CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that Karnataka possesses rich historical material for the reconstruction of its history from the earliest times to the present day. These sources are broadly classified into two categories, such as archaeological and literary. The former sources consist of four main types - material unearthed from excavations, architectural monuments, epigraphs and coins. The latter sources comprise of literary works like Kāvyas, the accounts of foreign visitors, Muslim chronicles and official and non-official documents of different types. For the early part of the history of Karnataka, the archaeological sources are of more importance. It is specially the
inscriptions which provide rich material, while other types augment to some extent, the information gathered from the inscriptions.

The inscriptions can be classified into two different categories, depending upon the material used for engraving them, the subject matter and the language and scripts employed in them. Most of these epigraphs found in our region are written on stones and they are found mostly in public places, such as the temples, the tank bunds and even the fields. The contents of most of such records relate to different types of donations for common cause such as worship in the temples, maintenance of educational and other institutions and up-keep of the tanks for irrigation purposes and so on. Naturally, therefore, this cause was to be made known to the public, who were expected to abide by the condition laid down for such grants and cooperate in maintaining them. Hence such epigraphs are found in public places. In contrast, the inscriptions on copper plate given under the seal of the royal authority are mostly found in the possession of private individuals and institutions. This is because such inscriptions pertain to the donations made to private individuals or groups of them and institutions. There is another category of stone inscriptions which can
be described as memorials set up again in public places. Some of them commemorate the heroic death of valiant fighters in saving the honour and integrity of their territory while others commemorate the dedication of the lives of devotees in the name of the religion. There is another variety of memorials which perpetuate the memory of devoted wives who prefer to burn themselves in the funeral fire of their husbands than suffer a widowed life. All such inscriptions of such categories provide useful material for understanding the life and culture of our people in different periods.

The tradition of writing inscriptions in Karnataka as in India commenced on a wider scale with the Maurya king Asoka's launching on a programme of propagating his principles through his edicts. The subsequent dynasties followed this method to perpetuate their good deeds through lithic records. A variety of records came to be written in different regions and periods; many a time employing classical language thus producing inscriptions of considerable literary merit. In Karnataka we start getting inscriptions in considerable number from the days of the Kadambas of Banavasi till heydays of Vijayanagara empire. Towards the end of the Vijayanagara period and the subsequent days, other types of material such as palm leaf and cloth came to be used and
the writing of inscriptions appears to have become a sort of mere formality. This naturally affected the number as well as the quality from the literary point of view of the inscriptions. It is, however, to be noted that inscriptions on stone and copper continued to be engraved, in spite of more and more use of other material. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the practice of writing inscriptions went out of vogue.

The literary works have proved to be of limited use in the reconstruction of the history of Karnataka. Works of a number of poets from the early period of our history have provided a meagre historical material. Even the so-called historical kavyas like the Vikramāṅkadeva Charitam of Bilhana have their own limitations.

Accounts of foreign travellers have been of considerable use in the writing of our history. The main defect, however, of these accounts is the unreliable nature of much of the information contained in them. The obvious reason for such a situation is the ignorance of local languages, customs and traditions on the part of the visitors. It is noticed that many fantastic and totally unbelievable hearsay accounts have crept into many of these works.
The chronicles of Muslim writers make their appearance with the advent of the Muslim rule in our country. The study of these works shows that by and large, these so-called historians in the courts of Muslim rulers had a particular angle of approach and there is reason to believe that much of what they wrote is not real history.

Official and non-official documents such as the private records, diaries, official correspondence and the like are useful for the study of history of the post-Vijayanagara period. They consist of such records as the Kadāta used for maintaining temple accounts, family history, correspondence of the rulers of Kanara and the European traders. There are also some diaries of authors like Della Valle, Buchanan, and others. This is the general nature of the source material for the reconstruction of the history of Karnataka from the earliest period down to the modern times. These categories have been discussed below in detail pointing out their contributions so far as the history of the period under study is concerned.

INSCRIPTIONS

It has been pointed out above that when we come to the later period of the history of Karnataka, the epigraphs lose their prime position and other types of material slowly gain prominence. It is to be noted, however,
that for the history of the period under study, inscrip-
tions continue to be the most important sources. Var-
ety of documents, however, are to be used for studying
especially the activities of the Europeans in the latter,
half of the period.

There are nearly seven hundred inscriptions
which greatly help us in our study. Some of them have
been published, while many others are noticed in the
reports mentioned below. There are about fifty inscri-
ptions which are neither published nor noticed by earlier
scholars. It was my good fortune that I could lay hand
on them. They supply very useful material for our study.
The credit of reporting the inscriptions of our period
of study should go to the Epigraphical branch of the
Archaeological Survey of India. They have listed a good
number of inscriptions required for our study in their
Annual Reports. Summaries of these inscriptions disco-
vered both in North and South Kanara districts are found
in Annual Reports on Epigraphy (Southern Circle) 1901,
Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy 1922,1928,1929-35,
1938,1939-43, Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy of 1952-

Since 1939, the Kannada Research Institute,
Karnatak University, Dharwar, has been conducting epigra-
phical Survey of the Northern districts of Karnataka. Reports of inscriptions pertaining to our period of study appear in the Annual Reports and the Summaries of Inscriptions published by the Institute. The texts of some of the inscriptions have also seen light of the day. Good number of them have been published in the series of South Indian Inscriptions Vol.VII,IX, Part II, XX and in the volumes of the Epigraphiae Carnaticae, Vol.VII, VIII and (VII and VIII supplementary, 1970). The texts of some of the epigraphs have also been published in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. A few inscriptions have also been brought to light in the volumes I, III, Part-I, IV, and VI of the series of Karnataka Inscriptions published by the Kannada Research Institute.

Among the individuals who have studied a few inscriptions pertaining to our period mention should be made of Hultzsch; Krishna Shastri and N.Lakshminarayana Rao who published inscriptions of Venur (1604 A.D.), Karkala (1586 A.D.) and Kapu (1556 A.D.) in the volumes VII, VIII and XX of the Epigraphia Indica respectively. Some inscriptions of the Shudi rulers have been published by Bhatt M.S. and Desai P.B. in volumes XXXII and XXXIV respectively, of the same journal. Professor Kundangar K.G. published three inscriptions of the Biligé chiefs in the Jaya Karnata (1925, Vol.IV.); while the late Govinda Pai M. published three inscriptions from Venur in his book Venurina stilé-
śāsanagalu (1928). Saleto B.A. brought to light two copper plate grants belonging to the Banga ruler, Shankara-ūrvi. They are published in the *Journal of Bombay Historic Society* (1929). Shri Sivamurthy Shastry and Dr. Desai P.B. published three and two inscriptions belonging to the Biligê and Svōdi chiefs in the pages of the *Sharana Shāhitya* in the years 1940 and 1957 respectively.

Besides these, there are some more inscriptions belonging to Gerasoppe, the Keladi and other chiefs which have been discovered of late. I could make first hand study of them through the good office of scholars like Dr. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist, Government of India (Retired), Dr. Desai P.B., Dr. Gururaja Bhatt, Shri Venkatáraya Achar, K. K. Devakumar Jain, S.N. Achar and M. Sadasiva Holla.

