CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF BHATKAL

Bhatkal, twenty-five miles south of Honavar is the southernmost port of North Kanara, with latitude 18° 59' N., longitude 74° 32' E. It lies in a valley encircled by hills. It is a place of archaeological and historical interest.

Sri Panchamukhi says that local tradition appears to call the place by its old Sanskrit name Manipura.¹ But the inscriptions discovered at Bhatkal refer to it as Bāṭakāla and Bāṭṭakāla.² The late Sri S. Silva opines³ that this place-name is derived from Bhāṭṭākalaṇḍakadvāya who was the head of the Jaina monastery at Bhatkal in the 9th century A.D., but does not mention the source of his information. However, an inscription⁴ dated 1398 A.D., in recording the death of Paṇḍita, the 24th pontiff of the jaina monastery in Śravaṇabelagola gives the succession of the heads of that maṭha who preceded him in that office. Seventh in the line of these pontiffs was Bhāṭṭākalaṇḍaka of the Pustaka-gachchha and Dēśi-gana. Giving each of these gurum a reign of thirty-five years, it would appear that this Bhāṭṭākalaṇḍaka is to be placed about the middle of the 9th century A.D. But, what connection he had with Bhatkal is not brought out by this inscription. We, however, know it for certain from an inscription⁵ found at
Billigi in the Siddapur taluk of North Kanara that the town of Bhatkal was built near the coast by the Jaina teacher Vijayakirti II for his lay disciple Navesayabhupa of Sangitapura.

This inscription is dated 1592 A.D. in the lifetime of another Bhattakaanka, the celebrated author of Karnatakacha-sahadanyasaasanam which is compared to Pāṇini’s grammar in Sanskrit.

are told in another inscription that Bhattakaanka was a hereditary title, the same held by the great jaina guru of of the 9th century A.D. Vijayakirti II, the founder of the town of Bhatkal is the fifth in the line of jaina pontiffs mentioned in the inscription of 1592 A.D. The first in the list is Chārukirti whose date is 1100 A.D. Giving a reign of 50 years to each of his successors, it may be inferred that Vijayakirti II built Bhatkal between 1250 and 1300 A.D. The chiefs of Sangitapura had accepted the spiritual leadership of the jaina preceptors beginning with Chārukirti-paṇḍita down to Bhattakaanka, the great author. Śrutakirti I, the second in the line of the guru after Chārukirti-paṇḍita established a monastery of pontifical status in Sangitapura. Hence, these preceptors were designated the pontiffs of the Sangitapura throne (Sangitapura-sīghasana-paṇṭṭāchārya). They wielded great influence over the rulers of Sangitapura. We are told that Vijayakirti II, the builder of Bhatkal became eminent, from his seat at Sangitapura. He had the title 'lord of Sangitapura'. Similarly, Akalanaka II and his disciple Bhattakaanka
were acclaimed as the most celebrated teachers of the line and were held in esteem not only in Sangītapura but also in other parts of the country on account of their profound learning and versatile scholarship.  

At this juncture, we may ask ourselves whether Bhaṭṭākalanka, the jaina gurum who died in the 9th century was so famous as to be remembered at the time of the founding of Bhaṭṭakal and more, did he deserve the honour of having the town named after him? It is to the credit of this holy and learned gurum that he is honorably mentioned in four inscriptions. An inscription\(^\text{11}\) of 1100 A.D. refers to him as a great logician. Another inscription\(^\text{12}\) of 1398 A.D. states that he made his name Bhaṭṭākalanka highly significant by making the jaina world which had been stained with the mire of the false doctrines of the Saṅgatas and other heretics stainless on all sides. As late as 1214 A.D. we find an inscription\(^\text{13}\) which eulogises Bhaṭṭākalanka-munipa of the "ustaka-gachchha and Dēsi-gana and another inscription\(^\text{14}\) of the same year mentions him as head of the Dēsi-gana, lord of the secure throne in Kanakagiri, gained the heavenly world by a happy death in this hill. It is evident, then, that Bhaṭṭākalanka was a name to be reckoned with in the jaina world of which Sangītapura was an important centre at the time of the founding of Bhaṭṭakal.

Deshabandhu Shanker Linga Gowda attempts to derive the
name Bhaṭkaḷ from the Maratha commanders of the Patwardhan family, mispronouncing it as Vaṭkul and then trying to rationalize the corruption by claiming that the town came to be so named, i.e., Round Town, because of the hills surrounding it. But, it is remarkable that foreign travellers and geographers call the place Bhaṭkaḷ only after 1300 A.D. In 1321 A.D., Friar Jordanus in enumerating the kingdoms of Greater India says, "There is also the king of Batigala, but he is of the Saracens". In 1325 A.D., the Arab geographer Dimishqi mentions among other towns of the West coast Barqali (Bhaṭkaḷ) and states that it is situated at the mouth of the river on the sea coast. Bar means Bhaṭ and hence Barqali would mean a fortified town named Bhaṭ. It is, therefore, patently absurd to derive the origin of the place name from Vaṭkul.

In the manuscript of the work entitled Baza Kitab Ahkan-Il-Islam written in the language of the Navayats of North Kanara by Akhun Sidi Muhammad in 1688 A.D., the author mentions the name of his native place as Abadaqilla or Abadaqal'a and since qill'a or qal'a in Arabic means a castle or fort, it is contended that Abadaqal'a changed in course of time to Bhaṭkaḷa. This opinion is untenable. Abadaqal'a seems to be a fanciful derivation of the original name, the writer attempting to make the last two syllables of the word correspond to a near equivalent in Arabic. The Navayats of Bhaṭkaḷ, however have always called the place Bhaṭkaḷa.
These travellers, seeing the place from their ships, were attracted by the rocky promontory with which they generally associate Bhāṭkaḷ. Varthema (1504-07 A.D.) seems to have been so much struck by the scenic beauty of the place that he ranks it among the nobler cities of India. Indeed, Bhāṭkaḷ is situated in a beautiful valley surrounded by hills, covered with luxuriant vegetation. The valley was filled with coconut groves interspersed by paddy fields and well laid out gardens, the main source of its wealth. In the town, there were big buildings as Couto (1556 A.D.) saw them — Hindu temples, Jain bastis, besides mosques for the growing population of Muslims. The place appeared prosperous to the foreign visitors, with its countless flocks of cows, buffaloes, sheep and oxen. The whole valley presented an appearance of being fertile and productive, in consequence of the care the government took in providing perennial water supply by means of eight dams, which the observant Hamilton (1720 A.D.) saw in working order in his time.

Is an emporium of trade, Bhāṭkaḷ was well-known despite the disadvantage of not possessing a hospitable road, where ships could safely ride at anchor. The only approach to the town was the river which enabled the ships to enter at high tide. These ships called at Bhāṭkaḷ for carrying pepper, which could be had here in abundance and rice, sugar and
cocoanuts, which were also plentiful, besides fine cloth and iron. Being the most important port of the Vijayanagara empire, it was the place, where all the produce of the empire could be exchanged for goods coming from foreign countries, chiefly the Persian and Arab steeds, the mainstay of the armies of those days. No wonder, that Barbosa (1500 A.D.) describes the place as humming with life, where there was great traffic in goods of divers sorts. The people for the most part were Hindus, but there were a large number of Muslims as well.

Bhatkal, however, was only the port of the Haduvalli principality, which comprised the western portions of the southern extremes of the North Kanara District and also western portions of the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. It was ruled over by the Saluja family, from their capital Haduvalli also called Sangita pura, situated at a distance of eleven miles east-north-east of Bhatkal and being inland escaped being mentioned in the itineraries of the foreign travellers, who visited Kanara during the rule of the Saluja chiefs. We, however, get a glimpse of what the place must have been in an inscription of 1423 A.D. found at Hire Basti in Haduvalli itself. It describes Haduvalli as having beautiful lakes, flower gardens, mango groves, plantain trees, pomegranate, lemons, oranges and other citrus fruits, Jack fruits, luxuriant coconut palms and arecanut trees. The
singing of parrots and cuckoos in this region, the inscription adds, sounds like the war cry of Cupid. In the midst of all these trees and vegetation, we are told, there are towers, courtyards, mansions, temples dedicated to Jina, huge tall houses fit to be residences of kings, houses of courtesans and houses of merchants. The town was resplendent with all these things.

An inscription of Sangiraya-çeya dated in the year 1408 A.D. mentions him as the ruler of Hāḍuvalī. Sangiraya is described as the son of Bhairādevī. Another inscription of 1423 A.D. describes him as the nephew of Mādārasa-çeya. Mādara and Bhairādevī, according to extant inscriptions are the first rulers of the Sāluva dynasty of Hāḍuvalī. But fortunately for the history of the principality, an inscription from Bilīgi in the Siddapur taluk, a copy of which is now found in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, the succession is carried further back by seven generations to Indra who was a contemporary of the jaina guru Vijayakīrti I who seems to have flourished from c. 1150-1200 A.D. The inscription states that Vijayakīrti I procured sovereignty for king Indra of Sangītapura. Vijayakīrti I was succeeded by Śrutakīrti II c. 1200-50 A.D. and of this latter the inscription says that he established his lay disciple Sangama-bhūpa in power. Śrutakīrti II was succeeded by Vijayakīrti II
c. 1250-1300 A.D. and of this the inscription states that he built for his lay disciple Devarāya-bhūpa the town of Bhaktakāla. Unhappily, however, the inscription is silent about the relationship between these rulers.

The inscription of 1408 A.D. referred to above states that Saṅgirāya was ruling over Hāḍuvāla. We also know that he was the nephew of Mādarasa-ūṣaya. Assuming that 1408 A.D. would be the earliest date for Saṅgirāya and the latest for Mādarasa and assigning reign-period of about 50 years for Mādarasa we may infer that he ruled from c. 1358 A.D. to 1408 A.D.

From what has been stated above, we get names of four rulers of Hāḍuvāla prior to Saṅgirāya. They are:

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  Ināra   Sangamā   Devarāya
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  |       |       |
  Mādarasa   Bhairadēvi
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The first three have been assigned the reign-periods of c. 1150-1200 A.D., 1200-1250 A.D. and 1250-1300 A.D. As Mādarasa's date has been fixed tentatively between 1358-1408 A.D., there is a gap of 50 years. Probably there was one more
person that ruled between Devaraya and Madarasa. No records of his rule have come down to us. The period, however, witnessed extensive conquests on the part of the newly founded power, namely, Vijayanagara and its expansion in the part of the Kanara coast, which had not yet acknowledged its overlordship. It is remarkable that though South Kanara had accepted Vijayanagara suzerainty as early as 1345 A.D., Vijayanagara somehow did not think it opportune to extend its power beyond the confines of the kingdom of the ljupas which at this time seems to have been bounded in the north by the Coondapur river.

