CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

'A History of North Kanara from the earliest times to 1600 A.D.' is a modest attempt to delineate the general history of this region. The whole of Kanara is divided into two districts, namely, North Kanara and South Kanara and both these divisions are in the Karnataka State. North Kanara is situated in the extreme north-west of Karnataka State. It is bounded in the north by Goa and the district of Belgaum; on the south by the district of South Kanara; on the east by the district of Dharwar; and on the west by the Arabian Sea.

During the early centuries of the period under study, the modern North Kanara district was made up of parts of Banavasi-12000 in the east, Halve (Payve or Haiga)-500 in the west and Konkaṇa-900 divisions. This last was a strip of land situated between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Upto the 12th century Banavasi was practically the chief city of political prominence. These areas were ruled over by the Kadambas and later on the other imperial dynasties of Karnataka like the Chālukyas of Bādami and Kalyāṇa and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. With the disintegration of the later Chālukyan empire by the end of the 12th century this region became the object of dispute between the Seuṇas and the Hoysalas. Petty chieftains rose to power, each carving
out an independent principality, during the period when chaotic conditions prevailed in the country. With the advent of the Vijayanagara rule, Nagire (Honavar) and Hāḍuvallī (Bhaṭkal) assumed importance as separate territorial units and they came under the control of local families of Nagire and Hāḍuvallī. Thus there was a re- adjustment in the centres of political activities.

The chief territorial divisions now were Konkana, Haive and Bhaṭṭakala. We learn from a record dated Śaka 1341 that the Nagire-ṛājya included Gersoppa, Bīḷāśi in the Siddapur taluk formed a part of Vanyadēśa. The modern North Kanara District then comprised of parts of Banavasi-12000 with Banavasi as its headquarters, in the east, Haive (Peyve or Haiga)-500 with Honāvara or Suvarṇapura as its capital in the west (Suvarṇapurivijaḍ-avamśapitaṇḍa Haive-Koṅkana-ṛājya) and Bhaṭṭakala or Bhaṭkal with Hāḍuvallī or Sangītapura as its capital in the extreme south bordering on the Kundapur taluk of the South Kanara District. The Koṅkana-900 was a strip of land situated between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea and had Honāvar as its capital. Thus Honāvar was the capital of the earlier Haive and later Koṅkana division. To the north-west of Karwar was the Goa region which formed a separate principality — the Gōvaya-ṛājya.
Because of the geographical situation of North Kanara, it was inevitable that this region came under the influence of the major dynasties of South India. From the first two centuries of the Christian era down to the fifth to sixth centuries, this region, in turn, came under the suzerainty of the Satavahanas, the Chatus, the Mauryas of Konkan and the early Kadambas. After this, the overlordship of this tract passed into the hands of the Chalukyas of Baddami and later the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed who seemed to have had a lion's share in the political domination of this coastal belt. Thereafter, the major portion of North Kanara is known to have been ceded to the Chalukyas of Kalyana, who contributed largely to the development of this region.

Then came the local chiefs of Haqveballi and Nazire, ruling as independent mahamanjalamvaras, with the kings of Vijayanagara as their overlords. The records of these chiefs give a clear picture of their status and their relations with the Vijayanagara kingdom and the neighbouring principalities, after the decline of the Hoysalas. It is interesting to note, that the kings of Vijayanagara gave to the chiefs of Haqveballi and Nazire much freedom and initiative and treated them not as mere governors but as independent chieftains. They were empowered to administer their small kingdoms without interference. In their inscriptions, these chiefs acknowledge the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara kings who ruled at
the time. The reasons for this liberal policy of the Vijayanagara kings towards their feudatories might have been prompted by enlightened self-interest, because the chiefs of Häduvallij and Nagire were ruling the two important port-towns of Chaṭkāl and Honāvar which had strategic importance in the kingdom of Vijayanagara. These harbours were open to attack by the Muslims of the Deccan, the traditional enemies of Vijayanagara and later by Europeans, specially the Portuguese. By allowing the chiefs complete independence and initiative, the safety of the harbours was ensured. There were well-trained captains under these chiefs who with their ships kept a strict vigil over the sea and Timōja was one of them. Besides, as an emporium of trade, Chaṭkāl and Honāvar had great commercial importance in the Vijayanagara kingdom and shiploads of goods were daily imported and exported from these busy ports. This maritime enterprise filled the coffers of the Vijayanagara kings. There was brisk trade in horses in these ports and Vijayanagara depended very much on the Persian and Arabian horses for their continual warfare against the Sultāns of the Deccan.

The history of this region assumes further importance and interest in the 15th and 16th centuries, with the advent of the Portuguese. Advantages of spice trade with the east was the most important motive force, which brought the
Portuguese to India. With their base in Goa, they struck contracts with the chiefs of Bhāṭkal and Honāvar for the lucrative spice trade. Pepper and other spices were widely grown in this region. The Portuguese trade in spices and other articles not only enriched the Vijayanagara empire, but also brought in much prosperity to Nagire and Hāḍuvalleri kingdoms. The story of the Portuguese relations with these kingdoms is amply unfolded in the following pages.

The thesis is divided into five chapters, with some appendices at the end. Chapter II describes the Land and the People of North Kanara. Chapter III recounts the Political History of this region from early times down to 1336 A.D. Chapter IV delves deep into the history of Bhāṭkal or Hāḍuvalleri-rājya and Chapter V narrates in detail the history of Honavār or Nagire-rājya.

It is common knowledge, that the political history of a country cannot be adequately understood and appreciated, without a deep study of regional and local histories. With this in mind, it is endeavoured to trace the history of North Kanara. In these chapters an analysis of the available source materials has been made.

As has been always the usual practice, the source materials may be broadly divided into Primary and Secondary. Under Primary, we have Archaeological and Literary sources. But so far as the literary sources are concerned, if it is
taken to mean pure literary works than we have practically nothing of importance. But in a broad sense, chronicles, narratives, travelogues etc. could be considered as literary sources. Such sources have been made use of and they will be referred to in the sequel.

A. PRIMARY

1. Archaeological and Epigraphical

Archaeological sources, however, are not many. We know very little of the pre or proto-history of North Kanara District mostly because not much work has been done in this field. Banavasi is one of the most ancient cities of Karnataka. Only a small scale excavation was conducted here for 2-3 seasons by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Mysore in collaboration with the Directorate of Archaeology. But as on date no report of this excavation has been published. A similar excavation in a fairly big site at Vadgaon Madhavapur near Belgaum, conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History of the Karnataka University seems to show certain features common to both the sites. So far as the early historical period is concerned evidence is available about the Tatavahana occupation in these sites. In fact this is corroborated by the discovery of a later Tatavahana inscription at Banavasi. However, even the Karnataka University has not published detailed report of the excavation. Under the circumstances, very little is known
about the archaeology of North Kanara. Dr. Sundara of the Karnataka University has been conducting a survey of the region recently. But results of his study also await publication. He has noticed one or two megalithic sites to which he refers to in stray articles. He has also published some papers about some sculptures and other antiquities noticed by him. But this would lead us nowhere.