The inscriptions studied here are found above and below the western Ghat regions of Karnataka. They provide much new information. The mention of dates in these epigraphs enables us to know the ruling chiefs in this region and their chronology. They enlighten us on some of the important political events of the period. A few outstanding instances are noted here. For example, a few epigraphs dated 1592, 1599, 1562-98, 1555-1602 are helpful to fix the duration of the years of the rulers
like Pândâyappa¹ Vīra Bhairava VII² of the Kalasã Kãrkalã Chennabhairãdövi³ of Gerasoppe and Immadi Arasappa Nãyaka of Svãdî.⁴ Similarly, a few inscriptions ranging from A.D.1571 to 1604 A.D, found at Kãrkala, Mûdabidre and Venûru⁵ give detail about the reign of feudatory chiefs of Kalasa Kãrkalã, the Ajilas of Venûru and the Chautãs of Puttige. The rule of the Sãmanta chief round about Mulki in the year 1606 A.D. is known to us from the recently discovered copper plate inscription found at Kõтекерï Basadi there.⁶

We also learn about the existence of potentates of Surâla (South Kanara) Chenñayarasa Tolaha between the years 1562 and 1576 from lithic records hailing from Surãla and Hattiyangadi.⁷ Similarly, some more epigraphs⁸ belonging to the years from 1562 to 1598 hailing from Bhatkal, Gerasoppe, Bîligé and Banavãsi mention that Chennabhairãdövi of Gerasoppe, Arasappa Nãyaka of Svãdî and Rangarãja and Gantêndra II of Bîligé were rulers in different parts of North Kanara.

Two stone inscriptions:— one from Užuvâri (North Kanara) dated in 1550 A.D. and the other from Basãrûru, dated in 1554 A.D. — and a copper plate grant dated in 1556 A.D.⁹ from Kãpu, are of much importance for the history of Kanara. These records throw a flood of
light on the entry of Keladi Sadāśiva Māyaka in Kanara and his rule over Bārakūru and Mangalūru rājyas during the reign of emperor Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara and his lieutenant Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara. Another stone inscription dated in 1586 A.D. from Sorab taluk refers to the fight between Keladi Chikka Sankanna Māyaka and Arasappa Māyaka of Svādi.10

Two copper plate inscriptions – one from Mūdabidre dated in 1622 A.D. and the other from Shivamoga dated in 1641 A.D.11 – inform us about the consolidation of the authority of Keladi in the major portions of Kanara during the time of Keladi Venkatappa Māyaka I.

Some epigraphs of our period help us to know the genealogy of different families such as the Kalasa Kārkala, the Ajilas, the chiefs of Biligī, the Sālūvas of Gerasoppe, the Svādi and the Māyakas of Keladi. They are utilised in the respective chapters.

Besides these, there are some inscriptions which bring to light a few new rulers for the first time. For instance, Rāmachandra II of Svādi,12 Bilīge Sōmaśekhara III,13 Mahālingarasa, Madanādēvi I and Madanādēvi II of the Tōlaha family (1676–1725 A.D.)14 the three Banga rulers of the same name – Vīra Narasimha Sānkarā-Dēvi – in 1587, 1643 and 1644 and 1675 A.D.15 the Sāmantā chief Kimmika in
1606 A.D.\textsuperscript{16} and Abbakkadēvi Chauṭa of Mūḍabidre in 1667 A.D.\textsuperscript{17} are known to us from the inscriptions found at different places in Kanara and Shivamogā districts. A few other epigraphs used here help us to find out the extent of territories ruled by some of the chiefs. For example, the inscriptions\textsuperscript{18} dated 1566, 1570, 1573 and 1586 A.D. and belonging to the Honneyakambali and the Bhairarasa Odeyar\textsuperscript{8} VI of Kālasa Kārkala speak of the region ruled over by them, thus enabling us to fix the approximate extent of their respective territories.

The Chaturmukka basadi inscription\textsuperscript{19} dated 1586 A.D. relates the relationship between the Banga and the Bhairarasa Odeyar of Kālasa Kārkala. A copper plate inscription dated in 1573 A.D.\textsuperscript{20} recently discovered in Paḍubidre, records the assistance of Chennabhairādevi of Gerasoppe to Paḍubidre chief, Padumaladēvi, for the construction of Muniśvara Chaityālaya there. This record is a clear proof of the close contact of the chief of Gerasoppe (North Kanara) with the chief of Paḍubidre (South Kanara). The activities of the Mughals and the nature of their contacts with the Keladi rulers are highlighted by a few epigraphs, ranging from 1655 to 1691 A.D., hailing from Kapilātirtha (Uttar Pradesh) near Kāśi and Shikaripura taluk of Shivamogā district of Karnataka State.\textsuperscript{21} Similarly, two inscriptions belonging to the year 1631 and 1641 A.D. from Shivamogā
district are helpful to know the activities of the Adilshahi rulers in the kingdom of Keladi. Further, these records tell us of the reaction of the Keladi Nayakas towards the Adilshahis. 22

As regards the chiefs of Vitāla in South Kanara district, I have noticed four unpublished inscriptions dated in 1721, 1727, 1730 and 1744 A.D. in the same place. They are helpful to reconstruct the political history of that principality and the religious policy pursued by its chiefs. The last two of the epigraphs mentioned above inform us that the chiefs of Vitāla were strong allies of the Chaūta. The units of administration, different officers in that principality, and the revenue administration in that principality are known from the same epigraph. 23

An unpublished inscription found at Muḍabidre dated in 1640 A.D. is significant for the following reasons. First, it states of Keladi Virabhadra's effective control over Bālkūru and Mangalūru rājyas. Second, the existence of the Chaūta principality under Chikkarāja Odeya and his status under Keladi Virabhadra is known from the same epigraph. And third, it relates the existence of various guilds at Muḍabidre and their role, the keen interest of the chief of Chaūta to preserve the civic rights of these bodies and the conduct of administration in the local area in the year specified. 24
Two epigraphs, one from Müdabidre and the other from Svādi dated in 1562 and 1569 A.D. respectively, record Svādi Arasappa’s patronage to Jainism. It is clear from these inscriptions that Arasappa did not persecute the Jainas as recorded by Buchanan and others.

Similarly, the broad religious outlook of the Keladi Nayakas in Kanara is revealed by a few inscriptions found at Udupi and Kolūrum in South Kanara, Sirali in North Kanara and Sagar and Tirthalli in Shivamogā districts.

The catholic religious outlook of Chennabhairādevī of Gerasoppe is brought to light by some recently discovered copper plate inscriptions. Two of them are dated in 1562 and 1564 A.D. and are deposited in the Durgaparamēśvara temple at Uppunda (South Kanara District). It is interesting to note that these epigraphs enlighten us on many aspects of her administration, such as revenue, justice, land transaction, and coinage.

Further good number of these inscriptions help us to understand the system of administration in Kanara.

There is only one hero-stone that belongs to our period. It comes from Haladipura (North Kanara) and speaks for the first time, about the strained relationship between the chiefs of Gerasoppe and the chief of Biligē.
LITERARY SOURCES

KĀVYAS

As pointed out earlier, literary works have also served as sources of history to some extent. In the period under study, some works of this type came to be written and they give some information regarding the kings, their courts and at times, even their genealogy. Being literary in character, they do contain much extraneous matters, but whatever little information they give will be of some use for the study of the history of the region.

