A. Physiography

Kerala is situated in the southwest coast of India between $8^\circ18''$ and $12^\circ48''$ north latitudes and between $74^\circ52''$ and $77^\circ24''$ east longitudes. Physiographically, Kerala can be divided into three natural regions: viz, Lowland, Midland and Highland, and these divisions form almost parallel belts from North-South across the state (Kerala in maps, 1964). The Bharatapula basin, however presents a different appearance. The coastal region of Kerala is a low – lying plain with successive stretches of sandbars, backwaters and marshes. Sea cliffs are seen between Quilon and Cape Comorin in the south and between Cannanore and Manjeswar in the north. Fossilized sand dunes are absent on the Kerala coast. The mid land region is covered with hills and valleys. The highland regions comprise the foothills and mountains with dense evergreen forests.

B. Geology

The three principal types of geological formations in Kerala are: Archean Crystalline Compem, the Warkallis of Tertiary Age and recent deposits generally found along the coastal areas. The territories and recent sediments of Kerala rest directly upon the Archean crystalline complex consisting of khondalities, leptynites, charnckites, and micahorn blende gneisses. The tertiary formations mainly include Quilon and the Warkalli Beds. Recent work on the Warkallis shows that possibly a part of these formations belongs to the Pleistocene\(^\text{24}\)

Flora and Fauna:

Paddy and coconut trees grow abundantly in the lowland area and dominate the landscape. Mangroves are found in the estuaries of rivers and backwaters. Midland area is composed of laterite outcrop. Typical flora of this area is moist deciduous forest consisting of

a mixture of evergreen and deciduous trees, shrubs, creepers, grass etc. The primates among the mammals include the wellknown Nilgiri Languor and Lion. Tailed monkeies are confined to the forest area. The deer, wild goat, wild dog, herds of elephants and Jackals are also found here. Normally this region has a humid climate. The region experiences pre-monsoon (June-September) north–east monsoon (October- November) and winter (December- February)

C. Location of St. Angelo Fortress (Lat 11° 52’N. Long: 75° 27’ E)

The city of Kannur (Cannanore) is located between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats. This place also relishes the wealth of natural beauty besides being a cultural city. Kannur also houses many sandy beaches which are encased with rows of green coconut palms. This is because the Lakshadweep Sea borders the city on the west. Some of the chief beaches that are worth a visit on a trip to Kannur comprise Payyambalam, Meenkunnu, Muzhappilangad, and Mopila Bay. St. Angelo fortress located in Cannanore is endowed with beautiful landscapes and sea scrapes. The fort was built in 1505 by Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of Portuguese India and is on the Arabian Sea about 3km from Kannur town; Thomas Fernandes was the architect of Cannanore St. Angelo fortress. The fort changed hands several times. In 1663 the Dutch captured it and sold it to the Arakkal Royal family in 1772. The British conquered it in 1790 and transformed it into one of their major military stations on the Malabar Coast. It is fairly well preserved as a protected monument under the Archaeological Survey of India. A painting of this fort and the fishing ferry behind it can be seen in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

The fort is a magnificent structure with massive walls and a deep moat. A mesmerizing view of the Moppila Bay never fails to enthrall visitors. The fort is situated very close to the sea and is separated from the sea by a strong sea wall. One can also get a great view of the Dharmadam Island that is located at a distance of 100 metres from the shore. The
Port of Cannanore carried on brisk trade with Bengal, Sumatra, Surat, Arabia, and several countries of the world from where horses, almonds, piece goods, sugar, Opium, silk, benzoin, and camphor were imported. The main item of export was pepper.\(^{25}\) It is situated on the seashore of Cannanore, a town of great historical and cultural importance like Muziris and Quilon. It was one of the premier ports of ancient Kerala. Cannanore, being the junction point for various streams of commodities of Indian Ocean region strengthened by Atlantic links, was developed by the Portuguese as the third biggest maritime trade centre in India (the other two being Goa and Cochin)\(^ {26}\) The great Malayalam scholar and folklorist Chirakkal T. Balakrishnan Nair was of the opinion that the word “Kanathur” became Kannur. Another version is that, Kannaur became Kannanur. Friar Jordanus who visited Malabar in the fourteenth century was the first writer to use the word Kannanur\(^ {27}\). According to Manuual of Madras, Madras Archaives Kannur was a beautiful village, sanscrit name Velapuri meaning sea-shore town a native regiment and European detachment were stationed here. The port limits are: north boundary pillar one mile north of the fort; south boundary pillar two miles south of the fort, east sea-shore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark, spring tides, and west space enclosed by two lines running due-west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water. Hight on the fort rampart near the sea: lat 11° 51’ 10’’ long: 75° 21’ 45’’ red; fixed 6 to 8 miles range; visible from all directions seaward. Small masonry tower of a light yellow colur, the best anchorage, for large vesels in the roads is with the flagstaff north east by north to north east by east in from 5 ½ to 6 fathoms and about 2 ½ miles of shore. Small coasting craft find shelter in the bay under guns of fort.\(^ {28}\)


Bekal fort (12° 23’ N Lat; 75° 02’ E Long)

It is situated on the sea shore of Pallikare village in Housdurg taluk, Kasaragod district. It lies about 17 km South-East of Kasaragod town. Kasaragod is the northern most district of Kerala. It is bounded by Dakshin Kannad district (bordering Kasaragod taluk) at north and east, Kodagu district is bordering Housdurg taluk south – east of Karnataka state, Cannanore (Kannur) district at south and Arabian Sea at western side. The nearest railway station is Kanhangad on the Thiruvananthapuram-Mangalore line. There is a new railway station Bekal at Pallikare. During the Sangam period Kasaragod district formed part of Ezhimale kingdom with its capital at Ezhimale. Sangam literatures like Agananuru, Purananuru, and Nattinai mention Ezhimale kingdom (Menon; 1972) During the Perumal Age Bekal was a part of Mahodayapuram. The Kodavalam inscription (Pullur, 7KM from Kanhangad) of Bhaskara Ravi II (the king of Mahodayapuram) illustrates the undisputed political sway of Mahodayapuram over this region. Following the political decline of Mahodayapuram Perumals by the 12th century AD, North Kerala including Bekal came under the sovereigns of Kolathunadu.

The maritime importance of Bekal increased much under Kolathiries and it became an important port town of Thulunadu. Etymologically, the word ‘Bekal’ comes from ‘Be’ which means burning and ‘kallu’ mean stone. Another view ascribes the origin of the name of the place to local Krishna temple, which is said to have given the word of Devakulam, which means abode of the Deva. But if this view is correct, Bekal must be a corruption of Dekal. According to another opinion Bekal is derived from Balikulam, it means big palace. The place is said to have housed a big palace in the past. The term Balikulam was occupied as Bekulam and later called as Bekal by the local people. It is also pointed out that in addition to the Balikulam, there was also a Kuttikullam, meaning small palace in the area. Bekal fort is the biggest fort in Kerala, spreading over almost forty acres, built with large number of
tanks with its flight of steps, the tunnel opening towards the south, and the magazine for keeping ammunition. The fort appears to have been built up from the sea since almost three fourth of its exteriors is drenched and the waves stroke the citadel.