One point may, however, be kept in mind. Even today this district is not as heavily populated as the other districts of Karnataka. It is full of thick forests. Barring the Varada and other small rivulets, there is no good river system and early man could have scarcely inhabited the region. Even in the historical period, many areas of the district have remained in the dark. The available evidence seems to suggest that even the coastal region was not made much use of. It was only after the coming of the Arabs and the Portuguese that the coastal region gained prominence and commercial centres grew up. One point may be noted in this connection. Epigraphical sources form a branch of the Archaeological sources. Unfortunately, no systematic epigraphical survey of this district is undertaken by any agency. Inscriptions in and around places like Banavasi, Bhaṭkaṭ, Sōde etc. have been copied and some of them published. But compared to South Kanara, work done in this regard in North Kanara is negligible. Yet
certain common features may be noticed.

In South Kanara also epigraphs of the early centuries of the Christian era, from the 7th century to the 10th century are only 'handful' while quite a large number of inscriptions belong to the period of Vijayanagara. Good many belong to the medieval period down to the end of the 14th century though they are less in number than those of the later centuries. All these exceed 500 inscriptions. Similar appears to be the case in North Kanara where also, an analysis of the hardly 100 inscriptions noticed would show that majority of them belong to the Vijayanagara period. Records of early centuries are few in number. But those of the medieval period also are scanty. Systematic survey of the area may add quite a good number to the records of the medieval and Vijayanagara periods. This similarity certainly indicates that human settlement in this region commenced at a late period and the heavily forested mountain region could have been occupied only after the iron age when iron axes could be made use to fell the trees.

However, we may incidentally note certain other features in the historical periods which differentiate South Kanara from the North. In South Kanara, right from the early centuries of known history, the Halupas ruled the region. They might have been feudatories in status, but that was only in theory and for all practical purposes they were independent masters of the region. This was mostly because the imperial
powers of Karnataka were quite far away from South Kanara and those powers were satisfied with the faithful allegiance of their feudatories. But in North Kanara, the circumstances were different. It was here that the first imperial dynasty of Karnataka — specifically of North Karnataka was born and nourished. When the Chalukyas of Badami succeeded the Kadambas of Banavasi as imperial rulers, the centre of power shifted. But Banavasi did not lose its prominence. This region was kept under the direct control and administration by the later imperial powers and several officials were posted here as governors. Obviously, those rulers did not want any feudatory family to rule here. It was much later that the Kadambas of Hangal and of the ruled over parts of the region as feudatories. But as seen later, even then the imperial rulers sent their own nominees as governors of the region, obviously as a precautionary measure to put down recalcitrance.

Further, North Kanara was nearer the later imperial capitals like Badami and Kalyana and a firm hold on this region was not only necessary but also easy. That is why we do not have Jupas for North Kanara. After the Kadambas of Banavasi, this region practically lost its independent existence.

Added to this was the impenetrability of the interior areas of the district. It was only when its coastal areas were visited by the Arab merchants, its importance was regained. The possibilities of flourishing foreign trade attracted the
attention of the rulers and the Vijayanagara rulers rose to the occasion. They had to naturally deal with the Portuguese, the Arabs as also the local chieftains like the chiefs of Nagire and Bhāṭkal who had by then assumed prominence. This was, thus, an economic race. These factors have to be borne in mind in understanding the history of this district.

For the early periods, till the coming of the Portuguese into power inscriptions form practically the only source of information. In Banavasi itself very important inscriptions have been found, and they throw very welcome light on the early history of the region. The memorial slab inscription of the Satavahana king Vasishṭhiputra Śiva Śrī Pujumāvi is a clear indication of the Satavahana rule in Karnataka. Much earlier was found at Banavasi the Nāga image inscription which refers to Viphukada Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarnī's daughter Śivaskandānāgaśrī who is identified to be the mother of Viphukada Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarnī II of the Mallavallī inscription. These are of c. 3rd century A.D. Two more records, the Banavasi epigraph of Mṛgēśavarma and the Guḍhāpur record of Kavivarma, though both of them are fragmentary have thrown very welcome light on the history of the Kadambas. The former reveals some interesting details about the battles fought by Mṛgēśavarma. The latter has given us the names of the father and grandfather of Mavūrasārma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty. It has further shown that
the Kadamba ruler Ravivarman was a Jaina in religious persuasion and a chaityālaya was constructed in the capital near the palace.

Several inscriptions found outside the district in the adjacent regions and elsewhere have helped in reconstructing the history of the region under study. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II shows how that Chālukya ruler imposed his sovereignty over the region. Likewise, records of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa refer to a number of the governors and other subordinate officials like the āṇḍāṇāyakas and kaṭīta varṇa-gajas appointed by them to govern the Banavasi province. The Tanaḍa Kallāla epigraph gives an insight into the conflicts between Sōmāśvara II, the Chālukya and his younger brother and successor Vikramāditya VI. It is only on the basis of the epigraphical sources that an account of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and Goa has been given. After the decline of the Chālukya power the Saūṇas and the Hoysalas warred between themselves for the occupation of the region around the Tungabhadra and the feudatories in the area, like the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and Sinas of Belagutti were used as pawns. In that period of political instability and confusion the feudatories could not tread on hard ground. All these interesting details can be analysed only with the epigraphs in the adjacent Shimoga district.

The non-availability of epigraphs in the Karwar district
itself has disabled the researchers to dive deep into the details of such political dramas. If and when that area is subjected to survey, one would hope to get greater information. With the establishment of Vijayanagara, the political scene changed considerably. The coming of the Portuguese into the arena gave a swift turn to the politics of the region. The local chieftains gained prominence. The Vijayanagara rulers demanded allegiance from them on the one hand while the Portuguese sought their friendship in promoting their own business. This kept the local chieftains in lime light. The few epigraphs of this period found in the district show how the chieftains had to engage themselves in battles with the foreigners.

B. PRIMARY

Literary

It is at this juncture that the literary sources assume greater importance. The literary sources include the letters, documents, autobiographies, chronicles, travelogues etc. of the Portuguese and other foreign writers. These have been taken as literary sources by us, since they are a form of literature. In fact these sources have been of greater help in reconstructing the history of the district from the 14th century onwards.
Albuquerque's Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, Vols. I to VII, Edited by R. A. de Bulhão Pato, Lisbon, 1884-1935

Affonso de Albuquerque was born in the year 1453, in the town of Lisbon about six leagues from Lisbon, in Portugal. He was the second son of Gonçalo de Albuquerque and Dona Leonor de Menezes, daughter of Conde Atouguia. He had his early education in the palace of the Portuguese king, Dom Afonso V. He learnt the military art and as a young man, he took part in many successful battles both in Europe and in Africa. This was a training ground for his later career of conquests in Asia, where he went on 5th April, 1503.

On 5 November, 1509, almost a year after he had reached India, Albuquerque was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the Portuguese possessions in Asia. His first diplomatic move was to strike up cordial alliance with the Hindu kings and chieftains of South India and enlist their cooperation in his life-long struggle against the Muslims.

Albuquerque conquered Goa for the first time on 1 March, 1510 from Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. But Adil Shah recovered his possession on 20 May, 1510, after a siege of 21 days. Albuquerque conquered Goa a second time on 25 November, 1510. Goa became the capital of the Portuguese
Possessions in India. He consolidated these possessions by establishing a strong government. The conquest of Goa weakened the power of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Albuquerque died on 16 December, 1515, at the age of 63 years.