Nāgakumāra Charitre composed by Bahubali in 1560 A.D. is worth noticing in this context. This poet was patronised by Bhairavendra of Kelavane, (Keravare). He eulogises his patron as a protector of Sringeri pontificate and a ruler of the South from his capital at Kelavane. He further describes the grand court of Bhairavendra and praises his religious toleration, admires his devotion to Jaina Dharma and appreciates his keen interest in patronising poets. The importance of this work is that it enables us to fix the commencement of the reign of Bhairavaraya VI and to know his contacts with Sringeri Matha.

Karkala Gommatesvara Charitre, composed by Chandrama in 1646 A.D., is the only contemporary work.
referring to the Kalasa Kārkala chiefs. It gives the genealogy of these chiefs. This Kāvyā was written at the command of a Jain ascetic, Lalitkārtī and under the patronage of Bhairavarāya VII (Bhairavendra). It makes particular reference to the dignified court of Bhairavendra VII and his patronage to literature to other contemporary rulers to the flourishing condition of Jainism in Tuḷunādu in general and in the Kārkala principality in particular and to the general and military administration in this principality.

**Jinadatta Rāya Charitre or Padmāvati Mahātmya**

written by poet Padmanābha towards the end of the seventeenth century, is one of the contemporary literary sources for the history of the Sāmanta chiefs of Sīmantūru (Mulki). The poet composed this Kāvyā during the reign of Chennāmbike, the Sāmanta chief, who ruled between the end of the seventeenth and beginning of eighteenth centuries. He was a treasurer in the court of Tirumala Sāmanta, the immediate predecessor of Chennāmbike. In the first Sandhi, the author tells us about the successive Sāmanta chiefs and their achievements. As the poet was in close contact with the members of this royal family, his account can be said to be fairly dependable. The topography of Mulki, then the capital of this chief, is also described at length. Despite literary exaggeration, the above mentioned
Kavya to certain extent is helpful to know the successive Samanta chiefs and their patronage to literature and other arts. It also throws light on the administration, the flourishing condition of Jainism and the condition of the people under the chiefs.

The *Śivatattvaratnākara* was compiled by Basavarāja of Keladi in about 1709 A.D. It is an encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit, dealing with variety of subjects. Besides mentioning the history of the Keladi rulers, it describes the expansion of the Keladi authority in the coastal Kanara. The extent of Keladi territory in the coastal Kanara and the religious policy of the Keladi Nāyakas and the nature of their polity in Kanara can be studied from this work. The only defect of this work is that its narration of the Keladi rulers from Chaudappa to Basavappa Nayaka is interwoven with the account of different branches of knowledge. In the words of Mr. Chitnis "the information about Keladi has to be culled out carefully from this stupendous work".

The political history of the Bilige chiefs from Andanna to Basavendra is traced in the *Bilige Arasugala Vamsāvali*. The author's name and his date are not mentioned anywhere in the work. It is interesting to note that the author mentions the accession of Basvendra in the Āngirasa
Samvatsara, corresponding to 1752 A.D. But he does not mention Sōmaśēkhara III whose reign we came to know from two epigraphs dated in 1769 A.D. Therefore it is probable that the poet wrote this Kāvyā before 1769.

The contacts of Bilige rulers with the Keladi Nāyakas and the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, the administrative divisions of this principality and various officers in that principality are brought to light from this work. It, however, eulogises these chiefs to such an extent that some of the contents, mentioned in it seem to be far from truth. This is exposed when we compare the account of this work with other contemporary works. Secondly, the services rendered by these chiefs to Jainism are not mentioned in the work at all, though these are traced in the inscriptions. Further, the history of the Bilige chiefs given in the work is incomplete.

The Ratnāśekhara Charitre written by Pattābhirāma in 1726 A.D. refers to Abbakkadēvi II of the Chauta family of Mūdabidre. It, thus carries forward the rule of the Chautas in Mūdabidre region as late as 1725 A.D., while the inscriptions stop with 1667 A.D. It should also be noted here that another work of still later period i.e., 1760 A.D. mentions the contemporary Chauta chiefs like Chennammadēvi and her son Chandraśēkhara Chikkarāja, thus...
further continuing the Chauta rule up to 1760 A.D. This work is Padmāvati Charitre, composed by poet Sural. For the later history of the Bangas and the Sāmantas in the eighteenth century, we are indebted to the Kāmachandra-Charitre, a joint work by Chandrāsēkhara and Padmanābha. The former wrote the first sixteen Sandhis in the court of Lakṣmaṇa Banga, while the latter completed the work by adding twenty-one Sandhis. This Kāvyā is said to have been completed in Saka 1673 A.D. Pramodāyā Samvatsara Vaisākha, corresponding to 1751 A.D. A paper manuscript of this work is preserved in a Gurukula basadi at Mūdabidre. It is said to have been a copy of an earlier palm leaf manuscript. The importance of this work for the history of the Bangas and the Sāmantas may be stated as follows: First, it is the only contemporary work which gives a few facts about the history of the two families. This enables us to assert that these chiefs continued to rule their principalities even after the consolidation of the Keladi authority in South Kanara. Second, it describes the flourishing condition of Jainism in these principalities. And third, the topography of these principalities, the names of different officers who served in them and the grand court of the chiefs are described in it.

Nālappa wrote Hydernamak, in 1764 A.D. It narrates the history of Haidar Ali of Mysore. The chief value
of the work is that it gives confirmatory evidence to Haidara's conquest of Kanara. The author writes the facts here with healthy independence and judicious frankness which could not be expected from court chroniclers.

The Keladimmapavijayam written by poet Linganna, was edited by Shama Shastry in 1921 with an introduction by Krishna Shastry A.R. The poet seems to have written this work between 1763 and 1804 A.D. It is written in Champu style. This work is helpful, especially, because it narrates the gradual expansion of the Keladi authority in Kanara, the existence of various chiefs in Kanara, their reaction towards the Keladi rulers, the activities of the Keladi Nayakas in Kanara, their administration and religious policy, the nature of contact between the Keladi Nayakas and the Adilshahi and the Marathas activities in Kanara. In addition to these, the work also furnishes some information about the chiefs of Svādi and Biligē, the extent of their territories and their conflicts with the Keladi Nayakas. The extent of the territories held by the Honneyakambali and the chiefs of Suralka (Tōlahas) in South Kanara before the advent of Keladi Venkátappa Nayaka and the extent of the Svādi principality in North Kanara during the reign of Keladi Śivappa, Sōmaśekhara I and Chennamūji are also described in it. At the end of every Āsvāma the poet has given a list of various officers who served under
different Keladi rulers. This information is useful for the administrative history of Kanara of our period. Much of the information contained in this book is in agreement with the inscriptions and foreign sources. However, some of the facts mentioned in the first three Ḍvāsas are not reliable, as these contain factual and chronological errors. But these defects do not undermine the historical value of the work.

TRADITIONAL LITERATURE

There are some traditional accounts which, when corroborated by other sources yield good material for the study. Otherwise their usefulness is very little as source material, since most of them contain legends and hearsay. These traditional accounts very often refer to the achievements of the chiefs in South Kanara, the queen of Gerasoppe and the Adilshahi hold in North Kanara (the North of the river Mirjan), the Svādi and Biligé chiefs, and the Keladi rulers. Most of these are utilised by authors like Aigal, Shama Shastry, Joisa N.R. and Halkati in their respective works, Dakshina Kannada Jélleya Prāchīna Ithihiṣa, the Arasus of Gerasoppe, the Sonda Kaipedi, the Keladi Samāsth-ānada Kāvara Vamsāvāli. They, however, include some material from inscriptions and other sources also. It is to be noted that the accounts given in these works are not critical and accurate. These sources have been utilised
with utmost care, examining, wherever possible, their authenticity by comparing them with the information supported by other sources like the inscriptions.