The expansion of Vijayanagara into South Kanara was a natural consequence of the desire of its founders to penetrate into the Hoysala empire and seize its territories, a task which was now facilitated by the death in 1342 A.D. of Viraballāja III at the hands of the Muslims of Madura. Kikkāyitāyi, widow of Viraballāja III kept up a losing battle against the Vijayanagara forces till 1345 A.D. as is evidenced by the presence of an inscription of Bukka I at Attāvar, a quarter of Mangalore which shows that the Vijayanagara forces had already made themselves masters of the ljupa capital. It is significant that the inscription does not mention Kikkāyitāyi, showing thereby that the war was still on in 1345 A.D. and it was only in March 1346 A.D. that Kikkāyitāyi agreed to accept the inevitable and retained her throne by acknowledging the supremacy of Vijayanagara. This reconciliation to the rising power may have
been brought about by Vidyārāpya-āṅgika. In an inscription
from Śrīṅgārī dated Śaka 1268, Parīthva, Phālgūna ba 1 corre-
responding to March 9, 1346 A.D., we find Harīhara with all his
household making a grant of nine villages to the pontiff, an
act of beneficence in which the Vījayanagara royal family is
joined by the ḫūpa queen Kikkāyatāyi. This is, indeed, an
extraordinary proceeding, as the presence of two powers joining
together in making a grant is rarely met with in inscriptions.
This exceptional procedure is possibly intended to show that
the reconciliation was brought about between the two contending
parties by the intervention of a spiritual power at Śrīṅgārī
trying its best to build a united front against the impending
Islamic onslaught. That this was a reconciliation and not an
abject surrender on the part of Kikkāyatāyi is evident from
the fact, that whereas the Vījayanagara royal family is given
the pride of place in the inscription, but mentioned with the
lower title of mahāmāndalēśvara, Kikkāyatāyi is allowed to
flourish her imperial titles pertaining to her house, namely,
ārhat Lāṃghya-chakravarti Aṭṭirāya Basaya-āṅkaraśraya Gajaṅkuṣa
śrī Vīra Kikkāyatāyi.34

But it took almost a generation for Vījayanagara to
compel the two Sāluva houses, namely, Nagire and Ḫāḷuvali
dividing between themselves the northern portions of the Kanara
coast to accept its hegemony. An inscription\(^36\) found at Kaikini dated 1381 A.D. mentions the Vijayanagara governor haḍapada Nāgappa-ōḍeya governing Haṇe and Koṅkaṇa from his headquarters Hennāura. But Vijayanagara did not have a firm hold over its new acquisitions, with the result that Haṇeṇa-rasa, the ruler of Nāgire who was looking for an opportunity to throw off the Vijayanagara yoke found that he could do so in 1398 A.D. He joined his forces with the Chaṇṭa chief of Bidir and it strained considerably the resources of the Vijayanagara administration to suppress this rebellion. A hero stone\(^36\) found at Kaikini and dated Tuesday, December 10, 1398 A.D. would have us believe that during the reign of king Harihara II, his general mahāpradēhaṇa Mahappadeṇapāṇḍya led his forces into the Tulu country and camped at Bidi, where the Chaṇṭas had rebelled against the imperial authority of Vijayanagara. The general overwhelmed the Chaṇṭas with his superior army and drove away the men of mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Haṇavara. It is also related that Tamma-nāyaṇa along with his father rājaṇgur Jakkappa-nāyaṇa together with the Chaṇṭa forces hastened to fight against the enemies and in the fierce encounter that followed both father and son lost their lives.

It is significant that the inscription of 1381 A.D. in expressly mentioning the governor haḍapada Nāgappa-ōḍeya as administering Haṇe and Koṅkaṇa, excludes Tuluva thereby
implies the Hāḍuvāḷḷī chiefmanship had not yet been brought under Vijayanagara overlordship. But it was not possible for Hāḍuvāḷḷī to resist for long the Vijayanagara authority, for, an inscription at Cōkarna in Kōmta taluk dated Saka 1324, Vikrama, Phālcuna ba. 7 (i.e. March 6, 1401 A.D.) while registering a transaction made by Virupāyi, son of Viśv-bhaṭṭa Mādana with Mahābala-bhaṭṭa for the purchase of land for a sāṭra clearly states that this transaction took place when the imperial governor Mahāpradhāna Gōvidēva-ōgaya was governing the provinces of Havīve, Tuḷu and Koṃkaṇa from his headquarters at Honnāvura. This shows that Vijayanagara had sometime between 1381 and 1401 A.D. brought under its sway Mādaraṇa's kingdom of Hāḍuvāḷḷī.

Mādaraṇa was succeeded by his nephew Sangirāyā whose earliest record is dated October 29, 1403 A.D. He was the son of Mādaraṇa's sister Bhairādevī. Bhairādevī was a very devout jaina always at the service of jaina sages and she spent her life propagating the jaina faith. She earned for herself immortal fame by a life of dedication to her religion.

Sangirāyā's first inscription gives him the title mahāmanḍalāśavara, Aṭirāyā-vibhūṣa, etc. He called a samudāya (assembly) of the whole town on the death of his brother Mallirāyā in order to secure heavenly bliss for his soul and set up a nisīdi (epitaph) in his memory in the heart of Bhāṭkaḷ.
Sangiraya seemed to have asserted his independence right from the beginning of his reign. Contrary to the usual custom of mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagara, the inscription of 1403 A.D. referred to above, makes no reference to Devaraya I. The Vijayanagara ruler seems to have taken stern action against Haḍuvallī, for on May 26, 1415 A.D. Devaraya I sent mahāpradhana Śaṅkaradeva-oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rajya to invade Haḍuvallī. Śaṅkaradeva encamped at Bhaṭkal with his Tulu army, when Sangiraya opposed him with his forces. In this battle Mahunayaka fought on the side of Sangiraya and died a heroic death. The Tulu army of Śaṅkaradeva appreciated the heroism displayed by the fallen hero. This invasion brought Sangiraya under Vijayanagara control, for Devaraya I is acknowledged once again as his overlord in Sangiraya’s inscription of 1415 A.D.41

This defeat does not seem to have subjugated Sangiraya completely and his bitterness against Vijayanagara was still alive in 1422 A.D. He must have tried to oppose Vijayanagara authority once again and Devaraya I planned another invasion of Haḍuvallī. A hero stone standing in Maṭhada Basti in Haḍuvallī dated Saka 1345, 50bhakṣita, Mārgaśīra, ba. 10 (December 8, 1422 A.D.) informs us that Devaraya’s feudatory mahāpradhana Virupaṇga-oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru was commissioned by his overlord to lead an expedition against Haḍuvallī-rajya. When he had encamped at Baimūru with his
soldiers with the intention of crossing over to Bhaṭkāl, Saṅgirāya opposed him with his army at Baimūru and prevented the impending invasion. The inscription states that Kōṭiyanna was the deceased hero in the fight.

The neighbouring kingdom of Naṅgir looked upon the growing power of Hāḍuvalla with concern and Kāśava-Deva of Naṅgir seems to have made common cause with Vijayanagara against Hāḍuvalla. He led an expedition against Saṅgirāya on August 6, 1423 A.D. In the battle that took place at Aṣakēya-taḷāra in Hāḍuvalla, though the Naṅgir army fought well and Tamma-nāyaka, a trusted soldier of Kāśava-Deva-oṛṣya met with his death on the battlefield, the brave warriors of Saṅgirāya succeeded in repulsing their attack.43

Saṅgirāya was biding his time to avenge this invasion of his kingdom. He found his opportunity in the last year of the reign of the Naṅgir king Saṅgama, the successor of Kāśava-Deva-oṛṣya. On March 29, 1430 A.D., he marched against Naṅgir with a strong army. The battle was fought along the boundaries of Kōṭa near Kaikini within the kingdom of Naṅgir. At this juncture, Saṅgirāya was fortunate in obtaining the timely help of Bhairava-Deva-oṛṣya, the minor chieftain of Aṣakali who deserted the camp of Saṅgama of Naṅgir and shifted his allegiance to Saṅgirāya of Hāḍuvalla. Saṅgama of Naṅgir was defeated. The Hāḍuvalla chief, however, did not annex the
territory of Nagire to his kingdom but returned victorious to his place. Devaraya II of Vijayanagara was following the growing power of Sangiraya with concern. He directed his governor at Honavar, maha-pradhana Lakanna-ojeva to join hands with Sangama of Nagire and invade Haduvalli. Hardly had Sangiraya settled down after his victory, when the Nagire army reinforced by the imperial army of the governor besieged Haduvalli with the intention of capturing the place. Bhairavadeva of Asakali again rose to the occasion and helped Sangiraya in meeting this attack. A fierce battle was fought on the banks of a tank in Haduvalli. The Haduvalli forces with all the advantage of fighting on their own soil, successfully repulsed the combined attack of Sangama and the imperial governor of Honavar.

Sangiraya-ojeva had thus to spend much of his time fighting his enemies. He could not give sufficient attention to promote the welfare of his subjects. This is proved by the fact that the inscription which speaks about his benefactions does so in general terms without going into details about his work for the welfare of his people. It merely praises him for his "benevolence to the needy and the suffering, his medical aid to the sick and his spiritual guidance and consolation to his people." Since no concrete example of his munificence is set down these epithets have to be understood as merely
conventional praise and nothing more. An interesting piece of information given in this inscription, however, is that his preceptor Māṇikasena observed sallēkhaṇa vow with his permission and died after 33 days of rigorous fasting. Sāṅgirāya attended his burial service and set up an epithet in his honour after calling a samudāya of the whole town.

Sāṅgirāya was succeeded to the Hāduvallī throne by his nephew Indagarasa-ōṣaya whose earliest date is furnished by an inscription dated April 2, 1449 A.D. An inscription47 from Baindūru, Coondapur taluk dated śaka 1371 Sukla, Chaitra, ā. 10 (i.e. April 2, 1449 A.D.) records a gift of land for offerings and worship in the Ārāvanātha-basti while Indagarasa-ōṣaya, nephew of Sāṅgirāya-ōṣaya was ruling Hāduvallī-rajya. Indagarasa-ōṣaya ruled till 1508 A.D. and thus had an exceptionally long reign of 59 years.