Affonso de Albuquerque wrote many letters to the king of Portugal Dom Manuel, during his tenure of office. These precious letters were published by the "Academia das Ciências" of Lisbon, under the direction of Raymundo, Antonio de Bulhão Pato. From 1584 to 1935 seven volumes were published. In this collection, the following dispatches to the king of Portugal merit special mention, namely, the dispatches dated February 1508, October 1510, April 1512, August to December 1512, November 1513 to January 1514, October to December 1514 and September to December 1515. Some of these letters, specially two, dated 1 April 1512 and 4 December 1513 are important, because they are open manifestoes of Albuquerque's policy.

The following are the most interesting among all his letters:

1. Two letters in answer to the letters received by him from Coestar.
2. A letter in reply to the letter from Lourenço de Brito, Captain of Cannanore.
4. A letter written to Ruy Gomes to give certain instructions to Shaik Ismael.

5. A letter to the king of Ormuz.

6. A letter written to Timoja, Captain of the people of Goa and Lord of the lands of Cintacora.

7. Letter to Adil Shah written immediately after the conquest of Goa.

8. A letter in which he gave certain directions to Antonio de Miranda de Azavedo together with a present for the king of Siam.

9. Letter to Shaik Ismael, informing him that he had received his ambassador with due honour. In this letter, he informs Shaik Ismael that he is sending Fernao Gomes de Lemos to give him news about the Portuguese. He also gives an account of the capture of Ormuz. He explains to him the advantage of an alliance against the Sultan about which he was going to inform the king of Portugal.

10. A letter to the king of Portugal, telling him about his intention of conquering Goa. He speaks of the advantage of taking Goa as a preparation to conquer India. This letter was dated 17 October, 1510 and was sent from Cannanore.

11. Letter to the King of Portugal, informing him of what steps he had taken for the expulsion of the Turks from Goa. He also gives an account of the message he sent to the King of Vijaynagara. This letter was written from Goa on 22 December 1510.
12. Letter to the King of Portugal giving an account how his fleet was destroyed in his absence, when he went to Malacca. He speaks of the malpractices of the Vicar of Goa who was going back to Portugal. He also mentions other disorders in Goa. He impresses on the King the need of conquering other parts of India. This letter was written in Cochin and is dated 1 April 1512.

13. Letter to the King of Portugal in which he tells him how he freed the Ambassador of Prester John from Chaul, where he was imprisoned and how he was honoured in Goa.

14. His last letter to the King of Portugal written from his ship at sea on 6 December 1515. The following is the text of his most impressive letter: "I do not write to your Majesty with my own hand, because now dying, I am unable to do it. I feel already the agony and hiccough of death. Senhor, I leave a son to continue my memory. To him, I leave all my possessions which are few; but I leave him the duty of continuing to serve my own and his King as I did, which is much. Things pertaining to India will themselves speak for him and for me. I leave India with its principal states taken and in your power without having anything else to worry about except guarding them and closing very well the gate of the Strait. It was this that your Majesty gave me to do. I, Senhor, always counselled you and still today I do the same that you secure your hold on India, in order that you may realise from it the revenues and take from it its
expenses. I ask your Majesty that, by your kindness, you will remember all this and that you will make my son great and that you will show him all your satisfaction with my work. I put his future in the hands of Your Majesty and of Her Majesty. To you, I look that you will make my deeds appear great, since I die while in your service, and for the pension to which I am entitled and which your Majesty knows I gained for the most part, I ask that it may be given to my son and he will for me kiss your Royal Hands."

11. **Documents**


Antonio Bocarro came to India in 1615. He was a soldier for 13 years. He had leanings towards scholarship and could wield his pen better than his sword. In 1631, he was appointed Chronicler and Chief Keeper of the Archives at Goa. He filled this post until 1643. He had many useful historical documents at hand and was able to collect all the material for his books. He also had first-hand information about Goa and the surrounding kingdoms of North Kanara. His books furnish useful information for the study of Portuguese relations with the kings of North Kanara.

**Foster : The English Factories in India 1637-1641**, a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public
William Foster has written 13 volumes on The English Factories in India. His monumental work deserves high praise, because his books supply valuable material for research work. Foster does not restrict himself only to British activities of the East India Company, but gives interesting information about the Portuguese activities in Kanara. In this way, his books help to gather important information for the Portuguese relations with the chieftains of North Kanara in the 17th century.


Panduranga S.S. Pissurlecanar was a great scholar and historian. He was in Goa all his life and mastered the Portuguese language. Besides, he knew English, Sanskrit, Marathi and Kannada. He worked as the Keeper of the Panjim Archives and had access to all the documents and manuscripts in the archives. His five volumes: Assentos Do Conselho Do Estado (Minutes of the Council of State) contain authentic and useful matter for research. He has also included in his books other related documents found in the Goa Archives and from the archives in Portugal. In this way, his five volumes are complete with information. Most of the documents belong to the 17th century and some documents are of the 18th century.

These eleven volumes contain State Papers from the Goa Archives. These documents refer to the 16th and 17th centuries. He has reproduced most of the documents in full and some documents are summarised. Joaquim Fello-soro da Cunha Rivara was a native of Arrabolas, in Portugal. He came to Goa in November 1855 as Secretary-General of Portuguese India. He had exceptional talents in History, Archaeology and literature. Before coming to India, he wrote his most useful book: 'Catalogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca Publica Rhorensae'. This book was published in 1850 in Lisbon. It is a catalogue of useful manuscripts which have proved to be of great help to Indian scholars. He also wrote a number of instructive articles on History, Literary Criticism and Philology. His laborious studies relating to Indian History based on original documents and archaeological investigation is praiseworthy.

The king of Portugal was very much impressed by the erudition and scholarship of Cunha Rivara and commissioned him to continue the historical work of João de Barros and Diogo de Couto on the conquest and rule of the Portuguese in Asia. To prepare himself for this task, Cunha Rivara travelled over the greater part of India and visited the
important places connected with the Portuguese State. He made copious notes during his travels and collected plenty of material from the Goa Archives.

Cunha Rivaia lived in Goa for 22 years. In 1857, he began the publication of the documents which he found in the 'Boletim do Governo do Estado da India'. He published them in separate volumes as well as under the title of 'Archivo Português Oriental.' Till 1877 he published six small collections and supplements making in all ten volumes in octavo, containing royal letters to the city of Goa, to the Viceroy and Governors and many other documents from the 16th to the 18th centuries. In volume V there are important documents relating to Bijapur. Rich tributes have been paid to Cunha Rivaia for this useful work by Tolbert, Hunter, Panvers and other writers.