**MUSLIM CHRONICLES**

As is well known, with the advent of Muslim rule in India, a new type of source material in the form of the chronicles of the Muslim writers, who lived in the courts of Muslim rulers, came into existence. For the period under study, four such chronicles are of particularly useful. They are Tarikhi-I-Ferishta, written by Ferishta, Muhamad namah composed by Muhammad Zahur, Nishan Haidari by Kirmani and Akhbari Muhabbat written by Muhabbat Khan. All these works are in Persian language and these are translated into English either in full or in part. The first three are contemporary works while the last one written in 1806 A.D. belongs to a later period.

Though all these works supply useful information, they cannot be relied upon as they suffer from certain inherent defects. Most of them were written in the courts of the rulers to narrate the achievements of their masters. Thus we find them almost always glorifying their masters out of all proportions and condemning opponents equally disproportionately. They generally bear prejudice against
the Hindus and are not generally critical in stating facts. Nevertheless, they do help us in getting some information about the period concerned.

_Tarikhi-i-Ferishta_, i.e., the account of Ferishta was written in the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur. It was translated into English in 1794 A.D. by Scott under the title _Ferishta's History of Dekkan from the First Mahummedan Conquest_. In 1829 A.D., Briggs translated the same work into English under the title of _History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till A.D. 1612_. The same book was republished in 1910 and 1966. Volume III of this work is helpful for our purpose. It refers to the political condition of Kanara after the battle of Bannihatti (Rakkasa-Tangadi). Next he describes the expansion of the Adilshahi authority in northern portion of Kanara, speaks of the administrative arrangements made by his master in that region and makes reference to the political tie that existed between the Adilshahi and other chiefs of this region. It is to be noted that the work suffers from the defects mentioned above. For example, his statement with reference to the political condition of Kanara after the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi is one sided. Besides, his observations on the extent of the Bijapur kingdom in Kanara and his statement that the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi was followed by rebellions in Kanara are
not confirmed by any other sources like inscriptions.

Muhammed Zahur began to write *Muhammad-namah.* He wrote it in the court of Muhammad Shaha of Bijapur and its commencement of writing began in 1641 A.D. We find the translation of some extracts of the work by Professor Varma Bhagwat Dayal in *Śivāji Nibandhāvalī* edited by Kelkar in 1930. The account describes the military campaign of Muhammad Shah in Karnataka under the command of Kandaula Khan and Nawab Khan Baba (Mustafa Khan) in 1637 and 1644 A.D. respectively. The second campaign was directed against Śivappa Nayaka of Keladi. This work enables us to know the strained relationship between the Adilshahis and the Keladi Nayakas.

*Nishan-e-Haidari* of Kirmani, the court historian of Haidar and Tipu Sultan has only limited use. Its main defect is, its indifference to the chronology of events. But the author's narration of the scenic beauty of Kanara and its prosperity under the Keladi rulers is interesting. He also gives an exaggerated account of Haidar's campaign against Keladi and the capture of Basavarāja-durga near Honnāvar. This work was translated into English in 1642 A.D. under title of *History of Hydur Naik.*

Nawab Muhabat Khan, the author of the *Akhbāri Muhabbat* refers to the Portuguese forts at Mangalore and
This fact has been confirmed by other sources. The author also makes reference to the war that took place between Ibrahim Adilshaha II and the Portuguese in 1570 A.D. Over and above, Muhabat Khan describes predatory activities of the Portuguese in west coast of India. An extract of the account is found in History of India as told by its Own Historians, Volume VIII (1966, Allahabad).

INDIGENOUS RECORDS

It has been pointed out above that after the seventeenth century more and more of other material came to be used for the purpose of writing. Not only for writing literary works but even for writing certain records such as the grants, agreements, palm leaf came to be used for the period under study. We have two interesting records of this type. One of them dated 1641 A.D. was published by Aigal in his book (Dakshina Kannada Jėlleya Prachina Ėthibāsa). It is worth considering for the following reasons: First, it speaks of the termination of the hostility between Keladi ruler Virabhadra and the Banga, queen Shankaradevi. Second, it gives an idea about the extent of the territory under the Bangas as a result of the treaty between the two. Third, the part played by the Malabar chiefs in that hostility is known from this document. And lastly, it mentions the units of administration, the coinage and forts in the Banga principality.
Another palm leaf record dated in Ṣādharṇa Samvatsara (1730 A.D.) measuring 9" x 2" was discovered by me at Talipadi Church, near Mulki (South Kanara). It brings to light a new Sāmanta ruler, Chennāraya. Further, it speaks of his grant of land to a church to be built at Talipadi.

KADATA

A peculiar type of records written on a long piece of cotton cloth with its both faces blacked with charcoal or lamp black came to prominence during the period under study. The writing was done in white colour with chalk or steatite pencil. Such pieces are folded transversely and preserved under hard boards. Generally, such records contain royal decrees, grants, transfer of property, temple accounts etc. A study of these documents indicates that such records were originally written on paper and later on transferred on cloth probably for the sake of permanency. They were expected to be preserved in the office of Sānabhoṣa — the accountant of village. This type of record is known as Kadata. Kadatas are generally found in the possession of temple authorities, descendants of the royal family and the Karmikas who have held the office of the village accountant for generations hereditarily. They are mostly in Kannada language and
and script. For the period under study, the documents found at Manjesvara, Nandavar, Sringeri, Halasanadu and Kalyanapura are of some importance. It is said that Chitrapur Matha in North Kanara had possessed considerable number of Kadatas which, however, were destroyed by fire. The Matha now possesses copies of these Kadatas. Some of them from Manjesvara and Nandavar have been published by Aigal in his books Dakshina Kannada Jelleya Prachina Ithihasa (1923) and Manjesvara (1924). It is to be noted that since these documents happen to be copies of the original records there is every chance of their containing interpolation, omissions, substitutions, transposition and the like. To that extent their authenticity becomes less; yet the information they supply does help us to know some interesting details regarding administration and the territorial extent of contemporary kingdoms.

The following Kadatas throw a flood of light on the political history of Kanara. Two of the Kadatas from Manjesvara bring to lime light two Banga chiefs, Viranarasimha Lakshmappa in 1614 A.D. and Vira Narasimha Lakshmappa V in 1703 A.D. Some other Kadatas dated in 1619, 1637, 1653, 1655, 1731 and 1757 A.D., from the same place help us to know the activities of the Vitgala chiefs who were known as Domba Heggades. Another Kadata from the same place dated in 1706 A.D. records a grant of Keladi Basavappa I
to Pokachu Byari. It refers to the sufferings of the Keladi forces under Pokachur Byari from the forces of Malabar. It is the only indigenous source which states about the sufferings of the Keladi army in the military campaign. That the Keladi kingdom extended from Kāsargōd and Kumbale in the south to Medje and Gōkarna in north in 1745 A.D. is testified by yet another Kadata from the same place.

The administrative units such as Hobali, Māgani, Sime in the Mangalūru rāṣṭra current under the Keladi rulers are known from a few Kadatas.