D. **Rivers and Backwaters of Cannanore and Kasaragod Districts**

Cannanore has many backwater blocks and rivers. It has 20 of the 44 rivers flowing throughout Kerala state. The area has many tiny and major rivers like the *Chandragiri river*, the *Chittari river*, the *Karigote river*, the *Kabani river*, the *Manjeswar river*, the *Shiriya river*, the *Kumbala river*, the *Mogral river*, the *Bekal river*, the *Kalanad river*, the *Uppala river*, the *Nileswar river*, the *Kavvayi river*, the *Peruvamba river*, the *Ramapuram river*, the *Kuppam river*, the *Velapattanam river*, the *Anjarakandi river*, the *Ponnayam river*, and the *Mahe river* are the main rivers providing water sources to these region. *(Figure 2&3)*

**Chandragiri River**

Chandragiri River is one of the major rivers that flows through Kasaragod Taluk. There are two main tributaries namely, Payaswami and the Chandragiri Hole. The Payaswami is originating in Patti reserve forest in Coorg district and Chandragiri Hole originates from Sampajened in Coorg district. The Kouanad Hole, the Balnad Hole and Kadaka Hole join the main River towards the western side and enters about 40 kms west at Peraja of Kasaragod. Mountain streams like the Patti Kolli, the Pulli Kolli, the Kuru kolli, and the Urti katti kolli join the main River along its course through the deep valleys. It flows north to south widening itself forming a small U shaped Island and usually flooded during monsoon. It is about 150 Kms long. Its catchment is of about 1248 Sq Kms. The river has not been gauged before and flows 56 Kms in the Kerala state.

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29 *op.cit.* Trivandrum, 1986.
Chittari River

It is an important accumulation of backwater along the coast near by Chittari. Many small streams from all directions discharge into the backwater. A stream with its origin at Kundiya flows south of Tayakolam and enters Chittari. The second stream from Tayakalam flows south-west through Thannot and Ravaneshwara. The other main streams namely Pullur stream takes its origin about 2 ½ miles east of Iriyal at Ajanur and various streams that flow into Chittari from north, east and south. It has a total catchment area of 31 sq. kms.

Karingote River

It is one of the major rivers flowing through Housdurg Taluk. Its origin is Padinalikal reserve forest of Coorg in Mysore. It extendeds itself about 40 miles from its course to sea. Many streams flow from north and south namely Yenic hal, Mulapra – Poyilchal (Thirumentchal) to the main river at various points through Vayakara region and later towards Housdurg Taluk for a distance of about 2 Km upstream of Kakkadavu, which is about 15 miles away from the sea. It branches into many small tributaries before it enters into the sea near by Tiruthi about 1½ miles northwest of Cheruvathur railway station. The common estuary of Kavveyi and Peruvambha rivers also discharge their waters. It has a catchment area of about 240 sq. miles from the source to the sea.

Manjeswar River

Manjeswar River is a small stream flowing towards Manjeswar town. It has its origin at Kadandur and flows to south about 1 ½ mile and passes west ward along with Nadibail and Vorkadi villages for 4 miles and it turns again on the western side, until it reaches the back
water of Uppala River near the sea. It is dry during most of the non-rainy months of year. The stream has a catchment area of about 14 sq. miles.\textsuperscript{30}

**Uppala River**

The Uppala River has its origin in the Western Ghats and lies on south of the Manjeswar town in Kasaragod Taluk. It is a tiny river, which has its origin in the Western Ghats and extending to Mysore. It is about 31 miles long from its source to its confluence with the sea. The lower reaches of the River are tidal about 8 miles from the mouth of the sea. The River enters Kasaragod Taluk from the northeast direction, flows through winding valleys and takes turns towards the south. This upper reach is known as Anekal Hole at Bekuru. It flows westwards about 3 miles and turns to the North West till it enters the Arabian Sea. The catchment area of this has heavy rainfall.

**Shiriya River**

The Shiriya River is formed by the confluence of Adkastala Hole and Palletadka Hole at Angadimogaru in Kasaragod Taluk. The Adkastala Hole rises from the Western Ghats extending to Mysore state. An anicut built in the year 1951, is located in this stream near Angadimogaru. The Palletadka Hole originates at Kanakad hills in Mysore and flows in a North West direction. After its flowing together at Angadimogaru it takes an abrupt turn to North and then South in the U shape. The river enters the Kumbla backwaters from the Northeast direction and flows south before it joins the sea. The river is about 38 miles long from its source to the sea. The length of 24 miles is situated in Kerala state. It has the catchment area upto Bombrana about 218 sq miles.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., Trivandrum. 1972.
Kumbla River

Kumbala River is a small river and is very wide at the sea mouth forming the Kumbala backwater. It has a total length of about 6½ miles from the source to sea, the lower length of 1.5 mile being inundated by salt water. The upper reaches of the basins, are dry during the non-rainy months.

Mogral River

Mogral River is a small river flowing parallel to the Shiriya River in Kasaragod Taluk. It has its source in Kantur village of Kasaragod Taluk on the northern banks of Pauaswami River. The stream from its origin takes a North West direction through Bellipadi and Muliyar, where it joins another stream with its source in Karnataka reserve forest. The river takes a winding course along North West direction through a flat area passing through Maduru and Patla and joins the backwaters. After the railway bridge the river abruptly turns south forming a long stretch of backwater about 21 miles. The river has a catchment area of about 47 sq. miles.

Kalanad steam

The Kaland stream is a small river. It flows to the south of Candragiri River and extends about 5 miles long from its source to the mouth of the sea. The main stream flows in the Southeast direction and joins in the Kalanad backwaters near the sea.

Bekal River

The Bekal River flows parallel to the Kalnad stream towards the south of Kasaragod Taluk.
Backwaters

Cannanore has the largest seacoast among the districts of the Kerala. The area has many backwater locks and rivers. The important backwaters are Kumbala, Kaland, Chittari and Kavvayi.\textsuperscript{32}

Tanks

The more important of the tanks are in the Tellicherry, north Wynad and Housdurg taluk. There are big tanks attached to the palaces of the Rajas of Kottayam and Chirakkal. The tank attached to the Thiruvangad temple is the biggest in Tellicherry village. The tank in Payingatteri Desam of Nallurnad Amsam of North Wynad has an approximate area of one acre and that at Kadanhitetur of Kanhangad village of Housdurg taluk has an area of 9 acres.

E. Short History of Kolathunad & Portuguese

Classical writers like Pliny, the anonymous author of the \textit{Periplus} and Ptolemy give detailed accounts of the sea ports through which Kerala kept her commercial and cultural contacts with foreign countries in the early centuries of the Christian era. The most important of these ports were Nelcynda, Barace, Tyndis and Muziris, the last of which is identified with modern Cranganore. There has been no unanimity in the matter of the identification of other places. The most important port towns are Quilon, Cochin, Calicut, and Cannanore. Calicut became an important port only from the 13\textsuperscript{th} or 14\textsuperscript{th} century onwards.