This period witnessed a considerable decline in Vijayanagara power. With the end of the reign of Pēvarāya II in 1446 A.D., a period of chaos and confusion set in the affairs of the empire. Pēvarāya’s elder son Vijayarāya was associated with the administration of the empire for a brief period during 1446-47 A.D. From 1447-65 A.D., Pēvarāya’s younger son Mallikārjuna was on the throne of Vijayanagara. He was a very weak and inefficient ruler. He was ousted from the
throne in 1465 A.D. by Devaraya's nephew, Virupaksha II who ruled from 1465 to 1486 A.D. Virupaksha was weaker than his predecessor and was besides, despotic, cruel and sensuous, caring for nothing but women and indulge himself with drink, so much so that the whole country was roused to indignation and rebellion. Eventually, he was murdered by his eldest son, who in turn was slain by his brother Prataparaya in whom the nation merely found repeated the crimes and follies of his dead sire. Verily, the period was a chaotic one, the kingdom passed from one hand to another in the midst of political agitation, discontent and widespread antagonism to the representatives of the old royal family. Disgusted with this line of rulers, the nobles rose, deposed their king and the throne was occupied by Suluva Narasimha. The absence of any reference to imperial authority in a number of inscriptions which fall into the period of these last three Vijayanagara emperors bears ample testimony to the weakening of the central power at Vijayanagara. A few of these inscriptions merely record grants by private individuals.48

The political situation in the Bahmani kingdom was almost equally bad. Internal disputes and civil war raged in this kingdom between 1443-1482 A.D. and the country was divided against itself. The trouble had begun which ended only with the extinction of the Bahmani monarchy and the establishment of five
rival Muhammadan kingdoms in the place of one. Alā-ud-dīn died on February 13, 1458 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Humayun, a prince of cruel and sanguinary temper. His death occurred on September 5, 1461 A.D. to the great relief of all his subjects. Nizam Shah then only eight years old next succeeded to the throne. His reign was of short duration. Muhammad Shāh, brother of Nizam Shāh was the next Bahmani king who commenced his reign on July 30, 1463 A.D. He was, however, fortunate in finding a minister of the calibre of Mahmud Gawan who succeeded to a great extent in retrieving the situation.

In the middle of the year 1469 A.D. he marched towards the West and after a fairly successful campaign attacked Goa then in the possession of the Vijayanagara king Virūpāksha II both by sea and land. He was completely victorious and captured the place.

It is against this political backdrop that Indagarasa's long reign has to be studied. He was a strong king with an efficient fighting force. In 1471 A.D. he interfered with Nagire politics and invited an invasion of Hājuvali. The details are furnished to us by an inscription found at Kaikini, dated Śaka 1394, Khara, Ḍasyuyu, śr. 5 (i.e., Thursday, September 19, 1471 A.D.). At this time Bhairavadeva-śeṣa of Nagire was ruling in conjunction with his younger brother Mallirāya. After a time quarrels arose between them and the resulting enmity became aggravated beyond compromise. Indagarasa
suppored Bhairavadēva against Mallirāya. The latter took revenge on Indagarasa and invaded Rājarājēśvarī, reaching the capital itself, which, however, was strongly defended and the enemy was successfully repulsed.

During this time, the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpāksha II was desperately trying to hold out against the Muslims of the Deccan and he needed money to maintain a strong standing army against their recurring onslaughts. Bhātakal and Honāwar were the two ports in his kingdom he prized most, not only because the land was fertile and yielded plenty of rice, but chiefly because the bulk of the imports and exports of his kingdom passed through these ports and brought in plenty of income to strengthen his depleted treasury. The Navayats, who were the chief merchants of this region, imported among other things horses from Arabia and Persia needed by the Deccani powers for their cavalry. Virūpāksha II was sadly aware of the fact that the Navayats were supplying a great number of the best horses to his enemies, the Muslim powers of the Deccan, thus making their cavalry more formidable. Moreover, when he wanted to buy horses he was obliged to pay double the price. Virūpāksha was in consequence so disgusted with the Navayats whom he considered treacherous and harmful to his kingdom that in 1479 A.D. he ordered his vassal, the king of Honāwar to kill as many Navayats as possible residing in Honāwar and Bhātakal,
hoping that the rest would run away in fear. As many as ten thousand Navayats were put to the sword in these two port towns and the rest fled to Goa.

The Navayats naturally conceived an abiding hatred towards the emperor of Vijayanagar and the king of Honavar. They felt ever more solidarity with the Muslims of the Deccan and of Goa, who gave them hospitality and refuge and in gratitude they sought to help them by supplying them with the best imported horses. They could well do this, because the merchant navy was in their hands. As a measure of retaliation, they attracted all merchandise, specially horses to Goa and distributed the same among their Muslim friends.

We do not know what part Indagarasa-ojaya had in this massacre of the Navayats. All the same, he had to bear the consequences of the retaliatory measures adopted by the latter, as trade at Bhatkal port declined considerably as it did at Honavar. This wholesale boycotting of the ports of Honavar and Bhatkal by the Navayats also adversely affected the dwindling economy of Vijayanagar, already in the throes of decline.

But soon the ports of Bhatkal and Honavar became a beehive of commercial activity, thanks to the Portuguese enterprise on the west coast. The Portuguese of the 15th century knew very well that any European nation which discovered a new sea-route to the east, specially India and used this route for bringing
the eastern spices direct to Europe would become economically prosperous. The Muslims of North Africa and Persia would then be outflanked and their monopoly over the Eastern trade would be paralysed. This aim of the Portuguese was fulfilled with amazing speed within a decade after the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut. In March 1501 A.D., a fleet of four vessels under the command of João da Nova left Portugal for India. He sailed into the port of Bhaṭkal via Malindec after a stormy voyage of 18 days from Malindec. In his Lendas Gaspar Correia tells us that when they were approaching Bhaṭkal there was in the beginning a great alarm and fear in the land. The owners of ships all along the coast were scared of the Portuguese fleet. In Bhaṭkal, the local merchants were so shaken that they went to their ruler and begged him to inquire of the Portuguese commander what he really wanted. The king advised them to take foodstuffs to the Portuguese fleet and on the pretext of selling these commodities to them find out their real intentions. Accordingly they went to João da Nova in small boats laden with articles of food like rice, jaggery, fowls, oranges, sugarcane and bananas. They astutely inquired of the Portuguese about the merchandise they had brought and showed special interest in copper and coral and other European goods. João da Nova received them well, but declined to take any presents from the native merchants and insisted on paying for everything. The Bhaṭkal merchants were reassured. Soon after this first contact, both parties entered into trade
negotiations and much merchandise was exchanged. 52

While these negotiations were in progress, the Portuguese
sea-men entered into conversation with the Muslim merchants.
Some of these Portuguese then got into one of the Muslim boats.
They murdered two of the crew and overpowering the rest and
taking possession of whatever they could find made for the
coast. They were pursued by the Muslims and their boat struck
against the rocks, which are so plentiful in that region, but
before they could be caught they swam to the shore and dis-
appeared in the thickets. João da Nova was touched to the quick
by the disgraceful behaviour of his men. He sent messengers
to the ruler of Bhaṭkaḷ asking him to seize the culprits and
hand them over to him. Eventually they were apprehended and
were taken in chains to the Portuguese commander, who ordered
them to be hanged in a public place in Bhaṭkaḷ. The people
of Bhaṭkaḷ were much impressed by the sense of justice João da
Nova showed on this occasion. The ruler of Bhaṭkaḷ had a
pleasant meeting with the commander at which they exchanged
presents as a token of friendship. 53

The following year 1503 A.D., Vasco da Gama's fleet
anchored in Bhaṭkaḷ port. Estevão da Gama, brother of the
commander tried to land with his boats carrying armed men.
The people of the place who suspected evil designs on the part
of the foreigners tried to obstruct their landing by throwing
stones at them from a nearby hill. This made no difference to
the Portuguese and when they landed, the people were terror-
stricken and took to their heels. Later in the day, the
ruler of Bhatkal sent his legate, an old Muslim to Vasco da
Gama to plead for mercy and to spare his people. In the inter-
view the Portuguese commander gave to the legate, he explained
to the latter that he had come not to make war on the people
of Bhatkal but to explore the possibilities of trade with that
part of the country and if his men were a bit violent, it was
solely because they met with unnecessary opposition as they
were landing. He tried to impress on the legate that the
fleet belonged to the king of Portugal who was the lord of the
seas all over the world and demanded tribute from the king of
Bhatkal, failing which he threatened to burn all their boats
and destroy the town. The king of Bhatkal came to terms with
the Portuguese - hon ore, mal ore - promising to pay an annual
tribute of 1000 mugees of ordinary rice and 500 mugees of superior
rice and agreeing to the further stipulation that he was not
to allow the Turks to enter his port for purposes of trade;
or carry on trade in pepper in that port; or permit vessels
of foreign merchants to proceed from there to Calicut. The
treaty was duly signed before witnesses.54

The king of Portugal sent his annual fleets to India in
1503 and 1504 A.D. In 1505 A.D., however, this policy of
sending out annual fleets was given up, instead, he appointed
a viceroy who was to stay in Cochin for a period of three years, and supervise all commercial activities of the Portuguese. The first viceroy was Francisco de Almeida who set sail from Lisbon on March 26, 1505 A.D. with a fleet of 22 ships and 1,500 men. He had instructions from the king of Portugal to build fortresses at Añjediva, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon.55

In the last week of October 1505 A.D., Francisco de Almeida received in Cannanore an embassy from Vira Narasimha, the founder of the third dynasty, namely, the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The Portuguese viceroy received him on board the ship as there was not yet a fortress or factory in the city. The Vijayanagara ambassador conveyed to the Viceroy the greetings of his lord, and told him of his sincere desire to enter into trade negotiations with him. He would gladly allow the Portuguese to build factories and forts in all his territories except Bhaýkal, as this place had already been leased out. He would also supply all the materials necessary for the construction of fortresses. In order to strengthen their friendship further he would give his sister a beautiful young girl in marriage to the Prince of Portugal and with her he would give a handsome dowry by way of lands and cash. The Vijayanagara king wrote a letter to Dom Manuel, the king of Portugal mentioning all these proposals and also sent rich presents to him.56 The Viceroy thanked the ambassador for his
offers and wishes but neither he nor his successors appear to have availed themselves of them.⁵⁷ Vira Narasimha was at this time anxious to secure the friendship and alliance of the Portuguese, not only because he was impressed by the naval supremacy of the latter, but also because of his relentless struggle against the Muslims of the Deccan against whom he hoped to use the Portuguese navy. His four years' reign from 1505 to 1509 A.D. was almost spent in fighting against the Muslims and he was not always successful.⁵⁸

The Portuguese who under João da Nova and Vasco da Gama had gauged the importance of Bhāṭkal as an emporium of trade and commerce were not to be taken in by the pleas of Vira Narasimha who on his part was equally aware of the importance of the place as the only natural harbour in his empire, as Goa had already been lost to the Muslims and would not barter it for anything in the world. But the Portuguese viceroy just then was in no hurry to force the game, because in the instructions of his king, Dom Manuel, regarding the building of forts in India, Bhāṭkal had not been mentioned. Besides, in 1508 A.D. Almeida was busy building forts in Anjediva and other places in accordance with royal orders and so he preferred not to persist in his demand.