The commencement of the reign of Keladi Basavappa II is known to us from the copy of the Kadata from Chitrāpurā. It is dated in the Siddhārāthi Samvatsara (A.D.1739).

Another Kadata bearing Raktākshi Samvatsara (1744 A.D.) referring to the same ruler is found at Kalyānapura (South Kanara). It not only refers to the administrative units of Hobali, Sime and Grama in descending order, but also mentions the role of Hobali Karṇika in the Bāarakuru Hobali.

The Kadatas found at Halasanādu deal with income and expenditure of the place. However, one of the Kadatas besides supplying information about the revenue, the units of administration and the coinage under the Keladi rulers,
refers to the village officers, the existence of a fort and a factory at Hosangadi and Honnāvar respectively and the expenses involved in different temples for the performance of religious rituals and festivals from time to time.

There are a few letters in Kannada language and script written by Keladi rulers to the viceroys of Goa. These letters give a good deal of information about the nature of contacts between the Keladi Nāyakas and the Portuguese. Besides, a few letters refer to the internal condition of the Keladi kingdom and the activities of Marāthas in the coastal Kanara.

FOREIGN RECORDS

As observed earlier, during the period under study, the coastal Kanara witnessed the activities of the Europeans. These Europeans are the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French. Some of them, particularly, the Portuguese and the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century and the Portuguese and the English in the middle of the next century, involved themselves in commerical rivalry and political intrigues. These activities can be known with the help of the records left behind by these people. These can be broadly arranged under five sub-heads, viz.

1. Official correspondence consisting of letters written by the Portuguese, Dutch or English Officers to their higher authorities.

2. Treaties or agreements of different rulers of Kanara with the western commercial companies.
3. Foreign chronicles
4. Accounts of Foreign Travellers. And
5. Later English works containing original documents.

Most of these foreign records augment the indigenous sources. At the same time we cull out reliable facts about the European activities and their contacts with different rulers in Kanara. Except the French Sources, which are in that language and also not easily accessible, the rest are consulted either in original or their translation.

THE PORTUGUESE RECORDS

The Portuguese documents are the foremost among the foreign sources. These documents are in that language. Scholars like Heras, Moraes G.M. Shastri B.S. and Antony D'Costa have utilised these documents. Their translations in English are found in the respective works.64

The Portuguese had kept a large number of records while they were rulers of Goa. These records generally consist of letters of the Viceroys and Governors of Goa to the kings of Portugal and Spain, instructions from the kings of Portugal and Spain to the Viceroys or Governors, the letters' orders to their subordinate officers, letters of the Vicars of the churches in Kanara to the higher authority in Goa and the like. Besides, they also contain
letters exchanged between the Portuguese authorities and
the Keladi Nayakas and Haidar Ali. Most of these docu-
ments contain dates and these are useful in reconstructing
the history of Kanara of the period under study. Some of
these documents are published, while the other have re¬
mained in the dark. The unpublished documents are kept in
the Archives at Panjim. Though these are consulted through
the works of eminent scholars, an attempt has been made
here to give new interpretation to these records. The
following are the unpublished documents (i) Livro De Reis
Vizinhos (ii) Livro Da Correspondencia Do Canara (1698-1720
Ibid, No.2, 1747-1769). (iii) Moncoes Do Reino. The first
is a book containing the correspondence with the neigh¬
bouring kings. In series of volumes, the same document
(No.1 to 12) contains letters written by the Viceroy to the
neighbouring kings. Some of the letters in volume second
of Livro Da throw a good deal of light on relations between
Haidar Ali and the Portuguese in Kanara. This has been
brought to light by Dr. B. S. Shastry in his article "Portuguese
Relations with Haidar Ali".65

The Document number iii, is entitled the book of
ordiance and instruction. It includes the Viceroy's instruc-
tion to the factory at Mangalore and captains and captain
Major of the Portuguese fleet. The last series consists of
the seasonal correspondence between the Governors of Goa
and the authorities in Portugal. A few extracts of the
unpublished documents in English are found in Dr. Sastry's unpublished thesis, *The Portuguese in Kanara* and also utilised in his published book *Keladiya Arasaru Hagu Portugeejaru* (in Kannada).

*Officios Dos Governadors No.12 of Macos No.2* tells us about Haidar's conquest of Kanara. This was uncovered by Dr. S.N. Sen in his article "A Portuguese Account of Haidar Ali".66

All these unpublished documents throw a flood of light on many unknown facts about Kanara such as the political situation in Kanara from the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi till the advent of Keladi Venkaṭappa Nayaka, the Portuguese attitude towards the Kanara chiefs, their commercial policy and the nature of their contacts with the Nayakas of Keladi. All these facts derived from these documents enrich our field of study.

Between the years 1861 and 1865 A.D. J.F. Biker edited a series of documents, *Collecao Tratados E Concertos De Pazes*. Some pages of these volumes contain treaties concluded by the Portuguese with the Nayakas of Keladi. A few instructions sent by the king of Portugal to the authorities in Goa are found in the *Archivo Portugea Oriental* (Twelve volumes), edited by J.H. Cunha Rivara and published in 1857-76 A.D. Some of the letters of king Philip II of Spain and Portugal contained in the third volume tell
us of the hostility between the Banga and Chauta chiefs and the Portuguese participation in this hostility on the side of the former against the latter. It also informs us about the war between queen Chenna-bhairādevī of Gerasoppe and Venkatappa-ṉāyaka of Keladi towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Official letters exchanged by the Viceroy or governors with the king of Portugal and Spain in the first two decades of the seventeenth century are found in another series of volumes, Documentos Remetidos Da India (five volumes), published by the Royal Academy of Science between 1880 and 1935. These documents supply a good deal of information regarding the Portuguese relations with Venkaṭappanāyaka of Ikkērī (Keladi) and other chiefs of Kanara. The expansion of the Keladi territory in Kanara under Venkaṭappa, Channa-bhairādevī's resistance to his forces, the reaction of the Portuguese and the activities of south Kanara chiefs, such as the Bangas, the queen of Uḷḷāla and the queen of Karnāṭa towards the Keladi Venkaṭappanāyaka are narrated here on the basis of this document in addition to other sources.

Between 1936 and 1940 Pereira Braganca edited Arquivo Portuguese Oriental in ten volumes. Volume III of this work contains a few extracts of correspondence between the Nayakas of Keladi and the Portuguese authorities.
in Goa. Besides, it covers some of the letters of the Viceroy to other European trading companies. Some of the letters found in different parts of this volume are helpful to understand the nature of the Portuguese contact with the Keladi Nayakas in the eighteenth century. Further in the same volume (tomo I) contains a treaty concluded in 1714 A.D. between the Portuguese and Keladi Basavappanāyaka.

Velho Diogo published in 1960 a document entitled *Orcaments Do Estado Da India*. It is concerned with the financial statements of the Portuguese in the year 1574. This document is useful for a study of the commercial activity of the Portuguese in that year. It is also helpful to know about the commercial contact of the Portuguese with the queen of Gerasoppe.

Pissurlencar edited two Portuguese documents. These are: (i) *Regimentos Das Fortalezas Da India* (1951) and (ii) *Assentos Conselho Do Estado* (five volumes, 1953-57).