Ezhimala is referred to in the Sangam works as ‘Ezhimalai’ meaning ‘elevated hill’. When the Nambudiris came in the post Sangam age they mistook Ezhimala for Elimala or Mooshaka saila (Rat mountain) and Ezhumala or the Sapat saila (seven mountains). The Muslim travelers who came in the medieval period spoke of it as Eli, Hili etc. In European

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, Trivandrum, 1972.
accounts the place is referred to as Mount Delia or Mount Eli. An inscription found in the Vishnu temple at Pullur-kodavalam mentions a gift of gold by Bhaskara Ravivarman II in the year 1021 A.D. (ARIE; 1963-64) This record shows that the second Chera dynasty had a political sway over this region. *Mooshikavamsa* a historical poem compiled in 12th century A.D. mentions that the Mushika kingdom ruled part of Kasaragod and Cannanore.

The Kolathiris

The kingdom of Cannanore or Kolathunadu constitutes roughly what is now called the Cannanore District of Kerala. Traditionally Kolathunadu is described as the land lying between Perumba River in the north and Putupattanam River in the south. Kolathunadu, which was known as Kolaswarupam, was one of the major political houses which sprang up in Kerala after the disappearance of the Kulasekharas or Perumal, rulers of Mahodayapuram by the twelfth century AD. In the 14th century the old Mushaka country had come to be known as Kolathunad and a new line of rulers called the Kolathiris was ruling over the kingdom. The Kolathiris were the descendants of the old Mushaka kings. The earliest authentic reference to the kingdom of the Kolathiris is to be found in the Travels of Marco Polo who visited Kerala towards the end of the 13th century, he says that the ‘kingdom of Eli’ (Kolathunad) was tributary to nobody. The fourteenth century narrative of Ibn Battuta refers to the ruler of this region as residing at Baliapatanam, a town located south of Ezhimala. In the sixteenth century AD, a Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa also mentions Baliapatanam (Baliapatam in European record) as the residence of the king of Cannanaore. An inscription dating to AD 929 makes mention of one Vikramarama. M.G.S Narayanan identifies him with the ruler Vikramaraman who appears in the Mushikavamsam. Another inscription from the tenth century mentions a certain Udayaraman who bore the title

Ramaghata muvar an epithet used by the mushika kings. An inscription from the Tiruvattur temple mentions an Eraman Chemani (Raman Jayamani) N.P. Unni argues that he is the king who appears as the 109th ruler in Mushakavamsam. The Mushika rulers maintained a separate political identity from that of the neighbouring Kerala rajas a sanskritized name of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram. Foreign accounts also corroborate the distinct identity of this kingdom in later centuries. Marco Polo who visited this coast in the 12th century AD noticed the independent states of the king of this region.

The fourteenth century narrative of Ibn Battuta refers the ruler of this region as residing at Baliapatanam. This offers a clue that by this time, the centre of the political authority had shifted from Ezhimala to Baliapatnam, a town south of Ezhimala. In the 16th century AD, a Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa also mentions Baliapatanam (Balaipatam) in European records as the residence of the king of Cannanore. The Kolathunad kingdom at its zenith extended from the Netravati River in the north to the Korapuzha in the south and from Kudakumala in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west. The chief principalities of Kumbla, Nileswaram, and Cannanore under a Muslim raja, Randattara under Achanmars, Kottayam and Kadathanad formed part of the kingdom of Kolathunad. The ruler who was called Kolathiri was the eldest male member of the family. The four other male members who were immediately junior to him were designated Tekkelamkur, Vadakkelamkur, Nalamkur and Anchamkur. Kolathiris had eight forts among which the most important was “Kadalayi Kotta”. Lying on the seashore, Kadalayi was the center of trade through which foreign trade was conducted and all the imports from the Laccadives were made. It was also once the headquarters of the “35 thousand Nair brigade” of the Kolathiris. The famous Kadalayi Sri Krishna temple was also situated there until the Mysorean invasion.

34 Ibid, p.9.
Krishnagadha was composed from the precincts of this temple. The present Mappila bay is very close to the Kadalayi Kotta. The Cannanore city that was formerly called “Velapuram” housed the stable of Kolathiris that was filled with warhorses imported from Kutch and Arabia.37

At Palayangadi stand the fortified palace of the Kolathiris and the sanctuary of the goddess Bhagavati durga protector of the dynasty. According to Musakavamsa Madayi was the royal city. During the Portuguese period the sovereigns had abandoned it for Valarpattanam, but it was still considered to be a high seat of religion. According to Gaspar Correia the raja of Thanur made retreats at Moravia Monte Deli38. The palace at Valarpattanam the favourite residence of the Kolathiris during the Portuguese period was linked by road to the port of Cannanore. Valarpattanam navigable in all seasons gave access to the hinterland as far as the foothills of the Ghats and connects with the Coorg road. Valarpattanam chosen by the Kolathiris as their principal residence is very near Chirakkal39.

Zamorin’s Relations with the Kolathiri

The Zamorin was also able to bring the powerful Kolathiri Raja of North Kerala under his control. The two rulers were bitter rivals in the commercial and political fields. The Kolathiri acknowledged certain melkoyma rights of Zamorin over the famous Taliparamba temple and also gave back whatever territory he had conquered from him by force. Thus the Zamorin had succeeded in bringing Kolathunad also in the sphere of influence on the eve of the Portuguese arrival in Kerala.

On the eve of the arrival of the Portuguese there was no central power in the country. Kerala was divided into a series of small principalities; each under a raja or chief who

37 Ibid., p.86.
39 Ibid, pp13-14
possessed unfettered independence in internal affairs but was bound by a nominal allegiance to one of the major rajas. Only three rulers possessed full sovereign rights at the close of the 15th century. Those were the Kolathiri or the king of Cannanore, the Samutri or the king of Calicut, and the Tiruvadi or the king of Travancore. Thus almost total absence of a unifying central power was the outstanding feature of Malabar politics on the eve of the Portuguese arrival.  

**Vasco da Gama’s Expedition (1498)**

The discovery of an maritime route to India, in 1497-98, marks a new epoch in the history of geographical exploration no less than in that of commerce. The expedition set sail from Portugal on the 8 July 1497. It consisted of the ship “St Gabreil” of 120 tons, in which were the Admiral Vasco da Gama and the pilot Pero de Alemger; the ship “St. Raphael” of 100 tons, commanded by Paulo da Gama and the ship “Berrio” They reached mount Dely in the kingdom of Cannanore thence coasting along within sight of the land the pilot cast anchor off the town of Capucad or Capocate two leagues from the city of Calicut. Calicut was at this time, the most important place of trade in the whole of India and it is said that the Arabs had established trade here 600 years ago. The town contained a large number foreign and native Arabs, some of the merchants of grand Cairo brought large fleets of many ships with valuable goods from Mecca and they took back in return pepper and drugs, which were transported thence to Turkey and to all the provinces of Christendom. Da Gama having put on a ceremonious dress went in procession, accompanied by presents for the king. The catual or chief officer of the king’s palace guard came out to meet Vasco da Gama and conducted him into the king’s presence. The king has been described as seated in his chair. The king graciously received Da Gama who presented to his majesty a letter from Dom P.K.S. Raja, *Mediaeval Kerala*, Calicut, 1966, p.57.  