Bhāṭkal was thus at peace with the Portuguese having agreed to be their vassal but in 1506 A.D., the Portuguese commander Dom Lourenço threatened to break with the chief and
reduce the town to ashes when tracking down the pirates of Honāvar who had robbed the people of AṆjedīva, now a Portuguese dependency, he found that they had taken refuge at Bhaṭkal]. The Bhaṭkal] chief however, pleaded with the Portuguese commander to spare the town and the port, as he was a friend of the king of Portugal. He made an apology for harbouring the pirates from Honāvar in his port and promised not to do it again. As a token of friendship, he sent a present of one thousand muges of rice for the use of the Portuguese soldiers and a hundred sacks of white jaggery to Tom Lourenco for his table.59

Meanwhile, Tom Francisco had realised that the fortress of AṆjedīva could not be defended against enemy attacks. It was demolished by order of the king of Portugal in 1506 A.D., hardly one year after it was built. The Viceroy now thought of renewing his request to Vijayanagara for permission to build a fortress at Bhaṭkal]. Accordingly in 1508 A.D., he sent Pero Fernandes Tinoco to the king (Narasimha) accompanied by Friar Luiz who on a former occasion had visited the Vijayanagara court. The embassy, however, failed in its object, because by 1508 A.D. the Vijayanagara emperor had strengthened his position and successfully repulsed the attack of Amlīl Shah and had no use for the Portuguese. He was, therefore, in no way prepared to part with the important port of Bhaṭkal].60
Indagarasa's long reign came to an end in 1508 A.D. 61 Regarding his personal life, he is described with the usual epigraphic hyperbole, the besetting weakness of the inscriptions, as a pure jewel of perfection, whose mind was a casket for the three jewels - purity in sight, purity in thought and purity in conduct. 62 He was a just ruler, skilled in putting down evil-doers and upholding the good. It is to his credit that all the three communities in his kingdom, namely, the Jains, the Hindus and the Muslims lived in harmony no group trying to dominate the other. He was ably assisted in his administration by a team of efficient and devoted officers among whom his minister Padma is singled out for special mention. Indagarasa had unbounded confidence in him. This minister who excelled in his service is described as an abode of virtues, a man in whom there was no guile. The king was so pleased with him that he rewarded him with the village of Ogakerya as a mānya i.e., rent-free estate in an assembly of officers, townspeople and foreigners. 63 The army he had inherited from his predecessor was Indagarasa's constant care. He so improved it that it became a powerful fighting force, consisting of cavalry, infantry and elephants. It is no wonder, then, that the Nagore forces were no match to it. The records 64 rightly speak of his cavalry as superb in battle; and his swordsmen were so dextrous that their performance is compared to lightning flashes. Himself sufficiently learned,
he extended his patronage to bands of scholars, poets, disputants, orators and declaimers. He organised learned discourses at his court on dharma and his liberal policy resulted in the production of some literature and Saṅgītasastra naturally became renowned for the fine arts.

Indagarasa-oṣeya beautified the town of Ṛṣṭamalī with lofty mansions, beautiful gardens and pleasure groves. A practising and devout Jain, he raised splendid, lofty chaityālavas everywhere in his kingdom with groups of mandāpas with mānasṭambhas of bell metal and installed many images of metal and stone. He constructed the temple of Chandraprabha-tīrthaṅkara at Ṛṣṭamalī and set up in front of it the bronze mānasṭambha of rare workmanship.

The latest recorded date for Indagarasa-oṣeya is October 25, 1508 A.D. and the earliest for his nephew and successor Īvavara-oṣeya is January 22, 1523 A.D. He must have come to the throne sometime after 1508 A.D. He inherited from his uncle a well consolidated kingdom. The commercial prosperity of Bhāṭkaṇḍ, the strong fortifications of the town and the invincible strength of the army gave the ruler of Ṛṣṭamalī enough confidence to attack Nagire territory in the very year of his accession to the throne, if 1508 A.D. be taken as his first regnal year. The king of Nagire appealed to Don Francisco for help who readily complied with his request, but when he reached Honāvar with his frigates, he found
that the belligerents had already come to terms. This show of force brought the ruler of Hadavalli to a more reasonable frame of mind. He thought it prudent to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese vicerey and invited him to Bhāṭkāl. Almeida willingly accepted the invitation and visited Bhāṭkāl on February 25, 1509 A.D. on his way from the Konkan coast to Malabar. The Bhāṭkāl chief met the vicerey and declared himself a vassal of the king of Portugal. He bound himself to give to the vicerey 2000 muges of superior rice annually from 1509 A.D. This was a wise move on the part of Devarasa-ōgaya, because by agreeing to be a feudatory of the Portuguese he ensured the latter's neutrality in the event of fresh hostilities breaking out between him and the Nagire chief.

On November 5, 1509 A.D., the great soldier statesman Affonso de Albuquerque succeeded Francisco de Almeida. Albuquerque reversed Almeida's blue water policy and dreamed of a Portuguese territorial empire in India. He conquered and occupied Goa on March 1, 1510 A.D. and made it the headquarters of the Portuguese power in the East. The conditions in Southern India and especially on the Malabar coast were at this time very favourable to the aspirations of the Portuguese statesman. The Hindu kings, with the exception of the Zamorin of Calicut were greatly opposed to the commercial monopoly of the Muslims in their dominions. The most important ruler in Southern India was Prishṇadēvarāya, the emperor of Vijayanagara.
His power was still great, but it was constantly threatened by the Muslim rulers established in the Deccan. One of the first designs of Albuquerque was, therefore, to strike upon a cordial alliance with the Hindu rulers of Southern India.

The king of Bhatakal was the first to send an envoy to Albuquerque in Goa after its first occupation. The envoy told Albuquerque that his master greatly desired the friendship of the Portuguese and had offered to renew his friendship with the Portuguese king. Albuquerque did not send a reply immediately, but in September of the same year he sent his envoy Lourenço Moreno to Bhatakal to ask the permission of the king to have a store house built of stone and mortar at Bhatakal and this to be constructed by the king at his own expense. Besides, as agreed upon earlier, the king should continue to pay the annual tribute of 2000 muges of rice. The king, however, would not comply with the former demand. He said that he was not authorised to take any decision in this matter without first consulting Krishnadevaraya.

Just at this juncture, Albuquerque was greatly honoured by the embassy of Krishnadevaraya sent precisely to congratulate him on his conquest of Goa. Unfortunately he lost Goa to Adil Shah in May of the same year. But before long on November 25, 1610 A.D. Albuquerque conquered Goa for the second time and
established himself there. Once again the ruler of Bhāṣkaḷ was the first to send his envoy to Goa to seek Portuguese friendship. This time he agreed to pay the tribute, but was not in a position to give him a site in Bhāṣkaḷ for the construction of a fortress without the express permission of Krishṇaḍēvarāya. From now on, Bhāṣkaḷ figures prominently in Albuquerque’s negotiations both with Krishṇaḍēvarāya and the ruler of Hāḍuvalli. His overwhelming desire was to establish himself in Bhāṣkaḷ both for political and commercial reasons. On the other hand, Krishṇaḍēvarāya needed the friendship of the Portuguese for the continual supply of Arabian and Persian horses for his protracted warfare against the Deccani Muslims, specially against ʿAlī Shāh. Hence he sent another embassy to Albuquerque at Goa to congratulate him on his brilliant success against their common enemy and requesting him to send the best horses to Bhāṣkaḷ port to enable him to take the same to Vijayanagara. The emperor of Vijayanagara had misgivings that Albuquerque might establish his friendship with ʿAlī Shāh and sell horses to him to his own detriment. ʿAlī Shāh on his part sent his ambassador to Goa at this time with a request for horses. Albuquerque, to precipitate matters opened correspondence with ʿAlī Shāh telling him that he wanted his friendship and also business in horses. A shrewd diplomat that he was, Albuquerque tried to obtain the maximum benefit for the Portuguese from these two neighbouring monarchs. He did not waste
time but immediately sent Gaspar Chanoca as his ambassador to Vijayanagara urging the emperor to allow him to establish himself at Bhāṭkal so that he could take horses to that port and thence distribute them to all the ports of the West coast. He promised to supply him with as many horses as he wanted in preference to Āmil Shāh. But Krishṇaḍēvarāya did not commit himself and he had recourse to delaying tactics as usual. This was followed by yet another Vijayanagara embassy asking for horses to be sent to Bhāṭkal port. Now it was Albuquerquė's turn to employ dilatory tactics and refused to give a definite reply. But Albuquerquė was bent upon obtaining a site for his fortress at Bhāṭkal, which is the main topic of his letter to King Emmanuel of Portugal written on 4th December 1513 A.D. From his new position of strength as the master of Goa, Albuquerquė was confident of controlling the trade of the whole coast in general and of Bhāṭkal in particular and make Krishṇaḍēvarāya and Āmil Shāh come to terms with him regarding the trade in horses and when he found that Krishṇaḍēvarāya was still persisting in his refusal of permission to build a fortress at Bhāṭkal, Albuquerquė determined to ruin the commerce of the town. He despatched several captains along the coast with orders to divert all shipping bound for Bhāṭkal to Goa for the benefit of that port. He also wanted the caravans of Vijayanagara and Āmil Shāh to come to Goa in search of horses and thus ruin the harbour of Bhāṭkal, which had become the principal seat of trade with Ormuz. In
1513 A.D. Albuquerque sent Antonio Raposo to the port of Bhaṭkal in a galliot with orders to demand the surrender of a ship from Aden or else to stop the trade of that port until the time the ship was surrendered. The strict measures adopted by Albuquerque deprived the port of Bhaṭkal of its commerce, especially its commerce in horses which was the most profitable item of trade in those days.  