In addition to this work, Cunha Rivaia published various books and research articles. His works 'Chronista de Tissuary' 1566 to 1569 deserves special mention. He contributed many articles to periodicals such as 'Instituto Vasco da Gama' and 'Boletim do Governo'. These research articles were read and appreciated by many scholars in India and abroad. In the 'Boletim do Governo', he published the treaties signed between the State of Portuguese India and the neighbouring kings and an important series of documents pertaining to Adil Shah, the Marathas, Nizam Shah and others.
Besides the works mentioned above, the great writer Cunha Riva...
who spent the greater part of his day shut up in the Libraries and Archives, a humanist and paleographist, he left a large number of contributions for Luso-Oriental history and also guided with a firm and benevolent hand the young minds that developed under his paternal direction, exercising an efficacious and salutary influence on the mental and literary evolution of Goa. With equal facility, he wrote in Portuguese, Latin, French and English. He tried with great assiduity to revive Konkanı, having been the first to compose a historical essay and to have some ancient didactic works in that language printed."

iii. Chronicles


João de Barros (1496-1570) was for many years occupying the post of Treasurer and Factor at the "Casa da Índia" i.e. the India House at Lisbon. He was the first State Chronicler to write the history of Portuguese India. His books form a primary source, as he had full access to all state documents and he was a recognised historian. He wrote in imitation of Livy by dividing his books into Décadas. His style is superb and expressive, imitating the classical writers of Greece and Rome. Hence, he is rightly called the "Portuguese Livy".
Barros worked for two Portuguese kings, namely, Dom Manuel and Dom João III. When Barros was only twenty years old, Dom Manuel commissioned him to write the History of India. In 1525, he was appointed Treasurer of the House of India, Mina and Cauta in Lisbon. He held this post till 1529. After this, he had several government appointments which kept him fully employed. But he kept on collecting material for his future books on history. It is said that he spent the day-time doing his official duties and his nights in reading books and collecting historical material.

In 1552, Barros published the first "Década de Asia" with the title: "Da Asia de João de Barros, Dos feitos que os portuguezes fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente". Lisboa 1552. (Asia by João de Barros, Of the deeds which the Portuguese did in the discovery of the seas and lands of the Orient. Lisbon 1552) The second Década was published in 1553; the third Década was published in 1563; the fourth Década was published in 1615 after his death by João Baptista Lavanha in Madrid. Ultimately, all four Décadas were reprinted in Lisbon in eight volumes in 1777-78. This is the best edition of the Décadas of João de Barros. The Décadas narrate the history of the first four decades of the Portuguese rule in Goa and their other possessions.
Commenting on the First Década, Mendes dos Remédios observes: "The First Década published one year before the departure of Camões for India in 1553, inspired the conception of the Lusiadas. For this reason, if for no other, the Décadas deserve to be registered with affection in the memory of all Portuguese. But the Asia of Barros is, apart from the purity and elegance of its language, an excellent repository of ethnographical information about India. The deeds of the Portuguese had, on the other hand, a true singer and apologist in João de Barros. He might even be accused of having erred on the side of partiality, but as Bismonti wrote: 'One is able sometimes to learn the truth better from partial writers of their country's deeds than from those who do not have any feeling, at least the former having something real, namely, sentiment'.

Manuel Severin de Faria writes: "Everyone knows and sees that João de Barros conceived the chronicle of the Portuguese voyages and conquests as a civic duty and that he executed it as an epic poem in prose. Should such a conception contain the criticisms of the meanness and villainy which formed the reverse of the medal which he struck in commemoration of the events and facts whose sum total constitutes one of the greatest collective marvels in the world? In order to write truthfully, João de Barros had the most truthful accounts that he could get hold of for this purpose; for having
to treat of three things — the deeds of the Portuguese, information about the kings and nations of the Orient and the true geographical situation of their provinces — all the papers which dealt with Portuguese history were given over to him, those of the Royal Armies as well as the accounts and letters of the Viceroy's which were comprehensive, as they dealt with everything which belonged to their rule.

According to Delgado: "João de Barros from his place in the Casa da Índia in Lisbon knew much more of the Orient and in particular of India, especially with respect to its geography and ancient history, than many renowned travellers, ancient or modern."

In the opinion of Sousa Viterbo: "João de Barros was a true Orientalist. He is the true precursor of the modern Orientalists and investigators. Many times, he drinks from the original sources, other times he has recourse to interpreters. He has a thirst for knowledge which is all the more admirable, when we realise how few were the materials on which he could lay his hands."

Although Barros had all the important documents relating to India at his disposal, he never once visited India. If he had come to India and visited various places connected with Portuguese activities, his chronicle would have been much more authentic. Another drawback was that he was an official court historian and was subject to government censorship. However,
as a writer on Portuguese India, João de Barros has a high place among historians.

Barros retired from his official duties towards the end of 1587. He died on 20 October 1570 and was buried in the Hermitage of St. Antonio in Leiria.


Fernão Lopes de Castanheda is one of the great Portuguese Chroniclers. He was born at Santarém, the date of his birth is not known. He accompanied his father to Coa in 1528 and was recruited to the Portuguese army. He stayed in India for ten years. He was a self-made historian and a free-lance. He collected historical documents, examined carefully old records, had interviews with captains, officials and others who could furnish him with material for his history of India. He spent all his money for his project and was thus forced to return to Portugal to take up a job. At the University of Coimbra, he was appointed Beadle in the Faculty of Arts, Corrector of Proofs for the University and Librarian. He had carried a great amount of historical documents, but he had very little time to go through it and write his history. He spent his nights and all his spare time in giving shape to the data he had with him,
His history goes by the title: Historia Do Descobrimento e Conquista Da India Pelos Portugueses. (History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese). It consists of ten books containing the adventures of the Portuguese in India, Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, China and the Moluccas. It covers a period of fifty years from the time of Vasco da Gama till the death of Dom João de Castro, Viceroy of India. The first book was published in 1554 in the life time of the author. His complete history was given to the press for the first time between 1551-1561. There is no doubt that Castanheda wrote Ten Books of his History. The second edition states clearly that his history continues till the death of João de Castro. Book X has disappeared completely. There is reason for this disappearance of the volume.

Castanheda has given in his history truthful description of the events. Some noblemen and officials took objection to his narrative in which their defects were described. They appealed to the King and the last two volumes were suppressed and were not allowed to be printed. It is curious to know that thirty-one chapters of Book IX were found later in manuscript form and were published by Father Wessels.

Castanheda was a sincere seeker after truth. He was not paid by the state to write his History. Besides, he was in India for ten years and was an eye-witness to many of the events he describes. He knew the people and their language.
He collected historical documents with great care and interviewed people who could give him first-hand information of the events. He gives vivid descriptions of the places he visited. He was a soldier and a writer and he describes the battles in which he took part. He writes about the methods of warfare with great accuracy and goes into details which lend charm to his writings.

He is fearless in his narrative and impartial to the core. He does not spare anyone in his endeavour to speak the truth as he found it. In this, he is a true historian, unbiased, with a passion to find the truth and express it with authority. He openly points out the foibles and blunders and even the crimes of his countrymen in the colonies and fearlessly disapproves of their imperialistic policy and the wrongs done to the people of the colonies.

This great historian, whose contribution to history is, indeed, unique, died on 23 March 1569 and was buried in the church of San Pedro in Coimbra.


Gaspar Correa was born in 1495. Nothing is known about his parentage or place of birth. He came to Goa in 1512, when he was seventeen years old and worked as Secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque. He returned to Portugal in 1529. He came to
Goa a second time and took up military service. In the midst of official duties, he found time to collect material and write a detailed and interesting history of Portuguese India. His history covers the period from 1497 to 1550, a period of fifty-three years, from the time of the discovery of the sea route to India till the governorship of Jorge Cabral.

Correa travelled all over the country to obtain first-hand information regarding the persons and places he wanted to write about. In his long journeys, he learnt much about the manners and customs of the people. He assiduously verified the correctness of the facts and places. His narrative concerning Albuquerque's governorship is excellent. His style is ordinary, that of a soldier who did not have much education. But he was frank and forthright in his narrative. He put down facts as he knew them without fear, as his books were not published in his lifetime. He openly criticised the policies of the Portuguese in India, which he found unjust and imperialistic. His books are illustrated with paintings of the Viceroyos from the pen-sketches drawn by Correa himself. In 1561, he started rewriting and perfecting his manuscripts. But before he could finish polishing his work, he was assassinated in or soon after 1563.