Manuel expressing at the same time a desire that the Portuguese might be permitted to trade in his country. The king ordered Dom Manuel’s letter to be translated. Da Gama set sail with a fair wind in November 1498 and shortly appeared before Cannanore. As soon as Vasco Da Gamas vessels were seen off Cannanore the king sent a Nair in boat urgently to request the Portuguese to come into his port. This boat was followed by others containing presents of water and wood, figs, fouls, cocoa-nuts, dried fish, butter and coco-nut oil, accompanied by an offer of as much cargo as their ships could carry.

On receipt of this message, Vasco da Gama determined to establish peace and trade with the king of Cannanore, and forth with stood into the port where he anchored and fired salutes. The king then sent as a free gift, more spices and merchandise than the vessels could hold, so that some had to be declined and Da Gama sent in return large quantities of the goods he had on board to the value of double that which he had received from the king. At his majesty’s desire Vasco da Gama with his captains met the king and entered into a treaty with him on behalf of the king of Portugal. On this occasion the king gave him an engagement signed by himself and his ministers on a gold reef, together with handsome presents for the king of Portugal. Vasco da Gama at the same time gave the king a handsome sword on behalf of Dom Manuel. After distributing presents to the king’s brother Davane giving him very liberal presents and a certificate of his honesty and faithfulness. Having received at the last moment further presents of provisions from the king, Vasco da Gama sailed from Cannanore on 20th November 1498.

He arrived Lisbon on 29 August 1499\(^{42}\), bringing with him 13 Indians and one Arab from Calicut. These were the first Indians to be taken to Portugal as the authentic proof that the expedition had attained its object. The king conferred upon him the title of “Dom”. Vasco da Gama presented Nicola Coelho to the king having conveyed on shore the presents brought

home for the king and queen from the kings of Cannanore and Melinde. The king then presented Dom Vasco da Gama with 20,000 cruzados in gold and conferred upon him and upon his heirs a perpetual right of 200 cruzados of cinnamon from Cannanore to Lisbon every year in any vessels free of all charges on account of freight. The news of these glorious deeds made a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe and raised the political importance of Portugal to a high degree, whilst to her kings was added the glorious title of “Lord of the Conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and China.

The next expedition was under Joao da Nova.

**Cabral**

The next expedition was equipped and sent by the Portuguese king under the leadership of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. It consisted of 33 ships and 1,500 men. After a perilous voyage Cabral reached India with only six ships. The expedition was a magnificent one, formidably armed with artillery, but at the same time sumptuously provided with presents for the king, and manned by the boldest and most famous seamen of the period who had been specially selected with a view to establishing a factory on the coast of Malabar. His agent Aires Correa reached at a settlement with the Zamorin under which the Portuguese got the right to erect a factory at Calicut. But the keen competition between the local Arabs and the Portuguese in the Indian waters created a crisis in the relations between the Portuguese and the Zamorin of Calicut. The indignant mob destroyed the Portuguese factory and more than half of the Portuguese on land. Cabral left Calicut in panic and sailed for Cochin.

The Portuguese were given all facilities for trade at Cochin. The Raja also entered into an informal treaty with the Portuguese granting them permission to build a factory at Cochin. On his journey from Cochin to Cannanore a strong fleet of Zamorin intercepted Cabral’s party, but he managed to escape without any serious loss.
Vasco da Gama’s Second mission

An expedition of 15 ships and 800 men under Vasco da Gama reached India in February 1502. One of the instructions given to da Gama before his departure from Lisbon was that in all ports where he succeeded in establishing trade he should arrange to have the prices of various articles fixed so as to avoid fluctuation in markets. Goncalo Gil Barbosa who was at Cochin was appointed factor at Cannanore. Gomez Ferreira who had been Factor at Cannanore was given the command of a Caravel. In the meantime da Gama’s fleet had completed its loading and the factory on shore having been provided with everything requisite and placed under the care of Diogo Fernandes Correa as Factor. Da Gama with his captains took leave of the king and set sail on their homeward voyage. Having made all the necessary arrangements with regard to the factory at Cannanore, which he left in charge of Gil Fernandez Barbosa, Vasco da Gama obtained permission from the king to land a quantity of cannon there and he also supplied the factory with many shots and powder all of which was buried so as to keep it out of sight. Vasco da Gama then proceeded from Cannanore to Calicut. On his return voyage Vasco da Gama had to encounter the Zamorin’s fleet and avenged the Zamorin of Calicut, devastated the town and managed to sail away without any serious loss.\(^{43}\)

Almeida

Francisco de Almeida was appointed in 1505 as the first Portuguese viceroy in the East. His main work was to erect Portuguese forts at Anjadiva, Cannanore, Malacca and Cochin. He arrived at Cannanore on 24 October 1505 and obtained permission from the king to build a fort and gave command of this fort to Lourenco de Brito with 150 men and left here two vessels to defend it and to cruise off coast. The Cannanore fort was named St.Anjelo fort. The strengthening of the Portuguese positions on the Malabar Coast alarmed the

Zamorin. The Zamorin succeeded at this stage in convincing the Kolathiri of the real motives of Portuguese policy in Kerala. The Kolathiri was already annoyed with the Portuguese for the violation of the safe conduct granted to the ships of the Muslim merchants of Cannanore. He responded to the Zamorin’s overtures and decided to put up a common fight against the Portuguese. The siege lasted for four months and the Portuguese garrison had to undergo incalculable sufferings. The siege was raised when a Portuguese fleet of 11 ships and 300 men under Da Cunha arrived on the scene from Europe. The Kolathiri sued for peace and accepted terms favorable to the Portuguese. The Portuguese then turned their attention to the Zamorin’s fleet and crippled it in action on the high seas. Almeida left India in 1509 and was succeeded by Alfonso de Albuquerque.