Albuquerque died on December 16, 1515 A.D. and Lopo Soares de Albergaria took over as Governor. The people of Bhaṭkal were the first to take advantage of the disappearance of Albuquerque from the political scene. Evidently they wanted to try the strength of Albuquerque's successor. Early in 1516 A.D. when the Portuguese ships touched the port of Bhaṭkal and they took in their cargo of rice, iron and jaggery the natives attacked the Portuguese, killed some of their number, wounded many, robbed their ships and ran away with more than ten thousand pardos. On hearing this news Lopo Soares went to Bhaṭkal. The ruler of Bhaṭkal came in person to see him bringing with him a present of a big quantity of rice and jaggery. He asked pardon for what his people had done. He said that he did not know anything about this incident as he was ten leagues away from Bhaṭkal, when those things happened. However, he had imprisoned in this connection three biggest merchants, their wives and children. After a while the
three merchants themselves appeared before the Governor and falling at his feet, asked pardon. The Portuguese officers around the Governor told him that a mere apology was not enough compensation for the twenty-four Portuguese who were killed and ten thousand pardons stolen from them. They also insisted that adequate punishment would be to destroy Bhaṭkal forthwith.

Lopo Soares, being a kind-hearted man, pardoned the culprits, sent them back without any punishment and told the King not to do any harm to their wives and children. He also thanked him for the presents. But before embarking he warned the ruler to have a check on his people and if such a thing were to happen again, he would have to pay for it heavily as he was sure to reduce Bhaṭkal to ashes.

In 1518 A.D. there was a fresh conflict in Bhaṭkal. The new Governor, Diogo Lopez de Sequeira on assuming office sent Dom Afonso de Meneses to Bhaṭkal to enforce the payment of tribute overdue for three years. Captain Meneses had orders from the Viceroy to capture all the ships in Bhaṭkal port. He was also told to blockade the place until it submitted to the Portuguese. The ruler of Bhaṭkal was firm refusing to submit until the Governor himself came there. Diogo Lopez reached Bhaṭkal early in 1519 A.D. and brought the rebel chief back to submission. The latter asked pardon of the Governor. He not only paid the arrears of tribute but also gave one
thousand parasas for expenses incurred by the Portuguese fleet.

Bairndur on the coast was included in Devarasa's kingdom according to an inscription of 1523 A.D. found outside the temple of Sayanēsvara at Bairndur. It records that while mahāmandalēśvara Devarasa-oṣeya, nephew of Saṅgiraya-oṣeya was ruling Bairndur and other divisions from his capital Saṅgītapura, Saṅkana-senaśāva, son of Nārāya-senaśāva made a gift of land to the temple of Saṅnēsvaraśe as for offerings and feeding of brahmins in a māṭha built by him as well as for the worship of the god Gopināṭha installed in it.

Tome Pires who visited Bhatkal in 1511 A.D. during the reign of Devarasa-oṣeya informs us that Basarūru was the southern-most limit of the Bhatkal kingdom. But this is doubtful. Besides, he says that the king of Bhatkal was greater than the ruler of Honāvar. His army was well equipped and his cavalry was superb. The town was well fortified and the port was a busy emporium of trade. For the convenience of administration he had appointed Caiyar the administrator of the Muslims in his kingdom and Dāmi Chetti, a very rich merchant the administrator of non-Muslims. This fact is attested to by the Commentaries of Affonso de Albuquerque.

An inscription from Mūga Bhatkal mentions Devarasa's successor Gururāya-oṣeya, a nephew of Saṅgiraya-oṣeya and cousin of Devarasa-oṣeya. The earliest reference to Gururāya-
oḍeṣya is known from an inscription \(^{80}\) of Krīṣṇadēvarāya which is dated Śaka 1449, Caruṣaṭi, Mārgaśīra, śu. 15 lunar eclipse corresponding to 1527 A.D., December 7, Saturday.

Soon after the death of Krīṣṇadēvarāya in 1529 A.D., he was succeeded by Achyutarāya, a weak ruler during whose rule from 1530 to 1542 A.D., the chieftains ruling over various principalities within the empire and some nobles at the court appropriated more and more powers for themselves at the expense of the imperial throne. In Naṅgṛa Śāluva Immaḍi Nēvarasa-oḍeṣya was the ruling chief. Here we have another instance of the chiefs of Honāvar and Hāḷuvalli bearing identical names and often ruling at the same time. Till 1527 A.D. as seen above Nēvarasa-oḍeṣya was ruling over Honāvar.

Gururāya-oḍeṣya chose this opportune moment to invade Naṅgṛa-rajya ruled by Immaḍi Śāluva Nēvarasa-oḍeṣya. The details of this invasion are narrated in an inscription \(^{81}\) found near a jaina basti at Kaṅkili dated Śaka 1452, Vikrīti, Mēsha Vaiśākha ba. 10 corresponding to 1530 A.D., April 22. The two opposing armies met on the open field near Naṅgṛa. In the battle that ensued, Nēvarasa-oḍeṣya of Naṅgṛa inflicted a crushing defeat on Gururāya-oḍeṣya. The ruler of Hāḷuvalli had, perhaps, underestimated the strength of his counterpart on the Naṅgṛa throne and paid heavily for his foolhardiness.

This defeat must have dampened considerably Gururāya's
enthusiasm for further warfare. At any rate, we do not have epigraphical or any other evidence of his having fought any other battle during the rest of his reign. On the other hand, an inscription of 1530 A.D. found at Nagari bears ample evidence that Gurusaya turned his attention to the propagation of jina-dharma. He patronised the great jaina guru Vidyānandāsvāmi also called Vādi-Vidyānanda who by his scholarly writings and public disputations did great service to the cause of jainism. While staying at Gurusaya's court, he wrote a famous book in Kannāga expounding the doctrines of jainism. Gurusaya-ōgya sent him to other jain centres to explain the tenets of his faith in learned assemblies. At Vijayanagara court, he ably defended his creed against scholars of other religions. In the court of Sāluva Immāqi Rāvarasa-ōgya of Nagiri, he cleverly refuted the arguments of teachers of other faiths. Likewise, he expounded jaina doctrine at the courts of king Narasimha of Bilīgī, of king Bhairava of Kārkāla and in the jaina assemblies of Bidīra. In a learned assembly at Śrīraṇganagara, Śrīraṇgapatnam, where teachers of various religions including Christianity met, Vādi-Vidyānanda impressed all by his profound learning. He also represented Hāguvali in the religious assembly held in Kopana, same as Koppal in Raichur district. He organised great religious festivals at the famous jaina centre of Śravaṇa Belgāla and he continually supported the jaina-munis of Gersoppa.
Mention is made of Gururāya's Queen Vīradēvi in an inscription found at Mūla-Bhaṭkaḷ dated Saka 1455, Nandana, Jyēṣṭha, śu. 13 (1532 A.D., May 17, Friday). It states that while Gururāya-oḷeya was ruling over Bhaṭkaḷ and other rāyās from his capital Sāṅgītapura, Dēvappa Jōgi and Sanna Dēvappa, sons of Nāgarasi, wife of an officer Indāṃyā-śrīhikārī sold a piece of land in Nīchchalamkī to Vīradēvi-ammanavaru, the queen of Gururāya-oḷeya, after receiving 850 varahās from the latter. It is also mentioned that Dēvalappa-Sēnābōva, son of Jōgaṇa-Sēnābōva, gave one and a half varahās for the milk bath in the name of Vīradēvi-ammanavaru.

Gururāya-oḷeya was succeeded by Chenna-Bhaiḍēvi-amma, her earliest recorded date being October 23, 1542 A.D. She was the cousin of Gururāya-oḷeya and niece of Dēvarasa-oḷeya. Her parents were Bhaiḍēvi-Amma and mahāprabhu Vīrappa-oḷeya.

In the same year, Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara, the successor of Kṛishṇadēvarāya died. There were disturbances at the capital, for he appears to have dislocated the whole empire, alienated the nobles upon whom the defence of the country rested and aroused in them a spirit of rebellion to the crown.

Though Sadāśivarāya from 1542 to 1576 A.D. was the de jure emperor, in reality he was only a figurehead. But we know that till 1565 A.D. Rāmarāya ruled in his name. During
the years 1565 and 1576 A.D., Rāmāraya’s brother Tīrumala jointly with his son ‘Trirūpa ruled in the name of Saṅśīvaraya over an empire which had in many respects ceased to exist. 35

During the same period, the political situation in the Muslim states of the Deccan was in a flux. In 1543 A.D., Burhan Nizam Shāh made an alliance with Rāmāraya and Jamshid Qutb Shāh, Sultan of Golkonda and attacked the Ail Shāh of Bijāpur. Rāmāraya taking advantage of the Ail Shāh’s troubles sent Venkaṭēśwara to reduce Raichūr and the Doab. Bijāpur, attacked at the same time by three powerful princes in three separate quarters was virtually threatened with extinction. Ail Shāh patched up a peace with Burhan Nizam Shāh making over to him the rich districts surrounding Sholapur and sent ambassadors to arrange terms with Vijayanagara. At the instigation of Ail Shāh, Asad Khan Sultan of Belgaum marched against Qutb Shāh of Golkonda, defeated him under the walls of his capital and in a personal encounter grievously wounded him in the face with his sabre. In 1544 A.D., Sultan Burhan Nizam Shāh at the instigation of Rāmāraya again attacked Ibrahim Ail Shāh but was completely defeated. 36

