

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY.¹

Ka'nara above the Sahyádris belongs to the Karnáta^k. From very early times it has almost always formed part of the territories of the great dynasties which have held Maisur, the Karnáta^k, and the Deccan. Banavási, about fifteen miles south-east of Sirsi, the most historic place in the district and one of the most historic places in Western India, is repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions from the second to the sixteenth century after Christ. Many of these inscriptions were collected and translated by Sir Walter Elliot between 1830 and 1840; in 1876 a large number of them were embodied in Mr. Rice's History of Maisur;² and in 1882 their information was exhausted by Mr. J. F. Fleet, of the Bombay Civil Service, in his Dynasties of the Kánarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.³ Neither Mr. Rice's nor Mr. Fleet's work includes the coast of Kánara, and except those recorded by Buchanan in 1800 few inscriptions from the coast districts have been published.

From an early period the Kánara coast has been debatable land. At one time it has been part of the Konkan or West India, at another time of Keral or South India. Some Hindu geographers make Gokarn, the famous place of pilgrimage on the coast about twenty-five miles south of Kárwár, the boundary between the Konkan or the Seven Konkans and Keral which stretches south either to Tinnevelly or to Cape Comorin.⁴ Others make the Seven Konkans part of Keral and take Keral as far north as Surat.⁵ The Kánara coast seems to have been always governed by local chiefs. Times of order and prosperity, when the local chiefs were the under-lords of some strong inland government, seem to have been divided by longer periods of distress when control was withdrawn and the petty chiefs were left independent and at war. In spite of local

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¹ The early Hindu details are chiefly from Mr. J. F. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kánarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency; the materials for the Portuguese Section have been contributed by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha; and most of the remaining portions are from a history of Kánara prepared for the Gazetteer by Mr. J. Monteath, of the Bombay Civil Service.

² Mysore and Coorg, Three Vols., Bangalore, 1876.

³ Written for the Bombay Gazetteer, Bombay, 1882.

⁴ Wilks' South of India, I. 5; Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 56; Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1878, 172. According to the Tulav or Kánarese records the seven Konkans are, beginning from the north, Kiráta, Viráta, Marátha, Konkana, Haiga, Tulav, and Keral. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 58.

⁵ Buchanan's Mysore and Canara, II. 348.

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contests and of changing over-lords, since early historical times, perhaps about the seventh century after Christ, the greater part of the present North Kánara coast has formed a distinct territorial division known as Haiga or Hayve, apparently the Land of Snakes, from *hábu* or *hái* the local Kánarese for a snake.

Few traditional references to Kánara have been traced. Like other parts of the west coast Hindu books ascribe the origin of Kánara to the great warrior Parashurám or Axe-Rám, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. This great warrior defeated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times. When their power was utterly broken Parashurám was anxious to settle in the lands from which his enemies had been driven. But the Bráhmans would not allow their blood-stained champion to live with them. He retired to the Sahyádris and shooting an arrow from the crest of the range won from the sea the strip of rugged lowland that runs along the Western Coast. The books tell how he raised certain white shipwrecked corpses to be Bráhmans, and afterwards disgusted with their want of faith left them a prey to the wild hill-tribes.¹ According to an account quoted by Buchanan, the Bráhmans whom Parashurám settled in Haiga or North Kánara and in Tulav or South Kánara were Nágara and Máchi Bráhmans. They were defeated by low class chiefs, one a fisher or Moger, the other an impure Holayar or Wholliaru.² An account in the Mackenzie Collection of MSS., of doubtful truthfulness and perhaps not applicable to North Kánara, states that after the first Bráhmans were introduced, the country was divided into sixty-four districts and the government was vested in a certain number of Bráhmans chosen from each district. The Bráhmans lived as over-holders of the land and as officials. The defence of the country was entrusted to ten and a half of the sixty-four districts. The representative Bráhmans of the sixty-four districts chose four of their number as a council whose term of office lasted three years. Over the council was a fifth Bráhman president. In time this arrangement broke down and a ruler of the warrior caste took the place of the Bráhman council.³ Another of the earliest traditions is that the Kánara coast was under Rávan, the king of the south, the famous rival of Rám. Rávan united the characters of Bráhman and Rákshas, and according to tradition founded five temples within the present limits of North Kánara.⁴ Mr. Rice notices two references to the Kánara coast in the Hale Kannada version of the Jain Rámáyana

¹ The story of Parashurám is given in Buchanan's Mysore, II. 349; and in Elphinstone's History, 239-240. According to Tulav traditions when Parashurám recovered Tulav and Haiga from the sea he turned the coast fishermen into Bráhmans. When he left he told them if they were ever in trouble to call on him and he would come to their aid. After some time, to see if he would keep his word, the Bráhmans called on Parashurám. He came and finding that he had been needlessly troubled degraded them to be Shudras. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 59.

² Buchanan's Mysore and Canara, III. 163.

³ Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 56-57; Asiatic Researches, V. 3.

⁴ Rávan's temples are, Mahábaleshvar at Gokarn, Murdeshvar near Honávar, Shámbeshvar on the south of Honávar lake, Dháreshvar about five miles south of Kumta, and Shiveshvar near Sadáshivgad; Buchanan, III. 138. This tradition is of little value as many Shaiv temples in Western India, even as far north as Somnáth-Pátan in South Káthiáwar, claim to be founded by Rávan. Pandit Bhagvánlál.

(A.D. 942), that Rávan's kingdom ended at Gokarn, and that in Rám's time Honuruha or Honávar was the seat of an independent chief.¹ Mr. Rice also notices that, according to the Mahábhárat, Sahadev, the general of Yudhishtira, conquered Maisur of which Nil was king, subdued many hill chiefs in the Sahyádris, and descending to the coast, overran Konkan, Gaul, and Keral.² Two inscriptions are recorded, one by Buchanan and the other by Mr. Rice, which profess to be dated in Yudhishtira's era whose initial date is B.C. 3100. Buchanan's inscription, which he saw at the temple of Madhukeshvar at Banavási, professes to belong to Simhunna Bupa of Yudhishtira's family and to be dated 168 of Yudhishtira's era, that is B.C. 2935.³ Mr. Rice's inscription is on a copper-plate found in the Shimoga or north-west division of Maisur close to Banavási. It professes to have been granted by Janamejaya and is dated in 89 of the Yudhishtira era, that is in B.C. 3012.⁴ The origin of these two inscriptions, which are certainly forgeries, has not been explained. In upland Kánara Banavási in the south-east is one of the many places which claim to have been the residence of the Pándav brothers in their twelve years' exile from Northern India.⁵

The earliest piece of history at present known to be recorded of the district is that about B.C. 240, shortly after the great council in the eighteenth year of the Maurya Emperor Ashoka (B.C. 242), the missionary or *thero* Rakshita was sent to spread the Buddhist religion in Vanivási or Banavási.⁶ It was a merchant from Vaijayanti or Banavási who, about B.C. 100, built the great Kárlé cave, about thirty five miles north-west of Poona and the Vaijayanti army is somewhat doubtfully mentioned in inscription 4 in Násik cave III. of about A.D. 10.⁷ In the second century after Christ the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy (150) enters the city in his list of places under the forms Banaausi or Banauasi.⁸ A Páli inscription engraved on the edges of a large slate slab, ornamented with a five-hooded cobra, has been found in the court of the great temple at Banavási. From the form of the letters Pandit Bhagvánlál Índraji allots it to the second century after Christ, that is about the same time as or a little before Ptolemy. The ruler is named Hárítiputra Shátakarni of the Vinhukadadutu family, or perhaps of the Dutu family of the place called Vinhukada or Vishnukada.⁹ His title Shátakarni

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¹ Rice's Mysore, I. 183. The Jain Rámáyana was composed in Hale Kannada by the poet Pampa in 941. Rice's Mysore, I. 178, 400.

² Rice's Mysore, I. 184.

³ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 230.

⁴ Rice's Mysore, II. 351. According to Wilson (Thomas' Prinsep, II. 237) Janamejaya belongs to B.C. 1300.

⁵ Details are given under Banavási.

⁶ Turnour's Mahavamso, 71; Indian Antiquary, III. 273; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, 488; Rice's Mysore, I. 191.

⁷ Separate Pamphlet, X. of Archæological Survey of Western India, 28; Bombay Gazetteer, XVI. 559, 638.

⁸ Bertius' Ptolemy, 205.

⁹ The name Hárítiputra is understood to mean son of Háríti, the name or the family name of the king's mother. Other rulers of the same family are similarly called Gautamiputra and Vásishtiputra. The name Hárítiputra has the special interest of forming one of the titles both of the Kadambas who ruled in Banavási before A.D. 560 and of the Chalukyas by whom in A.D. 560 the Kadambas' power was overthrown. According to Mr. Fleet (Kánarese Dynasties, 5 note 2) its use, at least by the Chalukyas, does not establish a connection with the Shátakarnis as the name was known in North India as well as in the south.

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associates this king with the great dynasty of the Shátakarnis or Ándhrabhrityas, who, a little before this time, seem to have held the whole breadth of India from Sopára on the Thána coast to Dharnikot near the mouth of the Godávári. This is not considered certain, but the probability is increased by the fact that about 200 years before this a branch of the Shátakarnis was settled as far south as Kolhápúr. The next reference that has been traced to Kánara is in the Greek Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, whose probable date is about A.D. 247. This mentions the island of Aigidioi, probably Anjidiv, and Kaineitai which has not been identified, and the coast town Naoura which is generally supposed to be Honávar.¹

Early Kadambas,
450 - 560.

After the Shátakarnis the next local dynasty of which record remains are the Kadambas of Banavási. The first Kadamba king is said to be Trinetra or Trilochana whose date is given at A.D. 168 in an inscription found by Buchanan at Belligáve in north-west Maisur, but this date is almost certainly wrong.² According to a legendary account given by Mr. Rice,³ the former dynasty came to an end, and in order to choose a fresh sovereign an elephant was presented with a garland and asked to give it to the person who was most fitted to be king. The elephant presented it to Jayanti, Trilochana, or Trinetra, who was called Kadamba because when a babe he had been found under a *kadamba* tree, Nauclea kadamba, where he had been left by his parents Shiv and Párvati.⁴ Buchanan has shown that the inscription which mentions Trinetra Kadamba, or one of the same date and found at the same place, is a forgery as it gives a list of twenty-one Kadamba and twenty-one Barbarika kings.⁵ It is probably for this reason that Mr. Fleet does not mention it in his Kánarese Dynasties. According to Mr. Fleet, as far as present information goes, the Banavási Kadambas cannot be traced earlier than the middle, perhaps the beginning, of the fifth century.⁶ Of these Kadambas, who were of Palásik or Halsi in Belgaum and of Vajjayanti or Banavási, ten copper-plate grants have been found, seven at Halsi in Belgaum and three at Devgiri in Dhárwár. They were Jains by religion and belonged to the Mánavya *gotra* or family. Their name Hárítiputra and their use of the three-seasoned or Buddhist year seem to connect them with the earlier Shátakarni dynasty. The family had four certain and two doubtful successions, and as their power was overthrown about the middle of the sixth century, the establishment of the dynasty dates from the

¹ McCrindle's Periplus, 129-130; Indian Antiquary, VIII. 145. Several writers have identified the Muziris of Pliny (A.D. 77), of Peutinger's Tables (A.D. 100), of Ptolemy (A.D. 150), and of the Periplus (A.D. 247), with Mirján, about twenty miles north of Honávar. Reasons are shown under Mirján why this identification must give way to Dr. Burnell's suggestion that Muziris was Kranganor on the Malabár coast whose old name was Muyiri.

² Buchanan, III. 168; Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 60, 150; Rice, I. 470; II. 352.

³ Mysore, I. 193.

⁴ Rice's Mysore, I. 194. The two later branches of the family, the Goa (983-1250) and the second Banavási Kádambas (1068-1203) tell the same story regarding their founder.

⁵ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 232.

⁶ Mr. Rice (Mysore, II. 352) notices that in the beginning of the fifth century Madhao II., the Kongu chief of Talkad in Maisur, married the sister of the Kadamba king Krisbna-varmá. According to Mr. Fleet (Kánarese Dynasties, 86) Krishna-varmá was the successor of Mayura-varmá, the founder of the Kádambas or later Kadambas, whose probable date is about A.D. 750.

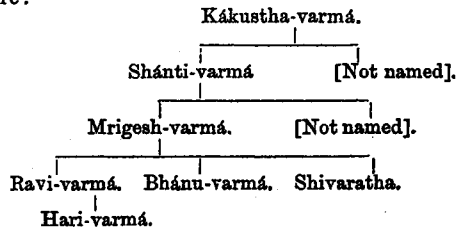
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middle, perhaps from near the beginning of the fifth century.¹ The Kamdabas seem to have established their power by defeating Ganga or Pallav kings.² Mrigisha-varmá, about A.D. 500, is mentioned as defeating Ganga and Pallav kings, and his successor Ravi-varmá, probably about A.D. 520, is mentioned as overthrowing Chandadanda, the lord of Kánchi or Conjeveram, who was of the Pallav dynasty. According to Mr. Fleet the Kadambas' power was at its highest about the close of the fifth century. Their principal capital was at Palásik now Halsi in Belgaum, and, besides Banavási, which their inscriptions also name Jayanti and Vaijayantipura, they had centres of power at Uchchashringi near Harihar in Maisur, and at Triparvata which has not been identified. According to Mr. Rice³ the early Kadambas ruled over West Maisur, Tulav, and Haiga, that is the coast districts of Kánara. About the middle of the sixth century the Banavási Kadambas were overthrown by the Chalukyas. But their first overthrow did not destroy their power, as about fifty years later (610-634) the great Pulikeshi II. takes credit for conquering the Kadambas of Banavási. It is considered doubtful whether the Kadambas were of local or of northern origin. The story of the child found under the *kadamba* tree, which is also told of Mayura-varmá I. who revived the family about the eighth century, supports the view that they were of local or southern origin. Buchanan has recorded a tradition that Mayura-varmá was a Bedar of Telugu origin. It gives a special interest to the old Kadambas that according both to Colonel Wilks and Mr. Rice, the peculiar and interesting race of Coorgs or Kodagus, who hold the hilly country to the south-west of Maisur, are Kadambas who came into Coorg under a leader named Chandra-varmá.⁴ The revival of the

¹ The Kadamba successions were:



The doubtful rulers are Krishna-varmá and Deva-varmá. They may have ruled either before Kákustha-varmá or after Hari-varmá. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 9.

² The Gangas were an early and important family in Maisur. But their history is doubtful, as Mr. Fleet (Kánarese Dynasties, 11-12) has shown reasons for believing that several of the inscriptions regarding them are forgeries. The Pallav dynasty was one of the most important enemies against whom the Kadambas and afterwards the Chalukyas had to fight. About the middle of the sixth century they were probably driven out of Vátapi or Bádámi by Pulikeshi I. Early in the seventh century the Eastern Chalukyas forced them out of Vengi on the east coast between the Krishna and the Godávári. In the time of the Western Chalukya Pulikeshi II. (610-634) their capital was at Kánchi or Conjeveram and they long continued a powerful dynasty. The Pallavs rank in the Puráns with the foreign races, the Haihayas, Sakas, and Yavanas. Mr. Fleet (Dynasties, 15) has shown reasons for believing that they were Arsacidan Parthians. ³ Mysore, I. 193.

⁴ Rice's Mysore, III. 93. The last dynasty in Coorg (1600-1834) were not Coorgs but a younger branch of the Bednur, Ikeri, or Keladi family of north-west Maisur. Rice, III. 100.

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Kadamba family under the slightly altered form Kádamba, under Mayura-varmá at Banavási in the eighth century and under Guhalla at Goa in the tenth century, and, in spite of occasional reverses, their continuance in power at Banavási until late in the thirteenth century (1277), make the Kadambas the bond of connection between the fragments of early Kánara history. Nor do the Kadambas disappear in the thirteenth century if the accounts are correct which give them the honour of supplying the founders of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar kings who continued in power from about 1335 to 1490.¹ They seem also to have spread south along the coast as Buchanan mentions Kadamba chiefs of Vadianagar in South Kánara.² The chiefs of Humcha in north-west Maisur, who are better known by their later title of chiefs of Karkala in South Kánara, who rose to power in the sixth century under the early Chalukyas, seem also to have belonged to the Kadamba family.³ The memory of Kadamba rule in Kánara was still fresh at the introduction of British power in 1800. In 1806 an account of the Kánara forts prepared for Major Mackenzie stated that the province of Goa, the country near Sonda, and the sea coast were ruled by a Kadamba. This probably refers to the later or revived Kádambas, but whether to the Banavási or to the Goa branch is doubtful.

Early Chalukyas,
560-760.

Kirti-varmá I., the Chalukya king, who about 560 overthrew the power of the Banavási Kadambas, was third in descent from Jayasimh, who, as far as present information goes, was the founder of the Chalukya dynasty. Of Jayasimh and of his sons Buddha-varmá and Ranarága nothing but the names are known. The earliest member of the family of whom record remains is Vijaya-varmá, the son of Buddha-varmá, who in 472 made a grant of Pariyaya village near Jambusar in Central Gujarát. It was his cousin Polekeshi or Pulikeshi I., also called Ranavikrama, who, as far as is known, first invaded the south. The name Chalukya is derived by tradition from *chulka*, *chuluka*, or *chaluka*, a water-pot, from which their ancestor is said to have sprung. But Mr. Fleet has shown that this is a late story, for though *chulka* a water-pot may be the origin of the later forms of the name Chálukya in the Deccan and Chaulukya in Gujarát, it cannot be the origin of the early name which is written Chalkya, Chalikya, and Chalukya.⁴ From the fact that their first known inscription belongs to Gujarát it has been supposed that the Chalukyas were a northern tribe who did not pass south till the time of Pulikeshi. They claim to belong to the Soma-vansh or lunar race, and mention a succession of fifty-nine kings, rulers of Ayodhya, and after them sixteen more who ruled over the region of the south. They seem to have had some connection with the Banavási Kadambas as like them they claim to belong to the Mánavya *gotra* and to be the sons of Háríti. Their family-god or *kul-devata* was Vishnu and their crest was Vishnu's

¹ Rice's Mysore, I. 352; Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, I. civ.

² Mysore, III. 96.

³ Rice's Mysore, III. 96-97.

⁴ The name Cholke or Solke is a widespread surname among the Maráthás, Kumbis, and Kolis of the Bombay Deccan and Konkan. This Cholke seems to be the same as the early *Chalkya*. The name may perhaps be traced to *chelkya* or *selkya*, a word in use for a goat-herd from the Telugu-Maráthi word *shel* a he-goat.

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boar. At the same time they patronised both Jains and Shaivs, and at least on one occasion, in 1095, made grants to Buddhists.¹ The later kings devoted themselves almost entirely to the *ling* form of Shaiv worship. Pulikeshi I. defeated the Pallavs and about 550 established his head-quarters at Vátápi or Bádámi in south Kaládgi. His son Kirtti-varmá I., whose reign ended in 567, spread Chalukya power to the south and west, defeating and subduing the Nalas, Mauryas, and Kadambas; a grant of his is recorded at A'dur, eight miles east of Hángal, and the Chalukyas are said to have held Nágarakhanda which was afterwards part of the Banavási Twelve-thousand. Kirtti-varmá's brother and successor Mangalish (567-610) maintained his power in the neighbourhood of Banavási and overcame the Mátangas apparently early hill-tribes, taking Revatidvipa, Goa, and part of the Konkan; but whether as far south as the present limits of Kánara does not appear.² On the death of Mangalish in 610 the Chalukya dominions were divided into an eastern kingdom whose head-quarters were at Vengi in the delta of the Krishna and Godávári, and a western kingdom whose head-quarters are believed to have been at Vátápi or Bádámi. The western kingdom fell to Pulikeshi II. also called Satyáshraya I., a great ruler who is mentioned as conquering the Ráshtrakutas, the Kadambas of Vanavási, the Gangas, the Alupas, the Konkan Mauryas, the Látas, the Málavas, the Gurjaras, the three countries known as Maháráshtra including 99,000 villages, the Kosalas, the Kalingas, the Pallavas of Kánchi, the Cholas, the Keralas, and the Pándyas. He carried his arms still further conquering the great Harsha or Harshavardhana, also called Shiláditya, of Kányakubja or Kanauj. A special interest attaches to Pulikeshi as an Arabic chronicle relates that in 625 Khosru II. of Persia sent an embassy to him which is believed to form the subject of painting 17 in Ajanta cave I.

About 640 Pulikeshi's capital is described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Thsang, as the capital of the kingdom of Moholacha or Maháráshtra. This has been identified by Dr. Burgess with Bádámi, an identification which has special interest in connection with Kánara history, because, to have attracted the notice of the Persian king, Pulikeshi must have had control of the western coast; and if his capital was as far south as Bádámi, the coast of Kánara was probably in his power and its ports centres of foreign trade. About 650 on the death of Pulikeshi the power of the Chalukyas was for a time overthrown. According to one account they were driven across the Sahyádris, by a combination of the Pallava, Chola, Pándya, and Kerala kings. Within about twenty years (670) Pulikeshi's son Vikramáditya I. restored the power of the Chalukyas, defeating the Pallavas, Cholas, Pándyas, Keralas, and Kalabhras. Vikramáditya was succeeded by his son Vinayáditya (680-696), a great ruler who is described as arresting the power of the Pallavas of Kánchi, causing

¹ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 49.

² Among traditional or doubtful references to the rule of the early tribes, Buchanan (Mysore, III. 163) gives the tradition that the Bráhmans with whom Mayura-varmá Kadamba (about 700) colonised Kánara were driven out by Nanda, a Wholliaru. There is still a general tradition in Kánara that in early times the country was ruled by Holayar chiefs.

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the rulers of Kavera, Párasika, and Simhala or Ceylon to pay tribute, and enslaving the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, and Pándyas. A tablet at Balagámve, twenty miles south-east of Banavási, mentions, apparently as Vinayáditya's vassal, Pogilli, the king of the Sendrakas, a family which is also mentioned in an inscription of the Kadamba king Hari-varmá (560). Vinayaditya's capital was probably at Vátápi or Bádámi. In 696 Vinayáditya was succeeded by his son Vijayáditya (696-733), a peaceful and strong ruler who maintained the power of his family. His successor in 733 was his eldest son Vikramáditya II. (733-747), also a powerful ruler who overcame the Pallavas, Pándyas, Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras, and others, and set his victory-pillar on the southern shores. In 747 Vikramáditya was succeeded by his son Kirtti-varmá II. (747-760), who about the year 760 was overthrown by the Ráshtrakuta king Dantidurga. Kirtti-varmá's only inscription is the grant of a village in the neighbourhood of Banavási. During the overlordship of the early Chalukyas no reference has been traced to the Kánara lowlands except that in 560, on the overthrow of the Banavási Kadambas, all the sea districts of Kánara are said to have been held as feudatories of the Chalukyas by the chiefs of Humcha in North-West Maisur, afterwards of Karkala in South Kánara.¹

Second Kádambas,
750-1050.

From the family-tree of Kirtti-varmá II. also called Kirttideva I., who governed at Banavási in 1068 as a feudatory of the western Chalukya king Someshvar I., it seems that about the middle of the eighth century, probably during the disturbances which accompanied the establishment of Ráshtrakuta rule, Mayur-varmá founded a new dynasty of Kádambas. According to Mr. Fleet the slightly altered form of the name, Kádamba instead of Kadamba, shows that the new dynasty were not direct descendants of the original family. Mayur-varmá's date is disputed. Calculating back from Kirttideva I. in 1068 and allowing an average length of twenty-two years, which is the average of the six rulers whose dates are known, fifteen successions would place Mayur-varmá about the middle of the eighth century. According to the Kargudari inscription in Hángal in Dhárwár, Mayur-varmá was preceded by a line of seventy-seven ancestors of whom nothing is known.² The story of Mayur-varmá, who is also called Mulkanna Kádamba, that he was the son of the god Shiv and the Earth, is the same as the story of Trinetra, the founder of the first or Kadamba dynasty, and of Jayanta or Trilochana Kádamba, who founded the Goa dynasty about A.D. 978. All are said to have been formed from the earth at the foot of a Kadamba tree where a drop of sweat fell from the brow of Shiv.³

¹ Rice's Mysore, III. 96, 97. These chiefs seem to have been of the Kadamba tribe.
² Buchanan (Mysore and Canara, III. 168) records an inscription found at Gokarn of a Kádamba Emperor or Chakravarti, an ancestor of Mayur-varmá. The date is 120 of the Káliyug or B.C. 2980, which must be either a mistake or a forgery.

³ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 84, 89; Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 59.

The successions of the Goa Kádambas are Guhalla, Shasthadev I. or Chatta, Chattala, and Chattya (1037), Jayakeshi I. (1052), Vijayáditya I., Jayakeshi II. (1125), Permádi or Shivchitta (1147-1175), Vijayáditya II. or Vishnuchitta (1147-1171), Tribhuvanmalla, and Shasthadev II. (1246-1250). Kánarese Dynasties, 90.

It is doubtful whether the two Banavási and the Goa families of Kadambas or Kádambas were of local origin or were northerners. The legend favours the view that they belonged to one of the Karnátak tribes and suggests that Kadamba may be a Brahmanised form of Kurambar, the widespread and warlike tribe of Kánarese shepherds.¹ According to another tradition Mayur-varmá I. came from Ahikshetra which has been identified with Ahichchhatra or Rámnagar in Rohilkand in the North-West Provinces.² But, as has been suggested (Vol. XV. Part I. p. 117), Ahikshetra or Snake-land may be a Sanskrit rendering of Haviga, or Haiga, that is North Kánara, for Haiga in Kánarese means the land of snakes.³ Mayur-varmá is said to have brought with him, or according to other accounts sent for, 5000 Bráhmans from Ahikshetra and established them in his dominions.⁴ Traditional details given by Mr. Rice favour the view that these Bráhmans were introduced by sea.⁵ They were first distributed in the country along the coast which was divided into sixty-four sections under four centres, Kesargad, Barkur, Mangalor, and Kadaba, each of which was in the hands of a Bráhman governor. From these centres the Bráhmans are said to have spread into southern Tulav and into the Karnátak above the Sahyádris. According to Buchanan's account Mayur-varmá's Bráhmans, like Parashurám's Bráhmans, with whom they are either identified or confused, held the country till they were driven out by a low-caste chief Nandá, a Holayar or Wholliaru. The Bráhmans are said to have been brought back by Nanda's son and to have continued to rule till they were overcome by the Jain family of Gersappa, who rose to power under the Vijayanagarkings (1330-1560).⁶ Buchanan also notices a tradition that Mayur-varmá gave his sister in marriage to Lokáditya, chief of Gokarn, and helped him to destroy the Habashika family.⁷ Of the fourteen rulers between Mayur-varmá about A.D. 750 and Kirtti-varmá II. in 1068 only the names are known.⁸

The Ráshtrakutas, who about 760 won their way to supreme power in the Karnátak, have been traced back to about A.D. 375. It is not

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Early Chalukyas,
560-760.

Second Kádambas,
750-1050.

Ráshtrakutas,
760-973.

¹ The suggestion that Kadamba is a Bráhmanised form of Kurambar receives some support from a statement of Wilson's (Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 85, 86), that the first Vijayanagar dynasty (1340-1480), who are believed to have been Kadambas, were a Kuruba family.

² Fleet, 84; Rice's Mysore, I. 194. Another account places Ahichchhatra on the bank of the river Sindhu (Fleet, 84; compare Indian Antiquary, IX. 252), and according to Buchanan (III. 163) Ahichchhatra was in Telingana. General Cunningham's discovery that Rámnagar is still known as Ahichchhatra (Ancient Geography, I. 359; Gazetteer N.-W.P., V. 817-823), places the position of Ahichchhatra beyond dispute, though, as noted in the text, it seems probable that the Ahikshetra of this tradition is Haiga or North Kánara.

³ The suggestion that Ahikshetra is a Sanskrit rendering of the Kánarese Haviga or Haiga receives support from the local history of the Honalli monastery of the representative of the Smárt pontiff at Sonda, in which Gokarn is mentioned as in the land of Ahikshetra. See below Places of Interest, Sonda. ⁴ Buchanan, III. 163.

⁵ Mysore, I. 194.

⁶ Buchanan, III. 163.

⁷ Buchanan, III. 111.

⁸ The names are : Mayur-varmá I., Krishua-varmá, Nága-varmá I., Vishnuvarmá, Mriga-varmá, Satya-varmá, Vijaya-varmá, Jaya-varmá I., Nága-varmá II., Shánti-varmá I., Kirtti-varmá I., A'ditya-varmá, Chattaya Chatta or Chattuga, Jayavarmá II. or Jayasinh, Taila I. or Tailapa I., Kirtti-varmá II. or Kirttideva I. (1068-1077). Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, Table after p. 86.

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History.

Ráshtrakutas,
760-973.

Chellketans,
850-950.

certain whether they were northerners or a family of Rattas or Radis, the widespread tribe of Kánarese husbandmen who formerly were the strongest fighting class in the Karnátak and Maisur. This is Dr. Burnell's view.¹ Mr. Fleet seems to incline to a northern origin and to trace the name to *Ráshtrakuta* or *Ráshtrapati*, a title meaning a district-head who is subordinate to some over-lord.² The later inscriptions state that the family was of the lunar race and descendants of Yadu. The Ráshtrakuta king who overthrew the power of the Chalukyas in the Karnátak was Dantidurga or Danti-varmá II. An inscription of his, dated 753, states that he easily defeated the army of the Konkan and skilfully put to flight the kings of Kánchi and Keral, the Cholas, the Pándyas, Shri-Harsha, and Vajrata. His successor and uncle Krishna I., who continued to press on the defeated Chalukyas, is noticed as establishing himself at the hill or hill-fort of Elápura, which Mr. Fleet inclines to identify with the Kánara town of Yellápura, but which in Professor Bhándárkar's opinion is the great Ellora near Aurangabad.³ It is said to have had a famous temple of Svayambhu-Shiv, which in Professor Bhándárkar's opinion, is the great Kailás Cave at Ellora. Under the successful Ráshtrakuta king, who is known by his title of Amoghavarsha I. (851-877) and who established the Ráshtrakuta capital at Malkhed about ninety miles south-east of Sholápura, the Banavási Twelve-thousand, the Belgali Three-hundred, the Kundarage Seventy, the Kundur Five-hundred, and the Purigeri that is the Puligere or Lakshmeshvar Three-hundred were governed as under-lord by one Bankeyarasa of the Chellketan family.⁴ Another inscription at Kyásanur near Hángal, mentions the governor of the Banavási province as Shankaraganda also of the Chellketan family. These inscriptions are undated; they probably belong to some time between 860 and 870. Two other inscriptions show that, till about the close of the ninth century, the Chellketan family continued to govern the Banavási province under Amoghavarsha's son and successor Krishna II. who is also called Akálarvarsha I. These inscriptions are at Kyásanur near Hángal and at Tálgund in Maisur. The Kyásanur inscription records that Mahásámantádhipati Shankaraganda, probably the Shankarganda who is mentioned as his father's feudatory, was the feudatory of Akálarvarsha I. and governed the Banavási province under him. The Tálgund inscription, the date of which is illegible in the photograph, mentions the same Shankarganda as the feudatory of Akálarvarsha I. in charge of the Banavási province. A third inscription at Ádur near Hángal, dated 904 (S. 826 *Raktákshi Samvatsar*), mentions under Akálarvarsha I. some other Mahásámanta of the Chellketan family whose name is doubtful, as governing the Banavási twelve

¹ South Indian Paleography, p. x.

² Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties, 32.

³ Indian Antiquary, XII. August number. In the September number Mr. Fleet accepts Professor Bhándárkar's interpretation.

Buchanan (Mysore, III. 215) records from Sonda an inscription found at a Jain monastery, dated 804 (S. 727) in which Chámunda Rája, who is styled chief of all the kings of the south, mentions advantages gained by his ancestors Sadáshiv and Ballál over the followers of Buddha. There is apparently some mistake in the reading either of the date or of the name of the king.

⁴ Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties, 35.

thousand.¹ This same family with the title of Mahásámanta, in the person of Kali-vitta, had the government of the Banavási province in 945, during the reign of the Ráshtrakuta Krishna IV.²

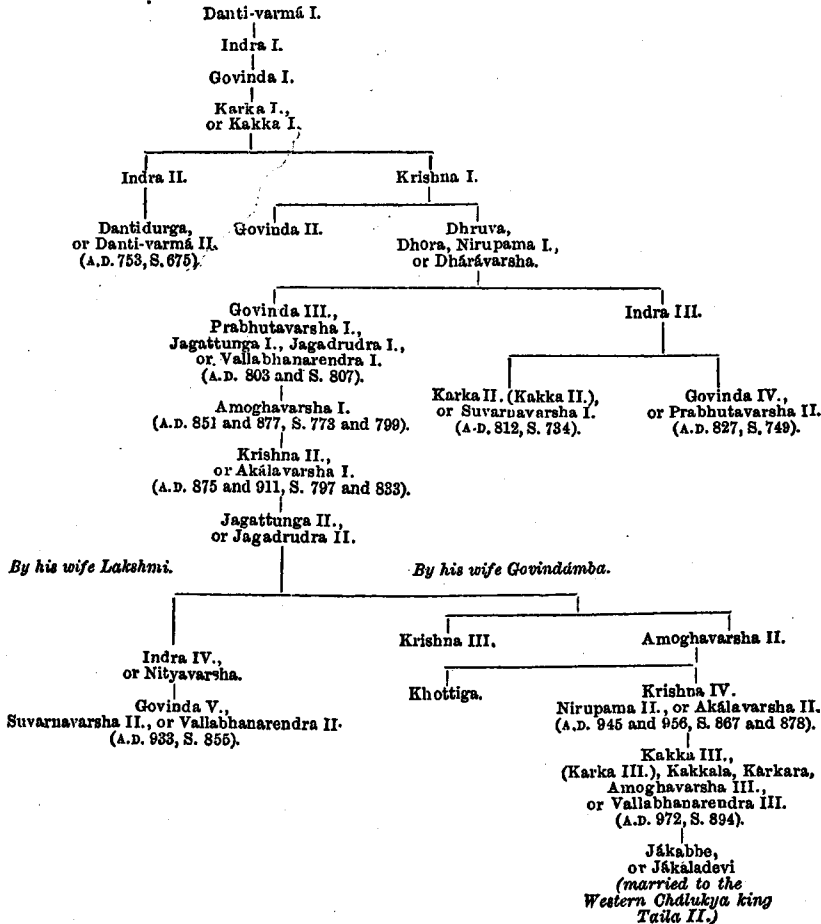
In 973 under Krishna's son Kakka or Karka III., the power of the Ráshtrakutas was overthrown by Taila II., the founder of the second dynasty of Chálukyas. These revived Chálukyas changed the family-name from Chalukya to Chálukya, a change which according to Mr. Fleet shows that they were not the direct descendants of the original family. Taila seems to have established his power over as much of Kánara as was formerly under the Ráshtrakutas. At the close of the tenth century the Banavási province is mentioned as governed by Taila's under-lord Bhimarasa, who was called Tailapana-Ankakára or Tailapa's champion. Under the revived Chálukyas the

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Second Chálukyas,
973-1192.

¹ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 35, 36.

² The Ráshtrakuta family-tree is :



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History.

Second Chálukyas,
973-1192.

Kánara uplands, most of which were included in the Banavási Twelve-thousand, formed part of the Kuntala country, the centre or head-quarters of Chálukya power.¹ The Kánara lowlands, or at least the part of them called the Hayve Five-hundred, the territory between Hángal Banavási Balagámve and the coast, corresponding to the Ankola, Kumta, and Honávar sub-divisions, were considered one of the Konkanas. In 1005, under Taila's son and successor Satyáshraya II., Bhimarája, Taila's champion, was still governing Banavási and the neighbouring districts of Kisukad and Sántalige. During the next twenty years (1000-1020) the Chálukyan power was well upheld by Vikramáditya V. (1008-1018), and, under his successors Akkádevi and Jayasimh III. (1018-1042) it was extended by the conquest of the seven Konkanas (1024). The under-lords at Banavási seem to have been changed. In 1019 from Balagámve or Balipura² in Maisur, Kundamarasa, also called Sattigana-chatta, with the title of Mahámandaleshvar and of the family of the Kádambas of Banavási and Hángal, was governing the Banavási Twelve-thousand, the Sántelige Thousand, and the Hayve Five-hundred to the borders of the western ocean. In 1034 and 1038 mention is made of Maynra-varmá II. of the Kádambas of Banavási, with the title of Mahámandaleshvar, governing the Hángal Five-hundred. In 1039 Vinayáditya, the founder of the Hoysala dynasty, as Máhamandaleshvar of Vikramáditya VI., governed the South Konkan apparently including the North Kánara coast.³ Under Jayasimh's son and successor Someshvar I. (1042-1068) Chálukyan power was further extended to the east and the north, and their capital was established at Kalyán about forty miles north of Gulbarga, and the city was so beautified that according to their own account it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth. In upland Kánara

Hoysalas,
1039.

¹ The chief divisions of Kuntala were, the Banavási Twelve-thousand, the Pánungal Five-hundred, the Puligere Three-hundred, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Kundi Three-thousand, the Toragale Six-thousand, the Kelavádi Three-hundred, the Kisukád Seventy, the Bágadage Seventy, and the Taddevádi Thousand. Fleet, 42.

² Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 44. Balipura, more commonly written Balligáve or Balligámve, is about twenty miles south-east of Banavási. In the twelfth century it was so old as to be styled the mother of cities, the capital of ancient cities. Rice's Mysore, II. 368. It abounds in inscriptions and has Bráhmanic temples which for taste and finish are not surpassed in Maisur. According to Buchanan (Mysore, III. 250) the Banavási Kádambas had their capital for a time at Chandraguti hill about ten miles south-west and twenty miles west of Balligáve. Compare Rice's Mysore, II. 369.

³ The Hoysalas, who are best known as the Hoysalas of Dvárasamudra in Maisur, ruled from about 1039 to 1312. Their name is also written Hoysana, Poysala, and Poysana. They belong to the lineage of Yadu and seem to be connected with the Yádavs of Devgiri (1189-1312) as they both have the family titles of Yádava-naráyana and of Dváravati-Puravarádhishvar, supreme lords of Dváravati the best of cities, apparently Dvárasamudra, the modern Halebid in Maisur. Vinayáditya (1039) was the first of the family to secure any considerable share of power. The two chief men of the family were Vishnuvardhana from about 1117 to 1138 who was independent except in name, and Ballála II. (1192-1211) who overthrew the Kalachurya successors of the Chálukyas and also defeated the Yádavs of Devgiri. His son Narsimh II. (1233) was defeated by the Yádavs, and his great-grandson Ballála III. by Ala-ud-din's general Malek Káfur in 1310. They sustained a second and final defeat from a general of Muhammad Tughlik's in 1327. The following are the successions: Vinayáditya (1047-1076), Ereyanga, Ballála I. (1103), Vishnuvardhana (1117-1137), Narsimh I., Ballála II. (1191-1211), Narsimh II. (1223), Someshvar (1252), Narsimh III. (1254-1286), and Ballála III. (1310). Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 64; compare Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 64.

their authority was well maintained. In 1045, from his capital at Balagámve, Harikesari, with the title of Mahámandaleshvar, was governing the Banavási Twelve-thousand.¹ In 1053 Someshvar's chief queen Mailaldevi, of the Ganga family, was entrusted with the government of the Banavási Twelve-thousand, and she seems to have continued to govern it till 1055 under the name of her son Vikrama afterwards Vikramáditya VI. (1073-1126) and with the help of Harikesari of the Banavási Kádambas. In 1068 the Banavási Twelve-thousand was under the management of the Mahámandaleshvar Kirtti-varmá II. of the Banavási and Hángal Kádambas. The Banavási Kádambas at this time and on till the beginning of the thirteenth century held an important position. They were entitled to have the musical instrument called *permatti* played in front of them, to carry the banner of a monkey or of the monkey-god, and to use the signet of the lion. Their family god was Vishnu under the name of Madhukeshvar of Jayantipura or Banavási. One of their family titles was *Banavási-puravarádhishvara* or Supreme lord of Banavási the best of cities. Kirtti-varmá was succeeded by his uncle Shánti-varmá II., and he by his son, grandsons, and great-grandson till 1203.²

In 1075, during the rule of Someshvara's son and successor Someshvara II. (1069-1075), who was an unimportant king, Udayáditya of the Ganga family, who had fought with success against the Chera, Chola, Pándya, and Pallava kings, was governing Banavási and the neighbouring districts. Under Someshvar II.'s successor, the great Vikramáditya VI. (1073-1126) who usurped his brother's authority, Banavási played an important part. It was apparently as governor of Banavási that, while still young, Vikramáditya established his fame and popularity, commanding many successful expeditions, defeating the Cholas and plundering Kánci, lending help to the king of Málava, attacking the king of Símhala or Ceylon, destroying the sandalwood of the Malaya hills, slaying the king of Kerala, and conquering the cities of Gángakunda, Vengi, and Chakrakota. He seems at first to have thought of establishing himself in independence at Banavási, and it was probably with the object of strengthening his power in that neighbourhood that he gave his daughter Mailaldevi in marriage to Jayakeshi II. of the Goa Kádambas. After deposing his brother Someshvar II. (1073), Vikramáditya gave up the idea of making Banavási a separate capital. Still Banavási continued to be the head of one of his most important provinces. The Banavási command was always held by one of his chief feudatories. In 1076 it was governed by the Mahámandaleshvar Kirtti-varmá II.

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History.

Second Chálukyas,
973-1192.

Kádambas,
1050-1200.

¹ According to an inscription published in the Asiatic Researches, IV. 433, about the middle of the eleventh century, Shri Dev Pála of Kausamba on the Brahmaputra travelled on a pilgrimage from the source of the Ganges to Gokarn on the ocean and overran all the kingdoms on the way. Bird's *Mirát-i-Ahmadi*, 55.

² The details are, Taila II. (1099-1135), his sons Mayur-varmá III. (1131) and Mallikárjuna I. (1135), and their nephew Kámdev (1181-1203). Fleet, 86. Buchanan (Mysore, III. 233) records a later inscription dated 1207 (S. 1130) from Hángal in Dhárwár. Wilson (Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 62) notices Kádamba inscriptions at Banavási, Sávanur, and Gokarn in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

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History.

Second Chálukyas,
973-1192.

of the Banavási Kádambas and in 1077 by the Mahápradhán and Dandanáyak Barmadev. Between 1079 and 1081, with the title of Yuvaráj or heir-apparent, it seems to have been held by Vikramáditya's half-brother, Jayasimh IV. Jayasimh rose in rebellion. He gained to his side many of the local chieftains, and advanced to the Krishna, where he was defeated and taken prisoner and the rebellion crushed. In 1088 Banavási was governed by the Mahámandaleshvar Shánti-varmá II., also called Sánta or Sántaya, of the Banavási Kádambas, the uncle of Kirtti-varmá II. Between 1100 and 1136 the Banavási Twelve-thousand and the Pánungal or Hángal Five-hundred in Dhárwár were under the Kádamba Taila II. He seems to have made Pánungal or Hángal, which is also called Virátakota and Virátanagara, his head-quarters, as in 1103, the Mahápradhán and Dandanáyak Anantapála and in 1114 the Mahápradhán and Manevergade or chamberlain Govinda were governing at Banavási.¹ At the close of and probably during the greater part of Vikramáditya's reign (1073-1126) the South Konkan and apparently the coast districts of North Kánara were held by his son-in-law the Goa Kádamba Jayakeshi II. Jayakeshi styles himself Konkana-Chakravarti or Emperor of the Konkan. In 1126 he is described as governing the Konkan Nine-hundred, the Palasige Twelve-thousand, the Hayve or Payve Five-hundred, and the Kavadivip Lac-and-a-quarter.

Hoysalas,
1117-1137.

During the peaceful reign of Vikramáditya's son and successor Someshvara III. (1126-1138) Tailapa II. continued to govern Banavási and Hángal, his sons Mayur-varmá III. and Mallikárjuna II. being associated with him between 1131 and 1133. About this time the province of Banavási, and apparently the lowland parts of Kánara, were overrun by the Hoysala chief Vishnuvardhana, of whom only two dates are recorded, 1117 and 1137, though he probably continued in power for several years later. Vishnuvardhana, who was the grandson of Vinayáditya the founder of the Hoysala family, made himself independent though he continued to use no higher title than Mahámandaleshvar. He established himself in the territories of the Maisur Gangas. According to one inscription Kánchi or Conjeveram fled before him, Kongu was shaken to its foundations, Virátkot or Hángal in Dhárwár cried out, Koyatur probably Coimbatour was destroyed, Chakrakota made way for him, and the Konkans threw down their arms and fled into the sea. His head-quarters were at Belur or Belápur in Maisur. He is said to have taken Banavási and Hángal from Tailap II. the Kádamba. He did not hold the Banavási districts for any length of time, and it is doubtful whether he ever held the North Kánara coast. One inscription gives him Hayve or Haiga, but according to another his western boundary was the Bárakanur pass to the Konkan. The most important fact in Vishnuvardhana's reign was his conversion from

¹ Buchanan (Mysore, II. 302) records from Kudali in Maisur a copper-plate, dated A.D. 1120 (S. 1043), in the reign of Purandara Rája, a Kádamba of Banavási. This chief has not been identified. The date falls within the time of Taila II.

Jainism to Vaishnavism. He is said to have become the patron of the great Vaishnav reformer Rámánuj and to have treated the Jains with great cruelty, a persecution from which, except in the coast districts of South Kánara, they seem never to have recovered. His coast capital is said to have been at Barkar about forty miles south of Bhatkal,¹ but his change of religion from Jainism to Vaishnavism greatly lessened his power in Tulav or South Kánara.² Someshvara III. was succeeded by his eldest son with the title of Jagadekamalla II. (1138-1150). Under this king the rule of the Chálukyas was maintained, though in the south it suffered from the attacks both of Vishnuvardhana and of the Goa Kádambas. Towards the close of his reign (1148) Jagadekamalla, whose chief capital was Kalyán, formed a provincial capital at Kadalipura, the Sanskrit translation of Bálehali the village of plantains, in the Hángal sub-division of Dhárwár. In 1143 the Banavási Twelve-thousand was governed by the Dandanáyaka Bommanayya and in 1144 by Mallikárjuna I. the son of Taila the Kádamba. Jagadekamalla in 1150 was succeeded by his younger brother Taila III., who about 1161 lost his power, partly owing to a defeat by an eastern king of the Kákatyá family,³ and partly to the revolt of his chief commander Bijjala of the Kalachuri family. Taila did not long survive his overthrow; he was dead in 1162. In 1152 the Banavási Twelve-thousand was governed by Dandanáyaka Mahádeva, and at the time of Taila's overthrow (1162) by the Dandanáyaka Barmarasa.⁴

After 1161, Bijjala, the Kalachuri, thoroughly established his power in the Chálukya dominions. Inscriptions of his occur near Banavási both at Balagámve in Maisur and at Annigeri in Dhárwár, which for a time was his capital. In 1161 the Dandanáyaka Barmarasa was his under-lord at Banavási, and in 1163 Kásapayyanáyaka was governor of the Banavási Twelve-thousand. Bijjala lost his life owing to the revolution caused by the rise of the Lingáyat faith.

Chapter VII.

History.

Second Chálukyas,
973-1192.

Kalachuris,
1160.

¹ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 113. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 65.

² Mysore, III. 113.

³ The Kákatyas or Telinga kings of Varangal (1070-1320) are said to have at one time held the Kánara coast. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 62, 73, 74.

⁴ The Kalachuris or Kalachuryas have the title of *Kálanjara-puravarádhishvara*, that is Supreme lord of Kálanjara the best of cities. The original stock therefore started from that city, now the hill-fort of Kálanjar in Bundelkhand. An account published by General Cunningham (Arch. Report, IX. 54) shows that in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries a powerful branch of the family held Bundelkhand which was also called Chedi. This family seem from their era, which is called either the Kalachuri or the Chedi era, to date from as early as A. D. 249. Their capital was at Tripura, now Tevar, about six miles west of Jabalpur. Members of this Tripura family of Kalachuryas several times intermarried with the Ráshtrakutas and Western Chálukyas. Another branch of the tribe in the sixth century had a kingdom in the Konkan, from which they were driven by the early Chálukya Mangalish, uncle of Pulikeshi II. (610-634). The Kalachuryas call themselves Haihayas and claim descent from Yadu through Kártavírya or Sahasrabáhu-Arjuna. There was another branch of Haihayas whom the Western Chálukya Vinayáditya (680-696) conquered, and one of whose family was the wife of Vinayáditya's grandson, Vikramáditya (733-747). The Haihayas seem originally to have been a foreign race. They are classed with Shakas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Páradas, and Pallavas, and when overthrown by the mythical king Sagara, are said to have been forced to wear their hair after a particular fashion. Rice's Mysore, I. 179; Indian Antiquary, IV. 166.

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History.

Kalachuris,
1160.

The founder of this new sect was Basava, the son of an *Árádhyā* or Shaiv Bráhmān who was born either at *Bágevádi* or in the neighbouring village of *Ingleshvar* in *Kaládgi*. Basava rose to power at *Kalyán* by marrying the daughter of the minister and by giving his beautiful sister in marriage to *Bijjala*. Soon after his sister's marriage Basava succeeded to the post of minister, and after securing his power by filling all subordinate offices with his adherents, he started his new sect, which, in the first instance, is said to have done away with distinctions of caste and the observance of ceremonial impurity. His followers were known by carrying a movable *ling* which they wore round the neck, instead of, like the *Árádhyā* Bráhmāns, on the upper arm. *Bijjala*, distrusting the spread of Basava's power, tried to seize him. Basava escaped and defeated first a party sent after him, and afterwards the main army under *Bijjala*. He brought *Bijjala* back with him to *Kalyán*, and, according to the Jain account, caused him to be assassinated about 1167.¹ Then, fearing the wrath of *Bijjala's* son *Ráya Murári Sovi* or *Someshvar*, Basava fled west to *Kánara* and sought refuge in the town of *Vrishabhapura*, also called *Ulvi*, at the crest of the *Sahyádris* fourteen miles west of *Yellápur*. *Ráya Murári* pursued and laid siege to the town, and Basava in despair leaped into a well and was killed.² After Basava's defeat *Someshvar* established his power over the parts of *Maisur* and of *Dhárwár* in the neighbourhood of *Banavási*, where in 1168 *Dandanáyaka Keshav* or *Kesimayya* and in 1174 the *Mahámandaleshvar Vyayapándya* were his governors. About 1175 *Someshvar* was succeeded by his brothers *A'havamalla* and *Singhana*, who seem to have shared the government. In 1179 the *Mahápradhán* and *Dandanáyak Keshiráj* was governing the *Banavási* province, and there are grants in the *Dhárwár* and *Maisur* neighbourhood of that year and of 1180. Shortly after this, about 1182, with the help of *Dandanáyaka Barmarasa*, apparently the man who had been governor of *Banavási* on *Taila's* overthrow in 1161, *Someshvar IV.*, son of *Taila*, established himself in the neighbourhood of *Banavási* and made *Annigeri* in *Dhárwár* the capital of an independent state. *Barmarasa* was dignified with the title of *Chálukya-rájya-pratisthápaka*, that is *Establisher of Chálukyan sovereignty*. In or soon after 1183 the portions of the *Chálukyan* territories which remained to the *Kalachuryas* were wrested from them by the *Hoysalas* of *Dvárasamudra* under *Ballála* or *Vira-Ballála*. In 1184 *Barmarasa* is mentioned as governing at the capital of *Annigeri* and the *Mahámandaleshvar Kámadev* of the *Kádamba* family as governing *Banavási*, *Hángal*, and *Puligere*. In the early years of his rule *Kámadev* was successful. He conquered the countries of *Male*, *Tulu*, the *Konkanas*, and the *Sahyádris*, and gained for himself the title of *Tailamana-Ankakára* or *Tailama's* champion. He was attacked by the *Hoysala Vira-*

¹ Rice, I. 211.² The *Lingáyats* deny the truth of this story, and say that Basava was absorbed into a *ling* in the temple of *Sangameshvar* at the meeting of the *Krishna* and the *Malprabha*.

Ballála (1192-1211) about 1192 and Banavási was taken. In 1196 Ballála advanced against Hángal. He was at first repulsed, but in a second attack the Kádambas were defeated and their general Sohani was slain. Kámadev struggled on till about 1202.¹

Vira-Ballála was the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, who, about fifty years before, had for a short time overrun the Kádamba province of Banavási. He was also known as Giridurgamalla or the Conqueror of Hill-Forts, and was the first of the Hoysala family who assumed kingly titles. His inscriptions are found at Balagámve, Hángal, Annigeri, and other places near Banavási. Besides overcoming the Kalachuris he defeated, with the loss of its commander, an army sent against him by Bhillama (1188-1193) the founder of the Yádav dynasty of Devgiri or Daulatabad in the North Deccan (1188-1312). He also defeated the Chola and Pándya kings, took Uchchangi part of the Konkan, and the provinces of Banavási and Pánungal or Hángal. In 1192 he had an officer with the title of Mahápradhán or Dandanáyak, Ereyana or Eraga by name, governing the Banavási Twelve-thousand and the Sántalige Thousand. He did not subdue the Kádamba ruler of Hángal until after 1196. In 1203 his Dandanáyak Kamathada Mallisetti was governing the Sántalige Seventy and the Nágarakhanda Seventy in the Banavási country. He had local capitals at Lakkundi and Annigeri in Dhárwár. About 1216 Ballála II. seems to have been defeated by the Devgiri Yádav king Singhana II. (1209-1247). Ballála seems to have been driven to the south of the Tungabhadra, and neither in his reign which lasted till 1233, nor in his son Narasimh II.'s reign which lasted till 1249, nor during the reign of his successor Someshvar (1249-1268), is any attempt to recover their lost power in the Karnátak recorded. In 1277 Someshvar's successor Narasimh III. (1268-1308) tried to take Banavási, but the attempt was defeated by the Yádav general Saliva Tikkama, who is called the establisher of the Kádamba kings and the overthrower of the Hoysala kings. After this defeat no further notice of the Hoysalas occurs till Ballála III.'s destruction by Malik Káfur and Khwája Háji, the generals of Alá-ud-din Khilji of Delhi in 1312.²

Though the inscriptions acknowledge no connection, two of their titles, Yádav-Náráyan and Dvárávati-Puravarádhishvar, seem

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Hoysalas,
1192-1216.

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¹ According to Wilson (Mackenzie Collection, 66) under Vira-Ballála and Vira Narasimh, Ballála power extended over the Karnátak and the whole of Kánara. Buchanan (III. 216) records from a Jain monastery in Sonda an inscription, dated 1198 (S. 1121), in which Sadáshiv Rája of Sudhpura, that is Sonda, who mentions no superior but takes no very high titles, praises his Teacher Shri Madabina Butta Kalanka, who is said to have bestowed prosperity on the Ballála Rája.

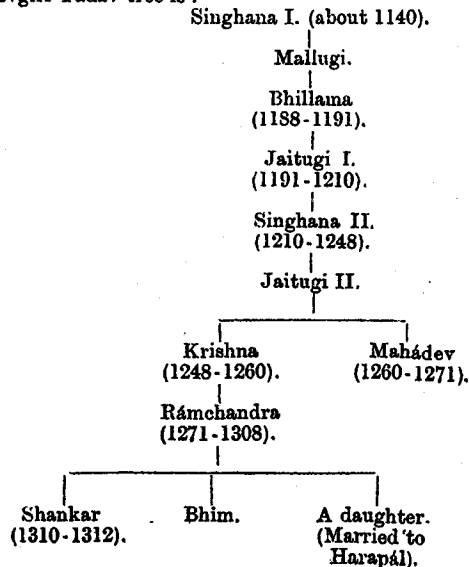
² Malik Káfur laid waste the Hoysala kingdom, defeated and captured Ballála III., and took and sacked his capital Dvárasamudra. The Hoysalas never recovered this defeat. Ballála III. was set free and continued to rule for a time at Belápura. But the kingdom was finally annexed to the Muhammadan empire by Muhammad Tughlik (1325-1351) in 1327. The Hoysalas then retired to Tonnur near Seringápatam and continued to exercise some sort of authority for fifty, or according to Bishop Caldwell (Tinnevely, 44) for sixty years longer. The Hoysalas have the special interest that when they were overthrown by Malik Káfur, they were building the wonderfully rich and elaborately ornamented temples, which are now the well known ruins of Halebid. Compare Rice's Mysore, I. 219.

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to show that the Yádavs of Devgiri, who, early in the thirteenth century, drove the Hoysalas out of the Karnátak, were of the same stock as the Hoysalas. As far as present knowledge goes the Devgiri Yádavs ruled first at Tenevalage, where in 1189 Bhillama (1188-1193) was the chief of a considerable territory. It was in his reign that about 1192 the Hoysala king Ballála defeated the Yádavs at Lakkundi in Dhárwár. For some years (1187) before this defeat the Yádavs had a viceroy whose capital was at Annigeri in Dhárwár, and other inscriptions show that at this time he held Kaládgi. One of Bhillama's inscriptions mentions his grandfather Singhana I. as the founder of the house, and records that he subdued the king of the Karnátak, probably some success against the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana (1137). Of Singhana's son Mallugi, who was the father of Bhillama, nothing but the name is recorded.¹ Bhillama's son Jaitugi I. (1192-1209), who, as commander of his father's army was defeated at Lakkundi in Dhárwár about 1192, does not seem to have attempted to restore Yádav power in the Karnátak. His capital seems to have been at Vijayápura or Bijápura in North Kaládgi, afterwards (1490-1686) the seat of the famous Adil Sháh dynasty. Jaitugi's son Singhana II. (1209-1247) greatly extended Yádav power. He moved his capital north to Devgiri, and at the same time brought much of the Karnátak under his rule. Among other kings he claims to have defeated Ballála or the Hoysalas. In 1216 he had a manager of customs, the Mahápradhán Hemmayyanáyaka, in the Banavási country, and in 1219 the whole of the Banavási Twelve-thousand was under him. The Kádambas seem to have aided the Yádavs against their enemies the Hoysalas, as from 1215 to 1251 Vira Mallideva or Mallikárjuna II. continued in the apparently independent command of the Banavási

¹ The Devgiri Yádav tree is :



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Twelve-thousand and the Pánungal or Hángal Five-hundred. At the close of Singhana's reign (1247) his viceroy Báchirája, with the titles of Mahápradhán and Senápati, was governing the Karnátak and other countries from Lakshmeshvar or Pulikaranagara in Dhárwár. Inscriptions show that his territories included Balagámve, Ánivatti, and Yalavál. Singhana was succeeded by his grandson Krishna (1248-1260), whose father Jaitugi II. apparently died during Singhana's lifetime. Krishna, who is also named Kanhara, Kanhára, Kandhara, and Kandhára, ruled at Devigiri. In 1253 the south of his dominions was under Chaundarája, the son of the general Vichan who is recorded as the conqueror of the Rattas, Kadambas, Pándyas, and Hoysalas. Krishna was succeeded by his brother Mahádev, also called Uragasárvabhauma. He reigned for about ten years (1260-1270), and seems to have maintained his power in Banavási and the neighbourhood. In 1271 Rámachandra or Rámadev, the son of Krishna, wrested the kingdom from Amana, Mahádev's son. His inscriptions occur in several places in Dhárwár and in Balagámve, Harihar, and Dávangere in Maisur. In 1277 he had a contest with the Hoysalas, who seem to have made an attempt to restore their power in the neighbourhood of Banavási. Rámchandra is described as seizing the goddess of the sovereignty of the Hoysala kings, and his viceroy the Mahámandaleshvar Saliwa-Tikkama is (1277) called the establisher of the Kádamba kings and the overthrower of the Hoysala kings. Rámchandra's power probably extended over the whole of North Kánara. In 1297, in a manuscript written at Suvarnagiri in the Konkan, probably Suvarndurg in North Ratnágiri, he is styled Emperor or Chakravarti and deserved the title as his rule was acknowledged over the whole of the Deccan, the Konkan, and the Karnátak. Three years before this his power had been broken by Alá-ud-din Khilji, who in 1294, coming by forced marches from Karrah-Mánikpur on the Ganges, surprised Rámchandra or Rámadev as he is called by Ferishta at Devigiri, took the city, and forced Rámadev to pay tribute and acknowledge the supremacy of the Khilji Emperors of Delhi.¹ Between 1295 and 1306 the Yádavs were not again molested and seem to have maintained their supremacy in the south. In 1306 Alá-ud-din sent another expedition, under Malik Káfur, against the Yádavs and subdued a great part of the Marátha country. Rámchandra submitted and was continued in power till his death in 1310. He was succeeded by his son Shankar. In the same year (1310) Alá-ud-din again sent Malik Káfur and Khwája Háji with a large army into the Deccan. Shankar was ill-affected to the Musalmáns, but did not venture to oppose them, and Malik Káfur leaving a force to watch Shankar pressed south and conquered Ballála III. the Hoysala ruler of Dvárasamudra. He returned to Delhi in 1311. Next year, as Shankar withheld his tribute, Malik Káfur returned to the Deccan, seized Shankar and put him to death, and, laying waste Maháráshtra

¹ According to Ferishta (Briggs, I. 310), Rámadev had to buy peace at the cost of 600 *mans* of pearls and 2 *mans* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, 1000 *mans* of silver, and 4000 pieces of silk, besides a long list of other precious commodities to which, he says, reason forbids us to give credit.