**Alfonso de Albuquerque**

Albuquerque’s aim was to found an empire for the Portuguese in India. He also introduced a number of administrative systems in India. Alfonso de Albuquerque richly merited the title the “Great” He was a brave soldier able administrator, strictly loyal to his country and to his king and pursued one consistent line of policy throughout the period when he was the Portuguese Governor of India. He was deeply religious and had much at heart a desire for converting the heathens and spreading Christian religion. There can be but little doubt that he endeavoured as far as circumstances could permit to follow the deeds of Alexander the great and to follow his example in dealing with the eastern races. Albuquerque was the first to encourage the marriage of Portuguese soldiers with native women. He rebuilt the fortress of Cannanore with stone and mortar. He left fleets attached to these fortresses for their protection and maintenance.
Ali Raja of Cannanore

Cannanore city was under the control of a Muslim family known as Arakkal. The only Muslim royal family of Kerala, Arakkal house has followed the Marumakathayam system of inheritance. The senior most member of the family, whether male or female, is its head. The male chief is called the Ali Raja and the female chief the Arakkal Bibi. The origin of the Arakkal house is shrouded in obscurity. The consensus among scholars is that the Arakkal house was founded by a Nair called Aryankulangara Nair, one of the ministers of Kolathiri, who became a convert to Islam sometime in the 12th or 13th century. The acquisition of Fort St.Anjelo, from the Dutch by the Ali Raja in 1772 enhanced his political stature. Buchanan, who visited the Arakkal palace on 12 January 1801, specifically refers to the fact that till the acquisition of Fort St.Anjelo, the Ali Raja had only the status of a subordinate chieftain under the Chirakkal Raja. In 1790 the Cannanore fort was stormed by General Abercrombie and the Bibi eventually surrendered to the British. It was in accordance with an agreement with the Bibi in 1796 that the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi islands (Lakshadweep islands) came to be administered by the British government.

According to the information available in Mannual of the Administration of the Madras presidency Madras Archaives, vol II p. 147, Cannanore was included in the kingdom of the Colattiry or Chirachal rajhas to whom it belonged till the invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali. 1656 the Dutch effected the settlement, occupied it till 1766, when it fell into the hands of Mysore troops, in 1784 Cannanore was captured by Britishers.

Dutch period: The following historical information traced from the Tellichery minutes of Consultation to certain military accounts as well as the press list of ancient records in Fort St.

George, accounts for July, No 4040, Tellicherry factory, Vol. XII, p.1, 1790 to 1800. In 1656 the Dutch appeared in the Indian seas to compete with the Portuguese for the trade of the country. They first conquered Cannaore in 1663 captured the town and fort of Cochin as well as Tangacherry from their rivals. In 1717 they secured the cession of the Island of Chetwaye from the Zamorin. But in the next half a century, their power began to wane, Cannnanore was sold to the Arackal family (Beeby) represented at that time by Bauvaly rajah in 1771. Chetwye was conquered by Hyder in 1776, and Cochin captured by the English in 1795. The French first established themselves in 1720 at Mahe, in 1752 obtained a footing at Calicut and in 1754 acquired mount Delly and a few outposts in the north all of which fell into the hands of the English in 1761. Their frequent wars with the English ended in their destruction of commerce in the east of Mahe having been thrice taken and restored. The Marata pirates under Angria and other chiefs infested the coast and ravaged even inland towns by sailing up the rivers of Beypore, Ponnany etc., till 1756, after which they were destroyed by a British expedition.

The Ikkeri or Bednore rajah in 1736 and 1751 invaded the country of Colattiry and imposed fines on the northern division. The Palakad state after dismemberment by the rajahs of Calicut and Cochin sought the alliance of Mysore then ruled by its Hindu rajah who stationed a subsidiary force in Palakkad and it was this connection which offered Hyder Ali when he became regent of Mysore a pretext for invading Malabar in defence of his ally, the Palakkad Atchens. In 1766 at the instigation of Ally rajah the Moplah Cheiftain of Cannanore he made an easy conquest of the whole county, the rajahas flying into the jungles or taking refuge in the English settlement of Tellicherry. They however took advantage of the war between Hyder and the English in 1768 to reinstate themselves until 1774.

Peace intervened between 1784-1788 when Tippu Sultan son and successor of Hyder descended the ghats and commenced a religious persecution of the people. Subsequently
war between him and the British broke out in 1790. The refugee chiefs were encouraged by proclamation to join the British cause. Peace was established in 1792. The rajaha were once again re-instated in their possissions and the English made a settlement with them for the revenue.\textsuperscript{47}

**British Period:** Cannanore was captured by the British in 1784 and the reigning princes became tributory to the East India Company. It was on the conclusion of the treaty Mangalore given back to the Mopla family. In 1791 having become the property of Tippu Cannanore was besieged and taken by the British. Since that date it has remained in British hands. The descendants of the old Cannanore moplah sultans Ali raja reside in the east of the bay, within the moplah quarter. Anglican and Roman Catholic missions were established here, with schools, attached. Cotton fabrics are manufactured chiefly by the merchantile branch of the German mission. A bazar known as Tekky bazar is used by the native troops.\textsuperscript{48}

F. **Keladi Rulers**

Battle of Talikota in 1565 led to the decline of the mighty Vijayanagara Empire and many feudatory chieftains rose in political prominence including the Keladi Nayakas (Ikkeri Nayakas). Keladi was a small feudatory principality of Vijayanagara in the early days of its existence, and its chieftains were Nayakas under the Vijayanagara emperors. Later on it grew into a powerful and important kingdom on the decline of the Vijayanagara Empire. As Keladi was an heir to Vijayanagara ideals and traditions its polity was naturally modeled on that of Vijayanagara one can see the influence of its central and provincial government in principles of taxation, in institution of kingship, in military organisation and in coinage. The Keladi

\textsuperscript{47} Tellicherry Minutes of consutation to passing certain military accounts as well as the Press list of ancient recods in Fort.St. George, accounts for July, Madras Archaives, 1790 to1800, No 4040, p.102.

kingdom comprised the whole of the modern Shimoga and Mangalore districts, some portion of the Karwar, Dharwar, Chitradurga and Thumkur districts and a very small portion of Kerala. They ruled along the coastal and hilly lands of Malanad area. It is also known as the kingdom of Ikkeri or the kingdom of Bidnur. Keladi, Ikkeri, and Bidnur or Nagar were its capitals one after the other. After flourishing in the heart of Karnataka for two hundred years as an independent kingdom after the battle of Talikota or Rakkasatangadi, it was conquered by Haider Ali in 1763 AD (figure 4).

The Nayakas realized the political and economic importance of Tulunadu (Kasaragod District) and attacked and annexed this part of the country. Bekal served as a nucleus in establishing the domination of Nayakas by fortifying Bekal subsequently. Hiriya Venkatappa Nayaka initiated the construction of the fort and it was completed during the period of Sivappa Nayaka. The speedy completion of the port was aimed at the defence of the fort from overseas attack and to strengthen their attack on Malabar. Chandragiri fort near Kasaragod was also constructed during this period.

The Malanad region especially the country of Bidnur, where the monarchs of Keladi ruled, was fertile and rich in natural resources. The immense quantities of rice, pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, coral, sandalwood, and Ivory, which abound in this kingdom, have caused it to be called the granary of all India. It was also rich in minerals and precious stones in the mountains. The Rivers were navigable and coastland had landing facilities for ships. Consequently, there were many flourishing ports on the seacoast and trading cities inland. Robert Sewell was the first to draw up the genealogy of Keladi in his sketch of the dynasties of southern India.