Under these circumstances, the Portuguese operating from Goa found themselves in a favourable position. During this period they were very active. In 1542 A.D., Governor Martin
Affonso de Souza attacked Bhaktakal on the pretext that Chenna-Bhairadevamma had withheld tribute due to the king of Portugal and was harbouring pirates in her port and destroyed the place with fire and sword. Her city was burnt, her subjects were slain in large numbers and the queen was reduced to submission. We have ample evidence of this incident both in inscriptions and in the Portuguese chronicles. A hero-stone standing near the Sārāvānatha Basti in Bhaktakal dated Saka 1465, Udbhākapita, Kārtika, ās. 15 equivalent to 1542 A.D., October 23, Monday, refers to Achyutarāya as the reigning king at Vijayanagara and to his feudatory mahāmanḍalāvāra Chenna-Bhairadevā-Maṁsāvāru, niece of Devarasa-ōṣya as ruling over Hāḍuvallī, Bhaktakala and other rāya from her capital Sāṅgitapurā. The record states that Parāṅgada Kapitā Mēra (i.e. Capitão Mor or the captain general of the Portuguese) laid seige to Bhaktakal and having burnt the city, marched on the palace, when Enkappa-nāyaka, brother of Nāraṇadēva-nāyaka and nephew of Liṅga-nāyaka tried to stop the Portuguese at the gate of the palace and bravely attacking the enemy fell in the fight. The inscription further states that mahāmanḍalāvāra - Chennādevi-Maṁsāvārā granted to Nāraṇadēva, nephew of her officer Liṅga-nāyaka, a piece of land, having the sowing capacity of ten and a half muddas of paddy, belonging to the palace, after having detenanted it from the previous tenant. This grant to Nāraṇadēva-nāyaka was made
in memory of the death of his brother Enkappa who stood near the gate of the palace to repel the attack of the Portuguese (Parrangadavaru) and fell fighting against the enemy. The land thus granted was to pass to the female descendants as gift (pappige-dāna) or to the male descendants by right of succession (pappige-mūla) Kārṇapadēva-nāyaka in his turn made a grant of sixty maṇḍas of paddy for the purpose of feeding the poor and twelve maṇḍas of paddy for the ceremony of milk-bath (bālu-dhāra) in Hiriya-basti to be performed in the name of his brother Enkappa-nāyaka.27

The Portuguese chroniclers furnish interesting details about the battle of Bhāṭkal in their own characteristic way. Martin Affonso de Souza embarked from Goa with two thousand soldiers in seventy vessels of various sizes. He took with him his captains and fidalgos. This strong Portuguese fleet sailed to the port of Bhāṭkal. On arrival, the governor sent a message to the queen asking her to pay the tribute long overdue and to hand over to him the pirate boats taking shelter in her port. He told her that if she readily complied with his request, he would show her much consideration, otherwise he would forthwith destroy her country. The queen was taken aback by the overwhelming strength of the Portuguese fleet and had recourse to delaying tactics. She thought that this was a special voyage of this fleet on their way to Cochin and that the Viceroy would not be able to stay long at Bhāṭkal. She
sent word to him that she was trying to collect the pirate boats to be handed over to him. With the idea of deceiving the viceroy she sent three discarded ships the following day and two more similar ships two days later, but she refused to pay the arrears of tribute and in this way wasted seven or eight days. The viceroy was greatly annoyed by these tactics of the queen. He resolved to punish her contumacy. He sent twenty ships up the river to attack the city from the shore. In the rest of the ships there were two battalions of six hundred men each. They landed at a convenient place. One of them was put in charge of Fernão de Souza's Tavora and the other in which there were many noblemen was led by the governor himself. It was a three-pronged attack. The governor with his men marched through coconut groves chasing a sizeable number of enemy gunners. He hurried his men and made them march ahead as he wanted. As they were marching towards the city the queen sent a formidable army to oppose them. But the Portuguese soldiers overpowered them and forced them to retreat to the city gates, where the Portuguese met with tough resistance, because the queen herself came out to encourage her men to fight unto death. They gave notable proof of their valour, as they were fighting in defence of their city, their women, children and property. The queen's Muslim soldiers and two captains of the cavalry fought relentlessly and kept at bay
the advancing Portuguese army. A Portuguese soldier who happened to go ahead before others found himself hemmed in by over two hundred native soldiers with their arms hanging from their chests, backs and sides. He courageously stood his ground like a bull in a circus fighting with his sword and injuring many and in the process expanding the circle with which they surrounded him. At this juncture there came to his aid Francisco de Almeida de Santarem who to emulate his compatriot entered the circle with empetuous energy. The two of them took their position back to back and fought with indomitable energy, until the advancing Portuguese regiment came to their rescue. The Portuguese soldiers opened fire, entered the city and fighting vigorously scattered the enemy helter-skelter. Abandoning the town, the Bhagkal army fled to the neighbouring forest. It was nightfall and the Portuguese soldiers retired to their camp.

The next morning, seeing that the town was abandoned by the native army, the governor allowed his soldiers to sack the place as they pleased. In the process they fought among themselves most shamelessly for spoils, with the result that several of them were wounded. Further, they were divided among themselves, because of the preferential treatment accorded by the viceroy to some of the knights. The enemy, meanwhile, had taken their position on a neighbouring hill and seeing what was happening in the Portuguese camp and surprised at their
stupidity shot a great number of arrows at them. The governor ordered his men to attack the enemy. The discontented group declared that his favourite knights full of decorations, enjoying at their expense with extra pay, should come to his help at this critical time. García de Sa, a nobleman, with a party of soldiers, opposed the enemy but they were so badly beaten that they were forced to retreat. As the queen's reinforced army advanced, the Portuguese soldiers took to flight making straight for their ships with such great hurry that some were drowned. The governor disgusted at the turn of events raised his voice in anger and told his men that he could hardly believe that they were the same fighting men he had left behind in Goa two years before. The soldiers construed this remark as an accusation of the government of his predecessor. They flatly denied this charge and replied in a similar tone that the men were the same but the governor was not the same and that he himself was responsible for the trouble, because of his undue preference to the underserving knights of his choice. It was late in the evening and they all retired to their ships. Later, the governor succeeded in persuading his men to forget their differences and make a concerted effort to rout the enemy the following day.

The day of doom dawned. The whole of Bhaṭkal went in flames. The fields were ravaged, hundreds of coconut palms and other useful trees were ruthlessly cut down. All they could
lay their hands on were put to the sword, sparing neither age nor sex. Blood flowed in the streets. It was indeed the 'dias iras', the day of wrath for Bhatkal. After a full day's vandalism, they retired to their ships. The queen of Bhatkal at last came to terms, handed over to the viceroy the pirate boats and paid tribute which was long overdue. Hitherto, the inhabitants of Bhatkal who were proverbially proud and unsubmissive had made a name for themselves on the coast for their indomitable spirit in repelling enemy attacks. Two epithets were usually attributed to them, namely, 'Ozar Bhatkal' which in vernacular means clever, skilful and enterprising and 'Gauravada' Bhatkala, meaning glorious, renowned, famous or splendid. But on this occasion they were so badly beaten and on the other hand Martin Afonso made such an impression by his powerful leadership, that now on people of the coast began to greet him with the epithets Ozar Martin Afonso and Gauravada Martin Afonso.

ChennayBhairādevī-amma was now faced with the task of rebuilding Bhatkal. She appealed to Sadaśivarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, for help which was readily extended. The rich merchants of Bhatkal rose to the occasion and helped their queen in the work of reconstruction. An inscription found in the Farśvanātha temple at Bhatkal and dated Śaka 1468, Viśvavasū, Śrīvāṇa, ba. 8 corresponding to 1545 A.D., July 31, Friday throws much light on her activity during this
period. It places on record the munificence of Sadāśivarāya who is eulogised as a bestower of mahādāna as prescribed by Hēmādri. The queen of Hāḍuvallī enjoyed the special favour of this ruler by her friendly relationship with him. The inscription refers to the rich merchants of Bhāṭkal who were not only shrewd businessmen, but were also deeply religious. It is stated that they erected the superb jaina temple of Pārśvanātha with a mānastāmbha in front of it at Bhāṭkal.

Timmi-śrēshṭī is singled out for special praise for his keen interest and tireless zeal in the cause of jainism and the doctrine of piety (dāya) for which it stood. It further mentions the names of the merchant donors of Bhāṭkal and gives in detail their munificent grants in the form of land and money for the reconstruction of the town.

By 1547 A.D., the queen of Bhāṭkal found herself strong enough to defy the Portuguese. She harboured squadrons of the rivals on the high sea and in her port, whom the Portuguese termed pirates, contrary to her assurances given to the governor in 1542 A.D. Some of these latter had robbed horses and other precious merchandise from two Portuguese ships, killed three Portuguese sailors and taken refuge at Bhāṭkal. Greatly incensed by this outrage, the governor Dom João de Castro sent his captain Francisco Sequeira with a fleet to demand from the queen, the restoration of these goods. The queen was threatened with dire consequences, if she refused and to avoid another calamity, she complied with his request
and made necessary restitution.

In the following years, the queen of Bhaktkal sent her ambassador, Roka Nayaka, to Goa. The governor, Garcia de Sa, entered into an agreement with the queen on 17th September 1548 A.D., by which the latter promised to pay the arrears of tribute. She also agreed not to allow pirate boats to enter her port and, in the event of their arrival without her knowledge, to seize them forthwith and hand them over to the Portuguese, failing which she would be obliged to make good the damage the Portuguese might have suffered. The viceroy on his part promised not to attack Bhaktkal as long as the queen observed the terms of this treaty. In spite of the treaty with the queen, the pirates continued to rob Portuguese ships. In 1549 A.D. Garcia de Sa sent his captain with a fleet to Bhaktkal to catch pirates in that port. The queen however, continued to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese and paid the annual tribute of two thousand mugas of rice. With her permission, in 1554 A.D., a Portuguese factor was stationed in Bhaktkal and he was duly authorised to issue permits to the ships, sailing out of that port. He also supervised the sale of the Portuguese merchandise.

In 1558 A.D. Dom Constantino de Braganza was appointed viceroy of Goa. He was notorious for his policy of violence and aggression. In 1559 A.D., his captain Luis de Mello carried fire and sword into the towns along the West coast. He attacked Mangalore, set fire to the town and put many inhabitants to death. Later in the same year, he destroyed
a number of towns and villages on the coast. However, was spared probably because of the treaty obligations.

