp. 14, 19.

<sup>3</sup> E. C. VIII, Sb. 571, p. 92. For detailed information read Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, Chapters II and III.



preserved outwardly the semblance of subjection to the Karnátaka monarchs. The next great Álupa name is that of Vira Pándyadéva Alupéndradéva, who ruled from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1277. When Bankidéva Álupéndradéva, became king over Álvakhéda in A.D. 1302, the Álupa power had begun to decline. In A.D. 1345 Vira Kulasekharadéva Álupéndradéva reigned over the Tulu kingdom; but the Álupas no more exercised independent sway over Tuluva.

For in the next year A.D. 1346 the Vijayanagara kingdom was founded by the five famous brothers—Harihara, Bukka, Márapa, Muddapa, and Kampana; and Álvakhéda, like every other part of the Karnátaka, was absorbed into the new kingdom. But the Vijayanagara monarchs permitted the Álupas to rule over their own ancestral territory, presumably under their viceroys placed over Bákakúru and Mangalúru. The last Álupa name is that of Kulasekharadéva Álupéndradéva whose inscription dated A.D. 1444 has been discovered in Mudbidri.

4. *Vijayanagara and Tuluva.*—Tuluva seems to have fallen without a struggle to the founders of Vijayanagara. The reason why the latter desired to annex it was obvious: a very fertile region, it was noted for its active people and its good ports. Here at one of these ports (Maṅgalúru), the Vijayanagara rulers stationed one of their fleets under an admiral called *Navigada Prabhu*.

The Vijayanagara rule forms an epoch in the history of Tuluva. For well nigh three centuries Tuluva was firmly ruled under an efficient and centralised government. The seat of Vijayanagara authority in Tuluva was generally at Bákakúru, and sometimes at Mangalúru both of which cities had been selected by the Álupas as their capitals after they had abandoned Udayávara in the ninth century A.D. The importance of Tuluva under the Vijayanagara monarchs is seen not only from the fact that it formed one of the most well-known provinces in the Empire; but also from the fact that it included Haive and Konkana districts as well. Thus in A.D. 1377-8 when Harihara Rája II was ruling from the old Hoysala capital (*nelevidu*) at Dorasamudra, his great minister *Mahápradhána* Mallapa Wodeyár ruled over the Tulu-Haive-Konkana-rájya from the *rajádháni* of Bákakúru<sup>1</sup>. This capital continued to be the most important city of Tuluva from the early days of Vijayanagara rule down to the days of Aliya Rája Rája. The fact that the Vijayanagara viceroys generally preferred to govern the Tulu-rájya from Bákakúru

<sup>1</sup> South Indian Inscriptions, VII, No. 347, p. 203.

explains why the last Alupa figure Kulasékharadéva Álupendradéva retreated to Muḍbidri in the interior.

The name of the Vijayanagara viceroy under Harihara Ráya I (A.D. 1346—1353) cannot unfortunately be discovered. But it is not improbable that Harihara Ráya himself directly ruled over the Tulu province. The assertion that that ruler of Vijayanagara built the fort at Bárakúru<sup>1</sup>, is unfounded. The title "Ráyarú," as is related in the comparatively modern and unreliable account by Sánubhóga Rámappa Karanika given to Buchanan<sup>2</sup>, was not given to the Vijayanagara viceroy stationed at Bárakúru, as is related by some writers,<sup>3</sup> but to the Vijayanagara Emperor Krishnadéva Ráya, the Great, as is proved by the traditional accounts both in the Karnátaka and the Tamil lands.

Under Bukka Ráya I (A.D. 1353—1377), Malliya Dannáyaka governed the Tulu-rájya from Bárakúru in A.D. 1357.

The names of more than three viceroys in the reign of Harihara Ráya II (A.D. 1377—1404) are met with in inscriptions. There are Bommarasa Wodeyár under Muddiya Dannáyaka; Hariapa Dannáyaka; and Basavana Wodeyár. In the same reign, when the famous Kampana Wodeyár, son of Bukka Ráya I, was probably in charge of the Araga Eighteen Kampana and the Gutti-rájya, the viceroy BÁCana Wodeyár is mentioned as governing the Tulu-rájya from Bárakúru.