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and the Karnátak from Cheul and Dábhól on the coast of Kolába and Ratnágiri to Mudgal and Ráichur, took up his residence in Devgiri and realized the tribute from the princes of Telingana and the Karnátak.¹ Taking advantage of the disturbances at Delhi, which followed the death of Alá-ud-din Khilji (1297-1317), Harapál or Haripál, Rámchandra's son-in-law, drove out many of the Muhammadan garrisons and established his power over portions of the former territories of Devgiri. In 1318, Mubárik, the third son of Alá-ud-din who had established himself on the Delhi throne, marched against Harapál, caught him, flayed him alive, and set his head over the gate of Devgiri. Though in the Marátha country some branches of the family continued to hold positions of local importance and respect, the Devgiri Yádavs never again rose to power. In 1338 Muhammad Tughlik (1325-1351), struck with its central position and the strength of its fort, made Devgiri his capital and changed its name to Daulatabad or the City of Wealth. Three attempts to force the people of Delhi to settle at Daulatabad failed, and a few years later (1250) the Deccan passed out of Muhammad's hands and formed the territory of the Bahmanis (1250-1490), who soon established their power over the Deccan. With the Karnátak, at least with the parts as far west as the Kánara frontier, the Bahmanis had little connection, as those districts already acknowledged the over-lordship of the powerful dynasty of Hindu kings of Vijayanagar about thirty-six miles north-west of Bellári.

In the absence of evidence as to whether the Yádavs held the coast of Kánara in the thirteenth century, the account of a sea invasion of the Kánara coast is of interest. About 1252 the nephew of the Pándyan prince of Madura is said to have brought a sea force against Kánara, reduced the whole coast to his power, and introduced an addition of ten per cent in the land assessment.²

The wealth and strength of the Yádavs on the north and the wealth of the Hoysala Ballálas on the south, and the rich temples in Maisur and in Dhárwár which belong to about the thirteenth century make it probable that Kánara shared in the prosperity which the Venetian traveller Marco Polo describes as marking Malabár about 1290. It was rich in pepper, ginger, cinnamon, turbit, and Indian nuts, and had also a manufacture of delicate and beautiful cloth. Ships came from many quarters, from the great province of Manzi in South China, and from Aden and Alexandria, but the China trade was ten times as important as the trade with the Red Sea. The China ships brought copper, silk and gold cloth, sandals, gold, silver, cloves and spikenard, and carried

¹ In his account of Malik Káfur's conquest of Dvárasamudra, Ferishta (Briggs, III. 373-374) notices that the Musalmán army passed to the coast and built a small mosque there. He adds, the mosque remains entire in our days (1630) at Set Band Rámeshvar. Colonel Briggs adds, this point must be Rama's Cape in Kánara, south of Goa, and not Rámeshvar at Adam's Bridge. But it appears from Amir Khusru's (1325) *Tárikh-i-Áláí* (Elliot and Dowson, III. 90, 92) that Malik Káfur passed south to Madura and did not visit the coast of Kánara.

² Elphinstone's *History*, 238-240; Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, xcvi.; Wilks' *South of India*, I. 152. This reference seems doubtful as according to Bishop Caldwell (*Tinnevely Manual*, 42) Pándya power decayed in the twelfth century.

away coarse spices. The people were idolators with a language of their own, a king of their own, and no tribute to pay. It was a great kingdom, but the coasts were infested with corsairs who sallied forth in fleets of more than a hundred vessels. They took their wives and children with them and stayed at sea during the whole summer. Twenty or thirty of the pirate craft, five or six miles apart, made a line and covered something like a hundred miles of sea so that no merchant ships could escape them.¹

The Bahmani dynasty which ruled the Deccan from 1343 to about 1490 seem never to have extended their power so far to the south-west as Kánara. Apparently during the whole of this time, and on at least to 1565, Kánara and the Bombay Karnátak were under the rule of two dynasties of Vijayanagar or Anegundi kings of which the first lasted from about 1330 to 1480 and the second from about 1480 to 1580.² Vijayanagar the City of Victory, originally Vidyánagar the City of Learning, stands on the right or south bank of the Tungabhadra, in rugged picturesque country, about thirty-six miles north-west of Bellári. It and its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank of the river form one of the finest ruins in India.³ The empire, which is probably the richest and most powerful which has ruled over the south of India within historic times, was founded by two brothers who are generally known as Hakka and Bukka. They are described as the sons of Sangama, a prince of the Yádav line and lunar race, who is described in one inscription as Sailankanátha and whose father's name seems to have been Kampa. As their

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¹ Yule's Marco Polo, II. 324, 325. According to a tradition which was generally believed at Kánara in the early part of the sixteenth century and which the peculiar architecture of certain temples and tombs at Mudbidri in South Kánara seems to support, a great Chinese fleet came to Western India in the twelfth century and the people settled along the whole western coast, (Three Voyages of Da Gama, 147; Fergusson's Architecture, 270-276). Some Musalmán and Portuguese writers have vague references to Chinese at Cheul in Kolába and at Gogho in South Káthiáwár (see Bombay Gazetteer, XI. 469, 470). But no sign or tradition of a Chinese settlement has been traced on the coast of North Kánara.

² Buchanan (Mysore, III. 113) places a Yavan dynasty at Anegundi between 782 and 836, and Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 222) describes Anegundi as the traditional site of an early Yavan dynasty of whom little is known.

³ Newbold (Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, XIV. 518) gives the following description of the Vijayanagar ruins: The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijánagar on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the north bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys, encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river, and appear like so many verdant oases in this Arabia Petræa of Southern India. Indeed some parts of the wilderness of Sinai reminded me, but on a far grander scale, of this huddled assemblage of bare granite rocks on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The formation is the same, the scantiness of vegetation, the arid aspect of the bare rocks, and the green spots marking the presence of springs few and far between in the depths of the valleys, are features common to both localities. The peaks, tors, and logging stones of Bijánagar and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient Hindu metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural Cyclopean masonry.

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earliest inscriptions are found in the north and west of Maisur, Mr. Rice thinks they may be descended from feudatories of the Hoysala Ballálas; according to another tradition they were of the Kákateya or Warangal family; and according to a third account they belonged to the Banavási Kadambas.¹ Bishop Caldwell accepts the second of Mr. Rice's traditions, that they came from Warangal in the Nizám's Dominions which had been taken by the Muhammadans in 1323.² The brothers Hakka or Harihara and Bukka are said to have been helped by a sage named Mádhav, who according to one account was minister of prince Sangama and according to another was the head of the great Smárt monastery of Shringeri in West Maisur.³ He was enlightened enough to see that the only safety of the Hindureligion lay in the protection of a powerful monarch. The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted the *varáha* or boar as the emblem on the royal signet, and their family god was Virupáksha, a local Shiv, in whose honour their grants are signed Shri Virupáksha. In inscriptions the epithets Vira Pratápa Praudha Deva are those commonly applied to the Vijayanagar kings⁴ who were known as Ráyas, a southern form of the title Rája.⁵ Harihara was the eldest of five brothers the fourth of whom, Marapa, conquered the Kadamba territories and ruled as viceroy in the Shimoga

¹ Rice's Mysore, I. 197, III. 98, and Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1878, 141. It may be noticed that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan in 1474, calls the ruler of Bichenegher, the Kaadam king. Major's India in the XVth Century, 29.

² Tinnevely Manual, 45, 47. Buchanan (Mysore, III. 97) makes them of the Kuruba or shepherd caste. His story (Mysore, III. 115, 116) is the same as that adopted by Bishop Caldwell. They were the treasury guardians of Pratáprudra, king of the Andhra country, or Warangal, who was overthrown by the Musalmáns in 1323. They came to Shri Maha Vidyaránya, a Maha Svámi and eleventh successor of Shankarácharya, and asked his help. He visited Gôd and, according to his orders, Vijayanagar was begun and finished after seven years in 1335. The pontiff crowned Hakka and gave him the name of Harihara Ráyar. The Portuguese historian Faria (Kerr, IV. 399) says Kánara, properly Charnataca, had no power till Boka a shepherd built Vijayanagar.

³ Mádhav was a successor of Shankarácharya and head of the great Shringeri monastery in the Kadur district of Maisur. He was a man of great learning. According to Dr. Burnell he was the same as Sáyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas. Rice's Mysore, I. 223.

⁴ Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 224) gives the following table of the Vijayanagar kings. He notices that some of the dates are doubtful and that most of those handed down by tradition are wrong :

Vijayanagar Kings, 1336-1587.

Harihara, Hakka, Hariyappa	... ..	1336-1350
Bukka, Vira Bukkana	... ..	1350-1379
Harihara II.	... ..	1379-1401
Deva Ráya, Vijaya Ráya, Vijaya Bukka...	... ..	1401-1451
Mallikárjuna, Vira Mallanna, Praudha Deva	... ..	1451-1465
Virupáksha	... ..	1465-1479
Narasa, Narasimh	... ..	1479-1487
Vira Narsimh, Narsimh II.	... ..	1487-1508
Krishna Ráya	}	1508-1542
Achyuta Ráya		
Sadásiva Ráya (Ráma Rája regent usurps the throne till 1565)	... ..	1542-1573
Sri Ranga Ráya (Tirumala Rája, brother of Ráma Rája, 1566)	... ..	1574-1587
Vira Venkatápati	... ..	1587

⁵ The Tamil honour-giving plural of Ráya is Ráyar and the Telugu plural is Ráyalu, Caldwell's Tinnevely, 47.

district of north-west Maisur. That Vijayanagar power was soon carried to the western coast is shown by the African traveller Abu Abdullah Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batuta, who visited the Kánara coast in 1342. Ibn Batuta came to the island of Sindábur, apparently Chitakul or Sintakura, the modern Sadáshivgad close to Kárwár, which he notices was the head of thirty-six inland villages. He did not stop at Chitakul, but dropped anchor at a small island near it, apparently Anjidiv, in which was a temple and a water-cistern. He landed on the island and found an ascetic leaning against a wall and placed between two idols. He seemed to be a Moslem but would not talk. He next came to the city of Hinaur, that is Honávar, on an estuary which received large vessels. The people were Moslems of the Sháfai or Arab sect, famous sea-fighters, the men peaceful and religious, the women chaste and handsome. Most of them, both men and women, knew the Kurán by heart. There were twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen schools for girls.¹ The ruling chief was Jamál-ud-din Muhammad Ibn. He was subject to an infidel king named Hariab, that is Hariap or Hariappa (1336-1350) of Vijayanagar. Jamál-ud-din was one of the best of princes. He had an army of about 6000 men and the people of Malabár, though a brave and warlike race, feared the chief of Honávar for his bravery at sea, and paid him tribute. Ibn Batuta went on to Kalikat and came back to Honávar where he found the chief preparing an expedition against the Island of Sindábur or Chitakul. They went with a fleet of fifty-two vessels and found the people of Sindábur ready to resist them, but after a hard fight carried the place by assault. Ibn Batuta started for Honávar and after a second visit to Kalikat came back to Chitakul, but as he found the town besieged by an infidel king he left for the Máldiv Islands. He describes Malabár from Sindábur to Kaulam or Quilon as all shaded with trees. At every half mile there was a wooden rest-house, a well, and a Hindu in charge. He gave water to Hindus in vessels and poured it into the hands of Musalmáns. In most parts the Musalmán merchants had houses and were respected. In all the country there was not a span free from cultivation. Everybody had a garden with a house in the middle and round it a fence of wood. People travelled on beasts of burden, the king alone on a horse. Traders were carried on men's backs and nobles in a box on men's shoulders. Merchants walked followed by two or three hundred carriers. Thieves were unknown because death was the punishment of theft.²

Of Bukka or Vira Bukkana (1350-1379), Hariappá's brother and successor, Buchanan records an inscription, dated 1374 (S. 1297) from Cupatura or Kupgadde ten miles south-east of Banavási in the reign of Vira Buka Rája of Hasinávali, the Sanskrit of Anegundi the Elephant Pit.³ Another inscription of the same year (1374, S. 1297) found at Gokarn records a grant by Shri Vira Bukka Rája by the favour

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¹ Yule's Cathay, II. 416

² Lee's Ibn Batuta, 164, 166, 167, 174. Yule (Cathay, II. 442) identifies Sindábur with Goa. It seems to be the same as the Portuguese Sintakura that is Chitakul now Sadáshivgad.

³ Mysore, III. 233.

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of the feet of Virupáksha, the local Shiv of Vijayanagar.¹ Buchanan records a third grant, also found at Gokarn, by the son of Harihara Ráya to support an inn.² This falls within the reign of Harihara II. (1379-1401). He found a third inscription at Gokarn, of Buka Ráya Trilochia son of Harihara Ráya, king of Haiva, Tulav, and Konkan,³ and another at Gersappa dated 1409 (S. 1322) in which by order of Pratáp Deva Ráya Trilochia, king of Vijayanagar, the Jain chief of Gersappa granted lands to a temple of Gunavanti at Gersappa.⁴ This mention of a Jain under-lord of the Vijayanagar kings at Gersappa supports a tradition which Buchanan learned from the Bráhmans of Bhatkal, that, under the Vijayanagar kings, there were local chiefs at Bhatkal, at Shiráli about five miles further north, at Chandávar about ten miles east of Kumta, at Gersappa, and at Mirján, though the Bráhmans made out that these chiefs were of the Bráhmanic and not of the Jain faith.⁵ These Jain chiefs were probably, as in other parts of the Vijayanagar territory, styled Náiks.⁶ According to Musalmán accounts, about 1368 Bukka suffered a series of defeats at the hands of Muhammad Sháh Bahmani (1358-1375).⁷

Harihara II. (1379-1401), the third in succession and his son Deva Ráya (1401-1451) greatly extended the power of Vijayanagar. Harihara is said to have conquered Chola, Kerala, and Pándya, besides by his victories causing the days to appear cloudy to the tear-blinded wives of the Yavans or Musalmáns. During these two reigns their power extended over the whole of Kánara. This part of the Karnátak entirely escaped the bloody wars between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kings which from time to time laid waste the borders of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. The land seems to have been well governed and prosperous as the Musalmán historians give wonderful accounts of the wealth of Vijayanagar at the beginning and at the close of the reign of Deva Ráya (1401-1451).⁸ During

¹ Mysore, III. 170.

² Buchanan (Mysore, III. 110) mentions a revenue accountant in Kánara whose records went back to the conquest of the country by Harihara Ráyalu in 1335. In support of the truth of these accountant's records Sir T. Munro explains (Report of 31st May 1800) that the value of the land had led the accountants to take the greatest care of their papers. They were written in black books which lasted more than a century; two or three copies were made, and when a book became worn a fresh copy was taken and a memorandum entered in the title-page mentioning in the Sháliváhan era the year in which it was written, and the year in which the original had been written. Many of these books had lately been lost, but enough remained to make a complete abstract of the land-rent during 400 years. Arbuthnot's Life of Munro, I. 163.

³ Mysore, III. 170.

⁴ Mysore, III. 174.

⁵ Mysore, III. 165.

⁶ Rice (Mysore, III. 98) says the Vijayanagar kings governed outlying districts by chiefs called Náiks. Bishop Caldwell (Tinnevely Manual, 62-69) notices that Náyak, which in Sanskrit means leader or chief, was in Southern India the hereditary title of certain Telugu castes. In Telugu the masculine singular is written Náyudu and in Tamil Náyakkan. It is the same word as the Malayálam Náyár or Nair. Buchanan (III. 123) notices that in South Kánara the Vijayanagar kings allowed the Jain chiefs to manage their own affairs. These local under-lords were also styled Páligárs which in Tamil is Páláyákára, in Telugu Pálegádu, and in Kánarese Pálegára. The word properly means the holder of a camp or military grant. Bishop Caldwell (Tinnevely, 58) notices that the Vijayanagar or Telugu Pálegár was supposed to be the lord of thirty-three villages.

⁷ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 317, 326; Elliot and Dowson, VI. 231, 232.

⁸ Ferishta (Briggs, II. 386) tells how Firoz Sháh Bahmani (1397-1422), when he visited his father-in-law Deva Ráya in Vijayanagar, found the road for six miles outside

the reign of Deva Rāya, Vijayanagar was visited by two strangers Nicolò Conti an Italian, who was in India between 1420 and 1440, and Abd-er-Razzak, the ambassador of the Persian king Shāh Rukh to the king of Kalikat who was in Vijayanagar in 1443. Nicolò Conti reached Heli that is Mount Dely on the Malabār coast and from there went 300 miles inland to Vijayanagar or Bizenegalia. The city was sixty miles round and was said to contain 90,000 men able to bear arms. The king had 12,000 wives of whom 4000 went on foot and served in his kitchen, 4000 went on horse-back, and 4000 went in litters. Of the litter ladies 2000 were chosen as wives on condition that they would burn when the king died.¹ Nicolò was much impressed by a great car-festival. Two chariots crowded with priests and dancing-girls were dragged along, people throwing themselves under the wheels that they might be crushed to death. Others, and this was esteemed a higher sacrifice, drew a rope through their bodies and hung from the car like ornaments.² Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian ambassador, reached Vijayanagar from Mangalor. On his way he passed through Bednur whose houses were like palaces, its beauties like houris, and its temples and other buildings marvels of sculpture and painting. He found Vijayanagar, where he arrived at the end of April 1443, an exceeding large and populous city, the seat of a king of great power whose kingdom stretched from Ceylon to Kulburga and from Bengal to Malabār. Most of the land was well tilled and fertile and there were about 300 sea-ports each equal to Kalikat.³ There were 1000 elephants and an army of over a million men. There was no more absolute *rāi* in India than the king of Vijayanagar. The city had seven fortified walls one within the other. The first or outmost circle enclosed a space eight miles (2 *parasangs*) across. Between the first, second, and third circles of wall were fields and gardens, and from the third to the seventh or inmost circle the space was closely crowded with markets and shops. The seventh or central circle was on a hill. In it was the palace of the king and four markets with a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery at the head of each. The markets were broad and long. There were always sweet fresh flowers and the different crafts had separate quarters. Many streams flowed along polished and level stone channels. On the right of the palace, which was the loftiest building in the city, was a pillared hall where the minister did justice. On the left was the mint with hollow chambers full of masses of molten gold. Opposite the mint was the police office with 12,000 soldiers. Behind the mint was a market 300 yards long by twenty broad, where the dancing-girls lived, very beautiful, rich, and accomplished. The king was exceedingly young, of a spare body, rather tall, and of an olive colour. During Abd-er-Razzak's stay at Vijayanagar, the brother of the king killed many of the leading nobles and all but succeeded in assassinating

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of the city-gate spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode between ranks of beautiful boys and girls who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads and threw them to be gathered by the people.

¹ Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 6.

² Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 28. ³ Elliot and Dowson, IV. 699, 103.

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the king. The king sat on a throne of gold inlaid with jewels and the walls of the throne room were lined with plates of gold. During part of the time Abd-er-Razzak was there a Christian was minister.¹ There was a wonderful festival at *Dasara* time or *Mahánayami*, the September full-moon. The great plain near the city was filled with enchanting pavilions covered with most delicate and tasteful pictures of animals, and there was one pillared mansion nine stories high for the king. For three days, with the most gorgeous display, dancing-girls danced and sang, fireworks blazed, and showmen and jugglers performed wonderful feats. Abd-er-Razzak left Vijayanagar on the 5th of November 1443 and reached Mangalor on the 23rd of the same month. It was impossible within reasonable space to give an idea how well the country was peopled. All the people, high and low, even the workers in the market-places, wore jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and round their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers. From Mangalor he went to the port of Honávar or Hanur and there arranged for a vessel to take him back to Persia. He started on the 28th of January and reached Ormuz on the 22nd of April after a voyage of sixty-five days.²

During the reigns of Dev Ráya's successors Mallikárjuna (1451-1465) and Virupáksha (1465-1479), the power of Vijayanagar greatly declined. On the coast their greatest loss was the capture of Goa by the Musalmáns in 1470.³ Formerly trade was distributed among the different Kánara ports, but, after the Musalmán conquest, trade was compelled to centre at Goa. In 1479 the old Musalmán traders of Honávar migrated to Goa and were so important an addition that the new, now the old or Musalmán, town of Goa was built to receive them.⁴ According to the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan about 1474, the king of Bidar attacked the very powerful Hindu prince Kadam and took his capital Bicheneghur, a vast city surrounded by three forts and crossed by a river. In the capture 20,000 people were killed.⁵ It was perhaps in consequence of the ill-fortune of Mallikárjuna and Virupáksha that in 1479 the old family was set aside and a new dynasty founded by Narasa or Narsingh. According to one account Narsingh (1479-1487) was the slave of the last king Virupáksha; according to another account he was a chief of Telingana; and according to a third of Tulav or South Kánara. He is said to have been a Yádav of the family of Krishna Ráya and the son of Shekhara and Bukkama. His conquests extended over the whole of the south and he is said to have founded Seringapatam in Maisur. Narsingh was succeeded by Vira Narsingh or Narsingh II. who ruled from 1487 to 1508 and from whom the early Portuguese called the whole of Southern India the kingdom of Narsinga.⁶ Of Narsingh Buchanan

¹ Major's India in the XVth Century, 41.

² Elliot and Dowson, IV. 103-125; Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 1-49.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 485.

⁴ Commentaries of Dalboquerque, II. xcix. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 130) Goa belonged to the Moors of Honávar before it was taken by the Bahmanis.

⁵ Major's India in the XVth Century, IV. 29.

⁶ It is doubtful whether there were two rulers of the name of Narsingh. Dr.

records the following grants from Kánara: In the temple of Dháreshvar, about six miles south of Kumta, in 1499 (S. 1422) a copper-plate grant by Deva Ráya Wodeyar Trilochia which is said to be a name of the Vijayanagar kings because they governed the Telugus, Tamils, and Karnátakas;¹ also in the temple of Dháreshvar in 1501 an order from Trinetra Solva Narasingha Náyaka, king of three seas and of Anegundi to Devarasu Wodeyar to grant lands to Bráhmans;² also in the same place and date, a grant by Solva Deva Ráya Wodeyar Rája of Nagar that is Vijayanagar, Haiga, Tulav, and Konkana. At Beidaru or Bednur Buchanan also found an inscription dated 1506 (S. 1429) in the reign of Jebila Narasingha Ráya, the great king of Vijayanagar in which Kedali Basvapa Aisa Wodeyar was appointed Rayada of Barkaru with orders to restore the lands of the gods and of Bráhmans.³ It seems also to have been during the reign of Narsingh in 1499 (S. 1422) that Sadáshiv Náyak, the founder of the family of Kilidi, Ikkeri, or Bednur was placed in power on the southern borders of North Kánara.⁴

During the reign of Narsingh II. an event occurred which deeply affected the future of the Vijayanagar territories on the Kánara coast. Vasco da Gama sighted Mount Dely in South Kánara on the 26th of August 1498.⁵ On his return from the Malabár coast, which he had been forced to leave before the proper season, Vasco da Gama stopped at the islands off Kundápur now named the St. Mary Isles, and with the approval of the people, whose friendship he won by the gift of shirts and other articles, set up a cross and called the island El Padron de Sancta Maria.⁶ He next called at Anjidiv and remained there from about the 25th of November to the 10th of December. The Portuguese were greatly pleased with Anjidiv. There were good water-springs and the upper part of the island had a fine stone cistern. There was also much wood. The only person on the island was a Musalmán beggar or Jogi who lived on rice and herbs which he received from passing boats.⁷ While the Portuguese were on the island they were supplied with fish, fowls, and vegetables by fishermen who lived on a river about a mile distant, named Cintacola, that is Chitakul, now Sadáshivgad, at the mouth of the Aliga or Kálinadi river.⁸ The news that Portuguese ships were anchored at Anjidiv spread along the coast. From Honávar a corsair named Timoja, that is Timmaya, came with eight boats covered with branches, so that they looked like a floating island, in the hope of surprising them; but his boats were met and scattered by the Portuguese artillery.⁹ When

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Burnell (Dravidian Paleography, 55) carries on Virupáksha the last of the earlier dynasty to 1490. The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 399) says the throne was usurped by Narsingh, after whom the city was called Narsingh instead of Bisnagar.

¹ Mysore, III. 164.

² Mysore, III. 164.

³ Mysore, III. 109.

⁴ Mysore, III. 254.

⁵ Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, lxxx.

⁶ Castanheda in Kerr's Voyages, II. 385. The St. Mary Isles are about twenty miles south of Bhatkal.

⁷ Castanheda's fuller account is given under Places of Interest.

⁸ Vasco da Gama's Three Voyages, 242-244.

⁹ Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, 244. Castanheda says these boats belonged to the Zamorin. Kerr's Voyages, II. 336.

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news of the strange ships reached Goa, Sabayo, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur, but it was more probably the Sabayo's local governor, ordered a Musalmán Jew, who was at the head of his navy, to take some boats, find out who the strangers were, and if possible bring them prisoners to Goa. The Jew hid his vessels near the mouth of the Kálinadi. But the Portuguese were warned by their friends the Hindu fishermen, and when the Jew in a small boat passed their ships as if by accident and hailed them in Castilian, they appeared to be delighted and persuaded him to come on board. When the Jew was secured, Vasco da Gama flogged him for his treachery, and then with the Jew's help destroyed the Goa boats and carried him to Portugal, where he was baptised under the name of Gasper da Gama.¹ When Vasco da Gama returned in 1503 he saw near Anjidiv some thievish craft belonging to Timmaya of Honávar, a great sea-robber who paid part of the plunder to the king of Gersappa who ruled the country.² The pirate boats were pursued into the Honávar river. On entering the river the Portuguese were attacked from palisades by small guns and arrows. They forced a landing, and the people fled leaving some vessels on the beach laden with goods which the Portuguese burned. They then went on by another creek to Honávar town which was large and had many fighting men. They fell on it, and, as the people fled, burnt the town and all that was in it. Next day they reached the port of Bhatkal. Here were many Moorish ships, because this was a great place for loading rice, iron, and sugar, which were sent to all parts of India. They found cannon planted on a wall upon a rock at the bar and the people threw stones at the ships. They pushed on, and landing drove the Moors from some wharfs leaving behind them large quantities of rice and sugar. The Portuguese returned to their boats and went up the river to the town. On their way they were met by an envoy from the Bhatkal chief who had been sent to declare his master's willingness to submit to the Portuguese. Da Gama said that he had no wish to

¹ Three Voyages, 244, 246, 253. Castanheda's version is somewhat different. According to him Vasco was ashore cleaning the bottom of his ship when the stranger arrived. He came and embraced them all and professed to be an Italian Christian. Gasper seems to have come back to India with Cabral in August 1500. See Kerr's Voyages, II. 387, 390, 405. According to Varthema (1505, Badger's Edition, 116) the captain of Goa at this time was a Mameluke, that is a Greek or Circassian Musalmán of Christian birth, and 400 of the garrison were Mamelukes. Of the condition of the people the only reference that has been traced in the account of the first voyage is that the Moor merchants were rich, but the people of the country had no profit or income, only enough to keep them in life. Three Voyages, 154. This applied to Malabár rather than to Kánara.

² Gasper Correa (Three Voyages, 309) calls Timmaya a foreign Moor. He seems to have been a Hindu. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese trade was much troubled by pirates. Some from Goa, taken by the Portuguese in 1498 at Chitakul, had javelins, long swords, large bucklers of board covered with hide, very light and long bows, and broad-pointed cane arrows. Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, 252. Others from Honávar in the same year are described as ornamented with flags and streamers, beating drums and sounding trumpets, and filled with rowers. Kerr's Voyages, II. 387. Further south, the pirates of Porca on the Malabár coast in 1514 had small vessels called *katurs* like brigantines easily rowed. They went with bows and arrows and so crowded round any ship they found becalmed, that they made it surrender by shooting arrows. They took the vessel and set the people safe on shore, and what they stole they shared with the lord of the country. Stanley's Barbosa, 17.

harm them and would make a treaty on four conditions: that the chief paid tribute, did not trade in pepper, brought no Turks, and had no dealings with Kalikat. The chief said he could not pay a money tribute, but would give a thousand loads of common and 500 loads of fine rice a year. He could give no more because he was a tenant of the king of Vijayanagar to whom the country belonged. When Da Gama was satisfied that these statements were true he received the rice and confirmed the treaty.¹ In 1505 Dom Francisco d' Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy, built a fort at Anjidiv, set a garrison of eighty men in it, and left two brigantines to protect trade.² While Almeida was at Anjidiv building the fort, ambassadors came from Honávar bringing presents and a friendly message from the chief. Several merchants also waited on him, and Moors brought presents from Chitakul or Cintacora, where the Bijápur king had lately built a fort and garrisoned it with 800 men. From Anjidiv Almeida went to Honávar, and being ill-received, attacked it. The people defended themselves bravely and discharged prodigious showers of arrows by one of which Almeida was wounded. Both the town and the ships took fire and the Portuguese for a time were much troubled by the smoke. Lourenco, the viceroy's son, who was afterwards (1508) killed in the great fight with the Egyptian and Gujarát fleets at Cheul in Kolába, made a circuit through the woods to get behind the town. He came across a detachment of the enemy and was on the point of being defeated, when his father came to his help. Timmaya, the governor of the city and the owner of several ships, came out and made excuses for his chief. As he was a man of graceful manners and appearance, and as he engaged that his master should become a vassal of the Portuguese, Almeida agreed to make a treaty.³ During the same year (1505) an ambassador from Narsingh, who styled himself king of kings and over-lord of the king of Honávar, reached the Portuguese viceroy at Kánanur.⁴ The viceroy gave him a prompt audience on board one of his ships. The ambassador said that his master was anxious to come to any agreement which would favour trade between his subjects and the Portuguese. He gave the viceroy leave to build a fort in any port of his dominions except at Bhatkal, because he had ceded Bhatkal to another. Finally, to tighten the bond of union between him and the king of Portugal, he offered his sister, a princess of rare beauty, in marriage to the prince of Portugal. These words were accompanied by very rich presents.⁵

Of the district of Kánara and of its over-lord Narsingh of Vijayanagar, the Italian traveller Varthema, who was in Kánara about 1503, gives interesting particulars.⁶ He mentions that

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The Portuguese,
1500-1510.*Varthema,*
1503.

¹ Vasco da Gama's Three Voyages, 310-312.

² Castanheda in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 79. The early Portuguese fleets found Anjidiv a most convenient station for watering and refitting. Details are given under Anjidiv.

³ Kerr's Voyages, VI. 80.

⁴ According to Cardinal Luiz (Os. Portuguezos, Lisbon, 1848, I. 66) the Vijayanagar ambassador came to Anjidiv. But two embassies are not likely to have been sent.