Chenna-Bhairadevi's power and influence rose high, when some time after 1547 A.D. she took over the Nagire-rajya and became the queen of two kingdoms. Epigraphical evidence for the history of the Nagire dynasty stops with the Navailli inscription of 1547 A.D., for, we have no other evidence to show that the ruling family of Nagire continued on the throne after that date. In actual fact, Immaqi Devarasa-ojeya who ruled between 1516 and 1547 A.D. is the last king we know of. On the other hand, an inscription found at Bhatakal dated Saka 1486, Dondubhi, Chaitra Magha, corresponding to 1562 A.D., March 16, Monday refers to the rule of queen Chenna-Bhairadevi over the provinces of Nagire, Haive, Tula and Konkaṇa on the West coast, while recording the construction of a shrine and gifts of lands to the same shrine by the chief. The chief Saluva-nayaka, referred to in the inscription, was probably a subordinate administrator appointed by Chenna-Bhairadevi-amma. Moreover, Caesar Frederick who visited Honāvar in 1567 A.D. states that Honāvar was in the kingdom of the queen of Bhatakal. Further confirmation of this fact is obtained from an inscription on a stone set up in the precincts of the temple of Tirumaladeva near Nagarageri in Gersoppa which clearly states that Chenna-Bhairadevi was ruling Nagire. It records the construction of a temple in Gersoppa, the consecration of god Tiruveḷegaḷa or Tirmala in it and the
grant of some *yāttī* for the service of the same deity by Tammappa-Śenabōva, son of Śālīva-Śenabōva and the grandson of Karnika Mallerasa of Kāśyapa-gōtra and Rig Veda, on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Māgha in the cyclic year Ṛṣi-वं, of the Saka year 1520 (i.e., January, 1599 A.D.), while mahaśaṅgalāśvara Śālīva Chenna-Bhairādevī-śīnaṇeśvaru was ruling Nagire-rājya together with Haila, Tuṅ, Konkana and other places. The *yāttī* are the villages called Māgaṇaṅgi close to Hesava together with plots of wet land namely, Sudiya field with the sowing capacity of 25 *muḷas*, Kanila field with the sowing capacity of 4 *muḷas*, Kali field with the sowing capacity of 3 *muḷas* and Kanite-makke field with the sowing capacity of 4 *muḷas* - in all 36 *muḷas* yielding annual produce of 400 *nadapata* *muḷas* of paddy. A coconut garden was also granted for the same purpose. These *yāttī* are said to have been since the year Pṛamādi pledged to the palace and redeemed after making necessary payment by the donor. The income from these lands was to be utilised for maintaining the perpetual lamp and for the various daily services to the god in the temple of Tiruvengalāṉāṉaṭhasvāmi instituted in the name of Chenna-Bhairādevī-śīnaṇa.

It is, therefore, clear that Chenna-Bhairādevī came to have great influence in Kanara at the time of the fall of the Vijayanagara empire. The battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi fought
on January 25, 1565 A.D., between the forces of Basariva of Vijayanagara and the combined armies of the Sultans of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnager, Bidar and Berrar sounded the death-knell of the great Hindu empire. This battle is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in South India from the age of Muslim expansion. The Vijayanagara defeat was at the same time a tremendous blow to Portuguese trade in India.

The victory of the Deccani Sultans, the traditional enemies of the Portuguese, was for them a further set back. Now onwards, they were keen on placating the queen of Bhatkal who controlled the pepper trade of the West coast. This pre-occupation is manifested in a letter of the king of Portugal to his governor Manoel de Souza Coutinho dated February 6, 1589 A.D., in which he appreciates the governor's good relations with the queen of Bhatkal and exorts him to continue the same in view of the prosperous pepper trade in which they were engaged. 101 In another letter of January 12, 1591 A.D. the Portuguese sovereign writes to the same governor: "I understand that the queen of Bhatkal is not very happy with us and is helping Malogi, the proud pirate from Sanguicer (Sangamésvar). We must deal with her most diplomatically and most carefully. We must be very courteous, polite and diplomatic to win her to our side." 102 The viceroys of this period left no stone unturned to safeguard the Portuguese interests on the West coast and particularly their monopoly in pepper trade in Bhatkal. The viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, writing
to his king on December 10, 1593 A.D., informs him most faithfully about the danger to their trade from Muslim merchants who continually harass the people of the coast and take their merchandise by force. They, moreover, refuse to pay the usual customs duties to the Portuguese who in this way lose a great amount of income. The viceroy assures his king of the large profit from pepper trade his government is making, despite the fact big sums of money have to be spent in training his sailors and soldiers and on equipment to meet the challenge of their Muslim rivals. 103

Philip II of Spain, who had united under his rule both Portugal and Spain was thus well posted about the activities of the queen of Bhatkal and the prevailing political situation in North Kanara. In a letter written to the viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, on February 23, 1596 A.D., he says that he was aware of the fact from informants that Hāmil Shāh had sent some of his captains against the kings and lords of Kanara at the request of the queen of Bhatkal and that they had captured two fortresses in the ghats belonging to the Sultan of Belgaum, the brother of Hāmil Shāh. He orders the viceroy to take immediate action to have these fortresses restored to the Sultan of Belgaum who was their ally and write to him what he had done in this matter. 104

The queen of Bhatkal, could now from her position of strength dictate terms to the Portuguese whose power on the
West coast was on the decline. She boldly refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese for several years. There is reference to this fact in a letter of King Philip to the viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, dated November 21, 1598. He exhorts the viceroy to take immediate action against one Naik, formerly a subject of the king of Narasinga (Vijayanagara), but now risen to power who was giving clear proof of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all the neighbouring kings. He is an upstart and a haughty man and is backing the queen of Shākkaḥ talking her not to pay the customary tribute to the Portuguese.105

The Naik to whom King Philip refers in his letter is none other than Chikka Saṅkanna-nāyaka who belonged to the line of a new dynasty which raised its head in Kanara, namely, the Nāyakas of Ikkerī. Originally, they were hereditary jāgirdāra of Kēlāḍi. In 1511 A.D., the Vijayanagara king Prīṣhṇaḍēvarāya, seeing the need of having a vassal chief in the region round about Kēlāḍi, raised Chanda to the rank of a Nāyaka or feudal chief granting him some territory known as Malladāsa. This territory together with his own hereditary possessions obviously formed the nucleus of the future Ikkerī kingdom.106 In 1567 A.D., Yōḍha Saṅkanna-nāyaka of Ikkerī attacked Gersoppa then under Chenna-Bhairādevī-amma. This invasion was successfully opposed by the queen.107 In 1570 A.D. Chikka Saṅkanna, brother and successor of Yōḍha Saṅkanna-
nāyaka, in order to increase his power and prestige in Kanara launched on an aggressive policy and subjugated some of the neighbouring chiefs. He clashed with Chenna-Bhairādevī, but it was just a skirmish and nothing more. The next Ikkerī ruler Venkaṭappa-nāyaka I, son of Voppē Saṅkappa-nāyaka, who came to the throne in 1586 A.D. raised the prestige of his dynasty to such an extent that Ikkerī was practically recognised as an independent kingdom by all the chiefs of the coast. He undertook the conquest of the neighbouring kingdoms with the definite idea of creating a powerful kingdom for himself, a kingdom that could withstand the shocks of the growing Muslim menace from Bijāpur. Finding the states to the north and east of Ikkerī too strong for him to tackle, he concentrated his attention on enlarging his kingdom all along the west coast from Bhaṭkal in the north to the extreme corner of Taliūva in the south. He attained signal success in his endeavour. In 1606 A.D. he invaded Gersoppa, the second capital of Chenna-Bhairādevī. She appealed to the Portuguese for help in her hour of need. The viceroy, Martin Affonso de Castro, after much delay sent a contingent to Gersoppa. But the odds were against the queen. The Portuguese soldiers were forced to retreat and the queen’s army was routed. She was captured and imprisoned in Ikkerī, where she was treated well as her position deserved, but died in prison soon after. Gersoppa was razed to the ground and the royal
The victorious Venkataappa-nayaka sent his general Lingappa-nayaka to capture Avinahalli, Karvurru, Morabadi, Salanad, Bhattacharya, Gerasappa, Chammavara, Gove-gharanagiri, VaddimaPini and other places ruled by Chenna-Bhairadevi-amma. All these places were subjugated and brought under the rule of Venkataappa-nayaka. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle visiting Gerasoppa in November 1623 A.D. saw the dismal ruins of the houses, temples and bazzars of the once flourishing commercial town, covered with a thick overgrowth of trees and bushes and the place, scarcely inhabited consisted of barely four cottages of peasants. While another important traveller, Peter Mundy who visited Kanara at this time observes in his informative diary for February 22, 1626 A.D. in regard to the original capital from which glory has departed: "We came to Hadowlee (Naugwali) a town some six miles from Battacala (Bhatkal) and found vast ruins of stone walls, pagodas etc. and among them the old queen's castle-like habitation." 

The effects of this conquest were far reaching. The ports of Honavar, Basaruru and Bhattacharya came under the control of Venkataappa-nayaka. He was now the master of entire pepper trade and held the granary of the West coast under his control. Chenna-Bhairadevi's long and glorious reign was a grand finale to the splendid achievements of the rulers of Naugwali.
dynasty. She was a great woman and a great queen. A deeply religious person, she was a champion of jainism. This is amply borne out by her zeal in building bastis and endowing them most generously. These bastis were centres for dispensing charity to the monks and the poor. In 1545 A.D. she raised a magnificent jaina temple in Bhaṭkal, with a remarkable mānasstambha in front of it. This temple was richly endowed by generous grants by the queen and her rich subjects. The poor and the needy of Bhaṭkal and its neighbourhood found in it a ready asylum. Special arrangements were made for the daily āhāra-dāna i.e., feeding of the poor. In 1550 A.D. she made a grant of tax-free land to the Chovisa-Tīrthāṅkara-basti (basti dedicated to the 24 tīrthāṅkaraṣ) at Mūga-Bhaṭkal for conducting daily worship and offerings. This basti had been built by Vīradevī, the queen of mahāmāndalśāvarā Gururāya-ōçeyā.

An inscription of 1556 A.D. at Bhaṭkal describes the prosperity of this coastal town under the able administration of Chenna-Bhairādevī-Āmma. It was a town of palaces and jaina temples, glowing with the riches and splendour of the kingdom. During this year an attractive temple with a hall in front of it was erected in honour of Vardhamāṇa-jīna at Bhaṭkal. A compound wall and a flower garden added much beauty to this temple, which was frequented by many devotees. Ample provision was made by way of endowments for the decorations,
offerings, milk-bath, ams and feeding of the poor in this temple. This place of worship was a beehive of religious activity. Various services were regularly conducted in this temple of which the following are mentioned in the inscriptions: *śrīla-pāja, kārtika-pūja, hīvarātri, ṛlavāra-
śāmī, ṛcādī, ṛutapaṭhami, nāvina-abhiśāka* in the month of ṛavaṇa, *ahṭṭhānika, dāsālakṣaṇāpada-pūja, hālāchāra and khaiṣayu.*

Though a zealous jaina, Chenna-Bhairādevī was by no means sectarian in her outlook. She took active interest in *Vaishnavism and Śaivism* by her generous grants. An inscription of 1546 A.D. from Bhaṭkāl records a grant of tax-free land by Chenna-Bhairādevī to Kētapayya of Bhaṭkāl, son of Chennavarada-Chandapayya. The grant was made at the request of the donor for worship in the vaishnava temple for various religious services to be conducted in the name of the builder and his five sons. The queen's good example was followed by Linga-sēnabōva, son of Sambhu-sēnabōva who was in hereditary enjoyment of lands in Nandīgū. He generously granted lands to the same *Vaishnava temple* built by Kētapayya. Two other individuals likewise made endowments to temples. The *Bainḍūra* epigraph dated 1560 A.D. records an endowment of lands made by Charabājiya-śeṭṭi for the daily worship in the temple of Sēnēśvara and for the requirements of a *māṭha* built by him to the west of that temple. Another inscription from the same place and year refers to an endowment of land made after
purchase by Kesavana-śeṭṭi to the māṭha built by him.