Gasper Correa's 'Lendas da India' or Stories of India was published in four volumes by order of the Class of Moral and Political Sciences and Belles Lettres of the Portuguese
Academy of Sciences, Lisbon in 1964 i.e. three centuries after they were written. These four volumes are:

Lendas da India, Volume I: Lenda de trazas annos, desde o primeiro descobrimento da India ate 0 anno de 1510, Parte I, Lisboa, 1858, Parte II, 1859. (Story of thirteen years from the first discovery of India till the year 1510, Part I, Lisbon, 1858 and Part II, 1859).

Lendas da India, Volume II: Lenda de dezasepte annos acabados no anno de 1526, Parte I, 1860, Parte II, 1861. (Story of seventeen years, ending the year 1526, Part I, 1860, Part II, 1861). This volume has lithographic engravings with pictures of Viceroyes and governors and sketches of some cities and fortresses.

Lendas da India, Volume III: Lenda do que se passou no espaço de dezasepte annos que finha em 1537, Parte I, 1862, Parte II, 1869. (Story of what happened in the space of seventeen years, ending the year 1537, Part I, 1862, Part II, 1863). This volume has seven engravings.

Lendas da India, Volume IV: Em que se comprehendem os feitos dos annos de 1538 a 1550, Parte I, 1864, Parte II, 1866 (Continuing the deeds of the years of 1538-1550, Part I, 1864, Part II, 1866). This volume has 98 pages of Index of historical and geographical names and contains six engravings.
Lendas da Índia describes the work of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, João de Nova, Francisco de Albuquerque, Vicente Sodré, Duarte Pacheco, Lopo Soares, Manuel Telles, Francisco de Almeida and other governors till the governorship of Jorge Cabral in 1550.

Gaspar Correa's 'Lendas da Índia' is a mine of information written truthfully by a matter-of-fact soldier, who wielded his pen better than his sword. His work will remain useful for all time to the student of history. Although, his style is not very elegant, the reader is captivated by the author's sincerity and honesty. In the opinion of Bulhão Pato: "In the arrangement of his scenes, vivacity of colour and picturesque setting, Gaspar Correa is superior to the other Portuguese historians of the orient".


"The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and His Viceroyalty" is an English translation from the Portuguese Lendas da Índia by Gaspar Correa. This translation with notes and an introduction was done in 1869 by Lord Henry E.J. Stanley of Alderley for the Hakluyt Society.

This clear narrative in English is a great boon to English-speaking people throughout the world, considering
that no attempt was made for many years to translate the
great Portuguese Chronicles into English.

This book unfolds before the reader in simple English,
the adventures of Vasco da Gama and his men in the early
days of Portuguese navigation. It vividly describes the
difficulties and perils the Portuguese adventurers had to
face and overcome in coming to India, their relations with
native princes and how they succeeded in striking a contract
for Indian trade. This book is a great help to the students
of history.

5. **Conto**: Continuação da Asia de João de Barros, Por
Diogo de Conto, 12 décadas in 14 volumes, Lisbon 1778-88
edition.

Diogo de Conto was born in Lisbon in 1542. His father
was in the service of Infante Dom Luiz. Diogo was given good
classical education and was sent to the University for higher
studies. His father suffered a set back, when Infante Dom
Luiz died. Diogo had another shock, when his father died
not long after the death of Dom Luiz. Diogo was forced by
circumstances to give up his university course and take up a
job in the army. At the age of fourteen, he went to Goa and
joined the Portuguese army. He served in India for eight
years as a soldier. He was noted for his bravery and sense
of duty. He was recalled to Portugal and was duly honoured
by the king for his meritorious service in India.
Conto was essentially a man of letters. His first love was classical studies, which he had to interrupt, because of adverse circumstances. He resigned his post in the army and returned to Goa to prosecute his career as a scholar and writer. Conto was a personal friend of that great "Prince of Poets" Luiz de Camões and he consulted Conto regarding places in his poem. Conto accompanied Camões on their voyage to Lisbon in 1570. He describes his meeting with Camões in his Década VIII, chapter 28 as follows:

"In Mocambique, we found that Prince of the Poets of his time, my fellow-passenger and friend, Luiz de Camões, so poor that he had to be supported by his friends and to enable him to proceed to Portugal, his friends collected all the clothing he needed. Some of his friends gave him food. That winter, when he was in Mocambique, he had just completed the finishing touches to his Lusíadas and the book was ready for printing. At the time, he was also writing another book entitled "The Parnassus of Luiz de Camões", a book of great erudition, instruction and philosophy. This precious book was stolen from him and I could not get any information about it in Portugal in spite of my many enquiries. It was, indeed, a notable theft. This excellent poet died in Portugal in abject poverty".
Dom Filipe II who was crowned king of Portugal in 1581 was a great patron of scholars and historians. He appointed Couto Chief Chronicler of the Kingdom and commissioned him to continue the Décadas of João de Barros. This great king founded the Archives in Goa on 25 February 1596. He could not think of any one better than Diogo de Couto to be in charge of this new venture. He was nominated the first Keeper of the Archives. This appointment was a great boon to Couto. It gave him the best opportunity to collect and be acquainted with historical documents and manuscripts. He worked hard and was never tired of his research. As the keeper of the Archives, he was loved and respected by all scholars who went to him for help. Manuel Saverin de Farias says of him: "By his courtesy and kindness, he made himself well-known in India and was loved by all the famous men, nobles and investigators, and even by the pagan princes of those countries".

Diogo de Couto's monumental work is entitled: "As Décadas de Asia: Dos Feitos que os Portugueses Fizeram na Conquista e Descobrimento das Terras e Mares do Oriente". ("The Décadas of Asia: Being the Deeds that the Portuguese did in the conquest and discovery of the lands and seas of the Orient").

This work consists of Nine Décadas and Ninety Books —
a truly marvellous history. It is, without doubt, the best source for the Portuguese history of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Though Couto's work is called the Continuation of the Décadas of João de Barros, there is some overlapping which he could not avoid. Década Four of Barros deals with the period ending with the death of Nuno de Cunha in 1539. But as this Década Four had not appeared in print when Couto began his work, he started from the period twelve years earlier and went on with his history till 1601. Thus, there is an overlapping of twelve years' history in the Fourth Década of Barros and of Couto. This duplication touches the governorship of Lopes Vaz de Sampaio and Nuno de Cunha. This repetition was by no means copied from Barros, because his Fourth Década was in manuscript form with his widow and was published for the first time in 1615, and Couto's Fourth Década was published in Lisbon in 1602 by Pedro Graesbeck. In this way, Couto's Fourth Década was absolutely original in its content. Curiously, the Tenth Década was written first, in order that his work should coincide with the day his great patron, King Felippe II was crowned. This was followed by the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eleventh and Twelfth Décadas. Décadas VIII and IX were completed in 1614 when the author was seventy-two years old.