That the Vijayanagara monarchs never permitted the viceroys at Bárakúru to enjoy an indefinite term of office, is proved by many epigraphs which give the names of six successive viceroys in the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Déva Ráya II (A.D. 1419—1446). In A.D. 1434 there was Mahápradhána Candarasa, followed by Annapa Wodeyár in A.D. 1437. Mahápradhána Bankarasa was the viceroy at Bárakúru in A.D. 1441, and Timmapa Wodeyár in A.D. 1444. The names of Narasimha Wodeyár and Virūpáksha Wodeyár are also met with in the inscriptions of viceroys governing the Tulu-rájya in the times of the same monarch.

The same feature of the Vijayanagra provincial government is seen in the reign of Déva Ráya II's eldest son Mallikárjuna Ráya (A.D. 1446—1467). In the early part of his reign Appana Wodeyár and Vallabhadéva Daṇḍanáyaka respectively governed from Bárakúru. But in A.D. 1452 Lingana Wodeyár was the viceroy over the Tulu-rájya. In the same year, however, Bhánapa Wodeyár was ordered to take charge of the vicerealty of Bárakúru for some political reasons which do not concern us here. Pandaridéva appears as the viceroy over Bárakúru in A.D. 1455, and again in A.D. 1464.

<sup>1</sup> Sturrock, op. cit. I. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Buchanan, *A Journey through Malabar, Canara and Coorg*, III. p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Sturrock, *ibid.*

Vittharasa Wodeyár is mentioned as the viceroy over the Tulu-rájya in A.D. 1472 in the reign of Virúpáksha Ráya (A.D. 1467—1478). But Pandaridéva again became the viceroy over Bárakúru in A.D. 1482, evidently because he was the only able official who could successfully maintain the authority of the central government in the troublesome times of Virúpáksha Ráya. This is proved by the re-appointment of Vittharasa Wodeyár under Kácapa Dannáyaka in the same reign. It is a well known fact that the reigns of Mállikárjuna Ráya and Virúpáksha Ráya were wanting in vigour.<sup>1</sup>

The only leader who could bring order out of the chaos that prevailed in the imperial capital at Vijayanagara was Narasinga Ráya, better known in history as Sáluva Nrsimha, under whom Mallapa Náyaka is mentioned as viceroy over Bàrakúru in A.D. 1481. This was three years after Sáluva Nrisimha had been elected to the throne of the Empire in the last year of Virúpáksha Ráya (A.D. 1478).<sup>2</sup>

Under Krishnadéva Ráya the Great, the following viceroys over Bárakúru are mentioned in the epigraphs:—Ratnapa Wodeyár (A.D. 1518), Vaijapa Wodeyar (A.D. 1519), Vittharasa Dannáyaka (A.D. 1524), and Aliya Timmana Wodeyár, also called Timmarasa (A.D. 1528).

We may briefly mention the names of a few viceroys in the succeeding reigns. Under Achyuta Ráya (A.D. 1530—1542), there was Kondapa Wodeyár over Bárakúru in A.D. 1534; and in the reign of Sadásiva Ráya, Mallapa Wodeyar was the viceroy in A.D. 1554. The famous Sadásivaráya Náyaka of Keladi was entrusted with the charge of the Bárakúru Candragutti and Áraga kingdoms for storming the fort of Kalyána.<sup>3</sup> The grandson of this remarkable Keladi chieftain, Rámaráya Náyaka, governed the same Áraga-Gutti and the Bárakúru-Maṅgalúru provinces together with other centres, in A.D. 1577 in the reign of Ranga Ráya I.<sup>4</sup>

5. *Keladi and Tuluva*.—The fortunes of Tuluva and Keladi were thus coupled together by the Vijayanagara monarchs themselves. Rámaráya Náyaka's acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara monarch, at least so far as Tuluva was concerned, was only nominal. In A.D. 1582 his famous brother Venkatapa Náyaka succeeded him as the ruler of Keladi. Among the many conquests of this great soldier was Tuluva where, as will be presently narrated, a local ruler had given him trouble, and where the Portuguese, due to the rather indifferent attitude of the imperial power, had taken deep

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mys. and Coorg*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. p. 470.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I. p. 302. For a fuller account of the viceroys, read Krishna Sástri, *Archaeological Survey of India for 1907-08; Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle for 1917*, p. 64.

root. Venkatapa Náyaka is described thus in an epigraph dated A.D. 1641: "A diamond elephant-goad to the lust elephants, the group of the bounding Tulava rajas,"<sup>1</sup> thereby proving that he had to combat more than one Tuluva ruler. These Tuluva rulers were no other than the kings of Gerasoppe, Kárkala, and Ullála. Of these the first one is now outside Tuluva.