For our purpose the first document throws light on the commercial and religious activities of the Portuguese in Kanara in the period under study. The second document contains the minute of the council of the states and other related Portuguese documents from Goa Archives and Portugal. These volumes are extremely useful to narrate the nature of alliance of the Bangarāja with the Portuguese in Goa.
against the Keladi Nayakas, the helpless condition of the Portuguese in 1618 A.D. their sympathy for the Banga king, the relations between the Keladi Nayakas and the Portuguese in Kanara, the attitude of the Adilshahis of Bijapur and the Portuguese towards the Keladi Sivappa and the malign policy of the Adilshahi rulers of Bijapur towards the Keladi Nayakas. In addition to these, the volume IV of the document describes the rivalry between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Kanara in the sixth decade of the seventeenth century.

An extract of the Document Marques Castello Nove E Alorna is found in Danvers' *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern Empire.* II (pp.423-424). This extract gives the political picture of Kanara in 1750 A.D. The condition of the Keladi and Svadi principalities and the commercial rivalry and the intrigues of the Portuguese and the English in the court of Svadi are cited in this thesis on the basis of this document.

**THE DUTCH RECORDS**

With reference to the Dutch sources, these are in that language. Therefore we have to depend upon its English translation. Such kind of works are meagre. Nevertheless, a few extracts from the Baravia Dagh Register are translated into English and these are found in the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society 1928-1932, entitled "Monume-
The extracts found in this journal contain accounts relating to the Dutch activities in Kanara, their relations with the Keladi Nayakas in the middle of the seventeenth century, and their contact with the Adilshahi Sultans of Bijapur in Kanara. The rivalry between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Kanara is stated in these extracts. While writing on the Dutch activities in Kanara in the seventeenth century these extracts come to our help.

The Dutch records BL 425 Jan.1675, Volume 31,836 and BL 13, Letter Book of 1675-76 provide a few facts about Shivaji's activities in Kanara and the consequences.

ENGLISH RECORDS

The reports sent by the British factors from Tellicherry to their governors in Bombay are recorded in the Secretariat Inward Letter Books, Secretariat Outward Letter Books and the Public Department Diaries. The English factory activities in Karwar in the years 1720-22, and 1751-52 are found in Garwar Factory Records. Garwar Factory Records Volume I, Bundle V, narrates the hostility between the Raja of Svadi and the English at Karwar from 1716 to 1717 A.D. Some of the Letters contained in the Bombay Factory Records, Volume 15,25,28 and 29 are interesting, as they supply good deal of material regarding the activities of the Marathas in North Kanara, and the English.
attitude towards the Svāḍī ruler, Sadāśivarāja I in the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth. All the records mentioned here are unpublished and kept in Maharashtra Archives, Elphinstone college Bombay.

The treaties and agreements concluded between the Keladi rulers and the English or Malabar chieftains are found in the following Books. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* by Logan, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanda* XI, by Aitchison C.U. *Records of Fort Saint George* Volumes II and V.

**CHRONICLES**

We have chronicles which speak of some important events in Kanara during our period of study. These chronicles are written by the Portuguese, French and Italian writer Delfini. Since the authors of these chronicles belonged to our period, their views cannot be brushed aside. A critical study of these accounts provides additional facts to our subject. The Portuguese chronicles enlighten us about the political events in Kanara during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All the Portuguese chronicles quoted in this work are consulted through Dr. B. S. Shastry’s work *The Portuguese in Kanara*. Fereyra Antonios Pinto, author of
the *Historia Da India No Tempo em que Governou O Visorey D Louis De Ataide* refers to the activities of the Portuguese in India during the Viceroyalty of Louis Ataide (1568-1571). Some of the accounts stated in this book provide source material for the Portuguese policy towards Chennabhairādevi of Gerasoppe and the Tōlahā chief of Surāla. This work was completed in 1616 A.D. 71

Couto, chief keeper of the Goa Archives between 1595 and 1616 A.D. 72 records the Portuguese activities in Kanara, their forts and the military arrangement made by the queen of Ullālā. In the words of Dr. B.S. Shastry, "Couto is more honest and reliable than many other Portuguese historians." 73

The military activities of Venkaṭappanāyaka and the Portuguese, the latter's intrigue with the local chiefs, such as the Banga, the Chautā chiefs of Ullālā and the queen of Kārnāḍ against the former (Venkaṭappa) are known from *Decada 13 Da Historia Da India* (two volumes, Lisbon 1876) written by Antonio Bocarro. He came to India in 1615 and served as a soldier for thirteen years. In 1631 A.D. he was appointed chronicler and chief record keeper of the Goa Archives. He held the office till 1643 A.D. 74 Along with the Portuguese document, *Documento Remettidos Da India*, Bocarro's work is helpful to know the military campaigns of Venkaṭappa in Kanara, his relations with the
Portuguese and the reaction of the local chiefs. Bocarro narrates the Portuguese activities in India during a small period, namely, 1612–1617.

The Portuguese activities up to A.D. 1640 narrated in the *Asia Portuguesa* (3 volumes) by Sousa Faria, is now considered 75 legible reliable; as it includes uncritical compilation. However, the author (Faria) was aware of some important political events in Kanara such as the resistance of Chennabhairadēvī in league with the Sultan of Bijapur against the Portuguese in 1569/70 A.D. the atrocities of the last one at Honnāvar, Basrūru and Ullāla in the second half of the sixteenth century and the collision between the Keladi Nayakas and the Portuguese in Kanara in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Monsieur Maistre De La Tour, a French general, who was in Haidar's army and eye witness account of the military campaigns of Haidar against the Svādi chief, wrote the *History of Hydar Shah*. From this work, we note the condition of Kanara on the eve of Haidar's conquest, his victory over the queen of Kanara (Keladi Vīramāji) that led to Haidar's capture of Mangalore and his military operation in the principality of Svādi. Maistre wrote this work in 1784 A.D., but it was translated into English only in 1848.
Delfini, an Italian wrote the life of Haidar Ali. He served for a period as Eschplain to the French forces in Pondicherry in the days when Haidar was at the height of his power and in good relations with the French. His account provides some information about Haidar's activities in Kanara, his relations with the English and their attitudes towards Haidar. However, Delfini makes difference between Kanara and Nagara, two separate principalities. This is not supported by any contemporary source.

TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

Travellers from different countries of Europe visited Kanara throughout our period of study. They are Caesar Frederick, Pietro Della Valle and Camelli Careri from Italy, Peter Mundy, Dr. Fryer and Hamilton from England, Linschoten and Baldaeus from Holland and the French travellers like Thevenot and Perron. The accounts of these travellers contain a few historical material which is useful in the study of our period. The accounts of Dom Dureste Menezes and Francis Buchanan are also studied here.

Caesasar Frederick, who passed through Kanara in 1567 A.D, refers to the political situation in Kanara in that year. The Portuguese settlements at Honnāvar, Mangalore (Sic. after Honnāvar comes Basrūru), and Basrūru and brisk trade in these ports are noticed in his account.
The extent of territory under Chennabhairādevī is also implied. He also speaks of the same queen's allegiance to the throne of Vijayanagara. The account of the same traveller is found in Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905).

Dom Durão Menezes, the viceroy of Goa from 1584 to 1588 A.D. and Linschoten, a Dutch traveller in almost the same years mention the trade contact of Chennabhairādevī with the Portuguese and the latter's commercial activity in Kanara. Purchas in his book IX narrates the account of Dom Durão Menezes. Burnell assisted by Tiele T.A. translated and edited Linschoten's account under the title *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies* in two volumes, Hakluys (1885).