It is heart-rending to know that these two precious
Books, Décadas VIII and IX were stolen from him either out of jealousy or with the hope of making use of them for writing after his death. In this crisis, Couto remained unperturbed. In his letter to King Felippe II concerning this theft, Couto writes: "God, our Lord, Author of all good, who did not consent to such a manifest robbery, willed that some fragments and memoirs should remain; these together with what I remembered as an eye-witness covering the period of these two Décadas, namely, the period of Dom Antão de Noronha (1564-1568), of Dom Luiz de Ataide (1568-1571), of Dom Antonio de Noronha (1571-1573) of Dom Antonio Nunes Barreto (1573-1577) and the second governorship of Conde Dom Luiz de Ataide (1578-1581) when I fought in this state, helped me to put on record again to make up the two volumes. God helping me, I compiled these two Décadas as an Epilogue, in which I gave a resume of the most notable and important events and thus I made up as much as possible for the loss caused by the theft. If my stolen books were to be found any time in future, they will be recognised immediately by my style and the subject matter."

Diogo de Couto's history covers the period 1527 to 1601. Década XII deals with the period 1596 to 1601. He was not able to complete his work, as death overtook him in Goa at the age of seventy-four on 10 December, 1616. The last edition of all the Décadas was published in Lisbon in 1778-88.
in fourteen volumes. This is the best edition.

Manuel Severin de Faria, in his "Life of Diogo de Conto" remarks: "The style which Diogo de Conto maintained throughout his Décadas is very clear and simple. He passes judgement, as he goes on, on the actions of persons and points out the causes of the success or failure of the Portuguese in their kingdom. At the same time, he compares favourably with other authors, as far as truth of his narrative is concerned, which, indeed, is the soul of history. He had the distinct advantage over many other authors in that he had personal, first-hand knowledge of places and their exact geographical location, of people and their manners and customs. In his Décadas, he points out the errors made in these matters by some of those who wrote before him about things pertaining to the East."

The honest and reliable narrative of Diogo de Conto is a very valuable contribution to historical literature.

6. Ferishta: History of the Rise of the Mohomaden Power in India till the year A.D. 1612, Translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kassim Ferishta, by John Briggs, M.R.A.S. Lieutenant-Colonel in the Madras Army, to which is added an Account of the Conquest by the kings of Hyderabad, of Those Parts of the Madras Provinces Domained, the Ceded Districts
and Northern Circars, with copious Notes, Four Volumes, Calcutta, 1908-1910.


Damiao de Gois (1501-1574) was the chief librarian of the Torre do Tombo and the chief chronicler of the kingdom of Portugal. He was born in the town of Alemquer, in about 1501. He was known for his high culture, erudition and artistic taste. He travelled much in Europe. In 1533, he was appointed Treasurer of the House of India, but he declined this offer.

He was asked to write the chronicles of Dom Manuel. He wrote between 1507-1521 till the death of Dom Manuel. This book is called Chronica Do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel (Chronicle of the great King Dom Manuel). It was printed for the first time in 1556-1557.

The first part of this chronicle contains a vivid description of the great deeds of the Portuguese of the 15th century and of the first years of the 16th century. He describes the exploits of the Portuguese in Africa and their adventurous voyages in Asia. He describes the adventures of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Alvares Cabral, Duarte Pacheco, of Alfonso de Albuquerque and Tristao de Cunha. The second part
of the book is devoted to the work of Don Francisco de Almeida, the Viceroy in India. In the third part of the book, we find descriptions of the work of the Viceroyas, Diogo de Lopes de Sequeira and Alfonso de Albuquerque in Goa. He also describes Albuquerque's elaborate plans both political and economic for the furtherance of the Portuguese empire in India. In the fourth part, he describes the episode of the fight of the elephants with rhinoceroses, which had been sent to Portugal from India.

In the second volume of the book, Cois describes the beliefs, doctrines, ceremonies, manners and customs of the people of Kanara and Malabar. He says: "The Brahmins are for the greater part, men gifted in Philosophy and Mathematics, which sciences were very ancient in India, because when Alexander arrived in India, these sciences were known and had been so long in existence that no one knows when they began. He refers to Timoja (Thimayya) a native of Honavar, who was a pirate and was a friend of the Portuguese and helped them to conquer Goa.

The book of Ramiro de Cois throws light on the civil administration of Adil Shah. He refers to the docks, where they build the ships in Goa and he also refers to the Konkani language. He gives an interesting description of the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the city of Vijayanagar — "There everything is majestic, grand...."
The chronicle of Cois is so truthful, impartial and well-written, that scholars give him a very high place among the Portuguese chroniclers.


*Chronica dos Reis de Bismaga* (Chronicle regarding the kings of Vijayanagar) was a manuscript of the eighteenth century published by David Lopes, Lisbon, 1897. To quote the learned Professor David Lopes: "The chronicle which we now publish is a precious document of the history of Bismaga (Vijayanagar). There does not exist in any language that we know, of anything which can compare with it, whether with respect to the actual historical facts or whether as regards the description of the country, especially of the capital, products, customs etc."

This manuscript is divided into two parts. The first part is till page 80 and was written by Fernao Nunes. The second part from pages 81 to 123 was written by Domingo Paes. The probable date of the first part is 1525 and the probable date of the second part is 1535. The originals of both these chronicles are found in the National Library of Paris. They were sent from Cois probably to the celebrated Portuguese historian, João de Barros.

These two chronicles were translated into English by
Robert Sewell, the author of the famous book, "The Forgotten Empire" and have been inserted as a part of his book.

In this chronicle, Lopes gives us a very interesting history of Vijayanagar and some glimpses of North Kanara, which was in the Vijayanagar empire. We get an insight into the Portuguese relations with the kings of North Kanara, namely, Honávar, Bhatkal, Gersopa and also their relations with the great Vijayanagar Emperors. Lopes refers to the neighbouring kingdoms and people and describes their social life, religious festivals, manners and customs. This book is very valuable to the students of history.


Manuel de Faria e Sousa who is also called Manuel Severin de Faria and also Faria y Sousa wrote the book "Asia Portuguesa". It was first written in Spanish. It was printed in three volumes of folio size at Lisbon in 1666-1675. His history begins from the early voyages and is carried down to 1640. 1945-47 edition was published in six volumes at Porto. The author takes his material from Portuguese Chroniclers like João de Barros, Antonio Pinto Pereyra and others. Some of the details he gives are not found in the originals he consulted. Besides, he does not show any critical outlook in his volumes. A student of history who has gone through
the volumes of Barros, Correa and Couto finds the books of Manuel de Faria e Sousa a mere repetition.

iv. Travelogues


Duarte Barbosa's date of birth is not known but we know from records that he was born in Lisbon in the latter part of the fifteenth century. His father, Diogo Barbosa, Knight of the Order of Santiago was in the service of Don Alvaro de Bragança. It is recorded that Diogo went to India in 1501 with the fleet captained by João de Nova.

Duarte Barbosa followed his father to India. We do not know when he went to India and how long he was there. He worked as a scribe in the Portuguese Factory at Cannanore.