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Venkatapa Náyaka's interference in the affairs of Tuluva has now to be explained. Tuluva was now no more the single political unit it had been under the Vijayanagara monarchs. Numerous chieftains had established their principalities all over the district. Among these were the Chautars, the Bangars, and the Ajalars who had had strongholds especially in the southern and eastern parts of Tuluva. The most prominent representative of the Chautars was the famous Queen of Ullála, a centre about five miles due south of Mangalore. About this time the Queen of Ullála and the Bangar Rája, her husband, had fallen out, and the latter had allied himself with the Portuguese. These latter had gained considerable territory on the west coast of India, and seem to have established their factory at Mangalore with the assistance of the Bangar Rája. Venkatapa Náyaka, who saw the necessity of stemming the tide of Portuguese advance in Tuluva, espoused the cause of the Queen of Ullála which is called in the Portuguese accounts Olála or merely Ola, against the Bangar Rája whom the Portuguese call "King of Canara." But the viceroy of the Portuguese, being anxious to secure the trade in pepper for the Portuguese against the English and the Dutch, sent an embassy to Venkatapa Náyaka in A.D. 1623 to form an alliance.<sup>2</sup>

The indecisive interference of Venkatapa Náyaka in the affairs of Tuluva gave place to a systematic conquest of the district under the later Keladi rulers. Tuluva was too fertile and important a district to be left to the mercy of the local rulers amongst whom the Bhairasa Wodeyárs of Kárkala were the strongest. Śivapa Náyaka, therefore, subdued Bhairarasa or Bhairasa of Kárkala, and entering Coorg invaded even Malayala.<sup>3</sup> This was in the reign of Venkatapa Náyaka's grandson Virabhadra Náyaka (A.D. 1629—1645).

It is not surprising, therefore, that when Śivapa Náyaka himself ascended the throne (A.D. 1645—1660) in succession to Virabhadra Náyaka, he should have given further expression to the Keladi designs in Tuluva. His dominions extended as far as Nilésvara in the extreme south of Tuluva. Nothing of note happened in the reign of his son Bhadrapa Náyaka (A.D. 1661—1663). But in the times of the latter's brother

<sup>1</sup> E.C. VII Sh. 2, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 158.

Sómasékhara Náyaka (A.D. 1663—1671), Siváji the Maratha leader is said to have swooped upon Coondapoor in Tuluva, sacked it, and returned to Gókarna with a trail of plundered towns in his wake.<sup>1</sup>

Interesting details of this period of the Keladi rule have been left to us by foreign travellers like Pyrard (A.D. 1607), Pietro della Valle (A.D. 1623), Fryer (A.D. 1673), Vincenzo Maria da Santa Catarina (circa A.D. 1656), Hamilton (A.D. 1718), and Viscount Valentine (A.D. 1803).

6. *Tuluva and the Sultans of Mysore.*—The Keladi affairs drifted from bad to worse till in A.D. 1763, Hyder Ali conquered Bednore.<sup>2</sup> And Hyder Ali turned his eyes towards Tuluva. Outwardly directing his campaigns against the Páleyagars of Harapanahalli, Ráyadurga, and Chitaldroog, he in fact found a pretext to conquer one of the most prominent ports of Tuluva, Mangalore. Here he established a dockyard and a naval arsenal for the west coast under the command of Latif Ali Beg. Hyder Ali himself visited Tuluva; and marching through Mangalore got as far as Niléshwara with the idea of subjugating the Zamorin of Calicut with the aid of the leader of the Mapillas Ali Rájá.<sup>3</sup>

But the naval commandant at Mangalore Latif Ali Beg failed to withstand the English, the bitterest enemy of Hyder Ali. The English in January 1768 succeeded in capturing the city. This necessitated the re-appearance of Hyder Ali himself in May of the same year when Mangalore fell into his hands, General Smith abandoning 80 European sick, 180 sepoy, and all guns, and sailing away with 41 artillery, 200 European infantry, and 1,200 sepoy.<sup>4</sup> Thus the end of the First Mysore war saw Hyder Ali master of Tuluva, chiefly because of the aid which the Raja of Coorg had given him during the campaigns. In return for this and for some territories secured by him over the ghats, Hyder Ali ceded to him the villages of Panja and Belláre in the Puttur taluk. But Hyder Ali resumed them soon after together with the Máganés of Amara and Sullya ceded to Coorg by Sómasékhara Náyaka II.