Eighteen Keladi rulers (16 men and 2 women) ruled over the kingdom from 1499 to 1763 AD. Keladi kingdom was established against the Mohammedan invaders from the

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50 K.N.Chitnis., *Keladi Polity*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1974, pp. 7-23.
North. Vijayanagara Empire came into existence to defend the Dharma of the land against the Mohammedans. Thus, there were two parallel systems of administration in the Deccan. One Hindu, the other Mohammedans or Bhamani. The Mohammedan system was based on holy Quran, Hadis and other Islamic scriptures, the Hindu polity or Vijayanagara polity was based on Dharma, the injunctions of Hindu lawgivers and the ancient usage.

As many as six hundred epigraphs, including stone inscriptions and copper plate grants, are available many of which have been published. The administration of justice is also referred to in some of them. Accounts of the foreign travelers like Ludovico Varthama, Duarte Barbosa, Pyard of Laval, a French traveler, Jhonfyeran Englishman, Fryer, Pinkerton, Abbe Carre, Pietro Della Valle, an Italian traveler, throw light on Indian history. The French and the Portuguese documents available in the form of extracts of the treaties and the Peshwa Daftar throw much light on the domestic and foreign affairs of the Keladi kingdom. They also deal with military and commercial matters. The temples, forts, palaces and also Lakes constructed by the Keladi - Ikkeri kings bear witness to their religious fervor and love of art and architecture. These rulers possessed qualities of leadership in abundant measure and exhibited unparalleled courage in the face of personal danger. They were true Virasaivites, and faithfully followed the teachings of Basava. They did not hate other religions, respected the leaders of the Dvaita, Advaita, and Visistadvaita and made magnificent grants to all religious institutions including mosques and churches. The important literary works are the Keladinripavijayam, written by Lingannakavi or poet Linganna and Sivatattavartnakara compiled by Basavappanayaka I (also called Basavaraja) of Keladi. These works seem to have been written between 1763 AD and 1804 AD. Some of the celebrities of the period were Bhattoji Dikshita, Ramanujacharya, and Ranganatha Dikshita.

The traditional accounts corroborated by other sources yield good material on Keladi history such as *Keladiarasaravamsavali*, *Keladiararsarapirvotharam*, *Ikkeriararsaravamsavali*, *Ikkeriarasara-pilige*, *Keladirayapadhati*. Based on the above information a brief sketch of the political history of the Keladi dynasty will be discussed. Fr Heras rightly affirms that it was during the time of Sadasivanayaka that the Nayakaship was founded. In the inscription of his son Sadasivanayaka mentioned the names of their ancestors Chaudappa- arasa. It states that Keladi Devagauda’s son was Gopagauda. His son was Basavagauda and his sons were Chaudagonda, and Bhadragaundarasa. Here it is noteworthy that Chaudappa was associated with the title arasa denoting ruler. The fact that all the predecessors of Chaudappa mentioned in the inscription had only the title of Gouda and not that of arasa. Chaudappa and Bhadrappa had shown that Chaudappa was the first prominent member of the Keladi dynasty who founded a kingdom with the assistance of his brother. Chaudappa had two sons, Sadasiva and Bhadra. As noted already, he built a palace at Keladi and was enthroned in the year 1499 AD. He built a Fort and a palace in Ikkeri with a city together with a market, a police station and other treasury, granary, the horse stables, the elephant stables, and other buildings. Then he shifted the capital from Keladi to Ikkeri in 1511-12 AD. According to Rice the change of the capital from Keladi to Ikkeri took place in 1560 AD the date given by the *Keladinripavijayam* can be accepted as true since there is no reason why we should disbelieve Lingannakavi.

**Keladi Nayakas and Malabar**

Keladi Nayakas, who were a dominant power in south Kanara from the 17th century till the end of the 18th century, were often confronted with the Malabar Rajas on their southern border. With the intention of checking the Keladi power, the Malabar chieftains especially the king of Cannanore, often supported the Tuluva chieftains against Keladi. This
made the Keladi rulers take drastic action against Malabar chieftains. The confrontation with them took the shape of border incursions, which led to war and resulted in the intervention of foreign powers on both sides.

**Keladi Sadasivanayaka in Malabar: 1513-1563 AD**

Sadasivanayaka, ruled from 1513 AD to 1563 AD Sadasivanayaka was a loyal feudatory of Vijayanagara and was always ready to risk his life for defending the Hindu empire. It is said that Keladi Sadasiva Nayaka conducted a military campaign in Malabar as a subordinate of Vijayanagar emperor Sadasiva Raya. While narrating this, Keladi Basava raja states in his *Sivatattavartnakara* that Sadasiva Nayaka was directed by the ruler of Vijayanagara to subdue the scheming chieftains of Tuluwanad and Kerala. Sadasiva Nayaka subdued the people of the place completely and set up a pillar of victory. On the other hand poet Linganna in his work, the *Keladi Nirpa vijaya* says that Sadasiva Nayaka overran the territory of Tuluva kingdom up to Kasaragod and set up a pillar of victory there. Fr. Heras states that Sadasiva Nayaka built forts at Bekal and Chandragri. *Sivatattavartnakara*, fails to enlighten us on the point as to what extent Keladi Sadasiva Nayaka conquered the region in Kerala on behalf of his master emperor Sadasiva Raya. Similarly we have no contemporary source to support the contention of Fr. Heras. The successors of Keladi Sadasiva who were busy in consolidating their power had no chance of coming into contact with Malabar and involved themselves in war with the Portuguese who undermined their trade in Kanara. The Malabar chieftains instigated the Tuluva rulers like the Bangas (ruler of Bangavadi having his capital at Mangalore) the Chowtas of Ullala and queen Bhaira Devi of Gersoppa Bhatkal (north Kanara) not to pay the tribute to the Portuguese. The brave Keladi chief led a successful expedition against the ruler of Kalyana and Gulbarga and defeated the forces of Muslim rulers of Ahamednagar, routed the Mohammedan troops of Bijapur inflicted a
crushing defeat on the sultan of Bidar, and brought him as a prisoner to Ramaraya, along with the seven constituents of his royalty. He further overran south Kanara as far as Kasaragod, erecting a stone pillar in that country, defeated rulers of Kerala, and won a brilliant victory over the forces of Yadava and Murari, the chieftains of Jailihalu. Sadasivanayaka’s achievements are known not only from the literary sources but also from the inscriptions. He was conferred with titles like Endavamurari. Kolekolahala (the destroyer of forts) Balavanta, Ekangavira, Meghadambara, Divapradipa, and Paduvansamudradhisvara. Further he was presented with the right to assume the title “Raya Nayaka”\textsuperscript{52}. Sadasivanayaka issued some gold coins, which bear, on the obverse, the figure of Siva holding trident in the right hand and the antelope in the left with Parvathi seated on his left thigh while on the reverse there is the legend of Sri Sadasiva in two or three horizontal lines in Nagari characters.