He began writing his "Livro", (Book) about 1510. This book describes the countries bordering on the Indian ocean and gives an account of their inhabitants. Volume I of this Book deals with the coast of East Africa, Arabia, Persia and Western India as far as the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Volume II describes the coasts of Malabar, Eastern India, Further India, China and the Indian Archipelago.
His description of the kingdom of Gujarat is interesting and is full of information. He refers to the Banasans (Banias of Gujarat who belonged to the merchant class and they were Jains) and their attitude of non-injury to all living beings. He gives a detailed description of the city of Andava (Ahmedabad). When he describes Din, he refers to Malinquas (Malik Ayyas) the Governor of Cambay who conquered this place. He also describes in great detail the naval battle off Din between Francisco de Almeida and Mir Husain, the Captain of the Egyptian fleet. Further, Barbosa tells us about the trade Din and Surat carried on within India and with the coastal towns of Africa.

An interesting description is found in his Book of the towns of Chaul, Cintacora (Sadashivgar in North Kanara) Dabul and Goa. He narrates the conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque and how immigration into Goa was strictly controlled.

He describes Narasaynag (Vijayanagar) giving its history, life of the people, their manners and customs. In his Book, we find the earliest-known description of the "hook-swinging ceremony" and an accurate account of the Sati practised by the Brahmans. He says that the Lingayats buried the bereaved widows instead of burning them.

Together with the geographical description of North
India and Delhi, he gives interesting historical details of the region and gives a fairly good account of the Jogiis and their way of life.

Speaking of the kingdom of Malabar, he treats of the Muslim influence, specially with regard to trade. He goes into details while treating of the religion, language, manners and customs of the people of that region. He, particularly, describes the eighteen castes of Cannanore, where he worked as a scribe. He gives a good account of the brisk trade of this coastal town. He also gives a description of Cochin.

He writes about the Island of Ceilam (Ceylon) describing the land and the people and mentions that two languages were spoken in that Island. He refers to Mylapur in Madras and explains the legend of St. Thomas. He gives a vivid description of the Kingdom of Bengal and speaks of the fertility of the soil, its trade in sugar, slaves and eunuchs. He touches on the Portuguese relations with the kingdom of Bengal.

Duarte Barbosa was a well-travelled man and he admits that he did not write a chronicle or history but his own reflections on the countries he visited. As a Travelogue, his book is very useful to the student of history. At the same time, his accounts of places and people are interesting, because he had first-hand knowledge of the things he wrote.

His observations are sound on certain topics, as for
example, when he says that all along the Malabar coast one language was spoken which was called Malayalam and on the Coromandel coast, people spoke a different language from Malayalam but with some resemblance but differing from it as Portuguese differs from Castillian. This shows that Barbosa paid special attention to the languages of the people he visited in different countries which was not usually done by other travellers of note. This is but one example to show that Barbosa was a keen and intelligent observer. Such examples can be multiplied in many other directions.

The English translation which is done with great accuracy by Hansel Tongworth James and published by the Hakluyt Society of London is an important contribution to the literature on Travelogue.

2. *Barbosa* : Livro em que de relação do que viu e ouviu no oriente. Published by Augusto Reis Machado, Lisbon, 1946.

   This book which was completed by Duarte Barbosa in 1516 describes the trade and commerce of the coastal towns. It is a useful book for the history of Kanara, as it describes the commercial activity in the emporia of trade along the Kanara coast.

3. *Barbosa* : A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Translated

It is clear from the title of this book, that Marte Barbosa was a specialist in making a study of the Coasts, their inhabitants and geographical conditions, with a view to describe the maritime activity of the people, their trade and commerce. This book and his other books were highly prized not only by the Portuguese but also by the other European nations who undertook voyages for the purpose of trade and commerce in the East.


Francis Buchanan, M.D. was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was also a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and he was in the Medical Service of the Honourable Company on the Bengal Establishment. He tells us that he undertook the long journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar under the orders of the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, for the express purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts, commerce, religion, manners, customs, natural history and civil history and antiquities.

His three well-written volumes, illustrated by maps and numerous engravings are a mine of information to students
of Indian history and culture. He gives a graphic picture of the important places of North Kanara, like Bhatkal, Honavar, Gersoppa, Kumta, Karwar and others. His authentic account of the geography, history, political life, economic life and social organisation is of great help to students of history and to research scholars.

5. **Varthema**: The travels of Ludovico de Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Petraea and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503-1508. Translated by J.W. Jones and G.P. Badger. London, The Hakluyt Society, 1963 edition. Ludovico de Varthema was an illustrious traveller and was next to Marco Polo among the European travellers. He met with many difficulties and challenges in his adventurous journeys. He was also a scholar and writer. He was in India for about four years from 1504-1508. He gives much insight into the trade and commerce of Kanara and his accounts are fairly reliable.

5. **Autobiography**

**Bras de Albuquerque**: Commentarios do Grande Afonso Albuquerque, 4 Volumes, Lisbon, 1557-1774.

Bras de Albuquerque, the natural son of the great Afonso de Albuquerque was born in a villa on the bank of the river Tagus. His book is based on the original documents relating to his father. In fact, his sources are the actual
originals written by Afonso de Albuquerque in the midst of his political activities. For three centuries, they were incontestable printed authority for Albuquerque's career and work in the East. In spite of some exaggerations, which is understandable, these volumes are reliable to a great extent and supply valuable information about the relations of the great conqueror-statesman Afonso de Albuquerque with the region of Kanara.

The first edition of his great work was published in 1557 with the title "Os Commentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque Capitão geral e governador da Índia, collectedos por seu filho Afonso de Albuquerque das próprias Cartas que elle escrevia ao muito poderoso Rey Dom Manuel O Primeiro deste nome em cujo tempo governou a Índia. Vam se partidos em quatro partes, segundo os tempos de seus trabalhos" ("Commentary of Afonso de Albuquerque, Captain-General and Governor in India, collected by his son Afonso de Albuquerque, from the actual letters which he wrote to the very powerful king, Dom Manuel, the first of that name, in whose reign he was governor of India. The letters are divided into four parts, according to the time of his work").

The Commentaries are dedicated to Dom Sebastião, the reigning king. The author gives two main reasons for printing this book, namely, first, in order to remind the king of his obligations to the descendants of Afonso de Albuquerque who
has served his great grand father with utter sincerity; and
the second is to make up for the little publicity given by
Portuguese historians to the work of his good father.

The second edition was published in 1576 in Lisbon;
the third edition was published in 1923 in Coimbra. The
fourth edition was prefaced and revised by Antonio Baiço,
the learned Director of the Torre do Tombo.

The 'Commentaries' help us to clarify many points of
history. We come to know more in detail the life of Afonsao
de Albuquerque. Further, we learn much about the history
of Bijapur, Vijayanagar, Calicut and Cochin. The author
gives a detailed and interesting description of the conquest
of Goa by his father with the help of Timoja.

The 'Commentaries' are highly praised by Joao de
Barros in his "Véca das Índias", Book Y, Chapter VIII.

Another writer says of him: "He has shown such a love
for the truth, such moderation and tact in referring to the
enemies of his father, so much modesty in his details of the
action of that hero, that one can say that the portrait
which he has drawn, far from being exaggerated, underrates
the original", (P. Lasitao : Histoire des découvertes et
B. SECONDARY SOURCES

Modern Works

Some of the modern published works which deal with the history of this region, mostly partly, have also been consulted. These form the secondary sources under which heading they have been noticed.


The author of Suma Oriental, Tomé Pires came to India from Portugal as a merchant of spices. He was in Goa for about 2 years between 1511 and 1516. He wrote his book between 1512-1515. Compared to some other travellers like Duarte Barbosa, the accounts of Tomé Pires are not very reliable. This may be due to the little time he had to go round the country and collect authentic information to write his book.