⁵ Os. Portuguezos, II. 139, 140.

⁶ Varthema's dates are difficult to follow. Mr. Badger fixes his time in Kánara at 1505, p. 177.

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Centacula, that is Chitakul, had a pagan lord who was not very rich. In the city were many Moorish merchants, and a great quantity of cow-beef, much rice, and the usual good Indian fruit. The people were tawny, and went naked, barefoot, and bareheaded. The lord was subject to the king of Bathacala that is Bhatkal. Next to Chitakul was Anzediv or Anjidiv, an island half a mile from the mainland and inhabited by Moors and pagans. The water was excellent but the air was not wholesome, nor was the island fertile. There was a good harbour between the island and the mainland.¹ A day from Anjidiv was Onor or Honávar whose king was a pagan and subject to king Narsingh. He was a good fellow, a great friend of the Portuguese, who went naked except a cloth round his middle, and had seven or eight ships which were always cruising about. The air was perfect and the people long-lived. There were wild hogs, stags, wolves, lions, and many strange birds, and many peacocks and parrots. They had beef of cows, that is red cows, and sheep in abundance. There was a great deal of rice, and roses, flowers and fruit flourished throughout the year.² Bathacala or Bhatkal was a very noble city, five days distant from the Deccan. It was a walled city, very beautiful, about a mile from the sea, along a small river which was the only approach and passed close to the walls. There was no sea-port. The king who was a pagan was subject to king Narsingh. The people were idolators after the manner of the people of Kalikat.³ There were also many Moorish merchants who lived according to the Muhammadan religion. It was a district of great traffic with quantities of rice and abundance of sugar, especially of sugarcandied according to the Italian manner. There were few horses, mules, or asses, but there were cows, buffaloes, sheep, oxen, and goats. There was no grain, barley, or vegetables, but nuts and figs after the manner of Kalikat and the other usual excellent fruits of India.⁴ Varthema went from Kánanur fifteen days east to Bisinegar that is Vijayanagar. He describes the city as belonging to the king of Narsinga very large and strongly walled. It stood on the side of a mountain with three circles of walls, the outmost circle seven miles round. The site was beautiful, the air the best ever seen, and round the city were hunting places and fowling places. It seemed a second paradise. The land was rich and there was much trade and every delicacy. The king and all his kingdom were idolators, worshipping the devil in the same way as the people of Kalikat. He was the richest king Varthema ever heard of. His Bráhmans said he had £4000 (*Pardaos* 12,000) a day. He was always at war. He had 40,000 horsemen, whose horses were worth £100 to £266 (*Pardaos* 300-800) for horses were scarce, 400 elephants, and some dromedaries. He was a great friend of the

¹ Badger's Varthema, 120.

² Varthema, 121-122.

³ Varthema (Badger, 151) noticed at Kalikat a very great number of merchants from Bathacala or Bhatkal.

⁴ Badger's Varthema, 119-120. Mr. Badger takes these details as applying to Baitkul, that is Kárwár. It is true that Varthema, who was travelling south, mentions Bathacala before he mentions Chitakul, Anjidiv, or Honávar. It is also true that he makes the chief of Chitakul subject to the king of Bathacala. Still the want of a port, the mile up the river, the walled town, the likeness to Kalikat, and the five days from the Deccan, all suit Bhatkal, and do not suit Baitkul cove near Kárwár.

Christians, and the Portuguese did him much honour. He wore a cap of gold brocade, and when he went to war a quilted dress of cotton with an over-garment full of golden piastres and hung with jewels. The ornaments on his horse were worth more than an Italian city. He rode out with three or four kings, many lords, and five or six thousand horse. The men of condition wore cloth of gold on their head and a short shirt; their feet were bare. The common people were naked except a cloth round the middle. Travelling was everywhere safe except in some places from lions.¹ In his review of India at the time of the establishment of Portuguese power on the Kánara coast, Faria mentions Onor that is Honávar and Baticale that is Bhatkal. He also mentions the river of Centacola that is Chitakul opposite Anjidiv.²

In 1506 the Sabaia, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) of Bijápur,³ sent a fleet of sixty sail against Anjidiv under a renegade Portuguese Antonio Fernando, who had taken the Musalmán name of Abdulla. The Portuguese garrison, whose commander was Passauqia a noble Genoese, though ill-equipped and taken by surprise, defended the island with such gallantry that Abdulla withdrew. Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy, seeing how liable it was to attack and how large a garrison it required, ordered the Anjidiv fort to be destroyed.⁴ In 1508 Portuguese ships are mentioned as going to get cloves at Baticala or Bhatkal, a fortress ninety miles south of Goa.⁵ In this year the Portuguese were threatened by the joint fleets of Egypt and Gujarát, and they are said to have owed to Timmaya timely news of the movements of the Egyptian fleet. Towards the close of 1508 the Egyptian and Gujarát fleets defeated the Portuguese at the mouth of the Cheul river. Though victorious they suffered severely, and partly from the well-founded suspicions of the Gujarát king that the Egyptians were likely to prove not less dangerous enemies than the Portuguese, the fleets withdrew to Diu and in February 1509 were totally defeated by the Portuguese viceroy Dom Luiz d'Almeida. In reward for his faithfulness in warning them of the movements of the Egyptian fleet, the Portuguese agreed to help Timmaya to attack his rival the chief of Bhatkal. When the Portuguese reached Honávar they found that the quarrel was over and their services were not required. King Narsingh was dead and his son Krishna (1508-1542), after his installation, had come to Gokarn to weigh himself against gold. Out of respect for their over-lord the rival chiefs had stayed their quarrel.⁶

Krishna Ráya succeeded in 1508 and ruled apparently till 1542. According to one account he was a younger son, and according to another account an illegitimate son of Narsingh. The mother of the elder son is said to have persuaded Narsingh to order Krishna

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Krishna Ráya,
1508-1542.

¹ Badger's Varthema, 125-131.

² Kerr's Voyages, VI. 83, 86.

³ Faria knew that the origin of the Ali Adil title Sabayo, that is Savaí, was Sava in Persia where Yusuf the founder was brought up. Kerr, VI. 130; compare Briggs' Ferishta, III, 8.

⁴ Castanheda in Kerr, VI. 9; Baldaus, 95, 96. In the Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, p. 231, a saying of Almeida's is quoted, 'I built the castle of Kánanur and dismantled Anjidiv.'

⁵ Commentaries of Dalboquerque, II. 53

⁶ Mr. Mack's History.

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1508-1542.

Ráya's death, but his life was saved by his father's minister Timma Rája whose talents afterwards added greatly to the success of Krishna Ráya's reign.¹

Of Krishna Ráya's rule in Kánara Buchanan records the following inscriptions: A stone grant found in Gokarn dated 1519 (S. 1442) by Ratnappa Wodeyar and Vijayappa Wodeyar of Barkaru, feudatories of Sri Vira Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar;² an inscription at Baidara or Bednur, dated 1523 (S. 1445) in the time of Devarasu Wodeyar Rája of Sanghitapura, the son of Sanga Ráya Wodeyar, an under-lord of Krishna Ráya, the chief of rájás in wealth, a king equal to Parmeshvar;³ a grant to the village accountant of Gokarn dated 1529 (S. 1452) by Mahámandaleshvar Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar, king of Vijayanagar, Haiva, Tulava, and Konkan;⁴ at Gokarn a copper-plate land grant dated 1527 (S. 1450) by Krishna Ráya⁵ and in 1539 (S. 1462) at Dháreshvar about six miles south of Kumta a grant by Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar Trilochia.⁶ According to Mr. Rice, probably at no time in the history of the south did any of its political divisions equal in extent and power the Vijayanagar of Krishna Ráya. About 1520 he severely defeated the Muhammadans, and for long after the defeat a good understanding prevailed between the courts of Vijayanagar and Bijápur.⁷ He kept possession of all the country up to the Krishna; eastwards he captured Warangal and ascended to Cuttack where he married the daughter of the chief. He was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature and had eight poets at his court.⁸ Besides being a successful warrior Krishna is believed to have made an excellent land revenue settlement in Maisur and in the Karnátak. Buchanan mentions the tradition,⁹ and, in support of it, records that revenue papers in the possession of a Bráhman accountant at Gokarn showed a revenue settlement in lands near

¹ Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 231) notices as a serious difficulty that in Krishna's grants the name of Achyuta Ráya also occurs. He seems to incline to the opinion that both names refer to Krishna Ráya. According to Dr. Burnell, Krishna's reign ended in 1530 and Achyuta ruled from 1534 to 1542. Caldwell's Tinnevely, 46. One of Buchanan's inscriptions given in the text, if accurate, shows that Krishna was ruling in 1539 (S. 1462).

² Mysore, III. 171.

³ Mysore, III. 109. Sanghitapura is the modern Hadwali, about twelve miles east of Bhatkal. ⁴ Mysore, III. 171.

⁵ Mysore, III. 168.

⁶ Mysore, III. 164.

⁷ Of this great victory the Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 179) gives the following details. In 1520, Krishnaráo, king of Vijayanagar, collected 35,000 horse, 730,000 foot, and 586 elephants with 12,000 water-carriers and 20,000 dancing-girls, to recover the great castle of Rachol, that is Raichur, which Bijápur had taken from him. Adil Sháh came to relieve Raichur, but was defeated and forced to fly, forty Portuguese in his army fighting with great valour. Krishnaráo pressed the siege but with no success till Christopher de Fiqueredo and twenty Portuguese came with horses. Fiqueredo asked the king if he might attempt to assault the fort. Krishnaráo agreed and the second assault being well backed by the Vijayanagar troops, was successful. Soon after Adil Sháh sent an embassy to Krishnaráo, asking for the restoration of prisoners and plunder. Krishnaráo agreed on condition that Adil Sháh would acknowledge his supreme authority as Emperor of Kánara and come to kiss his foot. This degrading condition was accepted but its performance was delayed. Meanwhile Ray de Melo, who commanded in Goa, taking advantage of the decline of Bijápur power, took part of the country near the isle of Goa.

⁸ Rice, I. 230; Tinnevely Manual, 48. According, apparently to inscriptions (Rice's Mysore, I. 230), Krishna conquered as far as Sálsette. This must mean the Portuguese possessions in Goa. Goa Sálsette formerly included a much larger tract of land than it now includes. Dr. G. Da Cunha. See below p. 115, 116.

⁹ Mysore, I. 263.

Mirján which, according to tradition, dated from the time of Krishna Ráya.¹ An inscription near Balagámve, across the Maisur border from Banavási, records that the government demands from the country between Nagar and Vereda had been settled by a Jain officer during the reign of Krishna Ráyarú.² Mr. Rice also notices that the Vijayanagar kings introduced a regular system of land revenue into Maisur,³ and from the inquiries he made on taking possession of Kánara in 1799, Sir T. Munro came to the conclusion that under the Vijayanagar kings Kánara enjoyed remarkable prosperity. Land was valuable and much sought after.⁴ Mr. Rice quotes from a paper in the Mackenzie Collection the following account of the revenue management of the Vijayanagar territory: To improve the revenue the Government advanced money to small landholders that they might add to their stock and spread tillage. They repaired ponds and water-channels and dug wells. They granted leases to heads of villages and helped them to induce people from neighbouring states to settle and till waste lands. The growth of articles valued in trade was encouraged. Seeds and plants were procured and the people were taught how to grow sugar, indigo, and opium. Traders were encouraged to settle by the grant of advances, and in times of peace the state cattle were used to carry grain from outlying parts to trade centres.⁵

Though at first he seems to have been less well disposed to the Portuguese than his father, Krishna Ráya maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. It was beyond doubt greatly owing to Portuguese horses, weapons, and artillerymen that he was so successful in his wars with Bijápúr, the deadly enemy of Portuguese power. Towards the close of 1508, the year of Krishna Ráya's succession, the great Afonso Dalboquerque, the conqueror of Goa, Ormuz, and Malacca, and the establisher of Portuguese supremacy in the eastern seas, came to India. Almeida, the former viceroy, a great warrior and lover of power, was very unwilling to make way for Dalboquerque and he did not actually become viceroy till November 1509.⁶ Soon after his arrival Timmaya of Honávar waited on Dalboquerque and tried to induce him to attack Goa.⁷

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¹ Under this settlement government took one-half of the estimated produce of gardens and one-fourth of rice land. There was a shop-tax and no house-tax. Prices seemed to have been much the same at the time of the settlement as they were in 1800. Buchanan, III, 171, 172.

² Buchanan's Mysore, III, 234.

³ Rice's Mysore, I, 471.

⁴ Munro to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800.

⁵ Rice's Mysore, I, 479-480. The truth of this account may perhaps be doubted. It seems closely to correspond to what Bishop Caldwell describes (Tinnevely Manual, 55) as narratives from the Mackenzie Collection, little better than pure invention, dating from the beginning of the present century and attributing to an early ruler the characteristics and aims of a good English Collector. Whether Bishop Caldwell is correct or not in his estimate of these papers, Sir T. Munro has shown beyond doubt (Life, I, 65) that very moderate rents were introduced into Kánara early in the fourteenth century and were not raised till after the overthrow of Vijayanagar power. The Kánara rates seem to have been fixed specially low because of the difficulty of the country, its distance from head-quarters, and the turbulence of its people. In the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar the land rates were much higher (Munro's Life, I, 63, 64).

⁶ Faria in Kerr, VI, 126.

⁷ Com. Dalb. II, 53. Faria (Kerr, VI, 129) describes Timmaya as a powerful pirate who was anxious to be friendly with the Portuguese because he had been spoiled of his inheritance.

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At the close of 1509 or early in 1510 Dalboquerque sent two ambassadors to king Krishna at Vijayanagar, Frey Luiz a Franciscan friar and Gasper Chanoco, proposing an offensive and defensive league against Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur, offering a monopoly of the horse trade between Ormuz and Bhatkal, and asking leave to build a fort at Bhatkal.¹

In 1510, when Afonso Dalboquerque was at Mirján on his way to Sokotra in the hope of destroying the power and trade of the Turks in the Red Sea, he was met by Timmaya who dissuaded him from going to seek the Moors at Sokotra when he had them at hand in Goa.² Yusuf Adil Sháh was dead and Goa was dead with him. The place was not strong, the defenders were few, the Portuguese fleet could easily pass the Goa bar as there was twenty-one feet of water at high tide. In consequence of Timmaya's advice Dalboquerque changed his course and bore down on the castle of Chitakul (25th February 1510). As they were casting anchor Timmaya came with thirteen boats and a large body of men from Honávar. Timmaya renewed his assurance that the king of Goa was dead, the place poorly defended, the garrison in arrears, and the people discontented. Dalboquerque called his captains and they agreed that Goa should be attacked. Timmaya sent men by land who fell upon the fortress of Chitakul in which was a commandant and a body of men. This fortress was on the bank of the river which divided Honávar from Goa. The garrison fled and Timmaya's men threw down part of the fort, set fire to the buildings, and carried off some pieces of artillery which the Turks had placed there.³ On the 1st of March (1510) the Portuguese captured the fort of Panjim close by the entrance of the Goa bar, and two days later the town and fort were surrendered without further struggle.⁴ Within a year or two before its capture by Dalboquerque the strength and importance of Goa had greatly increased. According to the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was minutely acquainted with the west coast of India between 1500 and 1514, the Sabayur Delcani, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) of Bijápur, was very fond of Goa and at one time thought of making it his head-quarters. Under him it was a great place of trade with many Moors, white men, and rich merchants, and many great gentile merchants. To its good port flocked ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay, and the Malabár country. Sabayur Delcani lived much in Goa and kept there his captain and men-at-arms, and without his leave no one went out or in by land or by sea. The town was large with goodly buildings and handsome streets and a fine fortress. There were many mosques and Hindu temples. After the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Diu in 1509 Sabayur called all the Rumis, that is

¹ Com. Dalb. II. lxx. ; Os. Port. III. 26. Mr. Mack calls Gasper, one of the ambassadors, a converted Jew of Bhatkal. If this is correct he probably was the Jew admiral of Goa who was taken by Vasco da Gama in 1499 and made a Christian under the name of Gasper. (See above p. 102). To the conditions mentioned in the text Mr. Mack adds a provision that Krishna should show favour to the Christian religion.

² Com. Dalb. II. 86.

³ Faria in Kerr, VI. 129.

⁴ Com. Dalb. II. 89, 91 ; Faria in Kerr, VI. 131.

Turks and Mámelukes, to him and treated them with great honour.¹ He hoped with their help to defeat the Portuguese. Much money was collected, great ships and handsome European-like galleys and brigantines were built, and much artillery of brass and iron was prepared. When the preparations were well advanced they set out and took all native craft that plied under a Portuguese pass.²

After the surrender of Goa Dalboquerque made liberal arrangements for the land revenue, reducing the amount by fifty per cent and entrusting the collection to Hindus under Portuguese supervision.³ In April he sent Diogo Fernandes de Beja with 200 men to rebuild Chitakul and remain there. But Diogo found the fort too ruined to be held and went back to Goa.⁴ Before two months were over reports reached Goa that Adil Sháh had collected a great army for the recovery of Goa and that the advance guard was already close at hand. In May 1510 the main body of the Bijápur army entered Goa territory by the pass of Agáshi.⁵ The fort was attacked and after a siege of twenty-one days Dalboquerque was forced to withdraw to his ships.⁶

About this time a letter reached Dalboquerque from king Beisore, perhaps Basvaráj of Gersappa saying that king Krishna had written that Bijápur was seeking his alliance against the Portuguese; that Krishna had refused saying that Bijápur had robbed him of Goa and he was delighted that his friends the Portuguese should hold it; that he meant to help the Portuguese to keep the place; and that he had told the Gersappa chief to give the Portuguese any assistance he could. The Gersappa chief declared his readiness to help the Portuguese with his own body and with all the resources of his kingdom.⁷

Timmaya had hoped that when the Portuguese took Goa they would hand it to him. To this Dalboquerque would not agree, and though he treated him with courtesy and made him the chief man in the kingdom of Goa, Timmaya was disappointed. And when he saw that as soon as the main body of the Bijápur troops entered Goa the Portuguese had to take to their ships (20th May 1510), he began to doubt whether he had been wise in allying himself with them.⁸ He wrote to king Krishna to say that if he brought a strong force he and not the Portuguese would be masters of Goa.⁹ After abandoning the fort of Goa the Portuguese spent the rest of June and part of July in their ships in the Goa river. On the 21st of July Dalboquerque attempted to cross the bar; but it was still too stormy and he was not able to leave till the 15th of August.¹⁰ At sunset, on the day they started, the Portuguese were cheered by

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¹ Rumi, properly an inhabitant of Anatolia in Asia Minor, in this case is Mameluke rather than Turk. There were Europeans in the Egyptian fleet at Diu as the Portuguese found books in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese. Faria in Kerr, VI. 119.

² Stanley's Barbosa, 74-77.

³ Com. Dalb. II. 127.

⁴ Com. Dalb. II. 135.

⁵ Com. Dalb. II. 125. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 133) one detachment of the Bijápur army was commanded by the mother and women of the Bijápur king who maintained their troops out of the gains of 4000 prostitutes who followed the army.

⁶ Faria in Kerr, VI. 133.

⁷ Com. Dalb. II. 139.

⁸ Com. Dalb. II. 105, 106.

⁹ Com. Dalb. III. 36.

¹⁰ Com. Dalb. II. cxxvi.

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falling in with a fresh fleet of five vessels from Portugal, and together anchored at Anjidiv on the 17th August.¹ Dalboquerque sailed on to Honávar on the 19th. At Honávar he found Braz Vieira, the officer he had placed in command of Chitakul, who, as he could not return to Goa on account of the Bijápur army, had made his way by land to Honávar. Timmaya, who was also in Honávar, came on board with the welcome news that as soon as the Deccan army had withdrawn from Goa the people of the country had risen and driven out the Bijápur posts. Dalboquerque sailed on to Kánanur, promising to return and once more drive the Musalmáns out of Goa.²

In September an envoy was sent to Bhatkal to make a treaty with the chief on two conditions, the payment of a yearly tribute of 2000 bags (84,000 lbs.) of rice, and leave to build a house for a Portuguese factor.³ The envoy was also ordered to deliver a letter to Timmaya telling him that Dalboquerque was making preparations for the attack on Goa, that with the help of Timmaya and of the chief of Gersappa he was confident of success, and that he sent two Portuguese officers and some Portuguese soldiers to captain and support the Hindus who were to wage war with Goa.⁴ Lourenco Moreno, Dalboquerque's envoy, found the Bhatkal chief disinclined to accept Dalboquerque's proposed treaty, saying that he could do nothing without the leave of the Vijayanagar king. Timmaya and the Gersappa chief, on the other hand, were busy making ready and intended to help the Portuguese in their expedition against Goa.⁵ This news reached Dalboquerque at Kánanur early in October.⁶ When preparations were completed, on his way north to Goa, Dalboquerque called at Honávar, and was there met by the chief of Gersappa and Timmaya who, according to one account was being married to the daughter of the queen.⁷ Dalboquerque explained to them his determination to regain Goa and expected Timmaya to accompany him. But on their way north at Anjidiv they found that Timmaya held back.⁸ Towards the end of November Dalboquerque entered the Goa river and by the 25th of the month had driven the Bijápur troops out of the city and island.⁹ When the city submitted it was strengthened with a castle and yielded a yearly revenue of 20,000 ducats. There was much trade with Malabár, Cheul, Dábul, Cambay, and Diu, and a large traffic in horses.¹⁰ In this year, apparently after the second conquest of Goa, Merlao that is Malhárráo, the chief of Honávar, was ousted by a younger brother and retired to his uncle at Bhatkal. Dalboquerque upheld Malhárráo and sent ships to bring him from Bhatkal and men to meet him at Cintacora that is Chitakul.¹¹ The

¹ Com. Dalb. II. 199-200. Another account (Ditto, lxxxvii.) says they retired to Chitakul.

² Com. Dalb. II. 201-203. ³ Com. Dalb. III. 226-227. ⁴ Com. Dalb. II. 226-228.

⁵ Com. Dalb. II. 241. These preparations seem to have been for the benefit of Krishnaráy not of Dalboquerque. ⁶ Com. Dalb. II. cxxvi. 241.

⁷ Com. Dalb. III. 2; Faria in Kerr, VI. 135.

⁸ Com. Dalb. III. 3, 7.

⁹ Timmaya came too late to be of service. Mádhavráo, the nephew of the Honávar chief, who was in command of three vessels of Timmaya's, greatly distinguished himself. Faria in Kerr, VI. 146.

¹⁰ Stanley's Barbosa, 74-77.

¹¹ Com. Dalb. III. 26.

brother tried to stop Malhárráo on his way at Caribal, perhaps Kadvad or Kárwár, and at Ankola, but failed.¹ At Goa, on his agreeing to pay £3000 (*Pardaos* 40,000) a year, Dalboquerque appointed Malhárráo manager of the Goa territory.² Before the close of the year (1510), Dalboquerque received letters from Fray Luiz at Vijayanagar. He had been well received by all except by the king. He found the king collecting troops and intending to march towards the west coast, apparently on the advice of Timmaya and the Gersappa chief, who had written to say that if the king brought a strong force he and not the Portuguese might hold Goa.³ The king and his advisers seemed to incline towards an alliance with Adil Sháh. At least they were unwilling to commit themselves by an alliance with the Portuguese. On hearing how matters stood, Dalboquerque ordered Fray Luiz to return to Goa. He opened negotiations with Ismail Adil Sháh (1510-1534), as his object was to sow dissension among the native chiefs by offering each of them friendship and a monopoly of the horse trade. As soon as the news of the second capture of Goa (25th November) reached Vijayanagar, the king sent ambassadors to Goa. Dalboquerque refused to receive them saying that as he had no answer to his embassy he could come to no terms. Hearing from his ambassadors that Dalboquerque had made friendly offers to Bijápur, Krishna at once sent a fresh embassy to Dalboquerque with power to conclude a treaty of friendship and arrange about the trade in horses. The ambassadors brought word that Fray Luiz had been killed by a Turk and it was reported that Adil Sháh had ordered his murder.⁴ Dalboquerque received the ambassadors graciously and concluded a treaty with Krishna.

In the following year (1511), when the affairs of Goa were in order, Dalboquerque sailed for Malacca, and on the 25th of July 1511⁵ captured that famous port, then one of the chief centres of trade in the east. In Dalboquerque's absence Ismáil Adil Sháh attacked Malhárráo, the manager of the Goa lands, defeated him, and forced him and Timmaya to fly to Vijayanagar, where they were well received. Timmaya soon after died, and Malhárráo became chief of Honávar and remained staunch to the Portuguese.⁶ The Bijápur troops continued to invest Goa till the 15th of August 1512, when, on Dalboquerque's return from Malacca, they were driven out of the Portuguese territory.⁷ While Dalboquerque was absent in Malacca (1511-1512) an ambassador came from Vijayanagar with Gasper Chanoca whom Dalboquerque had sent there just before leaving for Malacca. The ambassador, finding Dalboquerque had left, returned to Vijayanagar. At the close of 1512, when the affairs of Goa were settled, Dalboquerque once more sent Gasper to king Krishna and asked him to grant a

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¹ Com. Dalb. III. 27.

² Com. Dalb. 27-28. He is styled governor of the Nequibares, apparently of the Náikwáris or Goanese Hindus who in another passage (Dalb. III. 21) are described as princely men and captains of Hindus. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 136) Timmaya was made governor and Mádhavráo was his deputy.

³ Com. Dalb. III. 36. ⁴ Com. Dalb. III. viii. and 38. ⁵ Com. Dalb, III. 120, 124.

⁶ Com. Dalb. III. 188.

⁷ Com. Dalb. III. 204-242 and xliii. ; Faria in Kerr, VI. 146.

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house in Bhatkal, promising in return to send to Vijayanagar all horses that came to Goa. Afonso did not trust in the king of Vijayanagar, but he had faith in the chief of Gersappa, and had been told by the king of Portugal to strive to keep on good terms with the Vijayanagar king as he was a Hindu.¹ Three days later an embassy came from Vengapur, that is Bankápur in Dhárwár,² to congratulate Dalboquerque on his success at Goa. The ambassadors brought sixty beautifully trapped horses and asked that they might have the management of the lands of Goa and that they might have 300 horses a year. Dalboquerque gave them the horses because the chief was a useful ally as his land was a safe road to Vijayanagar and his people were skilful saddle-makers.³

Kánara,
1514.

About the time when Portuguese power was firmly established in Goa, the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa gave the following account of Kánara and of its over-lord the king of Narsinga. He calls the coast of Vijayanagar the kingdom of Tulinat that is Tulavnád and describes it as containing many rivers and sea-ports with much trade and shipping and many rich merchants. He mentions four places on the Kánara coast, Cintacola or Chitakul, Mergéo river or Mirján, Honor or Honávar, and Batecala or Bhatkal. Chitakul was on the north of the river Aliga, that is the Kálinadi, which separated the kingdom of Decani or Bijápur from the kingdom of Narsinga or Vijayanagar. Chitakul was a fortress at the mouth of the river on the top of a hill. It belonged to the Zabayo that is Adil Sháh, and for the defence of the country it was always guarded by horse and foot soldiers. South of the Aliga in Vijayanagar or Narsinga's territory was the very large river called Mergéo, which produced a great quantity of common rice. The Malabárs came in their boats bringing cocoanuts, oil, and palm sugar, and taking the cheap rice. Beyond Mergéo, on another river, near the sea, was the good town of Honor which the Malabárs called Povaran.⁴ Many Malabárs came bringing cocoanuts, oil, and palm-molasses, and wine, and took away the cheap brown rice. Thirty miles further, on another small river near the coast, was the large town of Batecala, that is Bhatkal, of very great trade, inhabited by very commercial Moors and Gentiles. The town stood on a level populous country and was without walls. There were many gardens round it, very good estates, with fresh plentiful water. The town paid a yearly tribute to the king of Portugal. The governor, named Damaqueti, probably Dharmakirti, was rich in money and jewels. He called himself king but he ruled in obedience to his uncle the king of Narsing. Many ships gathered from Ormuz to load very good white rice, sugar in powder of which there was much, much iron, and some spices and drugs, of which myrobalans were the chief. Formerly many horses and pearls came to Batikala but they now went to Goa. In spite of the Portuguese some ships went to Aden. The Malabárs brought cocoanuts, palm-sugar, oil, and wine, and some drugs; they took rice,

¹ Com. Dalb. III. 246-247.

² Bankápur is six miles south-east of Shiggaon, the head-quarters of the Bankápur sub-division of Dhárwár.

³ Com. Dalb. III. 248.

⁴ That is Ponavar. H and R change according to the usual Kánarese rule.

sugar, and iron. There was much sale of copper which was used as money and made into caldrons and other pans, and much sale of quicksilver, vermillion, coral, alum, and ivory. Duelling was very common. On account of anything they challenged one another, and the king granted them arms and a field and fixed a time for killing each other and gave each a second to back his man. They fought bare to the waist and below the waist wrapped many folds of cotton cloths tightly round them. Their arms were swords, bucklers, and daggers. They entered the lists with great pleasure, first saying their prayers. In a few passes they killed each other in the presence of the king and many people, no one speaking except the seconds, each of whom encouraged his own man.¹

Inland the great range of hills was full of wild boars, large deer, leopards, ounces, lions, tigers, bears, and ashy animals like horses probably blue bulls. In the hilly parts were several good villages with plenty of water and delicious fruit. The upland plain was fertile and abundantly supplied with many cities, villages, and forts. There was much cultivation of rice and other vegetables and many cows, buffaloes, pigs, goats, sheep, asses, and small ponies. All field work and carrying was done by buffaloes, oxen, asses, and ponies. Almost all the villages were of Gentiles with a few Moors, as some of the lords were Moors. Bijanaquer that is Vijayanagar was on level ground surrounded by a very good wall on one side, a river on a second side, and a mountain on a third side. It was very large and very populous. There were many large and handsome palaces and wide streets and squares. The king, a Gentile called *Raheni*, that is *Ráyalu*, always lived in the city.² He lived very luxuriously and seldom left his palace. He was nearly white, well-made, and had long smooth black hair. The attendance on the king was by women who all lived in the palaces. They sang and played and amused the king in a thousand ways. They bathed daily and the king went to see them bathe and sent to his chamber the one that pleased him most, and the first son he had from any of them inherited the kingdom. Many litters and many horsemen stood at the door of the palace. The king kept 900 elephants each worth 1500 to 2000 ducats and 20,000 horses worth 300 to 600 ducats and some of the choicest worth 1000 ducats.³ The king had more than 100,000 men, horse and foot, and 5000 women in his pay. The women went with the army but did not fight, but their lovers fought for them very vigorously. When the king, which occasionally happened, went in person to war he camped at some distance from the city and ordered all people to join him within a certain number of days. At the end of the days he gave orders to burn the whole city except his palaces and some of the nobles' palaces, that all might go to the war to die with him. Among his knights many

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¹ Stanley's Barbosa, 78-81.