An efficient administrator herself, Chenna-Bhairādevī- Amma was fortunate in having around her able officers who helped her in governing her kingdom. Jetti-nāyaka, her minister (pradhāna) was noted for his diplomacy no less than for his munificence. Virṣa-nāyaka, her general (sānāpati) was a master of warfare. She was impartial in her dealings with her subjects, Jains, Hindus, Muslims, who all admired her high sense of justice and enlightened statesmanship. 119

Chenna-Bhairādevī- Amma was a patron of learning. Her court at Haḍuvallī was adorned by learned scholars and poets, prominent among them was Akālanke II, the renowned Jaina guru having the titles Nātigapāragasagya and Saṅgītapura-Simhāsana- Paṭṭāchārya, meaning that he belonged to the Māsi-gana of the Mula-saṅgha and adorned the pontifical throne of Saṅgītapura.120 His disciple at Chenna-Bhairādevī's court was the famous grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅkaṅdeva expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine121 and celebrated author of the Karṇāṭaka-Sahānuśāsa- nam, a scholarly treatise on Kannāḍa grammar written in Sanskrit in the sūtra style of Pāṇini. This work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It is rightly said that this work is to Kannāḍa, what Aśṭādhyāyī is to Sanskrit and its learned commentary written by Bhaṭṭākalaṅkaṅdeva himself can be compared to the Mahābāhyāya of Patanjali. Akālanke II
and Bhattīkajānka were indeed the most celebrated teachers of
the line. They were held in esteem not only in the chiefdoms
of the west coast but were also renowned in other parts of the
country on account of their profound learning and versatile
scholarship. Well-versed in secular arts, a pleasing perso-
nality of extraordinary ability and immaculate character,
Akālanka II rose to eminence as the foremost among the circle
of preceptors on account of his incessant practice of pro-
claiming and expounding the scriptures tendered with affection.
His disciple Bhattīkajānkaḍēva had mastered several branches
of learning, was endowed with many good qualities and excelled
in the art of exposition. Proficient in the treatises of his
own school of Philosophy as well as in those of others,
constantly engaged in study and teaching, we are told that he
proved himself to be an impressive figure, a critical scholar
and a judicious advocate in royal courts and in the assembly
of learned men.122

The secret of Chenna-Bhairādevī’s success was the unity
she fostered among her subjects by her catholic outlook. No
particular section was singled out for preferential treatment
and all - Jains, Hindus and Muslims found their interests safe
in her hands. Thanks to this enlightened policy, there were
no bickerings among her subjects, which would have been the
source of weakness. She was the rallying point of all communi-
ties on whom she could bank in every crisis. This is the main
reason why she was able to hold her own against the Portuguese, though they were strong on the coast. She boldly challenged them and refused resolutely to bow to them at any cost. Peace and unity in their turn promoted commerce which brought prosperity in its train.

This unprecedented prosperity naturally flowered in art, architecture and learning. Haḍuvallī became the home of beautiful temples, bastis and other edifices. It became the centre of learning and Kannāḍa scholarship. Chenna-Bhairādevi's long reign was a glorious end of a dynasty, which made a rich contribution to the political, social and cultural life of North Kanara.
REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. P.S. Pancharmukhi: Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province 1939-40, p. 81. Sri Pancharmukhi however does not indicate the source of such a local tradition.


5. A manuscript copy of this inscription, written by the order of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭapatīrāya and dated 1592 A.D., was found at Bīligi and is kept in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.
11 EP. Carp., II (Revised 1973), Ch. 79.
12 Ibid., Ch. 360.
13 Ibid., IV, (Revised 1975), Ch. 367.
14 Ibid., Ch. 361. Also see introduction of the volume, p. cxxxvii.
17 D'Souza: The Navayats of Kanara, p. 52.
18 Some of these travellers on their way to Malabar did not disembark at Bhaṭkal.
19 Varthama: The Travels of Ludovico Al Varthema, p. 119.
20 Couto: Da Asia Decada V, livro IX, caput II, p. 303.
22 Varthema, op. cit., p. 119.
23 Couto: op. cit., p. 119.
24 Ibid.
27 The Bhaṭkal inscription of 1408 A.D. (K.J., Vol. I, No. 38) refers to Śaṅgirāya as Ṛgavallīpuranāṭha and Ṛgavallīpuravarāchālīvara. In another record of the same place and date he is called Ṛgavallīpuravāchālīvara.
(Ibid., No. 39). But the place is referred to as Haiguvali in the Kalki inscription of 1415 A.D. (Ibid., No. 40). This name Haiguvali has survived in its Sanskritised form as Saṅgītapura. Haigu is a Kannada word for song and Saṅgīta means music. Haiguvali would thus mean a village of music or, more accurately, musicians.

(Ibid., No. 49).

Ibid., No. 38.

Ibid., No. 46.

SII., VII, No. 179.

Ibid.

Ep. Carn., VI, Sg. 1.

Ibid.

K.I. Vol. I, No. 34.

Ibid., Nos. 35 and 36.


Ibid.


Ibid., No. 52.

Ibid., No. 42.


Ibid.

Ibid., No. 49. The same inscription states that Haivarasa and Maniza were the sons of Saṅgiraya-oṣeṣa.
53 Ibid., pp. 240-43.
54 Ibid., pp. 237-91.
56 The name of the king is not given in the source. But we know that on that date Vira Narasimha was ruling.
61 A.R. Ep., 1929-30, No. 541; Ibid., p. 54.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid., ss. 164.
66 A.J.E., 1929-30, No. 541; Ibid., p. 54.
68 Ibid.
77 A.J.E., 1929-30, No. 539; Ibid., No. 5-4.
81 Ibid., No. 2.
   Nos. 12 and 13.
85 Sewell : op. cit., p. 182; Ramesh, op. cit., p. 222.
88 Conto : op. cit., Faseada V, Livro IV, caput II, p. 300,
   303-08; Cartanheira : op. cit., Livro IV, pp. 575-76;
   Faria e Souza : Asia Portuguesa, Vol. III, pp. 112-14;
91 Coleccao de Tratados e Concertos de Praga, Vol. I,
   pp. 130-31; Botelho Simao : O Tombo do Estado da
   India in Subsidios pp. 342-43.
93 Muda is a measure. This term figures in inscriptions
   as also in Portuguese records where the term figures
   in several forms as moorah, mool, mudh, mode etc.
95 Sewell : op. cit., pp. 194-95.
Vritti literally means 'livelihood; occupation; land granted for service'. The term is applied to rent-free land granted to a person or to a temple or to a charitable institution. It is the share in a village granted to a Brahmana as a free gift. Inam land is called a Vritti. Bhaṭa-vṛtti is a small portion of rent-free land granted to brāhmaṇas. Vṛttiḍēk is the proprietor of small grants of land free of rent or on a small grants of land free of rent or on a small rent.


Ibid., p. 244.

Ibid., pp. 364–66.


Ibid., p. 916.


Ibid., p. 34.

Ibid., pp. 41–44; Linganna Kavi: *Keladi Rāmayana* (Kannada), (Ed. by R. Shama Gaur), 1921, p. 78.
ampita pañcika - a gift usually in the form of rice made for the daily offerings of a deity.

Kārtika-pūjā - special prayers and sacrifices offered in the temple in the month of Kārtika (October-November), when the moon is full and near the Ṛṣtri.  

Śivarātri - a night on which fasting, vigil, etc. are observed in honour of Śiva, in the dark half of the month of Māgha.

jñalavasyaṣṭāmi - Āṣṭami is the eighth lunar day of each fortnight. One of them is celebrated as jñalavasyaṣṭāmi, when special prayers are offered in the temples.

Yugādi - the commencement of the New Year and the feast observed on that day.

Śrutapañcāhāmi - Pañcāhāmi is the fifth day of the half month. One of them is Śrutapañcāhāmi, when special prayers are offered in the temple.

hārīna-abhiṣēka - sprinkling and purifying the Cobra stone with ablutions of a purifying liquid.
But this seems to be more likely hālina abhisheka

milk-bath.

ashtāmika - worship of an idol performed with the following 8 things:

(1) akṣāta: Whole grains of raw rice are dipped in water taken out, generally mixed with turmeric, consecrated by reciting mantras over it and then used for religious ceremonies.

(2) vandha, i.e., sandal wood paste.

(3) jala, i.e., water.

(4) tāmbula i.e., betel leaves.

(5) dipa i.g., light.

(6) dipa i.e., incense.

(7) sīvādyā i.e., an oblation or a gift of food to an idol.

(8) māhāpatra or Tuṣāri i.e., leaves of the sacred Tuṣāri plant.

Hāladhāra - Milk bath of the idol.

116 Ibid., No. B 368.
117 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 540.
118 Ibid., No. 542.
Syād is the Sanskrit term meaning 'it may perhaps be'. Syādvāda may be rendered, 'the affirmation of alternative possibilities'. According to this doctrine, we can neither affirm nor deny anything absolutely of an object and that a predicate never expresses more than a probability. We can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (Syād-asti), deny it from another (Syād nāsti): and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (Syād asti nāsti). If we should think of affirming both existence and non-existence at the same time from the same point of view, we must say that the thing cannot be so spoken of (Syād-avyaktavyāḥ). Similarly under certain circumstances, the affirmation of existence is not possible (Syād-asti-avyaktavyāḥ): of non-existence (Syād-nāsti-avyaktavyāḥ): and also of both (Syād-asti-nāsti-avyaktavyāḥ). What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere, at all times, in all ways and in the form of everything. It may exist in one place and not in another and at one time and not at another. This doctrine is illustrated by pointing out that one and the same man be spoken of under different relations
as father, uncle, father-in-law, son-in-law, brother and grandfather. See Rice, Edward: *A History of Persian Literature*, pp. 32-34.

En. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 296.
MAP of the NAGIRE KINGDOM