The accounts of these foreigners have been rendered into Kannada by Shri Nagegowda in his book *Pravāsi Kanda India* (Volume II and III).

Menezes refers to the tributes paid by the merchants from Basrūru, and the Banguel king (Banga) at Mangalore to the Portuguese authority in Goa. Further he states that the Catholic churches found at Honnāvar, Basrūru and Mangalore were maintained at the expenses of the Portuguese government of Goa.

The decline of the Portuguese influence in Kanara and the brisk trade in the ports of Kanara are known to us
from the account of Pyrard. He was a French traveller. He collected information about Kanara while he was in Malabar. For our purpose, his work refers to the condition of Kasargod and the arrangement made by the people there to obstruct the landing of the Portuguese. His work has been translated into English by Albert Gray, assisted by Bell H.C.P.

Another traveller worthy of notice is Pietro Della Valle. In 1623 A.D. he accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to Ikkeri, the capital of Venkaṭappanāyaka. He visited the court of Venkaṭappanāyaka I and many important places in Kanara. An account of his travels was edited with a brief life sketch of the author, an introduction and notes by Edward Grey, in 1892. Della Valle relates in his account the political history of different chiefs in Kanara coast, such as the last days of Gerasoppe and Bhatkala, the queen of Ullāla and her fight against the Portuguese and the Bangarāja, and the condition of his principality, the queen of Carnate (i.e. Karnād) and her humiliating defeat under Venkaṭappa I. Further, the same traveller tells us of the Jogis of Kadri and his loss of territory to Venkaṭappa, the expansion of the latter's kingdom in Kanara and its effect. Further, we are indebted to the same traveller for giving additional information on the Portuguese involvement in the political affairs of Kanara and their utter humiliation.
In 1636/37 A.D. Peter Mundy came to Kanara. He had left vivid accounts of what he had seen in that region. Lt.Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple edited the accounts of Peter Mundy under the title The Travels in Europe and Asia, (London 1919). His accounts are particularly valuable to know the following important matters:
(i) Keladi Virabhadranayaka's correspondence with the English at Bhatkala (ii) the attempt of the latter to establish their trading factory at the former's port at Bhatkala, and how they encountered the Portuguese opposition (iii) the grand court of Keladi Virabhadra at Ikkēri (iv) the description of Bhatkala town especially a Jaina basadi there and (v) the weights and measures followed round about that town.

In 1666 A.D. Thevenot, a French traveller noticed the existence of the principalities of Banga and 'Olala' (the Chautas of Ullāla) that lie north and south of Mangalore. The same traveller also noticed the Portuguese residence at Honnavar. Over and above, from his accounts we know the extent of the Adilshahi kingdom and the activities of Sivāji. Dr. Sen S.N. edited this book under the title Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri. (1949, Delhi).

Dr. John Fryer, an English Doctor, passed through Kanara between 1673 and 1676 A.D. He narrates detail accounts of the activities of Marathas in Kanara under Sivaji and their
consequence. In addition to this, he mentions the extent of the Keladi and Svadi kingdoms, the nature of their administration in Kanara, the condition of these principalities, the English factory at Karwar, the nature of the Bijapur sultan's hold in the northern portion of Kanara (north of the Mirjan river) and brisk trade in Karwar. During his stay in Kanara, Dr. Fryer visited some important towns in Kanara such as Karwar, Ankola, Mirjan, Gokarna, Honnavar, Bhalkale, Mangalore etc. and noticed the activities of the Dutch and the French in South Kanara. He mentions in his account, the customs and manners of the people in Kanara as well as the local communication arrangements. The account of his travels first appeared in the reprints of Calcutta Weekly Englishman under the title "Dr. Fryer Account of India" (London 1873). In 1909 Crooke edited the account of his travels in book form under the title A New Account of East India and Persia, together with an introduction and notes. Here in this work, I followed mainly the former edition that is available in St. Aloysius College (Mangalore) No. 911/49.

We know the general condition of the Ghāt region of North Kanara towards the end of the seventeenth century from another Italian traveller Gemelli Careri. The account of his journey in India was edited by Sen S.N. in 1949. In this account Careri makes reference to the condition of the
Svādi principality, and narrates the custom and habits of the people in that principality. From the same work we know that the Svādi ruler paid tribute to the Mughal Emperor. It is interesting to note that this fact is mentioned in the English records of 1685 A.D.

Alexander Hamilton, an English Commodore, who had led an unsuccessful expedition against the Rāja of Svādi in 1716 A.D. under the orders of the Governor of Bombay, has given an account of Kanara in his book, *A New Account of the East Indies*. He visited Kanara in A.D. 1718. His account provides information regarding the following:

(i) the political and the Commercial relations between the Svādi Rāja and the English at Karwar, (ii) the hostility and war between these two parties from 1716 to 1717 A.D., (iii) the general condition of the Keladi and Svādi principalities, (iv) the activities of the Mughals in North Kanara and those of the Dutch in South Kanara, (v) Predatory activities of the Marathas and the Arabs in Mangalore, and (vi) Towns in Kanara. Sir William Foster edited Hamilton's account in 1930 with an introduction and notes.

Perron, a French traveller, who was in North Kanara in 1758 A.D. mentions in his account, the extent of the Svādi principality, the influence of the Portuguese in that Principality, the nature of its rulers, political contact with
Marathas and the constant raids of the latter in the northern part of Kanara. All these noticed by Perron are taken from Bombay Gazetteer, Kanara II.

Buchanan, an English scholar of eminence, conducted his journey in Kanara under the orders of Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of India (1798-1805). In 1801 i.e. nearly thirty-seven years after the close of the period of our study, he depicts in his account the condition of Kanara on the eve of the establishment of the British authority. In his account Buchanan tells us of the history of petty chieftains in Kanara. He mentions the historical places there, the Marathas activities in that region and the origin of the Svādi and Keladi rulers.

Since Buchanan came to Kanara in 1801 A.D., his narration of the political events of Kanara up to 1763 A.D. has been based on hearsay evidence. His mention of the origin of the Svādi and Keladi rulers, the story he heard about Chennabhairādēvi from a Jaina Sanyāsi at Bhatkala, the skirmish between the Kalasa-Kārkala and Chauta chiefs and the intervention of Keḍadi Venkatappa I in the affairs of these hearsay evidence. None of the contemporary source known to us so far supports the above facts stated by him.

As we noticed earlier these foreign travellers made fantastic and erroneous statements about Kanara. For
instance Pyrard and Linschoten did not make any distinction between Kanara and Malabar. Similarly the former who never came to Mangalore and other places north of that town, states that the people of the region from Basrūr to Cape Commorin had one common language.

**LATER ENGLISH WORKS**

The later English works including original documents and personal observations referring to many political aspects of Kanara are those of George W. Forrest, Frederick Danvers, Bruce, William Foster and Sir Charles Fawcett. Between the years 1857 and 1887 A.D. G.W. Forrest edited some of the English records under the title, *Selections from the Letters and Despatches and other State papers Preserved in Bombay Secretariat* in three volumes. Some of the letters contained in these volumes give fresh information about the activities of the English, their contact with the rulers in Kanara and the role of the Marathas in Kanara under Amgreys and the Peshwas. Further a few letters in the records refer to the advent of Haidar and his consolidation of authority in Kanara and his early relations with the English in the west coast of India.