² *Ráyalu* is the Telugu form of the Tamil *Ráyar*, the honorific plural of *Ráy* or king. It seems to explain Moor's remark (Narrative, 183) that the chief of Anegundi was then (1790) called *Rayeel*.

³ Barbosa's ducat is probably the gold *Pardao* or *Pagoda*. Compare Badger's *Varthema*, 115.

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1514.

had come from different parts to take service and did not cease to live in their own creeds. In times of peace the city was filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations. There were very rich local Gentiles, many Moorish merchants and traders, and an infinite number of others from all parts. They dwelt freely and safely in what creed they chose, whether Moor, Christian, or Gentile. The governors observed strict justice and there was an infinite trade. Great quantities of precious stones poured into Vijayanagar, jewels from Pegu, diamonds from the Deccan and also from a Vijayanagar mine, and pearls from Ormuz and from Cael in South India. Silks and brocades were brought from China and Alexandria and much scarlet cloth from Europe, and there was a great import of coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, pepper, opium, sandal and aloewood, camphor, and musk. The Gentiles of the city like the king were fair, well-proportioned, with good Portuguese-like features and long smooth black hair. Among the rich, the men wore a cap of silk or brocade, cloaks of cotton stuff or silk, a short shirt of cotton silk or brocade, a tight waistcloth of many folds, and sandals. Their bodies were anointed with white sandal, aloewood, camphor, musk, and saffron; their ears, necks, wrists, and fingers were covered with jewels; and they were followed by two pages, one carrying a sword, the other an umbrella of silk with gold and jewelled fringes. The women, who were pretty and of a grand presence, wore a robe girt round the waist and the upper end drawn over the shoulder and breast leaving one arm and shoulder bare. The head was bare and on their feet were well-worked leather sandals. Their hair was combed and plaited and in it were many flowers and scents. They had numbers of jewels in the nose and ears, and round the neck, arms, fingers, and waist.¹

When Portuguese power was firmly established a tribute in grain was yearly levied from the small coast chiefs. The river of Chitakul paid 400 to 500 bales of rice; the port of Agrakona two miles north of Gokarn, 300 bales; the river of Ankola, 700 bales; the river of Mirzi, 500 bales; the river of Kombatem that is Kumta, 200 bales; the chief of Honávar, 2000 bales, and the queen of Batikala, 2000 bales.² For some years before 1540 the Gersappa queen seems to have withheld her tribute as on the 2nd of November of that year the viceroy Don Estavao da Gama made a treaty with the queen who agreed to pay 2000 bales of rice a year and 8000 bales for past tribute. She also bound herself not to export pepper.³ Two years later (1542), the queen of Bhatkal withheld her tribute and the viceroy De Souza (1542-1545) wasted her territory with fire and sword.⁴ On Krishna's death in 1542 Ráma Rája of Vijayanagar, probably the son of Timmarája Krishna's minister (1508-1543), assumed control of the kingdom, though he continued to carry on affairs in the name of Sadáshiva Ráya, Krishna's son or nephew, whom he kept in confinement. Rám Rája was a strong and able ruler, whose anxiety to reduce the power of Bijápúr led him in

¹ Stanley, 84-98.

² Subsídios Para a Historia da India Portuguesa : Lisbon, 1868, P. II. 246-248.

³ Subsídios, II. 257-258.

⁴ Mickle's Lusiad, I. clix.

1547 to propose an alliance with the Portuguese. The great Dom João da Castro, who was then viceroy, on the 17th September 1547, received the Vijayanagar ambassador Frarcao, perhaps Parshotam, with much ceremony and an alliance was concluded between the viceroy and Sadáshivráo king of Vijayanagar.¹ The provisions of this treaty were that the Portuguese should send Persian and Arab horses to Vijayanagar and should not let horses go to Bijápur; that the king of Vijayanagar should not allow grain to pass from his kingdom or from the kingdom of Bengnapur that is Bankápur in Dhárwár to the country of Adil Sháh, but that all grain that came for export to Bándá, now in Sávantvádi, should be sent to Honávar and Ankola, where were Portuguese factors, and should be sold to no one but to Portuguese traders; that the king of Vijayanagar should prevent saltpetre and iron passing through Obely that is Hubli to the Bijápur country, and send it to the Portuguese factors at Honávar and Ankola; that the king of Vijayanagar should order that all the cloth that now came from his country to Bándá for export should be brought to the Portuguese factors at Honávar and Ankola, and should there be exchanged with copper, tin, coral, vermilion, mercury, and silk from China and Ormuz, and with other merchandise from Portugal; that if any Turkish ship came to any Vijayanagar port shelter should be refused, and that if any ship entered it should be captured and made over to the Portuguese; that the Portuguese and the Vijayanagar king should together declare war on Adil Sháh; that if land was taken between the Sahyádris and the sea, and between Bándá and the river Chitakul or Sentakora, it should be given to the Portuguese because this territory formerly belonged to Goa; and that all other land that might be captured should be given to Vijayanagar.²

Of this Sadáshivráv, the successor of Krishnaráya, no grants are recorded from Kánara. But Buchanan found at Gokarn, dated 1549 (S. 1472) by Solva Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar, the son of Sedásiva Ráya, and king of Vijayanagar, Haiva, Tulav, and Konkana, the grant to a Gokarn temple of land in the Goa principality, in the Ashtagrám of Sashisti.³ He also records in a temple at Banavási an inscription in the reign of Venkatádri Dev Maháráya dated 1551 (S. 1474),⁴ and in a temple of Dháreshvar near Honávar a grant dated 1557 (S. 1481) of Solva Krishna Devarasu.⁵ After the death of Krishna Ráya (1542) the power of Vijayanagar rapidly declined. Sadáshiva, the son either of Krishna Ráy or of his colleague Achyuta, and his descendants continued nominally to reign till 1573. But they were under the power of Ráma Rája, who is supposed to have been the son of Krishna Ráy's Bráhman minister, Timma Rája. At Vijayanagar there was bitter rivalry between Rám Rája and Tirumala Rája, the uncle of Sadáshiva. At last Tirumala was defeated and committed suicide, and Rám Rája seized the supreme

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Vijayanagar
Kings.
1480-1580.
Da Castro,
1547.

¹ Os Portuguezes, VI. (1850), 25-26.

² Subsídios, II. 255, 257.

³ Mysore, III. 170. Ashtagrám is Ashtagarar, one of the five Portuguese divisions or Panch Maháls. It lies to the south of Sásette and was conquered in 1763 by the Portuguese viceroy Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque from the Sonda chief Savái Inodi Sadáshiv. Dr. G. Da Cunha.

⁴ Mysore, III. 234.

⁵ Mysore, III. 164.

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Vijayanagar
Kings,
1480-1580.
*Sack of
Vijayanagar,
1565.*

*Frederick,
1567.*

power. He was an able ruler, but his arrogance brought on him the united strength of the four Musalmán powers of Bijápur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, and Bedar. This ended in 1565 in the complete overthrow of Rám Rája at Talikot, ten miles south of the Krishna near Ráichur, which was followed by the capture and sack of Vijayanagar, when booty was obtained sufficient to enrich every man in the victorious army.¹ Though the overthrow of the power of Vijayanagar was complete, the jealousy of the two leading Musalmán confederates, the Bijápur and the Ahmadnagar kings, prevented either of them from annexing any part of the conquered territory. A year after the battle, Tirumala Rája, the brother of Rám Rája, returned to the capital. But failing to restore it, he retired to Penukonda about 140 miles to the south-east.² Venkatádri the other brother established himself at Chandragiri in the east or Madras Karnátak. As late as 1576 grants continued to be issued in the name of the nominal sovereign of Vijayanagar.³

In 1567, two years after its sack by the four Musalmán kings of the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bedar, Golkonda, and Bijápur, the Venetian traveller Cæsar Frederick visited Vijayanagar with some horse merchants from Goa. According to Frederick, the country, for thirty years before its conquest by the Musalmáns, had been governed by three tyrant brothers Rámráj, Timmaráj, and Venkatráv. They had been captains of the former king Krishna (1508-1542), and kept his son the rightful king (Sadáshiv Ráy) in prison showing him to the people once a year. Of the three brothers Rámráj sat on the throne and was king, Timmaráj was the civil governor, and Venkatráv was the chief captain. At the battle of Talikot in 1565 Rámráj and Venkatráv were slain, and Timmaráj escaped with the loss of an eye. The wives and children of the three brothers, with the prisoner king, fled from Vijayanagar before the Musalmáns arrived. The Moors stayed in Vijayanagar for six months, searching under houses and in all places for money.⁴ When the Musalmáns were gone, Timmaráj came back and began to re-

¹ Rice Mysore, I. 233.

² Wilks' Mysore, I. 61. Pelagonda is described by the Italian traveller Nicolo Conti, in 1430, as a very noble city eight days from Vijayanagar. Major's India in XVth Century, II. 7.

³ Rice's Mysore, I. 233. Sadáshiva was succeeded by his son Sri Ranga, and continued to rule for eight successions, when they fled before the Moghals to his relations at Chandragiri. Six years later, as Chandragiri was taken by the Golkonda army, he fled to Sivappa Náyak of Bednur who gave him the government of Sakrápatna. Another member of the family continued to rule at Anegundi, across the river from Vijayanagar, till they were destroyed by Tipu in 1776. Rice's Mysore, I. 234. Moor in 1790 (Narrative, 183) notices that there was still a representative of the old family at Anegundi. See below p. 119.

⁴ Of the effect of the battle of Talikot the Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 422) writes: The trade of India in 1566 was reduced to a very low ebb by the desolating war between Vijayanagar and the Musalmán kings of the Deccan. The Vijayanagar king, who was then ninety-six years old was at first successful, but in the end was defeated and slain. The Musalmáns spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, though the natives had previously carried away 1550 elephant-loads of money and jewels, worth above a hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair which was of inestimable value. In his share of the plunder Adil Sháh got a diamond as large as an ordinary egg with another of extraordinary size though smaller and other jewels of prodigious value. The victors partitioned the dominions of the old king among his sons and nephews.

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Vijayanagar
Kings,
1480-1530.
Frederick,
1567.

people the city, tempting merchants by the promise of great prices. Frederick's business in Vijayanagar was over in one month, but he had to stay seven months (December to July), because the country was full of thieves who ranged up and down. The son of Timmaráj had put to death the prisoner king, and the barons would not acknowledge him, so the country was divided and lawless. Timmaráj's son had retired to the castle of Penegonde, eight days inland from Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar though empty was not destroyed. The circuit of the city was twenty-four miles and within the walls were certain mountains. The houses were standing, but in parts of the city there was nothing but tigers and other wild beasts. Most of the houses were plain with mud walls, but the temples and palaces were of lime and fine marble. Of all the kings' courts Frederick had seen, the Vijayanagar palace was the finest. There were five great outer and four small inner gates, the palace was well guarded and the city safe from thieves, the Portuguese merchants sleeping in the streets for the great heats and never getting any harm. In July, Frederick and two Portuguese merchants determined to start for Goa. The merchants were in palanquins or litters carried by eight bearers, as the Venetians carry barrows. Frederick was on an ox of commodious pace, and he had a second ox for his victuals and baggage. As it was winter (July) it took them fifteen days to get to the coast, and the place they reached was not Goa but Ankola in Kánara. Before he had gone much more than half way, Frederick lost both his bullocks. The victual bullock was weak and could not go; the riding bullock when swimming across a river found an island with grass in the middle, and remained there and in no wise could Frederick come at him. So in heavy rain he had to travel seven days on foot, fortunately finding people to carry his baggage. The journey was full of trouble. Every day they were taken prisoners by reason of the great dissension in the kingdom, and every morning they had to pay a ransom before they were allowed to leave. Another not less grievous trouble was that when they passed into a new governor's lands, which they did every day, they had to get new money, as each local governor though tributary to Vijayanagar stamped his own coin. At length they reached Ankola on the sea, a country of the queen of Gersappa, tributary to Vijayanagar. One of his companions, who had nothing to lose, took a guide and went to Goa. Frederick and his other friend stayed at Ankola where they were joined by another horse merchant, two Portuguese soldiers from Ceylon, and two Christian letter-carriers. The whole party arranged to start together for Goa, and Frederick went with them in a very poor palanquin of cane with eight bearers. In one of the canes of his palanquin he hid his jewels. At the mountain which divided Ankola from the Deccan, Frederick, who was behind the rest, was attacked by eight thieves, four with swords and targets and four with bows and arrows. His bearers fled and the robbers rifled his palanquin but did not find the jewels. When the robbers were gone, the bearers came back and in four days carried him to Goa.¹

¹ Cæsar Frederick in Hakluyt's Voyages, II. 348, 349.

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History.

Vijayanagar
Kings,
1430-1580.

Kánara,
1567.

For about twenty years after Dom João da Castro's treaty in 1547 no reference has been traced to any unfriendliness between the people of Kánara and the Portuguese. In 1568 or 1569 Dom Luiz Ataíde besieged and took Honávar and built a fortress on the Honávar river.¹ In 1569, according to Ferishta, the queen of Honávar made a treaty with Bijápur and tried to take the Portuguese fort but failed.² In 1570, as part of the great league of Ahmadnagar Bijápur and Kalikat against the Portuguese, it was agreed that Bijápur should get Goa, Honávar, and Barkalur. The queen of Gersappa joined the league and declared war against the Portuguese.³ In the history of the Portuguese in India there are few more brilliant and successful achievements than Mascarenha's defence of Cheul against Ahmadnagar, and Dom Luiz de Ataíde's defence of Goa against Bijápur. Though so hard pressed in Goa Dom Luiz was able to send succour to Honávar and the attack failed.⁴ In the following year when the Bijápur troops had withdrawn from Goa the viceroy brought a fleet to Honávar, destroyed the Kalikat and Bijápur ships, and sacked and reduced to ashes the town which was then rich and populous. The fort after being bombarded for four days capitulated, and George de Moira was left to garrison it with 400 men half of whom were Portuguese.⁵ During the attack on Honávar, Dom Luiz, who was a man of dauntless courage, sailed in a brigantine seated on a chair with a famous harper beside him. When the balls began to whistle past his ears the harper stopped, and Dom Luiz asked him to play on as the air was excellent. One near him prayed him to take care of himself. If he were slain all would be lost. 'No such thing,' said the viceroy, 'there are men enough to succeed me.'⁶

The Portuguese,
1560-1600.

In a Portuguese map of about 1570, published in the second volume of the Commentares of Dalboquerque, the only places marked in the Kánara coast are Angediva, Onor, and Batecalla, and De Barro's map, about 1580, shows only Anchediva and Batecalla.⁷ De Barros describes Kánara as beginning at a river called the Aliga which runs west from the Sahyádris, where was a fortress called Chittykula or Sintakura which jutted out opposite the island of Anjidiv.⁸ South of Chitakul he mentions Ankola, Egorapan (Agrakona), Mergen, the city of Honávar the head of the kingdom of Batekala, and Batekala.⁹ These cities were subject to the king of Vijayanagar, a powerful king who next to Bahádur of Gujarát (1526-1536), was the richest ruler in India. About 1584 there are two references to the pirates of the Ratnágiri and the Malabár coasts who with varying names seem under a succession of chiefs to have continued to harass trade. In 1584 the pirate chief of Sangameshvar in Ratnágiri was so troublesome that Bijápur and the Portuguese

Pirates,
1584.

¹ Instrucao de Marquez Alorna, Nova Goa, 1856, 9, 10. Briggs' Ferishta, III. 520, 521. According to Ferishta the Portuguese had a fleet of 130 sail and 3000 Europeans besides natives.

² Briggs' Ferishta, III. 520, 521.

³ Faria in Kerr, VI. 427.

⁴ Faria in Kerr, VI. 427.

⁵ Os Portuguezes, VI. 196.

⁶ Faria in Kerr, VI. 45.

⁷ Lisbon Edition of 1777.

⁸ Decadas de Barros, First Dec. P. II. 293, Lisbon 1777, Book IX. Chaps. 1 and 2.

⁹ Decadas, II. 319.

combined against him, Bijápur destroying his land force and the Portuguese his fleet of pirate vessels.¹ On the Malabár coast, under a Musalmán captain Khoja Ali, the Nayers did the Portuguese much injury. They ranged all the coast from Ceylon to Goa four or five boats together each with fifty or sixty men.²

Towards the close of the sixteenth century (1590) Jean Hughes de Linschot mentions a Portuguese fort at Honávar.³ It yielded much pepper, 7000 or 8000 Portuguese quintaux a year, which was held to be the best pepper in India. The ruler of the country was the queen of Batikala. She arranged with the factor who lived at Honávar, but the pepper had always to be paid six months in advance. Rice also grew in abundance. For the rest Honávar was seldom visited except when the ships were lading. The trade was formerly small but of late had increased. In 1599 Fulke Grevile, in the Memoir which supplied the information on which the measures of the first English East India Company were based, mentions the queen of Batikala selling great store of pepper to the Portuguese at a town called Onor which they hold in her state.⁴

The great league against the Portuguese in 1570 shows that Ahmadnagar and Bijápur were able to overcome the rivalry which had saved the Vijayanagar dynasty from entire destruction after the battle of Talikot. In 1573 their advance towards friendliness went further, and they agreed that Ahmadnagar should conquer eastwards and Bijápur southwards.⁵ Bijápur captured Adoni near Bellári and its supremacy is said to have been acknowledged along the west coast from Goa to Barkalur in South Kánara.⁶ This is supported by the agreement already noticed between Bijápur and the queen of Gersappa. But though they may have received tribute, the local evidence seems to make it doubtful that Bijápur troops actually overran and held the coast districts of Kánara before the beginning of the seventeenth century. The local Hindu chiefs continued for a time to acknowledge the supremacy of the Vijayanagar kings. By degrees those of power and energy set aside the shadow of control and declared themselves independent.⁷

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History.

The Portuguese,
1560-1600.

Bijapur,
1600-1670.

¹ Faria in Kerr, VI. 463.

² Ralph Fitch in Hakluyt's Voyages, II. 398. Pyrard de Laval a few years later wrote (1600): During the six summer months the Malabár pirates cease not to roam attacking Portuguese and Indian boats. They are great fighters and beat the Portuguese oftener than the Portuguese beat them. Voyages, 323.

³ Navigation, 21. The famous English captain Davis about the same time (1590) mentions Honávar as a chief place of trade. Voyages, 130.

⁴ Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, I. 125.

⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 135.

⁶ Rice's Mysore, I. 235.

⁷ Buchanan (Mysore, III. 125) notices that the Hindus place the fall of Vijayanagar twenty years later than the Musalmáns, that is about 1584. A Vijayanagar viceroy continued at Seringapatam till 1610 (Rice's Mysore, I. 234), and the Ikkeri or Bednur chiefs went on styling themselves under-lords of Vijayanagar till about 1650 (Ditto, 243). A representative of the old Vijayanagar kings continued to hold a small territory round Anegundi till near the close of the eighteenth century. He was generally known in the Deccan by the title of Rayil. They had a mint at Anegundi and a yearly income of about £25,000 (Rs. 2,50,000). They were said to possess a register of the revolutions which had happened within the limits of their former empire. Moor's Narrative, 183. Under the name of Alpatan, apparently the city,

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Bijápur,
1600-1670.Sonda,
1560-1763.

Of the local families which rose to power in Kánara, one, the Sonda or Sudha chiefs, were in the north of the district, and two, the Jain chief of Bhatkal and the Lingáyat chief of Ikkeri, were in the south. Probably from about 1570 the Sonda or Sudha chiefs paid tribute to Bijápur.¹ Buchanan gives an account of the family of the Sudha or Sonda chief, which he received from the priest of the Sonda family. He correctly describes it as true but inaccurate.² According to the priest of the Sudha chiefs,³ in the time of the Vijayanagar king Krishna Ráyaru (1508 - 1542), upland Kánara belonged to local chieftains of the Kadamba family who were Jains by religion. Krishna's father, who was long childless, promised the succession to his sister's son Arsappa Náik. Afterwards, when sons were born, Krishna made Arsappa ruler of Sonda.⁴ He ruled from 1555 to 1598, continuing to pay allegiance to the defeated princes of Vijayanagar. He is described as driving out the Jains and bringing Havig Bráhmans, from below the Sahyádris, to occupy waste lands. Buchanan records two grants of this chief: One on a stone found at Banavási, dated 1578 (S. 1501), in the reign of Imodi Arsappa Náika of Sudha;⁵ the second on a stone at the Teribidi monastery at Sonda, dated 1592 (S. 1515) styles Arsappa Rája of Sudha by the appointment of Sri Vira Prabhu Venkatappati, who is given all the titles of the Vijayanagar sovereigns.⁶ For three more successions the Sudha family continued to hold as feudatories or Náiks, probably of Bijápur rather than of

Anegundi was described by Emmitt about 1790 as a number of rugged hills covered with temples. It had been enclosed by a wall about eight miles in circumference. Several streets thirty to forty-five yards wide could be traced, some of them growing rice. There were a number of streams the remains of old canals. Emmitt also notices outside of the line of walls a paved road, a gateway, and temple-crowned hills. These remains in Rennell's opinion may have been part of the ancient city and the gateway may have belonged to the outmost ring of wall which according to Frederick had a circuit of twenty-four miles. Moor's Narrative, 185, 186.

¹ Major Munro's letter to the Madras Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800.

² Mysore, III. 215.

³ The Sonda or Sudha family tree is :
Imodi Arasappa Náik
(1555-1598).

Rámchandra Náik
(1598-1618).

Ragonáth Náik
(1618-1638).

Mádhv Linga Náik
(1638-1674).

Sadáshiv Rája
(1674-1697).

Baswa Linga Rája
(1697-1745).

Imodi Sadáshiv Rája
(1745-1763).

⁴ Wilson (Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 62) refers to the Sonda chiefs as a branch of the Vijayanagar kings who settled at Sonda after the downfall of the Vijayanagar kings about 1580.

⁵ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 234.

⁶ Mysore, III. 216. This agrees with Mr. Rice's list of the Vijayanagar kings (Mysore, I. 224) in which Venkatappati succeeds in 1587.

Vijayanagar. It was not till the decay of Bijápur power in 1674 that Sadáshiv changed the dependent title of Náik into Rája.¹ It was during the rule of Arsappa, the first Sudha chief, that, as has been noticed, in consequence of an agreement with Ahmadnagar, Bijápur captured Adoni near Bellári and turning west spread their power along the coast from Goa to Barkalur in South Kánara, including the provinces of Sávanur, Sonda, and North Kánara.²

The Sonda chiefs, whose lands lay entirely above the Sahyádris, probably continued to pay tribute; but the southern chiefs seem to have succeeded in avoiding tribute. In the south of the district were two rival families, the Byrasu Wodeyars of Karkala in South Kánara, and the Keladi, Ikkeri, or Bednur chiefs of West Maisur. According to Buchanan, the Byrasu Wodeyars of Karkala represented the Ballála kings;³ according to Mr. Rice they belonged to the Humcha dynasty;⁴ and, according to local tradition the founder of the family was a dancing-girl, who so pleased one of the Kadamba kings that he granted her the land between Kárwár and Chandávar to the north of Honávar. According to a fourth account they were descended from Jenaditta, a North Indian refugee or mendicant.⁵ The traditions, though they differ as to their origin, agree that the last of the family had seven daughters each of whom was called Baira Devi. When the chief died his territory was divided among his seven daughters, and Krishna Rái of Vijayanagar (1508-1542) is said to have remitted their tribute because they were ladies. On the defeat of Rám Rája of Vijayanagar the Byrasu Wodeyars seem to have at once thrown off their allegiance, as Buchanan records from Bhatkal an inscription, dated 1556 (S. 1479), in which Baira Devi acknowledges no superior.⁶ The eldest daughter lived at Bhatkal in the extreme south of North Kánara; the second married a descendant of Itchappa the Wodeyar of Gersappa, who seems to have been the tributary chief of Haiga. This marriage produced only one daughter, and as the other sisters were all childless, the daughter of the Gersappa chief became heir to the whole possessions of the Karkala family. To these she added Haiga, and during the latter part of the sixteenth century ruled from Kumta to Barkur in South Kánara without acknowledging any superior.⁷

The rivals and the destroyers of the Bhatkal Jains were the chiefs of Keladi in north-west Maisur about twenty miles south of Banavási. About 1560 they moved ten miles further south to Ikkeri, and again in 1639, as their power increased, they went about twenty miles further south to Bidara Halli, the Bamboo Village, also called Bidanur or Bednur, on the border of South Kánara, well placed for trade near the Hosangadi pass.⁸ The

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History.

Bijápur,
1600-1670.

Bhatkal,
1500-1600.

Bednur Chiefs,
1560-1763.

¹ Buchanan, III. 217. Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. V. 208) notices a grant of a Sudhápura chief Raghu, which he identifies with Ragonáth Náyak who governed Sudhápura under Vijayanagar in 1616-1636 (S. 1541-1561). Vijayanagar must mean Bijápur.

² Wilks' South of India, I. 40. ³ Mysore, III. 166. ⁴ Mysore, II. 353-373.

⁵ Rice, II. 353-373. ⁶ Mysore, III. 134. ⁷ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 132-166.

⁸ Rice's Mysore, II. 383. Bednur had long been a place of importance. Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian ambassador, describes Bednur in 1444 as a city with houses like palaces and beauties like houris. It had a temple with wonderful sculptures. Elliot and Dowson, IV. 104.

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Bijápur,
1600-1670.Bednur Chiefs,
1560-1763.

founder of the Keladi family is said to have been a Malava Gauda called Bhadráya, who discovered a treasure, sacrificed two of his slaves, and built a fort.¹ In 1560 Malava Gauda went to Vijayanagar and gained from Sadáshiva Ráya the title of Sadáshiva Náik and the grant of Barkur, Mangalor, and Chandragutti in north-west Maisur.² Soon after 1560, Sadáshiva's successor moved his capital to Ikkeri. For a time both in South and in North Kánara the local Jain chiefs were able to hold their own. At last, apparently in the early years of the seventeenth century, Venkatappa Náik, who is said to have been helped by a revolt of the Halepáiks, attacked and defeated Baira Devi of Bhatkal and Gersappa. Almost all the Jains of Haiga are said to have perished.³ According to local accounts, in 1608, immediately after the defeat of Baira Devi, Venkatappa was attacked by a Bijápur force, which he is said to have defeated, and by seizing Chandávar in the north of Honávar, prevented from passing south of Mirján where they built a strong castle.⁴ There is a local story that the Musalmáns were led by one Sarpanmalik or the Snake Lord, a fated child who got his name because he was once found asleep in the forest guarded by a cobra. This favourite sign of future greatness seems to have been applied to the Bijápur general, whose title Sherif-ul-Mulk lent itself to be twisted into Sarpanmalik. Venkatappa of Ikkeri continued to style himself the under-lord of the Vijayanagar kings long after the decay of their power. In 1610 he protected the Vijayanagar viceroy who was driven out of Seringapatam.⁵ In 1618 entries in the Kánara accounts show Shivappa Náik adding a tax of fifty per cent to the former levies.⁶ In 1639 Venkatappa removed his capital to Bednur⁷ and about the same time declared himself independent.⁸ At this time the management of the state was in the hands of Shivappa, a man of great talent, who succeeded to the chiefship in 1648 and continued to govern till 1670.⁹ Before the close of his reign he had added to his dominions the whole of South Kánara and North Kánara up to the Gangávali river, the castle of Mirján having been surrendered by the treachery of its Moor governor.¹⁰ He was also distinguished for the excellent revenue regulations which he introduced.¹¹ During the greater part of the seventeenth century till the decay of Bijápur power, the lowlands of Kánara, between 1608 and

¹ Rice's Mysore, II. 355. According to another account there were two brothers Chavda Gauda and Bhadra Gauda who found a *ling* in an ant's nest, an old sword, and a treasure. Rice, II. 379. Jain accounts make the founder a scion of the Humcha family. Rice, II. 355.

² Rice, II. 355. Buchanan (Mysore, III. 254) and Wilks (South of India, I. 40) give 1499 (S. 1422) as the date of the founder of the family. Munro, Letter to Board, 31st May 1800, para. 8, gives 1587 as the date of Sadáshiv Ráy's grant of Kánara. According to Wilks (I. 36) the founder was a rich farmer who was made governor of Bednur in 1560 and threw off his allegiance.

³ Buchanan, III. 134, 166 and 173; Munro to Board, 31st May 1800, para. 8.

⁴ Buchanan, III. 173. ⁵ Rice, II. 355. ⁶ Wilks' South of India, I. 95.

⁷ Rice, II. 376; Wilks (South of India, I. 57) makes this 1646; Buchanan (Mysore, III. 254) gives 1645 (S. 1568). Coins struck at Bednur continued to be called Ikkeri coins.

⁸ Rice's Mysore, I. 243. ⁹ Buchanan, III. 127 and 134; Rice, I. 487.

¹⁰ Buchanan, III. 127; Fryer's East India and Persia, 162. ¹¹ Rice, I. 487.

1650 as far south as Mirján, and between 1650 and 1672 as far south as the Gangávali river, seem to have been under Bijápur rule. According to a Hindu chronicle found by Buchanan in a village accountant's records, Sherif-ul-Mulk, the Bijápur governor of Phonda, established Bijápur power as far south as the Mirján river and there built a strong fort. According to this account the Musalmáns held the north of Kánara for seventy-two years.¹ Buchanan notices that the land rates which were in force near Kárwár, when the English took possession in 1800, had been introduced by Sherif-ul-Mulk the governor of Phonda.² About 1650 (H. 1044) the Musalmáns are said to have introduced a revenue settlement in the districts of Mirján, Ankola, Phonda, Kárwár, and Siveshvar, which was in force in 1800 and Kárwár is said to have been the chief port in the Bijápur kingdom.³ During the seventeenth century while the Musalmáns held the north coast districts of Kánara the tributary chiefs of Sonda seem to have been allowed to rule undisturbed above the Sahyádris. Ariappa, the founder of the family, was succeeded by his son Rámchandra Náik in 1598. On his death in 1618 (S. 1541) Rámchandra was succeeded by his son Ragonáth, and he in 1638 (S. 1561) by his son Mádhav Linga Náik, who became a Lingáyat or Shivabhakta, and governed till 1674 (S. 1597). During the first half of the seventeenth century Kánara as far south as Mirján continued under Bijápur, managed partly directly partly through hereditary vassals called *desáís*, of whom the *desáís* of Sonda and of Kárwár were the chief.⁴ In 1637, after the fall of Ahmadnagar and the favourable treaty with the Moghals, Bijápur pressed its conquests south, and chiefly by the vigour and talent of Sháhji, Shiváji's father, overran the east of Maisur and formed it into a province.⁵

In 1623 Kánara was visited by the Italian traveller Dela Valle. Honávar was a small place more of huts than houses. The fort on a rock was held by the Portuguese. Inside the fort were horses, gardens, and well arranged quarters, and there were fine streets with a large square where the people of the town took shelter during times of siege. There were two churches, one to St. Catherine the other to St. Antony.⁶ There was another big city of the Bráhmans within gunshot of Honávar.⁷ In 1623 the ruler of Honávar was Venkatappa Náik. He had been a noble of the Vijayanagar kingdom and was now independent. He had subdued many other Náiks and even defeated the Portuguese. So powerful was he that the Portuguese determined to send him an embassy. The embassy started on the 14th of October 1623 and was accompanied by Dela Valle. As the Portuguese were on bad terms with Adil Sháh, whose land lay between them and Venkatappa's territory, the embassy

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Century.Bijápur,
1600-1672.Sonda,
1600-1700.Dela Valle,
1623.