**Sankannanayaka: 1563 – 1570 AD**

Son of Sadasivanayaka probably ruled from 1563 AD to 1570 AD. It is said that the reigning Vijayanagara emperor granted Doddasankannanayaka mahadevapura as a reward for his having defeated the Portuguese and captured their governor.

**Chikkasankanayaka: 1570 – 1580 AD**

Chikkasankanayaka succeeded his elder brother Doddasankkanayaka in the Keladi throne and ruled from 1570 to 1580 A.D. He governed the whole kingdom successfully sometimes jointly with his nephew Ramarajanayaka. The first impulse of the Keladi kingdom to expand came up during the reign of Chikkasankanayakanya himself.

\textsuperscript{52} K.N. Chitnis., *Keladi Polity.*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1974, p. 12.
Keladi Venkatappanayaka and Malabar: 1582 – 1629 AD

With the accession of Keladi Venkatappa in 1582 an era of Keladi expansion and consolidation commenced in south Kanara in a vigorous manner. He overran the entire south Kanara coast upto the border of Malabar (the river Chandragiri). In order to keep these chieftains of Kanara under his control and to check the incursion of the Nayars, Venkatappa built forts in strategic places, some of which are situated on the borders of Kerala. These places where he built forts were Kumbala, Kasaragod, and Chandragiri. An inscription found at Udiipi dated 1536 saka (1614 A.D.) refers to Venkatappa as a ruler of Tulu Malabar.

Venkatappa, Laxmapparasa Banga and the King of Cannanore

While Banga chief Laxmapparasa Banga was defending his territory against Venkatappa, in 1618 he requested the Portuguese to secure the service of Nayars in Malabar, in case they would send to him a fleet against Keladi. The Portuguese account says that he could not secure the service of the Nayars. This fact reveals that the Nayars in collusion with the Portuguese were determined to check the influence of Venkatappa. In the course of his campaign, Venkatappa not only crushed Banga and his allies, but also made him flee to ‘Canhorto’ (Cannanore.) Banga Raja was eager to seek the help of the king of Cannanore against Venkatappa. The king of Cannanore received Banga king well and promised to help him with men and money to regain his lost territory. But Banga raja in one of his letters complained to the Viceroy of Goa that the king of Cannanore was delaying to help him. The king of Cannanore wrote in explanation to the Viceroy of Goa that he was involved in settling the internal troubles in his kingdom and so he was not in a position to help Banga raja in his attempt to regain his lost territory. When the king of Cannanore agreed to help Banga, the Portuguese Government at Goa resolved not to wage war against Keladi Venkatappa and
suggested to the king of Banga that it was better for him to accept the terms of the treaty proposed by Venkatappa. Venkatappanayaka maintained diplomatic relations with the Portuguese and other foreigners as successfully as he could. Venkatappa was perhaps the greatest among the crowned heads that ever sat on the throne of Keladi. Portuguese had by that time established themselves at important places along the west coast. They had built forts at Mangalore, Onore (Honavar) and Barcelore, to protect their trade. They had to war with neighboring chiefs to better their prospects in trade.

Venkatappanayaka built impregnable fortresses at Hebbe, Sagara, Konduru, Mallikarjuna, Nagari, and Pariyala, apparently to protect the kingdom from foreign attacks. Venkatappanayaka, son of Sankannanayaka, succeeded his elder brother Ramarayanayaka to the Keladi throne in the year 1582 A.D and ruled till the year 1629 AD. The inscriptive evidence shows that he remained loyal to his overlord in Vijayanagara at least till the year 1614 AD and was already an independent monarch when Pietro Della Valle visited Ikkeri in 1623 AD. Venkatappa successfully stemmed the tide of Muhammadan advance by driving back the Bijapur troops headed by Randullahkhan and kept the cause of the Portuguese out of his territory and routed Bhaira Devi, the pepper queen devastating Gersoppa completely. The Portuguese at Goa sent an embassy to Venkatappanayaka in 1623 AD and concluded with him a treaty with a view to protecting their interest in the pepper trade. Venkatappa though completely independent of Vijayanagara went to protect the Vijayanagara viceroy, when he was driven out of Srirangapattana in 1610 AD. Rightly, Lingannakavi called him master of Western Ocean (Padugadalodeya). He also dealt with the English very skillfully in commercial transactions.

He was a great builder of temples, Mutts’, and Agraharas. He built or renovated numerous temples, such as Visvesvara temple, Buvanagiridurga, the Tandavesvara and

Ranganatha temples, at Antarasipura, the Ganapathi temple at Sadasivasagara, the Ramesvara temple at Keladi and erected many Agraharas such as Sadasivasagara, Visvanathapura, and Virambapura, and built many Mutts’. He made grants for temples, Mutts’, and even for Mosques.

**Virabhadra Nayaka and the king of Cannanore: 1629 – 1645 AD**

Virabhadra Nayaka, Grandson and successor of Venkatappanayaka ruled from 1629 AD to 1645 AD. The Portuguese record of 1635 informs us that king Virabhadra finally subdued the rebellions of the Tuluva princes and extended his kingdom upto the borders of the kingdom of Cannanore. The hostility between Banga and the Keladi Nayaka was terminated through the mediation of the king of Kolathunad (Cannanore) that led to the conclusion of a treaty between Banga queen Shankara Devi and Virabhadra in 1641. According to one of the terms of the treaty, the Banga queen agreed that she would not support the Malabarins against the Keladi Nayaka in future. The above treaty throws light on the close relations that existed between Keladi and Malabar during the reign of Virabhadra. Subsequently when he sought the help of Malabarins against the Keladi ruler, the consolidation and extension of the Keladi kingdom upto the border of the kingdom of Cannanore made the king of Cannanore realize that there was no use in supporting the Banga ruler against Keladi. Further to earn the good will of Keladi ruler the king of Kolathunad acted as a mediator between the two. His career was one of struggles against internal dissensions and external invasions. He maintained good relationship with both the Portuguese and the English people. When the strong hands of Venkatappanayaka were removed, the whole of the Keladi state was under civil wars and rebellions. Under the rule of Virabhadrnanayaka many of the petty chieftains that had been conquered by Venkatappa rose in revolt against his grand son Virabhadra Nayaka and the cousins, and uncles. The brother-
in-law of the latter began to conspire against him with a view to usurping the Keladi throne.

It was only with great difficulties that Virabhadranayaka put down all the insurrections and warded off the evils of civil war presumably through the instrumentality of Sivappanayaka, his uncle and general. Although his region was marked by political strife and dissensions, Virabhadra could still make liberal grants for the temples and muttas. During his reign, the capital was transferred from Ikkeri to Bidnur in 1639 under the guidance of Sivappanayaka who was a distinguished military genius.