With the death of Hyder Ali on December 7th, A.D. 1782,<sup>5</sup> and the outbreak of the war, our attention is shifted to the northern part of Tuluva where in January A.D. 1793, General Matthews landed at Coondapoor with a small force from Bombay. His earliest success was the capture of the fort at Hosangadi; and the next that of Haidargarh. General

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1930, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Southern India*, I, p. 276, seq., 331, seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Mysore Archaeological Report*, *ibid.*, p. 80.

Matthews then advanced on Bednore (January 27th) which fell into his hands owing to the treachery of the governor. But on Tippu Sultan's arrival, General Matthews surrendered (April 30th, A.D. 1793).

In the meanwhile Tippu Sultan had sent a large army against Mangalore where Colonel Campbell after varying fortunes capitulated (January 30th, A.D. 1794). The one notable feature of this war was the punishment which Tippu Sultan meted out to the Roman Catholics of South Kanara. Tippu Sultan suspected them of secretly helping the English. He therefore punished them with confiscation of property, and he deported a large number varying from 30 to 60 thousand to Mysore, where many were forcibly converted, and some recruited into the State army. A good number of the Roman Catholics, who had fled to Coorg to escape his wrath, returned to Kanara after the fall of Seringapatam.

Tippu Sultan's last measure to subjugate Tuluva consisted in the suppression of some of the local chiefs whom he likewise suspected of having sided with his enemy, the English. Among these were the Rajas of Kumbla, Vittala and Niléshwara (A.D. 1793—1795). In these troublesome times the Raja of Coorg, who had now become an enemy of Tippu Sultan, took an opportunity of ravaging Tuluva, especially the territory of his old enemy the Raja of Kumbla. And for his depredations he received from the English all the four Máganés of Sullya, Belláre, Amara and Panjá which Hyder Ali had resumed in A.D. 1775 but which had been originally ceded to the Raja of Coorg by the Bednore and Mysore kings. Tuluva was annexed by the English in A.D. 1799 with the fall of Seringapatam.

7. *Minor Principalities in Tuluva.*—Apart from the powerful Álupa kings of Udayávára, and later on of Bárakúru, and after them the great Vijayanagara monarchs, there were minor rulers whose mutual dealings form an interesting section in the history of Tuluva. These minor chieftains may be divided into two categories—the more powerful rulers of Gerasoppe, Sangítapura, and Kárkala, who sometimes aspired to the rank of kings; and the local chiefs of the Chauta, Banga, Ajala, Súrara, Mallara, Sávanta, Vittala, Ellúru, Binnáni, Nandalke, Kadaba-Tingala, and Kumbla chiefships. Local tradition wrongly includes in this list the name of the Kárkala rulers.

The territories of the rulers of Gerasoppe and Sangítapura lie mostly within the British district of North Kanara and this section which deals with the history of South Kanara is not the proper place to deal with these two principalities.

*The Kárkala Rulers.*—More powerful than either the Gerasoppe or the Sangítapura kings were the rulers of Kárkala. These claimed to be of the Sántara stock, and belonged to the

Ugra-vamsa, and were Jaina by religion. The Sántaras had their earliest capital at Patti Pombucchapura, the modern Humcha in the Nagar taluk of the Mysore State. The progenitor was Jínadatta, who claimed to be the lord of Northern Mathura. It was in the ninth century A.D. that the Sántaras extended their arms into Tuluva, although they failed to obtain a firm footing in the district. Ballu Déva (A.D. 1209), Mailu Déva, and Máru Déva appear amongst the earliest names of this dynasty. But they were followed by two queens—Jákala Mahádévi (A.D. 1246—1270) and Kalala Mahádévi (A.D. 1270—1281). Ráya Ballala Déva succeeded the latter in A.D. 1284; and in A.D. 1292 he was succeeded by Kalala Dévi's son Vira Pándyadéva (A.D. 1292—1297). The next prominent name in the history of this dynasty is that of Bhairarása Wodeyár (A.D. 1419), who was succeeded by Vira Pándya Déva in whose reign the famous monolithic statue of Gumata was erected at Kárkala (A.D. 1432).<sup>1</sup> Fifty years later in A.D. 1493 Bhairarása Wodeyár ruled over the principality of Kárkala (A.D. 1493—1501). In A.D. 1501 came Immadi Bhairarása Wodeyár to the throne (A.D. 1501—1530), and he was followed by Vira Bhairarása Wodeyár, also known as Vira Pándyappa Wodeyár (A.D. 1530—1555). Immádi Pándya Wodeyár appears in A.D. 1555. His is the last noteworthy name in the Kárkala genealogy and he is to be identified with Bhairarása Wodeyár (A.D. 1555—1598).<sup>2</sup> After the final disappearance of the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1646), the Kárkala kings managed to eke out a precarious existence till the days of the Ikkéri rulers, who absorbed the Kárkala principality in their own kingdom.