¹ The details of the seventy-two years are, thirty-five years of *havaládrs*, thirty years of *mahál mokásis*, one year and a half of a *thándár*, and short periods of leaders who are mentioned by name. Buchanan's Mysore, III. 173.

² Mysore, III. 180; compare III. 214.

³ Mysore, III. 173. Buchanan notices that Haidar resumed one-half of the grant or *indám* lands, and that Tipu seized on the rest. Ditto.

⁴ Orme's Historical Fragments, 35, 37.

⁵ Rice's Mysore, I. 237. ⁶ Dela Valle's Letters, III. 182. ⁷ Dela Valle, III. 186.

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Dela Valle,
1623.

went by sea in frigates. They took some horses with them for sale.¹ They landed at the mouth of the Gersappa river, and with sail and oar passed nine miles to Gersappa. This had once been a famous city, the seat of a queen, the metropolis of a province. The last queen had married a foreigner of low birth, who was ungracious enough to take the kingdom to himself. The queen sought help from the Portuguese, but they did not help her. The husband called in Venkatappa who seized the kingdom. The city and palace had fallen to ruin, and were overgrown with trees; nothing was left but some peasants' huts. Nine miles beyond Gersappa the country was most pleasant, waving land covered with leafy forests, crossed by beautiful streams, whose shady banks were green with bamboos and gay with flowers and creepers. It was the most beautiful river Dela Valle had ever seen.² So famous was the country for its pepper that the Portuguese called the queen of Gersappa Rainha da Pimenta, the Pepper Queen.³ The ascent of the Sahyádris was fairly easy through beautiful thick forest with streams, herbage, and flowers. At the top of the hill was a narrow door and a fortress with bastions and curtains. It was once called Garekota and was now known as Gontadanagar.⁴ It was in the charge of a Musalmán officer of Venkatappa's, who as a great favour had been allowed to build a mosque.⁵ The embassy reached Ikkeri, then Venkatappa's headquarters, about twenty-five miles south-east of Gersappa. But their journey was fruitless, as the chief refused to receive the ambassadors because the Portuguese had not sent ships to buy pepper.⁶ Though their embassy was refused in 1623, the Portuguese were able to obtain a treaty in March 1631, under which, besides the grant of the island of Kamboli and the fort of Barkalur in South Kánara, the Bednur or Kánara king allowed the felling of timber, took off duties at Honávar and on the export of pepper, and agreed to pay the Portuguese 500 bales of rice every year.⁷

The English,
1638-1660.

In 1638 the English, who had been established in Surat since 1612, opened factories at Kárwár and at Bhatkal. These factories were founded by Weddel of Sir William Courten's company.⁸ In 1646 Courten's agent at Kárwár offered to sell the factory to the president of the London Company at Surat, but the offer was declined.⁹ About 1650, Schultzen, a Dutch writer, describes Honávar as once celebrated for trade and shipping, but now much weakened as the Portuguese had drawn all the trade of the coast to Goa.¹⁰ The Portuguese power in Honávar had fallen off since the arrival of the Dutch about 1600. They had still

¹ Dela Valle, III. 174.² Dela Valle, III. 195.³ Dela Valle, III. 196.⁴ Dela Valle, III. 200.⁵ Dela Valle, III. 203.

⁶ Dela Valle, III. 190. Dela Valle describes Ikkeri as in a beautiful plain with three fortified gates and three ditches. There was no outer wall, only a dense bamboo fence. Inside was a stone wall but weak. The palace was said to have separate fortifications. The town was very large but had not many houses. It was laid out in broad shady streets, and there were many pools of water and a few groves. Ditto, 220.

⁷ Instruccao, p. 8.⁸ Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, I. 357, 367.⁹ Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, I. 419.¹⁰ Schultzen's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1676, 160, 161.

two churches, one dedicated to St. Antonio and the other to St. Catherine. Many Portuguese *cassados* or settlers, literally married men, lived there in great luxury. The town consisted more of huts than of houses. The same writer described Batikala or Bhatkal as formerly independent but made tributary by the Portuguese.¹ He notices that large numbers of the Kánarese along the coast had allowed themselves to be baptised and instructed in Christian doctrine, and that there were many churches and convents.² In 1653, the Bednur chief with the help of the Dutch, drove the Portuguese out of the Honávar fort.³ In 1660, according to Baldæus, Kánara was rich in rice and other produce and had a healthy strong people capable of any kind of work.⁴ The boundary between Bijápur and Shivappa Náik of Kánara was the Mirján river. He notices Cintapur or Chitakul as a Bijápur town close to the sea; he describes Anjidiv as full of woods and bush and extraordinarily rich in fish; Honávar and Bhatkal were the only towns of importance.⁵

In 1653 Kárwár appears in the list of the London Company's factories,⁶ and before 1660 the Kárwár factory had greatly prospered. The finest muslins in Western India were exported from Kárwár. The weaving country was inland to the east of the Sahyádris at Hubli in Dhárwár and at other centres where the company had agents and employed as many as 50,000 weavers.⁷ Between 1662 and 1664 the island of Anjidiv was held by the strong English force which had been sent to receive Bombay from the Portuguese. As the Portuguese refused to give up Bombay the English were forced to retire to Anjidiv and there in about two years (1662-1664) the unhealthiness of the climate reduced their numbers from 500 to 119.⁸

In 1665, under their great leader Shiváji (1627-1680), the Maráthás appeared devastating in Kánara. After making a raid by sea on Barkalur in South Kánara, Shiváji dismissed the greater part of his fleet at Gokarn, scoured the country, and exacted a contribution from Kárwár, towards which the English factory paid £112.⁹ He did not then take possession of any part of the district.¹⁰ After Shiváji's raid the factory at Kárwár seems to have been closed as it is mentioned as being re-established in 1668.¹¹ In 1670 the whole of the English factory at Bhatkal, which had been started only in 1668, with a strength of eighteen Englishmen, were attacked and

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The English,
1638-1660.

Shiváji,
1665-1675.

¹ Schultzen's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1676, 160.

² Schultzen's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1676, 160.

³ Fryer's East India and Persia, 57. Instruccao de Marquez Alorna, Nova Goa, 1856, 9, 10. Thevenot (Voyages, V. 269) says: There are many Portuguese at Honávar; the fort is much better than the town. This is somewhat difficult to explain as Thevenot's details generally belong to about 1666. Like Schultzen he may refer to the Portuguese landholders who remained after the Portuguese had lost the fort.

⁴ Malabár and Coromandel Coast, Amsterdam, 1672, 68.

⁵ Malabár and Coromandel Coast, Amsterdam, 1672, 98; Baldæus in Churchill's Voyages, III. 557, 558.

⁶ Lowe's Indian Navy, I. 54. It had been closed in the previous year.

⁷ Hamilton's New Account, I. 267. Hamilton (Ditto) says that about 1660 Kárwár was pillaged and the weaving country laid waste by a Moghal army. This seems to be a confusion with Shiváji's raid on Hubli in 1672. See below p. 126.

⁸ Details are given under Anjidiv.

⁹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 91 note.

¹⁰ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 90, 91.

¹¹ Bruce's Annals, II. 202.

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killed by the people who were enraged because a bull-dog belonging to one of the factors had killed a sacred cow.¹ On April 20th 1671, the Portuguese concluded a treaty with the Bednur chief under which they were allowed to establish factories at Honávar, at Barkalur in South Kánara about twenty-five miles south of Honávar, and at Mangalor on the Malabár coast. The chief also agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 1500 bales of rice.² Under a further treaty on the 15th of December 1678 the Portuguese were allowed to build factories and churches at Mirján, Chandávar, Honávar, and Bhatkal, and at Kalyánpur in South Kánara.³ In 1672 Ali Ádil Sháh of Bijápur died leaving no heir but a child named Shikandar. Taking advantage of the discord at Bijápur, Shiváji sent an army into the rich manufacturing districts of Dhárwár, sacked Hubli, and laid the country waste, destroying everything which he could not carry away.⁴ Shiváji also incited all the dependants of Bijápur to rebel. In July 1673 the Phaujdar or governor of Kárwár revolted, seized the subordinate officers who were loyal to Bijápur, attacked the Diwán who would not join him, and laid siege to the English factory, because the factors would not supply him with ammunition.⁵

Fryer,
1672-1676.

About the end of November 1673 the well known English traveller Fryer visited the Kánara coast on his way to Bombay. Between two islands near Bhatkal in the south, he saw six skulking Malabár prows waiting their booty.⁶ Honávar, in hilly barren land, was divided between the Dutch and the Portuguese. It had a castle without soldiers and a town with poor buildings. The castle had been built by the Portuguese and seized by the Kánareens with the help of the Dutch between whom and the Portugals the town was divided. The Naers had no footing in Honávar and the Moors not much. Many of the people had received the Christian faith; those who had not were the most impiously religious of any of the Indians, being marvellously conversant with the devil. The people had good laws and obeyed them, and travelled without guides on broad roads not along bye-paths as in Malabár.⁷ Fryer went up the Mirján river in a vessel rigged like a brigantine. Mirján was in the same dominions as Honávar but was only the fragments of a town. On landing Fryer was welcomed by one of the Gentile princes of Mirján, who, like an Italian prince, was not ashamed to be a merchant. He was seated under a shady tree on a carpet spread on the sand with his retinue standing around him. He was waiting for the protector of Kánara, for the Rája of Bednur was then a minor. The protector came anon with lords and

¹ Bruce's Annals, II. 202; Hamilton's New Account, I. 267, 283.² Instruccao, p. 8.³ Instruccao, p. 8.⁴ Fryer's East India and Persia, 58; Orme's Historical Fragments, 34; Elphinstone, 644; Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 188.⁵ Orme's Historical Fragments, 35-38, 40.⁶ East India and Persia, 57. The Malabár pirates, he says, are the worst Pickeroons on this coast going in fleets. They are set out by the great men ashore. (Ditto, 55). At sea near Goa Fryer was attacked by a large boat of Malabár pirates with about sixty fighting men besides rowers who threw stink pots and plied chambers and small shot, flung stones, and darted long lances, and were with difficulty driven off (Ditto, 151, 152).⁷ Fryer, 57.

guards armed with swords and gauntlets, partisans adorned with bells and feathers, as also were the horses that carried his *lascarry* or army with such trappings as the finest tram horses in England then wore. The protector, rowed by a gang of thirty-six in great pomp, ventured off to see the English ships. His music was loud and with kettledrums made a noise not unlike English coopers driving home hoops on their hogsheads. He went aboard two or three ships who entertained him with their guns and cheers presenting him with scarlet cloth.¹ At Mirján, pepper, saltpetre, and betelnut were taken in for Surat. After leaving Mirján Fryer's fleet met the *Revenge*, an English man-of-war pink, with twenty-two guns and seventy odd men, commissioned from the President at Bombay to scour the seas for pirates. A little further was Anjdiv, an island famed for the burial of some hundred Englishmen. Kárwár, with a hilly and indifferent woody shore, with islets scattered to and again, had been the chief port of Bijápur, a perfect monarch who hardly paid tribute to the Moghal. Lately a grand traitor Shiváji, carrying all before him like a mighty torrent, had become master of it and of all the country to Gujarát. Shiváji had well nigh forced the English factory at Kárwár and had done other outrages on the English. He was everywhere named with terror. The people were partly Moors partly Gentoos.

Shiváji continued his attacks on the Bijápur territories in Kánara. His first attempt on the important hill-fort of Phonda failed.² A second assault was more successful, and by 1675 he had gained possession of Ankola, Pundit that is Phonda, Cuderah or Kádra, and Semissar or Shiveshvar. In the same year the town of Kárwár was burnt because the castle was not surrendered; the English factory was taken but no violence was done to the factors; and the country as far as the Gangávali river became subject to Shiváji.³ The queen of Kánara, that is of Bednur, sent gifts to Shiváji, prayed for his protection, agreed to pay a yearly tribute, and allowed an agent or *vakil* of Shiváji's to live at her court.⁴ It was believed in 1677 that Shiváji intended to take Bednur and add Kánara to his conquests but the intention was never carried out.⁵

In October 1675 Fryer paid a second visit to Kánara. He came from Bombay with the chief of the Kárwár factory. On the way, near Rájápur in Ratnágiri, they passed Shiváji's navy thirty small ships and vessels, the admiral wearing a white flag aloft. At Kárwár the chief of the factory and Fryer were met on the river by the

¹ Fryer's Travels, 57, 58.

² Phonda on the Phonda pass in the south-east corner of Ratnágiri commands one of the chief routes into North Kánara. Shiváji attacked it in March 1675 and after great loss took it at the end of April, whether by treachery, assault, or surrender is not known. Orme's Historical Fragments, 52. In 1683 it was attacked and so nearly taken by Dom Francis de Tavora, the Portuguese Viceroy, that Sambháji had the site moved two miles to the south to a hill named Madangad. Orme's Historical Fragments, 124; Gemelli Careri (1695) in Churchill, IV. 216.

³ Fryer, 170. Orme (Historical Fragments, 52) says Mirján, but the Bednur chief had lately conquered up to the Gangávali.

⁴ Grant Duff, I. 188.

⁵ Orme's Historical Fragments, 234.

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governor with two barges, and on landing were welcomed by the ordnance of the English House. The English House was on an arm of the river about three miles from its mouth,¹ surveying a pleasant island stocked with game. It was in a delicate mead the land of Cutteen Esquire, to whom it had long before been given by the king of Bijápur.² The house had only lately been built. It was a stately mansion, four square, and guarded by bulwarks at the commanding corners. Two years before when Shiváji attacked the place the house was not finished, but, though the town was burnt the factors were able to defend themselves with the help of a small pink or gunboat. Since Fryer had been at Kárwár in 1673 Shiváji's power had greatly increased. Besides the Kárwár castle, about three miles up the river from the English House, he had taken Ankola, Pundit that is Phonda the chief place of Bijápur power, Cuderah that is Kadra on the Kálinadi about sixteen miles east of Kárwár, and Semissar or Shiveshvar across the river from Kárwár, all very strong places.³ Shiváji had a governor of the town of Kárwár and a commandant of the castle, and over them the superintendent of a flying army. Almost all the places of trust were in the hands of Bráhmans who acted neither for the public good nor for common honesty but for their private interest only. They asked merchants to come and settle only to rob them, or turmoil them on account of customs. Openly they were mighty zealous for their master's dues, but, in the corner, they took more for themselves than for their master. It was a grievous loss that so much of the coast had fallen into Shiváji's power; where Shiváji had anything to do trade was not likely to settle. Taxation had been much milder and the people far more comfortable under the king of Bijápur. The Bijápur regent had lately been assassinated and as both Shiváji and the Moghals were bidding for the kingdom matters were likely to fall from bad to worse. Shiváji had been aided in the conquest of North Kánara by the *dalvi* or lieutenant of the *desái* who had been the local Bijápur governor. When Fryer reached Kárwár, the *dalvi* disgusted with Shiváji's treatment of him, was moving about the country with a force declaring he would restore his former master. He attacked Shiváji's guard in Kárwár town and forced them to retire into the castle. On both sides the fighting men were miserable souls for soldiers, like old Britons half-naked and very fierce. They marched without order, with a loud noise of music and a tumultuous throng. The people, men women and children, with what little substance they had, fled before them and sought shelter under the guns of the English House. It was pitiable to hear what the people suffered under Shiváji's rule. The *desáis* had lands imposed on them at double the former rates, and, if they refused to take them, they were carried to prison, famished almost to death, and most inhumanly racked

¹ Hamilton's New Account, I. 268.

² Fryer probably refers to Sir William Courten by whose Company the factory was founded in 1638. See above p. 124.

³ In another passage (p. 155) Fryer says Pundit is the chief strength of Bijápur. On its surrender the conquest of the low country beyond Kárwár followed.

and tortured till they confessed where their wealth was hid. When Fryer was in Kárwár Shiváji's officers had several Bráhmans in limbo whom they drubbed on the shoulders to extreme anguish and tore their flesh with red-hot pincers. The Desáis in turn did the same to the Combies. The great fish preyed on the little fish both by land and by sea bringing them and their families into eternal bondage.¹

In February 1676 Fryer with one of the Kárwár factors started on a trip to Gokarn. Near Ankola hill, they experienced a lively portraiture of Hell, as the forest was on fire, apparently purposely burnt, because it had sheltered the rebel *dalvi*. No food was to be had. Through the iniquity of the *dalvi*, the people of a fishing village where the travellers had meant to rest, were left without fish, boats, rice, or nets. Fryer and his friends spent the night fasting under a mango tree and by daybreak made for Ankola. Here they found the market half-burnt and the remaining shops tenantless. Shiváji had not spared the town when he took the castle which was a fine place and of good force commanding to the river Gangávali, the utmost extent of Shiváji's power southwards. No provisions were to be had, but on the strength of some game which they shot Fryer and his friends walked to the Gangávali river. They were ferried over and spent the night in Gongola that is Gangávali. This was the first town in the country then called Canatic, though formerly the Konkan up to Gujarát had been so called. The people looked cheerful and lived in peace under a quiet government. At Gokarn the party changed their English dress for Muhammadan. They found a great festival, immense crowds of people, and rich offerings. The people annoyed Fryer by the carelessness of their behaviour, neither regarding the novelty nor the gaudiness of his Moor's clothes. From Gokarn Fryer travelled over a rocky barren hill to Tudera that is Tadri at the mouth of the Mirján river. From Tudera they went in the Company's barge or baloon to Mirján where their brisk Banyan, a young spendthrift whose father was lately dead, treated them to dancing wenches. From Mirján they returned by boat to Kárwár. At Kárwár no beef was to be bought; but game was abundant, and the English factors went to the woods, sometimes for a week at a time. They lived on fish, water-fowl, peacocks, green pigeons, spotted deer, *sámbar*, wild hogs, and sometimes wild cows. Tigers and leopards were common in the woods.² Fryer spent the rains of 1676 at Kárwár. The chief products of the country were, rice, *náchni*, millet, hemp, turmeric, ginger, and potatoes. The soil was good, yielding two crops, one which ripened in September, the other about March. The second crop was grown with great pains, water being brought along gutters. Through the tyranny of Shiváji three-quarters of the land was untilled.³ There was not much trade at Kárwár and the factory was decaying, merchants being out of heart to buy and sell because of the embroils of the country. The state of the people was wretched. The artisans

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Century.Fryer,
1676.¹ Fryer, 146-147.² Fryer, 176-177.³ Fryer, 183.

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could hardly live for the Banians who ground their faces as the Desáis ground the faces of the husbandmen.¹

Sonda was famous for its pepper, the best and the dearest in the world. The chief lived at Sonda, being tributary or rather feudatory, bound by allegiance as well as purse to the princes of Bijápur. The Sonda Rája's pepper-country was estimated to yield a revenue of £1,000,000 (*Pagodas 30 lákhs*) of which he had to pay one-half to Bijápur, Shiváji sometimes sharing the tribute. The Sonda chief had 3000 horse and 12,000 foot.² In the south of the district, according to Fryer, the limits of the Bednur power were along the shore from the Gangávali river to the Zamerhin's country of the Malabárs, and inland up to the pepper mountains of Sonda and the precincts of Sarji Khán, perhaps the Musalmán governor of Sávanur.³ From Fryer's details it seems that shortly after his accession, Shamshankar or Somasikara Náik, Shivappa's successor, was murdered by his nobles.⁴ He was succeeded by his son, a minor, named Basvappa Náik whose mother was managing the state by and with the authority of one Timi or Timmaya Náik, 'who from a toddyman had by his cunning policy more than true prowess and valour raised himself to be general and protector.'⁵ This Timi Náik, about 1674, made an agreement with Sarji Khán, a Bijápur prince, to attack Balál Khán, the Bijápur regent. They advanced north, but were met by Balál Khán, and defeated, and Timi was slain. The Bednur nobles confessed that this was a punishment for killing their late chief. They vowed allegiance to the young prince, and transacted all state affairs in his name.⁶

Sonda,
1670-1697.

In 1674, Mádhú Linga Náik, the chief of Sonda, died. He was succeeded by his son Sadáshiv, who ruled till 1697. Sadáshiv, who was the most vigorous ruler of his family, seems by 1679 to have spread his power to the sea, as in that year the Kárwár factors complain of the exactions of the Sonda chief.⁷ He was successful in his contests with Sambháji (1680-1690), and after 1685 seems to have ceased to pay even nominal allegiance to the Maráthás, and unlike his predecessors to have claimed the title of rája or independent prince. He divided his territory into Upland or Bála Ghát and Lowland or Payan Ghát Sonda.⁸

In 1676 the Kárwár factory suffered from the exactions of the local chief.⁹ In 1678, on account of the necessity of reductions, and in 1679, because of the levies of the Portuguese and the Sonda chief, it was determined to withdraw the establishment.¹⁰ After Shiváji's

¹ Fryer, 193.

² Fryer, 163.

³ Fryer, 162.

⁴ Buchanan (III 127) names him Somashikara and calls him a man of the worst character. He was killed in 1670.

⁵ Fryer, 162.

⁶ Fryer, 163.

⁷ Bruce's Annals, II. 421-443.

⁸ Under date 1698, but the paragraph is a summary of several years, Grant Duff (Maráthás, 172) says the *desái* of Kárwár continued independent and as usual under such circumstances assumed the title of rája.

⁹ Bruce's Annals, II. 399; Crme's Historical Fragments, 209.

¹⁰ Bruce's Annals, II. 421 and 443. At the general reduction in 1679 the Court of Directors resolved that Kárwár and Rájápur in Ratnágiri should be represented by native agents. Low's Indian Navy, I. 65. It is doubtful if these orders were carried out. Compare Bruce, II. 422, 428, 442, 472.

death in 1680, his son Sambháji (1680-1690) was able for a time to keep his Kánara possessions. In 1682, Sambháji quarrelled with the Portuguese, and determined to take the island of Anjidiv. But the Portuguese viceroy threw into the island a strong detachment of troops, and the Maráthás were forced to withdraw.¹

After the failure of Sambháji's attempt on Anjidiv the Sonda chief, though nominally a feudatory of Sambháji's, openly joined the Portuguese. Sambháji in person led a detachment against Sonda, but apparently without effect. In 1685 the Portuguese stirred the Desáis of Sonda and Kárwár to revolt and helped them with troops.² Sambháji was too much occupied with the Emperor to take much notice of their proceedings, and from that time all allegiance to Sambháji seems to have ceased.³ In 1681 and 1682, as part of the scheme to improve the position of the English Company, Sir John Child, the President at Surat, was ordered to restore the Kárwár factory on a larger scale than before.⁴ In 1683 the investments from Kárwár were considerable.⁵ In the following year the English were nearly driven out of Kárwár. The crew of one of two small vessels, the Mexico and the China, which had come to Kárwár for cargoes of pepper, stole and killed a cow. They were mobbed by the people, and firing in defence had the misfortune to kill two children. The people seized the pepper and in spite of offers of reparation were so enraged that the factors' lives were in danger and the House seemed likely to be destroyed. The presence of the Company's shipping prevented an attack.⁶ In 1687 Bijápúr was taken by Aurangzeb, and with the help of the Sávanur chief the Moghals promptly established their power over the Kánarese country,⁷ both the chiefs of Sonda and of Bednur agreeing to pay tribute.⁸ According to Wilks, in 1700 the Moghals held the Karnátak and all the Bála Ghát or country above the Sahyádris with Sávanur as their capital.⁹

In 1695 the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri passed through some of the territory of the Sonda chief, whom he oddly names Sondekirani-karája. He was lord of some villages among the mountains, but

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History.

Seventeenth
Century.*Sonda,*
1670-1697.*Gemelli Careri,*
1695.¹ Orme's Historical Fragments, 111.² Orme, 145.³ Grant Duff, I. 233, gives 1684 as the date at which Sambháji's supremacy in north Kánara came to an end.⁴ Bruce's Annals, II. 460.⁵ Details are given under Trade. Orme's Historical Fragments, 209.⁶ Factory to Surat, 18th September 1684; Bruce's Annals, II. 545.⁷ According to Orme (Historical Fragments, 144) Hubli in Dhárwár surrendered to a Moghal force in 1685.⁸ Wilks' South of India, I. 219. Wilks (I. 100) notices that Aurangzeb punished the Bednur chief for sitting on a throne, and called him zamindár or landlord. Munro to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, 10-30. The date at which the Bednur chief began to pay tribute seems doubtful. Wilks in one passage (I. 58) gives 1684 and in another (I. 215) 1690. The Moghals established themselves in Maisur between 1691 and 1698 (Wilks, I. 164). Their head-quarters were at Sira in the north of the province, and Sira continued their head-quarters till it was lost to the Maráthás in 1757. Rice's Mysore, II. 183.⁹ Mysore, I. 218. In 1695 the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri (Churchill's Travels, IV. 214) found Phonda fort in the hands of Moghals and their country coming close to Goa. Careri (Ditto, 216) describes the Subha of Phonda as draining the poor country people making a few cottages sometimes pay thousands of rupees. In the extracts (Elliott and Dowson, VII. 126) of the 31st year of Aurangzeb's reign, that is 1689, Bedar is described as the overlord of the Karnátak Ráís. This must be Baidur or Bednur.

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Seventeenth
Century.*Gemelli Careri,*
1695.

tributary and subject to the Great Moghal whom he was obliged to serve in war.¹ The country was exceedingly difficult to travel in and full of robbers.² The chief lived at Sambráni about seven miles south of Haliyál. It had a good market and an earthen fort with walls seven spans high. The chief was said to make £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000), out of this one village, which, says Careri, shows how cruelly the idolators and Musalmáns oppress the people.³ In 1690 the Kárwár factory seem to have been prosperous. In this year a direct trade was opened between Kárwár and England, perhaps owing to the extreme depression of Bombay in consequence of the failure of the Childs' scheme to act independently of the Moghal Government.⁴ In 1690, Ovington remarks that in Kárwár deer, antelope, peacock, and wild bulls and cows were almost the daily furniture of the factor's table brought home by the messengers without any further expense than that of powder and shot.⁵ In 1692 the chief of the English factory was held in great respect by the leading people of the neighbourhood when with his followers he started to hunt. A pack of twenty English dogs, good for game, was kept and each allowed two pounds of rice a day at the Company's cost. One day within the space of two hours more than twelve deer, two wild cows with their calves, and four or five hogs, were killed. At the close of the day the chief was led home by the whole company, which included most of the people of distinction in the neighbourhood with their vassals and servants, who at the factory gate made him a compliment and departed. So great was the fame of Kárwár as a place for sport that two young men of high family, a German of the house of Lembourg and a son of Lord Goring, came out and stayed at Kárwár.⁶ A few years later the factors were better husbands of their money. They discharged all their dogs and other superfluities. Only one old custom was kept, strangers from Europe were treated with pretty black female dancers.⁷

During the last ten years of the seventeenth century the Dutch made every effort to depress the English pepper trade at Kárwár, and in 1697 the Maráthás laid Kárwár waste.⁸ In 1701 the trade in white pepper was encouraged,⁹ and the Kárwár factory was continued as it appears in the list of places belonging to the two East India Companies at their union in 1707-8.¹⁰ In 1697 (August 17) the Portuguese made a treaty with the chief of Sonda, under which they were allowed to cut timber and to build a church.¹¹

The history of Kánara during the eighteenth century belongs to two main sections: Up to 1763, during which the north of the district as far as Mirján was under Sonda and the south was under Bednur; and after 1763, when the whole district was conquered by Haidar Ali (1761-1782) of Maisur. It continued to be held by his son Tipu Sultán (1782-1799) until on Tipu's overthrow in 1799 the

Sonda,
1700-1763.¹ Churchill, IV. 217.² Churchill, IV. 219.³ Churchill, IV. 218.⁴ See Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 480.⁵ Voyage to Surat, 269.⁶ Hamilton's New Account, I. 264; Anderson's Western India, 135-136.⁷ Hamilton's New Account, I. 264; Anderson's Western India, 135-136.⁸ Bruce's Annals, III. 240.⁹ Bruce Annals, III. 427.¹⁰ Bruce's Annals, III. 651.¹¹ Instruccao de Marquez de Alogna, 15-17.

whole district passed to the British. In the beginning of the eighteenth century in the north of the district, Basava Linga, the Sonda chief, who had succeeded his father Sadáshiv in 1697, continued to rule till 1745. Basava seems to have further increased the power of Sonda to which his father Sadáshiv had so greatly added. The decline of the Maráthás and the friendliness of the Moghals to whom he paid tribute, and of the Portuguese with whom he was in close alliance, combined to enable Basava to spread his power as far south as Mirján. According to a local manuscript history, in 1715, the old forts of Kárwár and Kádra, about sixteen miles east of Kárwár were pulled down and in their place new forts were built, Sadáshivgad called after Basava's father at Chitakul on the north or right bank of the river mouth, and Kuramgad on an island off Sadáshivgad.¹ In 1707 the Portuguese made a fresh treaty with the Bednur chief under which the leave granted to them of holding factories at Mirján, Honávar, Chandávar, and Bhatkal was confirmed.² In 1713 the Portuguese and the king of Bednur, who was always proud and troublesome because Kánara was the granary of all his neighbours, had a disagreement about a Bednur vessel which was seized by the Portuguese for trading without a Portuguese pass. The viceroy sent a fleet of eleven *pallas* or galivats and 350 men under Jose Pereira de Brito, a man of valour. The squadron left Goa on the 15th of January 1713, and on the 18th arrived at the river of Camata or Kumta, the first river in the kingdom of Kánara. Here eleven Bednur ships were captured and burnt. From Kumta the fleet went to Honávar, and after doing nothing there passed on twenty-five miles south to Barkalur which they burned, capturing a fort and destroying ten ships and much merchandise. From Barkalur they sailed to Kalyánpur in Malabár which also they destroyed.³ These losses brought the Bednur chief to terms. On the 19th February 1714 Keladi Basavappa Náik, king of Kánara, agreed to be a loyal and faithful friend of the Portuguese; to pay £1500 (Xs. 30,000) and 3150 bales of rice towards the Portuguese war expenses, and to continue to pay 2900 bales of rice a year of which 400 bales were to be white and clean. He promised not to allow Arab or other ships unfriendly to the Portuguese, to visit his ports. He agreed that the Portuguese should establish a factory at Mangalor, and promised that their factor should be treated with respect, and that the factor and vicar would settle cases in which Christians were concerned. He allowed the Portuguese to build churches where there were Christians, and engaged that his officers would do the missionaries no harm, that he would keep no Christian slaves, that he would not allow Christian men to marry Hindu women, and that he would send unchaste Christian laymen to the factor of Mangalor. The Portuguese in return agreed to help the king in any war in which he might engage; they promised that every year two Kánara boats should be allowed to go to Ormuz to fetch horses; and engaged that their priests would force no one to become a Christian.⁴

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Eighteenth
Century.Sonda,
1700-1763.Bednur,
1700-1763.