Frederick Charles Danvers was the Registrar and Superintendent of records, India Office, London. His work contains the reports which he sent in 1892 to the Secretary
of State for India-in-Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, contained in the Archive Da Torre Do Tombo, and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora, 1892.

A calendar of the Court minutes etc. of the East India Company between the years 1635 and 1639, edited by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury in 1907, contains a few facts about the English factory at Bhatkala and their commercial relation with Keladi Virabhadra. Foster edited the English Factories in India from the years 1618 to 1669 in thirteen volumes. Of these, Volume II to XIII are important for our purpose. These volumes were published between the years 1906 and 1927. They contain much original information relating to the commercial rivalry of the Europeans in Kanara and their commercial contacts with the Adilshahis of Bijapur, the Nayakas of Keladi, and the Swadi rulers. Besides, some of the records in these volumes speak of the political situation of Kanara under the Keladi Nayakas, the Adilshahis of Bijapur and the Svadi rulers. On the basis of these records we are able to reconstruct the history of Kanara in these years (1618 to 1669) in a precise manner. Sir Charles Fawcett published the English factory records of the years from 1670 to 1684 in the years 1936 and 1954, in the same title as stated by Foster. For our purpose, the volumes I and III are useful. These volumes have original sources
with reference to the Svâdi principality and its commercial contacts with the English factory at Karwar, and its political contact with the Shâltans of Bijapur, the Keladi Nayakas, the Dutch and the Marâthas. The role of the English in Kanâra especially that of their Karwar factory, the nature of the role of the Adilshahi rulers in Kanâra, the condition of the Kelâdi region in the major portion of Kanâra and the Marâtha activities there under 'Sivâji and Sambhaji are known from these volumes.

Regarding the further activities of the Marathas in addition to above records, we have also original English records, edited by Indian Scholars. They are English Records on Shâvâji and the Angreys of Kolaba of which the former was edited by Kelkar and Apte (1931) and the latter by Shrivastavya B.K. (1949).
REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. SII. VII, No.244.
2. EC. VI, Koppa 50.
3. Ibid. VIII, Sagar 57, MAR. 1928, p.70.
4. EI. XXXIV, p.205, ARSIE. 1939-40, B.K.No.76.
5. SII. VII, Nos: 210,226, 238, 243, 244, 249 and 250.
6. Unpublished inscription (Copper plate discovered by me). Text see Appendix I, No 5
7. ARSIE, 1929-30 No.562 (from Hattiyangad), Ibid, 1931-32, No.332, No.331 (from Surab)
8. EC. VIII, Sagar 57, MAR. 1928, p.102 and 106.
9. An unpublished inscription dated 1598 A.D. found at Gerasoppe refers to the reign of Chennabhairadevi. This inscription I am able to see through the good office of Dr. Gai.
10. KI. VI, No.70 (Found at Uluvari) SII. IX, Part II No.655 (from Basruru). EI XX, pp.93 (from Kapu South Kanara).
11. EC. VIII, Sorab 301.
12. ARSIE of 1940-41 No.44 (original inscription I secured through Dr. Gai) EC. VII, Sh. No.2.
14. ARSIE of 1939-40, No.12, and 14. Texts of these inscriptions I secured through Dr. Desai P.B.
15. Ibid. 1931-32, App. No.4, 5, 6, (The texts of these I am able to secure through Dr. Bururaja Bhat.
16. ARSIE, 1968-69, No.74 and 84. Two unpublished inscri-
ptions (copper plate) dated 1587 and 1675 A.D. (I am extremely thankful to Shri K. Venkatarayachar who gave me these copper plate inscriptions for a study).


17. ARSIE., 1940-41, No. 13A. I am able to secure this inscription through the good office of Dv. Gai.


19. EI. VIII, p. 131. IA. V., p. 40

20. Unpublished copper plate inscription found at Padubidre. Dr. Gururaja Bhatt is kind enough to give me the text of this inscription. Text see Appendix No. 3


22. MAR. 1916, p. 65. EC. VIII, Tp. 44 and 53. EC. VII. Sh. 2

23. Unpublished inscriptions collected by me. I am able to secure in these inscriptions through Dr. Gururaja Bhatt and Ganapaiyya.

24. ARSIE, 1940-41, No. 6A.


28. Unpublished inscriptions discovered by me. Dr. Gururaja Bhatt helped me to read the text of these inscriptions.

29. Descriptive List 1941-42 No. 67. p. 23.


31. Ibid.

33. Ibid. Sandhi I, Verse 26, Sandhi S.XVII, Verse 61
34. Gururaja Bhatt P. Studies in Tuluva History and Culture, p.100
36. Ibid. Verse 107.
37. Aiyangar S.K. Sources of Vijayanagara History, I (1919, Madras)
39. Ibid.
41. ARSIE. 1939-40, No.12A and 14A, Original inscription secured through the late Dr. Desai P.B.
42. These accounts are discussed in Part III, Chapter on Bilige rulers of this work.
44. Ibid. p.115.
45. This poet Padmanābha is different from the same name poet who wrote Jinadattarāya Charitre in the reign of Chennāmbike. At that time Padmanābha was no longer in the service. (See Ibid, Sandhi I, Verse 107). But Padmanābha, the joint author of the Rāmachandra Charitre completed this Kāvya in the court of Chennarāya Sāmanta who became a ruler of Mulki after Chennāmbike. This Kāvya was completed in 1751 A.D. (See Rāmachandra Charitre, MSS, Secured through Devakumar Jain, Mudabidre, Last Sandhi, Verses 160, 161, and 178).
46. Ibid. Last Sandhi, Verse 178
48. MAR. 1930, p.79.
49. These traditional accounts were first collected by Col. Mackenzie and these authors incorporated these accounts in their respective works.
50. Elliot and Dowson, The History of India as Told by Its Historians, VIII (1966, Allahabad), p.378.


52. Elliot and Dowson, Op.Cit. p.389

53. Prof. Shastry A.K. from Sirsi, has collected a good number of Kadatas from Śrīngērīmatha and these are preserved in the Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore

54. The Kadatas found at Halasanādu (South Kanara) are unnoticed by any scholars. Most of them belong to the Keladi period. These Kadatas are in large number. I personally examined these through the good will of Shri Visveswariah H., who possessed these Kadatas.

55. These copies I secured through Sujer Sundar Rao.

56. Aigal, Manjesvaram, App.No.1 and 6 (1924, Mangalore).

57. Ibid. App.No.2,21,22,17,18, 19 and 20.


59. Ibid. App.No.15.

60. Ibid. App.No.3,7,30,31.


63. These letters are personally examined by me through the good office of Dr. Gune, the Director of the Goa State Archives for their text, see Appendix No.3.

65. Shastry B. S. *QRHS.*, (Calcutta, XIV, 1974-75) p. 75-81.


77. The accounts of the Travellers like Tomi Peris and Duigote Barbosa do not come under our period of study. However, their accounts are utilised as background for our study.

78. Linschoten states in his account that Malabar starts from South of Goa (See Burnell A. C., *The Voyages of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies*, II, p. 224. Albert and Bell H. C. P. *The Voyages of Francois Parard of Lavel to the East Indies*, I. p. 369.).

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