The most prominent of the petty chiefships of Tuluva was that of Súrala. This chiefship dates back to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. when it was called Súraha, and its leader Tólaha.<sup>3</sup> These two names were later on changed into Súrala and Tólara respectively.

Unhistorical tradition ascribes the foundation of this as well as of the remaining eleven chiefships of Chauta, Banga, Mallara (or in some Ajala), Sávanta, Vittala, Ellura, Binnani, Nandálke, Kadaba-Tingala, and Kumbala to the activities of a legendary hero called Bhútála Pandya, who is popularly supposed to have originated the well-known law of inheritance through females called *Aliya Santána Kattu*. It is said that the founders of these twelve chiefships were the twelve sons born to the twelve Jaina princesses whom Bhútála Pándya married.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.* VI, Cm 35, 36, 100, Mg. 42-76, Kp. 50, 57, pp. 38, 48, 68-72.

<sup>3</sup> Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, Ch. IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, Sec. B on the historicity of the hero Bhútála Pándya.

Tuluva was noted for its queens, especially those of Súrala, Basarúru, Ullála, and Kárnádu. A small tower in front of the *aramane* (or palace) at Súrala is shown as the place where one of the queens of this chiefship stood when she reviewed her troops which defeated the Portuguese in a battle fought near Súrala. Of the queen of Basarúru, Ferishta relates that she was a feudatory of Sankara Náyaka, the viceroy of the last of the Yádava kings (Harapala?).<sup>1</sup> Pietro della Valle tells us that the fame of the queen of Ullála as an able administrator had spread as far as Persia. The Portuguese called the queen of Ullála Bukkadévi—which is a contraction of her name Abbakká Dévi; and had political as well as commercial dealings with her.<sup>2</sup> The queen of Kárnádu likewise has figured prominently in the annals of the Tulu and the Portuguese peoples. The latter called the chiefship Carnate. The queen of this little state is also mentioned by Pietro della Valle, who intended to pay her a visit but unfortunately was prevented from doing so by unforeseen events.<sup>3</sup>

The Rajas of Kumbla and Vittala figure to some extent in the days of Tippu Sultan and the English. The former hanged one of the relatives of the Raja of Kumbla which drove the Rája to the side of the English. The successor of the Rája of Kumbla also took shelter with the English at Tellicherry (in about A.D. 1794) but returned to Tuluva in A.D. 1799 when war broke out between the English and Tippu Sultan.

To Tellicherry also the Rája of Vittala fled about the same time (A.D. 1794) and likewise returned to Tuluva in A.D. 1799. The territory of the Rája, as narrated above, was ravaged by the Rája of Coorg who received from the English for his depredations certain specified villages in Tuluva. The excuse for this act of aggression on the part of the Raja of Coorg was that the latter had helped the English during the wars with Tippu Sultan, and that the Rája of Vittala had joined his rebel nephew and had ravaged the territory under the protection of the English.

Mention may here be made of some still minor leaders like the Ballálas of Chittupádi, Nidambúru and Kattapádi, who exercised powerful influence in Hindu and Jaina circles. Of these the name Nidambúru is met with so early as A.D. 1281 when it is called Mudila Nidambúru. The importance of this household is that its Ballálas are often mentioned in epigraphs as acting in unison with the viceroys of the Hoysala and Vijayanagara kings. Thus the Ballálas of Mudila Nidambúru

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta, p. 140. (Briggs).

<sup>2</sup> Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagra*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller account of this queen of Kárnádu read Saletore, Carnate, *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, pp. 223-231.