¹ Grant Duff (Maráthás, I. 195) says that Sadáshivgad was built by Shiváji. The works may have been begun by him and finished by the Sonda chief. If Sadáshiv and not Basava was the builder the fort must have been finished before 1697.

² Instruccao, 8. ³ Os Portuguezes, VII. 148-153. ⁴ Os Portuguezes, VII. 157-167.

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History.

Eighteenth
Century.*The English,*
1700-1720.

In October 1715, Mr. Stephen Strutt, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, was sent to inquire into charges of mismanagement which had been brought against the Kárwár, Tellicherry, Kalikat, and Angengo factors. Strutt reached Kárwár on the 31st of October and found three Portuguese vessels cruising at the mouth of the river to keep the coast clear of pirates.¹ He left a list of questions to be answered by the Kárwár factors, and, on his return from the south, seems to have been satisfied with their replies, as, unlike Angengo, Kárwár passed the inquiry without punishment or censure.² A long-standing dispute which it was hoped Mr. Strutt would settle was regarding the English ship Monsoon, which had been seized by Angria in 1707, and immediately after at the request of the English recovered by the Portuguese. Since 1707, the Portuguese had persisted in refusing to give up the ship, and Mr. Strutt's efforts met with as little success as the previous negotiations.³

In 1715 the removal of the Sonda chief's fort from old Kárwár, about three miles above the English House, to Sadáshivgad at the mouth of the river, seriously interfered with the safety of the factory. It was now little more than a genteel prison.⁴ After the Sonda Rája's battery at the mouth of the river was completed, Mr. Taylor, who was then the chief of the factory, was foolish enough to annoy Basava Linga by seizing a wreck which came ashore about four miles from the factory.⁵ The Sonda chief besieged the factory for two months during the rains. Two attempts to relieve the factory, from the storminess of the season and the inefficiency of some of the troops, were little better than failures, and though, with the help of a friendly Musalmán the siege of the factory was

¹ Besides the Málvans and the Angrias who 'very impudently' fired at Mr. Strutt on his way down the coast, an Arab fleet, including one ship of seventy-four guns, two of sixty, one of fifty, eighteen of thirty-two to twelve, and some row-boats of eight to four guns, kept in awe the whole coast of Western India. Hamilton (1715) in Low's Indian Navy, I. 91.

² Low's Indian Navy, I. 83.

³ The details of the capture of the Monsoon, a characteristic and in its time a famous case, are thus recorded in the Bombay Quarterly Review, III. 66. In the beginning of 1707 Baitkul near Kárwár was the scene of the capture of an English ship named the Monsoon by the Girrea savages, that is the Shivájis or Maráthás of Gheria in Ratnágiri. The English ship Aurangzeb starting from Kárwár to Mangalor noticed that a fleet of four grabs and thirty-five galivats under Nilu Prabhu, the general of Angria's fleet, lay in Bed cove, that is in Baitkul. They did not attack the Aurangzeb. Off Anjidiv the Aurangzeb met the ship Monsoon bound northwards. The captain told the supercargo of the Monsoon that a pirate fleet lay in waiting off Kárwár and offered to escort him to Cape Ráma. The supercargo said he did not fear the pirates and the Aurangzeb left. Early in the morning the Shivájis came out and attacked the Monsoon which surrendered after three hours. The Monsoon was brought to Baitkul cove and the Europeans were allowed to go to Kárwár factory. The chief of the Kárwár factory sent word to the Goa viceroy to waylay Angria's fleet and recover the Monsoon. Angria's fleet after waiting four days in Baitkul cove started for Gheria. They had to beat against a strong headwind and off Goa were attacked by some Portuguese ships and fled before the wind back to Baitkul and ran the Monsoon on shore. The Portuguese pursued, drove off Angria's vessel, lightened the Monsoon, and carried her to Goa. The Bombay Government for seven years (1707-1714) tried to persuade the Portuguese to restore the Monsoon, but the negotiations failed.

⁴ Hamilton's New Account, I. 268-271.

⁵ The writer in the Bombay Quarterly Review, III. 67, calls the rája the desái, and Captain Low (Hist. Ind. Navy, I. 94) has supposed that the desái was the desái of Sávantvádi. Hamilton (New Account, I. 278) distinctly states that the chief was the rája of Sonda.

raised, Basava continued so hostile that the Company were forced to remove the factory.¹

Of Kánara, about 1720, Captain Alexander Hamilton has left the following details: The northmost harbour was Sevaseer, that is Shiveshvar, a bad port, with the cover of a castle and a few guns. The next was Kárwár with a good harbour and a river fit to receive vessels of 300 tons. The Rája was tributary to the Moghal. The woods were full of wild beasts, but the valleys abounded in corn and grew the best pepper in India.² In the Sonda chief's territories there were three small harbours, Ankola, Cuddermedi or Kadme, and Mirján, whose river ended his territories.³ Beyond Mirján began Kánara, which, according to Hamilton, was a better country than Sonda. Its two chief towns were Honor or Honávar where was an old castle, and Batakola or Bhatkal where, about four miles from the sea, were the traces of an old city. The English often came to Batakola for pepper, but they had never settled there since the massacre of the eighteen factors in 1670. Of the ruler of Kánara Hamilton says: The governor is generally a lady who lives at Baydour or Bednur, two days' journey from the sea. She may marry whom she pleases, but her husband never gets the title of Rája though if she have sons the eldest does. So long as she lives neither husband nor son has anything to do with the government. The people are so well-behaved that robbery or murder is hardly heard of. A stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going or what business he has. No man except an officer of state may ride on an elephant, horse, or mule, and no man may have an umbrella held over him, though if he chooses he may hold an umbrella himself. In all things else there is liberty and property. When Hamilton knew Kánara (1700-1720), Kárwár seems to have been the only English trade settlement. Shortly after Hamilton left, a small factory subordinate to Tellicherry was opened at Honávar, the chief articles which tempted a settlement being pepper and sandalwood.⁴

In 1720 the north part of lowland Kánara seems to have been ceded to the Maráthás by the court of Delhi as part of the Maráthá's Own Rule or *Sva-ráj* in the Konkan.⁵ In 1726 the Peshwa Bájiráo's raid across the Karnátak to Seringapatam caused much distress in the south of the district.⁶ At the beginning of 1727, the Honávar

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Eighteenth
Century.Hamilton,
1720.Maráthás,
1720.

¹ Hamilton's New Account, I. 262-292; Bombay Quarterly Review, III. 67 and VI. 209. ² Hamilton's New Account, I. 262.

³ Hamilton's New Account, I. 278. ⁴ Honávar to Tellicherry, 9th Jan. 1727.

⁵ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 200. Of the thirteen places mentioned in the Konkan the last three are, Phonda, Akola apparently Ankola, and Kudál in Sávantvádi. In another passage (Ditto, 224) the Kolhápúr territory in the Konkan in 1727 is said to extend from Sálsi in Devgad in Ratnágiri to Ankola.

⁶ See Grant Duff's Maráthás, 218. Of these Maráthá raids Wilks (South of India, I. 252) writes: Desolation everywhere marks the course of these cool and insatiable robbers. A Maráthá is destitute of the generosity and honour which belong to a bold robber. He combines the plausible and gentle manners of a swindler, the dexterity of a pickpocket, and the meanness of a peddler. In the inland countries the result of the Maráthá raids was that when news came to a district of the approach of an enemy the people buried their property and fled to the woods carrying with them what grain they could. These flights were so common that the special word *valsa* was applied to them. Wilks, I. 309.

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History.

Eighteenth
Century.Sonda,
1720-1763.

factors in writing to Tellicherry complain that their transactions had long been at a stand on account of the ravages of Bájiráo.¹ Sonda was plundered and blackmail levied in the country round. So widespread was the alarm that the quiet people of Bednur and Bilgi fled leaving their fields uncultivated. Both the Sonda and the Bednur chiefs agreed to pay the Marátha *chauth* or one-fourth. Sonda is mentioned as suffering from Marátha raids, but Bednur seems not to have again been disturbed though the levy of the Marátha tribute caused the people much misery.² The friendship between the Portuguese and the Sonda chief continued. In 1735 (December 4), the treaty which had been passed in 1697 was renewed, and the Portuguese were allowed to build a church at Siuvansor or Shiveshvar and to carry timber.³ In 1739 the Marátha records mention that though the Bednur chief remained neutral the Rája of Sonda and the Desái, of Kárwár helped the Portuguese in their struggle with the Maráthás.⁴ On June 4th, 1742, the treaty of 1735 between Sonda and Goa was ratified and the Portuguese were granted certain villages, and allowed to trade and to build churches. The Sonda chief promised to let no other Europeans settle in his territory.⁵ So long as the rule of Basava Linga Rája continued the English efforts to re-open a factory at Kárwár met with no success. On Basava's death in 1745, he was succeeded by his son Imodi Sadáshiv (1745-1763), whom Portuguese writers name Sadáshiv Vorosada and describe as a man of weak mind with no turn for governing but a strong liking for ease and luxury. He was in the hands of a favourite named Anamanti Viraya.⁶ In 1747 the Portuguese, who were anxious to take possession of the fort of Pir or Piro, at the mouth of the Kálinadi, tried to pick a quarrel with the Sonda chief. Sadáshiv had seized certain vessels in which merchants of Surat and Diu were interested and the Portuguese pressed him to restore them. He at first refused, but when the Portuguese fleet appeared off Sadáshivgad the vessels were handed to the commandant of Anjidiv, who, not understanding the viceroy's intention, took the ships and the chance of securing the fort of Pir was lost.⁷ About 1750, Imodi Sadáshiv was attacked by the Maráthás and forced to pay tribute. The five districts below the Sahyádris were given as a pledge for this tribute to one Gopál Rám who restored them when the tribute was paid.⁸ In his efforts to raise £10,000 (Rs. 100,000) which were due to the Maráthás Imodi turned for help to the English. They refused to lend him the money and he said he would call in the French. This threat brought Charles Crommelin from Bombay with instructions to obtain privileges and counteract the French. Crommelin did little himself, but a sum of money left with a native agent was so judiciously spent that a letter came from the chief inviting the English to open

¹ Factory to Tellicherry, 9th January 1727.² Munro to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, para. 10.³ Instrucao de Marquez de Alogna, Nova Goa, 1856, 15, 17.⁴ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 251.⁵ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 251.⁶ Eganaphora Indica, Part IV., Lisbon, 1748, 37-38.⁷ Eganaphora Indica, Part IV., Lisbon, 1748, 37-46. The fort of Pir or Piro seems to be Sadáshivgad or Chitakul. On the Chitakul hill there is still a *pir's* or Musalmán saint's tomb. See Places of Interest, Sadáshivgad.⁸ Buchanan's Mysore, III, 214.

their factory at Kárwár. Robert Holford was sent to open a trade in pepper. He was at first successful, but afterwards, under Portuguese influence, was so constantly thwarted that he asked to be removed. He continued at Kárwár from December 1750 to September 1752, at one time encouraged, at another time rebuffed. He was not allowed to repair the old factory or to fortify his house, and was forced to take down a flag-staff which he had set up according to custom. At last the Portuguese, who were longing for an excuse to declare war with the Sonda chief, took advantage of the fact that a Jesuit procession had not been allowed to pass a temple and sent a frigate to Kárwár, and on the 3rd of November 1752, after a slight conflict, carried Pir hill and greatly strengthened the fort. The Bombay Government knew that with Pir hill in Portuguese hands their agent could have no chance of trade and recalled him, and he returned to Bombay in a Portuguese vessel.¹ The English never again attempted to open a factory at Kárwár.²

In 1751, the English chief of Tellicherry concluded a treaty with the chief of Bednur under which the Rája agreed to let them rebuild the factory at Honávar, promised not to seize British wrecks, and engaged to give them exclusive trade privileges. In return the English sent him a field-piece with four gunners and promised to supply him with stores and munitions of war to help him in a contest with the Náyers. In fulfilment of this promise Captain Mostyn at the head of a few Europeans marched to the fort of Osdrug where the Kánarese general and his army were encamped. Their powder was exposed to the weather, they had neither pickets nor advance guards, and in every way were unfit to fight the impetuous Náyers. Mostyn, finding it vain to attempt to introduce order and vigilance, returned in disgust to Tellicherry.³

At this time, according to Sir Thomas Munro, the Bednur government, though very rich, had not complete control over the local chiefs.⁴ The population was diminished by frequent revolts of petty chiefs and the favourites and dependents of the Bednur chief were allowed to ruin many of the leading families by the levy of exorbitant fines.⁵ Extra cesses were imposed and made permanent and were so heavy that if all had been levied little would have been left to the landholders.⁶ Still the whole was not levied and land was valuable, being occasionally sold at twenty-five or thirty years' purchase.⁷

On the 25th of May 1754, the year of one of the Marátha raids into the Karnátak and Maisur, the treaty of 1742 between the Portuguese and the Sonda chief was renewed. In November of the following year, on condition that they gave up the fort of Pir, the Portuguese were granted four villages and allowed to make a fort to the south of the Kálinadi near Baitokula or Baitkul. In February 1756 this treaty was confirmed with slight modifications.⁸ In 1755

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History.

Eighteenth
Century.*Sonda,*
1720-1763.*Bednur,*
1750-1763.

¹ Bombay Quarterly Review, VI. 209-210; Anquetil du Perron's *Zend Avesta*, Discours Preliminaire, ccii.

² Bombay Quarterly Review, VI. 210. ³ Bombay Quarterly Review, VI. 210.

⁴ To Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, para. 16. ⁵ To Board of Revenue, para. 16.

⁶ To Board of Revenue, para. 10. ⁷ To Board of Revenue, paras. 17 and 20.

⁸ Instruccao, 15-17.

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History.

Eighteenth
Century.

Basavappa Náik, the last chief of Bednur, died. He left an adopted son, a youth of seventeen, named Chan Basavaia, under the charge of his widow, an abandoned woman, who, on her husband's death, lived with a paramour named Nimbaia. The young chief remonstrated, and on the 17th of July 1757 was murdered by the order of his adoptive mother. The people broke into revolt and in the confusion the Maráthás seized the fort of Mirján.¹

Du Perron,
1758.

The French scholar Anquetil du Perron, who passed north through the district in February 1758, found that since the murder of the young chief the people had risen in revolt, and that the levies which were imposed to raise the tribute of £50,000 to £60,000 (Rs. 5 to 6 *lákhs*) due to the Maráthás, caused much injury to trade.² In the north the Sonda chief was at war with the Maráthás.³ He had formerly been tributary to the Sávanur chief but now paid tribute to the Maráthás.⁴ The places which du Perron mentions in his journey northwards are, Batekol or Bhatkal, a fort built on a rock with a river;⁵ and Onor or Honávar, with an English factory, which did not show from the sea. Close to Honávar were two fortified islands, Kuludurg and Rajamandurg. Komta or Komenta had a Christian church, a river, and a fort on a hill on the sea. Mirján, on a deep river of the same name had two forts one of which did not show. Beyond Mirján was the fort of Kágal. Next came Gokarn, a famous temple; then the village and river of Gangávali; then Mosgani, the river that separated Kánara from Sonda; and then Ankola. The next place was Anjdiv, belonging to the Portuguese, fairly fortified, and with the best cotton stockings to be bought on the coast. Then the Kárwár river where the Sonda chief had made a fort, but the Portuguese held the mouth of the river. Close to the river mouth was Boetakol or Baitkul cove. The Sonda territory extended to the Asolna stream, five miles north of Cape Rámas.⁶ On the 24th of October 1760, as the Portuguese dreaded a Marátha attack on Goa,⁷ the treaty of 1756 between the Portuguese and the Sonda chief was renewed. And on the 12th of September 1762, the Portuguese agreed to restore the island and fort of Shimpi (Ximpin) which they had held for some months.⁸

Haidar Ali,
1763-1782.

The crimes of the Ráni of Bednur and the disordered state of her territory opened the way to its conquest by the great Haidar Ali.⁹

¹ Wilks' South of India, I. 450; Bombay Quarterly Review, VI, 210.

² Zend Avesta, Disc. Prelim. cxcv. cxvi. cxcix.

³ Zend Avesta, Disc. Prelim. ccii.

⁴ In 1756 the Peshwa directed Balvantráo to besiege Bednur, and in the following year, though they did not succeed in reaching Bednur, they invaded west Maisur. Grant Duff's Maráthás, 297, 298.

⁵ Zend Avesta, Disc. Prelim. cxcix.

⁶ Zend Avesta, Disc. Prelim. cciii.

⁷ Grant Duff, 294. The Portuguese viceroy attacked Phonda, but owing to the misconduct of his troops was slain. Maisur had been invaded by Gopál Hari in the previous year (1759). Grant Duff, 303.

⁸ Instruccao, 15-17.

⁹ Haidar Ali, who ruled Maisur from 1760 to 1782, was born in 1722. He was the great-grandson of Muhammad Bhelol, a religious emigrant from the Punjab who settled in Kulbarga. His son Muhammad Ali was a customs messenger and his son Fatte Muhammad, Haidar's father, distinguished himself in his youth by recovering a lost battle and rose to be Faujdár with the title of Fatte Muhammad Khán. Haidar's mother was the daughter of a Naváiyat merchant. Haidar Ali first rose to notice in 1749 at the siege of Devanhalli where he fought as a volunteer under his brother. His coolness and courage attracted the attention of his general Nanja Rája, the

In 1762, the year after he had made himself supreme in Maisur, a visitor came to Haidar who was then in the neighbourhood of Sira in north Maisur, told him that he was the young chief of Bednur whose life the assassin had spared, and asked his help in recovering his territory. Haidar agreed and advanced towards Bednur in January 1763. The city of Bednur lies in a basin encircled by hills three to six miles distant. The country round is hilly and was then so thickly covered with timber and underwood that the Muhammadans had a saying, 'You can pass most of the year at Bednur without seeing the sun.'¹ Haidar advanced, rejecting all terms proposed by the Ráni. At Kumsi, thirty miles from Bednur, he was fortunate enough to find an imprisoned minister who undertook to acquaint him with the resources of the country and to guide him to the city by a secret path. As the Maisur army drew nearer, the Ráni tried to buy Haidar off with an offer of £576,000 (12 *lákhs* of *pagodas*) which she afterwards raised to £864,000 (18 *lákhs* of *pagodas*). Haidar refused and the Ráni fled, leaving orders that on the slightest danger the palace and treasury should be burned. Early in March 1763 Haidar reached the first outwork of the city. He made a noisy and feigned attack, and under cover of the confusion led a body of chosen troops by a secret path and entered the city in time to quench the fires which had been lighted by the Ráni's servants. Bednur had never before been attacked and was full of wealth. The people fled to the hills without even hiding their treasure. The immense wealth of the richest town of the east, eight miles in circumference and full of rich dwellings, was left without a claimant. Haidar prevented his troops from plundering the city. He set his seal on all the richer buildings and is said to have gained property which at a most moderate estimate was worth at least twelve million pounds. These riches were the foundation of Haidar's greatness.² A detachment sent to the coast took Honávar and the fortified island of Basvarájdurg; a second detachment captured the Ráni, and she, her paramour, her adopted son, and the pretender, whom Haidar's troops had named Ghaibu Rája or the Come-to-life chief, were confined together in the hill-fort of Mudgeri.³ Haidar raised Bednur to the rank of a city or *nagar*, and called it Haidarnagar his own city. He determined to make it his head-quarters, struck coins in its mint, and at Honávar and Mangalor on the west coast prepared dockyards and naval arsenals.⁴

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minister of Maisur. Haidar was placed in command of fifty horse and 200 foot, and was given charge of Devanhalli, a frontier fortress. In 1755 he formed the nucleus of his power by plundering Trichinopoli. In 1756 he took a leading part in settling the demands of the mutinous Maisur troops. In 1759 he was chosen to command a force sent to meet a great Marátha inroad, was successful, and returned in triumph. He was now the leading man in Maisur; but he soon after lost all his power which was seized by the Hindu minister Khanderao. Haidar was defeated and had to fly. But with great skill and, with the help of the old minister Nanja Rája, he defeated Khanderao and became supreme. Rice's Mysore, I. 250-260.

¹ Wilks' South of India, I. 449.² Wilks, I. 450-452.³ Wilks, I. 453. They were released by the Maráthas in 1767. Ditto.⁴ Wilks, I. 454; Rice's Mysore, I. 260-262. According to Forbes (Or. Mem. IV. 109) Haidar Ali's army included 60,000 cavalry and infantry, 300 state elephants, a body of French troops, and many French officers.

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When news reached the English factory at Honávar that Haidar was in Bednur and was lord of Kánara, Stracey, the British resident, shipped his gold to Bombay and with his two assistants travelled to Bednur, and presenting themselves to Haidar, were allowed to continue to trade at Honávar.¹

After the fall of Bednur, in December 1763, a force under Haibat Jang, better known as Fazal Ulla Khán, was sent against the hill country of Sonda.² Savái Imodi Sadáshiv, the Sonda chief, begged the Portuguese to help him, and after a feeble resistance, fled to Shiveshvar on the coast, about eight miles north of Kárvár. The viceroy Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque sent troops to hold Phonda, Zambaulim or Jaboli, Kanacona and Cape Rámas. Haibat Jang overran all the Sonda territory except the parts held by the Portuguese. He took the forts of Shiveshvar, Sadáshivgad, and Ankola,³ and was laying siege to Kolgad when he was recalled to meet the advance of the Maráthás. Savái Imodi Sadáshiv withdrew with his family and treasure to Goa, where he received a pension, and where a representative of the family still lives.⁴

Though he was so successful in Bednur and Sonda, in the following years in 1764, 1765, and 1767, Haidar was severely defeated by Mádhav Peshwa (1761-1772), who claimed an interest in Sonda and the right to levy the one-fourth or *chauth* in Maisur, and had to buy off the Maráthás by the payment of very large sums.⁵ In January 1768, during the third year of the first war between the English and Haidar (1766-1769), the English tried to enlist the Maráthás as allies by the offer of Bednur and Sonda.⁶ A squadron of ships with 400 Europeans and a large body of sepoy was sent to attack Haidar's sea-ports. At Honávar Haidar had begun to make a navy, but his captains were so displeased because he had given the command to a cavalry officer that, when the English squadron appeared, Haidar's fleet of two ships, two grabs, and ten galivats joined the English. Fortified Island at the mouth of Honávar river and Honávar fort were taken with little loss, and a small garrison was left to defend them. The English did not hold these places for long. In May of the same year Haidar's troops appeared, and in spite of their strength Honávar fort and Fortified Island yielded almost without resistance.⁷ In 1770, Mádhavráo Peshwa, who was most anxious to take Bednur and Sonda, entered Maisur and defeated Haidar, but his failing health forced him to retire to Poona.⁸

Forbes,
1772.

In February 1772, Forbes, the author of the Oriental Memoirs, passed down the Kánara coast. He notices that Kárvár was a town of importance during the flourishing days of the Portuguese, and that the English had formerly a factory there for the purchase of

¹ Bombay Quarterly Review, VI. 211.² Wilks' South of India, I. 456; Rice's Mysore, I. 262; Grant Duff, 330.³ Marátha M.S.⁴ Descriçao Geral E Historica by Aragão, Vol. III. 1880, Lisbon, 24. Details are given under Sonda.⁵ Grant Duff, 331, 337.⁶ Grant Duff, 340.⁷ Low's Indian Navy, I. 154; Wilks' South of India, I. 59; Rice's Mysore, I. 264.⁸ Grant Duff, 346, 347.

pepper. There were a number of Portuguese inhabitants with a bishop in whose diocese were the Roman Catholic churches in Bombay. In the forests near Kárwár, where the *khair* tree was abundant, there was a considerable manufacture of catechu or terra japonica.¹ He notices Onor and Mirzi, the last of which he identifies with the ancient Musiris. The country near was famous for its pepper, cassia, and wild nutmeg.² Fortified Island a little to the south of Mirzi was about a mile round, rocky, barren, and so strong as to be deemed impregnable. The whole country was in Haidar Ali's hands. Onor or Honávar was on a river or salt lake whose bar on account of a tremendous surf was most difficult and dangerous to cross. It had a fort on rising ground and was a small town of indifferent houses. The best was the English factory where two of the Company's servants lived to buy pepper and sandalwood for the English and Chinese markets. There was a considerable private trade with Bombay and the north in betelnuts and other articles.³ The lowlands near were well tilled and planted with cocoa and betel palms, pepper, rice, and inferior grains. Its most valued product was the white sandal tree.⁴

About three years after Forbes (December 1775) the English traveller Parsons visited Kánara. He notices that the Portuguese territory ended at a small fortified promontory twenty-four miles south of Goa. The rest of the coast was in Haidar Ali's hands. The only exception was the island of India Dave, that is Anjdiv, which belonged to the Portuguese.⁵ On the side next the land were the town and castle mixed with verdure, lime, plantain, and cocoa trees, and a few gardens. The island was chiefly used as a place for felons from Goa and Diu. They were taught to spin thread and yarn and to weave stockings which were the best in India and very cheap. About a mile off shore and five miles north of Honávar was Fortified Island girt with a stone wall strengthened at proper distances by armed towers. At the south end the only landing was a fort with eight guns. At Honávar the Union flag was flying at the English factory and Haidar's flag on the castle. Parsons went ashore about four in the afternoon and was well received by the Company's resident Mr. Tounsend and his wife. The castle and town were on the north side of the river near the entrance. About a mile from the entrance was a dangerous shoal, with not more than nine feet of water at low tide. At high tide the rest of the river was sixteen to eighteen feet deep. It was navigable for large boats a great way inland and was very convenient for bringing down pepper and sandalwood of which Haidar had the monopoly. Near the castle were two half built frigates, one of thirty-two the other of twenty-four guns. They had prows and were what were called grabs. When finished they would be complete frigates, being very strong and of a fine mould. The work was surprisingly good. They were built broadside to the river, because their way of launching ships was to lay great beams of wood, grease them, and get elephants to push the vessel along the beams into the sea.⁶ The coast was no

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Century.Parsons,
1775.¹ Or. Mem. I. 303. ² Or. Mem. I. 304. ³ Or. Mem. 306. ⁴ Or. Mem. 307.⁵ Parsons' Travels, 220.⁶ Parsons' Travels, 220-225.

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freer from pirates than it had been in earlier times. The Maráthás held Gheria with as strong and as piratical a fleet as Angria ever owned, and further south the coast suffered from the raids of Maskat pirates.¹

During Haidar Ali's government of Kánara, which lasted from his conquest of Bednur in 1763 to his death on the 7th of December 1782, the detailed administration was entrusted to the civil servants of the former government with a separate minister. They were doubtless treated like all Haidar's subordinate officials. Some officers, chosen to enquire into embezzlements, succeeded not only in finding frauds, but in proving evil practices where no evil practices existed. Probity became not only unprofitable but impossible. Those who had levied moderate sums from the people were unable to pay what Haidar demanded and died under the torture;² those alone escaped with life who having enriched themselves by exaction succeeded in satisfying Haidar's demands. Officers and tax-gatherers, who had been scourged almost beyond description, were kept in office with the marks of the stripes as a public warning.³ Naturally the officers meted to the people the same treatment they had received. The evil effects of this system were soon apparent. 'Haidar,' says Munro,⁴ 'received Kánara a highly improved country, filled with industrious inhabitants enjoying a greater proportion of the produce of the soil and living more comfortably than those of any province under any native power in India. Instead of observing the wise and temperate conduct which would have secured to it the enjoyment of these advantages, he regarded Kánara as a fund from which he might draw without limit to meet the expenses of his military operations in other quarters. The whole course of his deputies' administration was a series of experiments to discover the utmost to which the land-rent could be raised without diminishing cultivation. The savings accumulated in better times for some years enabled the people to support the pressure of continually increasing demands; but they could not support them for ever. Before Haidar's death, failure and outstanding balances were frequent.' While Haidar was impoverishing Kánara by these exactions, the death of the young and warlike Mádhávrao Peshwa in 1772, the succession of Náráyan a minor, and his murder in August 1773, so weakened the Maráthás, Haidar's greatest rivals, that he was able to extend his power as far north as the Krishna.⁵ Immediately after the death of Haidar Ali (7th December 1782), in the third year of the second Maisur war (1780-1784), in December 1782, news reached the Bombay Government that Colonel Humberstone had retreated to Paniani and that Tipu had appeared before it.⁶ General Mathews was sent from Bombay with a strong naval and military force. He captured the hill-fort of Rájamandrug at the mouth of the Mirján or Tádri river, and passing up the river attacked and took the fort of Mirján. He then sent to Paniani for Colonel McLeod. From Mirján the

The English,
1782.¹ Parsons' Travels, 218, 239.² Wilks' South of India, II. 200-201.³ Letter from the Rev. Mr. Schwartz in Wilks' South of India, II. 574.⁴ Letter to Board, 31st May 1800, para. 20.⁵ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 400.⁶ Wilks' South of India, II. 52, 53.

united detachments passed to the very strong fort of Honávar. On the first of January 1783 the British batteries and the guns from the ships opened on the fort, and on the sixth a breach was made and the place was stormed. Except a few who fell in the assault, the garrison, who numbered about two thousand, were set at liberty. Captain Torriano the commanding officer of artillery was left in charge of the fort, and the army passed southwards on the fifteenth, detachments having been sent to occupy the forts of Ankola and Sadáshivgad.¹ By the treachery of the governor,² who was hated by Tipu, on the 27th of January 1783, Bednur the capital of Kánara was taken with little loss. Tipu collected a great force and attacked Bednur. Captain Mathews after a brave defence was forced to capitulate on the 30th April 1783, and most of the officers were made prisoners. Tipu sent a large force to North Kánara, and, by May, Mirján and the other forts were retaken. Captain Torriano refused to give up Honávar, and against an army of ten thousand men, he and his garrison of 743 officers and men of whom only 103 were Europeans, in spite of loss, disease, and want of supplies, held out till peace was declared in March 1784. Of the 743 only 238 reached Bombay in April 1784.³ After the close of the second Maisur war (1784) Kánara suffered severely from the cruelty and the exactions of Tipu, who suspecting that the native Christian population had helped the English, determined to force them to become Musalmáns. He secretly numbered them, set guards over their villages, and on one night had the whole population seized and carried to Maisur. The men were circumcised, and men women and children were divided into bands and distributed over the country under the charge of Musalmáns to whom was entrusted the converts' education in Islám. According to Tipu 60,000, and according to the generally received estimate 30,000 Christians were seized in the whole province of Kánara. Before a year was over, hardships and the change of climate are said to have reduced the 30,000 to 10,000, and not 3000 lived to return to their homes when Tipu was overthrown in 1799.⁴ Besides destroying one of the most useful and hardworking classes in Kánara, Prophet Tipu's half-crazy fondness for new measures brought ruin on the traders of Kánara and poverty on many of its most skilful husbandmen.⁵ Trade enabled strangers to pry into the affairs of a state, and as, according to his gospel of trade, exports strip a country of its best produce and imports stifle local industries, Tipu ordered that the trade of his Kánara ports should cease. He liked black pepper better than red, for red pepper he believed was the cause of itch; he therefore ordered that in all coast districts the red pepper vines should be rooted out.⁶ Even the loss of their markets and the loss of their pepper vines injured the landholders less than Tipu's

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Century.*Honávar
Siege,
1784.**Tipu,
1783-1799.*¹ Marátha MS. 145.² The governor was Shaikh Ayáz, a Náyer by birth, one of Haidar's *cheltis* or soldier-slaves. Wilks' South of India, II. 453.³ Low's Indian Navy, I. 182. Details are given under Honávar.⁴ Rice's Mysore, I. 278-279. Sir Thomas Munro's Report, 31st May 1800.⁵ Tipu in 1788 took the title of Prophet or *Paighambar*; his conduct in other ways showed signs of insanity.⁶ Wilks' South of India, II. 267-268.