**Sivappanayaka in Malabar: 1645-1660 AD**

Sivappanayaka was the successor of Virbhadranayaka, one of the distinguished sovereigns of Keladi dynasty. As an administrator and organiser, he was unequalled, but as a diplomat and statesmen he was second only to Venkatappa. He was known more as a great systematiser than as a builder and a patron of art and letters. Sivappa, grandson of Sankannanayaka II and son of Siddappanayaka came to the throne in 1645 AD and ruled till 1660 AD. (Figure 5)

Hostilities between Keladi and Cannanore again broke out during the reign of Sivappa Nayaka. This led to the organisation of a military expedition against the Kolathiris. Basavaraja, the author of *Sivatattavartnakara* says that Sivappa constructed many new forts in the province of Kerala and had many temples, wells and tanks restored. The details of Sivappa Nayaka’s campaign in Malabar are narrated by poet Linganna. Describing this military campaign the poet says, after conquering the Mangalore Rajya (in South Kanara) Keladi Sivappa took possession of the forts of Bekal and Chitari, strengthened several forts including Chandragiri, which are on the borders of Malabar, marched to Nilesvara and set up a pillar of victory there, as a token of his heroic deeds against the Nayars. There he routed the forces of Nayars, forced them to pay tribute and completely humbled the forces of Kollantha,
Marpala and Arakkal of Kerala mandala. On the other hand, the Portuguese account says that in 1651 Sivappa sent special envoy to Goa soliciting help against the Moors of Malabar. But the Portuguese Government in Goa insisted on settling their differences with Sivappa on the issue of Cambolim for which he did not show any interest. Consequently he could not get active help from the Portuguese. Again in the same year in the month of May, Sivappa again asked the help of the Portuguese against the Raja of Cannanore.

In reply, the Portuguese Viceroy sent a message through his ambassador, Antonio Correia S.J., that it was not possible for them to give military aid to Sivappa against the king of Cannanore, who was a friend and ally of the Portuguese. But he also added that in case the said king attacked any part of the kingdom of Sivappa with the help of pirates, the Portuguese would not hesitate to help the Keladi king against Cannanore. We do not come across any source, which supports the contention that Sivappa secured the military assistance of the Portuguese in his campaign in Malabar. At the same time a Portuguese record of 1651 confirms his victory over all his enemies including the Nayars of Malabar. The rapid increase of Sivappa’s power alarmed the Portuguese with the intention of reducing the power of Sivappa, who was besieging the Portuguese fort of Barcelore in 1652; the Portuguese instigated the king of Cannanore to start another military campaign against Sivappa. In response, the king of Cannanore requested the Portuguese to provide him money and ships to fight against him. The Viceroy in council resolved to help the king of Cannanore. The position of Sivappa in Malabar remained unchallenged till 1660. This is evidenced by Leonardo Pais, who confirms that Sivappa’s position extended from the Tudry River in north, to Kasaragod and Nilesvar in south. He brought under his sway the whole of Tuluva kingdom and led expedition into the territories of Balam Vastara, Sakkarappanayaka and

Hasan in Mysore. He overran the territory of raided Malayala, defeated Bharaisa Odeya of Karkala and overpowered the forces of other petty chieftains such as those of Nilesvara, Swase Herur, Tarike and others. He drove the Portuguese out of the Honnavar fort, with the help of the Dutch. He conquered Belur and Sakkareppatane and restored Srirangaraya, the fugitive emperor of Vijayanagara in the government of these two places. He took possession of the fort of Cambolim after a stubborn fight with the Portuguese. A brilliant feat of arms in the annals of Keladi. He bestowed great care on the fort of Bidnur and enlarged the city (of Bidnur) by encouraging the artists, architects, dyers, bronze-smiths, potters, gold-smiths, carpenters, artisans, merchants, shoemakers and others skilled in different arts and crafts to settle there granting them houses, stalls and markets by sasana.

He then consolidated all the territories of the Keladi kingdoms that have been conquered and annexed by king Venkatappa and became the undisputed master of a vast area stretching to the western ocean (Arabian Sea) including Araga, Guthi, Barakuru, Mangaturu and other places. His possessions, according to Leonardo Pais, extended from the Tudry River to Kasaragod or Nilesvara. Sivappa was a patron of religious institutions and continued the traditional patronage to the Sringeri mutt and performed like king of Kalapurusha, Tulapurasha, and of one thousand cows in the Tirtharahapurikshtra, on the banks of the Tungabahdra and saw to it that worship of gods, the various religious traditions and the practice of making gifts were duly carried on in the Kasishethra. Though no gift was known to have been made to any Christian institution it is believed that there were more than thirty thousand Christians among the subjects of Sivappanayaka. He won a brilliant victory over the Mysore forces at Srirangapatna. His valor and generosity are praised in an inscription found in the Trithahalli Taluk of the Shimoga district. Keladinrpavijayam speaks of Sivappanayaka’s expedition, Bekala, and, Chandragiri, forts were taken by him and at

56 Ibid., p. 19.
Nileswar he erected a pillar of victory. The expedition brought contact with Kolathiri family of Malabar. The Sivatattvaratnakara says that he built several forts in Kerala.

**Sivappanayaka and the Portuguese:** In 1649 AD Sivappanayaka went on a cruise along the seacoast. This caused great anxiety to the Portuguese captain Dom Luces de Souza, who was in charge of the northern fleet at Barcelor. He was instructed by the authorities to make proper arrangements for its defense in case Sivappanayaka was on a voyage and made an onslaught on it. The Portuguese were thus crippled and Sivappanayaka became the undisputed master of the coast from Mirjee to Kasaragod. The Bekal fortress is believed to have been built by Sivappanayaka.

**Venkatappa II**

The younger brother and successor of Sivappanayaka came to the throne in 1660 and ruled only one year. By this time another maritime power namely the Dutch, had come into the field challenging the Portuguese and the English for commercial supremacy. Vekatappa maintained friendly relationship with the Dutch. But his relations with Portuguese were strained. In his region also hostilities continued between Mysore and Keladi. Bhadrappanayaka, Somasekharanayaka, Chennammaji, Basavappanayaka, Somasekharanayaka II, Basavappanayaka II, and Chennabasavappanayaka followed him.

Apart from encouraging religious and secular architecture, the Keladi kings are known for their patronage of drama, dance, and music. This is borne out by the fact that Vengatappanayaka built a Natyasala, where dance and drama could be performed for the benefit of the people.⁵⁷

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An attempt has been made to study in detail the fortress of Bekal built by the Keladi ruler Sivappanayaka in 1645-1660 AD in comparison with the St. Angelo Cannanore fortress, which is built by Portuguese in the year 1505 and was completed in 1507 AD\textsuperscript{58}. These Fortresses have so far not received the attention of archaeologists and historians. It is essential to study them especially in the case of a hill kingdom like Keladi, which also had excellent harbors, and maritime overseas trade contacts. Both the fortresses were built on laterite outcrops in elevated strategic points. Hence comparative study has been taken up on these fortresses and their architectural style in detail.