Pietro Della Valle was the son of Pompeo Della Valle and Giovanna Alberini. He was born in Rome some time between 1-11 April 1586. He belonged to a very illustrious family of Rome. In this family, there were two Cardinals, namely, Cardinal Rustico under Pope Honorius II and Cardinal Andrea under Pope Leo X. A Street and a Church were named in Rome after Cardinal Andrea Della Valle.

We do not know much about the early life of Pietro Della Valle except that he received a good education, that he travelled all over Italy and that he was admitted into the Academy of Umoristi, a Scientific and Literary Society of those days which had been founded in Rome. Pietro entered military service, but there is no evidence to show that he actually took part in any battle.

In 1611, he joined a Spanish fleet which went on an expedition to Barbary and he took part in the capture of the Karkenssa Islands (the ancient capital Cercina and Cercinitis) in the Gulf of Cabes, off the coast of Africa, which were then the strong hold of pirates. He also took part in other skirmishes.

Subsequently, owing to a disappointment in a love affair, he went to Naples and put on the habit of a pilgrim and took the title of 'Pellegrino' which he added to his signature ever after.
On the advice of his friend, Signor Mario Schipano, a Professor of Medicine, he made up his mind to travel abroad. He embarked at Venice for Constantinople on board the ship, the Gran Delfino on 8 June, 1614. He stayed at Constantinople until September, 1615 and then proceeded to Asia Minor and Egypt, thence to Mount Sinai, the Monastery of St. Catherine and to Palestine. He visited Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo and Baghdad, besides Anah on the Euphrates and Hillah, the site of Babylon.

He went back to Baghdad where he married Maani Gicorida, a young Assyrian Christian girl, 18 years old. She was the daughter of an Assyrian father and Armenian mother. She was well-educated and knew the Turkish language in addition to her own mother tongue, Arabic. The marriage took place in 1616 and she accompanied her husband to Persia. At Mina, in the vicinity of the Gulf of Oman, Maani died on 30 December 1622 of fever. Pietro had his wife's body embalmed, placed it in a coffin and took it with him on his journey. The Georgian girl, Maria Tinatin di Ziba whom his wife had taken under her protection, now accompanied him on his journeys. On 19 January 1623, he embarked at Cambroom (Bandar Abbas) for India.

He arrived at Surat on 10 February 1623 and proceeded to Cambay, Ahmedabad, Chaul, Goa, Takeri, Barcelor, Mangalore
and Calicut. From Calicut, he sailed along the coast to Goa. He reached Goa on 16 November 1624 and then sailed to Mascat. From there, he travelled through Bassora to Aleppo and from that port, he sailed by way of Cyprus, Malta and Sicily to Naples. He reached Naples on 5 February 1626 and finally arrived in Rome on 23 March of the same year. In Rome, he buried the remains of his wife in the Church of Ara Coeli in the vault of the Della Valle family. He was given a warm welcome by Pope Urban VIII and by his friends at Rome. Soon afterwards, he became Honorary Chamberlain to the Pope. He married the young Georgian girl who had accompanied him on his journeys. She was the daughter of an officer in the Georgian Army. She became the mother of fourteen sons.

Due to some misunderstanding with the Pope, Pietro had to leave Rome. He retired to the Port of Palliano and later went to Naples. After a short time, he was allowed by the Pope to return to Rome where he lived till his death in April 1652. He was buried in the Chapel of San Bernardino di Siena in the Church of Ara Coeli. His widow was still living in 1662, but the date of her death is not known.

In Rome, he had a quiet, retired life. Many of his friends and admirers visited him and listened to the interesting narratives of his travels and inspected in his museum the many attractive rare curios which he had collected in the
course of his travels abroad. The Society of the Umoristi of which he was a member, conferred upon him the title 'Il Fantastico'. He had a flair for music and composed several melodies. He was the inventor of two new musical instruments to which he gave the names of Cimbalo Rarmonico and Violino Panormonico.

Pietro is famous in history as a courageous and observant traveller. He was the first traveller to penetrate into the Second Pyramid and to send to Europe two mummies which are now preserved in the collection of Antiquities at Dresden. Again, he was the first to find the Rock Inscriptions and the Cuneiform writings in Assyria.

His travels were described in an interesting narrative divided into three parts - his journey in Turkey, Persia and India. They are composed in the form of Letters addressed to his friend, Signor Mario Schipano who lived at Naples. He had a good knowledge of Eastern languages and he spoke and wrote Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Coptic and Chaldaean. Gibbon, speaking about Pietro observes: "No traveller knew and described Persia so well as Pietro della Valle." Southey calls him "that excellent traveller". Sir Henry Yule, the great scholar says "Of travellers whose steps have led them to India by no inducements of trade or service, but who came for their own pleasure or convenience - the Prince of all such who have
related their experiences is Pietro della Valle, the most insatiable in curiosity, the most intelligent in apprehension, the fullest and most accurate in description.

His letters are full of graphic descriptions and bring before the mind of the reader a vivid and life-like representation of men, their manners and customs, as they existed in the early part of the 17th century in Kanara and other places he visited. He gives a penetrating account of the ceremonies, rituals and religious worship of the Hindus. Pietro had the capacity of describing what he saw and narrating it without exaggeration. He is truthful and sympathetic in his narratives. Indeed, his contribution to travelogue is immense and he will live forever in the memory of his readers.

About Pietro della Valle, his biographer Ciampi says:

"He was an accurate observer and described everything he saw in his work, combining the continuity of narrative, so attractive a feature in the old records of travel, with scientific observations, worthy of a more mature age. He gives us the true aspect of a country in lines and colouring reminding us of the pictures of his contemporaries Poussin and Claude Lorraine."

The Rev. Henry Heras, S.J. was a Spaniard and belonged to the Bombay Jesuit Province. He spent his whole life in India. He was a Professor of History at St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He was the Founder of the Indian Historical Research Institute at St. Xavier's College. He was an authority on the Indus Valley Culture and wrote two big volumes on the subject. He was greatly interested in South Indian History and he made special research in the History of Vijayanagar Kingdom. His ambition was to write the History of all the Dynasties of the Vijayanagar kingdom. He did not succeed in fulfilling his ambition. But he wrote the History of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar which is regarded by scholars and historians as a masterpiece of historical research. In this book, he gives an insight into the political, economic and social life in the Vijayanagar Empire. There are also references to the neighbouring kingdoms of North Kanara which came under the Vijayanagar Empire.


This book relating to the administration of the Portuguese forts in Kanara is interesting and instructive. It
describes the rules and regulations for the appointment of military and civil officials of the various ports in Kanara. It gives in detail the duties and obligations, rights and privileges of the officials, their salaries, conduct of business and financial arrangements. This book is useful for the study of the Portuguese administration of their forts in 16th century. Besides, it describes the religious and commercial activities of the Portuguese in Kanara. This is a useful book for research students.


The Navakas of Ikkeri written by Swaminathan is not a reliable document as far as the Portuguese relations with Kanara is concerned. The author has not taken the trouble to obtain correct translations from the original Portuguese documents. Hence, the book is misleading as far as my subject of the Thesis is concerned. But certain parts of the book are reliable, when the author has referred to authentic documents in his research.

Besides these other general works have also been consulted and they have been shown separately under General Bibliography.