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Century.*Third Mysur
War,
1790-1792.*

exactions. His one rule of finance was never to have less revenue than his father had. His only way to make up for failures was by compelling one set of landholders to pay for the shortcomings of the rest. He forced those who had means, to pay not only the rents of waste lands but of dead or runaway holders whose numbers were yearly increasing.¹ The effect of this measure was the opposite of what was intended. The collections fell ten to sixty per cent short of the assessment. The land forced on cultivators ceased to be saleable, and the old class of proprietors disappeared.

In 1791, the first year of the third Mysur war (1790-1792), on the union at Dhárwár of the English detachment under Captain Little and the Marátha force under Parashurám Bháu, Sonda seemed certain to be overrun.² Perhaps in the hope that the Maráthás would respect them more than they would respect the Sonda chief, on the 17th of January 1791, the Portuguese obtained from Shiváji, the son of Savai Imodi Sadáshiv, the formal cession of his rights in the Sonda territory which they had saved from Haidar's clutches in 1763.³ In 1790 after the fall of Dhárwár (April 4th), Parashurám led his troops to meet the allied or grand army. He joined them at Seringapatam and marched with them to Bangalor. On the separation of the forces for the rains (July 8th) Parashurám marched west with the object of carrying out the long-cherished Marátha scheme of gaining Sonda and Bednur.⁴ With Captain Little's detachment he marched to Shimoga in North Maisur, and, chiefly by Captain Little's military skill, in difficult wooded country, defeated Tipu's army and took the fort of Shimoga (2nd January 1792).⁵ From Shimoga, against the orders of his superiors, lured by the hope of plunder, Parashurám marched north-west through the woods to Haidar-Nagar or Bednur, which they reached on the 28th of January. They destroyed the town, but, before the fort was invested, Parashurám heard that Tipu had detached a strong force to act against him.⁶ He at once gave orders to return to Seringapatam, where Lord Cornwallis arrived on the 5th of February with the combined army of Hari Pant and Sikandar Sháh the son of Nizám Ali. After a siege of eighteen days the third Mysur war closed (23rd February 1792) with terms most unfavourable to Tipu.⁷ By the end of March the Maráthás had started for Poona, but so completely had Parashurám's troops laid waste their former line of march, that during their return a large part of the army perished of hunger.⁸

¹ Munro's Letter to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, 21.

² The details of Captain Little's detachment were the 8th, Captain Little's, and the 11th Captain Alexander Macdonald's, battalions of Native Infantry, of 800 bayonets each; one company of European and two companies of Native Artillery, with six six-pounder field pieces. Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment, I.

³ Compare *Descripção Geral E Historica* by Aragão, III. 24 : Lisbon, 1880.

⁴ Moor's Narrative, 72-97.

⁵ Details are given in Moor's Narrative, 154-168.

⁶ Moor's Narrative, 170.

⁷ Tipu had to cede one-half of his territory, to pay £3,003,000 (Rs. 3 crores and 30,000), and to set all prisoners free. Grant Duff, 494.

⁸ Grant Duff, 495. Of Parashurám's invasion of Mysur, Buchanan (Mysore, III. 290) writes : Parashurám Bháu's (1791-1792) march was as usual marked by devastation, famine, and murder. Haidar-Nagar, a town of 6000 houses, was entirely destroyed,

At the close of the fourth Mairur war (13th February to 4th May 1799), after the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu, Sonda and other territories in the western Karnátak were offered to the Peshwa. The offer was accompanied, among other conditions, by the demand that the Peshwa should employ no Frenchman in his service and that differences between the Maráthás and Nizám Ali should be submitted to English arbitration. To these terms Nána Fadnavis would not agree. Sonda was refused and became part of the Company's territories.¹ On the 1st of June 1799 Lieutenant-General Stuart of the Bombay army was directed to take possession of Kánara including Sonda, and the Mairur Commissioners were instructed not to interfere with him in its management.² In the same month Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, was appointed Collector of Kanára.³ He was at first under the immediate authority of Colonel Barry Close, the Resident at Mairur, but, on the 1st of February 1800, he was placed under the control and superintendence of the Madras Board of Revenue subject to the general political powers of the Mairur Resident.⁴ Officers commanding troops in Kánara were directed to comply with the Collector's requisitions for military aid. Munro⁵ found many districts in the occupation of petty chiefs: Bilgi was in the possession of a *páligar*; Ankola and Sadáshivgad were garrisoned by Tipu's troops; and the Rájá of Sonda had entered his long abandoned territory and claimed it as his ancient inheritance. The followers of the famous Marátha freebooter Dhundia had burst

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1799.

the handsomest women were carried off, and the rest ravished. Such of the men as fell into the Maráthás' hands were killed, and of those who escaped the sword a large proportion perished of hunger. Every eatable thing was swept away by those whom people in Europe are pleased to call the mild Hindu. Colonel Wilks (in Rice's Mysore, I. 315) writing in 1804, thus summarises the effect of the Marátha raids into Mairur during the second half of the eighteenth century: A Marátha army is the most fatal source of depopulation. Gopálráo Hari invaded Mairur in 1760, Bani Visáji Pandit in 1761, Mádhav Ráo in 1765, 1767, and 1770, Tryambak Ráo in 1771, Raghunáth Ráo in 1774, and Hari Pant Phadke in 1776 and 1786. I have investigated on the spot and examined the traces of the merciless ravages of Parashurám Bháu in 1791 and 1792. Many districts once well peopled have not a trace of a human being. Of the ruin it caused Lieutenant Moor, who was with Parashurám's army from 1790 to 1792, gives the following details: On their way south the route of the army (Narrative, 52) was marked by ruin and devastation. Every village and town was razed with the ground and the road strewed with bullocks and horses. In ten miles as many destroyed villages were seen without a soul to tell their names. When (Ditto, 141) we consider the ruin spread by such a host of locusts we are inclined to think the curse of God could not have fallen on the Egyptians in a more terrible form. Even after the war was over, on their way north, the Maráthás continued (Ditto, 225) to plunder the towns and villages on the line of march. It was more like the beginning of a war than the beginning of a peace. The army suffered frightfully from want of grain and from want of fodder. To escape starvation the English contingent was forced to leave the main army. Before they left rice had risen to three five and six shillings the pound (3, 5, 6 *rupees* the *sher*). Scarcely a sound was heard in the once noisy camp. Horses and bullocks were dying everywhere or standing listless and famine-stricken with their melancholy masters seated beside them (Ditto, 228, 229, 231). In spite of the misery he caused, Parashurám was, according to Moor (Narrative, 388), a kind man and was most respected where he was most known. The Duke of Wellington (Supplementary Despatches, I. 345) described the Maráthás in Mairur and eastern Kanára as a curse to human nature.

¹ Grant Duff, 545; Rice's Mysore, I. 290.

³ Gleig's Life of Munro, 68, 87.

² Wellesley's Despatches, II. 18, 22.

⁴ Letters from Secy. to Govt. to Captain Munro and to the Board of Revenue, 1st Feb. 1800.

⁵ Letter to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, 2 and 3.

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Century.*Colonel Wellesley,
1799.*

from Bednur into Kundápur close to the south of Bhatkal.¹ There were pretenders to almost every part of the district. Except within the limits of the old Sonda state, though too strong for the civil power, these claimants and freebooters were too contemptible to be made the object of a military expedition. They found Munro firm, and the threat of being treated as rebels forced them to give in.

The Sonda territory corresponding to the present upland sub-divisions of Sirsi, Yellápur, Haliyál, and Supa did not submit without trouble. The chief of Bilgi in the south struggled for a time; but in September had to submit to a detachment of English troops.² The Maráthás and Sonda irregulars were plundering the country and had almost emptied it of people. In the same month as Colonel Wellesley's detachments began to pour in both the Maráthás and the Sonda troops had to withdraw. Bápuji Sindia, the Marátha commandant of Dhárwár, ordered his detachments at Haliyál and at Sambráni, about five miles south of Haliyál, to maintain their posts against the British. On the 29th of September the Sambráni garrison of 300 men who had strongly barricaded the village were attacked and the village was carried though not without loss.³ Hearing of the fall of Sambráni the Haliyál garrison abandoned their post and on Colonel Wellesley's advance Supa also was taken without a struggle. In October as opposition was at an end Colonel Wellesley returned to Maisur leaving troops at Supa, at Haliyál, at Mundgod twenty miles east of Yellápur, and at Badnagad fifteen miles north-east of Sirsi.⁴ So completely ruined was the country between Sirsi and Supa that in Colonel Wellesley's opinion the chief of Sonda who had chiefly caused the ruin deserved to be treated as the worst of enemies. He and his people had plundered and destroyed wherever they had been. To him were due the most disastrous and the most numerous scenes of human misery that Colonel Wellesley ever had the misfortune to witness. It was a matter of indifference in whose hands the government was placed. It was almost literally true that owing to the conduct of the Sonda chief and of Marátha freebooters there was little to govern except trees and wild beasts.⁵ By the beginning of October 1799 the Company's rule was firmly established throughout Kánara.⁶

¹ Dhundia Wágh, a Marátha by descent, served in Haidar's army, but decamped to Dhárwár during the invasion of Lord Cornwallis (1790). In 1794 he was induced to go to Seringapatam, and refusing to embrace Islám was forcibly converted and thrust into prison. He was released by British soldiers at the capture of Seringapatam, escaped to the Marátha country, collected a large force, committed many depredations, and was in 1800 killed in a cavalry charge led by Colonel Wellesley. (Rice's Mysore and Coorg, I. 297).

² Suppl. Desp. I. 302, 326.

³ Suppl. Desp. I. 340, 341.

⁴ Suppl. Desp. I. 347.

⁵ Supply Desp. I. 358.

⁶ Mr. Francis Newcome Maltby, a former Collector of Kánara, writing in the *Calcutta Review*, XXI. 336, thus summarises Munro's work in Kánara: 'When Munro entered the district, the petty chiefs openly resisted his authority, and the great body of the landholders revived a practice with which they had been familiar under weaker governments. They organised a passive resistance, and refused to assemble to settle their rents. But they had to deal with a soldier and statesman gifted beyond other men with the power of using severity and kindness, each in its proper degree. One or two plundering chiefs were hanged, and their bands dispersed, others were pensioned, and the peaceful landholders saw nothing to encourage farther combination in the man who did not even offer to treat for terms, but calmly gave them time to dissolve their confederations.'

Of the state of the district when it came under his charge in 1799, Munro has left the following account: Within the last forty years, except in a few favoured spots, land has ceased to be saleable; the greater part is not only unsaleable but waste and overgrown with wood; the population has diminished by one-third and the value of property has suffered a very much greater reduction. Gersappa and Ankola have only a few beggarly inhabitants, and at Honwar there is not a single house.¹ The north of the district; Lowland or Payanghát Sonda was in the same state as the most desolate districts further to the south. Upland or Bálaghát Sonda was still worse. It was nearly a complete desert. Throughout its whole extent, except a few small openings, it had not a cultivated spot a mile square. The rest of the country was so overgrown with forest that it could be crossed only where roads had been cleared. Most of the villages had thieves in their pay. For four years before the overthrow of Tipu's power three or four thousand banditti had driven out all the Sultán's garrisons, except those at Haliyál and Sadáshivgad. They defeated several parties sent against them, and, though dispersed by a strong detachment, several bands of fifty to a hundred men continued to elude search and commit depredations.² In 1800 some still held out. Robberies and murders were frequent; no village was safe without a guard.³

In 1801 Kánara was visited by the learned and most observant traveller Dr. Buchanan, whose diary, the result of a residence of about fifteen months, has since remained the standard work on Maisur and Kánara. Buchanan speaks with respect of Major Munro's management of the province. He had not been so liberal in his grants to temples as some officers, but this economy did not seem to be attended by bad results. His conduct seemed to have gained the good opinion of every honest industrious man under his authority.⁴

The following account, summarised from Dr. Buchanan's journal,⁵ shows the state of North Kánara in the early months of 1801. In the extreme south the Bhatkal valley was excellently cultivated. At the public expense in the fair season dams were made to water the rice fields. There were many cocoa gardens enclosed with stone walls, better than any in South Kánara. Between Bhatkal and Shiráli, five miles ($1\frac{1}{2}$ kos) to the north, the country was full of bare laterite hills, some of whose sides were terraced for rice. Beileru or Bailur nine miles north (3 kos) had beautiful Alexandrine laurel or Calophyllum inophyllum trees. The shore was skirted with cocoa palms and the soil of the plain was generally good; almost the whole was under rice. At Bailur the people in their scattered houses had suffered much from the Maráthás. There were not more than half

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1801.¹ Life, I. 67.² Munro's Life, I. 75.³ Munro's Life, I. 75.⁴ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 33, 131. Munro who was loved in Bellári, was feared in Kánara. He hated its impassable woods and hills, its five months of rain, and its unfriendly deceitful people. On the 7th of June 1800, he wrote, 'Where there has been seven years of anarchy order can be established only by being inflexible; indulgence may be thought of afterwards.' Arbuthnot's Life, I. lxxvii, lxxxv.⁵ Mysore and Canara, III. 166-174, 181-184, 201.

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the number which were wanted to till the ground; and a great part of the cocoa-palms were dead. The roads were good, but not because labour had been spent on them, and every now and again came rivers, hills, and rocks impassable for a cart, difficult even for a bullock. From Bailur about ten miles north Buchanan passed among low bare laterite hills, with only two narrow valleys with a few people and a little good rice land, the barrenest tract he had ever seen. Two miles south of the Honávar lake there was a plain of poor soil with few people. It was impossible without making arrangements beforehand to take cattle across the Honávar lake. Honávar had been demolished by Tipu in 1784; since 1799 five shops had been opened. The pirate craft of the Marátha coast were a great hindrance to trade. They hovered round Pigeon Island and had the impertinence even to enter the rivers and inlets. Eight days before Buchanan was there, they had carried off two boats from Honávar, a week earlier one boat from Manki, and five days earlier one from Bhatkal. In the six miles between Honávar and Haladipura the soil was poor and the country much spoiled by creeks. According to Buchanan the cultivated lands were private property, the holder paying a lump sum for his entire estate. The proprietors, who were Bráhmans, were called *mulgárs* and some of them leased part of their lands to tenants or *genigárs*. Few estates were encumbered with mortgages, as the Bráhmans of Haiga were good economists. The Bráhmans did not work with their own hands; those with twenty ploughs were rich and those with four were fairly off; many had only one plough. In the Bráhmans' farms most of the work was done by slaves. The women slaves got a daily allowance of rice which amounted to nearly fifteen bushels a year, worth something less than £1 8s. 6d. (Rs. 14½). They were also paid 5s. (Rs. 2½) for clothes or altogether about £1 13s. 6d. (Rs. 16½) a year. A male slave's allowance was 22½ bushels of rice worth £2 7s. 6d. (Rs. 23½). A free male servant hired by the day received four pounds (2 *hanis*) of rice. Free men and slaves worked from five in the morning to seven at night, at noon eating food cooked by the master's people. The tenants held on four to ten years leases. For each crop of rice they paid for the best land eighty-four pounds (2 *morays* or *mudás*), for middling land sixty-three pounds (1½ *moray*), and for poor land forty-two pounds (1 *moray*). The over-holder paid the taxes. If he failed, under what Buchanan calls a miserable system of true Hindustáni invention, a man was billeted on him, and sold the crop and deducted the land tax. If a man gave security and failed to pay, on the third day after his failure, his security was put in confinement. Government never sold land because of arrears of rent, and in bad seasons the government demand was reduced. In private sales land fetched about five times its yearly rental and could be mortgaged for about two and a half times, the lender taking all the profit and the borrower being free to redeem it at any time. The value of land was shown by the number of disputed successions. The families generally lived undivided, the eldest member managing its affairs. A reduction in the export duty on rice and an increase in the demand were making rice a more important crop than it had formerly been.

The cattle were buffaloes and oxen, poor animals, most of them from above the Sahyādris. In the rainy months they were fat and strong; in the dry season though fed with hay and straw they were scarcely able to crawl. Working oxen were fed on rice husks, and working buffaloes on cocoanut-oil cake. Milk and butter were very dear as the few cows were in wretched condition. There were no carts. The Marátha pirates were a great obstacle to trade; people were afraid to build boats. There were no manufactures. Trade had been destroyed by Tipu and the merchants were only beginning to come back. Rice had formerly been imported. Now the number of people was so reduced that rice was one of the chief exports. The other leading exports were cocoanuts, betelnuts, pepper, and sandalwood. Kumta seemed to have once been a place of note. It had been twice burned by Tipu's irregulars. Hegada a little to the north of Kumta was a fine plain with farm-houses built in a style which showed that the people were much better off than was usual in India. Mirzai or Mirján on the north bank of the Tadri was entirely destroyed. In the hilly country to the east of Mirzai or Mirján well watered valleys were not fully cultivated owing to the want of people. North of Mirján the soil was good but was much neglected, because there was no one to till it. The plain of Gokarn was well cultivated, full of rice fields mixed with palm gardens. The Gangávli river had most wretched boats and no trade; its banks were beautiful but rather barren, and its salt was so bad as to be scarcely saleable. The country to the north of the Gangávli river, which according to Buchanan was the division between Haiga or Haiva and Konkana, though larger than the southern district, yielded much less revenue.¹ It was not naturally poorer and the people were by no means richer than those in the south; in fact their houses were not nearly so good. But it had been so long unsettled that it was wonderfully waste. Even of the good lands not more than two-thirds were under cultivation. The country had been laid waste by the Maráthás and by Komárpáik and Halepáik robbers. Munro had lately done good service by sending troops to shoot one Ganesh the Short, a Komárpáik chief who had persisted in his old practice of freebooting too long after the arrival of the English. Ankola was recovering and had forty shops. But the people did not live in towns. A few shops were collected in one place, and all the other inhabitants were scattered on their farms. The country to the north of Ankola was overgrown by trees. Part of it had once been cultivated, and with people enough the whole might be made productive. The only industry was a poor manufacture of catechu out of the *khair* tree, *Mimosa catechu*. Round Sadáshivgad, much land had fallen into the hands of Government and was waste. This was the result of the raids of Venja Náyak, a Komárpáik chief, who had forced even Bráhmans to join his caste. He had been brought to order by Major Munro and was now quiet. The town of Kárwár, formerly a noted place of European commerce,

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¹ Honávar £20,400 (*Pagodas* 51,000); Kundápur £20,000 (*Pagodas* 50,000); and Ankola £11,600 (*Pagodas* 29,000).

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had gone to ruin. Of its former commerce the only trace was a little traffic in salt and catechu. The chief husbandmen were miserably ignorant Habbu Bráhmans who had alienated much of their land to Maráthás, Konkana Bráhmans, and Komárpáiks. Munro had lowered the land rates, but, as what remained was strictly exacted, the revenue had increased. An estate paying £1 12s. (*Pagodas* 4) of revenue could be mortgaged for £40 (*Pagodas* 100) and sold for £60 (*Pagodas* 150). The land which had fallen to Government was charged higher rates than the old estates. The farms varied in size from one to five ploughs. The family of the proprietors generally worked on the farm, only a few of the rich employed hired servants. There were no slaves. Men servants were paid £2 8s. 4d. (*Pagodas* 6), or 16s. 1½d. (*Pagodas* 2) a year with a daily meal of rice. The oxen were small and wretched, and there were few buffaloes.¹

The north bank of the Kálinadi or Kárwár river was at first level with pretty good soil. Behind this the country rose in hills. There was apparently little tillage. Owing to disturbances the village of Gopichiti, the first stage from Kárwár, had been deserted for twenty years. But under the security of Munro's authority people had begun to settle. During the second stage, though much of the land had once been tilled, there was not a house for sixteen miles up the north bank of the Kárwár river. Kadra, about twenty miles from the coast, had once been a place of note; all that was left were two houses with one man and a lad, besides women. All the rest had been swept away by a great sickness which had prevailed for several years. The people thought it was the work of some angry spirit; in Buchanan's opinion it was probably due to the spread of forest. Sixteen miles further to Airla-Gotma the country was still without an inhabitant or a trace of tillage. But it was not entirely deserted as small villages were hid in the forest. The people, who had been utterly lawless were reduced to order by Major Munro, and, except from tigers, the roads were now safe for a defenceless man. The country beyond was most unhealthy; for a stranger it was considered certain death.

At the foot and up the Sahyádrí spurs to the south of the Kálinadi Buchanan found valleys with rice and plantations of betel and cocoa palms.² Further on the pepper hills were miserably neglected. The forests were very stately; but the climate was deadly. The road up the Sahyádris to Kutaki was badly planned. Loaded cattle could pass, and this the people thought was all that could be required of a road. Above the top of the Sahyádris, though the country was level and the soil good, there was no tillage, except low rice lands and betel gardens. The people were Haiga Bráhmans, hardworking husbandmen who tilled with their own hands. Formerly the country was full of thieves and gangs of scoundrels called *sadi sambati*. After Major Munro had driven most of them out, they went to the Marátha country and thrice returned to Kánara in great strength. Bands twenty to thirty strong still occasionally came. When attacks were expected the

¹ Buchanan's Mysore, III. 181-184.

² Buchanan's Mysore, III. 201.

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Bráhmans and other quiet people left their houses, and even during the rains hid themselves in the forests. Pestilence and beasts of prey were gentle compared with Hindu robbers, who tortured all who fell into their hands. In the sixteen miles to Yellápur the trees and the soil were fine. Three-fourths of the gardens were occupied, but from want of cultivators three-fourths of the rice lands were waste. Yellápur had a hundred houses, and a fairly supplied market. Sixteen miles beyond Yellápur the country was uninhabited. When Major Munro came to Kánara the sixteen miles from Yellápur to Sonda was a continued waste. About half way Major Munro had established Karay Hosohali a miserable hamlet of six houses. The people were Maráthás. Tigers and wild buffaloes were numerous, but there were no elephants. Further on the country was waste to Saucadagonda, where were some rice fields and a few houses belonging to the Teacher of the Haiga Bráhmans. To Sonda the country was very rough and there was little cultivation, except some betel gardens in and near the old walls. In the eight miles between Sonda and Sirsi, Buchanan saw neither houses nor cultivation, but it was said that there were villages near the road. In two places he noticed neglected pepper plantations. Sirsi was a small village on a considerable thoroughfare which was still troubled by robbers.

Great part of the garden land near Sirsi was waste. This was due, along with other troubles, to Tipu's raising the land-tax. Major Munro had reduced the rent to the old standard, but no new gardens had been begun as the people expected further indulgence. There were few slaves. Most of the field work was done either by Haiga Bráhmans or by hired labourers. The Haiga Bráhmans toiled on their own ground at every form of labour, but they never worked for hire. For so poor a country the wages were very high. The hired male servants, who were generally engaged by the year and who were all men, seldom received money in advance. They got three meals a day in their master's house, and once a year a blanket, a handkerchief, and £2 8s. 4d. (*Pagodas* 6) in cash. The women who were hired by the day were paid 3 pounds ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *shers*) of rough rice and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. (*1 anna*) a day in cash (3 *dudus* of which $49\frac{1}{2}$ = Re. 1). A male slave received 4 pounds (2 *shers*) of rough rice a day, and, once a year a blanket, a handkerchief, a piece of cotton cloth, and some oil, tamarinds, and capsicum. For his wedding, the only money he ever saw, he was given £6 8s. 11d. (*Pagodas* 16) as the price of his wife. As the wife had to be bought she and all the children became the master's property. A woman slave was paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *shers*) of rough rice a day, and once a year a blanket, a piece of cotton cloth, and a jacket. Children and old people got dressed victuals at the master's house and were allowed some clothing. The men worked from sunrise to sunset with a rest of twenty-four minutes at midday. The women staid at home till eight in the morning cooking. They then carried the food into the fields and remained working with the men till sunset. There were few or no resident merchants. Some merchants from below the Sahyádris bought a little pepper, but the chief buyers of local produce were Banjigs from Hubli, Dhárwár, and the Marátha dominions, who were said to give every protection and encouragement to trade.

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These inland traders brought cloth and grain, and took pepper betelnut and cardamoms. Some of the trading was done by barter, but most by cash payments to local shopkeepers. There was an import of iron from Maisur for local use, and an import and great through traffic in salt from the coast to the Marátha territories. The climate was considered dangerous to people not inured to it from birth. In the twenty miles between Sirsi and Banavási a great deal of the country which had formerly been cleared was waste. Banavási had ruined walls and about 250 houses. In the east of Sonda, owing to want of people and stock, dry field tillage was much neglected, and the whole of the rice-ground was not cultivated. The cattle were larger than in lowland Kánara, but greatly inferior to the cattle further to the east, from which many plough oxen were brought. Buffaloes were more used than oxen. There were no sheep, goats, swine, or asses, and very few horses. The revenue was paid in money. The custom of lending money on the mortgage of land proved that the land-tax was moderate and left enough with the cultivator to make the land valuable. A farmer with six ploughs was considered rich. Haiga Bráhmans never themselves held the plough. Hired men received 8 pounds (4 *shers*) of rough rice worth less than 1½*d.* (1 *anna*). A man slave was given 4 pounds (2 *shers*) of rough rice a day worth £1 2*s.* a year, a handkerchief, a blanket, and a piece of cloth worth 4*s.* (Rs. 2), about 8*s.* (*Pagoda* 1) in money, and at harvest six *kandaks* of rice worth 14*s.* 6*d.* A woman slave received a piece of cloth every year and a meal of dressed victuals on any day she worked.

When Munro left Kánara in 1800, the district of which he had been in charge was divided. The present collectorate of North Kánara together with the Kundápur sub-division of South Kánara was placed under Mr. Read, and the rest under Mr. Ravenshaw. In 1817 the two divisions were re-united into one collectorate under the Honourable Mr. Harris, and remained as one charge till the transfer of North Kánara to the Bombay Presidency in 1862. About the beginning of 1831 there were some riots termed *kuts*, to suppress which it was necessary to call in military aid. The season had been unfavourable and the collection of the Government demands was resisted. Government were of opinion¹ that the riots were due, not to so temporary a cause as failure of crops, but to the state of the assessment which was said to be on some estates but a pepper-corn, and on others oppressively high. Subsequent inquiry² showed that the riots had been got up by the intrigues of some Bráhmans on the Collector's establishment to throw the district into confusion, bring discredit on the administration of Mr. Dickenson, and procure the removal of Native Christians from the revenue department. The riots were easily suppressed and no great injury was done.

Riots,
1831.Sávant Rising,
1858-1859.

On the night of the 2nd of February 1858 three sons of Phond Sávant, a man of position in Sávantvádi, who, since the disturbances of 1844-45 had been under guard in Goa, escaped. They gathered a band of 150 men, plundered the customs house at the Tini pass

¹ Letter to Principal Collectors and Magistrates, 130, 8th February 1831.

² Mr. Stokes, Commissioner, to the Board of Revenue, 12th January 1833.

about thirty miles north-west of Supa and took a strong position on Darshanigudda hill about five miles north of Tini. Troops were sent against them and a large reward was offered for their capture. But the country was so difficult and so favourable for banditti that they remained at large for nearly two years. In the latter part of 1859 the continued pressure of the troops greatly reduced the strength of the gang. It was finally broken up by Lieutenants Giertzen and Drenner on the 5th of December 1859.¹

On the 16th of April 1862 the district of North Kánara, with the exception of the Kundápur sub-division, for administrative and legislative purposes, was transferred to the Presidency of Bombay by an order of the Secretary of State issued under 16th and 17th Victoria cap. 95 section 18.² The principal reasons for the transfer were that the district was a narrow strip of territory interposed between cotton districts of great importance to the Bombay cotton trade and the sea, the commercial emporium of which, at least as regarded the cotton trade, was Bombay, and that while the cotton cultivation and trade above the Sahyádris and the coasting trade below, looked to Bombay as their commercial capital, the Public Works and other departments of administration in Kánara looked to Madras as the seat of their Government with which there was little commercial connection.³ There was much discussion as to what extent of territory should come under the Bombay Presidency. Even after the proclamation of transfer it was represented that Kundápur should not be excluded,⁴ as, except those transferred to the Bombay Government, it was the only sub-division on the Malabár coast in which the Kanárese language was spoken. The Secretary of State declined to alter his decision.⁵ By Bombay Act III. of 1863, from the date of transfer, the territory was declared subject to the acts and regulations of the Bombay Presidency.

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Century.*Transfer,*
1862.¹ Stokes' Belgaum, 92-93.² Political, 16, 28th February 1862, and Proclamations of 16th April 1862.³ Government of India, 2519, 24th December 1861.⁴ Bombay Government to Secretary of State, 9, 12th May 1862.⁵ Political, 23, 30th June 1862.